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Mitchell Peran

Question: How does American diplomacy in Germany reflect the overall scope of American foreign policy during the first phase of the Cold War?

The Cold War was one of the longest conflicts of the Twentieth Century with lasting consequences. Although the United States and the Soviet Union would never fight a war directly against each other, the fear of a disastrous nuclear war and the spread of communism encapsulated American foreign policy during the Cold War. The Cold War drastically changed the alliances of the United States everywhere. The United States started helping the countries that it fought with during World War II, while at the same time, it became archenemies with its former allies. The United States would gain many more allies and protect them from falling to communism, and it would lose some of its allies that fell into Soviet influence. As a result, American foreign policy had to be alert to various places around the globe. The tensions during the Cold War would stem from disagreements between the Allies during World War II. Tensions escalated due to warring economic ideologies of communism and capitalism, fight for the access to natural resources, and the fear of global spread of communism. The Cold War was a global conflict with many small hotbeds popping up around the world. Divided Germany, especially the divided Berlin, would witness one of the most threatening escalations. In 1961, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev would call Berlin the “most dangerous place on Earth.” (Kempe 1) American diplomacy in Germany became the center of American foreign policy during the first phase of the Cold War, setting the stage for the rest of the Cold War, and revealing the chaotic tensions and events that took place during that time period.

Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union would begin at the Yalta Conference and would only escalate from there, once Germany became divided into zones of occupation. Held towards the end of World War II, in February 1945, the Yalta Conference was the summit between the leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom (Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill) (Brinkley 734). Even there, there were disagreements about how countries controlled by Nazi Germany, such as Poland, Austria, and Germany, would be governed after World War II ended (Brinkley 734). Stalin wanted to divide Germany into several different countries, as well as to force Germany to pay reparations for the war damages and to assist with Soviet postwar recovery, while Roosevelt insisted on keeping Germany unified (Brinkley 735, Editors). At this point, it was clear that such tensions would escalate because these disagreements were between allies, the United States and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the four Allies (United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, and France) agreed to divide Germany into four military zones of occupation, one for each country, and to divide the German capital of Berlin using the same method, although the city was located inside the Soviet sector (Brinkley 735, "Berlin Blockade", Editors, Schlosser, "Berlin Airlift"). The Allied Control Council composed of the United States, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, with three commander-in-chiefs, was to govern Germany. Each commander-in-chief managed his own zone. Therefore the Allied Control Council had to make unanimous decisions because Germany was still technically unified (Clay 48, Schlosser). Nonetheless, at the Potsdam Conference, it was agreed that each German sector would establish its own government and elect its leaders. The USA tried to make the Allied Control Council a government for all of Germany, but the USSR worked to make its sector a separate police state to exploit for its own economic benefit (Clay 49). This obviously went against the plan of a united postwar Germany. If the government of

Germany was to be set up according to this plan, then free elections would eventually be held nationwide. The USSR was afraid that a democratically elected German government would not fall under Soviet influence. Thus, the Soviet sector was heading towards separation. On the other side, France, the United States, and the United Kingdom covertly planned to combine their zones of occupation into one German state in early 1948 that would be called the Federal Republic of Germany ("Berlin Airlift", Clay 49). However, the USSR discovered these plans and withdrew from the Allied Control Council ("Berlin Airlift"). Already, the governing system of Germany was failing to meet the expectations of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. The disagreements between the Western Allies and the USSR were preventing a peaceful postwar Germany, and were further increasing tensions in a global conflict to the point of brinkmanship.

