

Up from the Rubble: Restoring Faith in Capitalism and Democracy after WWII

An Online Professional Development Seminar



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from the National Humanities Center



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*Politics and Theater: The Crisis of
Legitimacy in Restoration France,
1815-1830*

University of California Press, 2000

Her current project –
*The Recovery: the Reinvention of Europe
and the West after WWII*

From the Freedom Train to the Europe Train, via the Recovery

Introduction: Planning the Freedom Train

The Recovery in Europe:

- Germany (Berlin Fair, 1950)

- Europe, the Atlantic, the West (Europe Train)

Conclusion: Lessons from the Rubble

On May 22, 1947, leaders of some 66 industries, civic associations, fraternities, religious organizations, youth movements, war veterans, racial units, and national councils met at the White House. There they organized the American Heritage Foundation... The meeting was called by Attorney General Tom Clark and was sponsored by the Department of Justice.

One of the chief objectives was ... the inauguration of the Freedom Train. The Freedom Train was designed to bring to the people the knowledge, understanding and appreciation of our system of government.

From RG200 198 AHF
NAR: National Archives in College Park, Maryland

This is a proposal for an educational campaign on a national and local level which dramatizes the American way of life through the traveling exhibition of an impressive collection of original, **American historic documents and the contrasting documents of Nazi totalitarianism**. It is proposed that this exhibition tour the nation in a special train of railroad cars reconstructed and designed for this purpose, making scheduled stops in all of the 48 states.

The Freedom Train: The Campaign

A mere springboard to the national and local educational campaign...” in any given community a thousand people view the exhibition, then hundreds of thousands will be reached with the message through newspapers, publications, radio, motion pictures, and all other media for dissemination information. In addition it is /p2 proposed to activate all kinds of fraternal, civic and veterans’ organizations as participants in this program. In other words, the success of the campaign in any given community will not be measured by the number of individuals who visit the train. It will be determined by the intensity of the coverage of the media suggested above and the activity of the organizations.



Edward L. Bernays

The “Father of modern public relations”

Books:

Speak up for Democracy: What you Can Do—a Practical Plan of Action for Every American Citizen (1941)

Public Relations (1952)

Crystallizing Public Opinion (1961)

Your Future in Public Relations (1961)

This book is not intended to sell Democracy to you. We can assume that you, its readers believe in it already, that you are reading this in order to learn how to make your beliefs a positive force how to persuade others, how to marshal public opinion-- how to speak up for Democracy effectively.

The men and women of the country can be made to understand what Democracy means to them, what Washington and Lincoln stood for, what the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution do for them, the part that civil rights play in their lives. They must also know what totalitarianism does to the people. [FASCISM THE GREAT THREAT]

Who shall lead this campaign? leaders of society + opinion molders
How shall they do it? Chapter 7, Speak up for Democracy, “Planned Events, the Backbone of your Campaign” .

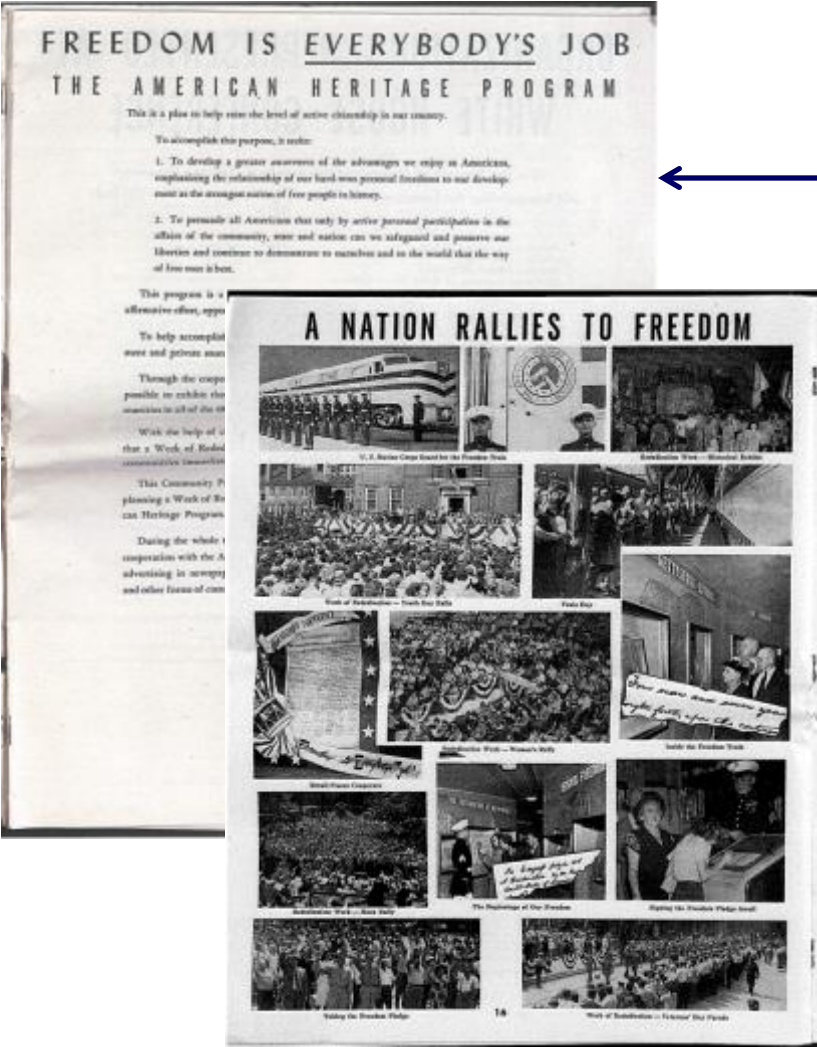
Edward Bernays,
Speak up for Democracy, 1941

“Natural Leaders”
to be activated



Media coverage

The Freedom Train Press Kit



This is a plan to help raise the level of active citizenship in our country.

To accomplish this purpose, it seeks:

1. To develop a greater awareness of the advantages we enjoy as Americans, emphasizing the relationship of our hard-won personal freedoms to our development as the strongest nation of free people in history.
2. To persuade all Americans that only by active personal participation in the affairs of the community, state and nation can we safeguard and preserve our liberties and continue to demonstrate to ourselves and to the world that the way of free men is best.



Fact: Theodore Replier first worked as an advertising copy writer.

“By contrast, for the past 10 years of my life have produced nothing for the magazine except ... headaches. [Everyone in publishing] dread the sight of me, for they know I will be asking for some more free space for the Red Cross, the Community Chest, or US Savings Bonds.....”

Theodore Replier,
“America’s Leadership Role and Magazines’
Responsibility”, 1951

What is American capitalism?’ In my opinion, if Italy, France, or any of Western Europe slide back into the arms of Moscow—and don’ t think that they are solidly anchored in our camp—the chief cause will be our failure to communicate the answer to this question.

