

#### SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

What follows is a listing of the sources that I have used in the preparation of this study; it is not a comprehensive bibliography on this subject. For further bibliographical information, the reader is urged to consult other bibliographies in some of the sources listed below.

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## NOTES

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9. Ulam, p. 159.
10. Fontaine, p. 48.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
12. Rubinstein, p. 79.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Deutscher, p. 405; see also E.H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars (New York: Harper and Row, 1947), pp. 76-78.
15. Kennan, p. 263.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Ulam, p. 266.
19. Deutscher, p. 406.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Kennan, pp. 270-75.
22. Ulam, p. 209.
23. James E. McSherry, Stalin, Hitler and Europe (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 5-6.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
25. Ulam, p. 195.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
28. Welles, p. 31.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
31. Deutscher, pp. 417-18; Ulam, pp. 218-19; Carr, pp. 203-4.
32. Deutscher, p. 418.
33. Anthony Eden, Facing the Dictators (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), pp. 164-78.
34. Ulam, pp. 223-24.
35. Deutscher, p. 419.
36. Ulam argues that "the original aim of the Popular Front tactics" from Stalin's point of view, "was not to provide the Western countries with the resolution and the material means to fight Hitler." (Ulam, p. 229) There is no evidence to support this view. When French Foreign Minister Laval visited Moscow in May 1935, he sought

Stalin's support for France's armaments policy. Stalin was obliging, and a joint communique was issued expressing the Soviet leader's "complete understanding and approval of the national defense policy pursued by France with the object of maintaining its armed forces at a level consistent with its security requirements." (Ulam., p. 228) Ulam attempts to deny the obvious meaning of this statement by citing the "ambiguous" attitude of the French Communists toward rearmament and by making the assumption that "the policy of the French Communist Party was attuned to the wishes of Moscow." He fails to consider the domestic political situation in France and the real dilemma that Stalin's declaration posed for the French Communists.

37. Rubinstein, p. 127.
38. Eden, p. 173.
39. Ibid., p. 164.
40. Ibid., p. 178.
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44. Deutscher, p. 421.
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46. Winston S. Churchill, The Gathering Storm (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948), pp. 137-42.
47. Fleming, p. 60.
48. Fontaine, p. 88.
49. Carr, pp. 226-28; Churchill, Chapter 10; Margaret George, The Warped Vision (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), Chapter 5; A. J. P. Taylor, The Origins of the Second World War (New York: Atheneum, 1966), pp. 94-5.
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52. Ulam, p. 235.
53. Deutscher, p. 422.
54. Ibid., p. 423.
55. Ibid.
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3. Ibid., p. 296.
4. Ibid., Chapter 22.
5. Ibid., pp. 313-14.

6. Ibid., p. 319.
7. See also Churchill, pp. 242, 333-34.
8. Feiling, p. 322.
9. Ibid., pp. 323-24.
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12. Ibid., pp. 213, 218.
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15. Ibid., I, p. 305.
16. Ibid., pp. 306-7.
17. Ulam, p. 248.
18. Ibid., p. 250.
19. Ibid., p. 254.
20. Ibid.
21. Feiling, p. 403.
22. New York Times Magazine, July 18, 1943.
23. Rubinstein, pp. 114-15.
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37. Churchill, pp. 112-13.
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41. Ibid., pp. 215-16.
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45. Feiling, p. 322.
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50. Eden, p. 557.
51. Harvey, p. 61.

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121. Fontaine, p. 93.
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129. Thorne, p. 73.
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135. Taylor, p. 178.
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143. Churchill, p. 309.
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150. Beloff, pp. 159-60.
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161. Ibid., pp. 376-77.
162. Ibid., p. 381.
163. Halifax to Phipps, November 1, 1938, DBFP, III, pp. 252-53.
164. Churchill, p. 333.
165. DBFP, III, pp. 252-53.
166. FRUS, 1938, I, pp. 85-86.
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169. Taylor, p. 197.
170. DGFP, I, pp. 963-65.
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172. Ibid., p. 321.
173. Colvin, pp. 170-71.
174. Ibid., p. 173.
175. Ibid., p. 183.
176. Harvey, p. 222.
177. Wheeler-Bennett, p. 466.
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182. Thorne, p. 98.
183. Feiling, p. 393.
184. Thorne, p. 98.
185. George, p. 194.
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203. DGFP, IV, p. 408.
204. Ibid., pp. 410-12.
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### CHAPTER 3

