Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Part I

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Thomas Childers was born and raised in East Tennessee. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Tennessee, and he earned his Ph.D. in History from Harvard University in 1976.

Since 1976, Professor Childers has taught in the Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania. He is a fellow of the Ford Foundation, term chair at the University of Pennsylvania and the recipient of several other fellowships and awards, including the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung Research Grant, a fellowship in European Studies from the American Council of Learned Societies, and a West European Studies Research Grant from Harvard University.

In addition to teaching at University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Childers has held visiting professorships at Trinity Hall College, Cambridge, Smith College, and Swarthmore College, and he has lectured in London, Oxford, Berlin, Munich, and other universities in the United States and Europe.

Professor Childers is the author and editor of several books on modern German history and the Second World War. These include *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, 1983) and *Reevaluating the Third Reich: New Controversies, New Interpretations* (New York, 1993). He is currently completing a trilogy on the Second World War. The first volume of that history, *Wings of Morning: The Story of the Last American Bomber Shot Down Over Germany in World War II* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1995), was praised by Jonathan Yardley in *The Washington Post* as "a powerful and unselfconsciously beautiful book." The second volume, *We'll Meet Again* (New York: Henry Holt and Company) is set for publication in spring 1999. The final volume, *The Best Years of Their Lives*, will follow in due course.

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Part I

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Scope:

This set of forty-eight lectures traces the course of European history from the late eighteenth century to the close of the twentieth. It is a period of relentless, frequently violent, revolutionary change that fundamentally altered the nature of political, economic, social, and cultural life in Europe, the West, and ultimately the world. It was ushered in by two seismic tremors whose reverberations shook the very foundations of traditional Europe: the Industrial Revolution in England, which during the decades after 1750 thrust aside the old economic order and introduced modern industrial capitalism, and the French Revolution of 1789-1799, which swept away the political and social underpinnings of the *Ancien Regime* in France and threatened entrenched elites everywhere in Europe.

After an introductory lecture that raises the basic themes of the course, the next two lectures examine Europe on the eve of the French Revolution. We consider the existing social order across the continent as well as the various forms of monarchy, from constitutional monarchy in England to the "enlightened absolutism" of Prussia and the divine-right monarchy of absolutist France. We examine how the ideas of the Enlightenment, with its relentless emphasis on reason and its attack on tradition, posed a serious threat to the very foundations of absolutist monarchy in the late eighteenth century. That challenge was particularly acute in France, where Enlightenment thought was highly developed and widespread and where the political institutions of the old regime had atrophied to an alarming extent.

The next set of seven lectures explores the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath. In Lectures Four through Six, we examine the origins of the revolution—both the long-range causes and the immediate factors that precipitated the events of 1789—and we trace the dramatic course of the revolution, focusing in particular on the principles of the revolution embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the Terror of 1793, and the achievements of the revolution. In Lecture Seven we turn our attention to the final years of the revolution, a period referred to as the Directory, and the dramatic rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. The young general always claimed that he was the legitimate heir of 1789, but Napoleon pushed aside the republican government and declared himself emperor of the French.

The crowned heads of Europe unanimously viewed Napoleon and his empire—the largest since the days of Rome—not only as a challenge to existing European balance of power but to the institution of monarchy as well, and we will analyze their responses. Lecture Eight examines the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo and the work of the Congress of Vienna, where the established conservative powers sought to restore the old order at home and reestablish a balance of military power and diplomatic influence abroad. In the final lecture of this set, we assess the challenge of liberal nationalism that emerged from the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. From 1815 to 1848, conservative rulers were determined to root out liberal/nationalist subversion everywhere, and we will examine the connection between nationalism and the emerging liberal movement in Europe.

The French Revolution unleashed radical political forces in Europe, and the Industrial Revolution, to which we turn in the next two lectures, produced equally portentous social and economic changes. Between roughly 1750 and 1850, Britain was transformed from a largely agrarian and commercial society into a dynamic industrial one, and the rest of Europe slowly followed the British lead. We will isolate the key components of this economic transformation, following the course of technological innovations such as the spinning jenny and steam engine to the radically new organization of the "factory system." We will untangle the different factors that made Britain the first industrial nation and explain why this momentous economic transformation began when it did. Finally, we will turn to the free-market, *laissez faire* ideas that formed the philosophical basis of emerging liberal capitalism, and we will assess the profound social impact of this new economic system, especially on the blue-collar working class created by capitalist industrialization.

The next three lectures analyze the revolutions 1848, the first European-wide revolution of the modern age. First we examine the problematic attempt at restoration in France, the mounting disaffection with the monarchy, and finally the course of the revolution from its outbreak in February to its demise in December. Then, in Lecture Fourteen, we travel across the Rhine to examine events in German Central Europe. The revolution in France was driven by a liberal agenda to expand the franchise and create a more representative government, but in Central Europe the issues were far more complex. Here nationalism complicated the agenda, as liberal revolutionaries not only sought to overthrow the governments of the various German states but simultaneously to create a united Germany as well. In the Habsburg Empire, national and ethnic rivalries in Bohemia, Hungary, and the Italian provinces threatened not

only to bring down the monarchy but to sabotage any liberal effort at creating a coherent polity. Finally, in Lecture Fifteen, we assess the achievements and failures of the revolutionary movements all over Europe and conclude that the conservatives were able to draw lessons from the events of 1848 that would allow them to modernize conservatism for the last half of the nineteenth century.

One of those lessons was that nationalism, assumed until 1848 to be a integral part of the liberal agenda, could, in fact, be used by conservative forces to draw support away from the liberal movement. That lesson is vividly demonstrated in the unification of both Italy and Germany under conservative or very moderate liberal auspices. In Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen we examine the process of unification in German Central Europe, especially the shrewd policies of Otto von Bismarck, and the unification of Italy initiated by the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont under Cavour. We assess the respective roles of economics, popular nationalism, and the manipulation of both by Bismarck and Cavour to achieve their ends.

The sudden burst of European imperialism between 1871 and 1900, often referred to as the New Imperialism, occupies center stage in the next two lectures. In Lecture Eighteen we examine this new round of European expansionism, determining what made it different from the previous forms of European colonialism. We evaluate the motivations behind the "grab for Africa," the methods used, and the new "rules of the game" among European states established at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The following lecture is devoted to the various theories advanced over the years for this new imperialism, from Hobson's insistence on the need to export "excess capital" to Lenin's conviction that imperialism simply represented the highest form of capitalism and a milestone on the way to revealing its deep and ultimately self-destructive contradictions.

The next three lectures deal with European domestic politics in the "age of mass politics" after 1871. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, universal manhood suffrage prevailed in the major European states, and with advances in literacy and public communications (the press), mass participation in political life dramatically affected the calculus of domestic politics throughout Europe. It was in this period, especially after 1890, that socialism in its various forms arose to challenge both liberal and conservative political norms. Indeed, the apparently inexorable rise of socialist parties and labor unions, devoted to some variant of revolutionary Marxism, became the most salient and, to Europe's middle classes and ruling elites, the most threatening aspect of European politics. In Lecture Twenty we trace the evolution of Marxist thought, working class organization (labor unions), and political parties in the last half of the nineteenth century. In so doing we will also assess the crisis of both liberalism and conservatism between 1890 and 1914, as both political movements sought desperately to find some way to revive their sagging political fortunes and the stem the advancing tide of socialism. One solution hit upon by some conservatives was to tap the widespread discontent with both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism among farmers and small shopkeepers, a discontent that often expressed itself in anti-urbanism, anti-materialism, anti-Enlightenment, and anti-Semitism. During the 1890s there emerged the set of ideas that ultimately evolved into fascism, and in Lecture Twenty-Two we will address these ideas and their impact.

The next two lectures are devoted to European cultural and intellectual life in the years before the First World War and to an assessment of prevailing social norms and class strains in the same period. The period from 1890 to 1914 is often viewed as the pinnacle of European global influence, a period in which European education, culture, technology, and military might were viewed as supreme. At the same time, however, serious strains had emerged in both European culture and society, creating an undercurrent of uncertainty and even dread. It was the age of Nietzsche and Freud, of strict social conformity, repressed sexuality, and hardened gender roles as well as mounting class conflict, and in these lectures we will examine the dominant social and cultural currents of European civilization on the eve of the First World War.

In the following six lectures we will address the coming of the First World War, the diplomatic background, the sources of international tension, the controversial events of the so-called July crisis that led to the outbreak of hostilities, the conduct of the war on the battlefield, and finally the peace settlement that ended this gigantic conflict. Lectures Twenty-Five through Twenty-Eight are focused on the breakdown of the international system of 1871-1890, often called the Bismarckian system, the multiplying sources of friction after 1890 when Germany embarked on its "global policy," and the deepening ethnic problems in the multinational Ottoman and Habsburg monarchies. The next three lectures examine the actual conduct of the war from its outbreak in July/August 1914 to its conclusion in 1918. We begin with an assessment of the July crisis in 1914, continue with an examination of the brutal realities of trench warfare, and conclude with the ill-starred Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

The next set of six lectures deals with the political legacy of the Great War in the turbulent 1920s and 1930s. The Russian Revolution that erupted in 1917 and ended with the creation of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s was a product of the Great War, and in Lecture Thirty-One we analyze the background of the revolution, the reasons for its outbreak, and the role of the Bolsheviks and their leader, Lenin. We continue this analysis in the following lecture, tracing the outcome of the revolution, the long and bloody civil war that followed, the establishment of the Soviet state under Lenin, and the competition between Stalin and Trotsky to follow Lenin and lead the new Soviet regime.

While the rise of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet state on the radical left followed in the war's wake, so too did the emergence of European fascism. The fascists would first appear in Italy in the immediate postwar years, and in Lecture Thirty-Three we examine the rise of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist Party. We then examine Adolf Hitler's National Socialist or Nazi Party in Germany, tracing the party's meteoric rise to power from the unsuccessful Beer Hall Putsch in 1923 to Hitler's stunning assumption of power ten years later. Finally, we evaluate the weakness of the parliamentary democracies, especially England and France, during the interwar years, and their inability to deal with the threat of European Fascism.

The next set of three lectures is devoted to the phenomenon of totalitarianism in its Soviet and National Socialist forms. We begin with a definition of totalitarianism, examining how this radically new form of dictatorship is different from traditional authoritarian regimes. We will analyze the role of ideology and terror and the refusal of such regimes to recognize the distinction between public and private spheres of behavior. We then turn to the Soviet Union under Stalin, exploring how the regime functioned, what its ideological objectives were, and how the regime sought to implement them. The final two lectures of this set deal with the Third Reich, posing the same questions as we raised with regard to the Soviet Union. The first of these two lectures deals with Nazi domestic policy, especially its radical racial initiatives, while the second, Lecture Thirty-Eight, examines the role of Nazi ideology in the formulation of Hitler's foreign policy before 1939.

Lectures Thirty-Nine to Forty-Three are devoted to the Second World War, a conflict whose scale and scope dwarfed all others in human history. In the first two lectures of this set, we examine the diplomatic background of the war, from the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to the collapse of the international system in the 1930s. We evaluate the roles of each of the major combatants, their strengths and weaknesses, and their foreign policies and military standing. In so doing, we pay special attention to the crises of 1938 and 1939—the German *Anschluss* with Austria, the Sudeten/Munich crisis, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact—assessing each of the steps on the way to catastrophe. The next three lectures focus on the war itself, from the early *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war in 1939-1941, examining in particular the sudden fall of France in 1940 and the colossal German invasion of the Soviet Union in the following year, to the final defeat of Nazi Germany by the Allies. In the midst of this great and terrible conflict, the Nazi regime unleashed a genocidal war against the Jews of Europe, and in Lecture Forty-Two we examine the Holocaust, or the "final solution to the Jewish Question," as the Nazis euphemistically called their campaign of mass murder.

In the final set of lectures we turn to postwar Europe, beginning with a discussion of the Cold War and its diplomatic origin during the Second World War. We examine the division of Europe after 1945, when the war-torn continent was split by a great ideological confrontation that lasted almost fifty years. We then turn to the ambitious rebuilding of Western Europe in the 1950s under the Marshall Plan, the creation of NATO, and the growing commitment to some form of closer Western European economic and perhaps political union. We will trace the steps in this gradual but nonetheless dramatic process of economic and political integration, especially through the Common Market, and then turn to the sudden and largely unexpected collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 1980s and 1990s. In the final lecture we evaluate the present state of European affairs, look back over the past two hundred years of stunning change, and speculate about the future of a revitalized and increasingly integrated Europe.

Lecture One
Introduction: Europe in the "Modern Age"

Scope: Historians often see the French and Industrial Revolutions of the late eighteenth century as marking the beginning of the "modern age." In this lecture we will explore the ways in which these two revolutions represented a watershed in Western history. We examine how the economic, social, and political landscape of Europe was altered by these events, and we will trace the trajectory of those changes during the next two centuries.

Outline

I. What do we mean by the "modern age" or "modern Europe"?

- **A.** At some point in the nineteenth, century, intellectuals, artists, scientists, and political figures began to use the term in a very self-conscious way to describe a set of interrelated developments that had qualitatively and quantitatively changed both the style and substance of social, economic, cultural, and political life in Europe.
  - **1.** Those changes, they realized, had not come about overnight, but were the result of a complex series of developments that stretched back at least to the Protestant Reformation of the early sixteenth century.
    - **a.** The Reformation ended the sense of European unity encapsulated in the idea of "Christendom."
    - **b.** Endemic warfare and the emergence of the scientific revolution during the seventeenth century helped to undermine received wisdom.
  - **2.** Those changes had begun a fundamental transformation of European life, restructuring values, attitudes, and practices in a way that had revolutionary implications.
  - **3.** At the close of the eighteenth century, where this series of lectures begins, the implications of those far-reaching historical changes erupted with dramatic force in the dual revolutions that have shaped the contours of European—indeed, Western and even global—life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and have defined the very nature of the "modern world."
    - **a.** The French Revolution (1789-1799), with its assault on the political institution of monarchy and the social position of the aristocracy, challenged the two fundamental social and political institutions of the "old regime."
    - **b.** The Industrial Revolution (c. 1750-1850), with its origins in England, fundamentally altered the economic and social bases of life first in Europe and then in the world.
    - **c.** The intellectual groundwork for these two revolutions was laid by the Enlightenment.
- **B.** After the onset of these two revolutions, Europe confronted a set of conflicting social and economic values that found political expression in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the ideologies and mass movements that dominate the modern age. Indeed, all the "isms" of the modern political world—liberalism, conservatism, nationalism, socialism/communism, fascism/national socialism—have their origin in the period we will examine here.

II. The most salient and critical characteristic of "modern" life is perpetual change in all areas of human relations. The awareness of relentless and ceaseless change found prominent expression in the arts and philosophy. Much of Western philosophy during the modern period was devoted to defining and redefining absolutes (or are there any?) in an age of perpetual change.

- **A.** It is the process and nature of historical change in the modern era, from the levels of high politics to everyday life, that we will be examining in this course.
  - **1.** Our purpose is to provide a broad foundation of historical knowledge on which to build.
  - **2.** These lectures are not intended as a catalogue of facts—names, dates, places—but as an exercise in historical interpretation, where evidence is marshaled to give meaning to human events.
- **B.** To accomplish this, we will focus on the following themes, problems, and issues:
  - **1.** The implications of Enlightenment thought, and the challenges it posed to the traditional European world.
  - **2.** The political and social ramifications of the French Revolution, especially for the American Revolution and for the later emergence of liberalism and nationalism in Europe.

3. The emergence of liberal capitalism in the early nineteenth century, which emphasized rational organization of the economy.
4. The nature of modern nationalism, which held that political legitimacy inheres in the nation rather than in any ruling dynasty.
5. European imperialism, which between the 1880s and 1914 brought Europe to the peak of its international influence.
6. The origins of the First World War, which marked the end of the nineteenth century and the onset of an age of ideological conflict.
7. The Bolshevik Revolution, which defined a new radical initiative on the political Left.
8. The rise of Hitler's Third Reich, which along with Mussolini's Fascist movement in Italy marked a new radical initiative on the Right.
9. The Second World War, which we will examine as a direct outgrowth of World War I, but one having a new ideological dimension.
10. The course of European union today, as Europe again becomes a center of intellectual and economic life and political influence.

C. To understand these complex processes of change is particularly important now, as Europe and the world stand on the cusp of a new era.
1. The epoch of the Second World War is at last over.
2. The Cold War and its aftermath have passed.
3. The ideological and geopolitical presuppositions that have dominated our thinking for much of the past two centuries are undergoing transformation. Understanding where Europe is heading requires understanding where it has come from, and that will be our task.

Questions to Consider:

1. What is meant by "the Modern Age" or "Modern Europe"?
2. Before the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, Europe could be defined as Christendom. What were the defining characteristics of Europe as it developed after 1789?

Lecture Two

Social and Political Life Under the *Ancien Regime*

Scope: In this lecture we will examine the nature of the "old regime" or *ancien regime* in Europe, analyzing its social structure, cultural practices, and political institutions in the late eighteenth century. We will first look specifically at the economic, social, and political position of the aristocracy, peasantry, and emerging bourgeoisie, and then we will examine the monarchic state in its various forms—constitutional monarchy (England), absolutist monarchy (France), and enlightened absolutism (Prussia)—on the eve of the French Revolution.

Outline

I. The Structure of Politics in the Eighteenth Century

- **A.** It was the Age of Monarchy.
  - **1.** The so-called dualistic state, in which power was shared between the crown and some form of representative aristocratic body (Estates-General, Parliament, or Reichstag) had virtually vanished on the continent by the beginning of the eighteenth century.
  - **2.** On the continent, the crown had triumphed, creating the absolutist state.
  - **3.** The absolutist state was built on three pillars: a standing army, a royal bureaucracy, and the Church.
  - **4.** Rule was based on "Divine Right." Royal power was justified not by reference to a constitution but to hereditary rights and to God's will.
- **B.** The great royal families of Europe ruled by this code. By the early eighteenth century they were firmly entrenched.
  - **1.** The Bourbons of France ruled by Divine Right absolutism and became the most prestigious and imitated dynasty in Europe.
  - **2.** The Habsburgs of Austria also ruled by Divine Right absolutism, but they were in eclipse by the mid-eighteenth century.
  - **3.** The Hohenzollerns of Prussia ruled by "enlightened absolutism." They emerged as a factor in European politics by the late eighteenth century, challenging the position of the Habsburgs in German central Europe.
  - **4.** The Romanovs in Russia played an increasingly important role in European politics, though Russia remained a peripheral factor.
  - **5.** The Hanoverians of England were the only royal family to be forced into a power-sharing arrangement with a representative body.

II. European society in the eighteenth century was largely a static society based on tradition and ritual, with each estate possessing its own social position, rights, privileges, and obligations.

- **A.** The titled aristocracy occupied the highest position.
  - **1.** Its economic position was based largely on land ownership, usually in the form of large estates.
  - **2.** In aristocratic families, certain career patterns had developed by the close of the eighteenth century.
    - **a.** The eldest son inherited the title and landed estate.
    - **b.** Remaining sons might find careers in state service (either in the bureaucracy or the military) or in the Church.
    - **c.** Under almost no circumstances was a member of the titled aristocracy permitted to engage directly in commerce or manufacturing.
  - **3.** Certain variations in this pattern existed, especially in England and Russia.
  - **4.** The social position of the titled aristocracy was based on hereditary privilege, blood (i.e., lineage), and traditional feudal claims and contracts.
- **B.** The burgher estate was largely urban.
  - **1.** Its members enjoyed certain privileges (notably exemption from military service) and had certain obligations (notably the requirement to pay taxes).
  - **2.** Its economic position was based largely on commerce and manufacturing.

a. A spurt in manufacturing can be linked to substantial population growth during the eighteenth century, which increased demand for goods.
b. This group benefited from the dramatic expansion of trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which itself was fueled by population pressure.
c. The growth of manufacturing in the eighteenth century added greatly to the wealth of this group.

3. The growing disparity between the rising wealth of the middle class and its lack of political influence became a problem, especially in France.

C. At the bottom of the social and economic pyramid was the peasantry.
1. The peasantry everywhere represented the largest component of society.
2. The condition of the peasantry varied greatly as one crossed the continent.
3. Bonds had serfdom had weakened or even been broken in the west, while conditions of oppressive servitude prevailed in central and eastern Europe.

Essential Reading:

John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, vol. 1, Chapters 9, 11

Supplemental Reading:

M.S. Anderson, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century*

C.B.A. Behrens, *Society, Government, and the Enlightenment: The Experiences of Eighteenth-Century France and Prussia*

Questions to Consider:

1. European society under the *Ancien Regime* was based on a hierarchical system of estates. What is the difference between estates and classes? Why was social mobility so difficult in this system of estates?

2. Politically, Europe before 1789 was dominated by a number of absolutist monarchic dynasties that justified their rule by reference to the "divine right of kings." What is meant by absolutism and "divine right"?

Lecture Three

Intellectual and Cultural Life: The Challenge of the Enlightenment

Scope: This lecture is devoted to cultural and intellectual life in the late eighteenth century. It examines in particular the nature of the "Enlightenment"—its intellectual origins, the content of its ideas, its leading figures, and the challenge posed by these ideas to the established order in Europe. We will investigate the differences between Enlightenment thought in France and England, on the one hand, and German Central Europe on the other.

Outline

I. The Age of Enlightenment

A. The Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe had the following characteristics:

1. Enlightenment thinkers exalted the power of reason, and they were skeptical about traditional beliefs and practices.

2. They held that the universe is orderly and functions on the basis of a set of rational laws and principles which can be understood not through some form of philosophical meditation but, rather, by the application of reason.

3. These natural laws—not religious or spiritual beliefs—determine the physical universe and ultimately the actions of man. Applied reasons could be turned from the world of science to the social, economic, and political affairs of man.

4. Its emphasis, therefore, was secular. Although many Enlightenment thinkers were devoutly religious, they focused on systematic observation and experimentation, rather than on divine revelation, in order to understand the natural world.

5. This confidence in the power of reason generated an optimistic conviction that the cosmos is understandable and can therefore be improved.

B. The origins of Enlightenment thought are found in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. The contributions of Descartes, Bacon, Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton in science laid the foundation for early Enlightenment thought.

1. The challenge posed by Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton to the Ptolemaic view of the universe was seen by some as an assault on Christian theology.

2. In his *New Atlantis* of 1627, Francis Bacon emphasized the practical application of scientific knowledge to the improvement of human life.

3. Descartes applied his principle of systematic doubt to all received wisdom, and he exalted the power of reason to shape the environment.

4. Newton systematized these ideas in his *Principia*.

C. The Enlightenment took identifiable shape during the early eighteenth century, particularly in England and France and for the following reasons.

1. The conditions of cultural production underwent a fundamental change, as the stimulus and focus of creative work in the early eighteenth century shifted away from the system of royal patronage and toward educated groups in society at large.

2. Channels of intellectual communication shifted away from Versailles and other monarchical courts and toward the salons of Paris.

3. There emerged free-lance intellectuals and men and women of letters who corresponded with each other across national frontiers.

4. An educated population and reading public also appeared, which fueled the growth of newspapers, journals, pamphlets, and books.

5. The expanding economies of England and France had created a larger, better educated, more prosperous, and less tradition-bound middle class.

II. Enlightenment ideas were viewed as an assault on traditional society.

A. The secularism of the Enlightenment posed a threat to traditional religion and the Church, which was associated directly with the traditional power establishment, especially in France.

1. Although some Enlightenment thinkers were atheists, most were deists or pantheists who sought to reconcile God with reason.

2. Many Enlightenment thinkers were anti-clerical and attacked the traditional organization of the Church.

B. The perceived assault on religion also implied an attack on the divine right of kings.

1. In his *Second Treatise on Government*, John Locke held that government arises from a contract to protect natural rights to life, liberty, and property.

2. In his Spirit of the Laws (1748), Montesquieu argued for separation of powers with checks and balances.

3. In Prussia and Austria, ruling monarchs practiced "enlightened absolutism."

C. The challenge to traditional practices and relationships quickly translated into questioning the basis of the traditional social privileges of the aristocracy.

D. Enlightenment thought called for the rational ordering of economic life, and thus it challenged the very foundations of traditional economic life in Europe—guilds, tolls, and serfdom.

E. These ideas became especially prominent in France after 1715, due to the prominence of the *philosophes* and the reactionary nature of the French monarchy.

Essential Reading:

Merriman, Vol. 1, Chapter 10

Supplemental Reading:

Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*

Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the fundamental tenets of Enlightenment thought? Why did these ideas seem to flourish in the so-called Atlantic societies?

2. How did Enlightenment ideas pose a challenge to the established social and political order in pre-revolutionary Europe?

Lecture Four
The Origins of the French Revolution

Scope: In this lecture we treat the origins of the French Revolution of 1789, examining the long-range factors that contributed to the crisis of the French monarchic state at the end of the eighteenth century, as well as the immediate factors that precipitated the revolutionary events of 1789. We analyze the political and social grievances of the major groups in French society and the failure of the monarchy to address those problems. The lecture closes with the outbreak of revolution in the summer of 1789.

Outline

I. The Dilemmas of French Absolutism

A. The wars of Louis XIV and Louis XVI had drained the French treasury.

1. By 1750, France had been at war with virtually no break for more than a century.

2. Despite Louis XIV's great gains, the strains on the monarchy's purse were severe.

B. Efforts to reform the tax system were critical for the monarchy but posed serious problems.

1. Tax reform was resisted by the high aristocracy, which saw payment as socially degrading. The Church was also tax-exempt, despite being the largest landowner in France.

2. Basically, only the peasantry paid.

3. Attempts to establish a more enlightened tax system in 1748 and 1768 were thwarted by the *parlements* (provincial law courts that claimed the right to object to royal edicts).

4. The monarchy under Louis XVI persisted in putting pressure on traditionally privileged groups, and frictions mounted.

II. Political unrest in the latter half of the eighteenth century had the following social bases.

A. The Aristocracy

1. The aristocracy was disenchanted with monarchy's efforts to revise the tax code—and with its own position in the state and society.

2. The economic base of the aristocracy was in relative decline, and tradition prevented it from tapping the new commercial sources of wealth.

3. It resented the rise of wealthy merchant families, many of whom had purchased lands from the aristocrats. The bourgeoisie both disdained and aped aristocratic pretensions.

4. In order to maintain their economic base, the aristocrats reaffirmed old feudal dues and obligations that fallen into disuse, angering the peasants without solving the problem.

5. The aristocrats renewed their demands for a monopoly of top positions in the military and bureaucracy.

6. They called increasingly for the convening of the Estates-General and the reestablishment of a dualistic state.

7. By the late eighteenth century, the aristocracy had become alienated from the Bourbon monarchy.

B. The Middle Strata

1. The five-fold increase in commerce created great fortunes, but upward mobility was increasingly difficult because the sale of offices and titles had slowed.

2. The middle strata were liable for taxes, but the wealthiest avoided payment and sought ways to extract revenue from the peasants on estates which they had bought.

3. Their political power did not match their economic strength, and the gap between them widened during the eighteenth century.

4. The educated middle strata were angered by the "feudal reaction," under which the nobility sought to reassert old traditional aristocratic rights and distinctions.

5. For the lower middle classes, the latter half of the eighteenth century brought rising prices and a growing gap between them and the upper middle class.

C. The Peasantry

1. The grievances of other groups paled in comparison to the woes of the peasantry.

2. Although the French peasantry was the most liberated in Europe, it remained under increasing economic and social pressure in the late eighteenth century. The peasants owed a tithe to the Church and rents (dues) to manorial lords, some of whom were aristocrats but others of whom were wealthy bourgeois. This obligation was particularly resented.
3. The peasantry was angered by the persistence of aristocratic rights over such things as hunting and the appropriation of common lands.
4. They were also angered by increasing royal taxes, especially the *taille,* or head tax.
5. These problems were exacerbated by population growth on the land. The resulting subdivision of land reduced the size of individual holdings.
6. Finally, the peasantry had no political voice.

III. The French Revolution was precipitated by several short-range factors.

A. The need to finance France's assistance to the American revolutionaries led in 1787 to renewed efforts to revise the tax structure. After the *parlements* balked, Louis XVI agreed very reluctantly in 1788 to convene the Estates General.

B. The aristocracy and clergy expected to dominate the proceedings of the Estates General. Louis XVI granted a very broad franchise for elections to the Estates General, hoping that the election of a radical Third Estate would make the aristocracy and clergy more tractable.

C. The Third Estate was dominated by radical lawyers and other professionals of low social rank.

D. During the summer of 1789 the three Estates united in opposition to the reform efforts of Louis XVI, which they saw as inadequate.

Essential Reading for Lectures 4-6:

John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, Vol. 2, Chapter 12

Supplemental Reading:

Francois Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*

Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*

Questions to Consider:

1. After the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the French monarchy found itself in increasingly difficult financial trouble. What was the basic socio-political dilemma facing the Bourbons as the eighteenth century progressed, and why were they unable to address their problems effectively?
2. On the eve of revolution in 1789, each of the different estates of France had long-standing grievances against the French state. What were those grievances, and why were they directed at the monarchic order?

Lecture Five

The Outbreak of the Revolution and the Monarchist Response

Scope: This lecture traces the course of the revolution from the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, to the establishment of the constitutional monarchy in 1792. We will examine the Great Fear, the Tennis Court Oath, the origins of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the splintering of the revolutionary coalition, and the threats to the revolution from both at home and abroad.

Outline

I. The Early Days of the Revolution

- **A.** The ongoing fiscal crisis of the French state prompted Louis XVI to convene the Estates General.
  - **1.** This was the first time that the Estates had met since 1614.
  - **2.** The driving force behind the convening of the Estates was the aristocracy.
- **B.** The Third Estate demanded representation equal to that of the aristocracy and the Church, and Louis balked.
  - **1.** The Third Estate seceded On June 17, 1789, and three days later it issued the Tennis Court Oath, declaring that the Third Estate represented the nation and was hence the National Assembly of France.
  - **2.** The King capitulated, and all three estates met to draft a new constitution.

II. The Revolution entered a new phase in July.

- **A.** Events took a violent and revolutionary turn on July 14, when a Parisian mob, fearing a royal *coup d'état,* stormed the Bastille.
  - **1.** A national guard was established in Paris to guard against a royal reaction, and to protect middle-class property.
  - **2.** The Great Fear swept rural France during June and early July, as peasants burned *chateaux* and as aristocrats fled.
  - **3.** The critical moment of the revolution had arrived—the conjunction of the diverse interests of the aristocracy, the merchant strata, the urban lower classes, and the peasantry.
- **B.** The famous night session of the National Assembly on August 4, 1789, concluded with far-reaching social and political pledges from the upper classes.
  - **1.** The National Assembly decided to establish a constitutional monarchy and draft a constitution. The aristocrats renounced their social position and commuted their feudal privileges into rental payments, the bourgeoisie renounced its tax exemptions, progressive clerics renounced the tithe, and the manorial system was eliminated.
  - **2.** On August 26 the Assembly produced the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen."
  - **3.** The Constitution of 1791 established a moderate constitutional monarchy.
    - **a.** A system of indirect elections was established, and the franchise was given to some two-thirds of all males.
    - **b.** A system of checks and balances was created, whereby the legislature could override the King's veto.
    - **c.** The administration of France was rationalized. The country was divided into 83 departments, then arrondissements, cantons, and finally communes.
    - **d.** Church property was confiscated and sold to the peasants and others.
    - **e.** The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was promulgated in 1790, giving the French state control over the clergy. This move was denounced by the Papacy and disliked by the peasantry.

III. Radicalization of the Revolution

- **A.** The revolutionary coalition splintered during 1791 and 1792.
  - **1.** Within the nobility, there was growing concern about the course of the revolution.
    - **a.** Many fled across the frontier into Germany, where they established an emigree community that agitated against the revolution.
    - **b.** Increasingly concerned about events, Louis XVI attempted to flee in June 1791.

c. Louis also sought aid from his brother-in-law, Leopold II of Austria.

2. Within the revolutionary bourgeoisie, a crucial split emerged between the so-called Jacobins and Girondins.

a. Jacobin clubs were established all over France, their membership consisting primarily of lawyers and other professionals. These clubs quickly established a reputation as radical organizations.

b. The Girondins were also Jacobins, but they assumed a more moderate position than the radicals did. The Girondins were ready to go war to protect the revolution and even to spread it beyond France, but they were more moderate and cautious in their approach.

B. The revolution was threatened with foreign intervention.

1. In April 1791, the Emperor Leopold issued the Declaration of Pillnitz calling for monarchic solidarity against the revolution.

2. Fear rose within France that the King was conspiring with foreign powers to topple the revolutionary government.

3. In April 1792, the National Assembly declared war on Austria. This declaration closed the first phase of the revolution.

IV. The War and the Radicalization of the Revolution

A. Initial military reverses radicalized the political climate in France.

1. Many believed that aristocratic officers were sabotaging the war effort.

2. The economic situation deteriorated, as the regime inflated the currency to pay for the war.

3. Fears mounted of an aristocratic and clerical reaction.

4. Those worries intensified when the German princes issued the Brunswick Manifesto in August 1792 announcing their intentions to restore Louis XVI.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the goals of the revolutionaries in 1789? What sort of state did they hope to create? In what ways can one discern the influence of Enlightenment ideas in the objectives and principles of 1789?

2. If the revolution began with a set of relatively moderate objectives, why did revolution take a radical turn? What factors were at play in splitting the social coalition that made the revolution?

Lecture Six
The Terror and Its Aftermath

Scope: In this lecture we will examine the so-called "Second Revolution" of 1792, the resulting Reign of Terror in 1793-94, and finally the Directory of 1795-1799. The focus is largely the nature of the Terror, the Committee of Public Safety, the role of Robespierre, and his ultimate downfall. We will focus on the radicalization of the revolution, the reasons for its extremist course, and finally the reaction against Jacobean extremism.

Outline

I. The "second revolution" of 1792 ushered in a new, more radical phase.

- **A.** The impetus came from the Jacobins, who were convinced that the counter-revolution was underway, both at home and abroad.
  - **1.** Defeating the *sans-culottes*, the Jacobins gained control of Paris and established a revolutionary commune in the city.
  - **2.** They demanded the deposition of the King and the creation of a republic.
  - **3.** When the Assembly balked, the mob stormed the Tuileries palace and imprisoned the King.
- **B.** A new National Convention was then elected on a franchise of universal male suffrage to draft a new republican constitution.
  - **1.** This assembly was dominated by the Jacobins.
  - **2.** The Convention met within the context of the September massacres, in which mobs killed thousands of aristocrats, clerics, and other "enemies of the revolution."
  - **3.** The monarchy was abolished on September 21, 1792, and Louis XVI was beheaded in January 1793.

II. The Revolution under Siege

- **A.** In March 1793 the First Coalition, led by England, was formed to confront the revolution.
  - **1.** It coincided with peasant uprisings in the Vendee against the anti-clerical excesses of the revolution.
  - **2.** By May 1793, the rebels had formed a Royal Catholic Army to combat the revolution inside France.
  - **3.** Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon fell to the counter-revolutionary forces.
- **B.** With the revolution imperiled, the situation called for desperate measures.
  - **1.** Inflation remained rampant.
  - **2.** The Jacobins urged extreme economic measures to face the crisis, including the confiscation of all Church and aristocratic property and its distribution for poor relief.
  - **3.** The Parisian mob demanded the removal of the moderates from the Convention.
  - **4.** The threat of invasion, domestic insurrection, and a deteriorating economy in mid-1793 led to the most radical phase of the revolution—the Terror.

III. The Reign of Terror, 1793-1794

- **A.** Executive power within the National Convention was vested in the Committee of Public Safety.
  - **1.** This Committee consisted of twelve members. It gradually became independent of the Convention.
  - **2.** Its dominant figure was Maximilien Robespierre.
- **B.** The basic goals of the radical Jacobins were to win the war, to suppress the enemies of the Republic at home, and to establish what Robespierre and others called the "Republic of Virtue."
- **C.** To win the war, the Jacobins instituted the *levee en masse* (a military draft) in August 1793, which underscored the claim that the French soldiers were fighting for the French nation, not the dynasty. The revolutionary armies inflicted devastating military defeats on the Coalition partners, finally driving them out of France.
- **D.** To suppress enemies at home, the Jacobins centralized the administration and set up "surveillance committees" all over France to spy and root out enemies of the revolution; they established revolutionary tribunals throughout the nation; and they sent their enemies to the guillotine (some 2,000 in Paris and perhaps 20,000 throughout all of France).

E. To reinforce the ideology of the revolution, the Jacobins mandated a new egalitarian dress code, created a new calendar, established "Temples of Reason," and tried to found a new religion—the Cult of the Supreme Being.

IV. Evaluating the Terror

A. Why did the Terror succeed in holding revolutionary France together?

1. The economic policy of the Committee of Public Safety brought the rampant inflation under control, which meant that the poorest could afford to eat.

2. The national crises—foreign invasion and civil war—created an air of emergency that seemed to justify extreme measures.

3. The *levee en masse* generated a sense of national unity and purpose.

B. Reasons for the Terror's fall included factionalism within the leadership and the extremism of its leaders, which alienated many Frenchmen, especially as the international crisis faded in 1794.

C. The Thermidorean Reaction of July 1794 ended the Terror.

1. Robespierre was executed at the end of July.

2. The Commune was disbanded.

3. The Committee of Public Safety was stripped of its powers.

4. Many Jacobin clubs were closed; wage and price controls were rescinded; and an effort was made to moderate the revolution.

Questions to Consider:

1. What explains the emergence of "the Terror" during the French Revolution? What were its accomplishments? How and why did it finally come to an end?

2. Some have viewed Robespierre as the first modern political ideologue. What does this mean? How was he different from the early leaders of the Revolution?

Lecture Seven

The Rise of Napoleon: Heir of the Revolution or New Form of Tyranny?

Scope: This lecture explores the final years of the Revolution (usually referred to as the Directory), the emergence of Napoleon Bonaparte, and his dramatic rise to power. We will examine the establishment of the Empire and the nature of the Napoleonic regime in France, focusing in particular on his claim that he was the legitimate heir to the ideas of the Revolution.

Outline

I. The Period of the Directory, 1795-1799

- **A.** The Directory marked a return to the moderate constitutionalism of the early revolutionary period.
  - **1.** Deputies were elected on the basis of wealth or service in the Republican army.
  - **2.** Top officials were indirectly appointed.
  - **3.** A bicameral legislature was established, while executive power was vested in a five-man Directory.
  - **4.** The Directory was structured so as to prevent its capture by extremists of either the right or the left.
    - **a.** In 1795-1796, Babeuf's "Conspiracy of Equals" (which was ruthlessly suppressed) challenged the Directory from the left.
    - **b.** Challenges also arose from royalist elements on the right during 1796 and 1797.
- **B.** The Directory was never very popular.
  - **1.** It was beset by threats from both royalists and radicals.
  - **2.** It resorted to high-handed measures to unseat legally elected officials if they were considered dangerous.
  - **3.** By 1797 the Directory had begun to lose credibility and popularity. It was overthrown on November 9, 1799 (the 18th *Brumaire*) by a young general, Napoleon Bonaparte.

II. The first stage of the Napoleonic regime is known as the Consulate (1799-1804).

- **A.** A provisional government was established, headed by a triumvirate of consuls, the most powerful of whom was Napoleon.
- **B.** A new constitution was quickly drafted to consolidate the transfer of power.
- **C.** In 1802 Napoleon had himself elected consul for life. This step was ratified by a national plebiscite based on universal male suffrage.
- **D.** A trumped-up royalist plot in 1804 led to Napoleon's establishment of the Empire, intended (according to Napoleon) to save the revolution from a Bourbon restoration.
  - **1.** Napoleon was named emperor, and the new title was ratified by a plebiscite.
  - **2.** The first line of the new imperial constitution read: "The government of the Republic is entrusted to an Emperor."

III. The Napoleonic regime was a new amalgamation of revolutionary and authoritarian characteristics.

- **A.** It had important democratic features.
  - **1.** Suffrage was universal-male but very indirect.
  - **2.** Use of plebiscites gave the regime a radical, democratic patina.
  - **3.** Law was codified in the "Code Napoleon." The Code guaranteed freedom of religion, freedom of profession, and equality before the law.
  - **4.** Napoleon's regime was based on a claim to popular sovereignty.
  - **5.** The emperor emphasized mass education and meritocratic criteria for appointment to office.
  - **6.** A rational and centralized administrative system was established.
- **B.** The regime also had authoritarian features.
  - **1.** The emperor held firm control over both the executive and legislative branches.
  - **2.** The administration was highly centralized, and local officials were appointed from Paris.
  - **3.** Secret police and censorship were introduced.
- **C.** Why was the regime popular?

1. It consolidated the economic and social gains made by the peasantry and bourgeoisie during the revolution.
2. It created domestic stability, which was conducive to business activity.
3. It made peace with the Church by signing a Concordat with the Papacy in 1801, which ended the split within the clergy and the populace.
4. The great victories of the imperial armies brought a return of grandeur.
5. The bourgeoisie had its property rights guaranteed and received new commercial opportunities.
6. The peasantry had its possession of former Church lands confirmed.

Essential Reading for Lectures 7-8:

Merriman, Chapter 13

Supplemental Reading:

Louis Bergeron, *France Under Napoleon*

Jakob Walter, *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier*

Questions for discussion:

1. By 1799 the Revolutionary era came to an end, with the collapse of the Directory and the emergence of Napoleon Bonaparte. Had the revolutionary movement simply exhausted itself? How can one explain the rise of a military strong man to lead a revolutionary regime?
2. Napoleon claimed to be the legitimate heir of the Revolution. Why could he make this claim? Why was his new regime so popular in France?

Lecture Eight
Napoleonic Europe: An Epoch of War

Scope: In this lecture we consider the expansion of the Napoleonic state between 1800 and 1815, the creation of the Napoleonic Empire in Europe, and the European-wide wars of this epoch. The lecture deals with the ideological and geopolitical threat posed by the Napoleonic state to the established monarchies of Europe. We will examine the response of the Habsburgs, Hohenzollerns, and Romanovs to the French threat as well as the role of Britain in meeting the Napoleonic challenge to the European balance of power.

Outline

I. Between 1802 and 1810 Napoleon created the largest empire in Europe since the time of Rome. He made himself and France masters of the continent.

- **A.** The Napoleonic approach to war and diplomacy rested on his own regime's use of revolutionary military tactics, and the inability of the traditional powers to overcome their own mutual distrust and traditional rivalries (e.g., the Habsburg—Romanov rivalry and the Habsburg—Hohenzollern enmity).
- **B.** Napoleon was able to isolate his enemies, either diplomatically or militarily, and defeat them one by one.
- **C.** Napoleon engaged in a series of wars with his neighbors. He defeated Austria in 1801, Austria and Russia in 1805, Prussia in 1806, and Prussia and Russia in 1807. Only England remained outside the French orbit; it was the central power in every anti-Napoleonic coalition.

II. To the Crowns of Europe, Napoleon represented dual ideological and geopolitical threats.

- **A.** His creation of a grand French Empire seemed to combine traditional Bourbon expansionism with revolutionary ideas.
  1. By 1810, Napoleon had defeated all the ruling families of continental Europe.
  2. He had expanded the frontiers of France to their "natural" borders and created a network of vassal states, especially in Central Europe.
  3. Not only did he have himself crowned himself emperor; he also had members of his family crowned kings in Italy, Germany, and Holland.
- **B.** At the apex of his power, Napoleon ruled a great French Empire with expanded frontiers, and a coalition of vassal states.
  1. The vassal states included the German states (organized into the Confederation of the Rhine), Italy, and Holland (which was annexed outright in 1810).
  2. Some states were forced into military and economic alliance with France, including Austria after 1809 (Napoleon married a Habsburg princess in 1810) and Prussia after 1806.
  3. Russia and England remained unbroken, but they could not dislodge Napoleon.
- **C.** European leaders saw Napoleon's regime as revolutionary and the emperor himself as anathema.
  1. Napoleon was not seen as a legitimate ruler. He was an upstart—one cannot simply make himself king or emperor.
  2. His regime, while authoritarian, was based on a constitution.
  3. He had destroyed legitimate government based on traditional privileges.
  4. The new Napoleonic aristocracy was based on talent and service, not blood.
  5. For all of these reasons, the traditional rulers of Europe hated Napoleon's regime and looked for the first opportunity to overthrow it.

III. The Defeat of Napoleon and the Collapse of the Grand Empire

- **A.** Napoleon's expansionism sparked nationalist resistance in the occupied areas.
- **B.** Between 1810 and 1812, Napoleon was at the height of his power, although he increasingly saw Russia as a threat to his system.
- **C.** The turning point came in 1812.
  1. Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 was undertaken to bring the Tsar into the French orbit and Napoleon's economic Continental System.

2. The defeat of the Grand Army and its retreat from Moscow in September and October marked the first major setback for the Napoleonic forces.

D. In January 1813, Prussia defected from the French camp.
1. The Hohenzollerns called for a war of liberation in Germany against Napoleon.
2. In October 1813, Napoleon was defeated by German forces at Leipzig, their first victory over Napoleon.
3. The "wars of liberation" were underway in German Central Europe.
4. Habsburg Austria joined the anti-French alliance.

E. Revolts in Spain, Holland, and Northern Italy and defeats in Central Europe led Napoleon to abdicate in March 1814.
1. He went into exile on the island of Elba.
2. The victors met in Vienna for a peace conference.
3. The Bourbons were restored in France and promised a liberal constitution.

F. The "100 Days" and the Defeat at Waterloo
1. Napoleon escaped from Elba in February 1815, marched on Paris, marshaled an army, and called for a reformed French imperial state.
2. He was defeated at Waterloo in June 1815 by a combined British/Prussian force.
3. He was exiled to St. Helena, marking the end of the Napoleonic Era.

Questions to Consider:

1. Napoleon created the largest empire in Europe since the Romans. How was he able to accomplish this? What were reasons for the ultimate collapse of the Napoleonic empire?
2. Napoleon and his regime posed not only a geopolitical threat to the crowned heads of Europe but an ideological one as well. How did the traditional dynasties of Europe view Napoleon, and how would you evaluate the nature of his regime?

Lecture Nine
The Restoration and Reactionary Conservatism

Scope: This lecture examines the Congress of Vienna, which ended the Napoleonic Wars, and the attempt of the established conservative powers to restore the old order in Europe. We examine the political and diplomatic settlement at Vienna and the vision of Metternich, the chief Austrian minister and leading figure in the anti-Napoleonic coalition, to create a "Concert of Europe" that would prevent the reemergence of revolutionary forces anywhere on the continent.

Outline

I. The Congress of Vienna was convened in order to settle territorial and ideological issues arising from the Napoleonic domination of Europe.