Now why in the name of heaven haven’ t we long since convinced the European that the choice isn’ t just between communism and Old World Capitalism—that there is a third society—call it incentivism—which can really deliver the things that communism falsely promises? ... We have failed to export this knowledge because it is not yet mass knowledge here...

This is what we have been trying to do on the Advertising Council. For 2 years we have been carrying on a campaign on the American Economic System, with productivity as our main theme. A couple of million people have written in for a booklet called “The Miracle of America.” It is what we have been trying to do in cooperation with the American Heritage Foundation, first with the Freedom Train... and soon with the 175th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.. We attacked the problem at a roundtable last month with Paul Hoffman.

Theodore Replier,
“America’s Leadership Role and Magazines’ Responsibility”, 1951

So I shall close by suggesting that **you become the social and political philosophers of the 1950s**; that you help search out and define the American proposition—Fortune has already made a good start—that you explain it to Americans until their pride in what they have created becomes a quiet fervor. If you do this, we shall launch a new wave of hope throughout the entire free world.

Theodore Replier, to the Advertising Council, 1951

The Recovery: Marshall's Speech



**George C. Marshall,
Secretary of State**

Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative.

Commencement Address,
Harvard University, 1947

Defining the Situation:

[1] I need not tell you that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisal of the situation. Furthermore, the people of this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reactions of the long-suffering peoples, and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world.

Reading the Rubble:

[2] In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. For the past ten years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. Longstanding commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies, and shipping companies disappeared, through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization, or by simple destruction. In many countries, confidence in the local currency has been severely shaken. The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete. Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that two years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. But even given a more prompt solution of these difficult problems, the rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

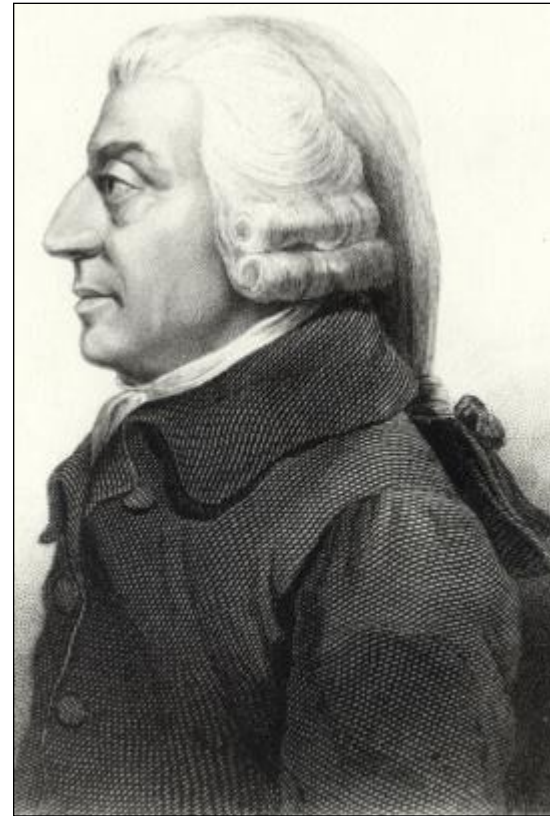
Defining the Deepest Problem:

[3] There is a phase of this matter which is both interesting and serious. The farmer has always produced the foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller for the other necessities of life. **This division of labor is the basis of modern civilization. At the present time it is threatened with breakdown.** The town and city industries are not producing adequate goods to exchange with the food-producing farmer. Raw materials and fuel are in short supply. Machinery is lacking or worn out. The farmer or the peasant cannot find the goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and is using them for grazing. He feeds more grain to stock and finds for himself and his family an ample supply of food, however short he may be on clothing and the other ordinary gadgets of civilization. Meanwhile people in the cities are short of food and fuel [and in some places approaching the starvation level—oral addition]. So the governments are forced to use their foreign money and credits to procure these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction. Thus a very serious situation is rapidly developing which bodes no good for the world. **The modern system of the division of labor upon which the exchange of products is based is in danger of breaking down.**



John Locke

Two Treatises on Government, 1690



Adam Smith

Wealth of Nations, 1776

- 1) Economic Recovery Act passed (April 1948), Economic Recovery Program (dubbed "The Marshall Plan") put into effect (via bilateral treaties with 18 participating Western European nations)
 - 2) The OEEC (Organization for European Economic Cooperation) is established
 - 3) 5% of every dollar spent on a campaign
- and The Recovery is underway.... All over Western Europe



“The Air of Freedom”

The ERP message, broadcast from Berlin, for all the world to see: 1950 The Recovery is underway!!!!

“Getting ready for the fair”: the ERP campaign all over W. Germany *before* 1950

Tradition of the World Fair from the Crystal Palace of 1851, via Paris 1889, 1900, 1938

HOW CAN BERLIN BE A WINDOW ON THE WEST in 1950??

Where is Germany at the Fair?

- 1 of 18 flags flying overhead
- 1 of 18 figures sprouting out of the map
- NO PAVILION OF ITS OWN
- Deep inside the red, white, and blue-stamped Marshall House
- Parts V and VI: Germany exists, once the recovery is underway!



Germany's Pavilion: The Marshall House

Why is Germany Ground Zero for the Recovery?

II. Europe, 1945-1947

Vernichtung (Destruction, annihilation, extermination) spread across Europe

Image illustrating “Ghostly hints of war”

Image: Herr X, in uniform marching. (this man appears later in exhibit)

... and left its traces

Image and explanations showing Europe in the rubble: crippled transportation networks, dwellings, factories in ruins, black market, need, exhausted men, children in misery.

Herr K in front of the rubble that was once his home.

America Helps!

12,5 billion dollars of goods through 1948
IMAGE: Herr X receives a CARE package

This is a Palliative, not a cure!

Exports are lacking (more numbers)
Dollars are lacking (Herr X looking for loose change)
Shortages, hunger, unemployment
Herr X in front of unemployment bureau

Question: Will Herr X March Again?

Answer: NO!!

Question: Why not?

