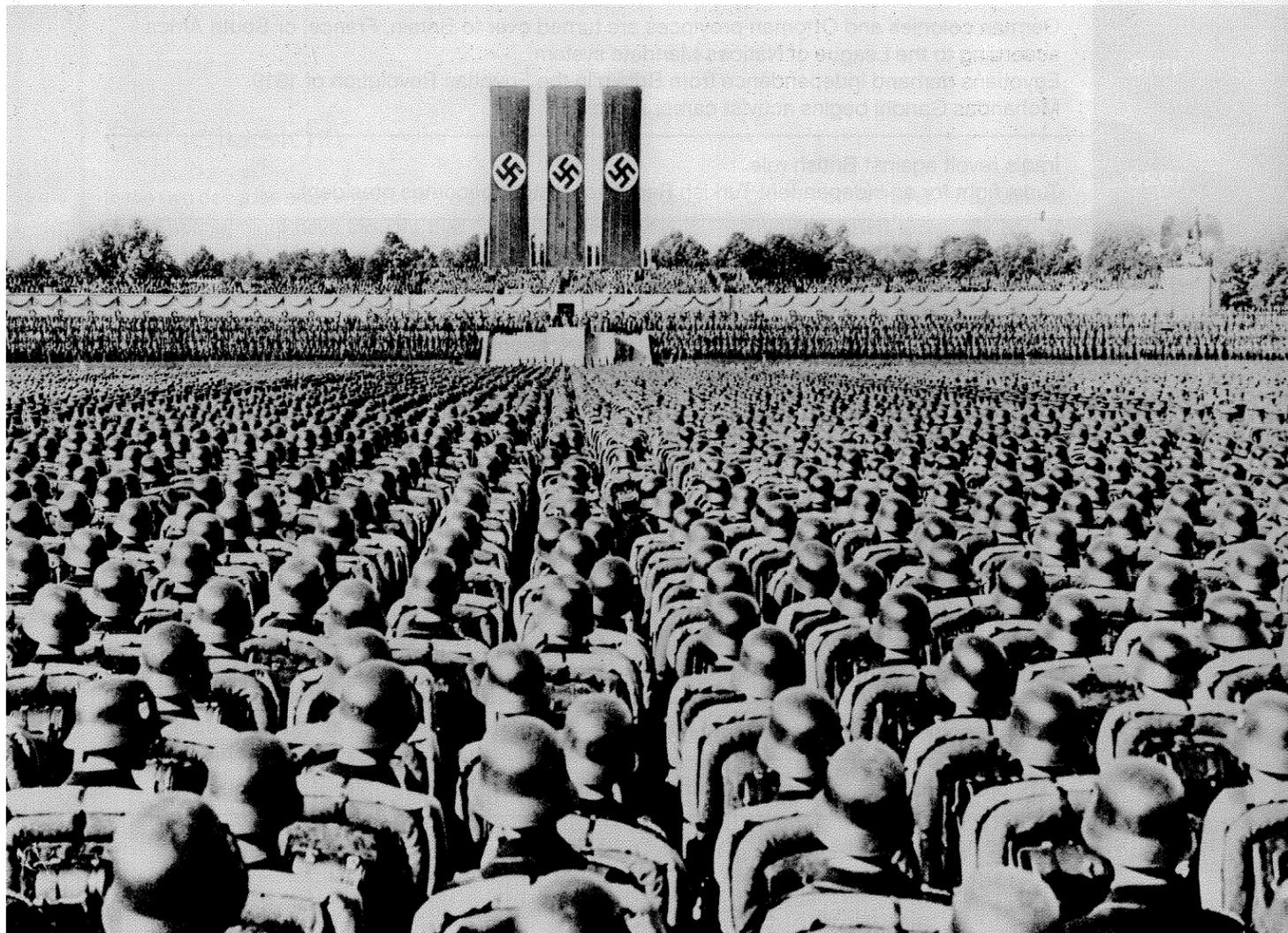


26 World War II and Its Aftermath 1933–1950



A shot from Leni Riefenstahl's 1934 film *Triumph of the Will* documenting a Nazi Party rally in Nuremberg.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the movie became a tool of war. Dozens of countries established national film industries, and governments took an early interest in cinema for its propaganda value. Political leaders recognized the power of moving pictures not only to report and preserve visual representations of the world but also to alter and manipulate them. During the 1930s and World War II, both democratic and authoritarian states sponsored entertainment films intended to inspire national unity, boost military morale, and report current events in ways that accentuated the good news and downplayed the bad. In Germany under Nazi Party rule, filmmakers made numerous documentaries depicting Adolf Hitler as a nationally revered superhero. In 1934 the gifted director Leni Riefenstahl made *Triumph of the Will*, a record of Hitler's appearance at a gigantic Nazi political rally in the city of Nuremberg. In this ingenious feat of propaganda, Hitler's airplane descends to Nuremberg through billowing clouds, as if from heaven, and, stepping from the plane, the Führer is engulfed in a sea of drums, trumpets, and rapturous faces. In the United States the federal government commissioned a series of seven wartime movies titled *Why We Fight*. Brilliantly editing stock newsreel footage and charging the soundtrack with patriotic rhetoric and stirring music, the films roused both troops and civilians to the necessity of total victory over the German and Japanese aggressors.

Mass persuasion through film and other modern media is just one gauge of the growing power that states acquired in the twentieth century to rally citizens behind government action. In the 1930s Japan, Germany, and, on a more modest scale, Italy marshaled their populations and national resources to build territorial empires. Britain, the United States, and other democratic countries also knew how to mobilize citizens for war and sacrifice. But the Great Depression left them wary of risking a second global conflict in order to stop this new imperialist surge.

As the world struggled out of the depression, its most powerful states did little to rebuild an international system of open trade and shared security. Rather, they flocked into competing and increasingly antagonistic regional blocs (see Map 26.1). One of these crystallized around Germany, a second around Japan, and a third around the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Britain and France looked to their respective overseas colonial empires for economic support. The United States dominated the business and trade of the Western Hemisphere. In 1939, tensions and antagonisms among these power groups exploded into war, first in central and western Europe and then in the North Atlantic, North Africa, Russia, the western Pacific, and Southeast Asia. The

Chapter Outline

EMPIRE BUILDING AND GLOBAL CRISIS

Empire of the Sun
The Nazi State
Italy's Foreign Aggressions
Fascist Dictatorship in Spain



THE GREATEST WAR

The Years of Axis Victory, 1939–1942
The Years of Counteroffensive, 1942–1945
The Second Total War



INDIVIDUALS MATTER Olga Lisikova:
Soviet Combat Pilot

The War beyond the Theaters of War
The War and the Global Environment

WEIGHING THE EVIDENCE Propaganda for Wartime Conservation

IN THE WAKE OF WAR, 1945–1950

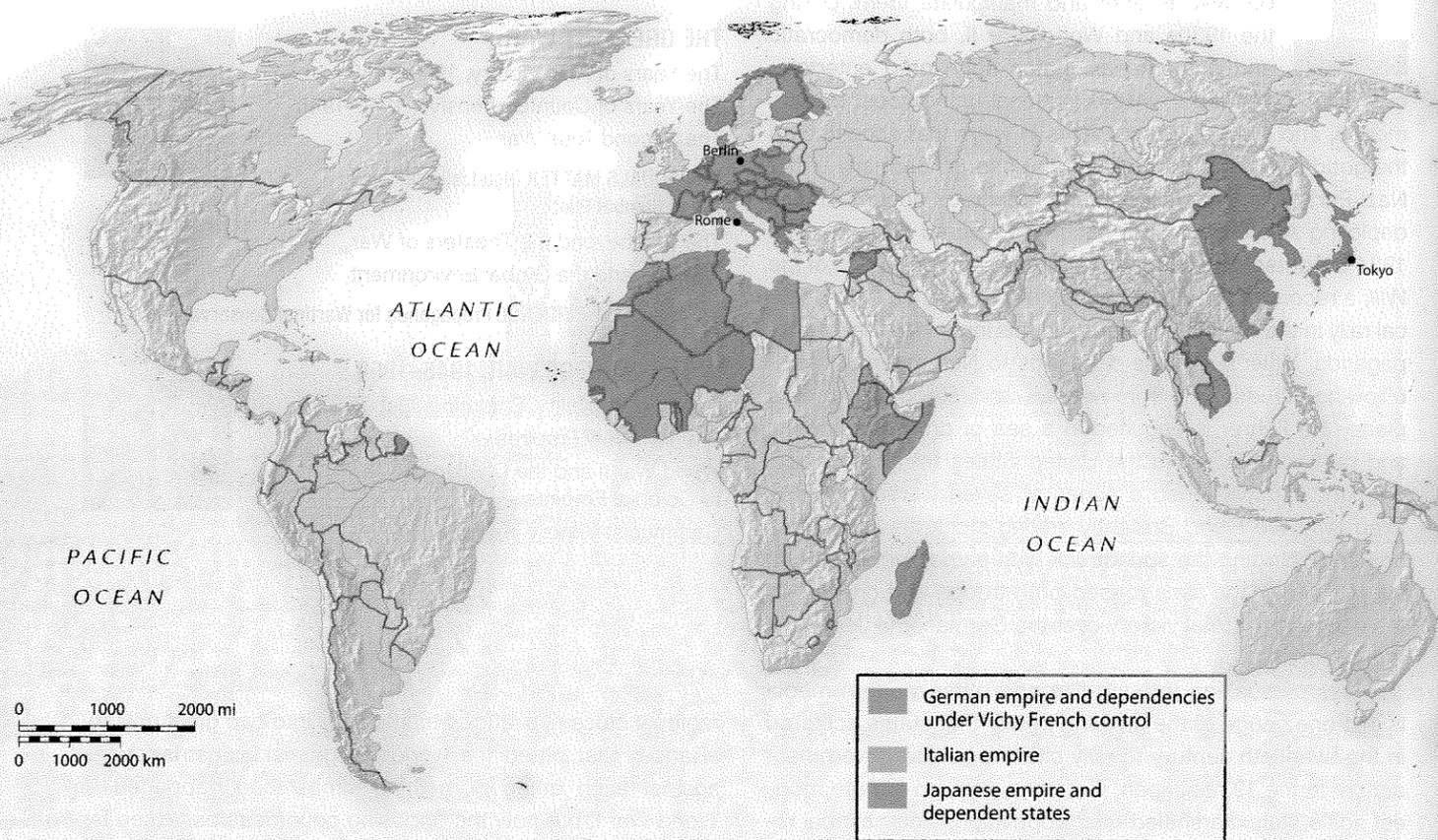
Restoring Stability, Enforcing Justice
The Two New Empires
World War II and the Challenge
to Colonial Empires
Communist Victory in China



regional blocs rearranged themselves into two giant military alliances that pitted the world's mightiest industrial states against each other. Something similar had happened in World War I, but now the opposing countries possessed far greater destructive power than they had had in 1914.

The first part of this chapter investigates the run-up to World War II in the context of Japanese, German, and Italian empire building, adventures that emerged out of the dire conditions of the Great Depression. Germany under Nazi rule, moreover, deviated from nineteenth-century imperialism because it aspired to carve its empire, not out of pieces of Africa or Asia, but from the very heart of Europe. Until 1939 the major democracies trusted that some combination of negotiations and enlightened reason would persuade Nazis, Italian fascists, and Japanese militarists to moderate their belligerent behavior. These hopes proved futile. The second part of the chapter surveys the world war from September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland, to August 1945, when American planes dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, driving Japan to unconditional surrender. We also explore key social, technological, and environmental developments that attended the war.

A Panoramic View



MAP 26.1 German, Japanese, and Italian empires and dependent states, early 1941.

What resources and strategic advantages did the Axis powers gain through territorial expansion? What logistical challenges did these wartime empires face?

The chapter's final section addresses events that took place in the immediate aftermath of the war, five years in which the world haltingly recovered from the conflagration. Even as the war wound down, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union degenerated into mutual

recrimination and distrust. Nor could the European powers with colonial empires expect to return to business as usual. In Africa and Asia the end of the war triggered demands for new governments that would serve the popular will and end foreign exploitation.

Empire Building and Global Crisis

FOCUS How did authoritarian, ultranationalist states succeed in amassing power in the 1930s?