- **A.** The following were the leading figures of the Congress.
  - **1.** Alexander I of Russia arrived at the height of Russian power. The most powerful monarch present, he was determined to expand Russia's power in central Europe.
  - **2.** Lord Castlereagh of Britain was concerned to restore the European balance of power in order to prevent any revival of French military power.
  - **3.** Frederick William II of Prussia had stated his willingness to lead an effort for German unification. He sought to annex Saxony to Prussia.
  - **4.** Louis XVIII's representative was Talleyrand, a skilled if unprincipled diplomat. Talleyrand gained very lenient terms for France.
  - **5.** The dominant political role was played by Klemens von Metternich of Austria, who was determined to restore the old order of divine-right monarchy in Europe.
- **B.** These rulers were determined to restore legitimate monarchic government, the Church. and the aristocracy to positions of influence and power.
  - **1.** The Congress resolved to restore the monarchy in France.
  - **2.** It also resolved to establish an international mechanism to prevent the outbreak of revolution in the future—a "Concert of Europe," a conservative alliance that would prevent the revival of revolution in France.
- **C.** Internationally, the Congress sought to restore a balance of power and restrain France.
  - **1.** The French Empire was dismantled but France left with generous frontiers.
  - **2.** Prussia, which sought Saxony for its minerals and manufacturing potential, was instead given provinces in the Rhineland, including the Ruhr valley.
  - **3.** The old Holy Roman Empire, which had been abolished in 1806, was not restored. Instead, it was replaced by a very loose German Confederation under permanent Habsburg/Austrian presidency. The Hohenzollerns were more interested in territorial acquisitions for Prussia than in German nationalism.

II. The Bourbon Restoration in France

- **A.** Louis XVI's younger brother assumed the throne as Louis XVIII.
  - **1.** He promised a liberal constitution. The Charter of 1814 established a constitutional monarchy, guaranteed numerous civil and political liberties, pledged to respect the property settlement that resulted from the revolution, and promised political clemency for former revolutionaries and Napoleonic supporters.
  - **2.** The preamble invoked divine-right monarchy, however, in referring to the king as "Louis by the grace of God" and to the Charter as a royal "gift to the people."
  - **3.** It was not clear whether ministers would be responsible to the legislature or to the Crown.
  - **4.** Suffrage for elections to the legislature was limited mainly to landowners.
  - **5.** The authority of the bishops over the clergy and education was restored.
  - **6.** In 1822, criticism of the king's divine right to rule and outrage against religion were made punishable by life in prison or even death.
- **B.** In 1824 Charles X, a genuine reactionary, ascended the throne determined to undermine the Charter of 1814 and reestablish absolutist rule.

1. He alienated the middle classes by introducing an extremely unpopular Indemnity Bill for aristocrats in 1825, and by disbanding the bourgeois-dominated National Guard.
2. He refused to recognize the Charter upon which his own regime was based.
3. Following the defeat of Charles's party at the polls in 1830, the king issued a series of repressive decrees. Protests broke out in Paris on July 28, 1830, leading to sympathy strikes and the erection of barricades.
4. Charles was overthrown in an almost bloodless revolution (the "Revolution of 1830") and Louis Philippe of the Orleans branch of the family assumed the throne and pledged to transform the restored monarchy into a genuinely liberal constitutional state.

Essential Reading for Lectures 9-10:

Merriman, Chapter 5-7

Supplementary Reading:

Henry Kissenger, *A World Restored*

Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, and Reaction*

Clive C. Church, *1830 in Europe*

Questions to Consider:

1. The Congress of Vienna is usually viewed as having crafted a very successful peace settlement, ushering in virtually a century of peace in Europe. Some wars erupted between 1815 and 1914, but there was no general European conflagration. What were the diplomats at Vienna attempting to achieve, and why were they successful?
2. If the framers of the Vienna settlement were successful in fashioning a workable international accord, were they as effective in restoring the old order domestically? What did Metternich and his colleagues at Vienna mean by "legitimacy" or "legitimate government"?

Lecture Ten
The Challenge of Liberal Nationalism

Scope: Building on the previous lecture, we will investigate the emergence of liberal nationalism and its threat to the restored monarchic states of Europe. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic regime had encouraged nationalist sentiments everywhere on the continent. Between 1815 and 1848, the conservative rulers of Europe were determined to root out nationalist subversion everywhere. In this lecture we will examine the crucial connection between nationalism and the emerging liberal movement in Europe, and the measures undertaken by Metternich and others to repress the liberal threat.

Outline

I. Restoration in Central Europe

- **A.** Restoration of the monarchic order in German and Italian Central Europe was both simpler and more complex than in France. It was simpler for the following reasons.
  - **1.** The French revolution had not crossed the Alps or the Rhine—no monarch had been overthrown.
  - **2.** The German and Italian middle classes were numerically weak and economically underdeveloped. Thus they could not lead any mass protest movement, as in France.
  - **3.** Neither Germany nor Italy had a national capital city or a single, centralized government to be seized.
  - **4.** The tradition of Enlightened Absolutism had co-opted into state service many politically ambitious elements of the middle class or had made them economically dependent on the state.
  - **5.** The practice of "revolution from above" allowed the German states (especially Prussia) to introduce timely reforms before crisis hit.
- **B.** It was more difficult, however, because nationalist sentiments and expectations for some sort of united state had been encouraged during the Wars of Liberation.
  - **1.** The Habsburgs could not accept the principles of nationalism or national sovereignty.
  - **2.** Metternich was vehemently opposed to nationalism of all sorts, but especially to German nationalism.
    - **a.** He understood that the multi-national Habsburg state could not tolerate national upheavals.
    - **b.** He became the champion of "legitimate monarchy," opposing any suggestion that sovereignty resided in the nation. Nationalism was a product of the revolution and hence threatened to subvert the legitimate order.
    - **c.** At Vienna he successfully blocked all efforts to create a united German state.

II. Metternich led the assault on nationalist subversion everywhere in Europe.

- **A.** University students had marched off to war against Napoleon in 1813 influenced by the nationalist writings of Fichte, Herder, Kleist, and others, and they now expected to see a progressive national German state established.
- **B.** The policies of Stein and Hardenberg in Prussia had suggested that Prussia might be willing to lead a move for German unification. The Prussian king shrank from endorsing popular sovereignty, however, and at Vienna he endorsed Metternich's indefinite postponement of national self-determination.
- **C.** Between 1815 and 1820, Metternich crushed the nationalist movement.
  - **1.** The student demonstrations for German national unity at the Wartburg Castle in 1817 were interpreted as a warning sign. In 1818 Metternich moved to repress the student movement.
  - **2.** In 1819 Metternich promulgated the Karlsbad Decrees which applied to all of German Central Europe, establishing rigid censorship, a network of spies in the universities, and the right of the German Confederation to intervene anywhere subversion raised its head.
- **D.** In Italy, nationalist elements faced similar difficulties.
  - **1.** Italy was seen by many simply as a "geographic expression."
  - **2.** The Bourbons were restored in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.
  - **3.** Most nationalist sentiment was directed against the Austrian presence in northern Italy.
  - **4.** The nationalist movement was forced underground in the 1820s. It was kept alive by secret societies such as the *Carbonari*.

E. The association of liberalism with nationalism complicated the liberal project in central and southern Europe.

Questions to Consider:

1. After the revolutionary and Napoleon eras, nationalism was seen as an integral element of an emerging "liberal" agenda. What are the roots of modern nationalism? Why was it seen as "liberal"?
2. Metternich, the leading figure at the Congress of Vienna, viewed nationalism as particularly dangerous for the monarchies of Central and Eastern Europe. Why?

Lecture Eleven

Liberal Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution: The English Experience

Scope: Having dealt with the revolutionary political tides that swept Europe after 1789, we turn in this lecture to the equally momentous economic changes that transformed overwhelmingly agrarian Europe into an industrial colossus during the nineteenth century. We will define the "Industrial Revolution," analyzing its component parts from the technological inventions to the creation of the "factory system." England, home to the Industrial Revolution, will take center stage in this discussion, and we will examine why this great economic and social revolution took place where and when it did.

Outline

I. The Industrial Revolution began in England around 1750.

- **A.** During the last half of the eighteenth century, a series of inventions transformed the manufacture of cotton and created a new mode of production—the factory system.
  - **1.** The factory system was characterized by the substitution of machines for human skill and effort; substitution of inanimate for animate sources of power; and the use of new and far more abundant raw materials—in particular, the substitution of mineral for vegetable or animal substances.
  - **2.** These improvements yielded an unprecedented increase in productivity and a substantial increase in per capita income between 1750 and 1850.
    - **a.** For the first time, both the economy and human knowledge were growing fast enough to generate a continuing flow of investment and technological innovation.
    - **b.** This self-generating growth, based on technological and economic innovation, constituted the Industrial Revolution.
  - **3.** This ongoing revolution fundamentally altered economic life in Europe and the world, revolutionizing social relations, transforming the balance of power between nations in Europe and between civilizations around the world.
- **B.** Origins of the Industrial Revolution
  - **1.** The Industrial Revolution began in eighteenth-century England, particularly in the manufacture of cotton.
  - **2.** Inventions that transformed the cotton sector included the hand loom (1733), the water frame (1770), establishment of the first water-driven factory, employing 600 workers (1771), the spinning jenny (1778), as well as James Watt's steam engine and the power loom (also during the 1770s).
  - **3.** It was typical of the English industrial revolution that these inventions were the products of tinkerers and independent entrepreneurs, and not the schools of science and technology found on the continent.

II. Why did England become the first industrial nation?

- **A.** France was larger than England, had more extensive overseas trade, and had a larger manufacturing base. Yet it was not Europe's first continental industrial state, primarily because it failed to develop a mobile labor force.
  - **1.** Several decades of domestic turmoil and warfare in France had deterred investment.
  - **2.** Due to the success of land reform and property redistribution, the peasantry remained on the land.
  - **3.** The Napoleonic Code abolished primogeniture, allowing younger sons to remain on the land.
  - **4.** The growth rate of the French population declined after 1750.
  - **5.** French industry focused on luxury goods rather than mass-produced consumer goods.
- **B.** Geographic factors help to explain why England industrialized first.
  - **1.** Its island setting meant that it was largely free from the disturbances of war. Thus it offered greater security for investment.
  - **2.** Its deeply indented coastline was ideal for harbors.
  - **3.** The proximity of all English towns to the coast meant that goods could be moved more easily than they could anywhere on the continent.

4. A good river system, augmented in the eighteenth century by canals and turnpikes, connected the major commercial and manufacturing centers.
5. England's island setting had long made it sensitive to international trade.
6. Finally, its small land mass made creation of a national market easier.

B. Political factors also explain England's early industrialization.
1. England achieved national, political, and economic unification early.
2. Victory by the nobility and gentry over the crown in the seventeenth century meant that Parliament was involved in making policy and that the interests of the English nobility and gentry were different from those of their continental counterparts.

C. The social system was also an important factor.
1. It was far more open than social systems on the continent were.
2. Due to the defeat of absolutism in the seventeenth century, England did not have a large state bureaucracy or standing army. Thus the younger sons of the gentry and nobility were forced to pursue other career avenues. Many moved into commerce and international trade, and many intermarried with wealthy commoners.
3. The enclosure system in the countryside produced a pool of surplus labor.
4. The guilds had virtually vanished. Where they lingered, entrepreneurs resorted to cottage industry or to the "putting-out system."
5. More market-oriented businesses (as opposed to strictly family businesses) developed than did on the continent. The limited-liability corporation first appeared in England.

D. Demographic factors also explained England's early industrialization.
1. England experienced massive population growth in the late eighteenth century, leading to a vast increase in trade and the creation of a large domestic market for inexpensive and mass-produced consumer goods.
2. England's relatively high standard of living spurred technological innovation to avoid the high cost of labor.

E. Finally, Britain's growing colonial empire gave it access to cheap raw materials and potentially vast new markets.

Essential Reading for Lectures 11-12:

Merriman, Chapters 15-16

Supplemental Reading:

David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus*

Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*

Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern British Society, 1780-1880*

Questions to Consider:

1. Although France in the eighteenth century was a far more populous and prosperous country than England, the latter became the home of the Industrial Revolution. Why did the Industrial Revolution occur first in England?
2. What exactly is meant by the Industrial Revolution? What were the economic changes that revolutionized manufacturing in the eighteenth century and led to the "factory system"?

Lecture Twelve
The Social Impact of the Industrial Revolution

Scope: In the previous lecture, we dealt with the nature of economic change during the Industrial Revolution. Now we turn to the dramatic social implications of this economic transformation. We will examine the values and attitudes of the new class of industrial and commercial entrepreneurs—the so-called "new men" or "Manchester Men"—who drove industrial capitalism forward in the early nineteenth century. We will also analyze the factory system, the conditions of labor, and the emergence of an industrial blue-collar working class in an increasingly urban environment.

Outline

I. The Transformation of Traditional Society

- **A.** An entrepreneurial middle class emerged, unrestrained by traditional values and practices and imbued with utilitarian ideals.
  - **1.** A new group of bourgeois businessmen who stood outside the official society of traditional Europe was the driving force behind the economic and social changes of the Industrial Revolution.
    - **a.** They were not civil servants, churchmen, or traditional merchants. Instead, they were self-made men, "new men" of modest origins who became increasingly conscious of themselves as a class rather than as a "middle rank."
    - **b.** Talent rather than birth, family, or higher education became the key to success. Talent was measured by one's ability to make money.
    - **c.** Imbued with the cold rationality of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, they sought to organize economic life in the most utilitarian fashion possible.
  - **2.** These "new men" had great self-confidence and great contempt for the traditional aristocracy.
  - **3.** They encouraged charity and founded Christian self-help organizations.
  - **4.** A perceived gap appeared between business behavior and private morality. Behavior that would be prohibited in private life was seen as licit in business dealings.
  - **5.** Armed with these attitudes, the new entrepreneurs were deaf to the needs of their employees.
  - **6.** Workers used to toiling at their own pace on the farm had to be imbued with a new rational discipline.
- **B.** The nature of labor also changed profoundly.
  - **1.** Large urban manufacturing centers emerged.
  - **2.** Industrial workers probably had higher living standards than did agricultural workers, although the latter were not subjected to foul air and the monotony of machine-work.
  - **3.** Industrial workers toiled long hours for relatively low wages (even though industrial wages were probably higher than pay earned by agricultural workers).
  - **4.** Factory workers had poor housing; the new industrial towns were grossly overcrowded.
  - **5.** Exploitation of women and children was common. Prior to 1802, children as young as seven worked fifteen hours a day, six days a week in the English textile industry. These conditions later improved only very slowly.
  - **6.** The new industrial towns were centers of disease, and hygiene was poor. During the 1840s, life expectancy of laborers in rural Wiltshire was twice as high as that of workers in industrial Manchester.

II. The high social costs of industrialization encouraged a political and philosophical debate over emerging industrial capitalism.

- **A.** Liberals, as they came to be called, favored *laissez-faire* economics.
  - **1.** These policies included the removal of all guild restrictions, internal tolls and tariffs, and international tariffs crucial to export manufactured or finished goods.
  - **2.** The Bible of early liberalism was Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).
  - **3.** Liberals believed that the government should maintain competitive conditions but not regulate or direct the economy.
- **B.** Industrialization was opposed by landed agrarian interests, which came to be called conservative.
  - **1.** They favored agriculture over industry or commerce.

2. They opposed the callousness of the new money.
3. They sought to reform the factory system.

C. Labor was caught between the entrepreneurial middle class and the aristocracy.
1. The initial attempts at labor organization came in 1836 in England with the London Working Man's Association, founded by William Lovett.
2. Most labor organizations before 1850 were composed of artisanal workers rather than factory laborers.
3. The early Socialists also criticized industrial capitalism.

Questions to Consider:

1. The driving force behind the industrialization of Britain was an emerging middle class armed with a set of values distinctly different from those of both aristocracy and the laboring population. Within the first decades of the nineteenth century this set of values would be systematized into a political and social ideology that came to be called liberalism. What were these values and how did they manifest themselves?
2. Virtually all social observers agreed that conditions in the new industrial cities were appalling. How did liberal entrepreneurs justify or explain such conditions for the laboring population?

Glossary

***Action Francaise*:** A rightist, monarchist political organization founded in the late nineteenth century and led by Charles Maurras. It played a salient role in the Dreyfus case and would remain active as a right-wing nationalist force in French politics into the twentieth century.

***Anschluss*:** The *Anschluss*, or "union" or "connection" between Austria and Nazi Germany, was accomplished by Hitler in the spring of 1938.

***Blitzkrieg*:** A radically new military strategy based on the use of massed armor, tactical air support, and motorized infantry to achieve a rapid victory, it was employed by the Germans between 1939 and 1941.

***Blockwart*:** During the Third Reich, in each neighborhood or apartment building one individual served as the "block watch," keeping tabs on his neighbors. The *Blockwart* watched to determine who was loyal to the regime and who was not.

Bolshevik: The radical left wing of the Russian Social Democratic party, the Bolsheviks were the minority, while the Mensheviks represented the majority of the Social Democratic party.

***Carbonari*:** A secret society in early nineteenth century Italy, the name derived from the practice of swearing in new members by making a mark on the initiate's forehead with charcoal. The *Carbonari* were originally organized to resist Napoleon's armies, but after 1815 they agitated for Italian unification and opposition to the presence of foreign monarchies on Italian soil.

***Cheka*:** The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission or *Cheka* was a police organization founded in December 1917 to gather information on and arrest opponents of the Bolsheviks. Under Stalin it evolved into the Soviet secret police.

***Croix de Feu*:** Created in France in 1929, the Cross of Fire was a right-wing veterans' organization that denounced the "decadence" of the Third Republic. It was not unlike the fascist paramilitary organizations in Italy and Germany after the First World War, opposing parliamentary democracy and especially the socialist left.

***Diktat*:** The "dictated peace," or *Diktat*, was the derisive description applied by the Germans to the hated Treaty of Versailles after the First World War.

Dreadnought: The newly designed battleship of the late 1890s that promised to revolutionize naval warfare and render existing fleets largely obsolete. The determination of the Germans to construct a fleet of Dreadnoughts led to a bitter naval rivalry with Britain and poisoned Anglo-German relations before 1914.

***Duce*:** "Leader," in Italian, was the title taken by Mussolini upon his consolidation of power in the mid-1920s.

***Drole de Guerre*:** The French term for "phony war" or "*Sitzkrieg*" in German, it referred to the strange lull in fighting between the fall of Poland in 1939 and the German onslaught in Western Europe in the spring of 1940.

***Einsatzgruppen*:** Special SS commando units dispatched into Poland and the Soviet Union to conduct "special operations" against the Jews. During the summer of 1941 they conducted a bloodbath on the Eastern front, slaughtering perhaps as many as a million Jews.

***Enrichez-Vous*:** "Get rich!" This sentence was attributed to Louis Philippe's chief minister Guizot during the ill-fated July monarchy of 1830-1848. It was said to be in response to demands to reform the suffrage laws that heavily favored the wealthy. It was symptomatic of the crass insensitivity of the Citizen-King's regime.

***Endlosung*:** The Nazi "final solution to the Jewish question," the *Endlosung* in 1941 came to mean the physical extermination of the Jews.

***Entjudung*:** "De-Jewification" was the ugly term used by the Nazis to describe their policy of urging/forcing Jews to leave Germany between 1933 and the outbreak of the war in 1939.

***Fuhrer*:** Hitler assumed the title of "leader," or Fuhrer, within the NSDAP shortly after his release from prison in 1925. It would become his formal title after the death of Hindenburg in 1934, when he merged the offices of chancellor and president.

Gestapo: The Gestapo was the Nazi "Secret State Police" created by Goring in 1933. It became one of main pillars of Nazi totalitarian rule in Germany and Europe.

Girondins: A faction of French revolutionaries (1789-1799), many of whom were from the Gironde district of France, whose support for a moderate course in the revolution would pit them increasingly against the more radical Jacobins.

***glasnost*:** Gorbachev's policy of greater openness in the Soviet government and politics initiated in 1985, *glasnost* attempted to maintain the authority of the Communist party while liberalizing the political system.

***Gleichschaltung*:** *Gleichschaltung* was the term used to describe the Nazi policy of bringing all agencies of the German state and society into line, coordinating them under Nazi rule. The period from 1933 to 1935 is usually referred to the period of *Gleichschaltung*.

***Gosplan*:** The *Gosplan* was the Soviet agency that administered the Five-Year Plans, determining production schedules, prices, and the allocation of resources.

***Grossdeutschland/Kleindeutschland*:** During the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, the liberals meeting in Frankfurt to create a united German state were divided over whether the new German state should be a greater Germany or (*Grossdeutschland* including Austria), or a small Germany (*Kleindeutschland*) excluding the Habsburg lands.

***Gulag*:** This was the system of prison camps created for political opponents by the Soviet state under Stalin.

***Italia Irrendenta*:** During and after the First World War, Italian nationalists called for the return of "unredeemed" Italian lands to the north and across the Adriatic, especially Fiume, Istria, and Dalmatia.

Jacobins: The leading and most radical faction among the French revolutionaries after 1789, the Jacobins derived their name from their organization or club met originally in the house of the religious order the Jacobins. The Jacobins would assume leadership of the Republic, especially during the Terror.

***Kristallnacht*:** The "night of broken glass" against the Jews was carried out by the Nazi regime on November 9-10,1938. It marked the first nationally coordinated campaign of violence against Jews with clear direction and support of the regime.

***Kulaks*:** This class of relatively wealthy, property-owning peasants was eliminated by the Soviets during the First Five-Year Plan in the collectivization of agriculture. The number of deaths and deportations to the *Gulag* number in the millions.

***laissez-faire*:** The policy endorsed by nineteenth-century liberals, calling for the government to remove the barriers to free economic activity. It became a central feature of the liberal agenda, assaulting the established power of the guilds, internal tolls and tariffs, and calling for free trade between states.

***Lebensraum*:** From his earliest speeches and writings, Hitler demanded "living space" for the German people. This desire for living space was directed largely toward the East, where Hitler anticipated a war of conquest.

***Luftwaffe*:** The German Air Force was reestablished in 1935 under the leadership of Hermann Goering.

Mensheviks: The larger and more moderate wing of the Russian Social Democratic party. The Mensheviks continued to be the most popular wing of the party, but they were consistently out-maneuvered by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

NEP: The New Economic Policy was announced by Lenin in 1921 in a move to rescue the Soviet economy from the horrors of war and civil war. It allowed a degree of private ownership, especially on the land. It was a retreat from the revolutionary goals of the revolution and would be reversed by Stalin in 1928.

***perestroika*:** Gorbachev's policy of "restructuring" the Soviet economy in the mid-1980s, *perestroika* was an attempt to make the Soviet economy more competitive with the West and to meet the growing demand for consumer goods within the Soviet Union. Together with *glasnost*, it represented one of the main pillars of Gorbachev's failed effort to reform the Soviet Union.

***Realpolitik*:** "The politics of realism," *Realpolitik* is associated above all with Otto von Bismarck's rule in Prussia/Germany. It implied ignoring ideological principles when they conflicted with concrete objectives of the monarchy. Typically, his *Realpolitik* infuriated doctrinaire liberals and conservatives alike.

***Sippenhaft*:** *Sippenhaft* was the Nazi policy, initiated by the Gestapo, of arresting whole families for the crimes of one of its members.

***Squadristi*:** *Squadristi* were Mussolini's fighting street organization used to keep opponents in line, similar to Hitler's Storm Troopers.

Thermidor: Thermidor was a month of the new French revolutionary calendar. The period following the Terror is usually referred to as the Thermidorean Reaction, when the opponents of Robespierre and his followers overthrew the Committee of Public Safety on the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) and set the revolution on a more moderate course.

***Volksgemeinschaft*:** The Nazis sought to create a classless "people's community" of all Germans. The *Volksgemeinschaft* was an alternative to both Marxist and liberal visions of the social order.

***Zollverein*:** The *Zollverein* was the Prussian Customs Union, originally established in 1819, which evolved gradually into a powerful weapon for the Hohenzollerns in their efforts to bring unification under Prussian auspices. By cleverly excluding the Austrians while incorporating all the other German states by the early 1860s, conservative Prussia made itself the economic leader of Germany and the darling of liberal business interests everywhere in German central Europe.

Timeline

The Revolutionary Epoch, 1789-1815

1789 ..... The French Revolution breaks out

1792 ..... The First French Republic is established

1792-1795 ..... Wars of the French Revolution sweep Western Europe (the wars would continue with little respite down to the fall of Napoleon in 1815)

1793-1794 ..... The Terror reigns in France

1795-1799 ..... The Directory rules in France

1799-1804 ..... Napoleon assumes power in the Consulate

1804-1815 ..... Napoleon establishes the Empire, reigns until 1815

1812 ..... Napoleon invades Russia

1813 ..... Napoleon defeated at the Battle of Leipzig

1814 ..... The Bourbons restored at the Congress of Vienna; Napoleon in exile

1815 ..... The Hundred Days of Napoleon's return end with the Battle of Waterloo

The Age of Restoration, 1815-1848

1814-1830 ..... The Bourbon Monarchy restored in France, overthrown in the Revolution of 1830

1815 ..... The Corn Laws, establishing tariffs on imported grains, signed into law in Britain

1819 ..... Metternich enacts the Carlsbad Decrees

1819 ..... The Prussian *Zollverein* established

1819 ..... The Peterloo Massacres occur in Britain

1830 ..... Charles X is overthrown in France

1830-1848 ..... The July Monarchy under Louis Philippe created in France

1832 ..... The First Reform Bill enacted in Britain

1838-1848 ..... The Chartist Movement emerges in Britain

1846 ..... The Corn Laws are repealed

The Revolutions of 1848 and Their Aftermath

1848 ..... Revolution breaks out in Paris in February with creation of the Second Republic

1848 ..... In March similar revolutionary events erupt in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and the capital cities of the smaller German states

1848 ..... The Frankfurt Parliament attempts to create a liberal, united Germany

1848 ..... Italian revolutionaries seize Rome, declare a Roman republic

1848 ..... Marx and Engels publish *The Communist Manifesto*

1848 ..... John Stuart Mill publishes *The Principles of Political Economy*, perhaps the most powerful statement of classical liberal economic thought

1848-1849 ..... Rollback of the revolution begins in the summer of 1848 with the June Days in France and continues into 1849, as the Habsburgs restore the monarchic order in Central Europe

1851 ..... The Crystal Palace Exhibition in London marks the "Golden Age" of British liberal capitalism

1852 ..... Louis Napoleon, now Napoleon III, establishes the Second Empire

1854-1856 ..... The Crimean War is fought by Britain, France, and Italy against Russia

1859 ..... Darwin publishes *On the Origin of Species*

1861 ..... The serfs are emancipated in Russia

An Era of National Unification, 1859-1871

Italian Unification

1851-1861 ..... Movement for national unification in Italy led by Cavour, 1851-1861

1859 ..... Sardinia Piedmont, supported by France, goes to war with Habsburgs

1860 ..... Garibaldi leads his Red Shirts on Rome

1861 ..... Cavour proclaims the Kingdom of Italy with Victor Emmanuel as king

1861 ..... Cavour dies

1866 ..... Prussian defeat of Austria allows Italy to seize Venetia

1870 ..... French troops are withdrawn from Rome due to the Franco-Prussian War, and Rome is annexed to Italy, becoming the capital

German Unification

1862 ..... Bismarck appointed chancellor in Prussia

1863 ..... The *Zollverein* is renewed and Austria excluded

1864 ..... Prussian and Austria defeat Denmark, seizing Schleswig and Holstein

1866 ..... Prussia defeats Austria and creates the North German Confederation

1870-1871 ..... Prussia and its German allies defeat France

1871 ..... The German Empire is created at the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles

The New Imperialism

1880 ..... The high tide of European imperial expansion begins

1883-1893 ..... The French become involved in Indochina

1885 ..... The Berlin Conference on Africa lays the ground rules for the division of Africa

1885-1898 ..... The African continent is divided among the major European powers

1895-1898 ..... Crisis in the Far East mounts

1898 ..... The British and French come close to war over the Fashoda crisis

1899-1902 ..... The British become embroiled in the Boer War

1904 ..... The Russians are defeated by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese War

1904-1911 ..... German pressure in North Africa leads to confrontations with France and Britain, punctuated by the Morocco Crisis of 1904 and the Agadir crisis of 1911)

The Age of Mass Politics

1864-1876 ..... The First International is established

1867 ..... Marx publishes *Capital*

1871 ..... The Paris Commune gives birth to the "red scare"

1878-1890 ..... Bismarck enacts the Anti-Socialist Laws in Germany

1884 ..... Britain expands the suffrage, joining Germany and France with near-universal male suffrage

1889 ..... The Second International is founded

1891 ..... With the repressive laws lifted, the German Social Democrats formally adopt Marxism as their program at Erfurt and quickly emerge as the largest party in Germany

1893 ..... The German Conservative Party formally adopts anti-Semitism in its program, marking the arrival of modern anti-Semitism in European political culture

1894-1906 ..... The Dreyfus Case unfolds in France

1899 ..... Bernstein published *Evolutionary Socialism*

1905 ..... Revolution erupts in Russia

Intellectual and Cultural Developments, 1871-1914

1871 ..... Darwin publishes his *Descent of Man*

1879 ..... Wilhelm Wundt establishes the first psychological laboratory, and Pavlov conducts his experiments on the "conditioned response"

1883 ..... Nietzsche begins his career with the publication of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*

1889 ..... The Eiffel Tower is opened at the Paris Exposition

1900 ..... Freud published *The Interpretation of Dreams*

1902 ..... John Hobson published *Imperialism: A Study*

1905-1915 ..... Einstein's theory of relativity is presented

The Coming of the Great War, 1871-1914

1878 ..... The Austro-German alliance is signed

1882 ..... The Triple Alliance among Germany, Austria, and Italy is formalized

1890 ..... Germany refuses to renew its Reinsurance Treaty with Russia

1894 ..... The Franco-Russian Alliance is signed, breaking the isolation of France

1898 ..... Anglo-German naval race begins

1904 ..... England enters into Entente with France

1907 ..... The Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia is created

1908 ..... The Bosnian crisis leads Europe to the brink of war

1912-1913 ..... The Balkan Wars set the stage for big-power conflict in the region

1914 ..... The assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo

1914 ..... The July Crisis ends with the outbreak of general war

1916 ..... The battles of Verdun and the Somme reveal the enormity of the conflict

1917 ..... The United States enters the war

1917 ..... The Revolution in Russia leads to Russian withdrawal from the war

1918 ..... The Armistice and defeat prompts revolution in Austria and Germany, bringing the end of the Habsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties

1919 ..... The Treaty of Versailles is negotiated

The Age of Ideology

1917 ..... The Bolsheviks seize power in Russia

1918-1920 ..... Civil war erupts in Russia

1922 ..... Mussolini and the Fascists assume power in Italy

1923 ..... The French and Belgians occupy the Ruhr in January

1923 ..... Hyper-inflation creates economic chaos in Germany

1923 ..... Hitler attempts to overthrow the government of Bavaria and Germany in the Beer Hall *Putsch* in November

1924 ..... The Dawes Plan helps stabilize the economic situation in Europe

1925 ..... Stalin assumes control of the Soviet Union following Lenin's death

1926 ..... The General Strike is put down by the British government

1928 ..... The Soviet Union embarks on the first Five Year Plan

1929-1930 ..... The Great Depression settles on Europe

1931 ..... National Government, headed by Ramsay MacDonald, is created in Britain to deal with the economic crisis

1932 ..... Stalin announces the Second Five Year Plan

1933 ..... Hitler appointed chancellor in Germany

1934 ..... Death of Hindenburg allows Nazis to complete consolidation of their power

1935 ..... The Nazis enact the Nurnberg Laws

1936-1937 ..... The Popular Front holds power in France

1936-1937 ..... Purges and show trials begin in the Soviet Union

1936-1939 ..... The Spanish Civil War erupts

1938 ..... The Nazis unleash a national pogrom in the *Reichskristallnacht*

1938 ..... The Red Army is purged

The Second World War

1933 ..... Germany withdraws from the League of Nations

1935 ..... Germany rearms

1936 ..... Germany remilitarizes the Rhineland

1938 ..... Germany absorbs Austria in the *Anschluss*

1938 ..... The crisis over the Sudetenland leads to the Munich Conference

1939 ..... In March the Germans march into Czechoslovakia

1939 ..... In August the Nazi-Soviet Pact is signed

1939 ..... In September, the Germans invade Poland

1939-1940 ..... The Phony War prevailed between the attack on Poland and the German attack in the West in April

1940 ..... The German assault in the west begin, and France falls within a single month

1940 ..... The Vichy government created in France

1940 ..... The Battle of Britain results in British air victory, preventing a German cross-channel invasion

1941 ..... In June the Germans invade the Soviet Union

1941 ..... In December the Japanese attack Pearl Harbor and Germany declares war on the United States

1942 ..... In January the Nazi SS leader Heydrich unveils his plan for the mass extermination of the Jews at a secret conference in Wannsee

1942 ..... The death camps are created in Eastern Europe for the "final solution to the Jewish question"

1942-1943 ..... In November the Western Allies invade North Africa and defeat the Germans, while the Russians inflict a terrific defeat on the Germans, marking the turning point in the war in the East

1943-1945 ..... The Western Allies mount a massive air campaign against Germany

1944 ..... In June the D-Day landings in France mark the turning point of the war in the West

1944 ..... Hitler launches his last offensive in the West in December (the Battle of the Bulge)

1945 ..... In February at the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin determine the zones of occupation for postwar Germany and Europe

1945 ..... Hitler commits suicide in April, and the war in Europe ends in early May

Postwar Europe

1947 ..... The United States announces the Marshall Plan

1947 ..... President Truman proclaims the Truman Doctrine

1948 ..... Communists seize power in Czechoslovakia

1948-1949 ..... The Berlin Airlift rescues West Berlin and intensifies the Cold War

1949 ..... NATO is founded

1949 ..... The division of Germany seems permanent, with the creation of two German states

1951 ..... European Coal and Steel Community is founded

1953 ..... Stalin dies

1954 ..... Western European Union created

1954 ..... West Germany rearms, enters NATO

1954 ..... French are defeated in Indochina and the Algerian War begins

1956 ..... The Hungarian revolt is crushed by the Soviet Union

1956	Khrushchev denounces Stalin at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress
1957	DeGaulle assumes power and the Fifth Republic is created
1957	The Treaty of Rome creates the Common Market
1961	The Berlin Wall is built
1962	The French withdraw from Algeria
1964	Khrushchev forced from power; Brezhnev gradually assumes control
1968	Students protest in Western Europe; DeGaulle withdraws from power shortly thereafter
1968	The Prague Spring is crushed by the Soviet Union; the Brezhnev Doctrine is proclaimed
1973	The Common Market expands to include Britain, Denmark, and Ireland
1979	The European Economic Community is established
1985	Gorbachev embarks on *glasnost* and *perestroika*
1989	Gorbachev's rejection of the Brezhnev Doctrine sets off chain reaction of revolt in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany
1989	The East German government collapses and the Berlin Wall is opened
1990	Peace Treaty formally ending World War II is signed with Germany, and Germany is united
1991	The Soviet Union dissolves

Comprehensive Bibliography

Essential Reading

There are several very good comprehensive histories of Modern Europe, each possessing a distinct set of virtues. I have chosen John Merriman's excellent two-volume history as the basic text for this course, in large part because the richness of detail in his work serves as a useful companion to the lectures. At least two others deserve mention here and could be used with equal profit. Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie G. Smith have also written an extremely interesting two-volume history of Western Civilization, the second volume of which covers the period dealt with in this course. Finally, the updated edition of *A History of the Modern World* by R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton is still of great value, and I recommend it highly. The required reading for each of lectures is a chapter or chapters from Merriman's book, but if a student should choose Hunt et al or Palmer and Colton, the relevant sections would be obvious.

Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie Smith, *The Challenge of the West*, volume 2, (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1995). The second volume deals with the period 1560 to the present. It is less detailed than Merriman's book but the chronological scope of the second volume is greater.

John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 2 volumes (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996). The second volume opens with the outbreak of the French Revolution (chapters dealing with the Enlightenment and the long-term factors leading to the events of 1789 are found at the conclusion of the first volume. Merriman's work offers in-depth treatment of each of the major themes raised in the course, providing a wealth of detail to augment the lectures.

R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983). Palmer and Colton have crafted a genuinely global history that begins with the Medieval period and proceeds to the present. In some ways it is the most traditional of the three, but its value as a guide to Europe in the Modern period is great.

Supplemental Reading

William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power* (New York: Franklin Watts, revised edition, 1984). Hitler's rise to power is examined in a single German town. An insightful and highly readable case study.

Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern* (Cambridge: Granata Books, 1990). The revolutionary upheavals of 1989 in eastern Europe are treated by a journalist who was on the scene. A perceptive account that captures the drama of events in Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, and Budapest.

Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992). Berenson uses a highly publicized murder trial in Paris during the summer of 1914 to reflect the cultural, social, and political values of pre-war France.

Louis Bergeron, *France Under Napoleon* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981). One of the very best treatments of the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, from his rise to power to the final collapse of his empire.

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992) A powerful—and terrifying—analysis of a single unit of Nazi police officials who carried out a bloodbath on the eastern front.

Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1983). An analysis of who voted for Hitler 's Nazi party and why during the party's dramatic rise to power between 1919 and 1933.

Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Conquest revisits the Stalinist terror between 1928 and 1941, arguing that the number of victims was far greater than traditionally assumed.

Victoria DeGrazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922-1945* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1992) DeGrazia uses an examination of Fascist policy toward women to reflect Fascist social and cultural values more broadly.

Marc Ferro, *October 1917: A Social History of the Russian Revolution* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1980). Ferro analyzes the social bases of the revolutionary movement that swept the Bolsheviks into power in 1917.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1932* (New York: Oxford University Press 1984). An intelligent, in-depth treatment of the transformation of the Russian state and society under Bolshevik rule, from the revolution to the close of the First Five-Year Plan.

Francois Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). An analysis of the massive literature concerning the French Revolution by one of France's leading historians.

Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). A brilliant study of the impact of the First World War on values, language, and literature in the West.

Lothar Gall, *Bismarck: The White Revolutionary*, 2 vols. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986). The best of the numerous biographies of Otto von Bismarck's remarkable career, from his early years through his rule in Prussia/Germany.

Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York: Knopf, 1966-69) Gay's monumental book on the ideas and individuals who defined the Enlightenment remains the standard work on the subject.

Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1985 edition). Perhaps the best memoir of the First World War, Graves's book depicts not only the horrors of combat in the trenches but a young soldier's privileged upbringing in pre-war English society.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution* (Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996 edition). An insightful examination of Darwin's thought and its impact on European intellectual and cultural development in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984). An original and important treatment of the ways in which culture and class interacted to shape the politics of the revolution of 1789.

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992). The best summary presentation of the massive historiography on the coming of the First World War, Joll's book is a valuable guide to both the long-term and immediate causes of that conflict.

John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York: Penguin,1989). The best one-volume history of the Second World War by the most insightful military historian of the century.

Ian Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Kershaw examines the sources of Hitler's remarkable popularity in Germany, from his rise to power to the last days of the Third Reich.

Martin Kitchen, *Europe Between the Wars: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1988) A valuable introduction to the political and diplomatic conflicts of the interwar years that analyzes the road to conflict from the Treaty of Versailles to the German assault on Poland in 1939.

David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). A probing analysis of the role of technological change, cultural values, and social patterns in explaining the different courses followed by Europe's major powers in creating a modern industrial economy.

Walter Laqueur, *Europe Since Hitler* (New York: Penguin, 1983). Revised and updated since the fall of communism, this volume is a useful guide to the major social and political trends in Europe from the end of the Second World War to the present.

Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton, 1995). Perhaps the best analysis of how the Anglo-American-Soviet alliance prevailed over the Axis powers in the Second World War.

Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern British Society, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1972). A useful overview of the impact of economic change on traditional British society and the evolution of class relations across a century defined by industrialization.

Pamela M. Pilbeam, *The Middle Classes in Europe, 1789-1914* (1990). A valuable comparative treatment of bourgeois social values, economic activities, and political aspirations during the nineteenth century.

Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York: Knopf, 1994). A devastating depiction of Soviet society by one of the U.S.S.R.'s harshest Western critics.

Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) The period from 1890 to the outbreak of the war represented the high-water mark of European bourgeois life, and Rearick offers a vivid picture of the cultural values, artistic tastes, and personal pleasures of that society.

Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980). In this series of essays, Schorske provides an intelligent portrait of this important European capital in the years before the First World War, from the art of Klempt to the psychoanalysis of Freud.

Dennis Mack Smith, *Cavour* (1985). An important biography, certainly the best in English, of the statesman most responsible for the unification of Italy.

Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). An original and compelling comparative analysis of the revolutions that swept Europe from Paris to Budapest in 1848 and their political aftermath.

Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1974). A classic intellectual history approach to the roots of National Socialism, Stern's book examines the ideas of three German pre-First World War thinkers whose work laid the foundation for Nazi ideology.

Jacob Walter, *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier* (New York: Penguin, 1991). Written by a German conscripted into Napoleon's *Grande Armee* that invaded Russia in 1912, this diary is the best first-hand account of combat and soldiering in an era dominated by war.

Eugen Weber, *France, Fin-De-Siecle* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press, 1986) Like Schorske's treatment of fin-de-siecle Vienna, Weber has crafted a compelling portrait of France at the turn of the century, examining its cultural values, politics, and social attitudes.

Theodor Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III* (1971). Napoleon III is often credited with creating a new, modern form of regime, blending both liberal and conservative elements. Zeldin provides a probing analysis of that regime.

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Part II

Professor Thomas Childers

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Thomas Childers, Ph.D.

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Thomas Childers was born and raised in East Tennessee. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Tennessee, and he earned his Ph.D. in History from Harvard University in 1976.

Since 1976, Professor Childers has taught in the Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania. He is a fellow of the Ford Foundation, term chair at the University of Pennsylvania and the recipient of several other fellowships and awards, including the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung Research Grant, a fellowship in European Studies from the American Council of Learned Societies, and a West European Studies Research Grant from Harvard University.

In addition to teaching at University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Childers has held visiting professorships at Trinity Hall College, Cambridge, Smith College, and Swarthmore College, and he has lectured in London, Oxford, Berlin, Munich, and other universities in the United States and Europe.

Professor Childers is the author and editor of several books on modern German history and the Second World War. These include *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, 1983) and *Reevaluating the Third Reich: New Controversies, New Interpretations* (New York, 1993). He is currently completing a trilogy on the Second World War. The first volume of that history, *Wings of Morning: The Story of the Last American Bomber Shot Down Over Germany in World War II* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1995), was praised by Jonathan Yardley in *The Washington Post* as "a powerful and unselfconsciously beautiful book." The second volume, *We'll Meet Again* (New York: Henry Holt and Company) is set for publication in spring 1999. The final volume, *The Best Years of Their Lives*, will follow in due course.

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Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age
Part II

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Scope:

This set of forty-eight lectures traces the course of European history from the late eighteenth century to the close of the twentieth. It is a period of relentless, frequently violent, revolutionary change that fundamentally altered the nature of political, economic, social, and cultural life in Europe, the West, and ultimately the world. It was ushered in by two seismic tremors whose reverberations shook the very foundations of traditional Europe: the Industrial Revolution in England, which during the decades after 1750 thrust aside the old economic order and introduced modern industrial capitalism, and the French Revolution of 1789-1799, which swept away the political and social underpinnings of the *Ancien Regime* in France and threatened entrenched elites everywhere in Europe.

After an introductory lecture that raises the basic themes of the course, the next two lectures examine Europe on the eve of the French Revolution. We consider the existing social order across the continent as well as the various forms of monarchy, from constitutional monarchy in England to the "enlightened absolutism" of Prussia and the divine-right monarchy of absolutist France. We examine how the ideas of the Enlightenment, with its relentless emphasis on reason and its attack on tradition, posed a serious threat to the very foundations of absolutist monarchy in the late eighteenth century. That challenge was particularly acute in France, where Enlightenment thought was highly developed and widespread and where the political institutions of the old regime had atrophied to an alarming extent.

The next set of seven lectures explores the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath. In Lectures Four through Six, we examine the origins of the revolution—both the long-range causes and the immediate factors that precipitated the events of 1789—and we trace the dramatic course of the revolution, focusing in particular on the principles of the revolution embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the Terror of 1793, and the achievements of the revolution. In Lecture Seven we turn our attention to the final years of the revolution, a period referred to as the Directory, and the dramatic rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. The young general always claimed that he was the legitimate heir of 1789, but Napoleon pushed aside the republican government and declared himself emperor of the French.

The crowned heads of Europe unanimously viewed Napoleon and his empire—the largest since the days of Rome—not only as a challenge to existing European balance of power but to the institution of monarchy as well, and we will analyze their responses. Lecture Eight examines the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo and the work of the Congress of Vienna, where the established conservative powers sought to restore the old order at home and reestablish a balance of military power and diplomatic influence abroad. In the final lecture of this set, we assess the challenge of liberal nationalism that emerged from the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. From 1815 to 1848, conservative rulers were determined to root out liberal/nationalist subversion everywhere, and we will examine the connection between nationalism and the emerging liberal movement in Europe.

The French Revolution unleashed radical political forces in Europe, and the Industrial Revolution, to which we turn in the next two lectures, produced equally portentous social and economic changes. Between roughly 1750 and 1850, Britain was transformed from a largely agrarian and commercial society into a dynamic industrial one, and the rest of Europe slowly followed the British lead. We will isolate the key components of this economic transformation, following the course of technological innovations such as the spinning jenny and steam engine to the radically new organization of the "factory system." We will untangle the different factors that made Britain the first industrial nation and explain why this momentous economic transformation began when it did. Finally, we will turn to the free-market, *laissez faire* ideas that formed the philosophical basis of emerging liberal capitalism, and we will assess the profound social impact of this new economic system, especially on the blue-collar working class created by capitalist industrialization.

The next three lectures analyze the revolutions 1848, the first European-wide revolution of the modern age. First we examine the problematic attempt at restoration in France, the mounting disaffection with the monarchy, and finally the course of the revolution from its outbreak in February to its demise in December. Then, in Lecture Fourteen, we travel across the Rhine to examine events in German Central Europe. The revolution in France was driven by a liberal agenda to expand the franchise and create a more representative government, but in Central Europe the issues were far more complex. Here nationalism complicated the agenda, as liberal revolutionaries not only sought to overthrow the governments of the various German states but simultaneously to create a united Germany as well. In the Habsburg Empire, national and ethnic rivalries in Bohemia, Hungary, and the Italian provinces threatened not

only to bring down the monarchy but to sabotage any liberal effort at creating a coherent polity. Finally, in Lecture Fifteen, we assess the achievements and failures of the revolutionary movements all over Europe and conclude that the conservatives were able to draw lessons from the events of 1848 that would allow them to modernize conservatism for the last half of the nineteenth century.

One of those lessons was that nationalism, assumed until 1848 to be a integral part of the liberal agenda, could, in fact, be used by conservative forces to draw support away from the liberal movement. That lesson is vividly demonstrated in the unification of both Italy and Germany under conservative or very moderate liberal auspices. In Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen we examine the process of unification in German Central Europe, especially the shrewd policies of Otto von Bismarck, and the unification of Italy initiated by the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont under Cavour. We assess the respective roles of economics, popular nationalism, and the manipulation of both by Bismarck and Cavour to achieve their ends.

The sudden burst of European imperialism between 1871 and 1900, often referred to as the New Imperialism, occupies center stage in the next two lectures. In Lecture Eighteen we examine this new round of European expansionism, determining what made it different from the previous forms of European colonialism. We evaluate the motivations behind the "grab for Africa," the methods used, and the new "rules of the game" among European states established at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The following lecture is devoted to the various theories advanced over the years for this new imperialism, from Hobson's insistence on the need to export "excess capital" to Lenin's conviction that imperialism simply represented the highest form of capitalism and a milestone on the way to revealing its deep and ultimately self-destructive contradictions.