The Berlin Blockade became one of the earliest crises of what would be a decades long Cold War, and it changed the relationship of the United States with other countries, especially with its close allies and the Soviet Union. In 1948, the United States and the United Kingdom unified their occupation zones into an economic zone known as Bizonia (Editors). It was a move towards a pro-Western German state. In June of 1948, the Western Allies introduced a new German currency, the Deutschmark, into Bizonia and West Berlin, replacing the Nazi Reichsmark and enraging the Soviets ("Berlin Airlift", Editors, Schlosser). In response, the USSR blockaded West Berlin, claiming a violation of the Treaty of Potsdam (Schlosser). The USSR issued their own currency, the Ostmark, and cut off all road, railway, and canal access into West Berlin. (Schlosser, "Berlin Blockade", Editors, "Berlin Airlift", Brinkley). Stalin's goal was to push the Western Allies out of West Berlin, so it would become part of East Germany (Schlosser). Stalin also wanted to push the USA and its Western Allies out of West Berlin in

order to weaken the American position in Europe. The threat of war was very high, and Soviet troops around Berlin outnumbered Western Allied troops, so attacking the Soviet Army was clearly out of the question. The United States did not want to start a losing war to avoid appearing weak. This would have been especially terrible when the Cold War was quickly developing into a global conflict. For that reason, the Americans' only choice was to supply West Berlin via the air corridor from West Germany ("Berlin Airlift"). On June 26, 1948, the United States launched "Operation Vittles", and the United Kingdom joined two days later with "Operation Plainfare." This airlift supplied West Berlin's 2.5 million residents with 2.3 million tons of resources for the next eleven months (Editors, "Berlin Airlift"). By May of 1949, Stalin realized the blockade had failed since West Berlin was adequately supplied with resources, so he ended it (Schlosser). The Truman Administration overcame one of the earliest - and also largest - crises of the Cold War. The United States realized that a hot war with the USSR could erupt easily when saving countries from communism. The USA had to modify its diplomacy to prevent a global war. The Berlin Blockade escalated tensions between the two superpowers to an unprecedented level. However, the Berlin Airlift proved the United States could keep West Berlin within its influence, separate from the Soviet sector of Germany. The democratic Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the communist German Democratic Republic (East Germany) were officially established just a few weeks after the Berlin Blockade was lifted - with West Berlin a part of the former. The USA found a close ally in West Germany, a drastic change from World War II.

The early Cold War period, especially Truman's presidency, drastically changed the goals of American foreign policy and the American perception of Germany and Berlin. This change started due to the Marshall Plan and the Berlin Airlift. Germany transformed from a

pariah and enemy of the USA to an ally at the forefront of the Marshall Plan in just three years, 1945 - 1948 (Steil 357). The Western Allies believed that Germany's economic recovery was crucial in preventing the spread of communism from Eastern Europe (Editors). In an ironic turn, the Airlift transformed West Berlin from the former capital of Nazi Germany into a symbol of freedom (Schlosser). After all, the main goal of American foreign policy had changed from defeating Nazi Germany to containing the spread of communism. Saving West Berlin from communism was very important since the USA believed that if West Berlin were to become communist, the rest of Europe would also become communist. While it was difficult to maintain a democratic and capitalist city surrounded by a communist and authoritarian nation, the failure would have been a sign of weakness. West Berlin was praised by the United States as the focal point of the effort to halt the spread of communism. The propagandization of West Berlin continued over the next decades as it became visibly more successful than its communist counterpart. The United States hailed the success of West Berlin as the result of freedom, democracy, and capitalism ("The Berlin Crisis"). The stark contrast between West and East Berlin showcased the prosperity of capitalism and the failure of communism, underlining the advantages of the former. After the Berlin Blockade, the Americans perceived West Germany not as the former center of the Nazi regime but as a democratic state prospering in contrast to its communist neighbor. This development would go in par with the United States increasing its influence over Western Europe and developing a heroic reputation there.

The United States portrayed itself as a saviour of democracy and provider of essential relief to Europe, but especially to Germany. In May of 1947, after conflicts between communists and pro-Western governments broke out in Greece and Turkey, Truman proclaimed the Truman Doctrine, which would provide military assistance to pro-democracy citizens, or as he himself

