

will find E. Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française, Italian Fascism, National Socialism* (trans. 1966), provocative but difficult. For the romantic appeal of fascism in Britain, see M. Jefferies and M. Tyldesley, *Rolf Gardiner: Folk, Nature and Culture in Interwar Britain* (2011).

### Other European Developments in the Interwar Years

Spain and the Spanish Civil War are discussed for chapter 21. Informative volumes on central and eastern Europe are J. Roth-schild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (1975), and I. T. Berend, *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe before World War II* (1998). A special subject is ably explored in E. Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars* (1983).

A few titles may be suggested for some of the successor states. For Austria: B. F. Pauley, *Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis: A History of Austrian National Socialism* (1981) and *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (1998); and J. Lauridsen, *Nazism and the Radical Right in Austria 1918–1934* (trans. 2007). For Hungary: C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary, 1929–1945* (2 vols.; rev. 1962); R. L. Tönes, *Bela Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic* (1967), on the short-lived Communist regime of 1919; and T. Sakmyster, *Hungary's Admiral on Horseback: Miklós Horthy, 1918–1944* (1999). For Czechoslovakia: Z. A. B. Zeman, *The Masaryks: The Making of Czechoslovakia* (1976, 1991); V. Olivova, *The Doomed Democracy: Czechoslovakia in a Disrupted Europe, 1918–1938* (1972); C. S. Leff, *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia: The Making and Remaking of a State, 1918–1987* (1988); and the collection that was compiled by M. Cornwall and R. J. W. Evans (eds.), *Czechoslovakia in a Nationalist and Fascist Europe, 1918–1948* (2007). For Yugoslavia: V. Drapac, *Constructing Yugoslavia: A Transnational His-*

*tory* (2010); and D. Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (2007). For Poland: M. K. Dziewanowski, *Poland in the Twentieth Century* (1977); A. Polonsky, *Politics in Independent Poland, 1921–1939* (1972); and the volumes of N. Davies cited for chapter 11. For Finland and the Baltic states: D. G. Kirby, *Finland in the Twentieth Century* (1979); G. von Rauch, *The Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania: The Years of Independence, 1917–1940* (trans. 1974, 1995); and A. Plakans, *A Concise History of the Baltic States* (2011).

### Useful Web Sites and Online Resources

In addition to the numerous general history collections cited for previous chapters, readers will find links to information and resources on all aspects of European society and politics in the 1930s (and other eras too) at the helpful British site, *Spartacus Educational*, at [www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/](http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/), which provides a convenient student-level guide to information on key events and influential historical figures. Readers may be interested in the less rigorous but accessible site *Worldology*, for general history, and, for the interwar period, the link [www.worldology.com/Europe/interwar.htm](http://www.worldology.com/Europe/interwar.htm).

## 21. THE SECOND WORLD WAR

### Spain and the Spanish Civil War

The most comprehensive narrative account of the Spanish conflict, including the international ramifications, is H. Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (rev. 2001), in which Franco's skill as a manipulator and survivor clearly emerges. Other well-informed accounts of the events in Spain include S. G. Payne, *The Spanish Civil War* (2012), and M. Seidman, *The Victorious Counterrevolution: The Nationalist Effort in the Spanish Civil War* (2011). These works may be supplemented by B. Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution* (1991); A. Durgan, *The Spanish Civil War* (2007), a concise introduction;

C. Medina, *The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (2011); and H. Browne, *Spain’s Civil War* (rev. 1996). Brief overviews are also available in F. Ribeiro de Meneses, *Franco and the Spanish Civil War* (2001), and F. Lannon, *The Spanish Civil War* (2002). G. Esenwein and A. Shubert, *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in Context, 1931–1939* (1995), and R. Carr, *The Spanish Tragedy: The Civil War in Perspective* (1977, 2000), add broader analytical insights.

The emotions stirred by the Spanish Civil War are evoked by S. Weintraub, *The Last Great Cause: The Intellectuals and the Spanish Civil War* (1968). The volunteers who fought for the Republic are studied in C. Geiser, *Prisoners of the Good Fight: The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1938* (1994); and M. Jackson, *The International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1938* (1994). For Franco’s relations with Western democracies, see J. M. Thomàs, *Roosevelt and Franco during the Second World War: From the Spanish Civil War to Pearl Harbor* (2008); and P. Day, *Franco’s Friends: How British Intelligence Helped Bring Franco to Power in Spain* (2011). A large-scale critical study of Franco is P. Preston, *Franco: A Biography* (1995); but one may also read S. Ellwood, *Franco* (1994); G. A. Hodges, *Franco: A Concise Biography* (2000), which offers a psychological interpretation of Franco’s actions; and D. W. Pike, *Franco and the Axis stigma* (2008). S. G. Payne has written a comprehensive study, *Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977* (1999); an earlier study on Franco’s years in power, *The Franco Regime, 1936–1975* (1987); and an account of the Soviet role in the war, *The Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism* (2004).

