NOTES

CHAPTER 1—THE DEFENSE OF BERLIN (SETTING THE SCENE)


5 Neues Deutschland (East Berlin), August 13, 1961.


CHAPTER 2—WARTIME AGREEMENTS REGARDING THE OCCUPATION OF BERLIN


2 Cables, Winant to Secretary of State, December 19, 1941 and January 19, 1942, contained in The Papers of John Gilbert Winant, U.S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James During World War II (Microfilm), Columbia University in the City of New York.


Also see the Memorandum of Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle, Jr.
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• Notes of Harry Hopkins, March 17, 1943, as quoted by Robert Sherwood, ibid., pp. 714-15.

• Cordell Hull, Memoirs (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 1285. Also see Feis, op. cit., pp. 213-23. The full text of Secretary Hull’s Moscow proposals is reproduced in Appendix III.


• Minutes, Meeting of President and Joint Chiefs of Staff (126th mtg. JCS), 19 Nov 43. See Appendix IV.


• Matloff, op. cit., p. 341.

• Mosely, op. cit., pp. 589-90.


• Matloff, op. cit., pp. 341-42.


• Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 508.

• Matloff, op. cit., p. 491.

• Wilmot, op. cit., p. 644. The “Bohlen” minutes of the Tehran Conference are reprinted in Appendix V.


• See Mosely, “The Occupation of Germany,” op. cit.; cf., Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, op. cit., pp. 883-84.

• Matloff, op. cit., p. 341, n.

• Strang, op. cit., pp. 213-14; Mosely, op. cit., pp. 589-91.


• Mosely, op. cit., pp. 586-88.

• Cline, op. cit., pp. 323-26.
The discussion of the proceedings of the WSC presented by Mr. Philip Mosely, one of the State Department representatives, is indicative of spirit which prevailed. See Mosely, op. cit., pp. 585–95.

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Mosely, op. cit., p. 586.


See Mosely, op. cit., p. 594.

Strang, op. cit., p. 265.


Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 158.

Ibid.


Feis, op. cit., p. 365.

Documents on Germany, pp. 3–5.


Mosely, op. cit., p. 596. Also see Snell, op. cit., 105–6.


As quoted in Feis, op. cit., p. 533.

Ibid.

Mosely, op. cit., p. 600.

CHAPTER 3—THE MILITARY DECISION TO HALT AT THE ELBE


7 Omar Bradley, A Soldier's Story
8 Feis, op. cit., p. 602.
10 SHAEF Intelligence Summary, March 11, 1945, as quoted in Shirer, op. cit., pp. 1105–6. Also see Bedell Smith, op. cit., pp. 186–90; Feis, op. cit., p. 602.
11 Bedell Smith, op. cit., pp. 189–90.
13 Eisenhower, Crusade in Europe, p. 397.
14 Feis, op. cit., p. 602n.
15 Bradley, op. cit., p. 536.
16 Ibid., pp. 535–36.
17 Ibid., pp. 531–36.
18 Bedell Smith, op. cit., p. 182.
19 Winston Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 455.
20 Ibid., p. 457.
21 Ibid.
22 Cable, Supreme Commander to Prime Minister, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, pp. 457–58.
23 As quoted in Eisenhower, Crusade in Europe, p. 460.
26 Eisenhower, Crusade in Europe, pp. 400–1.
27 Ibid., pp. 401–2.
28 Prime Minister Churchill to General Eisenhower, 31 March 45, quoted in Triumph and Tragedy, pp. 463–64.
29 Prime Minister to President Roosevelt, 1 Apr. 45, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 465.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Pogue, The Supreme Command, p. 443n.
33 General Eisenhower to Prime Minister, 1 Apr. 45, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 466.
34 Ibid., p. 467.
35 Prime Minister to President Roosevelt, April 5, 1945, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 468.
36 Feis, op. cit., p. 607.
37 Pogue, The Supreme Command, p. 444.
38 Eisenhower to Marshall, 7 April 45, quoted in Pogue, The Supreme Command, p. 446.
40 Supreme Commander to F. M. Montgomery, 8 April 1945, quoted in Pogue, The Supreme Command, p. 446.
41 Bedell Smith, op. cit., p. 187.
42 Pogue, The Supreme Command, p. 452.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., pp. 452–53.
45 Ibid., pp. 446–47.
46 Bradley, op. cit., p. 537.
48 Bedell Smith, op. cit., pp. 185–86.
49 Quoted in Pogue, The Supreme Command, p. 468.
50 Pogue, Command Decisions, p. 481.
51 Montgomery, op. cit., p. 286.
52 Bedell Smith, op. cit., p. 186.
56 Ibid., p. 506.
57 Pogue, Command Decisions, p. 490. Also see Truman, op. cit.
58 Bedell Smith, op. cit., p. 222.
CHAPTER 4—"AN IRON CURTAIN IS DRAWN DOWN UPON THEIR FRONT"

