

variegated, that cultural life on the eve of 1914 may seem only a kind of brilliant intellectual pinwheel, without precise meaning. We can single out the main threads, however. A new aesthetic of personal sensibility had replaced the more objective aesthetic of representing external nature. Human consciousness was revealed as possessing unknown depths, and the place of reason in it had been called into question. Nature itself seemed susceptible to interpretation only by the most subjective hypotheses. It was what historian Carl Schorske has called a “great reevaluation”:

The primacy of reason in man, the rational structure of nature, and the meaningfulness of history were all brought before the bar of personal psychological experience for judgment.⁵⁵

This reevaluation was not achieved without considerable cost. Those who shared in the new consciousness gave up the support of both tradition and any sense of integrated wholeness. They were subject to the loneliness and anxiety of being adrift in a meaningless universe. There remained only the heightened excitement of private artistic experience or piecemeal scientific discovery to cling to. As the French poet Charles Baudelaire had said earlier, “The intoxication of Art is the best thing of all for veiling the terrors of the Pit; . . . genius can play a part at the edge of the tomb with a joy that prevents it from seeing the tomb.”⁵⁶

The explorers of the new consciousness had no ready defenses against finding the same excitement in violence or cruelty that they found in artistic experience, as they were about to discover in the global war then brewing. Some people in the comfortable middle-class Europe of 1914 half hoped for some kind of apocalyptic wave of violence that would sweep away dull, bourgeois mediocrity. In the summer of 1913, the young English novelist D. H. Lawrence wrote to friends:

My religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what the blood feels and believes and says is always true.⁵⁷

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING⁵⁸

Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century** (1999), assesses a troubled time powerfully. Roger Munting and B. A. Holderness, *Crisis, Recovery and War: An Economic History of Continental Europe, 1918–1945* (1991), and Gerald Ambrosius and William H. Hubbard, *A Social and Economic History of Twentieth Century Europe** (1989), examine the eco-

⁵⁵Carl E. Schorske, “The Idea of the City in European Thought,” in Oscar Handlin, ed., *The Historian and the City* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), p. 109.

⁵⁶Baudelaire, pp. 94–95.

⁵⁷*The Portable D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Diana Trilling (New York, 1947), p. 563. It is only fair to add that Lawrence, married to a German woman, remained a pacifist during the war.

⁵⁸Suggestions for further reading appear at the end of each chapter. These are limited to some basic recent works and durable classics readily available in English. Many of them contain fuller, more specialized bibliographies. Books available in paperback are marked with an asterisk (*).

nomic and social underpinnings. Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (1968, reprint ed. 1991), frames the novelty of the twentieth century, as do Norman Stone, *Europe Transformed, 1878–1919*,* 2nd ed. (1999), and the Dutch nonconformist Marxist Jan Romein, *The Watershed of Two Eras* (1976).

Good surveys of individual European countries in the twentieth century include, for Britain, Robert K. Webb, *Modern England*,* 2nd ed. (1990); Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain, 1900–1990*,* 2nd ed. (2004); H. C. Matthew and Kenneth O. Morgan, *The Oxford History of Britain*, vol. 5, *The Modern Age*,* 2nd ed. (2001); and Keith Robbins, *The Eclipse of a Great Power: Modern Britain, 1870–1992*,* 2nd ed. (1994). George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (1935, reprint ed. 1997), remains a lively account of domestic strains on the eve of the war.

Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times*,* 5th ed. (1995), is a superior text. The *Cambridge History of Modern France* is the best multivolume work; the volume by Madeleine Rebérioux covers the early Third Republic. Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848–1945*,* 2 vols. (1981, reprint ed. 1993), contains brilliant though idiosyncratic essays on private as well as public life. Maurice Agulhon, *The French Republic, 1879–1992** (1995), is masterful.

Gordon Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945* (1980) and *The Germans** (1991), are the fruit of a lifetime of scholarship. For the eve of 1914, use Volker Berghahn, *Imperial Germany, 1871–1914** (1994). Alexander Gerschenkron, *Bread and Democracy in Germany*,* with foreword by C. S. Maier (1943, reprint ed. 1989), is a classic. These

works see German history as divergent from the Western liberal norm. Geoff Eley, *From Unification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past* (1985), rejects this “special path” interpretation. The debate is scrutinized in Richard J. Evans, *Rethinking German History: Nineteenth Century Germany and the Origins of the Third Reich** (2003).

Martin Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871–1995*,* 2nd ed. (1996), is the best introduction. Raymond Carr, ed., *Spain: A History* (2000), is an up-to-date account. Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth** (1950, reprint ed. 1990), is a scintillating essay. David Birmingham, *History of Portugal** (1995) is the latest survey. Kenneth Maxwell, *The Making of Portuguese Democracy** (1997) is illuminating. T. K. Derry, *A History of Scandinavia** (2000), and Byron J. Nordstrom, *Scandinavia Since 1500** (2000) are good introductions to the Nordic countries. The conservative scholar Richard Pipes has written an authoritative study of late imperial Russia, *Russia under the Old Regime** (1997). Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 6th ed. (1999), is a lucid text. Robert Service, *A History of Modern Russia from Nicholas II to Putin** (2003), provides a densely packed narrative.

R. J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century and After** (1997), introduces the region. For Austria-Hungary, C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918* (1969), is a classic. See also Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918** (1974), and Jean Berenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1700–1918** (1997). Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History** (2000), is the most recent scholarly survey. See also Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire to Republic, 1800–1986** (1987). C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth: A History of*

Modern Hungary (1956), remains authoritative, though Jörg K. Hoensch, *A History of Modern Hungary, 1867–1986*,* 2nd ed. (1994), and Peter F. Sugar, *A History of Hungary** (1994), are more recent. Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*,* 2nd ed. (2004), is passionately engaged as is Josef Korbel, *Twentieth-Century Czechoslovakia: The Meanings of Its History* (1977). Victor S. Mamatey and Radomir Luza, eds., *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918–1914* (1972), is admirably balanced. See also H. Gordon Skillington, *Czechoslovakia, 1918–1988** (1991). Keith Hitchens, *Rumania, 1866–1947* (1994), Stephen Fischer-Galati, *Rumania** (2003), and R. J. Crampton, *A Short History of Bulgaria** (1997), are standard. Peter F. Sugar and Ivo Lederer, eds., *Nationalism in Eastern Europe** (1994), takes a long perspective.

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism* (1927, various eds.), is a twilight look back at nineteenth-century liberalism. Richard Bellamy, *Rethinking Liberalism** (2000), and Peter Gay, *Liberalism* (2004), take new looks at liberalism's twentieth-century manifestations.

The best introduction to European conservative thought is Jerry Z. Muller, *Conservatism: An Anthology of Social and Political Thought from David Hume to the Present** (1997). For conservative parties and movements, Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., *The European Right* (1966), remains basic.

The most substantial recent work on democratic socialism is Geoff Ely, *The Left and the Struggle for Democracy in Europe, 1850–2000** (2002). Albert S. Lindemann, *A History of European Socialism** (1983), and the scintillating Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism** (1998), are more general surveys.

Excellent introductions to women in European history are Georges Duby, Michelle Perrot, and Françoise Thébaud, eds., *History of Women in the West*, vol. 5: *A Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century** (1996); Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*,* 3rd ed. (1998); Bonnie Anderson and Judith Zinsser, *A History of Their Own*,* vol. 2, (revised ed., 2000); and Bonnie G. Smith, *Changing Lives: Women in European History since 1700** (1989).

David S. Landes, *Unbound Prometheus** (1969), is the classic account of European technological development. See also Patrice Higonnet et al., *Favorites of Fortune** (1995). An up-to-date introduction to European demography is Massimo Livi-Bacci, *The Populations of Europe: A History** (2000).

Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*,* 2nd ed., (1992), is a stimulating brief introduction. See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities** (1991), and Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism** (1997).

Among many works on European colonial expansion, see V. G. Kiernan, *Colonial Empires and Armies 1815–1960* (1998), Daniel R. Headrick, *Tools of Empire** (1981), and Wolfgang Mommsen, *Theories of Imperialism** (1982).

Peter Paret, Gordon A. Craig, and Felix Gilbert, eds., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age** (revised ed. 1986), is the basic work on military thought. Industrialized warfare is considered in Timothy Travers and Christon Archer, eds., *Men at War: Politics, Technology, and Innovation in the Twentieth Century** (1982).

H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society** (reprint 2002), is indispensable for the prewar revolutions in the

social sciences and psychology. A superior study of intellectual ferment at the opening of the century is Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna** (1980). Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time** (1989), is outstanding. See also the stimulating *The Culture of Time and Space, 1883–1918** (revised ed. 2003) by Stephen Kern.

An accessible history of science for this century is Gerard Piel, *The Age of Science: What Scientists Learned in the Twentieth Century** (2001). See also Abraham Pais, *Genius of Science: A Portrait of Twentieth Century Physicists** (2000). Biographies of Marie Curie, Nobel Prize winner in both physics and chemistry, are by Françoise Giroud (1986) and Susan Quinn (1995). For biology, see Jan Sapp, *Genesis: The Evolution of Biology** (2003).

Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City** (reprint 1985), explores literary and artistic reactions to urbanization. See also Paul M. Hohenburg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (1985).

A standard history of the Christian churches is Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, 5 vols. (1958–1963, reprint ed. 1973). Routledge's series *Christianity and Society in the Modern World* (1987–) applies modern social history to reli-

gion, and already includes several volumes on modern Europe. See more briefly René Rémond, *Religion and Society in Modern Europe** (1999), and Martin Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe, 1918–1945** (1997). H. H. Ben Sasson, ed., *A History of the Jewish People* (1976), contains an outstanding section on the modern era by Shmuel Ettinger.

Good introductions to twentieth-century art include Nikos Stangos, *Concepts of Modern Art*,* 3rd ed. (1994), and George H. Hamilton, *Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1880–1940*,* 6th ed. (1989). Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avantgarde and Society, 1900–1925* (1976), does not supplant the classic Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol. 4, *Naturalism, Impressionism, and the Film Age** (reprint ed. 1985). William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900** (1997), is a standard introduction.

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much more was involved in the failures of July and August 1914 than mere miscalculation, fatigue, or haste. However, most historians would feel uncomfortable if such emphasis were placed on predetermining conditions for war in 1914 that the free choices of European leaders were ignored. Historians should be as interested in the exercise of choice as in the conditions that limit choice. In July and August 1914, the Austrian leaders chose to punish Serbia for matters going far beyond the assassination of a royal heir. The German kaiser and chancellor supported Austria in a local war in order to reassert German vitality. The Russians had resolved as early as 1908 to forbid any further successes to Austria. French and British leaders decided, as the British foreign minister told the House of Commons on August 3, that “if we are engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer even if we stand aside.”²²

These choices, it must be realized, were not simple selections between pure states of “peace” or “war.” Decisions were made, step-by-step, between acceptable increments of war risk and unacceptable increments of risk of national humiliation, isolation, or decline. At each stage, the war risk seemed all the more acceptable because no European in 1914 had the faintest idea what sort of war the Great Powers could wage in the twentieth century. The length, fanaticism, and violence of what was to come were beyond human imagining as the first eager troops rushed to the front.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*,^{*} 2nd ed. (1999), is a masterful discussion. Laurence Lafore, *The Long Fuse*^{*} (2nd ed. 1997), analyzes lucidly the political and diplomatic background in Central Europe. See also Joachim Remak, *The Origins of World War I, 1871–1914*,^{*} 2nd ed. (1994). Enlightening articles are collected in Samuel R. Williamson Jr. et al., *Soldiers, Statesmen and July 1914: Civil-Military Relations and the Origins of the Great War*^{*} (2000), and in Richard Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandman, eds., *The Coming of the First World War* (1990). James Joll, *The Unspoken Assumptions* (1968), is a classic evaluation of the values that influenced the leaders’ decisions. Marc Trachtenberg challenges

the view that military machines spun out of control in 1914 in a seminal article, Chapter 2 of his collected essays, *History and Strategy*^{*} (1991).

Among more detailed treatments, the Italian newspaper editor Luigi Albertini’s *Origins of the War of 1914*, 3 vols. (1952–1957, reprint ed. 2003), provides an incomparable sweep of narrative detail, thorough on Balkan conditions and favorable to the Entente side. Despite new evidence revealed after the Second World War, the great monuments of the interwar “war guilt” controversy are still impressive. Sidney B. Fay, *The Origins of the World War*, 2 vols. (1928), shifts much of the blame from Germany to Serbia and Russia.

²²Zara S. Steiner, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* (New York, 1977), p. 210.

- Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *The Coming of War* (1930), is more critical of the Central Powers.
- Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860–1914** (1988), studies public opinion on both sides. Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914** (1979), evokes popular feelings on the eve of the war.
- In the 1960s, Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (1967), found his own country primarily responsible for war in 1914. He responded to a storm of criticism with *World Power or Decline* (1974), and *War of Illusions: German Policies from 1911 to 1914* (1975). One of Fischer's students, Imanuel Geiss, prepared a volume of documents with commentary, *July 1914* (1967), where the Fischer version can be followed in detail. H. W. Koch, ed., *The Origins of the First World War** (revised ed. 1991), assembles readings on the Fischer debate.
- Volker R. Berghahn, *Germany and the Approach of War, 1914,** 2nd ed. (1993), offers the latest scholarly synthesis, largely validating Fischer's charges. It is one of a series in which the role of each Great Power is assessed: Zara S. Steiner, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War,** 2nd ed. (2003), and similar titles for Austria-Hungary by Samuel R. Williamson Jr. (1991), Russia by D. C. B. Lieven (1984), Italy by R. J. B. Bosworth (1983), and France by John F. V. Keiger (1984). Keiger's book, and Gerd Krumeich, ed., *Armaments and Politics in France on the Eve of the First World War** (1987), revive some French responsibility, the latter showing the influence of domestic politics on military doctrine. Douglas Porch gives a sympathetic account of the French officers' struggles with politicians in *The March to the Marne** (reprint 2003).
- Samuel R. Williamson Jr. examines the Entente's military planning in *The Politics of Grand Strategy: Britain and France Prepare for War, 1904–1914** (1969, reprint ed. 1990). Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive** (1984), examines the assumptions behind French strategic planning. See generally Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War* (revised ed. 1991).
- German military preparations are examined by Gerhard Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan* (1958, reprint ed. 1979) and *The Sword and the Scepter: The Problem of Militarism in Germany*, vol. 2, *1890–1914* (1970), and by the much more critical Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945** (1955, reprint ed. 1964).
- Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (1966), defends the idealism of Princip and his comrades, and examines the help Serbian officials gave to their assassination plans.
- Arno Mayer examines the resort to war as a diversion from social unrest at home in "Internal Crisis and War since 1870," in Charles Bertrand, ed., *Revolutionary Situations in Europe* (1977), and further explores the background to this issue in *The Persistence of the Old Regime* (1980).
- Some of the main protagonists are examined in Konrad Jarausch, *The Enigmatic Chancellor: Bethmann Hollweg and the Hubris of Imperial Germany* (1972), F. H. Hinsley, ed., *British Foreign Policy Under Sir Edward Grey* (1977), and John F. W. Keiger, *Raymond Poincaré** (1997).
- Arthur J. Marder's sweeping *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow: The Royal Navy in the Fisher Era, 1904–1919*, 5 vols. (1961–1970, reprint ed. 1978), is still basic for the British navy. Jonathan Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deter-*

rent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet (1968, reprint ed. 1993), considers the German navy in strategic terms. The Weimar radical Eckhart Kehr's pioneering analysis of German naval rearmament as class defense may be sampled in his *Economic Interests, Militarism, and Foreign Policy* (1977).

