

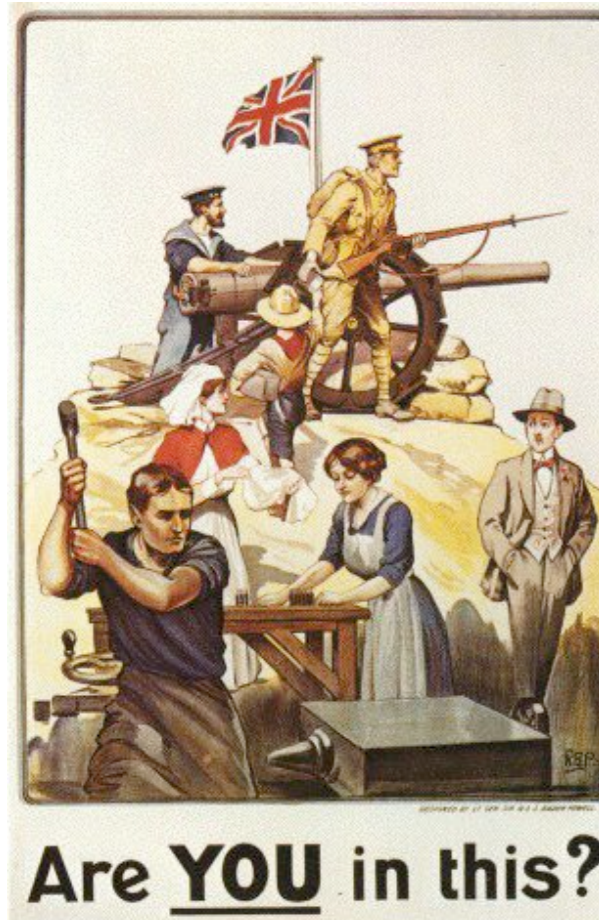


“THE STATE AND MODERN WAR”
IHS “Liberty and Society” Summer Seminar 2011
Dr. David M. Hart



“THE STATE & MODERN WAR” LECTURE OVERVIEW

- I. From Empires to Nation States (and back again)
- II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation
- III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing
- IV. The Moral Legacies of Modern War





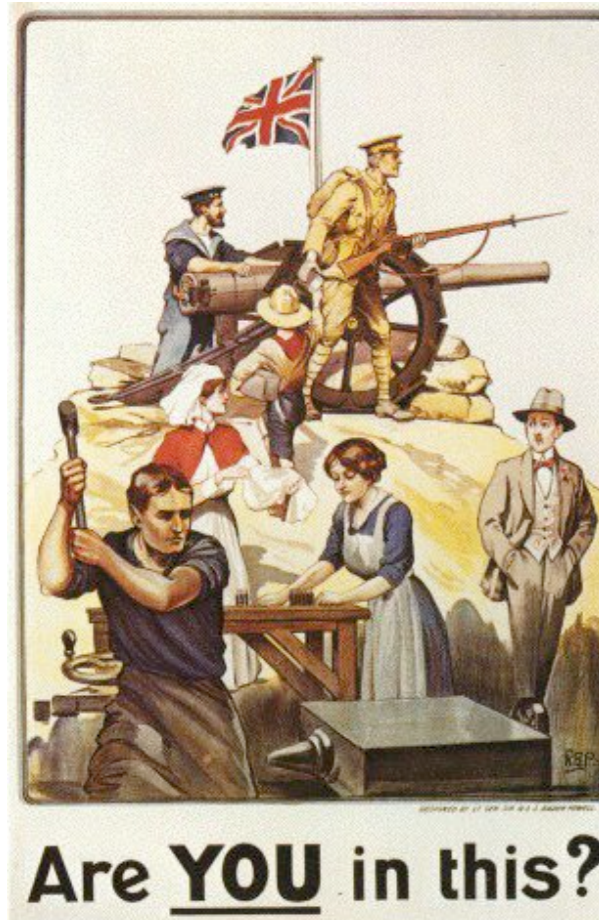
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Evolution of the State in the 20thC (1914-2014)



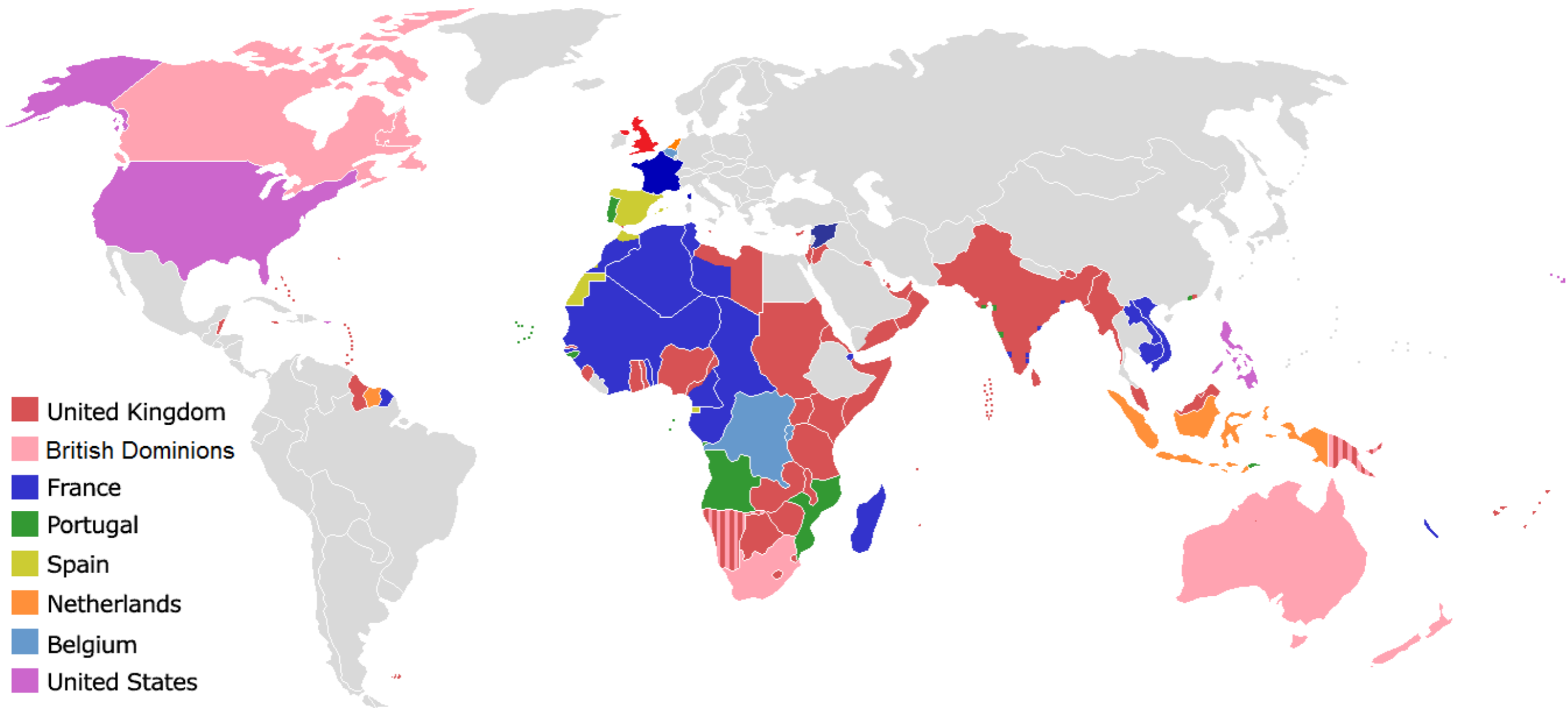
- large increase in the **number** of states
- break up of multi-national Empires after WWI (Austria-Hungary, Ottoman)
- decolonization after WW2 (Britain, France, Netherlands)
- break up of the Soviet Union after 1991
- League of Nations - 58 members in 1934
- UN - 192 members in 2006



Osmanisches Reich

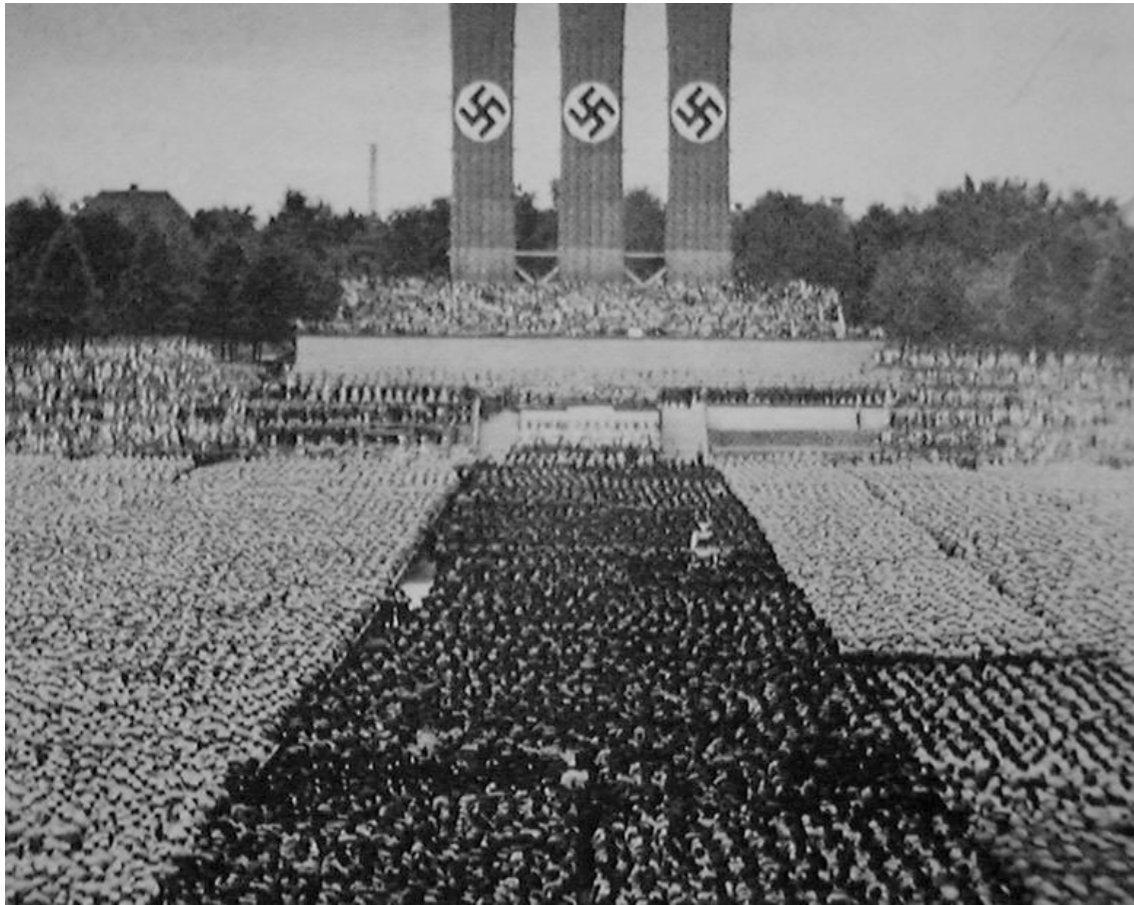
um 1900





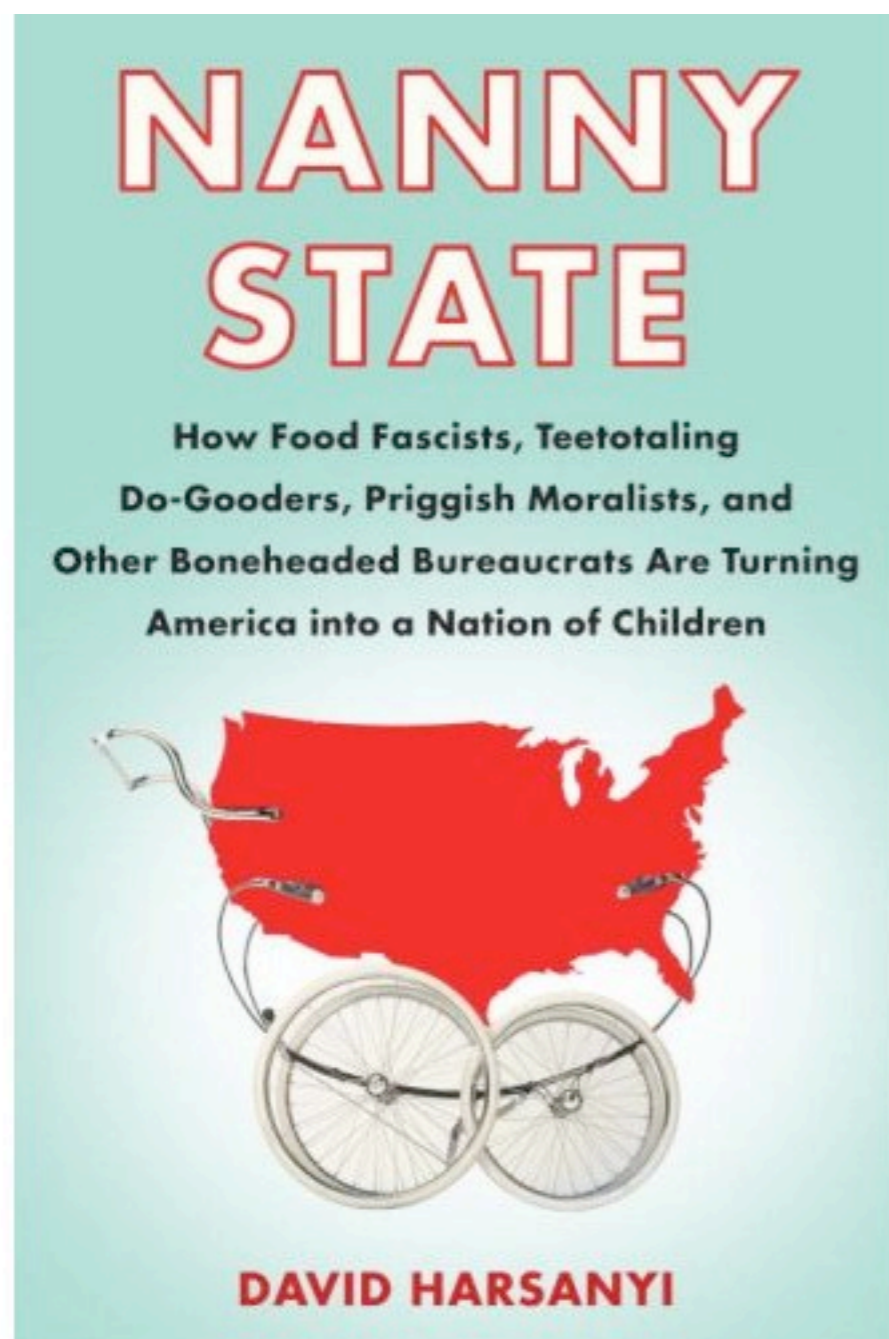
European Colonial Possessions & Dominions in 1945

