

1: France in the twentieth century - Wikipedia

What did French intellectuals have to say about Gaullism, the Cold War colonialism, the women's movement, and the events of May '68? David Drake examines the political commitment of intellectuals in France from Sartre and Camus to Bernard-Henri Lévy and Bourdieu.

Don't Back in Junior High School I became an avid war-gamer, and was fascinated by the military history of the past, especially World War II, the most titanic conflict ever recorded. However, although I much enjoyed reading the detailed accounts of the battles of that war, especially on the Eastern Front that largely determined its outcome, I had much less interest in the accompanying political history, and simply relied upon the accounts in my standard textbooks, which I considered quite reliable. Pierre Laval, head of the puppet Vichy government and quite a number of his fellow quislings were tried and executed for their treason, and even Marshal Petain, the renowned French World War I hero who in his dotage had sadly lent his name to the hated regime as its head of state, was condemned to death, though his life was eventually spared. Less prominent collaborators suffered as well, with my books often carrying photos of some of the hundreds or thousands of ordinary French women who for fear, love, or money had become intimate with German soldiers during the four years of occupation, and as a consequence had their heads shaved and were marched through the streets of their towns or cities in parades of shame. Such excesses were obviously unfortunate, but wars and liberations often unleash considerable brutality, and these spectacles of public humiliation obviously did not begin to compare with the vicious bloodshed of the years of Nazi control. For example, there was the notorious case of Oradour-sur-Glane, a village involved in Resistance activities, in which many hundreds of men, women, and children were herded into a church and other buildings and burned alive. This, at least, had always been my limited impression of that very unfortunate era. Eventually, major cracks in this simple picture began appearing. Somehow or other, perhaps six or seven years ago I became aware of another book released by that same press in Grenfell recognized that great quantities of extreme propaganda almost inevitably accompany any major war, but with several years having passed since the close of hostilities, he was growing concerned that unless an antidote were soon widely applied, the lingering poison of such wartime exaggerations might threaten the future peace of Europe. His considerable historical erudition and his reserved academic tone shine through in this fascinating volume, which focuses primarily upon the events of the two world wars, but often contains digressions into the Napoleonic conflicts or even earlier ones. Among other matters, he reports with considerable disapproval that leading British newspapers had carried headlined articles about the horrific tortures that were being inflicted upon German prisoners at war crimes trials in order to coerce all sorts of dubious confessions out of them. He also states that in those same British papers had reported the absolutely exemplary behavior of German soldiers toward French civilians, though after terroristic attacks by Communist underground forces provoked reprisals, relations often grew much worse. Most importantly, he points out that the huge Allied strategic bombing campaign against French cities and industry had killed huge numbers of civilians, probably far more than had ever died at German hands, and thereby provoked a great deal of hatred as an inevitable consequence. At Normandy he and other British officers had been warned to remain very cautious among any French civilians they encountered for fear they might be subject to deadly attacks. The Devin-Adair jacket-flap notes that no British publisher was willing to accept the manuscript, and when the book appeared no major American reviewer recognized its existence. With the copyright having long lapsed, I am pleased to include this important volume in my collection of HTML Books so that those interested can easily read it and decide for themselves. As with so many other writers, after World War II his American publisher necessarily became Devin-Adair, which released a posthumous edition of his book. Ambassador William Bullitt being one of his oldest friends. Judging the credibility of a source from such a distance in time is not easy, but sometimes a single telling detail provides an important clue. I had never read a single mention of this in any of my World War II histories, and until recently I would have dismissed the story as an absurd rumor of that era, long since debunked. Petain achieved this result, and another near-unanimous vote of the French parliament then authorized him to negotiate a full

