

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
Department of History

HISTORY 475
Spring Semester 1984

Professor Goldberg

EUROPEAN SOCIAL HISTORY, 1914-1950

1. By Way of an Introduction

Our inquiry will be about the great social upheaval which convulsed both Western and non-Western societies over those three decades, from the outbreak of the first World War until the immediate aftermath of the second. (Next fall in our course on Contemporary Societies, we will carry our analysis to its logical conclusion: fixing our attention on the vagaries of revolution and counter-revolution during the 35 years of the Cold War). But over the next several months we will confront the experience of 2 global, devastating wars; the advent of agonizing insecurity during the great Depression; the deployment of fascist repression; the coercive statism of Stalinist communism...the almost unbearable passion of the 20's and 30's. Of course, we will examine the principal components of the tragedy which an irrational world system and an awesome technology of repression inflicted upon troubled mass societies: a tragedy whose institutional residue serves as the plinth upon which our contemporary civilization rests. We're talking about the frenetic arms race before 1914, and the self-serving manipulation of national chauvinism; the Russian Revolution, and, within the cauldron of the war, the simmering of international revolution; the great Communist promise of liberation and then, within the context of Soviet development, the distortion or destruction of that hope; the counterfeit prosperity of international capitalism in the 1920's, and then, in the name of the higher efficiency, the imposition of "taylorized" work; the great economic collapse of the 1930's, and the virtual demise of the world market system; the muscular triumph of fascism (mass movements of the Right) and the Nazi strategy of genocide; the modalities of Stalinism and the lamentable identification of socialism with coercive productionism; the social and cultural impoverishment of the Third World, and the first tentative demands for national liberation; the global, high-tech war, the frenzied fascist machine, and the uneasy Russian alliance; the advent of the Cold War, and (despite Nuremberg) the postwar Allied accommodation to erstwhile fascists.

We would hardly undertake so tortuous a journey if we were simply chroniclers of the past. In fact, we are concerned, first and foremost, about the society we inhabit, and about a world order which will either pulverize our humanity or confirm it: so that our dialogue with the past must have immediacy and relevance...so that we must touch upon the critical questions of our own time and place: whether technological advances are, ipso facto, the stuff of human progress; whether socialism must inevitably be coercive and free-market capitalism the sole source of individual satisfaction; whether the fascist spirit is endemic in mass societies; whether policy-making elites really preserve the peace by preparing for war....Granted that our need for acute understanding will exceed our effort to acquire it. But as an ancient rabbinical adage tells us, the struggle is the glory. The problem is worth the pain: to avoid the extinction of the species.

II. Books for the Course

a. Required Books

Alfred Doblin -- Karl and Rosa
 Alec Nove -- The Economic History of the USSR
 Basil Kerblay -- Modern Soviet Society
 Robert Murray -- Red Scare
 Daniel Guerin -- Fascism and Big Business
 David Milton -- The Politics of US Labor
 Bernard Crick -- George Orwell
 Brendon Murphy -- The Butcher of Lyon

b. Optional Books

None of the following titles is specifically required. Yet we have asked the University Book Store to stock a limited number because you will find them useful in preparing your written paper. Each of you will therefore find one book at least from this list, which you should have for your written essay. In the text department of the University Book Store, you will find the first three of these optional books shelved under History 475. All the others are shelved under my other course number: History 866.

Klaus Mann -- Mephisto
 Lucy Dawidowicz -- The War Against the Jews
 A. Rybakov -- Heavy Sand

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Frederick Starr -- Red and Hot
 Gregorio Selser -- Sandino
 Victor Navasky -- Naming Names
 P. Stansky and W. Abrahams -- Journey to the Frontier
 Alan Brinkley -- Voices of Protest: Huey Long and Father Coughlin
 Arthur Morse -- While 6 Million Died: a Chronicle of American Apathy
 Duncan Innes -- Anglo-American and the Rise of Modern South Africa
 Joseph Borkin -- Crime and Punishment of IG Farben
 Hannah Arendt -- Eichmann in Jerusalem
 M. Marrus and R. Paxton -- Vichy France and the Jews

III. The Required Work in the Course

1. There will be one written test, the final examination, which will be drawn from a list of study questions to be distributed about a week before the last scheduled class of the semester. These study questions will be based on material drawn from the lectures and the reading assignments. You will then have a

reasonable choice of questions from those posed on the study sheet. Thus, the final should pose no great problem; in fact, as some of you know from our previous experience together, the preparation for the final furnishes a rich opportunity for your collective discussion and collaboration.

