Attachment Jule
September 29, 1961

STATUS OF CONTINGENCY PLANNING

64

The attached paper supersedue the paper distributed September 13.

It contains the following additions to or revisions of the earlier paper:

- 1. A list of contingencies constituting a table of contents.
- 2. A revision of Section III on Harassment within Berlin.
- 3. A new Annex (D).

Sections I and II are in process of revision and the paper will be reissued again incorporating any necessary changes when the process has been completed.

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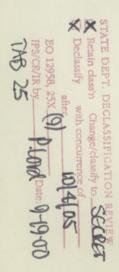
A.R. Day

September 29, 1961

STATUS OF CONTINGENCY PLANNING

Quadripartite Contingency Coordinating Subgroup

The attached chart is a working draft prepared for the use of the Subgroup. It has not been approved by any Government represented on the Subgroup, although it reflects Government positions where specifically indicated.

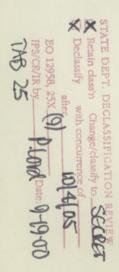


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Contingencies Covered in the Chart (as they appear in the left-hand column of the chart)

I.	Inte	erference with Air Access to Berlin	1
	A.	Minor harassments	1
	B.	Actions likely to have the effect of terminating civil airline operations	1
		1. Administrative	1
		2. Use of force	3
	C.	Interference with military air transport, civil airline operations having ceased	3
	D.	Halting of military transport, ground access still being open	5
	E.	Determined efforts to interdict military transport, ground access being closed	6
II.	Int	erference with Ground Access to Berlin	7
	A.	Interference with Allied traffic but not German civilian traffic	7
		1. Harassments short of blockage	7
		2. Blockage of Allied road or rail access through introduction of unacceptable controls	8
		3. Blockage of Allied road or rail access by forcible closure	9
		4. Blockage of Allied road and rail access by any means, air access being open	10
		5. Blockage of Allied road and rail access by any means, air access being closed	10
	B.	Interference with German but not Allied ground access	11
		1. Harassments short of blockage	11
		2. Blockage of rail, road or barge traffic or two or all of them	12

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	C. Blockage of both Allied and German ground access, air access being open	1.3
	D. Blockage of both Allied and German ground access, air access being closed	14
III.	Harassments within Berlin	15
	A. Interference with Allied access to East Berlin	1.5
	1. Harassment but not denial of Allied access to East Berlin	15
	2. Denial of Allied access to East Berlin	17
	B. Interference with West German and West Berliner access to East Berlin	20
	1. Further restriction on but not denial of entry of West Germans and West Berliners into East Berlin.	20
	2. Denial of entry of West Germans and West Berliners into East Berlin	20
	C. Harassment of or attack upon West Berlin	21
	1. East German psychological, economic or political harassment of West Berlin.	21
	2. East German/Soviet move to seize West Berlin by force, or harassment by military means.	30
IV.	Soviet Political Moves	32
	A. Announcement of a "peace conference."	32
	B. Signature of a "peace treaty."	32
	C. Turnover of access control to the GDR.	32

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111

AKAR 78

Miror Countermeasures	Annex	A
Major Countermeasures	Annex	В
Countermeasures for Interference with Air Access	Annex	C
The Interzonal Trade Agreement	Annex	D

111

AKAR 78

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Interference with air access to Berlin

> A. Minor Harassments Continued Soviet/GDR demands that Allied traffic be limited to Allied garrison needs.

Request that Allied planes report to GDR radio station in accordance with GDR radio law of Aug. 1, 1961.

B. Actions likely to have the effect of terminating civil airline operations. 1. Administrative

GDR demand that airlines register their radios under the August 1 law.

Soviet/GDR insistence that commercial air operations. as distinct from Allied military operations, be the subject of regular agreements Rejection on the grounds that Allied use of the corridors is unrestricted.

Responses

Civil airline pilots reply. None when queried by GDR radio. that they are on ATCcontrolled flight. Military pilots make no reply.

In general, if airlines cease to fly for any of the reasons set forth in this section, military transport will be substituted at once, without fighter escort.

This demand should be re- Protest to Soviet Controller. This specific jected with the argument A protest to the Soviet corridors are not subject is declared punishable by to any form of GDR control physical interference.

This demand should be rejected, since all Allied air operations have an equal right in the corridors.

Protest initially by Allied controllers in BASC, possibly agreed to trifollowed by protest to Soviet partitely. The Government.

that Allied flights in the Government if non-compliance been considered.

Protest to Soviet Controller. No specific de-A protest to the Soviet Government if non-compliance reached on the reis declared to be punishable sponse; this is by physical interference.

Agreed among Four Powers (set forth in Aug. 26 Three Power notes to USSR) Agreed among the Three Powers.

The treatment of Sec I A=D assumes that ground

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Whether or not airlines cease to fly as a result of these measures will depend in many cases on degree of insistence by GDR/Soviet authorities The US and UK airlines can be expected not to fly if GDR/Soviet demands include a threat of physical interference for noncompliance. Air France may continue to fl v up to the point of actual physical interference

The Garmans would prefer to have countermeasures applied at this time

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Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermonsures	Status of D	
I B 1. (Continued) Soviet refusal to guarantee flight safety for a parti- cular flight or flights.	Three responses are possible: 1. Continue if possible to operate civil airlines; 2. Replace the particular flight or flights with military transport; 3. Determine that civil air operations are no longer safe and substitute military transport entirely.	A protest to the Soviet Controller, possibly followed by protest to Soviet Government.	This specific question has not been the subject of a decision with respect to the response to be made. Much will depend on the circumstances of the event, but a general determination might well be made in advance.	In the e particul or BEA, further the deci ment han
Soviet refusal to guarantee flight safety of further flights.	Substitute military air trans- port if the Civil airlines refuse to continue flying. No fighter protection.	Sama as above.	This decision has been made tripartitely.	It may a France w Pan Amer almost o
Soviet withdrawal from BASC.	Same response as above. In addition, the contingency plans for relaying flight information to the GDR will be executed.	Same as above. In adddition, a public statement will be issued.	This decision has been made tripartitely. Although the public statement is not explicitly provided for, a draft exists which is quadripartitely approved	Same con This even occur at delibers to end of port, as for rest ment of
A number of possible actions are open to the GDR/Soviets whereby the corridors would	A possible response would be to insist on alternate routes on the grounds that our basic	A protest to the Soviet Controller or the Soviet	A decision as to whether our legal position justifies a	in West will alm occur, i

be declared unsafe for use without an explicit barring of flights. An announcement of maneuvers or anti-aircraft firing practice in the area are typical.

right is air access per se and not these corridors. Whether military air transport would be substituted would depend on the estimated degree of danger and the reaction of the airlines. Airlines might agree to a nonpassenger probe flight.