The next three lectures deal with European domestic politics in the "age of mass politics" after 1871. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, universal manhood suffrage prevailed in the major European states, and with advances in literacy and public communications (the press), mass participation in political life dramatically affected the calculus of domestic politics throughout Europe. It was in this period, especially after 1890, that socialism in its various forms arose to challenge both liberal and conservative political norms. Indeed, the apparently inexorable rise of socialist parties and labor unions, devoted to some variant of revolutionary Marxism, became the most salient and, to Europe's middle classes and ruling elites, the most threatening aspect of European politics. In Lecture Twenty we trace the evolution of Marxist thought, working class organization (labor unions), and political parties in the last half of the nineteenth century. In so doing we will also assess the crisis of both liberalism and conservatism between 1890 and 1914, as both political movements sought desperately to find some way to revive their sagging political fortunes and the stem the advancing tide of socialism. One solution hit upon by some conservatives was to tap the widespread discontent with both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism among farmers and small shopkeepers, a discontent that often expressed itself in anti-urbanism, anti-materialism, anti-Enlightenment, and anti-Semitism. During the 1890s there emerged the set of ideas that ultimately evolved into fascism, and in Lecture Twenty-Two we will address these ideas and their impact.

The next two lectures are devoted to European cultural and intellectual life in the years before the First World War and to an assessment of prevailing social norms and class strains in the same period. The period from 1890 to 1914 is often viewed as the pinnacle of European global influence, a period in which European education, culture, technology, and military might were viewed as supreme. At the same time, however, serious strains had emerged in both European culture and society, creating an undercurrent of uncertainty and even dread. It was the age of Nietzsche and Freud, of strict social conformity, repressed sexuality, and hardened gender roles as well as mounting class conflict, and in these lectures we will examine the dominant social and cultural currents of European civilization on the eve of the First World War.

In the following six lectures we will address the coming of the First World War, the diplomatic background, the sources of international tension, the controversial events of the so-called July crisis that led to the outbreak of hostilities, the conduct of the war on the battlefield, and finally the peace settlement that ended this gigantic conflict. Lectures Twenty-Five through Twenty-Eight are focused on the breakdown of the international system of 1871-1890, often called the Bismarckian system, the multiplying sources of friction after 1890 when Germany embarked on its "global policy," and the deepening ethnic problems in the multinational Ottoman and Habsburg monarchies. The next three lectures examine the actual conduct of the war from its outbreak in July/August 1914 to its conclusion in 1918. We begin with an assessment of the July crisis in 1914, continue with an examination of the brutal realities of trench warfare, and conclude with the ill-starred Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

The next set of six lectures deals with the political legacy of the Great War in the turbulent 1920s and 1930s. The Russian Revolution that erupted in 1917 and ended with the creation of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s was a product of the Great War, and in Lecture Thirty-One we analyze the background of the revolution, the reasons for its outbreak, and the role of the Bolsheviks and their leader, Lenin. We continue this analysis in the following lecture, tracing the outcome of the revolution, the long and bloody civil war that followed, the establishment of the Soviet state under Lenin, and the competition between Stalin and Trotsky to follow Lenin and lead the new Soviet regime.

While the rise of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet state on the radical left followed in the war's wake, so too did the emergence of European fascism. The fascists would first appear in Italy in the immediate postwar years, and in Lecture Thirty-Three we examine the rise of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist Party. We then examine Adolf Hitler's National Socialist or Nazi Party in Germany, tracing the party's meteoric rise to power from the unsuccessful Beer Hall Putsch in 1923 to Hitler's stunning assumption of power ten years later. Finally, we evaluate the weakness of the parliamentary democracies, especially England and France, during the interwar years, and their inability to deal with the threat of European Fascism.

The next set of three lectures is devoted to the phenomenon of totalitarianism in its Soviet and National Socialist forms. We begin with a definition of totalitarianism, examining how this radically new form of dictatorship is different from traditional authoritarian regimes. We will analyze the role of ideology and terror and the refusal of such regimes to recognize the distinction between public and private spheres of behavior. We then turn to the Soviet Union under Stalin, exploring how the regime functioned, what its ideological objectives were, and how the regime sought to implement them. The final two lectures of this set deal with the Third Reich, posing the same questions as we raised with regard to the Soviet Union. The first of these two lectures deals with Nazi domestic policy, especially its radical racial initiatives, while the second, Lecture Thirty-Eight, examines the role of Nazi ideology in the formulation of Hitler's foreign policy before 1939.

Lectures Thirty-Nine to Forty-Three are devoted to the Second World War, a conflict whose scale and scope dwarfed all others in human history. In the first two lectures of this set, we examine the diplomatic background of the war, from the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to the collapse of the international system in the 1930s. We evaluate the roles of each of the major combatants, their strengths and weaknesses, and their foreign policies and military standing. In so doing, we pay special attention to the crises of 1938 and 1939—the German *Anschluss* with Austria, the Sudeten/Munich crisis, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact—assessing each of the steps on the way to catastrophe. The next three lectures focus on the war itself, from the early *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war in 1939-1941, examining in particular the sudden fall of France in 1940 and the colossal German invasion of the Soviet Union in the following year, to the final defeat of Nazi Germany by the Allies. In the midst of this great and terrible conflict, the Nazi regime unleashed a genocidal war against the Jews of Europe, and in Lecture Forty-Two we examine the Holocaust, or the "final solution to the Jewish Question," as the Nazis euphemistically called their campaign of mass murder.

In the final set of lectures we turn to postwar Europe, beginning with a discussion of the Cold War and its diplomatic origin during the Second World War. We examine the division of Europe after 1945, when the war-torn continent was split by a great ideological confrontation that lasted almost fifty years. We then turn to the ambitious rebuilding of Western Europe in the 1950s under the Marshall Plan, the creation of NATO, and the growing commitment to some form of closer Western European economic and perhaps political union. We will trace the steps in this gradual but nonetheless dramatic process of economic and political integration, especially through the Common Market, and then turn to the sudden and largely unexpected collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 1980s and 1990s. In the final lecture we evaluate the present state of European affairs, look back over the past two hundred years of stunning change, and speculate about the future of a revitalized and increasingly integrated Europe.

Lecture Thirteen
The Revolution in France

Scope: This is the first of three lectures devoted to the Revolution of 1848, the first European-wide revolution of the modern age. This lecture focuses on France, where the first spark of revolution was struck in February 1848. We examine the failed effort at restoration after 1815, tracing the collapse of the restored Bourbon monarchy in 1830 and the equally short-lived July Monarchy under Louis-Philippe (1830-1848). Turning to the events of 1848, we tour the political horizon, analyzing the different political factions, their objectives, their leading personalities, and the sources of their social support. The first reaction against the revolution had already set in by June, and by December the revolution was over. We will investigate the reasons for the revolution's failure, and its implications for France's future political development.

Outline

I. We begin with some general observations about the revolutions of 1848 in Europe.

- **A.** The revolutions were the result of conflicts that had mounted steadily since 1815 between the emerging liberal movement and conservatives. They battled over the following issues:
  - **1.** Economic reform—liberals pressed for liberal capitalist economic practices, including the rational organization of the economy, and the abolition of gilds, tolls, and tariffs.
  - **2.** Political reform—liberals everywhere pressed for some form of constitutional government based on popular sovereignty, while conservatives held that sovereignty resides in legitimate monarchy.
  - **3.** Nationalism—the idea that sovereignty resides in the nation (the people) was seen as an essential item on the liberal agenda and was rejected by the conservative multinational empires of central and eastern Europe.
- **B.** In 1848 liberals confronted conservative forces on the barricades but other political conflicts also erupted to complicate the situation and offer a preview of future political developments.
  - **1.** A rift emerged within the liberal camp between the radical liberals (who favored a republican form of government) and moderate liberals (who were satisfied with a form of constitutional monarchy).
  - **2.** Nationalism greatly complicated the political equation in central Europe.
  - **3.** In 1848 socialist forces also appeared on the scene for the first time.
- **C.** The liberal revolution of 1848 was the first genuine European-wide revolution.
  - **1.** Between February and April 1848, monarchs were driven from the throne in France, Prussia, Austria, and a number of other German states.
  - **2.** Liberal constitutions were drafted all across the continent. The Frankfurt Convention drafted a constitution for a unified German state.
  - **3.** Yet by December 1848, the revolutions had been defeated, and the monarchies were restored in Central Europe. Why?

II. The Revolution in France

- **A.** The February Revolution in Paris set the tone for all of Europe.
  - **1.** It toppled the bourgeois "July Monarchy" of Louis Philippe.
    - **a.** The political failures of the July monarchy included a very limited suffrage, domination by the wealthiest elements of French society, and a crass, insensitive political establishment under chief minister François Guizot.
    - **b.** Poor harvests and the government's *laissez-faire* economic policies had alienated both peasants and workers.
  - **2.** The Liberal agenda included removal of the monarchy, universal suffrage, and mitigation of the social evils associated with capitalism.
  - **3.** The Liberal coalition overthrew the monarchy in three days during February 1848, but the revolutionaries were split between moderate liberals (Lamartine), radicals (Louis Blanc), and social revolutionaries (Blanqui).
  - **4.** Monarchists were also divided between the Bourbons and Louis Philippe's Orleans branch.

B. The revolutionary coalition splintered by spring 1848, indicating that the rest of France was more conservative than Paris.
  1. In April 1848 national elections by universal male suffrage, moderate liberals and monarchists dominated.
    a. The radicals, mostly from Paris, were crushed.
    b. Resentment was widespread in the countryside against the National Workshops created by the revolution.
  2. In May a coup by Parisian radicals was defeated, and a reaction against the National Workshops set in.
    a. In June the workshops were closed, and the army brutally crushed an insurrection of the radicals. These "June Days" gave rise to the "Red Fear."
    b. A new constitution reflected the moderate victory.
  3. In December France experienced the first presidential election in its history. Louis Napoleon won a landslide victory over three rivals (a monarchist and two liberals).
    a. Louis Napoleon had twice attempted to overthrow the government (in 1836 and in 1840).
    b. Within three years, he transformed the Second Republic into a new state that was neither liberal nor traditionally conservative, neither dictatorship nor republican, but one that served as a model for a new kind of modern conservative regime.

Essential Reading for Lectures 13-15:

Merriman, Chapter 17

Supplemental Reading:

Johnathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*

Questions to Consider:

1. The revolutions of 1848 brought the age of restoration to a close and represented the culmination of a decades-long struggle between liberalism and conservatism. What were the essentials of that battle? What were the social sources of support for liberal reform? For conservatism?

2. In France, the revolution toppled the July Monarchy with surprising ease and created a new republican government. Yet by the end of the year, the republican regime itself was threatened and would be shoved aside in 1849 by a new Napoleon. How does one explain the early success and then failure of the revolutionary republic?

Lecture Fourteen
Revolution in Central Europe

Scope: In this lecture, we turn to German and Italian Central Europe, where the revolutionaries sought not only to create liberal constitutional states but to forge nation states along western Europe lines as well. The revolution in the German states aimed at abolishing repressive conservative regimes and also at establishing a united—and liberal—German state. The revolution of 1848 in the multinational states of Central Europe marks in some important ways the high-water mark of liberal nationalism. By tracing the course of events in Vienna, Frankfurt, Berlin, Prague, Budapest, and Rome, we will examine the reasons for and implications of its failure.

Outline

I. The Revolution in the Habsburg/Austrian Empire

- **A.** Violence broke out in Vienna in March 1848.
  - **1.** Angry over the government's failure to resolve the mounting economic crisis, students, workers and elements of the lower middle class took to the streets, demanding a liberal constitution.
  - **2.** Metternich was forced to flee to England.
  - **3.** The Emperor left for Innsbruck and promised a constitution but he did not abdicate. Power was handed to a provisional liberal government in Vienna, but the bureaucracy and the army remained under control of the monarchy.
- **B.** Outside of Vienna, in the remainder of the Habsburg Empire, the revolution was nationalist in character.
  - **1.** In Italy, the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia demanded independence from the Habsburg empire (which had acquired them in 1815). The Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont declared war on the Habsburgs, putting itself at the head of a movement for Italian unification.
  - **2.** In Hungary, revolutionaries led by Louis Kossuth demanded autonomy within the Empire (but not independence), and they drafted a liberal constitution.
  - **3.** In Bohemia, revolutionaries also demanded autonomy within the Empire and a liberal constitution, and they convened a Pan-Slav Congress.
  - **4.** Moravia, Galicia, Transylvania, and Dalmatia were all in revolt.
  - **5.** By the end of May 1848, the Habsburg/Austrian Empire was on the verge of utter disintegration.

II. The "March Days"—Revolution in Germany

- **A.** In March revolutions erupted in all the major states, the royal families voluntarily stepped aside, and liberal governments were established.
  - **1.** In Bavaria, the Wittelsbachs were deposed.
  - **2.** In Saxony, the monarch was driven out.
  - **3.** In Prussia, King Frederick William IV was pushed aside but not deposed. Taking up residence in Potsdam, the king promised to convene a parliament, lifted censorship, and dropped hints that he would establish a constitution.
- **B.** A national liberal congress convened in Frankfurt to draft a liberal constitution for a united German state.
  - **1.** Moderate liberals wanted German unification more than any other reform.
  - **2.** Radicals demanded unification but insisted on fundamental liberal reforms first.
  - **3.** Suffrage qualifications varied among the German states. Turnout for elections to the Frankfurt Parliament was quite low, which suggested that the liberals did not really command broad-based support.
- **C.** Soon after the Convention met, divisions among the delegates came to the surface.
  - **1.** Would the new Germany be a republic or a constitutional monarchy?
  - **2.** Would it be small or large? Some delegates favored a *Kleindeutschland* (a Germany without reactionary Austria), while others endorsed a *Grossdeutschland* that would include the Habsburg monarchy.

3. There were also disagreements about economic reform. The commercial and industrial bourgeoisie sought a genuine liberal revolution that would wipe away the last remnants of the old feudal system, clearing the decks for advancing industrial capitalism.

D. The Convention adopted a constitution with the following features:
1. The new German state would be federal, with a non-Habsburg hereditary emperor. Thus the *Kleindeutschland* solution was adopted.
2. The new state would have a representative government with a responsible ministry and assurance of basic civil rights.
3. Serfdom would be abolished and industrial freedom would be ensured. The liberals' Industrial Code sounded the death knell of the guild system.

E. Although various interests (peasants, small shopkeepers, and artisans) had united against the old regime, they ended up at odds when faced with the task of writing a new constitution.
1. Liberals remained true to their principles of private property and moderate reform.
2. Artisans, however, opposed the Industrial Code and sought an end to capitalist innovation and a return to the guild system. The fact that they had manned the barricades gave their view greater weight.
3. The peasants, meanwhile, wanted the abolition of feudal dues and services.
4. The parliament failed to satisfy the peasants. The delegates favored commutation of the peasants' feudal dues and services into rental payments but it refused simply to abolish them, since that would have violated private property rights.
5. By late summer, the parliament had alienated both the peasantry and artisans, who had been the leading forces behind the spring revolution.

F. Why did the March Revolution fail?
1. The lawyers, professors, and businessmen who dominated the parliament dogmatically implemented liberal principles without regard to political considerations that limited the applicability of these principles.
2. In the autumn of 1848 the German monarchs perceived that the revolution had stalled and began its rollback.

Questions to Consider:

1. Unlike the situation in France, nationalism was a major factor in the revolution of 1848 in central Europe. How did the desire to create a united German state complicate the work of the revolutionaries?
2. A variety of disparate social groups initially supported the revolution in central Europe. Yet by the end of the year, the liberal regimes in Frankfurt and elsewhere had forfeited much of their support. What had happened to the "revolutionary coalition"?

Lecture Fifteen
The Political Implications of the Revolution

Scope: What did the revolution or, perhaps more appropriately, revolutions of 1848 accomplish, and what were the political lessons drawn from this European-wide year of turmoil and revolutionary violence? These questions stand at the center of this lecture. The revolutionary governments were swept into power on an apparently irresistible wave of liberal fervor, and yet within a year, the liberal regimes were swept away. We will argue that conservatives drew lessons from the revolutions of 1848 that led them to modernize conservative thought and political strategy, borrowing from the liberal agenda in economic matters and co-opting nationalism for conservative purposes. Playing a central role in this development was the regime of Napoleon III, and his form of Bonapartism is given special attention.

Outline

I. The Rollback of the Revolution

A. The counterrevolution began in Austria in June 1848.

1. The Habsburg general Windischgraetz subdued Prague and all of Bohemia.

2. In July, Habsburg general Radetsky defeated Sardinia-Piedmont at Custozza and brought Lombardy and Venetia back under Habsburg control. Louis Napoleon dispatched French troops to restore the Pope and oust the Roman Republic.

3. In September the Habsburgs supported a Serbo-Croatian revolt against the Magyar revolutionaries in Hungary. General Jellachich defeated the Magyars but could not subdue all of Hungary.

4. In October, Vienna fell to Windischgraetz, and Habsburg emperor Ferdinand abdicated in favor of his eighteen-year-old grandson, Franz Josef.

5. Finally, in January 1849, Windischgraetz seized Budapest but needed Russian support to defeat Kossuth. Tsar Nicholas I eagerly provided the needed troops.

6. The Habsburg Monarchy had been saved.

B. The Rollback in Germany

1. Heartened by events in Austria, the Hohenzollerns of Prussia pushed aside the revolutionary government in Berlin, sent troops loyal to the crown into the city, dissolved the civil guard, and issued a new constitution intended to favor the monarchy. These measures met with very little resistance.

2. At Frankfurt the liberals drafted a constitution for a *Kleindeutschland,* but they had no army or bureaucratic structure to implement it.

a. With the counterrevolution in full swing, the Frankfurt liberals offered the crown of a constitutional monarchy to Frederick William IV of Prussia.

b. In March 1849, the Prussian king refused this "crown from the gutter" and vowed to accept the crown of a united Germany only from the crowned heads of Europe.

3. By March 1849 the revolution had been defeated everywhere.

II. The Political Implications of the Revolutions of 1848

A. The revolution exposed and aggravated divisions among the liberals between the left and moderate liberals, and among the left over the question of the social agenda. Louis Napoleon's landslide electoral victory made many radical republicans skeptical about universal manhood suffrage, which had previously been their leading cause.

1. In Central Europe, the liberals were and remained divided over the importance of German national unification. Some pressed for national unification first, while others pressed for other liberal reforms first.

2. Only in the Habsburg lands did nationalism remain associated exclusively with liberalism.

3. The Revolution of 1848 revealed a split among the liberals between moderates, who favored constitutional monarchy and property qualifications for the suffrage, and radicals, who feared that universal manhood suffrage would lead to a conservative backlash.

B. Conservatives escaped from the events of 1848 but were deeply shaken.

1. Elected president of France by a landslide vote in December 1848, Louis Napoleon stood for order and stability.
2. Elections in France in May 1849 returned a legislature most of whose members favored an Orleanist restoration.
3. At this point, Louis Napoleon began to mobilize his supporters throughout the country, putting many of them into key government and military positions. He made himself visible throughout the country.
4. He enlisted the government's support for France's industrial development and for the expansion of credit.
5. He won support from the peasantry by restoring the pope to Rome in 1849.
6. By 1851, Louis Napoleon's position had become so strong that he replaced the Orleanist cabinet with one loyal to himself.
7. In May 1851, the monarchist legislature rejected Louis Napoleon's proposal for the restoration of universal manhood suffrage and barred him from running for reelection.
8. The president responded in December 1851 by overthrowing the legislature. He ruthlessly suppressed his enemies and called a plebiscite in support of his *coup d'état*. Despite republican trappings, Louis Napoleon's new regime was essentially a dictatorship.
9. Louis Napoleon had a created a modernized form of conservative rule, based on order and stability, liberal economic policies, accommodation with the Church, and control of the army. Realizing that liberalism was a narrow, class-based movement, he felt free to adopt parts of the liberal agenda and rework them for conservative purposes.

Questions to Consider:

1. In March 1848 the Habsburg Monarchy, a multinational state, seemed on the verge of total disintegration. Yet within months, the Habsburgs led the counterrevolution that would lead to the restoration of conservative monarchies everywhere in German central Europe. How were the Habsburgs able to accomplish this?
2. Some historians have called the revolutions of 1848 "the turning point when Europe refused to turn." What do they mean by this interpretation? What were the accomplishments of the liberal revolutions? What conclusions would conservatives draw from this year of revolution?

Lecture Sixteen
The Unification of Germany

Scope: The conservative co-optation of nationalism is nowhere more apparent than in Otto von Bismarck's manipulation of national sentiments in the events leading to the unification of Germany in 1871. In this lecture we will follow the evolution of Bismarck's conservative policy from 1848 to the creation of the German Empire in January 1871. We will trace the steps leading to German unification, examining the role of liberal economic policy, popular nationalism, and sheer military might.

Outline

I. Germany in the 1850s

A. Austro-Prussian Rivalry

1. During the 1850s, Austria seemed to have reassumed its position of political leadership, forcing Prussia in 1850 to abandon its plan to unify Germany under Prussian auspices ("the humiliation of Olmutz") and finding support from Tsarist Russia.

2. The German Confederation was restored in 1849 under Austrian presidency.

a. Austria emerged from the revolution of 1848 shaken but still the leading political power in German central Europe.

b. Mistrustful of all nationalism, it remained opposed to all efforts at a tighter union of German states.

3. Prussia, however, had economic weapons to use in its bid for German leadership.

a. The Prussian *Zollverein*, or customs union, had gradually expanded since its founding in 1819 to include all the major German states except Austria by 1834. Prussia claimed to desire Austria's inclusion, but in fact it kept Austria out by maintaining low tariffs. (The Habsburgs felt they needed the protection of high tariffs).

b. The *Zollverein* followed liberal economic principles of free trade and created a national domestic market for German goods.

c. Although liberal business interests throughout Germany opposed Prussia's political conservatism, they were drawn to its economic liberalism.

d. Prussia's liberal economic policies were creating a German national economy, which caused German business interests to look to Prussia as the natural leader of the movement for German unification.

B. Bismarck's Strategy of *Realpolitik*

1. Prussia's "new era" began in 1858, when William I replaced the reactionary and mentally unstable Frederick William IV as the country's ruler. William chose as his chief minister Otto von Bismarck, who embarked on a course that would lead to Germany's unification under Prussian leadership.

2. Bismarck's political orientation was one of *Realpolitik*, involving the use of any effective means to achieve his objectives.

a. Although not a doctrinaire conservative, he was determined to use any means necessary to preserve the power of the monarch and the Prussian state.

b. He hoped to use nationalism to split the liberal movement.

c. Bismarck was not a German nationalist but, instead, a Prussian above all. He insisted that German unification take place under Hohenzollern auspices.

II. Bismarckian Foreign Policy

A. Bismarck sought to isolate Austria diplomatically, which required Prussia to secure good relations with Russia, to manipulate the *Zollverein* over the tariff issue (as he did in 1863), and to seek good relations with Sardinia-Piedmont to Austria's south.

B. Bismarck also used war to forge Prussian leadership.

1. In 1864 he forged an Austrian-Prussian alliance to free the "German" provinces of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark.

2. In 1866 Bismarck maneuvered the Habsburgs into war with Prussia.

a. Austria's rapid defeat drove the Habsburgs out of Germany.
b. This Austrian defeat led to Bismarck's creation of the North German Confederation in 1867.
c. However, the victory did not lead to an upsurge of German nationalism or to calls by the southern German states for unity with Prussia, as Bismarck had hoped.

3. Since the southern German states were unenthusiastic about national unification, Bismarck sought an issue by which to push them toward unification under Prussian auspices. He engineered the required issue by using his influence to have the Spanish crown offered to a member of a Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family. This development was bound to incur French opposition and bring France into conflict with Prussia.

4. In the "Ems Dispatch," Bismarck portrayed what had been an amicable conversation between William I and the French ambassador over the Spanish issue as a *casus belli*.

5. Bismarck maneuvered Napoleon III into declaring war on Prussia in 1870 over the Spanish issue. All of the German states supported Prussia, and the war was fought with a great deal of nationalist rhetoric. Fear of French invasion provided the catalyst for unifying the German states under Prussian leadership.

6. The defeat of France produced the founding of the German Empire (the *Reich*) in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in January 1871.

C. In the final analysis, German unification resulted not from mass nationalism but from Prussian military power and Bismarck's astute diplomacy.

Essential Reading for Lectures 16-17:

Merriman, Chapter 18

Supplemental Reading:

Lothar Gall, *Bismarck: The White Revolutionary*

Denis Mack Smith, *Cavour*

Questions to Consider:

1. Bismarck's unification of Germany is often interpreted as a "triumph of nationalism." Was Bismarck's policy driven by his German nationalism? What role did grassroots or mass nationalism play in the creation of the new German state in 1871?

2. Bismarck certainly considered himself a conservative, but many fellow conservatives in Germany were appalled by his apparent lack of conservative principle and his willingness to borrow from the liberal agenda. How did Bismarck's policies reflect the "new conservatism" of post-1848 Europe?

Lecture Seventeen
The Unification of Italy

Scope: The unifications of Germany and Italy, though different in some ways, were inextricably intertwined. In this lecture we will examine the events and forces that led to the creation of the Italian national state in 1871 We will follow the emergence of the Kingdom of Sardina-Piedmont, the role of its leading statesman Cavour, and his complicated relations with more radical/liberal competitors such as Mazzini and Garibaldi. Although Cavour did not share Bismarck's staunch conservative political background, his mixture of moderate liberalism and conservatism reflects the same *Realpolitik* in its use of national sentiments and also underscores the migration of nationalism from the radical liberal fold in the French Revolution to the conservative right as the nineteenth century proceeded.

Outline

I. In the early nineteenth century, Italy was a geographical expression, not a political entity.

A. Nationalism and Liberalism in the Age of Restoration

1. The Habsburgs dominated northern Italy, the Papacy the center, and the Bourbons the south (the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily).

2. Sardinia-Piedmont, ruled by the house of Savoy, was the only secular Italian power on the peninsula and as such it was viewed by many nationalists as the logical leader of any effort to construct an independent Italian state.

3. Since 1815, sentiment for Italian unification had spread, especially among intellectuals.

4. Giuseppe Mazzini founded and led a movement known as "Young Italy" that condemned the Habsburgs as the prime obstacle to Italian unification, and that demanded a unified Italian state.

5. The *Risorgimento*, or Resurgence movement, grew throughout the 1815-1848 period. It also called for a united Italy.

B. The Revolution of 1848 had seemed to provide an opportunity for an Italian nationalist movement.

1. The major roadblocks to Italian unification in 1848 were the Habsburgs, who controlled Lombardy and Venetia, and the Papacy, which controlled much of central Italy.

2. In 1848 Mazzini and Garibaldi declared a Roman Republic, ousting the Pope.

a. Sardinia-Piedmont went to war on two occasions with Austria in an unsuccessful effort to dislodge the Habsburgs from northern Italy.

b. Cavour was not enthusiastic about either the Roman Republic or romantic republican liberalism more generally.

3. Liberal nationalism collapsed in 1848.

a. Austria defeated Sardinia-Piedmont and regained Lombardy and Venetia.

b. Louis Napoleon sent French troops to defeat the Roman Republic and restore the Pope. Those troops remained in place until 1871, making France yet another roadblock to Italian unification.

4. Camilo de Cavour, the chief minister of Sardinia-Piedmont, endorsed liberal aspirations for Italian unity, but he wanted unification only under Sardinian leadership.

a. In 1848 he drafted the *Statuto*, a liberal constitutional document for Sardinia-Piedmont.

b. He favored a moderate liberal solution based on constitutional monarchy, fearing radical liberals and republicans such as Garibaldi and Mazzini.

II. Cavour's Program to Unify Italy

A. The Defeat of Austria

1. In 1854 Cavour allied Sardinia-Piedmont with France and England in the Crimean War, hoping to win the favor of Napoleon III.

2. With support from France, Cavour provoked Austria into declaring war in 1859.

a. French and Italian forces defeated Austria at Magenta and at Solferino.

b. To Cavour's shock, Napoleon signed a peace treaty with Austria that ceded Lombardy to Piedmont but left Venetia in Habsburg hands. France absorbed Nice and Savoy.

3. In 1860 the smaller states of northern Italy merged with Sardinia to create a northern Italian Kingdom.

4. At that same time, Garibaldi's Red Shirts conquered Sicily from the Bourbons, then marched toward Rome and overthrew the Bourbon Kingdom of Naples. Civil war loomed as Cavour sent Piedmontese troops south to prevent Garibaldi's forces from taking Rome. He eventually reached an agreement with Garibaldi that prevented war between their forces, and the northern and southern parts of Italy were fused—only Rome and Venetia remained outside.
5. In 1866, Cavour signed an agreement with Bismarck. When Prussia defeated Austria, the Italian Kingdom seized Venetia.

B. The final step was to overcome the obstacle posed by the troops of Napoleon III in Rome.
1. France now remained the only obstacle to Italian unification.
2. In 1870, when Prussia defeated Napoleon III, French troops were withdrawn from Rome and the ancient city was quickly annexed by the House of Savoy.
3. Italy was unified, but the Papacy was alienated from the new regime, which set the stage for future difficulties.

C. As in the case of Germany, Italian unification resulted not from mass efforts but from astute diplomacy and military might. Real nationhood was established after, not before, national unification.

Questions to Consider:

1. Like Bismarck, Cavour led a movement for national unification "from above." How did Cavour deal with the "problem" of popular nationalism, reflected in the support for Mazzini and Garibaldi?
2. In many ways, the unification of Italy was inextricably bound with the unification of Germany. What were the major roadblocks to Italian unification, and how were they removed?

Lecture Eighteen
The New Imperialism

Scope: Lectures Eighteen and Nineteen are devoted to the sudden burst of European expansionism that occurred in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. Often referred to as the "New Imperialism," this sudden but extensive wave of European colonialism was in crucial ways different from earlier Western expansion. In these two lectures we will examine the nature, timing, motivations, and implications of this new imperialism. In the first lecture, we will discuss the grab for Africa and Asia that began in the 1880s and that vastly extended European power all around the globe. We will address the nature of this new imperialism, its economic and strategic logic, and the question of why it occurred at this point.

Outline

I. The New Imperialism
- **A.** There was an enormous surge of European expansion between 1880 and 1900.
  - **1.** Although the scramble of the European powers for territorial acquisition was global, it was most frenetic and extensive in Africa.
  - **2.** The share of African territory in European hands rose from 11 percent in 1875 to 90 percent by 1902.
  - **3.** Virtually all the European powers were involved, including Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy, and Germany.
- **B.** How was this expansion different from previous bouts of European expansion?
  - **1.** A new form of subjugation was involved.
  - **2.** Technological advances made exploitation of the hinterlands possible.
    - **a.** Metal-hulled ships and steam engines made upriver travel possible.
    - **b.** Use of quinine made malaria less of a problem.
    - **c.** Military technology, especially breech-loading rifles and the maxim gun, made military domination even more imposing.
  - **3.** The Europeans were therefore less willing to remain on the coasts.
    - **a.** They pushed inland, bringing greater and more extensive exploitation of the indigenous population.
    - **b.** According to the ground rules for colonization agreed upon by the European powers at the Congress of Berlin (1885), the country controlling the coast of a territory to be colonized had first claim on the hinterland. To sustain that right, the imperial power had to have a genuine military presence and put a civil administration in place.
    - **c.** European colonies were now tied more closely to the needs of the European economies.
    - **d.** Imperialism generated a new sort of exploitation. The private companies that held imperial charters tended to treat the indigenous populations with great brutality. The Belgian Congo had the worst reputation in this regard.
    - **e.** The borders of the new European colonies showed little consideration of tribal history or settlement patterns of the indigenous populations.

II. Imperialism in the Age of Mass Politics
- **A.** Among the imperial powers, the whole nation now became involved in colonization.
  - **1.** Interest and involvement in colonization extended beyond adventurers, missionaries, and businessmen.
  - **2.** The increasingly literate population followed the scramble for Africa in the popular press.
  - **3.** "Painting the map red" became part of domestic politics, a source of national pride.
  - **4.** One sees evidence of this national pride in the founding of semi-official organizations that encouraged settlement in the colonies. These included the German Colonial Society, the Committee for French Africa, and the Royal Colonial Institute.
- **B.** As Bismarck had foreseen, imperialism heightened popular passions and international tensions among the European states.
  - **1.** The period from 1880 to 1914 would witness numerous clashes or confrontations between European powers in Africa and Asia.

2. These clashing ambitions contributed mightily to the arms race, especially in naval power, as the powers vied with one another to ensure access to their colonies.
3. Cecil Rhodes' "Cape to Cairo" project brought Britain into conflict with France. The Fashoda incident of 1898 left Britain and France on the verge of war in Sudan, although France subsequently backed down.
4. Russia and Japan fought in 1904-1905 over conflicting claims in Manchuria and Korea. Europe was shaken by Russia's defeat at the hands of a non-European power.

C. The European powers became involved in a series of bloody indigenous wars.
1. In 1898, British forces annihilated 20,000 Sudanese in a single battle.
2. Britain annexed Burma in 1886.
3. The Boer War in South Africa (1899-1902) and conflict between French colonial forces and the inhabitants of Indochina offered previews of the wars of decolonization of the middle twentieth century.
4. Beginning in 1890, France fought to pacify its Ivory Coast colony in Africa.
5. The defeat of Italian forces by outnumbered and poorly equipped Ethiopians in 1896 marked the first victory of a colonized African people over a European imperial power.

D. The "new imperialism" was different in kind from earlier colonization efforts.
1. It was both more systematic and more brutal.
2. It was assisted by new technologies.
3. It generated new tensions within and among the colonial powers.

Essential Reading for Lectures 18-19:

Merriman, Chapter 22

Supplemental Reading:

Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness*

Questions to Consider:

1. Between 1880 and the end of the century, European powers embarked upon a vast global expansion, seizing territories in Africa, Asia, and the South Pacific. How was this "new imperialism" different from previous European colonial expansion?
2. What was the connection between domestic politics and this new burst of imperial expansion? How did a new age of mass politics at home influence imperial policy?

Lecture Nineteen

Race, Religion, and Greed: Explaining European Expansion

Scope: In this lecture we continue our discussion of the New Imperialism, examining the reasons for European success, European motivations, and the numerous theories—offered by J. A. Hobson and V. I. Lenin, among others—that sought to explain this new bout of colonialism.

Outline

I. Various economic arguments were advanced to explain the timing of the "new imperialism."

A. In *Imperialism: A Study* (1902) J.A. Hobson identified the following economic reasons for the new imperialism.

1. The European powers had excess capital and thus needed to find new investment opportunities abroad.

2. Moreover, overproduction at home made it necessary for them to find new markets abroad.

3. The real roots of capitalism are found in the unequal distribution of income at home.

4. Imperialism has corrosive effects on the populations of the imperial powers. He cited the degeneration of morality and the growth of militarism.

5. Governments might engage in imperial ventures to distract the attention of their people from domestic problems. Imperialism might corrode democratic institutions and practices at home.

B. Lenin wrote in *Imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism* (1916) that imperialism was an integral, inevitable product or stage of capitalism.

1. The capitalist system produced a dog-eat-dog competition between increasingly monopolistic enterprises, and between capitalist states competing with each other for markets, raw materials, and investment opportunities.

2. That competition lowered domestic profits and thus forced the owners to invest their surplus capital overseas.

3. This was the only alternative because owners would not raise wages to create better domestic market.

4. International conflict was inevitable and would bring down capitalist system.

C. These economic arguments seem plausible, but they have weaknesses.

1. Colonial markets were very poor.

2. Britain's most profitable and extensive foreign investments were made not in the colonies but in the United States, and France's were made in Russia.

3. The period of imperial expansion in the 1880s and 1890s does not correspond to the period of greatest "excess capital."

4. The need for raw materials became apparent only after 1890.

5. The problems posed by trade protectionism in Europe after 1879 might be a better place to begin an economic argument. Britain argued for "free field and no favor," while most other European states were erecting trade barriers.

II. Other explanations have also been advanced for the "new imperialism."

A. Nationalism and the need for political legitimization have also been identified as motivations for imperialism.

1. Imperial expansion served as a means of legitimating the state.

2. The applicability of this explanation varies from country to country, but it is certainly strong in Third Republic France, especially in the policies of Jules Ferry, and in Germany under William II and its *Weltpolitik* (global policy).

B. There is also the explanation of social imperialism

1. In this view, imperialism served as a means of diverting attention away from domestic problems.

2. This is often cited as a motivating factor in German, French, and British imperialism.

C. Strategic considerations also explain the new imperialism.

1. In the 1890s, European powers feared the dwindling of sources of raw materials.

2. England desired to maintain open routes to India.

3. Naval power on a global scale was increasingly seen as the key to international dominance.

D. Cultural factors were also prominent.

1. Many Europeans saw Europe as the center of civilization and as intrinsically superior to other cultures. Many felt that Europe had a "civilizing mission" to bring European culture, and especially Christianity, to the rest of the world.
2. Social Darwinism encouraged a crude "survival of the fittest" mentality and encouraged Europeans to view civilizations and races in hierarchical terms, with their own on top (as exemplified in Rudyard Kipling's *The White Man's Burden*).

III. What were the effects of imperialism on Europe?

A. Above all, it has a brutalizing impact.

1. The new imperialists' justification of the rule of force in the colonies encouraged authoritarianism.
2. It also fostered anti-democratic impulses.

B. Europe's encounter with the non-West left it awash in racial thinking if not overt racism. It also greatly exacerbated tensions among the European powers.

Questions to Consider:

1. Lenin and Hobson argued that this new wave of European imperialism was economically driven, representing in Lenin's view simply the "highest stage of capitalism." Other analysts have emphasized strategic, political, and cultural factors. How would you evaluate these diverse explanations?
2. Some historians have argued that not only did European imperialism have a devastating effect on the subjugated colonial peoples, it also had a corrosive impact on European politics and culture at home. What were the effects of Empire on European attitudes?

Lecture Twenty
Marx and the Challenge of Socialism

Scope: This lecture is devoted to the emergence of socialism as a political force in Europe, from its theoretical foundations in the works of Karl Marx to the organization of labor unions and working-class political parties all over the continent. We will begin with a brief discussion of "utopian socialism" early in the nineteenth century and proceed to an analysis of "orthodox" Marxism, with its insistence on violent revolution, anarchism, and finally "revisionist" or "evolutionary" socialism at the close of the century. We will also examine the origins of the labor movement and the increasingly influential socialist parties.

Outline

I. The Origins of Socialist Thought

A. Early Socialism

1. Socialism emerged between 1815 and 1848 in various forms, but these shared certain basic ideas.

2. The socialists viewed the new industrial capitalist system, and especially laissez-faire liberalism, as unjust.

3. They condemned private enterprise and favored some form of communal ownership.

4. Whereas liberals were concerned primarily with production, early socialists sought a fairer distribution of wealth.

5. They believed that the legal and civil equality called for by the French Revolution should extend to the economic and social realm.

6. Politically, early socialists were viewed as an extreme of the radical republican left.

B. The following were leading figures of the early socialist movement:

1. Robert Owen, a cotton magnate from Manchester

2. The Count de Saint-Simon

3. Charles Fourier

4. Louis Blanc

II. The Career and Thought of Karl Marx

A. Marx's Intellectual Background and Early Work

1. As a young man, he studied philosophy in Berlin under Hegel.

2. He began his career as a democratic-radical newspaperman.

3. He met Frederich Engels, owner of a Manchester factory, in Paris in 1844. The two began a life-long collaboration.

4. In 1847 they joined the Communist League, a tiny secret society consisting mostly of German exiles.

5. In January 1848, Marx and Engels wrote *The Communist Manifesto.*

6. Neither played a significant role in the events of 1848. Their influence would be felt really for the first time in the 1870s.

7. After 1848, both settled in England, where Marx developed the body of ideas that in the 1870s would become Marxism.

B. The basic components of Marxist theory are the labor theory of value, the iron law of wages, and dialectical materialism.

1. These ideas are set out in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), *The Critique of Political Economy* (1859), and *Das Capital* (1867—the first volume).

2. The labor theory of value held that labor, not the market, established the value of a product. The theory of surplus value suggested that the worker received in wages only a fraction of the value of his product. The difference was expropriated by the owners. Thus capital is only stored labor, and it is ultimately parasitic.

3. The iron law of wages maintained that workers' wages must be kept at a subsistence level to maximize profits. This condition led inevitably to overproduction of unaffordable goods.

a. This relationship produced two types of crisis: a gradual alienation of the worker from his product, and a rabid competition between capitalists—first between businesses, then between states.

b. This competition would begin in peaceful rivalry, then lead to international conflict, repeated economic crises, and domestic turmoil as a consequence of the fundamental contradictions inherent in the capitalist system.

4. To interpret these crises, Marx invoked Hegel's notion of the dialectic—thesis, antithesis, and synthesis—but insisted that economic relations, not ideas, drove the historical process forward. Marx and Engels called their formulation "dialectical materialism."

a. Unrestrained capitalism would lead inevitably to greater and greater concentration of capital, the proletarianization of small producers, greater alienation of workers from their work, and international tensions that would ultimately end in revolution and war.

b. The revolution would destroy capitalism, end class conflict, and result in the withering away of the state.

c. In the short run, a dictatorship of the proletariat would be necessary to protect the revolution until socialism could be established.

5. Marxism was rational, optimistic, and "scientific." It was also universalistic, internationalist, and pacifist, and its roots—like those of liberalism—lay in the Enlightenment.

6. Marx was a revolutionary thinker, and he believed that the immediate strategy of revolutionary parties—the vanguard of the proletariat—should be to organize the working class and raise its consciousness, to resist "opportunism," and to prepare for the inevitable revolution.

III. The Organization of the Working Class

A. The Trade Union Movement

1. The trade union movement had its origins in Chartism in England during the 1830s.

2. Labor associations began to flourish only during the industrial boom of the 1850s.

3. The first unions were limited to workers of a single trade and focused on reform of working conditions.

4. Only in the 1880s did unskilled workers begin to organize industry-wide unions.

B. The union movement was strongest in Great Britain (some 2,000,000 members in 1900), in Germany (850,000 in 1900, but 3,000,000 by 1912), and in France (250,000 in 1900).

C. The union movement had complicated relations with the socialist parties.

1. The strains between the unions and the socialist parties were apparent everywhere. The unions tended to be more accommodationist, while the parties were more ideological.

2. There were three major ideological variants of organized socialism: orthodox Marxism, anarchism, and revisionism.

3. The rise of socialism between 1890 and 1914 posed the single greatest domestic challenge to the established governments of Europe.

Essential Reading:

Merriman, Chapter 16, pp. 708-714; Chapter 20, pp. 846-873; Chapter 23, pp. 909-927

Supplemental Reading:

Slomo Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*

Questions to Consider:

1. Capitalism, Marx believed, was ultimately doomed because of its internal contradictions and would be destroyed by violent revolution. What are the basic tenets of Marx's thought? Based on the state of European capitalism at the time Marx was writing, do you find his description of capitalism's problems a credible and accurate portrayal?

2. By the end of the century, the socialist movement had made enormous strides in Europe, with a rapid growth of both labor unions and socialist parties. Yet by 1900 orthodox Marxism faced genuine challenges from within the socialist movement. What were they, and what was their impact on socialism before the Great War?

Lecture Twenty-One
The Social Problem and the Crisis of Liberalism

Scope: The next two lectures deal with the mounting crisis of both liberalism and conservatism in the 1890s, as both sought an ideological and strategic response to the mounting socialist challenge. This response was complicated by the environment of mass politics created by universal manhood suffrage. During the 1890s liberals everywhere were beset with worries about the so-called "social problem." It had become apparent that liberal capitalism had succeeded in generating great wealth. It had failed, however, to distribute that wealth in an equitable manner, as shown by the rise of working-class unrest and of apparently radical socialist parties. Liberalism split during the 1890s into a classical liberal camp that insisted on maintaining the market and resisting state intervention, and a reform liberal camp that believed that capitalism simply had to be reformed to prevent the revolution that socialists claimed was inevitable.

Outline

I. The Age of Mass Politics, 1871-1914

A. The Ideological Character of Political Life

1. Everywhere in Central and Western Europe, universal manhood suffrage brought new challenges and dictated new strategies for both liberalism and conservatism.

2. The battle between liberalism and conservatism continued after 1890 but on different terms; parties were compelled to compete in an electoral forum for votes.

a. Conservatives restructured their appeal to win broader support. They had supported extension of the suffrage everywhere, especially in Germany and Great Britain, gambling that the new voters would be conservative peasants or farmers and not liberals. By the 1890s, however, most of those peasants had become urban workers.

b. Liberals had won much of their agenda by the 1890s. Liberal economic systems were in place, constitutionalism was established, and representative governments operated in much of Europe.

B. The "Social Problem"

1. From 1870 to 1914, Europe experienced a phenomenal industrial boom, with spectacular rates of economic growth.

2. Europe, especially central and western Europe, became increasingly industrial and urban.

3. This remarkable growth had produced a large and growing industrial, blue-collar working class. During the 1890s, intellectuals, artists, social reformers, statesmen, and politicians became increasingly aware of what was almost universally referred to as "the social problem."

4. Industrial capitalism had generated enormous wealth but had not distributed it very well, producing mounting tension between the liberal middle class and an increasingly well-organized and politically active blue-collar working class.

II. A rift appeared within the liberal establishment during the 1890s over how to deal with the "social problem."

A. Classical liberals continued to insist that government's role should remain small.

1. Social troubles should be dealt with by private charity and continued market expansion.

2. To attempt to reform laissez-faire liberal economic doctrine would destroy the very engine of economic growth and represent the first step on the slippery slope to socialism.

B. "Left liberals" or "reform liberals," concerned about the social impact of industrial capitalism, began urging government reform to ease the economic strains that had given rise to the socialist movement.

1. They argued that capitalism had to adapt in order to survive. Social insurance and unemployment compensation packages and other reform measures should be undertaken in order to win back the workers.

2. Even cooperation with moderate socialists, such as the revisionists, might be possible, winning them away from their revolutionary doctrine.

III. The rise of socialism was mainly responsible for this rift within liberalism.

A. During the 1890s, both liberals and conservatives faced a grave new challenge that came to dominate domestic political life before 1914: the rise of the socialist parties.

B. The British government responded to the socialist challenge by adopting reform liberalism.

1. Reform bills were proposed during the 1890s to extend the franchise.

2. The power of the House of Lords was eroded.

3. Taxes on the rich were increased in order to pay for a series of liberal social welfare measures.

4. These measures all represented an attempt to reform capitalism from above.

5. The Liberals linked with the Labor party in support of reformism, while the Conservatives became the redoubt of classical liberalism.

C. Germany adopted a different solution to the "social problem."

1. During the 1880s, Bismarck introduced reforms that turned Germany into a modern welfare state.

2. In 1878, Bismarck had issued "anti-socialist laws" restricting the activities of the Social Democratic Party.

3. In 1890 the new kaiser lifted the "anti-socialist laws," and the German Social Democratic Party became an orthodox Marxist party. It quickly became the largest political party in Germany.

4. Between 1890 and 1914, socialist parties made great electoral gains everywhere, especially in Germany.

5. The Social Democrats' adoption of orthodox Marxism made it far harder for the German left liberals to adopt a coalition with the Social Democrats than it had been for the British liberals to adopt their "Lib-Lab" coalition with the Labor Party.