Evolution of the State in the 20thC (1914-2014)



- emergence of **new forms** of state
 - Fascism/Nazism (Italy, Germany after WWI)
 - communist states (Bolshevism, Stalinism, Maoism)
 - military dictatorships
 - European welfare states
 - evolution of European Economic Community into would-be super bureaucratic state the “European Union” (1993)

Evolution of the State in the 20thC (1914-2014)



increase in the **number** of state activities - in several phases:

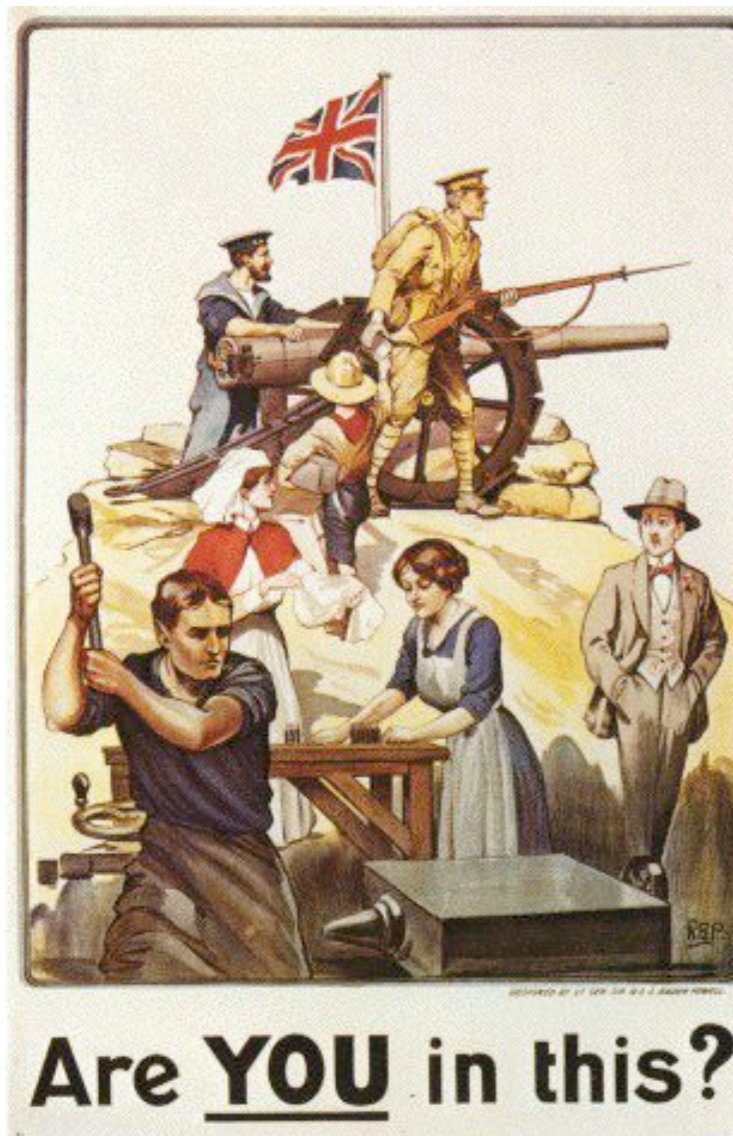
1. “War Socialism” in Total War (WWI & WW2) - “centrally planned” economy of communism
2. emergence of welfare states (HEW) post-WW2 in Europe; post-1964 in USA (“Great Society”)
3. pervasive regulation of personal life in “nanny” state (1970s)
4. increased surveillance of citizens - CCTV, wire-tapping, email (post 9/11)

Evolution of the State in the 20thC (1914-2014)



- increasing manipulation of money via **central bank and fiat currency**
 - end of gold standard (1931, 1971)
 - periodic “recessions” punctuated with a “Great Depression (1929- ?)” and a “Great Recession” (2008 - ?)
 - Keynesian manipulation of inflation & unemployment



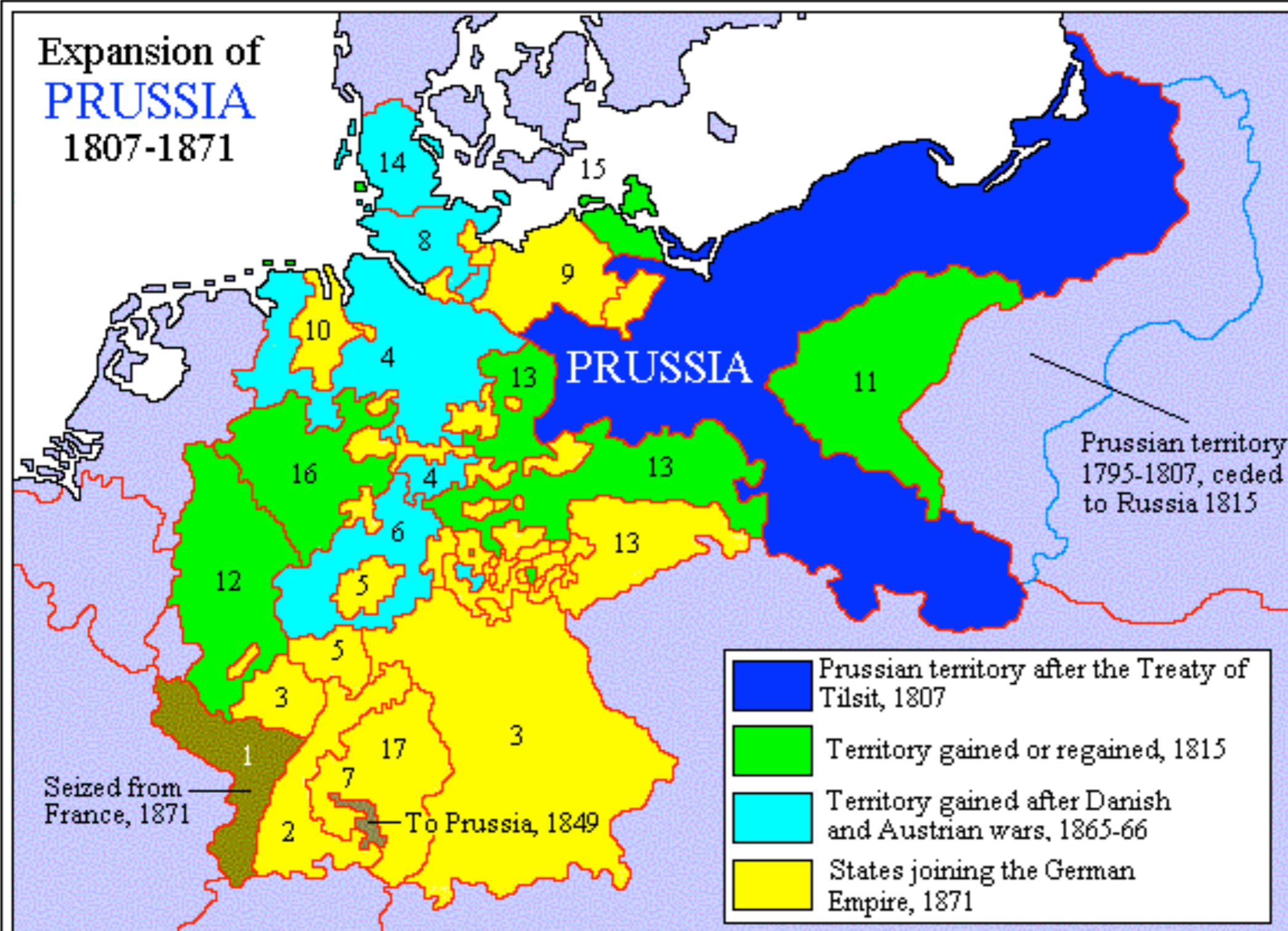


Evolution of the State in the 20thC (1914-2014)





- role of **war** in pursuing state interests
 - total war required “war socialism”
 - mobilization of the entire society
- role of **political ideology** in justifying larger state role
 - “national greatness” of fascism/Nazism
 - transformation of society through communist revolution
 - rise of Keynesian economics
 - social democracy & the welfare state - FDR’s “Four Freedoms”



Expansion of PRUSSIA 1807-1871



1. Alsace-Lorraine
2. Baden
3. Bavaria
4. Hanover
5. Hesse
6. Hesse-Nassau
7. Hohenzollern
8. Holstein
9. Mecklenburg
10. Oldenburg
11. Posen
12. Rhine Province
13. Saxony
14. Schleswig
15. Swedish Pomerania
16. Westphalia
17. Württemberg

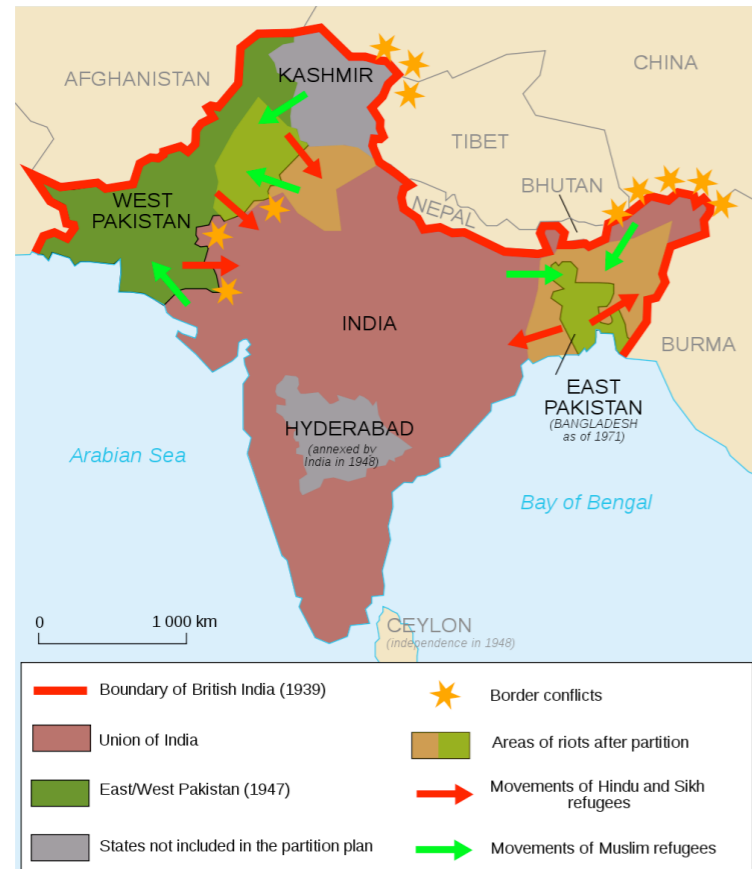
	Prussian territory after the Treaty of Tilsit, 1807
	Territory gained or regained, 1815
	Territory gained after Danish and Austrian wars, 1865-66
	States joining the German Empire, 1871

Seized from France, 1871

To Prussia, 1849

Prussian territory 1795-1807, ceded to Russia 1815

4 Key Periods of State Formation in the Modern Era



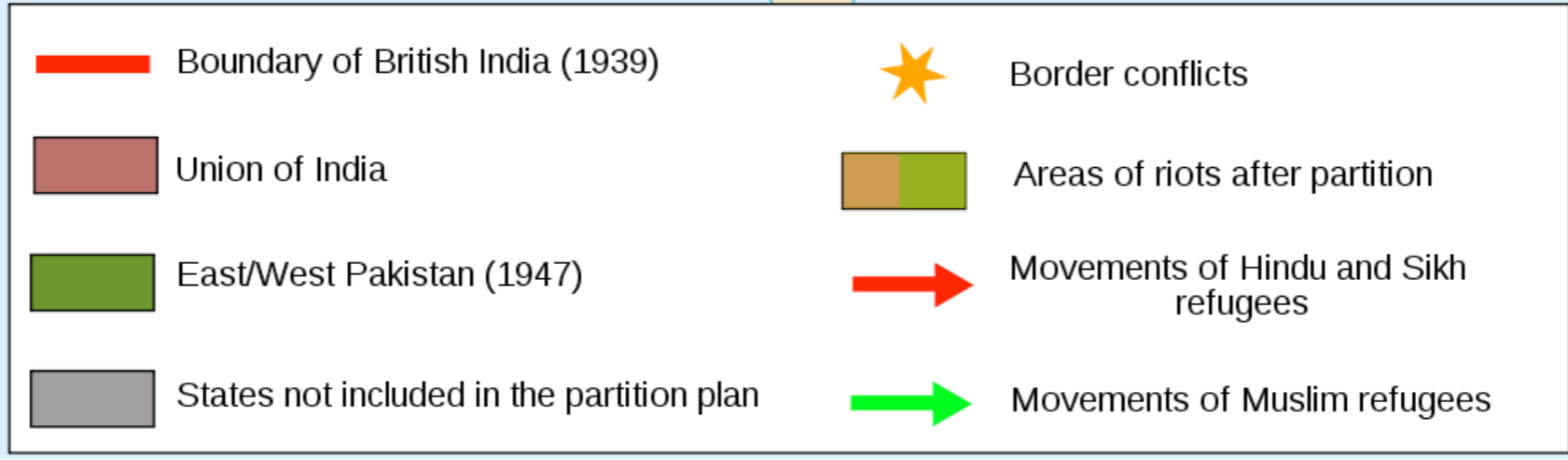
• Post-1945

- end of British, French, and Dutch Empires in India, Africa, Middle East, SE Asia
- colonial wars in Malaya, Viet Nam, Algeria, Indonesia - “wars of national liberation”