### Background to the Second World War

Although there is no one comprehensive treatment taking into account all the sources now available for the diplomacy of the interwar years and the background to the Second World War, there are a number of important books on the subject. Among the

most informative general inquiries into the coming of the war are P. Renouvin, *World War II and Its Origins: International Relations, 1929–1945* (trans. 1969); J. Black, *Avoiding Armageddon: From the Great War to the Fall of France, 1918–40* (2012); R. Boyce, *The Great Interwar Crisis and the Collapse of Globalization* (2009); P. M. H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe* (rev. 2007); J. Maiolo, *Cry Havoc: How the Arms Race Drove the World to War, 1931–1941* (2010); R. Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War* (2008); and the collection of essays in Frank McDonough (ed.), *The Origins of the Second World War: An International Perspective* (2011).

On the 11 months between Munich and the outbreak of the war, D. C. Watt, *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War, 1938–1939* (1989), is a masterful study. One may also read R. Overy, *1939: Countdown to War* (2010); and M. J. Carley, *The Alliance That Never Was and the Coming of World War II* (1999), on the failure to create a Western-Soviet alliance at the time. A. J. P. Taylor’s controversial, problematic work *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961) depicts Hitler as one who did not desire war but took advantage of his opponents’ uncertainty. On the Taylor thesis one may read the evaluations in G. Martel (ed.), “*The Origins of the Second World War*” *Reconsidered: The A. J. P. Taylor Debate after Twenty-Five Years* (1986), and R. Boyce and E. M. Robertson (eds.), *Paths to War: New Essays on the Origins of the Second World War* (1989).

A major study of German foreign policy based on exhaustive use of the documents and strongly emphasizing Hitler’s responsibilities and initiatives is G. L. Weinberg, *Hitler’s Foreign Policy: The Road to World War II, 1933–1939* (1970, 2005). A second study with similar conclusions is N. Rich, *Hitler’s War Aims* (2 vols.; 1973–1974). For assessments of German foreign policy, one may also read K. Hildebrand, *The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich* (1974); J. Hiden,

*Germany and Europe, 1919–1939* (rev. 1993); J. Wright, *Germany and the Origins of the Second World War* (2007); and J. Thies, *Hitler's Plans for Global Domination: Nazi Architecture and Ultimate War Aims* (trans. 2012).

British policy in the 1930s, including the economic and political constraints on a more assertive policy, is examined in M. Cowling, *The Impact of Hitler: British Politics and British Policy, 1933–1940* (1975); R. P. Shay Jr., *British Rearmament in the Thirties: Politics and Profits* (1977); J. Levy, *Appeasement and Rearmament: Britain, 1936–1939* (2006); A. D. Stedman, *Alternatives to Appeasement: Neville Chamberlain and Hitler's Germany* (2011); and F. McDonough, *Neville Chamberlain, Appeasement, and the British Road to War* (1998), which shows the links between domestic and foreign policies. Perspectives that focus on more than Chamberlain's role are S. Rudman, *Lloyd George and the Appeasement of Germany, 1919–1945* (2011); and P. Neville, *Hitler and Appeasement: The British Attempt to Prevent the Second World War* (2006). The opposition to appeasement is examined in two books by R. A. C. Parker, *Chamberlain and Appeasement* (1993) and *Churchill and Appeasement* (2000). K. Robbins, *Appeasement* (rev. 1997), provides a brief overview of the debate.

For the 1930s, Winston Churchill's *The Gathering Storm* (1948), covering his years in the opposition, the first volume of his indispensable six-volume history, described below, offers valuable perspectives. Biographical studies focusing on British foreign policy include two studies of Anthony Eden—one, by D. Carlton (1981), highly critical; the second, by R. Rhodes James (1987), more defensive. For Neville Chamberlain there is a study by J. Charmley (1990), somewhat defensive, and a balanced assessment by W. R. Rock (1969). Studies of British foreign policy in a longer-range perspective include P. Kennedy, *The*

*Realities behind Diplomacy: Background Influences on British External Policy, 1865–1980* (1983), and C. J. Bartlett, *British Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century* (1989).

For French foreign policy in these years, the fullest accounts are by A. P. Adamthwaite, *France and the Coming of the Second World War, 1936–1939* (1977) and *Grandeur and Misery: France's Bid for Power in Europe, 1914–1940* (1995), cited earlier. They may be supplemented by R. J. Young, *France and the Origins of the Second World War* (1996). The limited options of the Popular Front are carefully examined in N. Jordan, *The Popular Front and Central Europe: The Dilemmas of French Impotence, 1918–1940* (1992).

