I. The First World War: European Civilization in Crisis, 1914–1918

A. An Accident Waiting to Happen

1. European global power but rivalry and conflict at home
2. Assassination of Franz Ferdinand, June 28, 1914
3. Alliances and nationalism

I. The First World War: European Civilization in Crisis, 1914–1918

A. An Accident Waiting to Happen

1. European global power but rivalry and conflict at home: While the rest of the world might view Europe and Europeans as a monolithic force with global reach, the continent was beset with many rivalries. As part of the long-term legacy of the post-Roman era of unity, Europe was a chessboard of competing nation-states in the west and multi-ethnic empires in the east. These conflicts would dramatically threaten Europe’s overall power in the world.

2. Assassination of Franz Ferdinand, June 28, 1914: The spark that set off the war was the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne by Serbian nationalists during his visit to Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina. When he was killed, few could predict that within six weeks, a European-wide war would break out.

3. Alliances and nationalism: This assassination set in motion a series of states going to war based upon alliances. These alliances were initially designed as a deterrent, but in the end they made the conflict in the Balkans a much larger war. Nationalism was also at the heart of the outbreak of the war. Throughout Europe, people identified with their larger nation-state and often cheered the declaration of war against perceived enemy states. This popular support for war made the First World War a unique moment in world history.
I. The First World War: European Civilization in Crisis, 1914–1918

A. An Accident Waiting to Happen

4. Industrialized militarism: Another unique aspect of the drive toward war was the militarized culture of Europe. The army marched at the heads of parades and most heads of state wore uniforms. Except for Britain, all states had a universal conscription for the armed forces. When war broke out, the British government urged women to shame men not in uniforms with the gift of a white feather for cowardice. The states also possessed new industrialized forms of weapons and developed war plans that generally had some sort of hair trigger to set them off.

5. European empires and trade make it a global war: While the war could have been just a European affair, the colonial empires and global reach of European trade systems brought the war to Africa, China, and the Pacific. The alliance system drew the Ottoman Empire in on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary (opening up several theaters of fighting in this empire) and the German attack on American shipments to Britain drew the United States into the war as well. The French and British used colonial troops from Africa and Asia and also placed demands on China for assistance.
I. The First World War: European Civilization in Crisis, 1914–1918

B. Legacies of the Great War

1. Surprises and horrors of the war
   The war shocked almost every observer. Most expected a short war that would be over within a few months. However, industrial technology did not make it a quick war but rather a war of attrition, with each side trying to bleed the other dry. The war saw a steady introduction of new and more brutal ways to kill, and because of this, battles could take the lives of over a million men. Because of the labor shortage, large numbers of women were brought into the workforce back on the home front.

2. Widespread disillusionment in Europe
   The horrors of the war led many to question European values and the legacy of the Enlightenment. Some even rejected the West.

3. Gender and the war: Mother’s Day versus flappers
   Conservative forces tried to undo the cultural changes of the war. British authorities urged women to leave their new jobs, and in France, conservatives pushed Mother’s Day as a celebration of women who had little French boys for the army. However, the war induced major changes in women’s lives with many nations giving them the vote and new work opportunities. The postwar era was also the Jazz Age with liberated women dressing like “flappers” and drinking and dancing in nightclubs, in sharp contrast to earlier conventions of bourgeois respectability.

   Politically, the war redrew the map of Europe with numerous new states based on national identity in the east. Unfortunately they often contained ethnic minorities within their boundaries and were unstable.

5. Russian Revolution, 1917
   When the Tsarist government collapsed, a series of revolutionary forces tried to seize power until Bolsheviks won in a coup d’etat in October. This launched the first communist state in the world.
I. The First World War: European Civilization in Crisis, 1914–1918

B. Legacies of the Great War

6. Treaty of Versailles, 1919

7. Armenian Genocide, Ottoman collapse, and the rise of Turkey

8. View from the colonies

9. Japanese expansion in China

10. Rise of the United States

6. Treaty of Versailles, 1919: The treaty that ended the war punished Germany rather harshly, taking away 15 percent of its territory and all of its colonies. Furthermore, Germany was blamed for the war and forced to pay a massive sum in reparations. This only fostered great resentment within Germany and directly led to the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party.

