

KHRUSHCHEV'S BRINKSMANSHIP

The Danger Years
1957-1962

Housekeeping

QUIZ: 20 Questions, 60 Minutes

THURSDAY, October 31 at 12:00 until

TUESDAY, November 4 at 18:00

TOPICS FOR PAPER. BY EMAIL. TODAY

TODAY

REVIEW: KHRUSHCHEV AND EISENHOWER STRATEGIES AND THE
BALANCE

NUCLEAR

THE SPUTNIK LAUNCH AND ITS IMPACTS

THE TAIWAN STRAITS CRISIS OF 1958

THE FIRST BERLIN ULTIMATUM

THE SPIRIT OF CAMP DAVID

THE U-2 AFFAIR

THE SECOND BERLIN ULTIMATUM

THE WALL

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

THE SOLUTION

THE AFTERMATH

REVIEW

The Eisenhower Strategy for the Nuclear Age

The New Look, or Massive Retaliation; Korea, Taiwan

Khrushchev's Strategy

Nuclear Stalemate, Peaceful Coexistence, Victory from Below,

The Suez Crisis

The Nuclear Balance of Power in January, 1957

The Political Positions of Khrushchev and Eisenhower

SPUTNIK

What was it?

Military Impact: Very Big, But US still more powerful

- The ability to reach the United States with nuclear weapons

- Still very limited: Liquid, unstable fuel

- Khrushchev exaggerates the number and effectiveness of missiles

Psychological Impact on US—HUGE

- Blow to US notions of superiority, invulnerability—like 9/11

- Gives rise to the “missile gap”

- Eisenhower has better sense of truth—U-2 flights

Impact on China: Thrilled, suggests to push further

- Taiwan Straits

The First Berlin Ultimatum: Khrushchev's Strategy at work

KHRUSHCHEV GETS IMPATIENT

Soviet Union economy growing, but not as fast as he promised

Missile infrastructure is expensive, would like to cut conventional weapons

Resistance from military command

Pressure also from China

The Problem of Germany

Germany remains undecided legacy of World War II

No peace treaty

NATO countries don't recognize East Germany as sovereign state: The "so-called DDR"

The Particular Problem of Berlin

A Challenge to East German Sovereignty

East Berlin acts as East German capital

Legally under Four-Power Rule

I n the middle of East German state

Huge outflow of educated, ambitious people

At the same time, “the blister on the heel” of NATO



The Ultimatum

November, 1958:

Soviets argue Western allies have broken Potsdam Agreement

A solution must be found in six months

If not, USSR would negotiate treaty with East Germany

East Berlin becomes part of East Germany,

West must negotiate with East Germany for access to W. Berlin

The Impact

Negotiations open, but nothing decided

Eisenhower agrees situation in Berlin is “abnormal”

Eisenhower invites Khrushchev to the United States

Khrushchev declares victory, rescinds ultimatum

A Brief Thaw: The Spirit of Camp David

Khrushchev arrives in US, travels all around

Meets with Eisenhower, agree to further

Khrushchev highly criticized by China, who see

Peaceful Coexistence as a betrayal of the communist movement

Khrushchev recalls all Soviet assistance to China

January, 1960: Khrushchev announces unilateral cuts in conventional forces: the military is upset

The thaw ends in May, 1960: Soviet Union shoots down U-2 over Russia,
Eisenhower refuses to apologize



A New President: John F. Kennedy and a more vigorous foreign policy



Attacks Eisenhower as too passive

The “Missile Gap”

Kennedy oversees very large defense buildup

The debate over national liberation movements in the Third World

Decolonization in Africa and Asia

Nationalist wars inspired by left wing leaders: Mao, Ho Chi Minh,
Fidel Castro, Che Guevera

Mao again accuses Khrushchev of not doing enough; Khrushchev
responds with major speech in January, 1961;

Kennedy sees it as challenge: US must do more to prevent victory of left-
wing movements, esp. in Cuba

Khrushchev's Issues in 1961-1962

His claims that he had forced US to negotiating table discredited by U-2

His claims of Soviet nuclear superiority exposed

By 1962, US had about 300 SLBMs and ICBMs, as well as missiles in Turkey and elsewhere

In 1961, USSR had about four missiles; by 1962 less than 75

New satellite surveillance technology makes Khrushchev lie public

Berlin: Emigration from East Germany even worse

Cuba: Castro's alliance with USSR very important to Khrushchev

Shows USSR's revolutionary credentials as opposed to China

But Cuba also threatened: Bay of Pigs in April, 1961

Operation Mongoose: Plans to overthrow Castro

The Second Berlin Ultimatum

Vienna Summit: Kennedy-Khrushchev June 4, 1961

Khrushchev renews threat to negotiate separate peace treaty with
East Germany

Kennedy announces additional troops

Migration gets worse

Creation of Berlin Wall—August 12-13, 1961

The Stand-Off in Berlin

The Decision to Put Missiles in Cuba

Khrushchev

1. Wants to improve economy: diminish defense spending
2. Wants to reset balance of power

NATO Missiles in Turkey (JFK thinks they are useless)

3. Wants to safeguard Cuba (real threats from US)
4. Pressure from military and others to build up weapons

If he does it publicly, probably not a problem

The Crisis Unfolds

The United States discovers Soviet missiles in Cuba (just before elections)

The Executive Committee in the US meets (ExComm)

Initial discussion favors attack, but that turns

The decision to blockade: provides time, puts burden of decision on USSR

US doesn't realize missiles already on Cuba

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XV1ZmvAwrBE>

The Standoff

Communication: Letters and a back channel, very inefficient

Bureaucratic and other mishaps: US flights over Siberia, US airplane and U-2 shot down

Still not completely clear who had control over tactical nukes in Cuba

The Day of Decision

- October 26: Castro writes Khrushchev a letter suggesting USSR use nuclear weapons if US invades, Khrushchev later says no
- October 26: Soviet intelligence suggests an invasion is likely; Khrushchev writes a private letter suggesting he would remove missiles if US promises not to attack Cuba
- October 27: Khrushchev writes another, public message also demanding NATO missiles in Turkey be removed.
- October 27: SAM shoots down U-2. US thinks Kremlin ordered it

The Transcripts

Kennedy makes the decisions

He doesn't talk much about domestic politics here

He is concerned that it is the Western Hemisphere

He is very concerned about US credibility with NATO, Turkey

He is very concerned about world opinion

He is less concerned than others about looking weak

He is very concerned about looking for time, for more options

He is more willing than the others to make a trade on Turkey's missiles

The Decision:

Kennedy makes a pledge that the United States will not attack Cuba

The USSR takes out its missiles, allows verification

SECRETLY: Robert Kennedy makes a deal with Soviet ambassador that US will remove missiles from Turkey within the year

RAMIFICATIONS OF THIS SECRET DEAL:

Khrushchev is highly criticized by China, and privately in USSR

Kennedy becomes popular

It increases US mythology in bargaining from strength

LESSONS: Leaders don't want to go to war

Can't control outcomes

Soviets learn they need more nukes