



“WAR AND THE GROWTH OF THE STATE”
IHS “Liberty and Society” Summer Seminars 2012
Dr. David M. Hart

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THE CENTENNIAL OF THE DEATH OF GUSTAVE DE MOLINARI (1819-1912)

FOUNDING FATHER OF THE ANARCHO-CAPITALIST TRADITION

[Commemorating the Centennial of his death at 92 years of age on 28 January, 1912 in Adinkerke, Belgium]

GUSTAVE DE MOLINARI (1819-1912)
Commemorating the Centennial of his death at 92 years of age on
28 January, 1912 in Adinkerke, Belgium. [\[Obit\]](#)

Richard Cobden & Frédéric Bastiat urged us to demand "free trade in everything"
Gustave de Molinari dared to think about "free trade" in just one more thing...
free trade in government services.

John Locke's motto was "Pax ac Libertas". Molinari's was "La Liberté et la Paix". Mine is "In vino libertas".

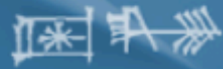


"(A)u risque d'être qualifiés d'utopistes, nous dirons que cela n'est pas contestable, et qu'un attentif examen des faits résoudra de plus en plus, en faveur de la liberté, le problème du gouvernement, de même que tous les autres problèmes économiques. Nous sommes bien convaincus, en ce qui nous concerne, que des associations s'établiront un jour pour réclamer la liberté de gouvernement, comme il s'en est établi pour réclamer la liberté du commerce." (Molinari, "The Production of Security" (1849)).

[See our [Molinari page](#) for more].

"[(A)t the risk of being considered utopian, we affirm that this is not disputable, that a careful examination of the facts will decide the problem of government more and more in favor of liberty, just as it does all other economic problems. We are convinced, so far as we are concerned, that one day groups will be established to agitate for *free government*, as they have already been established on behalf of free trade.] (Molinari, "The Production of Security" (1849)).

[See his [seminal papers](#) from which anarcho-capitalism sprang, which are part of an anthology I have edited of his writings on the State (1846-1912) (en français)].



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Molinari's 11th Soirée

Gustave de Molinari, *Les Soirées de la rue Saint-Lazare: entretiens sur les lois économiques et défense de la propriété* (Evenings on Saint Lazarus Street: Discussions on Economic Laws and the Defence of Property) (1849)

[A Draft of Liberty Fund's new translation]

[May 17, 2012]

[11th Evening]

[*SUMMARY: On government and its function – Monopoly governments and communist governments. – On the liberty of government. – On divine right. – That divine right is identical to the right to work. – The vices of monopoly government. – War is the inevitable consequence of this system. – On the sovereignty of the people. – How we lose our sovereignty. – How we can retrieve it. – The liberal solution. – The communist solution. – Communist governments. – Their vices. – Centralization and decentralization. – On the administration of justice. – On its former organisation. – On its current organisation. – On the inadequacy of the jury system. – How the administration of security and of justice could be made free. – The advantages of free governments. – How nationality should be understood.*]

LES
SOIRÉES DE LA RUE SAINT-LAZARE
ENTRETIENS
SUR
LES LOIS ÉCONOMIQUES
ET
DÉFENSE DE LA PROPRIÉTÉ

PAR
M.-G. DE MOLINARI

Membre de la Société d'économie politique de Paris.

Il faut bien se garder d'attribuer aux lois physiques les vices qui sont la cause et l'inévitable conséquence de la violation de l'ordre même de ces lois, institués pour épurer le bien. F. QUÉRYAT.



“WAR & THE GROWTH OF THE STATE” LECTURE OVERVIEW



**{Albrecht Dürer, “The Four Horsemen
of the Apocalypse” (1497)}
{Pestilence, War, Famine, & Death}**

I. The State Revolution in the 20th Century

II. “War is the Health of the State”, or how war helps the State grow

III. “The State is the Health of War”, or how the State makes war more lethal & destructive

IV. The Moral Legacies of Modern War

The State Revolution in the 20th Century

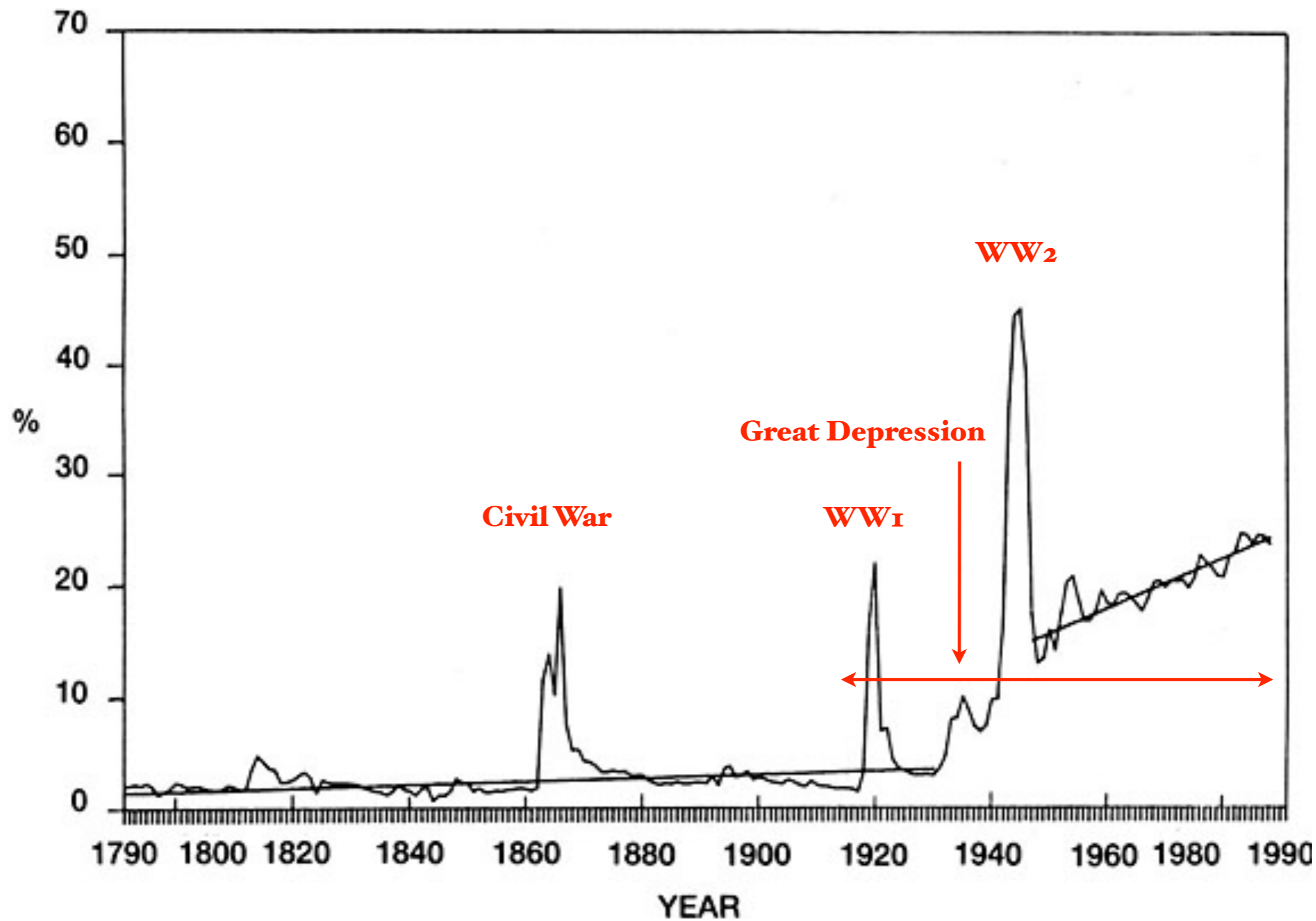
SIDE BY SIDE ~
BRITANNIA!



Britain's Day Dec. 7th 1918

MASS MEETING

- A **revolution in the size and power of the State** occurred during the 20th Century (includes US)
- **no. of States has increased** as a result of the break up of large multi-national Empires & de-colonization
 - each new State had all the institutions of a modern Nation State and manpower to run it
- **size of State has increased** hugely, US govt (% of GDP) from 8% to 45% [560% increase]
- **scope of State activity expanded** to include new regulatory apparatus, welfare State, govt owned industries, manipulation of money and credit
- **entirely new forms of State appeared** (war socialism, Nazism, Bolshevism, welfare State, military dictatorship)
- each new form of State or type of activity had its **accompanying ideology** (political, economic) to justify it, and its own **class or classes which benefited** from privileged access to State power



US Government Expenditure from the Founding

The State Revolution in the 20th Century

Two major currents which drove State expansion and growth with two different causes:

- **War Induced State Building**

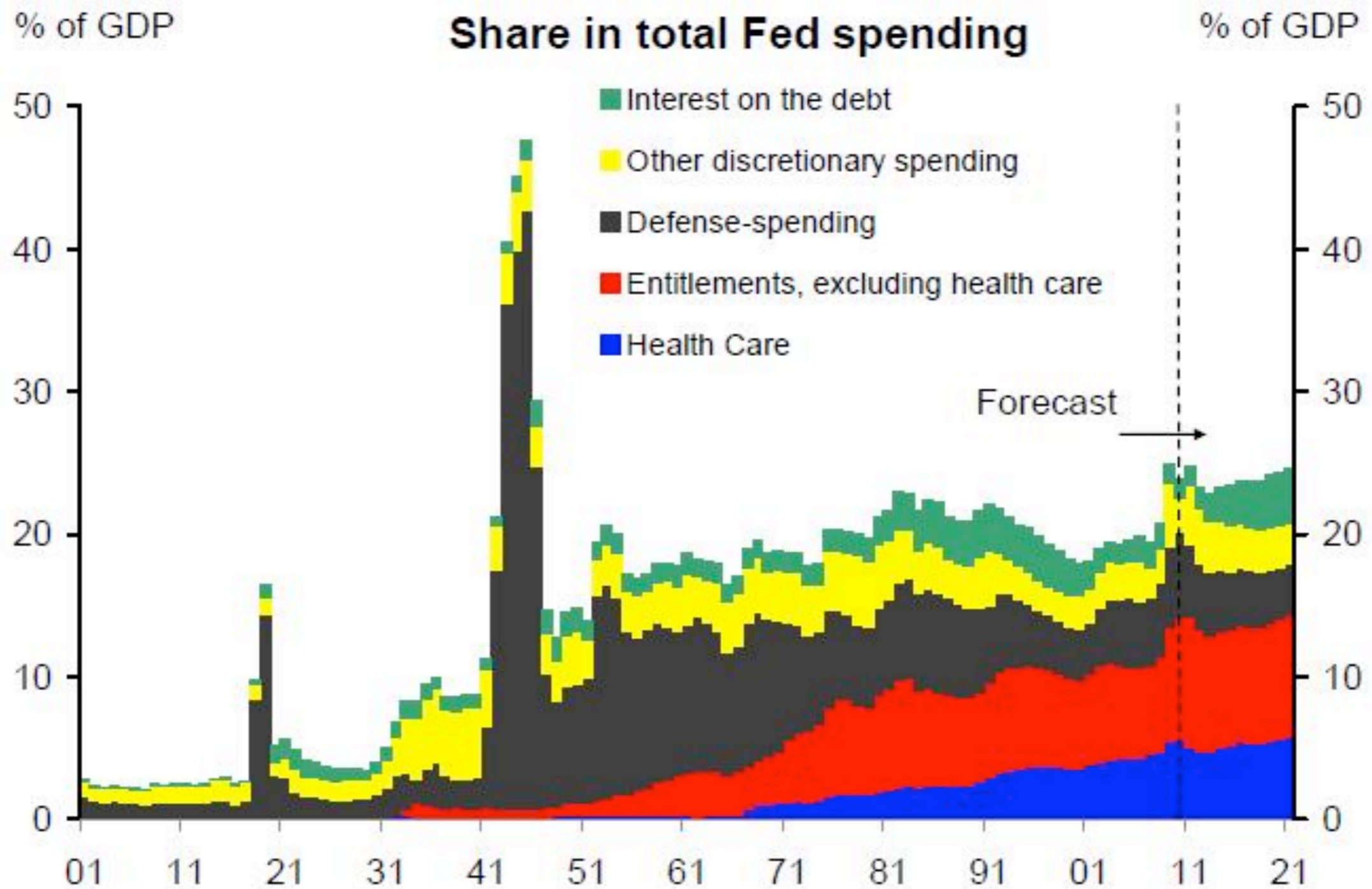
- 1st 3/4 of 20thC
- total war between powerful nation States [WW_I, WW₂]
- Cold War rivalry between nuclear superpowers [nature of war changed after WW₂ from conflict between nation states to civil wars within new states, wars of independence, revolutionary movements]

- **Welfare Induced State Building**

- last 1/4 of 20thC
- demand for state welfare during economic crisis (depression) or after major war [1929-39, post-1945]