D. The success of these socialist parties produced a growing crisis in both the liberal and conservative camps.

1. The socialists' growing appeal left the liberals dispirited.

2. Max Weber argued that bureaucratization, not lack of ownership of the means of production, alienated workers from their labor.

3. Weber argued that revolution was most likely to occur not in societies that had been fully industrialized, but in societies in which capitalist and pre-capitalist economic structures coexisted.

Essential Reading:

Merriman, Chapters 19-21

Supplemental Reading:

David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*

Questions to Consider:

1. In the 1890s liberalism was both triumphant and in crisis. What were the problems faced by the established liberal parties in an age of mass politics?

2. What was "social problem" confronted by all bourgeois (non-Marxist) parties in the 1890s? What was its impact on liberal politics?

Lecture Twenty-Two

A New Conservatism: Anti-Modernism and the Origins of Fascism

Scope: While liberalism suffered a serious cleavage over social reform in the 1890s, conservatives also looked desperately for a political formula that would revive their sagging political fortunes. A return to divine right monarchy in an age of mass politics was out of the question. Increasingly, conservative voices condemned both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism. England, France, Germany, and Italy saw manifestations of an emerging revolt against "modernity," urbanism, materialism, and cold rationality. The voices of cultural pessimism often sounded a strident note of anti-Semitism as well. In this lecture we will dissect this "anti-modernist" reaction, its role in conservative politics, and its contribution to the philosophical origins of fascism.

Outline

I. The reevaluation of liberal capitalism was not limited to the liberal parties.

- **A.** All across industrial Europe, intellectuals, social commentators, and increasingly organized social groups sought a new political formula that was neither liberal nor socialist but did not represent a return to traditional conservatism.
  - **1.** There was a growing sense among many intellectuals of unease with urbanization, industrialization, and rationalism.
  - **2.** These social commentators rejected both Manchesterism and Marxism for their materialism and cold rationality.
  - **3.** These neo-Romantics rejected basic Enlightenment tenets. They praised spontaneity rather than reason, individualism rather than natural law, and spirituality rather than rationality.
  - **4.** They emphasized the organic and rooted, and dismissed the mechanistic.
  - **5.** These ideas rejected the very basis of the Enlightenment out of which both Marxism and liberalism evolved.
- **B.** These ideas appeared everywhere in the industrial countries.
  - **1.** They were articulated by Ruskin in England, by Barres and Maurras in France, and by D'Annunzio in Italy.
  - **2.** These criticisms of modernity were voiced most forcefully and durably, however, in Germany, especially by Langbehn and Lagarde.
    - **a.** Many German thinkers criticized the corrosive impact of industrialization on German national traditions.
    - **b.** Industrialization took place much more rapidly in Germany than it had in Britain or France.
    - **c.** Pre-industrial and modern values coexisted uneasily in Germany, and thus the criticisms of modern industrial society were voiced more forcibly there.
  - **3.** Many of these critics sought a return to a pre-industrial—indeed, almost medieval—corporatist past.
  - **4.** They feared the rise of a rootless urban proletariat, and they viewed the Jews as emblematic of what was wrong with modern industrial society.

II. The Crystallization of Modern Anti-Semitism

- **A.** Traditional anti-Semitism was religious and economic in character.
  - **1.** The oldest form of anti-Semitism was religious and provided the basis for Jews' traditional exclusion from various occupations.
  - **2.** Another form of anti-Semitism was economic and involved the stigmatization of Jews as money-lenders, even though Christian society had forced the Jews into these roles.
- **B.** In many cases, anti-liberal and anti-socialist ideas were couched in anti-Semitic terms.
  - **1.** Jewish emancipation was linked to the nascent liberal movement in Europe.
  - **2.** The first efforts to emancipate the Jews came in Vienna under the enlightened monarch Joseph II.
  - **3.** The French Revolution eliminated many restrictions on Jews, but they were reimposed under Napoleon.

4. Jewish emancipation took place piecemeal in many German states during the early and middle nineteenth century.
5. The Revolutions of 1848 brought full emancipation for the Jews in much of Europe, although a gradualist approach was subsequently adopted.
6. With the triumph of liberalism in the 1870s, Jewish emancipation became widespread. Anti-Semitic parties arose in reaction during the 1880s and 1890s.
7. Jews identified with both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism.

C. In the late nineteenth century, a third form of anti-Semitism emerged—racial anti-Semitism.
1. This new form was consistent with Europe's racial obsession during the 1890s.
2. Many small, regional anti-Semitic parties emerged in German central Europe during the 1890s.
3. In 1893 the German Conservative Party adopted religious anti-Semitism in its platform in a cynical effort to generate new political support. In doing so, the Conservative Party helped to make anti-Semitism socially acceptable.

D. The major manifestations of racial anti-Semitism in Europe during the 1890s came in Russia and France.
1. Thousands of Jews died in Russian pogroms during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
2. The Dreyfus Case in 1894 revealed the extent of anti-Semitism in France. Zola's denunciation of the government's handling of the Dreyfus case—an open letter to the French president entitled *J'Accuse*—contributed to Dreyfus' pardon by a subsequent government.

E. During the 1890s, conservatives instrumentalized anti-Semitism, viewing it as an issue that could bring them new political support. It moved into the realm of respectable political discourse throughout Europe.

Essential Reading:

Merriman, Chapter 20, pp. 873-90; Chapter 21, pp. 904-909

Supplemental Reading:

Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*

Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Austria and Germany*

Questions to Consider:

1. Anti-Semitism acquired its modern political form in the 1890s. Why was this, and how did it manifest itself?
2. During the 1890s a number of political thinkers and parties were drawn to a set of ideas that for lack of a better term historians have called "anti-modernism." What is meant by this, and why did these ideas bubble to the surface in the era before the First World War?

Lecture Twenty-Three
European Cultural and Intellectual Life

Scope: In the next two lectures we will deal with European social, cultural, and intellectual life during the years between 1871 and the eve of the First World War. Lecture Twenty-Three focuses on intellectual trends, from Darwin to Freud to Einstein, and on the rise of naturalism in the literary works of Zola, Hauptmann, and others. We will also examine the rise of impressionism, especially the work of Manet, and its challenge to the official "Academy" art of the period.

Outline

I. The Impact of the New Science

A. The Darwinian Revolution

1. Darwin published his theory of evolution in *The Descent of Man* in 1871, setting off a scientific and cultural revolution.

2. His theory offered a scientific and secular explanation of the evolution of humankind, one that scandalized many churchmen.

3. Scientists such as T.H. Huxley rushed to defend Darwin, but the theory of evolution seemed to be an assault on the very foundations of religion.

4. Moreover, Darwin's work was popularized in the mass press and journals, which tended to emphasize phrases (some of them not Darwin's) such as "survival of the fittest," "natural selection," and "struggle for existence." These notions were quickly applied to political and social life.

5. Pavlov's findings regarding conditioned responses were applied to human behavior, contributing to the rise of Behaviorism.

6. Darwin's ideas contributed to the growing awareness of race in European culture.

B. Sigmund Freud and the Birth of Psychology

1. Psychology as a science of human behavior crystallized in Germany during the 1870s, largely due to the work of Wilhelm Wundt.

2. Its most influential thinker was Sigmund Freud, who published his *Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900.

3. His stress on the unconscious and irrational revolutionized the way in which science viewed human behavior, suggesting that humans are not rational beings after all.

4. His emphasis on the centrality of sex, during a time of great sexual repression, was shocking.

C. The Revolution in Physics

1. During the 1890s a series of mathematical discoveries fundamentally altered the established scientific understanding of matter and energy.

2. Experiments by the French scientists Antoine Henri Becquerel, Pierre and Marie Curie, the German Max Planck, and the Englishmen J. J. Thompson and Lord Rutherford changed the way in which scientists conceived of radioactivity and the atom.

3. In papers published in 1905 and 1916, Albert Einstein presented his revolutionary theory of relativity, propounding his theory that matter could be converted into energy: $e = mc^2$.

D. This bundle of ideas, from Darwin to Freud to Einstein, exerted profound influence not only on science but also on social and cultural values.

1. Herbert Spencer applied Darwinian thought to human activities, producing what became known as "Social Darwinism." Spencer coined the phrase "survival of the fittest."

a. Europe was awash in race-thinking during the late nineteenth century.

b. Phrenology was taken seriously as an indicator of human personality and intelligence.

c. Europeans increasingly sought justifications for their colonial domination of non-European peoples, which many found in the ideas of Herbert Spencer.

d. Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905 led many Europeans to reconsider their notions of inherent European racial superiority.

2. The role of the unconscious and indeterminate was also highlighted in philosophy.

a. Nietzsche exalted the ability of the human will to triumph over external difficulties and produce a race of "supermen" with colossal moral courage and strength of character.

b. According to Nietzsche, Christianity and traditional bourgeois morality extolled as virtues what were in fact human weaknesses and frailties.

II. The visual arts also reflected both an awareness of the unconscious and the social problems of modern society. There was steady movement away from realism during the nineteenth century.

A. The early Impressionists (Manet, Monet, Renoir, *et al*.) began the assault on the conventions of European painting.

B. Gauguin and Van Gogh made the first steps toward Expressionism—art as the artist's expression of himself.

C. Both Impressionists and Expressionists shifted from "realistic" depictions of objects to perceptions of the visual world as experienced by the artist.

D. In the early twentieth century, Expressionism would be followed by the first abstract paintings (e.g., Kandinsky, Klee) and by Cubism (Braque), which carried the movement of nonobjective art to new areas of expression.

E. These artistic schools assaulted the conventional artistic standards upheld by the Academy.

III. In art, science, and philosophy, we see the rise of new middle class values that challenged the comfortable assumptions of bourgeois life that were regnant in European life during the late nineteenth century.

Essential Reading for Lectures 23-24:

Merriman, Chapter 20, pp. 882-901

Supplemental Reading:

Edward Berensen, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux*

Eugene Weber, *France, Fin-De-Siecle*

Carl Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna*

Questions to Consider:

1. With the publication of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 and *Descent of Man* in 1871, Charles Darwin launched what many have referred to as "the Darwinian Revolution," a revolution whose implications extended far beyond science. How did Darwin's work challenge existing European values?

2. The Impressionists broke with the realism of the early nineteenth century and fundamentally altered the way in which Europeans viewed their world, while Freud revolutionized the way science viewed human behavior. Are there links between the impressionist/expressionist movements in art and the view of human experience that emerged in Freudian psychology?

Lecture Twenty-Four

Social Norms, Social Strains in the *Belle Epoque*

Scope: At the turn of the century, Europe was, as Barbara Tuchman has described it, "the Proud Tower," the center of world power in every sense. Its armies and navies, supported by Europe's great industrial and technological might, had given it global supremacy. London was the world's financial center, France the center of culture, and Berlin the center of military and political might. In this lecture we will examine European attitudes about class, race, and gender on the eve of the First World War.

Outline

I. At the turn of the century, Europe was at the pinnacle of its influence, prestige, and power.

A. Between 1871 and 1914, Europe reached the apex of its power. Its sense of superiority was based on a number of economic and cultural factors. Europe enjoyed the highest literacy rate in the world, vast technological superiority, the lowest death rates, the highest levels of public hygiene, the greatest productivity of labor,

B. Europe was the center of world power.

1. London was the world's financial center.

2. Paris was the center of culture.

3. Berlin was the center of military and industrial power.

4. European colonies extended all over the globe.

II. At home, the middle class exerted cultural hegemony.

A. By 1900, the liberation of the middle class from aristocratic norms was evident.

1. Middle-class lives were governed by a strict moral code.

2. The middle class was unostentatious and religious.

3. The aristocracy remained culturally and socially influential, but it was clearly in retreat.

B. These new middle-class values were reflected in attitudes toward women.

1. Women were seen by many as ornaments for men.

2. The home was seen as "women's sphere."

3. Women led the periodic campaigns against alcohol and prostitution.

4. Women had less access to formal higher education than did men.

5. Middle-class women were not supposed to work. Women and men had "separate spheres."

6. Patterns of female employment were changing, with many women moving into less prestigious occupation and into the "tertiary sector" of white-collar clerical work. However, the "social wage" still applied.

C. Middle-class pleasures came into their own during this period.

1. Travel and tourism became increasingly popular among the prosperous middle class during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

2. The middle class as well as aristocrats now took the "grand tour" of Europe.

3. Thomas Cook became a pioneer of the new tourist industry, which was increasingly driven by the middle class rather than by the aristocracy.

4. Karl Baedecker published his first travel guide during the 1830s.

5. By the end of the nineteenth century, a "European middle class" with similar values and tastes was emerging.

6. Café society blossomed in Paris during the late nineteenth century.

D. This transnational middle class was not socially homogeneous.

1. The bourgeoisie was extremely diverse in its social background.

2. Censuses in the late nineteenth century revealed that the entrepreneurial middle class and the working class had both stabilized as a percentage of the population by 1900. The main growth sector was that of the new white-collar middle class that worked in the "tertiary sector."

3. This demographic and occupational development sparked a long-running debate in the 1890s and 1900s. Many observers concluded that Marx's prediction of ever-expanding proletarianization was mistaken. Marxists, however, saw the white-collar workers as part of the proletariat.
4. The white-collar sector gave women entry into the economy. Prior to the 1880s, women participated in the work force mainly as domestic or agricultural workers.
5. Many of the new white-collar workers came from blue-collar backgrounds; they represented an upwardly-mobile element in society.
6. White-collar workers formed their own labor associations but did not join blue-collar unions. They sought to distinguish themselves from both the degenerate aristocracy and the "great unwashed."

E. The retreat of the aristocracy is especially evident in the literature of the nineteenth century.
1. Early nineteenth-century novels aimed at the middle-class reading public depicted middle-class protagonists trying to liberate themselves from aristocratic conventions.
2. By the middle of the century, European literature emphasized the pretensions and oppressiveness of middle-class society at least as much as those of the aristocracy.
3. By the end of the century, novels addressed to middle-class readers now emphasized the oppressive power of bourgeois society over both middle-class individuals and the working class. Zola, Hauptmann, and Theodore Dreiser wrote works of naturalism that critiqued middle-class society but stopped short of advocating revolution.

III. At the very moment of its cultural dominance in the early twentieth century, the middle class faced new challenges to its own status and stability, and to the stability of the international state system.

Questions to Consider:

1. By the turn of the century, the social and cultural influence of aristocracy in Europe was in full retreat, and commentators often referred to the social "hegemony" of the triumphant middle classes. How did that bourgeois dominance express itself in social and cultural affairs? How had the position of women changed during the nineteenth century?
2. If the middle classes increasingly set the tone for political, social, and cultural life in Europe before the Great War, by 1900 it was clear that the European bourgeoisie was undergoing significant internal change, that divisions and strains existed within the middle classes that would have significant political implications. What were those divisions, and how had they come about? How were they reflected in the politics of the pre-war decades?

Glossary

***Action Francaise*:** A rightist, monarchist political organization founded in the late nineteenth century and led by Charles Maurras. It played a salient role in the Dreyfus case and would remain active as a right-wing nationalist force in French politics into the twentieth century.

***Anschluss*:** The *Anschluss*, or "union" or "connection" between Austria and Nazi Germany, was accomplished by Hitler in the spring of 1938.

***Blitzkrieg*:** A radically new military strategy based on the use of massed armor, tactical air support, and motorized infantry to achieve a rapid victory, it was employed by the Germans between 1939 and 1941.

***Blockwart*:** During the Third Reich, in each neighborhood or apartment building one individual served as the "block watch," keeping tabs on his neighbors. The *Blockwart* watched to determine who was loyal to the regime and who was not.

Bolshevik: The radical left wing of the Russian Social Democratic party, the Bolsheviks were the minority, while the Mensheviks represented the majority of the Social Democratic party.

***Carbonari*:** A secret society in early nineteenth century Italy, the name derived from the practice of swearing in new members by making a mark on the initiate's forehead with charcoal. The *Carbonari* were originally organized to resist Napoleon's armies, but after 1815 they agitated for Italian unification and opposition to the presence of foreign monarchies on Italian soil.

***Cheka*:** The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission or *Cheka* was a police organization founded in December 1917 to gather information on and arrest opponents of the Bolsheviks. Under Stalin it evolved into the Soviet secret police.

***Croix de Feu*:** Created in France in 1929, the Cross of Fire was a right-wing veterans' organization that denounced the "decadence" of the Third Republic. It was not unlike the fascist paramilitary organizations in Italy and Germany after the First World War, opposing parliamentary democracy and especially the socialist left.

***Diktat*:** The "dictated peace," or *Diktat*, was the derisive description applied by the Germans to the hated Treaty of Versailles after the First World War.

Dreadnought: The newly designed battleship of the late 1890s that promised to revolutionize naval warfare and render existing fleets largely obsolete. The determination of the Germans to construct a fleet of Dreadnoughts led to a bitter naval rivalry with Britain and poisoned Anglo-German relations before 1914.

***Duce*:** "Leader," in Italian, was the title taken by Mussolini upon his consolidation of power in the mid-1920s.

***Drole de Guerre*:** The French term for "phony war" or "*Sitzkrieg*" in German, it referred to the strange lull in fighting between the fall of Poland in 1939 and the German onslaught in Western Europe in the spring of 1940.

***Einsatzgruppen*:** Special SS commando units dispatched into Poland and the Soviet Union to conduct "special operations" against the Jews. During the summer of 1941 they conducted a bloodbath on the Eastern front, slaughtering perhaps as many as a million Jews.

***Enrichez-Vous*:** "Get rich!" This sentence was attributed to Louis Philippe's chief minister Guizot during the ill-fated July monarchy of 1830-1848. It was said to be in response to demands to reform the suffrage laws that heavily favored the wealthy. It was symptomatic of the crass insensitivity of the Citizen-King's regime.

***Endlosung*:** The Nazi "final solution to the Jewish question," the *Endlosung* in 1941 came to mean the physical extermination of the Jews.

***Entjudung*:** "De-Jewification" was the ugly term used by the Nazis to describe their policy of urging/forcing Jews to leave Germany between 1933 and the outbreak of the war in 1939.

***Fuhrer*:** Hitler assumed the title of "leader," or Fuhrer, within the NSDAP shortly after his release from prison in 1925. It would become his formal title after the death of Hindenburg in 1934, when he merged the offices of chancellor and president.

Gestapo: The Gestapo was the Nazi "Secret State Police" created by Goring in 1933. It became one of main pillars of Nazi totalitarian rule in Germany and Europe.

Girondins: A faction of French revolutionaries (1789-1799), many of whom were from the Gironde district of France, whose support for a moderate course in the revolution would pit them increasingly against the more radical Jacobins.

***glasnost*:** Gorbachev's policy of greater openness in the Soviet government and politics initiated in 1985, *glasnost* attempted to maintain the authority of the Communist party while liberalizing the political system.

***Gleichschaltung*:** *Gleichschaltung* was the term used to describe the Nazi policy of bringing all agencies of the German state and society into line, coordinating them under Nazi rule. The period from 1933 to 1935 is usually referred to the period of *Gleichschaltung*.

***Gosplan*:** The *Gosplan* was the Soviet agency that administered the Five-Year Plans, determining production schedules, prices, and the allocation of resources.

***Grossdeutschland/Kleindeutschland*:** During the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, the liberals meeting in Frankfurt to create a united German state were divided over whether the new German state should be a greater Germany or (*Grossdeutschland* including Austria), or a small Germany (*Kleindeutschland*) excluding the Habsburg lands.

***Gulag*:** This was the system of prison camps created for political opponents by the Soviet state under Stalin.

***Italia Irrendenta*:** During and after the First World War, Italian nationalists called for the return of "unredeemed" Italian lands to the north and across the Adriatic, especially Fiume, Istria, and Dalmatia.

Jacobins: The leading and most radical faction among the French revolutionaries after 1789, the Jacobins derived their name from their organization or club met originally in the house of the religious order the Jacobins. The Jacobins would assume leadership of the Republic, especially during the Terror.

***Kristallnacht*:** The "night of broken glass" against the Jews was carried out by the Nazi regime on November 9-10,1938. It marked the first nationally coordinated campaign of violence against Jews with clear direction and support of the regime.

***Kulaks*:** This class of relatively wealthy, property-owning peasants was eliminated by the Soviets during the First Five-Year Plan in the collectivization of agriculture. The number of deaths and deportations to the *Gulag* number in the millions.

***laissez-faire*:** The policy endorsed by nineteenth-century liberals, calling for the government to remove the barriers to free economic activity. It became a central feature of the liberal agenda, assaulting the established power of the guilds, internal tolls and tariffs, and calling for free trade between states.

***Lebensraum*:** From his earliest speeches and writings, Hitler demanded "living space" for the German people. This desire for living space was directed largely toward the East, where Hitler anticipated a war of conquest.

***Luftwaffe*:** The German Air Force was reestablished in 1935 under the leadership of Hermann Goering.

Mensheviks: The larger and more moderate wing of the Russian Social Democratic party. The Mensheviks continued to be the most popular wing of the party, but they were consistently out-maneuvered by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

NEP: The New Economic Policy was announced by Lenin in 1921 in a move to rescue the Soviet economy from the horrors of war and civil war. It allowed a degree of private ownership, especially on the land. It was a retreat from the revolutionary goals of the revolution and would be reversed by Stalin in 1928.

***perestroika*:** Gorbachev's policy of "restructuring" the Soviet economy in the mid-1980s, *perestroika* was an attempt to make the Soviet economy more competitive with the West and to meet the growing demand for consumer goods within the Soviet Union. Together with *glasnost*, it represented one of the main pillars of Gorbachev's failed effort to reform the Soviet Union.

***Realpolitik*:** "The politics of realism," *Realpolitik* is associated above all with Otto von Bismarck's rule in Prussia/Germany. It implied ignoring ideological principles when they conflicted with concrete objectives of the monarchy. Typically, his *Realpolitik* infuriated doctrinaire liberals and conservatives alike.

***Sippenhaft*:** *Sippenhaft* was the Nazi policy, initiated by the Gestapo, of arresting whole families for the crimes of one of its members.

***Squadristi*:** *Squadristi* were Mussolini's fighting street organization used to keep opponents in line, similar to Hitler's Storm Troopers.

Thermidor: Thermidor was a month of the new French revolutionary calendar. The period following the Terror is usually referred to as the Thermidorean Reaction, when the opponents of Robespierre and his followers overthrew the Committee of Public Safety on the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) and set the revolution on a more moderate course.

***Volksgemeinschaft*:** The Nazis sought to create a classless "people's community" of all Germans. The *Volksgemeinschaft* was an alternative to both Marxist and liberal visions of the social order.

***Zollverein*:** The *Zollverein* was the Prussian Customs Union, originally established in 1819, which evolved gradually into a powerful weapon for the Hohenzollerns in their efforts to bring unification under Prussian auspices. By cleverly excluding the Austrians while incorporating all the other German states by the early 1860s, conservative Prussia made itself the economic leader of Germany and the darling of liberal business interests everywhere in German central Europe.

Timeline

The Revolutionary Epoch, 1789-1815

1789 ..... The French Revolution breaks out

1792 ..... The First French Republic is established

1792-1795 ..... Wars of the French Revolution sweep Western Europe (the wars would continue with little respite down to the fall of Napoleon in 1815)

1793-1794 ..... The Terror reigns in France

1795-1799 ..... The Directory rules in France

1799-1804 ..... Napoleon assumes power in the Consulate

1804-1815 ..... Napoleon establishes the Empire, reigns until 1815

1812 ..... Napoleon invades Russia

1813 ..... Napoleon defeated at the Battle of Leipzig

1814 ..... The Bourbons restored at the Congress of Vienna; Napoleon in exile

1815 ..... The Hundred Days of Napoleon's return end with the Battle of Waterloo

The Age of Restoration, 1815-1848

1814-1830 ..... The Bourbon Monarchy restored in France, overthrown in the Revolution of 1830

1815 ..... The Corn Laws, establishing tariffs on imported grains, signed into law in Britain

1819 ..... Metternich enacts the Carlsbad Decrees

1819 ..... The Prussian *Zollverein* established

1819 ..... The Peterloo Massacres occur in Britain

1830 ..... Charles X is overthrown in France

1830-1848 ..... The July Monarchy under Louis Philippe created in France

1832 ..... The First Reform Bill enacted in Britain

1838-1848 ..... The Chartist Movement emerges in Britain

1846 ..... The Corn Laws are repealed

The Revolutions of 1848 and Their Aftermath

1848 ..... Revolution breaks out in Paris in February with creation of the Second Republic

1848 ..... In March similar revolutionary events erupt in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and the capital cities of the smaller German states

1848 ..... The Frankfurt Parliament attempts to create a liberal, united Germany

1848 ..... Italian revolutionaries seize Rome, declare a Roman republic

1848 ..... Marx and Engels publish *The Communist Manifesto*

1848 ..... John Stuart Mill publishes *The Principles of Political Economy*, perhaps the most powerful statement of classical liberal economic thought

1848-1849 ..... Rollback of the revolution begins in the summer of 1848 with the June Days in France and continues into 1849, as the Habsburgs restore the monarchic order in Central Europe

1851 ..... The Crystal Palace Exhibition in London marks the "Golden Age" of British liberal capitalism

1852 ..... Louis Napoleon, now Napoleon III, establishes the Second Empire

1854-1856 ..... The Crimean War is fought by Britain, France, and Italy against Russia

1859 ..... Darwin publishes *On the Origin of Species*

1861 ..... The serfs are emancipated in Russia

An Era of National Unification, 1859-1871

Italian Unification

1851-1861 ..... Movement for national unification in Italy led by Cavour, 1851-1861

1859 ..... Sardinia Piedmont, supported by France, goes to war with Habsburgs

1860 ..... Garibaldi leads his Red Shirts on Rome

1861 ..... Cavour proclaims the Kingdom of Italy with Victor Emmanuel as king

1861 ..... Cavour dies

1866 ..... Prussian defeat of Austria allows Italy to seize Venetia

1870 ..... French troops are withdrawn from Rome due to the Franco-Prussian War, and Rome is annexed to Italy, becoming the capital

German Unification

1862 ..... Bismarck appointed chancellor in Prussia

1863 ..... The *Zollverein* is renewed and Austria excluded

1864 ..... Prussian and Austria defeat Denmark, seizing Schleswig and Holstein

1866 ..... Prussia defeats Austria and creates the North German Confederation

1870-1871 ..... Prussia and its German allies defeat France

1871 ..... The German Empire is created at the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles

The New Imperialism

1880 ..... The high tide of European imperial expansion begins

1883-1893 ..... The French become involved in Indochina

1885 ..... The Berlin Conference on Africa lays the ground rules for the division of Africa

1885-1898 ..... The African continent is divided among the major European powers

1895-1898 ..... Crisis in the Far East mounts

1898 ..... The British and French come close to war over the Fashoda crisis

1899-1902 ..... The British become embroiled in the Boer War

1904 ..... The Russians are defeated by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese War

1904-1911 ..... German pressure in North Africa leads to confrontations with France and Britain, punctuated by the Morocco Crisis of 1904 and the Agadir crisis of 1911)

The Age of Mass Politics

1864-1876 ..... The First International is established

1867 ..... Marx publishes *Capital*

1871 ..... The Paris Commune gives birth to the "red scare"

1878-1890 ..... Bismarck enacts the Anti-Socialist Laws in Germany

1884 ..... Britain expands the suffrage, joining Germany and France with near-universal male suffrage

1889 ..... The Second International is founded

1891 ..... With the repressive laws lifted, the German Social Democrats formally adopt Marxism as their program at Erfurt and quickly emerge as the largest party in Germany

1893 ..... The German Conservative Party formally adopts anti-Semitism in its program, marking the arrival of modern anti-Semitism in European political culture

1894-1906 ..... The Dreyfus Case unfolds in France

1899 ..... Bernstein published *Evolutionary Socialism*

1905 ..... Revolution erupts in Russia

Intellectual and Cultural Developments, 1871-1914

1871 ..... Darwin publishes his *Descent of Man*

1879 ..... Wilhelm Wundt establishes the first psychological laboratory, and Pavlov conducts his experiments on the "conditioned response"

1883 ..... Nietzsche begins his career with the publication of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*

1889 ..... The Eiffel Tower is opened at the Paris Exposition

1900 ..... Freud published *The Interpretation of Dreams*

1902 ..... John Hobson published *Imperialism: A Study*

1905-1915 ..... Einstein's theory of relativity is presented

The Coming of the Great War, 1871-1914

1878 ..... The Austro-German alliance is signed

1882 ..... The Triple Alliance among Germany, Austria, and Italy is formalized

1890 ..... Germany refuses to renew its Reinsurance Treaty with Russia

1894 ..... The Franco-Russian Alliance is signed, breaking the isolation of France

1898 ..... Anglo-German naval race begins

1904 ..... England enters into Entente with France

1907 ..... The Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia is created

1908 ..... The Bosnian crisis leads Europe to the brink of war

1912-1913 ..... The Balkan Wars set the stage for big-power conflict in the region

1914 ..... The assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo

1914 ..... The July Crisis ends with the outbreak of general war

1916 ..... The battles of Verdun and the Somme reveal the enormity of the conflict

1917 ..... The United States enters the war

1917 ..... The Revolution in Russia leads to Russian withdrawal from the war

1918 ..... The Armistice and defeat prompts revolution in Austria and Germany, bringing the end of the Habsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties

1919 ..... The Treaty of Versailles is negotiated

The Age of Ideology

1917 ..... The Bolsheviks seize power in Russia

1918-1920 ..... Civil war erupts in Russia

1922 ..... Mussolini and the Fascists assume power in Italy

1923 ..... The French and Belgians occupy the Ruhr in January

1923 ..... Hyper-inflation creates economic chaos in Germany

1923 ..... Hitler attempts to overthrow the government of Bavaria and Germany in the Beer Hall *Putsch* in November

1924 ..... The Dawes Plan helps stabilize the economic situation in Europe

1925 ..... Stalin assumes control of the Soviet Union following Lenin's death

1926 ..... The General Strike is put down by the British government

1928 ..... The Soviet Union embarks on the first Five Year Plan

1929-1930 ..... The Great Depression settles on Europe

1931 ..... National Government, headed by Ramsay MacDonald, is created in Britain to deal with the economic crisis

1932 ..... Stalin announces the Second Five Year Plan

1933 ..... Hitler appointed chancellor in Germany

1934 ..... Death of Hindenburg allows Nazis to complete consolidation of their power

1935 ..... The Nazis enact the Nurnberg Laws

1936-1937 ..... The Popular Front holds power in France

1936-1937 ..... Purges and show trials begin in the Soviet Union

1936-1939 ..... The Spanish Civil War erupts

1938 ..... The Nazis unleash a national pogrom in the *Reichskristallnacht*

1938 ..... The Red Army is purged

The Second World War

1933 ..... Germany withdraws from the League of Nations

1935 ..... Germany rearms

1936 ..... Germany remilitarizes the Rhineland

1938 ..... Germany absorbs Austria in the *Anschluss*

1938 ..... The crisis over the Sudetenland leads to the Munich Conference

1939 ..... In March the Germans march into Czechoslovakia

1939 ..... In August the Nazi-Soviet Pact is signed

1939 ..... In September, the Germans invade Poland

1939-1940 ..... The Phony War prevailed between the attack on Poland and the German attack in the West in April

1940 ..... The German assault in the west begin, and France falls within a single month

1940 ..... The Vichy government created in France

1940 ..... The Battle of Britain results in British air victory, preventing a German cross-channel invasion

1941 ..... In June the Germans invade the Soviet Union

1941 ..... In December the Japanese attack Pearl Harbor and Germany declares war on the United States

1942 ..... In January the Nazi SS leader Heydrich unveils his plan for the mass extermination of the Jews at a secret conference in Wannsee

1942 ..... The death camps are created in Eastern Europe for the "final solution to the Jewish question"

1942-1943 ..... In November the Western Allies invade North Africa and defeat the Germans, while the Russians inflict a terrific defeat on the Germans, marking the turning point in the war in the East

1943-1945 ..... The Western Allies mount a massive air campaign against Germany

1944 ..... In June the D-Day landings in France mark the turning point of the war in the West

1944 ..... Hitler launches his last offensive in the West in December (the Battle of the Bulge)

1945 ..... In February at the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin determine the zones of occupation for postwar Germany and Europe

1945 ..... Hitler commits suicide in April, and the war in Europe ends in early May

Postwar Europe

1947 ..... The United States announces the Marshall Plan

1947 ..... President Truman proclaims the Truman Doctrine

1948 ..... Communists seize power in Czechoslovakia

1948-1949 ..... The Berlin Airlift rescues West Berlin and intensifies the Cold War

1949 ..... NATO is founded

1949 ..... The division of Germany seems permanent, with the creation of two German states

1951 ..... European Coal and Steel Community is founded

1953 ..... Stalin dies

1954 ..... Western European Union created

1954 ..... West Germany rearms, enters NATO

1954 ..... French are defeated in Indochina and the Algerian War begins

1956 ..... The Hungarian revolt is crushed by the Soviet Union

1956 ..... Khrushchev denounces Stalin at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress

1957 ..... DeGaulle assumes power and the Fifth Republic is created

1957 ..... The Treaty of Rome creates the Common Market

1961 ..... The Berlin Wall is built

1962 ..... The French withdraw from Algeria

1964 ..... Khrushchev forced from power; Brezhnev gradually assumes control

1968 ..... Students protest in Western Europe; DeGaulle withdraws from power shortly thereafter

1968 ..... The Prague Spring is crushed by the Soviet Union; the Brezhnev Doctrine is proclaimed

1973 ..... The Common Market expands to include Britain, Denmark, and Ireland

1979 ..... The European Economic Community is established

1985 ..... Gorbachev embarks on *glasnost* and *perestroika*

1989 ..... Gorbachev's rejection of the Brezhnev Doctrine sets off chain reaction of revolt in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany

1989 ..... The East German government collapses and the Berlin Wall is opened

1990 ..... Peace Treaty formally ending World War II is signed with Germany, and Germany is united

1991 ..... The Soviet Union dissolves

Comprehensive Bibliography

Essential Reading

There are several very good comprehensive histories of Modern Europe, each possessing a distinct set of virtues. I have chosen John Merriman's excellent two-volume history as the basic text for this course, in large part because the richness of detail in his work serves as a useful companion to the lectures. At least two others deserve mention here and could be used with equal profit. Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie G. Smith have also written an extremely interesting two-volume history of Western Civilization, the second volume of which covers the period dealt with in this course. Finally, the updated edition of *A History of the Modern World* by R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton is still of great value, and I recommend it highly. The required reading for each of lectures is a chapter or chapters from Merriman's book, but if a student should choose Hunt et al or Palmer and Colton, the relevant sections would be obvious.

Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie Smith, *The Challenge of the West*, volume 2, (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1995). The second volume deals with the period 1560 to the present. It is less detailed than Merriman's book but the chronological scope of the second volume is greater.

John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 2 volumes (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996). The second volume opens with the outbreak of the French Revolution (chapters dealing with the Enlightenment and the long-term factors leading to the events of 1789 are found at the conclusion of the first volume. Merriman's work offers in-depth treatment of each of the major themes raised in the course, providing a wealth of detail to augment the lectures.

R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983). Palmer and Colton have crafted a genuinely global history that begins with the Medieval period and proceeds to the present. In some ways it is the most traditional of the three, but its value as a guide to Europe in the Modern period is great.

Supplemental Reading

William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power* (New York: Franklin Watts, revised edition, 1984). Hitler's rise to power is examined in a single German town. An insightful and highly readable case study.

Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern* (Cambridge: Granata Books, 1990). The revolutionary upheavals of 1989 in eastern Europe are treated by a journalist who was on the scene. A perceptive account that captures the drama of events in Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, and Budapest.

Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992). Berenson uses a highly publicized murder trial in Paris during the summer of 1914 to reflect the cultural, social, and political values of pre-war France.

Louis Bergeron, *France Under Napoleon* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981). One of the very best treatments of the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, from his rise to power to the final collapse of his empire.

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992) A powerful—and terrifying—analysis of a single unit of Nazi police officials who carried out a bloodbath on the eastern front.

Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1983). An analysis of who voted for Hitler 's Nazi party and why during the party's dramatic rise to power between 1919 and 1933.

Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Conquest revisits the Stalinist terror between 1928 and 1941, arguing that the number of victims was far greater than traditionally assumed.

Victoria DeGrazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922-1945* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1992) DeGrazia uses an examination of Fascist policy toward women to reflect Fascist social and cultural values more broadly.

Marc Ferro, *October 1917: A Social History of the Russian Revolution* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1980). Ferro analyzes the social bases of the revolutionary movement that swept the Bolsheviks into power in 1917.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1932* (New York: Oxford University Press 1984). An intelligent, in-depth treatment of the transformation of the Russian state and society under Bolshevik rule, from the revolution to the close of the First Five-Year Plan.

Francois Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). An analysis of the massive literature concerning the French Revolution by one of France's leading historians.

Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). A brilliant study of the impact of the First World War on values, language, and literature in the West.

Lothar Gall, *Bismarck: The White Revolutionary*, 2 vols. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986). The best of the numerous biographies of Otto von Bismarck's remarkable career, from his early years through his rule in Prussia/Germany.

Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York: Knopf, 1966-69) Gay's monumental book on the ideas and individuals who defined the Enlightenment remains the standard work on the subject.

Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1985 edition). Perhaps the best memoir of the First World War, Graves's book depicts not only the horrors of combat in the trenches but a young soldier's privileged upbringing in pre-war English society.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution* (Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996 edition). An insightful examination of Darwin's thought and its impact on European intellectual and cultural development in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984). An original and important treatment of the ways in which culture and class interacted to shape the politics of the revolution of 1789.

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992). The best summary presentation of the massive historiography on the coming of the First World War, Joll's book is a valuable guide to both the long-term and immediate causes of that conflict.

John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York: Penguin,1989). The best one-volume history of the Second World War by the most insightful military historian of the century.

Ian Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Kershaw examines the sources of Hitler's remarkable popularity in Germany, from his rise to power to the last days of the Third Reich.

Martin Kitchen, *Europe Between the Wars: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1988) A valuable introduction to the political and diplomatic conflicts of the interwar years that analyzes the road to conflict from the Treaty of Versailles to the German assault on Poland in 1939.

David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). A probing analysis of the role of technological change, cultural values, and social patterns in explaining the different courses followed by Europe's major powers in creating a modern industrial economy.

Walter Laqueur, *Europe Since Hitler* (New York: Penguin, 1983). Revised and updated since the fall of communism, this volume is a useful guide to the major social and political trends in Europe from the end of the Second World War to the present.

Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton, 1995). Perhaps the best analysis of how the Anglo-American-Soviet alliance prevailed over the Axis powers in the Second World War.

Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern British Society, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1972). A useful overview of the impact of economic change on traditional British society and the evolution of class relations across a century defined by industrialization.

Pamela M. Pilbeam, *The Middle Classes in Europe, 1789-1914* (1990). A valuable comparative treatment of bourgeois social values, economic activities, and political aspirations during the nineteenth century.

Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York: Knopf, 1994). A devastating depiction of Soviet society by one of the U.S.S.R.'s harshest Western critics.

Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) The period from 1890 to the outbreak of the war represented the high-water mark of European bourgeois life, and Rearick offers a vivid picture of the cultural values, artistic tastes, and personal pleasures of that society.

Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980). In this series of essays, Schorske provides an intelligent portrait of this important European capital in the years before the First World War, from the art of Klempt to the psychoanalysis of Freud.

Dennis Mack Smith, *Cavour* (1985). An important biography, certainly the best in English, of the statesman most responsible for the unification of Italy.

Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). An original and compelling comparative analysis of the revolutions that swept Europe from Paris to Budapest in 1848 and their political aftermath.

Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1974). A classic intellectual history approach to the roots of National Socialism, Stern's book examines the ideas of three German pre-First World War thinkers whose work laid the foundation for Nazi ideology.

Jacob Walter, *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier* (New York: Penguin, 1991). Written by a German conscripted into Napoleon's *Grande Armee* that invaded Russia in 1912, this diary is the best first-hand account of combat and soldiering in an era dominated by war.

Eugen Weber, *France, Fin-De-Siecle* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press, 1986) Like Schorske's treatment of fin-de-siecle Vienna, Weber has crafted a compelling portrait of France at the turn of the century, examining its cultural values, politics, and social attitudes.

Theodor Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III* (1971). Napoleon III is often credited with creating a new, modern form of regime, blending both liberal and conservative elements. Zeldin provides a probing analysis of that regime.

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Part III

Professor Thomas Childers

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Thomas Childers, Ph.D.

Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania

Thomas Childers was born and raised in East Tennessee. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Tennessee, and he earned his Ph.D. in History from Harvard University in 1976.

Since 1976, Professor Childers has taught in the Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania. He is a fellow of the Ford Foundation, term chair at the University of Pennsylvania and the recipient of several other fellowships and awards, including the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung Research Grant, a fellowship in European Studies from the American Council of Learned Societies, and a West European Studies Research Grant from Harvard University.

In addition to teaching at University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Childers has held visiting professorships at Trinity Hall College, Cambridge, Smith College, and Swarthmore College, and he has lectured in London, Oxford, Berlin, Munich, and other universities in the United States and Europe.

Professor Childers is the author and editor of several books on modern German history and the Second World War. These include *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, 1983) and *Reevaluating the Third Reich: New Controversies, New Interpretations* (New York, 1993). He is currently completing a trilogy on the Second World War. The first volume of that history, *Wings of Morning: The Story of the Last American Bomber Shot Down Over Germany in World War II* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1995), was praised by Jonathan Yardley in *The Washington Post* as "a powerful and unselfconsciously beautiful book." The second volume, *We'll Meet Again* (New York: Henry Holt and Company) is set for publication in spring 1999. The final volume, *The Best Years of Their Lives*, will follow in due course.

Table of Contents

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age
Part III

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Scope:

This set of forty-eight lectures traces the course of European history from the late eighteenth century to the close of the twentieth. It is a period of relentless, frequently violent, revolutionary change that fundamentally altered the nature of political, economic, social, and cultural life in Europe, the West, and ultimately the world. It was ushered in by two seismic tremors whose reverberations shook the very foundations of traditional Europe: the Industrial Revolution in England, which during the decades after 1750 thrust aside the old economic order and introduced modern industrial capitalism, and the French Revolution of 1789-1799, which swept away the political and social underpinnings of the *Ancien Regime* in France and threatened entrenched elites everywhere in Europe.

After an introductory lecture that raises the basic themes of the course, the next two lectures examine Europe on the eve of the French Revolution. We consider the existing social order across the continent as well as the various forms of monarchy, from constitutional monarchy in England to the "enlightened absolutism" of Prussia and the divine-right monarchy of absolutist France. We examine how the ideas of the Enlightenment, with its relentless emphasis on reason and its attack on tradition, posed a serious threat to the very foundations of absolutist monarchy in the late eighteenth century. That challenge was particularly acute in France, where Enlightenment thought was highly developed and widespread and where the political institutions of the old regime had atrophied to an alarming extent.

The next set of seven lectures explores the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath. In Lectures Four through Six, we examine the origins of the revolution—both the long-range causes and the immediate factors that precipitated the events of 1789—and we trace the dramatic course of the revolution, focusing in particular on the principles of the revolution embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the Terror of 1793, and the achievements of the revolution. In Lecture Seven we turn our attention to the final years of the revolution, a period referred to as the Directory, and the dramatic rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. The young general always claimed that he was the legitimate heir of 1789, but Napoleon pushed aside the republican government and declared himself emperor of the French.

The crowned heads of Europe unanimously viewed Napoleon and his empire—the largest since the days of Rome—not only as a challenge to existing European balance of power but to the institution of monarchy as well, and we will analyze their responses. Lecture Eight examines the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo and the work of the Congress of Vienna, where the established conservative powers sought to restore the old order at home and reestablish a balance of military power and diplomatic influence abroad. In the final lecture of this set, we assess the challenge of liberal nationalism that emerged from the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. From 1815 to 1848, conservative rulers were determined to root out liberal/nationalist subversion everywhere, and we will examine the connection between nationalism and the emerging liberal movement in Europe.

The French Revolution unleashed radical political forces in Europe, and the Industrial Revolution, to which we turn in the next two lectures, produced equally portentous social and economic changes. Between roughly 1750 and 1850, Britain was transformed from a largely agrarian and commercial society into a dynamic industrial one, and the rest of Europe slowly followed the British lead. We will isolate the key components of this economic transformation, following the course of technological innovations such as the spinning jenny and steam engine to the radically new organization of the "factory system." We will untangle the different factors that made Britain the first industrial nation and explain why this momentous economic transformation began when it did. Finally, we will turn to the free-market, *laissez faire* ideas that formed the philosophical basis of emerging liberal capitalism, and we will assess the profound social impact of this new economic system, especially on the blue-collar working class created by capitalist industrialization.

The next three lectures analyze the revolutions 1848, the first European-wide revolution of the modern age. First we examine the problematic attempt at restoration in France, the mounting disaffection with the monarchy, and finally the course of the revolution from its outbreak in February to its demise in December. Then, in Lecture Fourteen, we travel across the Rhine to examine events in German Central Europe. The revolution in France was driven by a liberal agenda to expand the franchise and create a more representative government, but in Central Europe the issues were far more complex. Here nationalism complicated the agenda, as liberal revolutionaries not only sought to overthrow the governments of the various German states but simultaneously to create a united Germany as well. In the Habsburg Empire, national and ethnic rivalries in Bohemia, Hungary, and the Italian provinces threatened not

only to bring down the monarchy but to sabotage any liberal effort at creating a coherent polity. Finally, in Lecture Fifteen, we assess the achievements and failures of the revolutionary movements all over Europe and conclude that the conservatives were able to draw lessons from the events of 1848 that would allow them to modernize conservatism for the last half of the nineteenth century.

One of those lessons was that nationalism, assumed until 1848 to be a integral part of the liberal agenda, could, in fact, be used by conservative forces to draw support away from the liberal movement. That lesson is vividly demonstrated in the unification of both Italy and Germany under conservative or very moderate liberal auspices. In Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen we examine the process of unification in German Central Europe, especially the shrewd policies of Otto von Bismarck, and the unification of Italy initiated by the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont under Cavour. We assess the respective roles of economics, popular nationalism, and the manipulation of both by Bismarck and Cavour to achieve their ends.

The sudden burst of European imperialism between 1871 and 1900, often referred to as the New Imperialism, occupies center stage in the next two lectures. In Lecture Eighteen we examine this new round of European expansionism, determining what made it different from the previous forms of European colonialism. We evaluate the motivations behind the "grab for Africa," the methods used, and the new "rules of the game" among European states established at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The following lecture is devoted to the various theories advanced over the years for this new imperialism, from Hobson's insistence on the need to export "excess capital" to Lenin's conviction that imperialism simply represented the highest form of capitalism and a milestone on the way to revealing its deep and ultimately self-destructive contradictions.

