

# **Suggestions for Further Reading**

**to accompany**

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**The Best War Ever**

**Second Edition**

THIS ESSAY is not intended as an exhaustive discussion of every noteworthy work on World War II. Instead, it seeks to provide the reader with a guide to some of the sources I found most useful in writing the text and to give students and general readers a list of volumes for further study that are well written, informative, and provocative. At times, there are too few authorities on a subject to allow for this kind of selectivity.

one

## **No Easy Answers**

A good survey of the interaction of global events between the wars is Daniel R. Brower, *The World in the Twentieth Century: The Age of Global War and Revolution* (1988). Also valuable are Raymond J. Sontag, *A Broken World, 1919–1939* (1971), and William W. MacDonald and John M. Carroll, eds., *European Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (1979). The importance of the right to bear arms in a civic context is explained by John Keegan in the opening sections of *The Second World War* (1990). I examine nineteenth-century Western male involvement with

war in Michael C. C. Adams, *The Great Adventure: Male Desire and the Coming of World War One* (1990).

The idea that monolithic dictatorships were in a worldwide conspiracy was stated clearly in a series of films called *Why We Fight*, made for the U.S. War Department by Frank Capra. The first episode, *Prelude to War* (1943), makes graphic use of the Tanaka memorandum. It is available in video format. The arguments for and against appeasement are laid out in Peter Calvocoressi, Guy Wint, and John Pritchard, *Total War: The Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (rev. 2d. ed., 1989). This is particularly helpful in showing the impact of Japanese actions on British policy. Good companion studies are P. M. H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe* (1986), and Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (1987). Defense problems facing the British Empire were analyzed comprehensively in Correlli Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (1972).

Books that deal broadly with totalitarianism include Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1966), and Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (1965). Robert V. Daniels, *The Nature of Communism* (1962), provides a useful introduction to Soviet Russia. *Stalin: The Man and His Era* (1973), by Adam Ulam, is a good biography. Alan Bullock's *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* (1991) compared the two dictators. Soviet foreign policy is discussed in Jonathan Haslam, *The Soviet Union and the Struggle for Collective Security in Europe, 1933–39* (1984), and in Jiri Hochman, *The Soviet Union and the Failure of Collective Security* (1984).

Alan Cassel's *Fascism* (1975) explored the nature of fascism in different countries. Denis Mack Smith studied the Italian dictator in *Mussolini* (1981). See also his examination of fascist imperial designs in *Mussolini's Roman Empire* (1976). Other biographies include Ivone

Kirkpatrick, *Mussolini: A Study in Power* (1964), and Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Fascism in Italy: Its Development and Influence* (1969). American journalist Frank Gervasi made many excellent observations on fascist Italy. See *The Violent Decade: A Foreign Correspondent in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, 1935–1945* (1989).

Ernst Junger was one of the German veterans who refused to accept the decisions of 1918 as final. See his powerful memoir, *The Storm of Steel* (Eng. trans., 1929). A difficult but rewarding analysis of the Freikorps mentality is Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. I, *Women, Floods, Bodies, History* (1987). Hannah Vogt's *The Burden of Guilt: A Short History of Germany, 1914–1945* (1964) takes the discussion of Germany's situation beyond the simple black and white. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (1972), tries to argue that Germany under Hitler had meaningful objectives that went beyond simple aggression. This thesis sparked a debate that is synthesized in William Roger Louis, ed., *The Origins of the Second World War: A. J. P. Taylor and his Critics* (1972).

John Toland's two-volume *Adolf Hitler* (1976) is a well-balanced biography. Toland avoids demonizing Hitler and makes the Nazi era intelligible. Other useful biographies include Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (1964), and Joachim Fest, *Hitler* (1973). Fest profiled top Nazi leaders in *The Face of the Third Reich* (1970). Albert Speer's *Inside the Third Reich* (1970), the memoir of an official close to Hitler, also provides views of the Nazi inner circle. Hitler's own book, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) (1925; Eng. trans., 1943), is often characterized as dense and muddled, yet it is quite easy to grasp Hitler's fundamental viewpoint by browsing in the text. Good examples of the many attempts to see Hitler from a psychological standpoint are the pioneering work by Dr. Walter C. Langer, written in 1943 for American intelligence and

called *The Mind of Adolf Hitler: The Secret Wartime Report* (repr. 1972), and Robert L. Waite, *Hitler: The Psychopathic God* (1977).

Erich Maria Remarque's antiwar novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Eng. trans., 1928), was one of the many books banned in Nazi Germany. The excellent American film version (1930) was also prohibited in Germany for a time. Remarque's later novel, *A Time to Love and a Time to Die* (Eng. trans., 1954), is a first-rate love story as well as a graphic picture of existence under Hitler. Bernt Englemann's *In Hitler's Germany: Daily Life in the Third Reich* (1986) is a good oral history that gives a variety of German reactions to nazism. Robert E. Herzstein, *The War That Hitler Won: Goebbels and the Nazi Media Campaign* (1986), analyzes propaganda. In 1934, Leni Riefenstahl filmed the annual Nazi party rally at Nuremberg. Her movie *Triumph of the Will* (1935) is a tour de force of media-staged pageantry and is excellent for understanding the role of symbols and imagery in nazism's appeal. H. W. Koch, *The Hitler Youth: Origins and Development, 1922–1945* (1976), examines the party's attraction for young people.

On American responses to Europe, see Robert A. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality* (1969), Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse* (1957), and Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935–1941* (1966). Wayne S. Cole's *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932–1945* (1983) is recommended for insight into this aspect. The uneasy relations between America and Britain were sketched in Daniel Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance, 1937–1941* (1982), and in James R. Leutze, *Bargaining for Supremacy: Anglo-American Naval Collaboration, 1937–1941* (1977). Leutze argues that FDR was determined to supplant Britain as the world's dominant naval power. A more flattering portrait of British-American relations is contained in Joseph P. Lash, *Roosevelt and Churchill, 1939–1941: The Partnership That Saved the West* (1976).

American attitudes to Hitler are treated in Arnold A. Offner, *American Appeasement: United States Foreign Policy and Germany, 1933–1938* (1969). Charles A. Lindbergh, as an American visitor, was impressed by the progressive aspects of fascism and nazism. Viewing Germany as a barrier to the spread of communism, he overlooked the brutality at the heart of nazism. See his *Autobiography of Values* (1978), and *The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh* (1970). Two fine writers observed life in the Reich and left critical accounts. One is by American reporter William L. Shirer and is titled *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent 1939–1941* (1941). The other is *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939) by English novelist Christopher Isherwood. His writings were the basis for Bob Fosse's popular film *Cabaret* (1972). Shirer's two-volume history, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1959), though somewhat dated in perspective, still has useful insights.

Martha Gellhorn, in *The Face of War* (1967), indicted the democracies for not fighting until 1939. This book contains some good reporting on the major wars of the era. *The Spanish Civil War* (1961) by Hugh Thomas remains a classic account. But Paul Preston's *The Spanish Civil War 1936–39* (1986) provides a more recent, brief narrative. A. L. Rowse, a British professor of history who knew most of the leading policymakers, felt that obsession with communism, allied to sheer ignorance of the nature of nazism, helped to frame the appeasement policy. See his *Appeasement: A Study in Political Decline, 1933–1939* (1961).