Government, depending on the seriousness.

Issuance of a public statement, demand for alternate routes should be made. Otherwise, the method should be laft until the particular situation develops.

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Countermeasures

Status of Decision

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2. Use of Force By this is meant the forcing down of an aircraft, while it is in flight, by anymeans; the shooting down of an aircraft: the firing upon an aircraft with evident intent to shoot it down; forcing it off course.

Military air transport would be substituted. accompanied by fighter escort. An announcement would be made at once of our intention to do this. If intent to interfere with the aircraft is unclear, an unaccompanied probe by a military transport might be considered.

Immediate appeal to the United Nations Security Council.

Economic Countermeasures. (Annex

The substitution of military transport is accepted in principle tripartitely. The decision on fighter escort is subject to minor differences on timing and on the definition of an incident sufficient to bring this response. These are being discussed in LIVE OAK. The appropriate countermeasures are under study in the contingency coordinating committee.

An automatic approach to the Security Council has been agreed to by the UK and Germany. The French do not wish to make an advance commitment to associate themselves but have no objection to the others proceeding. The US would wish to go at once to the Council if it is understood another government intended to take the issue to the UN. Otherwise it would want to review the matter in the light of the situation at the time.

- C. Interference with military air transport, civil air operations having ceased.
 - 1. Attack upon an unescorted transport.

The response would be the The same as in B2 The same as in B2 above, except same as in B2 above, except above. that substitution of military transport will already have taken place. The pilot

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3. Attack upon an escorted aircraft by ground fire.

Aircraft under attack will take evasive action and withdraw.

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If this is the first instance of physical interference, we would not yet have gone to the UN on this matter. Approach to the Security Council at least would thus take place.

If an earlier incident had caused the matter to be taken to the Security Council, the question would arise whether to return to that body, go to the General Assembly or not return to the UN at all. This would depend to an extent on the outcome of the earlier approach.

Countermeasures amounting to a total economic
embargo against the
Soviet bloc will be
taken. See Annex B
for a list of the
specific measures envisaged (these are the
measures in Annex A of
the Paris Working Group
report.)

The question of approaches to the UN subsequent to an initial approach has not been examined in detail. Since so much would depend on the outcome of the initial approach, a precise advance decision on this point would appear not to be practicable.

The countermeasures were agreed upon by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris in August 1961.

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

E. Determined efforts to interdict military transport; ground access being closed.

Once it is clear that the If both Allied and German operating, Allied activity be in effect asas result. Soviets to reopen ground access will intensify.

Soviets intend to provent ground access are closed, an countermeasures are the has been closed, it. military transport from economic embargo will already subject of study in the is to be assumed that directed ultimately toward Additional countermeasures persuading or forcing the (such as a naval blockade for example) should be considered.

> If only Allied ground access is closed, the lesser economic countermeasures which would be in effect for that reason would be increased to an economic embargo.

Possible additional Contingency Coordinating military transport Committee.

If ground access will be the grincipal vehicle of all access. Thus the final attempt to blockade Berlin is likely to take the form of attack upon military transport

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Interference with ground access to Berlin				
A. Interference with Allied traffic, but not German civilian traffic, by Soviets or by GDR (the latter presumably after signature of a peace treaty).				
1. Harassments short of blockage.				
Administrative slow-down of processing of road and rail traffic.	Accept slow-down unless it is so serious as to constitute, in effect, blockage of access. In such a case we should consider resorting to garrison sirlift.	Protest to Karshorst or Soviet Government, depending on gravity. If a garrison airlift is instituted, the econ- omic countermeasures mentioned under II A 2 should be introduced.	No specific decis- ions are recorded, and it might be well to agree on the gen- eral lines of handling such incidents, partic- ularly with respect to imposition by GDR.	Many of such harassements have been experienced over the years at the hands of the Soviets. They will have a more serious implication, however, if
Demands for payment of road tolls (such as West Germans now pay).	Refuse to pay tolls.	Same as above.	Same as above.	they are applied by the GDR after turn- over to East Germans of the checkpoints.
	Refuse to permit search or other such controls,	Same as above.	Same as above,	In the latter event, they would likely be the beginning of a rising scale of har-
or railroads requiring	Refuse to comply, on the grounds that vahicles are not subject to Soviet or GDR control.	Same as above.	Sama as above.	assments looking toward control of allied movement. If such demands as these are pressed,

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regulations on highways or railroads requiring	Refuse to comply, on the grounds that vahicles are not subject to Soviet or GDR control.	Same as above.	Sama as above.	assments looking toward control of allied movement. If such demands as these are pressed,

Develonments in the Carate pariod of time severely hampering Allied access.

Kesponses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

Persistent harassment over a

Accept harassment.

Apply selective countermeasures of the sort listed in Annex A

No decision has been made on use of countermeasures in this eventuality. It would be well to have a decision in

principle, based on

the list at Annex A

they would constitute blockage through institution of unacceptable controls (see Section II A2) Savere countermeasures would expose us to the risk of complete blockage of Allied access, but the lack of them might misleso the Soviets into believing the Allies are not serious about defending their publicly announced vital interests It is within the power of the Soviets and the GDR to make transit so difficult as to b of little value. In such an event some sort of limited countermeasure would seem desirable.

2. Blockage of Allied road or rail access through introduction of unacceptable controls by the Soviets or GDR, air access being still open.

When the control is announced, a movement should be presented at the checkpoint. If the control is affirmed by the Soviet or GDR parsonnel, omic countermeasures, insist on their right to pass on the basis of earlier procedures. If the demand for control is

Economic countermeasures of a degree less than complete embargo will be taken, possibly together with non-econthe Allied personnel should A list of suitable measures to the GDR, now apis attached at Annex B .

> Approach to the Security Council.

This response was embodied in the revisions of the contingency plan instructions on turnover of checkpoints proved by Government s.

