

# Making of the Modern World

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Lecture #9: Responses to Liberalism

# What I want you to know about the Great Depression

- And now for something completely different: the Great Depression
- First, a brief film clip: *Grapes of Wrath* (1940)
- Individuals found themselves controlled by forces they couldn't understand, often w/o concrete sense of who or what was responsible.
- Economic depression helped to delegitimize a belief in the obvious “technical” superiority of liberalism.
  - Belief that:
    - Our system doesn't lead to prosperity.
    - Individuals can face hardship through no fault of their own.
- Pain of depression helped to lead to rise of welfare state.

# European Origins of the Great Depression

- Austria/Germany borrow money from USA to pay war debts to France and England
- France, England pay debts owed to USA for WWI
- System dependent on flow of cash from USA
- Investors begin to pull out in 1928

# New Technologies and the Great Depression

- Single-export countries devastated by declines due to new technology
  - Reclaimed rubber destroys rubber-based economies of Dutch East Indies, Malaysia, Ceylon



# Agricultural Surplus and the Great Depression

- Overproduction in 1920s
- Strongest harvests in 1925, 1929
- Wheat lowest price in 400 years
  - Farm income drops
  - less demand for manufactured goods
  - inventory surpluses
- The Dust Bowl, mid-late 30s

# Black Thursday (October 24, 1929)

- Stock purchases on margin (3%)
- Hints of slowdown in Europe
  - investors begin to sell
- Snowball effect
  - Life savings lost
- Black Thursday
  - 11 Suicides

# US Economic Collapse

- Inventory surplus leads to layoffs
- Layoffs lead to decreased demand, businesses fail
- 1932 industrial production  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1929 levels
- 44% of US banks out of business
  - Deposits lost

# Debt-Deflation

1. Debt liquidation and distress selling.
2. Contraction of the money supply as bank loans are paid off.
3. A fall in the level of asset prices.
4. A still greater fall in the net worth of businesses, precipitating bankruptcies.
5. A fall in profits.
6. A reduction in output, in trade and in employment.
7. Pessimism and loss of confidence.
8. Hoarding of money.
9. A fall in nominal interest rates and a rise in deflation-adjusted interest rates.