James B. Crowley, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy: National Security and Foreign Policy, 1930–1938* (1966), sets out Japan's basic dilemma. A very readable account that notes the increasing dominance of the military in Japanese policies is John Toland, *Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire* (2 vols., 1970). M. Harries and S. Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun* (1992), is an accessible study of the Japanese army, its structure and campaigns. See also

Haruko Cook, *Japan at War* (1990), and Sabura Ienaga, *The Pacific War: World War II and the Japanese, 1931–1945* (1978), especially ch. 3. The brutality that marred Japan’s claim to represent a liberating and enlightened force in Asia is documented in H. J. Timperley, *Japanese Terror in China* (1958), and in Lord Russell of Liverpool, *The Knights of Bushido: The Shocking Story of Japanese War Atrocities* (1958), which is more even-handed than its title suggests.

On American attitudes to Japan, see Dorothy Borg, *The United States and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1933–38* (1964), and John E. Wiltz, *From Isolation to War, 1931–1941* (1968). Japanese-American relations are charted in Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American–East Asian Relations* (1967), and Charles E. Neu, *The Troubled Encounter: The United States and Japan* (1975). Homer Lea, an American soldier of fortune, was an early advocate of seeing Japan’s growing power in the Pacific as a threatening “yellow peril.” See his *The Valor of Ignorance* (1909); and *The Day of the Saxon* (1912).

## two

### **The Patterns of War, 1939–1945**

Broad background to modern war is provided in Jeremy Black, *War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents 1450-2000* (1998), and Richard Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (1986). In framing my perspective, formative general histories of World War II included John Ellis, *Brute Force: Allied Strategy and Tactics in the Second World War* (1990), Max Hastings, *Inferno: The World at War, 1939-1945* (2011), Robert Andrews, *The Storm of War: A New History of the Second World War* (2011), and Antony Beevar, *The Second World War* (2012). Michael J. Lyons, *World War II* (1989) is a solid short survey. Robert Leckie’s *Delivered from Evil* (1987) is opinionated but worth browsing in. Also see B. H. Liddell

Hart, *History of the Second World War* (1970). M. K. Dziewanowski's *War at Any Price* (1991) details the war in Europe.

Students of the American military must read Russell F. Weigley. Begin with *The American Way of War* (1973). Maurice Matloff, ed., *American Military History* (1969), one of the Army Historical Series, is still reliable. James M. Morris, *America's Armed Forces* (1991), and Gary R. Hess, *The United States at War, 1941–1945* (1986), are sound general histories. Edward K. Eckert, *In War and Peace: An American Military History Anthology* (1990), provides useful document excerpts. See also Geoffrey Perrett, *There's a War to Be Won: The United States Army in World War II* (1991). Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Two Ocean War* (1963) continues to be the classic account of naval operations. Also valuable is John Creswell, *Sea Warfare, 1939–1945* (rev. ed., 1967). Richard J. Evans, "What the War Was Really About," *New York Review of Books*, December 5, 2013, summarizes new findings on the intelligence war.

General Heinz Guderian gives an eyewitness account of blitzkrieg in *Panzer Leader* (1952). Nicholas Harman's *Dunkirk: The Patriotic Myth* (1980) is a good revisionist account of the Allied debacle in 1940, which stresses British lack of enthusiasm prior to Dunkirk. Walter Lord's *The Miracle of Dunkirk* (1982) is a more traditional account. Roger Parkinson's *Summer 1940: The Battle of Britain* (1977) puts that encounter in a balanced perspective. Hitler's military leadership, including Operation Barbarossa, receives provocative analysis in John Keegan, *The Mask of Command* (1987). I am impressed by German performance in North Africa, but readers might want to consult the different view in Charles Douglas-Home, *Rommel* (1973).

A standard work on British-American strategic planning is Maurice Matloff and Edwin M. Snell, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare* (1953). Mark Stoler, *The Politics of the Second Front: American Military Planning and Diplomacy in Coalition Warfare, 1941–1943* (1977),

delineates the basic differences in U.S. and British strategy. Forrest C. Pogue's *George C. Marshall* is the acknowledged biography of the U.S. chief of staff. See especially volume 2, *Ordeal and Hope, 1939–1942* (1966), and volume 3, *Organizer of Victory, 1943–44* (1973). There are good biographical materials on the key American commanders in Europe. I suggest Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower* (1983), Ladislav Farago, *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* (1966), George S. Patton, Jr., *War as I Knew It* (1947); Omar Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General's Life* (1983), and Russell F. Weigley, *Eisenhower's Lieutenants* (1981).

Michael Howard's *Mediterranean Strategy in the Second World War* (1968) is a useful brief account. M. Garland, *Sicily and the Surrender of Italy* (1965), and W. G. E. Jackson, *The Battle for Italy* (1967), cover those campaigns. Balanced treatments of Normandy include Max Hastings, *Overlord: D-Day, June 6, 1944* (1984), Martin Blumenson's *Breakthrough and Pursuit* (1961), and Blumenson's *The Duel for France* (1963). John Keegan's *Six Armies in Normandy* (1983) is a unique attempt to see northern European operations from the perspectives of all the major combatants. Cornelius Ryan describes Market Garden in *A Bridge Too Far* (1974). On the Battle of the Bulge, see Hugh M. Cole, *The Ardennes: The Battle of the Bulge* (1965), and Charles B. MacDonald, *The Last Offensive* (1973).

The air war has received copious coverage. Anthony Verrier's *The Bomber Offensive* (1968) is a thorough basic study. On the British, see John Terraine, *A Time for Courage: The Royal Air Force in the European War, 1939–1945* (1985). Old but still useful is David Divine, *The Broken Wing: A Study in the British Exercise of Air Power* (1966). H. Bruce Franklin traces the historical American search for a war-winning wonder weapon (such as the Norden bombsight or the atom bomb) in *War Stars: The Superweapon and the American Imagination* (1988). Ronald Schaffer's *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II* (1985) argues convincingly



that Americans, despite their disapproval of British area bombing, came to use the same basic strategy. See also Michael Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* (1987), and his “The Slide to Total Air War,” *New Republic*, December 16, 1981. Martin Middlebrook’s *The Schweinfurt-Regensburg Mission* (1983) recreates one seminal air operation. Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., in *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), evoked the emotional trauma of being in Dresden during the bombing. David Irving’s description in *The Destruction of Dresden* (1963) is now seen as inflated. A more balanced perspective is provided in Frederick Taylor, *Dresden: Tuesday, February 13, 1945* (2004). The difficulty of bombing open concentration camps without massacring the prisoners is described in Denis Avey with Rob Broomby, *The Man Who Broke Into Auschwitz* (2011).