The question of whether economic countermeasures should

It would not be useful to slaborate on the precise nature of the controls which might be introduced by the Soviets or, more likely, the GDR after signing of a peace treaty. There are a great many which could be used.

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principle, based on

the list at Annex A

they would constitute blockage through institution of unacceptable controls (see Section II A2) Savere countermeasures would expose us to the risk of complete blockage of Allied access, but the lack of them might misleso the Soviets into believing the Allies are not serious about defending their publicly announced vital interests It is within the power of the Soviets and the GDR to make transit so difficult as to b of little value. In such an event some sort of limited countermeasure would seem desirable.

2. Blockage of Allied road or rail access through introduction of unacceptable controls by the Soviets or GDR, air access being still open.

When the control is announced, a movement should be presented at the checkpoint. If the control is affirmed by the Soviet or GDR parsonnel, omic countermeasures, insist on their right to pass on the basis of earlier procedures. If the demand for control is

Economic countermeasures of a degree less than complete embargo will be taken, possibly together with non-econthe Allied personnel should A list of suitable measures to the GDR, now apis attached at Annex B .

> Approach to the Security Council.

This response was embodied in the revisions of the contingency plan instructions on turnover of checkpoints proved by Government s.

The question of whether economic countermeasures should

It would not be useful to slaborate on the precise nature of the controls which might be introduced by the Soviets or, more likely, the GDR after signing of a peace treaty. There are a great many which could be used.

Davelopments in the Crisis

Responses

maintained, the movement should withdraw and report to the Allied military authorities.

Same as II A 2.

a, Closing of the autobahn on grounda that repairs are needed. This is a special case with respect to our initial response.

3. Blockage of Allied

road or rail access by forcible closure of one or more routes, air access being still open. By this is meant the flat refusal of the Soviets or GDR to permit

passage over a route.

State that we expect our rights of road access will be met by the provision of another route while repairs are being made. If this is refused, the measures described in II A 2 should be taken.

Status of Decision

Comments

Military activity will have to be considered of a nature which, if blockage persists. would avolve into the use of force. (Sea II A 5)

Countermenter

Same as II A 2.

circumstances was left open by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris in August, 1961.

A decision will be required as to whether the halted traffic will be carried by the alternate ground route or by an airlift.

The question of approaching the UN at this stage has not been decided upon. Advance consideration should be given to doing 50.

Same as II A 2.

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Same as II A 2.

being open.

4. Blockage of Allied road and rail access by any means, air access

Offer to repair the road.

Appropriate responses as given in II A 2 and 3 above.

Institution of a garrison airlift.

Same as II A 2.

Statement on responses and countermeasure same as II A 2.

A specific decision to use Air Task 4 planning a garrison airlift in these circumstances has not been made. It can be unacceptable controls left to the event, since the plane exist to implement it.

envisaged a garrison airlift at the time were introduced on access. Implementation was left to decision at the time. It is not illogical

to expect that the

out either all Allies

access or all Garman

5. Blockage of Allied road and rail access by any means, air access being closed.

Even though German ground access would still be open. our basic interests would be gravely injured. We would thus undertake active military operations in an effort to open access on the ground.

General mobilization. An economic embargo

would be in effect and we would have taken the issue at an earlier stage to the UN Security Council. An appeal to the General Assembly would have to be considered. IZT cancellation should be deferred for a reasonable time, Far-reaching and severe countermeasures on a world-wide scale would be initiated (see Annex

A decision on the timing of mobilization has not been made. The timing and Soviets will attack nature of Allied Military access by singling operations generally remain to be settled (this is applicable both to the access. response and countermeasures). As to the nature of these operations, that commencement much planning has been done and more is in prog- operations will reress. Tripartite govern- sult in cutting off mental approval has been German access sooner given to a number of plans, or later, if only whose execution would not as a direct result be automatic but subject of military action. to decision by governments in the light of existing circumstances at the time.

General Norstad has been

It is to be expected of military ground

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The position on use of IZT was left open by the Foreign Ministers Meeting in Paris in August 1961 and temporary deferral was suggested by the Quadripartite Working Group. No decision has been made on countermeasures more farreaching than the economic embargo.

An appeal to the General Assembly has not been decided upon.

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The principal decision involved here, which has not definitely been made, is whether to use IZT leverage in any case less than denial of German access. Since harassment of this sort is likely at some stage, a general decision in principle on this point would be useful.

B. Interference with German but not Allied ground access.

1. Harassments short of blockage. There are a great many measures the GDR can take in this field. Their effect is to make transit to Berlin expensive, difficult and uncertain.

Accept such harrassments up to the point that access is for all useful purposes cut off.

Protest statement by German Government on each occasion of signicant harassment.

Protest by Ambassadors in Bonn to Soviet Ambassador in East Berlin on such occasions.

While the IZT agreement should not be involved substantially for such

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If German traffic is so limited by a measure of this sort as to reduce it below levels sufficient to maintain Berlin adequately, an Allied military airlift should be begun to take up the balance of the freight and passengers.

measures, it would be well for the link between interzonal trade and access to Berlin to be emphasized by some limited trade retaliation.

Minor Allied countermessures might be adopted initially to warn the Soviets and GDR against further encroschment. As constriction of access continues, and begins to encroach on the basic Allied interest of retaining a vieble Wast Barlin, increasingly severe measures should be applied.

Protest statement by Garman Government.

Protest by the Ambassadors in Bonn to the Soviet Ambassador in East Barlin. If the measures cover all or almost all traffic, an Allied protest should be made to Moscow.

Reduction of trade under the IZT commensurate with extent of the blockage, total cancellation to meet total blockage,

Specific decisions on the protest statements and the use of Allied countermeasures in this situation have not been taken.

None of the countermeasures suggested has Governmental approval. It would be well to decide on use of the airlift on a partial scale for such a purposa.

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Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. Blockage of both
Allied and German
ground access, air
access still being
open.

Commance sirlift (GBAL)

Allied countermeasures should be provided if the partial blockage is serious enough.

(See Annex A)

sures amounting to a total embargo will be taken, including cancellation of IZT agreement. See Annex B for a list of the countermeasures envisaged (these are the measures in Annex A of the Paris Working Group report).

An approach to the UN Security Council would be made.