There are many books on specific episodes and subjects. The German militarization of the Rhineland is examined in J. T. Emerson, *The Rhineland Crisis, 7 March 1936* (1977), and the earlier Allied occupation of that region is discussed in M. Pawley, *The Watch on the Rhine: The Military Occupation of the Rhineland, 1918–1930* (2007). On the annexation of Austria, one may read J. Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism and the Austro-fascist State, 1933–38* (2011), and D. Wagner and G. Tomkowitz, *Anschluss: The Week Hitler Seized Vienna* (1971). For Munich, the best detailed account is T. Taylor, *Munich: The Price of Peace* (1978), but there are more recent perspectives in D. Gillard, *Appeasement in Crisis: From Munich to Prague, October 1938–March 1939* (2007), and D. Faber, *Munich, 1938: Appeasement and World War II* (2009); and the Soviet response is examined in H. Ragsdale, *The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II* (2004). G. A. Craig and F. Gilbert (eds.), *The Diplomats, 1919–1938* (1953, 1994), includes valuable chapters on the individuals who helped make foreign policy in the era. The interpretations and misinterpretations of appeasement in later historical periods is the subject of J. Record, *The Specter of Munich: Reconsidering the Lessons of Appeasing Hitler* (2007).

Studies focusing on eastern Europe include A. Cienciala, *Poland and the Western Powers, 1938–1939* (1968); and A. J. Prazmowska, *Britain, Poland, and the Eastern Front, 1939* (1987). The origins and subsequent history of the German-Soviet Pact of August 23, 1939, are recounted in A. Read and D. Fisher, *The Deadly Embrace: Hitler, Stalin and the Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1939–1941* (1989). The role of the United States in these years is traced in C. A. MacDonald, *The United States, Britain, and Appeasement, 1930–1939* (1981); D. Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance, 1937–1941* (1982); W. R. Rock, *Chamberlain and Roosevelt: British Foreign Policy and the United States, 1937–1940* (1989); and W. F. Kimball, *Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War* (1997). For the United States' entrance into the war, see C. Shirley, *December 1941: 31 Days That Changed America and Saved the World* (2011). The widening of the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 and the later expansion of the European conflict into a global war are discussed in A. Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (1987), and W. Carr, *Poland to Pearl Harbor* (1985).

### The War: Military Aspects

Of the numerous narrative histories of the war, the most comprehensive syntheses include J. Keegan, *The Second World War* (1989, 2005), and G. L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (rev. 2005). Also available are H. P. Willmott, *The Great Crusade: A New Complete History of the Second World War* (2008); T. Zeiler, *Annihilation: A Global Military History of World War II* (2011); P. Calvacoressi, G. Wint, and J. Pritchard, *Total War: Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (rev. 1989); A. W. Purdue, *The Second World War* (rev. 2011), a concise overview of the main events; S. Tucker, *The Second World War* (2004); and A. Beevor, *The Second World War* (2012). For

the war in Europe, see M. Perry, *World War II in Europe: A Concise History* (2013); M. Hastings, *Armageddon: The Battle for Germany, 1944–1945* (2004), which focuses on the war's final military campaigns; S. P. MacKenzie, *The Second World War in Europe* (2009); and S. Mercatante, *Why Germany Nearly Won: A New History of the Second World War in Europe* (2012). *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (1995) offers encyclopedic coverage of all aspects of the war, and D. Flower and J. Reeves, *The War, 1939–1945: A Documentary History* (1960, 1997), is a helpful anthology. J. Keegan has edited the superb *Times Atlas of the Second World War* (1989), and he analyzes historical and other writings on the war, including the myths and controversies surrounding it, in *The Battle for History: Re-fighting World War II* (1996). W. S. Churchill, *The Second World War* (6 vols.; 1948–1953; 1 vol. abridged, 1959), already mentioned, is a valuable narrative history by the historian-statesman written in the grand style, but it should be read in conjunction with other studies now available. M. Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life* (1992), synthesizes Gilbert's monumental official biography (8 vols.; 1966–1989). Of many other biographies, K. Robbins, *Churchill* (1992), and J. Keegan, *Winston Churchill* (2002), provide balanced brief studies; J. Lukes, *Churchill: Visionary, Statesman, Historian* (2002), examines Churchill's strategic ideas; and I. S. Wood, *Churchill* (2000), surveys the historical literature on the British prime minister. The latest single-volume account is A. Jackson, *Churchill* (2011). Churchill's view of the war is also examined in G. Weinberg, *Visions of Victory: The Hopes of Eight World War II Leaders* (2005), an important work that includes analysis of other key figures such as Hitler, Stalin, and Roosevelt. Another source for biographical information is S. Berthon and J. Potts, *Warlords: An Extraordinary Re-Creation of World War II through the Eyes and Minds of Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin* (2006).

The naval war is described in R. Hough, *The Longest Battle: The War at Sea, 1939–1945* (1986), and the air war is examined in R. Grattan, *The Origins of the Air War: The Development of Military Air Strategy in World War I* (2009), and R. Ehlers, *Targeting the Third Reich: Air Intelligence and the Allied Bombing Campaigns* (2009). The greatest air battle is the subject of R. Hough and D. Richards, *The Battle of Britain* (1989), and J. Holland, *The Battle of Britain: Five Months That Changed History, May–October 1940* (2011). The moral implications of bombing are discussed in A. C. Grayling, *Among the Dead Cities: The History and Moral Legacy of the WWII Bombing of Civilians in Germany and Japan* (2006); and in the collection, Y. Tanaka and M. Young (eds.), *Bombing Civilians: A Twentieth-Century History* (2009). A comprehensive account of cryptography covering all theaters of the war is S. Budiansky, *Battle of Wits: The Complete Story of Code-breaking in World War II* (2000), which is updated in M. Paterson, *The Secret War: The Inside Story of the Code Makers and Code Breakers of World War II* (2007).