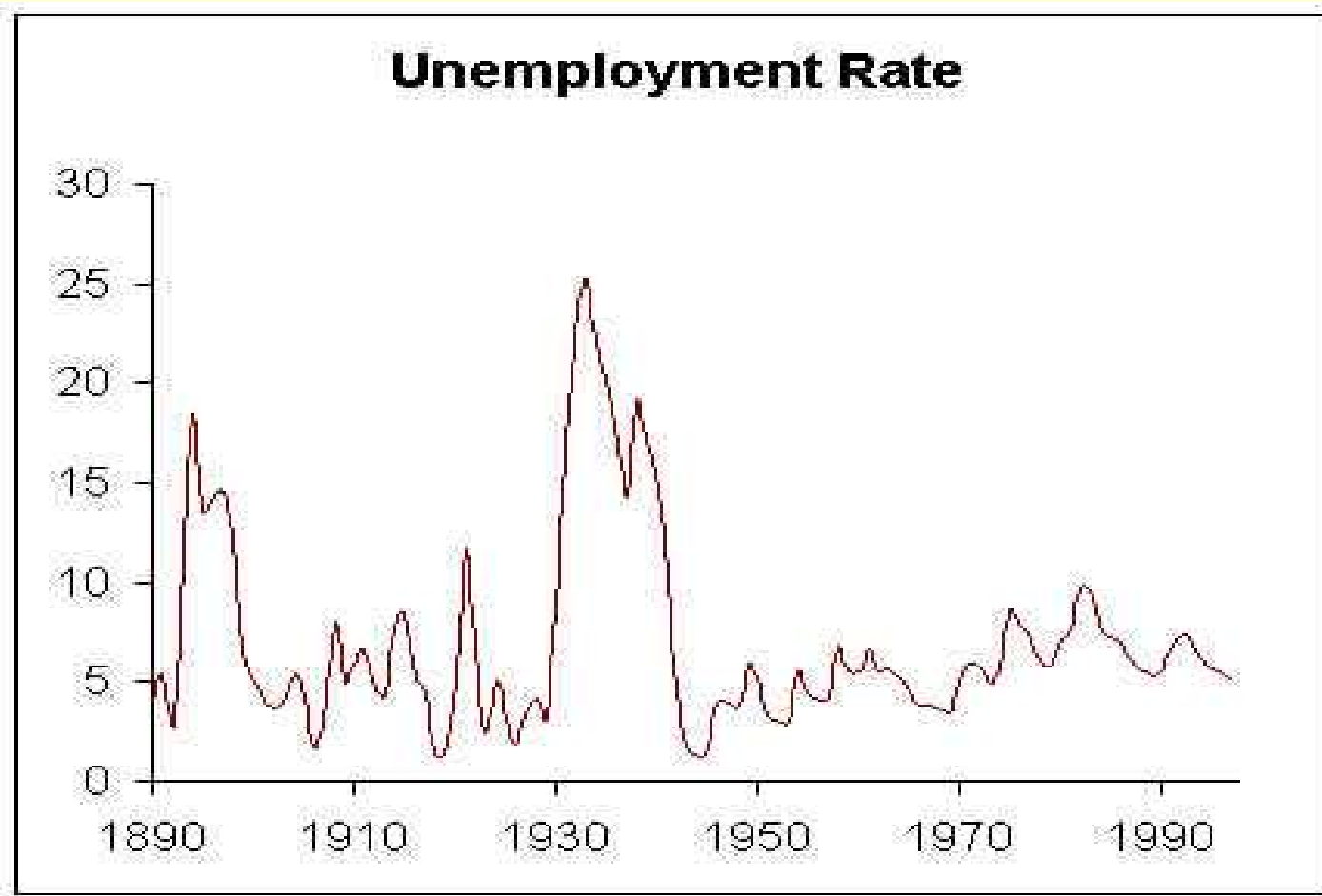
# Poor Mother and Children, California



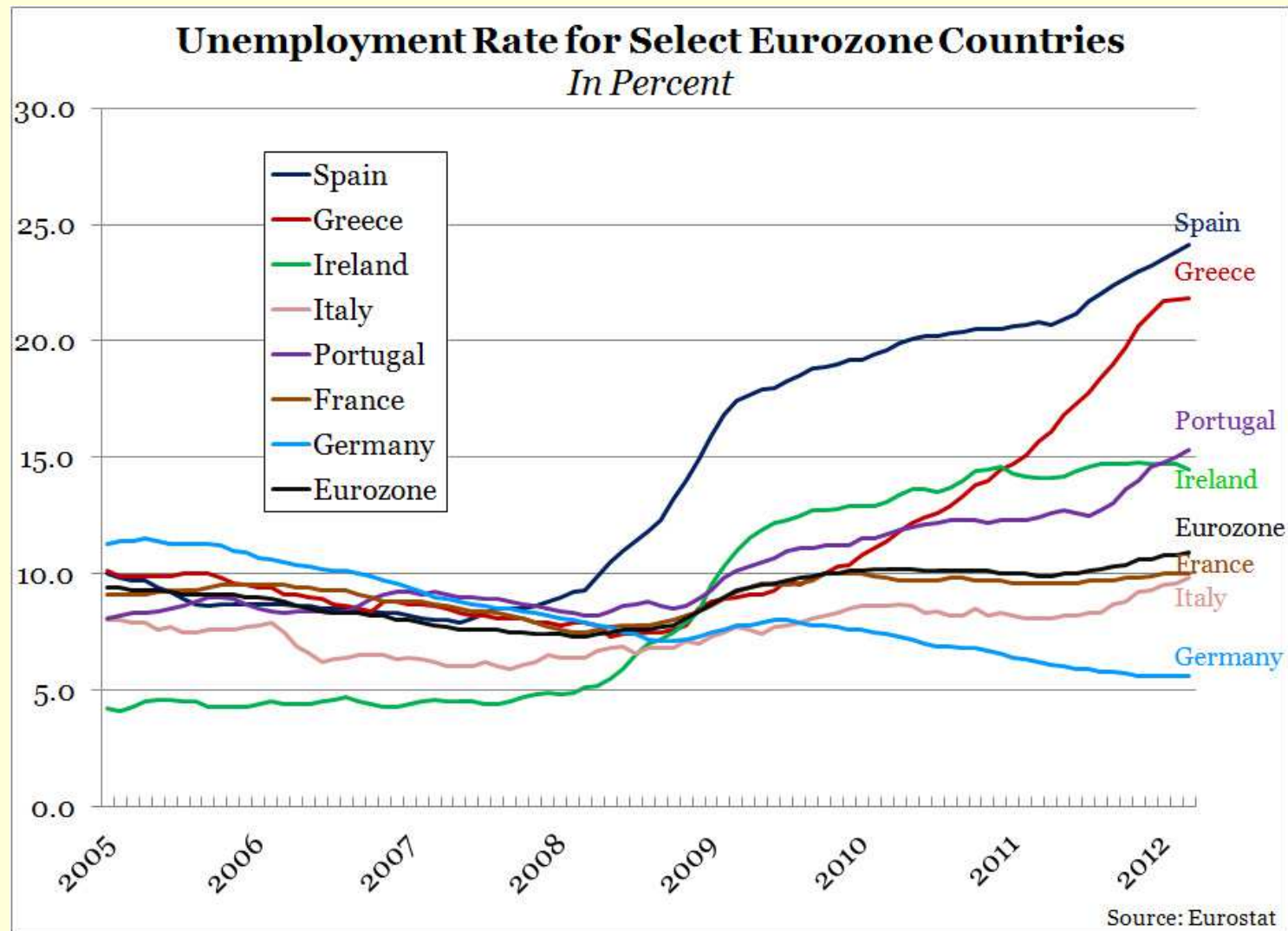
# World Economic Collapse

- Hardest hit: countries dependent on export of manufactured goods for essentials
  - Japan
- Single-export countries
  - South America

# Unemployment during the Great Depression



# Unemployment in the Eurozone Today





# Crisis of Liberalism

- Loss of confidence in institutions
  - All parliaments do is talk
- Loss of faith in liberal ideals
  - “Ideal, ideal, ideal; Knowledge, knowledge, knowledge; Boom-boom, boom-boom, boom-boom”
- Economic crisis
- Anxiety, confusion, depression
- Feeling of aimlessness and bureaucratization
- What will come next?

# “Waiting for the Barbarians” by C.P. Cavafy

What are we waiting for, assembled in the forum?

The barbarians are due here today.

Why isn't anything going on in the senate?

Why are the senators sitting there without legislating?

Because the barbarians are coming today.

What's the point of senators making laws now?

Once the barbarians are here, they'll do the legislating.

Why did our emperor get up so early,

and why is he sitting enthroned at the city's main gate,

in state, wearing the crown?

Because the barbarians are coming today

and the emperor's waiting to receive their leader.

He's even got a scroll to give him,

loaded with titles, with imposing names.

# “Waiting for the Barbarians” by C.P. Cavafy

Why have our two consuls and praetors come out today  
wearing their embroidered, their scarlet togas?

Why have they put on bracelets with so many amethysts,  
rings sparkling with magnificent emeralds?

Why are they carrying elegant canes  
beautifully worked in silver and gold?

Because the barbarians are coming today  
and things like that dazzle the barbarians.

Why don't our distinguished orators turn up as usual  
to make their speeches, say what they have to say?

Because the barbarians are coming today  
and they're bored by rhetoric and public speaking.

# “Waiting for the Barbarians” by C.P. Cavafy

Why this sudden bewilderment, this confusion?

(How serious people's faces have become.)

Why are the streets and squares emptying so rapidly,  
everyone going home lost in thought?

Because night has fallen and the barbarians haven't come.

And some of our men just in from the border say  
there are no barbarians any longer.

Now what's going to happen to us without barbarians?

Those people were a kind of solution.

# “The Second Coming” by W. B. Yeats

Turning and turning in the widening gyre  
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;  
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,  
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere  
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;  
The best lack all conviction, while the worst  
Are full of passionate intensity.

# “The Second Coming” by W. B. Yeats

Surely some revelation is at hand;  
Surely the Second Coming is at hand.  
The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out  
When a vast image out of Spiritus Mundi  
Troubles my sight: a waste of desert sand;  
A shape with lion body and the head of a man,  
A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,  
Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it  
Wind shadows of the indignant desert birds.

## “The Second Coming” by W. B. Yeats

The darkness drops again but now I know  
That twenty centuries of stony sleep  
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,  
And what rough beast, its hour come round at  
last,  
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

# Initial Government Attempts to Increase Demand

- Brazil
  - surplus of coffee beans set on fire, used to build highways
- USA: “planned scarcity”
  - Vegetables, fruits and animals destroyed
  - Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*



# Advice to Hoover

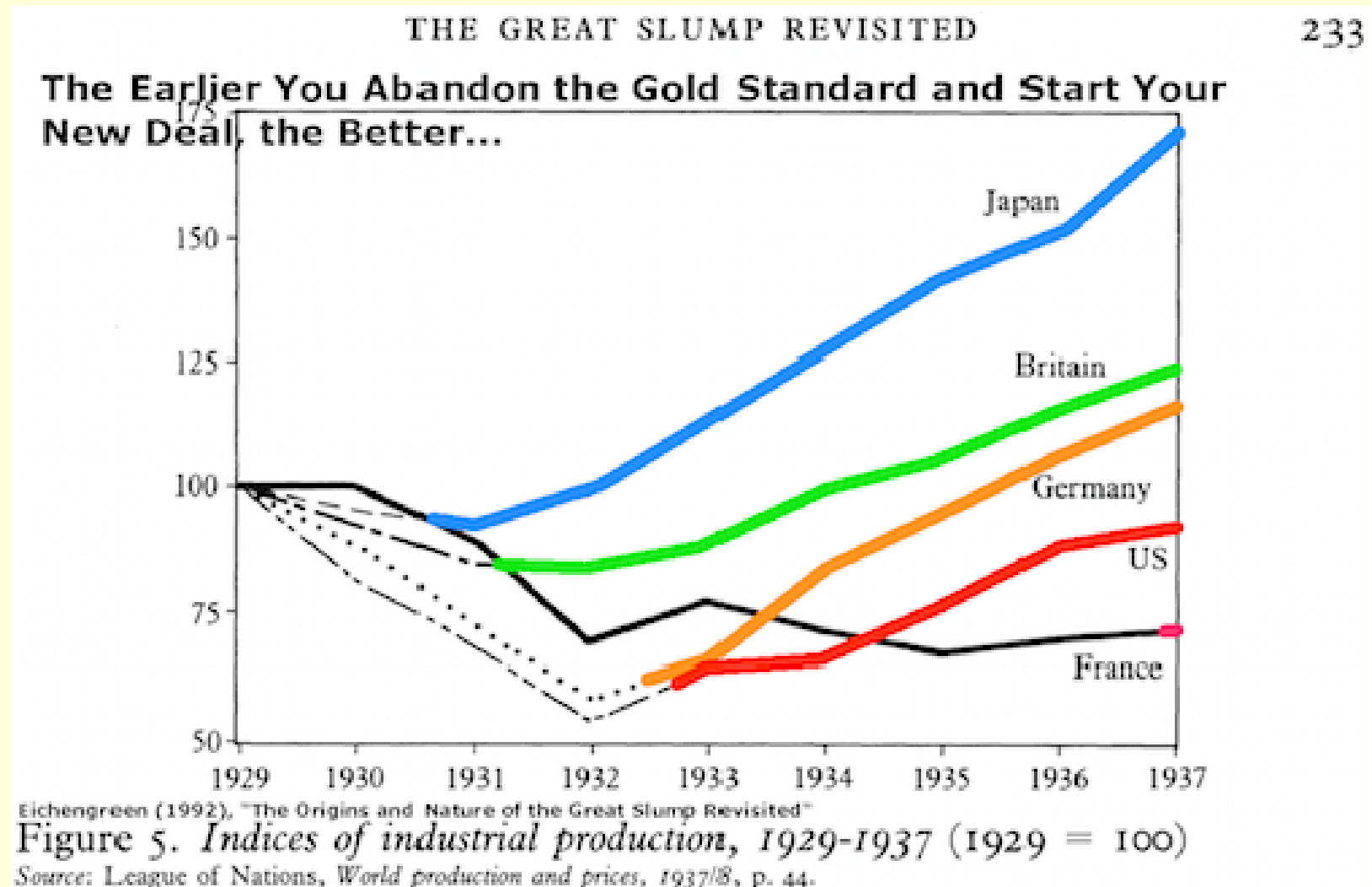
- “The government must keep its hands off and let the slump liquidate itself. Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farms, liquidate real estate. When the people get an inflation brainstorm, the only way to get it out of their blood is to let it collapse. A panic is not altogether a bad thing. It will purge the rottenness out of the system. High costs of living and high living will come down. People will work harder, live a more moral life. Values will be adjusted, and enterprising people will pick up the wrecks from less competent people.”