• 1991

- dissolution of the Soviet Union







Post-Soviet states in alphabetical order: 

1. Armenia
2. Azerbaijan
3. Belarus
4. Estonia
5. Georgia
6. Kazakhstan
7. Kyrgyzstan
8. Latvia
9. Lithuania
10. Moldova
11. Russia
12. Tajikistan
13. Turkmenistan
14. Ukraine
15. Uzbekistan

Evolution of the State in the 20thC (1914-2014) - Summary



- war is important in the consolidation & centralization of the modern nation state (US & German Reich)
- it has resulted in the increase in the **number** of states as defeated multi-national empires have disintegrated (Austria-Hungary, Ottoman after WWI)
- or overseas empires came to an end after wars (Britain, France, Netherlands after WW2)
- emergence of **new forms** of state (war socialism, Nazism, Bolshevism)
- increase in the **number** of state activities (total war, war socialism, welfare state)
- cost of war has led to heavy taxation, inflation & public debt
- emergence of ideologies which justify or require war: economic nationalism, national economic autarchy



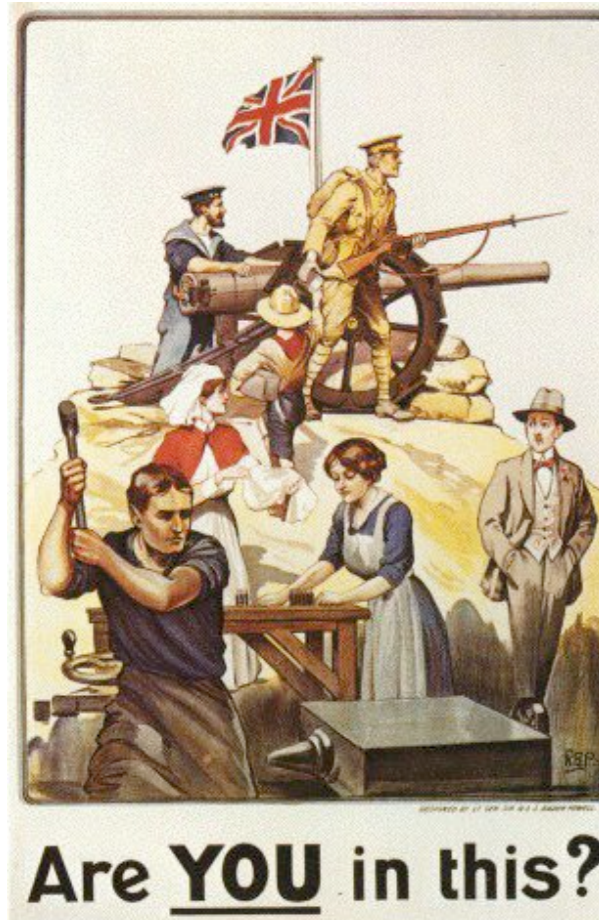
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II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation



- mass armies of nation states require conscripts, munitions, food, fuel, transport:
 - premonition of future war in American War between States (1861-65)
- by 1915 Great Powers realised that WWI was going to be for extended period of time:
 - technology for defensive war was better than for offensive war - trenches, artillery, machine guns (tanks and planes developed late in war)
 - Germany & Austria-Hungary vulnerable to economic blockade of ports - shortages of key resources, demands of mobilizing 11m men



II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation

- German Generals Ludendorff & Hindenburg developed a policy of “war socialism” to organize war production
 - state/military planned what it needed
 - favoured industries forced to comply
 - govt. ensured compliance by controlling raw materials & prices
 - workers conscripted to work in factories
 - rationing or restriction of all consumer goods
 - creation of substitutes for material unavailable because of naval blockade
 - inflation & debt used for funding
 - censorship of criticism & imprisonment of critics
 - economic & financial collapse brought end to war & revolution to Germany in 1918-19
- huge propaganda campaign to raise war loans, save scarce resources, & enlist



In war, the inadequate free economy supposedly cannot be allowed to exist any longer; into its place must step something more perfect, the administered economy. Whether or not one should return after the war to the “un-German” system of individualism was said to be another question that could be answered in different ways...

The most usual argument for the necessity of socialist measures was the argument about being besieged. Germany and its allies were said to be in the position of a besieged fortress that the enemy was trying to conquer by starving it out. Against such a danger, all measures usual in a besieged city had to be applied. All stocks had to be regarded as a mass under the control of a unified administration that could be drawn on for equally meeting the needs of all, and so consumption had to be rationed...

While statism sought to avoid the inevitable collapse, it only hastened it.

Ludwig von Mises, “War Socialism” (1919)



**WWI Propaganda to urge Enlistment:
the challenge to one's Manhood & parental guilt**

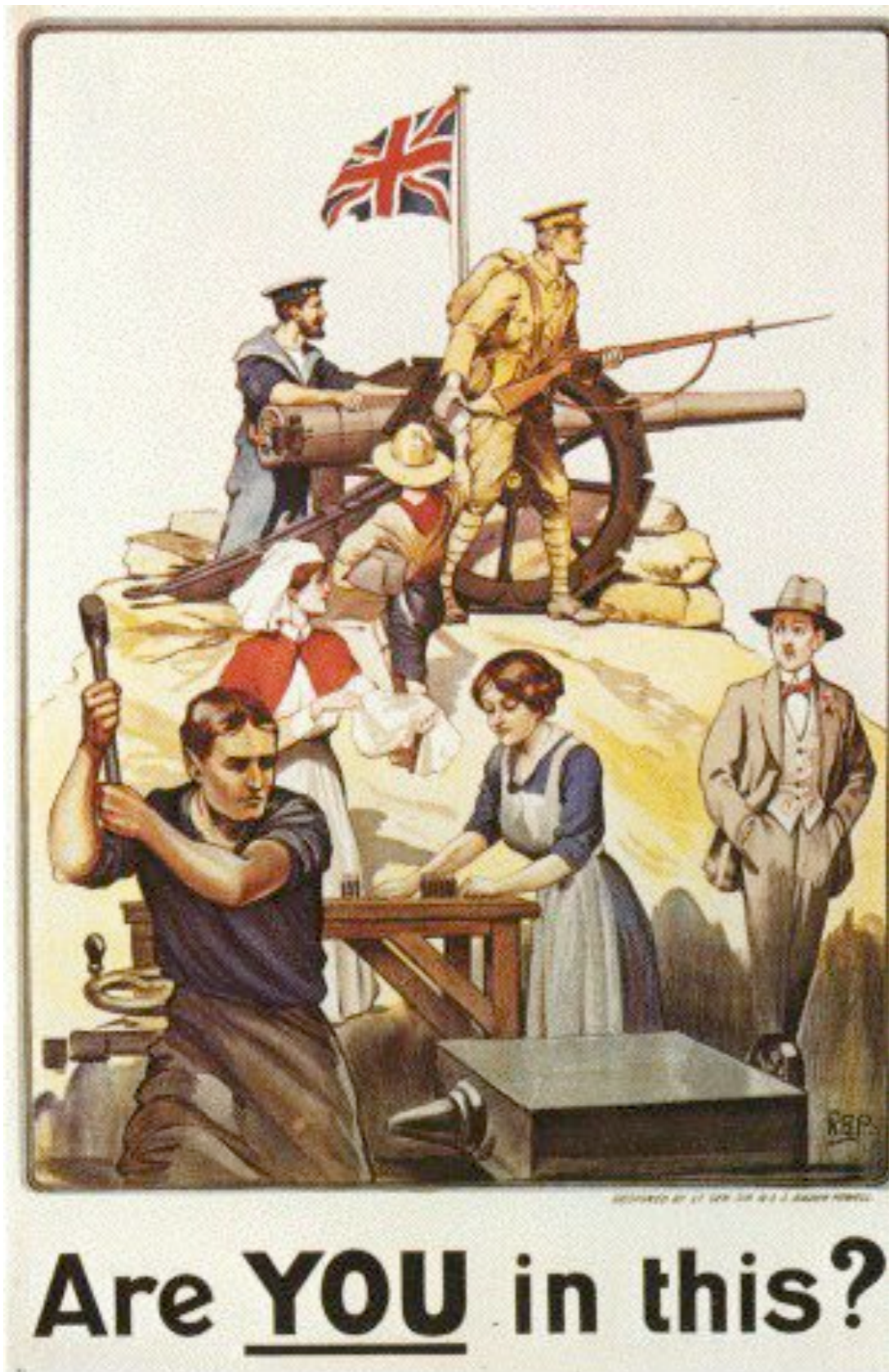
II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation



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- Britain & US faced similar problems
 - US created War Industries Board in 1917 to solve similar economic problems (Bernard B. Baruch) - nationalization of the railroads
 - many of the same businessmen later ran government regulatory programs under FDR
- German “war socialism” became model for centralized economic planning in early years of Bolshevik Revolution (1917) as KM had given no guidance for “rational economic planning” in his writings



“War Socialism” - The Mobilization of all Classes

II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation

- problems of economic coordination for war much worse in WW₂
 - more people involved on more fighting fronts (Europe, Africa, Asia)
 - higher technological level of equipment (planes, tanks, ships, radar, atomic bomb)
 - similar solution to WW_I of rationing, price controls, bans on imports, bans on many consumer goods, conscription of labour
- Germany began organizing its economy for war in 1936 with Hitler's "Four Year Plan"
 - plans for artificial rubber & gasoline
 - need for "economic autarky" to prevent impact of another blockade - thus need to conquer agricultural land in Eastern Europe and seize oil in Romania

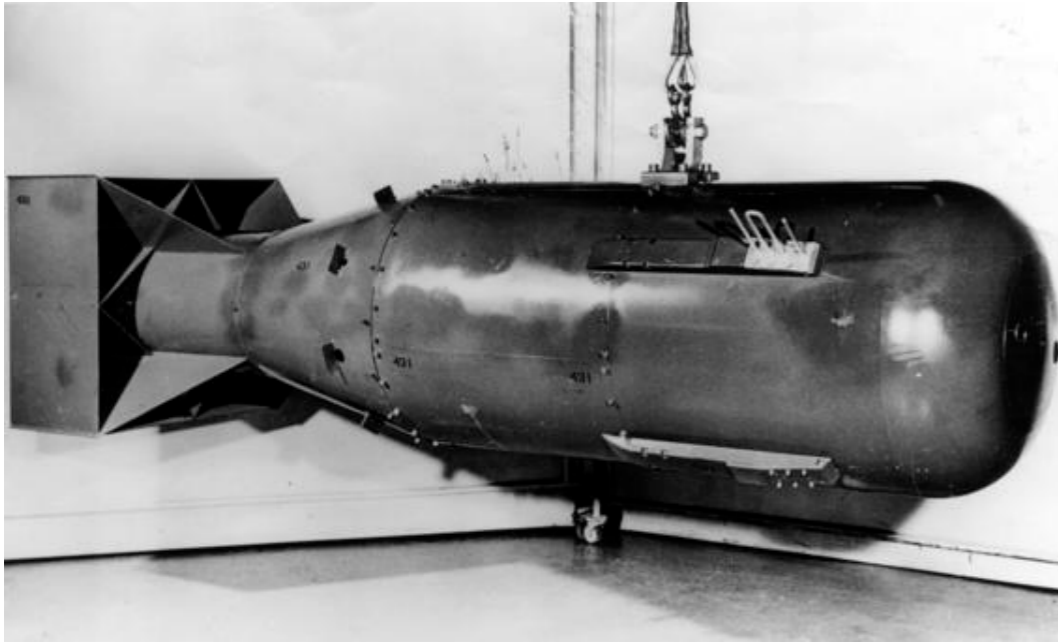


Table 2: Indices of American Manufacturing Output (1939 = 100)

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Aircraft	245	630	1706	2842	2805
Munitions	140	423	2167	3803	2033
Shipbuilding	159	375	1091	1815	1710
Aluminum	126	189	318	561	474
Rubber	109	144	152	202	206
Steel	131	171	190	202	197

Source: Milward, 69.

