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EUROPE'S VULNERABILITIES – WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR CANADA?

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JCSP 45

Exercise Solo Flight

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INTRODUCTION

World peace and security are broad and complex concepts and leave many areas for debate and interpretation. In modern history, several events such as WWI, the great depression, WWII and September 11, 2001 have destabilized and challenged world order. Following WWI, the West believed that it would be, as stated by US President, Woodrow Wilson, “The War to end all Wars.”¹ Concrete steps were taken at the time to attempt to prevent further conflicts, such as the League of Nations in 1920, with the responsibility to provide a platform for conflict resolution.² The treaty of Versailles was signed by both the allied nations and Germany. This established a peace agreement to rectify the wrongs of Germany and allow Europe to move past the atrocities of the War in order to prosper and regain international influence and dominance.³ History has demonstrated that these initiatives failed to address the key causes and frustrations leading to WWI. It is now understood that war is most often not the cause, but the result of ignored frustrations.

Looking at the landscape of the 21st century, every region, every country has its challenges and ideas on how best to govern their territory and people. In the majority of the Western world, it is believed that liberal, democratic rule is the only acceptable type of governance. Nevertheless, when studying the history of political movements, many anti-liberal ideologies have caused a massive amount of casualties and damage, many of which are still very active today, such as Communism and Islamism. It is difficult to understand how these destructive movements infiltrate and flourish, but an analysis of the

¹ <https://www.reference.com/history/said-war-end-wars-b98baf269539feb1> - Accessed 22 April 2019

² United States of America, Office of the Historian, “The League of Nations, 1920,” Accessed 26 March 2019, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/league>.

³ Pierre Milza, *Les Relations Internationales De 1918 à 1939*, (4e éd. ed. Paris: A. Colin, 2013), Ch.1; Matthew Hughes and Matthew S. Seligmann, *Does Peace Lead to War?: Peace Settlements and Conflict in the Modern Age*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2002), 23.

sociopolitical situation can allow the establishment of causalities.⁴ Historians agree that the crisis that affected Europe in the post-WWI period which led to the rise of anti-liberal forces and eventually to the outbreak of the Second World War stems from the combination of several factors of an economic, social, political and ideological nature. Given the worrying situation observable in Europe today, it is worth asking whether we are dealing with a similar equation and whether the same types of factors can lead to a similar crisis. Therefore, this essay will demonstrate that Europe is fueling some of the same symptoms that lead to the rise of anti-liberal movements such as Nazism and Fascism by comparing sociopolitical situation of the 1920's and 1930's to the current time. Furthermore, it will determine whether Canada is at risk of developing similar volatilities.

In order to investigate this question, this essay will be divided into three major sections. The first will establish an economic, ideological, social and political framework of Europe between WWI and WWII. It will focus on establishing key causes and consequences that influenced the rise of dictatorships, more specifically Germany and Italy. Secondly, the current situation in Europe across all four domains will be compared to the framework to determine similarities and differences between each period, therefore, establishing potential risks factors to European stability and prosperity. Finally, the economic, ideological, social and political framework will be analyzed from a Canadian perspective, thus providing an understanding of the interdependencies between Canada and Europe and potential impacts on the prosperity of Canada.

⁴Nicole J Jackson, "The Role of External Factors in Advancing Non-Liberal Democratic Forms of Political Rule: A Case Study of Russia's Influence on Central Asian Regimes," *Contemporary Politics* 16, no. 1 (2010): 101; Dan Reiter, *Democratic Peace Theory* Oxford University Press, 2012.

SOCIOPOLITICAL FRAMEWORK

In addition to its devastating effects, World War I led to an ambiguous peace in which no power stands out as a clear winner. The treaty of Versailles laid out Germany's punishment while France was convinced this would allow them to prosper. This treaty seemed to be an emotional response to destroy Germany, resulting in setting up the prosperity of Europe for failure.⁵ The true impact of this agreement will be felt by Europe and the international community in the decades following WWI. In fact, over the 1920's and 1930's, European states became a breeding ground for anti-liberal forces that can be tied to the economic, ideological, social, and political situation. Therefore, this first section will establish a framework based on the sociopolitical situation in Europe but more specifically in Germany and Italy that allowed Nazism and Fascism to grow and prosper. This will be achieved by looking at the symptoms and consequence from the four domains presented above.

Economic factors

WWI stands out first for the destructive effects it had on the European economy. For the first time Europe turned to the United States for financial support, resulting in enormous debt and loss of worldwide financial control.⁶ Faced with this new reality, as stated by Pierre Milza, the allied countries, especially France, were going to cover their debt through payments from Germany as agreed in the treaty of Versailles.⁷ Furthermore, as described in detail by Leonard Gomes, the complexity of the post-war financial

⁵ Norman A. Graebner and Edward M. Bennett, *The Versailles Treaty and its Legacy: The Failure of the Wilsonian Vision*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 113; Hughes, *Does Peace Lead to War?: Peace Settlements and Conflict in the Modern Age*, 24.