-Treasury Secretary Andrew W. Mellon

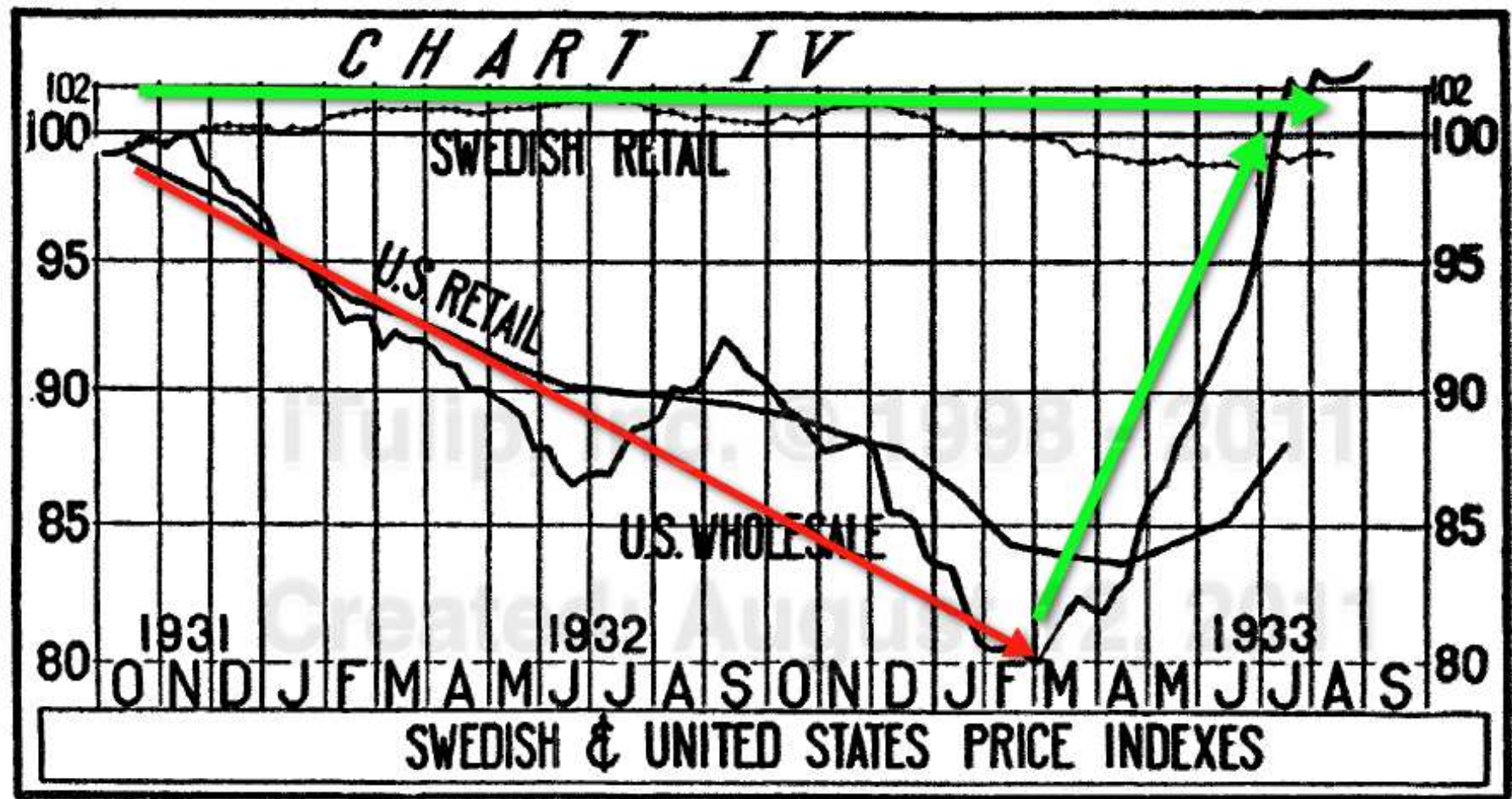
# New US Strategies

- *Laissez-faire*, “planned scarcity” approaches fail
- John Maynard Keynes, economist
  - Stimulate economy by lowering interest rates
  - Government spending to compensate for private deleveraging
    - encouraging investment, employment
  - Leave the gold standard – release from “golden fetters”
- The New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- WWII Spending