5 President Truman to Prime Minister, quoted in *Wilmot*, op. cit., p. 696. Also see *Leahy*, op. cit., p. 410.
7 Eisenhower to President Truman, 23 April 1945, quoted in *Truman, op. cit.*, p. 215.
9 *Feis, op. cit.*, p. 634.
11 Prime Minister to Foreign Secretary, 4 May 1945, quoted in *Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 502–3.
13 Stettinius, *op. cit.*, p. 278. Further indicative of President Roosevelt's attitude toward the Russians was the comment made by him shortly before this to William C. Bullitt: "I have a hunch that Stalin . . . doesn't want anything but security for his country, and I think that if I give him everything I possibly can and ask for nothing in return, noblesse oblige." William C. Bullitt, "How We Won the War and Lost the Peace," *Life*, August 30, 1948, p. 94.
19 Prime Minister to President Truman, 12 May 1945, quoted in *Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 573–74.
20 *Feis, op. cit.*, p. 637.
23 *Truman, op. cit.*, p. 341.
25 Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–75.
CHAPTER 5—THE OCCUPATION BEGINS


2 Truman, Year of Decisions, pp. 300–1; Feis, Between War and Peace, p. 77.

3 Cable, Eisenhower to Marshall, quoted in Truman, Year of Decisions, p. 300.

4 Feis, Between War and Peace, p. 77.

5 Ibid.

6 Cable, Eisenhower to Combined Chiefs, 2 June 1945, quoted in Truman, Year of Decisions, p. 301.

7 Cable, Combined Chiefs to Eisenhower, 3 June 1945, quoted in Truman, Years of Decisions, p. 301.

8 Cable, Prime Minister to President, 4 June 1945, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 603.

9 Clay, op. cit., p. 20.


11 As quoted in Feis, Between War and Peace, p. 141.

12 Truman, Year of Decisions, p. 302.


14 Cable, Prime Minister to Foreign Office, 11 June 1945, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 604.

15 Cable, President to Prime Minister, 12 June 1945, quoted in Truman, Year of Decisions, p. 303.

16 Cable, Prime Minister to President, 14 June 1945, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, pp. 605–6.


18 Leahy, op. cit., p. 382.

19 Truman, Year of Decisions, pp. 305–6.

20 Ibid.

21 See Chapter 2, supra.

22 Cable, Prime Minister to Stalin, 15 June 1945, quoted in Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 606.

23 Stalin’s Correspondence with Churchill, Attlee, Roosevelt and Truman, pp. 366–67. Also see Feis, Between War and Peace, p. 146.


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31 Howley, op. cit., p. 43.

32 Ibid., p. 49.

33 Clay, op. cit., p. 31.

34 Ibid., p. 28.

CHAPTER 6—BLOCKADE

CHAPTER 7—THE CITY IS SPLIT

October 20, 1947. As cited in Davison, op. cit., p. 83.

8 Neue Zeitung (West Berlin), April 30, 1948.
9 Clay, op. cit., p. 364.
10 Ibid.
11 Davison, op. cit., p. 97.
13 Ibid., pp. 90–151.
14 Clay, op. cit., p. 367.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., p. 374.