⁶ Leonard Gomes, *German Reparations, 1919-1932: A Historical Survey*, (New York;Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 4-5.

⁷ Milza, *Les Relations Internationales De 1918 à 1939*, 23-25.

equation resulted from France's over-dependence on German reparations to repay its war debts to its British and American creditors.⁸ Although there was an agreement in principal between the Allied countries, they were unable to agree on what the reparation payment should cover, therefore, the peace treaty did not include a clear dollar amount. This left Germany feeling like they were to provide the Allies with a blank check, without the ability to assess the economic impact.⁹

On the other hand, Germany did not suffer any physical destruction; the German government's wartime debt was internal and not based on loans from other nations. By 1922, Germany had fully repaid its population, leaving them with the enormous reparation payments.¹⁰ Therefore, the largest immediate impact of the peace agreement was limited access to external markets, as stated by Gomes, in order to "shift the post-war commercial balance of power in favour of Allied producers and exporters by temporarily neutralising or disarming Germany's competitive potential."¹¹ It did not take very many years for the negative effects of the reparation debt to surface. Their limited access to the European market due to Allied imposed tariffs prevented economic growth and therefore limiting their capacity to make the requirement reparation payments.¹² Matthiew Hughes and Matthew S. Seligmann argue that the only reparation payments that the German's made was through US loans, thus compounding their economic dependence fragility.¹³

For Italy, whose economy was fragile at the start of the war, their fate was a little different. Having joined the Allies in 1915, they were included in parts of the negotiation

⁸ Gomes, *German Reparations, 1919-1932: A Historical Survey*, 5.
⁹ Margaret Olwen Macmillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*, (1st U.S. ed. New York: Random House, 2002), 181.
¹⁰ Hughes, *Does Peace Lead to War?: Peace Settlements and Conflict in the Modern Age*, 31-32.
¹¹ Gomes, *German Reparations, 1919-1932: A Historical Survey*, 18.
¹² Milza, *Les Relations Internationales De 1918 à 1939*, 30.
¹³ Hughes, *Does Peace Lead to War?: Peace Settlements and Conflict in the Modern Age*, 31-32.

for the peace treaty, but France and Great Britain agreed that they had not been a very strong ally and did not want to concede to any of Italy's post-war request. Therefore, preventing Italy the opportunity to benefit from any reparation payments and increased economic potential.¹⁴

By the end of the 1920's, the western world's economy had become globally dependent on every nation's ability to pay their respective loans. More specifically, most European nations had borrowed money from the US above and beyond the war debt that had already been incurred.¹⁵ Thus, as George Friedman, explained, many believed that these economic dependencies would prevent war, but they missed the point. In fact, "when two nations share economic interest there is always concern that one side will take advantage of its position or withdraw from the relationship to work with someone else, or fail to keep it's agreement."¹⁶ As an example, the market sanctions imposed on Germany, forced the government to search for new markets such as the USSR in order to avoid the strangling cost of business with Europe.¹⁷ Nevertheless, historians do not fully agree on the exact causes of the great depression of the 1930's, but the impact on the entire western population cannot be neglected.¹⁸ As will be discuss further, this increased unemployment rates and population frustration leading to a need for change.

Ideological factors

Secondly, Europe has a long and complex history of wars that created multiple nations with different cultures, languages and religions each of which felt under threat at

¹⁴ Macmillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*, 279-281.

¹⁵ Milza, *Les Relations Internationales De 1918 à 1939*, 119-124.

¹⁶ George Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, (1st ed. New York: Doubleday, 2015), 61.

¹⁷ Milza, *Les Relations Internationales De 1918 à 1939*, 67.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 119-120.

one time or another. By the beginning of the 20th century, the people of Europe had a strong sense of identity and national pride; populations were ready to fight for the preservation of their identity and beliefs.¹⁹ This identity was also mixed with lots of resentment and fear of differences. In many ways, WWI was believed to be initiated because Germany was afraid of a French and Russian invasion and felt the need to act first.²⁰ As explained by H.P. Willmott, German racism had developed well before WWI, but because the population was focused on the war efforts these sentiments were not publicly proclaimed. Following the War, racism had become openly present.²¹ This was just one element that fueled population frustration in Europe. In fact, following WWI, the citizens felt humiliated by the reparation payments and sanctions since for them the war was legitimate.²² The aspect of humiliation was not isolated to Germany, for Italy, humiliation was centered over geographic territories promised by France and Great Britain within the Treaty of London that were diminished during the negotiations for the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, the allies argued that the Italians had not done enough for the war-effort, dismissing the entire Italian contribution. This was the ideal fuel for Italy to disengage from the peace talks and generate population frustration.²³

Social demographic factors

From a demographic perspective, WWI had completely changed the landscape. This conflict had not only removed the active male population of households during the war, but also permanently eliminated between 10 and 20 percent of that generation. For a

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

²⁰ Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, 65.