put it “free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” One month later, US Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced a plan to provide economic assistance to European countries, and rebuild them after the devastation of World War II. (Brinkley 737, Editors). Marshall announced the European Recovery Program, also known as the Marshall Plan, to support European economic recovery, as well as to convince participating nations to oppose communism and to draw them into the American economic orbit ("Berlin Airlift"). The United States wanted to be allied with smaller Western European nations that were in danger of falling to communism. These nations were politically unstable in the aftermath of World War II, so the chance of a communist takeover was very likely. The United States planned to form alliances with these nations, restore their economies, and to convince them of the advantages of capitalism and democracy over communism and totalitarianism. After all, the goal of the Marshall Plan was to make struggling European nations loyal to the United States and its system of democracy and capitalism, as well as to recognize the evil of communism. This goal would be achieved, at least in Germany, because 78 percent of Germans in the American zone of occupation supported the Marshall Plan, believing the Americans could stop the spread of communism (Steil 209). This sentiment prevailed in neighboring countries. Future West Germany would be one of the 16 Western European nations that participated in the Marshall Plan, even though the Soviet Union and its eastern European allies rejected it (Brinkley 737-738, Steil 85). The Marshall Plan would be successful because economic recovery happened faster than expected and politically stabilized Western Europe (Clay 50). This success proved that the United States could secure both economic order and political stability in foreign countries. The United States was living up to the standards of the American Greatness, as a large superpower helping nations in need. It would be essential for the United States to provide other

countries with aid, especially in situations where the United States and the Soviet Union were in brinkmanship. For eleven months, the Western Allies supplied West Berlin with goods, providing the city with 3,000 - 4,000 and 5,000 - 6,000 tons of goods per day in the summer and in the winter, respectively (Schlosser). The success of the Berlin Airlift proved that the United States stands by its allies even in the most difficult and dangerous situations, while avoiding war. Berliners were grateful for help, and thought American pilots cared about them and protected their lives and freedoms (Steil 302). This perception aligns with how the United States views itself: it is a great nation that assists foreign nations when necessary. This is especially important because the United States during the Cold War often engaged in controversial diplomatic actions to protect its interests overseas, such as with the Vietnam War, the Bay of Pigs Invasion, and the coups d'état of democratic leaders in countries such as Iran and Guatemala. However, in Berlin American conduct was different, and Berliners were vocal about their approval. Truman had high support in West Berlin after he won the 1948 presidential election (Steil 302). Since the Berlin Airlift was conducted under the Truman Administration, this underlined its success. West Berliners realized that not only the United States, but also the President personally helped them. The USA would form alliances to stabilize Western Europe and build a strong coalition against the USSR and its communist allies.

The Berlin Blockade and subsequent airlift would facilitate the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to protect Western Europe from Soviet aggression ("Berlin Blockade"). The USA and the UK forced the USSR to terminate the blockade by airlifting supplies to West Berliners, showcasing heroism, and portraying the USSR as a threat to freedom and stability (NATO). While the United States was capable of conducting an operation to the scale of the Berlin Airlift, it did not wish to repeat it. Additionally, the Berlin Airlift occurred

after the USA began to provide Western European countries through its Marshall Plan, creating some degree of economic stability. However, European countries still needed confidence in security before talking and trading with each other (NATO). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created for three key reasons: to deter Soviet expansion of communism, prohibit a revival of nationalist militarism, and encourage European political integration through a strong North American presence in Europe (NATO). Several Western European countries came together to create projects dedicated towards greater military cooperation and collective defense, such as the Western Union in 1948. However, these countries realized that only a transatlantic agreement would halt or deter Soviet aggression, while preventing the revival of nationalistic militarism. As a result, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed on April 4, 1949 (NATO). The countries that signed the treaty would form NATO. Shortly afterwards, NATO created a consolidated military structure so member nations could effectively coordinate military action together (NATO). The Berlin Blockade and Airlift underlined the necessity of strong military and political alliances of the USA in order to defeat the Soviets. Although the formation of NATO united Western Europe and the United States, it did not decrease tensions with the USSR because they formed their own alliance, known as the Warsaw Pact. Thereafter, the USA continued to fight with the USSR, but in more covert and controversial methods.