Some historians have lumped World Wars I and II together and called them the twentieth century's "Thirty Years' War," playing on the conflict of that name that took place in Europe in the 1600s. From this perspective, the so-called interwar years were nothing but a partial lull in a long global struggle that reached its zenith of death and destruction between 1939 and 1945.

This interpretation has something to commend it, but the perpetrators of war in 1914 and 1939 had very different intentions. The World War I adversaries had aimed to alter the balance of power in Europe but not to drastically rewrite its map. In the decade leading to World War II, by contrast, Germany and Japan instigated violent imperial exploits far exceeding in scope and ambition the imaginings of any of the combatants in World War I. Like so many other countries in the interwar decades, Germany, Japan, and Italy exchanged liberal elective governments for authoritarian ones. They moved to the far right of the political spectrum, displaying intense nationalism, militarism, and contempt in equal measure for both communism and multiparty democracy. All three countries justified conquest as essential to the survival of the nation and aimed to achieve economic self-sufficiency partly by exploiting the labor and resources of subjugated peoples. In the late 1930s they entered into a series of accords with one another, culminating in 1940 with the tripartite alliance known thereafter as the Axis.

Empire of the Sun

In the two decades after World War I, the brilliant red disk at the center of the Japanese flag flew over a country growing impressively in population and industrial might. This power, however, depended on a continuous search for overseas resources, notably oil, which the islands did not have. For committed nationalists, Japan had either to extend its sphere of economic domination beyond Taiwan, Korea, southern Manchuria, and some Pacific islands—territories it had seized between 1895 and 1910—or resign itself to diminishing influence among the world's industrial states.

Demands for military action, particularly against China, became more strident during the Great Depression, which hit Japan hard from 1930 to 1932 (see Chapter 25). Amid social stress, public assassinations, and attempted coups, political factions led principally by ultranationalist army officers strengthened their grip on the national legislature (Diet). In September 1931, army units already in control of part of southern Manchuria launched a full-scale invasion of that region, sweeping aside nationalist Chinese forces. Japan erected a puppet Manchurian state called Manchukuo and began to extract the region's abundant coal, iron, gold,

and other chemical resources. Back in Europe, the League of Nations noisily protested the invasion but did nothing.

After 1932 Japan pulled out of the depression by spending massive public sums on industry and armaments, while leaders proclaiming an ultranationalist creed—unquestioning loyalty to emperor and state, renunciation of Western liberalism, and assertion of Japanese racial superiority—took full control of the government. This regime improved social services, but it smothered socialist, communist, and feminist groups and suppressed nearly all democratic institutions. Expressing warm admiration for European fascism, the new leaders idealized women as patriotic mothers and homemakers who had no need for voting rights. They also envisioned Japan dominating a huge economic zone embracing all of East and Southeast Asia. According to a booklet produced by the ministry of education, that whole region was destined to be Japan's "paddy field."¹

Easy victory in Manchuria encouraged Japan to seize more territory. In 1937, land and air forces moved out from Manchuria to invade northern China on a broad front.

The Battle of Shanghai. Japanese soldiers fought their way through the city in 1937. The invasion compounded the disruption China was already suffering owing to civil war between nationalist and communist forces. What factors motivated the Japanese army to seize more Chinese territory after it captured Manchuria?



President Jiang Jieshi and the nationalist Chinese army fought tenaciously but were doubtless weakened by having spent the previous six years battling communists and other internal enemies. The invasion's ferocity drew global outrage, especially the assault on Nanjing, the nationalist capital, where Japanese troops slaughtered tens of thousands of people and indiscriminately raped women. By 1939 a million Japanese soldiers controlled most of the cities of northern and central China. However, they still did not rule about 60 percent of the country's rural population. Both nationalist and communist forces, though at odds with each other, continued to resist.

The Nazi State

While Japan pursued its dream of empire in Asia, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party moved to make Germany the preeminent power in Europe. Hitler became chancellor of Germany in January 1933 in conditions of alarming economic crisis, a situation that allowed him to dismiss the parliament and assume emergency powers (see Chapter 25). During his twelve years of rule, he never called the legislature back. In August 1934 he assumed the title of Führer, or Supreme Leader, effectively abolishing the German republic that had existed since 1919. Germany became informally known as the Third Reich, or the Third Empire, succeeding earlier manifestations of German imperial grandeur. Like other authoritarian rulers of the era but with special talent for commanding hero worship, Hitler represented himself as the embodiment of the nation's spirit and destiny.

An admirer of Italian fascism, Hitler took less than three years to set up a totalitarian regime more intrusive and despotic than Benito Mussolini's. For all his hatred of communism, he in fact imitated Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union by building an apparatus of state bureaucrats, informers, secret police (the Gestapo), and elite military units (the *Schutzstaffel*, or SS). During its first six months alone, the Nazi regime imprisoned thirty thousand political opponents and other perceived troublemakers. Hitler also ordered Gestapo and SS agents to jail or execute army officers, politicians, old rivals, and even Nazi Party members he wanted out of the way.

Nazi racial dreams. Hitler set forth his peculiar world view in *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), a rambling, hate-filled, partly autobiographical work that he compiled while in prison in 1924. For Marxists, history turned on social class struggle. For Hitler the key to past and future was the clash of races. This conflict would end when the "Aryans," a mythical racial group of superior intelligence and hardihood, achieved dominance over all lesser forms of humanity. As Aryans, Hitler declared, the German people, or *volk*, must defend themselves at all cost against contamination by racially defective peoples. For him, racial mixing would inevitably lead to "physical and intellectual regression."² He

excluded the majority of Europeans from Aryan membership, especially Jews, Roma (Gypsies), Poles, Czechs, Russians, and all other Slavs. He most emphatically excluded Africans and Asians. At one point, he expressed admiration for Britain's subjugation of millions of dark-skinned peoples but ridiculed the idea of their ever gaining self-rule. The way to deal with Indian nationalists, he is reported to have said, should be clear enough: "Shoot Gandhi, and if that does not suffice to reduce them to submission, shoot a dozen leading members of [the Indian National] Congress; and if that does not suffice, shoot 200 and so on until order is established."³

Anti-Semitic prejudice was commonplace in interwar Europe, but to Hitler the Jews represented the single greatest threat to the German nation. Jews, he declared, had no homeland or nation of their own but worked their way into the societies of others and fed off them. Their intellectual and psychological defects were legion—greed, cunning, dishonesty. According to this Nazi delusion, wherever one looked for socialists, liberals, grasping capitalists, or communists, there one would find Jews.

As early as 1933 the Nazi Party took steps to cleanse the nation of the unwanted and unfit, subjecting them to imprisonment, banishment, sterilization, medical neglect, euthanasia, or execution. Alcoholics, feminists, gay people, the mentally infirm, or anyone who failed to show avid enthusiasm for the Nazi regime became targets of persecution. The project to isolate Jews got under way systematically in 1935 with proclamation of the Nuremberg Laws. These acts dispossessed Jews of German citizenship, prohibited them from marrying non-Jews, and harassed them in numerous other humiliating ways. Such zealous interference in the lives of certain groups meant that the Nazi state had in fact to watch and regulate *everyone*. Gradually, all public institutions from schools and churches to newspapers and social clubs came under strict Nazi control. "The right of personal freedom," Hitler wrote, "recedes before the duty to preserve the race."⁴ Like Italian fascists, Nazi leaders defined the emancipation of women as freedom to serve the state and to bear as many young Aryans as possible.

Despite its extreme authoritarianism, the Nazi government commanded growing popular support, especially among urban middle classes. By massive public spending, it pulled Germany out of the depression faster than any liberal democratic state managed to do. By 1938 Germany's jobless rate fell to less than 1 percent. The state also offered citizens generous social benefits, including housing, childcare, and medical services. Hitler revitalized heavy industry, publicly financing metallurgical, chemical, and weapons factories, even though arms manufacture violated the World War I settlement. He generally followed fascist Italy's example of collaborating with conservative business leaders and big corporations. One of his pet public projects was the autobahn, the world's first superhighway network. He also worked with Ferdinand Porsche, the German automotive



An ideal Aryan family. This Nazi-era image idealizes family life and a connection to nature through agricultural toil. This poster shares with other Nazi propaganda a celebration of motherhood and hard work. Notice the mother's tan line where her dress is open to nurse the baby. How might the Nazi government have intended Germans to respond to this poster?

designer, to build a small, fuel-efficient automobile priced, like the Ford Model T, for working citizens. Porsche produced a prototype of the Volkswagen, or "people's car" in 1935, though few Germans acquired these Beetles until after the war.

Like both Mussolini and Stalin, Hitler believed that national strength and independence must be achieved through autarky—economic self-reliance—not membership in an international system of trade and cooperation. He pulled Germany out of the League of Nations and stopped making World War I reparations to France and Britain. Envisioning Germany at the center of a great economic power bloc, he directed his agents to persuade or bully weaker states of central and eastern Europe to sign commercial agreements

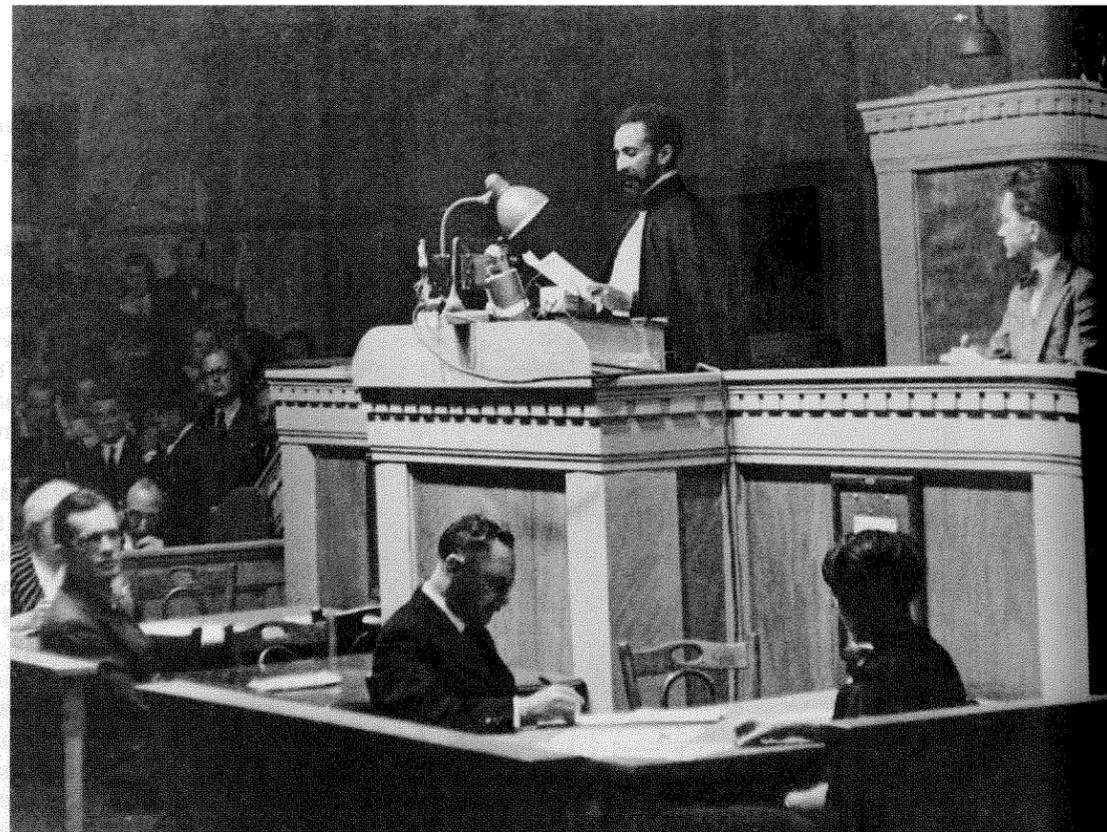
that would ensure supplies of farm goods and minerals on terms favorable to Germans.

Nazi empire building. From the start of his political career, Hitler preached that Germany's salvation depended on territorial conquest. "Only an adequately large space on this earth," he argued, "assures a nation of freedom of existence."⁵ The idea that the German nation must either enlarge its "living space" (*lebensraum* in German) or end up as a slave to other, racially polluted groups became a fundamental tenet of Nazi ideology. The regime's immediate project was to gather all German-speaking peoples, including the millions who over the centuries had migrated to various parts of central and eastern Europe, into a unitary German state. But more than that, Hitler set his sights on all of eastern Europe and Russia as "the necessary soil for our German people"—a great frontier of conquest and settlement extending all the way to the Ural Mountains.⁶ Once under the authority of the Third Reich, the existing, mainly Slavic populations would be transformed into a gigantic pool of forced labor. The weak and undesirable, including all Jews, would have to be either driven deep into Inner Eurasia or liquidated. Along the way to victory in the east, the Reich would naturally terminate the Russian communist state, ensuring that never again would Germany be surrounded by hostile powers, as it had been in World War I.

