War is often described as an extension of politics by violent means. With contributions from twenty-eight eminent historians, Volume II of The Cambridge History of the Second World War examines the relationship between ideology and politics in the war’s origins, dynamics and consequences. Part i examines the ideologies of the combatants and shows how the war can be understood as a struggle of words, ideas and values, with the rival powers expressing divergent claims to justice and controlling news from the front in order to sustain morale and influence international opinion. Part ii looks at politics from the perspective of pre-war and wartime diplomacy, as well as examining the way in which neutrals were treated and behaved. The volume concludes by assessing the impact of states, politics and ideology on the fate of individuals as occupied and liberated peoples, collaborators and resisters, and as British and French colonial subjects.

Richard J. B. Bosworth is Senior Research Fellow at Jesus College, Oxford.

Joseph A. Maiolo is Professor of International History in the Department of War Studies at King’s College London and Visiting Research Professor at the Norwegian Defence Intelligence School, Oslo.
The Cambridge History of the Second World War is an authoritative new account of the conflict that unfolded between 1939 and 1945. With contributions from a team of leading historians, the three volumes adopt a transnational approach, to offer a comprehensive, global analysis of the military, political, social, economic and cultural aspects of the war. Volume I provides an operational perspective on the course of the war, examining strategies, military cultures and organization, and the key campaigns, whilst Volume II reviews the ‘politics’ of war, the global aspirations of the rival alliances, and the role of diplomacy. Volume III considers the war as an economic, social and cultural event, exploring how entire nations mobilized their economies and populations, and dealt with the catastrophic losses that followed. The volumes conclude by considering the lasting impact of the Second World War and the memory of war across different cultures of commemoration.

Volume I
Fighting the War
Edited by John Ferris and Evan Mawdsley

Volume II
Politics and Ideology
Edited by Richard J. B. Bosworth and Joseph A. Maiolo

Volume III
Total War: Economy, Society and Culture
Edited by Michael Geyer and Adam Tooze

© in this web service Cambridge University Press
THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
THE SECOND WORLD WAR

* 

VOLUME II
Politics and Ideology

* 

Edited by
RICHARD J. B. BOSWORTH
and
JOSEPH A. MAILO
Contents

List of illustrations and figure page viii
List of maps xi
List of contributors to Volume II xii

Introduction to Volume II 1
RICHARD J. B. BOSWORTH AND JOSEPH A. MAILO

PART I
IDEOLOGIES 11

Introduction to Part I 13
RICHARD J. B. BOSWORTH AND JOSEPH A. MAILO

1 · The Axis: Germany, Japan and Italy on the road to war 21
ROBERT GERWARTH

2 · Western Allied ideology, 1939–1945 43
TALBOT IMLAY

3 · The Soviet Union and the international left 68
SILVIO PONS

4 · The propaganda war 91
JO FOX

5 · Reporting from the battlefield: censorship and journalism 117
STEVEN CASEY
Contents

6 · International organizations 139
  PATRICIA CLAVIN

7 · Nazi genocides 162
  JÜRGEN MATTHÄUS

8 · War crimes trials 181
  DONALD BLOXHAM AND JONATHAN WATERLOW

PART II
DIPLOMACY AND ALLIANCES 209

Introduction to Part II 211
  RICHARD J. B. BOSWORTH AND JOSEPH A. MAIOLO

9 · Europe: the failure of diplomacy, 1933–1940 217
  PETER JACKSON

10 · Asia-Pacific: the failure of diplomacy, 1931–1941 253
  PETER MAUCH

11 · The diplomacy of the Axis, 1940–1945 276
  NORMAN J. W. GODA

12 · The diplomacy of the Grand Alliance 301
  DAVID REYNOLDS

13 · Spain: betting on a Nazi victory 324
  PAUL PRESTON

14 · Sweden: negotiated neutrality 330
  KLAS ÅMARK

PART III
OCCUPATION, COLLABORATION, RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION 375