Additional Allied countermeasures would be taken (see Annax B).

Military activity will have to be considered of a nature which, if blockage persists, would evolve into the use of force. partial blockage of German access (total blockage would presumably call for such measures, though no specific decision to this effect has been made).

The economic countermeasures were agreed upon by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris in August 1961.

No definite decision has been taken in approaching the UN at this stage. It should be made in principle, with a final decision subject to the conditions existing at the time.

Specific decisions as to the carrying out of military activity in this eventuality have not been made. (See II A 5).

Countermeasures

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Dev	alopments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures		
	Blockage of both Allied and German ground access, air access being closed.	Institute an effort to reopen access on the ground.	Same as II A 4 above (IZT cancellation be-	The decisions concerning the military operation described in II A 5 apply here.	

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

III. Harassments within Berlin

A. Interference with Allied Access to East Berlin

> 1. Harassment but not denial of Allied entry into East Berlin.

> > formed personnel in an official vehicle, attempt to search the vehicle. etc.

a. East German police de- The personnel involved should mand to see identification refuse to comply and should or other documents of uni- demand to see a Soviet offi cer. If the latter appears. they should insist that they be permitted to pass, If necessary, they may show an identifying document to the Soviet officer. No other control is to be permitted. If a Soviet officer is

not called or if he makes an unacceptable demand, the vehicle should proceed through the checkpoint unless physically prevented or unless to do so would result in injury to someone.

For the event the vehicle cannot proceed, see III A2 below.

If a Soviet officer appears and permits the vehicle to proceed, no countermeasures are called for.

This is at present US procedure. It is understood that the French procedures are similar but that those of British military personnel are not identical.

It is considered that the practices of the three countries with respect to the question of identification procedure should not be changed at this time to make them uniform.

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

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1. (Continued)

b. East German police de- An identifying document or other documents of official Allied civilian personnel in official Allied vehicles or private vehicles with USAREUR (or respective UK or French) license plates, or demand to search the vehicle, etc.

mand to see identification should be shown. It should not be handed to the East German police; however, if this does not suffice a Soviet officer should be called, In other respects the response is the same as in Al a above.

If the vehicle is allowed to proceed by the East German police or the Soviet officer under the prescribed conditions, no countermeasures are required.

At present US Mission personnel do not show identification except in rare cases and under protest. This should be continued as long as possible, but ultimately the US would accept the requirement of showing identification regularly.

- c. (1) East German police halt Allied military or civilian official personnel, in official or officially licensed vehicle, within East Berlin.
- (2) The vehicle is not permitted to proceed, and a Soviet officer is not called.

The same initial procedure should be followed by these two categories of personnel as at the checkpoints. The vehicle should contact its headquarters if it has a radio.

The vehicle should proceed unless physically prevented or unless to do so would involve injury to someone. If the vehicle cannot proceed, personnel should remain in the vehicle and stay where they are, repeating demands to see a Soviet officer. When it becomes imperative for reasons of health or comfort, the personnel may comply under protest with demands upon them.

If the vehicle is allowed to proceed under the prescribed conditions, no countermeasures are required.

A protest should be made It should be assured by the Commandants. If the vehicle is held until the personnel must comply, the Allied Commandants should take appropriate countermeasures, such as dein West Berlin (other than BASC or Spandau personnel).

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Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

1. (Continued)

c. (3) The East German police demand that the vehicle accompany them to a police station, etc.

The Allied personnel should refuse, and follow the same procedure as in c (2) above. In this event, however, acceding to demands will mean ultimately going to an East German office with the police. If this occurs, the personnel should refuse to deal with the East Germans and demand to be put in touch with Soviet officials and to contact their own headquarters. In extricating them, Allied headquarters should deal only with the Soviets.

Arrest of Allied personnel by East Germans is more serious than unacceptable controls on their passage. A stronger protest should be made, and a Soviet vehicle (but not BASC or Spandau) should be detained until release is secured.

If serious harassment of this sort continues, the question will arise whether to take more far-reaching countermeasures. An initial step might be denying entry to all War Memorial guards and arresting those currently in West Berlin.

It should be assured that the Commandants have authorization to take the proposed countermeasures.

(US and UK consider that the Commandants should have such authority, and discussions are taking place on the question in Berlin.)

2. Denial of Allied Access to East Berlin.

a. All Allied military or official civilian personnel are prevented from passing the crossing point,

The Allied vehicle should withdraw and report to its headquarters. While other measures are taking place.

The Allied Commandants should protest to the Soviet Commandant and the Ambassadors at Bonn

US and UK Commandants have authority to protest. Ambassadorial protest is subject to

This is not considered a "vital" Allied interest, but is closely related, in the context

Responses

Countermeasures

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		- 18 -
Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures
2. (Continued)		
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Status of Decision

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It is US policy to take the step of barring Soviet entry in this manner, subject to tripartite agreement. The US and UK have authorized their Commandants to reach tripartite agreement on this and other countermeasures in Berlin and to implement them on their own initiative when agreed.

The US Commandant has this authority.

Decision to be made at the time by Governments.

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Countermeasures outside

the context of circula-

TOP SECRET

- 19 -

Developments in the Crisis Responses

2. (Continued)

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

to Gromyko or Khrushchev, warning that this is a serious breach of 4power responsibilities.

If after 24 hours no change occurs, countermeasures should be taken outside the context of circulation within Berlin: Annex A

Other Governments have this question for consideration.

It is US policy that such measures would be contemplated.

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(The question of a complets TTD ban at this stage is being discussed in Bonn.)

The Czech and Polish Missions should be harassad and perhaps expelled.

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- B. Interference with West German and West Berliner access to East Berlin.
 - 1. Further restriction on but not denial of entry of West Germans or West Berliners into East Berlin.

2.a. Denial of entry of West Germans and West Berliners to East Berlin.

If the restriction is severe and affects West Germans, the latter should point out to the East Germans through the usual IZT channel that inter-zonal trade is related to movement within Berlin. Perhaps steps could be taken within the tensively except when terms of the IZT agreement to require payment of outstanding credits in fered with. certain categories before further shipments can be made. (Re IZT see Annex D)

(Possible use of selective restriction of issuance of TTDs in the trade category is being considered in Bonn).

The German Government should issue a protest statement.