Until the late 1930s neither the Soviet Union nor the Western democracies took Hitler's imperial dream nearly seriously enough. The Western powers failed to intervene decisively partly because Hitler built his empire by incremental steps. They protested each act of aggression, but then reluctantly accepted it, hoping that Germany would ask for nothing

more. In 1936 Hitler sent troops into the Rhineland, the industrially rich western area of Germany that had been demilitarized since 1919. In March 1938 he intimidated Austria, a predominantly German-speaking state, into accepting annexation to the "Greater German Reich." About the same time, he demanded that Czechoslovakia cede substantial parts of its territory to Germany, charging that German minorities there were being oppressed. In September 1938 he met with European leaders in Munich, where France and Britain agreed to the takeover, neither of them wanting to start a war over a small Slavic state. Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister, declared that the Munich conference had achieved "peace in our time." Six months later, however, Nazis collaborated with local fascist

Emperor Haile Selassie addressing the League of Nations, 1936. The Ethiopian emperor's appeals to the international community to help resist the Italian invasion went unanswered. Why do you think none of the major powers were willing to come to Ethiopia's aid?



leaders to seize control of the rest of Czechoslovakia, as well as part of Lithuania in northeastern Europe.

Italy's Foreign Aggressions

Benito Mussolini, who took power in Italy in 1922, proclaimed that national solidarity required foreign conquest, imagining himself the heir of ancient Roman emperors. Italy had played a modest part in Europe's late-nineteenth-century imperialist surge, seizing Libya across the Mediterranean, as well as Eritrea and Somaliland in northeastern Africa. An Italian army had invaded Ethiopia in 1896 but suffered ignominious defeat (see Chapter 23). Mussolini spent the early years of his rule strengthening the Italian economy and army. Then in 1935 he dispatched 100,000 troops to invade Ethiopia again, equipping them with motorized transport, tanks, aircraft, and, contrary to international law, poison gas. The Ethiopian army fought resolutely but lost to carpet bombing, unbridled attacks on civilians, and mass executions. Haile Selassie (r. 1930–1974), Ethiopia's emperor, appealed to the League of Nations for help: "On many occasions I have asked for financial assistance for the purchase of arms. That assistance has been constantly refused me. What, then, in practice, is the meaning of . . . collective security?" The League denounced the invasion but proved no more willing to help Ethiopia than it had Manchuria in 1931. In 1939 and under cover of Hitler's assault on Czechoslovakia, Mussolini also invaded Albania, a small Balkan monarchy that he knew he could beat. Neither Britain nor France tried to stop him.

Fascist Dictatorship in Spain

Between 1936 and 1939 Spain fell into a ferocious civil war that produced between 400,000 and 1 million casualties. Spain in the 1930s was a microcosm of European ideological struggles between the political right and left. In 1931 a republican government assumed power but made little progress in solving Spain's acute problems of rural poverty and industrial exploitation of low-paid urban workers. In 1936 a shaky coalition of liberals, socialists, communists, and regional separatists, constituting a Popular Front of the political left, won parliamentary elections. Within months, however, General Francisco Franco (in office, 1938–1973) and other right-wing military officers attempted a *coup d'état* that triggered the civil struggle. The Spanish Civil War also had a colonial dimension because Franco initially based his movement in the part of northern Morocco that Spain had ruled since 1912.

The three-year war pitted the communist-dominated coalition of the left against an ultranationalist alliance of military men, land-owners, fascist paramilitary groups, and the deeply conservative hierarchy of the Spanish Catholic Church. Even though Franco was less a doctrinaire fascist than a pragmatic nationalist, the wider world perceived the war as a titanic struggle between political right and left. Stalin sent Soviet aid to the republican side. Forty thousand leftist foreign volunteers, including the Abraham Lincoln Brigade from the United States, joined the cause, many of them dying in combat. On the nationalist side, Franco got help from German air squadrons, which bombed

republican-held areas. Wary that a republican victory might lead to a communist takeover, Britain and France refused to help neutralize the German intervention. But Franco's victory in 1939, together with Czechoslovakia's calamity, persuaded Britain and France to oppose further Nazi expansion.

The Greatest War

FOCUS What factors explain why a second global war occurred in the first half of the twentieth century?

The Wehrmacht, or German army, invaded Poland in early September 1939, precipitating European war. Between then and mid-1942 the Nazi empire grew to colossal size, extending from Arctic tundra to the North African Sahara and from the Atlantic coast of France to the Black Sea. Parallel to this expansion, Japanese forces overran a large part of China, almost all of Southeast Asia, and numerous Pacific islands. Only in 1942 did a large coalition of countries led by the United States, Russia, and Britain begin to confront the Axis powers. From then until 1945, battles raged on land and sea, and casualties of both soldiers and civilians soared into the tens of millions. In this chapter we survey the war's broad outline, including changes it brought in the social, economic, and environmental spheres.

The Years of Axis Victory, 1939–1942

At certain points between 1940 and early 1942, many well-informed observers thought the war was about to end in Axis victory. Germany, its allies, and its client states achieved control of more than three-quarters of Europe. Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland remained neutral, but all of those states except Ireland endured persistent Nazi intimidation. After German forces overran France, they created the Vichy (vee-SHEE) puppet regime, which permitted Axis collaborators to take control of France's colonies in North and West Africa and in Southeast Asia. In western Europe, only Great Britain continued fight. To the east, Japan forged an empire even bigger than Germany's, by 1942 the largest the world had ever seen, if one counts the seas that the Japanese navy patrolled.

War in East Asia and Poland. Fighting in Europe and on China's northwestern frontier announced the start of general war. In August 1939, and much to the dismay of Britain and France, Germany signed a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union. This accord included an

arrangement to divide Poland and other eastern European states between the two powers in the event of war. Here was Stalin, the leader of the international communist movement, making common cause with the rabidly anticommunist Hitler. How did this deal come about? Stalin knew perfectly well Hitler's designs on Russian territory, but he needed to buy time. He could call up millions of soldiers, but they were poorly equipped compared to the German Wehrmacht (armed forces) divisions facing eastern Europe. Furthermore, in the late 1930s Stalin conducted a brutal purge of both army officers and Communist Party officials in order to root out political enemies, real or imagined. The purges devastated the upper ranks of the officer corps and left the entire chain of command in shambles. By pragmatically allying with Germany, Stalin aimed to rebuild the Red Army with a new generation of loyal subordinates, regain eastern European territory lost in World War I, and encourage Germany to exhaust itself fighting a war with Britain



SOMEONE IS TAKING SOMEONE FOR A WALK

The Nazi–Soviet Pact, 1939. This cartoon published in London's *Evening Standard* shows Stalin and Hitler strolling along the border they established after dividing Poland between them. How did the cartoonist portray this alliance between the Soviet Union and Germany? What details suggest that this arrangement was not stable?

and France rather than with him. The pact also bought time for Hitler. He had long believed that German conquest to the east first required eliminating France and Britain as viable enemies. He expected to perform that task in short order and then, nonaggression pact or no pact, invade Russia.

In Japan the Nazi-Soviet pact caused serious rethinking of imperial priorities. Japan and Russia had fought a war in 1905 (see Chapter 24), and they remained rivals for influence in northeast Asia. Since early 1939 the two states had been fighting an undeclared war intermittently along the border between Manchuria and Mongolia, a Soviet client state. In late August the Russian army won a decisive victory, prompting the leaders in Tokyo to cut their losses, patch up relations with Russia, and redirect military operations from northeastern Asia to the British, French, and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia. This is exactly what Hitler hoped Japan would do.

The Wehrmacht invaded Poland in September 1939, knowing that state had to be secured before they could launch an invasion of western Europe. Despite fierce Polish resistance, Nazi forces quickly overran the western third of the country, while Russian divisions seized the eastern provinces, all according to plan. When the fighting ended, Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda chief, made clear Nazi intentions for the Polish people. They are, he wrote, "completely primitive, stupid, and amorphous. . . . The Führer has no intention of assimilating the Poles. . . . This nation's civilization is not worth consideration."⁸ Operating with this mindset, the invaders indiscriminately killed Polish civilians, burned villages, executed intellectuals, machine-gunned the disabled, and herded several hundred thousand Jews and others to ghettos in central Poland to make space for German settlers. In the eastern region, the Soviet occupiers killed or imprisoned even more people in the months after the invasion, for example, massacring about twenty-two thousand army officers and other Poles in the Katyn Forest in March 1940.

The fall of western Europe. When the Wehrmacht assaulted Poland, Britain and France declared war, though neither had sufficient land forces to stop Hitler from driving west. Between April and the end of June 1940, German mechanized divisions supported by the Luftwaffe (air force) invaded Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium, and France one after the other. By mid-June, the Nazi swastika flew over Paris. Retreating on two fronts, British and French troops converged on Dunkirk on the northern coast of France, where a hastily arranged swarm of seacraft gathered to ferry 338,000 soldiers across the English Channel to safety. Cloudy skies limited German air attacks. "The bad weather has grounded the Luftwaffe," the army chief of staff complained, "and we must now stand by and watch countless thousands of the enemy get away to England right under our noses."⁹ Once in Britain, surviving French troops formed the Free French organization under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970).

Meanwhile, German forces fanned out across western Europe as far as the Mediterranean coast and the Spanish

frontier. Hitler intended to absorb most conquered territory directly into the Third Reich. However, he allowed a **collaborationist** government led by Marshal Philippe Pétain, an elderly World War I hero, to administer the southern provinces of France from the small city of Vichy. The war in western Europe seemed to be over. Millions of Europeans, relieved that it had ended quickly, were quite prepared to wait and see what Hitler's victory might bring. Rosie Waldeck, a German-born correspondent living in Romania in the summer of 1940, captured the resigned public mood: "The fall of France formed the climax to twenty years of failure of the promises of democracy to handle unemployment, inflation, deflations, labor unrest, party egoism, and what not. . . . Hitler, Europe felt, was a smart guy—disagreeable but smart. . . . Why not try his way."¹⁰ Other millions, however, wanted no part of Hitler's way, and in every defeated country resistance movements of noncooperation, sabotage, and guerrilla warfare gradually took shape, though these activities tended to be scattered and out of communication with one another.

In Britain, Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) refused to accept German domination of continental Europe in return for peace. Not yet prepared to invade England, Hitler ordered massive aerial bombing to bring the country to its knees. Royal Air Force (RAF) fighter planes fought back, however, and British scientists developed superior radar technology to track and intercept enemy aircraft. The airborne Battle of Britain raged during the fall and winter of 1940–1941, with the Luftwaffe dropping tens of thousands of explosive and incendiary bombs on British factories, cities, harbors, and ships. The RAF shot down attacking planes faster than German factories could replace them. Consequently, Hitler shelved his invasion plans, confident that he could deal with Britain once he defeated Russia. The bombing eased up, leaving Britain economically exhausted but with some breathing space to rebuild.

War in the Atlantic. As soon as Britain and Germany went to war, their navies began to engage each other from the North Sea to the South Atlantic. By conquering France, Germany gained access to new ocean-facing ports. Its surface navy was much smaller than Britain's, but its submarines, or U-boats, roamed the Atlantic. Between October and December 1940 alone, German naval craft sank more than 700,000 tons of British shipping. The sea war brought Europe's crisis closer to the United States. Britain desperately needed North American food and war materiel, but the United States had neutrality laws prohibiting it from helping either side. The U.S. Congress was not eager for another great war twenty-three years after the first. The Franklin Roosevelt administration, however, became persuaded that if Britain fell, the U.S. navy would have to defend the North Atlantic against Germany while facing Japanese aggression in the Pacific at the same time. Public opinion also shifted

collaborationist A government, a group, or an individual that cooperates with foreign enemies, usually an occupying power.

in Roosevelt's favor, and in March 1941, Congress enacted the Lend-Lease program, which effectively freed the president to offer Britain, and later Russia, billions of dollars in military aid. The following summer, the navy began escorting convoys as far across the Atlantic as Iceland. By October, American and German vessels were attacking each other, even though no state of war yet existed between the two countries.