2. You will have to write one paper for the course. In the last section of this syllabus, we have explained the topic for this essay, and set down clear guidelines for preparing it.

IV. The Discussion Sections and Reading Assignments

The weekly discussion sections will be an essential and valuable part of our course. We urge you to attend every section meeting, and to participate as actively as you can in the discussions.

- a. Each discussion will gravitate around the problems raised by the weekly reading assignment. During any particular week the topic for the discussion may well differ from the questions we're addressing in our lectures. But you must understand that in three long lectures a week, spanning an entire semester, we propose to analyze a much larger body of evidence and to cope with a wider range of conceptual problems than any set of course readings can cover.

Yet in no way should the occasional disjuncture between the lectures and the quiz discussions cause you consternation or confusion; on the contrary, you should treat them as two interrelated parts of a single global analysis. Think of the discussion meetings as your own mini-seminar, where you can address a number of questions that go to the heart of our inquiry.

- b. The first discussion section will meet in the third week of the semester (February 6-10). Be sure to attend that first meeting; for unless we see you there, we can't realistically confirm your registration.

During the first two weeks (January 23-February 3), until the sections begin to meet, we are asking you to read, in its entirety, the profound and moving book, Karl and Rosa, about the demise of the postwar German revolution, by the immensely creative novelist Alfred Doblin. And who was that Doblin, whose reputation has so belatedly started to soar: as the authentic pioneer of the "documentary novel" and the penetrating interpreter of the lost German revolution; as the inspiration for Gunter Grass and the author of Alexanderplatz, that strikingly authentic re-creation of working class Berlin in the 20's, which the incomparable Fassbinder recently turned into a 15 part film series for German television? Born in 1878, into a poor Jewish family, Doblin became a doctor; served in the first World War; and in the 20's, while continuing in medicine, devoted himself increasingly to the craft of writing. With the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, Doblin became an exile: first in Paris and then, after the fall of France in 1840, in the US. Having returned to Europe after the war, Doblin died in Paris in 1957.

It was during his years of exile that Doblin composed his immense novelistic history of the German revolution. We're talking about a trilogy, almost 2000 pages long, under the collective title: November 1918: a German Revolution. The first 2 volumes, subtitled A People Betrayed, comprise a vast social panorama which reproduces those few weeks in October and November 1918 when an authentic social revolution seemed imminent; but when the prospect crumbled under the combined blows of generals, capitalists, and right-wing Social-Democrats. The third volume of the trilogy is Karl and Rosa, the book which you have in hand. It covers those fateful months of December 1918 and 1919 when those leading revolutionaries, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, fell victim to ultra-nationalism; class arrogance; Social-Democratic resentment; and left-wing adventurism. In all this Doblin revealed the complexity of the actors; the self-interest which would infect apparently selfless behavior...a revolution-in-the-making but with all the warts exposed. For you see: Doblin had the most serious purpose, to uncover the roots of Nazism, to expose the social deformities and ideological perversities which, having destroyed the revolution, paved the way to fascism. Incontestably, you would more deeply appreciate Karl and Rosa if you read the first two parts of the trilogy beforehand. But realistically, you couldn't have plowed through so immense a work in a fortnight; and most of Karl and Rosa is accessible without the other volumes. A greater source of difficulty will probably be your present lack of familiarity with the events of postwar Germany; much that will originally be obscure will become clear, later in the term, when we will have lectured about the German Revolution. But you may be sure that Doblin was perfectly accurate in his description of specific happenings; and that he ascribes words to the principal actors (all of whom were actual participants), which come textually out of the historical record.