The CIA's operation to dig a tunnel and to harness Soviet communications in Berlin presented the more controversial methods of American foreign policy, and revealed the goals of the American government during this time. Berlin was the center of Eastern European communications after World War II, so calls originating in that region, including the Soviet capital of Moscow, would pass through Berlin, which would be useful to the United States. If the United States could monitor Berlin's communication system, it could intercept Soviet calls,

which would provide crucial intelligence to the USA about Soviet activity (NSA). In 1954, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) began Operation Gold, also known as Operation REGAL, a high risk project to intercept Soviet and East German communications, which resulted in the creation of the Berlin Tunnel (Kross, NSA 7). Operation Gold was inspired by Operation Silver, an intelligence operation conducted by MI6, the British secret intelligence service, in the Austrian capital of Vienna, which was also split into four military zones of occupation. The MI6 dug a tunnel to cables beneath a hotel after discovering that this hotel was the nerve of a communication system that linked the Soviet military headquarters in Vienna to Moscow (Kross). Stationed at a base known as the Berlin Operation Base, the CIA, working with the MI6, decided to build a tunnel from the British or American sector of Berlin to the East Berlin communications center. With the Western terminus of the tunnel located beneath a warehouse, construction started in the summer of 1954 and continued until February of 1955 (Kross, NSA). A major challenge for the CIA was penetrating the Berlin border without East German guards noticing the construction of the tunnel. Therefore construction would halt if guards were spotted near construction sites. However, the CIA also decided that if the tunnel was discovered, which would eventually happen, the United States would deny all knowledge or involvement in its construction and operation (NSA). The CIA was concerned about repercussions that might happen if the tunnel was discovered, but that did not stop it from gathering intelligence. The CIA decided to concentrate efforts on the underground cables beneath Berlin in order to intercept the Soviets and their East German allies (Kross). CIA agents couldn't enter East Germany, so William King Harvey, the administrator of the operation, used double agents working for East Germany to spy on the East German communication system. Nonetheless, the CIA managed to penetrate the headquarters of Soviet intelligence in Berlin (Kross). The CIA also managed to

intercept 50,000 reels of tape, 443,000 conversations between the East Germans and the Soviets, and 1,750 intelligence reports (Kross). Nevertheless, the Soviet Union knew about the tunnel during the whole operation because of George Blake, a Soviet mole working for the MI6 (Kross, NSA 19). However, the Soviet Union waited to “discover” the tunnel until April 21, 1956 most likely because it feared losing an important agent, even though the tunnel could have been uncovered simply because of bad weather (Kross, NSA). After the tunnel was discovered, the wire tapping stopped and Operation Gold / REGAL came to an end (NSA). The operation became one of the most controversial actions of the CIA. Additionally, while the operation was initially considered to be successful due to the amount of information that was gathered, the validity of the information would be later questioned (NSA 22-23). The operation also obviously was not that successful because it was known to the Soviet Union and East Germany from the start. Regardless, the United States was willing to do anything to weaken the Soviet Union, and reflected the relentlessness of the United States to defeat the Soviet Union and contain the spread of communism.

Soviet leader Khrushchev’s 1958 ultimatum created a situation eerily similar to the one that occurred before the Berlin Blockade and this caused events of the early Cold War period to be cyclical. Khrushchev reignited a crisis about West Berlin during a speech on November 10, 1958, demanding that the Western Allies pull out of West Berlin within six months. This sparked a three year crisis that would end with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 because American President Eisenhower refused to accept his demands ("The Berlin Crisis"). Ten years earlier, West Berlin had to be supplied by an airlift, which happened because all other forms of access into the city were cut off, but now West Berlin was too populous to be supplied by an airlift ("The Berlin Crisis"). A similar situation would turn out even more chaotic. In another similarity,

