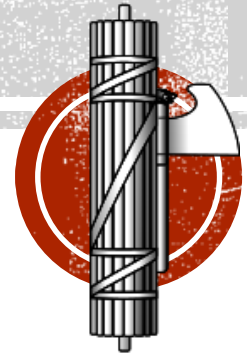


THE INTERWAR CRISIS: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

HIST 2C: World History (1700 CE to Present)

Summer Session B

University of California, Santa Barbara



LECTURE ORGANIZATION

- **Part I: The Global Impacts of World War I**

- The Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations
 - *Italy, Germany, Japan*

- **Part II: Generic Fascism as “Palingenetic Nationalism”**

- Fascism
- Nazism
- The Emperor System

- **Part III: Challenging Versailles: A Shared Geopolitical Context**

- *Manchuria; Second Sino-Japanese War*
- *Second Italo-Ethiopian War*
- *Rhineland; Axis Alliance; Anschluss; Sudetenland*

- **Conclusion: The Question of World War II’s “Spark”?**

- China, Ethiopia, Poland, or Converging Expansionisms?





THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I

- The Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations**
- Italy**
- Germany**
- Japan**

THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: VERSAILLES: A PEACE PROCESS?

Consequences & Impacts:

- Demographic losses:
 - 37 million people
- Geo-political losses:
 - Austro-Hungarian Empire
 - German Empire
 - Russian Empire
 - Ottoman Empire



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: VERSAILLES: A PEACE PROCESS?

- **January 8 1918: Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" Speech**

- In an address to a joint session of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, President Woodrow Wilson set out a blueprint for what he imagined would be a permanent post-war peace:
 - The principle of “national self-determination” = formation of nation-states.
 - These nation-states ought to establish parliamentary democracies so that the peaceful intentions of “the people” would prevail over the designs of small authoritarian, militaristic groups.
 - The replacement of secret treaties with open diplomacy would further assure the coming of a peaceful era in inter-*national* relations.
 - A world-embracing organization of nations [i.e. the League of Nations] should supervise the maintenance of this new ‘peaceful’ order.



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: VERSAILLES: A PEACE PROCESS?

- **June 28 1919: The Treaty of Versailles**

- Brought an official end to the Great War.
- Founded the League of Nations.
- Influenced the development of the Geneva Conventions.
 - **June 17, 1925:** “Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare”



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: VERSAILLES: A PEACE PROCESS?

Not everyone, however, viewed the terms of the Versailles Treaty—or the stated objectives of the League of Nations—as a “peace process.”



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: ITALY

- **1915:** The (secret) Treaty of London & the Dalmatian Coastline (**map**)





THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: ITALY

- **1915:** The (secret) Treaty of London & the Dalmatian Coastline
- **1915-1918:** Italy's War Experience
 - 700,000 casualties
 - \$15 billion in war debts (which triggered run-away inflation and an unprecedented cost-of-living crisis between 1919-1920)
- **June 28 1919:** The Treaty of Versailles & the “mutilated victory”



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: ITALY

- **1919-1920:** Gabriele D'Annunzio's "Italian Regency of Carnaro" in Fiume (now Rijeka, Croatia) (**map**)





THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: ITALY

- **1919-1920:** Gabriele D'Annunzio's "Italian Regency of Carnaro" in Fiume (now Rijeka, Croatia)
 - *Camicie nere* (Black Shirts)
 - *Duce* (Leader)
 - Inspired the *Fasci Italiani di Combattimento* (Italian Fasci of Combat) movement in Italy, which was founded, and led by, Benito Mussolini



- “A new aristocracy is emerging. The narrow-minded and the idiotic do not see it. Yet, this aristocracy has already taken its first steps. It is already claiming its birthright. ...

The disabled servicemen of today are the vanguard of the great army that will return tomorrow. They are the thousands awaiting the millions of demobilized soldiers. This enormous mass of men – conscious of what it has achieved – will shake society's equilibrium. The bloody and brutal training in the trenches must become something. It will lead to more courage, more faith, more determination. The old parties, the old men, who carry on with the exploitation of Italy's political life in the future will be cast aside. ...

The words *republic*, *democracy*, *radicalism*, the word *socialism* itself, have no sense any longer; ... There could, for example, be an anti-Marxist national socialism. The millions of workers who return to plow their fields, after being in the furrows of the trenches, will realize that the synthesis of the antithesis is: class and nation. ...”

— **Benito Mussolini, “Trenchocracy,” *The People of Italy* (1917).**



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: GERMANY

- **November 9 1918: The Proclamation of the German Republic & the Armistice**
 - Germany's Kaiser, William II, abdicated his throne.
 - A German Republic is spontaneously proclaimed.
 - A German commission met with Allied representatives to begin drawing up the terms for an armistice.
- **January 1919: Elections and Democracy**
 - First parliamentary elections.
 - *Reichstag* (Parliament) met in the centrally located town of Weimar in order to counter the Prussian aristocratic and militaristic traditions identified with the old imperial capital of Berlin.



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: GERMANY

- **June 28 1919: The Treaty of Versailles & Germany's "War Guilt"**
 - In contrast to what many German officials expected, the Treaty of Versailles – under the heavy influence of the French delegation – placed *all* of the blame for the war on Germany.
 - **Art. 231:** “The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.”