The "war of annihilation" in Russia. The Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact collapsed abruptly on June 22, 1941, when three German army groups invaded the Soviet Union simultaneously. Stalin received the news in shock. In the following seventeen months, the Wehrmacht penetrated hundreds of miles into Russia. Hitler was confident of victory because his army had already invaded Yugoslavia and Greece and pressured Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria into joining the Axis. Moreover, Nazi race theory made no room for effective Russian resistance, a German military handbook declaring that Slavic soldiers, being "slow-witted," were "incapable of decisive resistance against a well-commanded, well-equipped force."¹¹ Hitler told his high command that the invasion of Russia would be a "war of annihilation."

Between June and December 1941, German troops overran western Soviet defenses, destroyed the Soviet air force, and captured hundreds of thousands of prisoners. As the armies advanced, they also got busy clearing living space for the racially pure. The Wehrmacht burned thousands of villages, shot or hanged Communist Party leaders and numerous other civilians, and sent thousands of men and women to slave labor camps in Germany. The Nazi regime let upward of two million Russian war prisoners starve or freeze to death. The invaders rounded up and murdered Jews, often in village squares, and these atrocities grew rapidly in scope and ferocity. Some Ukrainians and other non-Russian minorities at first welcomed the Germans as liberators from Stalinist despotism. But instead of cooperating with these groups, Nazi officers followed Hitler's orders to "spread such terror as to crush every will to resist among the population."¹²

Within six months of the assault, however, it became clear that Germany would not replicate its triumphant march across western Europe. In July 1941 Stalin proclaimed that Russia would fight a "Great Patriotic War" of defense. Fired by this nationalist appeal, the Red Army recovered its footing and partisan guerrillas began to operate behind German lines. In December, Soviet forces stopped the Wehrmacht before it reached Moscow. Early in 1942 Hitler ordered a



**ЗА РОДИНУ,
ЗА ЧЕСТЬ, ЗА СВОБОДУ!**

For Motherland, honor, and freedom! Soviet posters during World War II urged citizens to support the "Great Patriotic War." What features of this poster might have inspired popular support for the war effort?

major offensive in southern Russia to seize Soviet oil wells in the Caucasus region. But this advance stretched German supply lines dangerously thin.

Japan at its imperial zenith. War engulfed Southeast Asia and the Pacific in late 1941, when Japan nearly simultaneously attacked Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, and the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Germany's spectacular successes in western Europe gave Japan a golden opportunity to move against the French, Dutch, and British colonies in Southeast Asia, territories that offered rich resources in oil, rubber, tin,

rice, and other critical commodities. Leaders in Tokyo proclaimed that these territories were now part of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, an economic and political bloc whose conquered populations would presumably work with Japanese overlords in a spirit of Asian brotherhood. Japan's wartime needs for resources and labor, however, meant that harsh repression quickly eclipsed all schemes for "co-prosperity."

The Japanese strategy for unqualified victory assumed a free hand in both China and Southeast Asia. That meant preventing the United States from intervening. Tojo Hideki, the Japanese prime minister, assessed the situation in 1941: "Two years from now we will have no petroleum for military use; ships will stop moving. . . . I fear that we would become a third-class nation after two or three years if we merely sat tight."¹³ The U.S. government balked at war with Japan while its own naval buildup was in progress, but in

July 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt imposed an embargo on trade in oil and other strategic commodities. Consequently, Tokyo resolved to attack Pearl Harbor from the air, knocking the American Pacific fleet out of action long enough to secure Southeast Asia, including the American-ruled Philippines.

In the first six months after Pearl Harbor, Japan's multiple amphibious and air assaults succeeded spectacularly. About 130,000 British, Australian, and Indian troops surrendered in Hong Kong, Malaya, and Singapore. In Indonesia, Dutch resistance collapsed quickly, and thereafter the archipelago's oil and rubber flowed exclusively to Japan's war industries. The U.S. public overwhelmingly supported Roosevelt's mobilization for war, even though damage to the Pacific Fleet prevented a quick military response. In support of his Asian ally, Hitler ordered that war be declared on the United States, which ensured that in due course the United States would enter the European conflict alongside Britain. Winston Churchill later reminisced that when the United States went to war with Germany, he "went to bed and slept the sleep of the saved and thankful."¹⁴

Italy's early setbacks. Mussolini, Hitler's ally, declared war on Britain and France when he was convinced the Nazis had western Europe in hand. As the Battle of Britain raged,

he launched his own offensive campaigns, attacking Greece through Albania and western Egypt through Libya. His generals botched both campaigns, however, and had to fall back. Italy also quickly lost its Ethiopian colony. In early 1941 a coalition of Ethiopian fighters, units from British African colonies, Congolese troops, and both black and white South Africans drove the Italian army out of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somaliland. Emperor Haile Selassie returned to his throne after an exile of less than seven years.

The Years of Counteroffensive, 1942–1945

Both Germany and Japan understood that a prolonged war would pit them against states having greater long-term access to global resources. The Soviet Union had to be destroyed, Britain humbled, and the United States persuaded to let Germany and Japan have their regional empires without a fight. After three violent years, however, the Axis achieved none of those objectives.

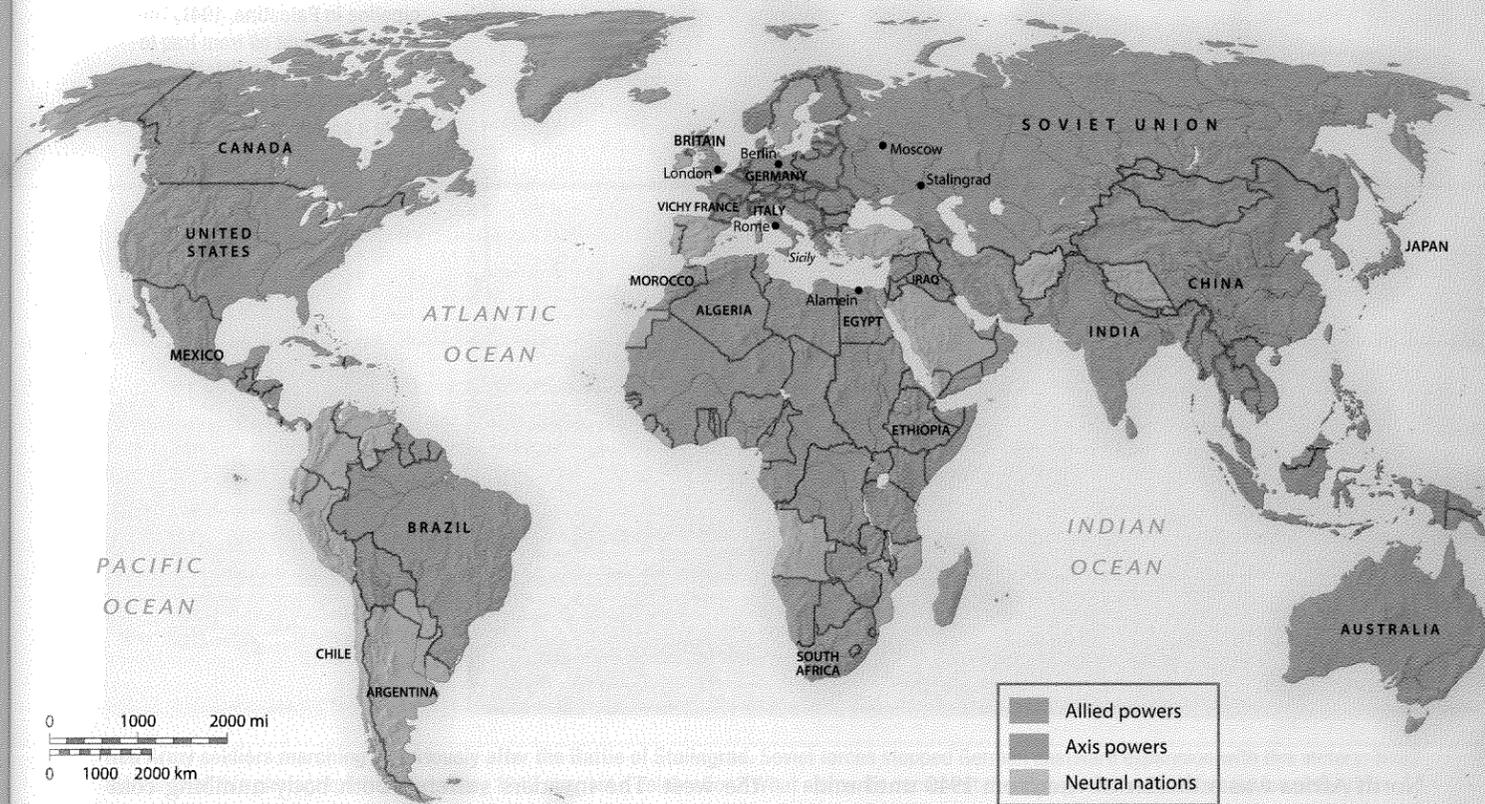
Hitler announced a "New Order" for Europe, which some interpreted as a plan for shared economic development. But he had no thought, as it turned out, of a "family of nations" under German leadership. Nazi officers proceeded ruthlessly to extract Europe's resources and labor to support the fighting elsewhere. Any expectation that Nazi rule might at least mean political calm and economic reconstruction dissipated rapidly. Japanese forces similarly squandered opportunities for good will in Southeast Asia, killing or imprisoning large numbers of civilians and cruelly exploiting labor, in other words, behaving worse than the European colonial rulers they had replaced.

Hitler's failure to knock the Soviet Union quickly out of the war also allowed Stalin time to mobilize the labor and resources of the Russian heartland. The Red Army and millions of workers moved whole industrial plants eastward by truck and rail to locations in Inner Eurasia that German bombers could not reach. Stalin successfully rallied the population to fight a national war, though he was no less authoritarian than Hitler. Stalin tapped Russia's deep interior for millions of draftees, including gulag prisoners herded to the front as cannon fodder. The German army simply could not kill Russian conscripts nearly as fast as they were marched to the battle lines.

Stalin scorned capitalist democracy as much as Churchill and Roosevelt disliked communism, but the three leaders transcended their deep suspicions to form a "Grand Alliance" against the common aggressor. From 1942 the United States channeled huge shipments of supplies to the Red Army, mostly through northern Russian ports or Iran, which British and Russian forces jointly occupied in mid-1941. Fourteen states joined the Allied coalition early on, nine of them, including Belgium, Poland, and the Netherlands, represented by governments-in-exile. In short, Germany and Japan faced a growing coalition of enemies (see Map 26.2).

THE YEARS OF AXIS VICTORY

1939	Nazi–Soviet nonaggression pact. German invasion of Poland.
1940	German conquest of continental western Europe. Aerial bombing of Britain.
1941	German invasion of the Soviet Union. Japanese expansion in Southeast Asia and the Pacific; attack on Pearl Harbor. Failed Italian campaigns.



MAP 26.2 Allied and Axis states, mid-1943.