7. Armenian Genocide, Ottoman collapse, and the rise of Turkey: The young Turk nationalist government had long been suspicious of the Armenians. Fearing that they might work with the Russians, they launched a campaign of deportations and murder against 1 million Armenians. As the war saw uprisings from various Arab groups, the Ottoman Empire collapsed. However, the new Turkish Republic with its young Turk leaders emerged from the ruins of the empire.

8. View from the colonies: Many in the colonies were stunned by the slaughter in Europe. In order to get support for the war, the French and British made promises for reforms and paths toward independence after the war. These promises were not kept.

9. Japanese expansion in China: The Japanese expansionists used the war to move into German territory in China and place a series of demands on China. The unwillingness of the allies to check Japan turned many Chinese nationalists toward the new Soviet Union, the only power that spoke out against imperialism.

10. Rise of the United States: The devastation in Europe and the American industrial expansion made the United States a new powerful player on the world stage. President Woodrow Wilson’s optimistic efforts to create a new and just world order raised America’s diplomatic profile.
II. Capitalism Unraveling: The Great Depression

A. Capitalism’s mixed track record: Prior to the Great Depression, capitalism had a mixed track record. While it did create the world’s most impressive period of growth, wealth was far from evenly distributed, and many saw the new culture of capitalism as a threat to their core values. Various socialist movements critiqued capitalism and its social injustices.

B. Sudden unraveling of the economic system, 1929: The stock market crash of October 24, 1929 shocked many as paper fortunes were lost in a day. There were reports of eleven suicides on Wall Street by high-ranking investors. The sudden crash seemed as if the whole system was rapidly coming apart. Considering the generations of growth to this point, this was all the more stunning.

C. A crisis of overproduction, international loans, and stock speculation: There were multiple causes of the crash, including an American crisis of overproducing agricultural and manufactured goods, weak loans from the United States of America to European countries so that they could buy American products, and rampant and unregulated stock speculation. When these crises converged, they brought down the economic core of the Euro-American world.
II. Capitalism Unraveling: The Great Depression

D. Impact on global suppliers of raw materials and food: As the industrial economies could no longer afford or use the raw materials from the rest of the world (such as rubber and oils) and supplies of food (such as coffee and cocoa), the crisis was quickly globalized, putting farmers, miners, and plantation workers in the colonies and Latin America out of business.

E. Import substitution industrialization in Latin America: In Latin America, the depression saw the rise of military-backed authoritarian regimes that pursued policies of industrializing in one sector to substitute for importing specific products. While this created some economic growth, it also set the pattern for military-authoritarian regimes ruling in the region.

F. Responses of the industrialized capitalist states: In Europe, several states turned towards increased government intervention in the economy with “social democracy,” and the United States of America under President Roosevelt enacted the New Deal, a Keynesian program of government spending.

G. Stalin’s USSR: Meanwhile in the communist alternative, Stalin’s Soviet Union seemed to be unaffected by the global economic downturn.
III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

A. The Fascist Alternative in Europe
   1. Extreme nationalism
   2. Celebration of violence and a charismatic leader
   3. Reactionary revolutionaries
revolutionary overthrow of the government (with lots of violence from the party members), their goal was not a progressive change of society but rather a conservative reaction to take the country back to an earlier era.
III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

A. The Fascist Alternative in Europe

4. Anticommunist, antidemocratic, and antifeminist: The reactionary agenda of the fascists can be described as a series of “anti’s” or rejections. First and foremost, they were motivated by staunch anticommunism, both domestically and internationally (seen in their hostility towards the Soviet Union). They also attacked more moderate socialists. Fascists viewed democracy as a failure and called for an end to parliaments. Fascists hated the changes to gender norms and practices brought about by the First World War. They wanted women to be mothers who produced boys for the army, not workers competing with men for jobs. The fascists opposed any form of individualism or ideology for specific subgroups that would weaken the overall power of the nation. Thus, they hated class and gender politics.

5. Benito Mussolini and his Black Shirts: The first fascist leader to come to power was a former socialist and journalist. He gave powerful and engaging speeches that attracted large numbers of disaffected veterans angry at Italy’s frustrating experience in World War I. These veterans and others filled the ranks of his private militia, the Black Shirts, which he used to attack the offices and newspapers of his political opponents such as the socialists. He used his popular support and a campaign of violence to pressure the government to give him dictatorial powers in 1922.