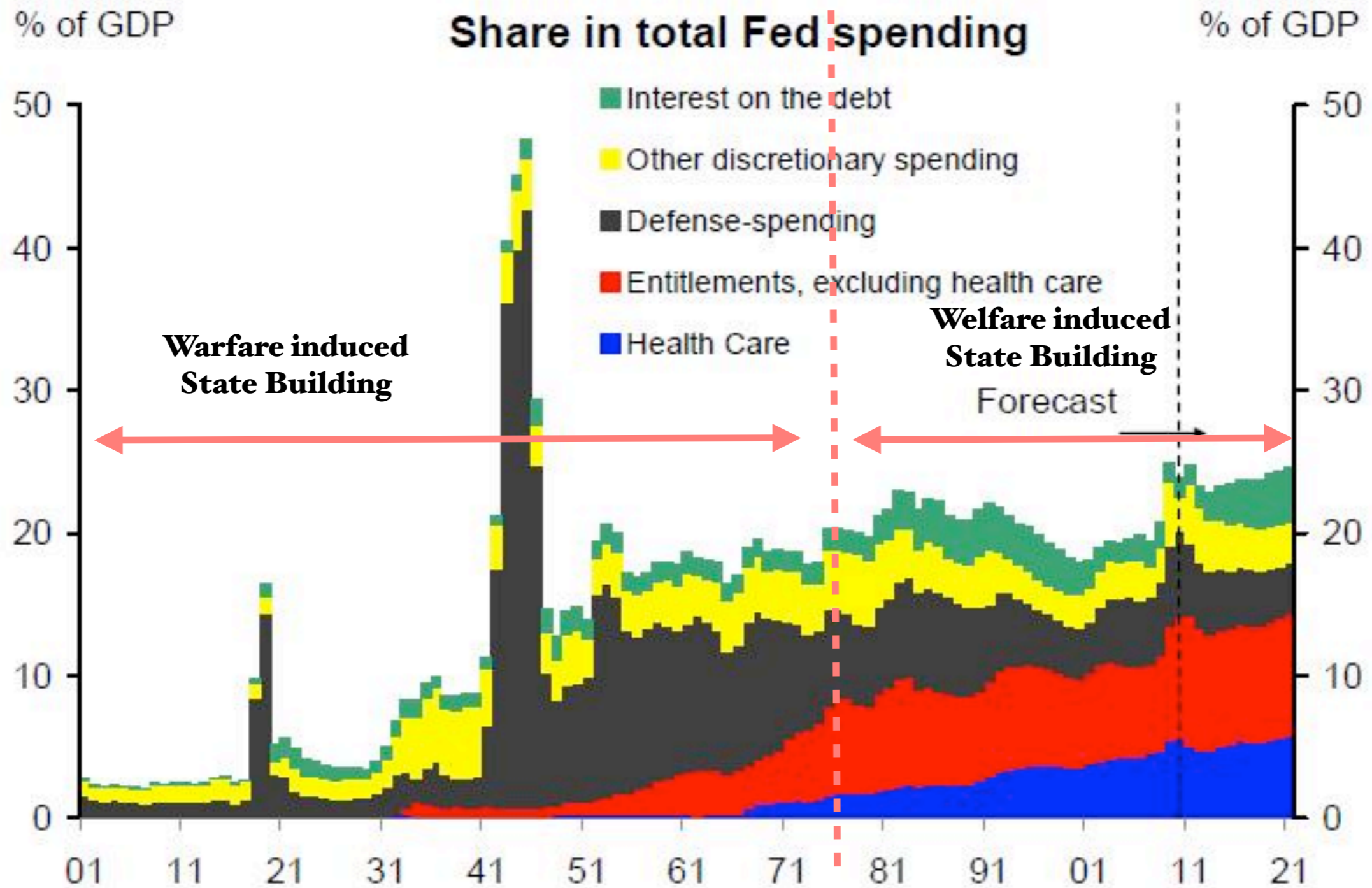
U.S. Federal Spending



Source: *usgovernmentspending.com, CBO, OMB, DB Global Markets Research*

Chart Source: Deutsche Bank

U.S. Federal Spending



Source: usgovernmentspending.com, CBO, OMB, DB Global Markets Research

Chart Source: Deutsche Bank

The Relationship between War & the State



{Albrecht Dürer, “The Four Horsemen
of the Apocalypse” (1497)}
{Pestilence, War, Famine, & Death}

War & the State have a **symbiotic** relationship:

- **“War is the health of the State”**
 - war brings state into existence
 - war expands size & power of the state
- **“The State is the health of War”**
 - resources state makes available for war greatly increases size & scope of war
 - central bank & national debt to pay for war
 - bureaucratic organization of economy



{The first rider with a bow represents pestilence.

The second, with a raised sword, represents war.

The third, with the empty scales, represents famine.

In front rides Death, sweeping citizens and a king into the jaws of Hades.}

{Libertarian 4 Horsemen: pestilence, war, inflation, & debt}

{Albrecht Dürer, "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" (1497)}

James Mill, *Commerce Defended* (1808)



[James Mill (1773-1836)]

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/73>>

To what baneful quarter, then, are we to look for the cause of the stagnation and misery which appear so general in human affairs? **War!** is the answer. There is no other cause. This is **the pestilential wind** which blasts the prosperity of nations. This is **the devouring fiend** which eats up the precious treasure of national economy, the foundation of national improvement, and of national happiness. Though the consumption even of a wasteful government cannot keep pace with the accumulation of individuals, the consumption of war can easily outstrip it. The savings of individuals, and more than the savings of individuals, are swallowed up by it.

James Mill, *Commerce Defended* (1808)

Not only is the progression of the country stopped, and **all the miseries of the stationary condition** are experienced, but inroads are almost always made upon that part of the annual produce which had been previously devoted to reproduction. The condition of the country therefore goes backwards; and in general it is only after the country is so exhausted that the expence of the war can hardly by any means be found, that it is ever put an end to.

Richard Cobden, “I have a Dream” Speech Manchester (1846) I



[Richard Cobden (1804-1865)]
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/89>>

But I have been accused of looking too much to material interests. Nevertheless I can say that I have taken as large and great a view of the effects of **this mighty principle** as ever did any man who dreamt over it in his own study. I believe that the physical gain will be the smallest gain to humanity from the success of this principle. I look farther; I see in **the Free-trade principle** that which shall act on the moral world as the principle of gravitation in the universe,—drawing men together, thrusting aside the antagonism of race, and creed, and language, and uniting us in the bonds of eternal peace.

Richard Cobden, “I have a Dream” Speech *Manchester* (1846)

I have speculated, and probably dreamt, in the dim future—ay, a thousand years hence—I have speculated on what the effect of the triumph of this principle may be. I believe that the effect will be to change the face of the world, so as to introduce **a system of government entirely distinct from that which now prevails**. I believe that **the desire and the motive for large and mighty empires; for gigantic armies and great navies—for those materials which are used for the destruction of life and the desolation of the rewards of labour—will die away; I believe that such things will cease to be necessary, or to be used, when man becomes one family, and freely exchanges the fruits of his labour with his brother man**. I believe that, if we could be allowed to reappear on this sublunary scene, we should see, at a far distant period, the governing system of this world revert to something like **the municipal system**; and I believe that the speculative philosopher of a thousand years hence will date **the greatest revolution that ever happened in the world’s history** from the triumph of the principle which we have met here to advocate.

“WAR & THE GROWTH OF THE STATE” LECTURE OVERVIEW



**{Albrecht Dürer, “The Four Horsemen
of the Apocalypse” (1497)}
{Pestilence, War, Famine, & Death}**

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Randolph Bourne (1886-1918)



“War is the health of the State”

War cannot exist without a military establishment, and a military establishment cannot exist without a State organization.

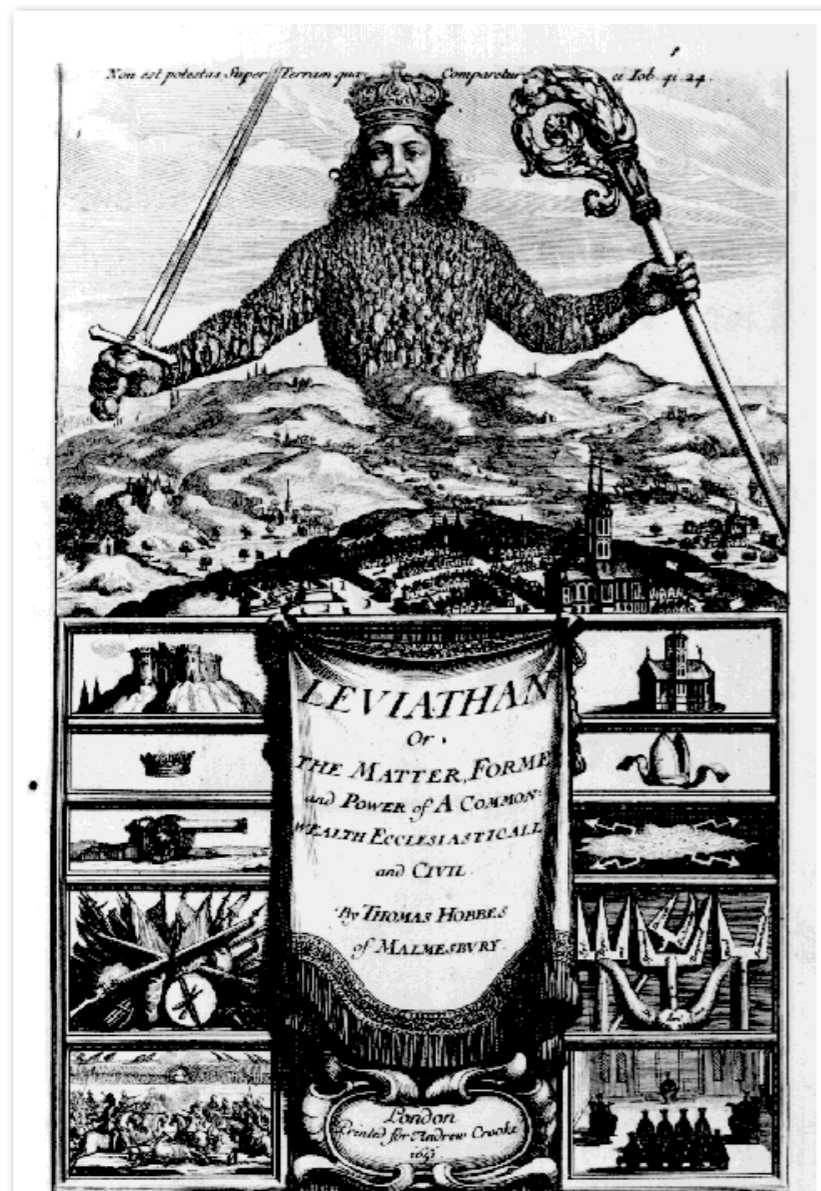
War is the health of the State. It automatically sets in motion throughout society those irresistible forces for uniformity, for passionate cooperation with the Government in coercing into obedience the minority groups and individuals which lack the larger herd sense. The machinery of government sets and enforces the drastic penalties...

War cannot exist without a military establishment, and a military establishment cannot exist without a State organization. War has an immemorial tradition and heredity only because the State has a long tradition and heredity. But they are inseparably and functionally joined. We cannot crusade against war without crusading implicitly against the State. And we cannot expect, or take measures to ensure, that this war is a war to end war, unless at the same time we take measures to end the State in its traditional form.

Randolph Bourne, "The State" (1918)

War & the Origins of the State

- external: “**roving bandits**” (nomadic warriors) settle down among their prey to exact regular payments & become “stationary bandits”
- internal: **dominant warrior** or “lord” overcomes rivals to become local king
- expansion: **conquer** neighbouring groups with gradual accretion of territory
- legitimacy: “might makes right”, claims “**royal descent**”, **divine approval**, “election” by noble peers
- “Throne & Altar”




[The Bandits surveying the village in A, Kurosawa's, "The Seven Samurai" (1954)]
[Frontispiece to Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, (1651)]

THE EVOLUTION OF THE STATE

ORIGIN OF THE PROTO-STATE I

[Dr. David M. Hart, 8 June 2012]

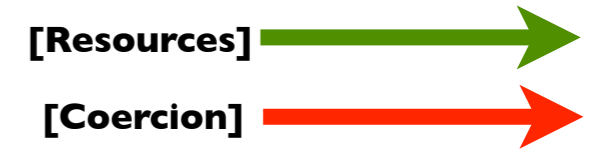
[Resources] 
[Coercion] 

PRODUCERS

[Producers who only engage in voluntary
production and exchange]

ORIGIN OF THE PROTO-STATE II

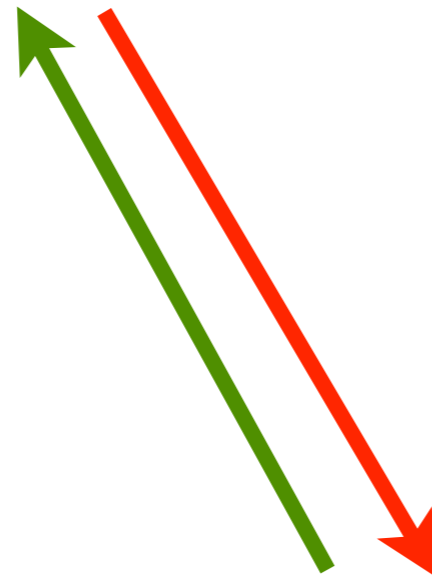
[Dr. David M. Hart, 8 June 2012]



ILLEGAL PLUNDER




[Plunderers who come once a year to steal harvest & pillage village]

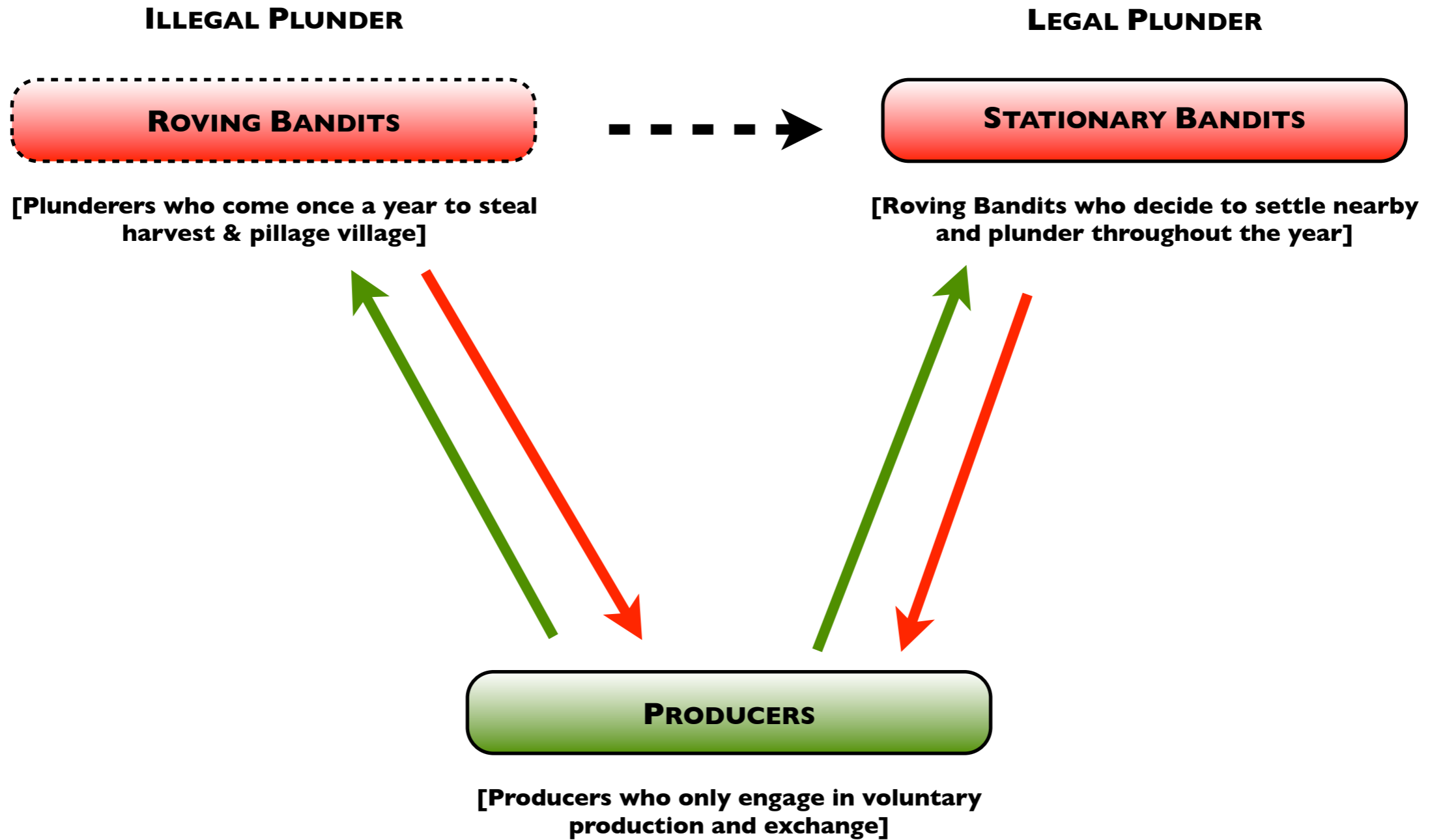


[Producers who only engage in voluntary production and exchange]