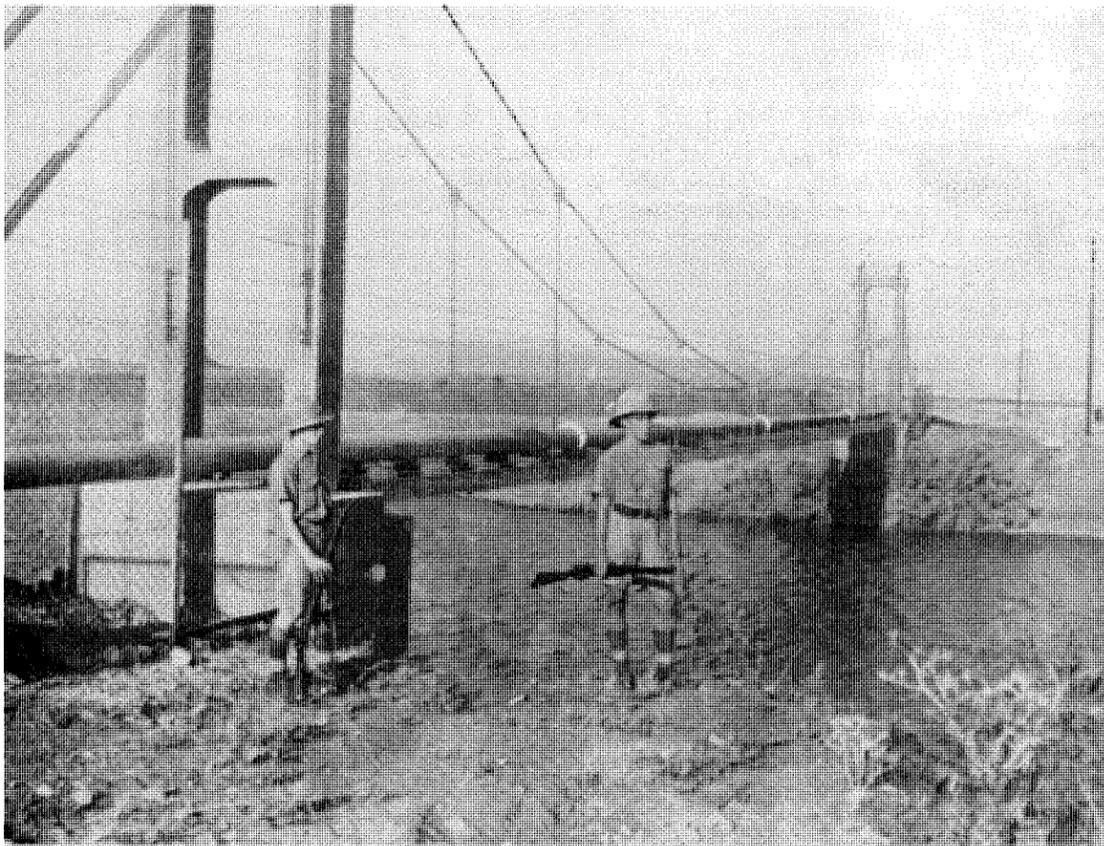
Describe the changes in territory claimed by the Axis states from early 1941 (Map 26.1) to mid-1943. Why do you think there were so few neutral states by this point in the war?

A war running on oil. The Allies moved into Iran (despite the anger of Iranian nationalists) partly to protect British-controlled oil fields there. In fact, the search for fuel energy illustrates the widening resource gap between the Allies and the Axis as the conflict dragged on. Factories, ships, tanks, and airplanes consumed colossal amounts of fossil fuel. Far more than World War I, this was a war of internal combustion engines. The United States had abundant coal and oil reserves for making numerous hydrocarbon products, including synthetic rubber. U.S. oil companies laid the Big Inch and the Little Big Inch, two pipelines that by the summer of 1943 pumped crude and refined petroleum overland from Texas to East Coast ports. Those projects reduced dependence on oil tankers, which were vulnerable to U-boat attacks. British companies rapidly expanded oil production in the Middle East. In Iraq, which devolved from a British-ruled mandate to a sovereign constitutional monarchy in 1932, pro-German nationalists seized power in April 1941. British and Indian troops, however, immediately toppled this regime and kept the Iraqi fields pumping oil to the Allies.

The oil problems of the Axis powers went from bad to worse as the war stretched on. The Wehrmacht thirsted for

fuel, but Germany had almost no domestic oil. The oil fields of Romania, a Nazi client state, became the army's main source of crude. In mid-1943, however, Allied planes started bombing Romanian refineries, and the German advance in Russia lost its momentum well short of the Caucasus petroleum reserves. Japan was also an oil-poor country. It captured the wells and refineries of Indonesia, but from 1944 Allied naval attacks increasingly disrupted the long tanker routes to Japanese ports.

The turning tide of battle. Between mid-1942 and June 1944, when the Allies invaded France, the balance of fire power gradually shifted. New American aircraft carriers and battle cruisers regrouped in the central Pacific. U.S. and Japanese carrier-based planes fought their first major engagement in the Coral Sea northeast of Australia in April 1942. At the Battle of Midway the following month, an American fleet stopped Japan's Pacific advance, destroying four carriers. From that point, Japanese commanders had to shift to defending the huge Pacific perimeter they had secured only months earlier. Ferocious fighting for control of one island after another continued for more than three years.



British soldiers guarding an oil pipeline in Palestine, 1941. This pipeline brought oil from Iraq to the port of Haifa on Palestine's Mediterranean coast. Why was Haifa a port of great strategic importance during World War II?

North Africa was a theater of war from 1940 until mid-1943. After the fall of France, the entire southern shore of the Mediterranean west of Egypt became Axis territory. Italy ruled Libya, and pro-Vichy officials took charge of the French colonial governments in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. Early in 1941 a German army under the command of General Erwin Rommel arrived in North Africa determined to overrun both Egypt and the Middle Eastern oil fields that lay beyond. Egypt had become a constitutional monarchy in 1922 following four decades of British rule, but Britain nevertheless retained rights to garrison the Suez Canal Zone. Consequently, British, Australian, and New Zealander troops poured into the country. Seesaw battles raged in the Libyan and western Egyptian deserts for nearly two years. But after victory at Alamein in October 1942, the Allies took the offensive, and fuel-starved Axis forces retreated to Tunisia. The following month, American, British, and Free French armies landed in Morocco and Algeria, removed the Vichy governments, and pushed eastward. Fighting in North Africa ended in May 1943, when a quarter-million Axis troops surrendered in northern Tunisia. From there, Allied divisions organized an invasion of Italy.

Just as the North African war wound down, the Red Army halted the German advance into Russia. In the deep winter of 1942–1943, more than two million German and Russian combatants clashed for control of the city of Stalingrad, an industrial and communication center that controlled the flow of oil from the Caucasus to the Russian heartland. The German Sixth Army took most of the city in November 1942 but had to rely on long supply lines from

the west. The invaders suffered both body-numbing cold and vicious hand-to-hand combat in the bombed-out city center. “My hands are done for,” a German soldier wrote. “The little finger of my left hand is missing and—what’s even worse—the three middle fingers of my right one are frozen. . . . The best thing I can do with the little finger is to shoot with it.”¹⁵ Russian tank and infantry forces under General Georgi Zhukov gradually massed around the city, finally surrounding the German army and, in February 1943, forcing its surrender. The Red Army prevailed at the cost of about 110,000 dead, wounded, missing, or captured and 40,000 civilian lives. Axis casualties may have exceeded 800,000.

Stalingrad turned out to be the eastern limit of the Nazi empire, which after that defeat had no hope of capturing the Caucasus oil fields. Fighting shifted into central Russia, but at Kursk in July, the Russians smashed a German offensive in the biggest tank battle in world history, throwing the invaders permanently on the defensive. That same month an Allied army crossed the hundred-mile-wide strait between Tunisia and Sicily, launching the liberation of Italy. These gains also heartened partisan resistance movements throughout Nazi-ruled Europe. In Yugoslavia, for example, the communist leader Tito organized a guerrilla army to strike back at the German occupiers. By 1944 his commanders controlled much of the country.

China’s three-cornered war. The people of China fought a civil war and a national liberation struggle simultaneously. Between 1937 and 1939 the Japanese seized most of the



Red Army soldiers marching victoriously after the Battle of Stalingrad. Soviet forces stopped German eastward expansion with this victory. What elements of this photograph from February 1943 suggest a celebration? What elements document the high price the Soviets paid for victory?

cities, industries, and transport networks of eastern China. Jiang Jieshi moved the nationalist army and government deep into the interior, safe for the time being from Japanese land forces. The Allies could help the nationalists only by airborne deliveries of arms, materiel, and advisors over the Himalayan “hump” from India. Nationalist leaders, however, also made problems for themselves. They allied with landlords to exploit peasants, bought and sold army conscripts as if they were slaves, and winked at clandestine trade with the Japanese.

Meanwhile, communist forces under the leadership of Mao Zedong fought Japan from their own strongholds. In 1927 Jiang had launched a campaign to eradicate the Chinese Communist Party and nearly succeeded (see Chapter 25). But in 1934–1935 Mao Zedong led about twenty thousand soldiers on a six-thousand-mile journey, a legendary trek known as the Long March, from southeastern China to a safe base in the northwest. Mao had taken part in founding the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, but in contrast to most of his comrades, he abandoned urban worker organization in order to mobilize peasants for revolution. Recasting Marxist-Leninist teaching, he argued that communist cadres should both lead and learn from hard-working peasants, not just the city proletariat. In 1927 he wrote: “If we allot ten points to the accomplishments of the democratic revolution, then the achievements of the urban dwellers and the military units rate only three points,

while the remaining seven points should go to the peasants in their rural revolution. . . . There must be a revolutionary tidal wave in the countryside.”¹⁶ Mao and his lieutenants proved much more effective than the nationalists in redistributing land, building schools, and opening leadership positions to women. They also outmatched the nationalists in mustering peasants to fight the Japanese.

Indeed, World War II became a three-way struggle in which nationalists, communists, and Japanese all fought each other. In 1941 Jiang ordered an attack on a communist army, and after that, cooperation between these two sides collapsed. Much to the annoyance of Allied advisors, Jiang kept his best-trained divisions from fighting the Japanese, expecting that the communists would in the longer run prove the greater threat. A 1944 intelligence memo reported Jiang as saying: “You Americans are going to beat the Japanese some day. . . . On the other hand, if I let Mao Zedong push his propaganda across Free China, we run the risk—and so do you Americans—of winning for nothing.”¹⁷ For their part, communist partisans seized control of extensive rural areas, which the Japanese could not effectively garrison for lack of personnel. In fact, Chinese nationalists and communists together tied down about 40 percent of the entire Japanese army.

The Axis empires under siege. From the spring of 1943 to late summer 1945, the Allied powers ground down and

finally terminated the Axis empires. Italy's fascist regime was the first to go. By the time the Allies invaded Sicily in mid-1943, the great majority of Italians wanted out of the war. But because Hitler sent troops into Italy, combat continued there for another two years. Allied forces fought their way to Rome, then toward the Alps. In April 1945 Italian partisans captured Mussolini and executed him.

In the sea and air war, the Allies gradually gained supremacy. In the North Atlantic, German U-boat attacks diminished early in 1943, thwarted by a number of innovations in maritime warfare. Radar detected enemy craft on the surface, sonar used sound waves to find submarines, and electrical HF/DF equipment, known colloquially as "huff-duff," was used to pinpoint the source of U-boat radio transmissions. Allied aircraft operating mainly from England began bombing Germany on a large scale in the spring of 1942, not only to destroy material targets but also to terrorize and demoralize the enemy population, just as the Luftwaffe had done over Britain. German airplane factories could not keep pace with losses to their own squadrons, and by April 1944 the Allies had full air superiority.

From the summer of 1943, the Red Army advanced westward toward Germany in a series of victorious surges. In the west, Allied commanders waited until they had amassed a colossal armada in southern England before launching an amphibious invasion of France, which took place on June 6, 1944. The landing and the ensuing Battle of Normandy between June and late August cost both sides approximately

THE YEARS OF COUNTEROFFENSIVE	
1942	U.S. entry into war. Battle of Midway in the Pacific.
1943	Allies win North Africa, invade Italy. Soviet victory in Battle of Stalingrad; westward advance of Red Army.
1944	Allied victory in Battle of Normandy. Liberation of Paris. Allies stop German advance in the Ardennes Forest, Belgium.
1945	Battle of Iwo Jima in the Pacific. Execution of Mussolini. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin meet at Yalta in the Soviet Union. Germany surrenders. Allies liberate the Philippines from the Japanese. Atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan surrenders.

425,000 dead, wounded, and missing. Nevertheless, the Allies liberated Paris on August 25. The drive into western Germany, however, took nearly another year. Consequently, Russian forces had time to penetrate most of Nazi-ruled central Europe well ahead of American or British divisions. The last big air assaults on Germany took place in the winter of 1945. Finding that strategic bombing of German military and industrial targets failed to do adequate damage, the U.S. and British air forces turned to carpet bombing of several major German cities. These attacks supported the Soviet advance, and by April the Red Army had Berlin surrounded. Hitler committed suicide in his Berlin bunker on April 30, and a week later the German high command surrendered, ending the Third Reich twelve years after its founding.