17 Ibid.
19 Truman, Years of Trial and Hope, p. 126.
21 Truman, Years of Trial and Hope, P. 128.
22 Clay, op. cit., p. 376.
23 Davison, op. cit., p. 194.
24 Clay, op. cit., p. 375.
CHAPTER 8—RECOVERY (1949–1958)


5. Davidson, op. cit., p. 249.


7. Documents on Germany, op. cit., p. 459.


10. Ibid., p. 462.


12. Documents on Germany, op. cit., pp. 98–102. Also see von Oppen, op. cit., p. 510.


15. Ibid., p. 465.

16. Ibid., pp. 468–89.

17. Ibid., p. 472.


19. As quoted in Davidson, op. cit., p. 341. For Reuters own account see Brandt and Lowenthal, op. cit., pp. 670–98.


23. Documents on Germany, op. cit., p. 123.


25. Ibid., pp. 159–60.

26. See Brandt, My Road to Berlin, op. cit.

27. Ibid., p. 250.
CHAPTER 9—THE FIRST ULTIMATUM


4 Department of State Press Release #7, January 10, 1958.


12 Department of State Press Release #159, March 31, 1958.


17 Ibid.

18 The author accompanied Major Dansby to the Soviet Control Point.

19 Letter, Eisenhower to Khrushchev, July 2, 1958, as reported in White House News Release, July 2, 1958.


22 Ibid., August 8, 1958; August 13, 1958.


26 Department of State Press Release #676, November 7, 1958.

27 Documents on Germany, op. cit., pp. 308–12.

28 Department of State Bulletin, June 29, 1958.

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CHAPTER 10—NEGOTIATIONS UNDER PRESSURE

1 Documents on Germany, op. cit., p. 332.


3 Ibid., November 27, 1958.


5 Ibid.

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7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., November 19, 1958.

9 Ibid.

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11 Ibid., November 30, 1958.

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The Soviet Note on Berlin: An Analysis, pp. 32-36.


Documents on Germany, pp. 378-80.


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Ibid., July 26, 1959. One of the best analyses of the relative perils and prospects of negotiating with the Russians is found in Dean Acheson, "On Dealing With Russia; An Inside View," op. cit.

CHAPTER 11—THE TALE OF THREE SUMMITS (CAMP DAVID—PARIS—VIENNA)


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CHAPTER 12—FROM VIENNA TO AUGUST 13


4 Ibid.


8 Ibid.


10 Ibid., pp. 44–62.


15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., July 14, 1961.


18 Ibid.


20 In this connection, see especially the article of Wallace Carroll in New York Times, July 19, 1961, p. 6.


CHAPTER 13—THE WALL

4 Ibid., August 13, 1961, p. 3.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 1.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., August 14, 1961.

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20 Ibid., August 8, 1961.
21 Ibid., August 7, 1961.
23 The Soviet Zone of Germany, op. cit., pp. 1–32.
25 New York Times, June 24, 1961. This same dispatch also reported that Herr Ulbricht denied that his regime “intended to construct a wall to separate East and West Berlin”—a rumor which was current in Berlin at the time.
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28 Ibid., August 7, 1961.
30 The Soviet Zone of Germany, op. cit., pp. 1–32.
33 This same dispatch also reported that Herr Ulbricht denied that his regime “intended to construct a wall to separate East and West Berlin”—a rumor which was current in Berlin at the time.
36 Ibid., August 7, 1961.
38 The Soviet Zone of Germany, op. cit., pp. 1–32.
41 Ibid., August 3, 1961.
42 Ibid., August 4, 1961.
43 Die Welt (Hamburg and Berlin), August 4, 1961.
46 Die Flucht aus der Sowjetzone, op. cit., p. 33.

33 Volksstimme (Magdeburg), July 22, 1961.
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38 Die Welt (Hamburg and Berlin), August 4, 1961.
40 Ibid., August 10, 1961.
41 Die Flucht aus der Sowjetzone, op. cit., p. 33.
CHAPTER 14—“NO CONCESSIONS WITHOUT COUNTER–CONCESSIONS”


5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., September 25, 1961.

7 Ibid., September 26, 1961.

8 Ibid., October 3, 1961.

9 Ibid., October 1, 1961.

10 Ibid., October 8, 1961.

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12 Bailey, op. cit., pp. 18–19.


14 Bailey, op. cit., pp. 18–19.


23 Ibid., April 21, 1962.