there were contentious negotiations between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. At a foreign minister conference in Geneva, Eisenhower and Khrushchev tried to negotiate a new deal about Berlin, and the tensions eased as the two leaders met at Camp David, but resurfaced again once an American spy plane was shot down by the Soviet Union and Kennedy became the American President. At the Vienna Summit, Khrushchev claimed that the Soviet government had already waited as long as possible for a Berlin solution, and the result would greatly affect the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Khrushchev however declared that German unification could not be a practical possibility, and for that reason, two German states had to exist. The issue of unification was still prevalent even though Germany had long been split into two countries. Khrushchev proposed that West Berlin could be a free city and that American troops could remain if they coexisted with Soviet troops, but Kennedy rejected it (Kempe 242). No solution would be found at the summit. The summit did not help solve the crisis, and rather escalated tensions between the two superpowers even further. Since no agreement would be reached, the Berlin Wall would be constructed on the border between East and West Berlin, which stopped nearly all immigration between East and West Germany, and caused chaos and confusion in Europe (Clay 53). The Berlin Crisis would eventually end, after an eventful military standoff, but the Cold War continued to escalate. The Cuban Missile Crisis would be the most significant aftershock of the Berlin Crisis, and for both Kennedy and Khrushchev, the two events were inseparably linked (Kempe 491). With events of the Berlin Crises of 1948 and 1961 being undeniably similar, tensions clearly remained high as both the United States and the Soviet Union refused to give up on their goals.

President Kennedy's ability to solve the Berlin Crisis would symbolize the strength of American foreign policy, as Khrushchev was attempting to undermine Kennedy and the

American government's power. By July 1961, Kennedy realized he had to demonstrate to Khrushchev that the USA was willing to defend West Berlin at any cost. Khrushchev did not believe this, yet Kennedy wanted to remain open to compromise on finding a solution to the Berlin Crisis (Kempe 307). Kennedy had already botched the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba and the previous Vienna Summit held in order to solve the Berlin Crisis. He needed to show that he could win foreign policy disputes with the Soviet Union because it would show the strength of the United States. If Kennedy would lose the dispute, it would show the USA was not as strong as it claimed to be, and that communism and totalitarianism were stronger than capitalism and democracy. If Kennedy lost his battle with Khrushchev, the United States could lose the Cold War. Nonetheless, defeating Khrushchev in these negotiations would be a challenge because the Soviet leader was demonizing the United States. Khrushchev already was reluctant to meet with Kennedy, but at the Vienna Summit, Khrushchev made statements claiming that the American treatment of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro had turned him towards communism, and that the United States was leveraging its economic superiority over the Soviet Union in an effort to provoke war (Kempe 224-225). It was difficult for Kennedy to rebuke these statements, and while he did, Kennedy and Khrushchev just reached a stalemate. Kennedy did not solve the Berlin Crisis before the construction of the Berlin Wall. A later sign of weakness for Kennedy would be when West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt accused him of not doing enough to help the city after the Berlin Wall was constructed, saying that "Berlin expects more than words. It expects political action." (Kempe 375) Brandt accused Kennedy of reneging his promise to help solve the Berlin Crisis. This suggested that Kennedy might not actually care about the situation in West Berlin, and that Kennedy did not actually put all effort in retaining American influence in West Berlin and keeping the open border in Berlin. Although this might not have been true,

Brandt's speech implied that the United States was careless and reluctant to help Berlin. However, the United States was actually very persistent to keep West Berlin part of West Germany even though the city was located entirely within East Germany.

The Presidents of the United States during the Berlin crises were so determined to prove the strength of democracy and capitalism that they would fight to maintain West Berlin as a democratic and capitalist stronghold. While several American Generals sought to withdraw from West Berlin during the Berlin Blockade because they found it unnecessary and unstrategic to risk a confrontation with the Soviet Union, President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall disagreed because they thought that West Berlin was critical in preventing the spread of communism. If West Berlin could remain capitalist and democratic surrounded by a communist country, then it was possible to contain the spread of communism (Schlosser). The goal of American foreign policy throughout the Cold War was to contain communism, so maintaining a capitalist West Berlin would test out if this could be possible anywhere. The American government recognized that if all of Berlin was lost to the USSR, then all of Europe could be lost as well, so the United States became determined to maintain its position in Europe with the support of its British and French allies (Clay 50). Both Stalin and Khrushchev realized this, so they became determined to force the American influence out of Berlin. However, during both Berlin crises, the Soviet government was figuring out how much perseverance the United States would have to keep West Berlin under its influence. Additionally, West Berliners had to overcome a challenge from East German communists in September 1948. Just a few months after the airlift began, the SED, the Communist Party of the Soviet sector of Berlin, marched on the Berlin City Council and forced it to adjourn due to anger about the United States refusing to concede to the Soviet Union's demands. This created fear among West Berliners that the