6. Fasces: The symbol of his party and his reign was the Roman fasces, a bundle of sticks tied together with an axe blade. It was a powerful symbol as each birch rod is weak, but together they are strong and can be used as a weapon. Hence, the individual is weak, but the united nation is powerful.

7. Powerful centralized state: Mussolini’s state saw serious efforts at centralizing all power. Unions and political parties were banned, democracy was suspended, and political opponents were jailed, exiled, or killed.
III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

B. Hitler and the Nazis

1. Many similarities to Mussolini and the Black Shirts: The German fascist movement and its leader came out of almost the same context as Italian fascism and its leader: fear of communism, frustration with the end of World War I, hatred of democracy and individualism, hatred and fear of new freedoms and rights for women, and economic vulnerability.

2. Weimar Republic and the “stab in the back” myth: Germany was particularly primed for Hitler’s message as the nation had lost the war and then suffered humiliation with the Treaty of Versailles. While the Prussian elites had started and lost the war, they handed power over to a new civilian government and refused to take responsibility for the disaster. This new government, the Weimar Republic, was built on shaky ground and was often blamed for some sort of alleged national betrayal of the war effort, a stab in the back, by Jews, socialists, and other civilians. In the immediate postwar period, there were thousands of veterans in militia groups known as Freikorps who attacked left-wing political figures.
III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

B. Hitler and the Nazis

3. Economic disaster: Added to this political instability was an economic disaster. From the end of the war to 1924, the economy suffered tremendously, especially in the hyperinflation of 1923. When the Great Depression hit, Germany plunged back into economic chaos with massive unemployment in the early 1930s. While many industrial workers turned to the socialist and communist parties, other workers, the middle classes, and the wealthier elements were more open to the radical solution offered by Hitler and the Nazis. Votes for Nazis in parliamentary elections rose from a few percentage points in the 1920s to over one-third in the early 1930s.

4. Racism, anti-Semitism, and anticommunism: Central to the Nazi message, as delivered in Hitler’s famously passionate speeches, was the exaltation of the German “race” as Aryan supermen and the condemnation of the Germans’ alleged enemies, the Jews. This racist thinking was paramount to Hitler’s world view, only matched by his hatred of communism.

5. Anti-Treaty of Versailles: Hitler’s greatest appeal came from telling the Germans that they were victimized by the unjust Treaty of Versailles.
III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

B. Hitler and the Nazis

6. Chancellor, 1933, and immediate attacks on opponents
8. Antifeminism and male sexuality
9. Support for Hitler

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III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

B. Hitler and the Nazis

6. Chancellor, 1933, and immediate attacks on opponents: As the German government floundered through the Great Depression, there was a desperate search for leadership. Hitler, despite his revolutionary rants, was legally appointed chancellor in 1933. Once in power, he set about systematically attacking his opponents and amassing dictatorial powers.

7. *Mein Kampf*, Nuremburg Laws, and Kristallnacht: Hitler had published a memoir called *My Struggle (Mein Kampf)* in the 1920s in which he detailed his hatred of Jews and called for their removal from German society. Once in power, the Nazi party discussed the legal status of German Jews and finally adopted restrictive laws for Jews in 1935. The Nazis organized widespread attacks on Jewish communities on November 9, 1938. While something violent and horrifying was clearly afoot, few could have predicted the mass murder to come during World War II.

8. Antifeminism and male sexuality: While Hitler and the Nazis were staunchly antifeminist, believed the woman’s place was in the home raising children, and opposed birth control for women, the Nazi state was very tolerant of male sexual promiscuity, establishing a system of brothels and allowing condom use.

9. Support for Hitler: Despite the violence and social injustices, Hitler did enjoy much popular support. Central to his appeal was the state’s proactive approach to unemployment. State funding supported massive public works programs that put millions of men to work. On the eve of the Second World War, Germany faced a labor shortage, a far cry from the 6.2 million unemployed in 1932.
III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

C. Japanese Authoritarianism

1. Economic growth, social tension, and political repression in the 1920s: While Japan continued to enjoy overall economic growth, there was increasing social tension between the poor and the wealthy and occasional outbreaks of protest and violence, such as the “Rice riots” of 1918. As popular left-wing movements grew, the state cracked down on them and enacted repressive laws.