Ronald H. Spector’s *Eagle Against the Sun* (1985) is a basic general history of the Pacific war. Other good overviews are Basil Collier, *The War in the Far East* (1969), and John Costello, *The Pacific War* (1981). Pearl Harbor receives thorough treatment in Gordon W. Prange’s *At Dawn We Slept* (1981). John Toland deals well with the Japanese conquests in *But Not in Shame: The Six Months after Pearl Harbor* (1962). In addition to work on the Japanese military cited in chapter 1, see S. L. Mayer, ed., *The Japanese War Machine* (1976). Edwin Palmer Hoyt, *Blue Skies and Blood: The Battle of the Coral Sea* (1975), and Gordon W. Prange, *Miracle at Midway* (1982), are well-written accounts. Robert Leckie details Guadalcanal in *Guadalcanal: The Turning Point of the War* (1965). Standard biographies of the Pacific commanders include E. B. Potter, *Nimitz* (1976), and William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur* (1978). MacArthur’s *Reminiscences* (1964) are self-serving but interesting. Michael Schaller’s *Douglas MacArthur: The Far Eastern General* (1989) is very critical of the general.

Basic accounts of other Japanese theaters are Don Moser, *China, Burma, India* (1978), and Brian Garfield, *The Thousand-Mile War: World War II in Alaska and the Aleutians* (1969; repr. 1982). The destruction of Japanese commerce is described in Clay Blair, Jr., *Silent Victory: The Submarine War Against Japan* (1975), and W. J. Holmes, *Undersea Victory: The Influence of Submarine Operations in the Pacific* (1966). Richard F. Newcomb, *Iwo Jima* (1965), and William Belote, *Typhoon of Steel: The Battle for Okinawa* (1970), describe those actions.

Russell Spurr's *A Glorious Way to Die: The Kamikaze Mission of the Battleship Yamato* (1981) puts kamikaze tactics in an intelligible military and cultural context. Rikihei Inoguchi, Tadashi Nakajima, and Roger Pineau, *The Divine Wind* (1958), saw the attacks from the Japanese point of view. Barton J. Bernstein, *The Atomic Bomb: The Critical Issues* (1976), summarized some fundamental arguments pro and con. Michael D. Pearlman convincingly explains why Truman had no political option but to drop the bombs, in *Unconditional Surrender, Demobilization, and the Atomic Bomb* (1996). John Hersey vividly described the aftermath of the bombings in *Hiroshima* (1946). The standard study of Japan's submission is J. C. Butow, *Japan's Decision to Surrender* (1954). The failure of cultural understanding between the Allies and the Japanese is analyzed in John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986).

### three

## The American War Machine

Surveys useful for giving a general picture of the American war machine include Gerald D. Nash, *The Great Depression and World War II: Organizing America, 1933–1945* (1979); and A. Russell Buchanan, *The United States and World War II*, 2 volumes (1964). Allan M. Winkler's *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942–1945* (1978) suggests how the

war was portrayed to the home audience. Walter Mills, *Arms and Men: A Study in American Military History* (1958), places the managerial and technical changes of the era in a context of historical evolution. Geoffrey Perret, *A Country Made by War* (1989), and John Keegan's essay, "Britain and America," [London] *Times Literary Supplement*, May 17, 1985, delineate the enormous growth in America's military and economic power during the war at a relatively low financial and human cost. The relative importance of lend-lease to the Allied war effort is analyzed in Peter Calvocoressi, Guy Wint, and John Pritchard, *Total War: The Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (rev. 2d. ed., 1989). Russell F. Weigley's provocative ideas are in "Shaping the American Army of World War II: Mobility versus Power," in Lloyd J. Matthews and Dale E. Brown, eds., *The Parameters of War* (1987).

In charting the effects of wartime mobilization on American culture, the following were particularly useful: Keith L. Nelson, ed., *The Impact of War on American Life: The Twentieth-Century Experience* (1971), John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (1976), John Costello, *Virtue Under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (1985), and Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America During World War II* (1986). Acute contemporary observations are in Geoffrey Gorer, *The Americans: A Study in National Character* (1948), Eric Sevareid, *Not So Wild a Dream* (1969), Frank Gervasi, *The Violent Decade: A Foreign Correspondent in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, 1935–1945* (1989), and John Steinbeck, *Once There Was a War* (1958; repr. 1961).

Paul A. C. Koistinen ably assesses the growth of government-business ties in *The Military-Industrial Complex: A Historical Perspective* (1980). Also see Gregory Hooks, *Forging The Military-Industrial Complex: World War II's Battle of the Potomac* (1991), and Joe R. Feagin and Kelly Riddell, "The State, Capitalism, and World War II: The U.S. Case," *Armed Forces*

*and Society* 17 (Fall 1990). On the commercial selling of the war, see Frank W. Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War: The Strange Military Career of American Advertising, 1941–45* (1975). Bruce Catton, journalist and popular historian, criticized the growth of organization society in *The War Lords of Washington* (1948). Merle Curti expressed his concerns about the failure of critical thinking in *The Growth of American Thought* (1943). The coming of academe into the government orbit is described in Robin Winks, *Cloak and Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939–1961* (1987). Most histories of strategic bombing comment on civilians' lack of sensitivity to enemy suffering. A specific discussion is in George E. Hopkins, "Bombing and the American Conscience during World War II," *Historian* 27 (May 1966).

A good history of selective service is David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (1989). On dissent, see James Burk, "Debating the Draft in America," *Armed Forces and Society* 15 (Spring 1989), and Larry Gara, *A Few Small Candles: War Resisters of World War II* (1999). George Q. Flynn's *Lewis B. Hershey: Mr. Selective Service* (1985) looks at the modern draft in the context of its founding father. James Jones's novel *From Here to Eternity* (1951) captures the idiom of the prewar regular army. His portrait of the long-service noncom is particularly good and helps to explain why the first draftees would have had trouble adjusting to their situation. Irwin Shaw's 1948 novel and the subsequent 1958 film, *The Young Lions*, gives a good view of basic training, including the harassment of a Jewish recruit. Neil Simon's play and 1988 film, *Biloxi Blues*, pursues a similar theme. Both are available on video disk.

The best collection of primary-source data—interviews and surveys—for analyzing GI life is the mine of information put together by the research team headed by Samuel A. Stouffer and published under his name as *The American Soldier*, volume 1, *Adjustment During Army Life*, and

volume 2, *Combat and Its Aftermath*, both published in 1949 and reprinted in 1965. Studs Terkel's "*The Good War*": *An Oral History of World War Two* (1985) has some revealing memoirs of life in the war machine. Two very helpful studies of the military experience are S. L. A. Marshall, *Men Against Fire* (1947), and John Ellis, *The Sharp End: The Fighting Man in World War II* (1980). For accusations that momism was ruining the fiber of American manhood, see Edward A. Strecker, *Their Mothers' Sons: The Psychiatrist Examines an American Problem* (1946; repr. 1951), and Philip Wylie, *Generation of Vipers* (1942; repr. 1955). The failure of the troops to understand the issues at stake in the war is detailed in David L. Cohn, "Should Fighting Men Think?" *Saturday Review of Literature*, January 18, 1947.

T. N. Dupuy studied army performance in *A Genius for War* (1977). Martin Van Creveld's analysis of organizational behavior is contained in *Fighting Power: German and U.S. Army Performance, 1939–1945* (1982). See also his *The Training of Officers: From Military Professionalism to Irrelevance* (1990). An example of the traditional view of Prussian top-down control, even into schooling, is Gregor Ziemer, *Education for Death: The Making of the Nazi* (1941). The German army's performance late in the war is remarkable because, by this stage, its personnel were considerably inferior to the elite of 1939 and now drew upon foreign or physically second-rate material. See Charles W. Sydnor, Jr., *Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death's Head Division, 1933–1945* (1977).