II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation



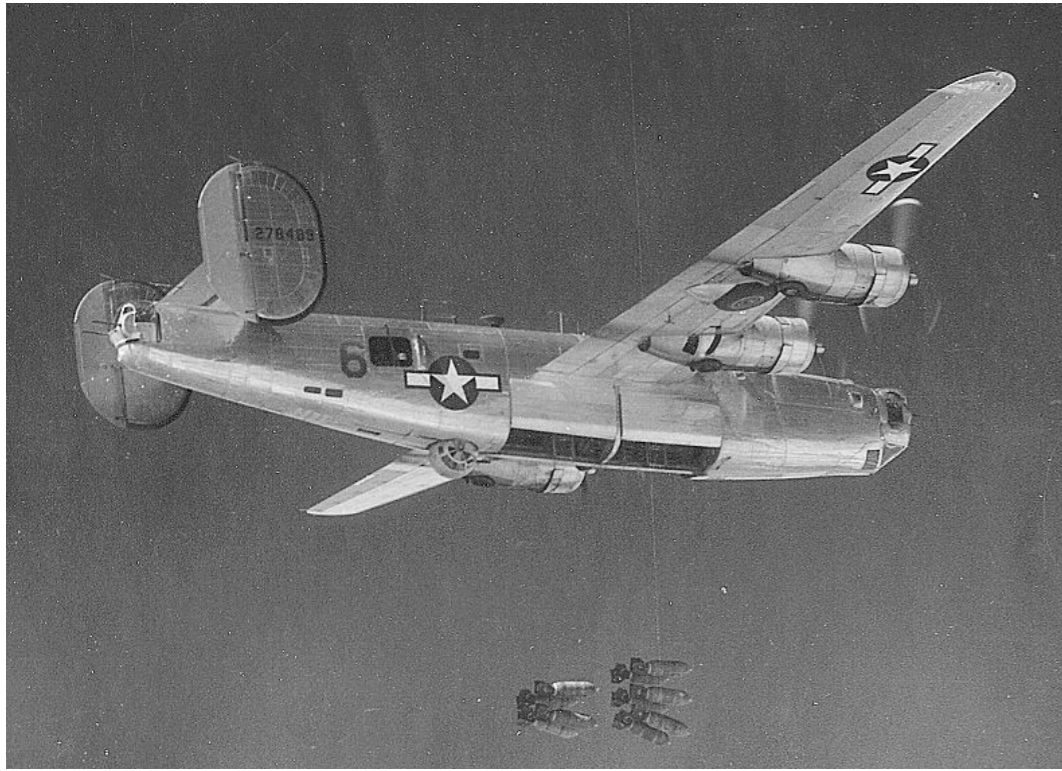
{“Little Boy” atomic bomb 1945)}

- Manhattan Project to secretly fund & build atomic bomb
 - cost \$2b & employed 100,000 men
 - precedent of secret collaboration between university researchers, govt., & military - financing & purpose withheld from Congress

- similar project in USSR to fight on major front in WW₂
 - easier to do for a centralized communist economy
 - 29.5m million men conscripted to fight (of which 9-11m killed)



II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation



{A B-17 “Flying Fortress” (1943)}

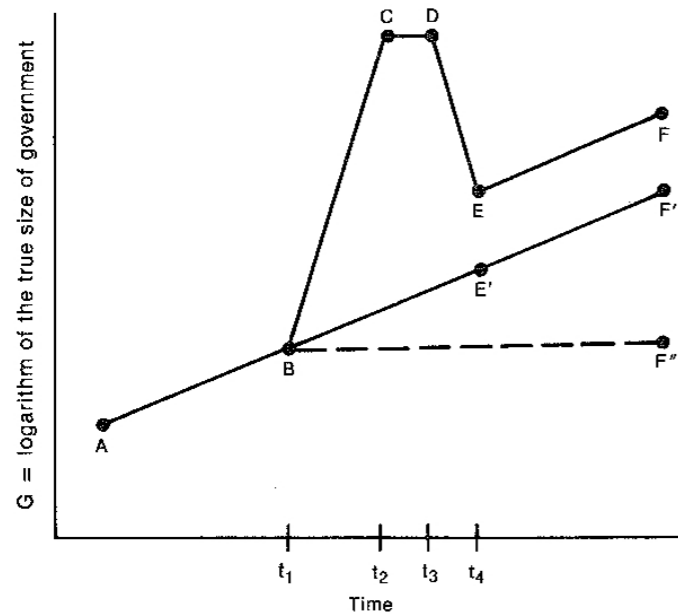


{M4 Sherman tank (1943)}

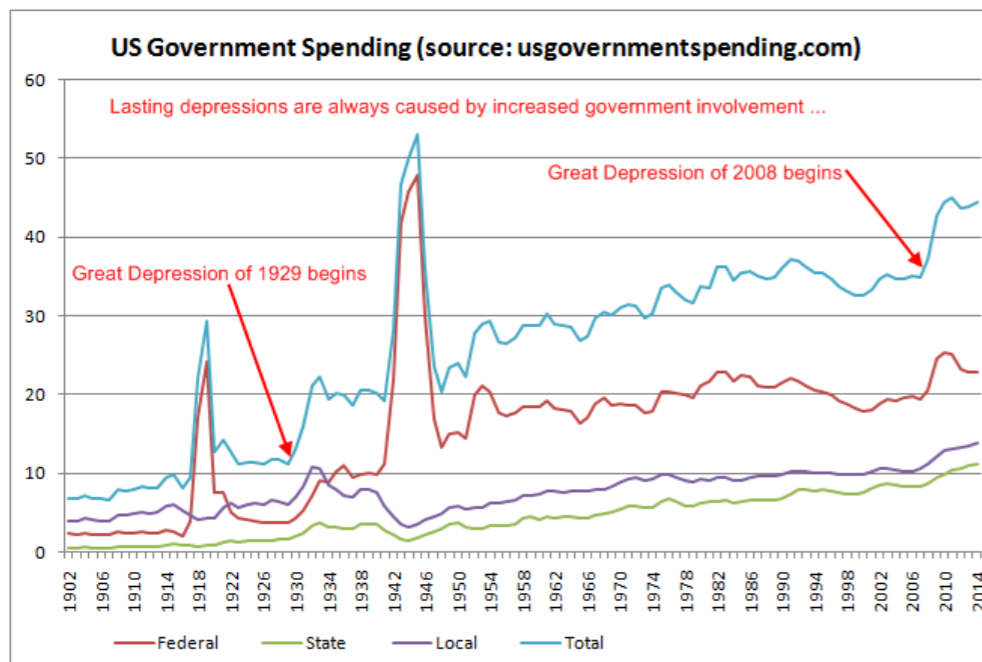
- massive project to turn US economy from consumer production to war production 1941-45
 - to supply war materiel to Britain, USSR (Lend-Lease), and for its own use
 - conscription (draft) - 50m registered, 38m classified, 10m “inducted” (conscripted)
 - conversion of civilian production to war production of tanks, warships, planes
- War Production Board (1942) & Controlled Materials Plan
- over 50,000 Sherman tanks were built
- over 12,000 B17 Flying Fortress heavy bomber were built (dropped 640,000 tonnes of the 1.5m bombs dropped over Germany)

II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation

Figure 4.1 Schematic Representation of the Ratchet

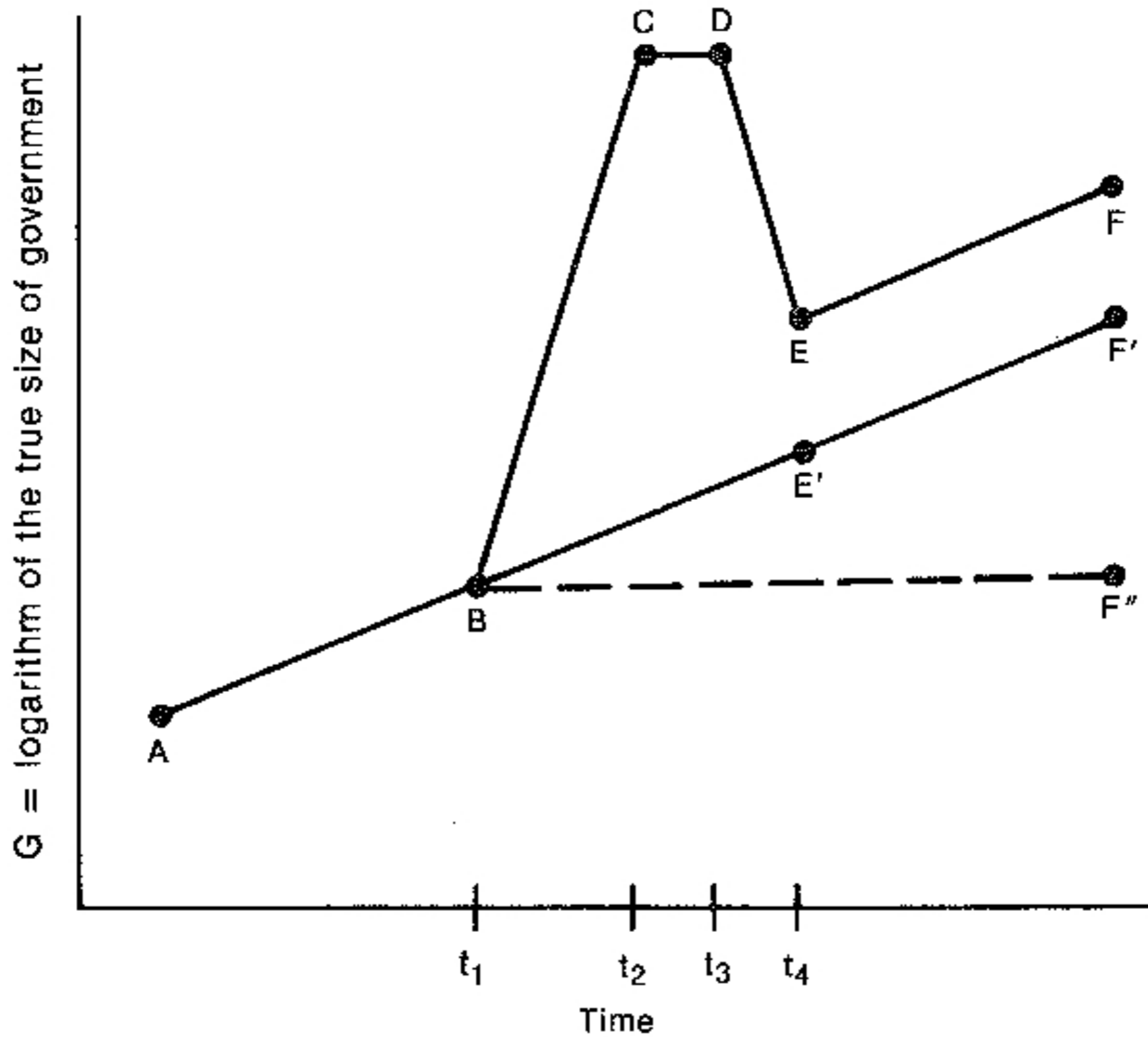


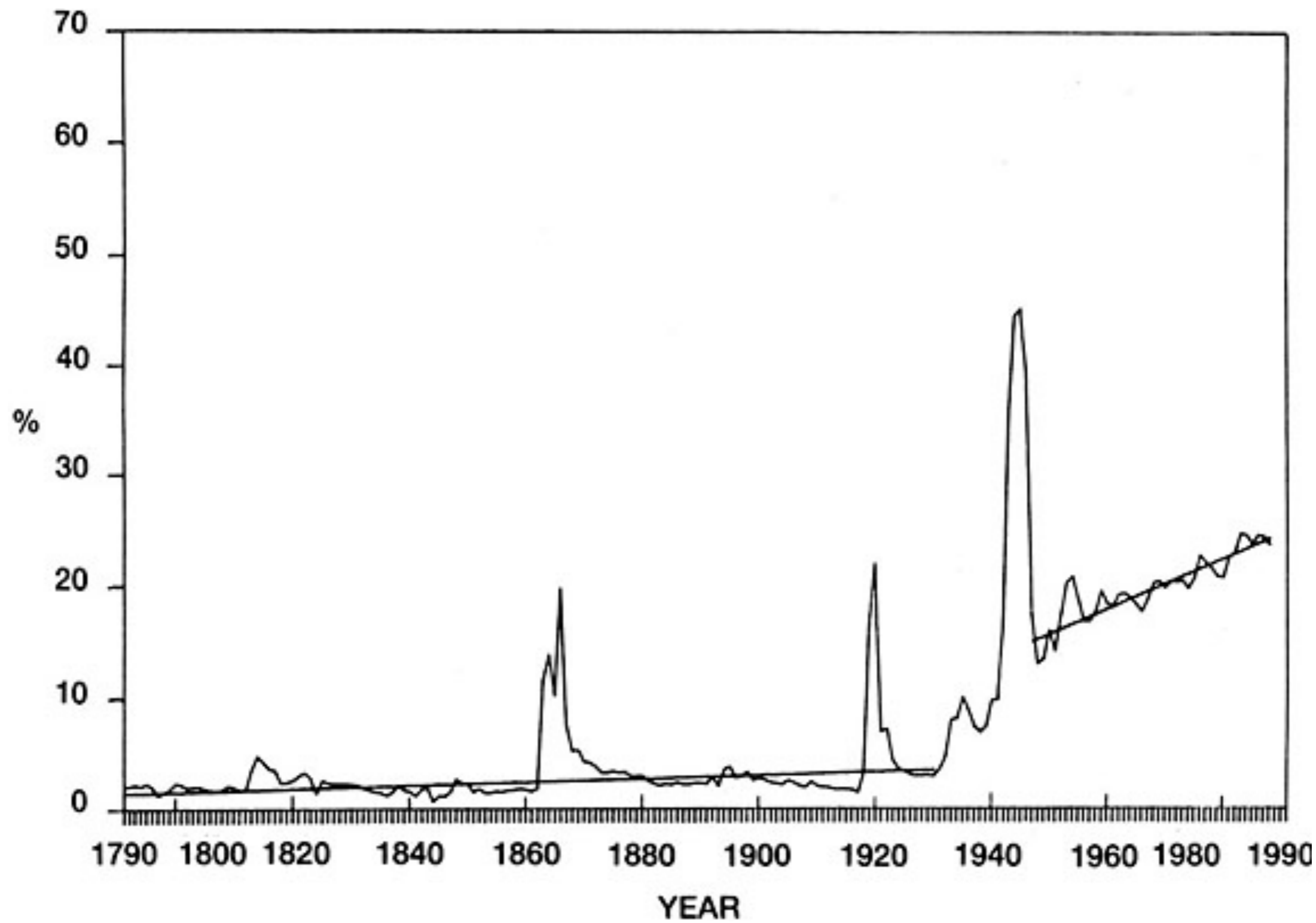
- long term consequences
 - Higgs' "ratchet effect" means once State spending and debt increase because of a "crisis" (war or depression) they never return to the levels they were before the crisis
 - US government expenditure dramatically boosted during Civil War, WWI, WWII, & "Great Recession of 2008"
 - US federal debt shows similar pattern
 - Question: how much longer can this go on before there is a correction or economic crisis?