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: GERMANY

- **June 28 1919: The Treaty of Versailles & Germany's "War Guilt"**
 - A number of other articles imposed severe restrictions on Germany's military and expansionist capacities:
 - **Art. 51:** "The territories [of Alsace and Lorraine] ... are restored to French sovereignty ..."
 - **Art. 80:** "Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria ..."
 - **Art. 84:** "German nationals habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State will obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality ipso facto and lose their German nationality."



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: JAPAN

- **June 28 1919: The Treaty of Versailles**

- Japan participated in the Versailles Treaty as one of the world's five major powers (the others being the United States, Britain, France, and Italy).
 - Although Japan was not a belligerent nation during the First World War, the German defeat in 1918 came as a great shock to a number of Japanese army officers who realized that Germany had lost because it had grown too dependent on outside sources for the resources required to both feed its growing population, expand its industrial system, and, if necessary, wage total war.
 - This set them thinking about Japan's vulnerabilities within the context of the American and British-dominated international status quo.



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: JAPAN

- **June 28 1919: The Treaty of Versailles**
- Much like Germany (and Italy), Japan was heavily dependent on the United States for nearly one-third of its imports (above all, metal and oil).
 - Japan = a mountainous, mostly uninhabitable collection of Pacific islands. Unable to pursue large-scale agricultural projects “at home.”
 - In the interest of supporting a growing population, feeding a developing industrial system, and, no less important, joining the western powers on the stage of imperial competition, therefore, Japan’s military and political leaderships began envisioning an expansionist foreign policy agenda.



THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF WORLD WAR I: JAPAN

- **1921-1922: The Washington Conference**

- An effort by the United States to restrain Japanese naval expansion and persuade the Japanese government to continue upholding the “open-door” policy in China, which allowed the western powers equal access to the Chinese treaty ports.
- Although the United States recognized Japan’s “special interest” in Manchuria (in northern China) in return for the Japanese government’s adherence to the Washington Conference agreements, there was a growing dissatisfaction among the Japanese military and political elite with respect to the international status quo during the late-1920s and early-1930s.





FASCISM AS “PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM”

- **Videos: Misinformation on Fascism’s Definition**
- **Generic Fascism: Definition & Symbolism**

- “Fascism: a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is **a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism**. The fascist mentality is characterized by the sense of living through **an imminent turning-point in contemporary history**, when the dominance of the allegedly **bankrupt or degenerate forces** of conservatism, individualistic liberalism and materialist socialism is finally to give way to a new era in which **vitalistic nationalism** will triumph. To combat these rival political ideologies and the decadence they allegedly host (for example the parasitism of traditional elites, materialism, class conflict, military weakness, loss of racial vitality, moral anarchy, cosmopolitanism), fascist activists see **the recourse to organized violence as both necessary and healthy**. Though they may well make some concessions to parliamentary democracy in order to gain power, **the pluralism of opinion and party politics upon which it rests is anathema to their concept of national unity**, which implies in practice the **maximum totalitarian control** over all areas of social, economic, political and cultural life.”

— Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (1991), p. 44.



GENERIC FASCISM: DEFINITION

- Fascism = “a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism.”
- Characterized by the palpable sense of “an imminent turning-point in contemporary history.”
- Wants to replace “bankrupt or degenerate forces” (conservatism, individualistic liberalism and materialist socialism) with a “vitalistic nationalism.”
- Views “the recourse to organized violence as both necessary and healthy.”
- Against democratic pluralism. In favor of totalitarianism (that is, the obliteration of the division between the “public” and “private” spheres).
 - As Mussolini famously pronounced in 1932, under Fascism “there is nothing outside of the State.”



PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM: ITALY

■ **The Three Romes:**

- The first Rome = classical Rome; the first appearance of the “genius” of the “Italic civilization.”
- The second Rome = the “Universal Church,” which maintained important elements of classical Rome (i.e. the Latin language, Rome as capital city, and the unifying element of a centrally-coordinated, universal system of mass belief).
- After centuries of foreign occupation and servitude, as well as an ineffective parliamentary system, which favored the interests of wealthy, bourgeois elites, the Third Rome was rising out of the ashes of World War I to “revitalize” the “sleeping” Italic civilization.



PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM: ITALY

Ancient Rome

The “Universal” Church

Fascist Italy

Historical Time



PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM: ITALY



PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM: GERMANY

- **The Aryan Race:**

- The Aryan race as the purest, most sophisticated human “race.”
- It is the source of all human civilizations. All non-Aryan civilizations have “borrowed” from “Aryan genius.”
- The Aryan “racial stock” is best preserved, biologically speaking, in the Germanic peoples of central and northern Europe.
- However, “miscegenation” between Aryans and non-Aryans over the eons had begun to “extinguish” the last remaining genetic samples of Aryan “racial stock.”
- This process was exacerbated by “Jewish” internationalisms (i.e. Capitalism & Communism)
- A merciless “hygienic” act (segregation, deportation and, if necessary, mass murder) would “cleanse” the superior human community of its “parasitic” elements and bring about a racially pure, Aryan utopia on Earth.