The military aspects of France's defeat in 1940 may be approached through A. Horne, *To Lose a Battle: France, 1940* (1969); A. Shennan, *The Fall of France, 1940* (2000); J. Jackson, *The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940* (2003); and E. R. May, *Strange Victory: Hitler's Conquest of France* (2001), a provocative in-depth study, which concludes that the German victory was far from inevitable. The background to the defeat is explored in R. F. Young, *In Command of France: French Foreign Policy and Military Planning, 1933–1940* (1978), and M. S. Alexander, *The Republic in Danger: General Maurice Gamelin and the Politics of French Defence, 1938–1940* (1993). The effects on civilians are covered in N. D. Rissler, *France under Fire: German Invasion, Civilian Flight and Family Survival during World War II* (2012). The French relationship with Britain is studied in E. M.

Gates, *End of the Affair: The Collapse of the Anglo-French Alliance, 1939–1940* (1981).

W. L. Shirer, *The Collapse of the Third Republic: An Inquiry into the Fall of France in 1940* (1969), is a thoughtful older account by a reflective journalist; and M. Bloch, *Strange Defeat* (1940), is an incisive memoir by the eminent medievalist later executed as a member of the Resistance. J. Blatt (ed.), *The French Defeat of 1940: Reassessments* (1997), provides a valuable set of essays.

The Russo-Finnish conflict of 1939–1940 is narrated in W. Trotter, *A Frozen Hell: The Russo-Finnish Winter War of 1939–1940* (1991, 2000); B. Irincheev, *War of the White Death: Finland against the Soviet Union, 1939–40* (2011); and R. Edwards, *The Winter War: Russia's Invasion of Finland, 1939–40* (2008). For the grand and deadly sweep of the central European conflict before and during the war, readers should consult the excellent T. Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (2010). The war in eastern Europe after the German invasion is described in A. Clark, *Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941–1945* (1965, 1996); two works by J. Erickson, *The Road to Stalingrad* (1975, 1999) and *The Road to Berlin* (1984, 1999); L. Baker, *The Second World War on the Eastern Front* (2009); and D. Stahel, *Operation Barbarossa and Germany's Defeat in the East* (2009). A. Paul, *Katyn: The Untold Story of Stalin's Polish Massacre* (1991), and G. Stanford, *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940* (2005), tell the history of an early episode of the war in which more than 4,000 Polish officers and soldiers captured in 1939 were executed at Stalin's orders.

The war in the Pacific is ably presented in D. Ford, *The Pacific War: Clash of Empires in World War II* (2012). A far-reaching study examining the impact of the war on Asia is C. Thorne, *The Far Eastern War: States and Societies, 1941–1945* (1985, 1988). On the last phase in the Pacific,

W. Craig, *The Fall of Japan* (1968), helps illuminate debates over how inevitable or imminent Japan's surrender was. This issue is also addressed in the controversial work of T. Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* (2005), which argues that the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan was the key factor in the Japanese decision to surrender.

On the development of the atomic bomb and its first use, one may read R. Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (1986), a remarkably comprehensive account, which may be supplemented by J. S. Walker, *Prompt and Utter Destruction: Truman and the Use of Atomic Bombs against Japan* (rev. 2004); and W. Miscamble, *The Most Controversial Decision: Truman, the Atomic Bombs, and the Defeat of Japan* (2011). M. Walker, *German National Socialism and the Quest for Nuclear Power, 1939–1949* (1990), describes the German effort to create an atomic bomb.

### **The War: Social and Economic Impact**

The social and economic dimensions of the war are examined in a well-informed, one-volume synthesis by A. S. Milward, *War, Economy, and Society, 1939–1945* (1977); but readers should also consult the more recent works by P. Cooksley, *The Home Front: Civilian Life in World War Two* (2007), and S. Kennedy, *The Shock of War: Civilian Experiences, 1937–1945* (2011). For the British wartime scene, A. Calder, *The People's War: Britain, 1939–1945* (1969), is highly informative, and to it should be added J. Welshman, *Churchill's Children: The Evacuee Experience in Wartime Britain* (2010); and J. Anderson, *The War Years: Life in Britain during 1939 to 1945* (2007). E. S. Beck, *The European Home Fronts, 1939–1945* (1993), is a useful brief synthesis. The wartime Soviet scene is studied in detail in J. Barber and M. Harrison, *The Soviet Home Front, 1941–1945* (1992). The American troops stationed in Britain are studied with good humor in

D. Reynolds, *The American Occupation of Britain, 1942–1945* (1995).

The entry of women into the wartime labor force is examined in K. Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II* (1981), and in the essays in M. R. Higonnet et al. (eds.), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (1987). Women's wartime experiences are also described in N. A. Dombrowski (ed.), *Women and War in the Twentieth Century* (1999); H. Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939–1948* (1999); J. Purcell, *The Domestic Soldiers* (2010); and V. Nicholson, *Millions Like Us: Women's Lives in War and Peace, 1939–1949* (2011).