Robert Higgs, "The Ratchet Effect"

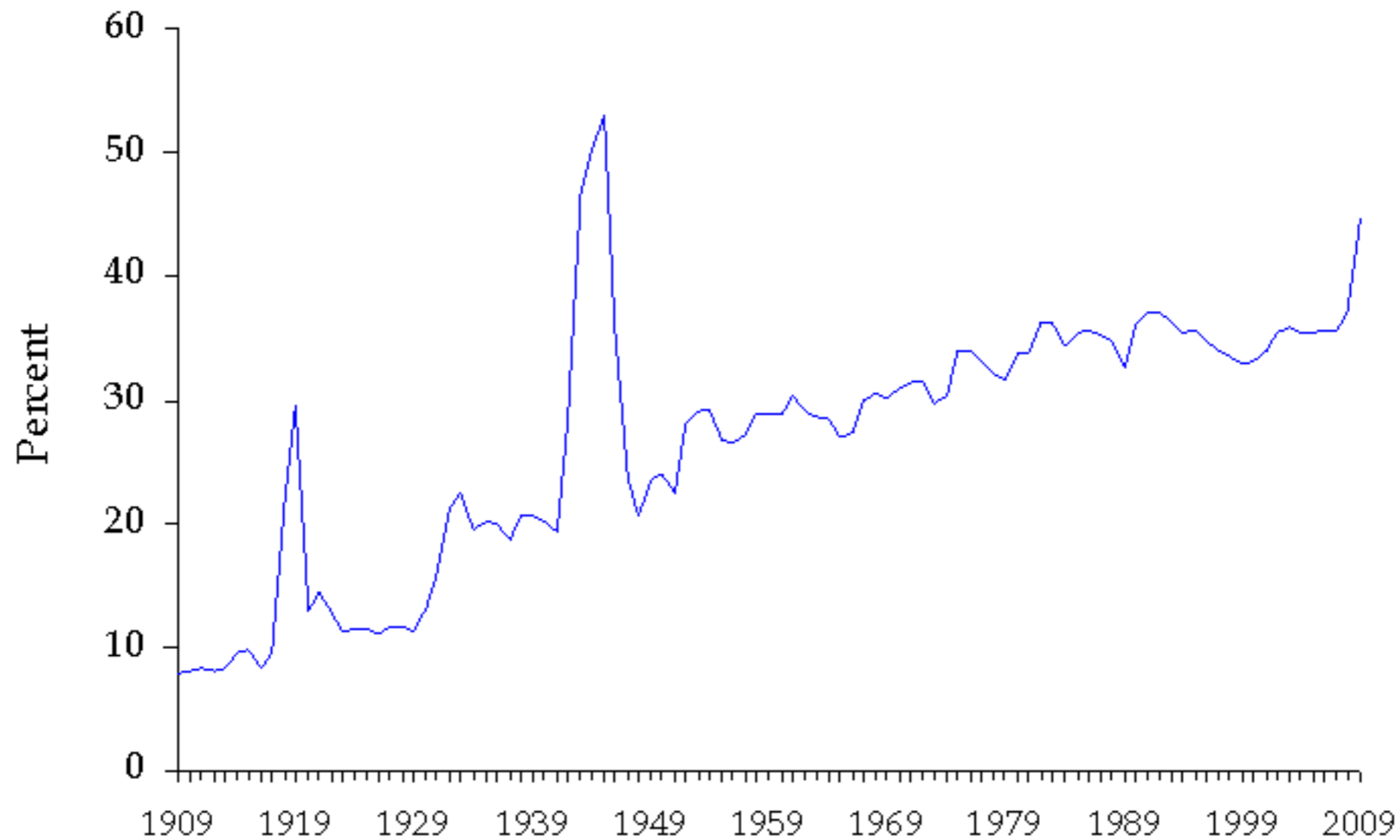
Figure 4.1 Schematic Representation of the Ratchet





US Government Expenditure from the Founding

Government Spending as a Percent of GDP*

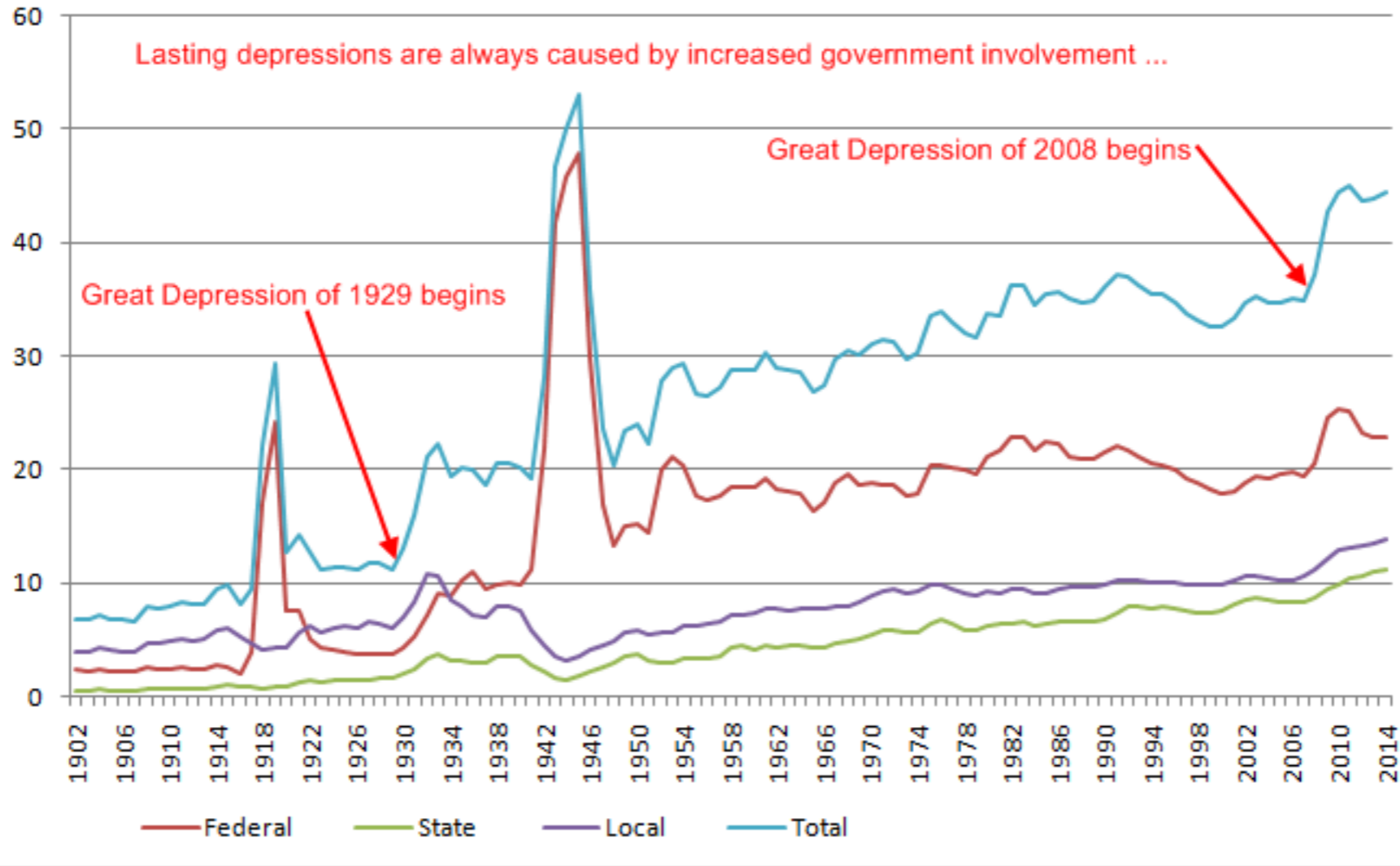


* Includes Federal, State, and Local

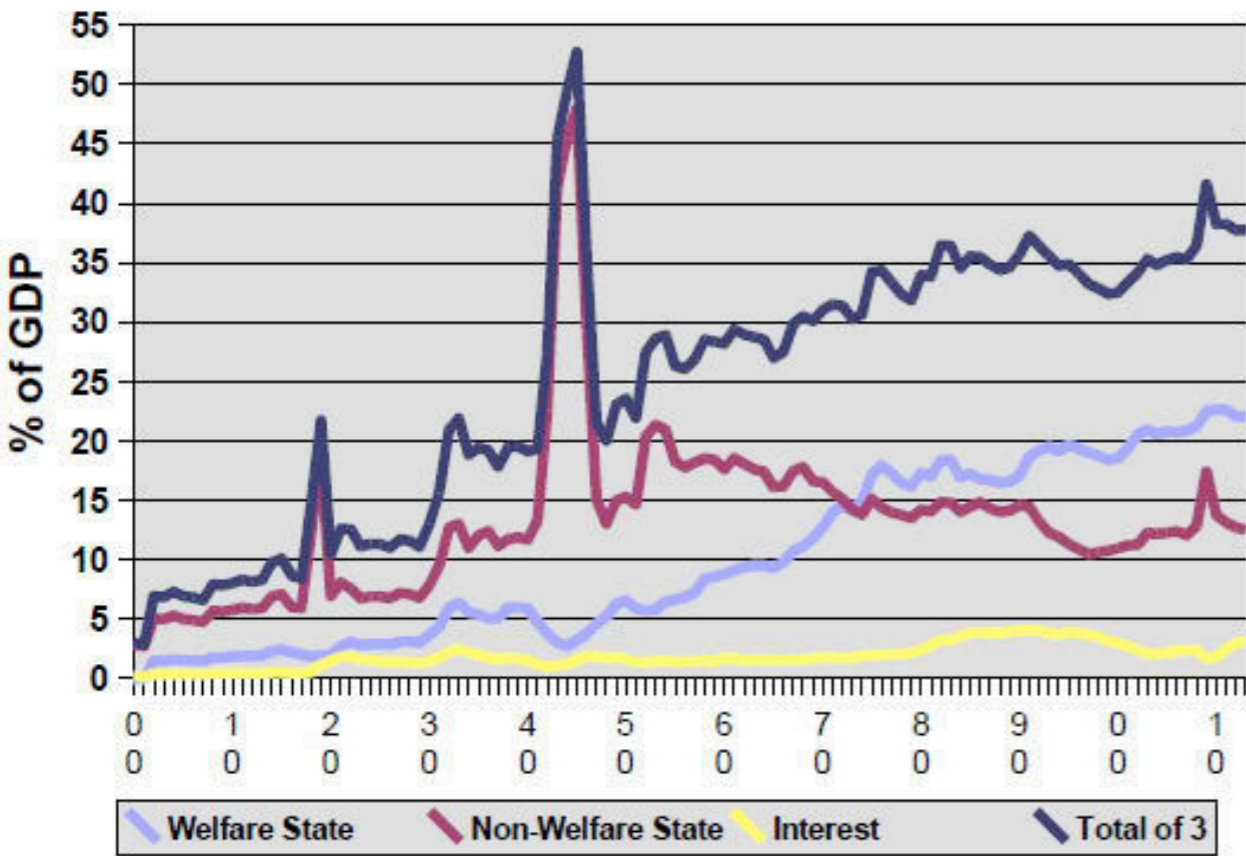
ECONOMICDATA

The 30 Years War of the 20thC - Government Expenditure

US Government Spending (source: usgovernmentspending.com)