Answer: Mr. Marshall had an idea

Europeans agreed,

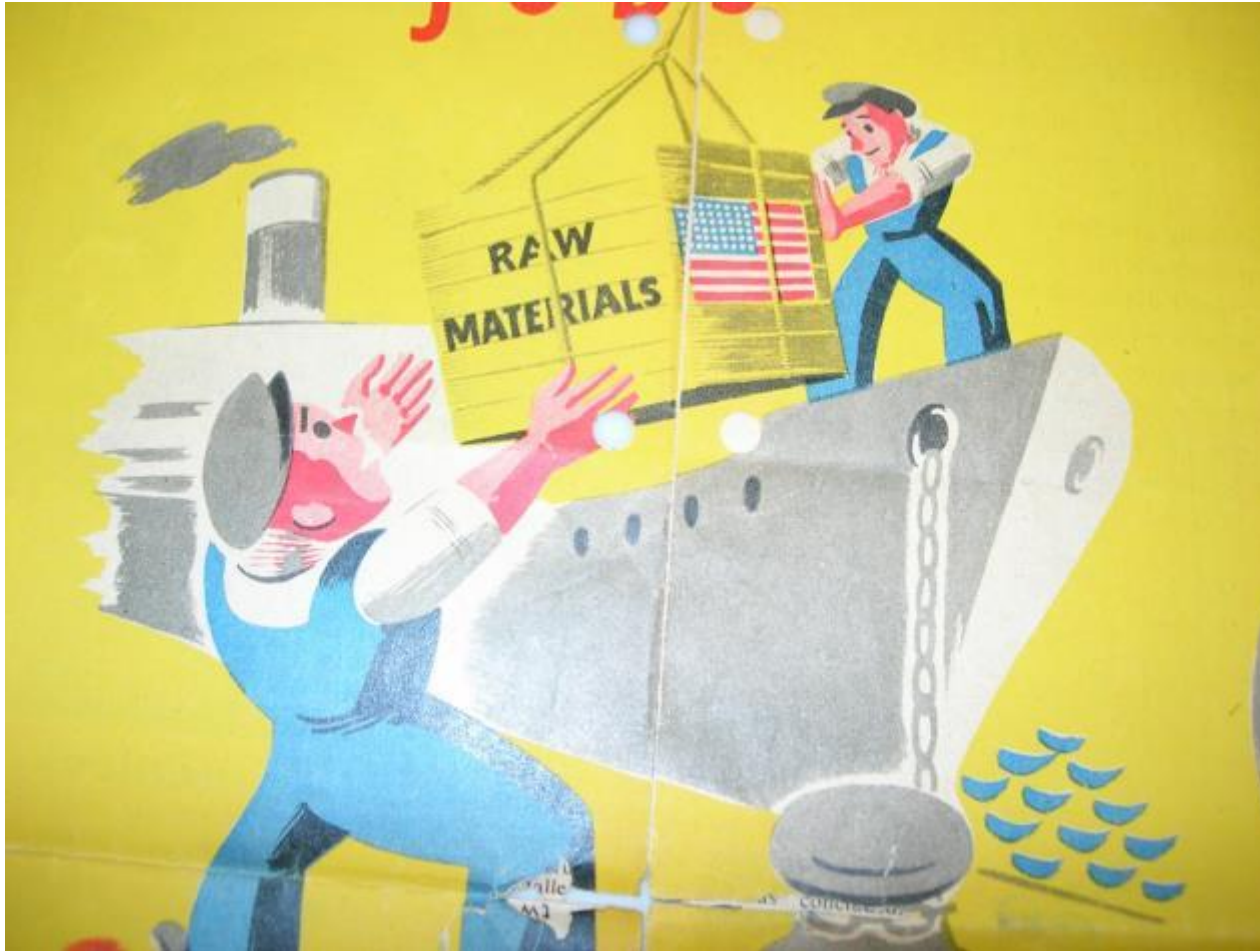
goods began to arrive

OEEC organized and The recovery is underway!!!!!!!

The Recovery as an Event

- Marshall, and his speech (founding moment)
- European leaders, photos of key meetings
- Chronology of Events: “calendar” of Recovery
- LAW of 3 April 1948 (in the foundation of the building!!!!):
“rites” of the Recovery

The Recovery: Ground Zero, Berlin



ERP Deliveries Arrive

The Recovery: Ground Zero, Berlin

Before....



..and After



Rites of the Recovery



Germany and Berlin in the Recovery

Section V:

The numbers, the facts
Before/After

Section VI:

BERLIN ON DISPLAY AT THE FAIR

Herr X: in a new suit, enjoying the fair!

The Story of Herr X

- My historical problem: how do they imagine the average German?
- Documentary problems in the archives
- How I went about this: looking for Herr X' s story, wherever I could
 - In “Air of Freedom”
 - In “Gateway to Germany”



The Air of Freedom

What is Herr X doing? (He's not marching!)

- He IS “stampeding” the prefabricated model house
- He IS voluntarily enjoying a labor rally
- He IS sending balloons to his neighbors in the East
- He IS working, working, working: getting ready for the fair, making products for which Germany is famous on 5 continents.

Discussion Question

- What did you see and hear in “Air of Freedom”

Gateway to Germany

- Why is the rubble a hopeful thing?
- Herr X before the rubble that was his home
- Robinson Crusoe?
- Lockean/Smithean liberal everyman?

The **division of labor is the basis of modern civilization**. At the present time it is threatened with breakdown.

Marshall speech, 1947

For a time it seemed as though this country' s will to live had been broken, her culture and historical countenance blotted out.... But despite all this, **the German people** did not give up. One of their strongest traits, **an almost fanatic reverence for toil**, is probably what saved them. They had **lost everything—except the property rights to the rubble** which had once comprised their homes and shops.

Gateway to Germany Brochure

He who comes to Germany today will see a nation **whose people seem only to live for the sake of working**. Everywhere he goes he will find **resurrected cities** which, only six years ago, were a monotonous pattern of soot and charred rafters.

Gateway to Germany, page 10

In every part of Western Germany the traveler will find a **building program running day and night** in high gear—a program which can only be compared in magnitude with the foregoing destruction.

Gateway to Germany, page 11

The Recovery: Ground Zero, Berlin

West: not marching, relying upon its rich “heritage of civilization”

East: marching, “The Soviet Union has set up a communist regime in the area it occupies, liquidating entirely the previous social order. Property owners have been relieved of their deeds, and with the already property-less, subjected to a totalitarian machine.”

Gateway to Germany, page 17

Incidentally, the Sudeten Germans who had once more come under the rule of the Czechs suffered the same fate. Thus more than 12 million Germans in Central and Eastern Europe lost their homes. Of these 9 millions streamed into Western Germany as refugees.

Over nine million refugees have streamed into western Germany from neighboring countries and from the Russian Zone. The Soviet Union has set up a communist regime in the area it occupies, liquidating entirely the previous social order. Property owners have been relieved of their deeds and with the already propertyless, subjected to a totalitarian machine. The entire industrial potential has been placed at the disposal of the Red Army, the key industries have been made the property of the Soviet Union. The result has been the pauperization of 18 million Germans who have been sentenced to live under this ruthless regime. Their living standard is approaching the level of that of hordes of Chinese and Mongolian nationals who have, in the last few years, been “invited” by the Russians to do slave labor in the coal and uranium mines located in East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia.