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3. DGFP, IV, No. 213.
4. DBFP, IV, No. 280.
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6. Taylor, p. 203.
7. Colvin, p. 187; Birkenhead, p. 432.
8. Feiling, p. 400.
9. Churchill, p. 343.
10. Colvin, pp. 188-89.
11. Feiling, p. 401.
12. Taylor, pp. 205-6.
13. Sir Samuel Hoare, Nine Troubled Years (London: Collins, 1954), p. 377.
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15. Feiling, p. 348.
16. Thorne, p. 113.
17. Harvey, p. 215.
18. Beloff, p. 215.
19. Harvey, p. 232.
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22. Beloff, p. 217.
23. FRUS, 1939, I, pp. 2-6.
24. Colvin, p. 180.
25. Fleming, p. 86.
26. Ulam, p. 264.
27. Namier, pp. 82-83.
28. Ibid.
29. Feiling, p. 401.

30. DBFP, IV, No. 446.
31. Thorne, p. 117.
32. The Foreign Office had supported this theory. See DBFP, IV, Appendix IV.
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35. Hoare, p. 344.
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39. Namier, p. 94.
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42. Ibid., p. 375.
43. FRUS, 1939, I, pp. 112-13.
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54. Ulam, p. 264.
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67. Fontaine, pp. 107-8.
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77. Harvey, p. 268.
78. Ibid., p. 358.
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80. Colvin, p. 205.
81. Dilks, pp. 176-77.
82. DBFP, V, p. 368.
83. Halifax described even more reservations in the British guarantee in a letter of May 3, 1939 to the British Ambassador in Warsaw. See DBFP, V, pp. 401-2.
84. Ibid., p. 400.
85. Churchill, p. 365.
86. DBFP, V, pp. 357-59.
87. Ibid., pp. 483-87.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., pp. 528-29.
90. Churchill, p. 375.
91. DBFP, V, pp. 558-59.
92. McSherry, p. 168.
93. DBFP, V, pp. 630-31.
94. McSherry, p. 169.
95. Ibid., p. 292; Thorne, pp. 140-41.
96. DBFP, V, pp. 623-25.
97. Namier, pp. 165-67; Churchill, pp. 371-73.
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100. Ibid., pp. 374-76.
101. Colvin, pp. 212-13.
102. Dilks, pp. 180-82.
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104. DBFP, V, pp. 645-47.
105. Ibid., p. 634.
106. FRUS, 1939, I, pp. 259-60.
107. Colvin, pp. 225-26.
108. DBFP, V, pp. 688-89.
109. Ibid., pp. 710-12.
110. Carr, p. 288.
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113. Ibid., pp. 725-27.
114. Churchill, pp. 379-80.
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117. Ibid., p. 184.
118. Churchill, p. 389.
119. DBFP, V, pp. 787-88.
120. Ibid., VI, p. 6.
121. Ibid., 50-51.
122. Ibid., pp. 116-19.
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124. This account is based on McSherry, pp. 154-59.
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128. DBFP, VI, p. 705.
129. McSherry, p. 183.
130. FRUS, 1939, I, pp. 266-69.
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132. Ibid., pp. 928-29.
133. DBFP, VI, pp. 103-5.
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136. Ibid., pp. 141-43.
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142. Ibid., pp. 173-74.
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147. Ibid., pp. 229-232.
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154. McSherry, pp. 161-62.
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158. Ibid., pp. 1059-62.
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171. Halifax Speeches, p. 296.
172. FRUS, 1939, I, p. 283.
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175. Ibid., pp. 713-14.
176. Ibid., p. 353.
177. Ibid., pp. 350-52.
178. Ibid., pp. 411-13.
179. FRUS, 1939, I, p. 288.
180. DBFP, VI, p. 401.
181. Ibid., p. 432.

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186. Dirksen Papers, pp. 182-83.
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