But perhaps you will be more comfortable with this novel if we list several important facts about the unfolding of the German revolution which you ought to know: despite their frequent pacifist resolutions the Social-Democratic deputies in the Reichstag capitulated on August 4, 1914, voted for war appropriations, and rallied to the national cause; on December 2, 1914, Karl Liebknecht broke Party discipline and voted against further war appropriations; February 3, 1915, the German authorities drafted Liebknecht and a fortnight later imprisoned Rosa Luxemburg for her anti-war agitation; December 21, 1915, eighteen deputies of the Center in the SPD voted against war appropriations; January 1, 1916, Rosa Luxemburg, though still in jail, published her powerful "Junius brochure", a scathing attack on both the ruling class and the chauvinistic leadership of Social-Democracy; September 1, 1916, the first Spartakist Letter appeared, as a rallying point for the revolutionary Left; April 6-8, 1917, the Centrists of the SPD held a Congress at Gotha and split off into a new party, the USPD or Independent Social-Democratic Party, which opted for immediate peace negotiations, and which contained the Spartakists as the Party left-wing; October 30 through November 9, 1918, mass agitation swept across Germany; the cities fell under the control of workers' and soldiers' councils; October 10, 1918, the Establishment thought to save itself by making the right-wing Social Democrat, Fritz Ebert, the new Chancellor; November 16, 1918, with the Monarchy finished and revolution seething everywhere, the industrial elite signed an agreement

with the conservative leadership of the trade unions, which gave up points but saved the System; in the first week of December 1918, irregular, counter-revolutionary veterans formed the free-booting frei-korps to suppress street agitation; December 23, revolt of the People's Naval Division against the effort of the government to expel this revolutionary unit from its Berlin headquarters, and to disperse it; December 29, Ebert called upon the "bloodhound" Noske, right-wing Socialist, to be Minister of War and to mastermind the suppression of the Left; January 5, 1919, ill-planned street actions began in Berlin; January 6-12 Noske and the frei-korps re-established order in Berlin; January 15, 1919 Karl and Rosa assassinated.

Karl and Rosa is a fascinating novel, which will surely sweep you along, even as it provokes your constant reflections. Over the first week, (January 23-27) you should read to the end of Book Five. (If you are really pressed for time, you could begin with Book Two, page 89; Book I, while fascinating, is largely a dream sequence in which the imprisoned Rosa imagines a conversation with her dead lover Hannes)...Over the second week (January 30 to February 3) you should read the last half of Karl and Rosa (Books Six through Nine).

c. The Reading Assignments for the Discussion Sections

Section # 1 (Feb 6-10): Doblin, Karl and Rosa

Having spent two weeks in studying this book about German revolution, you should devote the first section to a full-scale discussion of its themes and insights. Thus, you should address a number of critical questions: about that alliance between the right-wing of Social-Democracy and the agencies of the Old Regime in order to defeat the revolutionary Left; about the utter ideological confusion and psychological chaos which engulfed societies in the wake of the war; about the infinite human complexity of militants like Rosa L. and Karl L; about the danger of insurrectionary impatience, on the one hand, and on the other, the danger of destroying the revolution in the name of order. Above all, do you understand why Doblin probed through those events of 1918-1919 for the roots of the ultimate fascist triumph?

Section # 2 (Feb 13-17): Nove, pp. 11-118

Needless to say, the Russian Revolution, the emergence of the USSR, and the launching of the Communist International comprised the central postwar challenge to the world capitalist order. Thus, with these chapters from Alec Nove's book, you will begin a discussion, spread across three successive sections, about the development of the Russian Communist system and about the actual nature of Soviet society. Nove is, beyond question, one of the great historians of the Russian economy; and he approaches his subject in a refreshing no-nonsense manner, eschewing either Cold War rhetoric or veiled apologetics; leading us to the data themselves and whatever interpretations they seem, realistically, to permit. Start with the proposition that "development" (i.e., the emergence from economic and social underdevelopment) became after 1850 the central challenge of Russian history. To what degree

had the Tsarist regime met that challenge by the time the first World War disrupted the Russian economy? Did Lenin or the Bolsheviks have a "communist strategy of development" or did they borrow the capitalist model? How do you account for War Communism, and could you argue that it permanently deflected Soviet development from the course Lenin had thought to chart? What was the crisis of 1920-21 which led to the "breathing spell" of NEP?

Section # 3 (Feb 20-24): Nove, pp. 119-159; Kerblay, pp. 67-146

**Note: At this week's meeting, you are required to report to the TA your decision about the written paper: i.e., which one, among the 10 options, you have chosen.