ORIGIN OF THE PROTO-STATE III

[Dr. David M. Hart, 8 June 2012]

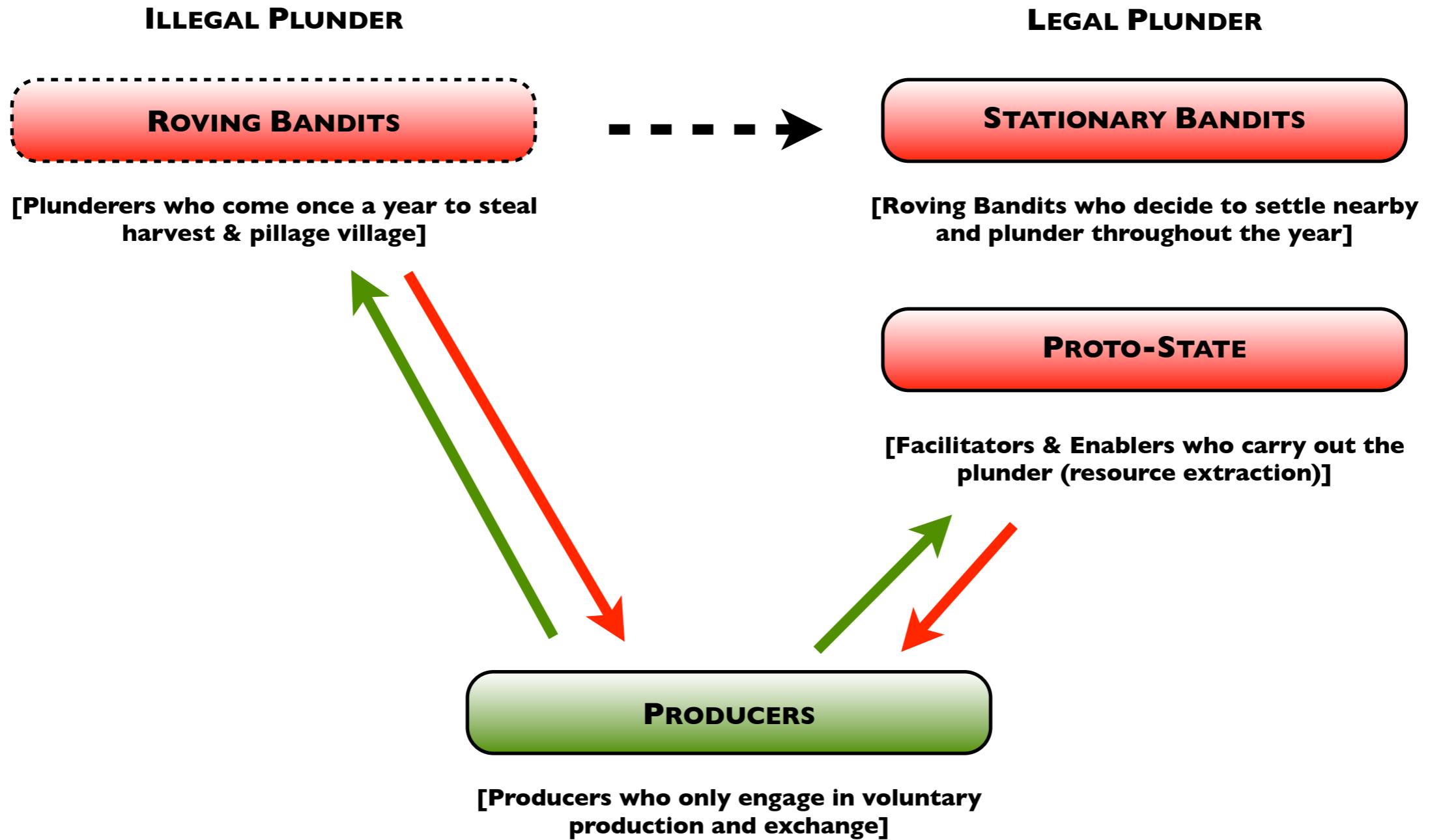
[Resources] 
[Coercion] 



ORIGIN OF THE PROTO-STATE IV

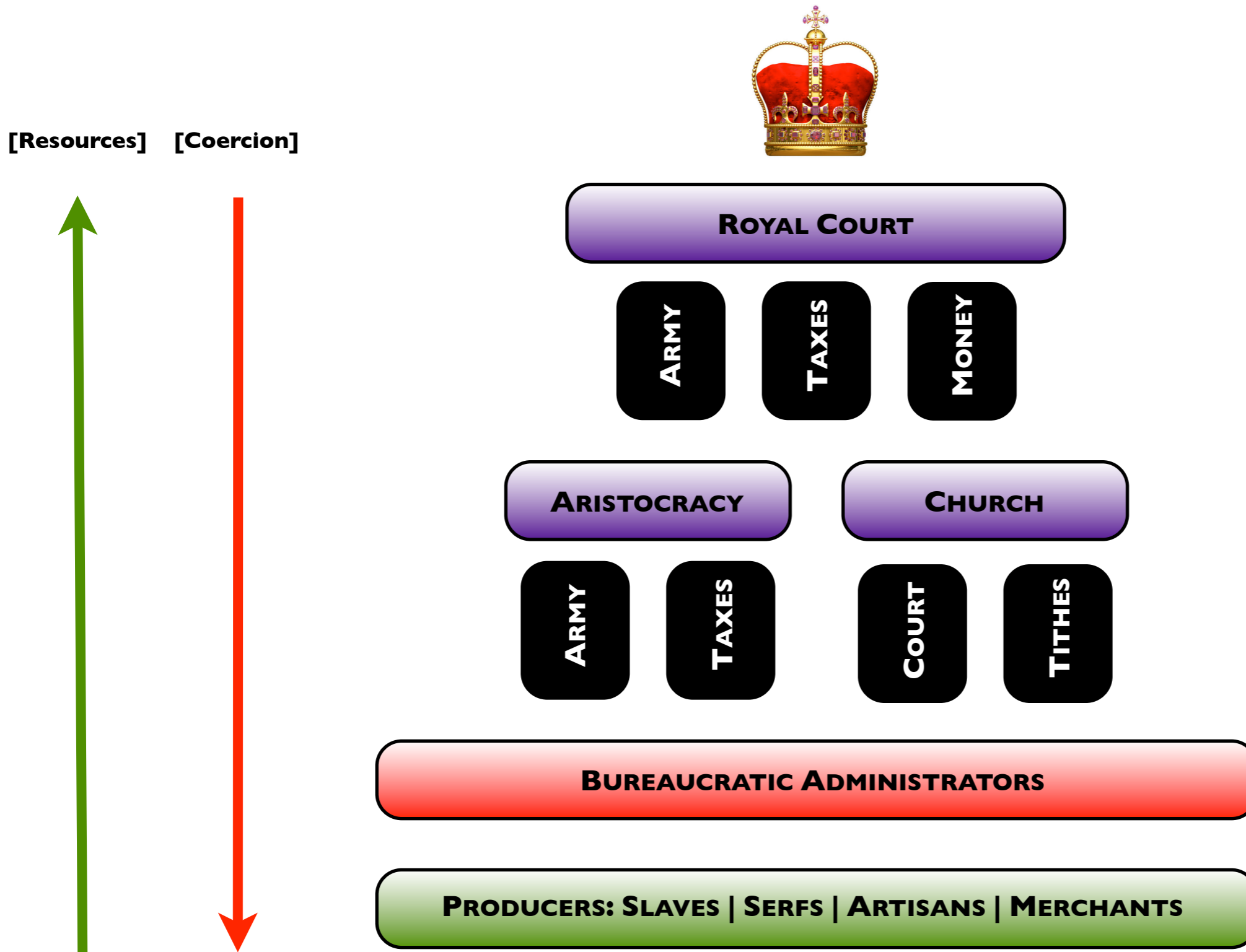
[Dr. David M. Hart, 8 June 2012]

[Resources] 
[Coercion] 

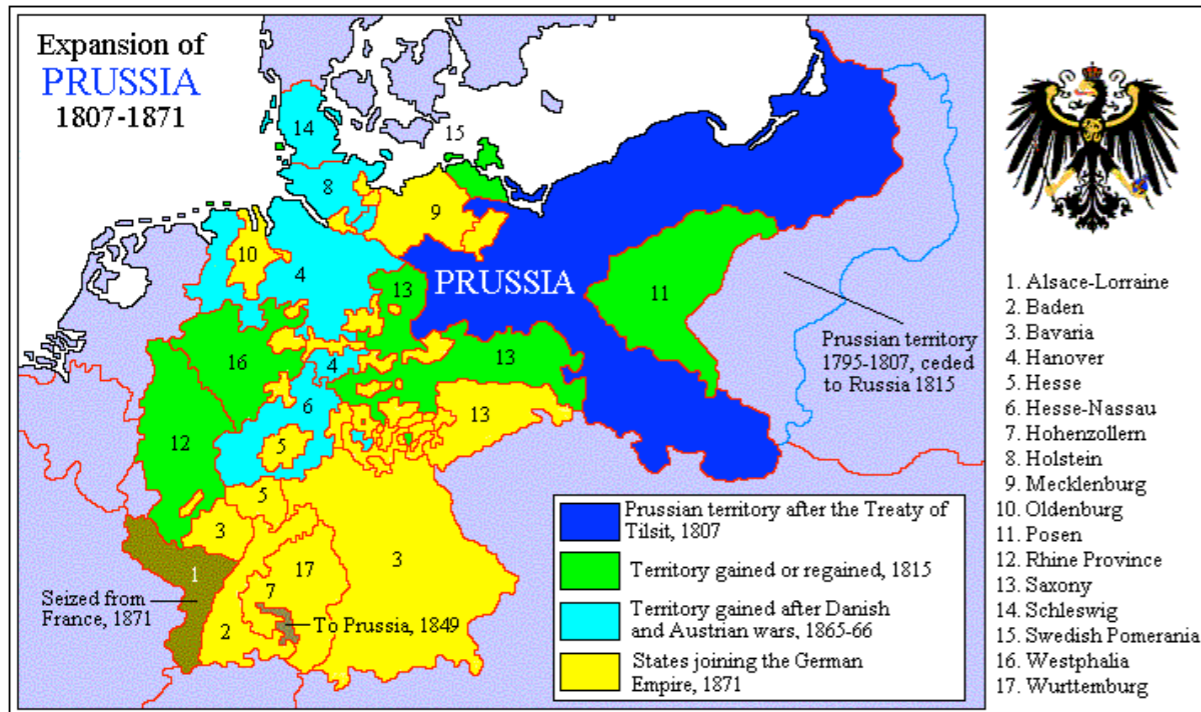


THE EARLY STATE - FEUDALISM

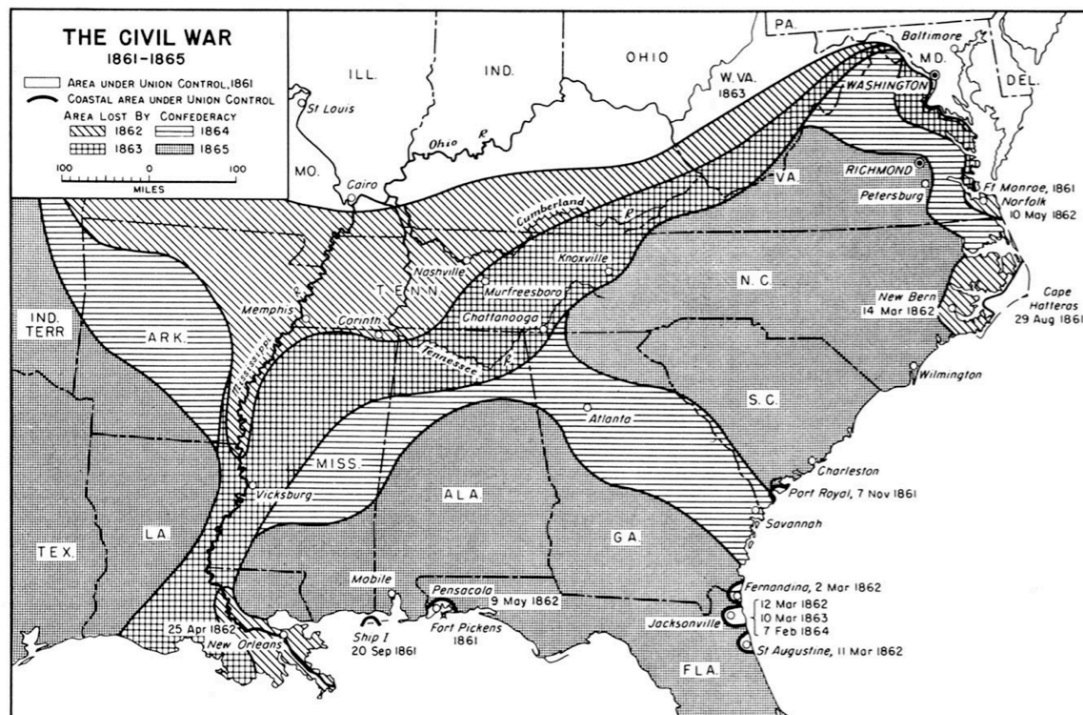
[Dr. David M. Hart, 8 June 2012]