The West-German rehabilitation program suffered many setbacks in its early days due to the conflicting political policies of the three western allies. But with the passing of time the western powers and especially the Americans came to realize that a complete political “facelifting” and Germany’s eventual cooperation in a union composed of the free nations of the world is indeed not only feasible but highly desirable. After the three governments, the United States, France, and Great Britain, had agreed on a common program for Germany, which program fosters her economic reconstruction, Great Britain and the United States effected a union of their two adjacent zones. With the fusion of the French zone, the economic and geographical basis for a united political program was established, the German Federal Republic was a natural outcome of this cooperation.

CENTRAL GERMANY became the Soviet zone of OCCUPATION. The Russian zone, in the course of the last 5 years, recovered goods valued at 2 billion German Marks from central production.



A picture illustrating the fate of thousands of refugees, in an old military supply depot in the Russian town of Weissen. 50 families were crowded into inadequate quarters — but their innate love for cleanliness and order created a faint resemblance of home in this mass of crowded nooks and corners.



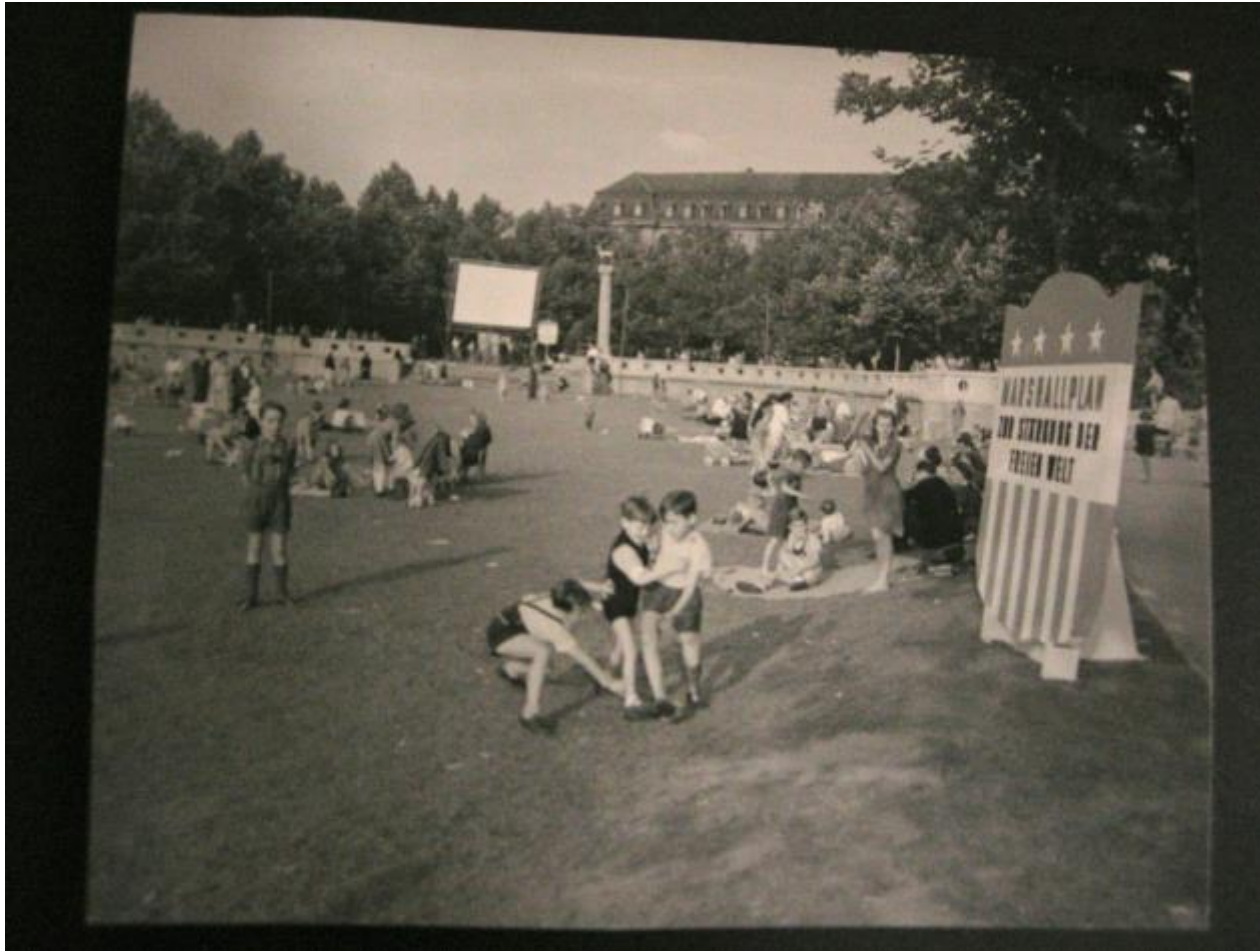
The 146 Articles of the constitution... correspond structurally to those of the constitutions of other freedom-loving nations. An exception is Article Nr. 24, which provides for the eventual surrender of the Republic' s sovereignty to an international union... a European family of nations, of which Germany would be an integral part.

Gateway to Germany, page 19

Germany and its Exports: Rites of the Recovery

- Germans work
- Produce goods for which Germany is rightly famous the world over
- Germany and Germans = its exports
- How to “rebrand” Berlin? And therefore Germany? A real question for Roy Bernard, Inc.

