## Contents

Preface	xxi Intellectual Impact he 10% with a same of the work aspend.
1 Eu	rope at Zenith, 1914 3
	Europe and the World 3
	Furonean Traders Travelers and Investors 4
	Imperialism 5
	Imperialism 5 European Artists and Scientists 8 European Landscapes: Urban and Rusal 8
	European Arusis and Scientists 8  European Landscapes: Urban and Rural 8
	Life in the City 9
	Life in Peasant Europe 10
	The Rich and the Poor 11
	Class and Social Rank 11
	The Poor 12
	The Rich 13
	The Middle Class 15
	Upward Mobility 17
	Women and Families 17
	Having Fewer Children 17
	Women's Place 18
	Political Systems and Mass Movements 20
	Monarchy 20
	The Role of Parliaments 21
	The Socialist Movement 23
	Nationalism 24
	Inherited Creeds 26
	Liberalism 26
	Conservatism 28
	Organized Religion 29
	Toward a New Consciousness 30
	The Revolution in Science 30
	The Revolution in Art and Thought 31
	Reactions to Cultural Revolution 34
	Suggestions for Further Reading 36
2 Ho	we the Creat Way Porces 41
4 HO	w the Great War Began 41 Premonitions of War 42
	Premonitions of War 42 The Crisis of July 1914 42
	THE Crisis of July 1914 42

The Balkans: Declining Empires and Rising Nationalities

Germany's "Blank Check" 48
Austria's Ultimatum to Serbia 49
Escalation: From Local War to Continental War 50
Russia's Mobilization 50
France's Intentions 51
Germany Declares War 52
The Schlieffen Plan 53
Britain Joins In 54
A Longer View of the Causes of War 56
Sovereignty and a Nation's Honor 57
Imperialist Considerations 57
Internal Dissent 58
The Alliance System Tightens 59
The War Machines 59
The Exercise of Choice 60
Suggestions for Further Reading 60
A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR
The Marne and After, 1914–1917 63
War Fever 63
A Dilemma for the Socialists 65
War and Social Peace 66
The First Battle of the Marne 67
The Eastern Front 68
Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes, 1914 68
The Austrian Fronts, 1914–1915 69
The Search for a Breakthrough in the West 70
Assaults "Over the Top" 70
Major Offensives: Verdun, the Somme, the Champagne 72
New Weapons 74
The Widening War 76
The War at Sea 78
The United States Enters the War 79
Suggestions for Further Reading 80
The Impact of Total War 83
Adjusting to a War of Attrition 84
War Governments: A Comparative Look 85
Great Britain 85
France 87
Germany 88
Russia 90
Austria-Hungary 91
Italy 92
The Social Impact 93
The Status of Women 93
The Role of Labor 94
Social Cleavage 95

The Economic Impact 96 War Profiteers 96 Inflation 96 The Impact on Internal Order 97 Growing Unrest 97 Liberal and Socialist War Critiques 99 Police Power 100 Control of Public Opinion 101 The Intellectual Impact 102 Suggestions for Further Reading 105 Revolution, 1917-1920 107 The Russian Revolutions, 1917 107 The February Revolution 108 The Provisional Government and the Soviets The October Revolution 112 The Bolshevik Regime 114 Lenin's Peace, Land, and Bread 114 A New Dictatorship 116 Civil War 117 Western Europe, 1917–1918: Unrest and Final Campaigns 120 The German Revolution, 1918-1919 122 Steps toward Revolution 122 The Struggle for Power within German Socialism 123 The Failure of the Social Revolution 124 The Dissolution of Austria-Hungary, 1918–1919 126 The Breakdown of Dynastic Loyalties 127 Nation-Building in the Successor States 128 The Béla Kun Regime 130 Britain, France, Italy: The Unrest of 1919–1920 131 The Aftermath 133 Success and Failure: A Comparative Look 133 The Third International and the Division of the European Left 135 Suggestions for Further Reading 137 The Paris Peace Settlement 141 The Setting: Ideals, Interests, and Ideology 142 War Aims 142 The Fourteen Points 142 Wartime Treaties and Promises 143 Strategic Interests of the Great Powers 145 Fear of Bolshevism 146 The Settlement 147 The League of Nations Covenant 147 The Western European Settlement 149 The Rhineland: Separation and Demilitarization 150 Reparations 151