Many aspects of the home front in Germany are covered in books cited for chapter 20. That Hitler did not prepare for war in depth because he expected a quick victory emerges from B. A. Carroll, *Design for Total War: Arms and Economics in the Third Reich* (1968), and A. S. Milward, *The German Economy at War* (1965). R. J. Overly, *War and Economy in the Third Reich* (1995), by contrast, argues that the German economy was well prepared for prolonged military production. The daily experience of war is illuminated in F. Tubach, *German Voices: Memories of Life during Hitler's Third Reich* (2011).

### **Hitler's New Order: Collaboration and Resistance**

The first attempt to study the German occupation of Europe as a whole appeared in A. Toynbee and V. Toynbee (eds.), *Hitler's Europe* (1954). Readers should consult the latest account, however, found in M. Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (2008). The economics of occupation are covered in G. Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State* (trans. 2007); H. Klemann, *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939–1945* (2012); and R. Evans, *The Third Reich at War, 1939–1945* (2008).

On the enslavement of workers for the Nazi war industry, see U. Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor under the Third Reich* (trans. 1997). Studies on the experience of occupation and resistance include R. Gildea, O. Wiewiorka and A. Warring (eds.), *Surviving Hitler and Mussolini: Daily Life in Occupied Europe* (2006); and P. Blood, *Hitler's Bandit Hunters: The SS and the Nazi Occupation of Europe* (2006).

Among the most informative books on the French responses to the Nazi occupation are J. Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (2001), a comprehensive analysis; P. Burrin, *France under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise* (trans. 1997); I. Ousby, *Occupation: The Ordeal of France* (1997); R. Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: Daily Life in the Heart of France during the German Occupation* (2002); R. Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* (2006); A. Mitchell, *Nazi Paris: The History of an Occupation, 1940–1944* (2008); N. Taflinger, *Season of Suffering: Coming of Age in Occupied France, 1940–45* (2010); and O. Wiewiorka, *Divided Memory: French Recollections of World War II from the Liberation to the Present* (2012). A concise overview is available in P. Davies, *France and the Second World War: Occupation, Collaboration and Resistance* (2001). R. O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944* (1972), examines the ideology and policies of the Vichy regime. R. O. Paxton and M. R. Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews* (1981, 1995), demonstrates the French initiative for many actions against the Jews, on which one should also read S. Zucotti, *The Holocaust, the French, and the Jews* (1993). J. F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (1986), poignantly demonstrates the complexities of collaboration and resistance in an industrial city; and S. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (2009), offers insights on the

experiences under Vichy. A. S. Milward, *The New Order and the French Economy* (1970), surveys the economic aspects of the regime, while cultural aspects may be approached through A. Kaplan, *Fascism, Literature, and French Intellectual Life* (1986); G. Hirshfeld and P. Marsh (eds.), *Collaboration in France: Politics and Culture during the Nazi Occupation, 1940–1944* (1989); and M. C. Cone, *Artists under Vichy* (1992). For the French postwar struggle to face up to the Vichy trauma, one should read H. Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (trans. 1991); E. Conan and H. Rousso, *Vichy: The Ever-Present Past* (trans. 1998); and R. J. Golsan, *Vichy's Afterlife: History and Counterhistory in Postwar France* (2000).

The Resistance in France may be studied in D. Schoenbrun, *Soldiers of the Night: The Story of the French Resistance* (1980); J. F. Sweets, *The Politics of Resistance in France, 1940–1944* (1976); M. L. Rossiter, *Women in the Resistance* (1985); and M. Cobb, *The Resistance: The French Fight against the Nazis* (2009). The liberation is dramatically described in R. Aron, *France Reborn* (trans. 1964); related events are also discussed in P. Novick, *The Resistance versus Vichy: The Purge of Collaborators in Liberated France* (1969), and H. R. Lottman, *The Purge* (1986). The divisions in France over the purge are studied in M. Koreman, *The Expectation of Justice: France, 1944–1946* (1999). On the trials of collaborators, some of them years later, one may read R. J. Golsan (ed.), *Memory, the Holocaust, and French Justice: The Bousquet and Touvier Affairs* (1996), and A. Kaplan, *The Collaborator: The Trial and Execution of Robert Brassillach* (2000). For the years from the 1930s to liberation, Charles de Gaulle's *War Memoirs* (3 vols.; trans. 1958–1960) are indispensable. De Gaulle's wartime difficulties with London and Washington are described in F. Ker-saudy, *Churchill and de Gaulle* (1982), and

R. Aglion, *Roosevelt and de Gaulle: Allies in Conflict* (trans. 1988), by one of de Gaulle's diplomats. For de Gaulle, J. Lacouture's biography (2 vols.; trans. 1992) is an outstanding account: vol. 1, *The Rebel, 1890–1944*, and vol. 2, *The Ruler, 1945–1970*; there are more recent interpretations in J. Jackson, *Charles de Gaulle* (2003); M. Haskew, *De Gaulle: Lessons in Leadership from the Defiant General* (2011); and J. Fenby, *The General: Charles de Gaulle and the France He Saved* (2012).