²¹ H. P. Willmott, *When Men Lost Faith in Reason: Reflections on War and Society in the Twentieth Century*, (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002), 56.

²² Gomes, *German Reparations, 1919-1932: A Historical Survey*, 16-18.

²³ Macmillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*, Ch 22; Graebner, *The Versailles Treaty and its Legacy: The Failure of the Wilsonian Vision*, 51.

patriarchal society, this was devastating; women, children and elderly were forced to support the needs of the family, with the expectation that the post-war period would restore pre-war gender norms.²⁴ In Germany, for instance, “for the first time, women were working outside the home in large numbers, and the new constitution gave women the right to vote.”²⁵ The social destabilization was exacerbated during the great depression. For both, Italy and Germany, two nations with a strong history and pride, the social impact of the great depression, compounded with the sense of humiliation was catastrophic. In order to fully understand how badly the social situation had become, Friedman states, “when the middle classes fall into the ranks of the unemployed poor, and when that fall is inexplicable and, worse, something from which there would appear to be no chance to recover, that is where political instability begins.”²⁶ In these desperate social and economic times, populations were willing to go to great lengths to ensure drastic change.

Political factors

When a population is in crisis, it is frequent for them to turn towards the government to demand answers and change. As was discussed earlier, the economic downturn, the protection of identity and social crisis lead to a need for political change and intervention. Initially, the end of WWI marked the start of an overall movement towards democracy. Sadly, this increased trust in democracy will be short lived for Germany and Italy. For Italy, the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles and the limited ability of the government to grow the economy will lead the population to mistrust

²⁴ Milza, *Les Relations Internationales De 1918 à 1939*, 27.

²⁵ United States Memorial Museum, “Aftermath of World War I and the Rise of Nazism 1918-1933,” accessed 27 March 2019, <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/introduction-to-the-holocaust/path-to-nazi-genocide/chapter-1/aftermath-of-world-war-i-and-the-rise-of-nazism-1918-1933>.

²⁶ Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, 125.

democracy and demand change in the early 1920's. This will lead the way for Mussolini's fascist government that will slowly over the next decade become the German allied dictatorship during WWII.²⁷ Germany's trust in democracy and the Weimer Republic will last longer, but as the economy floundered so did trust in the government. As Willmott states, "the democratic form in Germany was under bitter attack throughout its existence, though these attacks were checked to some extent in the period between 1924 and 1928, when something akin to economic stability and measure of prosperity prevailed."²⁸ This mistrust and growing need for change at the end of the 1920's allowed for a conservative government to be elected which began to fear socialism and harbored hatred of liberal democracy, forcing a request for help from the Nazi party to avoid communism and restore Germany as a global power.²⁹

The rise of Fascism and Nazism in Italy and Germany can be linked to the respective countries humiliation and economic downturn following WWI. The great depression forced most countries to focus inward; opening the way for the public demonstration of the racism that developed in the nineteenth-century. Ultimately, allowing these parties to prosper as right-wing nationalism initially convinced their population that it was the only way to save their economies, identities and re-instate their position as international powers.³⁰

²⁷ Milza, *Les Relations Internationales De 1918 à 1939*, 155-157.

²⁸ Willmott, *When Men Lost Faith in Reason: Reflections on War and Society in the Twentieth Century*, 66-67.

²⁹ United States Memorial Museum, "Aftermath of World War I and the Rise of Nazism 1918-1933," accessed 27 March 2019, <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/introduction-to-the-holocaust/path-to-nazi-genocide/chapter-1/aftermath-of-world-war-i-and-the-rise-of-nazism-1918-1933>; United States Memorial Museum, "The Nazi Rise to Power," accessed 2 April 2019, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-nazi-rise-to-power>.