peace treaty with Germany, which certainly placed his political actions on the strongest possible legal basis. At that point, almost everyone in Europe believed that the war was essentially over, with Britain soon to make peace. Charles de Gaulle, deserted from the army and fled aboard, declaring that they intended to continue the war indefinitely, but they initially attracted minimal support or attention. This incident was not entirely dissimilar to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor the following year, and rankled the French for many years to come. Huddleston then spends much of the book discussing the complex French politics of the next few years, as the war unexpectedly continued, with Russia and America eventually joining the Allied cause, greatly raising the odds against a German victory. During this period, the French political and military leadership performed a difficult balancing act, resisting German demands on some points and acquiescing to them on others, while the internal Resistance movement gradually grew, attacking German soldiers and provoking harsh German reprisals. Given my lack of expertise, I cannot really judge the accuracy of his political narrative, but it seems quite realistic and plausible to me, though specialists might surely find fault. And at that point, enormous bloodshed soon began, by far the worst wave of extra-judicial killings in all of French history. Another factor was that many of the Communists who had fought in the Spanish Civil War, including thousands of the members of the International Brigades, had fled to France after their military defeat in , and now often took the lead in enacting vengeance against the same sort of conservative forces who had previously vanquished them in their own country. Although Huddleston himself was an elderly, quite distinguished international journalist with very highly placed American friends, and he had performed some minor services on behalf of the Resistance leadership, he and his wife narrowly escaped summary execution during that period, and he provides a collection of the numerous stories he heard of less fortunate victims. Once I became persuaded that my entire understanding of the post-war history of France was entirely wrong and to some extent backward, I naturally became much more open to further revelations. I had certainly read of the horrors inflicted by Russian troops, with perhaps two million German women and girls brutally raped, and there was also a sentence or two about the expulsion of many millions of ethnic Germans from the lands controlled by Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Eastern European countries vengeful after their years under the terrible Nazi yoke. But I began to wonder if there was actually more to the story. Born an Englishwoman in a family connected with George Bernard Shaw and the Fabians, she took up Communism and in married a Soviet Jew of a similar ideological persuasion, with the couple then moving to the Soviet Union to help build the Motherland of the Socialist Revolution. As was the case with so many foreign Communists, they grew increasingly disillusioned with their lives there until one day in her husband was arrested in a Stalinist purge, never to be seen again. Unlike the vast majority of other American journalists, who generally took brief, heavily-chaperoned visits, Utley actually spoke German and was quite familiar with the country, having frequently visited it during the Weimar Era. Her eyewitness testimony seemed quite credible, and the factual information she provided, buttressed by numerous interviews and anecdotal observations, was gripping. More than three years after the end of hostilities, Utley encountered a land still almost totally ruined, with large portions of the population forced to seek shelter in damaged basements or share tiny rooms in broken buildings. Germans in large numbers were regularly removed from their homes, which were used to billet American troops or others who found favor with them, a situation that had been noted with some outrage in Gen. Even at this point, a foreign soldier might still sometimes seize anything he wanted from German civilians, with potentially dangerous consequences if they protested the theft. Utley tellingly quotes a former German soldier who had served occupation duties in France and remarked that he and his comrades had operated under strictest discipline and could never have imagined behaving toward French civilians in the manner that current Allied troops now treated German ones. Influenced by hostile official propaganda, the widespread attitude of Allied personnel towards ordinary Germans was certainly as bad as anything faced by the natives living under a European colonial regime. Time and again, Utley notes the remarkable parallels with the treatment and attitude she had previously seen Westerners take towards the native Chinese during most of the s, or that the British had expressed to their Indian colonial subjects. Small German boys, shoeless, destitute, and hungry, eagerly retrieved balls at American sporting-clubs for a tiny pittance. Based on my standard history textbooks, I had always believed that there existed a total night-and-day difference in the