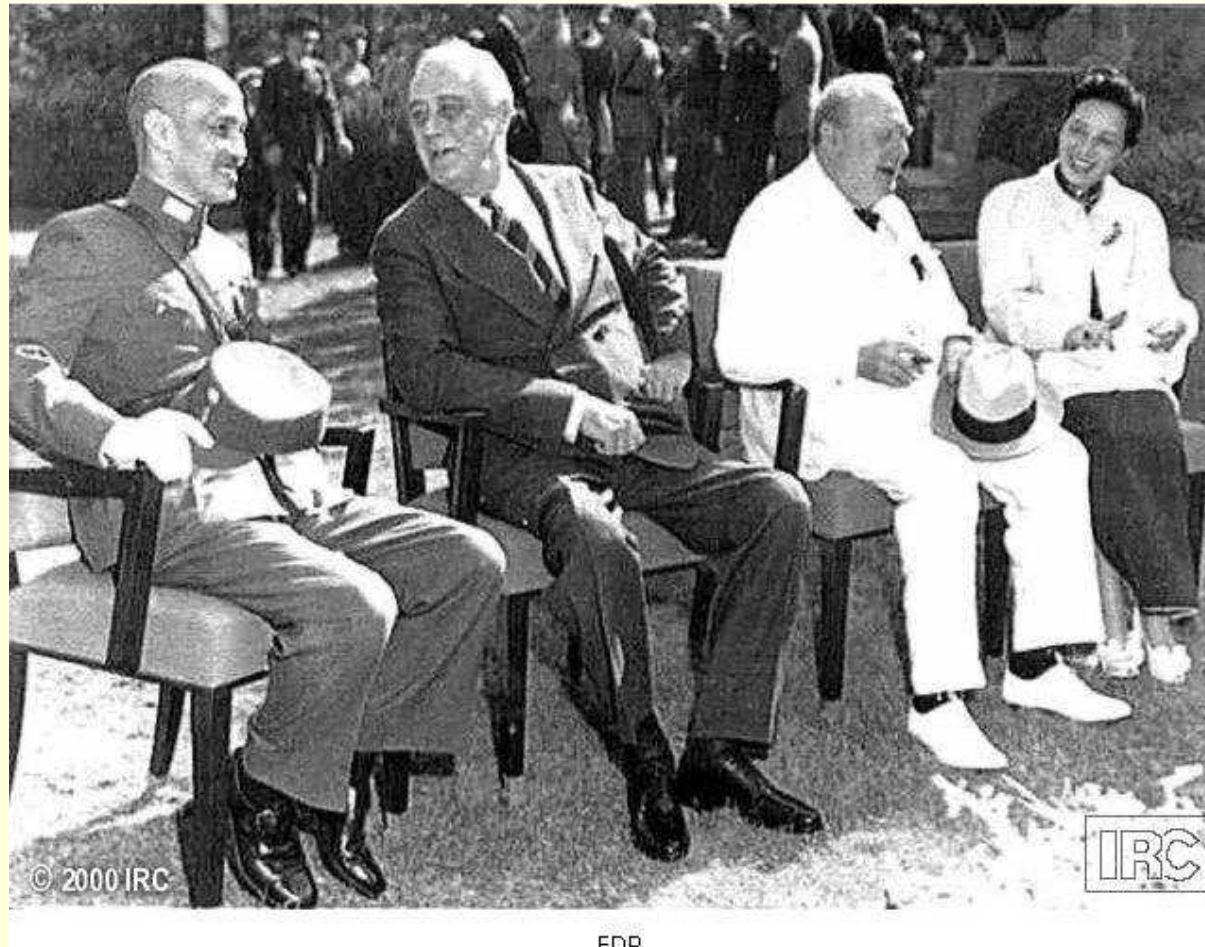
# Golden Fetters



# Golden Fetters



# Franklin Delano Roosevelt



FDR



# Social Security Act of 1936

**Join the march...  
to OLD AGE  
SECURITY**

Return  
YOUR APPLICATION FOR A  
SOCIAL SECURITY  
ACCOUNT NUMBER  
through the post office  
NOT LATER THAN  
DEC. 5TH 1936

**WHO IS ELIGIBLE** ... EVERYBODY WORKING FOR SALARY OR WAGES (WITH ONLY A FEW EXCEPTIONS, SUCH AS AGRICULTURE, DOMESTIC SERVICE, AND GOVERNMENT WORK). APPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL SECURITY ACCOUNTS ARE AVAILABLE THROUGH EMPLOYERS. IF YOU DO NOT GET ONE FROM YOUR EMPLOYER, ASK FOR ONE AT THE POST OFFICE.

**HOW TO RETURN APPLICATION**

1. HAND IT BACK TO YOUR EMPLOYER, or
2. HAND IT TO ANY LABOR ORGANIZATION OF WHICH YOU ARE A MEMBER, or
3. HAND IT TO YOUR LETTER CARRIER, or
4. DELIVER IT TO LOCAL POST OFFICE, or
5. MAIL IT IN A SEALED ENVELOPE.

ADDRESSED: POST MASTER, LOCAL DO IT NOW. NO POSTAGE NEEDED.

*- Social Security Board*

**INFORMATION** MAY BE OBTAINED AT ANY POST OFFICE

**MORE SECURITY FOR  
THE AMERICAN FAMILY**

**THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AS AMENDED  
OFFERS GREATER OLD-AGE INSURANCE  
PROTECTION TO PEOPLE NOW NEARING  
RETIREMENT AGE.**

FOR INFORMATION WRITE OR CALL AT THE NEAREST FIELD OFFICE OF THE  
**SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD**

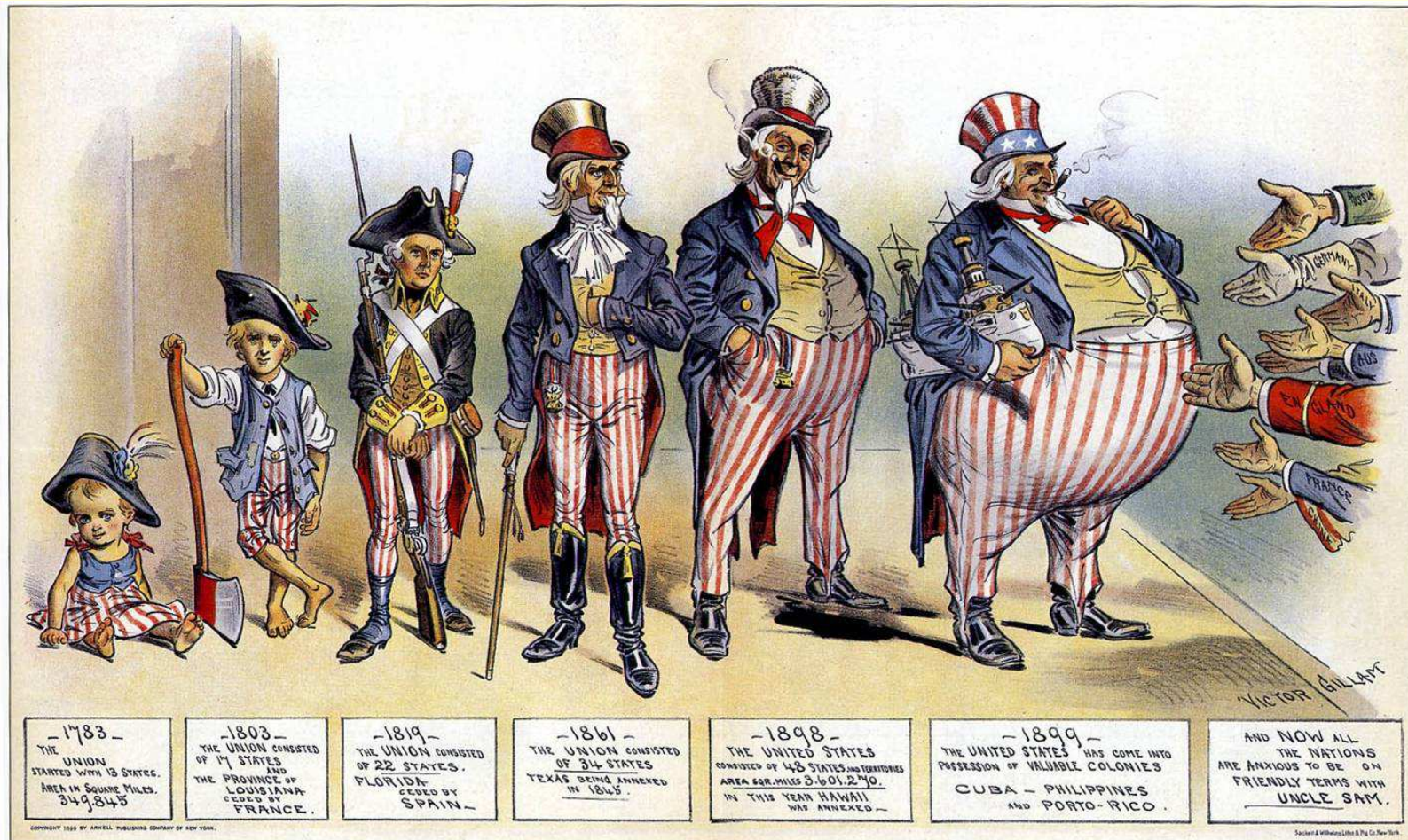
# “Creating a World After Its Own Image”

“The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere...”

“It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.”



# Imperialism



"A LESSON FOR ANTI-EXPANSIONISTS."  
 "Showing how Uncle Sam has been an expansionist first, last, and all the time."  
 Judge, Arkell Publishing Company, New York, 1899 [artist: Victor Gillam]



# The Need for Revolution

- “Only when the working class has conquered, only then will liberty and equality reign, because then there will be no class left to oppress or be oppressed. Society can be organized in a rational manner with labor and justice for all. Resources will flow from everyone according to their capacities to everyone according to their needs.”