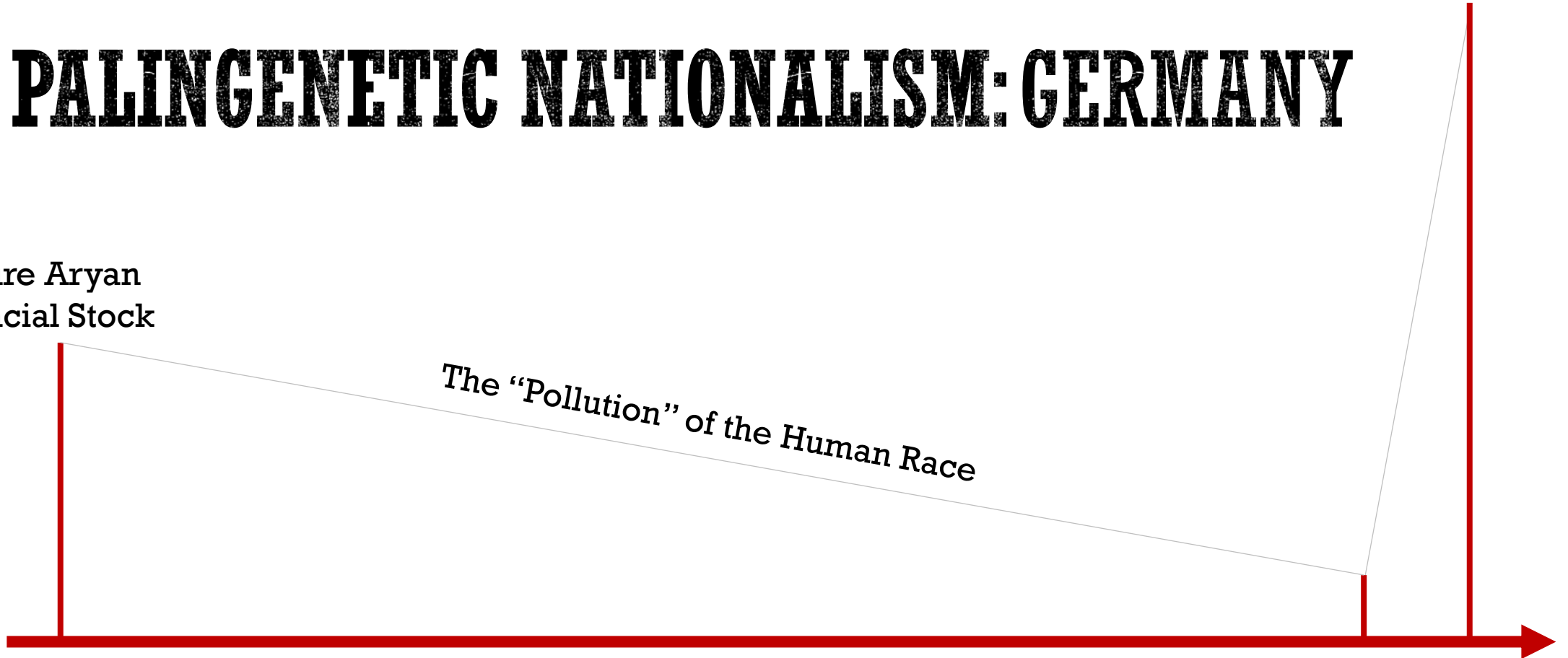
Nazi Germany

PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM: GERMANY

Pure Aryan
Racial Stock

The "Pollution" of the Human Race

Historical Time



PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM: JAPAN

- **“Cardinal Principles of our National Polity” (i.e. the “Emperor System”) (1937):**
 - The divine origins of the imperial Japanese family.
 - The essential racial and spiritual homogeneity of the Japanese nation.
 - The notion of the emperor as the father of the nation.
 - *A continuous (‘unbroken’) line of emperors from ancient times.*



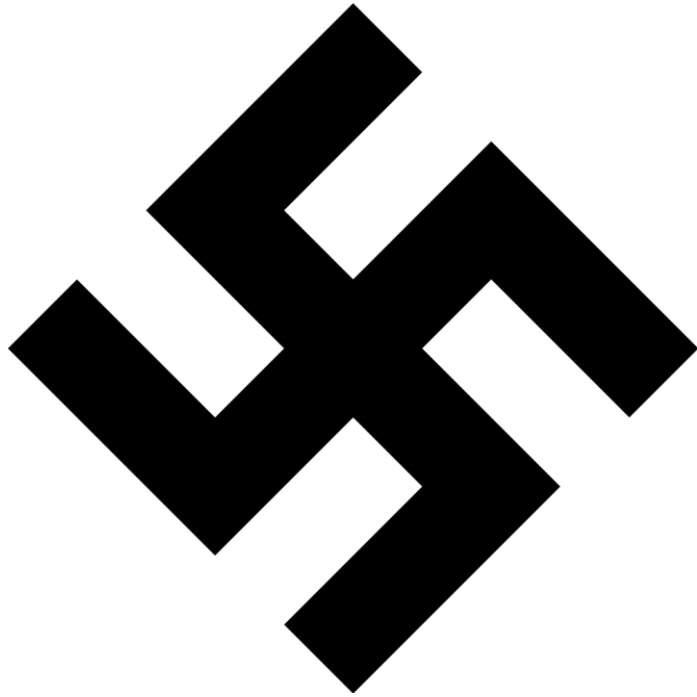
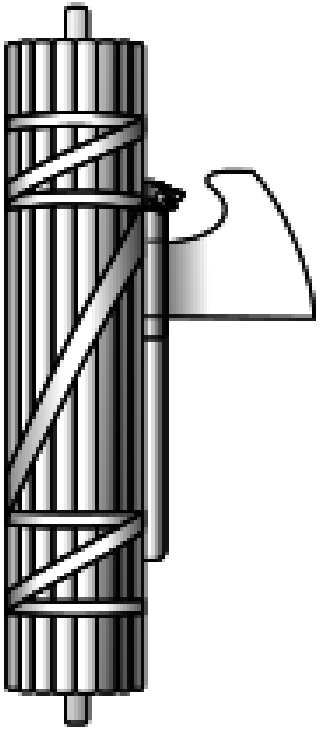
PALINGENETIC NATIONALISM: JAPAN