Western Allies might end the Berlin Airlift and cede West Berlin to the Soviet Union, so 300,000 West Berliners gathered at the Reichstag building and showed opposition to the Soviet Union, convincing the Western Allies to keep the airlift (FSI). Not only was the United States incredibly determined to keep its influence on West Berlin, but so were the people of the city themselves. A poll found that 88% of West Berliners preferred living under a blockade than Soviet control or influence (Steil 303). Over a decade later, the United States was still adamant about maintaining its influence over West Berlin. Even under tremendous pressure, Kennedy refused to withdraw American troops from Berlin, even though that would lead to the construction of the Berlin Wall. After Kennedy and Khrushchev reached neither agreement nor solution at the Vienna Summit, Khrushchev once again ordered the United States to withdraw from Berlin within the next six months. Kennedy refused, and instead, sent over 150,000 reservists to Berlin, to prepare for any threat of war ("The Berlin Crisis"). Because living conditions in West Berlin were visibly better than those in East Berlin and East Germany, several million refugees from East Germany immigrated to West Berlin, where then they could migrate to the rest of West Germany. East German leader Walter Ulbricht became extremely concerned that his government would not survive with the huge wave of fleeing refugees, as the decrease in a skilled workforce was undermining his economy. Because the USA and the other Western Allies refused to pull troops out of West Berlin, Ulbricht needed to build a wall and close the border to prevent refugees from fleeing East Germany (Clay 53). The United States obviously did not support this, but it would have been even worse if West Berlin fell to communism.

While a direct war between the United States and the Soviet Union would never break out during the Cold War, an intense standoff between the two superpowers narrowly avoided war at the Berlin Wall shortly after its construction. The Soviet Union feared the United States would

try to tear down the wall so they stationed their own tanks on the eastern side of the wall ("The Berlin Crisis"). A few months after the Berlin Wall was constructed, in October of 1961, a standoff would lead to one of the tensest moments of the European part of the Cold War. When American diplomat Allan Lightner resisted new East German procedures at the Berlin Wall and refused to show his documents to the police, an American infantry unit marched into the Soviet sector (Kempe). Khrushchev's advisers were complaining that the United States tanks were gunning engines close to the wall and were prepared for a major operation or war. On October 27, Khrushchev ordered Soviet tanks to the border of East and West Berlin, which could have provoked American tanks even more (Kempe 480). There was an intense standoff, in which a wrong move could have led to war, but the next day, Soviet tanks started retreating, and half an hour later, American tanks retreated as well (Kempe 481). While this standoff would be overshadowed by the Cuban Missile Crisis only one year later, war unarguably nearly broke out. The Cold War was a conflict between the two nuclear superpowers, yet a nuclear conflict was avoided. In Berlin, however, tanks from both militaries were confronting each other. The Cold War could have taken an extremely dangerous turn due to a single panicked gunshot during that standoff.

The Cold War was an extremely complex and eventful geopolitical conflict. Over the course of several decades, Germany became one of the centers of the conflict as disagreements would erupt into brinkmanship, espionage, and confrontations. Germany was split into four zones of occupation, and disagreements developed between the Soviet Union and the United States about the future governance of the country. As tensions rose between the USSR and USA, the latter started to rebuild Western Europe from the devastation of World War II, demonstrating

