The Berlin Crisis of 1961
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aktiv: Full-time party officials for whom party employment is a career, as contrasted with rank-and-file party members whose principal occupation is in a nonparty position.

Antiparty Group: A group of party and government leaders who tried to oust Khrushchev from his position as First Secretary in the period between the Twentieth Congress in February 1956 and the June 1957 plenum of the CC. The leaders of the group were G. M. Malenkov, V. M. Molotov, and L. M. Kaganovich, and it also included N. A. Bulganin, K. Ye. Voroshilov, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Saburov, and D. T. Shepilov (always stigmatized in official party accounts as “Shepilov-who-joined-them”).

apparatus (Russian: apparat): The full-time professional staff of the party; the party bureaucracy.

Armenian purge: On December 28, 1960, a plenum of the Armenian party CC was held at which S. A. Tovmasian was replaced as First Secretary by Ya. N. Zarobian. F. R. Kozlov supervised the plenum and gave a speech which was not reported in the Soviet press. At the next plenum of the Armenian party CC, held on February 10, 1961, sweeping changes in the leading party organs were carried through. The Armenian purge was completed in March 1961, with the removal of S. L. Tumanian, the last remaining member of the former party secretariat.

Available evidence indicates that the Armenian purge was a factional move by Kozlov designed to weaken Khrushchev’s political base by seizing control of one of the Union Republic party organizations. Exactly the same pattern was to be followed in the Tadzhik purge (q.v.) a few months later.

Bundesrat: The upper house of the West German legislature, representing the constituent states (Länder) of the Federal Republic, including West Berlin.

Bundestag: The lower house of the West German legislature, elected by popular suffrage. It elects the chancellor, passes all legislation, and ratifies major treaties.

*As used herein, “party” refers to the Communist party of the Soviet Union; “CC” refers to the Central Committee of the party.
**Bundeswehr:** The army of the Federal Republic of Germany, established in 1954 and subsequently incorporated into the NATO military command.

**Bureau for the RSFSR:** An agency of the CC established on February 27, 1956, immediately following the Twentieth Congress, to supervise and control party affairs in the RSFSR. Khrushchev served as its chairman from its establishment to his overthrow in October 1964. It was abolished at the Twenty-third Congress in 1966, the first held after Khrushchev’s fall.

**CC (Central Committee. Russian: Тsentral'nyi komitet, abbreviated TsK):** The governing body of the party between congresses. Under the 1961 party rules the CC:

- directs the entire work of the Party in the interval between Congresses, represents the Party in its relations with other parties, organizations and institutions, sets up various Party institutions and directs their activities, appoints the editors of central press organs under its control and confirms the appointment of the editors of the Party organs of big local organizations, organizes and manages enterprises of a public character, distributes the forces and resources of the Party, and manages the central funds.

  The Central Committee guides the work of the central Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups within them.¹

- At the Twentieth Congress in 1956, a CC of 133 full and 122 candidate members was elected; these figures were raised to 175 and 155 respectively at the Twenty-second Congress in 1961.

**CENTO:** The Central Treaty Organization, established in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, and Iran (Iraq withdrew in 1959). The United States participates but is not a member; in 1959 it entered into bilateral defense agreements with Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan. Also known as the Baghdad Pact, the designation of the treaty of February 24, 1955, between Turkey and Iraq, which served as the nucleus of the organization.

**Central Auditing Commission (Тsentral'naia revizionnaia komissiia, abbreviated TsRK):** A body elected by the party congress. Under the 1961 party rules the TsRK “(a) investigates whether affairs are handled expeditiously and properly by the central bodies of the Party and whether the apparatus of the Secretariat of the Central Committee is working smoothly, and (b) audits the accounts of the treasury and the enterprises of the Central Committee of the Party.”² At congresses of the party the chairman of the TsRK customarily presents a report concerning the party’s fiscal operations and the size and efficiency of its membership and apparatus.

**Comintern:** The Third (Communist) International, established in 1919 and dissolved in 1943.

**congress:** The highest organ of the party. Under the 1961 party rules the congress:

  a. Hears and acts on the reports of the Central Committee of the party, of the Central Auditing Commission, and of the other central organizations;
  b. Revises and amends the Program and Rules of the party;
  c. Determines the tactical line of the party on major questions of current policy;

¹Triska, pp. 175–76.
²Ibid., p. 176.
d. Elects the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Auditing Commission.3

Under the 1961 rules, regular party congresses are to be convened at least once every four years. Congresses are numbered from the First, which met in Minsk in 1898.

“cult of personality” or “cult of the individual” (kul’t lichnosti): The term employed by the party to designate the period of Stalin’s arbitrary one-man rule.

“doctors’ plot”: An alleged conspiracy by a group of Kremlin physicians, predominantly Jewish, to eliminate prominent party, government, and military leaders by deliberately prescribing faulty medical treatment for them. The “plot,” which was apparently intended as the opening move in a new large-scale purge, was announced by Pravda on January 13, 1953. After Stalin’s death it was officially admitted that the “plot” had been concocted by the secret police with the use of “impermissible means of investigation” (i.e., torture) to extract confessions from the accused physicians.