behavior toward local civilians between the German troops who occupied France from and the Allied troops who occupied Germany from onward. After reading the detailed accounts of Utley and other contemporaneous sources, I think my opinion was absolutely correct, but with the direction reversed. Utley believed part of the reason for this utterly disastrous situation was deliberate American government policy. Even as late as , huge portions of the German industrial base continued to be dismantled and shipped off to other countries while very tight restrictions on German production and exports remained in place. Indeed, the level of poverty, misery, and oppression she saw everywhere almost seemed deliberately calculated to turn ordinary Germans against America and its Western allies, perhaps opening the door to Communist sympathies. Such suspicions are certainly strengthened when we consider that this system had been devised by Harry Dexter White, later revealed to be a Soviet agent. She is especially scathing about the total perversion of any basic notions of human justice during the Nuremberg Tribunal and various other war crime trials, a subject to which she devotes two full chapters. These judicial proceedings exhibited the worst sort of legal double-standards, with leading Allied judges explicitly stating that their own countries were not at all bound by the same international legal conventions which they claimed to be enforcing against German defendants. Even more shocking were some of the measures used, with outraged American jurists and journalists revealing that horrific torture, threats, blackmail, and other entirely illegitimate means were regularly employed to obtain confessions or denunciations of others, a situation that strongly suggested a very considerable number of those condemned and hanged were entirely innocent. Her book also gives substantial coverage to the organized expulsions of ethnic Germans from Silesia, the Sudatenland, East Prussia, and various other parts of Central and Eastern Europe where they had peacefully lived for many centuries, with the total number of such expellees generally estimated at 13 to 15 million. Families were sometimes given as little as ten minutes to leave the homes in which they had resided for a century or more, then forced to march off on foot, sometimes for hundreds of miles, towards a distant land they had never seen, with their only possessions being what they could carry in their own hands. In some cases, any surviving menfolk were separated out and shipped off to slave-labor camps, thereby producing an exodus consisting solely of women, children, and the very elderly. All estimates were that at least a couple million perished along the way, from hunger, illness, or exposure. Despite this huge discrepancy in magnitude and far greater distance in time, I would guess that the former event may command a thousand times the public awareness among ordinary Americans. If so, this would demonstrate that overwhelming media control can easily shift perceived reality by a factor of a million or more. The population movement certainly seems to have represented the largest ethnic-cleansing in the history of the world, and if the Germany had ever done anything even remotely similar during its years of European victories and conquests, the visually-gripping scenes of such an enormous flood of desperate, trudging refugees would surely have become a centerpiece of numerous World War II movies of the last seventy years. But since nothing like that ever happened, Hollywood screenwriters lost a tremendous opportunity. Alfred de Zayas Best Price: His claims of the appalling malnutrition, illness, and total destitution were supported by over a hundred chilling photographs, and the introduction to the American edition was written by University of Chicago President Robert M. Hutchins, one of our most reputable public intellectuals of that era. They received considerable scholarly praise and notice in major academic journals and sold hundreds of thousands of copies in Germany and other parts of Europe, but hardly seem to have penetrated the consciousness of America or the rest of the English-speaking world. In the late s this smoldering historical debate took a remarkable new turn. Based upon very considerable evidence, including government records, personal interviews, and recorded eyewitness testimony, he argued that after the end of the war, the Americans had starved to death as many as a million German POWs, seemingly as a deliberate act of policy, a war crime that would surely rank among the greatest in history. According to Bacque, the Soviets had been telling the truth all along, and the missing soldiers had been among the enormous numbers who had fled westward near the end of the war, seeking what they assumed would be far better treatment at the hands of the advancing Anglo-American armies. But instead, they were denied all normal legal protections, and confined under horrible conditions where they rapidly perished of hunger, illness, and exposure. Soon afterward, attempts by the International Red Cross to provide food shipments to the enormous Allied prison camps were repeatedly rejected, and notices were

posted throughout the nearby German towns and villages that any civilian who attempted to smuggle food to the desperate POWs might be shot on sight. These undeniable historical facts do seem to suggest certain dark possibilities. Moreover, Ambrose and his colleagues grudgingly admitted the official American statistics of POW mortality rates—“which none of them had ever previously questioned”—were impossibly low, but chose to resolve this difficulty by rather arbitrarily quadrupling those figures, which hardly raises great confidence in their methods. Alfred-Maurice de Zayas Best Price: Bacque ironically notes that the Soviet archival records of their own German POWs show a reasonably high but generally normal death rate across the years of captivity, with nothing like the huge losses that apparently occurred so quickly in the Western camps on German soil, and this was despite the far greater poverty of the post-war USSR. But we should really not regard this fact as so surprising. Stalin, a Georgian, reigned as the Soviet autarch, and in the past he had freely ordered the deaths of vast numbers of his own subjects, Russian or not, in order to enforce his rule. The Germans had opposed and fought him as well, and they had suffered greatly for it, but once their resistance was ended and they were now under his power, why would he feel especially punitive towards them? Friedrich von Paulus, the Field Marshal who had commanded at Stalingrad, later declared his loyalty to the Soviets and was given a post of honor in the new East Germany, so ordinary POWs who obeyed and worked productively would certainly be fed. Although now quite elderly, a couple of years ago Bacque gave a lengthy interview to Red Ice Radio, and those interested may listen to it on YouTube, which also hosts various other video presentations on the same subject: James Bacque Best Price: But these visitors lacked any access to solid population statistics, and could only speculate upon the enormous human death toll that hunger and illness had already inflicted, and which would surely continue if policies were not quickly changed. Years of archival research by Bacque attempt to answer this question, and the conclusion he provides is certainly not a pleasant one. Both the Allied military government and the later German civilian authorities seem to have made a concerted effort to hide or obscure the true scale of the calamity visited upon German civilians during the years , and the official mortality statistics found in government reports are simply too fantastical to possibly be correct, although they became the basis for the subsequent histories of that period. Furthermore, private reports by American officials, mortality rates from individual localities, and other strong evidence demonstrate that these long-accepted aggregate numbers were essentially fictional. Instead, Bacque attempts to provide more realistic estimates based upon an examination of the population totals of the various German censuses together with the recorded influx of the huge number of German refugees. Based upon this simple analysis, he makes a reasonably strong case that the excess German deaths during that period amounted to at least around 10 million, and possibly many millions more. Furthermore, he provides substantial evidence that the starvation was either deliberate or at least enormously worsened by American government resistance to overseas food relief efforts. Perhaps these numbers should not be so totally surprising given that the official Morgenthau Plan had envisioned the elimination of around 20 million Germans, and as Bacque demonstrates, top American leaders quietly agreed to continue that policy in practice even while they renounced it in theory. Assuming these numbers are even remotely correct, the implications are quite remarkable. Yet I doubt if even a small fraction of one percent of Americans are today aware of this enormous human calamity. Presumably memories are much stronger in Germany itself, but given the growing legal crackdown on discordant views in that unfortunate country, I suspect that anyone who discusses the topic too energetically risks immediate imprisonment. To a considerable extent, this historical ignorance has been heavily fostered by our governments, often using underhanded or even nefarious means. Even illegal means were employed to hinder the efforts of this solitary, determined scholar. Some of the elderly eyewitnesses who personally corroborated his analysis received threatening notes and had their property vandalized. But in his update to the edition, he expressed some outrage that no such discussion ever occurred, and instead the German government merely passed a series of harsh laws mandating prison sentences for anyone who substantially disputed the settled narrative of World War II and its immediate aftermath, perhaps by overly focusing on the suffering of German civilians. Another important factor is the tremendously disproportionate reach of print and electronic media. I strongly suspect that far more people today believe in the real-life existence of Batman and Spiderman than are even aware of the Bacque Hypothesis. In assessing the political factors that apparently produced such an enormous and