In Asia, Allied submarines wreaked havoc on Japanese shipping throughout 1944. By the end of the year, Japan's petroleum supplies were running out. Beginning in June, newly developed B-29 long-range bombers attacked Japan's industrial and population centers. In October, U.S. forces, aided by local guerrillas, started the grueling campaign to take back the Philippines. As the war in Europe drew to an end, Allied forces blockaded Japan's sea routes and dropped thousands of incendiary bombs on Tokyo and other cities. When the Japanese government still refused to negotiate peace terms, Harry S. Truman (in office, 1945–1953), who became president in April 1945 on the death of Roosevelt, ordered an atomic bomb attack, first on Hiroshima on August 6 and another on Nagasaki three days later. On August 15, Emperor Hirohito, contradicting the wishes of his most diehard commanders, ordered Japan's surrender, thereby preempting the planned Allied invasion of the islands.



A mother adjusts her son's bandages in Hiroshima, October 1945. Both mother and son were injured in the atomic bomb blast. They are lying on the floor of a bank building that was converted to a makeshift hospital. The extensive damage to buildings complicated efforts to tend to survivors, many of whose wounds proved fatal. Why did images such as this one especially shock viewers around the world, even though civilian casualties were common throughout the war?

The Second Total War

The twentieth century's second great conflict mobilized populations for total war on an even larger scale than the first one. Central governments organized and regulated society and economy more rigorously. Opposing states rained many more tons of bombs and shells down on one another to destroy infrastructure and demoralize civilians. And the war provoked greater extremes of repression, persecution, and brutality than any earlier struggle in history. In World War I, military deaths totaled 8 to 10 million, but in World War II the total was 22 to 25 million.

The continuing growth of state power. Many governments accrued more power between 1930 and 1945 as leaders endeavored first to pull national economies out of depression and second to fight another global war. Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia had authoritarian governments, which regulated national economies however they liked without much question. The Nazi regime created numerous state-owned manufacturing and financial enterprises. To control inflation it routinely intervened in the market to regulate prices and wages, even by the crudest means. According to Hitler, "Inflation is lack of discipline. . . . I'll see to it that prices remain stable. That's what my storm troopers are for. Woe to those who raise prices. . . . You'll see."¹⁸

On the Allied side the British government took charge of industrial production and agriculture, gave scientists and engineers deadlines for new military inventions, told people to plant "victory gardens," and put the entire population on rations. In the United States, full mobilization got under way after Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt set up the War Production Board and numerous other public agencies, the federal payroll swelled, and most Americans started paying income taxes for the first time. Government and business cooperated extensively, market forces continued to operate, and companies profited.

The war affected state attitudes toward human rights differently depending on the country. Germany, Italy, and Japan sharply curtailed private freedoms several years before the war, and Stalin consistently ignored them. In Britain and the United States, most democratic institutions continued to function, though the governments restricted the press and other forms of public expression in the interest of unity and security. The Roosevelt administration blatantly discriminated against Japanese Americans shortly after Pearl Harbor by ordering them to leave their homes in the western states for detention camps in remote places, arguing that these people, about 110,000 men, women, and children, might sympathize with the enemy. The government manifestly violated civil rights laws, pandered to anti-Asian racist sentiment, and failed to restore lost property and businesses to the detainees after the war.

Women mobilized. In all warring states, armies occupied only the top level of a sprawling pyramid of civilian and auxiliary support. In every country, the mass conscription,

disablement, and deaths of adult men meant that everyone else, especially women, had to accept wartime duties. Millions of British and American women took wage and volunteer jobs or enlisted in the military. More than two million women joined the British wartime labor force; another million signed on for military or civilian defense service. In the United States the Roosevelt administration urged women to go to work as a patriotic duty, though they consistently received lower wages than men for comparable jobs. By 1944 the U.S. labor force included about nineteen million women, many of them working to make tanks, ships, airplanes, and uniforms. Rosie the Riveter emblemized national fortitude and sacrifice in image and song:

All the day long,
Whether rain or shine,
She's a part of the assembly line.
She's making history,
Working for victory,
Rosie the Riveter.
Keeps a sharp lookout for sabotage,
Sitting up there on the fuselage.

The German, Italian, and Japanese regimes were slow to send more women into wage work owing to ultranationalist ideology that idealized motherhood and family duty as anchors of the nation. Nazi leaders preferred to exploit low-paid foreign conscripts, prisoners of war (POWs), or slaves to meet German industrial demands, though many of those workers were in fact women. Japanese officials urged women to stay home and reproduce at a faster rate, though females eventually had to make up for extreme industrial labor shortages. In the Soviet Union, by contrast, the state mobilized women for war work in great numbers, partly because Communist Party ideology extolled equal opportunities for members of the proletariat, whether male or female. By 1943, women comprised more than 55 percent of the Russian industrial workforce.

Social conventions kept women out of uniformed combat in most of the belligerent states except for Russia. In Japan, women organized and managed thousands of "neighborhood associations," which distributed food, sold war bonds, and collected taxes. In the United States, about 350,000 women joined the armed services, mainly in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and the Navy's WAVES. Thousands of military nurses served in war theaters, and women also flew new combat aircraft from U.S. factories to airfields in Britain. In countries under Nazi or Japanese occupation, women played vital roles in local resistance movements as fighters, nurses, couriers, and spies. In the Soviet Union, several hundred thousand women served at the war front as infantry, fighter pilots, snipers, and tank drivers.

If the war emancipated women in some respects, it caused terrible suffering for millions more. Prostitution, sometimes voluntary but often coerced, flourished around military bases of all countries. The Japanese conscripted about 200,000 Korean, Chinese, and Filipino girls and

Olga Lisikova: Soviet Combat Pilot



Combat pilot Olga Lisikova

the Soviet Union and Finland, she transported injured soldiers to medical facilities, continuing to fly into her eighth month of pregnancy. When her daughter was less than a year old, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Lisikova and her husband, also a pilot, left their child with a relative and reported for military service. She performed medical evacuations and transported cargo, in addition to ferrying officials around the country.

On one occasion in August 1941, Lisikova was flying two severely wounded soldiers to a hospital, when a German fighter plane spotted her:

When I saw that a German fighter was on my tail, I still thought that he would see the red crosses and leave

In October 1941 the Soviet Union became the first country in the world to allow women pilots to fly in combat. By the end of the war approximately 12 percent of Soviet pilots were women. The air force formed three all-female regiments, which flew a combined thirty thousand war missions. Women were also attached to mixed-sex regiments and flew alongside men.

Olga Lisikova distinguished herself as the only woman pilot in an otherwise all-male division. Trained in the late 1930s, she flew for Aeroflot, the civil aviation agency. During the 1939–1940 war between

me alone. . . . But the fighter closed up on me. I had several seconds before my life would end. . . . In such extreme circumstances, a person's brain works in an unusual manner: I saw an overhang, and I literally thrust my airplane under this overhang. The burst that was launched by the fighter passed over my aircraft and cut into the other bank of the [Msta] river. . . . In these places it flowed between steep banks. I pressed the stick and flew lower and lower, flying directly over the water, darting back and forth with the river. . . . Then I came upon an airfield—Verebye, and set my aircraft down without an approach. When my aircraft stopped, I looked around. People were running up to me from all sides, shouting something and waving. I did not understand. I climbed down from the cabin, looked around, and saw that the Messerschmitt [German fighter] was burning. It had dived on my airplane and began to pull out, but the aircraft had bottomed out.¹⁹

Following this episode, the Soviet government awarded Lisikova the Order of the Red Banner for heroism in combat.

Surrounded by male pilots, Lisikova tried to ensure that her sex would never be held against her. Reflecting on her war service many decades later, she remembered that her division commander had warned that “where the failure of a male pilot could pass unnoticed, mine would always be under surveillance.” Consequently, she resolved that “I would do everything better than the men.”²⁰ She flew 280 combat missions during the war, eventually earning a spot in the intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Red Army. In that assignment, she flew paratroopers behind enemy lines and also carried out supply drops. Like most other female pilots in the Soviet military, however, her service ended not long after the war's conclusion. She flew her last mission in 1946.

Thinking Critically

What factors do you think motivated the Soviet Union to recruit women for air combat missions in World War II, when most of the countries at war barred women from this role?

women to prostitute themselves as “comfort women” to male soldiers. The Germans put about ten thousand French women in concentration camps on charges of resistance activity. Only about 5 percent of them returned home. The Nazis also targeted Jewish, Slavic, and other “undesirable” women of reproductive age for imprisonment or execution on the grounds that if they married or had sex with Germans, they would produce racially contaminated children.

Genocidal war. If the majority of civilians killed in the war died randomly, from bombs, shells, diseases, or lack of food, many millions were deliberately murdered. Ethnic cleansing, our contemporary term for the mass killing or expulsion of one group by another, has accompanied wars and social conflicts for many centuries. In World War II, however, premeditated brutality reached epic proportion. Systematic killing on a large scale included the Japanese

army's butchery of civilians in Nanjing, China, in 1938; Stalin's deadly deportation of non-Russian ethnic groups before and during the war; and the Croatian fascist party's murder of more than 330,000 Orthodox Christian Serbs.

The Nazis, however, elevated methodical murder of particular classes of people to the level of a ghastly industrial enterprise. Implementing Hitler's grand plan to dispose of all who threatened Aryan racial destiny, the Third Reich systematically killed approximately six million Jews and about an equal number of Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Roma, gays, and the physically or mentally disabled. During the first six weeks of the invasion of Poland, SS and other Nazi units shot or hanged more than sixteen thousand people, about five thousand of them Jews.

genocide The premeditated, purposeful killing of large numbers of members of a particular national, racial, ethnic, or religious group.

By 1942 the Nazi state marked Jews and Roma for **genocide**, while murdering Slavs, POWs, and other prisoners more haphazardly or keeping them barely alive for forced labor. To carry out their Final Solution of the “Jewish problem,” Nazi officials built new concentration camps and refitted existing ones, including Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor, and Bergen-Belsen. At some of these camps, prison guards killed men, women, and children in large gas chambers, then either buried the corpses or cremated them in ovens. Nazi officials puzzled over ways to make this complicated task run more efficiently. At the Treblinka extermination center in Poland, for example, camp technicians introduced “time and motion” innovations to move large numbers of the condemned from train arrival platform to gas chamber in less than forty-five minutes.²¹ The language of extermination became bureaucratic and abstract. Victims were “items for transportation” to be “processed,” “resettled,” or given “special treatment.” As the Wehrmacht began to retreat, Nazi officers worked even more zealously to round up Jews and other disposable persons from conquered territories. The Nazis killed something like 65 percent of Europe's Jews before Germany surrendered, the genocidal machinery grinding to a halt only when Allied troops approached the death camps and the staffs fled.

The spectrum of human response to the Holocaust ranged from enthusiastic participation to heroic resistance. Many captives walked into the gas chambers as they were told. But others incited riots, prison outbreaks, and insurrections, for example, the furious but hopeless uprising of the Warsaw ghetto population in April 1943. In Germany, millions of citizens blandly accepted the government's violent anti-Semitism, but others hid Jews throughout the

war. Fascist governments in Romania and Hungary organized their own mass killings of Jews, but in Bulgaria more than 80 percent of the Jewish community survived because King Boris III, though allied with Germany, stopped cooperating with Nazi deportation. The documentary evidence shows that the British and American governments responded unhurriedly to a growing stream of intelligence information about Nazi death camps. Only when the Allies came face to face with emaciated inmates and piles of corpses did they proclaim the extent of the horror.

The dimensions of death. World War II lasted about a year and a half longer than World War I, and it killed twice as many people partly because of the power of its weaponry—automatic rifles, long-range bombers, explosive rockets, and atomic bombs. Together, combat, disease, hunger, and organized murder claimed about 2.6 percent of the 1940 global population of around 2.27 billion. In the Soviet Union, 25 million people died, about two-thirds of them civilians. In early 1945 the U.S. and British air forces, having found that strategic bombing of German military and industrial targets did insufficient damage, launched carpet bombing raids on several German cities. The firebombing of Dresden flattened the city center and killed between 120,000 and 150,000 people, mostly civilians. The nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed about 220,000. War conditions combined with poor harvests could also set



Survivors of the Buchenwald concentration camp. Emaciated slaves greeted U.S. troops who entered this camp in central Germany in April 1945. Many other prisoners died of malnutrition or starvation during the war. Notice how little bunk space each prisoner had. Some are using metal food bowls as pillows. How do you think images like this one affected the postwar settlement?

off famine. In India, for example, two million people died in Bengal in 1943 because the Japanese invasion of neighboring Burma cut off rice imports. Nevertheless, British authorities refused to divert food intended for big cities or armies. As in the case of World War I, however, massive war deaths did not produce a net global population decline because average life expectancies continued to rise (excepting frightful mortality in particular war-torn places) along with birth rates. Between 1940 and 1950, world population grew by around 11 percent.