The Commandants should protest at once.

A decision should be taken whether to involve IZT at all in Germans to bar West
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Action by the East Germans to bar West Germans and West Berliners from East Berlin materially by any feasible Western countermeasures. The effort of the West should thus be to make clear that as part of the general campaign against West Berlin and that it will respond with more vigorous retaliation if further steps are taken in that campaign. It would thus be well to establish the link with IZT even in the absence of intent to use it significantly in these circumstances.

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D	evelopments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
В	. 2.a. (Continued)		The German Government should take whatever steps are available to make the carrying out of the IZT agreement more difficult for the East Germans without however actually making other than minor cancellations in deliveries. (Possible use of selective restriction of issuance of TTDs in the trade category is being considered in Bonn.)	text of the IZT has not been made. The two forms of protest have not been speci- fically decided upon.	
	b. Demand by GDR that West Germans and/or West Berliners obtain East German visas for entry into East Berlin.	Refuse to comply	Same as above, plus possible NATO countermeasures (as in denial of Allied access). In addition, a higher level protest should be considered.	No decision on the countermeasure has been taken.	It is considered that such a GDR request for de jure recognition is more serious than closing the boundary alone.
C.	Harassment of or attack upon West Berlin.				
	1. East German psychological, economic or political harassment of West Berlin.				

- 21 -

D	evelopments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
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C.	Harassment of or attack upon West Berlin.				
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Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 1. (continued)

a. Psychological harassment and disturbances:

Increase in psychological "warfare" against West Berlin especially in critical periods of political tension by means of TV, radio, rumors, subversion.

This might be dealt with over the long run by a committee set up in Washington or Berlin to keep this problem under consideration together with the general question of Berlin raison dietre and morale.

No decision has been made on such a committee.

West Berlin and West German authorities note that this psychological "warfare" has been increased considerably after August 13 especially in the field of radio and television propaganda and with regard to rumors.

b. Economic harassment and disturbances within Berlin:

1. Supply of food

Halting of Soviet zone deliveries of sugar, pork and potatoes under IZT.

Substitution by supplies Protest from Federal Republic at any given moment, as long as access open.

Selective harasement in the field of IZT. (Re IZT see Annex D)

Selective economic countermeasures against Soviet Bloc. as a whole or the GDR slone.

No decision has been made on the countermeasures. The response presumably requires no specific advance decision.

AP.

See Annex ____ for information on the effect of such harassment on the problem of providing supplies via access routes to West Berlin. With respect to countermeasures, their amployment will be affected by the degree to which harassments are cummulative and result therefore in a more serious situation than sporadic or isolated harassment would create.

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. (Continued)

2. Supply of other goods

Soft coal and congasoline (Diesel)

Soft coal could not struction material. easily be replaced by West German deliveries.

See III. 1.b

There are strategic stores for raw material and products for higher consumption for approximately 9 months (coal one year).

West Berlin has almost no raw materials of its own and thus is almost fully dependent on deliveries from other sources (East Germany and Federal Republic).

See Annex

3. Railroad and locks operation

Soviet zone and East Berlin supply services in connection with railroad operations in Berlin and with ragard to locks in Berlin (Rothensee). Railroad as well as locks are operated by East German administration, Dis-

Transfer to road traffic West Berlin would be in a insofar as possible would become necessary

position to flood zone areas or East Berlin areas in case of seizure of the locks by West Berlin.

Also it is to be noted that countermeasures against East German and Soviet Bloc barges on the West German canal and water system are conceiv-

Such countermeasures as flooding of certain areas will have to be studied in Berlin.

No decision has been made regarding countermeasures under these circumstances.

The Soviet zone is in a position to terminate railroad operation in West Berlin without serious disturbances of its own railroad system (a complete railroad system around the city is available to the zone authorities). Soviet zone barge operation across the sector boundary has been

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

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- 24 -

Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
C. 3. (Continued)				Opendo de la Antición como de los estantes de unido de sede un comenza de la Colo de Macine de miserá función (e en contenidado de Colo de Col
turbances with West Berlin barges are conceivable notably at the locks		able and remain to be studied. Also see III. 1.b Additional non-military countermeasures should be envisaged.	The possibility of diverting trains to East Berlin should be studied in Bonn and Berlin.	terminated on August 13. It is possible to direct all Western supply trains to East Berlin railroad station and thus harass considerably fræ deliveries to West Berlin. Allied train traffic could conceivably be affected in this way.
4. S-Bahn operation in West Berlin. (termination)	West Berlin authorized extend bus services.	See III. 1.b.	Readiness to make response should be assured in Berlin.	As a spontaneous public reaction the number of S-Bahn users in West Berlin has decreased from a daily rate of 500,000 to 100 000 since August 13 (estimate).
5. Supply of gas; electric power and water. There is a gas pipeline from Salzgitter/West Germany to Borsig-factory in West Berlin which could be cut off	West Berlin gas sup- pliers could substi- tute easily.			There is no longer any supply of these services from East Berlin or Soviet zone.

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Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
C. 3. (Continued)				Opendo de la Antición como de los estantes de unido de sede un comenza de la Colo de Macine de miserá función (e en contenidado de Colo de Col
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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. (Continued)

6. Sewage

It is to be noted that in the field of sewage there is joint West-and East Berlin system. Separation of this joint system is unlikely.

Nevertheless precautionary measures have been taken (5 000 tons chlorine are stocked in Berlin) in order to assure proper sewage.

7. Disturbances of telecommunication and radio systems between West Berlin and the Federal Republic or other Western countries.

Reduce communications to most important traffic as necessary.

Utilize limited ECCM to maintain communications disregarding assigned frequencies.

Station VHF/UHG relay aircraft in the corridor.

See III, 1.b

It is to be noted that the East German radio-TV system which is equipped by Siemens depends on regular supplies of essential operational parts from West derlin. This is a field where retaliation or countermeasures could be applied under certain circumstances.

Stop payment of due costs to East German System through West German Bundespost. No decisions have been taken on responses or countermeasures.

US experts consider that, with utilization of the techniques referred to, Berlin cannot be blacked out without unacceptable interference with Soviet/GDR transmissions.

German experts point out
that the wireless communication system between
West Berlin and the Federal
Republic does not depend on
relay stations in the
Soviet zone; however, jamming is possible. The
cable communication system

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 7. (Continued)

c. Maintenance of blockage for workers and employees from East Berlin and Soviet zone to work in West Berlin.