Introduction to Part III 377
  RICHARD J. B. BOSWORTH AND JOSEPH A. MAIOLO
Contents

15 · Wartime occupation by Germany: food and sex  
   NICHOLAS STARGARDT  
   385

16 · Collaboration, resistance and liberation in Western Europe  
   WILLIAM I. HITCHCOCK  
   412

17 · Wartime occupation by Italy  
   DAVIDE RODOGNO  
   436

18 · Collaboration, resistance and liberation in the Balkans, 1941–1945  
   GREGOR KRANJC  
   461

19 · Soviet liberations and occupations, 1939–1949  
   MARK EDELE  
   487

20 · Collaboration, resistance and accommodation in Northeast Asia  
   MARGHERITA ZANASI  
   509

21 · Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia, 1941–1945  
   PAUL H. KRATOSKA AND KEN’ICHI GOTO  
   533

22 · The British Empire, 1939–1945  
   ASHLEY JACKSON  
   558

23 · France and its colonial civil wars, 1940–1945  
   MARTIN THOMAS  
   581

24 · The Muslim world in the Second World War  
   DAVID MOTADEL  
   605

Bibliographical essays  
   627

Index  
   676
Illustrations

1 Naples during Hitler’s state visit, 8 May, 1938. © Hugo Jaeger/Timepix/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images
2 Adolf Hitler makes a speech to mark the start of construction of the Volkswagen factory at Fallersleben, June, 1938. © IWM (COL 119)
4 The famous Soviet sculpture Worker and Kolkhoz Woman, by Vera Mukhina, stands on display in Moscow on 4 December 2009, the day of its official re-opening. © DMITRY KOSTYUKOV/AFP/Getty Images
5 A Second World War Soviet propaganda poster by V. Ivanov, depicting the Red Army and Air Force on the attack, January, 1941. © Photo by Laski Diffusion/Getty Images
6 Propaganda poster: 5 reasons why the Allies will win. Artist and date unknown, printed in England by Field, Sons and Co. Ltd, Bradford. © IWM (51-2857)
7 A German poster from the Second World War depicts German soldiers with swastika flags against the words Ein Kampf, ein Sieg! (‘One fight, one victory!’), 30 January, 1943. © Photo by Galerie Bilderwelt/Getty Images
8 Special correspondents from Japan, Sweden and Switzerland listening to the explanations of a German soldier on the battlefield of Kharkov-Izium. Kharkov, June, 1942. © Photo by Heinrich Hoffmann/Mondadori Portfolio via Getty Images
9 Buchenwald concentration camp: barrack accommodation for prisoners at Buchenwald. © IWM (EA 63141)
10 A German girl is overcome as she walks past the exhumed bodies of some of the 800 slave workers murdered by SS guards near Namering, Germany. © US National Archives
11 ‘The Nuremberg Trial, 1946.’ © IWM (Art.IWM ART LD 5798)
12 Indicted Japanese war criminals standing to attention in the dock of the Singapore Supreme Court at the beginning of their trial in 1946. © IWM (CF 1049)
List of illustrations