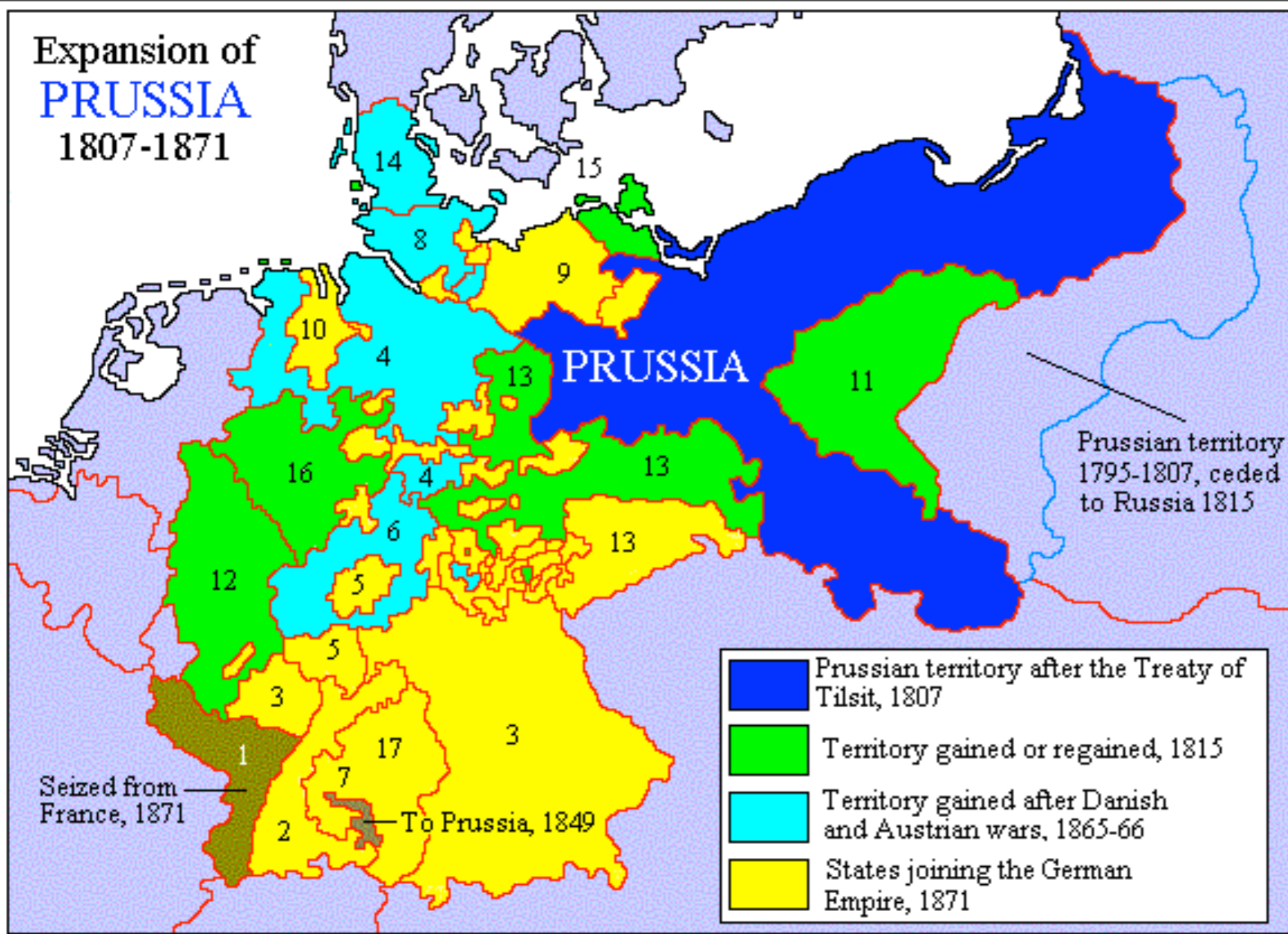
War & the Creation of Centralised and Unified Nation States



- **1860s** - emergence of new centralized nation states which would be key to 20thC
- American “War between the States” 1861-65 (A. Lincoln)
- German Wars of Unification 1864-1870 (O. Bismarck)
- Meiji Restoration - return to Imperial rule 1868 (Emperor Meiji)



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. Wurttemberg







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

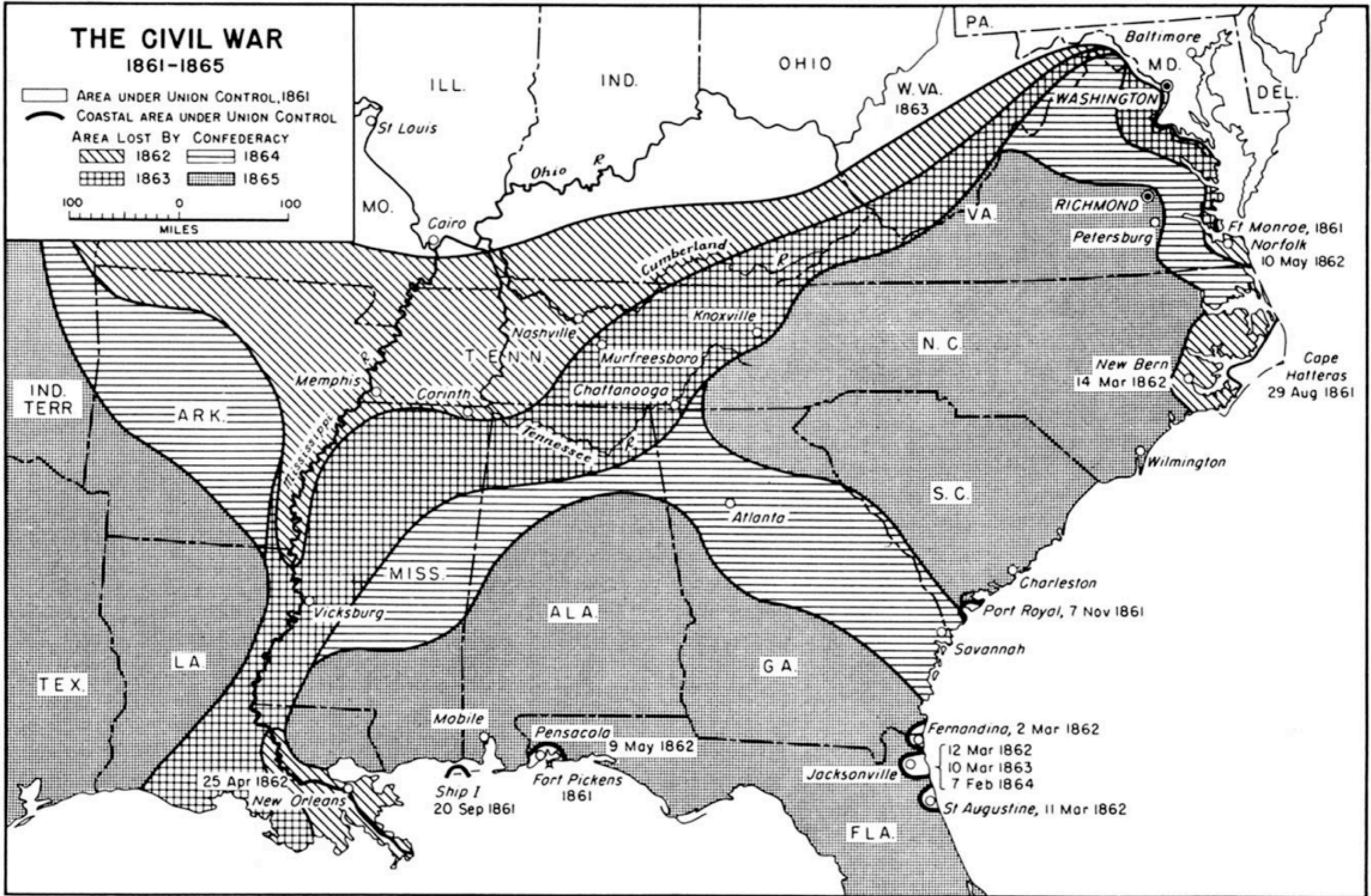
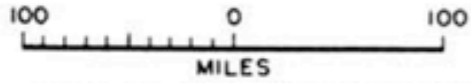
Seized from France, 1871

To Prussia, 1849

Prussian territory 1795-1807, ceded to Russia 1815

THE CIVIL WAR 1861-1865

-  AREA UNDER UNION CONTROL, 1861
-  COASTAL AREA UNDER UNION CONTROL
- AREA LOST BY CONFEDERACY
-  1862
-  1864
-  1863
-  1865



War & the Origins of State Institutions

Key state institutions arose in order to aid preparation for and fighting of wars:

- bureaucracies for tax collection (90% all taxes for military before 20thC)
- organization for conscription and running standing armies & navies
- creation of central bank for loans to crown
- invention of national debt by Bank of England to fund war & empire
- early state owned factories for building warships, cannon
- welfare state as reward for war service
 - earliest welfare program in US was veterans benefits after CW
 - post-war British welfare state was reward for sacrifices made by public during war



James Gillray, "Political Ravishment, or The Old Lady of Threadneedle-street in Danger!" (1797)

A satirical cartoon attacking Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger's decision on 26 January 1797 to temporarily forbid the Bank of England from paying out in gold, having it issue banknotes instead.



**Murder!
murder! Rape!
Murder! O you
Villain! what
have I kept my
Honor
untainted so
long, to have it
broke up, by
you at last? O
Murder! Rape!
Ravishment!
Ruin! Ruin!
Ruin!!!**

James Gillray, "Political Ravishment, or The Old Lady of Threadneedle-street in Danger!" (1797)

A satirical cartoon attacking Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger's decision on 26 January 1797 to temporarily forbid the Bank of England from paying out in gold, having it issue banknotes instead.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

4

No 920315 BM

WAR RATION BOOK No. 3 *Fold if altered*

Identification of person to whom issued: PRINT IN FULL

Sandra *Y* *Smith*

(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

Street number or rural route _____

City or post office _____ State _____

AGE	SEX	WEIGHT Lbs.	HEIGHT Ft. In.	OCCUPATION

SIGNATURE _____
(Person to whom book is issued. If such person is unable to sign because of age or incapacity, another may sign in his behalf.)

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OPA Form No. R-130

LOCAL BOARD ACTION

Issued by _____ (Local board number) _____ (Date)

Street address _____

City _____ State _____

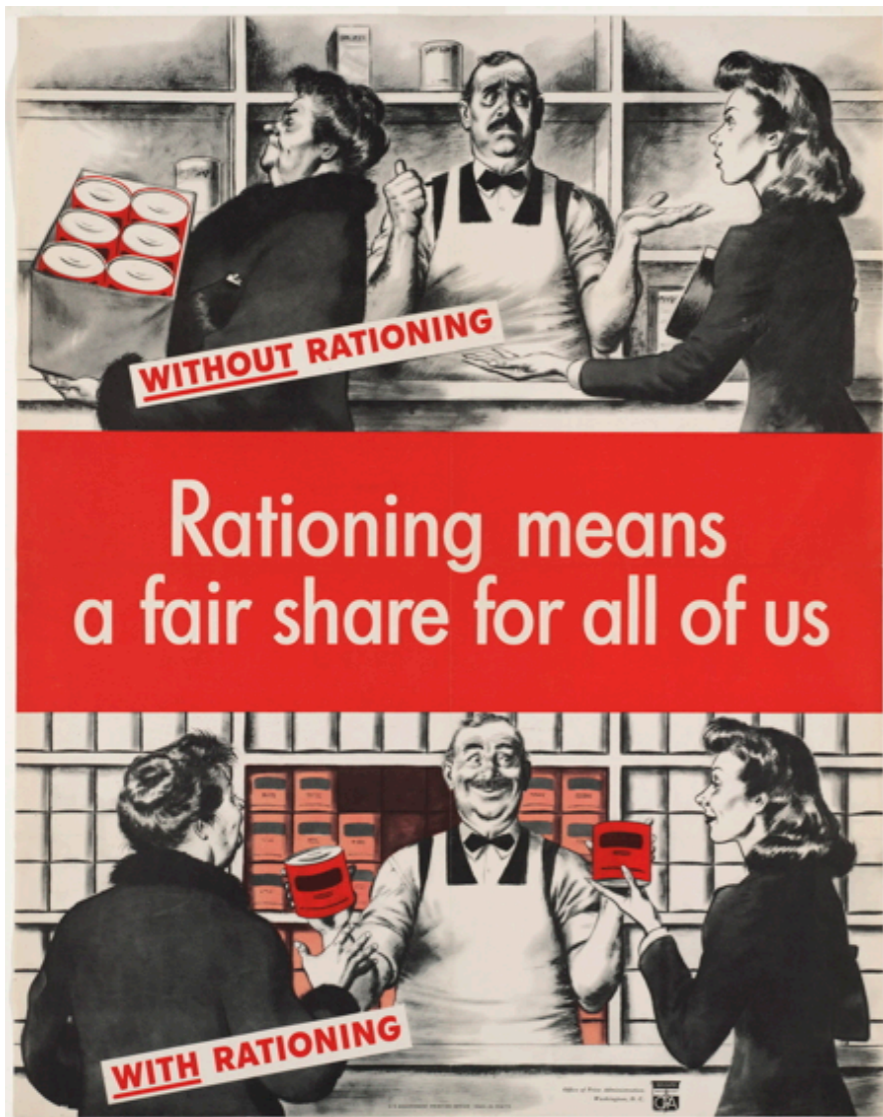
(Signature of issuing officer)

NOT VALID WITHOUT STAMP

Expansion of State Powers during Wartime

“War necessity” is the justification to dramatically increase state powers during wartime:

- higher taxes
- rationing
- price controls
- conscription (army or home front)
- censorship of criticism
- surveillance & arrest of critics



Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation: "War Socialism" in Germany in WWI



- 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

Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation: "War Socialism" in Germany in WWI