- **Kita Ikki (1883-1937):**

- During the interwar years, Kita forged a radical philosophy and program that fused the sacred origins of the emperor with the imperative of expansion to produce the powerful logic of Japan's sacred mission in Asia.
- For Kita, the emperor was an instrumental entity who would effect the unity of the people for the sake of fundamental reform within Japan, a reform that parliamentary democracy could never deliver.
- Without this type of radical reform at home, Kita believed that Japan could not implement its duty of liberating Asia from Western colonialism and placing it under 'Asian,' or Japanese, leadership.
- *"The Japanese rising sun flag after defeating England, reviving Turkey, making India independent and China self-reliant will shed the light of Heaven on all the people of the world."* – Kita Ikki



GENERIC FASCISM: SYMBOLISM







CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: A SHARED GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

- **Manchuria (1931); Second Sino-Japanese War (1937)**
- **Second Italo-Ethiopian War (1935-1936)**
- **Rhineland (1936); Axis Alliance (1936); Anschluss (1938);
Sudetenland Crisis (1938)**

CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: JAPAN

- **1868-1912:** Japan first developed imperial ambitions during the period of the Meiji Restoration (when a group of aristocratic modernizers removed the warrior aristocracy from power and 'restored' the rule of the Emperor).
 - During this period, Japan acquired territories in China, including the island of Formosa (Taiwan), and Korea.