13 Honour reception for British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, upon his arrival at Oberwiesenfeld airport on the way to a meeting with Adolf Hitler. © Hugo Jaeger/Getty Images
14 Admiral Nomura sitting with Cordell Hull. © Underwood Archives/Getty Images
15 Moscow, USSR. Foreign Minister of Germany, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and Soviet Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov. © Sovfoto/Getty Images
17 Saburo Kurusu, Galeazzo Ciano and Adolf Hitler at the signing of the Axis Pact in Berlin on 27 September, 1940. © IWM HU 79995
18 Potsdam (Berlin) Conference of the leading statesmen of the three Allied powers, the USSR, Great Britain and the United States, 17 July to 2 August 1945. © Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-H27035
19 The Yalta Conference, February, 1945. © IWM (NAM 230)
20 Meeting between Spanish dictator Francisco Franco and Adolf Hitler, October 1940. © Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-R98690
21 Swedish volunteers with the Finnish Army in the Soviet-Finnish War, 3 January, 1940. © Keystone-France/Getty Images
22 Norwegian Waffen-SS volunteers of the Nordland Regiment, August, 1942. © Keystone-France/Getty Images
23 German soldiers marching through a town in Holland during the Second World War, May, 1940. © Hulton Archive/Stringer/Getty Images
24 A boat carrying people during the escape across the Oresound of 7,000 Danish Jews, who fled to safety in neighbouring Sweden, 1943. © AFP/Getty Images
25 A Polish Red Cross nurse captured during the German invasion of September 1939. © Hugo Jaeger/Timepix/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images
26 A group of Frenchwomen, who had been accused of collaborating with the Germans, stripped down to their underwear, some with heads shaved, as part of their public humiliation, December, 1944. © Three Lions/Stringer/Getty Images
28 Photo taken at the instant bullets from a French firing squad hit a Frenchman who had collaborated with the Germans. © US National Archives
29 A little boy in Naples helps support a friend who lost a leg and walks with a crutch, August, 1944. © Lieutenant Wayne Miller/CORBIS
30 ‘Signor Prigile, an Italian partisan in Florence’. © IWM (TR 2282)
31 Group of fairly well-equipped male and female resistance fighters in Greece, October 1944. © Dmitri Kessel/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images
List of illustrations

32 Josip Broz, aka Marshal Tito, at his headquarters, with the Partisan leader Croatian Vlado Bakarić, and Edvard Kardelj. © John Phillips/Life Magazine/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

33 The exhumation of Polish officers at Katyn, in occupied Russia, during the summer of 1943. © Gabriel Hackett/Archive Photos/Getty Images

34 Units of the Red Army on the streets of Vilno. © Sovfoto/UIG via Getty Images

35 Lieutenant of a Soviet tank unit lectures Vilno inhabitants about the lives of workers in the USSR, October, 1939. © Sovfoto/UIG via Getty Images

36 Evacuees entering Chongqing. © University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries

37 Shanghai (China), refugees fleeing the city. © University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries

38 Young Chinese refugee dies. © Keystone/Getty Images

39 The Auxiliary Territorial Service during the Second World War. © IWM (H 15797)

40 Mule handlers of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps. © IWM (H 5584)

41 General de Gaulle, the Bey of Tunis and General Mast in the courtyard of the Bey’s summer palace, Carthage, Tunisia, January, 1943. © Universal History Archive/UIG via Getty Images

42 Indian soldiers at the mosque in Woking, Surrey, November 1941. © Benson/Fox Photos/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

43 Delegates attending United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to plan for post-war reconstruction. © Alfred Eisenstaedt/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

The color plates can be found between pages 366 and 367

Figure

21.1 Japanese navy conception of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere page 535

Every effort has been made to contact the relevant copyright-holders for the images reproduced in this book. In the event of any error, the publisher will be pleased to make corrections in any reprints or future editions.
Maps

0.1 The old world order, 1937 page xv
0.2 Japanese advances by diplomacy and conquest, 1937–41 xvi
0.3 German advances by diplomacy and conquest, 1936–41 xvii
14.1 War in the Nordic region, 1939–40 349
18.1 The Balkans under Axis occupation 460
19.1 Advances of the Soviet Union by diplomacy and conquest, 1939–41 485
19.2 The process of Soviet liberation, 1943–44 486
20.1 The Japanese invasion of central and southern China 508
24.1 The Muslim world 604
Contributors to Volume II

Klas Åmark is Professor Emeritus in History at Stockholm University. He was coordinator for the research programme ‘Sweden’s relations to Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust’, funded by the Swedish Research Council.

Donald Bloxham is Richard Pares Professor of European History at the University of Edinburgh.