The War beyond the Theaters of War

Before the war ended, fifty-one countries or governments-in-exile joined the Allies, though significant fighting took place in only eighteen countries. In other words, the conflict pulled in many states, not because they were attacked or contributed troops, but because the war seriously affected their political and economic interests. Profoundly disrupting the world economy and interstate relations, the war left no society completely untouched.

Latin America and the war. Except for naval battles in the western Atlantic, fighting remained as far from Latin America as it did from the United States. Nevertheless, every Latin American state joined the Allies before the struggle ended. Brazil sent an infantry force to Italy, and Mexico contributed a Pacific fighter squadron. Some countries, Argentina and Chile, for example, entered the war near its end to ensure good relations with the victorious United States and to qualify for charter membership in the United Nations.

In general, World War II served Latin American economies well. The Great Depression pushed many states to intervene more forcefully in economic affairs, and this trend continued during the war. Prices for exports rose, the United States having a huge wartime need for Latin American food and minerals. Brazilian rubber, Cuban sugar, and Venezuelan and Mexican oil were all immensely important to the Allied war effort. Latin American industries also profited by expanding manufacturing to help meet the rising middle-class demand for radios, refrigerators, and other trappings of modern urban life. This wartime growth, however, benefited mainly the middle and wealthy classes.

Colonized peoples and the war. The populations of African and Asian dependencies were invariably drawn into the conflict by their colonial masters. British colonies made vital contributions of resources, labor, and fighting skill to the struggle against the Axis. After the Germans marched into Paris, much of the French overseas empire, including North and West Africa, fell under the control of the Vichy collaborationist regime for at least part of the war. In France's central African colonies, by contrast, administrators led by Félix Éboué, the governor of Chad and a man of African descent from French Guiana in South America, declared their loyalty to the Free French. Consequently, from

late 1940, Charles de Gaulle had not only an office in London but also a territorial base in Brazzaville in the French Congo. Belgium fell to the Nazis, but its gigantic Congo colony remained out of Axis reach. Congolese farmers and miners supplied the Allies with strategic materials, including uranium that American scientists used to build the atomic bomb.

Soldiers from Allied colonies fought in all the major theaters of war. Thousands of Indians put on uniforms to defend South Asia against a potential Japanese invasion through Burma. Thousands more fought under British command in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and for the first time Indian officers were permitted to rise to high ranks. After the Allies invaded North Africa, fighters from French-ruled Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia took part in the campaign to liberate Italy and Germany. At times, forces under Free French command were more than 50 percent African.

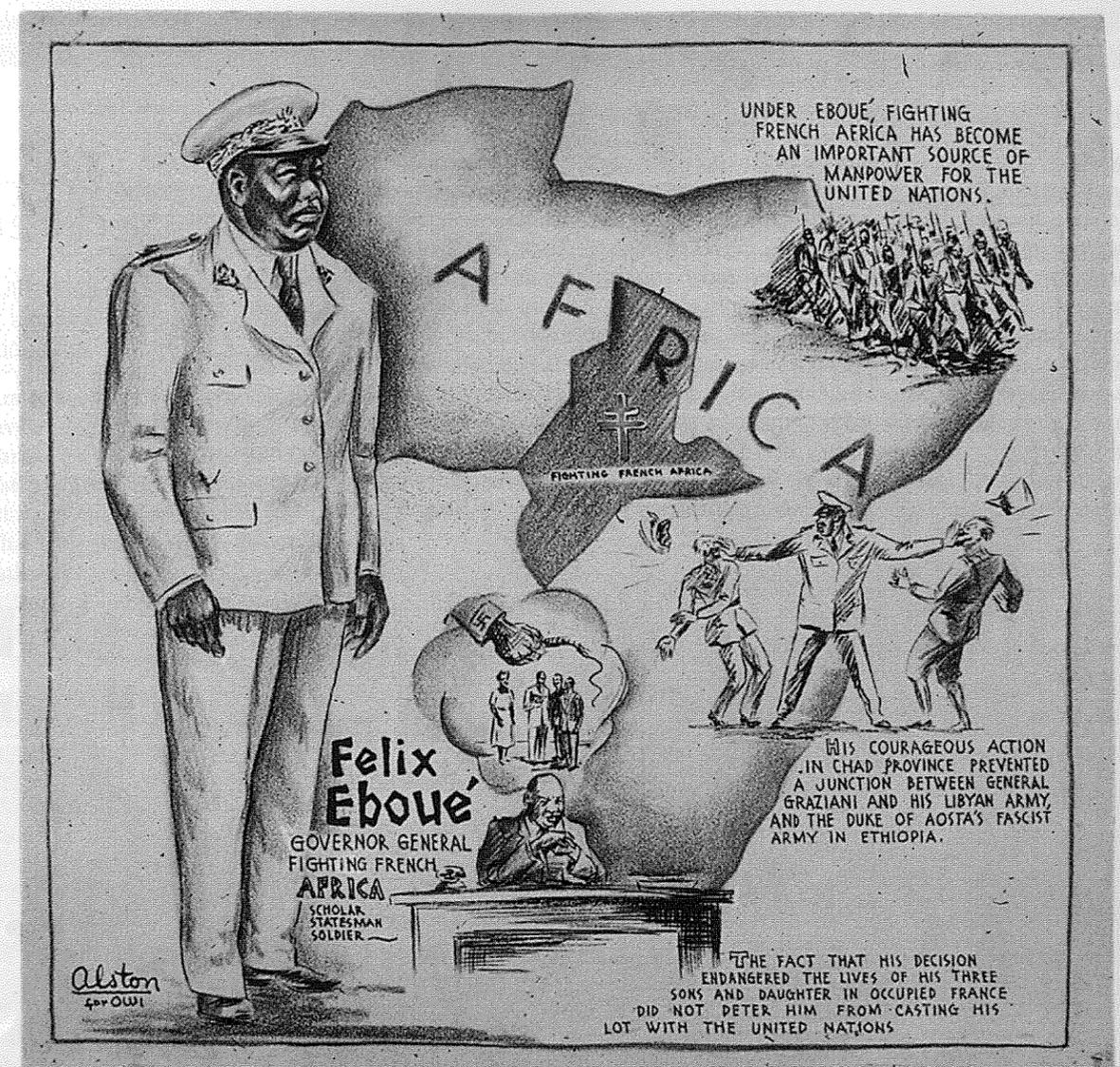
Even before Southeast Asians realized the fraudulence of Japan's "co-prosperity sphere," they began to organize resistance. In Malaya, communists and other insurgents, principally from the large Chinese minority, organized rural bases for launching guerrilla attacks against the occupiers. Filipinos set up similar operations in mountain forests. In Vietnam the nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh led the communist Viet Minh's resistance against both the Japanese and the French colonial government, which was under Vichy control. As Japanese power waned, Ho's forces seized much of northern and central Vietnam.

The War and the Global Environment

A hypothetical chart of global environmental change in the twentieth century would undoubtedly show sharp spikes during the two great wars. In those years, humans exploited, manipulated, and damaged the biosphere at an especially frenzied pace in order to achieve urgent military and economic objectives. Both the warring states and the countries they traded with accelerated economic production, thereby consuming global resources and generating waste at unprecedented levels.

Combat, including aerial bombardment, caused enormous environmental harm, if only in the short term. In places of intense fighting, such as the western Soviet Union or certain Pacific islands, flora, fauna, and soils were devastated, though they tended to recover gradually after the armies went away. Explosive and incendiary bombs nearly leveled cities like Dresden, Hamburg, Berlin, Warsaw, and Tokyo, but rebuilding commenced soon after the war. In China, nationalist forces tried to slow the Japanese advance by dynamiting levees on the Yellow River, an act of sabotage that drowned hundreds of thousands of Chinese and inundated millions of acres of farm land. Nevertheless, the dikes were rebuilt shortly after 1945.

Not all military destruction, however, was so easily set right. DDT, a chemical insecticide developed in the late 1930s, saved soldiers from typhus, malaria, and other diseases in



Governor Félix Eboué and the war effort in Africa. This poster by Harlem-based artist Charles Alston chronicles Eboué's contributions to the Allies in French Equatorial Africa during and after World War II. What aspects of Eboué's career did Alston choose to emphasize? What might account for those choices?

both Europe and the South Pacific. This compound, however, also permeated soils and poisoned marine and bird life, a fact not well understood until the 1960s. Toxic nuclear radiation continued to kill Japanese long after the war ended, about fifty thousand of them by 1975.

The war forced the belligerent states to initiate agricultural and industrial crash programs to feed and supply their military services. Many countries extended production of commercial food and fiber crops to steep hillsides, which in regions such as tropical Southeast Asia worsened soil erosion. More intensive farming, plus voracious consumption of timber for wartime construction, also accelerated the rate of global deforestation. In Britain the war used up about half

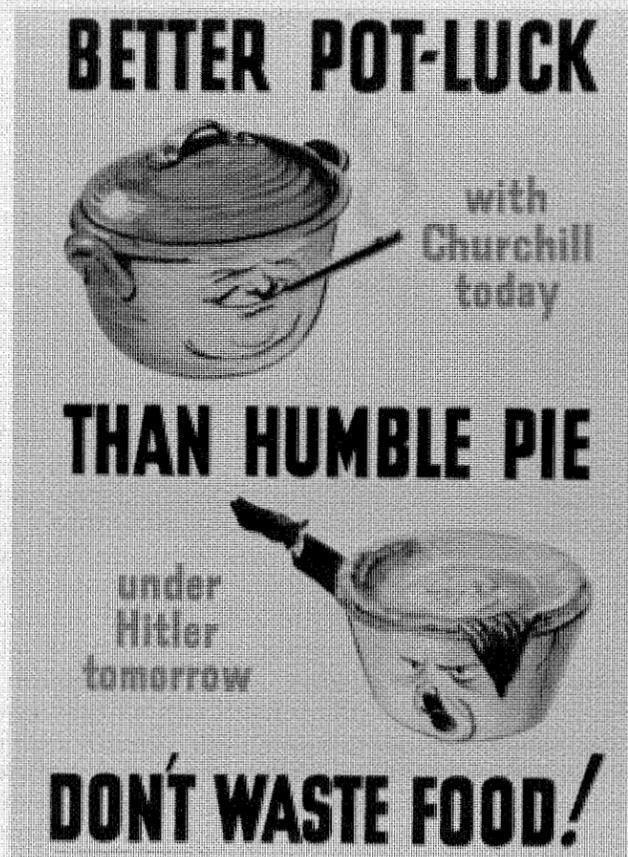
the country's remaining forests.²² The Germans clear-cut huge areas of Poland and Norway to get lumber. In Japan, where woodland conservation had long been government policy, the war compelled destruction of forest stands that in some cases had been nurtured for centuries. When the conflict ended, pressure on forests worldwide only increased because so much rebuilding had to be done.

Ironically, warfare eased environmental degradation in some circumstances. All the combatant states introduced measures to conserve fuel, electricity, and food. Atlantic fish stocks recovered significantly during the war because commercial fishing boats had to stay in port. After the Allies bombed places like the Ruhr Valley and the Berlin region,

Propaganda for Wartime Conservation

During World War II, governments on both sides of the conflict rallied their citizens by commissioning propaganda posters. These posters, which typically went on display in public spaces such as courthouses and post offices, broadcast a variety of messages. The German and Japanese governments put up posters to spread their ideology of racial superiority, depicting minority ethnic or religious groups as subhuman or sinister. American and British posters portrayed Japan and Germany as dire threats to democracy and freedom. Posters exhorted citizens to mobilize for victory by joining the army or taking on extra employment.

Posters, as well as movies, radio messages, and newspaper announcements, urged citizens to support wartime production and supply by conserving resources. By deferring purchases of cars or clothing and by consuming less meat or gasoline, citizens would speed factory production of tanks, jeeps, airplanes, ammunition, and uniforms. Wartime posters reminded citizens to grow "victory gardens" to free up food supplies for soldiers. The two posters shown here promote communal sharing and conserving of resources as acts of patriotic cooperation and vigilance. After the war ended, however, such broadsides soon disappeared, superseded, especially in the United States, by private advertisements urging consumers to buy more consumer products.