Examples of American discipline and leadership faltering during captivity are found in John M. Wright, Jr., *Captured on Corregidor: Diary of an American "P.O.W in World War II* (1988), William R. Cubbins, *The War of the Cottontails: A Bomber Pilot with the Fifteenth Air Force Against Nazi Germany* (1989), and Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., *Slaughterhouse-Five or the Children's Crusade* (1969), which has a scathingly funny critique of the different American and British

behavior patterns under the pressure of captivity. Military “chickenshit” is described in Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (1989). Chickenshit destroys an enlisted man in Robert Lowry’s novel *Casualty* (1946), where the protagonist deserts and is killed after being busted for standing a drunken man’s guard duty. “What had happened to him was just some more of the meaningless discipline that was a thing to be endured” (132).

Other sources on the army experience cited in the text are from John Colby, *War from the Ground Up: The Ninetieth Division in WWII* (1991), Ladislav Farago, *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* (1966), Joseph E. Garland, *Unknown Soldiers: Reliving World War II in Europe* (2009), J. Glenn Gray, *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (1959; repr. 1970), John Mersey, *Into the Valley: A Skirmish of the Marines* (1943; repr. 1970), James Jones, *The Thin Red Line* (1962); and *WWII* (1975), Philip Kaplan and Rex Alan Smith, *One Last Look: A Sentimental Journey to the Eighth Air Force Heavy Bomber Bases of World War II in England* (1983), Barbara Klaw, *Camp Follower: The Story of a Soldier’s Wife* (1944), John Keegan, *The Second World War* (1990), John Keegan and Richard Holmes, *Soldiers: A History of Men in Battle* (1986), Judy Barrett Litoff, David C. Smith, Barbara Woodall Taylor, Charles E. Taylor, *Miss You: The World War II Letters of Barbara Woodall Taylor and Charles E. Taylor* (1990), Norman Mailer, *The Naked and the Dead* (1948; repr. 1968), William Manchester, *Goodbye, Darkness: A Memoir of the Pacific War* (1980), Bill Mauldin, *Up Front* (1945; repr. 1968), Audie Murphy, *To Hell and Back* (1949), Ernie Pyle, *Here Is Your War* (1943), and E. B. Sledge, *With the Old Breed: At Peleliu and Okinawa* (1981). Paul Fussell talks about the categories of people GIs hated most in *The Boys’ Crusade: The American Infantry in Northwestern Europe, 1944-1945* (2003).

There are no truly thorough studies of Mexican Americans in the war. Stanley Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (1970), and Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers in the United States* (1945), offer starting points in hispanic history. The best study of native Americans is Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II* (1991). Also, see John Collier, "The Indian in a Wartime Nation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 223 (1942), and Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *Now That the Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's Indians* (1982). Good starting points for blacks and the military include Neil A. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War* (1976), together with Jack D. Foner, *Blacks and the Military in American History* (1974). See also Robert W. Mullen, *Blacks in America's Wars* (1973), and Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (1966). Students should try to see the war department's film, *The Negro Soldier*, released in 1943 as part of Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series and available on video disk. Aimed at encouraging black support for the war, the film avoids the problem of race in American society. Racial hostility to Asians as a factor adding ferocity to the war is dealt with in John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986).

The history of homosexuals in the military received groundbreaking treatment in Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (1990). However, he did not probe into homosexuality at the higher ranks. Compare Paul Jackson's study of homosexuality at all levels of the Canadian military, *One of the Boys: Homosexuality in the Military during World War II* (2004). On homosexuality within American culture as a whole, John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970* (1983). Charles Jackson, *The Fall of Valor* (1946), gives a feel for how the mainstream saw homosexuals. In this novel, a male professor (in

the humanities, suspect as effeminate) is ruined after making a sexual advance toward a marine officer on leave.

Histories of American women that discuss their role in the war machine include Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II* (1981), D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America; Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (1984), Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change* (1988), Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (1982), and Doris Weatherford, *American Women and World War II* (1990). Specific studies of women in uniform include Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (1991), and Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II* (1996). Particularly relevant here is Maureen Honey, "The 'Womanpower' Campaign: Advertising and Recruitment Propaganda During World War II," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 6 (Spring–Summer 1981). A typical view of Nazi efficiency in herding women together for work and breeding is contained in the 1937 novel by Katharine Bur-dekin, *Swastika Night* (repr. 1985). A more realistic assessment of relative efficiency in utilizing female resources is Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939–1945* (1978).

## **four** **Overseas**

John Costello, *Virtue under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (1985), is excellent on GI mores abroad. Graham Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull* (1987), examines the racial clash in Britain. James Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific* (1947) is useful for the Asian theater. Frank Gervasi, *The Violent Decade: A Foreign Correspondent in Europe,*



*Asia, and the Middle East, 1935–1945* (1989), Eric Sevareid, *Not So Wild a Dream* (1969), and George Weller, *Weller's War: A Legendary Foreign Correspondent's Saga of World War II on Five continents* (2009), contain shrewd journalistic observations on the American impact overseas. Studs Terkel's "*The Good War*": *An Oral History of World War Two* (1985) has interviews with MPs and others who had an inside view of military life abroad. The War Department pamphlets giving direction to GIs going abroad are revealing, e.g. *A Short Guide to Great Britain* (1942). Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (1989), looks at how the GI appeared to foreign civilians.

On sexual abuse by U.S. soldiers, J. Robert Lilly, *Taken by Force: Rape and American GIs in Europe during World War II* (2007), and Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (2013). Two relatively recent movies deal dramatically with GIs overstepping the bounds of social restraint while overseas. *Death of a Soldier* (1986) follows a sex offender in Australia. *Chicago Joe and the Showgirl* (1990) is about a GI gangster and his female accomplice in wartime London.

The two seminal contemporary studies of Americans in combat are Samuel A. Stouffer, *The American Soldier*, volume 1, *Adjustment During Army Life*, volume 2, *Combat and Its Aftermath* (1949; repr. 1965), and S. L. A. Marshall, *Men Against Fire* (1947). Their findings were endorsed in two fine later studies: Richard Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (1986); and John Ellis, *The Sharp End: The Fighting Man in World War II* (1980). Marshall was attacked by Harold Leinbaugh in *The Men of Company K: The Autobiography of a World War II rifle Company* (1985), and John C. McManus, *The Deadly Brotherhood: The American Combat Soldier in World War II* (1998). Students should sample John Keegan's pioneering work on the nature of combat in general, called *The Face of Battle* (1976). Also see Keegan and Richard

Holmes with John Gau, *Soldiers: A History of Men in Battle* (1986), and Martin Van Creveld, *Fighting Power: German and U.S. Army Performance, 1939–1945* (1982).