Of the members of the Soviet collective leadership in 1961, the one most closely linked with the “doctors’ plot” was Froi Kozlov: an article by him calling for heightened vigilance against internal and foreign enemies was published shortly before the official announcement of the “plot.”4

“dogmatism”: The tendency to adhere slavishly to the letter of the Marxist-Leninist sacred scriptures as a guide to current policy rather than make rational adjustments to changing conditions within the general framework of Marxist-Leninist principles. In the Sino-Soviet conflict the term was applied to the policies advocated by the Chinese Communists and their Albanian allies by Khrushchev and the Soviet leadership. The opposite of “revisionism,” q.v.

Federal Republic of Germany (FRG; German: Bundesrepublik Deutschlands): The government of Western Germany, established September 21, 1949, on the territory of the three Western Zones of Occupation of post-1945 Germany (those of the United Kingdom, the United States, and France). Capital, de jure: Berlin; de facto: Bonn.

First Secretary: The head of the party Secretariat (q.v.), elected by and in principle responsible to the CC. Each non-Russian Union Republic party organization, e.g., that of Armenia, “elects” its own First Secretary, on the designation of and subject to the control of the all-Union Secretariat, which may remove him and name someone else to the post. In principle, the Union Republic First Secretary wields power in the given party organization comparable to that of the party First Secretary at the all-Union level; in practice, political control in the non-Russian republics is usually concentrated in the hands not of the First Secretary, customarily a native of the given republic, but of the Second Secretary, a Russian.

Geneva Conference of 1954: An international conference held at Geneva, Switzerland, between April and July 1954, for the purposes of reunifying Korea and restoring peace to the states of Indochina—Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The

3Ibid., pp. 174–75.

chief participants were the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, the United States, the Chinese People's Republic, representatives of North and South Korea, Vietnam, the Vietminh (representing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam), Laos, and Cambodia.

**Geneva conference on Laos**: Following the establishment of a cease-fire in Laos in early May 1961, a fourteen-nation conference met in Geneva to establish a neutral, unified Laotian government. Among the delegates were the three leading contenders for power in Laos, Princes Souvanna Phouma, Souphanouvong, and Boun Oum.

**Geneva disarmament conferences**: In the period preceding the Berlin crisis of 1961 the following international conferences on disarmament were being held in Geneva: (a) a ten-nation conference on general disarmament; (b) U.S.-British-Soviet negotiations on a nuclear test ban agreement; and (c) U.S.-Soviet negotiations on the prevention of surprise attack. In addition, U.S.-Soviet talks on disarmament were held (though not at Geneva) in the period March-September 1961.

**GDR** (German Democratic Republic; German: *Deutsche Demokratische Republik*, abbreviated DDR): The government of East Germany, established October 7, 1949, in what had been the Soviet Zone of Occupation. Capital: East Berlin (Pankow).

**gorkom** (short for *gorodskoi komitet*): A party committee in a city (gorod) or town.

**KGB** (*Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti*, Committee of State Security): The Soviet secret police, charged with both internal security and espionage and other clandestine activities abroad.

**kolkhoz** (short for *kollektivnoe khoziaistvo*): A collective farm, the basic unit in Soviet collectivized agriculture.

**Kommandatura**: (1) The four-power authority for the governing of Berlin, established in accordance with the Allied agreement of June 5, 1945, on control machinery in Germany with representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France; reorganized on a three-power basis December 21, 1948, following the walkout of the Soviet representative.

(2) The Soviet control authority in East Berlin, established after the break-up of the four-power body.

**Komsomol** (*Vsesoiuznyi Leninskii Kommunisticheskii Soiuz Molodezhi*, All-Union Leninist Communist League of Youth): The Soviet political organization for young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-eight.

**kraikom** (short for *kraevoi komitet*): A party committee in a krai (territory), an administrative subdivision corresponding to an oblast.

**“Leningrad case”**: A purge of the Leningrad party and government apparatus carried out in 1949. Frol Kozlov, who was sent to Leningrad as a party organizer in the Kirov metallurgical plant at the beginning of the purge, evidently played a key role in the “Leningrad case.”

**Main Political Administration**: The Military Department of the CC, which is also a branch of the Soviet Defense Ministry. Its function is to ensure the political reliability and loyalty of the armed forces.

**NATO**: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, established April 4, 1949, by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Nether-
lands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece and Turkey joined in 1952, the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955.

**obkom** (short for *oblastnoi komitet*): A party committee in an oblast—a province, region, or district (the principal administrative subdivision below the republic level in the Soviet Union).

**Party Control Committee** (*Komitet Partiinoi Kontrolia*, abbreviated KPK): The party's disciplinary organ, set up by the CC to supervise members' conduct, take action against those who violate its discipline, rules, or moral code, and review appeals against expulsion orders.