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The inhuman sufferings of the fighting front were soon followed by severe home-front privations and dislocations. The war of 1914 to 1918 is still justly called the Great War, if for no other reason than the profound changes it wrought in European society.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- John Keegan, *The First World War* (1999) is a superlative study. Hew Strachan, ed., *World War I: A History** (1999) joins excellent brief studies of particular aspects with vivid illustrations. Martin Gilbert, *First World War* (1994), stresses soldiers' experiences. Spencer C. Tucker, *The Great War, 1914–1918* (1998) is precise on armaments and technology, including naval. Brian Bond, ed., *The First World War and British Military History* (1991), reflects on changing interpretations and reputations. Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I** (1998) asks heretically why the soldiers fought, and whether it was worth it.
- Basil H. Liddell-Hart, the great theoretician of indirect strategy and tank warfare, blamed Haig for useless slaughter in *Reputations Ten Years After* (reprint ed. 1977). John Terraine, in numerous works such as *The Great War** (1998) and *The Real War** (1963), and Corelli Barnett in *The Swordbearers: Supreme Command in the First World War* (1975), tried to redeem Haig and the British leadership. The fiftieth anniversary produced best-sellers that stressed the blindness of commanders and the absurdity of the bloodletting, such as A. J. P. Taylor, *The First World War* (1963), and Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August** (1962, reprint ed. 1994). These debates are deepened and updated by Timothy Travers in *The Killing Ground: The British Army, the Western Front, and the Emergence of Modern Warfare** (1987).
- Mechanization gets attention in Timothy Travers, *How the War Was Won: Command and Technology in the British Army on the Western Front, 1917–1918* (1992).
- Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front**, 2nd ed. (1998), is the best account of the war's other main sector. See Alan Moorhead, *Gallipoli** (1956, reprint ed. 1994), for the Dardanelles expedition. Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory** (1978, reprint ed. 2001), recounts the carnage of Verdun with indignation.
- Works by Gerhard Ritter and Gordon Craig cited at the end of chapter 2 discuss the emergence of military rule in Germany. Jere Clemens King, *Generals and Politicians* (1952, reprint ed. 1971), treats conflicts between government and high command in France. Maurice Hankey, *The Supreme Command, 1914–1918*, 2 vols. (1961), published the minutes of the British Committee of Imperial Defense.
- Arthur Marder is the uncontested authority on the British navy and on naval warfare in 1914–1918. See *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow* (1965).
- A major recent trend has been an interest in common soldiers' experiences. The chapter on the Somme in John Keegan, *The Face of Battle** (1983), makes trench warfare palpable. Martin Middlebrook, *The First Day on the Somme** (1971, reprint ed. 2003), used soldiers' recollections. Tony Ash-

worth, *Trench Warfare, 1914–1918: The Live and Let-Live System*, 2nd ed. (2000), reveals soldiers' informal truces. See also Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (1979). Leonard V. Smith, *Between Mutiny and Obedience* (1994), reconsiders the French army mutinies within a broader discussion of how military discipline was negotiated between commanders and front-line soldiers.

The horrors endured by ordinary soldiers inspired a richer literature in the First World War than in the Second. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory** (1975, revised ed. 2000), explores the ironic contrast between heroic literature and the grim reality of combat. Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and British Culture* (1992), examines the war's cultural impact more broadly. These works have no real counterpart for other belligerent countries. Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*,* reprint ed. (2000), draws parallels between aesthetic and military violence.

Major war novels include Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western*

Front (1929, reprint ed. 2003); Henri Barbusse, *Under Fire* (1917, reprint ed. 2003); Jules Romains, *Verdun* (1938, reprint ed. 2003); and Arnold Zweig, *The Case of Sergeant Grisha** (1928, reprint ed. 2002). Personal reminiscences of outstanding merit include Edmund Blunden, *Undertones of War** (1928, reprint ed. 2003); Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth** (1933, reprint ed. 1994), complemented now by her diary, *Chronicle of Youth: Vera Brittain's Great War Diary, 1913–1917** (2003); Ernst Jünger, *Storm of Steel** (1929, reprint ed. 2003)—one of the few to find beauty in it; Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That** (1929, reprint ed. 2000); and Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man* (1928, reprint ed. 2002).

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creative genius. They joined the new French Communist Party. The reactions of young intellectuals to wartime experience showed that however widely they disagreed among themselves, they were likely to join whatever postwar movement seemed to cut with the sharpest knife.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- Jay Winter, Geoffrey Parker, and Mary R. Harbeck, eds., *The Great War and the Twentieth Century* (2001), takes a fresh look at the war's wider implications. Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, eds., *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front** (2000) assesses total war on both sides. John Horne, ed., *State, Society, and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War** (2002), examines how populations were made willing to accept sacrifice. Extensive treatment of the economic and social dimensions of the war in all the major belligerent countries is contained in the many volumes edited in the 1920s and 1930s for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace by James T. Shotwell, *Economic and Social History of the World War*. This series often provides the fullest information available. The classic essay by Elie Halévy, *The Era of Tyrannies* (1966), is still suggestive for the permanent legacy of war government. The most penetrating study of any single war government is Gerald D. Feldman, *Army, Industry, and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918** (revised ed. 1992), supplemented by his *Iron and Steel in the German Inflation, 1916–1923* (1977). The same author's *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics, and Society in the German Inflation, 1914–1924** (1997) is the most thorough account of any one country's wartime economic management. See also Roger Chickering, *Imperial Ger-*
- many and the Great War, 1914–1918,** 2nd ed. (2004). Leonard V. Smith, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, and Annette Becker, *France and the Great War** (2003), is the best account of the war's effects on France.
- Marc Ferro, *The Great War, 1914–1918,** 2nd ed. (2003), takes a fresh look at the war as a social phenomenon. Excellent on the Great War's social and cultural impact are Richard Wall and Jay Winter, eds., *The Upheaval of War** (2004); Franz Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, eds., *Authority, Identity, and the Social History of the Great War* (1995); and Margaret R. Higonnet et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars** (1989). How the war was remembered and commemorated is the subject of Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning,** and Jay Winter and Immanuel Sivan, eds., *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (1999).
- The fatal division of Italy by the war is vividly portrayed in Paul Corner, *Fascism in Ferrara* (1975). See, more generally, Christopher Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism, 1870–1925* (1967).
- The social impact of the war on Britain is best treated by Jay Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (1986). Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures in England, 1918–1951** (1998) is a wide-ranging social and cultural history. Still useful are the relevant parts of Samuel H. Beer, *Modern British Politics:*

Parties and Pressure Groups in the Collectivist Age (1982), and Bentley B. Gilbert, *British Social Policy, 1914–1939* (1970).

For the war's impact on women, see Margaret R. Higonnet, ed., *Lines of Fire: Women Writers of World War I** (1997).

On the collapse of the Russian state under war pressures, Allan K. Wildman, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army* (1980), is instructive. István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918** (1990),

reveals the enduring strength of imperial loyalty. See also Robert A. Kann et al., *The Habsburg Empire in World War I* (1977).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1932*,* 2nd ed. (2001), is a brilliant short introduction from a perspective of qualified sympathy. Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Passion and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution** (1989), recalls some of the idealistic ferment that marked the early days. Most new work on the Russian revolution is darkened by the harshness and ultimate failure of the regime it produced. The compelling narrative of Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: Revolution, 1891–1924** (1997), asks how social revolution degenerated into dictatorship. Martin Malia argues in *The Soviet Tragedy** (1994) that the Soviet enterprise was doomed to end as murderous totalitarianism because it was based on a fatal intellectual project, first expressed by Rousseau and developed to extremes by Bolshevism, to realize utopia by force. Richard Pipes in many works, most recently *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution** (1996) and *The Unknown Lenin: From the Secret Archives** (1999), places the blame squarely on the personal cruelty and vindictiveness of Lenin.

The opening of Soviet archives has provided grist for such harsh reassessments. Dmitri Volkogonov, a disillusioned former Leninist, was well placed as head of Soviet military archives to reveal Lenin's dictatorial and vengeful side in *Lenin: A New Biography** (1996), but so narrowly personal a focus misses much. The same author's *Autopsy for an Empire: The Seven Leaders Who Built the Soviet Regime** (1998) and his *Trotsky, the Eter-*

nal Revolutionary (1996) are anecdotal. Robert V. Daniels's readable *Red October* (1967, reprint ed. 1984) emphasizes Lenin's seizure of opportunities. Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (2002), is the most recent and most balanced biography. See also Service's *The Russian Revolution, 1900–1929*,* 3rd ed. (1999). Edward Acton, Vladimir I. Cherniaev, and William G. Rosenberg, *A Critical Companion to the Russian Revolution** (1997) presents a rich cross-fertilization of current Russian and Western scholarship. Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917* (1999) brilliantly explores evolving meanings.

Among participants' accounts, the American radical John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* (1919, reprint ed. 2002) and the hesitant Bolshevik N. N. Sukhanov's *The Russian Revolution* (1955) are classics. William Henry Chamberlin, the *Christian Science Monitor*'s correspondent in Russia, still captures the grand sweep of events in *The Russian Revolution*, 2 vols. (1935, reprint ed. 1992).

The shipwreck of Bolshevism has reawakened interest in other options. Richard Pipes (see work cited at the end of chapter 1) finds potential reform in imperial Russia. Leopold Haimson, in "The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905–1917," *Slavic Review*, vol. 23, no. 4 (Dec. 1964), and vol. 24, no. 1 (March 1965), argued influentially that social polarization and political blockage

had already fatally compromised the old regime. See also Haimson, *The Making of Three Revolutionaries** (1988, new ed. 2004).

Other revolutionary currents opposed to Bolshevism are treated by Paul Avrich, *Kronstadt 1921* (1970, reprint ed. 1991); Robert V. Daniels, *The Conscience of a Revolution: Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia* (1988); William G. Rosenberg, *Liberals in the Russian Revolution: The Constitutional Democratic Party, 1917–1921* (1974); and Oliver H. Radkey, *The Agrarian Foes of Bolshevism* (1958), on the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

A rich literature since the 1970s on the social history of the revolution from below includes Diane Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution* (1981), and *Strikes and Revolution in Russia, 1917* (1991); Victoria Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organizations in Saint Petersburg and Moscow* (1983); William Husband, *Revolution in the Factory: The Birth of the Soviet Textile Industry, 1917–1920* (1990); and Stephen A. Smith, *Red Petrograd** (1985). Ronald G. Suny, *The Baku Commune* (1972), takes a rare look outside the main cities. Diane Koenker et al., *Party, State, and Society in the Russian Civil War** (1989) examines the civil war in a fresh social perspective.

Theodore H. Von Laue's *Why Lenin? Why Stalin? Why Gorbachev? Rise and Fall of the Soviet System,** 3rd. ed. (1997), employs a long-term modernization perspective. E. H. Carr's multi-volume *History of Soviet Russia* (1950–1978), continued by R. W. Davies, is the great monument of sympathetic Western scholarship.

The longest-lived Soviet regime outside Russia is examined in Ivan Völgyes,

ed., *Hungary in Revolution 1918–1919* (1971); Rodolph Tökés, *Béla Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic* (1967); Gyorgy Borsanyi, *The Life of a Communist Revolutionary: Béla Kun* (1993); and Miklos Molnar, *From Béla Kun to János Kádár: Seventy Years of Hungarian Communism* (1990).

Charles Bertrand, ed., *Revolutionary Situations in Europe* (1977), includes thoughtful essays about other places. Francis L. Carsten, *Revolution in Central Europe* (1972), is a narrative account of Germany and Austria.

The German revolution was intensely studied in the 1960s. See A. J. Ryder, *The German Revolution of 1918* (1967); Richard A. Comfort, *Revolutionary Hamburg* (1966); Allan Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria* (1965); Werner T. Angress, *Stillborn Revolution: The Communist Bid for Power in Germany 1921–1923* (1963, reprint ed. 1972); and J. P. Nettle, *Rosa Luxemburg*, abbreviated. ed. (1989).

Italian Socialist maximalism and the strike wave of 1920 also aroused interest after 1968. See Paolo Spriano, *The Occupation of the Factories: Italy 1920* (1975); John A. Davis, ed., *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution* (1979); Martin Clark, *Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution That Failed* (1977); and Gwynn A. Williams, *Proletarian Order: Antonio Gramsci, Factory Councils, and the Origins of Italian Communism* (1975). James Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 2nd ed. (1977), takes a sympathetic look at Clydeside radicalism in Britain.

In addition to the general works on the Habsburg Empire cited at the end of chapter 1, see Z. A. B. Zeman, *The Break-up of the Hapsburg Empire, 1914–1918* (1961, reprint ed. 1971), the very detailed Arthur G. May, *The*

Passing of the Habsburg Monarchy 1914–1918, 2 vols. (1966), and Leo Valiani, *The End of Austria-Hungary* (1973). The essay by Lewis B. Namier, “The Downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy,” reprinted in his *Vanished Supremacies* (1958, reprint ed. 1977), is as penetrating as when it was first written in 1920.

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in the League's name. At best, the League could only do what its most powerful members agreed to do.

The internationalists elected to power in France and Britain in 1924, Herriot, Briand, and Ramsay MacDonald, tried to give more teeth to the League of Nations peacekeeping machinery. The League charter left unspecified how to define aggression or agree to act against it. MacDonald and Herriot proposed an arbitration device, by which any party to a dispute who refused arbitration would automatically be deemed an aggressor and thus subject to sanctions by other members of the League. This proposal, known as the Geneva Protocol, was the most significant attempt between the world wars to replace traditional power politics with some kind of legal procedure for the resolution of international disputes. It was never adopted; Conservatives who returned to power in British elections in September 1924 rejected it.

The League helped solve a half-dozen minor border disputes in the 1920s in cases where the major powers concurred. It became less a victors' coalition and more a family of nations when Germany (1926) and then Russia (1934) were admitted. But the United States never joined, a near-fatal blow. Its greatest successes were the promotion of international cooperation in matters like public health and communications. Its failure to do anything about the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 dealt it a major humiliation, and its inability to halt aggression by a large state was confirmed in 1934–1935 when Italy invaded Ethiopia.

Thus, between the world wars, international relations remained in the hands of sovereign states, much as before. Only now there were many more of them. And the European states could be powerfully affected by distant powers such as Japan and the United States. As a result, the affairs of Europe were less under the control of the Great Powers than before. The new nation-states of Eastern Europe generated at least as many international problems as the dynasties they had replaced. The loser states of 1920, Germany and Russia at their head, looked for opportunities to regain their temporarily eclipsed power. So the settlement of 1919, far from ushering in a time of peace, merely suspended temporarily what has been called Europe's second Thirty Years' War (1914–1945).

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Margaret Olwen MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World** (2002), is lively and thoughtful. Alan Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peace-making in Paris, 1919** (1991), remains an acute brief introduction. The latest scholarship is reviewed in Manfred F. Boemeke, Gerald D. Feldman, and Elizabeth Glasser, *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years*

(1998). David Stevenson, *The First World War and International Politics** (1991), provides a long-range international perspective.