In the chapters from Nove, you will address the experience of the NEP: those years of the 1920's when the existence of a one-Party State didn't really preclude intellectual debate, cultural innovation, or economic flexibility. Why then did the New Economic Policy come strenuously under attack? What purposes (political and ideological as well as economic) lay behind the option for rapid industrialization?

But this week you will begin to read the work of Basil Kerblay also. At first glance you may consider the Kerblay book to be out of context, since it deals with the institutions and dynamics of Soviet society over the entire 60 year span of its evolution: so that you will be reading about conditions considerably more contemporary than the ones we'll be dealing with in our lectures. But for two reasons the Kerblay book is especially useful. First, because it manages to convey an immense amount of accurate data about both the failures and achievements of the Soviet system; and in so doing, it enables us to appraise the Russian Revolution with some real perspective, and to see Soviet society as deficient but functional. Second, because Kerblay began each chapter with the original communist ideal or vision; and in so doing, he has enabled us to determine where and how the regime betrayed the essential ways of libertarian socialism and workers' control.

Begin then with the views of Soviet urban planners about cities (what should a socialist city be; how should Soviet cities differ from industrial centers in capitalist countries?) Then proceed to the copious discussion of the evolving villages: the relationship between the family and the collective economy; the uneasy relationship between peasant self-interest and communal ethics; the reality and myth of peasant participation in village governance; the social stratification of rural society. Finally, concentrate on the analysis of the family institution: the revolutionary vision of an Alexandra Kollantai about sexual liberation and women's emancipation; the legislative attacks on the patriarchal family in the years 1917-26; Stalin's conservative "restoration" of the family; the persistence of sexism in the workings of Soviet society.

Section # 4 (Feb 27-Mar 2): Kerblay, pp. 147-239

In these chapters Kerblay has retrieved the everyday functioning of Soviet Society from the assorted propagandists whose descriptions often border on caricature. From the chapter on "Enterprise", fix your attention on the work place. Can you discern any evidence of "socialism" in the everyday conditions of wage-earners? Can you find any evidence, within the social relations of production, suggesting early Bolshevik appeals to workers' control? Would you argue that the trade unions serve the State rather than the workers (or both, at the same time)? Finally, from what you have read about education, and about the work place, could you call the Soviet Union a class-divided society? Or is it more accurate to follow Kerblay, who defined the USSR not as a class society but as "a society with appreciable disparities between socio-occupational groups"? Why should Kerblay make such a distinction?

Section # 5 (Mar 5-9): Murray, pp. 57-118; 135-152; 166-222

Needless to say, the intrusion of Bolshevism into the unstable postwar world order sent shock waves through the ruling Establishment of every capitalist country. The armed intervention of 1918-20 against the new Soviet government, by Britain, France, the US, and Japan, was a clear measure of their struggle-to-the-death against the threat of Communism. But once the intervention failed, Western policy-makers launched a Cold War which (except for a few exceptional interludes) has continued until the present. Thus, a wave of anti-Bolshevik hysteria swept across the US during 1919 and 1920, about which Murray has written the most substantial history. As you address the significance of that protracted episode, reflect upon the uses of the "red scare" to contain home-grown movements for social justice; and finally, ask whether the palpable abuses of civil liberties in those few postwar years were aberrations, or whether they presaged the shape of things to come.

Section # 6 (Mar 12-16): Crick, George Orwell, pp. 139-276

We have hardly begun 1984, and we're already drowning in a sea of pompous or spurious words about Orwell. What is one to think when ultra-conservatives like Kristol or Podhoretz claim that libertarian socialist for the frenetic Right? At any rate, our concern isn't with that one last document 1984. Rather, we are interested in Eric Blair (known to us under the non de plume George Orwell) as a highly sensitive weather vane, recording the social oppression and economic disaster during the twenties, but especially the thirties. Orwell wasn't a towering genius...a Freud, a Joyce, a Bertrand Russell. But all the better; for he was a painfully integral human being. And from his witness, and his itinerary, we can learn about the crises of the inter-war years. Why did Orwell come to hate bourgeois civilization? Why did he opt for socialism? How (and with what ideological and political consequences) did Orwell discover colonialism; and poverty; and the grim unemployment of Wigan Pier?