The Recovery: Ground Zero, Berlin



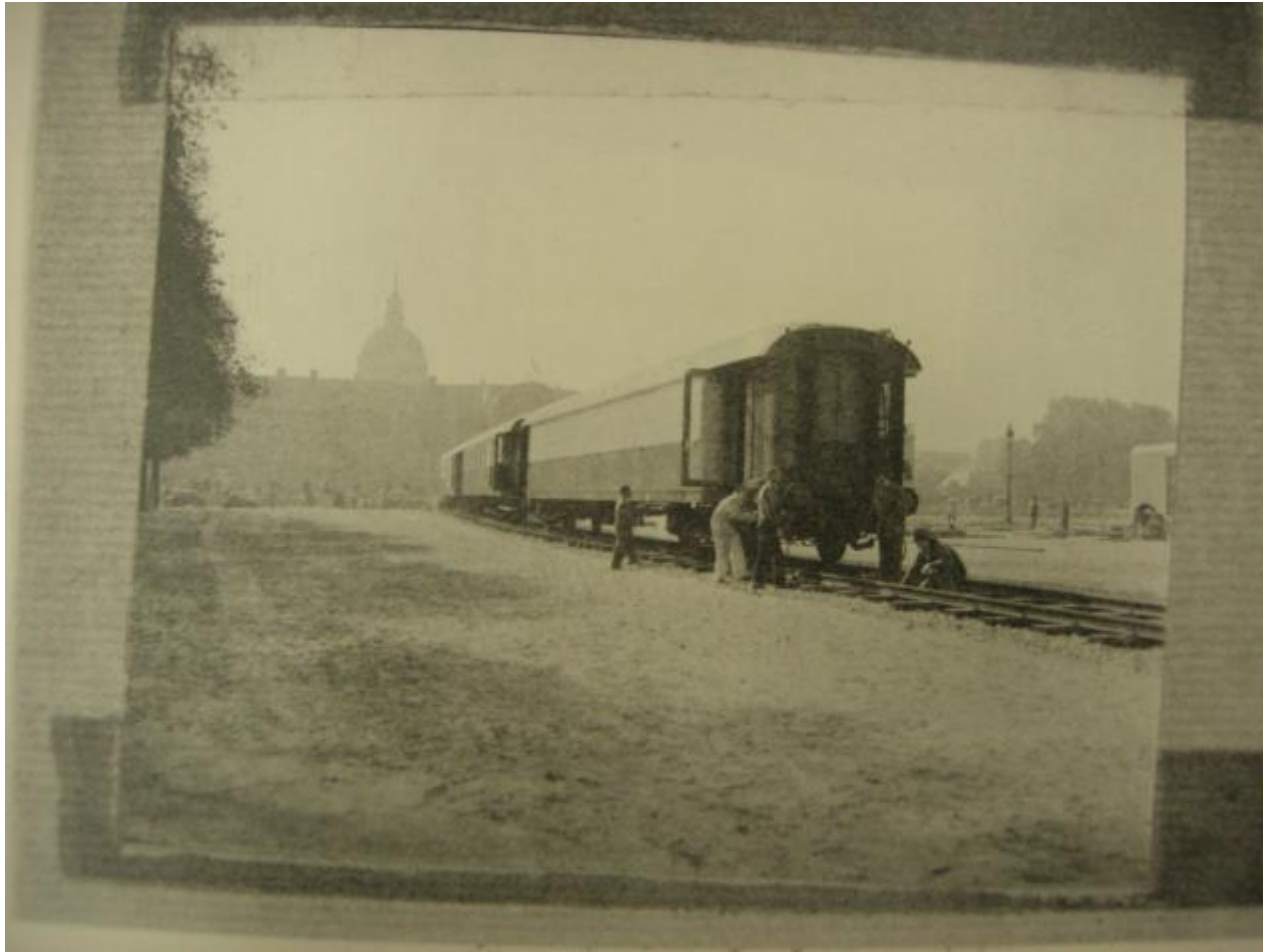
Rebranding Berlin, 1951

The Europe Train: Laying the Tracks



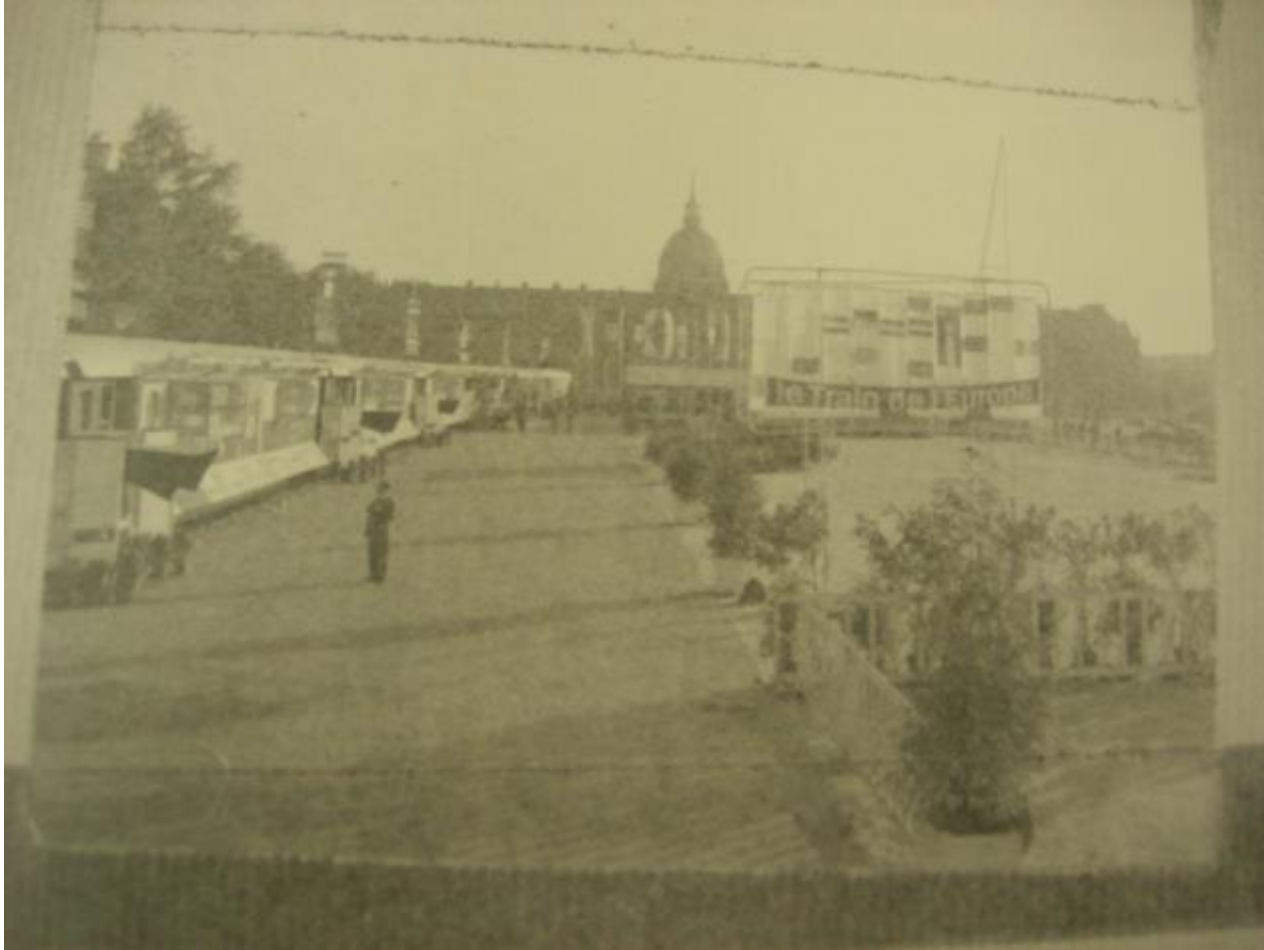
Europe Train, Laying the Tracks, 1951
Paris

The Europe Train: ERP Victory Lap!