³⁰ Willmott, *When Men Lost Faith in Reason: Reflections on War and Society in the Twentieth Century*, 26; Matthew A McIntosh, "World War II: The Rise of Fascism and Nazism," Brewminate a bold

In summary, as was demonstrated, the European economic, ideological, social and political situation during the 1920's and 1930's were in constant fluctuation. Countries attempted to find peace and prosperity where and when possible. Globally, the 1920's had in many ways seen an increase in prosperity, through the stabilization of democratic governments, the small economic growth through market globalization and new social norms. Unfortunately, this prosperity ended abruptly as the Great Depression hit each country of the western world, at which time, the global economy shattered and populations starting focusing inward to find a solution. When combined with the humiliation felt by both Germany and Italy, the economic crisis provided an ideal situation for the public display of racism, the rise of nationalism and need for political change, leading to the Nazi and the Fascist regime's prosperity. The analysis of this time period allows many historians to agree that the Treaty of Versailles unfortunately set the conditions for the development of a volatile situation within Europe. Thus, providing the fuel for the rise of these non-liberal actors that were able to prosper and mobilize an entire population to take arms for WWII.³¹ Table 1 is a representation of the summary of part 1 that will be used for part 2 of this essay.

blend of news and ideas, accessed 22 April 2019, <https://brewminate.com/world-war-ii-the-rise-of-fascism-and-nazism/2001;2000;>

³¹ Gomes, *German Reparations, 1919-1932: A Historical Survey*, 31-32.

Table 1 – Summary of causality

	Country	Cause	Consequence
Economy	Germany	Reparation debt, economic sanctions	Un-employment, recession, inability to exploit economic potential
	Italy	Absence of reparation payments	Inability to grow local economy
Ideology Social	Germany	Humiliation, racism	Population frustration, demand for change
	Italy		
Political	Germany	Mistrust of democracy, great depression	Rise of nationalism, fear of democracy and socialism
	Italy		

21st CENTURY EUROPE

The end of World War Two marked the end of Nazism's and Fascism's political governance in Europe and a return to democratic stability. As was seen after WWI, several initiatives were implemented with the goal of maintaining the peace such as the United Nations (UN), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) for Europe. As of the year 2019, these organizations have been able to prevent the outbreak of total war as was seen in the 20th century, but recent events, such as the rise of Muslim extremist groups, nationalism and economic uncertainty provide a basis to question if enough has been done. This section of the essay will determine if the following statement from Friedman holds true, "the Europeans are still human [...] they will have to choose between war and peace, and as in the past, they will at times choose war."³² This will be achieved by comparing the framework from part 1 to the contemporary economical, ideological, social and political factors.

³² Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, 258.

Economic factors

The start of the economic cooperation between the EU member states date back to the end of WWII. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the first 10-member states signed a treaty in order to create a single market and eliminate tariffs between each other. As it evolved as a mainly economic union, with the creation of the Euro, the EU was hit hard by the 2008 global economic crisis; marking the start to a difficult decade.³³ Considered the second most important economic crisis in modern history, the Great Recession of 2008, started in the US, but with worldwide effects. Since the financial markets were even more globalized in 2008 as per the 1920's, the impact of a crash of the US market was sufficient to negatively impact the European markets. Nevertheless, one of the differences between the Great Depression and the Great Recession is the cause of the financial crisis. As was established in Part 1 the great depression was mainly caused by high state debt, but in 2008 it was mainly caused by high personal housing debt and access to credit.³⁴

In both cases, the economic downturn generated large increases in un-employment rates, in some countries of the EU the un-employment in 2016 remained above 20%.³⁵ Europe was slow to recover from the impact of the Great Recession. In 2015, the EU established new initiatives to help increase investments with the goal of

³³ European Union, "The history of European Union," accessed 25 April 2019, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history_en.

³⁴ Robert E Hall, "Why does the Economy Fall to Pieces After a Financial Crisis?" *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 24, no. 4 (2010): 3-20.

³⁵ George Friedman, "4 Political Maps of Europe That Explain its Geopolitics," *Mauldin Economics*, 1 December 2017. <https://www.mauldineconomics.com/EDITORIAL/4-political-maps-of-europe-that-explain-its-geopolitics>.

reducing un-employment rates and stimulating the economy.³⁶ In addition to the events of 2008, the EU has faced several additional economic challenges such as the Eurozone crisis and the Greek debt crisis; two events that have fueled euro skeptics and allowed many to question the long-term viability of the EU.³⁷ George Alogoskoufis states, that these events have provided a forum for a rise of economic nationalism, such that has been seen as a supporting cause of Brexit.³⁸ Comparatively to the impact of the Great Depression, the Great Recession has set the conditions for social and political uprisings.