– Karl Marx

# The Bolshevik Revolution

- Russo-Japanese War
- February Revolution 1917
- October/November 1917
- Soviets take over
- Disband the Duma
- “All Power to the Soviets!”

# Lenin



# The Sealed Train



# Chaos in Petrograd



# The Bolshevik Revolution

- Russo-Japanese War
- February Revolution 1917
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# War Communism, 1918-1922

- Rapid collectivization
- Confiscations and Kulaks
- Massively unpopular, Lenin backtracks in 1921
- New Economic Policy (NEP) partial privatization of the economy

# New Economic Policy (NEP)

- Promotion of Agriculture
- Promotion of Industry
- Propaganda
- “one step backward, two steps forward”



# Lenin's Death

- Lenin's Stroke (1922) and death (1924)
- Succession

# Joseph Stalin (1879-1953)

- Yosef Vissarionovich Dzugashvili
  - *Nom de guerre*: “man of Steel,”
- Georgian
- Leads Soviet Union by 1928

# Joseph Stalin



# Stalin and Industrialization

- 5-Year Plan
  - “Either we do it, or they will crush us”
- Socialism in One Country
- Massive collectivization of agriculture

# The Purges

- mechanics of a purge
  - “confession”
  - the show-trial
  - punishment
- Massive scope: 8 million Soviet citizens in labor camps by 1939
- euphemisms: “wreckers, saboteurs”

# Nikolai Yezhov Vanishes



# The Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33

- a Terror-Famine?
  - Ukrainians
  - Don Region
- De-kulakization
- “when you cut down a forest, splinters will fly”

# Life in the Gulag

- internal exile
- forced labor
- living conditions
- trial and re-trial



# Unequal Treaties

- China forced into a series of disadvantageous treaties
- Hong Kong ceded to British in Treaty of Nanjing (1842), ports opened to British traders
- Extraterritorial status to British subject
- Later, other countries conclude similar treaties

# East Asia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century



# The Self-Strengthening Movement (1860-1895)

- High point in 1860s-1870s
- Slogan “Chinese learning at the base, Western learning for use”
- Blend of Chinese cultural traditions with European industrial technology
  - Shipyards, railroads, academies
- Change to Chinese economy and society superficial
- Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908) diverted funds for her own aesthetic purposes

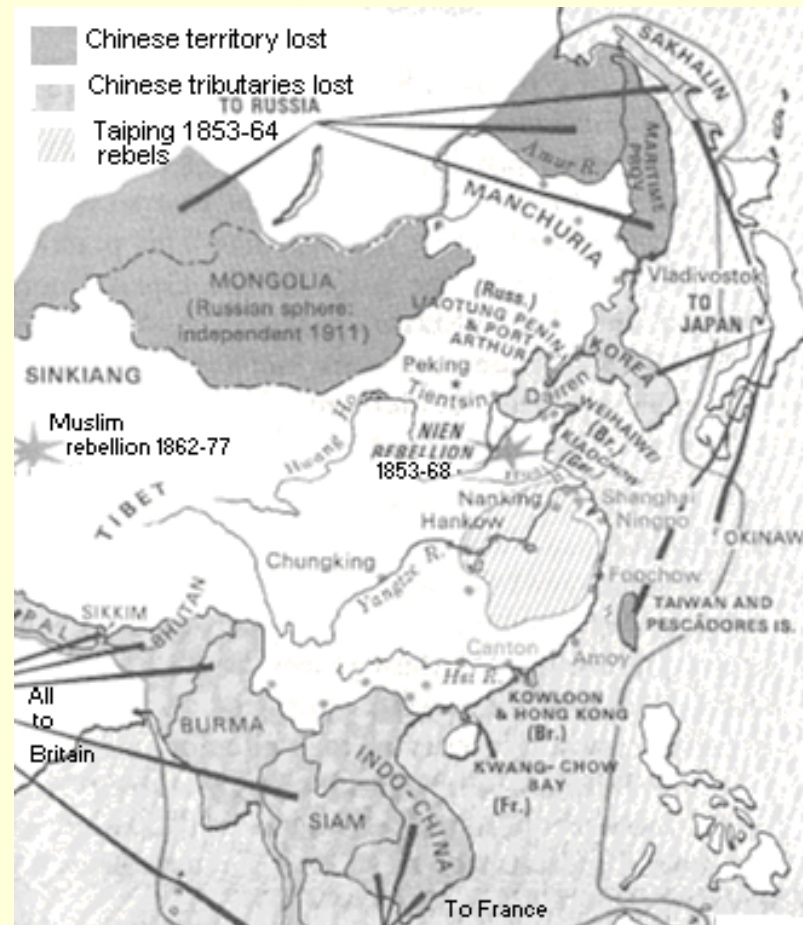
# Empress Dowager Cixi



# Spheres of Influence

- Qing dynasty loses influence in south-east Asia, losing tributary states to Europeans and Japanese
  - Vietnam: France, 1886
  - Burma: Great Britain, 1885
  - Korea, Taiwan, Liaodong Peninsula: Japan, 1895
- China itself divided into spheres of influence, 1895

# Effects of Western Imperialism



**Map Showing Effects of Western Imperialism in China**

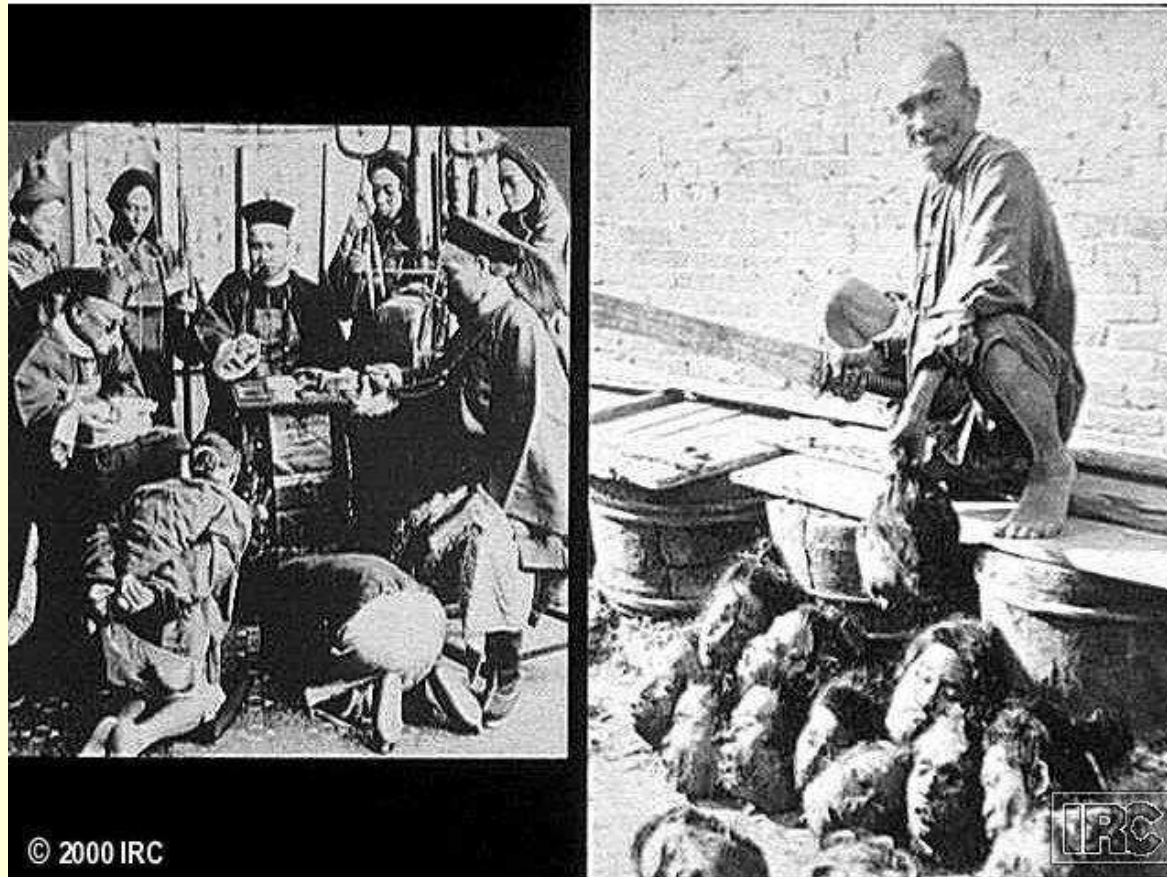
Britain, France, Russia and Japan took over the Qing Empire's tributary sphere, then forced the grant of "treaty ports". At the same time, there were internal rebellions.