5

	The Eastern European Settlement 153
	Territorial Changes 153
	Frontier Problems 155
	Discrimination among Nationalities 156
	The Eastern European Settlement Assessed 158
	Applying the Peace Settlement 161
	The Years of Coercion, 1919–1924 163
	The Years of Conciliation, 1924–1929 166
	The Locarno Era: The Dawes Plan and the Locarno Treaty 160
	The Failure of Disarmament 170
	New Diplomacy? 172
	Public Involvement 173
	The Communist Threat 174
	Diplomatic Machinery 175
	Diplomatic Machinery 175 Suggestions for Further Reading 176
-	P. 1.1. 1.1. P. 1.1. F. 170
7	Revolution against Revolution: Fascism 179
	Fascism in Italy 180
	Mussolini: From Syndicalism to Fascism 180
	Early Fascism 181
	Fascism's New Course 182
	Governmental Crisis 183
	The March on Rome 184
	Mussolini Assumes Personal Rule 186
	National Socialism in Germany 188
	Postwar Antirevolutionary Vigilantism 188
	The Emergence of Hitler 189
	The Nazi Party 189
	The Beer Hall Putsch, 1923 190
	Counterrevolution in Hungary 191
	A Closer Look at Fascism 194
	The Meaning of Fascism 194
	The Roots of Fascism 196
	Suggestions for Further Reading 199
8	"Normalcy": Europe in the 1920s 203
	A Return to "Normalcy" 203
	Neoliberal Economics: Dismantling War Government 204
	Neoliberal Politics: Broadening Parliamentary Democracy 20
	Britain 206
	A Three-Way Party System 206
	The First Labour Government, 1924 207
	Return to Conservative "Normalcy" 208
	France 211
	The Cartel des Gauches 211
	Poincaré: Return to "Normalcy" 213
	Weimar Germany 213
	Burdens of the Weimar Republic 214

x

	The Weinar Coantion 219
	The "Great Coalition" 217
	Eastern Europe 219
	Rural Predominance and Agrarian Discontent 220
	The Problem of National Minorities 222
	The Iberian Peninsula 224
	Fascist Italy 225
	Revolutionary Russia in a Stabilized World 227
	Challenges to the Bolshevik Regime 227
	The Industrialization Debate 228
	The Consolidation of Political Dictatorship 229
	The Rise of Stalin 230
	A Fragile Stability: Neoliberalism Assessed 231
	Suggestions for Further Reading 232
	THE STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE STATE OF THE S
	Mass Culture and High Culture Between the Wars 235
	Mass Culture: The Age of Radio and Movies 235
	The Technological Basis for Mass Media 236
	The Emergence of Mass Audiences 237
	The Political Uses of Radio and Movies 237
	Control of the Mass Media 239
	The Role of Advertising 240
	The New Leisure 240
	Organized Recreation 241
	Sports 242
	Travel 243
	The Effects of Mass Culture and Leisure 244
	High Culture Between the Wars 247
	New Concerns 247
	Aesthetic Experiments 251
	The Settings of Interwar Culture 252
	The Search for a Mass Audience 253
	The Academic and Scholarly Worlds 254
	Opposition to the Experimental Arts 256
	Suggestions for Further Reading 258
)	The Creek Depressions Troubled Democracies Dising Distance in 961
,	The Great Depression: Troubled Democracies, Rising Dictatorships 261  The Origins and Course of the Great Depression 263
	Domestic Impoverishment 264
	International Financial Panic 264
	Depression Remedies in Theory 266  Liberal Economics 266
	Socialist Economics 267
	Middle-Way Solutions 267
	Depression Remedies in Practice 268
	The Scandinavian Countries 268
	Britain 269

	Two Revolutions from Above 281
	Nazism in Germany 281
	The Soviet Union under Stalin 288
	Conclusion 293
	Suggestions for Further Reading 294
11	Responding to Nazism: European Politics, 1933–1939 299
	The Rising Tide of Fascism and Authoritarianism 300
	Mussolini's "Totalitarian Leap": Ethiopia, "Fascist Custom,"
	and Anti-Semitism, 1934–1938 300
	Fascism and Democratic Failure in Eastern Europe 301
	Clerical Authoritarianism 304
	Portugal: Salazar's Estado Novo 305
	Christian Social Austria: Dollfuss and Schuschnigg 306
	Fascist Movements in Democratic States 307
	Fascist Successes and Failures in the 1930s 313
	The Popular Front 313
	The Long Road to the Popular Front 313
	The Popular Front in France 316
	Spain: From the Popular Front to Civil War 319
	European Intellectuals in the Polarized 1930s 324
	Conclusion 326
	Suggestions for Further Reading 326
10	The Paris Peace Settlement Dismantled: Aggression and
12	Appeasement, 1933–1939 329
	Hitler's First Moves 329
	Setback in Austria 330
	First Violations of the Versailles Treaty 331
	The Remilitarization of the Rhineland, March 1936 332
	Italy Shifts Sides 334
	Break with the West 334
	Alliance Patterns 335
	Hitler's Designs in the East 336
	Lebensraum for the Master Race 336
	Economic Considerations 337
	Anschluß: Hitler Seizes an Opportunity 338
	Czechoslovakia and Appeasement, 1938 339
	Czechoslovakia's Precarious Position 339
	Appeasement 340
	Mounting Crisis in Czechoslovakia 342
	The Munich Settlement 343
	The Alternative of War 346
	The Polish Crisis, 1939: Descent into War 347
	Chamberlain Abandons Appeasement 347
	The Nazi-Soviet Pact 348