The massive H. W. V. Temperley, ed., *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, 6 vols. (1920–1924), is still useful. It needs to be counterbalanced by the French perspective in André Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty* (1921), and

by David Lloyd George, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties* (1938).

The negotiations may be followed in Arthur Link, ed., *The Deliberations of the Council of Four* (1992), and more completely in the notes of the secretary to the British Delegation, Sir Maurice Hankey, published by the U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, "The Paris Peace Conference, 1919," vols. 3–5 (1943–1946).

Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking, 1919*, new ed. (2001), remains the most evocative of participants' memoirs. John Maynard Keynes's criticism in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919, reprint ed. 2004) was criticized in turn by Etienne Mantoux, *The Carthaginian Peace, or the Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes** (1946, reprint ed. 1999).

The impact of war aims and wartime promises on the peace settlement is explored in V. H. Rothwell, *British War Aims and Peace Diplomacy, 1914–1918* (1971), and David Stevenson, *French War Aims against Germany, 1914–1919* (1982). Klaus Epstein treated the struggle within Germany over accepting the peace terms in *Matthias Erzberger and the Dilemma of German Democracy* (1959, reprint ed. 1971).

Among accounts of individual governments recent enough to have used the archives, see Erik Goldstein, *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy, Peace Planning, and the Paris Peace Conference 1916–1920* (1991); Sally Marks, *Innocent Abroad: Belgium and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (1981); Kay Lundgreen-Nielson, *The Polish Problem at the Paris Peace Conference* (1979); and Marian Kent, *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire**, 2nd ed. (1996). Seth P. Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Con-*

ference of 1919 (1961, reprint ed. 2003), is still useful. For Italy, refer to H. James Burgwyn, *The Legend of the Mutilated Victory: Italy, the Great War, and the Paris Peace Conference* (1993), and for the South Slavs to Ivo Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference* (1966).

Still essential for the eastern settlement is John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace, March 1918* (revised ed. 1971). Arno J. Mayer has directed attention to the role played in the peace settlement by anti-Bolshevism in *Wilson vs. Lenin: Political Origins of the New Diplomacy 1917–1918* (1959, reprint ed. 1964) and *The Politics and Diplomacy of Peace-Making* (1967).

Good biographies of Clemenceau in English are Donald R. Watson, *Georges Clemenceau: A Political Biography* (1976), and Gregor Dallas's more personal *At the Heart of a Tiger* (1993). For Lloyd George, in addition to the monumental biography by John Grigg, see Bentley B. Gilbert, *David Lloyd George: A Political Life* (1992), and the brief introduction by Chris Wrigley, *Lloyd George** (1990). Woodrow Wilson is scrutinized without indulgence by the German scholar Klaus Schwabe in *Woodrow Wilson, Revolutionary Germany and Peacemaking, 1918–1919* (1985), by Arthur Walworth, *Wilson and His Peacemakers* (1986), and more favorably in many volumes by Arthur Link, including *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace** (1985).

Lorna S. Jaffe, *The Decision to Disarm Germany* (1985), is good on disarmament. James F. Willis, *Prologue to Nuremberg: The Politics and Diplomacy of Punishing War Criminals of the First World War* (1982), treats the first war crimes jurisdiction.

Good on international relations in the 1920s are Sally Marks, *The Illusion of*

Peace: Europe's International Relations, 1918–1933, 2nd ed (2003), and Jon Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy* (1972). In the absence of a good biography of Briand, Jacobson shows him convincingly in action. Walter McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy, 1914–1924* (1978), is basic for Poincaré's hard line. Stephen A. Schuker, *The End of French Predominance in Europe** (1988), gives the essential economic-financial background to France's inability to enforce its peace.

German foreign policy in the 1920s is synonymous with the career of Gustav Stresemann. Hans W. Gatzke revealed Stresemann's revisionist aims in *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany* (1954). The latest scholarly treatment of Soviet foreign policy in the 1920s is Jon Jacobson, *When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics** (1994).

Michael C. Howard, *The Continental Commitment* (1989), caps a rich literature on the dilemmas of British foreign policy after 1918. The French alliances in the east are scrutinized by Piotr Wandycz in *France and Her Eastern Allies, 1915–1919* (1974), and *The Twilight of France's Eastern Alliances, 1926–1936** (1988). Anna Cienciala, *From Versailles to Locarno: Keys to Polish Foreign Policy, 1919–1925* (1984), is a valuable monograph.

Gerald D. Feldman, *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics, and Society in the Ger-*

*man Inflation** (1997), is the fullest examination of postwar inflation's impact on any one country. William C. McNeil, *American Money and the Weimar Republic* (1986), is basic for the economic dimension of the German "fulfillment" policy.

The reparations debate is continued in Robert E. Bunselmeyer, *The Cost of the War of 1914–1918: British Economic War Aims and the Origins of Reparations* (1975); Marc Trachtenberg, *Reparations in World Politics* (1980), more lenient towards France than most; and Bruce Kent, *The Spoils of War** (1989).

F. S. Northedge, *The League of Nations: Its Life and Times, 1920–1946* (1986), is a solid survey; F. P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, 2 vols., (1952), remains an indispensable inside view by a member of the League secretariat. See also George Egerton, *Great Britain and the Creation of the League of Nations* (1979).

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well, although not perfectly. Some Europeans still put their faith in traditional conservatism. After the intense labor strife of 1917 to 1920 in Spain, a military dictatorship under General Primo de Rivera governed the country without any fascist trappings under the ultimate authority of King Alfonso XIII. The Portuguese Republic was overthrown in 1926 by a military junta without any clear program except disgust with party politics. The victor nations of Britain and France resolved their postwar problems within their existing parliamentary framework. By 1923, only one European nation—Italy—had a regime of the new style, and although some other Europeans imitated the uniforms, the colored shirts, the rhetoric, and the tone of fascism, it was not certain how widely it would spread.

Fascism remained available, however, for future emergencies. If faced with disintegration of the economy in depression or inflation, disintegration of the culture in modern decadence, and disintegration of the nation in class struggle, frightened Europeans might well turn to a forcible integration of economy, culture, and classes within a fascist state.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (2004), shows how fascism worked. Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1919–1945** (1996), is the best-informed descriptive survey. Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., *The European Right* (1965), has not been superseded for background. Kevin Passmore, *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction** (2002), is probing but assumes knowledge.
- Given the leader's central role in fascism, biographies are crucial. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936 Hubris**, and *Hitler 1937–1945 Nemesis* (2000), are now best on the man and his public. One can still consult Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny** (revised ed. 1962, reprint ed. 1999), the same author's *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives**, 2nd ed. (1998), or Joachim Fest, *Hitler** (revised ed. 2002). Ron Rosenbaum, *Explaining Hitler** (1998) examines efforts to penetrate Hitler's inner life. R. J. B. Bosworth, *Mussolini** (2003), is the most complete recent biography. Mussolini's main Italian biographer is discussed in Borden
- W. Painter Jr., "Renzo De Felice and the Historiography of Italian Fascism," *American Historical Review*, vol. 95: no. 2 (Apr. 1990), pp. 391–405.
- Adrian Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919–1929*, 2nd ed. (2003), is the most penetrating analysis of Mussolini's rise; it presumes background knowledge, which may be obtained in Martin Clark (see chapter 1) or the useful brief introduction by Alexander De Grand, *Italian Fascism**, 3rd ed. (2000). John Whittam, *Fascist Italy** (1995), and Martin Blinkhorn, *Mussolini and Fascist Italy**, 2nd ed. (1994), are also good short summaries. R. J. B. Bosworth, *The Italian Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives in the Interpretation of Mussolini and Fascism** (1998) is a valuable if idiosyncratic introduction to debates. Angelo Tasca, *The Rise of Italian Fascism* (1928), the keen observations of an ex-Communist exile, remains a classic. Paul Corner, *Fascism in Ferrara* (1975), is an illuminating local study of how conservative, agrarian fascism succeeded while radical,

urban fascism failed. Frank Snowden, *The Fascist Revolution in Tuscany, 1919–1922** (1990), the same author's *Violence and the Great Estates in the South of Italy: Apulia, 1900–1914** (1986), Anthony Cardoza, *Agrarian Elites and Italian Fascism: The Province of Bologna, 1901–1926* (1982), and Alice Kelikian, *Town and Country under Fascism: The Transformation of Brescia, 1915–1926* (1986), are good local studies.

Anthony J. Nicholls, *Weimar and the Rise of Hitler**, 3rd ed. (1991), is a helpful introduction. Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of The Third Reich** (2004), is a masterful synthesis. Harold J. Gordon Jr., *Hitler and the Beer Hall Putsch* (1972), explores Hitler's first bid for power. Valuable articles on the growth of Nazism in the later 1920s are collected in Richard Bessel and E. J. Feuchtwanger, eds., *Social Change and Political Development in the Weimar Republic* (1981).

The various national fascist movements are explored deeply in Stein U. Larsen et al., eds., *Who Were the Fascists?* (1980), along with some probing essays on fascism in general. Walter Laqueur, *Fascism: A Reader's Guide* (1978), is still a useful guide to debates about generic fascism. Stuart Woolf, ed., *Fascism in Europe* (1981), gathers excellent studies of particular cases. There are brief sketches of the various European fascist movements and excerpts from their propaganda in Eugen Weber, *The Varieties of Fascism** (1982).

The beginnings of Hungarian fascism are suggestively introduced by Istvan Deák in Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., *The European Right* (1965), and colorfully elaborated (along with the early Romanian fascists) in M.

Nagy-Talavera, *The Greenshirts and the Others* (1970). There are summary accounts in Peter F. Sugar, ed., *Native Fascism in the Successor States* (1971). Francis L. Carsten, *Fascist Movements in Austria from Schönerer to Hitler* (1977), is a useful introduction.

Efforts to locate deeper roots of fascism vary profoundly. Roger Griffin, ed., *International Fascism: Theories, Causes, and the New Consensus** (1998), defines fascism as an ideology of national regeneration and samples many other approaches. Zeev Sternhell attributes fascism to antimaterialist and nationalist renegades within the French and Italian left. See *The Birth of Fascist Ideology** (1994), among other works. For right-wing intellectual and cultural roots of Nazism, see Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair** (1961); Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism** (1986); and George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology** (1964, reprint ed. 1998). Early Fascism's links with aesthetic modernism are explored by Walter L. Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence: From Modernism to Fascism* (1993). Marxist explanations of fascism as the defensive reaction of beleaguered capitalism are presented by David Beetham, ed., *Marxists in Face of Fascism* (1983).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- The effort to restore "normalcy" is given a stimulating analysis by Charles S. Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe** (1974). See also Dan P. Silverman, *Reconstructing Europe after the Great War* (1982).
- Barry Eichengreen, *Golden Fetters: The Gold Standard and the Great Depression, 1919–1939** (1996), is the best starting point for economic policies in the 1920s.
- Karen Barkey and Mark Von Hagen, eds., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires** (1997), address the challenge of replacing multinational empires with unified nation states.
- For individual European states in the 1920s, in addition to works mentioned in the bibliography to chapter 1, see the following:
- Britain:* Along with the works of Marwick, Beer, and Gilbert cited in the bibliography to chapter 4, see Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain in the Twentieth Century** (1997). Robert Graves, *The Long Week-End* (1940, reprint ed. 2004), is a brilliant personal reflection.
- France:* The volume by Philippe Bernard in the *Cambridge History of Modern France* is a useful introduction.
- Germany:* In addition to works mentioned in the bibliography to chapter 7, see Hans Mommsen, *The Rise and Fall of Weimar Democracy** (1996), Richard Bessel, *Weimar Germany, 1918–1933** (2001), and Eberhard Kolb, *The Weimar Republic** (1993). Detlev Peukert, *Weimar Germany: The Crisis of Classical Modernity** (1993), explores antimodernist reactions brilliantly. Weimar intellectual life is assessed in Anson Rabinbach, *In the Shadow of Catastrophe: German Intellectuals between Apocalypse and Enlightenment* (1997). Major biographies include Jonathan Wright, *Gustav Stresemann: Weimar's Greatest Statesman* (2002), David Felix, *Walther Rathenau and the Weimar Republic: The Politics of Reparations* (1971), and John A. Leopold, *Alfred Hugenberg: The Radical Nationalist Campaign against the Weimar Republic* (1977).
- The Republic's relationship with the army is studied in Francis L. Carsten, *The Reichswehr and Politics, 1918–1933* (1966), and Gaines Post Jr., *The Civil-Military Fabric of Weimar Foreign Policy* (1973), in addition to the works of Craig and Ritter listed at the end of chapter 2.
- Italy:* Adrian Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power*, 2nd ed. (2003), is essential for fascist Italy up to 1929, though it presumes background knowledge. See also Alan Cassels, *Mussolini's Early Diplomacy* (1970), and Claudio F. Segrè, *Italo Balbo: A Fascist Life** (1987). Fascist attempts to shape Italian life are examined deeply by Victoria De Grazia in *The Culture of Consent* (1981) and *How Fascism Ruled Women** (1991) and surveyed more broadly in Edward Tannenbaum, *The Fascist Experience* (1972). Mussolini's accord with the Church is explored by John F. Pollard, *The Vatican and Italian Fascism* (1985), and by Richard A. Webster, *Cross and Fasces* (1960). The keen contemporary observations of Gaetano Salvemini, *Under the Axe of Fascism* (1936, reprint ed. 1970), and Herman Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 2nd ed. (1935), have not lost their punch. The articles in Roland Sarti, *The Ax Within: Italian Fascism in Action* (1974), are still valuable.

Spain: Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Fascism from Above: The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain, 1921–1930* (1983), studies a failed modernizing dictatorship.

Austria: Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire and Republic** (1987), is the place to begin. Klemens von Klemperer, *Ignaz Seipel: Christian Statesman in a Time of Crisis* (1972), defends the Christian Social leader. Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Habsburg to Hitler*, 2 vols. (1948, reprint ed. 1981), contains rich detail.

The Soviet Union: Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1932**, 2nd ed. (2001), is helpful for the 1920s. Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography 1888–1938** (revised ed. 1980), is essential for the industrialization debate. Important new monographs include Sheila Fitzpatrick et al., eds., *Russia in the Era of NEP** (1991), and Mark Von Hagen, *Soldiers in the Proletarian Dictatorship. The Red Army and the Soviet Socialist State, 1917–1930** (1990). Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky, October 1917–1921**, new ed. (2002), treats cultural policy before Stalin imposed conformity.

Scholars are beginning to draw on newly opened Soviet archives, but no startling revelations have emerged about Stalin himself. New Russian biographies have tended to be trivially personal. The most historically useful of them is Dmitri Volkogonov's *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy** (1996). The author, head of Soviet military archives, attributed harsh policies to Stalin's personality in this book and only later traced systemic faults to Lenin. Robert Conquest, *Stalin:*

*Breaker of Nations** (1992), indicts the dictator. See also Adam Ulam, *Stalin** (revised ed. 1989). Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879–1929** (1973, reprint ed. 1992) remains an interesting psychological portrait.