2. Impact of the Great Depression: The Great Depression hit Japan hard. With the global downturn in the demand for silk, many workers found themselves suddenly unemployed. Those who went home to their villages found grinding rural poverty.

3. Radical Nationalism or the Revolutionary Right: In response to the economic crisis and the perceived corruption of the government, many officers and others joined far-right movements that condemned the political system. There were a number of these smaller groups that agitated against the status quo.

4. Assassinations and a failed military coup: As these right-wing youth engaged in a number of assassinations and a failed coup of junior officers in 1936, the situation looked similar to events in Italy and Germany before the fascist takeover.
III. Democracy Denied: Comparing Italy, Germany, and Japan

C. Japanese Authoritarianism

5. No single party or charismatic leader: However, the Japanese far right never developed a single party with a charismatic leader. Instead, there were multiple smaller factions.

6. Growth of rightist authoritarians within the government: Instead of a right-wing takeover of the government, rightist forces from within pushed Japan toward an authoritarian model. The press was restricted, and right-wing ideology was put into the national education curriculum.

7. Government action on the economy: As in Germany, the Japanese government’s action on the economy won it popular support. While preserving the large corporate zaibatsu, the government began to direct specific sectors of the economy and unemployment dropped dramatically.

8. Less repressive than Italy or Germany: While there were many similarities with the European fascist states, authoritarian Japan was a much less repressive system with re-education rather than execution being the primary method for dealing with political dissidents.
IV. A Second World War

A. The Road to War in Asia

1. Invasion of Manchuria, 1931, and of China, 1937: Japan had been expanding its empire at the expense of China since the 1890s. When faced with the rise of Chinese nationalism, expansionists saw an eventual invasion of China as inevitable. In 1931, officers acting without orders from Tokyo invaded Manchuria and made it a puppet state. This infuriated the Western powers, and Japan pulled out of the League of Nations. In 1937, the Japanese army invaded the heartland of China and engaged in a brutal war of conquest and occupation that further angered the West.

2. Frustrations with the United States, Europe, and the USSR: The Japanese government and public opinion increasingly saw Japan as isolated from the other industrial powers. American immigration policies came off as racist, and Japan’s economic reliance on the United States for iron, oil, and machine parts was an embarrassment. A treaty limiting the Japanese navy relative to the British and American fleets and the European and American possession of colonial empires in Southeast Asia seemed hypocritical. Finally, the presence of the communist USSR just to the north scared the right-wing government.
IV. A Second World War

A. The Road to War in Asia

3. Invasion of colonial Southeast Asia for resources: In 1940 and 1941, the Japanese military moved into Southeast Asia to secure resources for its war effort in China.

4. “Asia for Asians” versus reality of occupation: When the Japanese arrived in colonial Southeast Asia, they represented themselves as fellow Asian liberators. However, the Japanese military proved to be even more exploitative and brutal than the Westerners.

5. Reluctant attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941: Faced with an American oil embargo after July 1941, and viewing the United States as hostile to Japanese ambitions, the navy launched a reluctant attack on Pearl Harbor. This brought the United States and its industrial might into the war, which would end with the fire and atomic bombing of Japan four years later. The attack also united the European and Asian theaters of the conflict, making it a world war.
IV. A Second World War

B. The Road to War in Europe

1. A deliberate, planned, and desired war: *lebensraum*
2. Rearmament and expansion, 1935–1939
3. France conquered, Britain bombed, and the USSR invaded
4. *Blitzkrieg*
5. USSR and the United States turn the tide in 1942