276

277

Corporatist Italy

Weimar Germany

The Origins of World War II	351
Suggestions for Further Reading	352

## Hitler's Europe: Conquest, Collaboration, and Resistance, 1939–1942 The Nature of the Conflict in 1939 356

357

War in the East, 1939-1940

Blitzkrieg in Poland 357

Buizarieg in Poland 357

Stalin's Gains in Eastern Europe, 1939–1940 358

War in the West, 1940 359

The Fall of France 359

The Battle of Britain 362

War in the East, 1941-1942 365

Blitzkrieg in the Balkans 365

Attack on the Soviet Union 365

Hitler's New Order 367

The Nazi War Economy 369

Occupation Policy 369

The SS Empire 370

The Murder of the Jews 371

Collaboration 374

Ideological Collaboration 374

Collaboration for National and Economic Interests 375

Passive Acquiescence 376

Resistance 377

Resistance outside Germany 379

Resistance within Germany 380

The Military Impact of the Resistance 382

The Intellectual Impact of the Resistance 382

Suggestions for Further Reading 384

## 14 From Hot War to Cold War, 1942-1949 389

American Hegemony in the West 390

Planning the Western Front 390

Diversionary Second Fronts: North Africa and Italy 392

D-Day and the Assault on Germany 394

Soviet Hegemony in the East 396

Soviet Survival, 1941–1943 397

Soviet Advance to the West 400

The Big Three and the Future of Europe 400

Gathering Political Implications 401

The Teheran Conference, November 1943 401

Soviet Moves in the Balkans 403

The Yalta Conference, February 1945 403

The Potsdam Conference, July 1945 407

Origins of the Cold War 409

Soviet Peace Aims 409

American Peace Aims 412

Ideological Differences 414

	First Battlegrounds of the Cold War 414  Poland 414	
	Germany 416 A World in two Blocs, 1947–1949 420	
	Suggestions for Further Reading 422	
15	Reconstruction in Western Europe, 1945–1951 425	
	The Work of Reconstruction 427	
	Purge Trials and New Leaders 427	
	Economic Recovery and Social Change 430	
	The Labour Government in Britain, 1945–1951 432	
	The Beveridge Report: "Full Employment" 432	
	The British Welfare State 434	
	Economic Maladjustment 434	
	The French Fourth Republic 435	
	The Search for Leadership 436	
	Nationalization, Planning, and the Division of the French Left 437	
	Postwar Italy 439	
	The Contest for Political Power 439	
	Reconstruction 440	
	The Two Germanies 441	
	Separate Statehood 442	
	The West German Miracle 443	
	Conclusion 444	
	Suggestions for Further Reading 444	
16	The Soviet Bloc, 1945-1964 447	
	Reconstruction and Revolution in Easten Europe, 1945–1948 447	
	The Postwar Conjuncture: Destruction and Renewal 448	
	The Communists' Route to Power 452	
	Stalinism as Imperialism 455	
	The Soviet Union after the War: Confidence and Coercion 455	
	The Imposition of Stalinism on Eastern Europe 459	
	Reform and Its Limits: The Khrushchev Years 465	
	The New Course: Reform and Revolution in Eastern Europe 467	
	Khrushchev and the "Thaw" 471	
	Conclusion 474	
	Suggestions for Further Reading 475	
17	Western Europe, the Cold War, and Decolonization: Adjusting	
	to a Diminished World Role 479	
	Europe under the Mushroom Cloud 479	
	Decolonization: The Eclipse of European Power 481	
	Britain: From the Empire to the Commonwealth 482	
	France: Decolonization and War 484	
	The Movement for European Unification 487	
	Origins of Unification: From the Council of Europe	
	and the ECSC to the Common Market 487	