Section # 7 (Mar 19-23): Crick, pp. 313-412

How did Orwell interpret fascism? And why did its threat lead Orwell to Spain? And what, then, was the immense burden of what he learnt and saw in Spain? Reflect upon the significance, politically and ideologically, of these lacerating factors: the complicity of the Communists in the destruction of the POUM; the betrayal of the truth by intellectual fellow-travelers, out of dedication to the anti-fascist struggle....Finally, do you find anything in Orwell's view of the 2nd World War which identified him either with the reigning bourgeoisie or the capitalistic market system?

Section # 8 (Mar 26-30): Milton, pp. 25-138

In his short but extremely cogent analysis, Milton has written not only as an historian of the American working class movement but also as an active participant: an erstwhile merchant marine, a union activist in the 1950's and 60's. Thus, he has set out the record of the working class response to the great Depression in the United States: the spontaneous eruption of massive strikes; the veritable class struggle between capital and labor in the bitterly anti-union mass production industries; the contribution of Communists, Trotskyists, Socialists, and left syndicalists in the emergence of the CIO (conceived of not only as a labor federation but as a powerful movement for social justice). How far does Milton think that the movement, if not deflected and canalized by the New Deal, might have carried American society? Why has Milton argued that the alliance between the New Deal and the CIO comprised the "social bargain" which de-vitalized the mass movement and "domesticated" the working class?

Section # 9 (April 2-6): Nove, pp. 160-268; Kerblay, pp. 240-266

If the tepid reformism of the New Deal was one response to the crisis of the 30's, the Stalinist "great leap forward" was a second: i.e., the enforced collectivization of agriculture and rapid industrialization through centralized economic planning. Could you argue that the veritable war of coercion, which the Soviet bureaucrats waged against the villagers, institutionalized that whole system of statist oppression we call Stalinism? How do you account for the frenzied determination of the Stalinist regime to collectivize agriculture and "liquidate the kulaks"? And was the great leap toward industrial maturation, though the 5 year plans, an unqualified success? But then, when all the criticisms are in, how would you interpret Nove's final paragraph of chapter 8 (p. 224)? Finally, a balance sheet about chapter 8: did the Stalinist economic strategy of the 1930's create the material base and human work force to cope with the Nazi invasion?

Section # 10 (Apr 9-13): no further reading assignment for this section.

You must submit your written essay at this week's section meeting. The discussion for this session will be a collective conversation about what you learned from your research for the paper.

Section # 11 (Apr 16-20): Guerin, pp. 21-130

Reflect upon the significance of Guerin's demonstration: that fascism, whether in Italy or in Germany, was a mass movement of the Right: that while a capitalist elite funded it, and while it served as a bulwark against the Left, multitudes flocked to its banner from the plebeian lower middle classes. How does Guerin define the significance of "fascist mysticism": and "anti-capitalist demagogy"; and systematic terrorism in the fascist seizure of power? (chapters 3, 4, and 5).

Section # 12 (Apr 23-27): Guerin, pp. 130-252

Here, then, is the third (or fascist) response to the economic and social crisis of the thirties. Once the fascist elite seized power, did their plebeian ranks inherit the society and trigger an anti-capitalist upheaval? If not, what was the "real fascist doctrine"? And how did the strategy of fascism when implemented, fall upon the wage-earning masses? In the final analysis, how do you interpret the relationship between the fascist party and the dominant elites? Were the governing fascists "agents of capitalism", or an autonomous political class, only opportunistically allied with the great propertied interests?

Section # 13 (Apr 30-May 2): Murphy, pp. 15-199

With this week's discussion, you will begin a two-part analysis of Brendon Murphy's excellent book about the notorious case of Klaus Barbie. In the six chapters under review today, you should address the most fundamental questions: about the making of a Nazi; about how this ostensibly ordinary young man became "the soul of the Gestapo" and then the "butcher of Lyon"; about the impact of the Nazi occupation on the French, especially the Jews and the Resistance activists; about the complicity in Nazi dominion of home-grown collaborationists; and about the extraordinary symbolism in the brutal confrontation between Barbie and Jean Moulin.