seemingly deliberate death toll among German civilians long after the fighting had ended, an important point should be made. Cynics have sometimes noted that one ironic aspect of Hollywood fare both in television and film is the overwhelming anti-realism regularly displayed on topics carrying a strong ideological tinge.

2: Intellectuals and politics in post-war France - CORE

What did French intellectuals have to say about Gaullism, the Cold War colonialism, the women's movement, and the events of May '68? David Drake examines the political commitment of intellectuals in France from Sartre and Camus to Bernard-Henri Levy and Bourdieu. In this accessible study, he.

Demographics of France Unlike other European countries France did not experience a strong population growth in the mid and late 19th century and first half of the 20th century. This would be compounded by the massive French losses of World War I – roughly estimated at 1. From a population of around 39 million in , France still had only a population of 40 million in . The post-war years would bring a massive "baby boom", and with immigration, France reached 50 million in . This growth slowed down in . Since , France has seen an unprecedented growth in population. In , population growth was 0. Today, France, with a population of 62 and a half million, or 65 million including overseas territories, is the third most populous country of Europe, behind Russia and Germany. Immigration in the 20th century differed significantly from that of the previous century. The s saw great influxes from Italy and Poland; in the s immigrants came from Spain and Portugal. Since the s however, the greatest waves of immigrants have been from former French colonies: Much of this recent immigration was initially economical, but many of these immigrants have remained in France, gained citizenship and integrated into French society. Estimates vary, but of the 60 million people living in France today, close to 4 million claim foreign origin. Eastern-European and North-African Jewish immigration to France largely began in the mid to late 19th century. In , there was an estimated 86, Jews living in France, and by this would increase to , Many Jews integrated or attempted to integrate into French society, although French nationalism led to anti-Semitism in many quarters. Since the s, France has experienced a great deal of Jewish immigration from the Mediterranean and North Africa, and the Jewish population in France is estimated at around , today. By far the largest of these is Paris, at 2. French identity[edit] The loss of regional and traditional culture language and accent, local customs in dress and food , the poverty of many rural regions and the rise of modern urban structures housing projects, supermarkets have created tensions in modern France between traditionalists and progressives. Compounding the loss of regionalism is the role of the French capital and the centralized French State. Independence movements sprung up in Brittany , Corsica and the Basque regions , while the Vichy Regime echoing Nazi racial propaganda actively encouraged local "folk" traditions and Catholicism which they saw as truer foundations for the French nation. The post-war years saw the state take control of a number of French industries. The modern political climate has however been for increasing regional power "decentralization" and for reduced state control in private enterprise "privatization". Historical overview[edit] World War I – [edit] Main articles: France had few dissenters. However, war-weariness was a major factor by , even reaching the army. The soldiers were reluctant to attack; Mutiny was a factor as soldiers said it was best to wait for the arrival of millions of Americans. The soldiers were protesting not just the futility of frontal assaults in the face of German machine guns but also degraded conditions at the front lines and at home, especially infrequent leaves, poor food, the use of African and Asian colonials on the home front, and concerns about the welfare of their wives and children. Italy was on the defensive, and Russia had surrendered. Civilians were angry as rations fell short and the threat of German air raids grew. Clemenceau realized his first priority was to restore civilian morale. He arrested Joseph Caillaux , a former French prime minister, for openly advocating peace negotiations. The war brought great losses of manpower and resources. Fought in large part on French soil, it led to approximately 1. France borrowed billions of dollars from the U. The stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles were favourable: One German industrial area, Saar Basin , a coal and steel region, was temporarily occupied by France. Between the wars – [edit] See also: Daladier resigned under pressure of the far-right leagues after the 6 February crisis , and conservative Gaston Doumergue was appointed president of the Council. The French far-right expanded greatly and theories of race and anti-semitism proliferated in many quarters. In the s, France established an elaborate system of border defenses the Maginot Line and alliances see Little Entente to offset resurgent German strength and in the s, the massive losses of the war led many in France to choose the popular