West Berlin attempts to fill the gap by activation of labor reserves, by rationalizing production processes, and by attracting additional labor from West Germany. Further studies necessary. Demand for free circulation within Berlin should be repeated constantly.

The problem is being dealt with by the West Berlin administration.

between West Berlin and the Federal Republic could be cut off however, the cables are also used for Soviet Bloc communications to the West.

d. Political disturbances:

Attempts to cut existing political legislative and administrative links with the Federal Republic.

Essential elements of these links are, among others:

1) identity of political, legal and social-economic system of West Berlin and Federal Republic Rejection of Soviet demands and assertion that existing links between FRG and West Berlin are in accordance with Four Power Status of Berlin.

The Western responses and countermeasures will largely depend on the methods the Soviet Union will apply to erode this element of the viability of West Berlin, i.e. whether they act:

1.) through psychological warfare (responses and countermeasures - See III. 1)

This question is being considered in the context of the various programs indicated.

With reference to d.5.
it should be noted that
at present there are
approximately 80 Federal
German Boards and offices
or agencies working in
Berlin. They employ
18 000 officials and
employees.

The re-transfer of these Federal German Boards

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0 7 (0 ... 1)

Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 7.d. (Continued)

- 2) constitutional links: representation of West Berlin in Bundestag and forms of participation in the constitutional life of the 4,) through negotiations Federal Republic
- 3) adoption of
- 4) foreign representation by the Federal Republic

Federal laws

- 5) Federal authorities in Berlin
- 6) meetings of Federal constitutional organs in Berlin
- 7) free circulation of West Berliners in the Federal Republic and full participation in political life and public services and vice versa

- 2.) through political pressure (responses and countermeasures - See Paris and Washington Working Group reports)
- Bundesrat and other 3.) through air-access harassment (responses and countermeasures - see I A-D)
 - (responses and countermeasures see Paris and Washington Working Group reports)

The German delegation intends to submit additional proposals in due course.

and agencies from Berlin to the Federal Republic would cause immense political and psychological problems.

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Developments in the Crisis

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 7.d. (Continued)

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Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 7. d. (Continued)

8) application of Federal German system for passports and indentification.

e. Other Disturbances

- 1) Harassment of West Berlin radio and TV stations.
- 2) Maintenance of blockage for students from East Germany and Soviet zone to follow courses in West Berlin.

There are increased endeavours to have an increased number of West German students in Berlin.

3) Usage of S-Bahn Increased vigilance and railroad instal- of Allied and West lations for provocative and subvers

It is possible to channel through the S-Bahn a great number of communists - or

sive action from East Berlin.

Countermeasures in kind (see III 1.b7) further studies advisable.

Countermeasures in the field of cultural relations should be studied inasmuch as such contacts are not yet interrupted. Interference with contacts which are desirable from the point of view of the Federal Republic of Germany should be carefully avoided.

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 7. d. (Continued)

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Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 7. d.3 (Continued)

even members of
"Betriebskampfgruppen"
or armed forces into
West Berlin. (other
forceful action see
III C2)

4) Provocation by organizing sabotage acts against S-Bahn installations.

See previous item

5) Installation of Soviet zone offices and agencies in West Berlin

This has already been attempted. Immediate closure of such agencies has been ordered and should be done in future.

6) Provocation or incidents on the Sector boundary or the zonal border on West Berlin. (Other action of this nature see III. 1)

Allied military forces
at the sector boundaries sistent process
use firearms only in be protest
self-defense or while mandants of the self-defense or while mandants or the self-defense or while mandants of the self-defense or while mandants of the self-defense or while mandants or the self-defense

Serious incidents or persistent provocation should be protested by the Commandants or the particular Commandant whose sector is involved.

The responses have been discussed by Allies Missions in Berlin. Further discussions should be held there to coordinate "rules of engagement." Those described here are suggested as bases for such discussions. Protests of the nature mentioned under countermeasures are being made as required by the situation.

7) Steinstucken interruption of communication and access to Stein-

Transport residents and supplies to and from Steinstuecken by U.S. Army helicopters. Protest and warning to Soviet Commandant and/or Soviet Ambassador Response is firm U.S. policy.

Responses

Countermeasures

Status of Decision

Comments

C. 7. d.3 (Continued)

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Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	0
	Conduct MP patrol into Steinstuecken by vehicle or helicopter.		Protest authority delegated to Berlin commandants by US and UK.	Comments
 East German/Soviet move to seize West Berlin by force, or harassment by military means. 				
a. Harrassment by shelling, etc., not associated with direct attempt to seize the city.	Planning not yet undertaken			Such action might occur as part of an effort to prevent use of West Berlin air fields.
b. Overt attack by uniformed force.	North Atlantic Treaty provisions take effect.	NATO conducts appropriate military operations.	Articles 5 and 6 of the NATO Treaty provide for collective self-defense in the event of attack upon the territory of any of the Parties in Europe.	Planning for NATO operations being done by Gen, Norstad.
	Berlin defense plan	Severe military and non-military countermeasures (Annex B).		
	Single Allied Commander for Allied forces in Berlin.			

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Developments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	0
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evelopments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
c. Covertly directed effort to infiltrate large numbers of ac- tivists, create wide- spread disorder, and seize control.	West Berlin police, including Force B, seek to suppress; Allied garrisons committed if necessary. Single Allied Commander for Allied forces in Berlin.		Three governments have agreed that Gen. Nor- stad can designate a single commander for Berlin in the event of a grave civil disturbance, on the joint recommendation of the three Commandants, if time does not permit reference to Governments.	
		Reinforce Berlin garrisons from Allied forces in FRG.	No common decision has been taken on rein- forcement of Berlin. Gen. Norstad should be asked for recommenda- tions.	Police and existing garrise can deal with several scores of thousands of rioters. Little additional reinforcements should be needed if any, to hand!
		Bring NATO forces to state of Reinforced Alert.		any conceivable civil disorder.
		Take additional countermeasures beyond Central Europe (See Annex B).		