The Europe Train, 1951

The Europe Train: “Media Event”

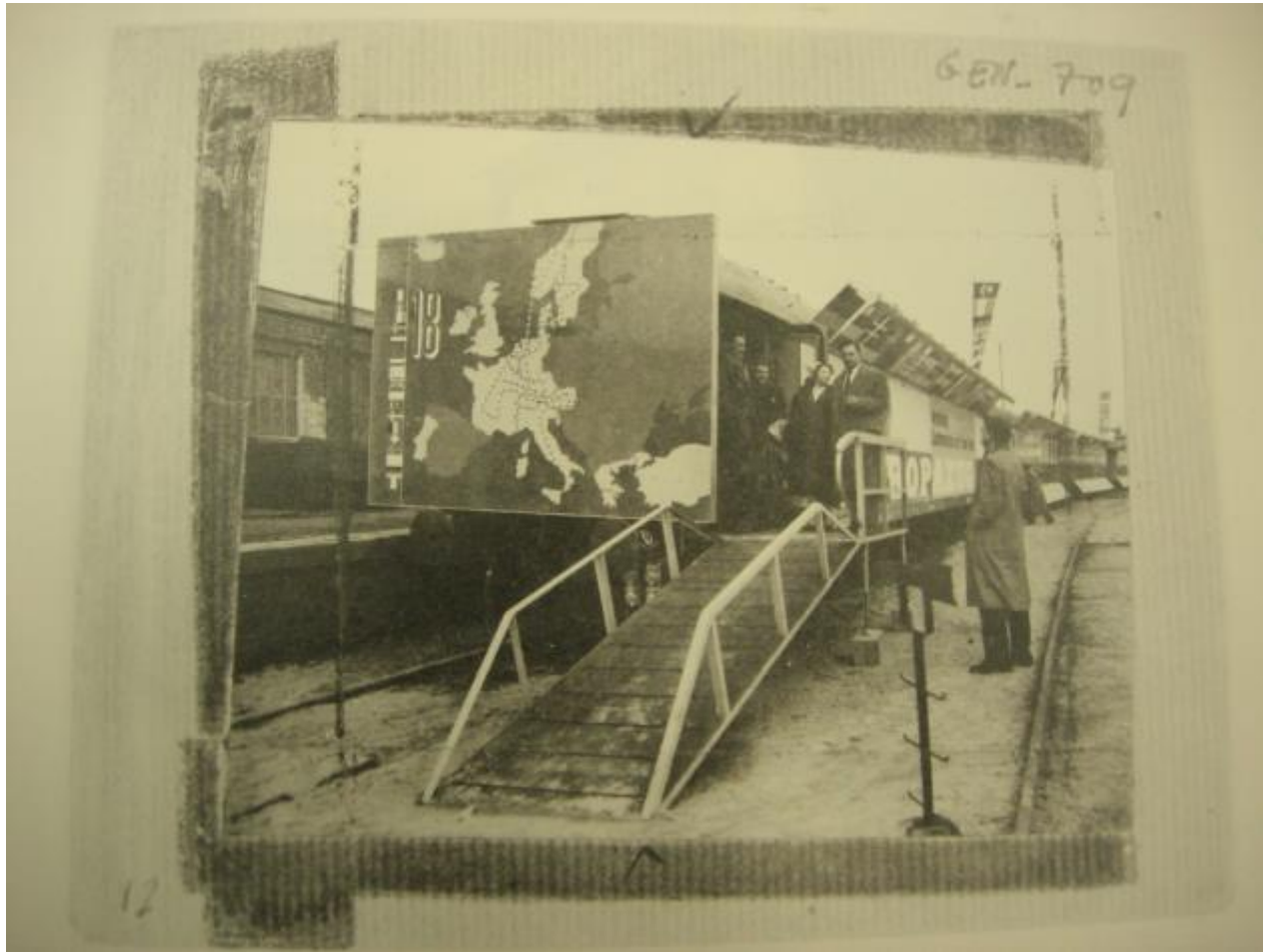


The Europe Train, Paris, 1951

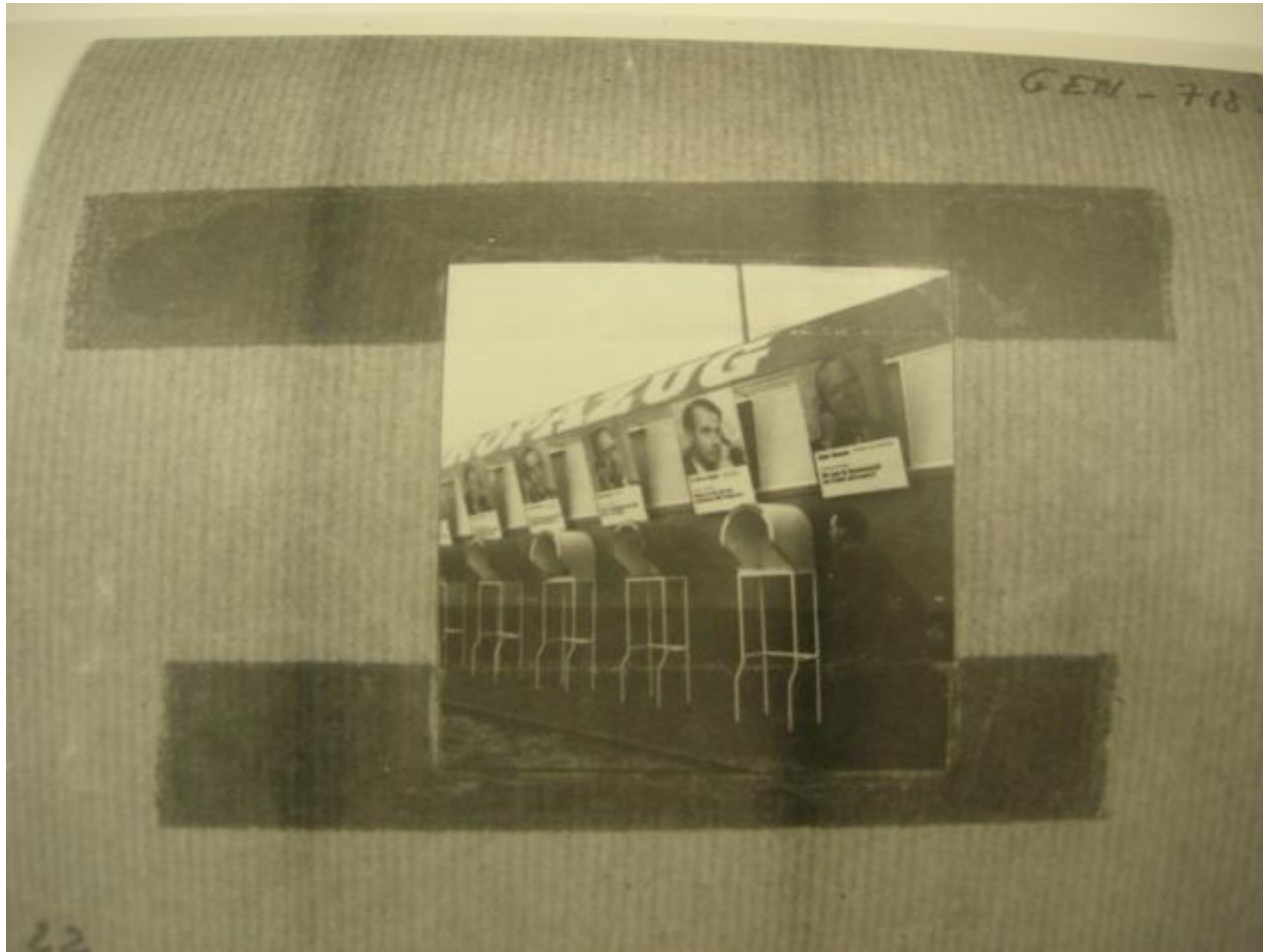
Reading the Exhibit: Europe, Europe, Europe (3 cars)