Social factors

The EU was seen as a successful supranational organization that allowed the continent to prosper and avoid armed conflict within its borders.³⁹ As the EU established a new way of life for its citizens with the ability to live, work and travel within a continent that showed no borders; does not come without its challenges. Prompted by the Arab spring in 2015, a refugee crisis hit the European continent full force. Although, Europe has not been a stranger to immigration, this sudden and massive inflow of migrants proved to be more difficult to handle. Germany chose to open its borders to refugees, while others elected to close them.⁴⁰ The migrant crisis in Europe has generated a great division among the states. As Claudia Postelnicescu explains, in many ways it

³⁶ Director-General for Communication (European Commission), *The EU and Jobs, Growth and Investment*, 8 November 2016, <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/b9ac1176-9a88-11e6-9bca-01aa75ed71a1>.

³⁷ Kimberly Amadeo, "Eurozone Debt Crisis; Causes, Cures, and Consequences," *The Balance*, 1 February 2019, <https://www.thebalance.com/eurozone-debt-crisis-causes-causes-cures-and-consequences-3305524>; Kimberly Amadeo, "Greek Debt Crisis Explained; Understand the Greek Crisis in 5 Minutes," *The Balance*, 25 January 2019, <https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-the-greece-debt-crisis-3305525>.

³⁸ George Alogoskoufis, "The European Union Economy, Brexit, and the Resurgence of Economic Nationalism," *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 41, no. 1 (2017), 27.

³⁹ *Ibid.*,

⁴⁰ Chris Hann, "The Fragility of Europe's Willkommenskultur," *Anthropology Today* 31, no. 6 (2015), 1-2.

created a resurfacing of old frustrations that has translated into a rise of populism and nationalism. These issues also re-opened the dilemma and balance of national sovereignty and governance of the EU.⁴¹ The social situation of Europe is now very different than the 1930's, Europe is not facing the demographic imbalance such as after WWI, but the inflow of migrants did spark population frustration and identity crisis.

Ideological factors

From an ideological perspective, Europe is facing two competing identity crises; the social issue of radicalization of the youth and, the use of the refugee crisis to instill fear and xenophobia.⁴² Populist groups have used the refugee crisis to their advantage by messaging and growing their support. Chris Hann states, “to refute populist accusations that the newcomers will be (*Schmorotzer*) dependent on the German taxpayer, experts demonstrate with statistics that immigrants are in fact net contributors to the welfare state.”⁴³ Europe is struggling to maintain their soft power influence that encouraged more and more nations to want to want to join the EU since its inception.⁴⁴ The increased number of young people that chose the route of radicalization and terrorism is critical to the instability that Europe is facing at the moment. Miller-Idriss expands that there are still many unknowns about youth motivation to radicalize, thus making it more concerning and unpredictable.⁴⁵ Posteinicescu expands that “this ideology and its success is plaguing Europe and is a deadly internal weapon that is challenging the very core of

⁴¹ Claudia Postelnicescu, “Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism,” *Europe's Journal of Psychology* 12, no. 2 (2016), 203.

⁴² *Ibid.*,

⁴³ Chris Hann, “The Fragility of Europe's Willkommenskultur,” 1-2.

⁴⁴ Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, 256.

⁴⁵ Cynthia Miller-Idriss, “Youth and the Radical Right,” *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, Oxford University Press (2018), 361-362.

European values.”⁴⁶ Once again as in the 1930’s, Europe is faced with a growing public display of racism and xenophobia that fuel the uprising of two opposing sides.

Political factors

Demonstrated in part 1, political change is based on the culmination of economic, social and ideological factors that demand change. Hanspeter Kriesi states, “political mobilization depends on the combination of three sets of factors: grievances, organization, and opportunity”⁴⁷ In this case, the grievance could be the economic situation, slow economic growth and high un-employment rates, the organization that is under scrutiny is the EU and finally, the opportunity that is being taken by populist movements following the refugee crisis. This political mobilization is being demonstrated by the increased support towards nationalist, anti-liberal and anti-European parties. In Hungary this political shift has already happened, with the election of Viktor Orban who promoted national values, national identities, national borders and national interests.⁴⁸ The political stability of Europe is in jeopardy, many other countries such as France, Germany and the United Kingdom have seen right-wing parties’ increase in support at their last elections. Furthermore, the vote to support Brexit is interpreted as a test of loyalty to the EU.⁴⁹ Similarly, these political changes are, as seen in 1930’s a threat to European democracy.

⁴⁶ Claudia Postelnicescu, “Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism,” 203.

⁴⁷ Hanspeter Kriesi, “The Political Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe: Electoral Punishment and Popular Protest,” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift Fur Politikwissenschaft* 18, no. 4 (2012), 518-522.

⁴⁸ Claudia Postelnicescu, “Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism,” 203; Chris Hann, “The Fragility of Europe's Willkommenskultur,” 1-2.

⁴⁹ George Alogoskoufis, “The European Union Economy, Brexit, and the Resurgence of Economic Nationalism,” 27.