its power supported by democracy and a strong capitalist economy. Berlin was in a state of brinkmanship several times, including during the Berlin Blockade in 1948 and after the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. The American and Soviet policies, goals, and alliances that formed during the first period of brinkmanship persisted and recurred several times in Germany and in various global hotbeds. As a result of the Berlin Airlift, West Berlin became a symbol of freedom, resistance, and democracy as the United States airlifted resources to it, maintained a large troop presence there, and accepted the border to the city being closed off in order to protect it from falling to communism. The United States was so determined to resist the Soviet threat that it would go as far as to break international laws and commit espionage in Berlin to advance its goals. The contentious standoff that nearly resulted in war would be overshadowed by the Cuban Missile Crisis one year later in 1962. Regardless, American foreign policy formed in Berlin was reflective of the American approach to the global conflicts during the decades of the Cold War. The United States would formulate its foreign policy at the start of the Cold War during the division of Germany into zones of occupation, which led to the Berlin Blockade and Airlift, and continued to focus its efforts on demolishing the Berlin Wall, and subsequently uniting the city and Germany. These goals of American foreign policy were accomplished in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Berlin and Germany, with the end of the Cold War occurring shortly thereafter.

Works Cited

"The Berlin Airlift, 1948–1949." Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/berlin-airlift. Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

This article was written by the Foreign Service Institute, the training institution for diplomats and other officials working in American foreign affairs. The institution is part of the United States Department. The article, which is part of a series of particular historical milestones, gives a detailed insight into the reasons why the Berlin Blockade and subsequent Berlin Airlift happened. The article reveals how the United States and the United Kingdom managed to supply and stabilize West Berlin, which was blockaded and had no other access to resources.

"Berlin Blockade." PBS - American Experience, PBS, 2021, www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/bomb-blockade/. Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

PBS is an American public broadcasting network. This particular article comes from a television series that was adapted into articles called *American Experience*. The article focuses on the events between the United States, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union that led up to the Berlin Blockade, the way the Berlin Blockade was initiated, the Berlin airlift that took place in response, and the aftermath of the blockade after it was lifted. The article is a useful resource that provides some important information.

"The Berlin Crisis, 1958–1961." Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/berlin-crises. Accessed 25 Apr. 2021.

This article, also written by the Foreign Service Institute of the United States State Department, provides an insight into the Berlin Crisis of 1958 to 1961. The article discusses events ranging from Soviet Premier Khrushchev's controversial 1958 ultimatum to the standoff that occurred soon after the Berlin Wall was constructed between American and Soviet troops that nearly

resulted in war. The article also analyzes both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy's determinative efforts to resist Khrushchev's demands.

Brinkley, Alan. *American History: Connecting with the Past*. 15th ed., vol. 15,

New York, Ny, McGraw Hill Education, 2015. Pages 734 to 740

Alan Brinkley was an American historian and professor at Columbia University. He had written several versions of this book previously, but this is the most recent edition. This history textbook, published by McGraw Hill Education, provides a detailed depiction of American history, including information about the division of Berlin and Germany into four zones of occupation, the Truman Doctrine, the premise behind the Marshall Plan and how it was executed, the reason for the infamous Berlin Blockade, the subsequent Berlin Airlift, and how that contributed to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This textbook, over the course of just a few pages, provides an informative insight into early Cold War American diplomatic relations.

Clay, Lucius D. "Berlin." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1962, pp. 47-58.

JSTOR, doi:10.2307/20029598. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

Lucius D. Clay was a senior officer and general of the United States Army, and served in it from 1918 to 1949. He is known for being the military governor of the American zone of occupation and orchestrating the Berlin Airlift. Clay wrote this particular article in 1962 for the journal, *Foreign Affairs*. In the article, Clay recounts the history behind the division of Berlin and Germany and the formation of the Allied Control Council, the tensions and events between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union that led to the Berlin Blockade, and the reignited crisis that

would eventually lead to the construction of the Berlin Wall. The article provides a detailed description of the historical events discussed from the standpoint of a witness of those events.

History.com Editors, editor. "Berlin Blockade." History, A&E Television

Networks, 5 Feb. 2020, www.history.com/topics/cold-war/berlin-blockade.

Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

This article is from the website of the History channel, which writes detailed articles about a number of historical events. The article focuses on the background of the Berlin Blockade, specifically the events between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union that led up to Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin's decision to blockade all terrestrial and aquatic forms of access into West Berlin. The article also discusses the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan and how these affected other countries besides Germany, providing a glimpse into American foreign policy during this period.