The next three lectures deal with European domestic politics in the "age of mass politics" after 1871. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, universal manhood suffrage prevailed in the major European states, and with advances in literacy and public communications (the press), mass participation in political life dramatically affected the calculus of domestic politics throughout Europe. It was in this period, especially after 1890, that socialism in its various forms arose to challenge both liberal and conservative political norms. Indeed, the apparently inexorable rise of socialist parties and labor unions, devoted to some variant of revolutionary Marxism, became the most salient and, to Europe's middle classes and ruling elites, the most threatening aspect of European politics. In Lecture Twenty we trace the evolution of Marxist thought, working class organization (labor unions), and political parties in the last half of the nineteenth century. In so doing we will also assess the crisis of both liberalism and conservatism between 1890 and 1914, as both political movements sought desperately to find some way to revive their sagging political fortunes and the stem the advancing tide of socialism. One solution hit upon by some conservatives was to tap the widespread discontent with both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism among farmers and small shopkeepers, a discontent that often expressed itself in anti-urbanism, anti-materialism, anti-Enlightenment, and anti-Semitism. During the 1890s there emerged the set of ideas that ultimately evolved into fascism, and in Lecture Twenty-Two we will address these ideas and their impact.

The next two lectures are devoted to European cultural and intellectual life in the years before the First World War and to an assessment of prevailing social norms and class strains in the same period. The period from 1890 to 1914 is often viewed as the pinnacle of European global influence, a period in which European education, culture, technology, and military might were viewed as supreme. At the same time, however, serious strains had emerged in both European culture and society, creating an undercurrent of uncertainty and even dread. It was the age of Nietzsche and Freud, of strict social conformity, repressed sexuality, and hardened gender roles as well as mounting class conflict, and in these lectures we will examine the dominant social and cultural currents of European civilization on the eve of the First World War.

In the following six lectures we will address the coming of the First World War, the diplomatic background, the sources of international tension, the controversial events of the so-called July crisis that led to the outbreak of hostilities, the conduct of the war on the battlefield, and finally the peace settlement that ended this gigantic conflict. Lectures Twenty-Five through Twenty-Eight are focused on the breakdown of the international system of 1871-1890, often called the Bismarckian system, the multiplying sources of friction after 1890 when Germany embarked on its "global policy," and the deepening ethnic problems in the multinational Ottoman and Habsburg monarchies. The next three lectures examine the actual conduct of the war from its outbreak in July/August 1914 to its conclusion in 1918. We begin with an assessment of the July crisis in 1914, continue with an examination of the brutal realities of trench warfare, and conclude with the ill-starred Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

The next set of six lectures deals with the political legacy of the Great War in the turbulent 1920s and 1930s. The Russian Revolution that erupted in 1917 and ended with the creation of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s was a product of the Great War, and in Lecture Thirty-One we analyze the background of the revolution, the reasons for its outbreak, and the role of the Bolsheviks and their leader, Lenin. We continue this analysis in the following lecture, tracing the outcome of the revolution, the long and bloody civil war that followed, the establishment of the Soviet state under Lenin, and the competition between Stalin and Trotsky to follow Lenin and lead the new Soviet regime.

While the rise of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet state on the radical left followed in the war's wake, so too did the emergence of European fascism. The fascists would first appear in Italy in the immediate postwar years, and in Lecture Thirty-Three we examine the rise of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist Party. We then examine Adolf Hitler's National Socialist or Nazi Party in Germany, tracing the party's meteoric rise to power from the unsuccessful Beer Hall Putsch in 1923 to Hitler's stunning assumption of power ten years later. Finally, we evaluate the weakness of the parliamentary democracies, especially England and France, during the interwar years, and their inability to deal with the threat of European Fascism.

The next set of three lectures is devoted to the phenomenon of totalitarianism in its Soviet and National Socialist forms. We begin with a definition of totalitarianism, examining how this radically new form of dictatorship is different from traditional authoritarian regimes. We will analyze the role of ideology and terror and the refusal of such regimes to recognize the distinction between public and private spheres of behavior. We then turn to the Soviet Union under Stalin, exploring how the regime functioned, what its ideological objectives were, and how the regime sought to implement them. The final two lectures of this set deal with the Third Reich, posing the same questions as we raised with regard to the Soviet Union. The first of these two lectures deals with Nazi domestic policy, especially its radical racial initiatives, while the second, Lecture Thirty-Eight, examines the role of Nazi ideology in the formulation of Hitler's foreign policy before 1939.

Lectures Thirty-Nine to Forty-Three are devoted to the Second World War, a conflict whose scale and scope dwarfed all others in human history. In the first two lectures of this set, we examine the diplomatic background of the war, from the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to the collapse of the international system in the 1930s. We evaluate the roles of each of the major combatants, their strengths and weaknesses, and their foreign policies and military standing. In so doing, we pay special attention to the crises of 1938 and 1939—the German *Anschluss* with Austria, the Sudeten/Munich crisis, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact—assessing each of the steps on the way to catastrophe. The next three lectures focus on the war itself, from the early *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war in 1939-1941, examining in particular the sudden fall of France in 1940 and the colossal German invasion of the Soviet Union in the following year, to the final defeat of Nazi Germany by the Allies. In the midst of this great and terrible conflict, the Nazi regime unleashed a genocidal war against the Jews of Europe, and in Lecture Forty-Two we examine the Holocaust, or the "final solution to the Jewish Question," as the Nazis euphemistically called their campaign of mass murder.

In the final set of lectures we turn to postwar Europe, beginning with a discussion of the Cold War and its diplomatic origin during the Second World War. We examine the division of Europe after 1945, when the war-torn continent was split by a great ideological confrontation that lasted almost fifty years. We then turn to the ambitious rebuilding of Western Europe in the 1950s under the Marshall Plan, the creation of NATO, and the growing commitment to some form of closer Western European economic and perhaps political union. We will trace the steps in this gradual but nonetheless dramatic process of economic and political integration, especially through the Common Market, and then turn to the sudden and largely unexpected collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 1980s and 1990s. In the final lecture we evaluate the present state of European affairs, look back over the past two hundred years of stunning change, and speculate about the future of a revitalized and increasingly integrated Europe.

Lecture Twenty-Five
The International System, 1871-1890

Scope: In this lecture we will examine the international system fashioned by Bismarck, which maintained European peace and stability from 1871 until his departure from office in 1890. We will analyze the basic elements of German diplomacy under the "Iron Chancellor"—the diplomatic isolation of France, friendship with Great Britain and Russia, and an alliance with the Austro-Hungarian Empire. We will also examine the system of alliances he crafted to maintain Germany's position of hegemony on the continent.

Outline

I. The European State System in 1871

A. Europe in 1871 had at last a full complement of nation-states, but it confronted several potential problems.

1. The French Second Empire had collapsed and been replaced by the Third Republic. What sort of foreign policy would the new regime pursue? Would it continue the republican tradition, also carried on by Napoleon III, of supporting nationalist causes around Europe? Or was it too weakened by defeat to disrupt the international community in Europe?

2. Conflict in the Balkans loomed on the horizon as the Ottoman Empire, the "sick man of Europe," seemed to be on the verge of disintegration.

a. Would nationalist passions in the region lead to turmoil?

b. Who would step in to fill the power vacuum created by the anticipated collapse of Turkey's European holdings?

c. Would Tsarist Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire slide into conflict over the Balkans?

d. Could the Habsburg monarchy even survive if Turkey fell? Would the multinational empire become the new "sick man of Europe"?

B. Central to the fate of the balance of power in Europe was the role of the new German state.

1. Germany was at last a unified state under the powerful Prussian monarchy, and it was a military and industrial giant.

2. Could the European state system absorb this new colossus in the heart of Europe? (This concern became known as "the German problem.")

3. Would Prussia/Germany continue its wars of conquest?

II. The International System, 1871-1890

A. Bismarck crafted the new international system after 1871.

1. He saw Germany as satiated nation that needed stability in Europe.

2. Unified under Prussian auspices, Germany had achieved a position of virtual hegemony on the continent without major war. Germany now needed time in order to consolidate itself as a genuine nation-state.

3. To maintain Germany's dominant position, Bismarck needed the isolation of France, cooperation with Great Britain, friendship with Russia, and subordination of Austria-Hungary through alliance.

B. Bismarck assumed that France would remain hostile to Germany and would thus have to be isolated.

1. Bismarck assumed that French enmity and a desire for revenge for its defeat by Germany in 1870-71 and its loss of Alsace-Lorraine would make France a hostile power. Thus the diplomatic and military isolation of France was a key ingredient in Bismarck's foreign policy.

2. After Napoleon's fall, Bismarck encouraged the creation of a republican France.

3. He did not desire a restoration of the French monarchy, since he believed that a republican France would be unable to ally itself with reactionary Russia. A two-front war had to be avoided at all costs.

4. Bismarck also encouraged an active French colonial policy. He hoped to see French energies directed toward Africa and Asia, where France would come into conflict with Great Britain and Italy.

C. Bismarck also pursued cooperation with Great Britain.

1. He favored good relations with Britain, with whom Germany had few potential sources of conflict.

2. Germany possessed Europe's most effective army but virtually no navy, while Britain's army was small and its navy the world's most powerful. This suggested the possibilities of genuine cooperation, since Britain needed a strong Germany in order to balance France.
3. Germany would not construct a naval establishment that would threaten Britain's dominance.
4. Similarly, Germany was not interested in colonial expansion.
   a. Although Germany acquired a colonial empire in the mid-1880s, Bismarck was never a colonial enthusiast. His colonial acquisitions were the result more of domestic pressure than of genuine interest in colonialism.
   b. He encouraged British imperialism, hoping that colonial rivalry would drive a wedge between Britain and France.
5. Britain would then act as a check against the French and also possibly against the Russians.

D. Bismarck sought to subordinate Austria-Hungary to Germany through alliance.
1. He wished to restrain Austrian ambitions in the Balkans, where the collapse of the Ottoman Empire set the stage for serious tensions between Russia and Austria.
2. In 1879, Germany entered a Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary.
   a. The details of this alliance remained secret until 1888.
   b. The alliance called for both parties to remain neutral unless either party was attacked by Russia.
   c. Ideologically, the alliance was based on the support of monarchy.

E. Bismarck forged a similar ideological linkage with Russia.
1. Close relations with Russia had been a principle of Bismarckian policy since 1862.
2. Bismarck wanted to diminish possible sources of friction between Austria and Russia, but this was a very difficult task.
   a. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, he had played "the honest broker" to resolve differences between Austria and Russia in the Balkans.
   b. In 1881 Russia joined Germany and Austria in the "Three Emperors League," which was based on conservative monarchical solidarity. The League was renewed in 1884 but Russia balked at renewing it again in 1887.
   c. In 1887 Bismarck signed a secret agreement with Alexander III. This so-called Reinsurance Treaty pledged the benevolent neutrality of Germany unless Russia attacked Austria or unless Germany attacked France. In effect, Bismarck pledged to aid Russia if attacked by Austria, but not if Russia attacked Austria.
   d. By 1890 Bismarck believed that he had positioned Germany between Austria and Russia, making German support essential for either party and hence acting as a restraint on both.
   e. The problem was that the terms of both alliances were secret. Many in Germany feared after 1888 that the looming disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was certain to create a power vacuum in the Balkans, with Russia and Austria the likely candidates to fill it.
   f. In 1890 Bismarck was forced into retirement by the new kaiser, William II.

Essential Reading for Lectures 25-27:

Merriman, Chapter 23

Supplemental Reading:

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*

Questions to Consider:

1. Between 1871 and 1890 Bismarck crafted an international system that preserved peace in Europe for a generation. How did he do this? What were the building blocks of the "Bismarckian system"?
2. Was the complicated system of alliances created by Bismarck an inherently stable system or was it dependent on Bismarck's own masterful diplomacy to make it work? In other words, was the system doomed to failure once "the Iron Chancellor" departed from the scene?

Lecture Twenty-Six

The Breakdown of the International System and the Slide Toward War

Scope: The breakdown of the Bismarckian system during the 1890s is the subject of this lecture. Under the new Emperor Wilhelm II, Germany departed from the cautious foreign policy of Bismarck, whom the emperor dismissed in 1890, and embarked upon an ambitious—and aggressive—policy referred to *Weltpolitik*, or "global policy." In this lecture we will follow the disastrous impact of Germany's new foreign policy on the international system between 1890 and 1914. We will focus, in particular, on the creation of the alliance systems that emerged in this period, the arms race, and the deterioration of relations between Germany and the Entente Cordiale of France, Britain, and Russia.

Outline

I. Turning Away from the Bismarckian System

A. In 1890 Bismarck was dismissed by the new kaiser (emperor), and Germany embarked on a "new course" in foreign policy.

1. William II and his advisers believed that the Bismarckian system of alliances with Russia and Austria was untenable in the long run.

2. Tensions in the Balkans were leading inexorably toward a conflict between Austria and Russia in which Germany would have to take a side. It would no longer be able to pose as "the honest broker."

3. Unlike Bismarck, the new kaiser and his men were convinced that Germany's future depended on overseas expansion.

B. Germany's new course marked a dangerous new departure.

1. Germany could not merely continue a European policy. It had to pursue a policy of *Weltpolitik* or global policy that risked embroiling Germany in conflict with England, France, and the other colonial powers.

2. Germany, the kaiser insisted, was merely seeking its rightful "place in the sun" as a great colonial power.

3. Between 1890 and 1910 Germany alienated all the major powers, creating the impression that the Reich was an erratic, expansionist power seeking opportunities to exploit.

C. *Weltpolitik* was based on a series of fallacious and fatal assumptions.

1. France and Russia could never become allies.

2. Russia and England would always have serious colonial differences in central Asia.

3. Germany was needed as an ally more than Germany needed allies.

II. The Collapse of the Bismarckian System

A. Relations with Russia deteriorated rapidly.

1. In 1890 Germany refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia.

2. Russia needed German financial aid in its ambitious industrialization program.

3. Russia tried repeatedly between 1890 and 1894 to convince Germany to renew the Reinsurance Treaty, but the kaiser refused, believing that Russia had little alternative but to go along with German policies, treaty or no treaty.

4. The new German leadership also believed that Bismarck's secret triple alliance arrangement with Austria and Russia could not be maintained, and that Austria was a more malleable alliance partner than Russia was.

5. Russia was also increasingly concerned about German interest in Turkey.

6. In 1894 Russia did the inconceivable—it signed a military agreement with France, breaking French isolation and raising the prospect of a two-front war for Germany.

7. Germany still maintained its new course, throwing its support behind Austria in the increasingly dangerous Balkans.

B. Anglo-German relations also worsened dramatically as a result of *Weltpolitik.*

1. During the 1890s economic rivalry between Britain and Germany intensified.

2. England was concerned about German penetration into the Near East, especially Turkey.
3. The Berlin to Baghdad railway project provoked British mistrust.
4. William II's visit to Palestine was viewed as German meddling in the Middle East.
5. Germany's refusal to aid Britain in the Transvaal-Boer Republic episode in 1894-95 and the embarrassing Kruger Telegram incident of 1895 further damaged relations.
6. By far the most serious problem was the onset of the Anglo-German naval rivalry.
   a. In the late 1890s Admiral Tirpitz announced his "risk fleet" theory, according to which Germany should built a navy large enough to protect its colonial and trading interests and to deter any challenge from Britain.
   b. In 1898 and 1900 Germany embarked on an ambitious naval construction program.
   c. Shortly thereafter, Germany announced its intention to build a new kind of battleship, the Dreadnought, which threatened Britain's naval superiority.
   d. Britain pleaded with Germany to abandon its construction plans, but Berlin refused.
   e. In 1904 Britain reluctantly entered into the so-called Entente Cordiale with France to face the German menace.

C. For France, the situation was ideal.
1. By 1894 its military alliance with Russia and its growing financial involvement there had broken French isolation in Europe and greatly strengthened France's security.
2. A series of crises in North Africa, especially in Morocco, exacerbated tensions between Germany and France, but they had the beneficial effect of drawing England into the Entente Cordiale by 1906.
3. In 1907 England and Russia (fresh from its defeat by Japan) entered into a treaty alliance.
4. Thus by 1914 France had constructed a new set of alliances, confronting Germany with a powerful bloc of potentially hostile states.

D. The Schlieffen Plan
1. Faced in the early twentieth century with the prospect of a two-front war, the German General Staff adopted a strategy to fight both France and Russia.
2. The Schlieffen Plan was adopted in 1905 in response to this need.
3. Speed of mobilization was key. In the event of war, Germany would mobilize quickly and hurl its forces against France before either France or Russia could attack Germany.
4. France would be knocked out of the war by this powerful lightning blow, which would also necessitate an invasion of Belgium and possibly Holland.
5. Then German forces would be transported across Europe to face the Russians.
6. The Schlieffen Plan reveals the dominance of military over diplomatic thinking in Berlin. It also meant that if war broke out in the Balkans (e.g., between Austria and Russia), Germany's only recourse would be to launch a European-wide war.

E. By 1914 Europe was divided into powerful alliances: the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, and the Triple Entente of France, Great Britain, and Russia. as the alliances hardened, an arms race intensified, and tension mounted. Europe seemed to be a powder keg waiting for a shock to ignite it.

Questions to Consider:

1. Between 1890 and 1905, France broke out of the diplomatic isolation imposed on it by Bismarck. How was France able to do this?
2. To what extent did colonial conflicts contribute to the breakdown of the Bismarckian system and the formation of two mutually hostile alliances on the continent?

Lecture Twenty-Seven

Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in the Multi-national Empires of Central and Eastern Europe

Scope: In this lecture we turn our attention to the situation in the Balkans, especially the precarious position of the Ottoman Empire and the uneasy situation of the Habsburg Monarchy. Both were multinational empires, and both were widely viewed as the "the sick men of Europe." In the first decade of the twentieth century, both faced grave challenges from rebellious subject nationalities and ethnic groups that led to a series of crises in the Balkans. We will pay close attention to the Bosnian crisis of 1908-09 as a preview of the general European war that would come only six years later.

Outline

I. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire threatened the stability of the Habsburg Monarchy and the entire Balkan region.

- **A.** In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Turkey was viewed as "the sick man of Europe."
  - **1.** In 1877 Russia crushed Turkey, and the following year Bulgaria was created as a Russian satellite state. All European powers were alarmed by Russia's ability to impose its will in the Balkans.
  - **2.** In the 1870s Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro had won independence from Turkey, and Bosnia-Herzegovina had been placed under Austrian occupation by the Congress of Berlin in 1878.
  - **3.** Turkey's collapse and the emergence of nationalist movements in the Balkans drew great-power interests into conflict.
  - **4.** Russia supported a program of Pan-Slavism in the region and acted as a protector of the so-called South Slavs.
  - **5.** Austria viewed Pan-Slavism and Russia's growing influence in the Balkans with great alarm.
- **B.** Many saw Austria-Hungary—like Turkey a multinational empire—as next in line for disintegration.
  - **1.** During the last decades of the century, several plans were discussed in Vienna about reform of the Empire, and especially about the possibility of creating an autonomous South Slav state within the Empire—similar to the position of Hungary.
  - **2.** Austria became the target for South Slav terrorist groups.
  - **3.** Vienna suspected Serbia, in particular, of supporting these anti-Habsburg terrorist organizations. Many within the Austrian government and military circles believed that a showdown with Serbia over its support for terrorism was inevitable and ultimately desirable.

II. The long-anticipated crises began in 1908-09.

- **A.** The Bosnian Crisis of 1908-09 was a preview of the Great War.
  - **1.** Austria and Russia had agreed secretly that they would support each other's Balkan territorial claims at an upcoming international conference. Austria precipitated the Bosnian crisis by annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina without waiting for the conference, thereby offending Russia.
  - **2.** A general crisis flared, with Bulgaria declaring its independence from Turkey.
  - **3.** Serbia and Montenegro, which both sought a united south Slav state that would include Bosnia-Herzegovina, mobilized their forces against Austria.
  - **4.** Russia, which endorsed a Pan-Slav movement in the region, threw its support to Serbia.
  - **5.** There would be no replay of 1878 when Bismarck acted as mediator between the Habsburgs and Romanovs. Now Germany supported Austria and issued an ultimatum to Russia.
  - **6.** Russia backed down and Austria prevailed in the crisis, but Russia's humiliation prompted the Tsar to embark on a new round of military reforms. Coming in the wake of its military defeat by Japan in 1905, this diplomatic defeat sealed Russia's determination never to allow another blow to its prestige, especially in the Balkans.
- **B.** The Balkan Wars of 1912-13
  - **1.** These wars brought further dissolution of Turkey's European position.
  - **2.** Serbia, Greece, Albania, and Bulgaria fought and defeated the Ottomans in the first Balkan War (October 1912).

3. Bulgaria was then attacked by its alliance partners after it tried to seize territory in Macedonia.
4. Throughout these conflicts, Russia played a prominent role, supporting the cause of the Slavic peoples against the Turks and, by implication, against the Austrians.
   a. Serbia hoped to annex Albania, which Austria sought to prevent.
   b. Russia reluctantly backed Serbia, and Germany again supported Austria and issued an ultimatum to Russia.
   c. Russia found itself humiliated again.
5. The Balkan Wars demonstrated that Russia, which was not prepared for war and did not want the crisis, could not control its client states, especially Serbia. The tense international situation made this a particularly ominous development.
6. The Balkans Wars also increased Germany's concern about Austria's future.
   a. There was growing fear in Berlin that Germany's only real ally—the Habsburg monarchy—might disintegrate as the Ottoman Empire had.
   b. There was also concern about Austria's independence—could Germany control Austria in another crisis?

Questions to Consider:

1. Ethnic conflict had long made the Balkans a source of tension in Europe, but between 1909 and 1914 the area had became a tinderbox ready to explode and plunge Europe into a general conflagration. Why? What forces were at work in the Balkans that destabilized the European order, and why did they intensify in the years before 1914?
2. Both the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires were multinational states and had been dubbed the "sick men" of Europe. Were multinational regimes doomed in the age of the nation-state? What policies did the Habsburgs and Ottomans attempt in order to hold their states together?

Lecture Twenty-Eight
The July Crisis and the Outbreak of War

Scope: The next three lectures deal with the First World War (1914-1918), beginning with the so-called July Crisis of 1914 which led to the outbreak of hostilities. Much was subsequently made of Germany's alleged responsibility for the outbreak of the war. The July Crisis continues to provoke controversy. In this lecture, we will dissect that crisis, from the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo to the German assault on Belgium in August, assessing the options and objectives of the major powers.

Outline

I. The Historical and Political Importance of the July Crisis of 1914

A. The July Crisis of 1914 has been repeatedly analyzed to determine who was responsible for the outbreak of war.

1. The Treaty of Versailles contained a War Guilt Clause that declared Germany to be solely responsible the outbreak of the war.

2. The War Guilt Clause was used to justify reparations imposed on Germany.

3. Both did much to poison international relations in the interwar years.

B. Some key questions arise in analyzing the crisis.

1. What did the various parties hope to achieve?

2. What were the factors influencing their behavior?

3. At what point did war become inevitable and why?

4. How does one assess responsibility?

II. The Crisis

A. The timing is critical to our understanding of these events.

1. On June 28, the Habsburg Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo by Gavrilo Princip, a member of the terrorist Black Hand organization. The Archduke was especially dangerous because of his willingness to compromise on the issue of South Slav autonomy.

2. An Austrian mission to Berlin on July 4-5 led to Germany's issuance of the "blank check" for an Austrian military clampdown in Serbia.

3. On July 20-23 the French ambassador in Russia reaffirmed French support for any Russian decision to take extreme action in the Balkans.

4. On July 23 Austria issued its ultimatum to Serbia and demanded a response within 48 hours.

5. On July 25 Serbia, supported by Russia, accepted most provisions of the ultimatum but refused to allow the entry into Serbia of Habsburg investigators and ordered the mobilization of its troops.

6. On July 28 Austria, supported by Germany, ordered partial mobilization and declared war on Serbia.

7. On July 30 Russia decided to honor its obligations to Serbia and ordered a general mobilization of its troops. This amounted to a de facto declaration of war on Austria.

8. On July 31 Germany issued an ultimatum to Russia, demanding that the Tsar rescind the mobilization order within twelve hours. If Germany declared war on Russia, it would also have to attack France (through Belgium).

9. On July 31 Austria ordered a general mobilization.

10. On July 31, Britain stated that it would stand by Belgium and guarantee the neutrality of France if Germany would not attack in the West.

11. On August 1 Russia refused the ultimatum, France mobilized its troops, and Germany declared war on Russia.

12. On August 3 Germany declared war on France.

13. On August 4 Germany declared war on Britain.

III. The Causes of the Great War

A. The main cause was the breakdown after 1890 of the Bismarckian system, as indicated by Germany's decision to pursue *Weltpolitik*; nationalism in the Balkans and the disintegration of the Ottoman and

Habsburg empires; and nationalism in the major states and unlearned lessons from a century of relative peace.

B. The war also resulted from a failure to understand the military dimensions of the conflict. This misunderstanding resulted from the division of Europe into a system of rival alliances; the rigidity of military plans and the role of mobilization; and the failure to appreciate the implications of military technology.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the major causes for the outbreak of the Great War in the summer of 1914? What issues were at stake? What great principles were being contested?

2. The victorious allies, meeting at Versailles at the end of the First World War, maintained that Germany bore sole responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in the summer of 1914. Do you agree?

Lecture Twenty-Nine

The War to End All Wars: The Experience of the Trenches

Scope: The Great War was expected to be over by Christmas 1914, but two years later no end was in sight. In this lecture we will follow the military course of this awesome conflict. Special attention is paid to the two gigantic battles of 1916, the first at Verdun and the other on the Somme. In many ways the nineteenth century died on those grisly battlefields, marking the end of any illusions about a quick end to the war and revealing the deadly nature of modern combat. Europeans were shocked at the carnage on the battlefields and the horrors of trench warfare. In this lecture we will describe conditions at the front and views of the war from the home front.

Outline

I. The Guns of August

- **A.** War became inevitable when Russia ordered a general mobilization of its troops.
  - **1.** Throughout the July crisis, only the German government understood the full implications of the Balkan crisis.
  - **2.** Although it bore considerable responsibility for failing to prevent the war, that responsibility was shared by the Austria war party, Serbian nationalists, and the French (because of their determination to support Russia).
- **B.** The Western Offensive, August-September 1914
  - **1.** The Germans implemented the Schlieffen Plan. German troops swept through Belgium and into France but bogged down twenty-five miles east of Paris.
  - **2.** At a critical moment in late August, the German commander, Moltke, transferred two army corps to the Eastern front where the Russians had broken into Germany.
  - **3.** The Battle of the Marne in September was decisive in halting the German offensive in the west. Joffre, the French commander, launched a counterattack and forced the Germans to retreat.
  - **4.** Unable to reach Paris, the Germans began a "race to the sea," seeking to outflank the British and French and move on Paris, but the move failed.
  - **5.** The lines stabilized and the front bogged down. Most of the British army had been annihilated.
  - **6.** Stunningly, the combatants suffered some 500,000 casualties—more than in all the wars of the nineteenth century after 1815 combined.
- **C.** In the East, the Russians mobilized much faster than anticipated.
  - **1.** Russian troops invaded East Prussia.
  - **2.** Gen. Paul von Hindenburg was called out of retirement to assume command of Germany's armies in the East.
  - **3.** In September 1914, Hindenburg halted the Russian advance at Tannenberg and became Germany's first war hero.
  - **4.** Meanwhile, the Austrians had suffered terrible casualties in their first major encounter with Russian forces at Lemberg.
  - **5.** Unlike Britain and France, Austria and Germany had no common military plans, and their actions in the east were largely uncoordinated.
- **D.** A temporary truce was called on the western front at Christmas, but the war was far from over.
- **E.** The war widened during 1915.
  - **1.** Italy entered the war on the side of Britain and France, hoping for French support for Italian goals in North Africa.
  - **2.** Bulgaria and Turkey entered on the side of the Central Powers—Austria and Germany.
  - **3.** The Central Powers dominated the Balkans, occupying Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania.
  - **4.** British and French troops were dispatched to Greece and halted the Central Powers' offensive in Macedonia.

II. By 1916, the war of movement was over in the West.

- **A.** The Battle of Verdun began on February 21, 1916.

1. The Germans launched a massive offensive to break the stalemate.
2. The battle raged from February until July.
3. Even after it became clear that the offensive had failed to puncture the French lines, Falkenhayn, the German commander, insisted that it continue. He stated that if Germany could not break through, then "the French will be bled white."
4. The shelling and skirmishing continued into early 1917 without any decisive outcome.
5. The cost of this battle was ghastly—1,500,000 casualties.
6. French morale was severely shaken, and mutinies began in some units of the army, but General Petain had held.

B. As the Battle of Verdun wound down, the British planned a major offensive in their sector of the front.
1. Sir Douglas Haig, the British commander, prepared a massive assault along the Somme.
2. After barraging German positions for a week, the British charged into "No Man's Land."
3. Sixty thousand of the total 110,000 British combatants died or were wounded during this one macabre day.
4. The largest military operation in human history had lasted twelve weeks.
   a. The British gained six miles of meaningless terrain.
   b. One million men had been killed or wounded or were missing.

C. These two grisly battles revealed the shocking nature of modern warfare. Modern technology had changed the face of war. They evoked not nineteenth century chivalry or valor, but only grotesque slaughter and horror.

D. In the east, the failure of the Brusilov offensive of June-December 1916 against the Habsburg forces broke the spirit of the Russian army.
1. By 1917, both Russia and Austria appeared to be exhausted.
2. The casualty figures for all the combatants were unprecedented and staggering. Nobody knew how to end the fighting.

E. The warfare assumed a life of its own during 1917.
1. In April 1917 the British and French attacked the Ypres salient, suffering 160,000 casualties.
2. In June the French finished tunneling beneath the German lines and exploded a bomb that opened a huge gap in the German lines. Nine British divisions charged into the breach, suffering 16,000 casualties.
3. There was no breakthrough on the Western front during 1916. It was a war of grisly attrition that neither side apparently could win.

F. Modern technology had changed the nature of war.
1. The machine gun, the mortar, and heavy artillery exacted terrible tolls.
2. Gas warfare was introduced.
3. Airplanes and, later, tanks made their appearance.
4. Life in the trenches was grim.
   a. Lice and rats plagued the troops.
   b. Trench foot became a major source of casualties.
   c. The sheer terror of the daily life at the front was overwhelming.
   d. One could smell the front miles before reaching it, as bodies piled up in "No Man's Land" or were buried and then resurfaced during the remorseless shelling.

III. By 1917 the Germans appeared to have moved closer to victory.

A. In March the Tsarist regime in Russia collapsed.
1. The Germans transported Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders from Switzerland back to Russia to foment revolution.
2. Calling for "peace and bread," the Bolsheviks sought to end the war. Having seized control of Russia, the Bolsheviks signed the humiliating Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918.
3. Germany appeared to have prevailed in the east. Italy was reeling in the south, and France seemed on the verge of collapse.
4. However, the Habsburg monarchy had begun to unravel, and the Bolsheviks had targeted Germany for revolution, which prevented Germany from shifting large numbers of troops to the western front.

B. The biggest blow to Germany's hopes came with the entry of the United States into the war in April 1917 as a result of Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare.
   1. The arrival of American troops provided a desperately needed morale boost for France and Britain.
   2. Germany had won the war in the East and hoped to transfer troops to the West before American troops could play a significant role. However, the situation in the East was complicated by the Bolsheviks' insistence on spreading the revolution into Central Europe.

IV. 1918 was the year of decision.

A. In March the Germans launched a major offensive in the West.
   1. They made some headway but failed to break through the Entente lines.
   2. In July the Allies, with the heavy participation of American troops, staged a gigantic offensive. By August German lines had begun to crumble.
   3. By September the situation for Germany was perilous. The High Command sent word that it was willing to negotiate on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points.
   4. In October the High Command sent civilian representatives to secure an armistice at any cost. President Wilson refused to engage in negotiations with Germany.
   5. In November revolutionary violence broke out in Germany, the Kaiser abdicated and went into exile in Holland, and a republic was declared.
   6. On November 8, 1918, the war that was to be over by Christmas 1914 at last came to an end.

B. The Outcome
   1. The human costs were staggering, with millions dead, wounded, or missing.
   2. The Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, and the Romanovs—three of the great dynasties of European history—were washed away.
   3. Revolution brought the Bolsheviks to power in Russia.
   4. The experience of war brought forth Fascism as an organized political movement.
   5. European civilization, pride, confidence, and optimism were all deeply shaken by the horrors of the Great War.

Essential Reading for Lectures 28-30:

Merriman, Chapter 24; Chapter 25, pp. 1140-1152

Supplementary Reading:

Paul Fussel, *The Great War and Modern Memory*

Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That*

Questions to Consider:

1. The outbreak of war was greeted in the capitals of Europe with great enthusiasm. Yet within a year, Europeans were shocked at the nature of the war. Indeed, one could argue that the nineteenth century ended on the grisly battlefields of Verdun and the Somme. How was this conflict different from the wars of the nineteenth century (since 1815)?

2. Some have argued that the Schlieffen Plan, drafted in 1905 and subsequently revised, guaranteed that if war came it would be not be a regionally limited conflict (confined, for example to the Balkans) but would be a major European-wide conflagration. Why?

Lecture Thirty
The Treaty of Versailles and the Failed Peace

Scope: In this lecture we will analyze the final months of the war, the circumstances surrounding the armistice, and the controversial Treaty of Versailles. Many historians argue that the Allies won the war only to lose the peace, suggesting that the seeds of the second World War were sown at Versailles. This view has figured prominently in all analyses of the interwar yeas, and in this lecture we will offer an assessment. In so doing, we examine the policies of the major powers as they convened at Versailles and their hope that a new international system had been created that would preserve the peace.

Outline

I. Drafting the Treaty of Versailles

A. The participants in the Versailles conference had varying expectations.

1. France desired a treaty that would give it security against a revived Germany.

2. Britain had gone from being a creditor to a debtor nation as a result of the war. Lloyd George conducted the so-called Khaki Elections by asserting that he was going to "squeeze the Germans until the pips squeak."

3. Although Italy had suffered repeated defeats, it was technically a victor state and hoped to gain territory in the Adriatic and in Africa.

4. Woodrow Wilson hoped to create a League of Nations that would help resolve international conflicts without resort to war.

5. Germany hoped to negotiate on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points but found that it would not be given a voice in the deliberations.

6. Excluded from the proceedings was the new Bolshevik government in Russia.

B. The terms of the treaty reflected the influence of Clemenceau and Lloyd George.

1. The settlement created and/or recognized the so-called successor states created out of the Habsburg, Romanov, and Hohenzollern Empires. These included Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

2. Germany was forced to pay an unspecified amount in reparations, accept responsibility for the outbreak of the war (as stated in the "War Guilt Clause," which justified the imposition of onerous reparations), and cede territory. Alsace and Lorraine were ceded to France, the "Polish Corridor" was ceded to the new Polish state, the German city of Danzig was placed under League of Nations administration, and Germany was required to forfeit its colonial possessions.

3. Under the military terms of the treaty, Germany was required to slash its armed forces to 100,000 troops; it had to forego an air force, navy, and any artillery or armor; it had to accept demilitarization of the Rhineland and the denial of Austrian unification with Germany despite the prevailing principle of "national self-determination of peoples."

II. Problems with the Treaty

A. The Treaty's terms alienated the Germans, who viewed the document as a *Diktat*—a dictated peace.

1. Germans of all political leanings resented all of the provisions.

2. The treaty gave credence to the "stab-in-the-back" legend.

3. The treaty undermined the new democratic government in Germany, which was forced to accept responsibility for the peace settlement.

B. The Germans claimed that the treaty was too harsh, but one could argue that it was too lenient.

1. Germany was not occupied by the victors.

2. Germany's industrial might was left virtually untouched.

3. The key question was how was the treaty could be enforced without occupation.

C. The security system foreseen by the treaty's framers was gravely weakened almost immediately.

1. The United States failed to ratify the treaty and refused to join the League of Nations.

2. The United States also failed to approve the Anglo-American guarantees for French security that Wilson had arranged at Paris. When the United States backed out, so did Britain.

3. Thus the anticipated collective security system envisioned at Versailles was undermined almost immediately.
4. Germany was not permitted to join the League of Nations.
5. The new Russian regime was also treated as a pariah state.
6. Even Italy, technically a victor state, left the peace conference alienated because it was denied territories in the Adriatic which it coveted.

Questions to Consider:

1. Years after the Paris Peace Settlement that ended the Great War, many were convinced that the Allies had won the war only to lose the peace, and that they had sown at Versailles the seeds of the Second World War. What were the weaknesses of the Treaty of Versailles?
2. "National self-determination of peoples" was one of the guiding principles of the Treaty of Versailles. Woodrow Wilson, who coined the term, was convinced that it would lead to peace among nations. How did the Treaty of Versailles reflect that principle, and why was it was so problematic?

Lecture Thirty-One
The Bolshevik Revolution

Scope: In 1917 Tsarist Russia erupted in a revolution that shook the world. In this lecture we examine the origins, course, and impact of the Russian revolution. We assess the long-term factors that contributed to the widespread disaffection with the Romanovs and their regime, and then we examine the war itself. We analyze the failure of Kerensky to establish a left-liberal government, the problems of the Imperial family (especially the role of Rasputin), and finally the strategy and tactics of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Outline

I. The Origins of the Revolution in Russia

- **A.** Long-term Factors
  - **1.** The failure of land reform following the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 led to widespread dissatisfaction in the countryside.
  - **2.** Russian industrialization was problematic.
    - **a.** Industrial take-off came late and fast.
    - **b.** It created enormous concentrations of industrial workers in the major cities, but these were islands in a predominantly rural society.
    - **c.** Factories were gigantic, housing was inadequate, and conditions of labor were appalling.
    - **d.** Because the state was the leading entrepreneur, dissatisfaction was directed at the government.
  - **3.** The Minority Problem
    - **a.** Russia was a multinational empire.
    - **b.** Opposition to St. Petersburg and regional sentiments were strong in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Baltic.
  - **4.** The Nature of Tsarist Repression
    - **a.** The Romanov regime was unable to adopt the reform conservative policies of Bismarck or Napoleon III.
    - **b.** It was the most repressive regime in Europe, with the opposition largely forced underground.
    - **c.** The incomplete revolution of 1905 had resulted in the establishment of a Duma (parliament), but the Tsarist state remained repressive.
- **B.** Short-term Problems
  - **1.** The war was disastrous from the very outset.
    - **a.** Russia suffered enormous losses—two million casualties by 1916.
    - **b.** The war effort at the front was mismanaged, even after Nicholas II arrived there to take charge in 1916.
    - **c.** Mismanagement of food distribution led to widespread hunger and riots in the cities during 1916 and 1917.
  - **2.** The Imperial family was isolated.
    - **a.** The Tsar's incompetent leadership at the front and his resistance to reform alienated many within the leadership class.
    - **b.** As disasters mounted while the Tsar was away at the front, opposition among the elite grew over the Tsarina's apparent devotion to the monk Rasputin.
    - **c.** Rumors mushroomed that "this degenerate monk" was really running the government.
    - **d.** Rasputin's assassination in 1916 failed to restore the credibility of the Imperial family.

II. The March Revolution of 1917

- **A.** The revolution began in Petrograd (as St. Petersburg was called after the beginning of the war).
  - **1.** Food riots erupted on March 8, 1917.
  - **2.** Troops were sent to quell the riots, but they joined the rioters instead.
  - **3.** Disorder spread throughout the city. On March 14, the Duma declared the creation of a provisional government.

4. On March 15, Nicholas abdicated in favor of his brother (the grand duke Michael), who refused the crown.

B. The Provisional Government
1. The provisional government was dominated by liberals (representing the interests of the urban bourgeoisie and landed gentry) who sought western-style constitutional monarchy.
2. The Socialists were represented by the Social Revolutionaries (who appealed to the peasantry) and the Social Democrats, who were divided between the Mensheviks and the much less numerous Bolsheviks.
3. The provisional government advocated land reform, minority rights, and a liberal constitution.
4. It did not purge the Tsarist civil service or secure control of the army.
5. It was beset by numerous problems.
   a. A system of soviets or councils developed spontaneously all over the country, although they were strongest in Petrograd and Moscow.
   b. The soviets were dominated not by the liberals but by the Social Democrats, especially the Mensheviks.
   c. The soviets represented an alternative center of power that was increasingly radical and impatient with the provisional government.
6. Lenin's arrival in Petrograd in April 1917 helped to radicalize the situation.
   a. Lenin called for world revolution and dismissed the March events as a "bourgeois revolution."
   b. He called for another revolution, giving power to the workers and peasants.
7. His slogans were simple and powerful: all land to the peasants, all power to the soviets, and stop the war now.

III. The November Revolution

A. Kerensky and the Provisional Government
1. Kerensky was the most radical member of the provisional government. He assumed leadership in May 1917 and launched a new offensive against the Germans.
2. By June the offensive failed, but Kerensky refused to heed Russia's mounting war-weariness.
3. In March the Petrograd Soviet issued Army Order Number 1, which destroyed discipline within the military.
4. Lenin's attempted coup against Kerensky in July failed, and he was forced to flee while other Bolshevik leaders were imprisoned.
5. General Kornilov mounted an offensive against the provisional government, which he saw as too weak. Kerensky was forced to appeal to the Bolsheviks for support.
6. Kornilov was defeated, but the Bolsheviks had regained center stage.

B. The Bolsheviks used their growing popularity in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets to press their own program.
1. They demanded immediate distribution of large estates to the peasantry.
2. They encourage workers to seize factories.
3. Banks would be nationalized and Church property confiscated.
4. Class privileges would be abolished and equal rights for women guaranteed.
5. The rights of national minorities were guaranteed.
6. Most important, however, was the call for peace and bread.

C. On November 6, 1917, the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government in a coup.
1. They established a Council of Commissars headed by Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin to lead the government.
2. The Bolsheviks' support was concentrated at crucial points.

D. In elections held for a constituent assembly later in November, the Mensheviks received twice as many votes as the Bolsheviks.
1. The Bolsheviks dispersed the Constituent Assembly after its first session in January 1918.
2. They drafted a new constitution that placed power in the hands of an All-Russian Congress of Soviets.
3. Real authority was vested in the Executive Council of Commissars, headed by Lenin.
4. In March 1918, the new government fulfilled its most vocal promise and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which removed Russia from the war.

Essential Reading for Lectures 31-33:

Merriman, Chapter 25

Supplemental Reading:

Marc Ferro, *The Russian Revolution*

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1932*

Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*

Questions to Consider:

1. In analyzing the causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917, would you emphasize long-term, structural factors—the repressive nature of the Tsarist regime, the oppressed condition of the peasantry, etc.—or short-term influences, especially the disastrous course of the war?
2. How were the Bolsheviks—at the outset of the revolution hardly more than a tiny minority—able to prevail in the revolution, pushing aside first Kerensky and then the Mensheviks?

Lecture Thirty-Two
Civil War and the Establishment of the Soviet State

Scope: In this lecture we continue our discussion of the revolution in Russia, turning to the establishment of the Bolshevik state, the civil war, and the competition between Stalin and Trotsky following Lenin's death. We examine the problems encountered by the regime in creating a socialist economy, the retreat into the so-called "New Economic Policy" (or NEP) and the ideological debate over the "proper" course for the Bolshevik state in a hostile international environment.

Outline

I. Consolidating the Revolution

A. Threats to Bolshevik Power in 1918

1. The Social Revolutionaries were by far the most popular revolutionary faction.

a. They opposed the Brest-Litovsk treaty and wanted Russia to remain involved in the war.

b. In an effort to reinvolve Russia in the fighting, they assassinated the German ambassador in June.

c. They also tried to assassinate Lenin in August, leaving him severely wounded.

2. The Bolsheviks unleashed the "Red Terror." At least five hundred opponents—Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—were tried for "crimes against the revolution" and executed in one day.

3. In the summer of 1918 the Bolsheviks executed the royal family after having relocated them to Yekaterinburg in the Ural mountains.

B. The Civil War

1. The greatest threat to the revolution came from the "White Russians," rightist opponents of the regime who sought to restore the Romanovs.

2. Generals from the Tsarist army mobilized a military force against the Bolsheviks.

3. Their strength was in the Ukraine, Southern Russia, Siberia, and the Baltic.

4. National minorities revolted against the new government in the Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia.

5. The Allies sent troops to Murmansk, Vladivostok, and Siberia in April 1918, trying to hold the Russians in the war.

C. The Red Army was the key to the Bolsheviks' defeat of the White Russians.

1. It had been created and led by Leon Trotsky.

2. By 1919 he had created a force of three million troops.

3. During 1919 the Red Army inflicted a series of defeats on the Whites. By 1920 the counter-revolutionaries were in full retreat.

D. Reasons for the Bolsheviks' success in the Civil War included the following:

1. Peasants were afraid that if the White Russians won, land distribution would be reversed.

2. The civil war was presented as a national crusade against foreign invaders.

3. To others, ideological vision was important. In 1919 the regime established the Communist International or Comintern to foment world revolution.

4. Opponents of the Bolsheviks were not united. Some sought the return of the Tsar. Others wanted a liberal republic, and still others (such as the Social Revolutionaries) sought a revolutionary regime not led by the Bolsheviks.

II. The New Soviet Regime

A. The new regime was an international outlaw state.

1. It was excluded from the Versailles negotiations.

2. Cancellation of the Russian national debt outraged Europe, especially France.

3. Espousal of world revolution was seen as a serious destabilizing factor in international affairs.

B. It was an authoritarian, repressive regime.

1. It fulfilled its promises concerning land, but it continued the authoritarian political control of the old Tsarist regime.

2. The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (the Cheka), established in 1917 to combat "counterrevolution and sabotage," continued to operate as a secret police.
3. The Cheka was used to smash the Social Revolutionaries in 1918 and other political opponents during the Civil War and thereafter.

C. The regime took its first steps toward creating a socialist economy.
1. War Communism represented a strategy to seize the "commanding heights"—industry, banks, the means of communication, and the large estates.
2. This policy of nationalization proved very difficult during the Civil War.
3. Initially industrial nationalization was a disaster; production dropped significantly.
4. Land reform met with serious problems.
   a. The first decrees ordering the seizure of estates led to inequitable distribution.
   b. When the regime sought to collectivize farms, its efforts met enormous opposition and ended in failure.
   c. Agricultural production declined steadily until 1921 as a result of the chaos.

D. The New Economic Policy (NEP)
1. The NEP represented a step backward by the regime in an attempt to revive production.
2. Old Tsarist officials were returned in order to administer the policy.
3. The major industries remained under government control, as was foreign trade.
4. Agriculture remained largely private and dominated by a class of richer peasant proprietors—the Kulaks.

E. A debate ensued over the future of the Soviet state.
1. This debate was set off when Lenin suffered a stroke in 1922, which inaugurated a power and policy struggle between Trotsky and Stalin.
2. Trotsky advocated a policy of "permanent revolution" and tighter government controls on the economy.
3. Stalin favored a policy of "socialism in one country."
4. In his last months, Lenin seemed to lean toward gradualism, but Stalin's more extreme approach ultimately prevailed, due in large measure to the power that Stalin drew from his post as secretary of the Organizational Bureau of the Communist party.

Questions to Consider:

1. After seizing power, the Bolsheviks still faced grave dangers, both domestically and abroad. How was the newly formed Red Army able to defeat its enemies and secure power for the regime?
2. During the early years of the new regime, the Bolsheviks engaged in considerable internal debate and pursued a variety of policies to establish a socialist economic order. What were the options considered and then adopted by the new regime?