The standard account of how one-party rule was consolidated in the Soviet Union is Jerry F. Hough and Merle Fainsod, *How the Soviet Union Is Governed* (1979). Fainsod used local party archives captured by the Germans in 1941 in *Smolensk under Soviet Rule* (1958) to reveal Communist administration at the grassroots. R. W. Davies, *Soviet Economic Development from Lenin to Khrushchev** (1998), provides an authoritative brief account. See also Alec Nove, *An Economic History of the Soviet Union* (1993).

For East Central Europe in the 1920s, use Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe Between the World Wars** (revised ed. 1992), and Michael C. Kaser, *Economic History of Eastern Europe*, vol. 1 (1986). Classics among older monographs include Joseph Rothschild, *Pilsudski's Coup d'Etat* (1966); Henry L. Roberts, *Rumania: Political Problems of an Agrarian State* (1951, reprint ed. 1969); and John D. Bell, *Peasants in Power: Alexander Stamboliski and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, 1899–1923* (1977).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- The most penetrating study of the social and political context of culture in any interwar European state is Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider** (1970, reprint ed. 2003). See also the informative studies of French social thinkers between the wars in H. Stuart Hughes, *The Obstructed Path: French Social Thought in the Years of Desperation, 1930–1960** (reprint ed. 2001). Robert Graves, *The Long Week-End** (1940, reprint ed. 2004), is a lively look at British popular culture between the wars.
- The best study of mass communications in any European state is Asa Briggs, *The BBC: The First Fifty Years* (1985). See also Briggs's comprehensive *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, 4 vols. (1961–1979, reprint ed. 1995). There is nothing comparable in English about the more statist continental radio and television systems.
- David A. Cook, *A History of Narrative Film*,* 4th ed. (2004), and Thomas W. Bohn and Richard L. Stromgren, *Light and Shadows: A History of Motion Pictures*,* 3rd ed. (1987), cover European film well. See also Pierre Sorlin, *European Cinema, European Societies** (1991), and the same author's *Italian National Cinema, 1896–1996** (1996). On the mass media generally, see the brief introductions by Ken Ward, *Mass Communications and the Modern World** (1989) and Pierre Sorlin, *Mass-Media** (1994).
- On state management of culture in the USSR, Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky** (1970, new ed. 2002), is basic. See also Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900** (1992), and Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia** (2003).
- Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent** (1981, reprint ed. 2002), is important for Italian fascism's manipulation of leisure activities. Paul Brooker, *The Faces of Fraternalism* (1991), discusses the manufacture of consensus in Germany and Italy. A model monograph on Nazi arts policy is Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945** (1985).
- The emergence of leisure time is explored in Rudy Koshar, ed., *Histories of Leisure** (2002), and James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830–1950* (1978), and examined more closely in John K. Walton and James Walvin, eds., *Leisure Time in Britain, 1780–1939* (1988). The significance of leisure time is analyzed by Gareth Stedman Jones in "Class Expression versus Social Control: A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure," in G. Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class* (1983). John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power, and Culture** (1986), studies the most important leisure time activity in Britain. See also Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain** (2002), and Claire Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England, 1920–1960* (2001).
- A layman's introduction to twentieth century science through its main practitioners is Abraham Pais, *The Genius of Science: A Portrait Gallery* (2000). Major developments in physics between the wars are treated by Barbara Cline, *Men Who Made a New Physics: Physicists and*

*the Quantum Theory** (1987); Abraham Pais, *Niels Bohr's Times** (1994), Jeremy Bernstein, *Quantum Profiles* (1990), David M. Cassidy, *Uncertainty: The Life and Science of Werner Heisenberg* (1993), and Laurie M. Brown et al., *Twentieth Century Physics* (1995), in addition to works mentioned at the end of Chapter 1.

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The most interesting debate about Stalinist rule broke out within the Soviet Union. Nikita Khrushchev opened a Pandora's box of criticisms of Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956. The Soviet historian Roy Medvedev argued that Lenin's imperfect but promising beginning was perverted by Stalinism, a personal aberration that built on elements present in party rule but which was not inevitable. Solzhenitsyn came to believe that Lenin had erred fatally in trying to create socialism in an underindustrialized country, and that Stalin simply "followed in Lenin's footsteps."¹⁹

Whatever its proper explanation, the Stalinist blood bath made the Soviet economic achievement considerably less attractive after 1936. The British Labour Party intellectuals Beatrice and Sidney Webb had referred to the Soviet Union in 1935 as "a new civilization." Another Western journalist called the 1930s Russia's "iron age."²⁰ It was that, in two senses of the term: an extraordinary achievement in heavy industrial production and a descent into barbarism.

CONCLUSION

Governments dealt with the challenges of the depression with widely varying success. The authoritarian regimes expanded their industrial power and kept order despite low wages. The liberal regimes sank ever deeper into unemployment as they tried deflation and lapsed into internal social conflict. Liberal politics and liberal economics were completely discredited. From the vantage point of the bread lines and soup kitchens of London, Paris, or republican Berlin, either communist Russia or fascist Italy looked like greener pastures, according to one's predilection. Then when Nazi Germany grew into the industrial and military giant of the Continent by the mid-1930s, the comparative impression of decadent liberalism and burgeoning authoritarianism grew even stronger.

The British novelist E. M. Forster later summed up the air of doubt and lassitude felt in the major liberal states with the title of his volume of essays, *Two Cheers for Democracy*. The liberal states were deprived by their depression remedies of both the material and moral means and the will to oppose the dictators resolutely. In the 1930s, fascism seemed the wave of the future.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

David C. Large, *Between Two Fires: Europe's Path in the 1930s** (1991), is a lively narrative relevant to chapters 10–14. Charles H. Feinstein et al., *The European Economy Between the Wars** (1997), provides the best new intro-

duction, with an excellent guide to more specialized reading. Patricia Clavin, *The Great Depression in Europe, 1929–1939** (2001) is clear and non-technical. Barry Eichengreen, *Golden Fetters: The Gold Standard and the Great*

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰William Henry Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age* (Boston, 1934).

*Depression, 1919–1939** (1996), argues that the return to the gold standard in a world altered by World War I made the depression worse. Peter Temin, *Lessons from the Great Depression** (1989), takes a similar position. Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in the Depression, 1929–1939** (revised ed. 1986), attributes the depression's severity to the absence of a hegemonic economic center such as the City of London had provided before 1914. Harold James, *The End of Globalization: Lessons from the Great Depression* (2001), sees the slump as a flight from free exchange. Gilbert Ziebura, *World Economy and World Politics, 1924–1931* (1990), looks for policy errors and structural faults behind the Great Depression.

Robert Skidelsky's great biography of John Maynard Keynes (3 vols., 1994–2001*) is summarized in *Keynes** (1996). See also D. E. Moggridge, *Maynard Keynes: An Economist's Biography* (1992). Peter Clarke, *The Keynesian Revolution in the Making* (1989), shows how Keynes's theoretical work was shaped by contemporary policy issues in Britain, and Peter A. Hall, ed., *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations* (1989), examines its application.

The emergence of welfare states is explored in Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, eds., *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America** (1981). Peter Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity** (1992), explains the origins of the welfare state in the farmer-labor-middle-class coalition of Scandinavia before and after World War I. Marquis Childs, *Sweden, The Middle Way* (1936, reprint ed. 1961), advocated cooperativist solutions widely admired in the 1930s; he fol-

lowed up with *The Middle Way on Trial* (1984).

Good studies of individual nations at grips with the depression include Robert Skidelsky, *Politicians and the Slump* (reprint ed. 1994), for Britain; Julian Jackson, *The Politics of Depression in France, 1932–1936** (reprint ed. 2002); and Harold James, *The German Slump: Politics and Economics* (1987). Still useful is Karl Hardach, *The Political Economy of Germany in the Twentieth Century** (1980). There is lively detail in Eugen Weber, *Hollow Years: France in the 1930s** (1996). Works by Marwick, Beer, and Gilbert cited at the end of chapter 4 are also useful for Britain in the Depression. Roland Sarti, *Fascism and the Industrial Elite in Italy, 1919–1940* (1971), successfully de-mythologizes corporatism, as does Frederick Hugh Adler, *Italian Industrialists from Liberalism to Fascism* (1995). George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier** (1937, reprint ed. 2001), is a justly famous essay on a coal-mining town in the English Midlands during the Depression, by a middle-class intellectual acutely aware of his temptation to condescend to the poor. Hans Fallada, *Little Man, What Now?** (1933, reprint ed. 1992), and Christopher Isherwood, *Berlin Stories** (1935, reprint ed. 1979), are among the most enduring depression fiction, one employing pathos, the other satire to portray the desperate middle class in Berlin just before Hitler.

R. J. Overy, *The Nazi Economic Recovery, 1932–1938**, 2nd ed. (1996), briefly introduces the issues and literature. Avraham Barkai, *Nazi Economics* (1990), explores the origins of the Nazis' job-creation program. The most penetrating analysis of the fascist states' depression remedies is chapter

2 of Charles S. Maier, *In Search of Stability** (1988).

For the depression in East Central Europe, consult Michael Kaser and E. A. Radice, *The Economic History of Eastern Europe, 1919–1975*, 3 vols. (1986–1987).

Stalin's reduction of the peasantry to a "second serfdom" is explored from below by Sheila Fitzpatrick in *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village After Collectivization* (1994), Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin** (1996), and also by Viola, *Contending with Stalinism** (2002). Authentic Soviet economic achievements are distinguished from propaganda in R. W. Davies, *Soviet Economic Development from Lenin to Khrushchev** (1998). Recent looks at the social impact of the five-year plans include William G. Rosenberg, *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization* (1993), Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization, The Formation of Modern Soviet Production Relations, 1929–1941* (1986), and Lewis H. Siegelbaum, ed., *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class, and Identity** (1998).

Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from Above, 1929–1941** (1992), studies the transformations of the 1930s through the dictator's personality. See also the biographies of Stalin cited at the end of chapter 8. Robert C. Tucker, ed., *Stalinism** (new ed. 1998), contains illuminating discussions of the meaning of Stalin's dictatorship. Sheila Fitzpatrick draws on new Russian scholarship in *Stalinism: A Reader** (1999). Chris Ward, *Stalin's Russia**, 2nd ed. (1999) surveys the debates. The "revisionists," for whom Soviet society was complex and

its achievements not only negative, restate their case in Nick Lampert and Gabor T. Rittersporn, eds., *Stalinism: Its Nature and Aftermath* (1993), and in Alec Nove, *The Stalin Phenomenon* (1993).

The debate over the appalling human cost of this "second revolution" has been sharpened by the opening of Soviet archives. Robert Conquest's harsh conclusions about Stalin's purges are updated in *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine** (2002). His "revisionist" critics have adjusted their figures to newly accessible archives and seek explanations broader than the dictator's whim. See most recently J. Arch Getty, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932–1939** (1999). Sheila Fitzpatrick examines ordinary people during the purges in *Everyday Stalinism** (1999). Powerful memoirs about the experience of Stalin's Terror are Eugenia Ginzburg, *Journey into the Whirlwind** (1967, reprint ed. 1997), and Nadezhda Mandelstam, *Hope Against Hope** (1970, reprint ed. 1999). Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon** (1941, reprint ed. 1987), is the classic novel of the purge, based loosely on the trial of Bukharin.

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House of Commons and contrasted the “courage” and “positive force” of the Duce to the faltering hesitations of the democracies.²⁴ During the 1930s, similar doubts about the European liberal tradition swelled to a roar.

Fascism caught up the refugees from a liberal system that no longer appeared to work. Liberalism seemed to provide neither a living nor security. Some of these ideological refugees could turn to Marxism, but that step required one to identify with the proletariat and to accept the Soviet Union as a model. Thus, Marxism’s growth in the 1930s had inherent limits. Fascism offered something to every kind of discontent; indeed, its very denial of class was one of its major assets. To the threatened elites, the authority of fascism offered an immediate end to class struggles and a managed economy without ruinous competition. To a desperate lower middle class, fascism offered security and a chance to bring organized labor to heel. To embittered nationalists, it offered national unity and glory. To the jobless, it offered jobs.

It will not do, of course, to assess fascism’s appeal solely in terms of economic and social interest. In ways still only partly understood, fascism offered all sorts of psychological gratifications: for some, the reassurance of belonging; for some, the thrill of authorized vicarious brutality, for still others a defense against godless, materialist Marxism.²⁵

At bottom, the authoritarian regimes seemed simply to work better than liberal regimes in the 1930s. The appeals of success evaporated, of course, when fascism was defeated in 1945. The outer trappings of fascism have therefore fallen into disrepute. That does not preclude the possibility, however, of similar future reactions by frightened and insecure middle and upper classes.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

How Hitler reached office is studied most recently by Henry A. Turner Jr., who shows in *Hitler’s Thirty Days to Power** (1997) that it was not inevitable but the result of choices by top German leaders. Refer also to the biographies of Hitler listed at the end of chapter 7.

On the local level, William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single Town** (1984, reprint ed. 1995), is a compelling narrative of Nazi success at the grassroots. Other good local studies include Jeremy Noakes on Lower Saxony (1971), Geoffrey Pridham on Bavaria

(1973), Johnpeter Horst Grill on Baden (1983), and David C. Large, *Where Ghosts Walked: Munich’s Road to the Third Reich* (1997). Rudolf Heberle, *From Democracy to Nazism* (1945; reprint ed. 1970), is a pioneer study of the only German state to give Hitler an absolute majority before 1933, Schleswig-Holstein.

Hitler’s constituency has been intensely studied. Richard Hamilton, *Who Voted for Hitler?* (1982), argues that the upper middle class supported him as well as the lower middle class. Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter: The Social Foundations of Fascism in Germany, 1919–*

²⁴Speech of 22 December 1932, quoted in Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il duce. I. Gli anni del consenso* (Torino, Italy, 1974), p. 101n.

²⁵See “L’enfance d’un chef,” Jean-Paul Sartre’s short story of a self-doubting adolescent boy who enjoys the tough pose of a fascist youth gang, Jean-Paul Sartre, *Le Mur* (Paris, 1939), pp. 145–241.

1933* (1984), analyzes the electorate most precisely. See also Childers, *The Formation of the Nazi Constituency* (1986). Peter Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis** (1999) evokes the hope and excitement (more than the hatred) that brought recruits to Nazism.

Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History** (2000), evokes brilliantly the sordid reality of Nazi Germany. Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation,** 4th ed. (2000), reviews interpretations of the Nazi regime with authority. Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship** (1970), remains important as the authoritative synthesis of the prevailing interpretation of a generation ago, which focused centrally on the dictator's authority. Hans Mommsen, *The Third Reich between Vision and Reality: New Perspectives on German History, 1918–1945** (2000), reflects the current generation's emphasis on interactions between German society and Nazism. Allen Mitchell, *The Nazi Revolution: Hitler's Dictatorship and the German Nation,** 4th ed. (1997), is an excellent general introduction. See also Michael Burleigh, *Confronting the Nazi Past: New Debates on Modern German History** (1996). Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds., *Nazism: 1919–1945,** 4 vols. (2001), present an outstanding document collection with enlightening commentary.