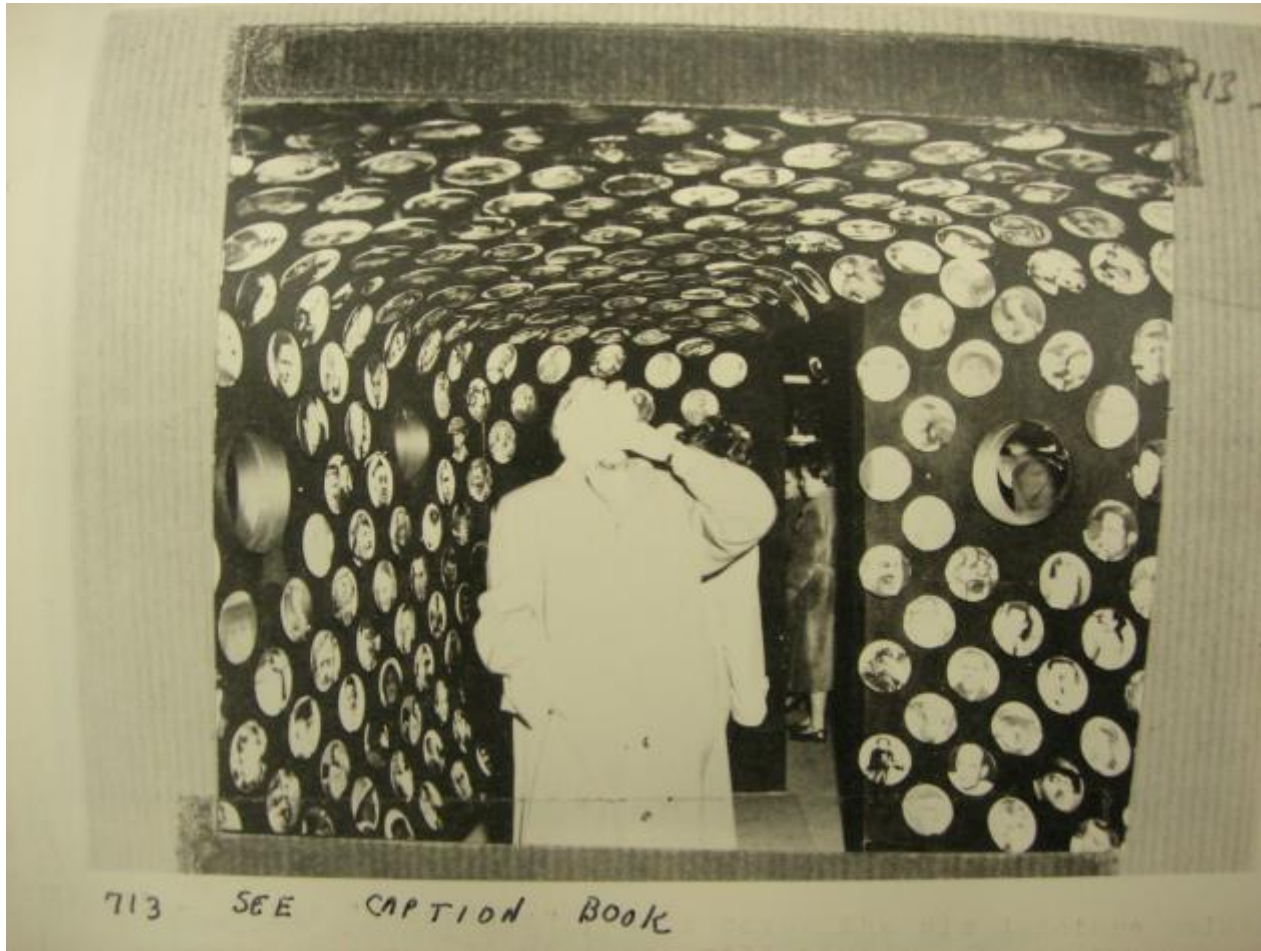
- 3 years of cooperation, 3 years of progress
- Echoes of Marshall House exhibit: narrative of events, way of seeing the rubble, before/after
- OEEC: Solid structures, a permanent Europe
- Heavy handed states, with “experts” planning, planning, planning
- A new social contract?