- 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

**Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation:
"War Socialism" in Germany in WWI**



- 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

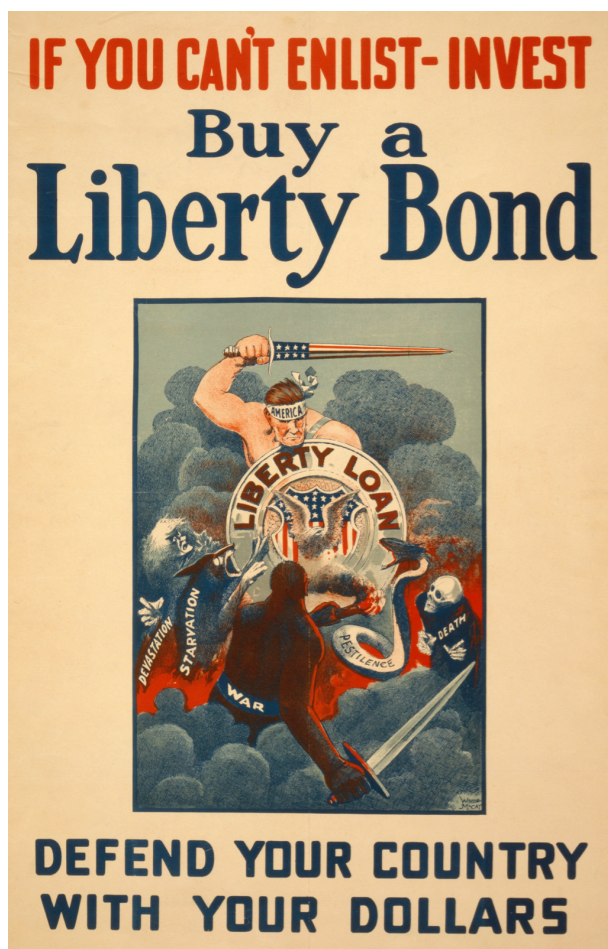


**WWI Propaganda to urge Enlistment:
the challenge to one's Manhood & parental guilt**

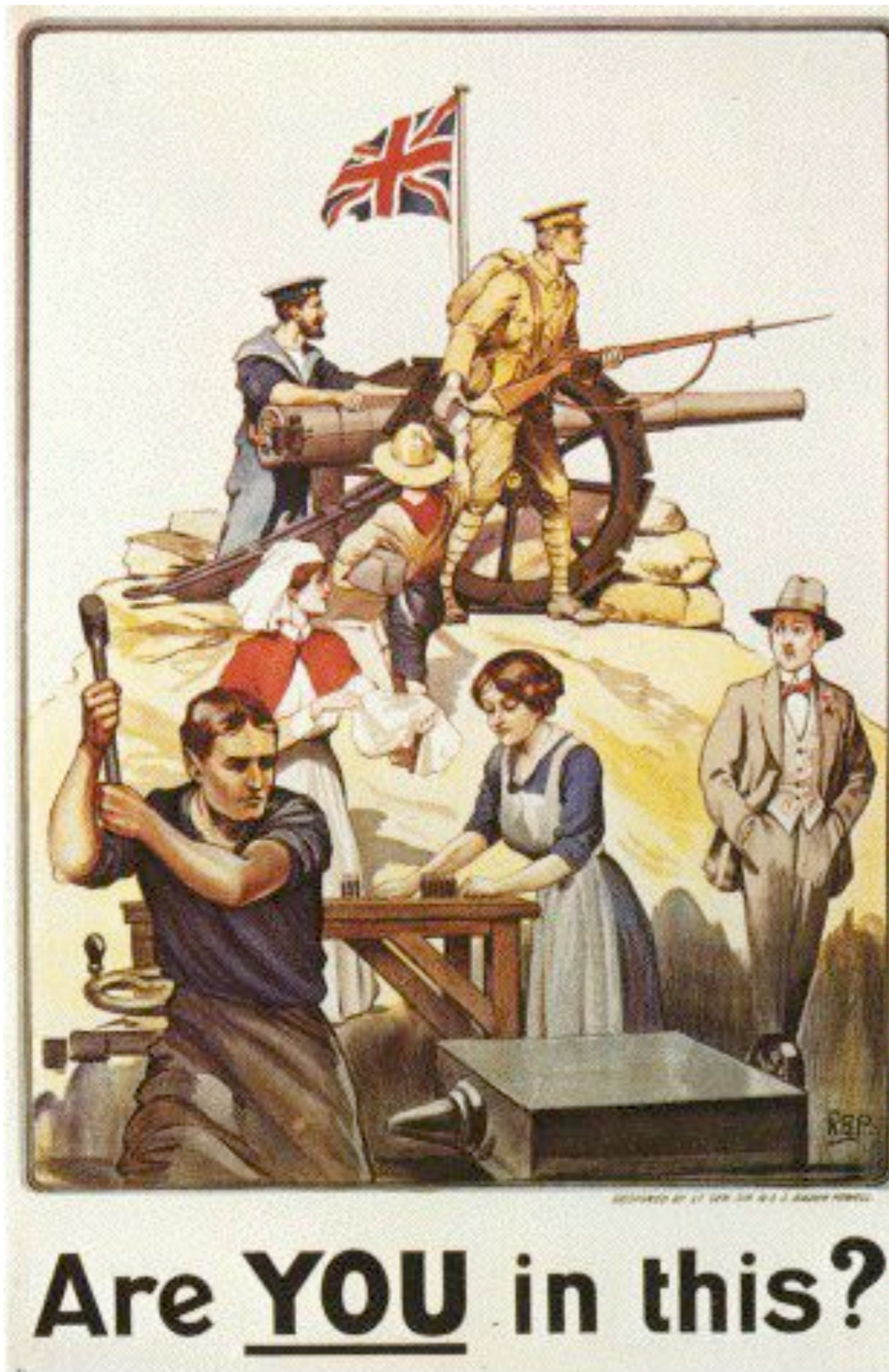
Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation




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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

A woman with a green headscarf and a blue shirt is smiling while operating a lathe machine. The machine is dark grey and has a green lamp attached to it. The background is a bright yellow. The artist's signature "George Ruff" is visible on the machine.

“I’ve found the job
where I fit best!”

**FIND YOUR WAR JOB
In Industry – Agriculture – Business**

Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation: the USA in WW2

- 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 WWI 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" - "economic autarchy"

- 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)

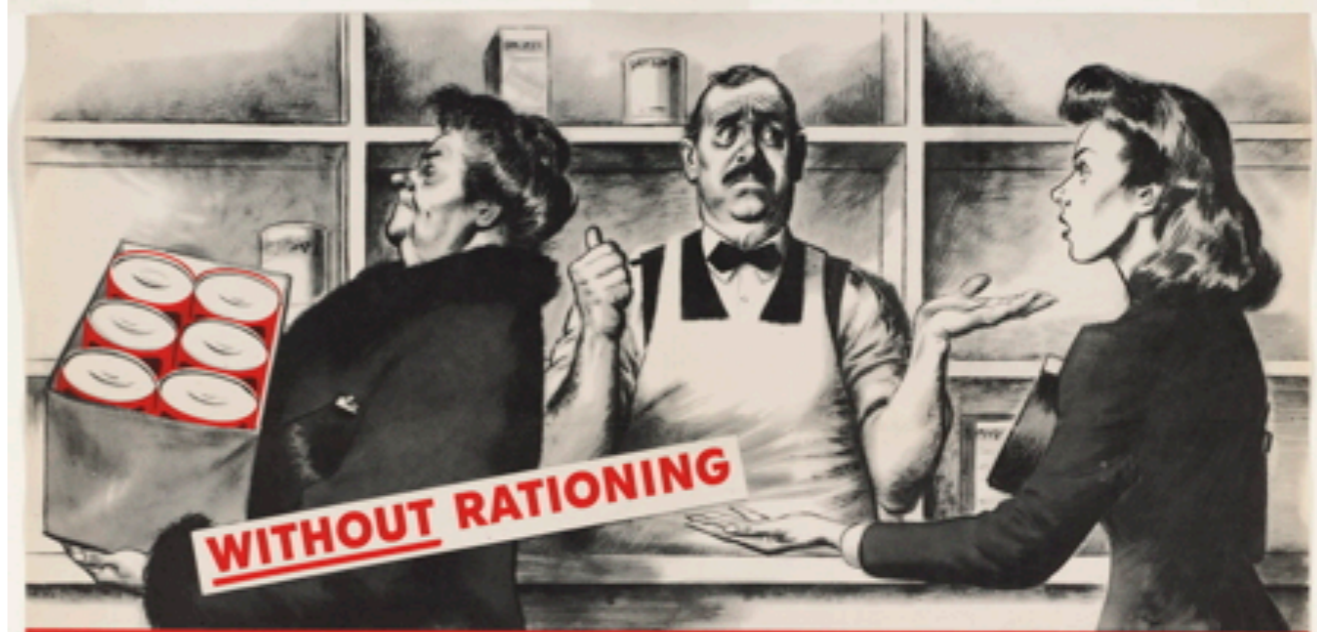
	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Aircraft	245	630	1706	2842	2805
Munitions	140	423	2167	3803	2033
Shipbuilding	159	375	1091	1815	1710
Aluminum	126	189	318	561	474
Rubber	109	144	152	202	206
Steel	131	171	190	202	197

Source: Milward, 69.

When you ride **ALONE**
you ride with Hitler!



Join a
Car-Sharing Club
TODAY!



Rationing means
a fair share for all of us



4
No 920315 BM

WAR RATION BOOK No. 3

Fold if altered



Identification of person to whom issued: PRINT IN FULL

Sandra *F* *Smith*
(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

Street number or rural route _____

City or post office _____ State _____

AGE	SEX	WEIGHT <i>Lbs.</i>	HEIGHT <i> Ft. In.</i>	OCCUPATION

SIGNATURE _____
(Person to whom book is issued. If such person is unable to sign because of age or incapacity, another may sign in his behalf.)

WARNING

This book is the property of the United States Government. It is unlawful to sell it to any other person, or to use it or permit anyone else to use it, except to obtain rationed goods in accordance with regulations of the Office of Price Administration. Any person who finds a lost War Ration Book must return it to the War Price and Rationing Board which issued it. Persons who violate rationing regulations are subject to \$10,000 fine or imprisonment, or both.

LOCAL BOARD ACTION

Issued by _____
(Local board number) (Date)

Street address _____

City _____ State _____

(Signature of issuing officer)

INSTRUCTIONS

- 1 This book is valuable. Do not lose it.
- 2 Each stamp authorizes you to purchase rationed goods in the quantities and at the times designated by the Office of Price Administration. Without the stamps you will be unable to purchase those goods.
- 3 Detailed instructions concerning the use of the book and the stamps will be issued. Watch for those instructions so that you will know how to use your book and stamps. Your Local War Price and Rationing Board can give you full information.
- 4 Do not throw this book away when all of the stamps have been used, or when the time for their use has expired. You may be required to present this book when you apply for subsequent books.

Rationing is a vital part of your country's war effort. Any attempt to violate the rules is an effort to deny someone his share and will create hardship and help the enemy.

This book is your Government's assurance of your right to buy your fair share of certain goods made scarce by war. Price ceilings have also been established for your protection. Dealers must post these prices conspicuously. Don't pay more.

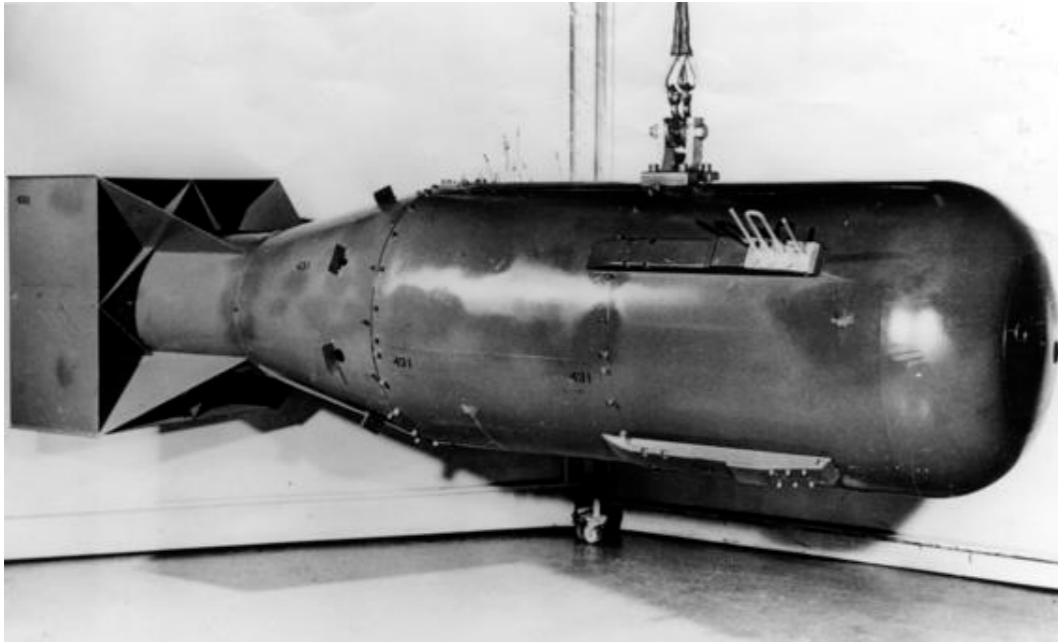
Give your whole support to rationing and thereby conserve our vital goods. Be guided by the rule:

"If you don't need it, DON'T BUY IT."

WARNING

This book is the property of the United States Government. It is unlawful to sell it to any other person, or to use it or permit anyone else to use it, except to obtain rationed goods in accordance with regulations of the Office of Price Administration. Any person who finds a lost War Ration Book must return it to the War Price and Rationing Board which issued it. Persons who violate rationing regulations are subject to \$10,000 fine or imprisonment, or both.

Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation: the USA in WW2



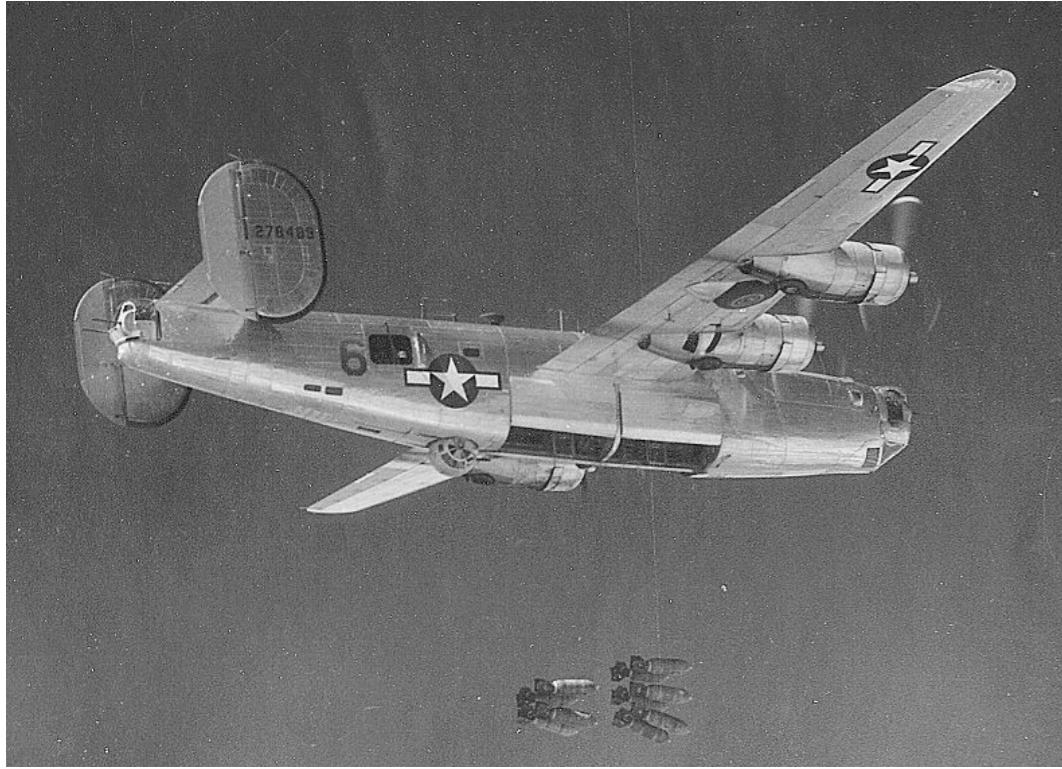
{“Little Boy” atomic bomb 1945)}

- 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)



Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation: the USA in WW2



{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)