Martin Broszat, *The Hitler State** (1981, reprint ed. 1989), portrays Nazi Germany as a "polyocracy" in which rival agencies competed for Hitler's favor, as does the influential work of Hans Mommsen (see above). Dietrich Orlow, *The History of the Nazi Party, 2 vols.* (1969–1973), describes evolving

political structures. David Schoenbaum, *Hitler's Social Revolution** (1980, reprint ed. 1997), shows how the Nazi regime, breaking Hitler's promises to farmers and the lower middle class, made Germany more urban and industrial. The classic essay by Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (1968, reprint ed. 1993), suggests further that the destructions of the Nazi era cleared the ground for postwar democracy. Pierre Ayçoberry, *The Social History of the Third Reich** (2000) contests some standard views. Important interpretative articles appear in David Crew, ed., *Nazism and German Society** (1994), Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds., *Reevaluating the Third Reich** (1993) and Moshe Lewin, ed., *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison** (1997). The articles in Peter Stachura, ed., *The Shaping of the Nazi State* (1978), have not lost their interest.

Useful biographies of Nazi leaders include Ralf Georg Reuth, *Goebbels** (1994), Richard Overy, *Goering, The Iron Man** (2000), Michael Bloch, *Ribbentrop* (1992), and works on Himmler by Richard Breitman (2004*) and Peter Padfield (2001*). Joachim Fest provides short sketches in *The Face of the Third Reich** (1999).

New biomedical and gender studies cast harsh light on the nature of Nazism. See Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform* (1995); Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State* (1991); Götz Aly, *Cleansing the Fatherland: Nazi Medicine and Racial Hygiene** (1994); and Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: Euthanasia in Germany, c. 1900–1945** (new ed. 2002).

The German officer corps is accused of yielding to Hitler by John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Nemesis of Power: The German Army in Politics*, 2nd ed. (2003), and by Gordon Craig's work cited at the end of chapter 2. The most recent treatment of the army in Nazi Germany is Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *Army, Politics, and Society in Germany, 1933–1945* (1987).

The controversial relations between German business and Hitler have been most soundly treated for the period before Hitler came to power by Henry A. Turner Jr., *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler* (1984). For the period after 1933, two model studies examine individual firms: Peter Hayes, *Industry and Ideology*,* 2nd ed (2001), on I. G. Farben; and Bernard Bellon's unsparing *Mercedes in Peace and War** (1990). See also Dan P. Silverman, *Hitler's Economy: Nazi Work Creation Programs, 1933–1936* (1999). Best on labor is Tim Mason, *Social Policy in the Third Reich** (1995). See also Mason's collected essays, *Nazism, Fascism, and the Working Class** (1995). The German judiciary gets attention from Michael Stolleis, *The Law under the Swastika* (1998), Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice* (1991), and H. W. Koch, *In the Name of the Volk: Political Justice in Hitler's Germany* (1997).

The growing Nazi terror machine is treated most authoritatively by Eric A. Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans** (2000), which shows both the extent and the limits of citizen support for it. The public's help to the police (by denunciations) has been measured by Robert Gelately in *The Gestapo and German Society** (1990), and in *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany** (2002). Helmut Krausnick et al.,

Anatomy of the SS State (1968), the legal brief prepared for the prosecution of the Auschwitz extermination camp staff, is still fascinating.

The life of ordinary people under Nazism is explored in Richard Bessel, *Life in the Third Reich** (1987), and Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Continuity, Opposition, and Racism in Ordinary Life* (1987). The intimate view of daily life by Victor Klemperer, a Jew who survived, in *I Will Bear Witness*,* 2 vols. (1999–2000) is haunting. Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Public Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria, 1933–1945** (1985) and the same author's *The "Hitler Myth": Image and Reality in the Third Reich** (1989), are the most reliable examinations of public opinion under Nazism. See Renate Bridenthal et al., *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany** (1989), for gender issues.

Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*,* vol. 1, 1933–1939 (1997), is now the basic treatment of Nazi anti-Semitism. Karl A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz** (1970, reprint ed. 1990), sees anti-Semitism developing in Nazi Germany by fits and starts. Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews** (1986), sees extermination as Hitler's design from the beginning. The necessary link to medicine and public health is made by Götz Aly, *Final Solution: Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of European Jews** (1999). More works on the Final Solution are discussed after chapter 14.

For fascist movements outside Germany, the suggestions made at the end of chapter 7 are mostly relevant for the 1930s also. Significant monographs on individual countries include Robert Skidelsky, *Sir Oswald*

Mosley (1975); Richard C. Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain** (1998); Robert Soucy, *French Fascism: The First Wave, 1924–1933* (1986), and *French Fascism: The Second Wave, 1933–1939** (1997); Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France** (1996); Oddvar K. Hoidal, *Quisling: A Study of Treason* (1989); Hans V. Dall, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery* (1999); Lawrence D. Stokes, “Anton Mussert and the NSB,” *History*, vol. 56, no. 188 (Oct. 1971); and Miklos Lacko, *Arrow Cross Men, National Socialists, 1935–1944* (1969).

Richard A. H. Robinson, *The Origins of Franco’s Spain* (1970), examines the Spanish right before 1936. Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977** (1999), makes clear the *Falange’s* minor role. The fullest biography of Franco is by Paul Preston (1994), and a good survey of his regime is Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime* (1994, reprint

ed. 2000). For Portugal, the place to begin is Antonio Costa Pinto, *Salazar’s Dictatorship and European Fascism** (1996).

Martin Kitchen, *The Coming of Austrian Fascism* (1980), gives useful background to the establishment of the authoritarian state in February 1934. See also Francis L. Carsten, *Fascist Movements in Austria from Schönerer to Hitler* (1977). For Austrian opinion, see Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler’s Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938–1945** (2000).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The general works on the European left cited in the bibliography to chapter 1 contain discussions of the Popular Front era. Martin S. Alexander and Helen Graham, eds., *The French and Spanish Popular Fronts: Comparative Perspectives** (2002), compare political developments instructively.

Sympathetic biographies of Léon Blum by Joel Colton (2nd ed., 1987*) and Jean Lacouture (1982*) provide an excellent introduction to the French Popular Front experience. The best general account in English is Julian Jackson, *The Popular Front in France: Defending Democracy* (1990). Eugen Weber, *Hollow Years: France in the 1930s** (1996), has vivid detail. See more generally Anthony Adamthwaite, *Grandeur and Misery: France's Bid for Power in Europe, 1914–1940** (1995).

Anson Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism: From Red Vienna to the Civil War, 1927–1934* (1983), asks why socialism was so easily crushed in Vienna in 1934.

Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War** (revised ed. 1994), is still the most gripping narrative. Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War** (2004) is a brief introduction. Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War* (1991), is the exhaustive life's work of a journalist and collector of archives, who finds as much to blame in the excesses of the left as of the right. Gabriel Jackson, *A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War** (1980), blames the generals. George Esenwein and Adrian Schubert analyze the background in *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in Context, 1931–1939* (1995). Among many works by Paul Preston, see *The Coming of the Spanish Civil War**, 2nd ed. (1994), and *The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the Military in Twentieth Century*

*Spain** (1995). Particularly relevant for the Spanish Popular Front are Stanley G. Payne, *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931–1936** (1993) and Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931–1919** (1965), sympathetic to the moderate left.

R. Dan Richardson, *Comintern Army* (1981), studies the International Brigades in Spain largely in terms of Soviet aims. More personal is Peter Stansky and William Abraham, *Journey to the Frontier: Two Roads to the Spanish Civil War** (1966), a moving account of two British students killed in Spain.

David Caute, *The Fellow Travellers** (revised ed. 1988), explains the attractions of the Communist Party to intellectuals during the Popular Front era. Arthur Koestler, *Arrow in the Blue* (1952) and *The Invisible Writing* (1954), are classic memoirs by a Popular Front intellectual. Koestler and others later recounted their fascination and subsequent disillusionment with communism in the classic *The God that Failed** (1982). Franz Borke-nau, *World Communism: A History of the Communist International* (1962), the work of a disillusioned former Communist official, is still revealing. Julius Braunthal, *History of the International*, 3 vols. (1967–1971), is an informative work by a former official of the Second (socialist) International.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Recent introductions to this subject include R. J. Overy, *The Road to War: The Origins of World War II** (2nd ed. 1998); P. M. H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War*,* 2nd ed. (1997); Robert Boyce, *Origins of World War II** (2003); Victor Rothwell, *The Origins of the Second World War** (2001); and Anthony Adamthwaite, *The Making of the Second World War*,* 2nd ed. (1989). Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds., *The Diplomats, 1919–1939** (revised ed. 1994) continues to be indispensable here. Patrick Finney, ed., *Origins of the Second World War** (1997) reprints outstanding articles.

The origins of the Second World War have been less controversial than those of the First. Sixty years after the event, A. J. P. Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*,* 2nd ed. (1966, reprint ed. 1996), remains the most fundamental challenge to orthodoxy. Taylor argued that Hitler was a pragmatist whose goals resembled those of Stresemann and Bismarck, and that the British and French helped bring about war over Poland in 1939. The passionate controversy aroused by Taylor's book may be followed in Gordon Martel, ed., *The Origins of the Second World War Reconsidered: A. J. P. Taylor and the Historians*,* 2nd ed. (1999).

The issue of continuity between Hitler and his predecessors, raised by Taylor, has continued to concern others. Klaus Hildebrand, *The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich** (new ed. 1992), is lucid on this point and others. Edward W. Bennett, *German Rearmament and the West, 1932–1933* (1979), shows that Hitler's arrival made little immediate change in clandestine rearmament.

Nevertheless Hitler remains at the center of the story. Gerhard L. Weinberg, *The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany*,* 2 vols. (reprint ed. 1998), is based on minute examination of captured German documents. Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims*,* 2 vols. (new ed. 1992), weighs ideology against pragmatism in Hitler's moves. Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler's World View: A Blueprint for Power** (1990), gives more weight to ideology. Richard Overy, *Goering: The Iron Man* (1984), and Wilhelm Deist, *The Wehrmacht and German Rearmament* (1981), are important for rearmament.

The immense literature on appeasement is briefly introduced in Keith Robbins, *Appeasement*,* 2nd ed. (1997), and more fully in Frank McDonough, *Hitler, Chamberlain and Appeasement** (2002), and in Maurice Cowling, *The Impact of Hitler** (1977, reprint ed. 1995). Gaines Post Jr., *Dilemmas of Appeasement: British Deterrence and Defense* (1993), broadens the issue beyond that of the leaders' moral courage to the economic and military factors that limited their options. That broadening was already begun by Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Lothar Kettner, eds., *The Fascist Challenge and the Policy of Appeasement, 1937–1940* (1978), and by Williamson Murray, *The Change in the European Balance of Power, 1938–1939* (1984). All these works center on Britain; Maya Latynski, ed., *Reappraising the Munich Pact: Continental Perspectives** (1992), widens the canvas to include other powers.

Stalin's version of appeasement and *realpolitik* is now elucidated, using Soviet archives, in Bernd Wegner, ed., *From Peace to War: Germany, Soviet Russia, and the World, 1939–1941* (1997),

and Hugh Ragsdale, *The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II* (2004). See also Geoffrey Roberts, *The Soviet Union and the Origins of the Second World War** (1995). Adam B. Ulam, *Expansion and Coexistence: Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917–1993*, 2nd ed. (1993), is still useful.

David E. Kaiser, *Economic Diplomacy and the Origins of the Second World War* (1980), provides the vital economic context. Ernest R. May, ed., *Knowing One's Enemies: Intelligence Assessment before the Two World Wars* (1984), adds a further dimension.

Well-informed recent studies of other major powers' foreign policies include Anthony Adamthwaite, *Grandeur and Misery: France's Bid for Power, 1914–1940** (1995); Nicole Jordan, *The Popular Front and Central Europe: The Dilemmas of French Impotence, 1918–1940* (new ed. 2002); Robert J. Young, *France and the Origins of the Second World War** (1996); Richard Davis, *Anglo-French Relations before World War II: Appeasement and Crisis* (2001); John F. Coverdale, *Italian Intervention in the Spanish Civil War* (1975); Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini's Roman Empire* (1976); Robert Mallett, *Mussolini and the Origins of the Second World War** (2003); and MacGregor Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed** (1986). Anita J. Prazmowska, *Eastern Europe and the Origins of the Second World War** exposes active policy initiatives by the successor states.

For particular crises, Stephen A. Schuker, "France and the Remilitarization of the Rhineland, 1936," in the Finney volume mentioned at the head of this section, doubts that a French military response was feasible then. Jurgen Gehl, *Austria, Germany, and the*

Anschluss (1979) shows Hitler as opportunist. Telford Taylor's massive *Munich: The Price of Peace* (1979) restates the Churchillian position that the Western powers missed their best chance to stop Hitler in Czechoslovakia. Igor Lukes and Erik Goldstein, eds., *The Munich Crisis 1938: Prelude to World War II* (1999), draws on new eastern sources. John Charmley, *Chamberlain and the Lost Peace* (1990), tries to make a case for a negotiated settlement (assuming Hitler would accept one). A balance is struck by R. A. C. Parker, *Chamberlain and Appeasement** (1993).

The opening of military archives now permits the study of military planning and presuppositions. In addition to the works on the German army cited at the end of chapter 11, see Donald Cameron Watt, *Too Serious a Business: European Armed Forces and the Approach of the Second World War** (1992); the Gaines Post work cited above; Robert J. Young, *In Command of France: French Foreign Policy and Military Planning, 1933–1940* (1978); Martin Alexander, *The Republic in Danger: Gen. Maurice Gamelin and the Politics of French Defense* (1992); and B. J. C. McKercher and Roch Legault, eds., *Military Planning and the Origins of the Second World War in Europe* (2000).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms** (1994), is a superb global treatment of the war. Martin Gilbert, *The Second World War** (1995), is more impressionistic. John Keegan, *Second World War** (1990), is authoritative for the campaigns. Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won** (1997), is a masterful analysis of moral, psychological, intellectual, and material resources. Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett, *A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War, 1937–1945* (2000) is vivid and precise about the battles. John Keegan, *The Battle for History: Refighting World War II** (1996), reviews debates. Clive Ponting, *Armageddon: The Second World War* (1995), examines particular themes revealingly.
- The fall of France is made less inevitable by Ernest R. May, *Strange Victory: Hitler's Conquest of France* (2000). The works on French military preparation listed at the end of chapter 13 are still useful here. Jeffery A. Gunsburg, *Divided and Conquered* (1979), blames poor Franco-British coordination. Don W. Alexander, "Repercussions of the Breda Variant," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3 (Spring 1974), blames the rash French advance into Holland. French and German air forces are precisely evaluated by Lee Kennett, "German Air Superiority in the Westfeldzug of 1940," in F. X. J. Homer and Larry D. Wilcox, eds., *Germany and Europe in the Era of the Two World Wars* (1986), pp. 141–156. Marc Bloch evokes unforgettably the atmosphere in *Strange Defeat** (1946, reprint ed. 1999). Eleanor M. Gates, *The End of the Affair: The Collapse of the Franco-British Alliance, 1939–1940* (1981), documents the failure of interallied cooperation in 1940.
- The Battle of Britain is vividly recounted in Patrick Bishop, *Fighter Boys** (2004). Richard Overy, *The Air War, 1939–1945* (1981), and Max Hastings, *The Battle of Britain** (2001), are more scholarly.
- The heroic image of Churchill is presented most faithfully by official biographer Martin Gilbert and by John Lukacs, *Five Days in London: May 1940** (1999). Gilbert's multivolume biography is condensed into one as *Churchill: A Life** (1995). After a half century, revisionists have begun to attack Churchill. The most iconoclastic are John Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory** (1993), who thinks Churchill's refusal of a compromise peace cost Britain its empire and world power, and Clive Ponting, *Churchill* (1994) and *1940: Myth and Reality* (1990), who sees confusion and mismanagement. More balanced assessments are Robert Blake and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *Churchill** (1996); Norman Rose, *Churchill: The Unruly Giant* (1995); and Sheila Lawlor, *Churchill and the Politics of War 1940–1941** (1994).
- Authoritative for Germany is the multivolume series, Wilhelm Deist et al., *Germany and the Second World War* (1990–). Percy Ernst Schramm based his classic work on Hitler as strategist, *Hitler: The Man and the Military Leader** (reprint ed. 1999), on his war council minutes. The latest in a long series of works on Hitler's relations with the German high command, Geoffrey P. Megargee's scholarly *Inside Hitler's High*

Command (2000), gives the officers high marks for technical competence and low marks for strategic understanding. For the German air war, see Williamson Murray, *Strategy for Defeat: The Luftwaffe, 1933–1945** (1996). Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims*, 2 vols. (new ed. 1992), is still useful here.