The Europe Train: Europe



The Europe Train: local adaptations





The Europe Train: The Atlantic



4 - A series of revolving prians revolving vertically

The Atlantic: Car 4

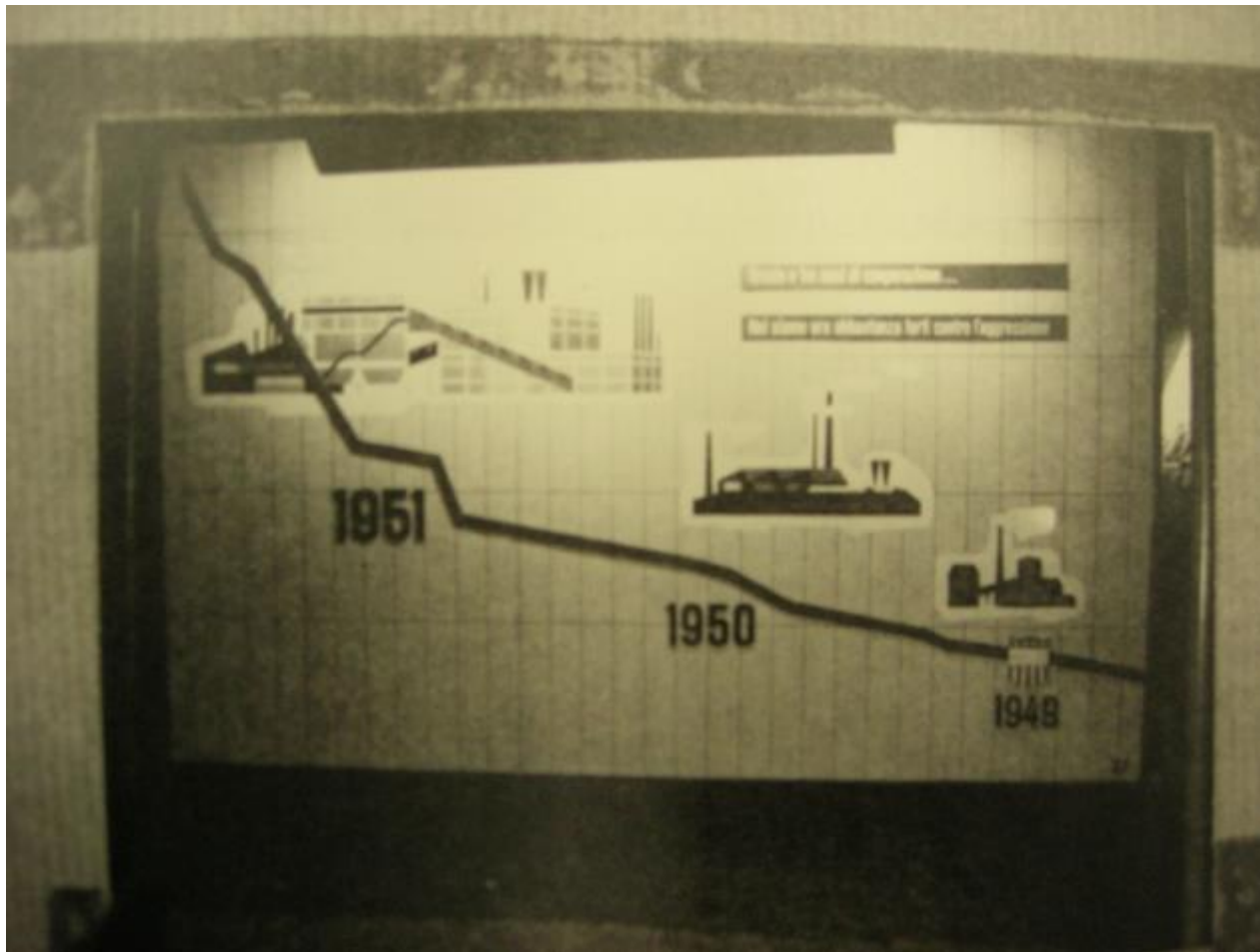
Large animated map of North Atlantic region with OEEC countries + USA and Canada

The CIRCULATION behind it all

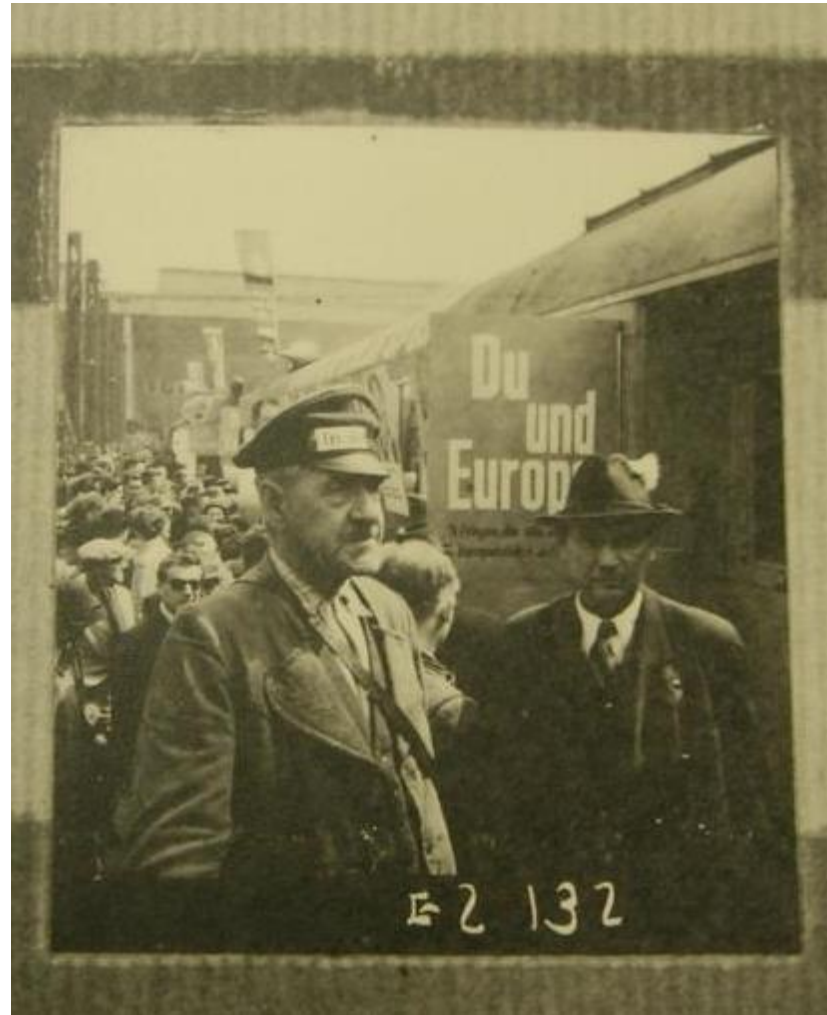
“Two continents linked in economy”

A flashing light beam indicates two-way movement on shipping and aircraft lines, cable and radio connections. In the center is a projector screen on which appear pictures and texts devoted to principal items of trade, as well as statistics on vital commodities produced by the 20 countries.

Lessons from the Rubble



Lessons from the Rubble



The Europa Zug, Made in Germany
first stop: Munich April 21, 1951

- Up from the rubble: Restoring Faith in Capitalism and Democracy after WWII
- The Recovery: a Foundational Moment
- A Liberal Foundational Moment (1789, 1688, 1776)
- Not an economic miracle, an ideological miracle
- Enacted In Europe, Ground Zero, Berlin
- The Civilizing Potential of *Doux Commerce* (gentle commerce)
- The “Social and Political philosophers” of the 1950s!

- “On Our Way,” speech at opening, 1949
- On Our Way storyboard for traveling exhibit.
- On Our Way "press book" sent out for advance preparations as the exhibit traveled around the UK.
- Robinson Charley script, a film shown at On Our Way.
- “Robinson Charley: The Ideological Underpinnings of Atlantic History,” Chapter 3 in *Biography and the Black Atlantic*, 2013

Spectacles of Power

- Great Exhibitions: 1851, 1889. 1900 (Rogers, *Atlantic Crossings*)
- Chicago, 1893; NY 1964
- Chicago Fair of 1950: ERP nations required to attend; press reports on, pamphlets produced by each nation
- Epcot?

Final slide

Thank you