-31-

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Deve	alopments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
IV.	Soviet political moves				
	A. Announcement of a "peace conference"	Notes to Soviets from US, UK, France and Federal Republic sent and published.	Representation to govern- ments of all states in- vited to the conference to decline, as well as provision of guidance to the press.	Agreed by Four-Power Working Group and re- ferred to governments.	Drafts of notes, material for press guidance and repre- sentations, and pri- mary responsibility for representations contained in Report of February 10, 1961.
	B. Signature of a "peace treaty"	Solemn statement by US, UK, France and Federal Republic.	If it seems that Soviet withdrawal from functions re Allied access to Berlin is imminent, Soviets would presumably be given contemplated note re access, and public statement would be published.	Same as above for response. The countermeasure has been approved quadripartitely.	Draft of solemn statement contained in Report of February 10, 1961
	C. Turnover of access control to the GDR.	Instruction for Allied official vehicles and trains in this contingency came into affect. (BQD-4). This calls for Allied personnel to permit GDR checkpoint officials to receive and stamp their identity documents and movement orders, as the Soviet personnel now do. It also provides instruction for the event a greater degree of control is insisted upon by the GDR.	Action described above would be taken.	The response and the countermeasure have been approved quadripartitely.	

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Deve	alopments in the Crisis	Responses	Countermeasures	Status of Decision	Comments
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Minor Countermeasures

Economic

- 1. The closure of Soviet Bloc trade wissions, including Amtorg offices.
- The refusal to enter into new contracts to charter shipping to Soviet Rioc Countries and suspend existing contracts.
- 3. The expansion of export control measures against the Soviet Bloc, including selective embargo. (Could be a major action depending on extent of control.)
- 4. The cut-off of selected types of industrial and technical exchanges in which Soviets are most interested and ban export of published and unpublished technical and scientific information.
- 5. The slowdown in issuance of export licenses and fereign exchange licensing for shipments to Soviet Bloc.
- 6. The cancellation of arrangements for Soviet participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings scheduled in Western countries (NATO).
- 7. The warning to NATO shipping and civil aircraft to avoid using Soviet Bloc harbors and airports.
- 8. The closure of frontiers to Soviet Bloc officials engaging in trade or commerce.
- 9. The cancellation of arrangements for Western (NATO) participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings scheduled in Soviet Bloc countries.

- 10. Prepare and implement countermeasures against USSR and "GDR" in form of tripartite controls over transport on basis equivalent to any Soviet or GDR harassments.
- 11. Restrain movement of personnel of Soviet trade missions, including Amtorg.

Other Non-military

- Tighten controls over Soviet Bloc personnel at frontiers, ports, and airports as evidence of increased caution.
- 2. Refuse TTD's to Soviet Zone travelers either on complete or selective basis.
- 3. Restrict circulation of Soviet Bloc officials and visitors over matropolitan territories.
- 4. Prohibit tourist travel of Soviet Bloc nationals.
- 5. Suspend or cancel cultural exchange agreements between Bloc and NATO countries.
- Cut off selected types of industrial and technical exchanges in which Soviets are most interested and ban export of technical and scientific information.
- In light of reactions to earlier stages, consider requesting neutral countries to make representations to USSR for removal of obstructions to Berlin access.

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- 1. The closure of Soviet Bloc trade wissions, including Amtorg offices.
- The refusal to enter into new contracts to charter shipping to Soviet Rioc Countries and suspend existing contracts.
- 3. The expansion of export control measures against the Soviet Bloc, including selective embargo. (Could be a major action depending on extent of control.)
- 4. The cut-off of selected types of industrial and technical exchanges in which Soviets are most interested and ban export of published and unpublished technical and scientific information.
- 5. The slowdown in issuance of export licenses and fereign exchange licensing for shipments to Soviet Bloc.
- 6. The cancellation of arrangements for Soviet participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings scheduled in Western countries (NATO).
- 7. The warning to NATO shipping and civil aircraft to avoid using Soviet Bloc harbors and airports.
- 8. The closure of frontiers to Soviet Bloc officials engaging in trade or commerce.
- 9. The cancellation of arrangements for Western (NATO) participation in exhibitions, trade fairs, scientific conferences, and other international meetings scheduled in Soviet Bloc countries.

- 10. Prepare and implement countermeasures against USSR and "GDR" in form of tripartite controls over transport on basis equivalent to any Soviet or GDR harassments.
- 11. Restrain movement of personnel of Soviet trade missions, including Amtorg.

Other Non-military

- Tighten controls over Soviet Bloc personnel at frontiers, ports, and airports as evidence of increased caution.
- 2. Refuse TTD's to Soviet Zone travelers either on complete or selective basis.
- 3. Restrict circulation of Soviet Bloc officials and visitors over matropolitan territories.
- 4. Prohibit tourist travel of Soviet Bloc nationals.
- 5. Suspend or cancel cultural exchange agreements between Bloc and NATO countries.
- Cut off selected types of industrial and technical exchanges in which Soviets are most interested and ban export of technical and scientific information.
- In light of reactions to earlier stages, consider requesting neutral countries to make representations to USSR for removal of obstructions to Berlin access.

Minor Countermeasures (Continued)

Military

- 1. Continue air surveillance along Greanland, Iceland, and UK line.
- 2. Execute anti-submarine surveillance at Straits of Gibraltar and in the Aegean Sea with visible patrolling.
- 3. Increase air activities (surveillance, military presence, etc.) along Soviet Bloc borders/radar barrier, utilizing resources of Far East Allies to the extent possible.
- 4. Assemble key tripartite/NATO commanders at Paris for readiness conference.
- 5. Augment military guards at autobahn checkpoints, on trains, and at Allied Airfields in Berlin.
- 6. Initiate unilateral/tripartite military police patrols of the autobahn, on a 24-hour basis.
- Organize all military autobahn traffic to and from Berlin in convoys escorted by armed MP's equipped with two-way communications equipment.
- 8. Increase utilization of the autobahn and air corridors to Berlin.
- 9. Increase stockpile of weapons, ammunition, and military supplies in Berlin.
- 10. Increase reconnaissance flights in the air corridors.

- 11. Implement appropriate alert measures in Europe to include:
 - a. Intensification of security against sabotage and subversion.
 - b. Reinforce frontiers.
 - c. Cancel routine out-of-area exercises and increase in-place exercises.
 - d. Intensify security restrictions on indigenous employees.
 - e. Incresso air defense slart.
- 12. Control radio traffic to indicate increased alert; vary pattern of detectable communications activity.
- 13. Reinforce ADIZ measures.