The Eastern front, where the decisive land battles were fought, is treated most authoritatively, from both German and Russian sources, in Rolf-Dieter Müller and Gerd R. Uebershär, *Hitler's War in the East** (1997). Alan Clark, *Barbarossa: The Russo-German Conflict** (reprint ed. 2001), is a lively account. See also Earl F. Ziemke, *Moscow to Stalingrad: Decision in the East* (1987), and John Erickson's exhaustive *The Road to Stalingrad** (reprint ed. 2003). Omer Bartov shows in *The Eastern Front, 1941–1945: German Troops and the Barbarization of Warfare,** 2nd ed. (2001) and *Hitler's Army** (1996) that the army was as brutal as the SS on the eastern front.

Mussolini's role in the war is best recounted in MacGregor Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed* (1982), *Hitler's Italian Allies* (2000), and *Common Destiny: Dictatorship, Foreign Policy, and War in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany* (2000). The other end of the story is in F. W. Deakin, *Brutal Friendship: Mussolini, Hitler, and the Fall of Italian Fascism** (reprint ed. 2002).

Stephen W. Roskill, *The War at Sea, 1939–1945*, 3 vols. (1952–1961, reprint ed. 1994), the official history, is basic for the British side. For the U.S. side, see Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of U.S. Naval Operations in World War II* (1947–1962, condensed ed. 2003*).

Alan S. Milward, *War, Economy and Soci-*

ety (1977, reprint ed. 1993), is an excellent introduction to the war's social and economic aspects. The usual view that Hitler planned short, limited military actions (*Blitzkrieg*) rather than total war is challenged by R. J. Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich** (1995).

The murder of the Jews is the subject of an immense literature. Master syntheses include Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3 vols. (3rd ed. 2003), based on a lifetime's study of Nazi archives, and Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry** (1990), who worked more with the Jewish documents. Martin Gilbert, *Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War** (1987), stresses individual experiences. Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan Van Pelt, *Holocaust: A History** (2002), combine a broad canvas with personal details. See also works on Nazi anti-Semitism listed at the end of chapter 11. Historical debates are reviewed in Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History,** 2nd ed. (2002); Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck, *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed, and the Reexamined** (new ed. 2002); Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (2000); Omer Bartov, *Holocaust Origins, Implementation, and Aftermath** (2000); and Donald L. Niewyk, *The Holocaust: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation,** 3rd ed. (2002).

Daniel J. Goldhagen dramatically highlighted the unrepentant sadism of the perpetrators in *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust** (1997) but recklessly blamed German national character (many perpetrators were not German).

Christopher Browning deals expertly with the absence of a Hitler order and other problems of command, motivation, and timing in many works, including *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland** (new ed. 2001); *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (1992); *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers** (2000); and especially his masterful *Origins of the Final Solution* (2004). Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust** (1994), looks at Italian help and obstruction. Philippe Burrin, *Hitler and the Jews: The Genesis of the Holocaust** (1998), dates the final decision to late 1941, with Hitler's rage at the failure of his armies to conquer Moscow before winter. Geoff Eley, *The "Goldhagen Effect": History, Memory, Fascism: Facing the German Past* (2000), reconsiders efforts to come to terms with guilt.

Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945*, 2nd ed. (1981), is a particularly revealing monograph about Nazi occupation priorities. Other occupation regimes and collaborationist responses are treated in Louis de Jong, *The Netherlands and Nazi Germany* (1990); Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order**, 2nd ed. (2000); John Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France** (1994); Philippe Burrin, *France under the Germans** (1998); Alan S. Milward, *The New Order and the French Economy* (reprint ed. 1993); Oddvar K. Hoidal, *Quisling: A Study of Treason* (1989); Hans Fredrick Dahl, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery* (1999); Vojtech Mastny, *The Czechs under Nazi Rule* (1971); and Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece** (1995). Martin Conway's study of ideological collaborationists, *Collabo-*

ration in Belgium: Léon Degrelle and the Rexist Movement (1993), needs to be supplemented by John Gillingham's study of the more pragmatic collaboration of businessmen, *Belgian Business in the Nazi New Order* (1977).

Peter Hoffmann, *The German Resistance to Hitler** (1988), is a condensed version of his exhaustive *History of the German Resistance**, 3rd ed. (1996); despite its title, it concerns almost entirely the conservative resistance, as do Joachim Fest, *Plotting Hitler's Demise: The Story of the German Resistance** (1997) and Theodore S. Hamerow, *On the Road to the Wolf's Lair: German Resistance to Hitler** (1997). Much less has been written in English about the left-wing and exile resistance, but L. E. Hill, "Towards a New History of German Resistance to Hitler," *Central European History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (December 1981), tries to redress the balance. Klemens von Klemperer, *The German Resistance against Hitler: The Search for Allies Abroad, 1938–1945** (1993), deplores Western unresponsiveness. Francis R. Nicosia and Lawrence D. Stokes, *Germans against Nazism: Non-conformity, Opposition and Resistance in the Third Reich* (1992), looks at more diverse kinds of non-conformity, as do David C. Large, ed., *Contending with Hitler: Varieties of German Resistance to the Third Reich** (1994), and Hans Mommsen, *Alternatives to Hitler: German Resistance Under the Third Reich* (2003). There are probing essays and case studies in Michael Geyer and John Boyer, eds., *Resistance against the Third Reich** (1994).

Various types of resistance in German-occupied Europe are analyzed in Jacques Semelin, *Unarmed against Hitler** (1993); Henri Michel, *The*

Shadow War (1972); and Jorgen Haestrup, *Europe Ablaze: An Analysis of the History of the European Resistance (1939–1945)* (1978). Alan Milward applies cost-benefit analysis to the resistance in Stephen Hawes and Ralph White, eds., *Resistance in Europe 1939–1945* (1975). James D. Wilkinson, *The Intellectual Resistance in Europe* (1981), treats antifascist intellectuals in France, Germany, and Italy. Charles Delzell, *Mussolini's Enemies* (1961), is still basic for the resistance in Italy. See also Philip Cooke, ed., *The Italian Resistance: An Anthology** (1998). Most thoughtful in English on the French resistance is H. Roderick Kedward, *Resistance in Vichy France* (1978) and *In Search of the Maquis** (1993). For the two most enduring anti-Hitler leaders, see Walter R. Roberts, *Tito, Mihailović and the Allies, 1941–1945** (1987), and Jean Lacouture's massive biography of General De Gaulle. Among many other shorter biogra-

phies of De Gaulle, see Julian Jackson, *De Gaulle** (2003), and Charles G. Cogan, *Charles De Gaulle: A Brief Biography with Documents** (1996). De Gaulle's own trenchant words have no equal: *The Complete War Memoirs of Charles De Gaulle*,* 3 vols. (reprint ed. 1998). Recent work on women in the resistance includes Margaret Collins Weitz, *Sisters in the Resistance: How Women Fought to Free France, 1940–1945** (1998), and Dorothee Von Meding, *Courageous Hearts: Women and the Anti-Hitler Plot of 1944* (1997).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

For growing U.S. influence over Allied strategy, Forrest C. Pogue's official history, *The Supreme Command** (reprint ed. 2003), and his *George C. Marshall: Organizer of Victory, 1943–1945* (1973), are still basic. The British equivalent is J. R. M. Butler, et al., *Grand Strategy* (1957–1972). Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, 6 vols. (1948–1953), presents the British leader's own epic vision (but see the works about him cited at the end of the previous chapter). In addition to the Schramm work on Hitler as strategist cited at the end of chapter 14, see Ronald Lewin's suggestive *Hitler's Mistakes** (1987).

John Keegan, *Six Armies in Normandy*,* (revised ed. 2001), treats various national forces after D-Day with verve and empathy. David Eisenhower, *Eisenhower at War, 1943–1945* (1991), reviews fairly the dispute between his grandfather and Montgomery over the proposed dash for Berlin. Stephen E. Ambrose defends Ike in his authorized biography, *Eisenhower: Soldier and President** (reprint ed. 2003). The British point of view is laid out in Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, *War Diaries, 1939–1945** (2003), and powerfully defended in Chester Wilmot, *Struggle for Europe** (1952, reprint ed. 1998).

Impressively informed and balanced are Russell F. Weigley, *Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign of France and Germany** (reprint ed. 1990), and Max Hastings, *Overlord: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy 1944** (reprint ed. 1999). For a soldier's point of view, see Paul Fussell, *The Boys' Crusade: The American Infantry in Northwestern Europe, 1944–1945* (2003).

For the decisive Soviet victories in the East, in addition to works cited at the

end of chapter 14, see Earl F. Ziemke, *Stalingrad to Berlin* (1968, reprint ed. 2003), and John Erickson, *The Road to Berlin** (1983, reprint ed. 2003). Christopher Duffy, *Red Storm on the Reich** (2000), recalls German suffering, a bit one-sidedly.

The main innovation in recent military history is assessing the importance to Allied victory of access to German codes, kept secret until the 1970s. F. H. Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, 5 vols. (1979–1988), is the most scholarly treatment. See also Ronald Lewin, *Ultra Goes to War** (2001), and David Kahn, *Seizing the Enigma* (1997). Wladyslaw Kozaczuk, *Enigma* (1984), adds the essential Polish and French contributions.

Lloyd C. Gardner, *Spheres of Influence** (1994), gives an up-to-date overview of international relations between Munich and Yalta. See also Keith Sainsbury, *The Turning Point** (1985), on the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran conferences, and the same author's *Churchill and Roosevelt at War* (1994). See also Jon Meacham, *Franklin and Winston: An Intimate Portrait of an Epic Friendship* (2003).

The Cold War has produced long and bitter disputes. The first generation focused on charges that Roosevelt had conceded too much to Stalin. William H. McNeill, *America, Britain, and Russia: Their Cooperation and Conflict* (1953, reprint ed. 1987), refuted them. The view that Stalin's "thrusts" provoked a legitimate reaction from peaceful Americans was embodied in its most scholarly form in the many works of a State Department economist, Herbert Feis: *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought*,* 2nd ed. (reprint ed.

2003), *Between War and Peace: The Potsdam Conference** (reprint ed. 2003), and *From Trust to Terror: The Onset of the Cold War, 1945–1951* (1970). A new round began in the late 1960s when “revisionist” historians claimed that the United States pursued a self-interested agenda, and at times struck the first blows. William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*,* 2nd ed. (1972, reprint ed. 1994); Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War* (1968, reprint ed. 1990); and Gabriel Kolko and Joyce Kolko, *The Limits of Power* (1972), all stressed the active American economic agenda.

John L. Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947** (1972, new ed. 2001), reconsidered much of the documentation of American foreign policy in the light of the revisionists’ charges, but accepted few of their conclusions. Walter Lafeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*,* 9th ed. (2002), is more sympathetic to revisionism. A valuable overall assessment is Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*,* (revised ed. 1990). Robert J. McMahon and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *The Origins*

of the Cold War,* 4th ed. (1998), reviews the debates. Martin McCauley, *Origins of the Cold War*,* 3rd ed. (2003), is a useful brief introduction. Odd Arne Westad, ed., *Reviewing the Cold War** (2000), provides an illuminating international perspective, as does Melvyn Leffler and David S. Painter, *Origins of the Cold War: An International History** (1994).

The Soviet side is being rewritten from Russian archives. The authoritative Vladislav Zuboc and Constantin Ple-shakov, *Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War** (1996), argues that Stalin started the Cold War and the Americans continued it. See also Vojtech Mastny, *Russia’s Road to the Cold War* (1979) and *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years** (1996).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- William I. Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe, 1945–2002* (2003), gives a lively overview. Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement** (1999), shows the postwar order emerging from compromises. Gordon A. Craig and Francis L. Loewenheim, *The Diplomats, 1939–1979** (1994), reveals much about international relations through its main practitioners.
- Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe* (1989), reviews the American role in European reconstruction. Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe** (1987), finds that U.S. aid had less impact than indigenous resources. John Gillingham, *Coal, Steel and the Rebirth of Europe, 1945–1955** (new ed. 2004), is a good guide to the beginnings of European integration. See also John Gimbel, *The Origins of the Marshall Plan* (1976), Stanley Hoffmann, ed., *The Marshall Plan: A Retrospective* (1984), Martin A. Schain, *The Marshall Plan Fifty Years After* (2001), and Charles S. Maier and Gunter Bischof, eds., *The Marshall Plan and Germany* (1991).
- The Bretton Woods system's creation and vicissitudes are authoritatively treated by Harold James, *International Monetary Cooperation since Bretton Woods* (1996). Charles P. Kindleberger, *A Financial History of Western Europe**, 2nd ed. (1993), assumes basic knowledge. Richard N. Gardner, *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy*, 2nd ed. (1981), is still useful for American postwar financial influence.
- Charles S. Maier compared the aftermaths of the two World Wars in a seminal article, "The Two Post-War Eras and Conditions for Stability in Twentieth-Century Western Europe," *American Historical Review*, vol. 86, no 2 (April 1981), reprinted in Maier, *In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy** (1987).
- Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism** (1992), along with works by Peter Baldwin and Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer cited at the end of chapter 10, make clear the broad constituency of the postwar European welfare state. See also Douglas Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare States* (1987).
- How war victims were remembered and portrayed is studied by Pieter Lagrou, *Legacy of the Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945–1965* (2000), a sophisticated example of the new cultural history.
- In addition to the works on individual countries cited at the end of chapter 1, the following deal more particularly with the postwar period.
- Henry A. Turner Jr., *Germany from Partition to Reunification**, 2nd ed. (1992), and Anthony J. Nicholls, *The Bonn Republic: West German Democracy, 1945–1990** (1997), are excellent introductions. A positive view of West German democracy is detailed in Dennis L. Bark and David R. Gress, *A History of West Germany, 1945–1991*, 2 vols. (1993), whereas J. M. Dennison and Mike Dennis, *The Rise and Fall of the German Democratic Republic, 1945–1990* (2000), and Feiwel Kupferberg, *The Rise and Fall of the German Democratic Republic* (2002), are useful studies of the other side. Occupation and denazification are evoked in Noel Annan, *Changing Enemies: The Defeat and Regeneration of Germany** (1996). Relations between the two Germanies are probed deeply by A. James McAdams,

*Germany Divided** (1993). The most authoritative biography of Adenauer is by Hans-Peter Schwarz, 2 vols. (1995–1997). Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (1967, reprint ed. 1993), is a classic reflection on how destructions by Nazism and the war opened spaces for building a democratic political culture. Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *A Terrible Revenge** (1994), recalls the expulsion of Germans from East-Central Europe after 1945.