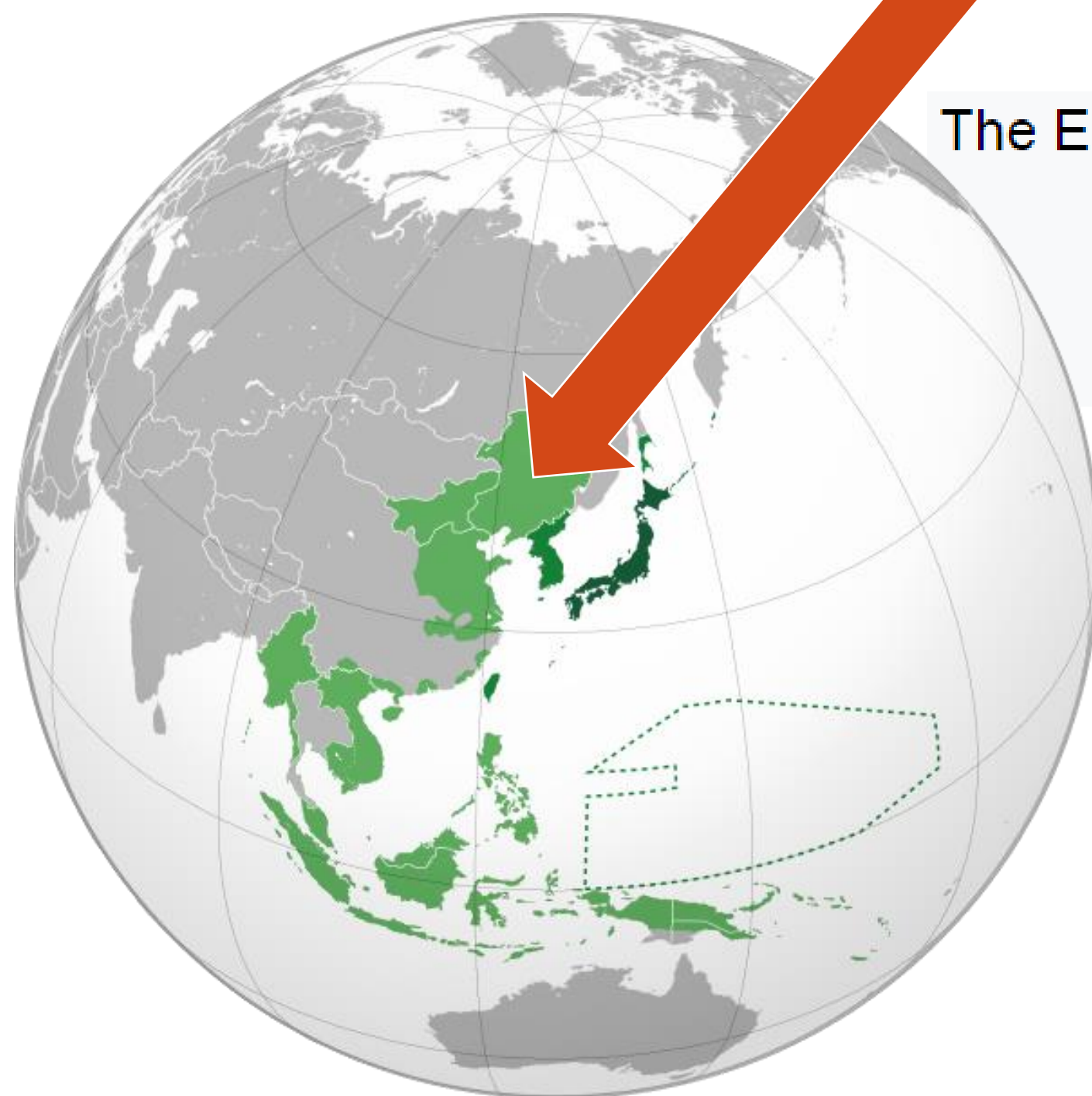


The Empire of Japan at its peak in 1942:

■ Territory (1870–1895)

■ Acquisitions (1895–1930)

■ Acquisitions (1930–1942)



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: JAPAN

- **1931:** The Japanese Invasion of Manchuria.
 - Just as in Germany, the idea developed that the Japanese needed their own “*Lebensraum*,” or living space.
 - Like Eastern Europe in the Nazi political imaginary, or “the west” in the American one, Manchuria was understood by Japanese military and political leaders as a space of “vast virgin plains, unhampered by tradition, ready to welcome armies of fresh immigrants” for farming and permanent settlement.
- **1933:** Following Western antagonism over the occupation of Manchuria, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations.



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: JAPAN

- “By 1937,” writes Rikki Kersten, a scholar of Japanese Fascism, “Japan had what the majority of scholars in post-war Japan would call a fascist society, polity, and foreign policy, complete with an aggressive external agenda and a creed of spiritual superiority towards the West and racial superiority towards Asians. By 1940 all political parties had disbanded, to form an umbrella organization called the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The authoritarian regimentation of Japanese society was thereby complete.”



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: JAPAN

- **July 7 1937:** Signaling its radical imperial objectives in east Asia, Japan invaded and occupied vast swaths of eastern China, marking the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War.
 - In all, approximately 25 million Chinese civilians perished in Japan's colonial conquest of China, followed by an additional 4 million Chinese and Japanese military personnel.
 - This conflict has been seen by some scholars as the *actual* beginning of World War II.



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: ITALY

- Italy's Unification (1861) and the enduring problem of “making Italians.”
- The issue of limited territories and an expanding population. Like Germany and Japan, Italy need its own “living space.”
- Italy's imperial adventures:
 - Eritrea (1886)
 - Somaliland (1880s – via a series of treaties)
 - Dodecanese Islands (1911)
 - Libya (formerly Tripolitania and Cyrenaica) (1912) (**map**)
- What Italy wanted more than anything was to be viewed by the Great Powers as a modern, powerful European nation.







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CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: ITALY

- The disaster of the **Battle of Adowa** (1896)
 - Ethiopian forces, led by Emperor Menelik II, defeated Italian forces.
 - 7,000 killed
 - 1,500 wounded
 - 3,000 taken prisoner
 - Shocking and embarrassing for Italy/Italians.
 - A deep burden on the national(ist) conscience.

