

## Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe

This is a comprehensive history of political violence during Europe's incredibly violent twentieth century. Leading scholars examine the causes and dynamics of war, revolution, counter-revolution, genocide, ethnic cleansing, terrorism, and state repression. They locate these manifestations of political violence within their full transnational and comparative contexts and within broader trends in European history from the beginning of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century, through the two world wars, to the Yugoslav Wars and the rise of fundamentalist terrorism. The book spans a 'greater Europe' stretching from Ireland and Iberia to the Baltic, the Caucasus, Turkey, and the southern shores of the Mediterranean. It sheds new light on the extent to which political violence in twentieth-century Europe was inseparable from the generation of new forms of state power and their projection into other societies, be they distant territories of imperial conquest or ones much closer to home.

DONALD BLOXHAM is Professor of Modern History at Edinburgh University. He is author of *Genocide on Trial* (2001), *The Great Game of Genocide* (2005), and *The Final Solution: a Genocide* (2009) and is co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (2010).

ROBERT GERWARTH is Professor of Modern History and Director of the Centre for War Studies at University College Dublin. He is the author of *The Bismarck Myth* (2005), winner of the Fraenkel Prize in Contemporary History and a biography of Reinhard Heydrich.



## Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe

Edited by

Donald Bloxham Robert Gerwarth





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521182041

© Cambridge University Press 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe / [edited by] Donald
Bloxham, Robert Gerwarth.

p. cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-521-18204-1 (pbk.)
1. Political violence–Europe–History–20th century.
Donald. II. Gerwarth, Robert (Robert-Benjamin) II. Title.
JC328.65.E85P65 2011
303.6094′0904–dc22
2010049734

ISBN 978-1-107-00503-7 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-18204-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



IN MEMORY OF JAMES MCMILLAN, COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND



## Contents

	Notes on contributors	page V111
	Introduction DONALD BLOXHAM AND ROBERT GERWARTH	1
1	Europe in the world: systems and cultures of violence DONALD BLOXHAM, MARTIN CONWAY, ROBERT GERWARTH, A. DIRK MOSES AND KLAUS WEINHAUER	11
2	War JAMES MCMILLAN	40
3	Genocide and ethnic cleansing DONALD BLOXHAM AND A. DIRK MOSES	87
4	Revolution and counter-revolution MARTIN CONWAY AND ROBERT GERWARTH	140
5	Terrorism and the state HEINZ-GERHARD HAUPT AND KLAUS WEINHAUER	176
	Notes	210
	Index	249

vii



## Contributors

DONALD BLOXHAM is Professor of Modern History at the University of Edinburgh. He is author of *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (2005); *The Holocaust: Critical Historical Approaches* (2005, with Tony Kushner) and *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory* (2001). He is editor, with Mark Levene, of the Oxford University Press monograph series *Zones of Violence*.

MARTIN CONWAY is Fellow and Tutor in Modern European History at Balliol College, Oxford. He is the author of a number of books on twentieth-century European history, including Collaboration in Belgium: Léon Degrelle and the Rexist Movement 1940–44 (1993) and the co-author with Peter Romijn et al. of The War for Legitimacy in Politics and Culture 1936–1946 (2008). He is also the author of the forthcoming The Sorrows of Belgium: Liberation and Political Reconstruction 1944–47.

ROBERT GERWARTH is Professor of Modern History at University College Dublin and Director of UCD's Centre for War Studies. His publications include *The Bismarck Myth: Weimar Germany and the Legacy of the Iron Chancellor* (2005) and a biography of Reinhard Heydrich (2011). He has also edited a number of books such as *Twisted Paths: Europe 1914–45* (2007), and, with Dominik Geppert, *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity* (2008).

HEINZ-GERHARD HAUPT is Professor of Modern History at the European University Institute, Florence. Amongst his many single-authored and edited works are the following publications: Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren (2006), Regional and National Identities in 19th and 20th Century Europe (1997, ed. with M.G. Müller and S. Woolf); 'Pour une histoire de la consommation en Allemagne au XXe siècle', in

viii



Notes on contributors

ix

- H.G. Haupt (ed.), Au Bonheur des Allemands. Le Mouvement social (2004); 'European History as Comparative History', Ab Imperio 1 (2004); Nation und Religion im Deutschland des 19.und 20. Jahrhunderts (2002, ed. with D. Langewiesche); Aufbruch in die Zukunft (2004, with Jörg Requate).
- JAMES MCMILLAN was Richard Pares Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh until his untimely death in 2010. His publications include: France and Women, 1789–1914: Gender, Society and Politics (2000); Twentieth-Century France: Politics and Society, 1898–1991 (1992); Napoleon III (1991); Housewife or Harlot: the Place of Women in French Society, 1870–1940 (1981); and (ed.) Modern France, 1880–2002 (2003).
- A. DIRK MOSES joined the European University Institute, Florence, in 2011 as Professor of Global and Colonial History after eleven years at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) and editor of anthologies on genocide and colonialism, including, most recently, *The Oxford Handbook on Genocide Studies* (2010, with Donald Bloxham). He is currently finishing a book entitled *Genocide and the Terror of History*.
- KLAUS WEINHAUER is Assistant Professor at the University of Bielefeld (Faculty of History). Among his publications are: Arbeit und Alltag im Hamburger Hafen. Sozialgeschichte der Hamburger Hafenarbeiter von 1914 bis 1933 (1994) and Schutzpolizei in der Bundesrepublik. Zwischen Bürgerkrieg und Innerer Sicherheit: die turbulenten sechziger Jahre (2003). He is co-editor of Dock Workers. Explorations in Comparative Labour History, c. 1780–1970 (2000) and Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren (2006).