A sampling of studies of other countries under the German occupation include G. Hirschfeld, *Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration, 1940–1945* (trans. 1988); J. Foray, *Visions of Empire in the Nazi-Occupied Netherlands* (2012); R. L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (1977); J. Gillingham, *Belgian Business and the Nazi New Order* (1977); V. Hionidou, *Famine and Death in Occupied Greece, 1941–1944* (2006); S. Lecoœur, *Mussolini's Greek Island: Fascism and the Italian Occupation of Syros in World War II* (2009); and M. Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (1993). The Polish experience is recounted in R. C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles under German Occupation, 1939–1944* (1986); and E. Tucker, *Remembering Occupied Warsaw: Polish Narratives of World War II* (2011). N. Davies, *Rising '44: "The Battle for Warsaw"* (2003), recounts the Polish uprising against the Germans, which was crushed in 1944; while M. Arens, *Flags over the Warsaw Ghetto: The Untold Story of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (2011), covers its precursor. In its Norwegian setting, collaborationism is illustrated in detail in O. K. Hoidal, *Quisling: A Study in Treason* (1989). The Nazi purloining of Europe's art treasures is described in L. H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (1994). The role of the Swiss banks in concealing the looted gold used for the Nazi

war effort is disclosed in I. Vincent, *Silent Partners: Swiss Bankers, Nazi Gold, and the Pursuit of Justice* (1998); while S. Halbrook, *The Swiss and the Nazis: How the Alpine Republic Survived in the Shadow of the Third Reich* (2006), offers another perspective on Swiss behavior during the war.

Useful studies of the Europe-wide Resistance include M. R. D. Foot, *Resistance: European Resistance to Nazism, 1940–1945* (1977); J. Haestrup, *European Resistance Movements, 1939–1945* (rev. 1981); and D. Gluckstein, *A People's History of the Second World War: Resistance versus Empire* (2012). Country-specific accounts include D. Lampe, *Hitler's Savage Canary: A History of the Danish Resistance in World War II* (2011); B. Hoogstraten, *The Resistance Fighters: The Immense Struggle of Holland during World War II* (2008); P. Cooke, *The Legacy of the Italian Resistance* (2011); T. Behan, *The Italian Resistance: Fascists, Guerrillas and the Allies* (2009); and D. Williamson, *The Polish Underground, 1939–1947* (2012); while a very different response to the Nazis is the subject of L. Rein, *The Kings and the Pawns: Collaboration in Byelorussia during World War II* (2011). The renovative spirit of the Resistance and its message for the postwar world are captured in J. D. Wilkinson, *The Intellectual Resistance in Europe* (1981). The ethical aspects of collaboration and resistance are explored in R. Bennett, *Under the Shadow of the Swastika: The Moral Dilemmas of Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Europe* (1999). For the role of women, see I. Strobl, *Partisanas: Women in the Armed Resistance to Fascism and German Occupation (1936–1945)* (2008). Books on the German Resistance have been cited for chapter 20.

### The Holocaust

There is now a vast literature on the grim subject of the Nazis' systematic, willful, mass slaughter of the European Jews during the war years. The most informative



and comprehensive study is R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (3 vols.; rev. 2003), which may be supplemented by the same author's *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (1992). The early organization of the Nazi system of mass murder is described in C. R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (2004), an outstanding, carefully researched study. Other important studies are M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War* (1986); I. Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution* (2008); Y. Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (1982) and *Re-thinking the Holocaust* (2001); and P. Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews* (trans. 2010). A provocative interpretive account is A. J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The "Final Solution" in History* (1989), which sees the root cause in earlier twentieth-century destructiveness. An exhaustive reference work, with contributions by many scholars and with bibliographies in many languages, is I. Gutman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (4 vols.; 1990), while the best one-volume coverage is in W. Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia* (2001). M. Gilbert edited an *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993). A more recent resource is J. Friedman (ed.), *The Routledge History of the Holocaust* (2011).

H. Fein, *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust* (1979), examines the diversity of the experience in different countries, while R. L. Brahm, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (2 vols.; 1981), is an outstanding study of one country. A key episode of Jewish resistance is recounted in I. Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (trans. 1982).

Among many studies of the concentration and death camps, one should read Primo

Levi's moving accounts of his experience, *Survival in Auschwitz* (trans. 1947; 1958) and *The Drowned and the Saved* (trans. 1986). One may also read E. Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (1950); T. Des Pres, *The Survivor: An Anatomy of a Life in the Death Camps* (1976); T. Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (trans. 1989); and W. Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp* (trans. 1997). Recent contributions include P. Montague, *Chełmno and the Holocaust: The History of Hitler's First Death Camp* (2012); D. Blatman, *The Death Marches: The Final Phase of Nazi Genocide* (2012); C. Browning, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave-Labor Camp* (2012); and W. Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims, 1938–1944* (2006). On the link between the medical profession and the killings, R. J. Lifton, *The Death Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (1987), may be read along with H. Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide* (1995), focusing on its prewar program of euthanasia for the sick and the handicapped. For a case study, see U. Schmidt, *Karl Brandt: The Nazi Doctor, Medicine, and Power in the Third Reich* (2007).