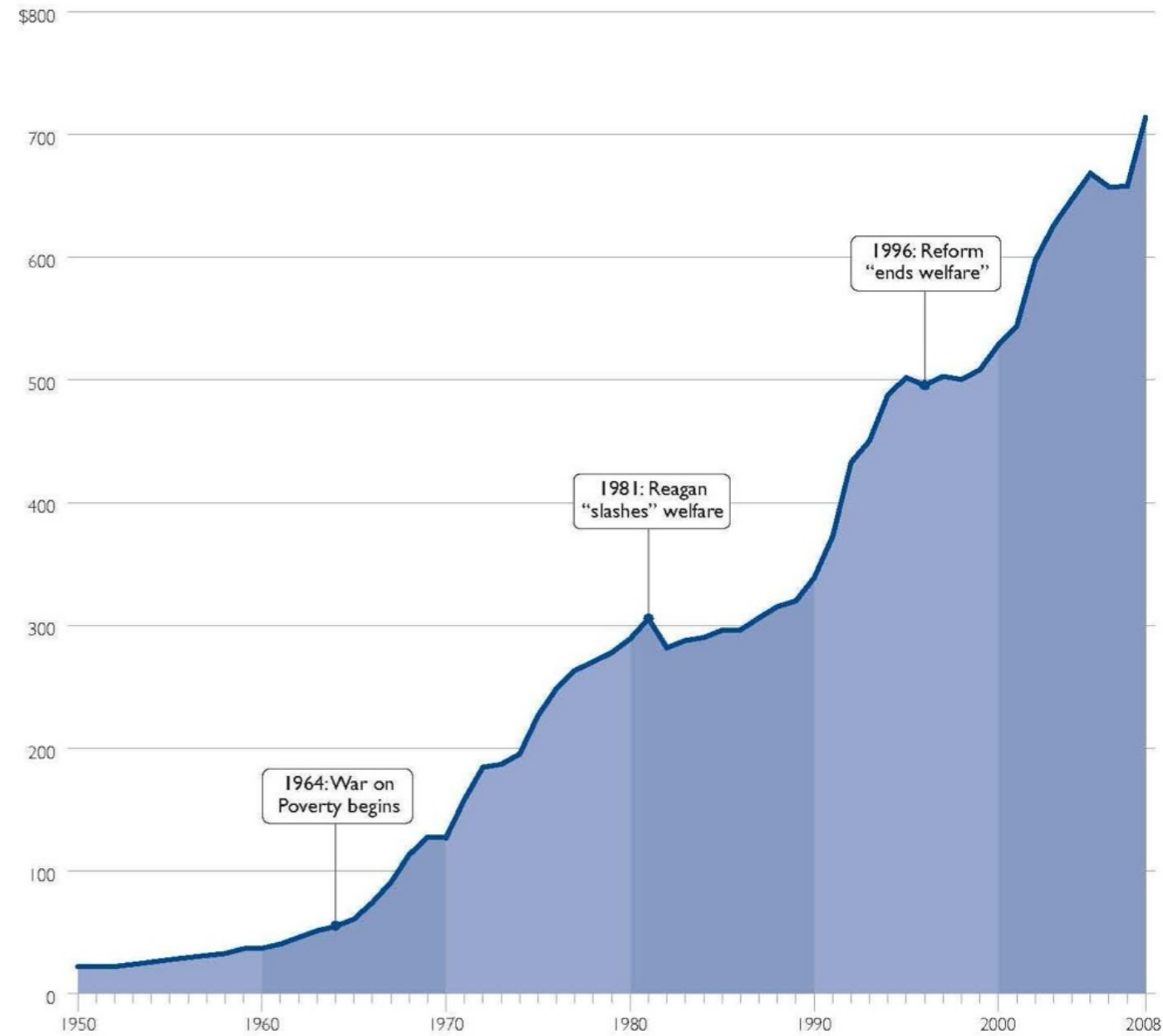


Total Government Spending 1900-2014



History of Total Welfare Spending

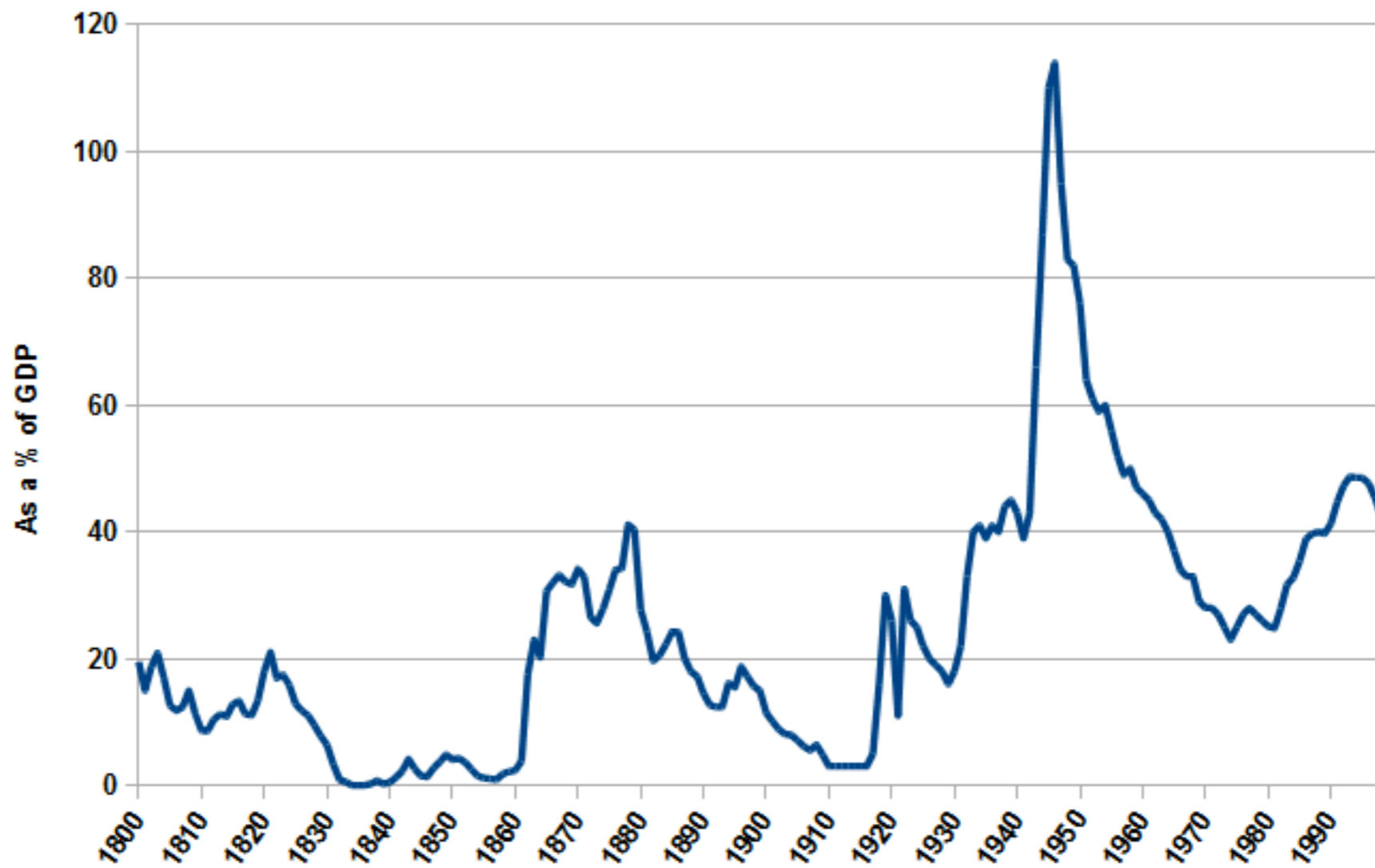
Spending in Billions of 2008 Dollars



Source: The Heritage Foundation, from current and previous OMB budget documents and other official government sources.

File:US Federal Debt.png

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia



II. Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation: Summary



- modern, industrialized war is “total” in that it requires the mobilization of the entire nation to fight or supply those who fight
- Germany in WWI pioneered the creation of “war socialism” to achieve this end - variants also used in WW2 by US:
 - end of the free market & free trade
 - requires state control of prices, allocation of resources, war financing through inflation & debt
 - requires conscription either to fight or to work in the factories
 - requires a propaganda program to maintain morale, check criticism of government
- “war socialism” became model for Bolshevik central planning
- long term economic consequences of the “ratchet effect”



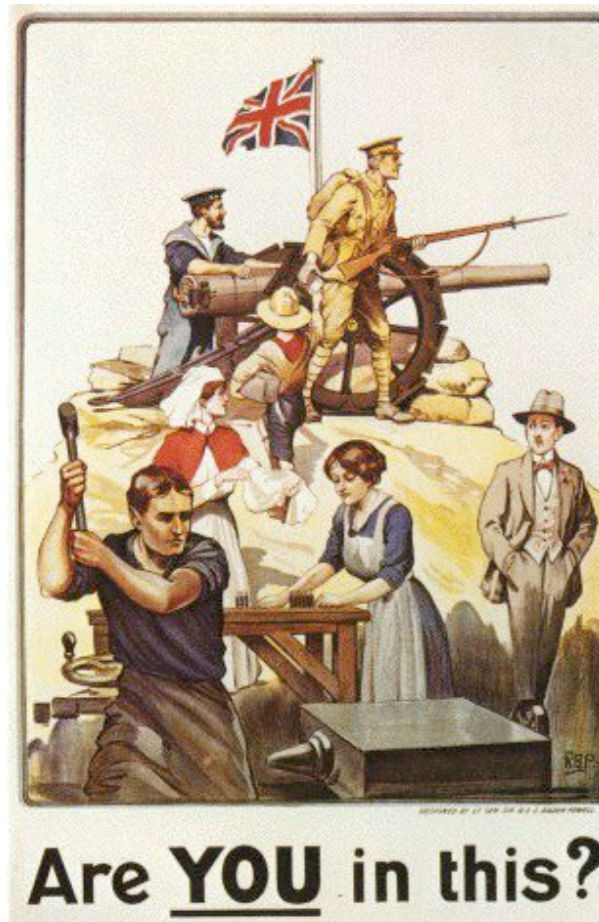
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Pablo Picasso's "Guernica" (1937)



- The greatest artistic representation of the killing of civilians in modern war is Picasso's mural "Guernica"
- painted for the Spanish Pavillion at the International Exhibition in Paris
- depicts the bombing of the Basque town of Guernica on April 26, 1937 by the German air force which was assisting General Franco in the Spanish Civil War
- 800-2,000 people killed in instance of "terror bombing"
- Picasso's painting became iconic anti-war painting that now resides in the Prado Museum in Madrid





Pablo Picasso's "Guernica" (1937)



{Vickers machine gun & gas mask}



{Tank (1918)}

III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing

- when the entire nation is mobilized for war then every citizen is an enemy who can & should be killed to win the war - the “home front” is just another front in the war
- Britain’s naval blockade of Germany in WWI was designed to starve German workers & civilians
- Generals on Western Front refused to give up their idea that a “valiant charge” of men could overcome barbed wire, machine guns, & trenches
- ordinary soldiers persisted in their notions of patriotism (“It is sweet and fitting to die for the Fatherland”) & that war was a test of “manhood” until late in the war

III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing

- deaths in 1st modern high tech “total war”:
 - Central Powers
 - Austria-Hungary (51m) 1.1m military; .5 m civilian
 - German Empire (65m) 2m military; .5m civilian
 - Ottoman Empire (21m) .75m military; 2.2m civilian
 - total (143m) 4m military; 3.1 civilian (7.2m)
 - Entente Powers
 - France (40m) 1.4m military; .3m civilian
 - Australia (4.5m) 62,000
 - Britain (45m) .8m military; .1m civilian
 - Russian Empire (175m) 1.8m military; 1.5m civilian
 - USA (92m) 116,000 military
 - total (809m) 5.7m military; 3.6m civilian



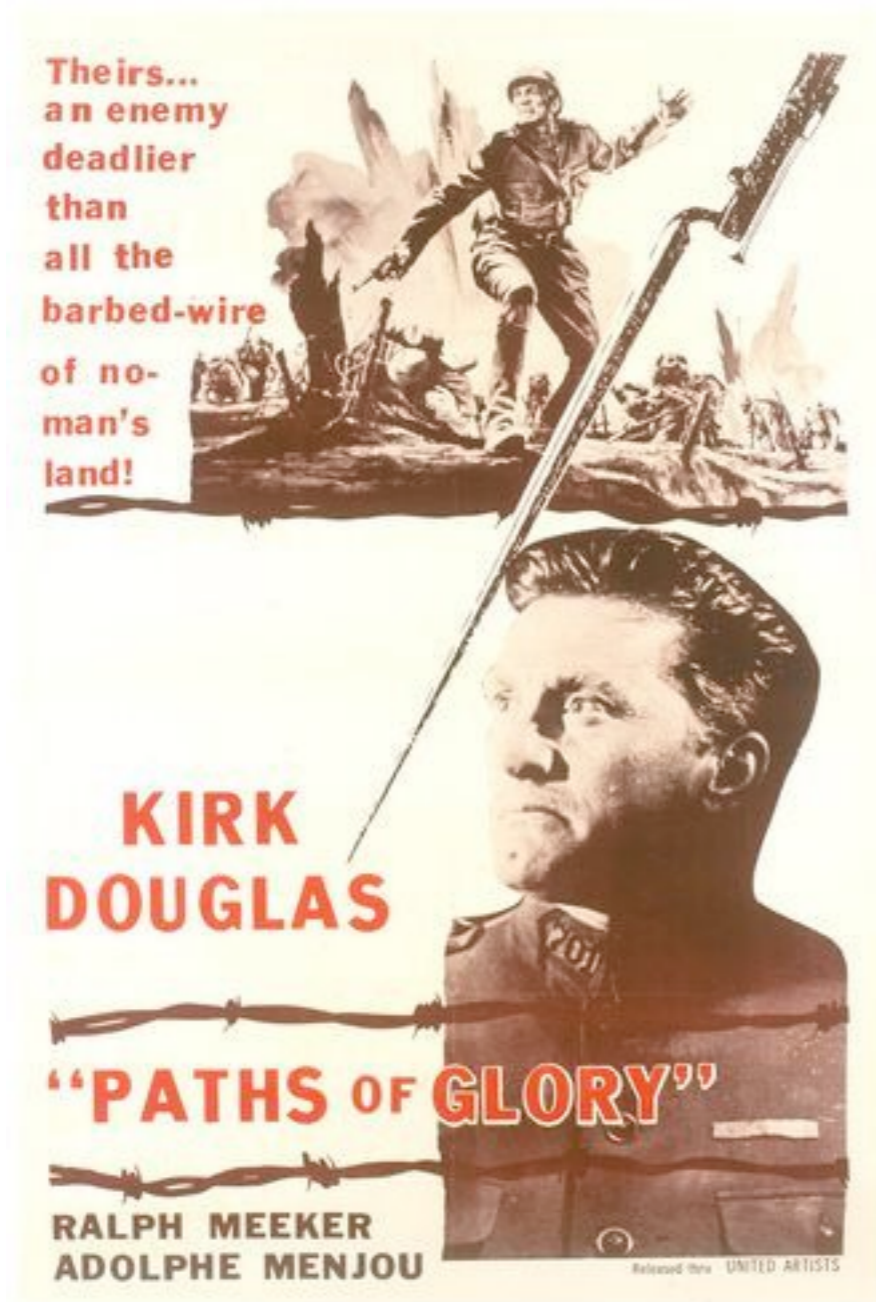
{Otto Dix, “The Skull” *Der Krieg* (1924)}

III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing

World War I (1914-1918)

Central Powers	Total Pop.	Military deaths	Civilian Deaths
Austria-Hungary	51m	1.1m	0.5m
German Empire	65m	2m	0.5m
Ottoman Empire	21m	0.75m	2.2m
Total	143m	4m	3.1m

Entente Powers	Total Pop.	Military deaths	Civilian Deaths
France	40m	1.4m	0.3m
Britain	45m	0.8m	0.1m
Russian Empire	175m	1.8m	1.5m
Australia	4.5m	62,000	-
USA	92m	116,000	-
Total	809m	5.7m	3.6m
Grand Total	{16.4m}	9.7m	6.7m



Stanley Kubrick, "Paths of Glory" (1957)

Stanley Kubrick, "Paths of Glory" (1957)



Stanley Kubrick, "Paths of Glory" (1957)