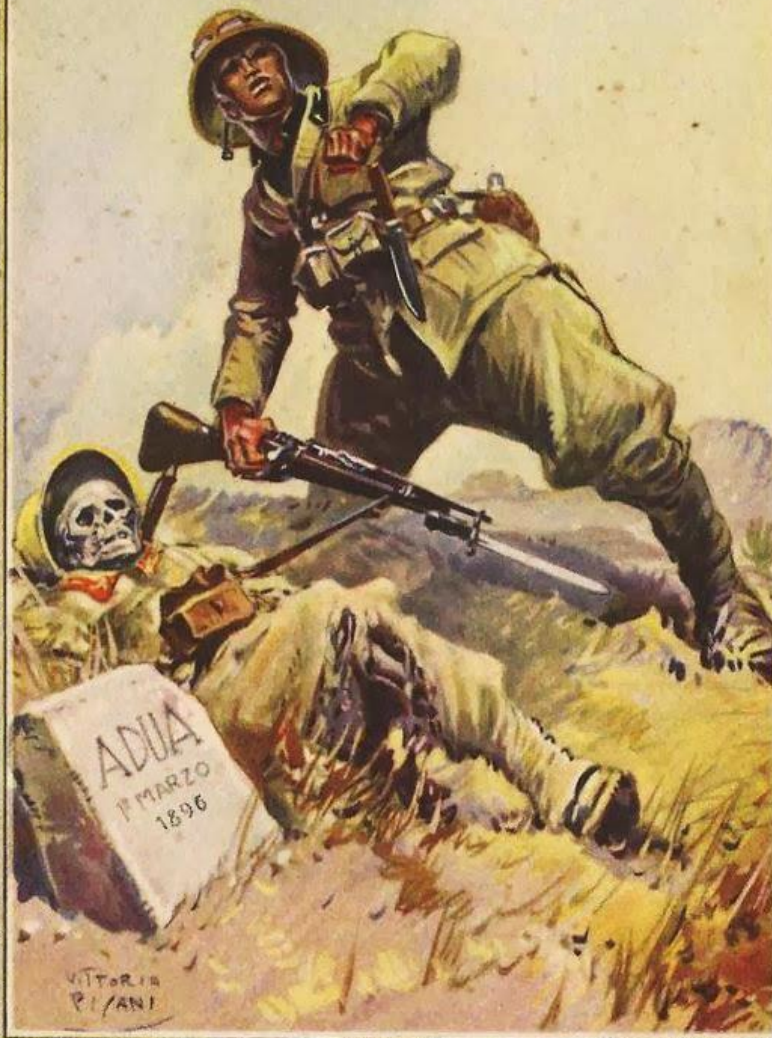


CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: ITALY

- Adowa only served to confirm, in the eyes of Europe's "Great Powers" (Great Britain, France, and Germany) Italy's subalternity, or inferiority, among European nations.



ABBIAMO DEI VECCHI E DEI NUOVI CONTI DA REGOLARE: LI REGOLEREMO.
CAGLIARI- MUSSOLINI VIII GIUGNO XIII



VITORIA
PIZANI

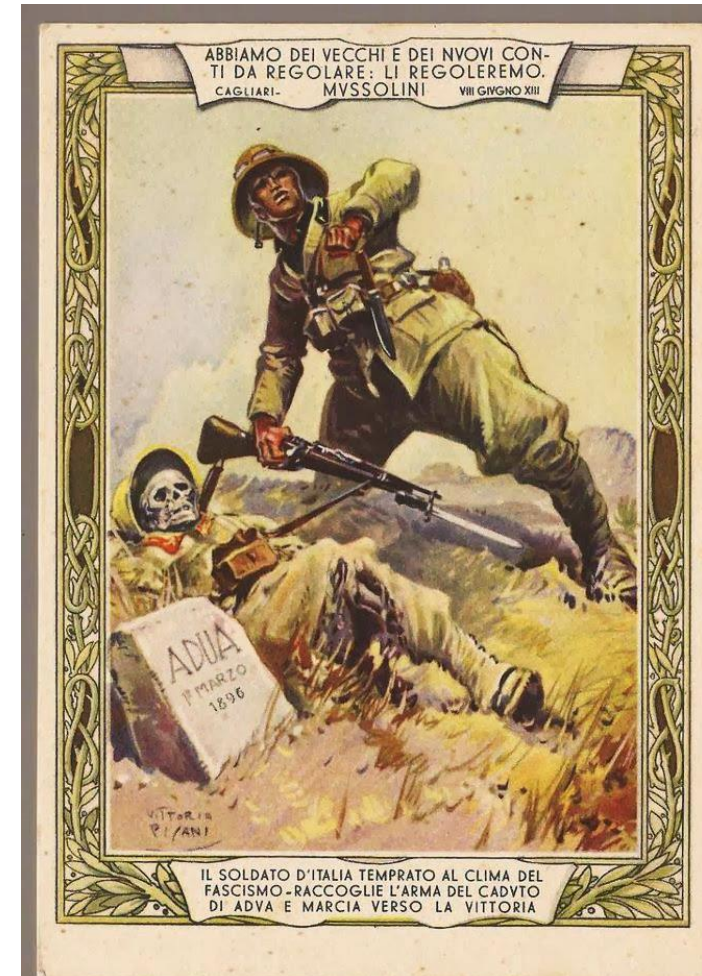
IL SOLDATO D'ITALIA TEMPRATO AL CLIMA DEL FASCISMO - RACCOGLIE L'ARMA DEL CADUTO DI ADUA E MARCIA VERSO LA VITTORIA



RITORNEREMO!

CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: ITALY

- **October 2 1935:** After nearly a year of minor military skirmishes between the British, the Italians, and the Ethiopians on the borderlands of Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia, Mussolini announced the conquest of Ethiopia.



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: ITALY

- **Statistics on the use of chemical weapons in Ethiopia:**
 - **B/w 1935-1936:** 317 tons of yperite (a “mustard” gas). “The drops penetrate under the skin, producing blistering, internal lesions and death.”
 - **B/w May 1936 and June 1940:** 459 poison gas bombs, which equated to 44 tons on just the southern front of the colonial conflict.
- Gen. Pietro Badoglio “ordered the Air Force to bombard cities, roads, hospitals, and Red Cross encampments” with poison gas, in order to break the civilian population and undermine Ethiopia’s anti-colonial resistance movement. “To terrorize the civil population, Badoglio sprayed villages, herds, pastures, rivers, and lakes with yperite” (Sbacchi, 49).