# The Boxer Rebellion

- Cixi supports Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists (“Boxers”), anti-foreign militia units
- 1899 fight to rid China of “foreign devils”
- Misled to believe European weapons would not harm them, 140,000 Boxers besiege European embassies in 1900
- Crushed by coalition of European forces
- China forced to accept stationing of foreign troops



# Boxers



Photographs showing the trial and execution of the Boxers



# The Boxer Rebellion



# Death of the Dowager Empress

- Emperor dies a mysterious, sudden death
- Cixi dies one day later, November 1908
- 2-year old Puyi placed on the throne
- Revolution in 1911
- Puyi abdicates, 1912

# The Republic of China

- Revolution in 1911 forces Emperor Puyi to abdicate
- Sun Yatsen (1866-1925) proclaims Republic of China in 1912
- Political anarchy follows
- Independent warlords exercise local control

# Chinese Nationalism

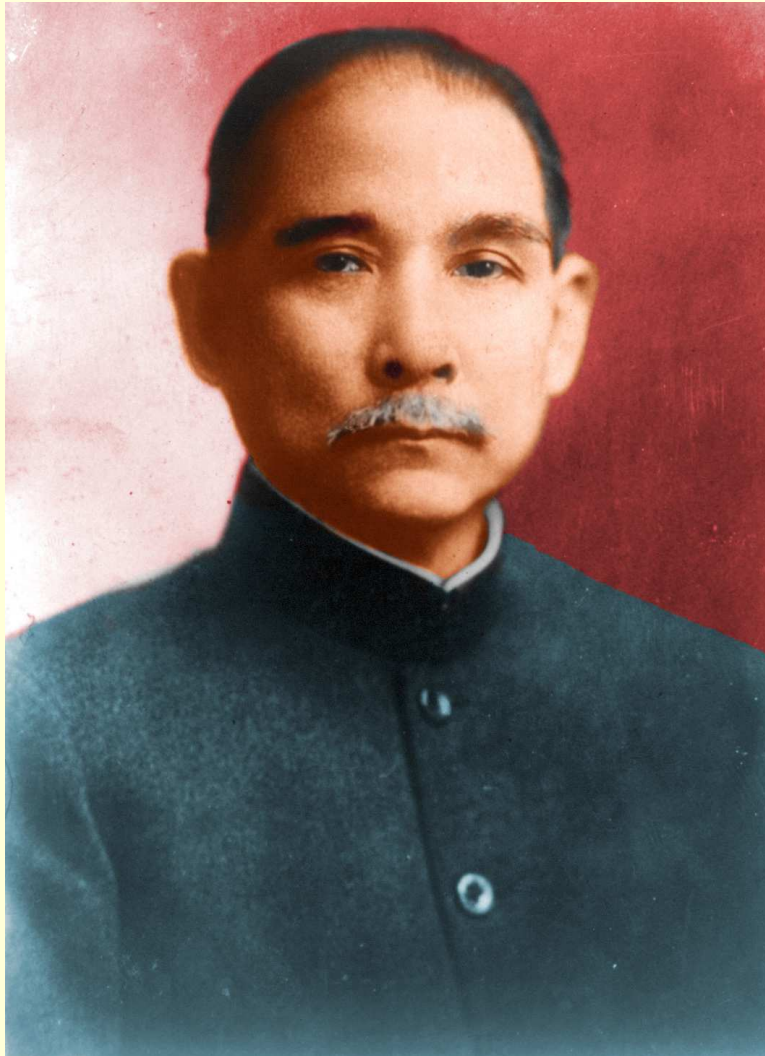
- May Fourth Movement
  - Students, urban intellectuals protest foreign interference
    - Especially Japanese interference
- Marxism increases in popularity
- Chinese Communist Party founded in Shanghai (1921)
  - Leader: Mao Zedong (1893-1976)



# The May Fourth Movement



# Sun Yatsen (1866-1925)



- Created Nationalist People's Party (Guomindang)
- Accepts support from Soviet Union
- Members of the Chinese Communist Party also join Guomindang

# Civil War

- Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-Shek, 1887-1975) takes over after death of Sun Yatsen
- Launches military expedition to unify China, turns against communist allies
- Communists flee 6,215 miles to north-west China, 1934: The Long March
- Mao Zedong leads, elucidates Chinese communism (Maoism)