Th Concl Sugge

V

BSS

Youth S S

Conc

R

Allies
R
E
The I
E
W
T
End c
Conc
Sugge

Western Eu

20 Western Eu
The

V

Relig V A

Détente The l

19

Consumer S
The "
The I

Military Ullon: NATO versus de Gaulle 492
The Common Market in the 1960s 497
Conclusion 499
Suggestions for Further Reading 500
18 Consumer Societies in the West, 1950–1968 503
The "Economic Miracle" 503
The Distribution of Wealth and Social Mobility 506
The Politics of Prosperity 510
West Germany: Anticommunism, Restoration, and Restitution
in the Adenauer Era 511
Italy: Christian Democracy and Clientelism 512
France: The Presidential Republic of de Gaulle 513
Britain: Consensus Politics and Economic Troubles 514
Scandinavia: Social Democracy Unchallenged 515
Spain and Portugal: Authoritarianism and Economic Growth 516
Youth Culture: Disrupting Consensus 516
Style, Popular Music, and the Generation Gap 517
Sexuality and the Revolution in Values 520
Idealism and Activism: The Student Movement 522
Conclusion 527
Suggestions for Further Reading 527
19 Western European Politics, 1968–1989: Recession, Democratization,
Détente 531
The Legacy of 1968: The Transformation of the Left 531
Revolutionary Terrorism 532
New Social Movements and the Greens 536
Eurocommunism 539
Allies and Rivals: Europe and the United States 540
Rival Versions of Détente 540
Economic Competition 545
The Politics of Recession 548
Economic Strains: Oil, Jobs, and Trade 548
Welfare States under Stress 551
The European Community in Recession 558
End of the Dictatorships: Spain and Portugal 559
Conclusion 562
Suggestions for Further Reading 563
20 Western Europe Since 1970: Societies and Cultures Transformed 567
The New Feminism and Shifting Gender Roles 567
Women's Liberation and Equal Rights 567
Women's Work and the European Family 571
Religious Revival and Decline 574
Vatican II and Religious Revival in the 1950s–1960s 575
Accelerating Secularization: Toward a Post-Christian
Europe? 578

Left 437

447 48

1 455

1	Immigration: A Challenge to European Identity 581  Non-European Immigrants: From Working Class to Underclass 581
	Race, Identity, and Politics 585 Conclusion 589
	Suggestions for Further Reading 590
5	e, the Arts, and Intellectual Life 593 Science: Internationalization and Innovation 594 Modernism and Postmodernism in the Arts 595 Intellectuals, Politics, and Identity: Two Case Studies 602 France: Existentialism, Structuralism, Post-Structuralism 603
	Germany: History and National Identity 606 Suggestions for Further Reading 610
22 Easter	n Europe, 1965–1985: Communism in Decay 613  Economic and Social Trends 613  Economic Catch-Up: An Eastern European "Miracle"? 614  Education, Consumption, and Families: Daily Life Transformed 617  Stalled Economies: The 1970s and 1980s 621
	Politics in the Brezhnev Era 624 Conservatism and Reform in the Soviet Bloc 624 Yugoslavia: The Politics of Decentralization 628 The Dissident Movement: A Civic Challenge 630 Solidarity: A Polish National Union 633 The Brezhnev Doctrine 638 Conclusion 639 Suggestions for Further Reading 640
23 The F	The Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe 644  The Gorbachev Experiment, 1985–1991 644  Falling Dominoes: Eastern Europe in 1989 646  Reunifying Germany, Ending the Cold War 649  The Collapse of the Soviet Union 651  The Morning After 652
	Russia in Trouble 652 Creating Democracy, Inventing the Market in East-Central Europe 657 The New Germany 659 The Yugoslav Civil War 661 Western Europe in the 1990s 666 The European Union: Between Deepening and Widening 666 Western European Politics 669 Suggestions for Further Reading 673
Conclusion	
Index (	587

## Map C

Europe in 19 Europe in 20 Ethnic/Ling Balkans Con The Balkans The Balkans Original Sch World War I: Peace Settler Destruction Austro-Hung Austria and l Germany in Germany in European Na Polish Corrid Schleswig Upper Silesia Franco-Germ Hitler and St Hitler's Euro Defeat of the Eastern and February 1 Russia in the Eastern Euro Territorial Ac Germany after Expulsion of

The Commo Cold War Eu Conflicts in t