appeasement policy that supposedly prevented war with Germany over Czechoslovakia, whose alliance with France proved worthless at the Munich Agreement of 1938. The crisis affected France a bit later than other countries; it hit in 1939. Despite the enormous disruption to the economy caused by the Great War, by 1939 industrial and agricultural production had been restored to prewar levels. There was rapid widespread growth to 1939. This led France to invade and occupy the Ruhr industrial district of Germany. Finally, all the major nations agreed to accept the American proposals, known as the Dawes Plan of 1924 and the Young Plan of 1929, to stabilize reparation payments. Germany was virtually bankrupt by 1932, and all payments were suspended. After rising unemployment and political unrest led to the February 6, 1934, riots. Ultra-nationalist groups also saw increased popularity, although democracy prevailed until 1936. Economic conditions did not significantly improve, even as the Popular Front reduced the workweek to 30 hours. Fearful of a Civil War inside France, such as was happening inside Spain, France led the major nations to call an arms blockade designed to prevent arms shipments to either side during the Spanish Civil War. This effort nonetheless failed to stop arms shipments from Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union. Both armies were mobilized to the Western Front, but for the next 8 months neither side made a move: The German Blitzkrieg began its attack in May 1940, and in six weeks of savage fighting the French lost 1,400,000 men. The Allied armies crumbled, but the British managed to rescue their own soldiers and about 120,000 French soldiers in the Dunkirk evacuation. French soldiers became prisoners of war in Germany, where they were assigned to munitions factories and served as hostages. Its senior leaders acquiesced in the plunder of French resources, as well as the sending of French forced labor to Nazi Germany; in doing so, they claimed they hoped to preserve at least some small amount of French sovereignty. After an initial period of double-dealing and passive collaboration with the Nazis, the Vichy regime passed to active participation largely the work of prime minister Pierre Laval. From 1942 to 1944 many French citizens were deported to death camps and Nazi concentration camps in Germany and Poland. After four years of occupation and strife, Allied forces, including Free France, liberated France in 1944. Paris was liberated on August 25, 1944. On September 10, 1944, Charles de Gaulle installed his provisional government in Paris. This time he remained in Paris until the end of the war, refusing to abandon even when Paris was temporarily threatened by German troops during the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944. But France could now again participate as a nation in the war. In 1945, the French army numbered 1,400,000 men, 1,000,000 of whom were fighting in Germany and 400,000 in Italy. Post-war period