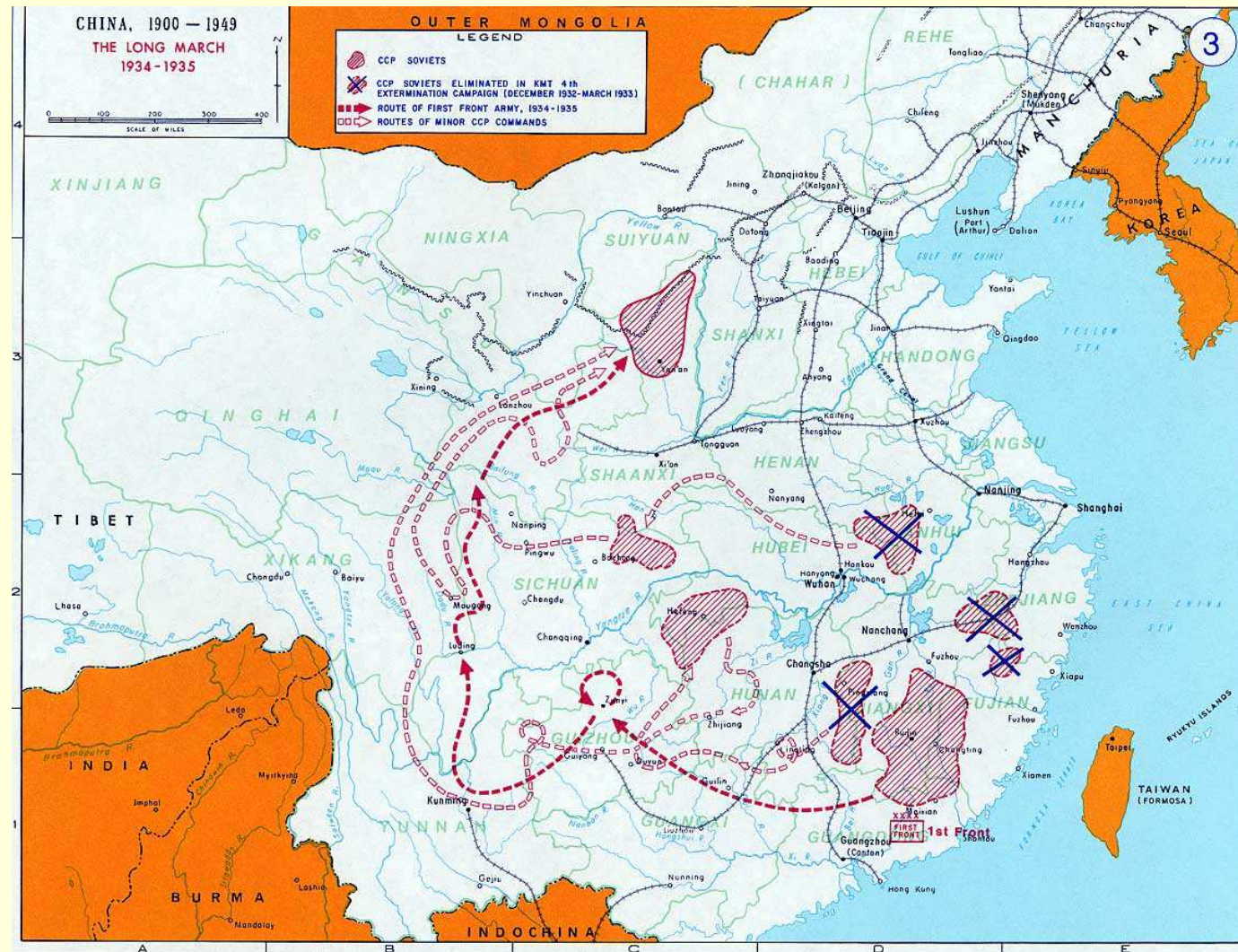
# Civil War



# The Struggle for Control in China, 1927 - 1936



# The Long March





# Foreign Pressure in Japan

- Europeans, Americans attempting to establish relations
- U.S. in particular look for Pacific ports for whalers, merchants
- Japan only allowed Dutch presence in Nagasaki
- 1853 Matthew Perry sails gunship up to Edo (Tokyo), forces Japanese to open port
- Sparks conservative Japanese reaction against Shogun, rally around Emperor in Kyoto

# The Meiji Restoration (1868)

- Brief civil war between imperial and Tokugawa forces
- 1868 Emperor Mutusuhito (Meiji, 1852-1912) takes power
- Goals of prosperity and strength: “rich country, strong army”
- Resolved to learn western technology

# “Datsu-A Ron”

- “Once the wind of Western civilization blows to the East, every blade of grass and every tree in the East follow what the Western wind brings... The spread of civilization is like the measles... In my view, these two countries [China and Korea] cannot survive as independent nations with the onslaught of Western civilization to the East... We do not have time to wait for the enlightenment of our neighbors so that we can work together toward the development of Asia. It is better for us to leave the ranks of Asian nations and cast our lot with civilized nations of the West... Those [who] are intimate with bad friends are also regarded bad, therefore I will deny those bad Asian friends from my heart.”

-Fukuzawa Yukichi

# Early Japanese Expansion

- Resentment over Unequal Treaties of 1860s
- 1870s colonized northern region: Hokkaido, Kurile islands, southern Okinawa and Ryukyu islands as well
- 1876 Japanese purchase warships from Britain, dominate Korea
- Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) over Korea results in Japanese victory
- Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) also ends in Japanese victory



# Imperialist Japan

- Japan signs treaties under League of Nations to limit imperialist activity, 1922-1928
- Political chaos in interwar Japan, assassinations
- Militarist, imperialist circles advocate greater assertion of Japanese power in the region
- China a soft target

# The Mukden Incident (1931)

- Japanese troops in Manchuria, China, secretly blow up small parts of the Japanese-built South Manchuria Railroad as pretext for war
- Over opposition of Japanese civilian government, military takes Manchuria, renames it Manchukuo, a puppet state
- League of Nations censures Japan, Japan leaves the League of Nations

# Japan's War in China

- Conquest of Chinese Manchuria 1931-1932
- Full-scale invasion in 1937
- The Rape of Nanjing
  - Ariel bombing of urban center
  - 400,000 Chinese used for bayonet practice, massacred
  - 7,000 women raped
  - 1/3 of all homes destroyed
- Japan signs Tripartite Pact with Germany, Italy (1940), Non-Aggression Pact with USSR (1941)

# Chinese Resistance

- Japanese aggression spurs “United Front” policy between Chinese Communists and Nationalists
- Guerilla warfare ties down half of the Japanese army
- Yet continued clashes between Communists and Nationalists
  - Communists gain popular support, upper hand by end of the war
- Seen as leaders in the resistance to Japanese and foreign aggression

# Chinese Communism under Mao

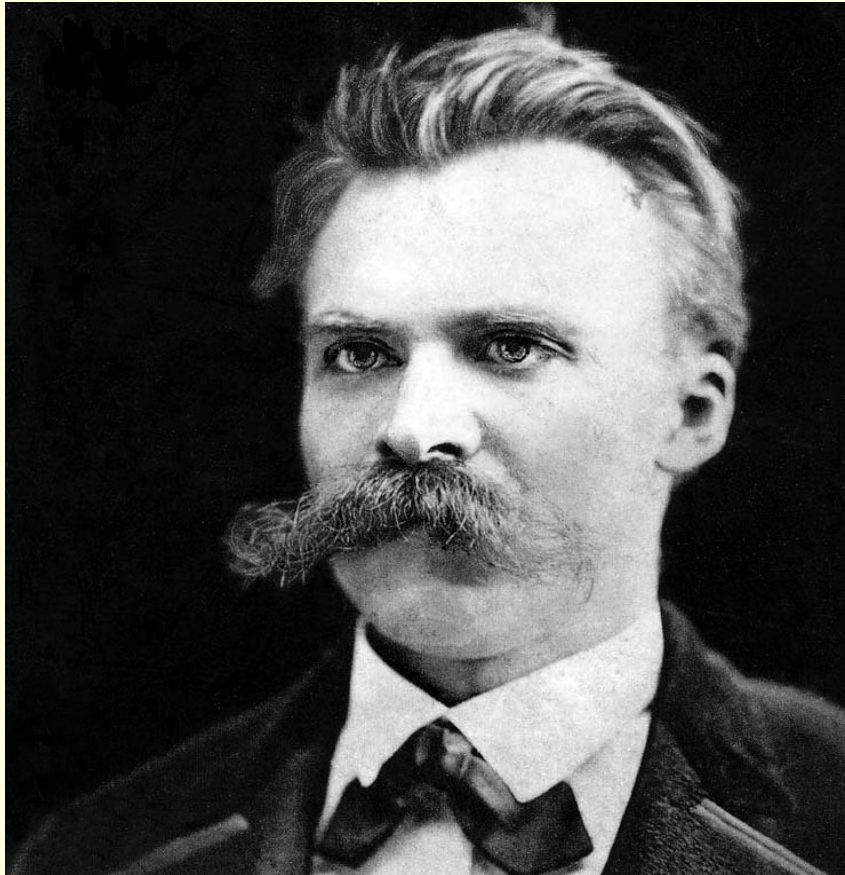
- The Great Leap Forward
- The Cultural Revolution

# The Blond Beast





# Friedrich Nietzsche



- 1844-1900
- German Philosopher
- *Genealogy of Morals* (1887)
- Good/Evil vs Good/Bad
- Slave morality
- Priestly revenge
- The “Blond Beast”
- All men are not created equal



?