Total War & the Mobilization of the Nation: Summary



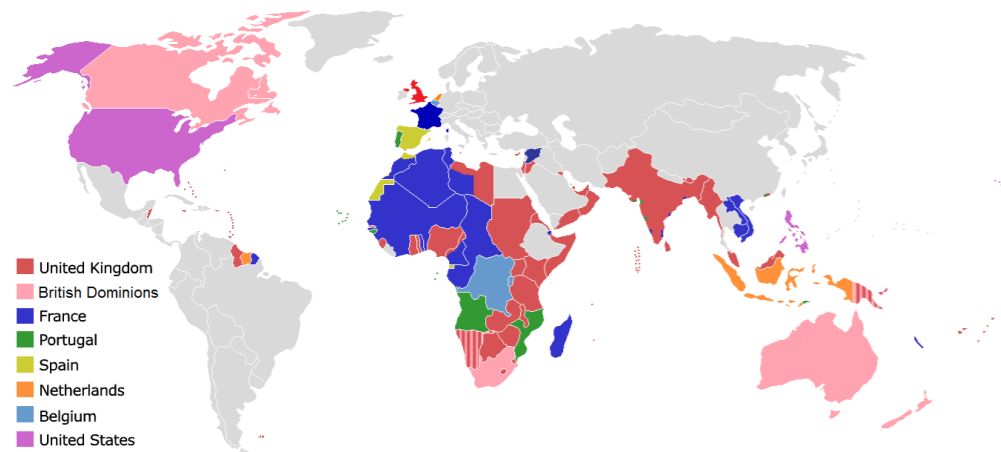
- modern, industrialized war is “total” in that it requires the mobilization of the entire nation to fight or supply those who fight
- Germany in WWI pioneered the creation of “war socialism” to achieve this end - variants also used in WW2 by US:
 - end of the free market & free trade
 - requires state 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”



The Proliferation of States following Defeat in War

Defeat in war has led to a proliferation of state formation during the 20thC:

- multi-national empires defeated in war fragment into many “nation states”
- defeat in 1918 led to breakup of Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires
- economic exhaustion during WW2 led to 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”

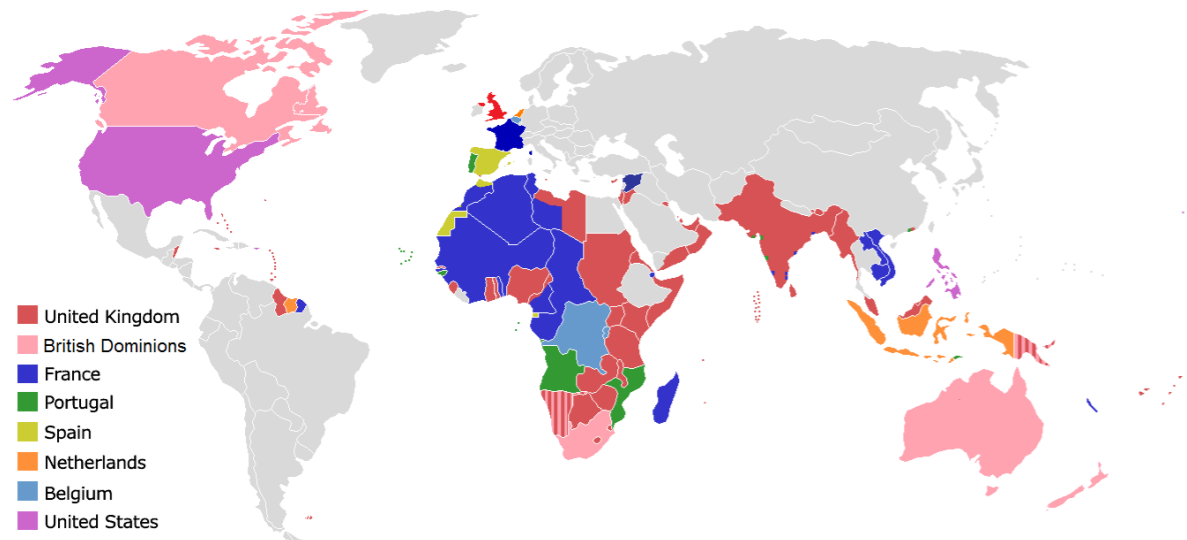


Osmanisches Reich

um 1900







• 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”

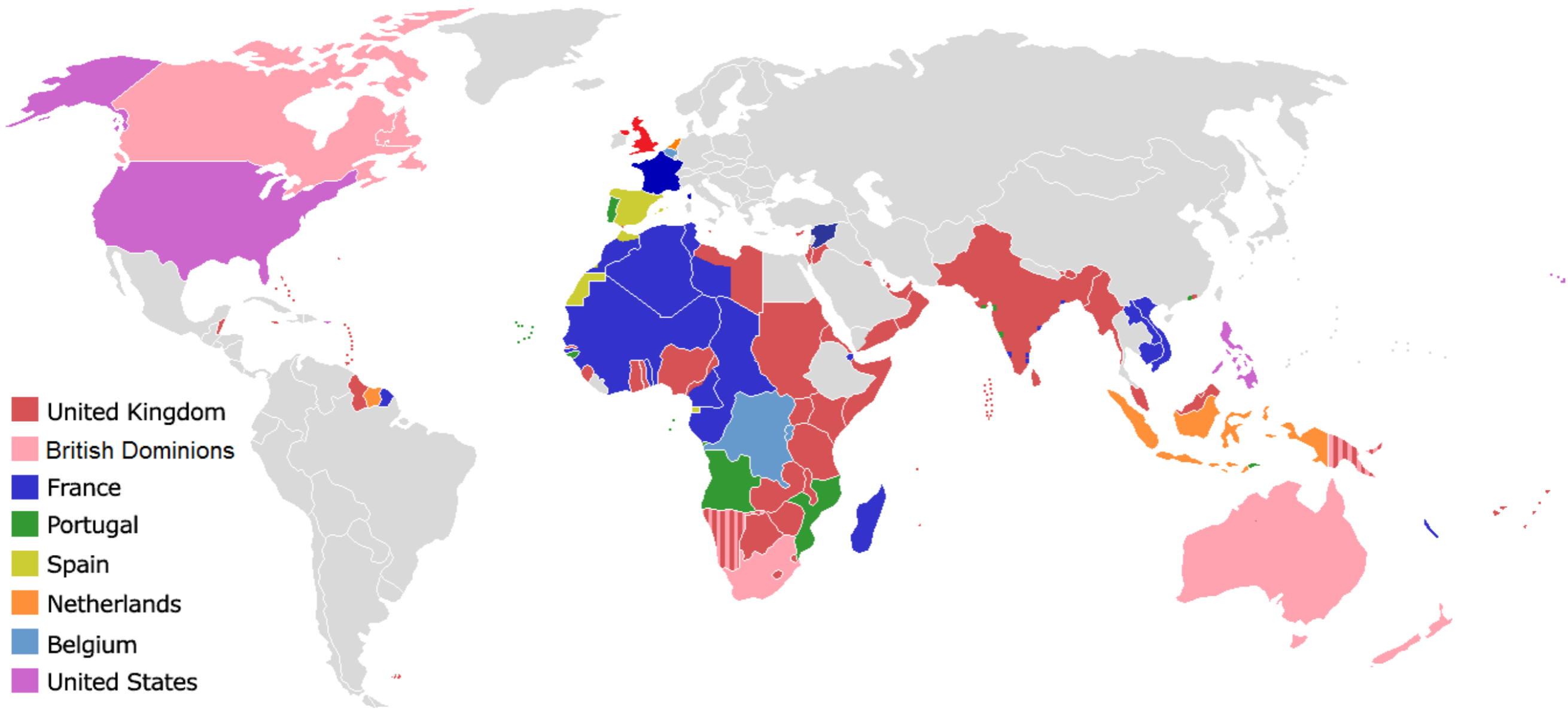
• 1991

- dissolution of the Soviet Union

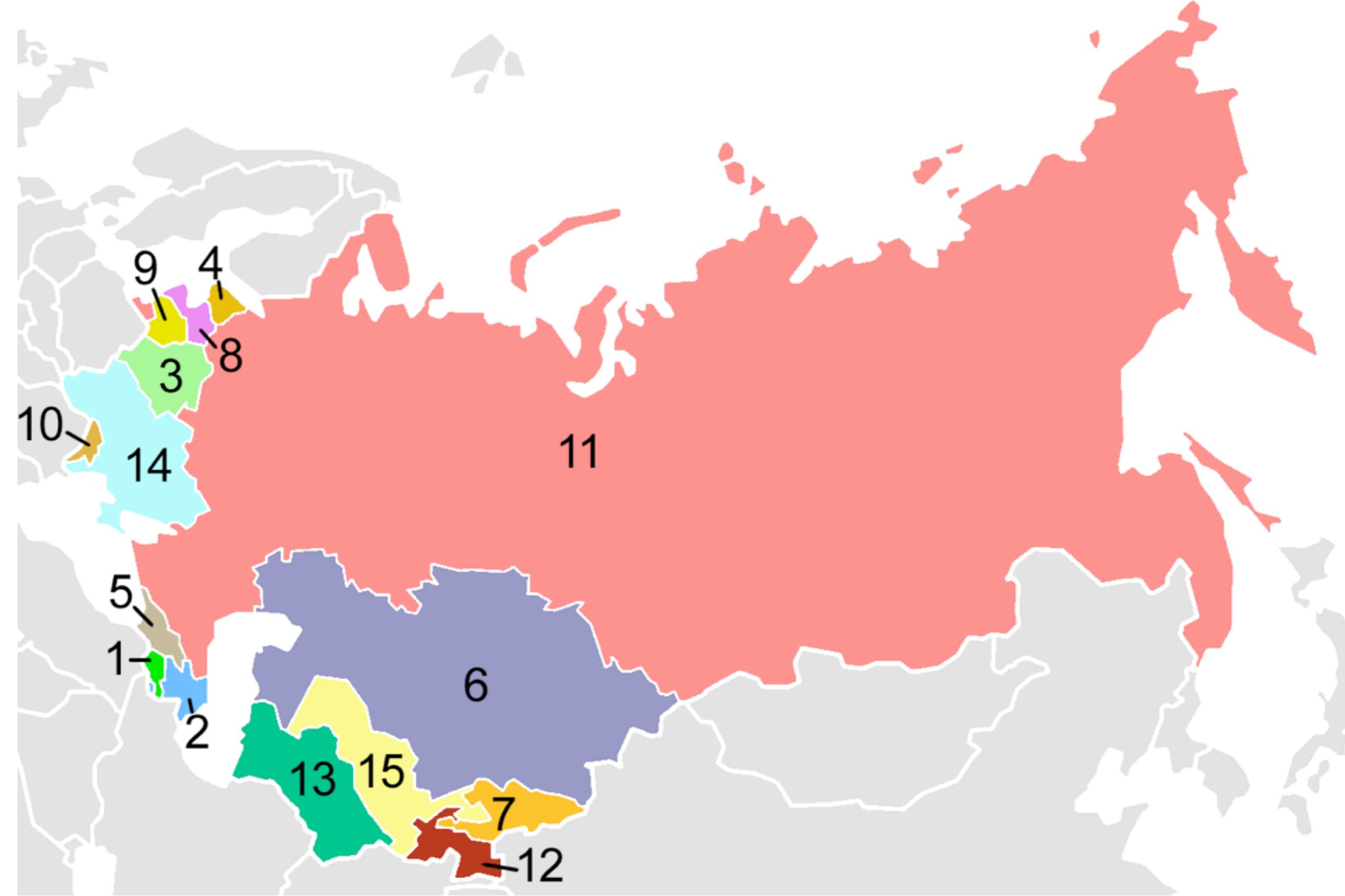
• “United Nations”

- League of Nations - 58 members in 1934
- UN - 192 members in 2006





European Colonial Possessions & Dominions in 1945



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

“WAR & THE GROWTH OF THE STATE” LECTURE OVERVIEW



**{Albrecht Dürer, “The Four Horsemen
of the Apocalypse” (1497)}
{Pestilence, War, Famine, & Death}**

I. The State Revolution in the 20th Century

II. “War is the Health of the State”, or how war helps the State grow

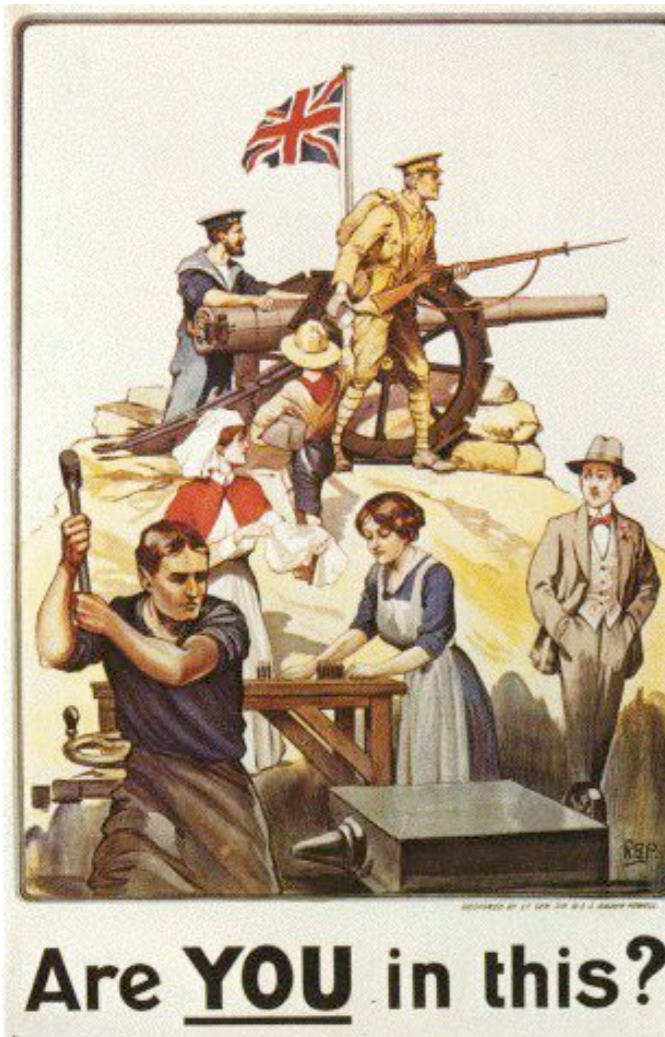
III. “The State is the Health of War”, or how the State makes war more lethal & destructive

IV. The Moral Legacies of Modern War

The modern State makes War fighting possible on a much larger and grander scale

The modern State makes War fighting possible on a much larger and grander scale:

- state provides military with its taxing power, monetary power, coercive power, bureaucratic (organizing) power
- modern state enables tax extraction from millions of people to fund war - withholding tax a WW2 measure
- conscription for mass armies
- mobilization of the entire society to fight “total war”
- transfer of productive resources to war industries (war socialism)
- equipping and training of multi-million man armies
- research for new weapons
- propaganda to make docile soldiers and workers; allegiance; “obey and pay”