The standard work on the postwar British Labour government is Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945–1951** (1985). See, more generally, his *Britain Since 1945: The People's Peace*,* 2nd ed. (2002).

The most complete account of postwar France is Jean-Pierre Rioux, *The Fourth Republic** (1989). Frank Giles, *The Locust Years: The History of the Fourth French Republic, 1946–1958* (1995), is a well-informed political narrative. Best on postwar Italy in any language is Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy, 1943–1988** (reprint ed. 2003). Donald Sassoon, *Contemporary Italy** (1997), is packed with information.

Helpful for Spain are Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime: 1936–1975* (1987),

and Adrian Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (1990).

Thomas W. Simons Jr., *Eastern Europe in the Postwar World*, 2nd ed. (1993), is a cogent introduction, while Joseph Rothschild and Nancy Wingfield, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe since World War II*,* 3rd ed. (1999), is the best longer history. T. Ivan Berend, *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944–1993: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery* (1999), is best for economic history. See Adam B. Ulam, *The Communists: The Story of Power and Lost Illusions, 1948–1991* (1992), generally for the postwar Soviet Union. Use Mark Pittaway, *Eastern Europe: States and Societies, 1945–2000* (2004), for that region, and Hans Renner, *The History of Czechoslovakia since 1945*,* 2nd ed. (1996), for that country.

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which the Soviet leaders stood to watch military parades pass the Lenin Mausoleum.

By 1964, the failures of many of Khrushchev's grand projects and his confrontational style had gathered a coalition of hard-liners and technicians against what they called his "voluntarism" and his "harebrained schemes." This coalition, holding a majority in the Presidium, quietly removed him from power in October 1964. That he could retire to a country *dacha*, receive visitors, and write memoirs that were eventually published in the West showed how far Khrushchev had moved the Soviet political system away from arbitrary violence. But although the new way of choosing Soviet rulers had become less murderous, political succession was now both complex and unforeseeable. In the absence of any written rules, power required affirming authority over an establishment of high party and police officials—the *Nomenklatura*²⁰—who had never known any political reality but the management of a one-party dictatorship. Khrushchev's successors would be unable to deal creatively with the USSR's problems within such a straitjacket.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Stalin's paranoid last days are grimly described by his daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva in *Twenty Letters to a Friend* (1967), and by Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin** (1963). Amy Knight, *Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant** (1993), draws on newly opened Soviet archives. Donald Filtzer, *The Khrushchev Era, 1953–1964** (1996) is a good short introduction. William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era** (2004), is the latest biography. *Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes* (1990) gives partial but fascinating glimpses, and Sergei Khrushchev speaks revealingly about his father in *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* (2000). An important work of postCommunist Russian scholarship, Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War** (reprint ed. 2001), includes a penetrating portrait of Khrushchev as the last romantic "true believer." George W. Breslauer, *Khrushchev and Brezhnev as*

Leaders (1982), finds that the two leaders' styles differed more than the issues and systems of rule they faced. Geoffrey A. Hosking, *The First Socialist Society: A History of the Soviet Union from Within*,* 2nd ed. (1993), examines the workings of the Soviet social system. Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: A Historical Interpretation*,* 2nd ed. (1991), though dated in some details, remains essential for the social underpinnings of all Soviet regimes since Stalin. The works on Soviet government cited at the end of chapter 8 are still relevant here.

David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb** (1996), shows that Stalin benefited from espionage for the A-bomb but not for the H-bomb and explores the strains and compatibilities between dictatorship and world-class physics; David Joravsky, *The Lysenko Affair** (1970, reprint ed. 1986), does the same for genetics. See also Loren R. Graham, *Science and the Soviet Social Order* (1990).

²⁰The term comes from the official list from which high officials and managers were chosen.

The books by Simons and Rothschild suggested after the previous chapter are still basic here. François Fejtő, *History of the Peoples' Democracies* (1971), the still-useful work of a very well informed Hungarian emigré, argues that Stalin tightened control in 1947 out of fear that central Europe was being drawn into the Western orbit. Hugh Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution*, 3rd ed. (reprint ed. 2003), believes that Stalin meant from the beginning to sovietize it. The important work of Zubok and Ple-shakov, cited above, says Hiroshima and the Marshall Plan hardened Stalin.

In addition to the study of postwar Czech history by Hans Renner, mentioned at the end of chapter 16, refer to Karel Kaplan, *The Short March: The Communist Takeover in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1948* (1987). Yugoslavia is examined by Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia** (revised ed. 1988), along with the national histories cited at the end of chapters 1 and 16. Richard West, *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia** (1996), blames refrac-

tory Croats, as does Aleksa Djilas, *Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution** (1996).

For the two most dramatic examples of East European resistance to Communist rule, one may begin with Klaus Harpprecht, *The East German Rising: Seventeenth June 1953* (1979). Useful works on Hungary include Paul E. Zinner, *Revolution in Hungary* (reprint ed. 1977), Bela Kiraly, *The First War between Socialist States: The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and its Impact* (1984) (the work of a Hungarian general escaped to the West), and Gyorgy Litvan, *The Hungarian Revolution of 1956* (1996). Works on the German Democratic Republic are listed at the end of chapter 16.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Recommended works on the origins of the Cold War are found in the bibliography to chapter 15. For its continuation, see John L. Gaddis, *The Long Peace** (1989), and the valuable chapter “The Berlin Crisis” in Marc Trachtenberg, *History and Strategy** (1991). Charles S. Maier, ed., *The Cold War in Europe*,* 3rd ed. (1997), contains stimulating articles on its impact, both domestic and international.

In addition to works noted at the end of chapter 16, the beginnings and course of European integration are surveyed in Derek W. Urwin, *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945*,* 3rd ed. (2004). Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht** (1998), concludes that European integration was pushed forward by the member states. Alan Milward finds similarly in *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, 2nd ed. (2000), that the European states adopted economic integration to further national ends. Jean Monnet’s *Memoirs* (1978) reveal the Father of Europe’s methods and passion. See also Douglas Brinkley and Clifford Hackett, *Jean Monnet: The Path to European Unity** (1992), and François Duchene, *Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence** (1994). John Gillingham, *European Integration: Superstate or New Market Economy?** (2003), argues that the supranationalism of Monnet was a dead end.

For European military integration and German rearmament, see Edward Furdson, *The European Defense Community* (1980). One may still consult F. Roy Willis, *France, Germany, and the*

New Europe, 1945–1967 (1968), and Robert McGeehan, *The German Rearmament Question** (1971).

Lawrence S. Kaplan is the author of standard works on NATO, for example *NATO and the United States: The Enduring Alliance** (1994) and *The Long Entanglement: The United States and NATO After Fifty Years** (1999). There are interesting essays in Francis H. Heller and John Gillingham, eds., *NATO: The Founding of the Atlantic Alliance and the Integration of Europe* (1992), and, by the same editors, *The United States and the Integration of Europe: Legacies of the Postwar Era* (1996).

In addition to works on Soviet foreign policy by Adam Ulam mentioned earlier, see Alvin Z. Rubinstein, *Soviet Foreign Policy since World War II*, 4th ed. (1991). Soviet military policy is considered by Honoré M. Catudal, *Soviet Nuclear Strategy from Stalin to Gorbachev* (1989); western military policy by Andrew Pierre, *Nuclear Weapons in Europe* (1984) and *The Conventional Defence of Europe* (1986).

For East European economic integration, consult Jenny Brine, *COMECON: The Rise and Fall of an International Socialist Organization* (1992); for military integration, use Robin A. Remington, *Warsaw Pact*,* 2nd ed. (1996); and David Holloway and James M. Sharp, eds., *Warsaw Pact: Alliance in Transition?* (1984). Charles Gati, *The Bloc That Failed* (1990), gives their postmortem. Western–Soviet conflict over Berlin is studied in Robert M. Slusser, *The Berlin Crisis of 1961** (1973), and Honoré M. Catudal, *Kennedy and the Berlin Crisis* (1986).

Recent works on the loss of European empires include M. E. Chamberlin,

Decolonization: The Fall of the European Empires,* 2nd ed. (1999); Raymond F. Betts, *Decolonization*,* 2nd ed. (2004); and (for Britain) D. A. Low, *Eclipse of Empire** (1993). For Britain's withdrawal from south Asia, one can begin with Judith M. Brown, *Modern India*,* 2nd ed. (1994), and Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Moslem League, and the Demand for Pakistan** (1994). Africa is treated by John D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*,* 2nd ed. (1996); David Birmingham, *The Decolonization of Africa** (1995); Henry S. Wilson, *African Decolonization** (1999); and Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis, *Decolonization and African Independence* (1988). For the French war in Indochina, see Jacques Dalloz, *The War in Indochina* (1990). A gripping work on the Franco-Algerian War, based on

materials from both sides, is Alistair Horne, *Savage War of Peace** (reprint ed. 2002); see also John Talbott, *The War without a Name* (1980). Anthony Clayton, *The Wars of French Decolonization** (1995), covers both. Howard M. Sachar, *Europe Leaves the Middle East, 1936–1954* (1972), may be supplemented by Anthony Gorst, *The Suez Crisis** (1997), and Diane B. Kunz, *The Economic Diplomacy of the Suez Crisis** (1991).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Frank B. Tipton and Robert Aldrich, *An Economic and Social History of Europe from 1939 to the Present** (1987), provides solid background. There are suggestive observations about consumer society, weighted toward the French experience, in Antoine Prost and Gérard Vincent, eds., *Riddles of Identity in Modern Times*, vol. 5 of *A History of Private Life* (1991). Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The Western European Left in the Twentieth Century** (1998), ranges widely, emphasizing the years after 1945.

The works on economic recovery cited at the end of chapter 16 are still relevant here. A classic defense of Keynesian managed capitalism is Andrew Shonfield, *Modern Capitalism* (1969). The boom years of 1953–1973 are put into perspective in Stephen A. Marglin and Juliet B. Schor, eds., *The Golden Age of Capitalism: Reinterpretation of the Postwar Experience** (1990), and John H. Goldthorpe, "Problems of Political Economy after the Postwar Period," in Charles S. Maier, ed., *Changing Boundaries of the Political** (1987). See also Philip Armstrong, Andrew Glyn, and John Harrison, *Capitalism since 1945** (1991).

Trade-offs between leisure and consumption are explored in Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt, eds., *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumption in the Twentieth Century** (1998), and Gary Cross, *Time and Money: The Making of Consumerist Modernity** (1993). Les Haywood et al., *Understanding Leisure** (1999), includes history. Victoria De Grazia and Ellen Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective** (1996), adds an

essential dimension. While Carl Gardner and Julie Sheppard, *Consuming Passion: The Rise of Retail Culture* (1989), treat Britain, they introduce larger issues.

Religion in postwar Europe is examined by Suzanne Berger, "Religious Transformation and the Future of Politics," in Charles S. Maier, ed., *Changing Boundaries of the Political** (1987). Jackson W. Carroll, Wade C. Roof, et al., eds., *The Postwar Generation and the Establishment of Religion* (1995), contains interesting essays.

The books on the welfare state listed at the end of chapter 16 are also useful here.

Anthony Giddens argues in *The Class Structure of Advanced Societies* (1975) that the welfare state consolidated capitalism. For the supposed effects of prosperity on class relations, see John Goldthorpe, *The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behavior* (1968), and David Lockwood, *The Black-Coated Worker: A Study in Class Consciousness*, 2nd ed. (1989). Richard F. Hamilton, *Affluence and the French Worker in the Fourth Republic* (1967), found that French workers voted according to the political affiliation of their union rather than by income. The classic texts of the "end of ideology" thesis are Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology** (1960, revised ed. 2000), and Raymond Aron, *Opium of the Intellectuals** (1975, reprint ed. 2001).

Stephen R. Graubard, ed., *The New Europe?* (1964), reflects the optimism about further European integration current in the 1960s; so does Carl J. Friedrich, *Europe: An Emergent New Nation?* (1970).

A number of interesting studies treat the transformation of rural life.

Lawrence Wylie, *Village in the Vaucluse*,* 3rd ed. (1974), is justly regarded as a classic. Other fine village studies include Ronald Blythe, *Akenfield** (1980); Pierre-Jakez Hélias, *The Horse of Pride** (1980); Edgar Morin, *The Red and the White: Report from a French Village* (1970); Benjamin R. Barber, *The Death of Communal Liberty: A History of Freedom in a Swiss Mountain Canton** (1974); Julian Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*,* 2nd ed. (1971, reprint ed. 1996); Ruth Behar, *The Present and the Past in a Spanish Village** (1991); and Susan Carol Rogers, *Shaping Modern Times in Rural France: The Transformation and Reproduction of an Aveyronnais Community* (1991). Sidney Tarrow, *Peasant Communism in Southern Italy* (1967), discusses the political radicalism of declining agriculture.

The social conflicts of the late 1960s are analyzed most thoroughly in Robert J. Flanagan, David W. Soskice, and Lloyd Ulman, *Unionism, Economic Stabilization, and Incomes Policies: The European Experience** (1983), and Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno, eds., *The Resurgence of Class Conflicts in Western Europe since 1968*, 2 vols. (1983). Vivid narratives are David Cauter, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades** (1988), and

Robert V. Daniels, *Year of the Heroic Guerrilla: World Revolution in 1968** (1989), the latter giving less attention to Europe. For particular countries, see Sidney Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965–1975** (1989), and Keith A. Reader and Khursheed Wadia, *The May 1968 Events in France* (1993).

Daniel Wheeler, *Art since Mid-Century: 1945 to the Present** (1991), is a good introduction. For the social history of film in Europe since World War II, see Pierre Sorlin, *European Cinemas, European Societies, 1939–1990** (1991).

Two European intellectuals disappointed by the uses to which working people put their leisure time and consumer power are Ignazio Silone, *Emergency Exit* (1968), and Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy** (1957, reprint ed. 2001).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The works on the cold war cited at the end of chapter 18 are fundamental here too. See also John Gaddis, *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States*,* 2nd ed. (1990).

Raymond Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan** (revised ed. 1994), looks coolly at both sides. Fred Halliday, *The Making of the Second Cold War*, 2nd ed. (1986), considers the United States primarily responsible for the end of détente. Soviet and Western missile strategies are best followed in the works by Honoré M. Catudal and Andrew Pierre cited at the end of chapter 18.

The most authoritative study of de Gaulle's rule is Jean Lacouture, *De Gaulle: The Ruler, 1945–1970* (1992), a sympathetic account based on massive interviewing. In addition to those mentioned at the end of chapter 14, Andrew Shennan, *De Gaulle** (1995), is an up-to-date one-volume biography; see also the penetrating chapters on de Gaulle by Stanley Hoffmann in *Decline or Renewal? France since the 1930s* (1974). Excellent studies of de Gaulle's challenge to American leadership are Edward A. Kolodziej, *French International Policy under de Gaulle and Pompidou* (1974); Michael Harrison, *Reluctant Ally: France and Atlantic Security* (1981); and Philip G. Cerny, *The Politics of Grandeur* (1980). Authoritative for the Fifth French Republic is Serge Bernstein, *The Republic of De Gaulle* (1993).