Finally, Europe is once more faced with uncertainty; with the limited economic growth since the great recession, the high un-employment rates in most countries, the social impact of the refugee crisis, the increase of terrorism, the rise of nationalism and the rise of right-wing political movements. Though the causes may not be as clear and homogeneous as it was in the 1920's and 1930's, such as the differences between French and German employment rates; many of the consequences are similar. Part 2 of this essay has demonstrated that, for Europe, democracy, multiculturalism and market globalization remains a struggle and a source of conflict. As tensions grow within the EU and its nations, an increased number of right-wing movements are voted into power, can this union that has lasted for decades survive?⁵⁰ Europe may not be faced with the risk of total war such as WWII anytime soon, but Postelnicescu affirms, "the war is already inside: it is first and foremost a war of visions and a war for dominating power in the international arena for the coming years; former alliances are shifting and new players arrived."⁵¹ This is providing elements of new questions, whether this war of visions that is transnational is more destructive and unstoppable than total war, as was seen with WWII.

THE CANADIAN WAY

Canada has always been closely tied to Europe. In fact, it would be impossible to discuss the history of Canada without talking about Europe. Whether considering Europe as the colonial power, Canada's participation in European wars and in recent history as a diplomatic partner and ally, specifically with the signature of Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA). Globalization extends beyond the European

⁵⁰ Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, 256-257.

⁵¹ Claudia Postelnicescu, "Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism," 208.

continent; the world is now greatly interconnected. Elements such as the Internet, access to air travel, transnational corporations and immigration has paved the way to an increased global connectivity. As much as these elements bring about positive change, they also have a negative impacts as was presented in part 2. Many of the issues presented previously have international roots and repercussions.⁵² Provided with the volatility of Europe, part 3 of this essay will look at Canada's interdependencies with Europe and potential negative impact of this situation based on the framework of part 1.

Economic factors

The Canadian economy has had some devastating periods, most notably; the 1930's was very difficult. As was seen in Europe, the great depression spilled over to Canada. As a third of the Canadian economy was dependent on exports to the US and Europe, as they crashed, Canada crashed. The agriculture sector was hit hard and Canada saw a dramatic rise in un-employment.⁵³ With globalization comes elements of dependency, but when crisis hits, population turns to their local government for solutions.

The impact of the 2008 recession on the Canadian economy, however, responds to a different logic. Initiated in the US, therefore, not in direct relation with Europe, many economists agree that Canada reacted relatively well to this crisis. From a labor market perspective, a study carried out by Hoffmann and Lemieux determined that economies like Canada who saw a decrease of exports as a major cause of the depressed market

⁵² Mark B Salter, *Mapping Transatlantic Security Relations: The EU, Canada and the War on Terror*, (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York;: Routledge, 2010), 1-2.

⁵³ Juno Beach Centre, Canada in the Second World War, "Unemployment, Drought and Locust," accessed 2 May 2019, <https://www.junobeach.org/canada-in-wwii/articles/unemployment-drought-and-locusts/>.

fares better than economies under a construction boom when the crash happened.⁵⁴

Additionally, Canada was greatly shielded from the high levels of personal debt due to the conservativeness of Canadian banks and lending process.⁵⁵ Since the impact to Canada was felt through the US, it is difficult to determine the relationship with Europe if not only to establish the vulnerabilities of the global market.

In today's economy, Europe is Canada's second largest trading market. With the signing of CETA in 2016, Canada strengthened their relationship with the EU.⁵⁶ Looking towards the future, in this ever increasing competitive and globalization of worldwide economies, it is impossible to predict the exact impact if the Euro was to crash. In fact, Pierre Siklos attempts to answer this question through the analysis of the past 15 year history of the EU, US and Canadian economic ties. Provided with the data, he concludes that with the close links between these economies it would be naïve to hope for a similar mitigated outcome as the Great Recession. It would be necessary to plan for the worst which he estimates as high as up to 8 percent GDP loss for Canada.⁵⁷

Social factors

Canada and Europe have a long history of cooperation, as an initial French and British colony followed by a series of waves of European immigration during the 19th and

⁵⁴ Florian Hoffmann, and Thomas Lemieux, "Unemployment in the Great Recession: A Comparison of Germany, Canada and the United States," *Journal of Labor Economics* 34, no. S1 (2016): S137.

⁵⁵ Pierre L Siklos, "The III Wind that Blows from Europe: Implications for Canada's Economy," *Commentary - C.D. Howe Institute* no. 402 (2014): 17.

⁵⁶ International Relations, *Canada and Europe*, (Ottawa), last modified 21 June 2018, https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/europe/index.aspx?lang=eng.

⁵⁷ Siklos, "The III Wind that Blows from Europe: Implications for Canada's Economy," 17.