For the debate over the origin of the Holocaust, that is, between "intentionalists," who see the genocidal destruction as motivated from the beginning by Hitler and his ideology, and "functionalists," who see it as developing incrementally once the Nazis controlled eastern Europe, the best synthesis is C. Browning, *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (1992); readers should also consult the more recent T. Lawson, *Debates on the Holocaust* (2010). Hitler's fundamental responsibility is described in G. Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (1984), and R. Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: The Final Solution* (1991).

The subject of much discussion and controversy, D. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing*

*Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996), argues that ordinary Germans, not only Nazi extremists, participated in the brutal killings because they shared a German legacy of “eliminationist anti-Semitism.” On the other hand, C. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992, 1999), demonstrates that peer pressures on the German participants seemed to be more important than any historical legacy of anti-Semitism.

How historians have written about the subject is explored in L. S. Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (1981); D. Engel, *Historians of the Jews and the Holocaust* (2010); D. Stone, *Histories of the Holocaust* (2010); and P. Bartrop and S. L. Jacobs, *Fifty Key Thinkers on the Holocaust and Genocide* (2010). A much-discussed essay on the question of responsibility and guilt is H. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963, 1994), written at the time of the trial of the high-ranking bureaucrat who carried out much of the operation. Y. Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (1978), argues the uniqueness of the episode and disputes later misuses of the word “genocide”; on that issue, one may also read L. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (1982).

The acrimonious debate among German historians in the mid-1980s, in which E. Nolte and others sought to diminish the evils of the Holocaust by comparing it to other twentieth-century atrocities such as those of Stalin, is thoughtfully explored in C. S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (1988), and R. J. Evans, *In Hitler’s Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape from the Nazi Past* (1989). On a related subject one may read J. Kramer, *The Politics of Memory: Looking for Germany in the New Germany* (1996). Broader efforts to deny or minimize the Holocaust are critically scrutinized in two persuasive

books: D. E. Lipstadt, *The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993), and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust* (trans. 1992). For an account of the holocaust and its legacy in Russia, see Y. Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (2009).

There is a large literature on the failure of the authorities in the United States, Britain, and the Vatican to rescue the doomed European Jews; among the more searching inquiries are B. Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945* (1979); M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981); and R. Breitman, *Official Secrets: What the Nazis Planned, What the British and Americans Knew* (1998). For German institutional complicity, see R. Ericksen, *Complicity in the Holocaust: Churches and Universities in Nazi Germany* (2012). On the role of the Vatican in these years, one may read M. Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965* (2000), and J. P. Gallagher, *The Scarlet and the Black: The True Story of Monsignor Hugh O’Flaherty, Hero of the Vatican Underground* (2009). Numerous studies that indict the wartime pope for failure to take more decisive action include J. Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (1999); S. Zucotti, *Under the Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (2001); and G. Noel, *Pius XII: The Hound of Hitler* (2008). More balanced accounts are P. O’Shea, *A Cross Too Heavy: Pope Pius XII and the Jews of Europe* (2011); and E. Fattorini, *Hitler, Mussolini and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and the Speech That Was Never Made* (2011).

For the Nazi atrocities against other ethnic groups in Europe, including Russians, Poles, Gypsies, and others, one may read B. Wytwycky, *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell* (1986), a brief introduction, and the essays in M. Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis* (1992). For the fate of the Gypsies, or Roma, one may read I. Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing:*

*The Gypsies and Their Journey* (1995), and D. Kenrick and G. Puxon, *Gypsies under the Swastika* (2009).

The proceedings of the Nuremberg trials were published by the postwar International Military Tribunal as *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, 1945–1946* (42 vols.; 1947–1949) and *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (8 vols., 2 supplements; 1946–1958). B. F. Smith's *Reaching Judgment at Nuremberg* (1977) and *The Road to Nuremberg* (1981) argue that the trials prevented an anarchic bloodbath and should not be dismissed as merely “victor’s justice.” Other thoughtful discussions are found in R. E. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (1983); J. E. Persica, *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial* (1995); T. Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials* (1993), by a chief prosecutor who analyzes deficiencies in the procedures and questions the effectiveness of the trials as a deterrent to later wrongdoing; and V. G. Hébert, *Hitler’s Generals on Trial: The Last War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg* (2010). M. R. Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945–46: A Documentary History* (1997), provides a concise analysis as well as excerpts from key documents. The trials of the Japanese war leaders are analyzed in Y. Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (2008). On national responses to these events in later years, one may read an insightful study by I. Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (1994).