Willy Brandt's agreements with Germany's eastern neighbors are scrutinized by William E. Griffith, *The Ostpolitik of the Federal Republic of Germany* (1978); see also Brandt, *My Life in Politics* (1992). Clay Clemens, *Reluctant Realists: The CDU-CSU and West German Ostpolitik* (1989), provides the

sequel. The Franco-German tandem within the European Community is explored by Haig Simonian, *The Privileged Partnership* (1985).

The functioning of the European Economic Community is thoroughly laid out in Helen Wallace and William Wallace, *Policy-Making in the European Community*, 4th ed. (2000), and by other works noted at the end of chapter 23. Paul Taylor, *The Limits of European Integration* (1983), reflects the climate of the period of "Euroscepticism."

For the U.S. side in détente, in addition to Henry Kissinger's memoirs, *White House Years* (1979, reprint ed. 1999), *Years of Upheaval* (1982, reprint ed. 1999), and *Years of Renewal** (1998), Robert D. Schulzinger, *Henry Kissinger: Doctor of Diplomacy** (1989), is the least polemical of several biographies. Walter Isaacson, *Kissinger: A Biography** (1993), has more personal detail. See more generally Richard C. Thornton, *The Nixon Kissinger Years: The Reshaping of American Foreign Policy** (new ed. 2002).

Most complete on the Sino-Soviet rift is Alfred D. Low, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute* (1976), followed by his *Sino-Soviet Confrontation* (1987). Soviet reactions to polycentrism can be studied in works on foreign policy by Adam Ulam and Alvin Z. Rubinstein cited at the end of chapters 16 and 18.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachev Phenomenon: A Historical Interpretation*,* 2nd ed. (1991), though dated in some details, situates all post-Stalin Soviet leaders within a long process of social modernization; see also George Breslauer's comparison of Khrushchev and Brezhnev cited at the end of chapter 17. There is no satisfactory biography of Brezhnev. Edwin Bacon and Mark Sandler, eds., *Brezhnev Reconsidered* (2003), find some good in him, aided by some nostalgic Russians.

The works on Soviet government by Jerry Hough and Merle Fainsod, first cited at the end of chapter 8, and on Soviet society by Geoffrey Hosking, recommended at the end of chapter 17, are still important here. In addition to the general histories of twentieth-century Russia noted at the end of chapter 1, Ronald G. Suny, *The Soviet Experiment** (1999), assesses the whole regime. Marshall I. Goldman, *The USSR in Crisis: The Failure of an Economic System* (1983), is admirably clear and nontechnical on economic stagnation.

Still useful for the Brezhnev era are Archie Brown and Michael Kaser, *The Soviet Union since the Fall of Khrushchev*, 2nd ed. (1978), and its sequel, *Soviet Policy for the 1980s* (1982).

The works of Simons and Rothschild cited at the end of chapter 16 are the place to begin for Eastern Europe. The "Czechoslovak Spring" and Soviet intervention are covered in Jiri Valenta, *Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia, 1968** (revised ed. 1991), H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (reprint ed. 1992), and in the Renner work cited at

the end of chapter 16. For "Goulash Communism," see Rudolf L. Tökés, *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution** (1996); Ivan T. Berend, *Hungarian Economic Reforms, 1953–1988* (1990); and the relevant sections of Miklos Molnar, *From Béla Kun to János Kádár: Seventy Years of Hungarian Communism* (1990). The economist János Kornai offers a rationale for a reformed socialist economy in *The Socialist System: Political Economy of Socialism** (1992).

Abraham Brumberg, ed., *Poland: Genesis of a Revolution** (1983) includes some eye-witness material, as does the vivid reportage of Lawrence Weschler, *The Passion of Poland* (1984). See more recently Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*,* 3rd ed. (2002), and Arista M. Cirtautas, *The Polish Solidarity Movement* (1997).

In addition to the works on the German Democratic Republic cited at the end of chapter 16, consult Konrad Jarausch, *Dictatorship as Experience: Toward a Socio-Cultural History of the German Democratic Republic* (1999), and David Childs, *The Stasi* (1996). In addition to works on Yugoslavia recommended at the end of chapter 17, see John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There was a Country*,* 2nd ed. (2000).

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Tariffs and Trade). Western Europe was still in 1989 the largest trading bloc in the world, and it was trying again to act as a unit. Despite lowered horizons, its distinctive model of welfare and mixed economies had been challenged and trimmed since 1973, but not dismantled.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Daniel Yergin, *The Prize** (1993), gives the fullest account of the oil crisis. Robert Skidelsky, ed., *The End of the Keynesian Era* (1977), examines economic policy dilemmas after the slowdown began.

Marglin and Schor, *The Golden Age of Capitalism*, already listed at the end of chapter 19, seeks deeper reasons for lowered European economic performance after 1973, as does R. C. Matthews, ed., *Slower Growth in the Western World* (1982). The nontechnical sections of Michael Bruno and Jeffrey Sachs, *The Economics of Worldwide Stagflation* (1985), are enlightening; see also Robert Z. Lawrence and Charles Schultze, eds., *Barriers to European Growth: A Transatlantic View** (1987). British policy trade-offs are examined closely in Bob Rowthorn and John R. Wells, *Deindustrialization and Free Trade* (1987).

The management of Western European economies is studied by Peter A. Hall, *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France** (1986). Problems of the European social order are probed by Claus Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State** (1984). The difficulties of Sweden, flagship of welfare capitalism, are explored in Barry Bosworth and Alice M. Rivlin, eds., *The Swedish Economy* (1987).

Stephen Castles, *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities* (1984), surveys immigrant populations; see

also his *Age of Migration*,* 3rd ed. (2003). Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (1979), analyzes the way they fit into their host economies, while Stephen Castles and Godulka Kosack, *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe*, 2nd ed. (1985), does the same for society. Grete Brochmann, ed., *Mechanisms of Immigration Control: A Comparative Analysis of European Regulation Policies** (1999), examines the changing management of population flows in Europe. Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany** (1994), is the deepest study of citizenship in two different national traditions.

Debates about social class shifted after 1973 from “the end of ideology” to the effects of stagnation. Examples are Max Haller, ed., *Class Structure in Europe: New Findings from East-West Comparisons of Social Structure and Mobility** (1988), and John H. Goldthorpe et al., *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*,* 2nd ed. (1987).

Conflicting strands within the European Left are surveyed in David Childs, *Two Red Flags: European Social Democracy and Soviet Communism Since 1945** (2000). Eurocommunism's moment of optimism is reflected in Howard Machin, ed., *National Communism in Western Europe: A Third Way for Socialism?* (1983); see also Bernard E. Brown, ed., *Eurocommunism and Eurosocialism: The Left Confronts Modernity* (1979).

For labor issues after 1973, see Peter Lang, George Ross et al., *Unions, Change, and Crisis: French and Italian Union Strategies and the Political Economy, 1945–1980* (1984) and *Unions and Economic Crisis: Britain, West Germany, and Sweden* (1984). Jane Jensen and George Ross, *The View from Inside: A French Communist Cell in Crisis* (1984), is a graphic account of a vigorous grassroots Left in trouble.

The revival of a violent extreme Right is treated by Luciano Cheles et al., *The Far Right in Europe*,* 2nd ed. (1996); Paul Hainsworth, *The Politics of the Extreme Right** (2000); Piero Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe* (2003); and Martin Schain, Aristide Zolberg, and Patrick Hossay, *Shadows over Europe* (2002).

Excellent accounts of Spain's transition to democracy are Paul Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain** (1987); Raymond Carr, *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy*,* 2nd ed. (1991); and Kenneth Maxwell and Steven Spiegel, *The New Spain: From Isolation to Influence** (1994).

Well-informed on the Portuguese revolution and its taming are Kenneth Maxwell, *The Making of Portuguese Democracy** (1995), and Lawrence S. Graham and Douglas H. Wheeler, eds., *In Search of Modern Portugal: The Revolution and Its Consequences* (1983).

French socialism's shift toward the center is examined in Howard Machin and Vincent Wright, eds., *Economic Policy and Policy-Making under the Mitterrand Presidency, 1981–1984* (1985). The impact of France's socialist presidency is weighed in Julius W. Friend, *The Long Presidency: France in the Mitterrand Years* (1997), and Ronald Tiersky, *François Mitterrand: A Very French President* (2000).

Hugo Young, *One of Us: The Life of Margaret Thatcher*,* 2nd ed. (1993), and

John Campbell, *Margaret Thatcher*, 2 vols. (2003), are major biographies; see also Thatcher's memoirs, *Downing Street Years** (1995). Her legacy is evaluated briefly in Anthony Selden and Daniel Collings, *Britain under Thatcher** (2000); in Eric J. Evans, *Thatcher and Thatcherism*,* 2nd ed. (2004); and at more length in Peter Jenkins, *Mrs. Thatcher's Revolution* (1988).

John Gillingham, *European Integration* (see chapter 18), examines the period of "Europessimism."

Intellectual celebrities of the 1970s are studied by David Macey, *The Lives of Michel Foucault** (1998); James Miller, *The Passion of Michel Foucault** (2000); Marcel Henaff, *Lévi-Strauss and the Making of Structural Anthropology** (1998); Edmund R. Leach, *Claude Lévi-Strauss** (1989); Allan Megill, *Prophets of Extremity: Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida** (1985); and Christopher Johnson, *Derrida** (1999). Geoffrey Bennington, *Jacques Derrida** (1999), is accompanied by Derrida's own playful commentary casting doubt on the validity of such a work. Helpful for Habermas are Thomas A. McCarthy, *The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas** (1981), and Stephen K. White, *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas** (1995); on the impact of these trends on history, see John Toews, "The Linguistic Turn," *American Historical Review*, vol. 92, no. 4 (Oct. 1987).

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Among a multitude of books about Gorbachev, you might start with Martin McCauley, *Gorbachev*,* 2nd ed. (2000), and the more analytical Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor** (1997). David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb** (1994), is a vivid eyewitness narrative.

Leon Aron, *Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life* (2000), is sympathetic and well-informed. Archie Brown and Lelia Shevtsova introduce political strategies briefly in *Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition** (2001), while George W. Breslauer, *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders** (2002), examines them at more length. See also Michael McFaul, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin** (2002).

Works on Russia's economic travails have a short shelf life. Among recent works, Marshall I. Goldman, *The Privatization of Russia** (2003), and David Hoffman, *The Oligarchs** (2004), take a dim view, as does Chrystia Freeland's racier *The Sale of the Century** (2000). Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia** (2002), are more pragmatic. Anders Åslund, *Building Capitalism: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc** (2002), defends shock treatment.

Numerous works on German reunification include Charles S. Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany** (1999), David Childs, *The Fall of the GDR** (2001), and Elizabeth Pond, *Beyond the Wall: Germany's Road to Unification* (1995). Konrad H. Jarausch, *The Rush to German Unity** (1994), is both an eyewitness account and a historical assessment. Jarausch followed up with *After Unity: Reconfiguring German Identity** (1997).

Immanuel Geiss, *The Question of German Unification, 1806–1995** (1997) takes a long view. Peter H. Merkl, *German Unification in the European Context** (1993), and Harold James, ed., *When the Walls Came Tumbling Down: Reactions to German Reunification** (1992), examine the reactions of Germany's neighbors.

Three outstanding on-the-spot accounts of the transformations of Eastern Europe in 1989 and after are Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern** (1990) and *History of the Present* (1999), and Misha Glenny, *The Rebirth of History** (reprint ed. 2001); see also Gale Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down** (1993). Particular Eastern European transformations are treated in Robin Shepherd, *Czechoslovakia: The Velvet Revolution and Beyond* (2000); Bernard Wheaton and Zdenek Kavan, *The Velvet Revolution: Czechoslovakia, 1988–1991** (1992); Richard F. Staar, ed., *Transition to Democracy in Poland* (1998); Frances Millard, *Politics and Society in Poland* (1999); Anatol Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution** (1994); and, in addition to the Tökés work noted at the end of chapter 21, Aurel Braun and Zoltan Barany, eds., *Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience** (2001).

The political transformations of Eastern Europe are well summarized in Attila Agh, *Emerging Democracies in East Central Europe and the Balkans* (1998), and analyzed in Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition* (1996). There is more attention to civil society in Claus Offe, *Varieties of Transition: The East European and German Experience** (1996), and Jon Elster, Claus Offe, and Ulrich K. Preuss, *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies** (1998). Alexander Motyl et al., *Nations in Transit 2003** (2004), gives a

scorecard to 27 postSoviet states. For the Eastern and Central European economies, see Martin Potucek, *Not Only the Market** (2000), and especially the Anders Åslund book mentioned above. John Borneman, *Settling Accounts: Violence, Justice, and Accountability in Post-Socialist Europe** (1997), examines the various ways in which some of the pre-1989 Communist leadership was purged or punished.

Best for Berlusconi's Italy is Paul Ginsborg, *Italy and its Discontents** (2003).

The Yugoslav catastrophe spawned an immense literature. For historical background, see works cited after chapters 17 and 21. Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History** (1996); and the same author's *Kosovo: A Short History** (1999). Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War** (1998), and Tim Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth, and the Destruction of Yugoslavia** (1998), stress ancient grievances. Misha Glenny gives a vivid narrative history in *The Balkans* (2000). Closer examinations of the break-up include Branka Magas and Ivo Zanic, eds., *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1991–1995** (2004); Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia**, 3rd ed. (1997); and Sabrina P. Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to Ethnic War**, 2nd ed. (1996). More intimate accounts, where protagonists speak for themselves, are Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation** (1995), based on a BBC documentary; Roger Cohen, *Hearts Crown Brutal: Sagas of Sarajevo* (1998); and Jasminka Udovicki and James Ridgeway, *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia** (1998). For Kosovo, see Tim Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge**, 2nd ed. (2002).

The end of the Cold War permitted the first retrospective looks back. See two works by John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War** (1994), and *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History** (1998).

For neo-Nazism in the 1990s, refer again to works cited at the end of chapter 22.

Essential for the transformations of the European Union is George Ross, *Jacques Delors and European Integration** (1995). Andrew Moravcsik examines the European Union's choice of futures in *Centralization or Fragmentation? Europe before the Challenges of Deepening, Diversity, and Democracy** (1998). Recent studies of how the European Union works now include Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union**, 4th ed. (1999); Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union**, 2nd ed. (1999); Helen Wallace, *Making Sense of the New Europe* (2002); Jack Hayward and Anand Menon, eds., *Governing Europe** (2003); and Clive Archer, *Organizing Europe: The Institutions of Integration*, 2nd ed. (1998).

The EU's economic policies since 1992 are most thoroughly examined by John Gillingham, *European Integration 1950–2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?** (2003).

European relations with the United States are assessed in Elizabeth Pond, *Friendly Fire: The Near-Death of the Transatlantic Alliance** (2003). See also Lawrence S. Kaplan, *NATO United, NATO Divided** (2004).

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