# US House of Representatives



# The Growth of European Fascism

- From “fasces,” Roman symbol of authority
  - Axe surrounded by wooden rods
- Originates with Benito Mussolini
- Influenced Europe, Asia, Latin America

# Fascism: Common Elements

1. Primacy of state over individual
  - strength through unity
2. Distrust of democracy: the *Führerprinzip*
3. Hostility to Communism
4. Chauvinistic/nationalistic
  1. Counteracting humiliation
  2. Strength through struggle
5. Militaristic

# Fascism in Italy

- Poor showing of post-WWI Italian government
  - Public disappointed with weak territorial gains
  - Economic and social turmoil
- Mussolini, former newspaper editor, electoral successes in 1921
- March on Rome October, King Emmanuel III offers him office of prime minister
- 1926 seizes power as *Il Duce*, “the leader”

# Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) and the Nazi Party

- 1921 becomes Chairman of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazis)
- Attempts to overthrow government in 1923
  - Writes autobiography *Mein Kampf* in jail, massively popular
- Capitalizes on public discontent with post-war era
  - War guilt clause
  - Reparation payments
  - Inability of major parties to come to consensus
  - Anti-Semitism



# “Triumph of the Will”



# Consolidation of Power

- Nazis become single largest party in parliament, 1930-1932
- Weak president Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934) appoints Hitler as Chancellor
- Suppresses opposition, abrogates constitutional and civil rights
  - Makes the Nazis the sole legal party
  - Destroys trade unions
  - Purges judiciary, civil service of perceived enemies

# The Racial State

- Theories of racial superiority, racial purity
- Policies of eugenics
  - Compulsory sterilization of 30,000 Germans
  - Abortions illegal for healthy Germans, mandatory for “hereditary ill” and “racial aliens”
  - “Euthanasia” program kills 200,000 people with physical or mental handicaps between 1939-1945
- Precursors to massacres of Jews, gypsies

# Anti-Semitism

- Influence of 19<sup>th</sup>-century racism
- 1935 Nuremberg laws define Jew on racial basis
  - Prohibits marriages between Jews and non-Jews
  - Removal of Jews from civil service, schools
  - Liquidation of Jewish-owned businesses or purchase by non-Jews
- Kristallnacht: major country-wide *pogrom* on Jews, November 9-10, 1938
  - “night of broken glass”

# The Second World War

- Allies vs. Axis Powers
- Italy, Germany and Japan form Axis
- “Revisionists:” wished to revise post-World War I peace treaties
- Allies initially follow policy of appeasement
- War erupts 1939, global by 1941, over 1945

# Axis Rally in Tokyo



An Axis rally in Tokyo



# Italian Aggression

- Benito Mussolini invades Ethiopia with overpowering force
  - 2,000 Italian troops killed, 275,000 Ethiopians killed
- Also takes Libya, Albania

# Germany

- Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) withdraws from League of Nations
- Remilitarizes Germany
- *Anschluss* (“Union”) with Austria, 1938
- Pressure on Sudetenland (Czechoslovakia)

# Do you agree with our leader?



# Munich Conference (1938)

- Italy, France, Great Britain, Germany meet
- Allies follow policy of appeasement
- Hitler promises to halt expansionist efforts
- British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) promises “peace for our time”
- Hitler signs secret Russian-German Treaty of Non-Aggression (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, August 1939)

# Invasion of Poland and France

- September 1, 1939
- *Blitzkrieg*: “lightning war” strategy
  - Air forces soften up target, armored divisions rush in
- German U-boats (submarines) patrol Atlantic, threaten British shipping

# The Fall of France

- 1940: Germany occupies Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France
- Hitler forces French to sign armistice agreement in same railroad car used for the armistice imposed on Germany in 1918



# The Battle of Britain

- Air war conducted by the German Luftwaffe
- “The Blitz”
- 40,000 British civilians killed in urban bombing raids
  - Especially London
- Royal Air Force prevents Germans from invading

# Operation Barbarossa

- *Lebensraum* (“living space”)
- June 22, 1941 Hitler double-crosses Stalin and invades USSR
- Stalin caught off-guard, rapid advance
- But severe winter, long supply lines weakened German efforts
- Soviets regroup and attack Spring 1942
- Turning point: Battle of Stalingrad (ends February 1943)

# High tide of Axis expansion in Europe and North Africa, 1942-1943



# Nazi Genocide and the Jews

- Jews primary target of Nazi genocidal efforts
  - Other groups also slated for destruction: Roma (Gypsies), Gays, Jehovah's Witnesses
- Nazis initially encouraged Jewish emigration
  - Few countries willing to accept Jewish refugees
- Aborted plans to deport Jews to Madagascar, reservation in Poland

# The Final Solution

- *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile killing squads) follow German army into USSR with Operation Barbarossa
- Round up of Jews and others, machine-gun executions of 1.4 million
- Later in 1941 decided on “Final Solution:” deportation of all European Jews to Death Camps
- Plans solidified at Wannsee Conference, January 1942

# The Holocaust

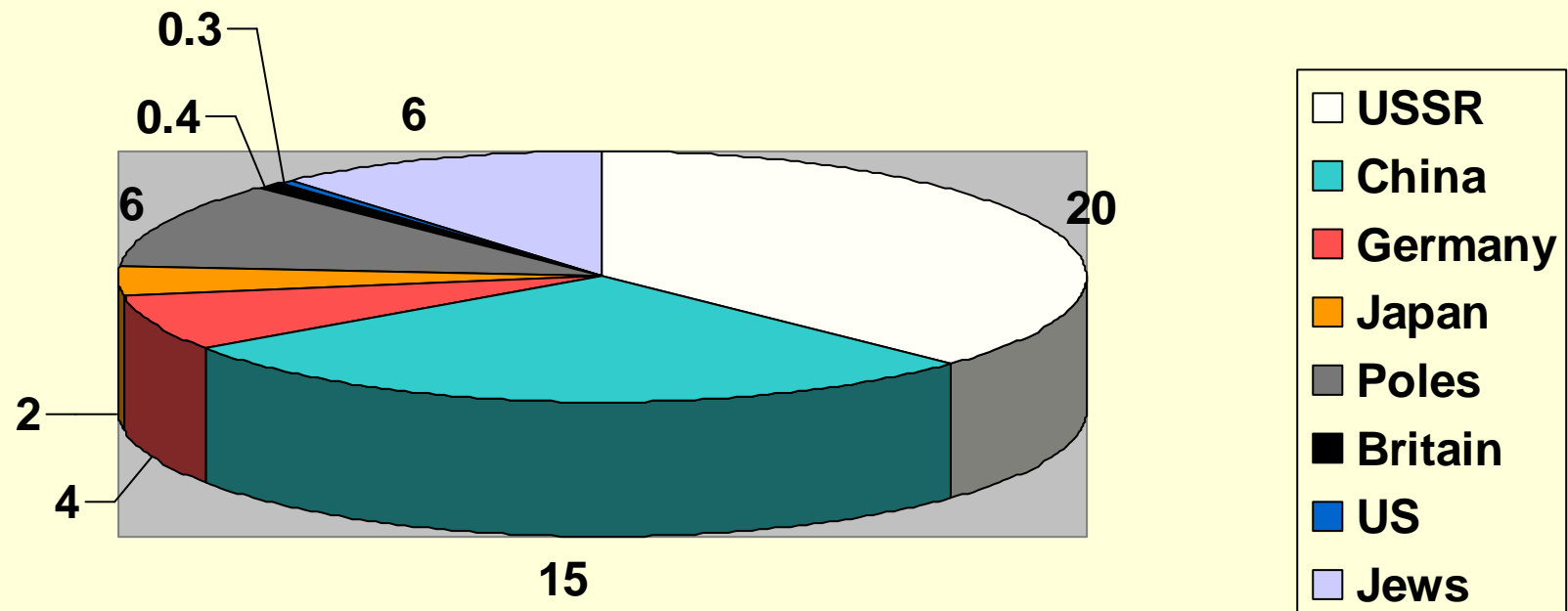
- Jews deported from ghettos all over Europe in cattle cars, spring 1942
- Destination: six specially designed Death Camps in Eastern Europe
- Technologically advanced, assembly-line style of murder through poison gas (Zyklon B)
- Corpses destroyed in crematoria
- Estimated number of Jews killed: 5.7 million



# The Holocaust in Europe, 1933-1945



# Deaths During World War II (millions)



# Adolf Eichmann



- How can we understand a man like Eichmann?
- 1906-1962
- One of the major organizers of the Holocaust
- Commits heinous evil that sends people to death
- Yet, seems to have a “normal” brain

# The Banality of Evil

- Eichmann's normality
  - Not particularly successful
  - Desires recognition
  - Normal relationships with family
- Doesn't seem to have been particularly anti-Semitic
- “joiner”
- “respectable voice of society”
- “who am I to judge”