### **Wartime Diplomacy and Origins of the Cold War**

A large literature has emerged stressing the origins of the Cold War in Soviet-American wartime relations. The volumes of H. Feis, sympathetic to the Western leaders, are indispensable as an introduction: *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought* (1957), covering the years from 1941 to the collapse of Germany;

*Between War and Peace: The Potsdam Conference* (1960); and on the last phase, *The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War in the Pacific* (1961, 1966). Of special value are J. L. Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (rev. 2000), and the early chapters of the same author’s *The Cold War: A New History* (2005); V. Mastny, *Russia’s Road to the Cold War* (1979); and R. V. Daniels, *Russia: The Roots of Confrontation* (1985). Recent contributions to the literature include I. Kershaw, *Fateful Choices: Ten Decisions That Changed the World, 1940–1941* (2007); F. Harbutt, *Yalta 1945: Europe and America at the Crossroads* (2010); and F. Costigliola, *Roosevelt’s Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War* (2012).

On the American use of the atomic bomb, one may read M. J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance* (1975), an impressive, balanced study; and J. Delgado, *Nuclear Dawn: The Atomic Bomb, from the Manhattan Project to the Cold War* (2009). For the debate over the dropping of the bomb, a debate that was renewed on its 50th anniversary, one may read G. Alperowitz and others, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (1995), highly critical; while R. V. Maddox, *The Hiroshima Decision Fifty Years Later* (1995), defends the use of the bomb. The continuing moral dilemma is ably presented in R. J. Lifton and G. Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial* (1995).

For studies of the historically unparalleled movements of populations during and following the war, readers may turn to M. Wyman, *DP: Europe’s Displaced Persons, 1945–1951* (1989, 1998); G. D. Cohen, *In War’s Wake: Europe’s Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order* (2012); P. Ahonen, *People on the Move: Forced Population Movements in Europe in the Second World War and Its Aftermath* (2008); and T. Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe’s Families after World War II* (2011).

### Useful Web Sites and Online Resources

A comprehensive, well-organized listing of Web sites on every aspect of the Second World War may be found at *Hyperwar: A Hypertext History of the Second World War*, [www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar](http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar). Additional materials on the war, focusing somewhat on Great Britain, are available at *BBC-History*, cited previously; and other resources may be consulted at the Belgian-based Centre for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society, at [www.cegesoma.be/cms/index\\_en.php](http://www.cegesoma.be/cms/index_en.php). Readers will find helpful links to diverse sources on France during the war and the Nazi occupation at *Vichy Web*, <http://artsweb.bham.ac.uk/vichy>, an excellent site maintained in Great Britain by S. Kitson at the University of Birmingham. The best starting point for Web-based materials on the Holocaust is the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, at [www.ushmm.org](http://www.ushmm.org); and Yad Vashem's site, at [www.yadvashem.org](http://www.yadvashem.org).

## 22. COLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

### The Cold War

Informative narratives for the global history of the post-1945 years include D. Reynolds, *One World Divisible: A Global History since 1945* (2000); W. M. Spellman, *A Concise History of the World since 1945: States and Peoples* (2006); M. Hunt, *The World Transformed: 1945 to the Present* (2004); W. R. Keylor, *A World of Nations: The International Order since 1945* (2009); and P. Calvo-coressi, *World Politics since 1945* (2009). For the twentieth century as a whole, see J. M. Roberts, *Twentieth Century: The History of the World, 1901 to 2000* (2000); and W. R. Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century World and Beyond: An International History since 1900* (rev. 2006). Studies examining the Cold War with new historical perspectives after the collapse of the Soviet Union include R. Crockett, *The Fifty Years' War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World*

*Politics, 1941–1991* (1995); S. J. Ball, *The Cold War: An International History, 1947–1991* (1998); J. L. Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (2005); G. Barrass, *The Great Cold War: A Journey through the Hall of Mirrors* (2009); and J. L. Harper, *The Cold War* (2011). In addition to other books on the wartime origins of the Cold War, cited for the previous chapter, thoughtful works include W. LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–2000* (rev. 2002); F. J. Harbutt, *The Cold War Era* (2002); C. Kennedy-Pipe, *The Origins of the Cold War* (2007); and M. McCauley, *Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1949* (2008). J. L. Gaddis has helped to evaluate interpretations of the Cold War, on the basis of archival evidence now available from the Soviet files, in *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (1997), much of which confirms many earlier interpretations. For a judicious assessment of the Cold War compromises in Europe, one may read M. Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945–1963* (1999).

Two early efforts to examine the tensions in broader historical perspective, going back to 1917, are L. Halle, *The Cold War as History* (1967), and A. Fontaine, *History of the Cold War* (2 vols.; trans. 1968–1969). A large revisionist literature blamed American postwar political and economic ambitions or miscalculations for the Cold War. One of the most cogent of such interpretations is W. A. Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (rev. 1988). For guidance to the literature as a whole, including the revisionist accounts, one may turn to J. L. Black, *Origins, Evolution and Nature of the Cold War: An Annotated Bibliography* (1986), and J. W. Young, *The Longman Companion to America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1941–1998* (rev. 1999). E. H. Judge and J. W. Langdon (eds.), *The Cold War: A History through Documents* (1999), provides a helpful selection of key documents.

The transition from the Second World War to the postwar years is explored in