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Major Countermeasures

Economic

- *1. The prohibition of the use of all financial facilities of the NATO countries to carry on current transactions with the USSR, the Soviet Zone of Germany, the other Soviet Bloc members and their Nationals.
- *2. The expulsion of all Soviet Bloc technical exports and foreign trade officials without diplomatic immunity from the NATO countries.
- The freezing of all assets of the members of the Soviet Bloc under jurisdiction of the NATO powers.
- Termination of trade agreements involving Soviet Bloc countries.
- *5. The denial of all exports to Soviet Bloc countries.
- *6. The stoppage of all imports from Soviet Bloc countries to NATO countries.
- *7. The closure of NATO ports to Soviet Bloc shipping and planes and Soviet Bloc chartership.
- The prevention of aircraft of Soviet Bloc countries from making transit overflights and technical stops.
- *9. The prohibition of calling at Soviet Bloc ports of vessels and planes of the NATO countries.

Other Non-Military

1. Intensify surveillance of Soviet Bloc fishing fleets in North Atlantic and North Pacific.

- 2. Discourage tourist and nonessential traffic in Europe.
- 3. Restrict replacement and augmentation of personnel in Soviet Bloc embassies.
- 4. Close frontiers to all Soviet Bloc officials and visitors.
- 5. Jam Soviet Bloc radio broadcasts.

Military

- 1. Deploy additional forces (fillers and units) overseas.
- 2. Increase air capability in Europe (fighter and troop carrier).
- 3. Seventeenth Air Force conduct exercises in Europe.
- 4. Sixth Fleet to conduct carrier operations in central and eastern Mediterranean.
- 5. Gordact tripartite exercises easily identifiable with the problem of forcing access to Berlin via the autobahn.
- 6. Establish anti-submarine barrier patrol along Greenland-Iceland-UK line.
- 7. Increase SAC degree of elert by utilizing airborne elert (currently on 50% ground elert).
- 8. Increase air dafense alert, CONUS.
- 9. Alert additional Reserve component units.
- 10. Close Panama Canal to Bloc shipping.

*Measures amounting to a total economic embargo (Annex A of Section V of the Paris Working Group report).

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Major Countermeasures (Continued)

Military

- 11. Move elements of 2d Fleet to war stations (Northern European waters).
- 12. Augmentation of ASW forces in the Mediterranean.
- 13. Intensify atomic training in all military forces.
- 14. Conduct submarine exercises in Mediterranean, North Atlantic and/or Pacific.
- 15. Execute overseas aircraft squadron dispersal plan.
- 16. Execute naval countermeasures against Bloc shipping:
 - a. Blockade Bloc shipping in Black Sea (requires Allied support to be successful).
 - b. Blockade in North Sea exits from the Baltic (requires Allied support to be successful).
 - c. Seize Soviet ships in the Western Pacific and in the vicinity of Cuba.
 - d. Announce a "Declaration of Contraband" prohibiting shipment of Communist arms and munitions into Cuba.
 - e. Announce a "Declaration of denial of free passage to Soviet and Bloc ships."
 - f. Discreet mining operations.
 - g. Seize US lend-lease ships possessed by the USSR.

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SECRET

The Interzonal Trade Agreement*

1.) Agraements

The Interzonal Trade Agreement was signed in Berlin on 29th December 1960. By this agreement the following earlier agreements and accords were reinstated:

- a) Interzonal Trade Agreement of 20th September 1951 including all annexes and supplementary accords.
- b) The accords of 16th August 1960.

2.) Volume of Interzonal Trade

Volume of interzonal trade in 1960: DM 1.6 Billion - i.e., DM 800 Millions worth of trade was carried on with the Soviet Zone in either direction.

3.) Junetim

At the signing of the agreement on 29th December 1960, both sides agreed on the following as a basis for transactions under the Agreement:

- a) The agreement deals with transportation matters only. Thus, political questions are left out, i.e., Four-Power responsibility for Berlin is not affected thereby.
- b) Prerequisito: Unimpeded movement of passengers and goods between Berlin and the Federal Republic, and within Berlin.
- c) The passengers permit regulation issued by the zonal authorities on 8th September 1960 is not in fact being applied, - i.e., it has not been repealed formally.
- d) The zonal authorities have agreed to the sealing of trucks and as far as possible - of ships in transit. This procedure means a considerable simplification.
- a) Our concession to the zonal authorities:
 - aa) Permission for West German firms to attend the Leipzig Fair.
 - bb) Members of the staff of Soviet zonal foreign trade enterprises are not interfered with in pursuit of their business activities in the Federal Republic.

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4.) Evaluation

As a result of this junctim, an economic reorganization leading to an ever decreasing dependence on supplies from the Federal Republic has taken place in the Soviet Zone. Experience over the last few months has shown (although figures are not available here to support this conclusion) that quotas of goods listed under No. 1 Account - especially iron and steel products as well as machinery - have not been fully taken up, nor have the long-term contracts required for this purpose been concluded. This development has deprived us to a considerable degree of the means of pressure which the interzonal trade agreement hitherto enabled us to bring to bear.

As was shown above, the zonal authorities clearly have violated the junctim implied in the interzonal trade agreement since 13th August 1961; nevertheless we have refrained from denouncing the interzonal trade agreement or from cancellation of the goods consignment papers because of the danger of escalation arising therefrom. For this reason, the other three powers have not adopted our proposal of selective restriction of trade.

The volume of West Berlin's present supplies from the Soviet Zone is as follows:

1960: DM 181 Million First quarter of 1961: DM 41.1 Million

The viability of West Berlin does not depend on these supplies.

The commercial interest of German business in interzonal trade is small: the Federal Republic's entire East-West trade amounting to DM 4.2 Billion plus interzonal trade amounting to DM 2 Billion represents a mere 7 Per Cent of our total foreign trade.

It should be pointed out once more that as a result of the above-mentioned shift of the Soviet Zone's most important West German supplies to other countries, the effectiveness of denouncing the interzonal trade agreement has been substantially reduced.

The argument is thus all the more compelling that cessation of interzonal trade can be successful only if all NATO countries stop their supplies to the Soviet Zone.

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