There are numerous collected personal accounts of combat. James Jones, *WWII* (1975) is a particularly fine oral history, accompanied by the work of American combat artists. Valuable recent volumes include Larry Alexander, *In the Footsteps of the Band of Brothers: A Return to Easy Company's Battlefields with Sergeant Forrest Guth* (2010), Joseph E. Garland, *Unknown Soldiers: Reliving World War II in Europe* (2009), and Dale Maharidge, *Bringing Mulligan Home: The Other Side of the Good War* (2013). Useful anthologies include Annette Tapert, ed., *Lines of Battle: Letters of American Servicemen, 1941–1945* (1987); and Paul Fussell, ed., *The Norton Book of Modern War* (1991). Other helpful general sources include Edward K. Eckert, *In War and Peace: An American Military History Anthology* (1990), Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (1989), and Geoffrey Perret, *A Country Made by War* (1989). Accounts by outstanding war reporters include Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War* (1967), Bill Mauldin, *Up Front* (1945; repr. 1968), John Steinbeck, *Once There Was a War* (1958; repr. 1961), Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men* (1944; repr. 1974), and Pyle's *Here Is Your War* (1943). Harry Brown's *A Walk in the Sun* (1944; repr. 1985) gives the best description of a day in the life of a combat infantryman. Charles A. Lindbergh carefully describes the war on all fronts in *The Wartime Journals* (1970). One of the best GI poets is Louis Simpson; he wrote *A Dream of Governors* (1959) and *Selected Poems* (1965). J. Glenn Gray's *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (1959; repr. 1970), the memoir of an intelligence officer, is unusual for its philosophical framework. C. E. Wood, *Mud: A Military History* (2006) is a valuable introduction to the relationship between filth and disease.

Audie Murphy was honest and informative in describing fighting in southern Europe in *To Hell and Back* (1949). Mitchell Goodman's novel *The End of It* (1961) also gives an excellent feel for ground fighting in Italy. Further works built on first-person accounts of fighting in northern Europe are Cecil B. Currey, *Follow Me and Die: The Destruction of an American Division in World War II* (1984), and John Colby, *War from the Ground Up: The Ninetieth Division in WWII* (1991). I also found very useful Judy Barnett Litoff, David C. Smith, Barbara Woodall Taylor, and Charles E. Taylor, *Miss You: The World War II Letters of Barbara Woodall Taylor and Charles E. Taylor* (1990). The killing of a GI who could not stop firing a machine gun is described in H. Lew Wallace and William R. Burns, "From the 'Bulge' to Dresden: A Soldier's Odyssey," *Perspectives in History* I (Spring 1986).

Classic memoirs of Pacific theater combat include William Manchester, *Goodbye, Darkness: A Memoir of the Pacific War* (1980), and E. B. Sledge, *With the Old Breed: At Pelelui and Okinawa* (1981). I also found Roger Hilsman, *My War Behind Japanese Lines* (1990), very good on jungle warfare. Important autobiographical novels include James Jones, *The Thin Red Line* (1962), and Norman Mailer, *The Naked and the Dead* (1948; repr. 1968). John Hersey, *Into the Valley: A Skirmish of the Marines* (1943; repr. 1970), and Richard Tregaskis, *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943), reflect the immediate reaction of GIs to the Japanese enemy.

Philip Kaplan and Rex Alan Smith, *One Last Look: A Sentimental Journey to the Eighth Air Force Heavy Bomber Bases of World War II* (1983), has a wealth of useful reminiscence by survivors of the air war. William R. Cubbins, *The War of the Cottontails: A Bomber Pilot with the Fifteenth Air Force* (1989), is also very informative. On the air war in the Pacific, see *Goodbye to Some* (1961) by Gordon Forbes, a naval pilot. Brian Garfield, *The Thousand-Mile*

*War: World War II in Alaska and the Aleutians* (1969; repr. 1982), deals with the difficulties of flying in an inhospitable region.

The belief that psychological casualties were weaklings is expounded in Edward A. Strecker, *Their Mothers' Sons: The Psychiatrist Examines an American Problem* (1946; repr. 1951), and George S. Patton, Jr., *War as I Knew It* (1947). Ladislav Farago comments on Patton's attitude in *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* (1966). Dixon Wecker talked to emotionally damaged veterans and gives us an account in *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (1944; repr. 1970). Charles Glass, *The Deserters: A Hidden History of World War II* (2013) is an excellent new study of desertion.

James J. Weingartner, "Massacre at Biscari: Patton and an American War Crime," *Historian* 52 (November 1989), deals with an incident of prisoner execution. Paul Fussell talks candidly about abuse of the enemy dead in *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays* (1988). The mutual racial antipathy in the Pacific is analyzed in John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986). The Japanese brutality that provoked Allied retaliation is described in, for example, M. L. Lawton, *Some Survived* (1984), and in S. L. Falk, *Bataan: The March of Death* (1962). James J. Farcy's memoir of sea warfare, *Pacific War Diary, 1942–1945* (1974), graphically describes the kamikaze attacks and the resulting Allied conviction that the Japanese did not think about death in a normal way. Helpful insights into war psychosis are provided in Caroline Alexander, *The War that Killed Achilles: The True Story of Homer's Iliad and the Trojan War* (2009), and Jonathan Shay, *Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (1995).

## five

# Home Front Change

Histories of the domestic scene that I found essential include Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America During World War II* (1986), Gerald D. Nash, *The Great Depression and World War II: Organizing America, 1933–1945* (1979), and John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (1976). Other general studies include Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941–1945* (1972), Richard Polenberg, ed., *America at War: The Home Front, 1941–1945* (1968), Richard R. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On? The American Home Front, 1941–1945* (1970), Geoffrey Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939–1945* (1973), and James L. Abrahamson, *The American Home Front* (1983). For the retrospections of participants, Studs Terkel's *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two* (1985) is again indispensable.

In developing my views on why World War II provided no magic formula for economic success, I used the materials on the costs of wars in Keith L. Nelson, ed., *The Impact of War on American Life: The Twentieth-Century Experience* (1971), Henry C. Murphy, *The National Debt in War and Transition* (1950), and James L. Clayton, "Vietnam: The 200 Year Mortgage," *Nation* 208 (May 1969). During the First Gulf War, many popular journals carried good economic analyses. See, for instance, Jane Bryant Quinn in *Newsweek*, January 28, 1991, and February 4, 1991. Recent provocative studies of the respective roles of government and the private sector in stimulating the economy include Mariana Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State: Debunking Public vs. Private Sector Myths* (2014), and William H. Janeway, *Doing Capitalism in the Innovation Economy: Markets, Speculation and the State* (2014).

The dislocation caused by wartime change is analyzed in John Costello, *Virtue Under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (1985), and Francis Merrill, *The War and Social Problems on the Home Front* (1948). On population movement, see Henry S.

Shyrock, Jr., and Hope T. Eldridge, "Internal Migration in Peace and War," *American Sociological Review* 12 (1947). One of the best intimate accounts of migrant life remains Harriette Arnow's fictionalized treatment, *The Dollmaker* (1954), about an Appalachian family in Detroit. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s provocative comments on how the war changed the political culture of Washington are contained in *A Life in the Twentieth Century: Innocent Beginnings, 1917-1950* (2000). For how the war affected efforts to develop a U.S. welfare state, see Edward D. Berkowitz, *America's Welfare State: From Roosevelt to Reagan* (1991), and James H. Cassedy, *Medicine in America: A Short History* (1991).