Kempe, Frederick. *Berlin 1961*. New York City, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2011.

Frederick Kempe is the President and CEO of the Atlantic Council, a think tank that focuses on international affairs. He is also a former reporter, columnist, and editor of *The Wall Street Journal*. Kempe had written three books prior to this publication. Over the course of more than 500 pages, Kempe explains why the Berlin Crisis of 1958-1961 occurred, the relationship between American Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and how the events of the Berlin Crisis eventually led to the construction of the Berlin Wall. With every moment in the

book being written in precise detail, Kempe dramatically captures moments such as when American and Soviet troops were in a contentious standoff that nearly resulted in war with immense detail.

Kross, Peter. "Operation Gold: The CIA's Berlin Tunnel." Warfare History Network, Sovereign Media, 14 Dec. 2018, warfarehistorynetwork.com/2018/12/14/operation-gold-the-cias-berlin-tunnel/. Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

This article was written by Peter Kross, a historian who has written about ten non-fiction books, of which several are about the CIA. Kross has also written other military and history publications. The article explores the inspiration for Operation Gold, Operation Silver, which took place in Vienna, and the reasoning behind Operation Gold, which included the construction of the Berlin Tunnel and the subsequent wiretapping of Soviet and East German cables. The article also discusses how the tunnel was discovered and how the Soviet Union knew of its existence prior to the "discovery".

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. "A Short History of NATO." NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified_139339.htm. Accessed 4 May 2021.

This article was written by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and it is from their website. As a primary source, NATO reveals the several reasons for its formation. NATO also explains the chaotic political climate of the time, showing why NATO had to form. The organization also talks about American and British efforts during the Berlin Airlift and how the Marshall Plan stabilized Western Europe. Furthermore, the article still proves that it was necessary to form

NATO for security purposes and how it would benefit the United States and West Germany (once it joined).

National Security Agency. "Operation REGAL: The Berlin Tunnel." NSA, National Security Agency, 1988, www.nsa.gov/Portals/70/documents/news-features/declassified-documents/cryptologic-histories/operation_regal.pdf. Accessed 18 Apr. 2021.

This article is a primary source written by the National Security Agency (NSA), an American government agency. The document provides a recount of the events of Operation REGAL or Operation Gold, which built the Berlin Tunnel in order to wiretap East German and Soviet communications, from their perspective. While the CIA built the Berlin Tunnel, the NSA still had involvement. While the document exceeds thirty pages in length, it is in fact heavily redacted because it contains highly classified information. Regardless, the NSA reveals a significant amount of information about the purpose of the operation, the construction of the tunnel, the wiretapping process, the discovery of the tunnel, and the public reaction to that discovery.

Schlosser, Nicholas J. "Berlin blockade/airlift." Encyclopedia of the Contemporary World (1950 to Present), Facts on File, 2016. Modern World History Online, online-infobase-com.sufsd.idm.oclc.org/HRC/Search/Details/3?articleId=244020&q=berlin. Accessed 21 Mar. 2021.

Nicholas Schlosser is a historian at the U.S. Army Center of Military History. The source is an excerpt from an encyclopedia entitled Encyclopedia of the Contemporary World (1950 to

Present), which is part of a series *World History: A Comprehensive Reference Set*. Nonetheless, Schlosser extensively explains the “diplomatic struggle” between the Allied powers that led to Berlin Blockade, the subsequent airlift that the Western Allies initiated in order to provide West Berlin with supplies and resist the blockade, and the symbol of freedom West Berlin became after the Soviet Union reversed the blockade.

Steil, Benn. *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*. New York City, Simon & Schuster, 2018.

Ben Steil, the writer of this book, is the director of international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations. He had previously written *The Battle of Bretton Woods*. This detailed book discusses the basis of the Marshall Plan (formally known as the European Recovery Program), the diplomacy between the countries that were to be assisted by the program, and how future West Germany and the rest of Western Europe benefited from the Marshall Plan. The book also discusses the Berlin Airlift, and its relation to the Marshall Plan.