British wartime poster



U.S. wartime poster

Thinking Critically

What message do you think each poster intends to deliver? How do the posters use the figure of Hitler to make their point? What does "humble pie" mean in the text of the British poster? Why do you think that conservation posters like these disappeared right after the war? Would you characterize these posters as elements of a wartime environmental movement? Why or why not? Do the messages of these posters have relevance today? If so, how?

smoke-belching factories fell silent and skies cleared. After the war, however, the factories fired up again, and a new surge of global economic growth only sped human intervention in the workings of the biosphere.

In the Wake of War, 1945–1950

FOCUS What were major consequences of World War II, and how did global political and economic conditions change in the five years after the war?

Big wars cause all sorts of trouble even after they have ended. Populations are left displaced and wandering, economies and communication systems are shattered, food and fuel are in short supply, and social disorder threatens. States that were strong are suddenly weak; others bristle with new power. Because of want, insecurity, and cravings for revenge, killing continues. All of these things happened in the half-decade following World War II. Restabilizing and rebuilding the world presented an immense task. Indeed, many leaders feared that the world might quickly plunge back into deep economic depression. Nevertheless, governments, businesses, and charitable organizations immediately took up the tasks of reconstruction and revival.

The European colonial empires that had existed before the war could not, however, be put back the way they were. The global conflict created new conditions that made imperial systems dating back to the nineteenth century or earlier much more difficult to sustain. Consequently, between 1945 and 1950 the British, French, and Dutch empires shrank significantly, and ten new sovereign states appeared in Asia. Korea regained its independence from Japan, though it shortly split into two separate states. In China, communist forces drove the nationalist government to Taiwan and proclaimed a new Chinese people's republic.

Restoring Stability, Enforcing Justice

Victory celebrations took place against a backdrop of continuing misery and violence. Across Europe, partisans and angry citizens executed hundreds of Nazi collaborators, and they stripped women accused of sleeping with Axis soldiers and then shaved their heads. Reports of Poles killing Jews even after the Nazis had left helped persuade 200,000 Holocaust survivors to leave eastern Europe forever. In the heavy

combat zones, postwar food shortages left millions malnourished or dead. About two million Russians and Ukrainians died in 1946 because of bad harvests. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other eastern European countries, liberated subjects of the Third Reich expelled several million German residents, both long-established minorities and those who had settled during wartime to escape the Soviet army.

The Geneva Conventions, which were rules of war that sovereign states had been drawing up since the nineteenth century, provided the legal basis for prosecuting individuals for war crimes. The Allies convened an international military tribunal in the German city of Nuremberg in 1945 and a similar tribunal in Tokyo the following year. These



French women accused of collaborating with Nazi occupying forces. After the D-Day invasion and the liberation of French cities, Resistance partisans shaved the heads of women who socialized with German soldiers, had sexual relationships with them, or were suspected of passing information to the enemy. This photograph, taken in August 1944 in Chartres, shows women walking past jeering onlookers. The baby's father was a German. Why might citizens have shaved women's heads as a form of community punishment?

courts pronounced a few dozen Nazi or Japanese leaders guilty of crimes against humanity and hanged or imprisoned the convicted. But many more Axis officers and officials escaped or were never charged. To prevent highly skilled German scientists and engineers from falling into Soviet hands, the U.S. government office known as the Joint Intelligence Objectives Agency initiated a postwar program called Operation Paperclip to bring as many of them as possible to America to work. These individuals included many former members of the Nazi Party, including war criminals. The agency, however, deliberately doctored, disguised, or hid the biographies of many of these individuals and gave them American security clearances.

The war ended with American, British, and Soviet troops in control of different parts of Germany. Those states agreed to occupy three separate military zones, plus a fourth one for France. Berlin, the bombed-out German capital, lay inside the designated Soviet zone but was to be governed jointly by the four powers. The occupiers outlawed the Nazi Party, disbanded the German army, and arrested and interrogated thousands of Nazi officials, though some escaped by joining the stream of civilian refugees. After Japan surrendered, 300,000 mostly American troops fanned out across the Pacific islands to enforce the authority of the new occupation government under its supreme commander General Douglas MacArthur.

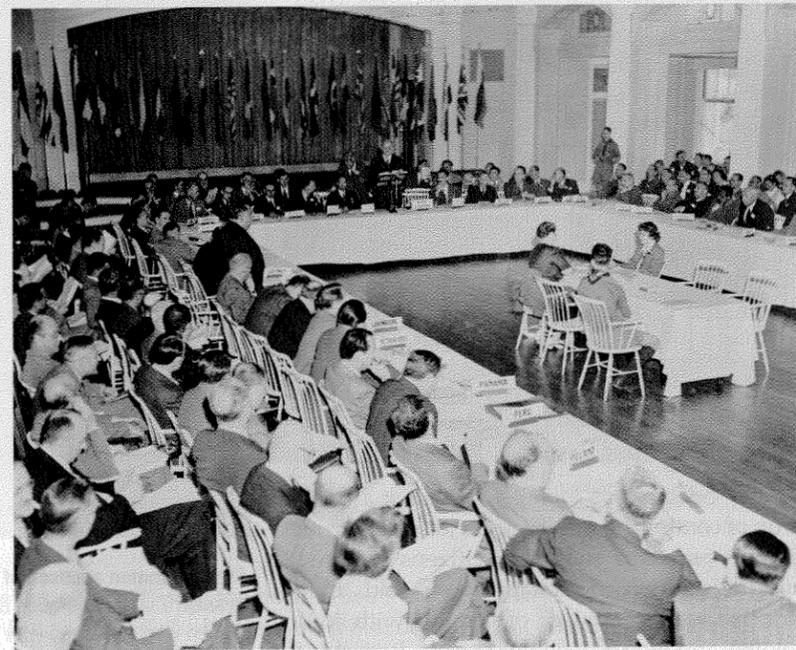
The Two New Empires

The pattern of global power changed drastically in the five years after the war. The German, Japanese, and Italian empires vanished, and the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the big imperial winners. American global influence in some ways echoed the “informal empires” of Britain and France in the nineteenth century. The United States did not directly take charge of large foreign territories, except for its temporary occupations in Germany, Japan, and other former Axis states. Rather, it entered into accords and treaties to aid and defend friendly countries, and it rose to dominate the postwar international trade and financial system. It also projected armed might—a navy and air force that ranged around the world, a large concentration of troops in western Europe, and numerous foreign military bases. By the mid-1950s the United States had 450 bases in more than thirty-five countries. Within less than a decade of the war, the Central Intelligence Agency engineered or helped engineer the overthrow of elected governments in Iran (1953) and Guatemala (1954) as perceived threats to American political and corporate interests.

Despite Russia’s immense wartime losses, Stalin drove the Soviet industrial economy to rapid postwar recovery. Like the United States,

Russia asserted influence abroad informally, though with particularly heavy-handed tactics in eastern Europe. Moscow made sure that friendly and cooperative Communist Party officials ruled the eastern third of Germany and, by 1948, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. (Stalin had absorbed the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union in 1940.) Finland, Yugoslavia, and Austria remained politically neutral, whereas Greece and Turkey eventually became allies of the United States. In Asia the Soviets established close, if sometimes rocky relations with the communist regimes that took control in China, North Korea, and Vietnam in the decade following the war. In the rest of the world the two new superpowers began to compete intensely for political and economic sway.

American power in action. The United States emerged from the war with much greater industrial capacity than any other country. It had abundant cheap energy, mammoth stores of foreign currency, and a banking system to which other countries owed billions. Even though at that point the country depended little on the rest of the world, the American public favored continued international engagement in much greater numbers than after World War I. Many Americans feared a replay of the catastrophic economic crisis that had fed Nazi success. If the wealthiest state in the world did little to assist the damaged economies of Europe and East Asia, social discontent might breed new versions of Hitler. The United States, internationalists argued, had much to gain by helping war-torn countries, both allies and foes, get back on the road to recovery. This would presumably strengthen



Delegates at the Bretton Woods conference, 1944. Representatives from all forty-four Allied nations signed international monetary and trade agreements intended to revive the global economy.

democratic and capitalist institutions. Most Americans also favored new international bodies that would terminate the era of protectionism and lackluster trade that had generally prevailed since 1914. The Atlantic Charter, which Roosevelt and Churchill had signed in August 1941, envisioned a postwar world in which all states would have “access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world.”²³

In July 1944, less than a month after the Allied invasion of France, representatives from more than forty countries met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. There, they established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). They also formulated new rules and procedures designed to liberalize trade, prime the pump of capital investment in war-damaged countries, and stabilize the global currency exchange system.

The United States loomed over the Bretton Woods conference and the numerous international meetings that followed. In 1947 President Truman announced the Marshall Plan, named after George C. Marshall, the secretary of state, to flood Europe with reconstruction aid, eventually about \$14 billion in direct grants. Truman contended that revival of international commerce and cooperation depended on Europe’s robust recovery, including Germany’s. Lavish aid would also presumably check the influence of Soviet-backed communist parties. For similar reasons, the United States awarded Japan an aid package of \$500 million to rekindle its civilian economy.

The United Nations. The American vision of a world of sovereign states trading freely and committed to one another’s security in the framework of a capitalist world economy included support of the United Nations organization. Founded just before the end of the war, this new club of states aimed to promote international cooperation in numerous spheres, including economic development and human rights. Unlike the League of Nations, its troubled predecessor, the UN Charter assigned peacekeeping responsibilities to a fifteen-member Security Council with power to deploy troops, if necessary, to resolve international conflicts before they got out of hand. The five permanent members of the council—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China (represented by the nationalist government)—retained the power to veto resolutions. In 1945 the world had high hopes that these five victorious allies would work together constructively to prevent new conflicts. Instead, the Soviet Union and the other four permanent members became immediately engaged in disputes and rivalries, even though numerous economic and cultural projects got under way.

Allies to adversaries: The early Cold War. After the war, one event after another aggravated relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. On both sides, every tactical military move, every initiative to make new allies, and every hard-line political announcement tended to compound the antagonism until it hardened into a permanent

state of affairs, a **Cold War** that stopped short of any disastrous military clash.

Even before the war ended, American and Soviet leaders viewed world prospects through different

Cold War The state of antagonism, distrust, and rivalry that existed between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies from the end of World War II to the late 1980s.

geopolitical prisms. The United States and Britain agreed that Russia deserved special influence in postwar Eastern Europe considering that victory over Germany in 1945 depended on the Soviet advance to Berlin. They also knew that during the three years of fighting leading to the Allied landing at Normandy in June 1944, the Red Army had been responsible for more than 90 percent of Germany’s military casualties. Shortly after the war, however, the Soviets took actions the Western powers regarded as uncooperative and intimidating. It made claims to special influence over Turkey. It took its time pulling troops out of Iran. It kept three million soldiers under arms compared to half that number in the U.S. services. Stalin positioned most of these troops between Russia and Western Europe. To him, this deployment had a compelling logic, considering that his country had been invaded from that direction just a few years earlier. When the Western European democracies looked east, however, they saw Soviet tank and infantry divisions facing them.

Moscow also saw U.S. political and economic influence growing in nearly every country in the world that Soviet troops did not actually occupy. They watched as pro-American politicians in France and Italy tried to subvert strong communist parties by denying them participation in governing cabinets. And they regarded the Bretton Woods plan for a new era of international capitalism as a threat to the Soviet socialist experiment. Stalin continued to strive for economic self-sufficiency apart from the global capitalist system. At the same time, the United States did nothing to negotiate compromises that might have led to greater Russian participation.

The two great powers indeed have some reason to violent confrontation in the immediate postwar years that of any later time. In 1945 Stalin proclaimed that a world conflict between communism and capitalism was inevitable. The following year President Truman responded that “it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by external pressures.” From this statement came the Truman Doctrine, a policy inspired by Secretary of State George Marshall to “contain” the Soviet power within the limits of power it held at the end of the war. In the hot bed of this policy, the new postwar Congress to vote \$400 million in economic and military assistance to Turkey, where Stalin wanted territorial concessions and military bases. In Greece, communist rebels who had led resistance against the German occupation continued their armed struggle against a postwar right-wing government. This regime, however, was pro-Western, and the United States gave it millions in aid to essentially suppress the communist insurgency. Stalin protested this money but did not intervene. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union