

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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 resistors, 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

GENERAL EDITOR

EVAN MAWDSLEY, Honorary Professorial Research Fellow and formerly Professor of International History at the University of Glasgow.

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 1 provides an operational perspective on the course of the war, examining strategies, military cultures and organization, and the key campaigns, whilst Volume 11 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



THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

VOLUME II
Politics and Ideology

Edited by
RICHARD J. B. BOSWORTH
and
JOSEPH A. MAIOLO







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

 $\label{lem:cambridge} \mbox{ University Press \& Assessment,} \\ a \mbox{ department of the University of Cambridge.}$

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108406406

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2015

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 & Assessment.

First published 2015 Paperback edition first published 2017 3rd printing 2019

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

ISBN 978-I-107-03407-5 Hardback ISBN 978-I-108-40640-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 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.



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. MAIOLO

PART I IDEOLOGIES 11

- I · The Axis: Germany, Japan and Italy on the road to war 21
 - 2 · Western Allied ideology, 1939–1945 43
 - 3 · The Soviet Union and the international left 68
 - 4 · The propaganda war 91 JO FOX
- 5 · Reporting from the battlefield: censorship and journalism 117
 STEVEN CASEY

V



Contents

6 · International organizations 139

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

II · 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 350 KLAS ÅMARK

OCCUPATION, COLLABORATION, RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION 375

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

vi



Contents

- 15 · Wartime occupation by Germany: food and sex 385
 NICHOLAS STARGARDT
- 16 · Collaboration, resistance and liberation in Western Europe 412
 WILLIAM I. HITCHCOCK
 - 17 · Wartime occupation by Italy 436

 DAVIDE RODOGNO
- 18 · Collaboration, resistance and liberation in the Balkans, 1941–1945 461

 GREGOR KRANIC
 - 19 · Soviet liberations and occupations, 1939–1949 487
- 20 · Collaboration, resistance and accommodation in Northeast Asia 509

 MARGHERITA ZANASI
 - 21 · Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia, 1941–1945 533

 PAUL H. KRATOSKA AND KEN'ICHI GOTO
 - 22 · The British Empire, 1939–1945 558 ASHLEY JACKSON
 - 23 · France and its colonial civil wars, 1940–1945 581
 - 24 · The Muslim world in the Second World War 605
 DAVID MOTADEL
 - 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)
- 3 Representatives of twenty-six United Nations at Flag Day ceremonies in the White House to reaffirm their pact, Washington DC, July, 1942. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington DC
- 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)
- 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)
- 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)

viii



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
- Moscow, USSR. Foreign Minister of Germany, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and Soviet Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov.
 © Sovfoto/Getty Images
- Signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact in Berlin, 25 November, 1936.Keystone-France/Gamma-Keystone via 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 75995
- 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
- 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
- 27 Resistance fighters gathering in Boussoulot, Haute-Loire (France), 1941–42. © Keystone-France/Gamma-Keystone via 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'. \bigcirc 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

- 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 Vichy: internment camp for colonial troops, 1940–43. © Keystone-France/ Gamma-Keystone via Getty Images
- 42 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
- 43 Indian soldiers at the mosque in Woking, Surrey, November 1941. © Benson/Fox Photos/Hulton Archive/Getty Images
- 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.I	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.

 $\label{thm:norman} \mbox{Norman and Irma Braman Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Florida.}$

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.

xii



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 Principe 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.

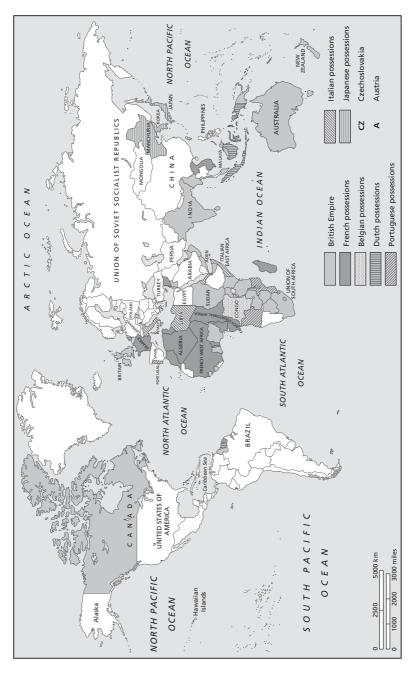


List of contributors to Volume II

JONATHAN WATERLOW is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow in History at St Antony's College, University of Oxford.

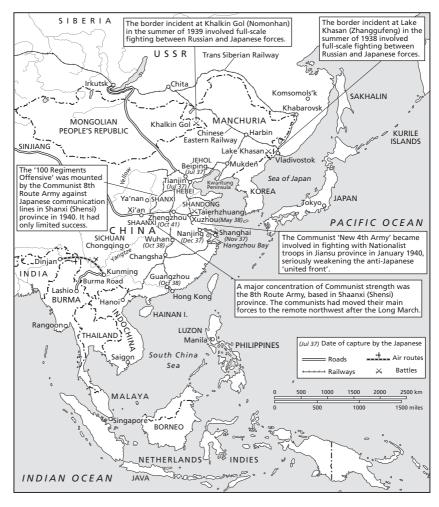
Margherita Zanasi is Associate Professor of Chinese History at Louisiana State University.





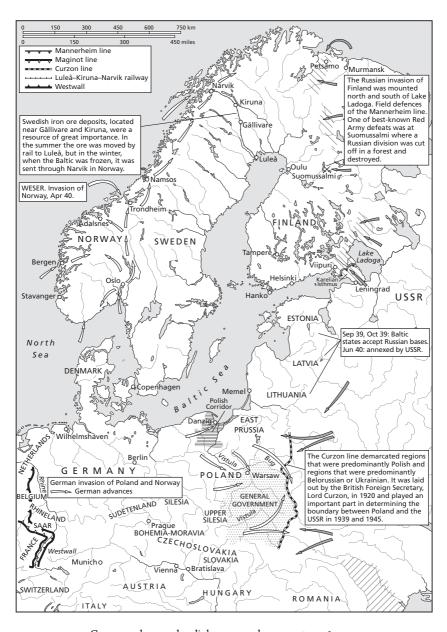
o.1 The old world order, 1937





0.2 Japanese advances by diplomacy and conquest, 1937-41





0.3 German advances by diplomacy and conquest, 1936–41

xvii