Lecture Thirty-Three
The Soviet System Under Stalin

Scope: In this lecture we examine the transformation of the Soviet state after Lenin's death. We assess the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin, the triumph of Stalin, and his strategic vision of the Soviet Union's future ("Socialism in One Country"). We examine the Five Year Plans of 1928 and 1933, the brutal collectivization of agriculture, and the forced industrialization of the Soviet economy. Finally, we turn our attention to the nature of the Soviet state under Stalin, the role of the secret police (the NKVD), and the purges of the late 1930s.

Outline

I. The leadership struggle between Stalin and Trotsky began even before Lenin's death. The main issue was whether the Soviet Union would continue to pursue the New Economic Policy, or instead engage in crash collectivization and industrialization.

- **A.** Stalin's position was based on his role as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.
  - **1.** As General Secretary, Stalin had a decisive voice in determining admission to and promotion within the Communist Party.
  - **2.** Since the Party determined candidates to the Council of Ministers, Stalin exerted great control over personnel throughout the government.
  - **3.** It was this firm hold on the Party's organization that was Stalin's real base of power.
- **B.** Trotsky cut a far more public figure.
  - **1.** He was the hero of the Red Army and the Civil War.
  - **2.** He had participated more vocally in doctrinal discussions within the leadership.
  - **3.** He was seen by many, if not most, party officials and the public as Lenin's heir apparent.
- **C.** This Stalin-Trotsky power struggle was played out in a debate over the future course of the revolution and the Soviet regime.
  - **1.** Trotsky advocated a policy of "permanent revolution" that seemed very close to Lenin's view. He argued that the Bolshevik revolution could succeed only in the context of world revolution.
  - **2.** Stalin argued for a position that came to be called "socialism in one country."
    - **a.** Without abandoning the global revolutionary vision of Lenin, Stalin insisted that world revolution was out of the question at present.
    - **b.** The Soviet Union was surrounded by hostile capitalist and imperialist powers. Its duty was to create a strong socialist state, capable of defending itself against counterrevolution.
- **D.** The battle between Trotsky and Stalin led to the first purge in 1927.
  - **1.** The so-called "Left Opposition" associated with Trotsky was expelled from the party. Its leading figures fled into exile or were sent to Siberia.
  - **2.** Trotsky himself was sent first to Siberia, than expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929. In exile he relentlessly attacked Stalin and his policies, insisting that Stalin had betrayed the revolutionary vision of Lenin.

II. Socialism in One Country

- **A.** The Five Year Plans aimed at rapid industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture in order to make the Soviet Union self-sufficient.
  - **1.** The first Five Year Plan was launched in 1928.
    - **a.** It was administered by an central agency, the Gosplan, which sought to control the flow of all financial, natural, and labor resources.
    - **b.** Its primary goal was to transform Russia into an industrial state without reliance on foreign capital.
    - **c.** This massive industrialization had to be preceded by an agricultural revolution—the collectivization of agriculture. The regime would appropriate the surplus from the agrarian sector and use its export proceeds to finance industrialization.

2. The collectivization of agriculture proceeded ruthlessly in 1929.
    a. It was resisted tenaciously by the Kulaks—prosperous peasant proprietors.
    b. Wholesale slaughter of the Kulaks followed, leaving hundreds of thousands dead.
    c. Collectivization and fighting in the countryside, as well as a series of natural disasters, produced a devastating drop in agricultural production that led to two to three million deaths by 1932.
3. The regime kicked off the Second Five Year Plan in 1933, after it had proclaimed that the first plan had achieved its goals.
4. By 1939 the Five Year Plans had produced a major transformation of the Russian economy.
    a. Iron and steel production was increased fourfold.
    b. Coal production increased three and a half-fold.
    c. By 1938 four -fifths of all industrial output was produced in plants built during the previous ten years.
    d. By 1939 the Soviet Union recorded the world's third largest industrial output, behind only the United States and Germany.
    e. To some in the West, the Soviet Union seemed to have avoided the horrors of the Great Depression and was creating a productive, egalitarian society that had resolved the social conflicts that bedeviled postwar Europe.

III. The Nature of the Soviet State

A. The Purges
1. The first major purge of the party came in 1933, when roughly one-third of its members were expelled. Many were sent to labor camps in Siberia.
2. In 1936 another wave of purges occurred, this time in the wake of public trials conducted by the state prosecutor, Vyshinsky.
    a. These show trials dealt at first only with former Bolsheviks associated with Trotsky and the Left Opposition.
    b. They were followed in 1937 by another round of show trials, which led not only to imprisonment in labor camps but to execution.
3. Nor were the purges limited to these show trials. Although the numbers remain hotly debated, it is conservatively estimated that millions were either executed or sent to prison camps during this period. One estimate puts the total death toll between 1929 and 1939 at some 20 million.
4. In 1938, Stalin turned on the military and began a major purge of the Red Army. Not only top military commanders but also thousands of officers down to the company level were purged.

B. By 1939 Stalin had rid himself of potential rivals, eliminated almost all of the old Bolsheviks with connections to Lenin or Trotsky, and forged a system that was operated by "new men" created by and loyal to the Stalinist regime.
1. In the process, he had created a pervasive system of terror, run by the secret police.
2. He had also crafted a political system that many would argue was "totalitarian."

Questions to Consider:

1. At the time of Lenin's death in 1925, Trotsky was far better known in Russia than his rival for power, Joseph Stalin. Yet it was Stalin, not Trotsky, who came to dominate the Bolshevik regime. What were the bases of Stalin's power? How did he prevail in the power struggle?
2. Within a decade after assuming power, Stalin was able to transform Russia into a regime that many considered "totalitarian." How was he able to accomplish this? What were the major domestic objectives of his policy, and what was the nature of the new Soviet state?

Lecture Thirty-Four
Mussolini and the Emergence of Italian Fascism

Scope: The Russian/Bolshevik revolution was one product of the Great War, and the rise of Fascism was another. Although proto-fascist ideas had circulated in Europe since the 1890s, only in the wake of the First World War did fascist movements emerge to challenge the established liberal/conservative order. This lecture examines the first of those movements, the Italian Fascists and their leader, Benito Mussolini. We trace the rise of Mussolini and the formation of the Fascist party from its establishment in the immediate postwar years to its March on Rome in 1922 and the subsequent creation the Fascist dictatorship.

Outline

I. Mussolini and the Origins of Italian Fascism

A. Benito Mussolini's Early Career

1. Born in 1883, Mussolini become a left-wing revolutionary journalist before the Great War.

2. During the war, his thought took a nationalist turn.

3. He agitated for Italy's entry into the war against Austria and demanded the seizure from Austria of the so-called *Italia irredenta*, or "unredeemed Italian lands."

4. He served in the army during the war as an enlisted man. Like other Italian nationalists, he was outraged at Italy's treatment at Versailles. Italy had suffered over 500,000 war dead, and yet it emerged from the Versailles settlement with only minor territorial gains from Austria and nothing from the dismemberment of the German colonial empire in Africa or from Turkish possessions.

5. In 1919 he organized his first paramilitary organization—the *fascio di combattimento.*

B. There were many sources of unrest and dissatisfaction in postwar Italy.

1. Italy suffered serious social and economic problems in the early postwar years.

a. The cities experienced economic depression and high unemployment.

b. Peasants attacked landlords in the countryside in an effort to seize land.

2. Political polarization plagued the postwar Italian state.

a. Parliamentary government seemed unable to master the situation.

b. In 1919 Italy adopted proportional representation. This system made coalition governments necessary but made it politically difficult to craft such coalitions.

c. The Italian Socialists followed a Bolshevik course. By attacking the war effort, it ran afoul of Italian nationalist sentiments.

d. In 1920 the Socialists supported a nationwide wave of strikes and encouraged workers to seize factories.

e. Black Shirts, or Fascists, fought with the workers and Socialists in the streets of the cities and in the countryside.

f. Italy's liberal government seemed unable to deal with the polarization and unrest.

II. The Fascist Seizure of Power

A. The appeal of Fascism had its roots in Italy's postwar disorder and despondency.

1. Mussolini promised a restoration of law and order. He condemned the land seizures and the Socialist unrest in the cities.

2. He postured as a bulwark against Bolshevism and posed as a defender of the nation.

a. His *squadristi* fought with the Communists in the streets and evicted legally elected Socialist municipal officials.

b. The Black Shirts broke up strikes and attacked union halls.

3. He called on Italians of all classes to join with him in a nationalist crusade to restore Italian grandeur.

4. The Fascists' solution to Italy's class cleavages was to perpetuate the "solidarity of the trenches" experienced during the Great War.

B. The March on Rome

1. In October 1922, Mussolini's Black Shirts, in a symbolic reprise of Garibaldi's Red Shirts' march on Rome in 1859, began a march on the capital.

2. The Italian cabinet resigned, and Mussolini was appointed premier, to his own great surprise. He was granted emergency powers for a year, but initially he acted quite cautiously.
3. Mussolini's manipulation of the electoral laws resulted in 1924 in a sweeping victory of the Fascists.
   a. Even the ugly Matteotti affair in June 1924 could not slow Mussolini's drive for power.
   b. The opposition protested, but the Fascists merely intensified their emerging dictatorship.

C. Mussolini proceeded to consolidate his power.
1. He reduced the parliament to virtual powerlessness.
2. He dissolved the labor unions and declared strikes illegal.
3. He abolished all political parties except his own.
4. He denounced democracy as weak and historically irrelevant.
5. He proclaimed himself Leader, or *Duce.*
6. He established a network of Fascist corporatist organizations.

D. Mussolini dismissed both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism and called for a "third path."
1. He established a corporatist economic structure in which all professions or economic sectors were divided into twenty-two "corporations."
2. In each group, Fascist-dominated representatives of management, labor, and the state would cooperate to determine wages, prices, and conditions of labor.
3. A national council of these corporations would coordinate economic policy for the country as a whole, with a view toward making Italy self-sufficient.
4. Although this system failed to end social conflicts, it pushed these conflicts underground.
   a. Highly publicized campaigns such as the "Battle for Wheat" were intended to demonstrate the cooperative nature of the new system.
   b. No real advances were made in the Italian economy under Fascism, and there was no fundamental reform, especially in the countryside.
   c. Nonetheless, Mussolini enjoyed good international press for having apparently created a system that functioned, a system in which "the trains ran on time."
   d. He called for a "total state" but also recognized the Italian monarchy.
   e. In 1929 he signed a concordat with the Vatican, winning the support of the Italian peasantry and, apparently, the papacy.
   f. This apparently orderly system stood in stark contrast to the situations of the western democracies during the 1920s and early 1930s.
   g. Indeed, Mussolini seemed to have successfully mobilized Italian nationalist feeling to create a vigorous, strong, and self-confident Italy—a far cry from Third Republic France or the Weimar Republic.

Essential Reading for Lectures 34-36:

Merriman, Chapter 25, Chapter 26, pp. 1186-1206

Supplemental Reading:

Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*

Dennis Mack Smith, *Mussolini: A Biography*

Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter*

W. S. Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power*

Martin Kitchen, *Europe Between the Wars*

Questions to Consider:

1. How would you define Fascism as a political ideology? Where did it come from, what did it stand for, and what did it seek to achieve? What was its relationship to nationalism, to liberal capitalism, and to Marxist socialism?
2. In many ways, the victory of Fascism in Italy was a product of the First World War. How would you explain the rise of Benito Mussolini and his Black Shirts? How were they able to transform the liberal Italian state into a Fascist dictatorship within only a few years?

Lecture Thirty-Five
The Democracies in Crisis

Scope: The interwar period was a time of social turmoil and political crisis for the Western democracies, as each struggled to deal with recurrent economic problems (postwar inflation, stabilization, and the Great Depression) and the threat of political extremism. In this lecture we examine the sources of Western weakness in meeting the challenge from the extremes of left and right, dealing with socioeconomic and political developments and politics in France, Great Britain, and Germany during this crucial period when many believed that parliamentary democracy was ineffectual and doomed.

Outline

I. While Fascism and Soviet communism seemed to offer solutions to the postwar economic and social problems, the Western democracies staggered from crisis to crisis.

A. Britain experienced heavy strains during the postwar era.

1. In the wake of the Great War, Britain faced a difficult economic readjustment.

2. Long-term economic pressures from mounting industrial competition were now exacerbated.

3. During the interwar years, Britain faced chronic problems with unemployment.

4. The government took steps toward establishing a welfare state, but problems persisted.

a. The climax of labor troubles came with the coal-miners' strike of 1926, which turned into a general strike.

b. The government declared a state of emergency and took strong anti-union measures, notably the Trades Dispute Act of 1927.

5. During the 1920s the Labor Party surpassed the Liberals.

a. In 1924 and again in 1929 Ramsay MacDonald presided over a Labor-led coalition government.

b. Lib-Lab coalitions became an alternative to Conservative rule.

6. The Great Depression had a severe impact in Britain.

a. Three million British workers were unemployed by 1931.

b. The Labor Party grew disenchanted with MacDonald's economic orthodoxy. At the height of the crisis, the Government had to be reformed as a National Government, with support from the Liberals and Conservatives.

c. Neither MacDonald's National Government (1931-35) nor the Conservative governments of Stanley Baldwin (1935-37) and Neville Chamberlain (1937-1940) could pull Britain out of its economic doldrums.

B. France

1. In the immediate postwar years, French domestic and foreign policy was driven by determination to establish a collective security system to protect France from Germany.

a. Facing problems from inflation, France needed German reparations to finance its own economic recovery.

b. German failure to meet reparations obligations led in 1923 to the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr.

2. Between 1926 and 1929, France, under Poincaré, seemed to have recovered.

3. The onset of the Great Depression came later to France and was less severe than in either Britain or Germany, but industrial production dropped and the government faced mounting financial problems.

4. French political culture in the postwar years was dominated by ideological polarization, and the Great Depression intensified that polarization.

a. On the right were the traditional conservatives and the proto-fascist *Action Francaise* and *Croix de Feu.*

b. The left was splintered between the Socialists and the newly founded Communists.

5. In 1934 the Stavisky scandal led to a massive right-wing demonstration against the Republic in Paris that ended in violence.

a. The Republic seemed to be in peril.

b. The scandal led to the founding of the leftist Popular Front government.

6. Leon Blum's Popular Front won a major electoral victory in 1936.
    a. It pledged to defend the Republic against Fascism, to introduce major labor reforms, and to deal with the Depression.
    b. The Popular Front introduced the forty-hour work week, enacted a new collective bargaining law that greatly strengthened organized labor, and outlawed the armed fascist organizations.
7. Nonetheless Blum's government was turned out of office in 1937.
    a. Class divisions were greater than ever, sapping French resolve.
    b. France's international position was weakened.
8. In 1938, Edouard Daladier headed a new conservative government that sought to undo much of the Popular Front's pro-labor legislation. That year, the government faced major international crises and a general strike by labor.

II. These problems were also apparent in Germany.

A. The constitution of the postwar German republic was drafted in the provincial city of Weimar, away from the chaos in Berlin.
1. It was written largely by the Social Democratic-liberal-Catholic coalition that had supported the peace resolution of 1917.
2. It established a progressive social-democratic polity that turned Germany into Europe's first modern welfare state.

B. The new government was burdened with a crisis of legitimacy.
1. The republic was associated with defeat and surrender.
2. The "Stab-in-the-Back" legend haunted the republic from the beginning.
3. The republican government was forced to accept the hated Treaty of Versailles.

C. Problems of the immediate postwar period exacerbated this crisis.
1. Millions of returning soldiers had to be demobilized.
2. Hunger was rampant.
3. The government needed to find jobs for returning veterans and honor the pension obligations of the Imperial government.
4. The government feared Bolshevik-style revolution. It also feared an Allied invasion if the domestic situation got out of hand.
5. The crisis of legitimacy affected the government's choices concerning how to deal with these problems. In particular, the government did not feel it could afford a recession.

D. The period from 1919 to 1924 was characterized by cabinet instability, a wave of political murders by right-wing terrorists, *coups d'êtat* from left and right, and separatist movements in the Rhineland and Bavaria.

E. All of these problems culminated in the great crisis of 1923.
1. The Franco-Belgian invasion of the Ruhr set off hyperinflation in Germany.
2. The deutschemark simply collapsed during 1923.
3. The government ruled by emergency decree.
4. In October, Communists attempted a coup in Hamburg.
5. In November, Hitler's NSDAP attempted to overthrow the Bavarian government in the so-called "Beer Hall Putsch."
6. Foreign intervention in the form of the Dawes Plan ended the economic and political crisis in late November 1923 and prepared the way for a stabilization of both the economy and the Weimar state.

F. During the "Golden Twenties"—1924 to 1929—it appeared that democracy might take root in Germany.
1. Buoyed by massive foreign investment, the mark was stabilized in early 1924.
2. That year a Reichstag (parliament) was elected that would remain in office for almost four years and would practice moderation in both foreign and domestic affairs.
3. In 1928 elections, the radical parties—the Nazis and Communists—were roundly defeated, and the Republic seemed at last on solid footing.
4. But trouble was lurking just beneath the surface.
    a. Germany's economic recovery was based on foreign capital.

b. Pockets of high unemployment and dissatisfaction with the government's economic policy were reflected in the spectacular growth of special-interest parties that attacked the "Weimar system" and together received more votes than the liberals and almost as many as the conservatives. While not radical, their appeal was consistent with that of the NSDAP.

G. The Great Depression hit Germany hard.

1. The Wall Street crash led to the exodus of American capital.

2. The German economy collapsed almost immediately.

3. The Great Coalition government that had been elected in 1928 collapsed in 1930.

4. Heinrich Bruning attempted to halt the economy's slide through a severe policy of retrenchment.

5. Introduced by emergency decree, those policies were not effective. They led to the radicalization and polarization of German politics.

6. The crisis of German democracy was reflected most ominously in the sudden and spectacular rise of Hitler's NSDAP.

Questions to Consider:

1. After the First World War, all the democracies of Europe experienced grave crises, both economic and political. What were the nature of those crises, and why did the parliamentary regimes seem so incapable of dealing effectively with them?

2. The new Weimar Republic in Germany was the most vulnerable of the postwar parliamentary regimes. What were the sources of its weakness? Many historians have argued that the Weimar Republic was doomed from its very birth. Would you agree?

Lecture Thirty-Six
Hitler and the Rise of Nazism in Germany

Scope: Although Mussolini and his Black Shirts were the first Fascist party to seize power in Europe, Adolf Hitler's National Socialist or Nazi Party in Germany became the most powerful and aggressive movement of the new, radical right in the interwar years. In this lecture we examine the rise of the Nazi Party from its creation in 1919 to Hitler's appointment as chancellor of Germany in 1933. We assess the sources—and limits—of Nazi popularity, Hitler's radical new style of political campaigning, and the weakness of democratic forces in the ill-fated Weimar Republic.

Outline

I. The Early Years of the NSDAP

A. Initially a debating club, the party became transformed into a political organization.
1. It was founded in Munich in 1919 as the German Workers' Party.
2. Hitler joined shortly thereafter and quickly assumed leadership of the party.
a. He was an Austrian citizen who had served in the German army.
b. Although he had no previous political experience, he had a remarkable talent for public speaking and propaganda.
3. Hitler changed the name of the party and rewrote its program.
a. The party was now the National Socialist German Workers' Party or NSDAP.
b. It was an enigma in German political life, aiming to recruit support from every class and region of Germany by combining socialist and nationalist ideas and terminology.
4. Drafted by Hitler in 1920, the Twenty-Five Points became the official program of the NSDAP. This program did not change in subsequent years.
a. The party vehemently opposed both Marxism and capitalism.
b. It called for a corporatist economic order.
c. It was nationalistic and expansionist, calling for *Lebensraum*, or living space, in the East.
d. The party program was rabidly anti-Semitic.
e. It pledged to create a classless *Volksgemeinschaft* or "people's community" based on German ethnicity.
5. Until 1923 the NSDAP was little known outside of Bavaria.

B. The Beer Hall Putsch and Its Aftermath
1. In November 1923 Hitler led the party in a conspiracy to overthrow the Bavarian government and then to march on Berlin *a la* Mussolini.
2. Although the Beer Hall Putsch was a fiasco, Hitler turned his trial for treason in the spring of 1924 into a great public relations victory.
3. He spent roughly one year in Landsberg prison, where he wrote *Mein Kampf*.
4. On his release from prison, he refounded the party and announced his intention to pursue "the path of legality" to power. That is, the party would concentrate on expanding its membership and winning elections.
5. Although Hitler organized a system of propaganda cells around the country, the Nazis' showing in the 1928 elections was a great disappointment for the party. With less than three percent of the vote, the party was a minor curiosity on the lunatic fringes of German politics.

II. The Rise of the NSDAP, 1930-1932

A. The Great Depression had a great impact on the fortunes of the NSDAP.
1. It provided the party with the issue it had lacked.
2. As the Depression deepened in 1929-30, the party began to campaign relentlessly against the economic and social failures of the "Weimar system." It mastered the art of negative campaigning against the Weimar system.
3. The NSDAP entered into a temporary alliance with the Conservative party under Alfred Hugenberg, who believed he could control Hitler.

a. These parties cooperated in the anti-Young campaign of 1929.
b. Cooperation with the Conservatives gave the NSDAP access to money and gave it an air of respectability with conservative voters.

4. Bruning's stringent policy of economic retrenchment and his use of emergency decrees to pass unpopular economic legislation made him an easy target for the Nazis.
5. In September 1930 the Nazis scored an astonishing electoral breakthrough, winning 18 percent of the vote. The NSDAP was now the second-largest party in Germany.

B. The Nazis now perfected their propaganda machine.
1. They developed the revolutionary policy of "perpetual campaigning."
2. Attention to technique rather than substance was the key to Nazi campaigning.
3. Nazi propaganda, under the direction of Josef Goebbels, pioneered a variety of modern campaigning techniques.

C. Four crucial national elections were held during 1932.
1. In the spring, Hitler lost a bid for the presidency to Reichspresident Hindenburg, but his campaign had established him as the leading opposition figure in Germany.
2. Later in the spring, the Nazis scored major victories in Prussia and Bavaria, Germany's two largest states.
3. Then in July, the Nazis won 38 percent of the vote in national elections, making the NSDAP the largest party in Germany.
4. Hindenburg refused to make Hitler chancellor, and new elections were called for November.
5. In those elections the Nazis lost votes for the first time since 1928, breaking their streak of electoral victories and provoking a crisis in the Nazi leadership.
6. The party's vote continued to plummet in regional elections during December 1932 and January 1933.
7. The NSDAP seemed on the verge of unraveling when, in January 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor.

D. Reasons for the Nazis' success included:
1. The legacy of Germany's loss in the Great War, especially the Treaty of Versailles.
2. The chronic economic woes of the Weimar Republic.
3. The power and inventiveness of Nazi propaganda.
4. The inability of the Weimar parties to resolve the economic and political problems of the period.
5. The fact that among the major non-Marxist parties, only the Nazis had never been in power, had never had to make decisions, and were not held responsible for the failures of the Weimar years.

Questions to Consider:

1. The failure of the Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis are interrelated but not identical issues. How was Adolf Hitler able to rise from utter obscurity in 1919 to become chancellor of Germany in 1933, considering that in 1928 the NSDAP had not been able to attract more than three percent of the national vote?

2. What the appeal of National Socialism? From what groups did the NSDAP draw its support, and how did the Nazis attempt to mobilize a constituency? How much weight would you give to the party's ideology as a drawing card?

Glossary

***Action Francaise*:** A rightist, monarchist political organization founded in the late nineteenth century and led by Charles Maurras. It played a salient role in the Dreyfus case and would remain active as a right-wing nationalist force in French politics into the twentieth century.

***Anschluss*:** The *Anschluss*, or "union" or "connection" between Austria and Nazi Germany, was accomplished by Hitler in the spring of 1938.

***Blitzkrieg*:** A radically new military strategy based on the use of massed armor, tactical air support, and motorized infantry to achieve a rapid victory, it was employed by the Germans between 1939 and 1941.

***Blockwart*:** During the Third Reich, in each neighborhood or apartment building one individual served as the "block watch," keeping tabs on his neighbors. The *Blockwart* watched to determine who was loyal to the regime and who was not.

Bolshevik: The radical left wing of the Russian Social Democratic party, the Bolsheviks were the minority, while the Mensheviks represented the majority of the Social Democratic party.

***Carbonari*:** A secret society in early nineteenth century Italy, the name derived from the practice of swearing in new members by making a mark on the initiate's forehead with charcoal. The *Carbonari* were originally organized to resist Napoleon's armies, but after 1815 they agitated for Italian unification and opposition to the presence of foreign monarchies on Italian soil.

***Cheka*:** The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission or *Cheka* was a police organization founded in December 1917 to gather information on and arrest opponents of the Bolsheviks. Under Stalin it evolved into the Soviet secret police.

***Croix de Feu*:** Created in France in 1929, the Cross of Fire was a right-wing veterans' organization that denounced the "decadence" of the Third Republic. It was not unlike the fascist paramilitary organizations in Italy and Germany after the First World War, opposing parliamentary democracy and especially the socialist left.

***Diktat*:** The "dictated peace," or *Diktat*, was the derisive description applied by the Germans to the hated Treaty of Versailles after the First World War.

Dreadnought: The newly designed battleship of the late 1890s that promised to revolutionize naval warfare and render existing fleets largely obsolete. The determination of the Germans to construct a fleet of Dreadnoughts led to a bitter naval rivalry with Britain and poisoned Anglo-German relations before 1914.

***Duce*:** "Leader," in Italian, was the title taken by Mussolini upon his consolidation of power in the mid-1920s.

***Drole de Guerre*:** The French term for "phony war" or "*Sitzkrieg*" in German, it referred to the strange lull in fighting between the fall of Poland in 1939 and the German onslaught in Western Europe in the spring of 1940.

***Einsatzgruppen*:** Special SS commando units dispatched into Poland and the Soviet Union to conduct "special operations" against the Jews. During the summer of 1941 they conducted a bloodbath on the Eastern front, slaughtering perhaps as many as a million Jews.

***Enrichez-Vous*:** "Get rich!" This sentence was attributed to Louis Philippe's chief minister Guizot during the ill-fated July monarchy of 1830-1848. It was said to be in response to demands to reform the suffrage laws that heavily favored the wealthy. It was symptomatic of the crass insensitivity of the Citizen-King's regime.

***Endlosung*:** The Nazi "final solution to the Jewish question," the *Endlosung* in 1941 came to mean the physical extermination of the Jews.

***Entjudung*:** "De-Jewification" was the ugly term used by the Nazis to describe their policy of urging/forcing Jews to leave Germany between 1933 and the outbreak of the war in 1939.

***Fuhrer*:** Hitler assumed the title of "leader," or Fuhrer, within the NSDAP shortly after his release from prison in 1925. It would become his formal title after the death of Hindenburg in 1934, when he merged the offices of chancellor and president.

Gestapo: The Gestapo was the Nazi "Secret State Police" created by Goring in 1933. It became one of main pillars of Nazi totalitarian rule in Germany and Europe.

Girondins: A faction of French revolutionaries (1789-1799), many of whom were from the Gironde district of France, whose support for a moderate course in the revolution would pit them increasingly against the more radical Jacobins.

***glasnost*:** Gorbachev's policy of greater openness in the Soviet government and politics initiated in 1985, *glasnost* attempted to maintain the authority of the Communist party while liberalizing the political system.

***Gleichschaltung*:** *Gleichschaltung* was the term used to describe the Nazi policy of bringing all agencies of the German state and society into line, coordinating them under Nazi rule. The period from 1933 to 1935 is usually referred to the period of *Gleichschaltung*.

***Gosplan*:** The *Gosplan* was the Soviet agency that administered the Five-Year Plans, determining production schedules, prices, and the allocation of resources.

***Grossdeutschland/Kleindeutschland*:** During the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, the liberals meeting in Frankfurt to create a united German state were divided over whether the new German state should be a greater Germany or (*Grossdeutschland* including Austria), or a small Germany (*Kleindeutschland*) excluding the Habsburg lands.

***Gulag*:** This was the system of prison camps created for political opponents by the Soviet state under Stalin.

***Italia Irrendenta*:** During and after the First World War, Italian nationalists called for the return of "unredeemed" Italian lands to the north and across the Adriatic, especially Fiume, Istria, and Dalmatia.

Jacobins: The leading and most radical faction among the French revolutionaries after 1789, the Jacobins derived their name from their organization or club met originally in the house of the religious order the Jacobins. The Jacobins would assume leadership of the Republic, especially during the Terror.

***Kristallnacht*:** The "night of broken glass" against the Jews was carried out by the Nazi regime on November 9-10,1938. It marked the first nationally coordinated campaign of violence against Jews with clear direction and support of the regime.

***Kulaks*:** This class of relatively wealthy, property-owning peasants was eliminated by the Soviets during the First Five-Year Plan in the collectivization of agriculture. The number of deaths and deportations to the *Gulag* number in the millions.

***laissez-faire*:** The policy endorsed by nineteenth-century liberals, calling for the government to remove the barriers to free economic activity. It became a central feature of the liberal agenda, assaulting the established power of the guilds, internal tolls and tariffs, and calling for free trade between states.

***Lebensraum*:** From his earliest speeches and writings, Hitler demanded "living space" for the German people. This desire for living space was directed largely toward the East, where Hitler anticipated a war of conquest.

***Luftwaffe*:** The German Air Force was reestablished in 1935 under the leadership of Hermann Goering.

Mensheviks: The larger and more moderate wing of the Russian Social Democratic party. The Mensheviks continued to be the most popular wing of the party, but they were consistently out-maneuvered by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

NEP: The New Economic Policy was announced by Lenin in 1921 in a move to rescue the Soviet economy from the horrors of war and civil war. It allowed a degree of private ownership, especially on the land. It was a retreat from the revolutionary goals of the revolution and would be reversed by Stalin in 1928.

***perestroika*:** Gorbachev's policy of "restructuring" the Soviet economy in the mid-1980s, *perestroika* was an attempt to make the Soviet economy more competitive with the West and to meet the growing demand for consumer goods within the Soviet Union. Together with *glasnost*, it represented one of the main pillars of Gorbachev's failed effort to reform the Soviet Union.

***Realpolitik*:** "The politics of realism," *Realpolitik* is associated above all with Otto von Bismarck's rule in Prussia/Germany. It implied ignoring ideological principles when they conflicted with concrete objectives of the monarchy. Typically, his *Realpolitik* infuriated doctrinaire liberals and conservatives alike.

***Sippenhaft*:** *Sippenhaft* was the Nazi policy, initiated by the Gestapo, of arresting whole families for the crimes of one of its members.

***Squadristi*:** *Squadristi* were Mussolini's fighting street organization used to keep opponents in line, similar to Hitler's Storm Troopers.

Thermidor: Thermidor was a month of the new French revolutionary calendar. The period following the Terror is usually referred to as the Thermidorean Reaction, when the opponents of Robespierre and his followers overthrew the Committee of Public Safety on the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) and set the revolution on a more moderate course.

***Volksgemeinschaft*:** The Nazis sought to create a classless "people's community" of all Germans. The *Volksgemeinschaft* was an alternative to both Marxist and liberal visions of the social order.

***Zollverein*:** The *Zollverein* was the Prussian Customs Union, originally established in 1819, which evolved gradually into a powerful weapon for the Hohenzollerns in their efforts to bring unification under Prussian auspices. By cleverly excluding the Austrians while incorporating all the other German states by the early 1860s, conservative Prussia made itself the economic leader of Germany and the darling of liberal business interests everywhere in German central Europe.

Timeline

The Revolutionary Epoch, 1789-1815

1789 ..... The French Revolution breaks out

1792 ..... The First French Republic is established

1792-1795 ..... Wars of the French Revolution sweep Western Europe (the wars would continue with little respite down to the fall of Napoleon in 1815)

1793-1794 ..... The Terror reigns in France

1795-1799 ..... The Directory rules in France

1799-1804 ..... Napoleon assumes power in the Consulate

1804-1815 ..... Napoleon establishes the Empire, reigns until 1815

1812 ..... Napoleon invades Russia

1813 ..... Napoleon defeated at the Battle of Leipzig

1814 ..... The Bourbons restored at the Congress of Vienna; Napoleon in exile

1815 ..... The Hundred Days of Napoleon's return end with the Battle of Waterloo

The Age of Restoration, 1815-1848

1814-1830 ..... The Bourbon Monarchy restored in France, overthrown in the Revolution of 1830

1815 ..... The Corn Laws, establishing tariffs on imported grains, signed into law in Britain

1819 ..... Metternich enacts the Carlsbad Decrees

1819 ..... The Prussian *Zollverein* established

1819 ..... The Peterloo Massacres occur in Britain

1830 ..... Charles X is overthrown in France

1830-1848 ..... The July Monarchy under Louis Philippe created in France

1832 ..... The First Reform Bill enacted in Britain

1838-1848 ..... The Chartist Movement emerges in Britain

1846 ..... The Corn Laws are repealed

The Revolutions of 1848 and Their Aftermath

1848 ..... Revolution breaks out in Paris in February with creation of the Second Republic

1848 ..... In March similar revolutionary events erupt in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and the capital cities of the smaller German states

1848 ..... The Frankfurt Parliament attempts to create a liberal, united Germany

1848 ..... Italian revolutionaries seize Rome, declare a Roman republic

1848 ..... Marx and Engels publish *The Communist Manifesto*

1848 ..... John Stuart Mill publishes *The Principles of Political Economy*, perhaps the most powerful statement of classical liberal economic thought

1848-1849 ..... Rollback of the revolution begins in the summer of 1848 with the June Days in France and continues into 1849, as the Habsburgs restore the monarchic order in Central Europe

1851 ..... The Crystal Palace Exhibition in London marks the "Golden Age" of British liberal capitalism

1852 ..... Louis Napoleon, now Napoleon III, establishes the Second Empire

1854-1856 ..... The Crimean War is fought by Britain, France, and Italy against Russia

1859 ..... Darwin publishes *On the Origin of Species*

1861 ..... The serfs are emancipated in Russia

An Era of National Unification, 1859-1871

Italian Unification

1851-1861 ..... Movement for national unification in Italy led by Cavour, 1851-1861

1859 ..... Sardinia Piedmont, supported by France, goes to war with Habsburgs

1860 ..... Garibaldi leads his Red Shirts on Rome

1861 ..... Cavour proclaims the Kingdom of Italy with Victor Emmanuel as king

1861 ..... Cavour dies

1866 ..... Prussian defeat of Austria allows Italy to seize Venetia

1870 ..... French troops are withdrawn from Rome due to the Franco-Prussian War, and Rome is annexed to Italy, becoming the capital

German Unification

1862 ..... Bismarck appointed chancellor in Prussia

1863 ..... The *Zollverein* is renewed and Austria excluded

1864 ..... Prussian and Austria defeat Denmark, seizing Schleswig and Holstein

1866 ..... Prussia defeats Austria and creates the North German Confederation

1870-1871 ..... Prussia and its German allies defeat France

1871 ..... The German Empire is created at the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles

The New Imperialism

1880 ..... The high tide of European imperial expansion begins

1883-1893 ..... The French become involved in Indochina

1885 ..... The Berlin Conference on Africa lays the ground rules for the division of Africa

1885-1898 ..... The African continent is divided among the major European powers

1895-1898 ..... Crisis in the Far East mounts

1898 ..... The British and French come close to war over the Fashoda crisis

1899-1902 ..... The British become embroiled in the Boer War

1904 ..... The Russians are defeated by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese War

1904-1911 ..... German pressure in North Africa leads to confrontations with France and Britain, punctuated by the Morocco Crisis of 1904 and the Agadir crisis of 1911)

The Age of Mass Politics

1864-1876 ..... The First International is established

1867 ..... Marx publishes *Capital*

1871 ..... The Paris Commune gives birth to the "red scare"

1878-1890 ..... Bismarck enacts the Anti-Socialist Laws in Germany

1884 ..... Britain expands the suffrage, joining Germany and France with near-universal male suffrage

1889 ..... The Second International is founded

1891 ..... With the repressive laws lifted, the German Social Democrats formally adopt Marxism as their program at Erfurt and quickly emerge as the largest party in Germany

1893 ..... The German Conservative Party formally adopts anti-Semitism in its program, marking the arrival of modern anti-Semitism in European political culture

1894-1906 ..... The Dreyfus Case unfolds in France

1899 ..... Bernstein published *Evolutionary Socialism*

1905 ..... Revolution erupts in Russia

Intellectual and Cultural Developments, 1871-1914

1871 ..... Darwin publishes his *Descent of Man*

1879 ..... Wilhelm Wundt establishes the first psychological laboratory, and Pavlov conducts his experiments on the "conditioned response"

1883 ..... Nietzsche begins his career with the publication of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*

1889 ..... The Eiffel Tower is opened at the Paris Exposition

1900 ..... Freud published *The Interpretation of Dreams*

1902 ..... John Hobson published *Imperialism: A Study*

1905-1915 ..... Einstein's theory of relativity is presented

The Coming of the Great War, 1871-1914

1878 ..... The Austro-German alliance is signed

1882 ..... The Triple Alliance among Germany, Austria, and Italy is formalized

1890 ..... Germany refuses to renew its Reinsurance Treaty with Russia

1894 ..... The Franco-Russian Alliance is signed, breaking the isolation of France

1898 ..... Anglo-German naval race begins

1904 ..... England enters into Entente with France

1907 ..... The Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia is created

1908 ..... The Bosnian crisis leads Europe to the brink of war

1912-1913 ..... The Balkan Wars set the stage for big-power conflict in the region

1914 ..... The assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo

1914 ..... The July Crisis ends with the outbreak of general war

1916 ..... The battles of Verdun and the Somme reveal the enormity of the conflict

1917 ..... The United States enters the war

1917 ..... The Revolution in Russia leads to Russian withdrawal from the war

1918 ..... The Armistice and defeat prompts revolution in Austria and Germany, bringing the end of the Habsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties

1919 ..... The Treaty of Versailles is negotiated

The Age of Ideology

1917 ..... The Bolsheviks seize power in Russia

1918-1920 ..... Civil war erupts in Russia

1922 ..... Mussolini and the Fascists assume power in Italy

1923 ..... The French and Belgians occupy the Ruhr in January

1923 ..... Hyper-inflation creates economic chaos in Germany

1923 ..... Hitler attempts to overthrow the government of Bavaria and Germany in the Beer Hall *Putsch* in November

1924 ..... The Dawes Plan helps stabilize the economic situation in Europe

1925 ..... Stalin assumes control of the Soviet Union following Lenin's death

1926 ..... The General Strike is put down by the British government

1928 ..... The Soviet Union embarks on the first Five Year Plan

1929-1930 ..... The Great Depression settles on Europe

1931 ..... National Government, headed by Ramsay MacDonald, is created in Britain to deal with the economic crisis

1932 ..... Stalin announces the Second Five Year Plan

1933 ..... Hitler appointed chancellor in Germany

1934 ..... Death of Hindenburg allows Nazis to complete consolidation of their power

1935 ..... The Nazis enact the Nurnberg Laws

1936-1937 ..... The Popular Front holds power in France

1936-1937 ..... Purges and show trials begin in the Soviet Union

1936-1939 ..... The Spanish Civil War erupts

1938 ..... The Nazis unleash a national pogrom in the *Reichskristallnacht*

1938 ..... The Red Army is purged

The Second World War

1933 ..... Germany withdraws from the League of Nations

1935 ..... Germany rearms

1936 ..... Germany remilitarizes the Rhineland

1938 ..... Germany absorbs Austria in the *Anschluss*

1938 ..... The crisis over the Sudetenland leads to the Munich Conference

1939 ..... In March the Germans march into Czechoslovakia

1939 ..... In August the Nazi-Soviet Pact is signed

1939 ..... In September, the Germans invade Poland

1939-1940 ..... The Phony War prevailed between the attack on Poland and the German attack in the West in April

1940 ..... The German assault in the west begin, and France falls within a single month

1940 ..... The Vichy government created in France

1940 ..... The Battle of Britain results in British air victory, preventing a German cross-channel invasion

1941 ..... In June the Germans invade the Soviet Union

1941 ..... In December the Japanese attack Pearl Harbor and Germany declares war on the United States

1942 ..... In January the Nazi SS leader Heydrich unveils his plan for the mass extermination of the Jews at a secret conference in Wannsee

1942 ..... The death camps are created in Eastern Europe for the "final solution to the Jewish question"

1942-1943 ..... In November the Western Allies invade North Africa and defeat the Germans, while the Russians inflict a terrific defeat on the Germans, marking the turning point in the war in the East

1943-1945 ..... The Western Allies mount a massive air campaign against Germany

1944 ..... In June the D-Day landings in France mark the turning point of the war in the West

1944 ..... Hitler launches his last offensive in the West in December (the Battle of the Bulge)

1945 ..... In February at the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin determine the zones of occupation for postwar Germany and Europe

1945 ..... Hitler commits suicide in April, and the war in Europe ends in early May

Postwar Europe

1947 ..... The United States announces the Marshall Plan

1947 ..... President Truman proclaims the Truman Doctrine

1948 ..... Communists seize power in Czechoslovakia

1948-1949 ..... The Berlin Airlift rescues West Berlin and intensifies the Cold War

1949 ..... NATO is founded

1949 ..... The division of Germany seems permanent, with the creation of two German states

1951 ..... European Coal and Steel Community is founded

1953 ..... Stalin dies

1954 ..... Western European Union created

1954 ..... West Germany rearms, enters NATO

1954 ..... French are defeated in Indochina and the Algerian War begins

1956 ..... The Hungarian revolt is crushed by the Soviet Union

1956 ..... Khrushchev denounces Stalin at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress

1957 ..... DeGaulle assumes power and the Fifth Republic is created

1957 ..... The Treaty of Rome creates the Common Market

1961 ..... The Berlin Wall is built

1962 ..... The French withdraw from Algeria

1964 ..... Khrushchev forced from power; Brezhnev gradually assumes control

1968 ..... Students protest in Western Europe; DeGaulle withdraws from power shortly thereafter

1968 ..... The Prague Spring is crushed by the Soviet Union; the Brezhnev Doctrine is proclaimed

1973 ..... The Common Market expands to include Britain, Denmark, and Ireland

1979 ..... The European Economic Community is established

1985 ..... Gorbachev embarks on *glasnost* and *perestroika*

1989 ..... Gorbachev's rejection of the Brezhnev Doctrine sets off chain reaction of revolt in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany

1989 ..... The East German government collapses and the Berlin Wall is opened

1990 ..... Peace Treaty formally ending World War II is signed with Germany, and Germany is united

1991 ..... The Soviet Union dissolves

Comprehensive Bibliography

Essential Reading

There are several very good comprehensive histories of Modern Europe, each possessing a distinct set of virtues. I have chosen John Merriman's excellent two-volume history as the basic text for this course, in large part because the richness of detail in his work serves as a useful companion to the lectures. At least two others deserve mention here and could be used with equal profit. Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie G. Smith have also written an extremely interesting two-volume history of Western Civilization, the second volume of which covers the period dealt with in this course. Finally, the updated edition of *A History of the Modern World* by R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton is still of great value, and I recommend it highly. The essential reading for each of lectures is a chapter or chapters from Merriman's book, but if a student should choose Hunt et al or Palmer and Colton, the relevant sections would be obvious.

Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie Smith, *The Challenge of the West*, volume 2, (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1995). The second volume deals with the period 1560 to the present. It is less detailed than Merriman's book but the chronological scope of the second volume is greater.

John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 2 volumes (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996). The second volume opens with the outbreak of the French Revolution (chapters dealing with the Enlightenment and the long-term factors leading to the events of 1789 are found at the conclusion of the first volume. Merriman's work offers in-depth treatment of each of the major themes raised in the course, providing a wealth of detail to augment the lectures.

R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983). Palmer and Colton have crafted a genuinely global history that begins with the Medieval period and proceeds to the present. In some ways it is the most traditional of the three, but its value as a guide to Europe in the Modern period is great.

Supplemental Reading

William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power* (New York: Franklin Watts, revised edition, 1984). Hitler's rise to power is examined in a single German town. An insightful and highly readable case study.

Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern* (Cambridge: Granata Books, 1990). The revolutionary upheavals of 1989 in eastern Europe are treated by a journalist who was on the scene. A perceptive account that captures the drama of events in Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, and Budapest.

Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992). Berenson uses a highly publicized murder trial in Paris during the summer of 1914 to reflect the cultural, social, and political values of pre-war France.

Louis Bergeron, *France Under Napoleon* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981). One of the very best treatments of the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, from his rise to power to the final collapse of his empire.

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992) A powerful—and terrifying—analysis of a single unit of Nazi police officials who carried out a bloodbath on the eastern front.

Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1983). An analysis of who voted for Hitler 's Nazi party and why during the party's dramatic rise to power between 1919 and 1933.

Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Conquest revisits the Stalinist terror between 1928 and 1941, arguing that the number of victims was far greater than traditionally assumed.

Victoria DeGrazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922-1945* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1992) DeGrazia uses an examination of Fascist policy toward women to reflect Fascist social and cultural values more broadly.

Marc Ferro, *October 1917: A Social History of the Russian Revolution* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1980). Ferro analyzes the social bases of the revolutionary movement that swept the Bolsheviks into power in 1917.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1932* (New York: Oxford University Press 1984). An intelligent, in-depth treatment of the transformation of the Russian state and society under Bolshevik rule, from the revolution to the close of the First Five-Year Plan.

Francois Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). An analysis of the massive literature concerning the French Revolution by one of France's leading historians.

Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). A brilliant study of the impact of the First World War on values, language, and literature in the West.

Lothar Gall, *Bismarck: The White Revolutionary*, 2 vols. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986). The best of the numerous biographies of Otto von Bismarck's remarkable career, from his early years through his rule in Prussia/Germany.

Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York: Knopf, 1966-69) Gay's monumental book on the ideas and individuals who defined the Enlightenment remains the standard work on the subject.

Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1985 edition). Perhaps the best memoir of the First World War, Graves's book depicts not only the horrors of combat in the trenches but a young soldier's privileged upbringing in pre-war English society.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution* (Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996 edition). An insightful examination of Darwin's thought and its impact on European intellectual and cultural development in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984). An original and important treatment of the ways in which culture and class interacted to shape the politics of the revolution of 1789.

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992). The best summary presentation of the massive historiography on the coming of the First World War, Joll's book is a valuable guide to both the long-term and immediate causes of that conflict.

John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York: Penguin,1989). The best one-volume history of the Second World War by the most insightful military historian of the century.

Ian Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Kershaw examines the sources of Hitler's remarkable popularity in Germany, from his rise to power to the last days of the Third Reich.

Martin Kitchen, *Europe Between the Wars: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1988) A valuable introduction to the political and diplomatic conflicts of the interwar years that analyzes the road to conflict from the Treaty of Versailles to the German assault on Poland in 1939.

David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). A probing analysis of the role of technological change, cultural values, and social patterns in explaining the different courses followed by Europe's major powers in creating a modern industrial economy.

Walter Laqueur, *Europe Since Hitler* (New York: Penguin, 1983). Revised and updated since the fall of communism, this volume is a useful guide to the major social and political trends in Europe from the end of the Second World War to the present.

Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton, 1995). Perhaps the best analysis of how the Anglo-American-Soviet alliance prevailed over the Axis powers in the Second World War.

Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern British Society, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1972). A useful overview of the impact of economic change on traditional British society and the evolution of class relations across a century defined by industrialization.

Pamela M. Pilbeam, *The Middle Classes in Europe, 1789-1914* (1990). A valuable comparative treatment of bourgeois social values, economic activities, and political aspirations during the nineteenth century.

Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York: Knopf, 1994). A devastating depiction of Soviet society by one of the U.S.S.R.'s harshest Western critics.

Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) The period from 1890 to the outbreak of the war represented the high-water mark of European bourgeois life, and Rearick offers a vivid picture of the cultural values, artistic tastes, and personal pleasures of that society.

Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980). In this series of essays, Schorske provides an intelligent portrait of this important European capital in the years before the First World War, from the art of Klempt to the psychoanalysis of Freud.

Dennis Mack Smith, *Cavour* (1985). An important biography, certainly the best in English, of the statesman most responsible for the unification of Italy.

Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). An original and compelling comparative analysis of the revolutions that swept Europe from Paris to Budapest in 1848 and their political aftermath.

Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1974). A classic intellectual history approach to the roots of National Socialism, Stern's book examines the ideas of three German pre-First World War thinkers whose work laid the foundation for Nazi ideology.

Jacob Walter, *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier* (New York: Penguin, 1991). Written by a German conscripted into Napoleon's *Grande Armee* that invaded Russia in 1912, this diary is the best first-hand account of combat and soldiering in an era dominated by war.

Eugen Weber, *France, Fin-De-Siecle* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press, 1986) Like Schorske's treatment of fin-de-siecle Vienna, Weber has crafted a compelling portrait of France at the turn of the century, examining its cultural values, politics, and social attitudes.

Theodor Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III* (1971). Napoleon III is often credited with creating a new, modern form of regime, blending both liberal and conservative elements. Zeldin provides a probing analysis of that regime.

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Part IV

Professor Thomas Childers

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Thomas Childers, Ph.D.

Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania

Thomas Childers was born and raised in East Tennessee. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Tennessee, and he earned his Ph.D. in History from Harvard University in 1976.

Since 1976, Professor Childers has taught in the Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania. He is a fellow of the Ford Foundation, term chair at the University of Pennsylvania and the recipient of several other fellowships and awards, including the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung Research Grant, a fellowship in European Studies from the American Council of Learned Societies, and a West European Studies Research Grant from Harvard University.

In addition to teaching at University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Childers has held visiting professorships at Trinity Hall College, Cambridge, Smith College, and Swarthmore College, and he has lectured in London, Oxford, Berlin, Munich, and other universities in the United States and Europe.

Professor Childers is the author and editor of several books on modern German history and the Second World War. These include *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, 1983) and *Reevaluating the Third Reich: New Controversies, New Interpretations* (New York, 1993). He is currently completing a trilogy on the Second World War. The first volume of that history, *Wings of Morning: The Story of the Last American Bomber Shot Down Over Germany in World War II* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1995), was praised by Jonathan Yardley in *The Washington Post* as "a powerful and unselfconsciously beautiful book." The second volume, *We'll Meet Again* (New York: Henry Holt and Company) is set for publication in spring 1999. The final volume, *The Best Years of Their Lives*, will follow in due course.

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Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age
Part IV

Europe and Western Civilization in the Modern Age

Scope:

This set of forty-eight lectures traces the course of European history from the late eighteenth century to the close of the twentieth. It is a period of relentless, frequently violent, revolutionary change that fundamentally altered the nature of political, economic, social, and cultural life in Europe, the West, and ultimately the world. It was ushered in by two seismic tremors whose reverberations shook the very foundations of traditional Europe: the Industrial Revolution in England, which during the decades after 1750 thrust aside the old economic order and introduced modern industrial capitalism, and the French Revolution of 1789-1799, which swept away the political and social underpinnings of the *Ancien Regime* in France and threatened entrenched elites everywhere in Europe.

After an introductory lecture that raises the basic themes of the course, the next two lectures examine Europe on the eve of the French Revolution. We consider the existing social order across the continent as well as the various forms of monarchy, from constitutional monarchy in England to the "enlightened absolutism" of Prussia and the divine-right monarchy of absolutist France. We examine how the ideas of the Enlightenment, with its relentless emphasis on reason and its attack on tradition, posed a serious threat to the very foundations of absolutist monarchy in the late eighteenth century. That challenge was particularly acute in France, where Enlightenment thought was highly developed and widespread and where the political institutions of the old regime had atrophied to an alarming extent.

The next set of seven lectures explores the French Revolution and its Napoleonic aftermath. In Lectures Four through Six, we examine the origins of the revolution—both the long-range causes and the immediate factors that precipitated the events of 1789—and we trace the dramatic course of the revolution, focusing in particular on the principles of the revolution embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the Terror of 1793, and the achievements of the revolution. In Lecture Seven we turn our attention to the final years of the revolution, a period referred to as the Directory, and the dramatic rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. The young general always claimed that he was the legitimate heir of 1789, but Napoleon pushed aside the republican government and declared himself emperor of the French.

The crowned heads of Europe unanimously viewed Napoleon and his empire—the largest since the days of Rome—not only as a challenge to existing European balance of power but to the institution of monarchy as well, and we will analyze their responses. Lecture Eight examines the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo and the work of the Congress of Vienna, where the established conservative powers sought to restore the old order at home and reestablish a balance of military power and diplomatic influence abroad. In the final lecture of this set, we assess the challenge of liberal nationalism that emerged from the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. From 1815 to 1848, conservative rulers were determined to root out liberal/nationalist subversion everywhere, and we will examine the connection between nationalism and the emerging liberal movement in Europe.

The French Revolution unleashed radical political forces in Europe, and the Industrial Revolution, to which we turn in the next two lectures, produced equally portentous social and economic changes. Between roughly 1750 and 1850, Britain was transformed from a largely agrarian and commercial society into a dynamic industrial one, and the rest of Europe slowly followed the British lead. We will isolate the key components of this economic transformation, following the course of technological innovations such as the spinning jenny and steam engine to the radically new organization of the "factory system." We will untangle the different factors that made Britain the first industrial nation and explain why this momentous economic transformation began when it did. Finally, we will turn to the free-market, *laissez faire* ideas that formed the philosophical basis of emerging liberal capitalism, and we will assess the profound social impact of this new economic system, especially on the blue-collar working class created by capitalist industrialization.

The next three lectures analyze the revolutions 1848, the first European-wide revolution of the modern age. First we examine the problematic attempt at restoration in France, the mounting disaffection with the monarchy, and finally the course of the revolution from its outbreak in February to its demise in December. Then, in Lecture Fourteen, we travel across the Rhine to examine events in German Central Europe. The revolution in France was driven by a liberal agenda to expand the franchise and create a more representative government, but in Central Europe the issues were far more complex. Here nationalism complicated the agenda, as liberal revolutionaries not only sought to overthrow the governments of the various German states but simultaneously to create a united Germany as well. In the Habsburg Empire, national and ethnic rivalries in Bohemia, Hungary, and the Italian provinces threatened not

only to bring down the monarchy but to sabotage any liberal effort at creating a coherent polity. Finally, in Lecture Fifteen, we assess the achievements and failures of the revolutionary movements all over Europe and conclude that the conservatives were able to draw lessons from the events of 1848 that would allow them to modernize conservatism for the last half of the nineteenth century.

One of those lessons was that nationalism, assumed until 1848 to be a integral part of the liberal agenda, could, in fact, be used by conservative forces to draw support away from the liberal movement. That lesson is vividly demonstrated in the unification of both Italy and Germany under conservative or very moderate liberal auspices. In Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen we examine the process of unification in German Central Europe, especially the shrewd policies of Otto von Bismarck, and the unification of Italy initiated by the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont under Cavour. We assess the respective roles of economics, popular nationalism, and the manipulation of both by Bismarck and Cavour to achieve their ends.

The sudden burst of European imperialism between 1871 and 1900, often referred to as the New Imperialism, occupies center stage in the next two lectures. In Lecture Eighteen we examine this new round of European expansionism, determining what made it different from the previous forms of European colonialism. We evaluate the motivations behind the "grab for Africa," the methods used, and the new "rules of the game" among European states established at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The following lecture is devoted to the various theories advanced over the years for this new imperialism, from Hobson's insistence on the need to export "excess capital" to Lenin's conviction that imperialism simply represented the highest form of capitalism and a milestone on the way to revealing its deep and ultimately self-destructive contradictions.

The next three lectures deal with European domestic politics in the "age of mass politics" after 1871. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, universal manhood suffrage prevailed in the major European states, and with advances in literacy and public communications (the press), mass participation in political life dramatically affected the calculus of domestic politics throughout Europe. It was in this period, especially after 1890, that socialism in its various forms arose to challenge both liberal and conservative political norms. Indeed, the apparently inexorable rise of socialist parties and labor unions, devoted to some variant of revolutionary Marxism, became the most salient and, to Europe's middle classes and ruling elites, the most threatening aspect of European politics. In Lecture Twenty we trace the evolution of Marxist thought, working class organization (labor unions), and political parties in the last half of the nineteenth century. In so doing we will also assess the crisis of both liberalism and conservatism between 1890 and 1914, as both political movements sought desperately to find some way to revive their sagging political fortunes and the stem the advancing tide of socialism. One solution hit upon by some conservatives was to tap the widespread discontent with both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism among farmers and small shopkeepers, a discontent that often expressed itself in anti-urbanism, anti-materialism, anti-Enlightenment, and anti-Semitism. During the 1890s there emerged the set of ideas that ultimately evolved into fascism, and in Lecture Twenty-Two we will address these ideas and their impact.

The next two lectures are devoted to European cultural and intellectual life in the years before the First World War and to an assessment of prevailing social norms and class strains in the same period. The period from 1890 to 1914 is often viewed as the pinnacle of European global influence, a period in which European education, culture, technology, and military might were viewed as supreme. At the same time, however, serious strains had emerged in both European culture and society, creating an undercurrent of uncertainty and even dread. It was the age of Nietzsche and Freud, of strict social conformity, repressed sexuality, and hardened gender roles as well as mounting class conflict, and in these lectures we will examine the dominant social and cultural currents of European civilization on the eve of the First World War.

In the following six lectures we will address the coming of the First World War, the diplomatic background, the sources of international tension, the controversial events of the so-called July crisis that led to the outbreak of hostilities, the conduct of the war on the battlefield, and finally the peace settlement that ended this gigantic conflict. Lectures Twenty-Five through Twenty-Eight are focused on the breakdown of the international system of 1871-1890, often called the Bismarckian system, the multiplying sources of friction after 1890 when Germany embarked on its "global policy," and the deepening ethnic problems in the multinational Ottoman and Habsburg monarchies. The next three lectures examine the actual conduct of the war from its outbreak in July/August 1914 to its conclusion in 1918. We begin with an assessment of the July crisis in 1914, continue with an examination of the brutal realities of trench warfare, and conclude with the ill-starred Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

The next set of six lectures deals with the political legacy of the Great War in the turbulent 1920s and 1930s. The Russian Revolution that erupted in 1917 and ended with the creation of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s was a product of the Great War, and in Lecture Thirty-One we analyze the background of the revolution, the reasons for its outbreak, and the role of the Bolsheviks and their leader, Lenin. We continue this analysis in the following lecture, tracing the outcome of the revolution, the long and bloody civil war that followed, the establishment of the Soviet state under Lenin, and the competition between Stalin and Trotsky to follow Lenin and lead the new Soviet regime.

While the rise of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet state on the radical left followed in the war's wake, so too did the emergence of European fascism. The fascists would first appear in Italy in the immediate postwar years, and in Lecture Thirty-Three we examine the rise of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist Party. We then examine Adolf Hitler's National Socialist or Nazi Party in Germany, tracing the party's meteoric rise to power from the unsuccessful Beer Hall Putsch in 1923 to Hitler's stunning assumption of power ten years later. Finally, we evaluate the weakness of the parliamentary democracies, especially England and France, during the interwar years, and their inability to deal with the threat of European Fascism.

The next set of three lectures is devoted to the phenomenon of totalitarianism in its Soviet and National Socialist forms. We begin with a definition of totalitarianism, examining how this radically new form of dictatorship is different from traditional authoritarian regimes. We will analyze the role of ideology and terror and the refusal of such regimes to recognize the distinction between public and private spheres of behavior. We then turn to the Soviet Union under Stalin, exploring how the regime functioned, what its ideological objectives were, and how the regime sought to implement them. The final two lectures of this set deal with the Third Reich, posing the same questions as we raised with regard to the Soviet Union. The first of these two lectures deals with Nazi domestic policy, especially its radical racial initiatives, while the second, Lecture Thirty-Eight, examines the role of Nazi ideology in the formulation of Hitler's foreign policy before 1939.

Lectures Thirty-Nine to Forty-Three are devoted to the Second World War, a conflict whose scale and scope dwarfed all others in human history. In the first two lectures of this set, we examine the diplomatic background of the war, from the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to the collapse of the international system in the 1930s. We evaluate the roles of each of the major combatants, their strengths and weaknesses, and their foreign policies and military standing. In so doing, we pay special attention to the crises of 1938 and 1939—the German *Anschluss* with Austria, the Sudeten/Munich crisis, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact—assessing each of the steps on the way to catastrophe. The next three lectures focus on the war itself, from the early *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war in 1939-1941, examining in particular the sudden fall of France in 1940 and the colossal German invasion of the Soviet Union in the following year, to the final defeat of Nazi Germany by the Allies. In the midst of this great and terrible conflict, the Nazi regime unleashed a genocidal war against the Jews of Europe, and in Lecture Forty-Two we examine the Holocaust, or the "final solution to the Jewish Question," as the Nazis euphemistically called their campaign of mass murder.

In the final set of lectures we turn to postwar Europe, beginning with a discussion of the Cold War and its diplomatic origin during the Second World War. We examine the division of Europe after 1945, when the war-torn continent was split by a great ideological confrontation that lasted almost fifty years. We then turn to the ambitious rebuilding of Western Europe in the 1950s under the Marshall Plan, the creation of NATO, and the growing commitment to some form of closer Western European economic and perhaps political union. We will trace the steps in this gradual but nonetheless dramatic process of economic and political integration, especially through the Common Market, and then turn to the sudden and largely unexpected collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 1980s and 1990s. In the final lecture we evaluate the present state of European affairs, look back over the past two hundred years of stunning change, and speculate about the future of a revitalized and increasingly integrated Europe.

Lecture Thirty-Seven
Totalitarianism: The Third Reich

Scope: This lecture is devoted to the rise of a new kind of regime in the interwar years, a radical, repressive regime that Hannah Arendt, writing after the Second World War, described not as authoritarian but as totalitarian. The Third Reich and the Soviet Union under Stalin were, in her view, fundamentally different from the oppressive dictatorships of the past and present. They were regimes armed with an all-encompassing ideology and a system of terror that sought to remake the world. In this lecture we analyze the concept of totalitarianism, assessing its strengths and weaknesses, as we examine the National Socialist regime down to the outbreak of war in 1939.

Outline

I. Constructing the National Socialist Dictatorship: The "Legal Revolution"

A. The *Gleichschaltung,* or "bringing into line" was accomplished during 1933 and 1934.

1. Between Hitler's appointment as chancellor on January 30, 1933, and the death of President Hindenburg in August 1934, the Nazis seized and then consolidated their dictatorial power in Germany. The process by which they accomplished this is referred to as *Gleichschaltung.*

2. Only three Nazis were in Hitler's cabinet in 1933 but they held crucial positions—minister of the interior and minister of the interior for Prussia, giving the Nazis control over police forces.

3. Hitler dissolved the Reichstag and called for new elections on March 5.

4. He used a Communist strike as a pretext to issue a series of emergency decrees on February 4-6 which curtailed political rights.

5. Police power was now firmly in Nazi hands. On February 22 Nazi authorities in Prussia deputized their Storm Troopers (SA), who now operated as legal police officers.

6. The Reichstag fire of February 27, 1933, was used to justify the Reichstag Fire Decree, which essentially ended civil rights in Germany and gave the Nazi authorities extensive power.

7. Elections of March 5 were not the last elections of the Weimar era but the first of the Third Reich.

a. The Nazis used pressure, manipulation, and coercion.

b. Still, they failed to win an electoral majority. Only in combination with their conservative coalition partners could they claim a majority mandate.

8. On the "Day of Potsdam" (March 21, 1933), Hitler's government was sworn in at the tomb of Frederick the Great, making a great symbolic show of respect for the conservative Prussian past.

9. On March 23, 1933, the Nazis forced through the so-called "Enabling Law," which, in effect, gave the regime full dictatorial powers.

10. On May 1, 1933, the regime smashed the labor unions.

11. On June 20, 1933, the regime signed a concordat with the Vatican, ending formal Catholic opposition to the regime.

B. The End of the Parties

1. The Communists were banned in March, the Socialists in late June.

2. The other political parties disbanded "voluntarily."

3. On July 14, 1933, the regime issued a "Law against the Establishment of Political Parties" outlawing all parties except the NSDAP.

C. Establishment of Total Control

1. By the close of 1933 the police, the courts, the state, the churches, and the media had been brought into line (*gleichgeschaltet*) with Nazi goals.

2. Only the army remained outside of tight Nazi control.

3. Hitler made a secret deal with the army leadership and purged the SA, killing SA leader Ernst Roehm on June 30, 1934.

4. When Hindenburg died on August 2, 1934, Hitler merged the offices of president and chancellor.

5. The Army swore an oath of loyalty to Hitler personally on that same day.

6. The last institutional restraints on Nazi power had now been eliminated.

II. A completely new form of government—a totalitarian regime—had been established in Germany and in Stalinist Russia.

A. Characteristics of a Totalitarian Regime

1. The regime made total claims upon the individual, erasing the line between public and private.

2. In authoritarian regimes, by contrast, compliance with the law was sufficient to stay on the right side of the authorities.

3. Totalitarian regimes were based upon ideology and terror.

B. The Role of Ideology

1. Totalitarian rulers believe that they have found the key to history—race, for the Nazis, and dialectical materialism for the Bolsheviks.

2. Ideology justifies all actions necessary to implement it.

3. No truth, no morality exists, except within the framework of the ideology.

4. This ideological truth is always threatened by enemies—the Jews, for the Nazis, and capitalist imperialists or revisionists for the Bolsheviks.

5. A system of relentless propaganda is created to indoctrinate the population.

6. The regime seeks to atomize society, making the only adhesive the movement and its organizations.

Essential Reading for Lectures 37-38:

Merriman, Chapter 27

Supplemental Reading:

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*

Ian Kershaw, *The Hitler Myth*

Questions to Consider:

1. What is totalitarianism? How is a totalitarian regime different from an authoritarian state? Why were Stalinist Russia and Hitler's Germany considered totalitarian and Mussolini's Italy not?

2. Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany in January 1933. Only six months later the Nazis had carried out a "legal revolution," establishing the basis for a totalitarian regime in Germany. How were they able to accomplish this?

Lecture Thirty-Eight
The Third Reich: Ideology and Domestic Policy

Scope: Having examined the step-by-step creation of the Nazi dictatorship, its means of control, and its domestic propaganda, we turn in this lecture to the unfolding of its ideological agenda. We analyze, in particular, the creation of the *Volksgemeinschaft* and the evolution of its racial policy from the boycott of Jewish businesses in 1933 through the so-called *Reichskristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass) in November 1938.

Outline

I. The Nazis established a regime of terror.
- **A.** The regime institutes a system of terror to control the public.
- **B.** The secret police—the NKVD under Beria in the Soviet Union and the Gestapo under Himmler in Germany—are used to ferret out potential sources of subversion.
- **C.** A person could be arrested for subjective crimes—what one thought or said at home—as well as for objective crimes.
- **D.** The regime's goal was to internalize fear by means of *Sippenhaft* (or the arrest of entire families for the crimes of one family member) and the *Blockwart* (a neighborhood spy who was always listening at the door).
- **E.** The concentration camps were created for genuine political opponents.
  - **1.** Dachau was the first in Germany.
  - **2.** The Gulag system of labor camps was established in the Soviet Union.

II. The regime sought to create a *Volksgemeinschaft,* or "People's Community."
- **A.** The central theme of Nazi domestic policy was overcoming the traditional divisions of region, religion, and class in Germany.
  - **1.** The aim of the Third Reich was to create a classless society of "people's comrades."
  - **2.** The Nazi media depicted Hitler as "a man of the people." He was shown, for instance, at harvest festivals, at the opening of the Autobahn, and eating from the common peasants' pot.
  - **3.** The regime would not overturn economic structures but did seek to revolutionize social status.
  - **4.** It sought to raise the status of peasants and workers, who became great symbols of National Socialist virtue.
  - **5.** The "Strength Through Joy" (*Kraft Durch Freud*) program was instituted to provide state-funded vacations for workers and peasants.
  - **6.** Forms of address were to be changed: the term *Volksgenosse*, or people's comrade, replace status-based forms of address.
  - **7.** Everyone should have a radio (the *Volksempfanger*) and a car (the *Volkswagen*).
- **B.** Official Nazi reality was relentlessly upbeat.
  - **1.** Law and order had been reestablished.
  - **2.** Political stability had been restored.
  - **3.** Economic recovery had been provided.
    - **a.** The regime was active in trying to cure Germany's economic ills. It seemed more attuned to the nation's plight than the last Weimar governments had been.
    - **b.** Unemployment was dramatically reduced after 1936 with the coming of the Four Year Plan and rearmament.
  - **4.** The regime's prestige at home was greatly increased by Hitler's foreign policy triumphs, beginning in 1935.

III. Nazi ideological goals—especially anti-Semitism—emerged gradually.
- **A.** The First Phase of Nazi Racial Policy, 1933-1935
  - **1.** The boycott of Jewish businesses in April 1933 proved unpopular and was called off after a single day.
  - **2.** The regime enacted laws eliminating Jews from the civil service, law, and medicine.

3. After the spring of 1933 there was a lull in the national regime's anti-Semitic policy.
4. The focus shifted to the local scene, where anti-Semitic actions of the SA and other Nazi organizations continued without coordination from above.

B. The second phase involved segregation and emigration.
1. The passage of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935 marked the major turning point in Nazi racial policy. These laws made Jews non-citizens and outlawed intermarriage or sexual relations between Jews and "Aryans."
2. The policy of the regime between 1935 and 1938 was dominated largely by the SS (Security Staff), headed by Heinrich Himmler.
3. The favored policy was "De-Jewification" (Entjudung), encouraging Jews to leave Germany while leaving their assets behind.

C. Policy shifted again in 1938.
1. In early 1938, Hermann Goering (head of the Four Year Plan) initiated a series of policies aimed at identifying all Jewish assets.
2. The annexation of Austria in the spring led to a new departure in Nazi policy, as Adolf Eichmann oversaw the forced emigration of Jews from Austria.
3. Then, in November, the so-called Night of Broken Glass (the *Kristallnacht*) marked a dramatic and ominous escalation of Nazi anti-Semitic measures. *Kristallnacht* marked the first nationally coordinated campaign of violence against Jews.

D. No single agency of the state or party was responsible for Jewish policy.
1. The SA had taken the initiative between 1933 and 1935.
2. Thereafter, the SS had played a central but not exclusive role.
3. The Office of the Four Year Plan was increasingly involved after 1936.
4. The Reich Propaganda Ministry, under Goebbels, had initiated the pogrom of 1938.
5. When war broke out in September 1939, there was no coordination in Nazi Jewish policy.

Questions to Consider:

1. One of the Nazis' central pledges to the German people was that the Third Reich would overcome class, religious, and regional differences and forge a classless "people's community." How did they seek to accomplish this? What were the sources of Nazi popularity in Germany before 1939?
2. By 1935, the core of Nazi ideology—a radical anti-Semitism—had revealed itself. Still, the regime's anti-Semitic policy emerged gradually between 1933 and 1939. Were the Nazis, in your view, following an overall scheme, a systematic plan, or were they lurching from one initiative to another?

Lecture Thirty-Nine
Ideology and Hitler's Foreign Policy

Scope: This lecture deals with Hitler's view of international affairs, his vision of how the international system should operate, and his conception of Germany's role in it. We will examine his determination not merely to revise but to destroy the hated Treaty of Versailles, his desire for *Lebensraum* (living space) in the east, his obsession with what he referred to as "Judeo-Bolshevism" in the Soviet Union, and the steps taken by the Nazi regime to undermine the Treaty and the international system it had sought to create.

Outline

I. Hitler's Foreign Policy Vision

- **A.** Hitler's view of Germany and its role in the international system is often misunderstood.
  - **1.** It was based on a clear conception of geopolitical and ideological objectives.
  - **2.** Hitler explained his views in numerous speeches but more systematically in *Mein Kampf* and in a second, unpublished book on foreign policy written in the late 1920s.
- **B.** The following geopolitical and ideological assumptions guided Hitler's foreign policy throughout his career.
  - **1.** Germany should regain its position as the dominant power in Europe.
  - **2.** A Greater German Reich should be created, bringing together all the "German lands" of central Europe, and it should be purged of all non-German elements.
  - **3.** Germany needed *Lebensraum*, or living space, for its expanding population. This territory was to be taken in eastern Europe, which would ultimately require war with Russia.
  - **4.** This war against Russia also had an ideological dimension. The Soviet Union was the home of what was called "Judeo-Bolshevism," and hence a war against the Soviet Union would be a crusade against both the Jews and the Communists.
  - **5.** Creation of this Greater German Reich would allow Germany to assume its rightful place in an international system dominated by four empires.
    - **a.** A revived Germany should dominate the European continent.
    - **b.** Britain would retain its global empire.
    - **c.** The United States would be the hegemonic power in the western hemisphere.
    - **d.** Japan would play the leading role in Asia.
  - **6.** These goals would require the destruction of the Versailles system.

II. Destroying the Versailles Settlement

- **A.** Hitler moved first to revise the military clauses of the Treaty.
  - **1.** He withdrew Germany from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations in 1933.
  - **2.** In 1935 Hitler announced that Germany would rearm, in violation of the Versailles Treaty.
    - **a.** A week later he introduced conscription and began to create a 500,000-troop army.
    - **b.** He also created an air force, ostensibly for defensive purposes.
    - **c.** The building of a naval fleet, including submarines, was approved by the British in the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935.
  - **3.** In 1936 Hitler sent German troops into the demilitarized Rhineland. This move was a severe blow to French security. France protested to Berlin and the League of Nation, but Britain did not join in these protests.
  - **4.** By the close of 1936, the Treaty of Versailles was a dead letter.
- **B.** Revising the Territorial Clauses of the Treaty
  - **1.** In 1937 Hitler explained his territorial ambitions to his military and foreign policy establishments—recorded in the Hossbach memorandum.
  - **2.** Hitler launched the *Anschluss* (connection) with Austria in the spring of 1938.
    - **a.** This crisis was provoked when Austrian chancellor Schussnigg sought guarantees of Austrian sovereignty from Italy and the western powers.

b. On March 12, 1938, Schussnigg called a plebiscite in Austria on linkage with Germany,, but he later retreated in the face of Hitler's opposition.

c. It ended with Germany's peaceful annexation of Austria.

3. The next crisis involved the Sudetenland in the fall of 1938.

a. It was prompted by agitation in the Czech Sudetenland by ethnic Germans headed by Conrad Henlein.

b. The situation was complicated because the Czechs had treaties with both France and the Soviet Union.

c. It was concluded peacefully at the Munich Conference in October. War had been averted, but at enormous cost.

4. By the end of 1938 the territorial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles had been utterly revised, if not destroyed, and the international system that the Treaty had sought to create was dead.

Essential Reading for Lectures 39-43:

Merriman, Chapter 28

Supplemental Reading:

John Keegan, *The Second World War*

Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won*

Questions to Consider:

1. What were Hitler's basic foreign policy objectives? How were geopolitical and ideological objectives related?

2. What were the steps taken by the National Socialist regime to undermine—indeed, destroy—the system created by the Versailles Treaty?

Lecture Forty

The Twenty-Year Crisis: The International System, 1919-1939

Scope: In this lecture we describe and analyze the failure of the international system in the interwar years, examining its basic assumptions, strengths, and weaknesses. We trace, in particular, the foreign policy of France and Britain, assessing their respective interests and objectives and their inability to restrain the aggressive National Socialist regime in Germany.

Outline

I. The international security system envisioned by the Versailles settlement had important weaknesses.

A. Problems of the Versailles Treaty

1. The purpose of the treaty had been to weaken Germany and provide a system of security for France and the new nations of Eastern Europe.

2. Failure of the United States to ratify the Treaty meant a withdrawal of the United States from European affairs at a critical moment.

3. The Soviet Union also stood outside the system.

4. Italy was keenly disappointed by the terms of the treaty.

5. Germany was utterly alienated by the *Diktat*, so that all subsequent German governments were determined to revise or destroy it.

6. Britain quickly came to feel that the terms had, indeed, been too harsh and that the French, not the Germans, were the greatest threat to European recovery.

7. Between 1919 and 1929 these problems were held in check.

B. German Policy in the 1920s

1. After the fiasco of the hyperinflation in 1923, the Germans embarked upon a policy of "fulfillment," seeking to demonstrate good faith in attempting to abide by the Treaty's terms and in so doing, reveal just how unjust and impossible those terms actually were.

2. This policy was associated with Gustav Stresemann, foreign minister from 1923 to 1929.

3. In 1924 the German government ratified the Dawes Plan, which attempted to set up an economic order for German and European recovery.

4. It signed the Locarno Treaty in 1925, thereby recognizing its loss of Alsace-Lorraine and other western territories.

5. In 1926 it entered the League of Nations, and in 1927 it signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Non-Aggression.

II. The Weakness of Western Diplomacy

A. The dilemmas of French policy were vividly revealed during the interwar years.

1. Fear of a revived Germany led France to be the most outspoken and consistent defender of Versailles.

2. Left in the lurch by Britain and the United States, the French sought new allies to replace Tsarist Russia and Britain. Thus it entered into alliances with the new states of Eastern Europe, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia—the Little Entente would act as a *cordon sanitaire* to keep the Germans in line and the Soviets out of central Europe.

3. The invasion of the Ruhr in 1923 revealed the limits of France's efforts to act alone to enforce the Treaty.

4. By the close of the 1920s, France felt compelled to adopt a defensive strategy.

a. Construction of the Maginot Line revealed this new defensive orientation to military and foreign affairs.

b. The Maginot alternative was not viewed favorably in Belgium, which feared abandonment by France in the event of a German attack.

5. Without strong British support, France could do no more than protest German rearmament in 1935.

6. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty was a dagger in the heart to the French.

7. Divided at home and lacking strong allies abroad, France felt compelled to accept the German occupation of the Rhineland in 1936.
8. France's lukewarm support for republican Spain in 1936 led to a chilling of relations with Italy, which swung closer to Nazi Germany. In 1937 Germany and Italy joined in the "Anti-Comintern Pact."
9. Although confronted with German rearmament, the coalition governments of the Third Republic could not take decisive action to modernize or expand the French military establishment.
10. After 1936, France could only follow reluctantly in Britain's footsteps, acquiescing in the policy of appeasement.

B. British Policy and the Evolution of Appeasement

1. Britain grew mistrustful of France during the 1920s. It believed that European recovery required the reentry of Germany into the international economic system.
2. Britain came to see France as driven by a desire for revenge and bent on establishing French hegemony on the continent.
3. By the late 1920s, leading British policy-makers were convinced that Versailles had, indeed, been too harsh.
4. The United States was of little or no strategic help.
5. By the mid-1930s Britain had gravitated toward the view that the best way to restrain Hitler was to meet justified demands, but from a position strength.
   a. The army was weak, but the Royal Navy was still the world's largest.
   b. The Conservative governments of the mid-1930s expanded the Royal Air Force.
6. Hence Britain accepted German revisions in the Treaty involving rearmament, remilitarization of the Rhineland, and the Anschluss.
7. This policy of appeasement came to its apex at the Munich Conference in the fall of 1938.
   a. Chamberlain believed that France was unreliable.
   b. The Americans were wallowing in isolationism.
   c. The Bolsheviks were seen as untrustworthy and dangerous, and so Russian intervention was not desirable.
   d. War was to be avoided at almost any cost.
   e. Chamberlain thought that Hitler could be dealt with honorably, and that his justified desire for revisions in the Treaty could be met. He returned from Munich to a hero's welcome.

Questions to Consider:

1. The Versailles peace settlement was intended to establish a stable international system that would prevent another war. Yet even before Hitler's rise to power, the international system created at Versailles had suffered serious setbacks. Why was this Versailles system so weak?
2. Hitler destroyed the last vestiges of the weak Versailles system between 1933 and 1938. Why was Western diplomacy so incapable of dealing with the threat posed by the new German regime?

Lecture Forty-One
The Coming of War, 1939

Scope: This lecture continues our analysis of the crises in 1938-39 that led directly to the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939, and it concludes our assessment of Chamberlain's policy of appeasement and the ill-fated Munich agreement. We then turn to the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the German attack on Poland, and the Allied response to it. We also examine Hitler's expectations as war with Poland approached, and we conclude with the dramatic triumph of *Blitzkrieg* warfare.

Outline

I. Prelude to War

A. The Aftermath of the Munich Conference

1. In Germany, Hitler concluded that the Western powers would not resist even more aggressive action.

2. The weakness of the Western powers broke the will of the German military resistance to Hitler that had been building for months.

3. Munich convinced Stalin that the Western powers were weak and that they were merely trying to steer German aggression to the east.

B. In March 1939 Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia.

1. Hitler claimed that the Czech government was no longer able to maintain security of the population against ethnic violence.

2. But the move was naked aggression. It could not be justified by appeal to the principle of national self-determination.

3. Everyone sensed that the next crisis would arise over Poland, and especially over the status of Danzig and the Polish Corridor.

4. Britain and France lodged formal protests with Berlin and the League of Nations, and Chamberlain issued a guarantee to Poland against German aggression.

C. Moscow held the key to the diplomatic situation in the summer of 1939.

1. Britain and France began negotiations with the Soviet Union over a possible pact, but the talks proceeded at a low level and without a real sense of urgency.

2. Neither viewed any sort of accommodation between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union as possible.

3. Both Hitler and Stalin, however, were quite interested in an agreement. The Germans had opened talks with Soviets over trade in the late spring, and both sides indicated a willingness to discuss strategic arrangements.

D. The Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 1939 shocked the world.

1. The non-aggression pact had secret clauses that divided Poland and Eastern Europe into spheres of influence.

2. Although a Nazi-Soviet Pact made no ideological sense, it served both sides well in the short term.

a. For Stalin, an agreement would buy time to rebuild his armed forces, still reeling from the purges. It would push the Soviet frontier westward, adding a buffer zone against future Nazi aggression. Finally, it was a better option than a deal with the West, since Britain and France were viewed as untrustworthy and interested only in encouraging German adventurism to the east.

b. For Hitler, the pact ended the threat of a two-front war, and he hoped that it would deter Western intervention in his planned war against Poland.

II. The Beginning of the War

A. The German invasion of Poland was launched on September 1, 1939, with devastating force.

1. Hitler was stunned when Britain and France honored their obligations to Poland.

2. He had not intended to go to war with the Western powers.

B. The *Blitzkrieg* in Poland

1. Germany unleashed a revolutionary new mode of warfare—the Blitzkrieg.

2. The *Blitzkrieg* was primarily a military strategy.
   a. It was based on the use of massed armored divisions supported by tactical aircraft.
   b. It emphasized speed and power and was thus the antithesis of the static trench warfare of World War I.
   c. *Blitzkrieg* had been developed in the interwar years by Heinz Guderian as a means of avoiding the trench warfare of the first World War.
3. *Blitzkrieg* was not only a military strategy. It was also a diplomatic and economic strategy that allowed Germany to fight a war of short duration against diplomatically isolated enemies without having to order the full mobilization of the economy. It also permitted Germany to pursue a policy of armaments in breadth, not in depth.
4. The *Blitzkrieg* worked to perfection in Hitler's campaign in Poland.
   a. By October the Poles had been smashed.
   b. The Russians had entered eastern Poland to take up their positions.
   c. Hitler believed that it would now be possible to reach a settlement with Britain and France, bringing the war to a conclusion.

Questions to Consider:

1. The Sudeten crisis of 1938 was in many ways a pivotal event in the slide to war a year later. What were the conclusions drawn from the resolution of that crisis by the principal participants?
2. In 1939 the Germans unleashed a revolutionary form of warfare, the *Blitzkrieg*. But *Blitzkrieg* was not simply a military strategy but a diplomatic and economic design as well. Explain this strategy and why it was both so revolutionary and attractive to Hitler.

Lecture Forty-Two
The *Blitzkrieg,* 1940-1941

Scope: Between September 1939 and December 1941 Hitler's armies overran much of Europe, using the revolutionary *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war) strategy. In this lecture we examine the stunning Nazi triumph over France in 1940, the emergence of Winston Churchill as Britain stood alone against a victorious and apparently unstoppable Hitler, and finally the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. The Nazi-Soviet clash became an ideological war to the death, a war without mercy. We will trace the Nazi campaign against Russia up to the Red Army's counterattack before Moscow, which saved the Soviet Union and ended the *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war.

Outline

I. The War in the West

A. The Phony War

1. Between the fall of Poland in October and the German invasion of Denmark and Norway in April 1940, no fighting occurred between Germany and the Western powers.

a. The period was marked by repeated German efforts to lure the allies into a peace settlement.

b. It was known as the "phony war" in England, the *Drole de Guerre* in France, and the *Sitzkrieg* in Germany.

2. In May 1940 the Germans launched a massive invasion of the Low Countries and France.

3. Holland and Belgium were quickly overrun.

B. The Fall of France

1. By early June, France found itself on the verge of surrender.

2. The failure of French military preparations was shocking to all.

a. The Maginot Line held but was useless.

b. The French High Command was unprepared for offensive warfare.

3. Prime Minister Reynaud and General DeGaulle wanted to continue the war from French North Africa.

4. However, the French High Command, supported by Marshal Petain, favored an immediate armistice.

a. The French military felt anger at the British.

b. Certainty of German victory made continued resistance futile.

c. It rebuffed the pleas of the new British prime minister, Winston Churchill, to continue the fight.

5. The humiliation of France by Hitler at the armistice signing and the creation of the Vichy regime marked France's departure from the war.

C. The Battle of Britain

1. Britain now stood alone and seemed certain to fall.

2. British Expeditionary Forces had barely escaped utter disaster at Dunkirk, leaving behind all their heavy equipment.

3. Churchill looked to the United States for aid, but any support would be indirect and require time. He began preparing to defend the island.

4. The Germans began planning for a cross-Channel invasion of Britain, code named Operation Sealion.

a. The key prerequisite for an amphibious landing in Britain was air superiority over the Channel and the landing beaches.

b. Goering's *Luftwaffe* was given the task. The air assaults began in August 1940.

5. The Royal Air Force (RAF) managed to thwart the German air assault, although both the RAF and *Luftwaffe* suffered heavy losses.

6. By October the Luftwaffe's failure prompted Hitler to postpone indefinitely any invasion plans.

7. The bombing of London and other British cities signaled a new and ominous approach to warfare—the bombing of civilians.

II. The War in the East

A. The Soviet Union had always occupied center stage in Hitler's ideological and geopolitical thought.

1. To gain *Lebensraum* for the German people in the east, Russia would have to be defeated.

2. War against the Soviet Union would be a great crusade against Judeo-Bolshevism.
3. Hitler sought war in the east, not in the west, and he was impatient to turn to the main event.
4. He was not worried about a two-front war at this time, since he believed that Britain had been basically removed as a power factor on the continent.
5. Planning for an attack began in the fall of 1940.

B. Planning Operation Barbarossa
1. Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union was set to begin in the spring of 1941.
2. Its objective was to destroy the Red Army in western Russia.
3. The Germans had a low opinion of the Red Army, due to the effect on it of Stalin's purges and to the dismal showing of the Russians in the Russo-Finnish campaign.
4. The invasion was postponed due to unusually bad weather and to the need to rescue Mussolini, whose April 1941 invasion of Greece had ended in disaster.
5. Operation Barbarossa would be the largest military operation in human history.

C. The war in the east was to be an ideological war to the death.
1. German troops entering the conflict were issued the so-called Commissar Order, which ordered them to kill commissars of the Communist party, guerrillas, saboteurs, and Jews wherever they were encountered.
2. Special commando units of the SS, the *Einsatzgruppen*, were to follow the troops into the Soviet Union. They were given "special tasks"—the wholesale murder of Jews.

D. The invasion began on June 22, 1941.
1. The initial victories were stunning, as the German army drove deep into the Soviet Union, inflicting hundreds of thousands of casualties and taking hundreds of thousands of prisoners.
2. The Russians were caught completely by surprise.
3. Within weeks, Leningrad was besieged.
4. Kiev in the Ukraine was taken.
5. The offensive slowed in the fall, when rain, mechanical difficulties, and mounting casualties threatened to halt the offensive.
6. In November a final push for Moscow was made.
7. On December 5-6, the Red Army launched a massive counter-attack before Moscow and hurled the Germans back.
8. Moscow had been saved, and the *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war was over.

Questions to Consider:

1. The sudden fall of France in the summer of 1940 was one of the most shocking and unanticipated events of the Second World War. How did it happen? Why was France, supported by Britain, unable to withstand the Nazi onslaught?
2. Hitler's decision to invade the Soviet Union in June 1941 was one of the most fateful of the war. Why did Hitler launch his invasion when he did? What did he hope to achieve? Could Operation Barbarossa have succeeded?

Lecture Forty-Three
The Holocaust

Scope: This lecture examines the Nazi campaign to exterminate the Jewish population of Europe. We review Nazi racial policy from 1933 to the outbreak of the war, focusing on the policy of annihilation as it developed following the occupation of Poland in 1939. The Nazis were determined to find what they called "final solution to the Jewish question." That solution was mass murder. We will examine the decisions that led to that "solution" and the step-by-step implementation of Nazi genocide.

Outline

I. The Impact of the War on Nazi Racial Policy
- **A.** The invasion of Poland put Germany in control of a large Jewish population.
  - **1.** Jews were deported from the Polish areas to be annexed by Germany; they were transferred to the Nazi-created Government General of Poland.
  - **2.** Ghettos were created in Poland.
- **B.** The Nazi Regime considered various options in 1940 and 1941 in their search for a "solution to the Jewish question."
  - **1.** One solution was ghettoization—the rounding-up of Jews in Nazi-dominated areas of Europe.
  - **2.** Another was the concentration camp system.
  - **3.** The regime considered the establishment of a series of Jewish reservations, some of them in the Soviet Union.
  - **4.** It also seriously considered the transfer of Jews to Madagascar.
- **C.** The Invasion of the Soviet Union
  - **1.** The *Einsatzgruppen* were given "special tasks."
    - **a.** The army was ordered to assist the *Einsatzgruppen* in accomplishing their tasks.
    - **b.** These special commando units reported directly to Himmler.
    - **c.** The *Einsatzgruppen* killed perhaps as many as one million Jews during the summer of 1941.
  - **2.** But there were problems with the *Einsatzgruppen*. Berlin came to see them as both too inefficient and too public.

II. The search for a more efficient answer led to the "Final Solution."
- **A.** Himmler was responsible for racial policy in the East.
  - **1.** He delegated his authority to Heydrich.
  - **2.** The order to find a "final solution" was signed by Goering in his capacity as director of the Four Year Plan.
  - **3.** The timing is unclear, but Hitler obviously gave a verbal order sometime in the summer of 1941 when victory in the east seemed assured.
- **B.** The Role of Reinhard Heydrich
  - **1.** Heydrich combined several features from existing policies.
    - **a.** The Nazis spoke euphemistically of the "resettlement" of Jews to the east.
    - **b.** The concentration camp system expanded, largely in the Government General of Poland.
    - **c.** The *Einsatzgruppen* had experimented with poison gas in mobile vans.
    - **d.** The objective was nothing less than the mass extermination of the entire Jewish population of Europe.
  - **2.** In November 1941 Heydrich called a secret meeting of a small group of party and state officials who would participate in this "final solution."
    - **a.** The meeting was scheduled at a villa in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee in December 1941.
    - **b.** It was postponed until January 1942 because of the Russian counteroffensive before Moscow and the declaration of war against the United States.
  - **3.** Heydrich presided at the Wannsee Conference (Himmler and Hitler were not present).
    - **a.** He explained in outline how his "final solution" would work.

b. Specially constructed "death camps" (*Vernichtungslager*) would be constructed in the east, mostly in the Government General of Poland.

c. Jews from all over Europe would be transported there. Many would die in transit, while others would work as slave labor or be eliminated immediately upon arrival.

d. The victims would be killed in specially constructed gas chambers. This, Heydrich explained, would provide a "total solution" to the Jewish problem.

III. The Final Solution in Operation

A. Camps were built and went into operation in the spring of 1942 at Treblinka, Bergen-Belsen, and Auschwitz.

B. The need for secrecy was emphasized.

1. The regime wished to avoid Allied propaganda.

2. The ignorance of the victims was essential.

3. The German population was not ready for such extreme measures.

C. After arriving on the railway platform, some Jews (mainly young men) would be selected for work. The rest would be separated and herded into the bunkers, where they would be killed by poison gas.

D. The Allies became aware of these operations only gradually. Initially, there was great reluctance to believe the reports.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the origins of the "final solution," as the Nazis euphemistically referred to their plan to exterminate the Jews? What were the steps taken by the Nazis between the beginning of the war and their decision in the summer of 1941 to launch a campaign of extermination? What was the Madagascar Plan?

2. What was known about the "final solution" by the Germans at home and by the Allied governments? Why did the National Socialist regime go to such pains to keep their operations a secret?

Lecture Forty-Four
The World at War

Scope: In this concluding lecture on World War II, we will examine the expansion of the war into a genuine global conflict with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the American entry into the war against Germany. We examine the course of the conflict from Stalingrad, the turning point in the East, through the D-Day invasion in the summer of 1944, to the final defeat of Hitler's Germany in the spring of 1945. We address the issue of collaboration and resistance and also the remarkable Anglo-American-Soviet alliance that ultimately doomed the Third Reich.

Outline

I. The European war soon became a World War.

A. The Japanese attack in Southeast Asia and the Pacific in 1941 transformed the war into a global conflict.

1. The attack on Pearl Harbor drew the United States into the war.

2. Four days after Pearl Harbor, Hitler declared war on the United States.

3. Japan also attacked British, French, and Dutch colonial possessions in Southeast Asia.

4. By mid-December, the Japanese war against China had been merged with the German war in Europe and the entire world was at war.

B. The tide turned in Europe in 1942 and 1943.

1. In early 1942 the Germans continued their victorious march in Russia with a new summer offensive into the Caucasus, and they invaded North Africa.

2. The Axis seemed unstoppable in early 1942. Fear grew in the Allied camp of a German-Japanese linkup in the Indian Ocean and in the Middle East.

3. Then the English began a series of engagements with Hitler's Afrika Korps that led to victory in the eastern desert (El Alamein).

4. In November 1942 the Western Allies launched Operation TORCH against French North Africa and pushed eastward, driving the Germans from North Africa.

a. In early 1943 the Western Allies continued their offensive, moving into Sicily and then mainland Italy.

b. Italy surrendered, Mussolini was deposed, and German troops rushed to hold the Allies in southern Italy.

5. In the east, the battle of Stalingrad (November 1942 to February 1943) marked the turning point of the war.

a. The German 6th Army was surrounded and defeated, with more than 300,000 casualties.

b. After Stalingrad, the Germans launched no more major offensives in the east.

II. The Allied Assault on Fortress Europe, 1944-1945

A. The Allied Air Offensive

1. The RAF under "Bomber" Harris and the U.S. 8th Air Force conducted a campaign of strategic bombing that was a radical departure from all previous uses of air power.