{1,000 bomber raid on Cologne (1942)}

III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing

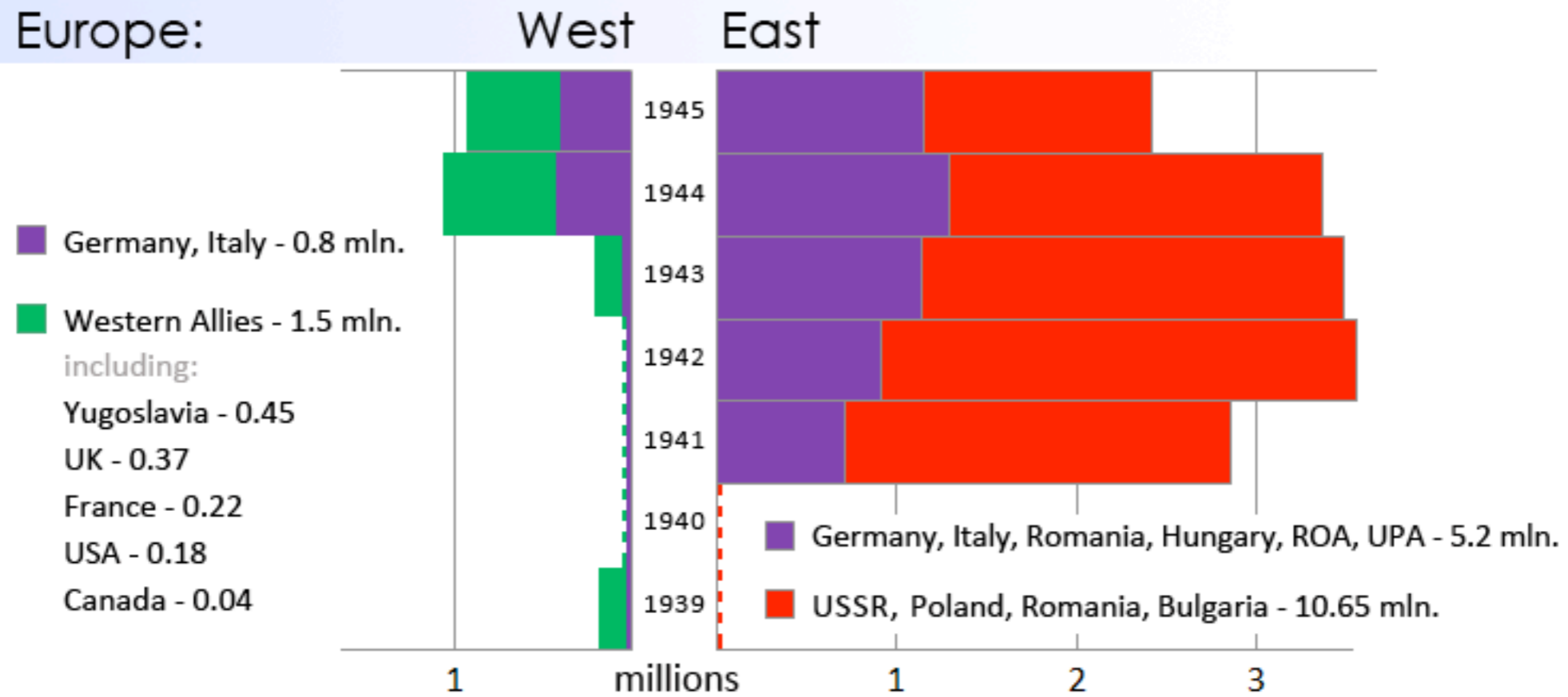
- the bombing of cities in WW2 was designed to destroy:
 - the “will to fight” of German citizens
 - the war factories & the workers who worked their (and their homes)
 - 1,000 bomber raids on German cities went in 2 waves - regular bombs to break up buildings, gas & water mains; then fire bombs to cause fires & disrupt rescue workers
- Nazi policy in the occupied eastern territories was to
 - exterminate racial enemies (Jews & Roma) & communists
 - seize territory for settlement by ethnic Germans
 - seize economic resources for German autarky



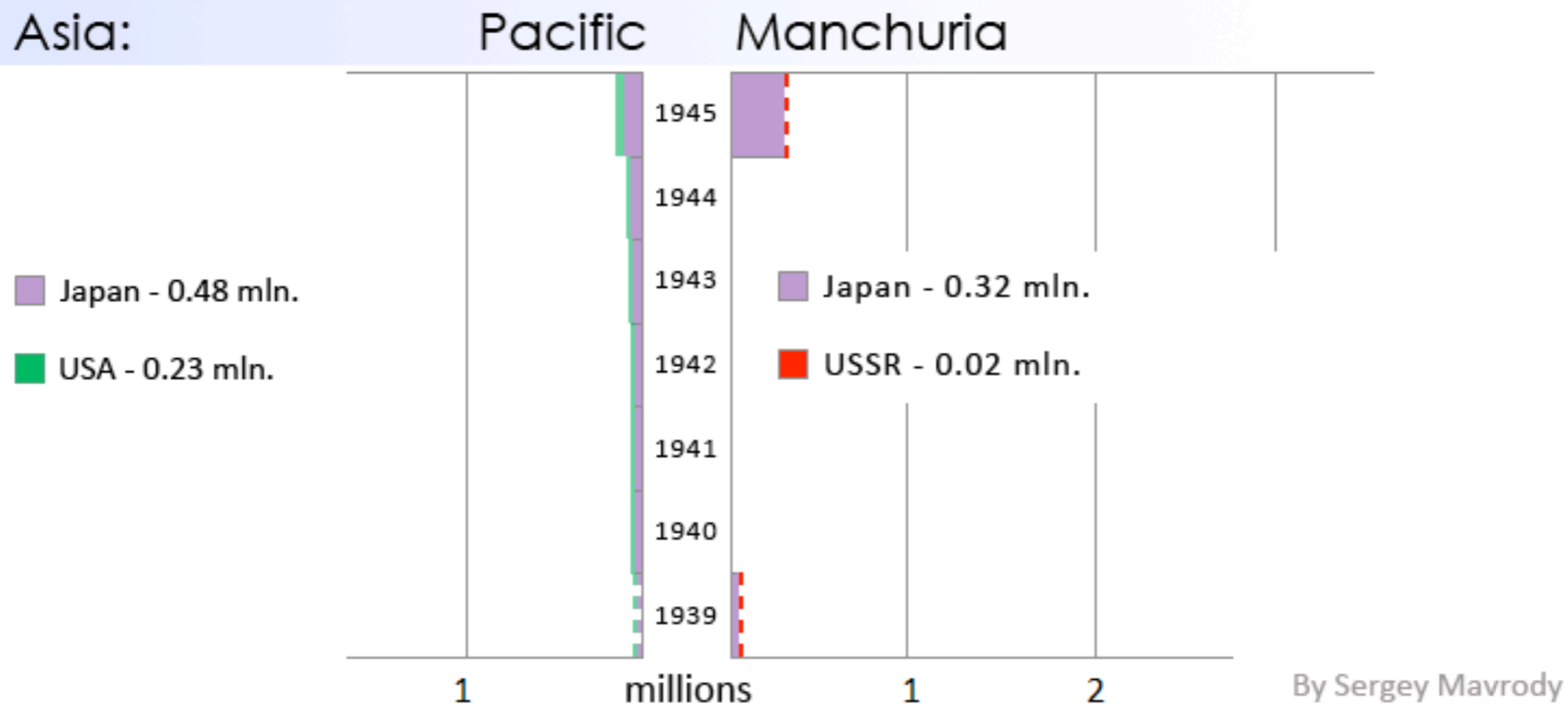
{Atomic bombing of Nagasaki (1945)}

World War II - visual scale of military deaths by theater, year

Europe:



Asia:



III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing



{Railway entry to Auschwitz death camp (1944)}



{P. Picasso's unfinished "The Charnel House" (1944)}

- total deaths are extraordinary
 - Jews 5-6m (out of pre-war population of 9m) - most in Poland (3m) & USSR (1m)
 - Germany (70m) 5.5m military; 1-3m civilian
 - USSR (168m) 9-11m military; 15m civilian
 - USA (130m) 416,000 military; 1,700 civilian
 - Japan (71m) 2m military; 0.5-1m civilian
 - World totals 22-25 military; 38-55m civilian [60-80m]

III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing

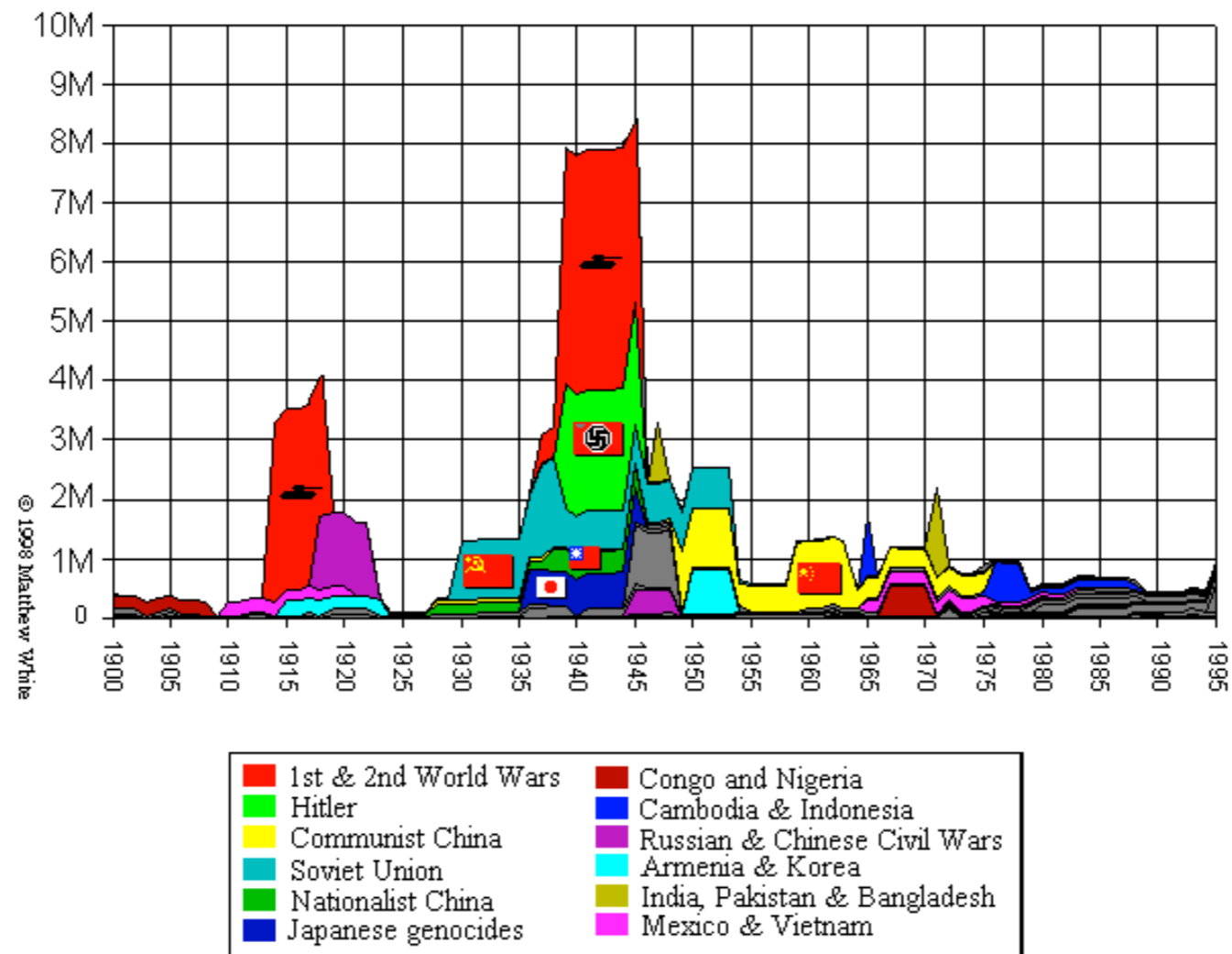
Deaths from World War 2

Major Participants	Total Pop.	Military deaths	Civilian Deaths
Jews	9m	-	5-6m
Germany	70m	5.5m	1-3m
USSR	168m	9-11m	15m
USA	130m	416,000	1,700
Japan	71m	2m	0.5-1m
Grand Total	[60-80m]	22-25m	38-55m

III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing

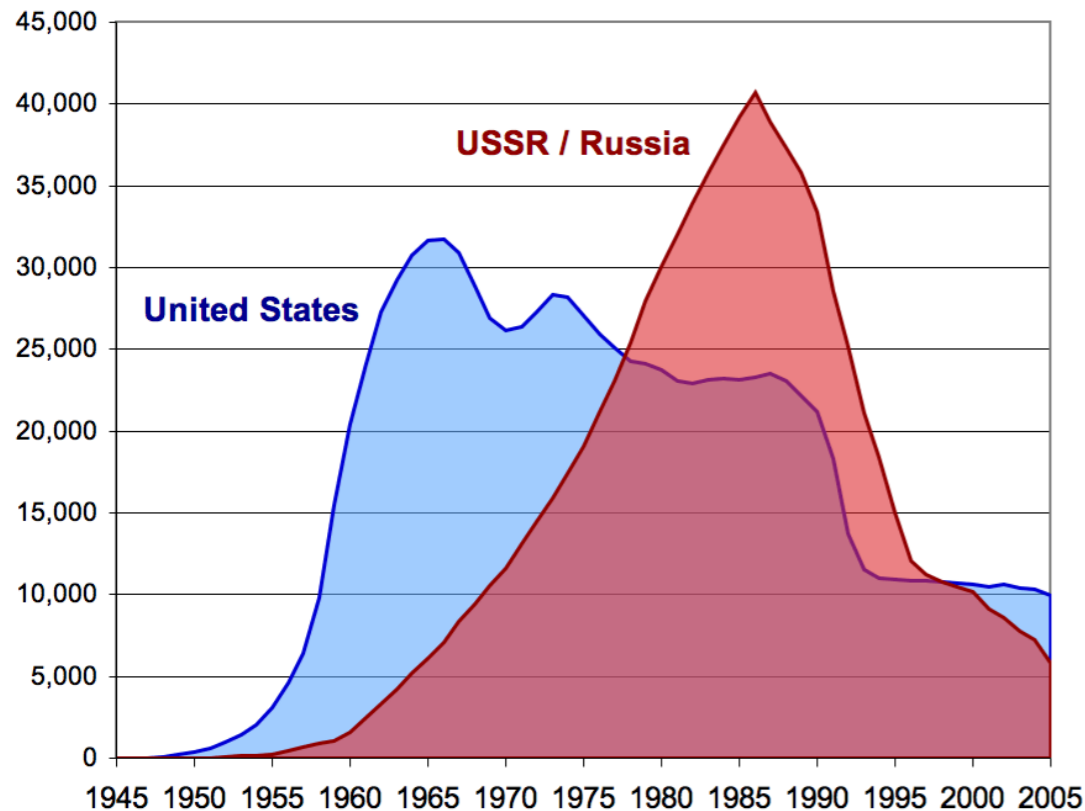
Wars, Massacres and Atrocities of the Twentieth Century