IV. A Second World War

B. The Road to War in Europe

1. A deliberate, planned, and desired war: *lebensraum*: Hitler and the Nazis wanted this war as it was central to their ideology of violence and struggle and to their plans for a new Europe that would give Germany more *lebensraum* or “living space.” This war was not an accident like World War I had been.
3. France conquered, Britain bombed, and the USSR invaded: With the invasion of Poland, France and England declared war on Germany. France fell quickly in 1940, and the British suffered through a destructive German bombing campaign until Hitler lost interest and invaded the USSR in the summer of 1941, pushing deep into Soviet territory.
4. *Blitzkrieg*: Unlike the First World War, this was a war of movement. Germany used the strategy of “lightening warfare,” closely coordinated airpower and ground troops, to quickly advance into enemy territory.
5. USSR and the United States turn the tide in 1942: The German attack on the USSR and the Japanese attack on the United States in 1941 brought the world’s two largest industrial powers into the war. After the USSR survived the initial onslaught, the German front was slowly but steadily pushed back towards Berlin during three years of heavy fighting.
IV. A Second World War

C. The Outcomes of Global Conflict

1. 60,000,000 dead, 50 percent civilians: Six times as many people died in the Second World War as in the first. In the second, about half of the deaths were civilians, unlike the first where most deaths came from men in uniform. The bombing of cities accounted for many civilian deaths.

2. 25,000,000 in USSR and 15,000,000 in China: The suffering in the USSR and China was almost unimaginable with millions dead and thousands of cities, towns, and villages destroyed. The economic damage to farmland and factories was devastating.

3. Massive mobilizations for total war: All belligerents in the war engaged in massive mobilization efforts to maximize production. Colonial troops and laborers served their imperial masters, and women were brought into the factories in even greater numbers than during the first war.

4. Women as workers and as victims: While many women found greater opportunities for work outside the home, they were often killed in the bombing of cities and could be singled out for wartime rapes in China by Japanese soldiers and in Germany by Soviet soldiers.

5. Holocaust and other Nazi mass murders: The Nazis’ “final solution” to the Jewish question was a systematic program of industrialized mass murder that took some 6 million lives. The Nazi death machine also killed Soviet POWs, Poles, Roma and Sinti gypsies, homosexuals, political opponents, and the disabled in significant numbers.
IV. A Second World War

C. The Outcomes of Global Conflict

6. Legacies of the Holocaust
   Two lasting legacies of the Holocaust were the establishment of the state of Israel as a homeland for Jews and the creation of the legal concept of genocide as a crime against humanity.

7. A weakened Europe
   As almost all of Europe was a battlefield at one point or another, the continent was devastated by the war. While Europe began to lose its grip on its colonies, much of the continent was occupied by Soviet and American troops. Europe remained divided and weak for the next four decades, and the world soon saw a wave of decolonization.

8. Communist world expands
   While the colonial empires started their retreat, the communist world grew as an outcome of the war. The Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin had a newfound credibility at home and abroad. He imposed Soviet-controlled communist parties on the Eastern European nations occupied by the Red Army. In China, the devastating Japanese occupation induced a civil war that led to the victory of the Chinese communists, who then supported insurrections in Korea and Vietnam. For anticommunists, 1950 was a scary moment as the international communist movement seemed unstoppable.

9. United Nations, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund: In
1945, several institutions were established by the victorious powers to create a safer and more prosperous world.
V. The Recovery of Europe

A. A disastrous first half of the century but a much better second half: Europe saw some of the worst events in all of world history in the first five decades of the twentieth century but managed to rebuild itself into a safe and more prosperous Europe in the second five decades.

B. Marshall Plan: Aid from the United States helped to rebuild the European economies but so did the resilient nature of industrial societies.

C. European Coal and Steel Community: Importantly, after two devastating nationalist wars, the nations of Europe learned to cooperate and integrate their economic interests. This has made war between the former rivals of France and Germany unthinkable.

D. NATO and America’s “empire by invitation”: The United States not only gave financial aid, but it also offered military protection to Western Europe and Japan against a perceived communist threat. This created a willing empire based on cooperation, not conquest.
VI. Reflections: War and Remembrance: Learning from History

A. What are the lessons of history?
B. How has the USA used the lessons of the two world wars?
C. When going to war, expect the unexpected.

VI. Reflections: War and Remembrance: Learning from History

A. **What are the lessons of history?** Many look to history for guidance in current decision making. But how do we discern what the true lesson of a historical event is?

B. **How has the United States used the lessons of the two world wars?** Did the lessons of WWI keep the United States from joining WWII until it was attacked? Did the lessons of WWII encourage the United States to get involved in Vietnam and Iraq?

C. **When going to war, expect the unexpected:** The common lesson: War always has unexpected consequences.