Ira Katznelson reminds us that New Deal administrators catered to white racism in carrying our Depression-era relief programs, in *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* (2014). On racial problems and the start of the civil rights movement, see Richard Dalfiume, "The Forgotten Years of the Negro Revolution," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968), Bruce Tyler, "The Black Double V Campaign for Racial Democracy During World War II," *Journal of Kentucky Studies* 8 (Sept. 1991), and Walter White, *A Rising Wind* (1945; repr. 1971). On the Detroit riot, see Robert Shogan and Tom Craig, *The Detroit Race Riot: A Study in Violence* (1964), Dominic J. Capeci, Jr., and Martha Wilkerson, *Layered Violence: The Detroit Rioters of 1943* (1991), and Alfred McClung Lee and Norman D. Humphrey, *Race Riot* (1943).

On the treatment of Japanese Americans, good accounts include Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps U.S.A.: Japanese Americans and World War II* (1971), Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (1976), and Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (1969). Matt Briones, *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940's Interracial America* (2012), based on the diaries of intellectual and social observer, Charles Kikuchi, presents an absorbing picture of Japanese and African American

experience in the war. After growing up in integrated neighborhoods, Kikuchi was interned before enlisting in the army. Students might want to see the evocative movie interpretation, *Come See the Paradise* (1990), available on video disk. The plight of hispanics in the Depression and war eras is well covered in Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation and in the 1930s* (1995).

The plight of army wives was described graphically during the war by Barbara Klaw in *Camp Follower: The Story of a Soldier's Wife* (1944). Also see the excellent oral histories in Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (1989). On the drive to get women into the labor force, see Maureen Honey, "The 'Womanpower' Campaign: Advertising and Recruitment Propaganda During World War II," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 6 (Spring–Summer 1981). Edward A. Strecker criticizes women for smothering their children in *Their Mothers' Sons: The Psychiatrist Examines an American Problem* (1946; repr. 1951). Excellent general histories of women in the war include Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II* (1981), D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (1984), Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War, and Social Change* (1988), Susan M. Hartman, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (1982), Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939–1945* (1978), and Doris Weatherford, *American Women and World War II* (1990).

Two foreign visitors who made acute observations on the tenor of American life in the period were Geoffrey Gorer, *The Americans: A Study in National Character* (1948), and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Wartime Writings, 1939–1944* (1986). For the Depression's impact on family life and the war generation, see Glen H. Elder, Jr., *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change*

*in Life Experience* (1974). Tennessee Williams treated imaginatively the loss of male role models and the sense of adolescent drifting in *The Glass Menagerie* (1944). On how the mobility of wartime gave gays opportunities for personal growth and common bonding, see John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970* (1983).

Fear of rising delinquency during the war is traced in the first chapters of James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (1986).

Unfortunately, the best study of teen life during the war is not widely available. It is an unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Richard M. Uglund, "The Adolescent Experience During World War II: Indianapolis as a Case Study," Indiana University, 1977. Adolescent behavior and educational failure were scathingly attacked in Philip Wylie, *Generation of Vipers* (1942; repr. 1955). Colin Shindler looked at the movie theater and cultural change in *Hollywood Goes to War: Films and American Society, 1939-1952* (1979).

Sharp criticisms of secondary and higher education were leveled in David L. Cohn, "Should Fighting Men Think?" *Saturday Review of Literature*, January 18, 1947. The military's impact on the universities is documented in "Report of Committee A on 'Academic Freedom and Tenure' for 1943," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 30 (1944).

Frank W. Fox analyzed business use of the war to sell products, and the direct link made between freedom and consumerism in *Madison Avenue Goes to War: The Strange Military Career of American Advertising, 1941-45* (1975). On labor and the war, see Martin Glaberman, *Wartime Strikes* (1980), and Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II* (1982).



## The Post War World

The enunciation and significance of the Four Freedoms are traced in Harvey J. Kaye, *The Fight for the Four Freedoms: What Made FDR and the Greatest Generation Truly Great* (2014). On the state of the world in 1945, with widespread ruin, instability, and hostility to both superpowers, see Ian Buruma, *Year Zero: A History of 1945* (2013), William I. Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A New History of the Liberation of Europe* (2008), and Charles Simic, “Oh, What a Lovely War!” *The New York Review of Books*, October 10, 2013. On American distrust of European liberationists, Milton Viorst, *Hostile Allies: FDR and Charles DeGaulle* (1965), and Dorothy S. White, *Seeds of Discord: DeGaulle, Free France, and the Allies* (1964). Paul Fussell’s thoughts on the morality of the war are contained in *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays* (1988); and *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (1989).

On Japanese war crimes trials, see R. H. Minear, *Victor’s Justice* (1971), A. Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg* (1987), and A. F. Reel, *The Case of General Yamashita* (1949). Also see Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (1964). Canadian author James Bacque accused the Western Allies of deliberately maltreating Axis prisoners, in *Other Losses: An Investigation into the Mass Deaths of German Prisoners at the Hands of the French and Americans After World War II* (1989). Stephen E. Ambrose replied in the *New York Times Book Review*, “Ike and the Disappearing Atrocities,” February 24, 1991. The controversy continued in the “Letters” section of the April 14, 1991, edition. John Home Burnes, *The Gallery* (1947), gives excellent sketches

of soldiers and civilians in occupied Naples. Graham Greene's novel *The Third Man* (1949) was made into a fine film starring Orson Welles.

A typical example of a WWII assassination is described in Callum MacDonald, *The Killing of SS Obergruppenfuhrer Reinhard Heydrich* (1989). Edna St. Vincent Millay's poem, *The Murder of Lidice* (1942), dehumanizes Heydrich as a werewolf who "howls in his tomb . . . And scratches the earth from his grave away." The American killing of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto in 1943, though controversial at the time, similarly pointed the way to postwar covert operations. William Casey is a good example of an OSS officer who continued a career in covert operations after the war. He became head of the CIA and was involved in Iran-contra, dying just as that episode became public; see his *The Secret War Against Hitler* (1988).

On American-Soviet relations and the coming of the Cold War, see Daniel Yergin, *The Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (1977), John L. Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (1972), Louis J. Halle, *The Cold War as History* (1967), and Lynn Etheridge Davis, *The Cold War Begins: Soviet-American Conflict over Eastern Europe* (1974). FDR's relationship with the Russians is deftly covered in Edward M. Bennett, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Search for Victory: American-Soviet Relations, 1939–1945* (1990). For the CIA's post war covert activities and the American rationale of "exceptionalism" see, for instance, Stephen Kinzer, *The Brothers: John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Their Secret World War* (2013). There are some provocative ideas on the nature of the postwar world in Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (rev. ed. 1970).

On the A-bomb and diplomatic relations, see Barton J. Bernstein, *The Atomic Bomb: The Critical Issues* (1976), Michael S. Sherry, *Preparing for the Next War: American Plans for*

*Postwar Defense, 1941–45* (1977), Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* (1987), H. Bruce Franklin, *War Stars: The Super-weapon and the American Imagination* (1988), Ronald Schaffer, *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II* (1985), and Martin J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance* (1975; repr. 1977). For the development of an international arms race and its result in the U.S. becoming a primary supplier of weapons to the world, William D. Hartung, *And Weapons for All* (1995). Andrew J. Bacevich has developed a considerable body of scholarly work arguing persuasively that the Cold War distorted U.S. diplomatic and military policy in ways that continue today. Begin with his *Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War* (2010). Also on the costs of the arms race and superpower status, Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (1987).