{Vickers machine gun & gas mask}



{Tank (1918)}

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

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)}



39/40

I

20K



39/40

II

20K



40

II

20K



39/40

III

20K



40

I

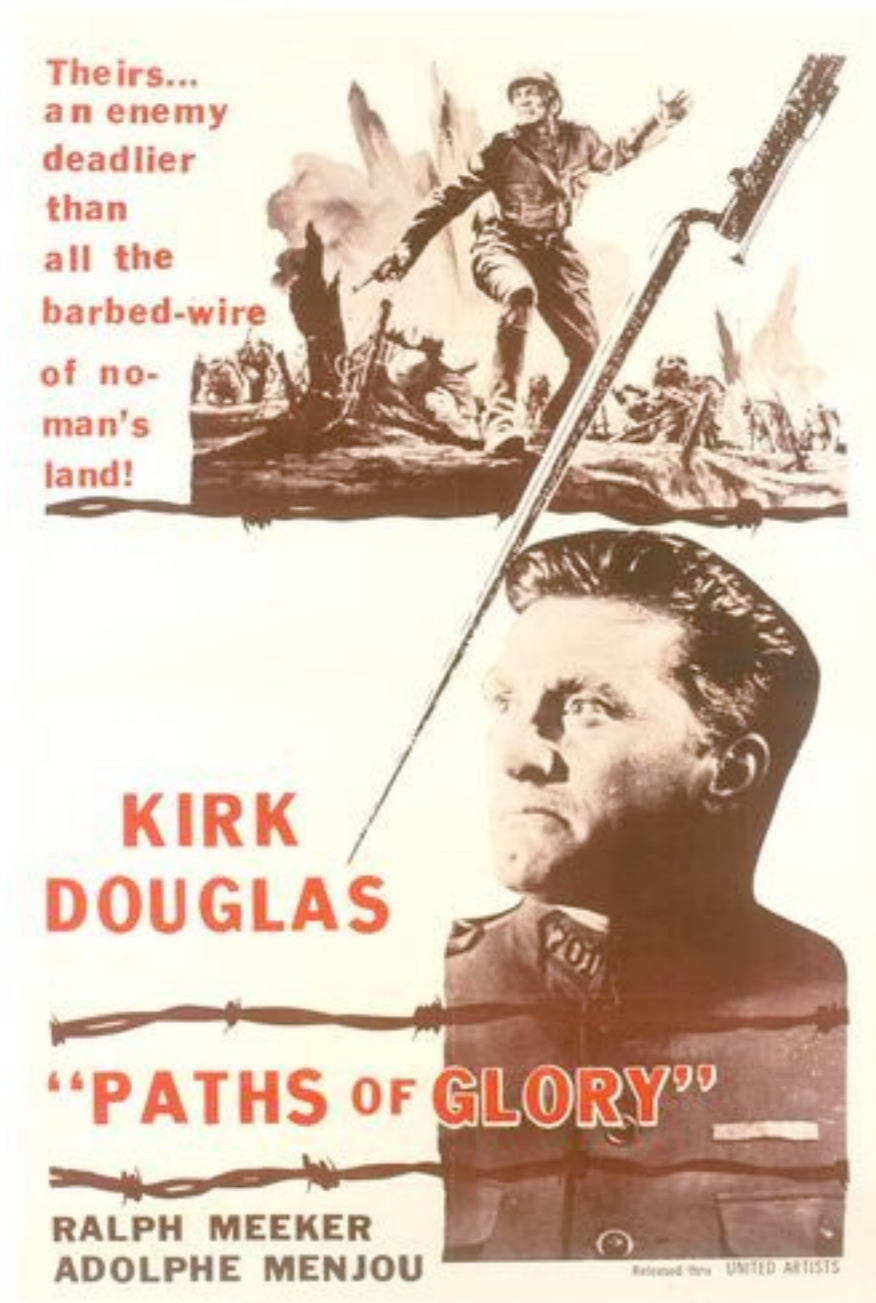
20K

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	[952m]	9.7m	6.7m



The “rational calculation” of killing large numbers of men to achieve military (political) aims - The General tells Colonel Dax how many casualties he expects the unit to suffer in taking the objective [4 mins 13]

Stanley Kubrick, “Paths of Glory” (1957)



Stanley Kubrick, "Paths of Glory" (1957)



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

The Industrialization of Killing

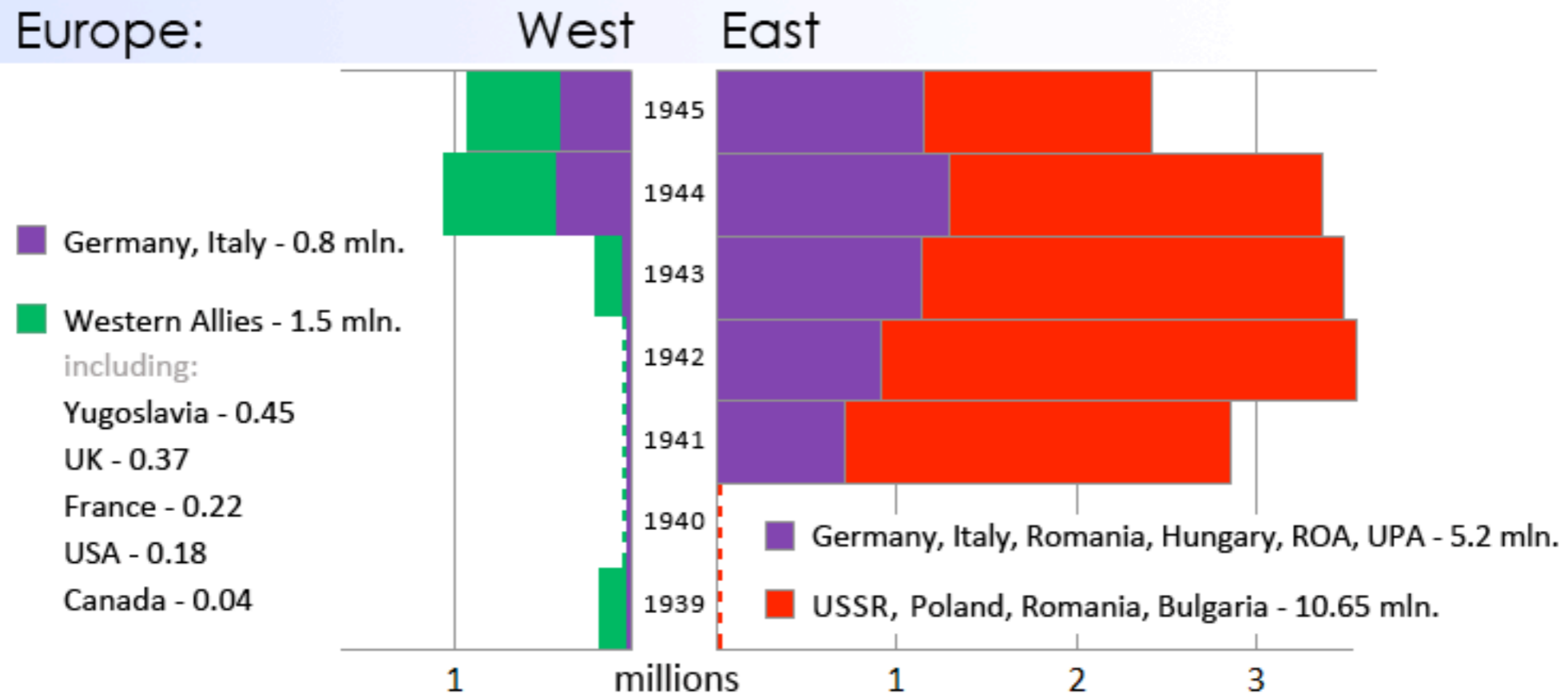
- the bombing of cities in WW2 was designed to destroy:
 - the “will to fight” of German citizens
 - the war factories & the workers who worked there (and their homes)
 - 1,000 bomber raids on German cities went in 2 waves - regular bombs to break up buildings, gas & water mains; then fire bombs to cause 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 autarchy



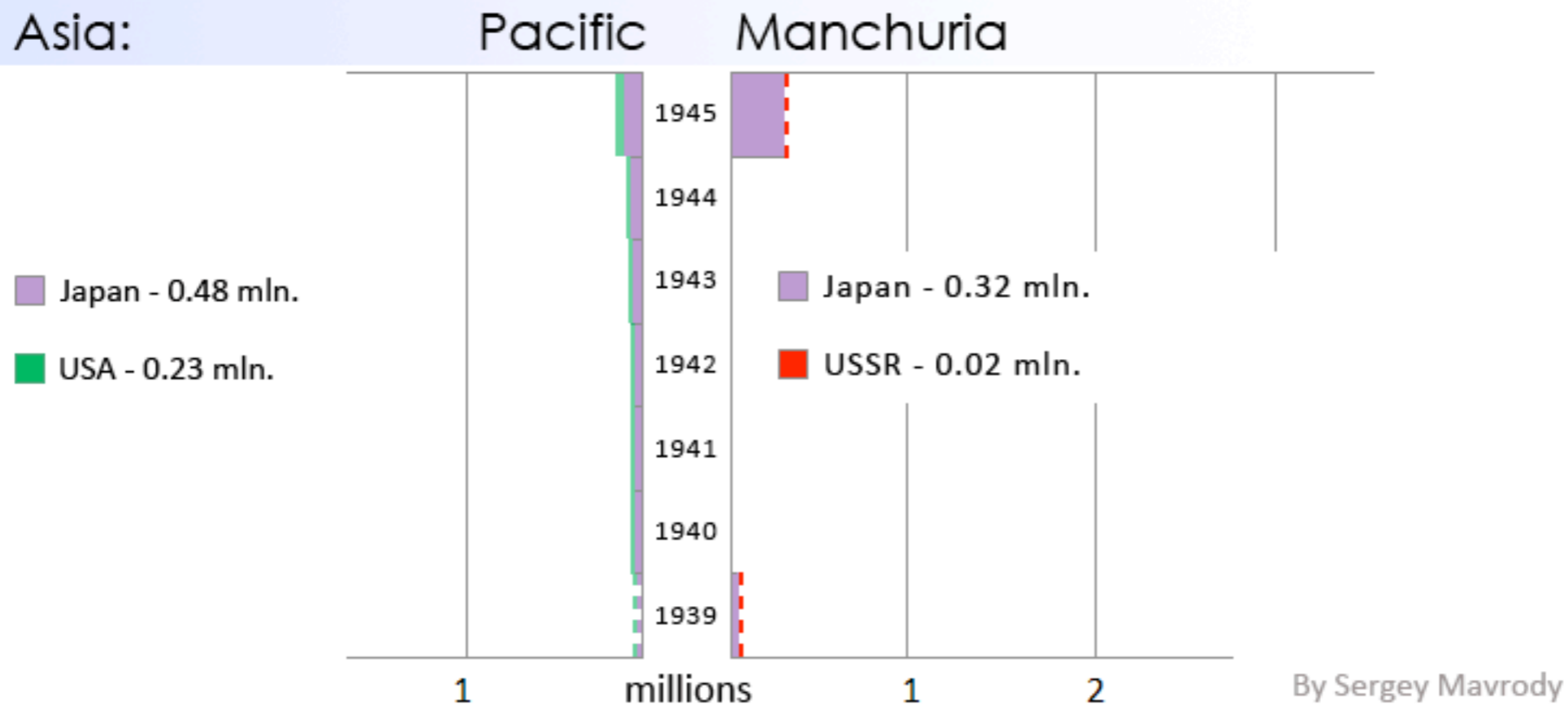
{Atomic bombing of Nagasaki (1945)}

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

Europe:



Asia:



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]