Year-by-Year Death Toll:

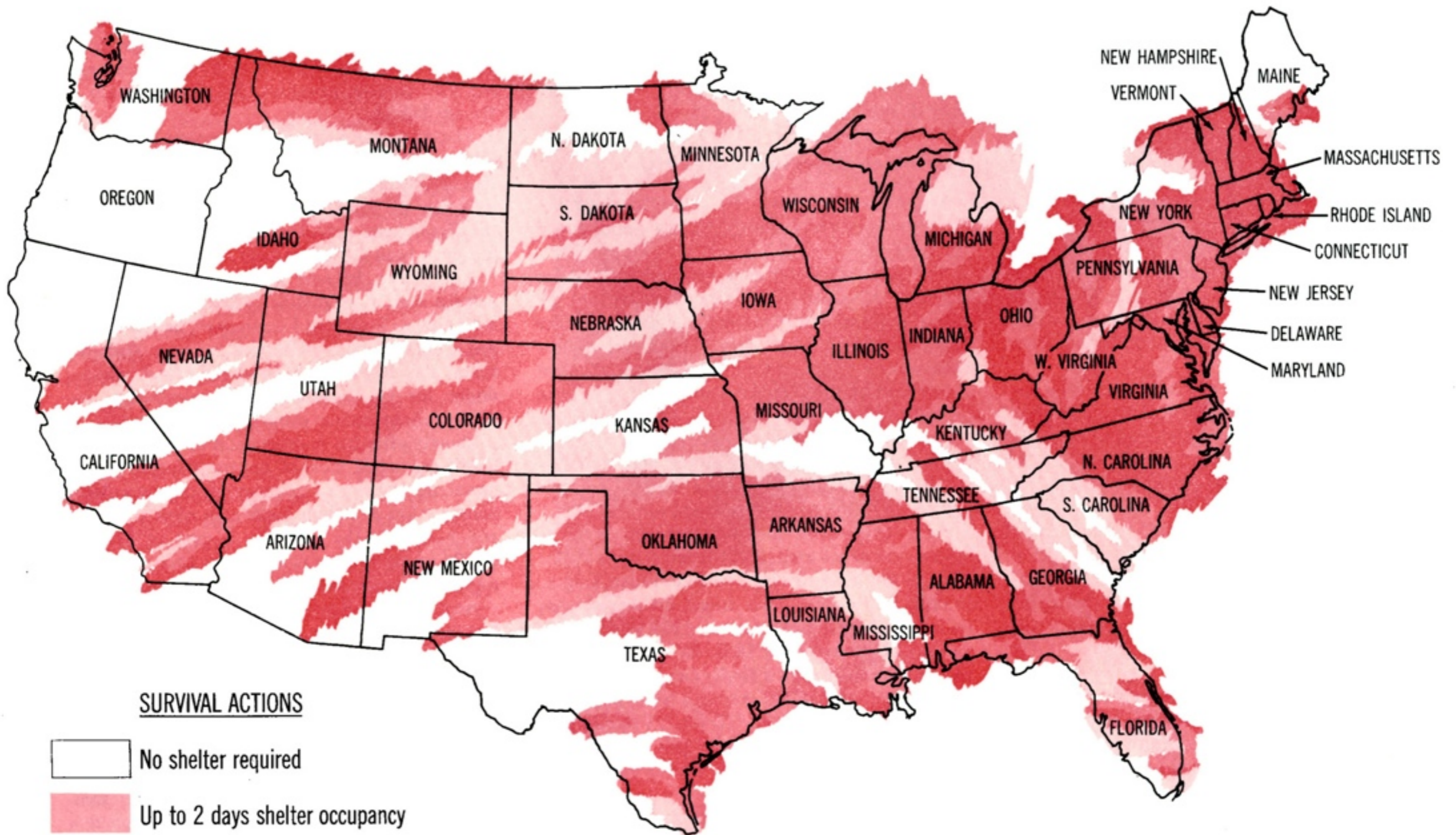


{R.J. Rummel's "State Regime's Democide" (1900-1995)}

III. Death by Government: The Industrialization of Killing



- the possession & first use of nuclear weapons by the US against Japan in WW2 began an arms race that lasted throughout the Cold War (1948-1991)
 - at its peak the US had over 30,000 nuclear weapons in 1965
 - at its peak the USSR had over 40,000 nuclear weapons in 1985
- a nuclear weapon is designed to destroy an entire city (a more “efficient” way than 1,000 bomber raids in WW2); a nuclear submarine could destroy an entire nation
- both the Soviet Union & the US had the machinery & the men willing to carry out this if they were ordered to
- expected casualties in a nuclear exchange ???
- possibility of a “nuclear winter” (Carl Sagan & Turko)



Defense Department map shows a hypothetical attack possible sometime in the future. Enemy attacks military, urban and industrial centers on windy spring day, exploding 3,000 megatons at ground level, plus airbursts. Blast, heat kill 62 million; without fallout shelters, radiation kills another 46 million.

{“Hypothetical Nuclear Attack on the US (66m dead out of pop. 188m)”, *Saturday Evening Post* (1963)}



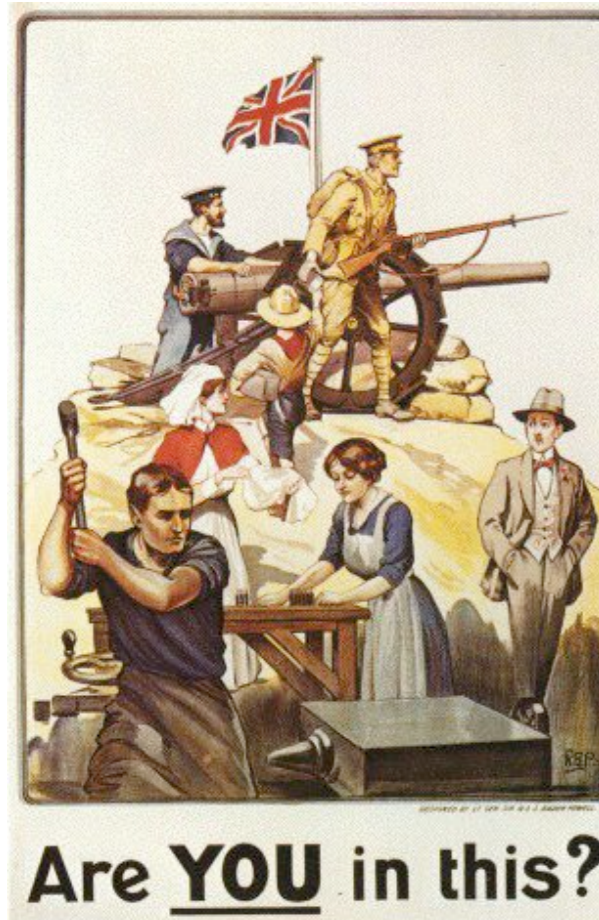
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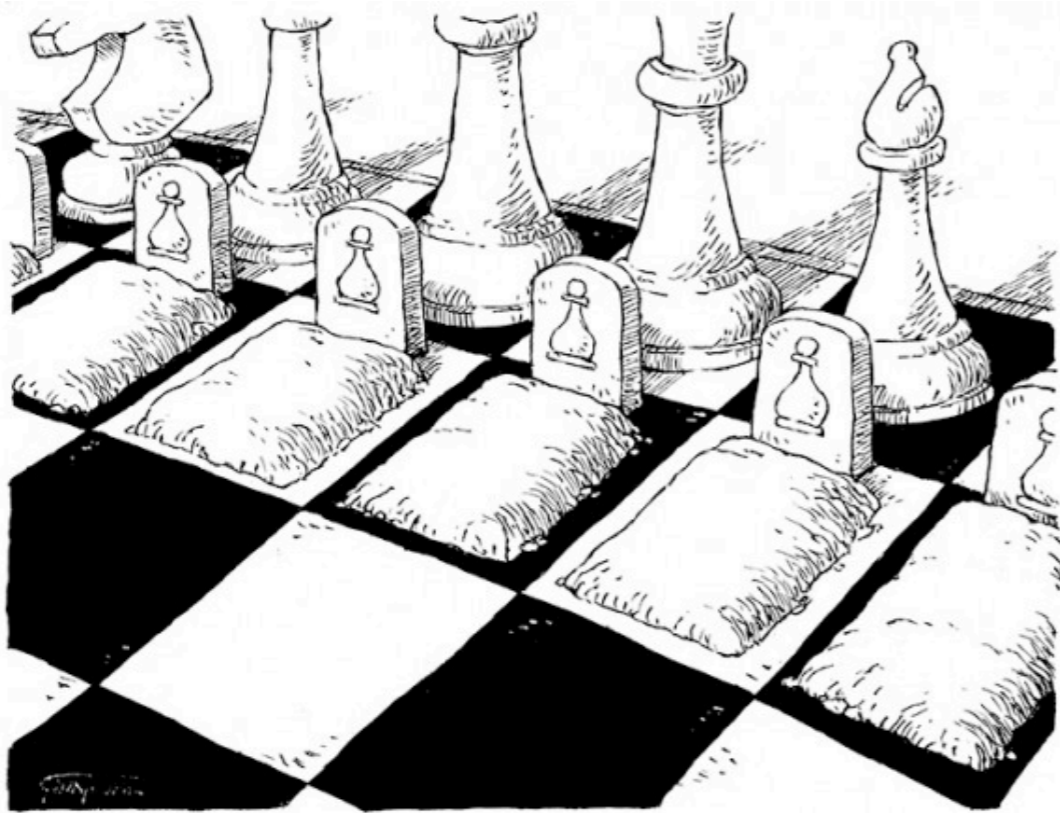
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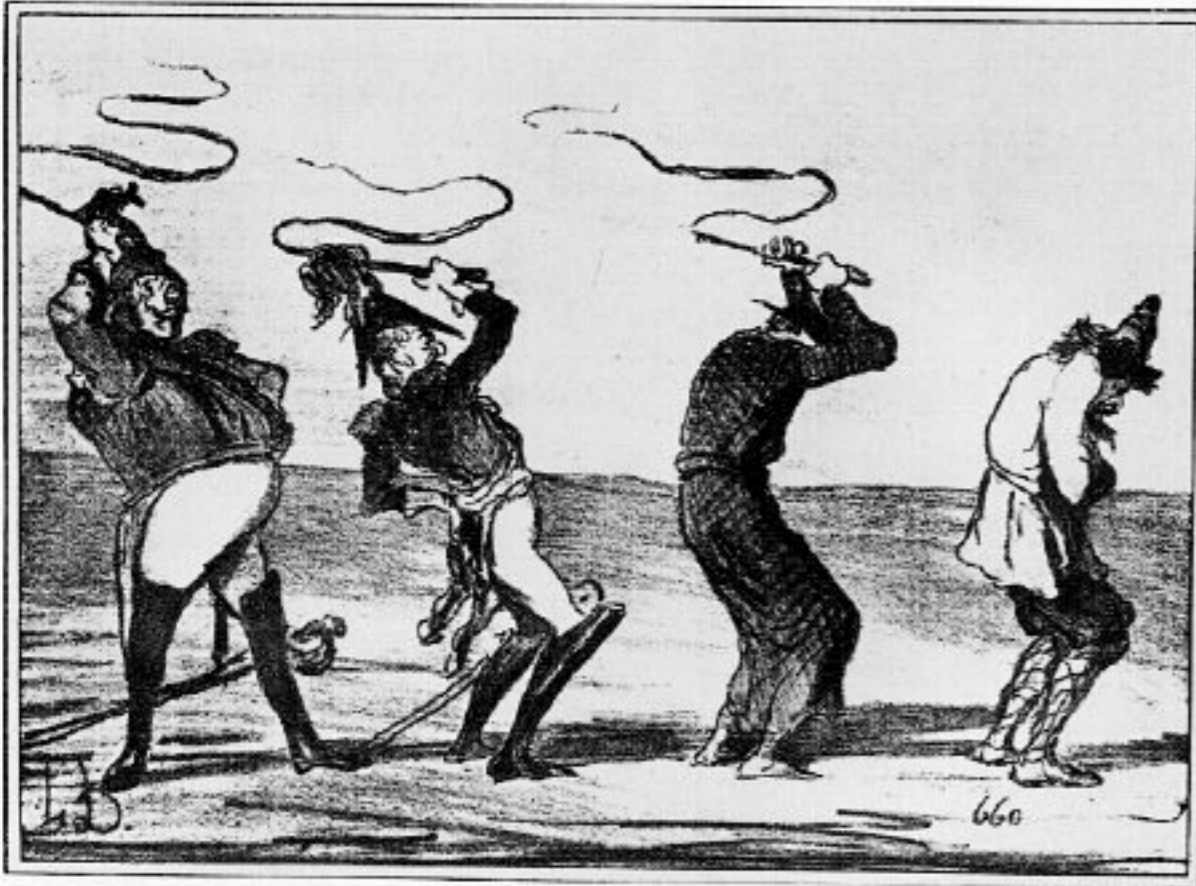


I. The Moral Legacies of Modern War



- State & ruling class increasingly treat all citizens & their property as pawns which can be moved about (even sacrificed) to carry out their plans
 - fight battles or work in war factories on the “home front”
- when all states do the same thing then all citizens & their property are “fair game” in wartime
 - killing civilians by mass bombing, economic blockade (starvation)

I. The Moral Legacies of Modern War



The Army Hierarchy.

- results in weakening of traditional “laws of war” in which there was clear distinction between combatant & no-combatant
 - spare non-combatants & cities
- citizens become habituated to obeying orders & killing on command without question
 - S. Milgram & P. Zimbardo experiments
- the moral corruption this causes to both those who give the orders & those who carry them out
 - the corrupting influence of power (Acton)
- questions the notion that human beings are inherently benevolent



The Army hierarchy.

Honoré Daumier - "The Army Hierarchy" (1850s)