[edit] Main articles: After a short period of provisional government initially led by General Charles de Gaulle, a new constitution October 13, 1946, established the Fourth Republic under a parliamentary form of government controlled by a series of coalitions. The mixed nature of the coalitions and a consequent lack of agreement on measures for dealing with colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria caused successive cabinet crises and changes of government. The war in Indochina ended with French defeat and withdrawal in 1954. Algeria was no mere colony. With over a million European residents in Algeria the Pied-Noir, France refused to grant independence until a bloody colonial war the Algerian War of Independence had turned into a French political and civil crisis; Algeria was given its independence in 1962, unleashing a massive wave of immigration from the former colony back to France. In July 1956 when Tunisia imposed a blockade on the French naval base at Bizerte, hoping to force its evacuation the crisis culminated in a three-day battle between French and Tunisian forces that left some 15,000 Tunisians and 24 French dead and eventually led to France ceding the city and naval base to Tunisia in 1956. This was interpreted by his supporters in 1958 as a form of treason, and part of them, who organized themselves in the OAS terrorist group, rebelled against him during the Algiers putsch of 1958. In the end of the 1950s, however, French society grew tired of the heavy-handed, patriarchal Gaullist approach, and of the incompatibilities between modern life and old traditions and institutions. The student protest movement quickly joined with labor and mass strikes erupted. At one point, de Gaulle went to see troops in Baden-Baden, possibly to secure the help of the army in case it were needed to maintain public order. But after a month-long general strike, most of French people aspired to order, and the June legislative elections saw a majority of Gaullists in parliament. Still, May 1968 was a turning point in French social relations, with the Grenelle Agreements, in the direction of more personal freedoms and less social control, be it in work relations, education or in private life. In April 1969, de Gaulle resigned following the defeat in a national referendum of government proposals for decentralization, through the creation of 21 regions with limited political powers. He was succeeded by the Gaullist Georges

Pompidou (1969-1974), who died during his term. Social movements continued after May 1968. Maoism and autonomism became quite popular in far-left movements, opposing both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. While France continues to revere its rich history and independence, French leaders increasingly tie the future of France to the continued development of the European Union EU. However, reforms came to a stop in 1986. The center of domestic attention soon shifted, however, to the economic reform and belt-tightening measures required for France to meet the criteria for Economic and Monetary Union EMU laid out by the Maastricht Treaty. In late 1995, France experienced its greatest labor unrest in at least a decade, as employees protested government cutbacks. Bush talk over issues during the 27th G8 summit, July 21, 2001. In his term, unemployment averaged 10 percent, debt mounted, the French said no to Europe, and the suburban banlieues [Muslim suburbs] rioted. His popularity sank to 16 percent.

3: How World War II shaped modern France | Euronews

French Politics, Society and Culture Series General Editor: Robert Elgie, Senior Lecturer in European Politics, The University of Nottingham France always fascinated outside observers.

But, as I have discovered and as I will explain, British art is not the best example, as the presence of political art was much less prevalent there than in other European countries. And so I have decided to throw my net over a rather wide territory and cover England as well as France, Germany, and to some degree Italy. I do however, not intend to cover Spain in this, as Spain was not a participant in WWII, and all of you who live here know much more about this topic than I do. As it is, my topic is vast and complex. But it is this complexity that makes it interesting. I have focused on art that can in one way or another be called political in the wider sense. And I concentrate in particular on the ways in which the different political situations in England, France and Germany during the war and in the immediate postwar period reflected on the national art scene. Consequently my talk is just an overview; it will per force neglect a lot of subtleties. I can not stress enough how important a role art played in the propaganda war between the opponents in the Cold War, which pitted the Communist East against the capitalist West. The polemic between the defenders of abstraction and those of realist and figurative art, the so-called battle for Realism, was from the beginning fraught with strong political implications. Therefore, while the political content of a work of art may at first sight not be apparent, its idiom "abstract or figurative" made it a player in the aggressively political discourse that opposed the two artistic approaches at the time. When we speak about art and politics, we must also acknowledge the wide variety of what can be understood as political expression in art: Rarely have conditions been more horrendous than during the war and the immediate post war period in Europe. In order to have some sense of what politics could mean right after the war, one has to realize what an incredible wasteland Europe was in. In fact Europe would live for many decades "and certainly the decades that are covered by the exhibition" in the shadow of the dictatorships of Hitler and Stalin and of the war and its effects. And the postwar period was in many respects as bad as the war itself. Only with the retreating German army towards the end of the war, did the full horror of the holocaust come to light. And this was followed by news of the first atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in , and in by the escalating Cold War with the ever-present threat of the use of nuclear weapons. Europe in Ruins In Europe the war was a total war as it embraced civilians as well as soldiers. To give just some examples of the destruction: Between the Soviet Union and Germany 45 Million people were homeless. In Poland there were some , orphans. Germany as the instigator of the war was totally demolished physically and psychologically and ended up divided by its occupation force and by the hardening positions in the Cold war. Winston Churchill had already in the Spring of denounced what he called the "iron curtain" that the Soviets drew between Western Europe and the East European countries that now lay in their sphere of influence. In Leopold Senghor, the spokes person for the West European Union, ranked culture alongside military defense as a means to protect Western European unity. While America promoted abstraction as expressive of personal freedom in a democracy, the Soviet Union imposed Socialist Realism on its artists as serving the cause of its people and the propagation of Socialism. Britain was different, in that realism appeared in various forms and that Socialist Realism was the least of it. Even the few painters, who practiced a kind of Social Realism, were not necessarily affiliated with Marxism. The postwar climate therefore never lent itself to the polarization that could be found in Italy and France for example. And yet its post-war situation was in many respects worse than in the other countries. Britain had lost its colonies and was trying to adjust to its new position in the world. Food shortages were so bad that food rationing continued until , and consumer goods were only gradually introduced in the early They followed a longstanding trend in British art in which landscape painting is being associated with a quest for national identity. Particularly in times of war the Crucifixion has served artists as a symbol of suffering, death and redemption. For Bacon as for other artists of the postwar period Existentialism had a powerful attraction. Eliot -- fits all those works. The work was the winning entry for the international sculpture competition in for a monument that would symbolize the opposition to totalitarianism. However the project was never realized. David Sylvester, the