On the movement to suburbia, see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988). The powerful postwar image of the full-time mother contrasted with wartime attacks on “momism” in works like Edward A. Strecker, *Their Mothers' Sons: The Psychiatrist Examines an American Problem* (1946; repr. 1951). See also John Costello, *Virtue Under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (1985). Works dealing with the problems faced by working women include D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (1984), Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (1981), and Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (1982).

On African-Americans and the pursuit of equality, see James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (1962; repr. 1964), Richard M. Dalflume, *Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939–1953* (1969), Jack D. Foner, *Blacks and the Military in American*

*History: A New Perspective* (1974), and Bruce Tyler, ‘The Black Double V Campaign for Racial Democracy during World War II,’ *Journal of Kentucky Studies* 8 (Sept. 1991). On homosexuals and civil rights, see Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (1990).

On anti-semitism and American policy toward Hitler’s victims, see David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (1984), Haskell Lookstein, *Were We Our Brothers’ Keepers! The Public Response of American Jews to the Holocaust, 1938–1944* (1985), Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy* (1968), and Richard L. Rubenstein, *The Cunning of History: The Holocaust and the American Future* (1987). Varied American reactions to the Holocaust appear in Robert H. Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (1987). A good example of how Americans became sympathetic toward the Germans is Raymond F. Toliver and Trevor J. Constable, *The Blond Knight of Germany* (1985). The subject of this adulatory biography, German air ace Erich Hartmann, fought on Germany’s eastern front. Also see Ladislav Farago, *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* (1966), on Patton’s attitude, and comments on the American occupation of Germany in Bernt Englemann, *In Hitler’s Germany: Daily Life in the Third Reich* (1986).

My profile of veterans’ adjustment problems and the statistics behind the occurrence of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in the wake of different wars is based on the work of a West Point graduate, combat veteran, and military advisor to the federal government, Nate Pelletier. He gave an insightful lecture, “Combat Warriors to Veteran Leaders: A Historic Comparison of Three War Generations’ Societal Reintegration,” at Northern Kentucky University on November

12, 2013. An accessible introduction to the subject of Traumatic Brain Injuries is “League of Denial,” a PBS *Frontline* documentary, directed by Michael Kirk, and aired on October 8, 2013.

The discussion of Audie Murphy is based largely on his 1949 autobiography, *To Hell and Back*, and Don Graham’s fine volume, *No Name on the Bullet: A Biography of Audie Murphy* (1989). The mental sufferings of Captain Charles McVay are detailed by Doug Stanton, *In Harm’s Way: The Sinking of the U.S.S. Indianapolis and the Extraordinary Story of Its Survivors* (2001). Other useful sources on veterans’ adjustment problems included Joseph E. Garland, *Unknown Soldiers: Reliving World War II in Europe* (2009), J. Glen Gray, *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle* (1959; repr. 1970), Dale Maharidge, *Bringing Mulligan Home: The Other Side of the Good War* (2013), Tom Mathews, *Our Fathers’ War: Growing Up in the Shadow of the Greatest Generation* (2005), Samuel Stouffer, *The American Soldier*, 2 volumes (1949; repr. 1965), and Studs Terkel, *“The Good War”: An Oral History of World War Two* (1985).

Two contemporary films addressed the GIs’ adjustment problems: John Huston’s documentary about psychologically damaged men, *Let There Be Light*, and *The Best Years of Our Lives*, a fictional treatment of three veterans’ situations, both released in 1946. *Maria’s Lovers* (1984) portrays the damage to a veteran’s marriage brought on by his experience as a prisoner of war. The difficulties for veterans’ wives is dealt with in Susan M. Hartmann, “Prescriptions for Penelope: Literature on Women’s Obligations to Returning World War II Veterans,” *Women’s Studies* 5 (1978). On overseas marriages, see Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (1989). Doris Lessing’s Comments on veterans’ unwillingness to talk to their families about their war experiences are contained in her memoir, *Alfred and Emily*, (2009).

On the G.I. Bill, see Richard Severo and Lewis Milford, *The Wages of War: When America's Soldiers Came Home* (1990), and Dixon Wecter, *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (1944; repr. 1970). Other sources cited in the text are David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (1989), and James L. Clayton, "Vietnam: The 200 Year Mortgage," *The Nation*, May 26, 1969. Contrary to myth, many veterans failed to access the G.I. Bill. For example, some emotionally-damaged ex-combat soldiers found it difficult to stay in school or take advantage of job opportunities. Often, they had made the least progress in education before the war came and so were not prepared to climb further up the ladder as veterans. I discuss this more fully in Michael C. C. Adams, "Who Didn't Use the GI Bill? Notes on a Lingering Question," *Studies in American Culture* XXIII: 2 (2000).

The post war conservative reaction in American politics is described in John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (1976). John Roy Carlson's book, *Under Cover* (1943), has not been reprinted but can be obtained in major libraries or through inter-library loan. On how the war narrowed individual freedom and enhanced illiberal tendencies in America, see Richard Polenberg, "The Good War? A Reappraisal of How World War II Affected American Society," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 100:3 (July 1992). In 1954 Herman Wouk's *The Caine Mutiny* (1951; repr. 1973) was made into a fine movie, starring Humphrey Bogart as Captain Queeg. William H. Whyte's strictures are in *The Organization Man* (1956; repr. 1972). David Riesman, et al., *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of Changing American Character* (1950; repr. 1961), describes the "other-directed" personality.

## seven

### The Life Cycle of a Myth

Phillip Knightley analyses how nations generate wartime propaganda in *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam; the War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker* (1975). In the introduction to his war reports, John Steinbeck was remarkably honest about how correspondents self-censored: *Once There Was a War* (1958; repr. 1981). The importance of commercials in molding the dominant view of the war is well demonstrated in Frank W. Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War: The Strange Military Career of American Advertising, 1941–45* (1975). John Mortimer, later a highly successful barrister and writer, worked for the British Ministry of Information during World War II. He said that his unit sold the war to the public as though manufacturing advertisements for laxatives: Valerie Grove, *A Voyage Round John Mortimer* (2007). Andrew A. Rooney's thoughts on the war are in his "An Essay on War," in *A Few Minutes with Andy Rooney* (1981).

Mass circulation publications like *Reader's Digest* and superhero comic books helped to simplify reality in the twentieth century and create the myths that became an essential part of popular culture. See Ariel Dorfman, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: What the Lone Ranger, Babar, and Other Innocent Heroes Do to Our Minds* (1983). Ian I. Mitroff and Warren Bennis offer stimulating insights into twentieth-century media manipulation of reality in *The Unreality Industry: The Deliberate Manufacturing of Falsehood and What It Is Doing to Our Lives* (1989).