Section # 14 (May 7-11): Murphy, pp. 200-320

Nothing is more important than your most serious and critical reflections about the postwar trajectory of Barbie. How was it that so enthusiastic an activist of Nazi tyranny should have worked for American intelligence services as an expert in fingering Communists? How and why did American military authorities not only prevent postwar French authorities from apprehending Barbie and trying him for high crimes, but actually facilitated his escape to South America? How was it that during his years of South American residence, Barbie several times was able to enter the United States? Could it be that some American authorities came to look upon the fascists (who after all, fought against the Russians) as the lesser of evils? And was the case of Barbie unique, or only the tip of the iceberg? Troubling questions; but they may bear on the present inflection of American foreign policy.

V. The Guidelines for the Written Paper

We are requiring of every enrolled student a concise, well-argued, written essay. You must choose the topic for that essay from the following list of ten choices. Every option among the ten poses a critical problem about the social experience of our century. For each option we have listed the books (generally two, though in a couple of instances, three) which should form the basis of your preparation. The ten options are as follows:

1. Frederick Starr -- Red and Hot: the Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union
Jay Leyda -- Kine: A History of Soviet Film

This paper should be about the complex and contradictory oscillation between repression and creativity in the Soviet cultural and intellectual experience. Starr is, of course, quite extraordinary: expert jazz player; renowned jazz scholar; expert in Russian history (and President of Oberlin College). His book is absolutely unique: a fascinating history of the diffusion in the USSR of American jazz, from the outbreak of the Revolution until the present. We're talking about a trajectory which was persistent but tortuous, hampered by periodic anti-jazz drives, serving as a barometer of the conflicting pressures which have determined Soviet development. (Many of the same paradoxes have marked the history of Soviet films, as Leyda documents in his celebrated work).

2. Robert Murray -- Red Scare
Victor Navasky -- Naming Names

This paper should be about the persistence of the ideological Cold War in the American experience over the past six decades. Navasky's book is a brilliant inquiry into the morality of "in-forming"...into the culture of surveillance and the political/intellectual price of witch-hunting.

3. David Milton -- The Politics of U.S. Labor
Alan Brinkley -- Voices of Protest: Huey Long and Father Coughlin

This paper should be about the "socialist" radicalism and the radical "populism" in the United States during the great collective trauma of the Depression. The situation may have veered toward the revolutionary, but the mass movements were surely marred.

4. Bernard Crick -- George Orwell
Peter Stansky and W. Abrahams -- Journey to the Frontier

This paper is about the varied ideological and political journeys through the crisis decade of the thirties. Orwell took one route; but Stansky and Abrahams have written a deeply moving book about two young English intellectuals who carried their anti-fascist commitment to the ultimate sacrifice: death in the fighting of the Spanish Civil War. NOTE: If you were to find a copy of a quite recent book by

Mark Naison, Communists in Harlem during the Depression, you could substitute it for one of the two works above. It's a brilliant account of another itinerary: the journey of those Harlem blacks for whom Communism was a more liberating experience than critics and historians are now wont to admit about any communist experience.

5. Brendon Murphy -- The Butcher of Lyon
 Klaus Mann -- Mephisto
 Hannah Arendt -- Eichmann in Jerusalem

This paper is about the making of fascists: about why some persons become committed Nazis; about whether one can talk about a "fascist personality" or whether the route to fascism was paved mainly with self-interested opportunism. In the novel Mephisto Klaus Mann has given one answer: the career of Hendrick Hofgen, an ambitious left-wing actor who, in the manner of Faust, bartered conscience and comrades for fame and political patronage under the Nazi flag. In her analysis of the notorious Eichmann, Arendt put forth her compelling (though much debated) views on the "banality of evil".

6. Brendon Murphy -- The Butcher of Lyon
 Joseph Borkin -- The Crime and Punishment of IG Farben

This paper is about the "soft postwar treatment" by American authorities of many out-and-out Nazi accomplices. The cases of Barbie and of IG Farben surely raise the issue. Until his recent death Borkin was a renowned expert on German cartels. In the years 1938-46 he served as chief of the cartel section in the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. Right after the war he conducted the investigation of the wartime crimes of Farben, the great chemical cartel. Farben had actively worked for the Hitler regime: producing synthetic rubber and oil for the war machine; exploiting slave labor in the Farben plant inside the Auschwitz concentration camp. At war's end, IG Farben's top brass were tried for the crimes of mass murder, slavery, and plunder. But the wheels of justice weren't spinning, and the explanation goes to the heart of the matter.