20th centuries, many Canadians still tie their heritage back to Europe.⁵⁸ Canada has always been a country based on immigration, from the development of the multicultural policy in 1971 until now; immigration has been Canada's tool to maintain demographic sustainability. Nevertheless, the policy of multiculturalism was not to everyone's satisfaction; especially vocal was the Quebec resistance, for fear of losing the French language.⁵⁹

As the wave of migration hit Europe in 2015, Canada struggled with their own challenges. In the last 5 years, two different issues have affected Canada, first, the response of the Canadian Federal Government to accept 25,000 Syrian refugees and the inflow of irregular migrants walking across the border from the US.⁶⁰ For both of these cases, the federal government's decision have been divisive. For some it was seen as a threat to national sovereignty, identity and security. For others, the government was not doing enough, Canada needing to be more compassionate to desperate people fleeing uncertainty.⁶¹ In these cases, Canada has seen similar reactions to Europe; an extrapolation could be made that a collapse of EU prosperity could increase the pressure for Canada to accept more refugees and increasing the divisiveness in Canada.

⁵⁸ Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, *Discover Canada – Canada's History*, (Ottawa), last modified 26 October 2015, <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/discover-canada/read-online/canadas-history.html>.

⁵⁹ Emily Laxer, *Unveiling the Nation: The politics of Secularism in France and Quebec*, (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press – MQUP, 2019), 4-5.

⁶⁰ Canada and the World, *Canada's response to the conflict in Syria*, (Ottawa), last modified 13 August 2018, https://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_developpement-enjeux_developpement/response_conflict-reponse_conflits/crisis-crisis/conflict_syria-syrie.aspx?lang=eng.

⁶¹ Editorial, "Trudeau's politicization of refugees toxic and divisive," *Toronto sun*, 17 December 2018, <https://torontosun.com/opinion/editorials/editorial-trudeaus-politicization-of-refugees-toxic-and-divisive>; Editorial, "Refugee Crisis: Should Canada be doing more to Help?" *Ashton college*, 24 September 2015, <https://www.ashtoncollege.ca/refugee-crisis-should-canada-be-doing-more-to-help/>.

Ideological factors

As is seen in Europe, Canada is undergoing an identity crisis. Canada is struggling with the true meaning of multiculturalism, as it is faced with the impact of the treatment of its indigenous people and the integration of continuous waves of immigration, fueled by the spillover of the anti-immigration rhetoric of the current US administration.⁶² Most notably, the province of Quebec, which has constantly struggled with its identity, as the only unilingual French province, is dealing with a concerning rise of nationalism and Islamophobia. The provincial government most recently put forward a bill to prevent religious symbols for public sector workers; some critics have evaluated the bill as xenophobic.⁶³ These views are not isolated to Quebec; they are just increasingly public about their concerns. In fact, hate crimes and Islamic terrorism are on the rise in Canada. Although, in many cases the geographical location of Canada has prevented the mass transit of terrorism, Canada has not been immune to acts of terror carried out by home grown radicalized Canadians.⁶⁴ Understanding if these extreme ideologies are a spillover from Europe or if they are propagated directly within Canada will be critical to establishing the right preventative measures. Nevertheless, global access to information will continue to allow for racism and terrorism to propagate. The

⁶² Evan Solomon, "Canada is Undergoing a Fundamental Identity Crisis: Canada has never been as Confident or Confused as it is right now," *Macleans's*, 30 June 2017, <https://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/canada-is-undergoing-a-fundamental-identity-crisis/>.

⁶³ Andy Riga, "Quebec ban on religious symbols would be 'catastrophic': Anglo groups," *Montreal Gazette*, 5 October 2018, <https://montrealgazette.com/news/quebec/quebec-ban-on-religious-symbols-would-be-catastrophic-anglo-groups>; Les Perreux, "Quebec's bill to ban religious symbols sparks condemnation in province and Ottawa," *The Globe and Mail*, 28 March 2019, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-quebec-tables-legislation-on-religious-symbols-ban-includes/>.

⁶⁴ Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme, "Islamophobia in Canada: Measuring the Realities of Negative Attitudes Toward Muslims and Religious Discrimination: Islamophobia in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne De Sociologie* 55, no. 1 (2018): 87.

need to battle extreme views are imminent for Canada to avoid the level of instability that is seen in Europe.