There are many studies of the movie industry during the era. Three sound surveys are

Bernard F. Dick, *The Star-Spangled Screen: The American World War II Film* (1985), Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (1987), and Colin Shindler, *Hollywood Goes to War: Films and American Society, 1939–1952* (1979). Ben Urwand, *The Collaboration: Hollywood's Pact with Hitler* (2013) demonstrates how smoothly the movie industry was able to turn from a hands-off approach to nazism to full support of the American war effort. Jeanine Basinger pursues the formulae that came to dominate the themes of war films in *The World War II Combat Film: Anatomy of a Genre* (1986). Also useful are Clyde Jeavons, *A Pictorial History of War Films* (1974), and Lawrence H. Suid, *Guts and Glory: Great American War Movies* (1978). In addition to the early combat films mentioned in the text, see *Wake Island* (1942) and *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943).

Biographies that deal with the public relations efforts of two leading publicity seekers are Ladislav Farago, *Patton: Ordeal and Triumph* (1966), and Michael Schaller, *Douglas MacArthur: The Far Eastern General* (1989). The Good War myth played an important role in the public images of Presidents George W. H. Bush and Ronald Reagan. See, for example, Joe Hyams's biography, *Flight of the Avenger: George Bush at War* (1991). The importance of film in the self-concept and public perception of Ronald Reagan is pointed out in Michael Paul Rogin, *Ronald Reagan, the Movie* (1987), and Garry Wills, *Reagan's America: Innocents at Home* (1987). Reagan's appeal for young people as a commanding figure from America's earlier heroic past is cataloged in Wanda Urbanska, *The Singular Generation* (1986). John Costello talks about the reality of 1940s mores in *Virtue Under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (1985).



Stephen E. Ambrose compiled a large and distinguished body of work. For our purposes, the most relevant are: *Band of Brothers: E Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne from Normandy to Hitler's Eagle's Nest* (1992), *D-Day June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II* (1994), *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany June 7, 1944 - May 7, 1945* (1997), and *Americans at War* (1998). To understand how persistently singling out the American performance on D-Day skews our understanding of the Normandy invasion and the patterns of war in 1944, consult John Keegan, *Six Armies in Normandy: From D-Day to the Liberation of Paris June 6th - August 25th, 1944* (1982), and H. P. Willmott, *June 1944* (1999). After *The Greatest Generation* (1998), Tom Brokaw went on to produce *The Greatest Generation Speaks* (1999).

Robert Rodat's screenplay for *Saving Private Ryan* is available in somewhat modified form in the 1998 book of the same title by Max Allan Collins. Compare an earlier piece by Steven Spielberg, "The Mission," in his *Amazing Stories* television series aired during the 1985-86 season. Here, Spielberg recreates in harshly realistic detail the worst nightmare of a belly gunner on a B-17 Flying Fortress. The ball turret has jammed and the landing gear is shot away. The plane will have to do a belly-flop, pancake landing, squashing the gunner. The whole way home from Germany to England, the trapped gunner is aware of his fate. But, another crew member is an amateur artist and he doodles new candy-cane-striped legs on a sketch of the plane. Miraculously, they appear on the aircraft, which lands safely, with the gunner intact. Fantasy takes the sting out of a horrible combat scenario. To illustrate the difference in viewpoint between Americans and Europeans, consult another small fantasy, a ghost story about a missing bomber crew, *The Greatcoat* (2012), by British author Helen Dunmore. Here, in the cold, bleak

rationed world of wartime England, an RAF bomber crew trying to hang on until the end of their tour, instead die in flames; the lost spirit of one flyer, unable to find peace, haunts the living.

Works which argue that romanticization of the war has hurt American ability to deal realistically with the Holocaust include Lawrence L. Langer, *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays* (1995), and Alvin H. Rosenfeld, *The End of the Holocaust* (2011). I also recommend a particularly arresting novel that stands out for its complexity, suggesting the ramifications of an event like the Holocaust web up all of humanity in the evil: Jenna Blum, *Those Who Save Us* (2004).

Books that complement my view of the Good War myth, although the concerns of the authors are not synonymous with mine, include John Bodnar, *The "Good War" in American History* (2010), and Edward W. Wood, Jr., *Worshipping the Myths of World War II: Reflections on America's Dedication to War* (2006). On the strong element in the Good War myth of yearning for an idealized past, see also Michael C. C. Adams, "The 'Good War' Myth and the Cult of Nostalgia," *The Midwest Quarterly*, XXXX (Autumn 1998). Not all those who witnessed the war first-hand embraced its idealization. In his retrospective novel, *The War Lover* (1959), front-line correspondent John Hershey suggested that there was sometimes a fine line between war hero and psychopath. Veteran Joseph E. Garland flatly dismisses the Greatest Generation label in *Unknown Soldiers: Reliving World War II in Europe* (2009). Of combat veterans, perhaps Paul Fussell has most consistently and articulately challenged romanticization of the war. See, *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays* (1988), and *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (1989).

To compare how America's "worst war," Vietnam, has been treated in popular culture, see Albert Auster and Leonard Quart, *How the War Was Remembered: Hollywood and Vietnam*

(1988), and John Reliman, *American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam* (1986). More veterans' comments on how the movie version of World War II inspired them to go to Vietnam as young men are found in Ron Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July* (1976), and Bill McCloud, *What Should We Tell Our Children About Vietnam!* (1989). Poet and social critic Robert Bly directly charges that the WWII generation of veterans misled the young men coming after them about the nature of war, in *Iron John: A Book About Men* (1990).

More recently, Susan Faludi repeated and broadened the accusation, saying World War II fathers were unhealthily distanced from their sons in numerous areas. She also believes that much male nostalgia for "the band of brothers" represents a loss of confidence and certainty in today's blue collar community. See Susan Faludi, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man* (1999). Tom Mathews gives graphic and deeply moving stories of how damaged personal relations permanently hurt the lives of World War II fathers and their sons in *Our Fathers' War: Growing Up in the Shadow of the Greatest Generation* (2005).

For a more extended analysis of why the model of the Good War does not fit the nature of armed conflict in the twenty-first century, Michael C. C. Adams, *Echoes of War: A Thousand Years of Military History in Popular Culture* (2002), ch. 6, "Innocents at War." Also helpful were Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (2002), Malcolm Gladwell, *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants* (2013), William Nester, *Haunted Victory: The American Crusade to Destroy Saddam and Impose Democracy on Iraq* (2012), and Suzanne Simons, *Master of War: Blackwater USA's Erik Prince and the Business of War* (2009). The works of army veteran and professor of International Relations, Andrew J. Bacevich, deserve a special mention. His analyses of American attitudes towards the world and consequent formation of policies, along with their

flaws, are consistently, readable, well-argued, and illuminating. See, for example, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced By War* (2005), and *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism* (2008).

In *Echoes of War*, I argue that seemingly comic pieces such as *Slaughterhouse-Five* should be taken seriously as war novels. Vonnegut's time travel is in fact a creative variation on the vivid flashbacks associated with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. Vonnegut debunks the John Wayne myth of war making men out of boys. I analyze Roger Waters' thoughts on the death of his father and his critique of post-war society at greater length in Michael C. C. Adams, "Pink Floyd - *The Wall*, Wartime Loss, and Community Values," *The Journal of Kentucky Studies*, XIV (September 1997).