champion of Existentialist realism, realism derived from late Modernism, and John Berger, a Marxist-Leninist who insisted on social realism.

4: Europe Post-War, Art and Politics

What did French intellectuals have to say about Gaullism, the Cold War colonialism, the women's movement, and the events of May '68? David Drake examines the political commitment of intellectuals in F.

Definitions[edit] Socially, intellectuals constitute the intelligentsia , a status class organised either by ideology conservative , fascist , socialist , liberal , reactionary , revolutionary , democratic , communist intellectuals, et al. The contemporary intellectual class originated from the intelligentsiya of Tsarist Russia c. I am a human; I reckon nothing human to be foreign to me. The Intellectuals are specialists in defamation , they are basically political commissars , they are the ideological administrators, the most threatened by dissidence. The real or true intellectual is therefore always an outsider, living in self-imposed exile, and on the margins of society. He or she speaks to, as well as for, a public, necessarily in public, and is properly on the side of the dispossessed, the un-represented and the forgotten. Many everyday roles require the application of intelligence to skills that may have a psychomotor component, for example, in the fields of medicine or the arts, but these do not necessarily involve the practitioner in the "world of ideas". The distinctive quality of the intellectual person is that the mental skills, which one demonstrates, are not simply intelligent, but even more, they focus on thinking about the abstract, philosophical and esoteric aspects of human inquiry and the value of their thinking. The intellectual person is one who applies critical thinking and reason in either a professional or a personal capacity, and so has authority in the public sphere of their society; the term intellectual identifies three types of person, one who: In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Belletrists were the literati, the French "citizens of the Republic of Letters ", which evolved into the salon , a social institution, usually run by a hostess, meant for the edification, education, and cultural refinement of the participants. Historical background[edit] In English, the term intellectual identifies a "literate thinker"; its earlier usage, as in the book title *The Evolution of an Intellectual* , by John Middleton Murry , denotes literary activity, rather than the activities of the public intellectual. In the 20th century, such an approach was gradually superseded by the academic method, and the term "Man of Letters" became disused, replaced by the generic term "intellectual", describing the intellectual person. In late 19th century, the term intellectual became common usage to denote the defenders of the falsely accused artillery officer Alfred Dreyfus. Likewise, in Tsarist Russia, there arose the intelligentsia sâ€™70s , who were the status class of white-collar workers. The theologian Alister McGrath said that "the emergence of a socially alienated, theologically literate, antiestablishment lay intelligentsia is one of the more significant phenomena of the social history of Germany in the s", and that "three or four theological graduates in ten might hope to find employment" in a church post. Moreover, some intellectuals were anti-academic, despite universities the Academy being synonymous with intellectualism. In the East[edit] You can help by adding to it. Such civil servants earned academic degrees by means of imperial examination , and also were skilled calligraphers , and knew Confucian philosophy. Historian Wing-Tsit Chan concludes that: Generally speaking, the record of these scholar-gentlemen has been a worthy one. It was good enough to be praised and imitated in 18th century Europe. Nevertheless, it has given China a tremendous handicap in their transition from government by men to government by law, and personal considerations in Chinese government have been a curse. Socially, they constituted the petite bourgeoisie , composed of scholar-bureaucrats scholars, professionals, and technicians who administered the dynastic rule of the Joseon dynasty. Manufacturing Consent Addressing their role as a social class, Jean-Paul Sartre said that intellectuals are the moral conscience of their age; that their moral and ethical responsibilities are to observe the socio-political moment, and to freely speak to their society, in accordance with their consciences. That, because "all knowledge is existentially -based", the intellectuals, who create and preserve knowledge, are "spokesmen for different social groups, and articulate particular social interests". That intellectuals occur in each social class and throughout the right wing, the centre, and the left wing of the political spectrum. That, as a social class, the "intellectuals view themselves as autonomous from the ruling class " of their society. That, in the course of class struggle meant to achieve political power, every social class requires a native intelligentsia who shape the ideology world view particular to the social class from which they originated.