Political Factors

Discussed in part 1 and 2, political vote is often the culminating impact of a country's economic, social and ideological views. Canada has recently seen many newly elected provincial premiers go from Liberal or New Democratic Parties governments to increasingly right-wing parties such as the Conservatives, Progressive Conservatives and the "Coalition Avenir Quebec". Furthermore, some critics described this shift as a demonstration of discontentment with the federal government choices since 2015.⁶⁵ Whether this is about the federal Liberal governance or not, a vote to change political governance is the way for a population to communicate the need for change.⁶⁶ The political shift may not seem as drastic in Canada as it is in Europe which provides basis to question if Europe is showing signs of what is to come. In many ways, Canadians don't feel the pressure of an existential threat as Europeans do, but this does not exclude the political debate over protectionism and multiculturalism. Follow-up on elections will help determine whether this need for political change is entrenched in the same issues facing Europe or a simple nudge in a new direction.

In summary, history has demonstrated that with the exception of the devastating effects of the Great Depression of the 1930's, Canada's response to similar crises as

⁶⁵ Lewie Haar, "Canada's Blue Wave: Inside the Conservative Takeover of Provincial Governments," *McGill Journal of Political Studies*, 21 March 2019, <https://mjps.ssmu.ca/2019/03/21/canada-conservative-blue-wave/>.

⁶⁶ Hanspeter Kriesi, "The Political Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe: Electoral Punishment and Popular Protest," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift Fur Politikwissenschaft* 18, no. 4 (2012), 518-522.

Europe have been more moderate. From the Great Recession, to the social acceptability of immigration, the rise of extreme ideologies and our political spectrum of governance, Canada remains a country of stability and prosperity. Nevertheless, with a constant increase in globalization, Canada is not immune to many of the issues that plague the European continent and the potential impact of an EU implosion.⁶⁷ In many cases, Canada's largest struggle is understanding that the threats to its nation are global and that many issues are transnational.⁶⁸ It must, therefore, position itself to mitigate the negative impact of a European spillover across the Atlantic.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the goal of this essay was to demonstrate that the economic, social, ideological and political volatility of Europe and Canada today show similar signs to the Europe of the 1920's and 1930's that permitted the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Germany and Italy. This was accomplished through the building of a framework based on the post-WWI situation in Europe and comparing it to the current situation of Europe and Canada. Although the main conclusion of the cause of European instability of the 1920's and 1930's can be linked to the Versailles Treaty, it essentially set the conditions for population frustration and need for change.⁶⁹ These same conditions can be seen today in Europe, through economic, social, ideological and political uncertainty, populations are demanding change. In Canada, although the situation seems more stable and that

⁶⁷ Siklos, "The III Wind that Blows from Europe: Implications for Canada's Economy," 2.

⁶⁸ Howard Solomon, "Canadians don't take cyber threats seriously, says ex-national security advisor," *It World Canada*, 9 May 2018, <https://www.itworldcanada.com/article/candians-dont-take-cyber-threats-seriously-says-ex-national-security-advisor/404984>.

⁶⁹ Gomes, *German Reparations, 1919-1932: A Historical Survey*, 31-32.

Canadians have been geographically shielded, part 3 demonstrates that our strong partnership with the EU puts Canada at risk when the next European crisis hits.

Globalization is the new reality that the world is attempting to deal with. International interdependencies are still believed to be an essential part in order to avoid major armed conflict. On the other hand, the perverse effects of globalization are at times less obvious. In countries such as China, globalization has increased the size of the middle class, while as advocated by many in the US, it has created a greater divide between the rich and the poor. This social economic issue has generated population uprisings in the US, Canada, and Europe.⁷⁰ This population frustration is fuel for right-wing political parties and nationalism that become counter-rhetoric to globalization. History has shown that globalization can be unpredictable, therefore, increasing the importance of robust policies and structures to respond its negative impact.

Furthermore, when paying attention to media outlets about Europe, the US and Canada, it is difficult not to question where the world is headed. Globalization has brought on globalized conflicts, whether that be the renewed tensions between the Baltics and Russia; the economic competition between the US and China; the rise of worldwide terrorist activity and ideologies; all these situations generate mistrust and confusion in global institutions such that is seen with the EU.⁷¹ Solutions for any of these tensions are complex and require a full understanding of their respective root causes. As was seen with the impact of the Versailles Treaty, the desire to suppress the concerns and needs of an entire population in hope that they will not try and rise again is the wrong approach,

⁷⁰ Axel Dreher and Noel Gaston, "Has Globalization Increased Inequality?" *Review of International Economics* 16, no. 3 (2008): 531.

⁷¹ Claudia Postelnicescu, "Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism," 207-208; "The US-China Trade War," *Strategic Comments* 25, no. 2 (2019): i-iii.

concerns need to be heard, understood and addressed in order to find lasting change.⁷²

While history may not repeat itself, historical analysis helps understand and, potentially, predict future conflicts and concerns, ultimately with the hope of preventing further escalation and war.

⁷² Friedman, *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*, 257-258.

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