EUROPEAN NEUTRALS AND NON-BELLIGERENTS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

This collection provides the most comprehensive English-language survey of the conduct of neutral and non-belligerent states during the war for nearly fifty years.

Instead of narrowly focusing on the few neutrals that survived the war intact, the volume broadens our understanding of neutrality by including chapters on ‘non-belligerents’ and those neutrals of south-east Europe, such as Romania and Yugoslavia. The chapters focus on how individual neutral governments perceived international developments and throw light on the domestic political circumstances that critically affected their response to the course of the war. They therefore provide the political context that has been overlooked in recent controversies surrounding their humanitarian and financial activities.

While based on the authors’ own research, the chapters draw widely on secondary literature and provide invaluable analytical introductions to the large amount of historical writing on these countries which is unavailable in English.

Neville Wylie is Lecturer in Politics, University of Nottingham.
EUROPEAN NEUTRALS AND NON-BELLIGERENTS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

EDITED BY
NEVILLE WYLIE
Contents

List of contributors page vii
Acknowledgements xi

Introduction: Victims or actors? European neutrals and non-belligerents, 1939–1945 1
Neville Wylie

PART ONE THE ‘PHONEY WAR’ NEUTRALS

1 Denmark, September 1939–April 1940 31
Hans Kirchhoff

2 Norway 53
Patrick Salmon

3 The Netherlands 76
Bob Moore

4 Belgium: fragile neutrality, solid neutralism 97
Alain Colignon

PART TWO THE ‘WAIT-AND-SEE’ NEUTRALS

Map of South-East Europe and the Balkans, 1939–41 118

5 ‘Where one man, and only one man, led.’ Italy’s path from non-alignment to non-belligerency to war, 1937–1940 119
Brian R. Sullivan

6 Treaty revision and doublespeak: Hungarian neutrality, 1939–1941 150
Tibor Frank
vi

Contents

7 Romanian neutrality, 1939–1940
Maurice Pearton 174

8 Bulgarian neutrality: domestic and international perspectives
Vesselin Dimitrov 192

9 Yugoslavia
Dragoljub R. Živojinović 217

PART THREE THE ‘LONG-HAUL’ NEUTRALS

10 Spain and the Second World War, 1939–1945
Elena Hernández-Sandoica and Enrique Moradiellos 241

11 Portuguese neutrality in the Second World War
Fernando Rosas 268

12 Irish neutrality in the Second World War
Eunan O’Halpin 283

13 Swedish neutrality during the Second World War: tactical success or moral compromise?
Paul A. Levine 304

14 Switzerland: a neutral of distinction?
Neville Wylie 331

Appendix 355
Index 359
Contributors

ALAIN COLIGNON is a research assistant specialising in the politics of neutrality at the Centre d’Etudes et de Documentation Guerre et Sociétés contemporaines, Brussels.


TIBOR FRANK is director of the School of English and American Studies at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. He has written and edited a number of articles and books on aspects of Hungarian political and cultural history, including Ethnicity, Propaganda, Myth-Making (Budapest, 1999) and A History of Hungary (London, 1990, with Peter F. Sugar and Péter Hanák) and is currently producing an edition of the papers of a former minister in Budapest, John F. Montgomery.

ELENA HERNÁNDEZ-SANDOICA is titular professor of contemporary history at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Her research interests lie in the areas of intellectual history, education, and foreign policy, in particular the history of Spanish colonial policy in Cuba. Her most recent book is entitled, Los caminos de la Historia. Cuestiones de historiografía y método (Madrid, 1995).

List of contributors


PAUL A. LEVINE is assistant professor at Uppsala University and works in the Centre for Multiethnic Research. He is author of From Indifference to Activism; Swedish Diplomacy and the Holocaust, 1938–1944 (Uppsala, 2nd edition, 1998) and ‘Tell ye your children’ . . . A Book about the Holocaust in Europe 1933–1945 (Stockholm, 1998, with S. Bruchfeld). He has written on many aspects of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and was recently consulting expert to the Swedish National Commission on Jewish Assets.

BOB MOORE is reader in modern history at the University of Sheffield. His research interests include the study of prisoners of war, the Holocaust, and the history of The Netherlands. His recent publications include Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands, 1940–1945 (London, 1997) and two edited volumes, Resistance in Western Europe (Oxford, 2000) and Prisoners of War and their Captors in World War II (Oxford, 1996, with Kent Fedorowich).

ENRIQUE MORADIELLOS is lecturer in modern Spanish and European history at the Universidad de Extremadura. As well as publishing numerous articles, in Spanish and English, he is author of five books, including La Perfida de Albión. El gobierno británico y la guerra civil española (Madrid, 1986) and Neutralidad Benévol. El gobierno británico y la insurrección militar española de 1936 (Oviedo, 1990).

EUNAN O’HALPIN is professor of modern Irish history at Trinity College Dublin. He is author of Defending Ireland: The Irish State and its Enemies since 1922 (Oxford, 1999) and Ireland and the Council of Europe: From Isolation Towards Integration (Strasbourg, 2000). He is joint editor of the official publication series, Documents on Irish Foreign Policy.

MAURICE PEARTON is honorary fellow of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, having previously been reader in political science at Richmond College, London. He has written widely on aspects of Romanian history and is the author of Oil and the Romanian State (Oxford, 1971) and The Knowledgeable State – Diplomacy, War and Technology since 1830 (London, 1982).
List of contributors

FERNANDO ROSAS is professor of history at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. He has written widely on many aspects of modern Portuguese history. He is author of *Portugal entre a Paz e a Guerra (1939–1945)* (Lisbon, 1990) and *O Salazarismo e a Aliança Luso-Britânica* (Lisbon, 1987). He is also editor of *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930–1960)* (Lisbon, 1993) and *Armindo Monteiro e Oliveira Salazar – correspondência política, 1926–1955* (Lisbon, 1996) and is director of the journal, *História*.


DRAGOLJUB R. ŽIVOJINOVIĆ is professor of modern history at the University of Belgrade. He received his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania and has been visiting professor at various European and US universities, including Cornell and the University of California, Santa Barbara. His publications include *America, Italy and the Birth of Yugoslavia 1917–1919* (New York, 1972), *The Vatican and the First World*
List of contributors

Acknowledgements

This book has taken considerably longer to bring to fruition than was initially anticipated! The time taken to find appropriate contributors, assemble their chapters to a timetable that met their own busy schedules, take account of readers comments and allow for revisions to be made, far exceeded my original, wildly optimistic, calculations. I would like to express my gratitude to the fourteen contributors, for their commitment to the project, their willingness to respond to my various letters and emails, and for their patience in seeing the project through to an end. I am likewise enormously grateful for the support, encouragement, and assistance of William Davies at Cambridge University Press and of Jean Field, who meticulously copy-edited the book. My thanks also go to Jean Lundskær-Nielsen, Philip Wylie, and Heloisa Stroppa for their translations of chapters 1, 4, 10, and 11, and to the Syndics of Cambridge University Press and the Managers of the Prince Consort and Thirlwall Fund, University of Cambridge, for help in covering the costs entailed. Richard Aldrich and Mauro Mantovani generously gave their time to comment on various parts of the manuscript. Finally, I greatly benefited from being able to test out some of the ideas and concepts addressed in the collection on some excellent students who attended my courses at the Graduate Institute of International Affairs in Geneva and University College Dublin over the academic year 1999/2000. Their incisive comments and criticisms have, I hope, made for a better book.