Therefore, the leadership of intellectuals is required for effecting and realizing social change, because: A human mass does not "distinguish" itself, does not become independent, in its own right, without, in the widest sense, organising itself; and there is no organisation without intellectuals, that is, without organisers and leaders, in other words, without In Russia, as in Continental Europe , Socialist theory was the product of the "educated representatives of the propertied classes", of "revolutionary socialist intellectuals", such as were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. By means of intelligible and accessible interpretation, the intellectuals explain to the workers and peasants the "Who? Smith describes the intellectuals of Latin America as people from an identifiable social class, who have been conditioned by that common experience, and thus are inclined to share a set of common assumptions values and ethics ; that ninety-four per cent of intellectuals come either from the middle class or from the upper class , and that only six per cent come from the working class. In The Intellectual , philosopher Steven Fuller said that, because cultural capital confers power and social status, as a status group, they must be autonomous in order to be credible as intellectuals: It is relatively easy to demonstrate autonomy, if you come from a wealthy or [an] aristocratic background. You simply need to disown your status and champion the poor and [the] downtrodden Academic background[edit] In journalism, the term intellectual usually connotes "a university academic" of the humanities "especially a philosopher "who addresses important social and political matters of the day. Hence, such an academic functions as a public intellectual who explains the theoretic bases of said problems and communicates possible answers to the policy makers and executive leaders of society. The sociologist Frank Furedi said that "Intellectuals are not defined according to the jobs they do, but [by] the manner in which they act, the way they see themselves, and the [social and political] values that they uphold. The British sociologist Michael Burawoy , an exponent of public sociology , said that professional sociology has failed, by giving insufficient attention to resolving social problems, and that a dialogue between the academic and the layman would bridge the gap. Wright Mills said that academics had become ill-equipped for participating in public discourse, and that journalists usually are "more politically alert and knowledgeable than sociologists, economists, and especially A Study of Decline, June 2, , C-SPAN The American legal scholar Richard Posner said that the participation of academic public intellectuals in the public life of society is characterized by logically untidy and politically biased statements of the kind that would be unacceptable to academia. That there are few ideologically and politically independent public intellectuals, and disapproves that public intellectuals limit themselves to practical matters of public policy, and not with values or public philosophy , or public ethics , or public theology , not with matters of moral and spiritual outrage. Criticism[edit] The economist Milton Friedman identified the intelligentsia and the business class as interfering with the economic functions of a society. Socrates proposed for philosophers a private monopoly of knowledge separate from the public sphere. In "An Interview with Milton Friedman" , the American libertarian economist Milton Friedman said that businessmen and the intellectuals are enemies of capitalism; the intellectuals, because most believed in socialism, while the businessman expected economic privileges: The two, chief enemies of the free society or free enterprise are intellectuals, on the one hand, and businessmen, on the other, for opposite reasons. He ought to get special privileges from the government, a tariff , this, that, and the other thing. That, in the twentieth century, the intellectuals were attracted to socialism and to social democracy , because the socialists offered "broad visions; the spacious comprehension of the social order, as a whole, which a planned system promises" and that such broad-vision philosophies "succeeded in inspiring the imagination of the intellectuals" to change and improve their societies. It is not the formulation of ideas, however misguided, but the desire to impose them on others that is the deadly sin of the intellectuals. That is why they so incline, by temperament, to the Left. For capitalism merely occurs; if no-one does anything to stop it. It is socialism that has to be constructed, and, as a rule, forcibly imposed, thus providing a far bigger role for intellectuals in its genesis. The progressive intellectual habitually entertains Walter Mitty visions of exercising power. In Hungary , the intellectual is perceived as an "egghead", a person who is "too-clever" for the good of society. In the Czech Republic , the intellectual is a cerebral person, aloof from reality. That, in relation to other professions, the public intellectual is socially detached from the negative and unintended consequences of public policy derived from his or her ideas. As such, the philosopher and mathematician Bertrand Russell " advised the British government

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against national rearmament in the years before World War I , while the German Empire prepared for war. Yet, the post-war intellectual reputation of Bertrand Russell remained almost immaculate and his opinions respected by the general public because of the halo effect.

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