The Industrialization of Killing

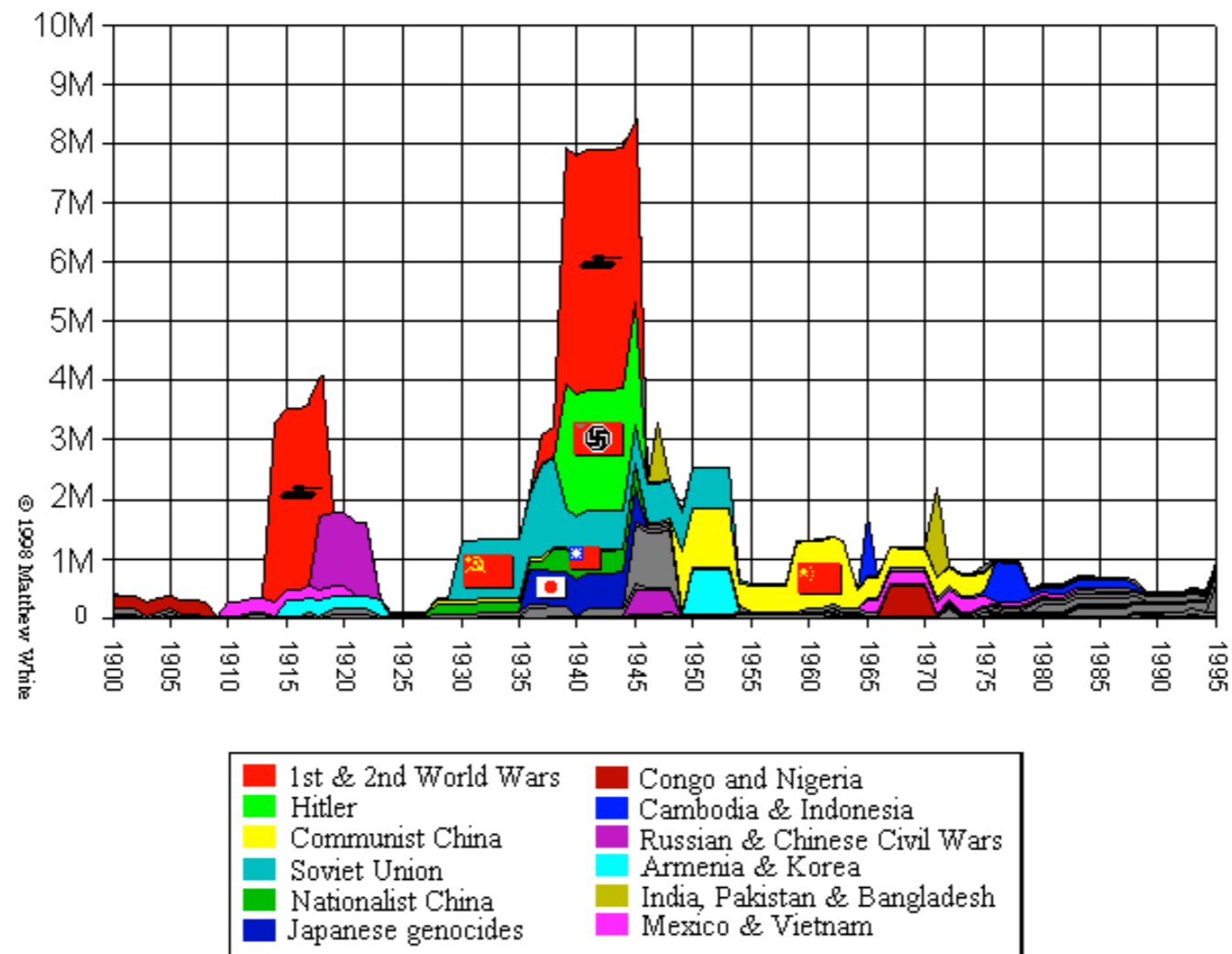
Deaths from World War 2

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

The Industrialization of Killing

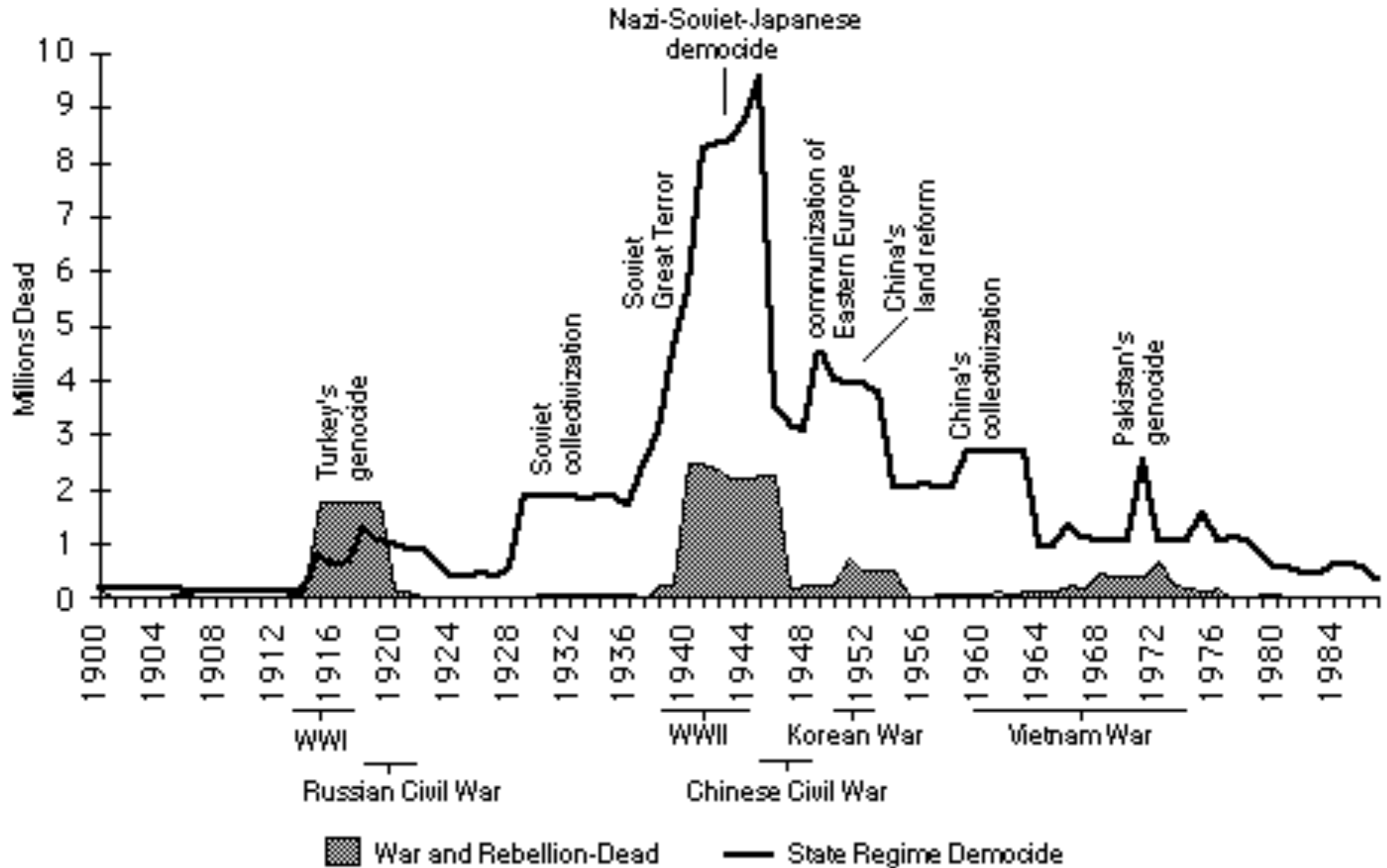
Wars, Massacres and Atrocities of the Twentieth Century

Year-by-Year Death Toll:



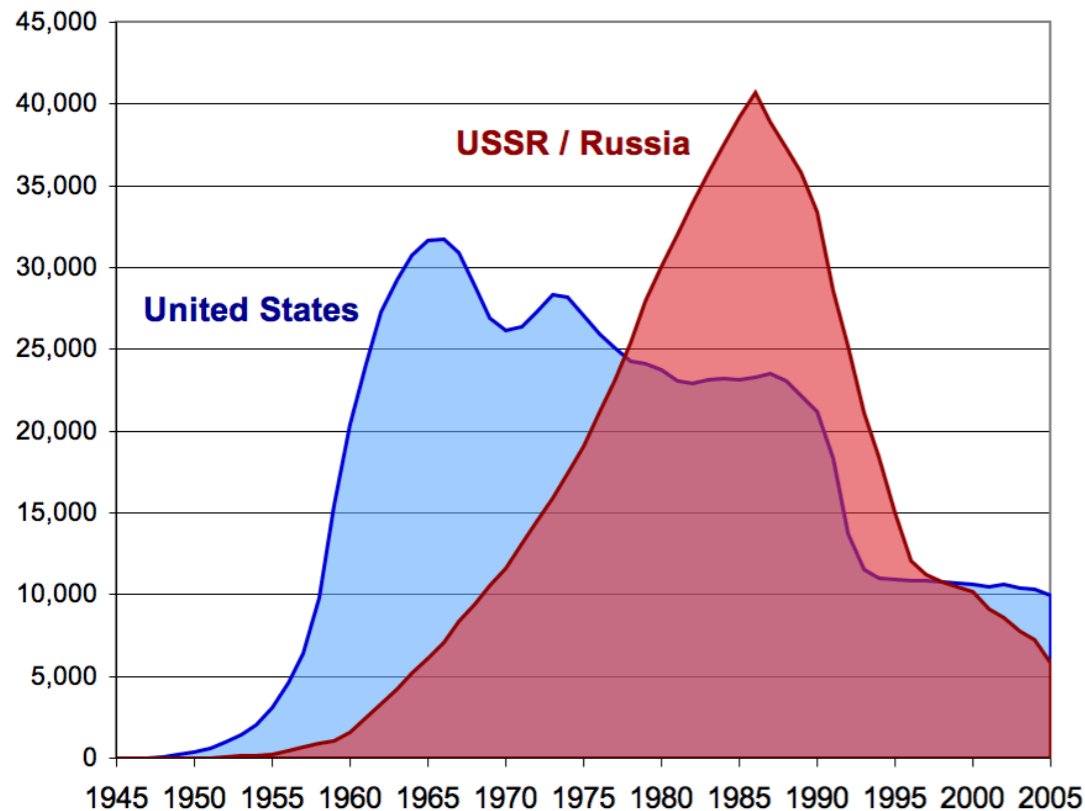
{R.J. Rummel's "State Regime's Democide" (1900-1995)}

FIGURE 23.2
Plot of State Regimes Democide
and War and Rebellion-Dead

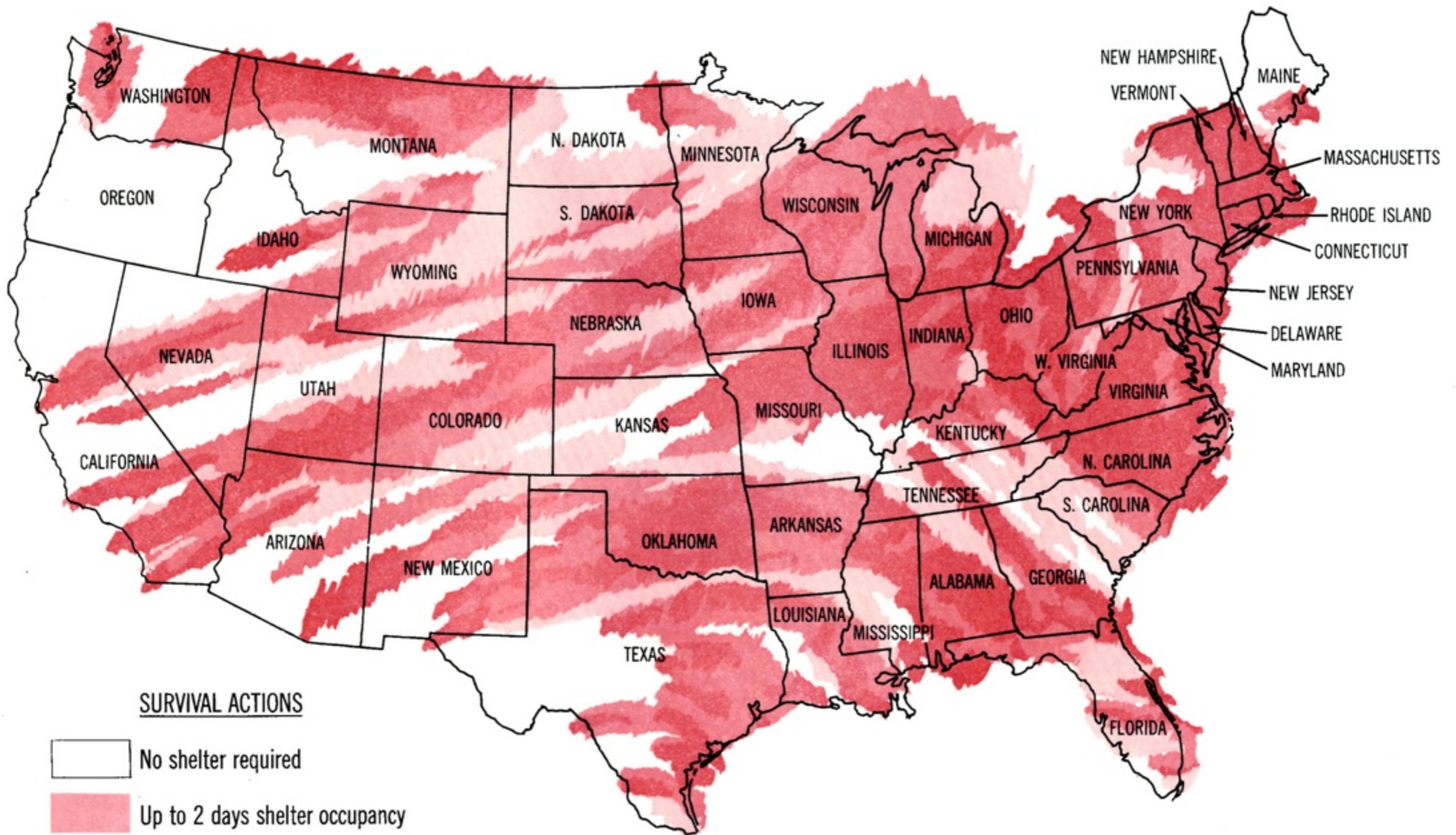


**The 30 Years War of the 20thC -
 “Democide” (Death by Government - 250m+)**

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)}



The Effects of Nuclear War (1979)

US Congress Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) published study on effects of a nuclear war between the USS & the USSR:

3 Limited war scenarios:

- 1. single weapons which destroys 1 city (Detroit and Leningrad - Fail Safe scenario) - **2.5 m dead; 0.5 m injured**
- 2. limited attack on industrial facilities (oil refineries) - 10 weapons with multiple warheads - 64% US refineries destroyed; 73% USSR - 5m dead Americans; 1 m Soviets
- 3. counter-force attack on ICMB silos

1 full-scale nuclear war:

- 1. **70-160 m** immediate US deaths; **50-100m** Soviets



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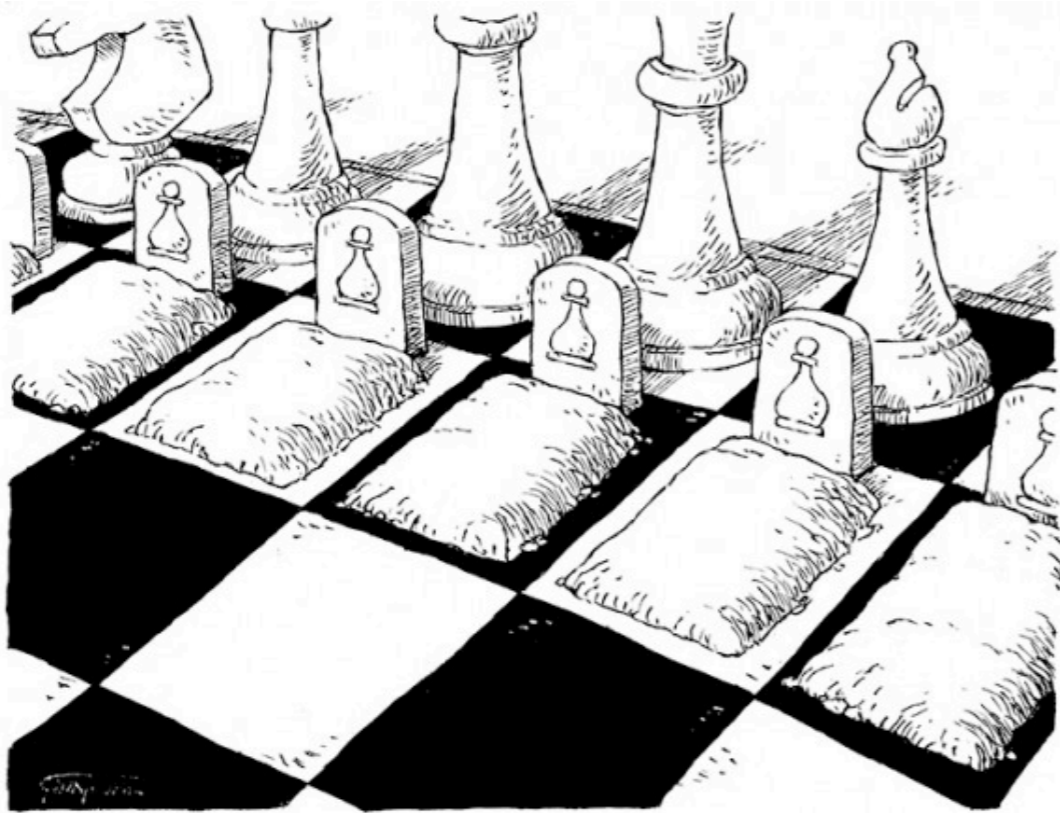
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The Moral Legacies of Modern War



- State & ruling class increasingly treat **all citizens & their property as pawns** which can be moved about (even sacrificed) to carry out their plans
 - engage in battles on the “**fighting front**”
 - 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)

The Moral Legacies of Modern War



- 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 Moral Legacies of Modern War



- purpose of war has changed - now “**regime change**” not just defeat of the army/military
 - total destruction of enemy society or economy
 - total transformation of enemy society into likeness of victorious nation (Napoleonic France, US Union Army, Red Army in Eastern Europe, US in Japan, Allied Powers in Germany)
 - punishment (execution) of enemy leadership
 - raises cost of defeat & encourages fight to the bitter end