**plenum**: A full meeting (i.e., one attended by a quorum) of a legislative or other body, e.g., of the CC. Plenums of party CC's at Union Republic level may be supervised by a visiting official of the central party apparatus empowered to make both policy and personnel changes (see Armenian purge; Tadzhik purge).

**Presidium (Politburo)**: The highest policy-making body of the party, formed by and, in principle, answerable to the CC, but in practice virtually autonomous. Established at the Eighth Congress in 1919, under the designation “Politburo” (short for Political Bureau), the body was redesignated “Presidium” at the Nineteenth Congress in October 1952, but reverted to “Politburo” at the Twenty-third Congress in 1966.

At the onset of the Berlin crisis of 1961 the Presidium included the following full members: Brezhnev, Furtsena, Ignatov, Khrushchev, Kosygin, Kozlov, Kuusinen, Mikoyan, Mikhitidinov, Podgorny, Poliansky, Shvernik, and Suslov. Madame Furtsena, Ignatov, and Muxhitdinov were dropped from the new Presidium elected at a CC plenum immediately following the Twenty-second Congress.

**raikom** (short for *raionnyi komitet*): A party committee in a raion (city district or borough).

**Rapacki Plan**: A proposal laid before the Twelfth Session of the U.N. General Assembly on October 2, 1957, by Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki and elaborated in a Polish government memorandum of February 14, 1958. The plan, which enjoyed Soviet support, called for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, to include Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the two German states.

**revanchism** (from the Russian *revansh*, revenge; the English spelling reflects the French original, *revanche*): The doctrine, imputed by Soviet spokesmen to West German policy-makers, of revenge against the Soviet Union and its allies for Germany's defeat in World War II.

"**revisionism**": The tendency to deviate from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, especially in the direction of so-called "bourgeois liberalism." In the Sino-Soviet dispute the term was applied by the Communist Chinese and Albanian party leaders to Khrushchev and his followers in the Soviet leadership, as well as to the Yugoslav communists.

**RSFSR** (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic): The Russian republic, the largest, most populous, and most influential of the 15 Union Republics which constitute the Soviet Union.

**SEATO**: The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, established by treaty on September 8, 1954, among Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philip-
pines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. By a subsequent protocol, military protection was extended by SEATO to the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) and the kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos.

Secretariat: The organizational control center of the party, responsible for the assignment, promotion, transfer, or demotion of party members. At the onset of the Berlin crisis of 1961 the Secretariat consisted of the following members: Khrushchev, First Secretary; Kozlov, Kuusinen, Mukhitdinov, and Suslov. At a CC plenum held immediately following the Twenty-second Congress in October 1961 a new Secretariat was elected with the following members: Khrushchev, First Secretary; Kozlov (listed immediately following Khrushchev, out of alphabetical order, and therefore ranked as Second Secretary); Demichev, Il'ichev, Kuusinen, Ponomarev, Spiridonov, Shelepin, and Suslov.

SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, Socialist Unity party of Germany): The Communist party of East Germany, formed by a forced merger between the Communist and Socialist parties of Germany in the Soviet Zone of Occupation in April 1946.

Sputnik: An earth-circling artificial satellite. The first Sputnik, a 184-lb. satellite carrying a radio transmitter and batteries, was orbited by the Soviets on October 4, 1957.

Tadzhik purge: At a plenum of the Tadzhik party CC on April 11-12, 1961, a drastic purge of the party leadership was carried out under the supervision of F. R. Kozlov, who made a speech which was not reported in the Soviet press. Like the Armenian purge (q.v.), the Tadzhik purge was evidently part of a factional drive spearheaded by Kozlov to weaken Khrushchev's political base.

troika: A three-man body, a triumvirate, a form which the Soviets for a time demanded as a replacement for the secretary-general of the U.N., to include representatives of the three principal groups of nations into which, in the Soviet view, the world was divided—the Western nations, the Soviet bloc, and the neutral or uncommitted nations, with each of the three members empowered to veto the actions of the other two.

When the three-power test-ban negotiations at Geneva were resumed in March 1961, the Soviets extended their demand for a troika to the control board under discussion for monitoring possible violations of a nuclear test-ban agreement.

Volkskammer: The legislative body of the German Democratic Republic, based on communist-style elections.

Volkspolizei ("People's Police," popularly abbreviated "Vopos"): The army of East Germany, thinly disguised as a police force and charged with responsibility, inter alia, for border security.

Warsaw Pact: A multilateral treaty signed at Warsaw on May 14, 1955, by the Soviet Union and seven of its East European ally-satellites: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. The member-states of the Warsaw Pact contribute contingents to a common military force, the commander of which, by treaty, is always a Soviet officer.

Young Pioneers, or Pioneers (Russian designation: Pionerskaia Organizatsiia imeni V. I. Lenina, Pioneer Organization Named for V. I. Lenin): The Soviet social and political organization for children between the ages of ten and fifteen.