7. Lucy Dawidowicz -- The War Against the Jews
 Arthur Morse -- While Six Million Died: a Chronicle of American Apathy

This paper is about the "Final Solution"; and about the reluctance of American or British authorities to do much (if anything) to rescue at least some significant proportion of the Jews from the holocaust. Morse has written the history of the obstruction which American governments threw up to frustrate any viable strategy for saving masses of European Jews. In preparing his book, Morse waded through a mountain of once-classified official papers; conducted interviews with scores of participants and survivors; dug into archives in Europe, America, and the Middle East. NOTE: In his definitive work, Britain and the Jews of Europe, Bernard Wasserstein has documented the case of British complicity in the global paralysis before the holocaust. If you were to get hold of Wasserstein's book, you could if you chose, substitute it for one of the two above.

8. Brendon Murphy -- The Butcher of Lyon
M. Marrus and R. Paxton -- Vichy France and the Jews

This paper is about pro-fascist collaboration by the French; about the anti-Jewish policies of the Petain-Laval regime, which paralleled Barbie's work. And why? What and where were the sources of such collaboration?

9. Gregorio Selser -- Sandino
Duncan Innes -- Anglo-American and the Rise of Modern South Africa

This paper is about the modalities of imperialism during the inter-war decades; and about the early stirrings for national liberation in the Third World. Thus, in Sandino, Selser has written a history of the powerful guerrilla war which Nicaraguan partisans waged from 1927 to 1934 against thousands of occupying American marines....a struggle which would inspire the victorious Sandinistas some 50 years later.

Anglo-American has been, of course, the imperialistic enterprise, par excellence, in South Africa. Formed in 1917, though the collaboration of the Afrikaner Ernest Oppenheimer and the Morgan bank of the U.S., this combine dominated the gold fields of the Rand; then became a major force in South Africa; then spread its influence into the rest of Africa. Through this study we see more clearly the intensification of colonial exploitation during the crisis decades between the wars.

10. Gregorio Selser -- Sandino
Any one of the recent good books on the civil war in El Salvador, such as:
Robert Armstrong -- El Salvador: Face of Revolution
Marvin Gettleman, ed. -- El Salvador: Central America in the New Cold War
Cynthia Arnson -- El Salvador: a Revolution Confronts the U.S.

This paper is about the long, constantly fermenting popular struggle, in the Central American countries, against domestic oligarchy and foreign imperialism. (Or more precisely, about the ideological and strategic links between the early resistance of Sandino and the present struggle of Salvadoran guerrillas).

a. Concrete Instructions for the Paper

1. You must decide on your topic no later than the fifth week (Feb 20-24) when you are required to inform your TA of your choice.
2. As soon as possible, you should pick up the books which you will need in preparing your essay. Remember that the University Book Store has stocked only a limited number of optional titles.

3. The essay will be due no later than the twelfth week of the term (April 9-13). We will not accept any paper submitted after April 13. You now have 12 weeks to work on this project, which is more than sufficient time for preparation and composition. Don't put this task off to the last minute or you will most likely produce a mediocre paper.
4. The difference in the work load which we will require of three and four credit students will pertain only to the written paper. That difference, which is rather minor, is a matter of length and of a more elusive factor which we can call "depth". In a word, we will expect a somewhat more comprehensive discussion in a 4 credit paper.

Thus, if you are taking History 475 for three credits, you should submit a concise, clearly-argued essay of 7 to 10 pages in length. You can satisfy that requirement by reading no more than two (or in a couple of instances, three) books which are listed for each topic. Within the range of that material, you can choose a single theme around which to organize your thoughts and arguments.

If you are taking History 475 for four credits, you should submit a concise, clearly argued essay of 10 to 14 pages in length. You can satisfy that requirement by reading no more than two (or in a couple of instances, three) books, which are listed for each topic. Within the range of that material, you should choose and develop the several themes which reflect the depth of your thinking about the subject.

5. It goes without saying that you can, if your time and interest permit, carry your research beyond the sources which we have listed. The library holdings on these subjects are copious; and we would be happy, should you ask, to recommend additional titles.