Richard J. B. Bosworth is Senior Research Fellow at Jesus College, Oxford.

Steven Casey is Professor in International History at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Patricia Clavin is Professor of International History at the University of Oxford, and Zeitlyn Fellow and Tutor in History, Jesus College.

Mark Edele is Professor of History at the University of Western Australia.

Jo Fox is Professor of Modern History at Durham University.

Robert Gerwarth is Professor of Modern History at University College Dublin, and Director of the university’s Centre for War Studies.

Norman J. W. Goda is Norman and Irma Braman Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Florida.

Ken’ichi Goto is Professor Emeritus in the Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies at Waseda University, Tokyo.

William I. Hitchcock is Professor of History in the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia, and Director of Research and Scholarship and Randolph Compton Professor at the Miller Center, also at the University of Virginia.
List of contributors to Volume II

Talbot Imlay is Professor of History in the Département des sciences historiques at Université Laval, Québec.

Ashley Jackson is Professor of Imperial and Military History in the Defence Studies Department at King’s College London, and Visiting Fellow at Kellogg College, Oxford.

Peter Jackson is Professor of Global Security at the University of Glasgow.

Gregor Kranjc is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Brock University, St Catharines, Ontario.

Paul H. Kratoska is Publishing Director for NUS Press at the National University of Singapore.

Joseph A. Maiolo is Professor of International History in the Department of War Studies at King’s College London and Visiting Research Professor at the Norwegian Defence Intelligence School, Oslo.

Jürgen Matthäus is a historian and Research Director at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC.

Peter Mauch is Senior Lecturer of International History at the University of Western Sydney, Australia.

David Motadel is a Research Fellow in History at Gonville and Caius College, University of Cambridge.

Silvio Pons is Professor of Contemporary History and East European History at the University of Rome ‘Tor Vergata’, and Director of the Gramsci Foundation, Rome.

Paul Preston is the Príncipe de Asturias Professor of Contemporary Spanish History at the London School of Economics.

David Reynolds is Professor of International History at the University of Cambridge.

Davide Rodogno is Professor in the International History Department at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva.

Nicholas Stargardt is Professor of Modern European History at Oxford University.

Martin Thomas is Professor of Imperial History at the University of Exeter.
List of contributors to Volume II

Jonathan Waterlow is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow in History at St Antony’s College, University of Oxford.

Margherita Zanasi is Associate Professor of Chinese History at Louisiana State University.
The old world order, 1937
The border incident at Khalkin Gol (Nomonhan) in the summer of 1939 involved full-scale fighting between Russian and Japanese forces.

The border incident at Lake Khasan (Zhanggufeng) in the summer of 1938 involved full-scale fighting between Russian and Japanese forces.

The Communist 'New 4th Army' became involved in fighting with Nationalist troops in Jiansu province in January 1940, seriously weakening the anti-Japanese 'united front'.

A major concentration of Communist strength was the 8th Route Army, based in Shaanxi (Shensi) province. The communists had moved their main forces to the remote northwest after the Long March.

The '100 Regiments Offensive' was mounted by the Communist 8th Route Army against Japanese communication lines in Shansi (Shensi) province in 1940. It had only limited success.

0.2 Japanese advances by diplomacy and conquest, 1937–41
Swedish iron ore deposits, located near Gällivare and Kiruna, were a resource of great importance. In the summer the ore was moved by rail to Luleå, but in the winter, when the Baltic was frozen, it was sent through Narvik in Norway.

The Curzon line demarcated regions that were predominantly Polish and regions that were predominantly Belorussian or Ukrainian. It was laid out by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, in 1920 and played an important part in determining the boundary between Poland and the USSR in 1939 and 1945.

The Russian invasion of Finland was mounted north and south of Lake Ladoga. Field defences of the Mannerheim line. One of best-known Red Army defeats was at Suomussalmi where a Russian division was cut off in a forest and destroyed.