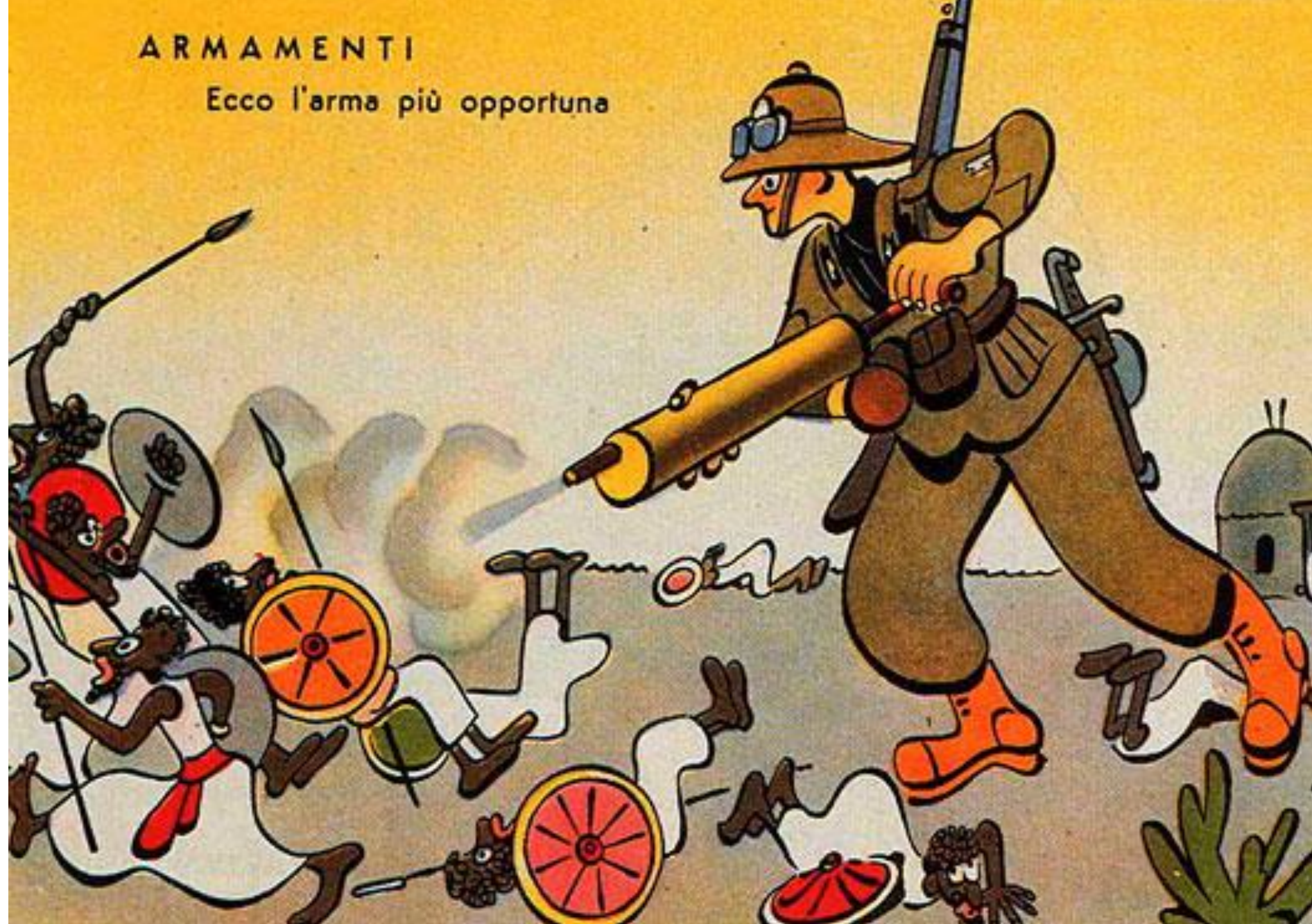


"PAH! THEY WERE UNCIVILIZED SAVAGES, WITHOUT IDEALS."

(Copyright in All Countries)

ARMAMENTI

Ecco l'arma più opportuna



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: ITALY

- **May 2 1936:** Haile Selassie I, the Emperor of Ethiopia, fled his kingdom for French Somaliland. From there, he made his way first to Geneva and, later, London.
- Three days later, the Italian army entered Ethiopia's capital city, Addis Abeba, bringing the Second Italo-Ethiopian War to a close.
- **May 11 1936:** Mussolini announced the formation of Italian East Africa (*Africa orientale italiana*), and proclaimed Italy's King, Victor Emmanuel III, the "Emperor of Ethiopia."
- Italy finally had its "place under the sun."
- **December 12 1937:** Italy leaves the League of Nations.



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- Following the severe restrictions imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty, along with the inflationary crisis of 1923 and the Great Depression, and second inflationary crisis of 1929, the fledgling Weimar Republic was undergoing a series of socio-political crises.
- Against the apparent failings of Liberal Democracy and Capitalism, the Nazi Party began making electoral inroads with the German working classes and peasantry, gaining more and more seats in the Reichstag between 1929 and 1932.



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- **January 30 1933:** Riding an anti-Versailles, revolutionary nationalist wave in Germany, Adolf Hitler was appointed as Chancellor. Shortly thereafter, he began dismantling Germany's brief experiment with parliamentary democracy and constructing a single-party, totalitarian fascist state.
 - The Versailles order—both leaders like Hitler and Mussolini—had been designed by the world's “plutocratic” powers in order to keep them in powerful positions and to minimize the power and access to colonial territories and resources of countries like Germany and Italy. In short, Versailles was a *racket* of the first magnitude.
- **October 1933:** Germany leaves the League of Nations.