2. By 1943, German cities were being regularly pounded—by the Americans by day and the RAF by night.

3. The incineration of Hamburg in the summer of 1943 was a grisly preview of the destruction that strategic bombing would bring to the German home front.

B. The D-Day Invasion on June 6, 1944, marked the turning point of the war in the West.

1. After bitter fighting in Normandy, Paris was liberated in August and the Germans were driven from France.

2. The Germans would launch one last major offensive in the West in December 1944. The Battle of the Bulge would end with a German defeat.

3. Early in the new year, the Americans crossed the Rhine at Remagen, and the Allies pushed deeper into Germany.

C. The Russians also launched a major offensive in June 1944, driving into Poland and destroying virtually all of Germany's Army Group Center.

1. The liberation of Eastern Europe by the Red Army was at hand.

2. With the Russian advance, signs of stress within the alliance appeared.

3. The failure of the Red Army to aid the Poles in the Warsaw uprising was viewed with grave suspicion in the West.

4. There was growing conviction in the West that perhaps the Anglo-American forces should race the Russians to Berlin. Eisenhower refused, leaving Berlin to the Russians, since zones of occupation of Germany had already been agreed upon at Yalta in February 1945.

5. The Russians launched their final drive for Berlin in April, suffering massive casualties. Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945, as the Russians approached his bunker.

III. The Costs of War

A. The dead numbered between 37 million and 55 million. They included 22 million Russians, almost 6 million Germans, and 6 to 8 million Jews.

B. Europe's cities were destroyed.

1. Paris and Rome had been spared, but London, Berlin, Dresden, Caen, Warsaw, and countless others had been destroyed.

2. Refugees flooded into western Europe from the devastated east.

C. The onset of the Cold War and the division of Europe ensued.

1. The most destructive war in human history was at an end, but another—the Cold War—would take its place.

2. At the conclusion of hostilities, two great military forces stood facing one another over the devastated continent.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the turning point of the war in Europe? Stalingrad? D-Day?

2. Would you argue that the Third Reich was doomed by the American entry into the war in December 1941, only a day after the German offensive to take Moscow had ground to a halt?

Lecture Forty-Five
The Origins of the Cold War

Scope: In the summer of 1945 the Second World War ended in triumph for the Allies but the Anglo-American-Soviet solidarity that crushed Hitler dissolved even before Imperial Japan was defeated in August. In this lecture we examine the tensions and differences in objectives that had plagued the anti-Hitler alliance from the very outset and that, in the end, set the stage for the Cold War. We pay particular attention to events in 1944-45 in Eastern Europe, where the outlines of the Cold War gradually crystallized. Finally, we follow the disintegrating relations between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union from the end of the war to the Berlin Airlift in 1948 and 1949.

Outline

I. The Roots of Mistrust

A. Several sources of enmity and mistrust between the West and the Soviet Union predated World War II.

1. One of these was Western intervention in the Russian civil war.

2. Steadfast Western opposition to the Bolsheviks was reflected in the failure of the West to invite the new Soviet regime to participate in the Versailles peace talks or the League of Nations.

3. The Western powers were highly mistrustful of the Comintern, which was dedicated to fomenting world revolution.

4. Even after the Nazi assumption of power, relations between the Western powers and the Soviets were strained.

a. The Soviet were disappointed that the West had failed to help the Republican forces during the Spanish civil war.

b. The Soviets eventually joined the League of Nations and entered into a security pact with Czechoslovakia, but they were not invited to participate in the Munich conference.

c. The Western performance at Munich convinced Stalin that the West was interested only in directing German aggression to the east.

5. These problematic relations would contribute to the Soviet decision to sign the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in August 1939, which in turn alienated the West.

6. Between August 1939 and June 1941, the Soviet Union was a faithful ally of the Third Reich.

a. The annexation of eastern Poland was viewed as cynical by the West.

b. The Russo-Finnish War lowered Western regard for the Soviets even further.

B. After the German attack on the Soviet Union, the Russians and the West entered into an alliance of convenience, but mistrust lingered.

1. Each feared that the other would make a separate peace with the Germans.

2. The incessant Soviet demand for an immediate second front was a source of constant friction.

a. Stalin was unimpressed with the Allied campaigns in North Africa and Italy.

b. His demand, supported by the United States, for a cross-Channel invasion was not formally agreed to until the Teheran Conference in November 1943.

3. The D-Day invasion at last satisfied Stalin, but by this point the Red Army had absorbed enormous casualties and was rolling westward.

II. Mistrust over the Future of Europe

A. The fate of postwar Europe was sealed at two wartime conferences.

1. At Teheran in November 1943, the Western Allies agreed to invade northwestern Europe, leaving the Balkans and Eastern Europe to the Red Army.

2. At Yalta in February 1945, the Allies formalized the zones of occupation for postwar Germany. By this time, the Red Army already occupied Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and parts of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

3. As a result—and because he recognized the position of Red Army—Roosevelt agreed tacitly to Soviet dominance in the East.

4. Roosevelt wanted the Soviets to participate in the United Nations and the war against Japan.
5. The Allies agreed at Yalta that the eastern European regimes were to be freely elected but friendly to the Soviet Union.

B. By the time the Potsdam Conference was convened in July 1945, relations among the Allies were severely strained.

1. Truman was deeply concerned about Russian actions in Poland, where the western-oriented London Poles had been pushed aside by the Soviet-supported Lublin Poles.
2. Truman demanded free elections in eastern Europe, and Stalin seemed to refuse.
3. In May the United States had halted aid to the Soviet Union, in part to express its displeasure with Soviet high-handedness in the east.
4. Truman was less inclined to humor the Soviets after he learned while at Potsdam of the successful test of the atomic bomb. Henceforth the United States was much less interested in Soviet involvement in the war against Japan.

III. The Coming of the Cold War, 1945-1948

A. Between 1945 and 1948 the Soviets engaged in a number of aggressive actions.

1. They established pro-Soviet communist governments all over Eastern Europe, including Bulgaria and Romania in 1945, Poland in January 1947, and Hungary during the summer of 1947. In February 1948 the Soviets supported a Communist coup in Czechoslovakia.
2. Churchill delivered his "iron curtain" speech on March 5, 1946, in Fulton, Missouri.
3. The Soviets refused to cooperate in the joint economic policies for occupied Germany and installed a communist government in the Soviet zone of occupation.
4. They put pressure on Turkey for joint control of the Straits.
5. They lent aid to the Communists in the Greek civil war.

B. The United States responded to what appeared to be a blatant Soviet attempt to spread communism dominance in the East and spread its influence into Western Europe.

1. It proclaimed the Truman Doctrine in 1947, aimed at halting the spread of communism.
2. It instituting the Marshall Plan to provide economic aid to European countries, east and west.

C. These measures merely convinced the Soviets that the West, and particularly the United States, was pursuing an aggressive policy to reestablish anti-Soviet imperialist capitalist regimes and deprive the Soviet Union of its buffer zone against future German/Western aggression. Stalin responded by provoking the first major confrontation of the Cold War.

1. His Berlin Blockade was a response to the unification of the western zones of occupation in Germany and the announcement of a common currency there.
2. On June 24, 1948 the Soviets cut all rail and road links to the western sectors of the city.

D. The Berlin Airlift

1. Between June 1948 and May 1949, the Western Allies (essentially the United States) mounted a massive airlift to supply the surrounded western sectors of the city.
2. The airlift broke the blockade of the city.
3. On May 12, 1949, Stalin lifted the blockade, but the Cold War had begun.

Essential Reading for Lectures 44-46:

Merriman, Chapter 29

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the long-standing origins of mistrust between the Soviet Union and the Western powers, even before the war? What were the sources of friction that emerged during the conflict?
2. By the time that President Truman met Stalin at Potsdam, Anglo-American relations with the Soviet Union had deteriorated considerably, but in the immediate postwar years the former allies would confront one another in a Cold War. How would you interpret the events of 1945-1949? Was Truman correct in his assumption of aggressive Soviet intentions in Europe and elsewhere, or were the Soviets pursuing an essentially defensive policy that was misinterpreted by the West?

Lecture Forty-Six
The Division of Europe

Scope: At the end of the Second World War much of the European continent was devastated, its major cities in ruin, its economies in tatters, its political future in question. But in the 1950s the nations of Western Europe embarked on an ambitious and visionary course that aimed not only to rebuild the shattered continent but to create a united Western Europe and lay the foundations for an eventual united Europe. In this lecture, we examine the institutions, both economic and military, that were created to launch this effort—the Common Market, NATO, and ultimately the European Union, and we analyze the economic miracle that drove that movement forward.

Outline

I. The Division of Europe

A. Germany was divided following the end of World War II.

1. The Allies had not intended a permanent division of Germany. By 1948, however, the Western zones of occupation were merged into one (called Bizonia) with a common currency (established in 1947). After the Berlin Blockade, there were scant prospects for cooperation between the Allies over Germany.

2. In May 1949 the Federal Republic of Germany was created. The provisional and temporary nature of the new German entity was emphasized by the designation of Bonn—a small city without political or administrative importance—as its capital, and by the drafting of a "basic law" rather than a constitution to govern the new entity.

3. In October, the Soviet-supported German Democratic Republic was founded, with its capital in East Berlin.

4. By 1949 a divided Germany existed in the heart of an increasingly divided Europe.

5. The German problem had been "solved" by this division, but the status of Germany and Berlin continued to be a source of tension.

B. Europe became divided into armed camps.

1. NATO was created in 1949 to meet the perceived military threat of the Soviet Union.

2. Headquartered in Paris and under an American commander, NATO ensured the American commitment to Western European security.

3. West Germany achieved sovereign status in 1955 and was admitted to NATO shortly thereafter.

4. The creation of NATO prompted the Soviets to construct the Warsaw Pact.

5. Less than five years after the end of hostilities in Europe, the continent was divided into two armed camps.

II. The Cold War was not the only challenge facing the Western democracies.

A. The war had loosened the bonds of empire all over the globe. In its aftermath, movements of national liberation arose to challenge the position of the traditional European colonial powers.

1. France fought two long, divisive, and unsuccessful colonial wars in Indochina (1946-1954) and Algeria (1954-1962) to maintain its empire.

2. Britain, too, saw its Empire shrink.

a. In 1947 it could not maintain its control of Palestine or India.

b. In 1952 Egypt gained independence.

c. Especially in the 1960s, Britain steadily lost its possessions in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

3. The global power of individual European states declined throughout the postwar era.

B. Western Europe was also economically devastated in 1945, and the victorious Allies feared serious social unrest.

1. The governments of Britain and France met this challenge domestically by embarking on ambitious social welfare programs.

a. The Fourth Republic in France introduced sweeping nationalization measures and began a capitalist planned economy.

b. A Labor government was swept into power in Britain in 1945. Within five years it had lain the foundations for the modern welfare state.

c. All over war-ravaged Europe, postwar governments established the framework for what the Germans called the social market economic order, which combined capitalist market mechanisms with a strong commitment to social welfare policies.

2. The dramatic economic recovery of the major West European states between 1947 and 1957 was spurred by the Marshall Plan and by new initiatives to create a western Europe market. The Marshall Plan called on the European states to coordinate the use of the incoming funds.

III. Toward European Unity

A. The first steps toward European unity came in 1948 with the creation of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation and the Council of Europe to spur economic cooperation and recovery.

1. In 1950 the collaboration of Robert Schumann and Jean Monnet produced the Schumann Plan, which led to the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952 and the establishment of the Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market in 1957.

2. France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and Holland were the initial signatories of the Treaty of Rome, which established the EEC. France blocked English entry into the EEC in 1963 and again in 1967.

B. The Evolution of the European Community (EC)

1. In 1967 the EEC, the European Atomic Energy Community, and the European Coal and Steel Community merged to create the European Community.

2. Although DeGaulle's vision of a Europe dominated by France and Germany did not include a role for a reluctant Britain, the EC finally admitted Britain, along with Ireland and Denmark, in 1973.

3. Greece entered the EC in 1981,and Portugal and Spain in 1986.

C. Toward European Union

1. In 1992 the EC member governments signed the Treaty of Maastricht. This treaty was intended to create a European Economic Area that would remove barriers to the movement of goods, people, and capital across national frontiers of member states, and to lay the foundations for a common currency sometime in the future.

2. In 1993 the EC was replaced by the European Union (EU), reflecting the hopes of EC members to create not only a common currency and economic policy but also political and military union.

Questions to Consider:

1. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the Cold War was not the only challenge facing the western democracies in Europe. What other domestic and international problems had to be addressed, and how did the Western European states deal with them?

2. In the early 1950s the Western European states laid the foundations for a unified European economic and political order. What were the steps taken to achieve this ambitious goal, and what role did the United States play in the process of Western European integration?

Lecture Forty-Seven
The Collapse of Communism

Scope: In this lecture we trace developments in the Soviet bloc from the early postwar years to the sudden and unexpected collapse of the Communist system all over Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Special attention is paid to the revolutionary events in Poland, Germany, and the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1991, as the Soviet bloc simply unraveled and the Cold War came to a sudden and utterly unanticipated end.

Outline

I. The Soviet Union underwent significant changes during the postwar era.

A. The last years of Stalin's reign (1945-1953) were characterized by a return to the ideological repression of the 1930s. The regime appeared on the verge of a new round of purges when Stalin died in 1953.

B. The Soviet Union continued to evolve following Stalin's death in 1953.

1. Stalin's death was followed by a period of collective leadership that ended with Nikita Khrushchev's rise to power.

2. The new leadership arrested and executed Lavrenti Beria, head of the secret police, in 1953.

3. Khrushchev's condemnation of Stalin's "cult of personality" at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 and his open acknowledgment of the "crimes of the Stalin era" marked a significant watershed in Soviet history.

4. By 1958, Khrushchev had become not only party secretary but also the head of government. He held these positions until his removal in 1964 as a consequence of his failures in agriculture, foreign policy, and general economic management.

5. After Khrushchev's departure, collective leadership prevailed briefly as party secretary Leonid Brezhnev and premier Aleksei Kosygin shared power.

6. Brezhnev quickly emerged as the dominant figure in the Soviet leadership. He ruled until his death in 1982.

a. He was associated with the new constitution of 1977, which underscored the dominance of the Communist Party.

b. He also reasserted the power of the Soviet bureaucracy and the secret police.

c. He also gave his name to the Brezhnev Doctrine, according to which the Soviet Union pledged to intervene to ensure the survival of communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

7. Brezhnev died in 1982 and was followed as party general secretary by two leaders from the old generation of Soviet leadership: Yuri Andropov (died in 1984) and Konstantine Chernenko (died in 1985).

C. Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Communist Party and premier of the Soviet state in 1985.

1. Although a man of the party apparatus, Gorbachev sought to modernize and liberalize the economy, which was falling desperately behind the West, especially in technology, and to introduce liberalizing reforms in political life.

2. *Glasnost* (openness), as his political policy came to be called, involved relaxation of censorship in television, radio and the arts, and the placement of relative liberals in key state and party positions.

3. Gorbachev believed that the Communist Party should dominate, but he hoped to see "communism with a human face" established in the Soviet Union. Dissidents such as Andrei Sakharov were permitted to criticize the regime publicly.

4. His economic policy—perestroika—emphasized the restructuring of the Soviet system.

a. Consumer goods production was emphasized.

b. Some features of a market economy were introduced, and foreign investment was encouraged.

5. His government ended the highly unpopular Soviet war in Afghanistan in 1988, eased restrictions on Jewish emigration, and allowed public discussion of the Chernobyl disaster in 1986.

6. Gorbachev faced daunting problems.

a. He faced a debilitating arms race with the United States, a widening technology gap, and mounting economic problems. He could not liberalize the economy and concentrate on consumer goods production while engaging in a new round of military spending.
b. Once economic and political liberalization had begun, Gorbachev found it impossible to control the dynamics of change. He sought liberalization but not the end of communist rule.
c. The Soviet Union's economic deterioration meant that it could no longer intervene as before in the economies of the satellite states of Eastern Europe or prop up those unpopular regimes with Soviet military involvement.
d. Moreover, his liberalization of censorship provided an opportunity for renewed ethnic protest against Moscow in the Baltics, Ukraine, and elsewhere, reviving the old nationalities problem of the Tsarist empire.

II. The Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe

A. A pattern of revolt and repression took shape in Eastern Europe after 1953.
1. German workers in East Berlin rebelled against the Soviet presence there in 1953.
2. A similar rebellion in Hungary in 1956 was crushed by Soviet tanks.
3. The Soviets also suppressed the "Prague Spring" in 1968, led by Alexander Dubcek.
4. The Solidarity movement emerged in Poland in 1980.
a. Mass strikes in Poland in 1970 had prompted some reforms but not economic recovery.
b. Lech Walesa led a new wave of strikes in 1980.
c. General Jaruzelski declared martial law in December 1981.
d. Solidarity was officially recognized, but in 1982 it was outlawed after it called for new elections and continued its political agitation.

B. Gorbachev's policies set off a chain reaction in the satellite states in 1989, changing this pattern of revolt and repression.
1. In July 1989 Gorbachev clearly signaled his rejection of the Brezhnev Doctrine.
2. Almost immediately thereafter, opposition groups and reform-minded officials in Poland and Hungary challenged the existing regimes.
a. In Poland, strikes and demonstrations against the government in 1987 had led the following year to renewed negotiations between Solidarity and the Jaruzelski regime. These talks resulted in the holding of relatively free elections in 1989.
b. The Communists were humiliated in the elections, and they were soon forced to accept a non-Communist as premier.
c. Gorbachev refused to intervene. Instead, he urged the Polish Communist authorities to accept the outcome of the election.
d. In May 1989 the Hungarian government, under similar pressure, opened the frontier with Austria. In June the Hungarian Communist Party changed its name to the Socialist Party.
3. The German Revolution
a. East Germany under Erich Honecker vigorously opposed the Gorbachev reforms.
b. In 1989 thousands of East Germans began to flee—first to Czechoslovakia and then to Hungary, Austria, and West Germany.
c. Gorbachev visited East Berlin in October 1989 to mark the anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic and to make it clear that the Soviet Union would not intervene to support the Honecker government. Instead, he urged the East German regime to initiate reforms.
d. Leipzig emerged as the center of the opposition, as anti-government forces used the Lutheran Church as a rallying point for demonstrations.
e. Honecker was forced out of power in October. On November 9, his successor as party chief, Egon Krenz, ordered the opening of the borders and the destruction of the Berlin Wall.
f. In elections in March 1990, the Christian Democrats won a resounding victory and endorsed unification with the Federal Republic (which occurred in October).

C. The communist governments of Eastern Europe had been swept away in a dramatic and yet almost bloodless revolution.

Essential Reading for Lectures 47-48:

Merriman, Chapter 30

Supplemental Reading:

Timothy Garten Ash, *The Magic Lantern*

Questions to Consider:

1. In the 1980s Gorbachev embarked upon two extraordinary policy initiatives, *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*, to reform and revitalize the Soviet Union. Why did he undertake them, and why did they fail?
2. In the late 1980s, the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe collapsed one after another. How do you account for the fall of Communism in Europe?

Lecture Forty-Eight

Conclusion: Europe on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century

Scope: We conclude this series with an assessment of Europe today. We will examine the accelerating drive toward European unity in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse, and the equally surprising reunification of Germany. The epoch of the Second World War has finally come to a close and Europe appears to stand on the cusp of a new era of economic and perhaps political unity. Yet old problems lurk in revived ethnic and national conflict in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. In this concluding lecture we will assess the present situation of Europe in light of its history and offer some thoughts on its future.

Outline

I. The Political Landscape of Europe in the 1990s

- **A.** What will follow the collapse of the Soviet Union?
  - **1.** Can a stable democracy and a market economy be established in the former Soviet republics?
  - **2.** The transition from state socialism to a market economy has produced enormous strains.
  - **3.** Ethnic hostilities, long buried under Soviet rule, have reemerged.
- **B.** Has the German question been solved?
  - **1.** The 1990 unification of Germany has been difficult but appears to have succeeded.
  - **2.** Europe has incorporated this new, larger German state into the existing economic, political, and military structures created after the Second World War.
- **C.** Ethnic and nationalist rivalries in the Balkans have surfaced again in a particularly violent form.
  - **1.** These long-simmering hatreds are most obvious in the former Yugoslavia, but they are present throughout the area.
  - **2.** What is the proper role of NATO and of the European Union?
- **D.** The future of the European Union seems solid.
  - **1.** As the twenty-first century approaches, European union is moving ahead with considerable speed, especially on the economic front.
  - **2.** Can the older Western European partners spur that growing economic union into a genuine political and military union?
  - **3.** Can the Eastern European states be integrated into the European Union?
- **E.** The "isms" of the nineteenth and early twentieth century are in transition.
  - **1.** Marxist socialism is in full retreat, but what is the future of the socialist parties?
  - **2.** The lines between liberalism and conservatism have been blurred by a century of political conflict.
  - **3.** Fascism and right-wing extremism have flourished in the wake of the Cold War's end. Is this a transitional phenomenon?

II. We conclude our study of the "modern" period in Europe with some observations about the European past and the nature of history.

- **A.** The epoch of the Second World War is over, but what will follow?
- **B.** History helps us to understand ourselves and to illuminate the future through understanding of the past.

Questions for Discussion:

1. At the outset of the 1990s, Europeans were convinced that the age of nationalism—indeed, of ideology—was over. Yet as the end of the decade approaches, Europe faces serious problems with murderous ethnic strife and a right-wing, even fascist, revival. Does Europe stand on the cusp of a new era, or will the old problems of nationalism and ethnic conflict reemerge in different forms?

2. The European Union has made great strides toward economic and political integration in Western—and now Eastern—Europe. Will the unification of Germany and the collapse of Communism speed that process or inhibit it?

Glossary

***Action Francaise*:** A rightist, monarchist political organization founded in the late nineteenth century and led by Charles Maurras. It played a salient role in the Dreyfus case and would remain active as a right-wing nationalist force in French politics into the twentieth century.

***Anschluss*:** The *Anschluss*, or "union" or "connection" between Austria and Nazi Germany, was accomplished by Hitler in the spring of 1938.

***Blitzkrieg*:** A radically new military strategy based on the use of massed armor, tactical air support, and motorized infantry to achieve a rapid victory, it was employed by the Germans between 1939 and 1941.

***Blockwart*:** During the Third Reich, in each neighborhood or apartment building one individual served as the "block watch," keeping tabs on his neighbors. The *Blockwart* watched to determine who was loyal to the regime and who was not.

Bolshevik: The radical left wing of the Russian Social Democratic party, the Bolsheviks were the minority, while the Mensheviks represented the majority of the Social Democratic party.

***Carbonari*:** A secret society in early nineteenth century Italy, the name derived from the practice of swearing in new members by making a mark on the initiate's forehead with charcoal. The *Carbonari* were originally organized to resist Napoleon's armies, but after 1815 they agitated for Italian unification and opposition to the presence of foreign monarchies on Italian soil.

***Cheka*:** The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission or *Cheka* was a police organization founded in December 1917 to gather information on and arrest opponents of the Bolsheviks. Under Stalin it evolved into the Soviet secret police.

***Croix de Feu*:** Created in France in 1929, the Cross of Fire was a right-wing veterans' organization that denounced the "decadence" of the Third Republic. It was not unlike the fascist paramilitary organizations in Italy and Germany after the First World War, opposing parliamentary democracy and especially the socialist left.

***Diktat*:** The "dictated peace," or *Diktat*, was the derisive description applied by the Germans to the hated Treaty of Versailles after the First World War.

Dreadnought: The newly designed battleship of the late 1890s that promised to revolutionize naval warfare and render existing fleets largely obsolete. The determination of the Germans to construct a fleet of Dreadnoughts led to a bitter naval rivalry with Britain and poisoned Anglo-German relations before 1914.

***Duce*:** "Leader," in Italian, was the title taken by Mussolini upon his consolidation of power in the mid-1920s.

***Drole de Guerre*:** The French term for "phony war" or "*Sitzkrieg*" in German, it referred to the strange lull in fighting between the fall of Poland in 1939 and the German onslaught in Western Europe in the spring of 1940.

***Einsatzgruppen*:** Special SS commando units dispatched into Poland and the Soviet Union to conduct "special operations" against the Jews. During the summer of 1941 they conducted a bloodbath on the Eastern front, slaughtering perhaps as many as a million Jews.

***Enrichez-Vous*:** "Get rich!" This sentence was attributed to Louis Philippe's chief minister Guizot during the ill-fated July monarchy of 1830-1848. It was said to be in response to demands to reform the suffrage laws that heavily favored the wealthy. It was symptomatic of the crass insensitivity of the Citizen-King's regime.

***Endlosung*:** The Nazi "final solution to the Jewish question," the *Endlosung* in 1941 came to mean the physical extermination of the Jews.

***Entjudung*:** "De-Jewification" was the ugly term used by the Nazis to describe their policy of urging/forcing Jews to leave Germany between 1933 and the outbreak of the war in 1939.

***Fuhrer*:** Hitler assumed the title of "leader," or Fuhrer, within the NSDAP shortly after his release from prison in 1925. It would become his formal title after the death of Hindenburg in 1934, when he merged the offices of chancellor and president.

Gestapo: The Gestapo was the Nazi "Secret State Police" created by Goring in 1933. It became one of main pillars of Nazi totalitarian rule in Germany and Europe.

Girondins: A faction of French revolutionaries (1789-1799), many of whom were from the Gironde district of France, whose support for a moderate course in the revolution would pit them increasingly against the more radical Jacobins.

***glasnost*:** Gorbachev's policy of greater openness in the Soviet government and politics initiated in 1985, *glasnost* attempted to maintain the authority of the Communist party while liberalizing the political system.

***Gleichschaltung*:** *Gleichschaltung* was the term used to describe the Nazi policy of bringing all agencies of the German state and society into line, coordinating them under Nazi rule. The period from 1933 to 1935 is usually referred to the period of *Gleichschaltung*.

***Gosplan*:** The *Gosplan* was the Soviet agency that administered the Five-Year Plans, determining production schedules, prices, and the allocation of resources.

***Grossdeutschland/Kleindeutschland*:** During the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, the liberals meeting in Frankfurt to create a united German state were divided over whether the new German state should be a greater Germany or (*Grossdeutschland* including Austria), or a small Germany (*Kleindeutschland*) excluding the Habsburg lands.

***Gulag*:** This was the system of prison camps created for political opponents by the Soviet state under Stalin.

***Italia Irrendenta*:** During and after the First World War, Italian nationalists called for the return of "unredeemed" Italian lands to the north and across the Adriatic, especially Fiume, Istria, and Dalmatia.

Jacobins: The leading and most radical faction among the French revolutionaries after 1789, the Jacobins derived their name from their organization or club met originally in the house of the religious order the Jacobins. The Jacobins would assume leadership of the Republic, especially during the Terror.

***Kristallnacht*:** The "night of broken glass" against the Jews was carried out by the Nazi regime on November 9-10,1938. It marked the first nationally coordinated campaign of violence against Jews with clear direction and support of the regime.

***Kulaks*:** This class of relatively wealthy, property-owning peasants was eliminated by the Soviets during the First Five-Year Plan in the collectivization of agriculture. The number of deaths and deportations to the *Gulag* number in the millions.

***laissez-faire*:** The policy endorsed by nineteenth-century liberals, calling for the government to remove the barriers to free economic activity. It became a central feature of the liberal agenda, assaulting the established power of the guilds, internal tolls and tariffs, and calling for free trade between states.

***Lebensraum*:** From his earliest speeches and writings, Hitler demanded "living space" for the German people. This desire for living space was directed largely toward the East, where Hitler anticipated a war of conquest.

***Luftwaffe*:** The German Air Force was reestablished in 1935 under the leadership of Hermann Goering.

Mensheviks: The larger and more moderate wing of the Russian Social Democratic party. The Mensheviks continued to be the most popular wing of the party, but they were consistently out-maneuvered by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

NEP: The New Economic Policy was announced by Lenin in 1921 in a move to rescue the Soviet economy from the horrors of war and civil war. It allowed a degree of private ownership, especially on the land. It was a retreat from the revolutionary goals of the revolution and would be reversed by Stalin in 1928.

***perestroika*:** Gorbachev's policy of "restructuring" the Soviet economy in the mid-1980s, *perestroika* was an attempt to make the Soviet economy more competitive with the West and to meet the growing demand for consumer goods within the Soviet Union. Together with *glasnost*, it represented one of the main pillars of Gorbachev's failed effort to reform the Soviet Union.

***Realpolitik*:** "The politics of realism," *Realpolitik* is associated above all with Otto von Bismarck's rule in Prussia/Germany. It implied ignoring ideological principles when they conflicted with concrete objectives of the monarchy. Typically, his *Realpolitik* infuriated doctrinaire liberals and conservatives alike.

***Sippenhaft*:** *Sippenhaft* was the Nazi policy, initiated by the Gestapo, of arresting whole families for the crimes of one of its members.

***Squadristi*:** *Squadristi* were Mussolini's fighting street organization used to keep opponents in line, similar to Hitler's Storm Troopers.

Thermidor: Thermidor was a month of the new French revolutionary calendar. The period following the Terror is usually referred to as the Thermidorean Reaction, when the opponents of Robespierre and his followers overthrew the Committee of Public Safety on the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) and set the revolution on a more moderate course.

***Volksgemeinschaft*:** The Nazis sought to create a classless "people's community" of all Germans. The *Volksgemeinschaft* was an alternative to both Marxist and liberal visions of the social order.

***Zollverein*:** The *Zollverein* was the Prussian Customs Union, originally established in 1819, which evolved gradually into a powerful weapon for the Hohenzollerns in their efforts to bring unification under Prussian auspices. By cleverly excluding the Austrians while incorporating all the other German states by the early 1860s, conservative Prussia made itself the economic leader of Germany and the darling of liberal business interests everywhere in German central Europe.

Timeline

The Revolutionary Epoch, 1789-1815

1789 ..... The French Revolution breaks out

1792 ..... The First French Republic is established

1792-1795 ..... Wars of the French Revolution sweep Western Europe (the wars would continue with little respite down to the fall of Napoleon in 1815)

1793-1794 ..... The Terror reigns in France

1795-1799 ..... The Directory rules in France

1799-1804 ..... Napoleon assumes power in the Consulate

1804-1815 ..... Napoleon establishes the Empire, reigns until 1815

1812 ..... Napoleon invades Russia

1813 ..... Napoleon defeated at the Battle of Leipzig

1814 ..... The Bourbons restored at the Congress of Vienna; Napoleon in exile

1815 ..... The Hundred Days of Napoleon's return end with the Battle of Waterloo

The Age of Restoration, 1815-1848

1814-1830 ..... The Bourbon Monarchy restored in France, overthrown in the Revolution of 1830

1815 ..... The Corn Laws, establishing tariffs on imported grains, signed into law in Britain

1819 ..... Metternich enacts the Carlsbad Decrees

1819 ..... The Prussian *Zollverein* established

1819 ..... The Peterloo Massacres occur in Britain

1830 ..... Charles X is overthrown in France

1830-1848 ..... The July Monarchy under Louis Philippe created in France

1832 ..... The First Reform Bill enacted in Britain

1838-1848 ..... The Chartist Movement emerges in Britain

1846 ..... The Corn Laws are repealed

The Revolutions of 1848 and Their Aftermath

1848 ..... Revolution breaks out in Paris in February with creation of the Second Republic

1848 ..... In March similar revolutionary events erupt in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and the capital cities of the smaller German states

1848 ..... The Frankfurt Parliament attempts to create a liberal, united Germany

1848 ..... Italian revolutionaries seize Rome, declare a Roman republic

1848 ..... Marx and Engels publish *The Communist Manifesto*

1848 ..... John Stuart Mill publishes *The Principles of Political Economy*, perhaps the most powerful statement of classical liberal economic thought

1848-1849 ..... Rollback of the revolution begins in the summer of 1848 with the June Days in France and continues into 1849, as the Habsburgs restore the monarchic order in Central Europe

1851 ..... The Crystal Palace Exhibition in London marks the "Golden Age" of British liberal capitalism

1852 ..... Louis Napoleon, now Napoleon III, establishes the Second Empire

1854-1856 ..... The Crimean War is fought by Britain, France, and Italy against Russia

1859 ..... Darwin publishes *On the Origin of Species*

1861 ..... The serfs are emancipated in Russia

An Era of National Unification, 1859-1871

Italian Unification

1851-1861 ..... Movement for national unification in Italy led by Cavour, 1851-1861

1859 ..... Sardinia Piedmont, supported by France, goes to war with Habsburgs

1860 ..... Garibaldi leads his Red Shirts on Rome

1861 ..... Cavour proclaims the Kingdom of Italy with Victor Emmanuel as king

1861 ..... Cavour dies

1866 ..... Prussian defeat of Austria allows Italy to seize Venetia

1870 ..... French troops are withdrawn from Rome due to the Franco-Prussian War, and Rome is annexed to Italy, becoming the capital

German Unification

1862 ..... Bismarck appointed chancellor in Prussia

1863 ..... The *Zollverein* is renewed and Austria excluded

1864 ..... Prussian and Austria defeat Denmark, seizing Schleswig and Holstein

1866 ..... Prussia defeats Austria and creates the North German Confederation

1870-1871 ..... Prussia and its German allies defeat France

1871 ..... The German Empire is created at the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles

The New Imperialism

1880 ..... The high tide of European imperial expansion begins

1883-1893 ..... The French become involved in Indochina

1885 ..... The Berlin Conference on Africa lays the ground rules for the division of Africa

1885-1898 ..... The African continent is divided among the major European powers

1895-1898 ..... Crisis in the Far East mounts

1898 ..... The British and French come close to war over the Fashoda crisis

1899-1902 ..... The British become embroiled in the Boer War

1904 ..... The Russians are defeated by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese War

1904-1911 ..... German pressure in North Africa leads to confrontations with France and Britain, punctuated by the Morocco Crisis of 1904 and the Agadir crisis of 1911)

The Age of Mass Politics

1864-1876 ..... The First International is established

1867 ..... Marx publishes *Capital*

1871 ..... The Paris Commune gives birth to the "red scare"

1878-1890 ..... Bismarck enacts the Anti-Socialist Laws in Germany

1884 ..... Britain expands the suffrage, joining Germany and France with near-universal male suffrage

1889 ..... The Second International is founded

1891 ..... With the repressive laws lifted, the German Social Democrats formally adopt Marxism as their program at Erfurt and quickly emerge as the largest party in Germany

1893 ..... The German Conservative Party formally adopts anti-Semitism in its program, marking the arrival of modern anti-Semitism in European political culture

1894-1906 ..... The Dreyfus Case unfolds in France

1899 ..... Bernstein published *Evolutionary Socialism*

1905 ..... Revolution erupts in Russia

Intellectual and Cultural Developments, 1871-1914

1871 ..... Darwin publishes his *Descent of Man*

1879 ..... Wilhelm Wundt establishes the first psychological laboratory, and Pavlov conducts his experiments on the "conditioned response"

1883 ..... Nietzsche begins his career with the publication of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*

1889 ..... The Eiffel Tower is opened at the Paris Exposition

1900 ..... Freud published *The Interpretation of Dreams*

1902 ..... John Hobson published *Imperialism: A Study*

1905-1915 ..... Einstein's theory of relativity is presented

The Coming of the Great War, 1871-1914

1878 ..... The Austro-German alliance is signed

1882 ..... The Triple Alliance among Germany, Austria, and Italy is formalized

1890 ..... Germany refuses to renew its Reinsurance Treaty with Russia

1894 ..... The Franco-Russian Alliance is signed, breaking the isolation of France

1898 ..... Anglo-German naval race begins

1904 ..... England enters into Entente with France

1907 ..... The Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia is created

1908 ..... The Bosnian crisis leads Europe to the brink of war

1912-1913 ..... The Balkan Wars set the stage for big-power conflict in the region

1914 ..... The assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo

1914 ..... The July Crisis ends with the outbreak of general war

1916 ..... The battles of Verdun and the Somme reveal the enormity of the conflict

1917 ..... The United States enters the war

1917 ..... The Revolution in Russia leads to Russian withdrawal from the war

1918 ..... The Armistice and defeat prompts revolution in Austria and Germany, bringing the end of the Habsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties

1919 ..... The Treaty of Versailles is negotiated

The Age of Ideology

1917 ..... The Bolsheviks seize power in Russia

1918-1920 ..... Civil war erupts in Russia

1922 ..... Mussolini and the Fascists assume power in Italy

1923 ..... The French and Belgians occupy the Ruhr in January

1923 ..... Hyper-inflation creates economic chaos in Germany

1923 ..... Hitler attempts to overthrow the government of Bavaria and Germany in the Beer Hall *Putsch* in November

1924 ..... The Dawes Plan helps stabilize the economic situation in Europe

1925 ..... Stalin assumes control of the Soviet Union following Lenin's death

1926 ..... The General Strike is put down by the British government

1928 ..... The Soviet Union embarks on the first Five Year Plan

1929-1930 ..... The Great Depression settles on Europe

1931 ..... National Government, headed by Ramsay MacDonald, is created in Britain to deal with the economic crisis

1932 ..... Stalin announces the Second Five Year Plan

1933 ..... Hitler appointed chancellor in Germany

1934 ..... Death of Hindenburg allows Nazis to complete consolidation of their power

1935 ..... The Nazis enact the Nurnberg Laws

1936-1937 ..... The Popular Front holds power in France

1936-1937 ..... Purges and show trials begin in the Soviet Union

1936-1939 ..... The Spanish Civil War erupts

1938 ..... The Nazis unleash a national pogrom in the *Reichskristallnacht*

1938 ..... The Red Army is purged

The Second World War

1933 ..... Germany withdraws from the League of Nations

1935 ..... Germany rearms

1936 ..... Germany remilitarizes the Rhineland

1938 ..... Germany absorbs Austria in the *Anschluss*

1938 ..... The crisis over the Sudetenland leads to the Munich Conference

1939 ..... In March the Germans march into Czechoslovakia

1939 ..... In August the Nazi-Soviet Pact is signed

1939 ..... In September, the Germans invade Poland

1939-1940 ..... The Phony War prevailed between the attack on Poland and the German attack in the West in April

1940 ..... The German assault in the west begin, and France falls within a single month

1940 ..... The Vichy government created in France

1940 ..... The Battle of Britain results in British air victory, preventing a German cross-channel invasion

1941 ..... In June the Germans invade the Soviet Union

1941 ..... In December the Japanese attack Pearl Harbor and Germany declares war on the United States

1942 ..... In January the Nazi SS leader Heydrich unveils his plan for the mass extermination of the Jews at a secret conference in Wannsee

1942 ..... The death camps are created in Eastern Europe for the "final solution to the Jewish question"

1942-1943 ..... In November the Western Allies invade North Africa and defeat the Germans, while the Russians inflict a terrific defeat on the Germans, marking the turning point in the war in the East

1943-1945 ..... The Western Allies mount a massive air campaign against Germany

1944 ..... In June the D-Day landings in France mark the turning point of the war in the West

1944 ..... Hitler launches his last offensive in the West in December (the Battle of the Bulge)

1945 ..... In February at the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin determine the zones of occupation for postwar Germany and Europe

1945 ..... Hitler commits suicide in April, and the war in Europe ends in early May

Postwar Europe

1947 ..... The United States announces the Marshall Plan

1947 ..... President Truman proclaims the Truman Doctrine

1948 ..... Communists seize power in Czechoslovakia

1948-1949 ..... The Berlin Airlift rescues West Berlin and intensifies the Cold War

1949 ..... NATO is founded

1949 ..... The division of Germany seems permanent, with the creation of two German states

1951 ..... European Coal and Steel Community is founded

1953 ..... Stalin dies

1954 ..... Western European Union created

1954 ..... West Germany rearms, enters NATO

1954 ..... French are defeated in Indochina and the Algerian War begins

1956 ..... The Hungarian revolt is crushed by the Soviet Union

1956	Khrushchev denounces Stalin at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress
1957	DeGaulle assumes power and the Fifth Republic is created
1957	The Treaty of Rome creates the Common Market
1961	The Berlin Wall is built
1962	The French withdraw from Algeria
1964	Khrushchev forced from power; Brezhnev gradually assumes control
1968	Students protest in Western Europe; DeGaulle withdraws from power shortly thereafter
1968	The Prague Spring is crushed by the Soviet Union; the Brezhnev Doctrine is proclaimed
1973	The Common Market expands to include Britain, Denmark, and Ireland
1979	The European Economic Community is established
1985	Gorbachev embarks on *glasnost* and *perestroika*
1989	Gorbachev's rejection of the Brezhnev Doctrine sets off chain reaction of revolt in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany
1989	The East German government collapses and the Berlin Wall is opened
1990	Peace Treaty formally ending World War II is signed with Germany, and Germany is united
1991	The Soviet Union dissolves

Comprehensive Bibliography

Essential Reading

There are several very good comprehensive histories of Modern Europe, each possessing a distinct set of virtues. I have chosen John Merriman's excellent two-volume history as the basic text for this course, in large part because the richness of detail in his work serves as a useful companion to the lectures. At least two others deserve mention here and could be used with equal profit. Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie G. Smith have also written an extremely interesting two-volume history of Western Civilization, the second volume of which covers the period dealt with in this course. Finally, the updated edition of *A History of the Modern World* by R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton is still of great value, and I recommend it highly. The required reading for each of lectures is a chapter or chapters from Merriman's book, but if a student should choose Hunt et al or Palmer and Colton, the relevant sections would be obvious.

Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia, and Bonnie Smith, *The Challenge of the West*, volume 2, (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1995). The second volume deals with the period 1560 to the present. It is less detailed than Merriman's book but the chronological scope of the second volume is greater.

John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 2 volumes (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996). The second volume opens with the outbreak of the French Revolution (chapters dealing with the Enlightenment and the long-term factors leading to the events of 1789 are found at the conclusion of the first volume. Merriman's work offers in-depth treatment of each of the major themes raised in the course, providing a wealth of detail to augment the lectures.

R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983). Palmer and Colton have crafted a genuinely global history that begins with the Medieval period and proceeds to the present. In some ways it is the most traditional of the three, but its value as a guide to Europe in the Modern period is great.

Supplemental Reading

William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power* (New York: Franklin Watts, revised edition, 1984). Hitler's rise to power is examined in a single German town. An insightful and highly readable case study.

Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern* (Cambridge: Granata Books, 1990). The revolutionary upheavals of 1989 in eastern Europe are treated by a journalist who was on the scene. A perceptive account that captures the drama of events in Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, and Budapest.

Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992). Berenson uses a highly publicized murder trial in Paris during the summer of 1914 to reflect the cultural, social, and political values of pre-war France.

Louis Bergeron, *France Under Napoleon* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981). One of the very best treatments of the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, from his rise to power to the final collapse of his empire.

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992) A powerful—and terrifying—analysis of a single unit of Nazi police officials who carried out a bloodbath on the eastern front.

Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1983). An analysis of who voted for Hitler 's Nazi party and why during the party's dramatic rise to power between 1919 and 1933.

Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Conquest revisits the Stalinist terror between 1928 and 1941, arguing that the number of victims was far greater than traditionally assumed.

Victoria DeGrazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922-1945* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1992) DeGrazia uses an examination of Fascist policy toward women to reflect Fascist social and cultural values more broadly.

Marc Ferro, *October 1917: A Social History of the Russian Revolution* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1980). Ferro analyzes the social bases of the revolutionary movement that swept the Bolsheviks into power in 1917.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1932* (New York: Oxford University Press 1984). An intelligent, in-depth treatment of the transformation of the Russian state and society under Bolshevik rule, from the revolution to the close of the First Five-Year Plan.

Francois Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). An analysis of the massive literature concerning the French Revolution by one of France's leading historians.

Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). A brilliant study of the impact of the First World War on values, language, and literature in the West.

Lothar Gall, *Bismarck: The White Revolutionary*, 2 vols. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986). The best of the numerous biographies of Otto von Bismarck's remarkable career, from his early years through his rule in Prussia/Germany.

Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York: Knopf, 1966-69) Gay's monumental book on the ideas and individuals who defined the Enlightenment remains the standard work on the subject.

Robert Graves, *Goodbye To All That* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1985 edition). Perhaps the best memoir of the First World War, Graves's book depicts not only the horrors of combat in the trenches but a young soldier's privileged upbringing in pre-war English society.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution* (Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996 edition). An insightful examination of Darwin's thought and its impact on European intellectual and cultural development in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984). An original and important treatment of the ways in which culture and class interacted to shape the politics of the revolution of 1789.

James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992). The best summary presentation of the massive historiography on the coming of the First World War, Joll's book is a valuable guide to both the long-term and immediate causes of that conflict.

John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York: Penguin,1989). The best one-volume history of the Second World War by the most insightful military historian of the century.

Ian Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Kershaw examines the sources of Hitler's remarkable popularity in Germany, from his rise to power to the last days of the Third Reich.

Martin Kitchen, *Europe Between the Wars: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1988) A valuable introduction to the political and diplomatic conflicts of the interwar years that analyzes the road to conflict from the Treaty of Versailles to the German assault on Poland in 1939.

David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). A probing analysis of the role of technological change, cultural values, and social patterns in explaining the different courses followed by Europe's major powers in creating a modern industrial economy.

Walter Laqueur, *Europe Since Hitler* (New York: Penguin, 1983). Revised and updated since the fall of communism, this volume is a useful guide to the major social and political trends in Europe from the end of the Second World War to the present.

Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton, 1995). Perhaps the best analysis of how the Anglo-American-Soviet alliance prevailed over the Axis powers in the Second World War.

Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern British Society, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1972). A useful overview of the impact of economic change on traditional British society and the evolution of class relations across a century defined by industrialization.

Pamela M. Pilbeam, *The Middle Classes in Europe, 1789-1914* (1990). A valuable comparative treatment of bourgeois social values, economic activities, and political aspirations during the nineteenth century.

Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York: Knopf, 1994). A devastating depiction of Soviet society by one of the U.S.S.R.'s harshest Western critics.

Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) The period from 1890 to the outbreak of the war represented the high-water mark of European bourgeois life, and Rearick offers a vivid picture of the cultural values, artistic tastes, and personal pleasures of that society.

Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980). In this series of essays, Schorske provides an intelligent portrait of this important European capital in the years before the First World War, from the art of Klempt to the psychoanalysis of Freud.

Dennis Mack Smith, *Cavour* (1985). An important biography, certainly the best in English, of the statesman most responsible for the unification of Italy.

Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). An original and compelling comparative analysis of the revolutions that swept Europe from Paris to Budapest in 1848 and their political aftermath.

Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1974). A classic intellectual history approach to the roots of National Socialism, Stern's book examines the ideas of three German pre-First World War thinkers whose work laid the foundation for Nazi ideology.

Jacob Walter, *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier* (New York: Penguin, 1991). Written by a German conscripted into Napoleon's *Grande Armee* that invaded Russia in 1912, this diary is the best first-hand account of combat and soldiering in an era dominated by war.

Eugen Weber, *France, Fin-De-Siecle* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press, 1986) Like Schorske's treatment of fin-de-siecle Vienna, Weber has crafted a compelling portrait of France at the turn of the century, examining its cultural values, politics, and social attitudes.

Theodor Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III* (1971). Napoleon III is often credited with creating a new, modern form of regime, blending both liberal and conservative elements. Zeldin provides a probing analysis of that regime.