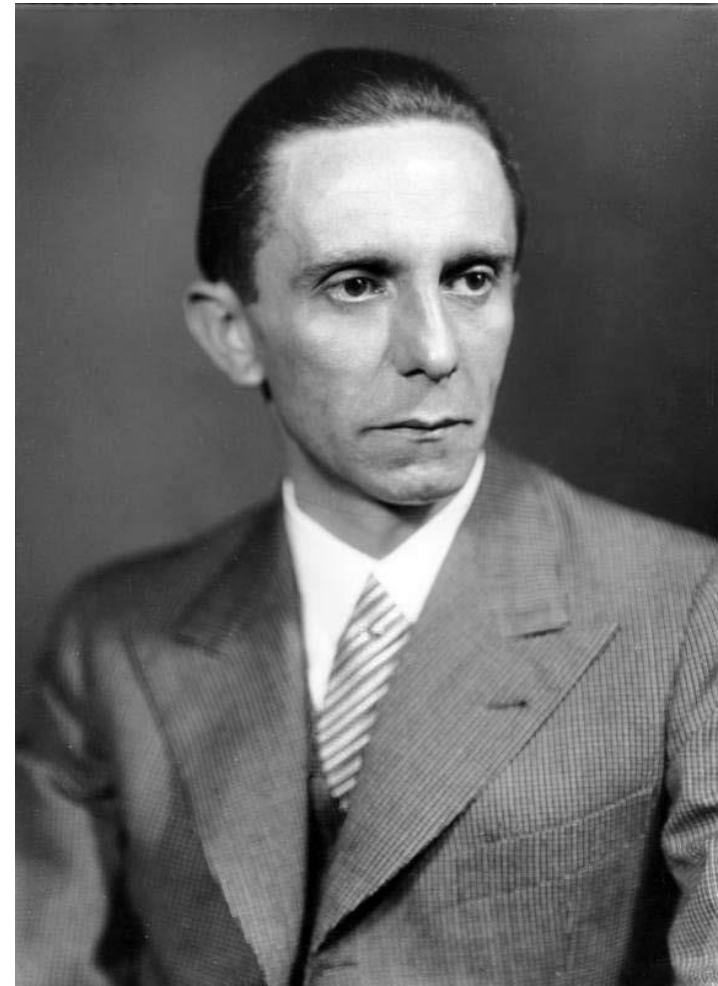
CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- **Joseph Goebbels, “We Demand” (1927):**
 - “The German people is an enslaved people. Under international law, it is lower than the worst Negro colony in the Congo. ...

Have we deserved it? No, and no again!

Therefore we demand that a struggle against this condition of shame and misery begin, and that the men in whose hands we put our fate must use every means to break the chains of slavery. ...

The illusion of freedom, peace and prosperity that we were promised when we wanted to take our fate in our own hands is vanishing. Only complete collapse of our people can follow from these irresponsible policies.”



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- **Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (1925):**

- “A people gains its freedom of existence only by occupying a sufficiently large space on earth ... If the National Socialist movement really wants to achieve a hallowed mission in history for our people, it must, in painful awareness of its position in the world, boldly and methodically fight against the aimlessness and incapacity which have hitherto guided the foreign policy of the German people. It must then ... find the courage to rally the German people to a forceful advance on the road which leads from their present cramped living space to new territories. In this manner they will be liberated from the danger of perishing or being enslaved in service to others.”



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- **March 7 1936:** In a direct, and intentional, violation of the terms of the Versailles Treaty, Hitler ordered the re-occupation, and re-militarization of the Rhineland between Germany and France (**map**).





Territorial Changes, 1935-39



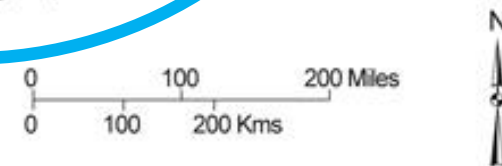
CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- **March 12 1938:** In the interest of “unifying Germany”—and, again direct, and intentional, violation of the terms of the Versailles Treaty—Hitler ordered the annexation of Austria into the Third Reich (**map**).





Territorial Changes, 1935-39



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- **May 1938:** In a direct, and intentional, further threat against the maintenance of the post-WWI international legal order, Hitler began amassing his troops along the border between Germany and Czechoslovakia (**map**).





Territorial Changes, 1935-39



CHALLENGING VERSAILLES: GERMANY

- **September 1938: The Munich Conference**
 - Hitler prepared to “risk world war to unite the Sudeten Germans to their fatherland.”
 - Hitler’s promise that Germany would stop at the Sudetenland once “Greater Germany” had been (re)assembled,
 - Chamberlain: “the best hope for peace.”





CONCLUSION: WORLD WAR IT'S "SPARK"

- **The Sino-Japanese War (1937)?**
- **The German Invasion of Poland (1939)?**
- **Converging Systems of Imperial Expansionism?**

CONCLUSION: WORLD WAR II'S "SPARK"

- **October 1936:** The Second Italo-Ethiopian War
- **July 1937:** The Second Sino-Japanese War
- **1936-1938:** Rhineland, Anschluss, Sudetenland?
- **September 1939:** The German Invasion of Poland
 - Often viewed as the official "spark" for World War II.
 - Was nothing more than the tipping point for a series of events which had taken place during the 1930s, and which, collectively, eroded the meanings and efficacies of the post-WWI geopolitical and international legal order.



WORLD WAR II: CONVERGING EXPANSIONISMS?

