

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE: 1919-2019

Theatrical adaptation by Riccardo Soliani with the collaboration of Patrizia Pasqui on texts by John Maynard Keynes (1919 in 2019; 1931; 1933a; 1933b); Maria Cristina Marcuzzo (2011); and Stefano Massini (2014; 2016).

Track 1 – (*music*)

Prologue

1. VOICE 1 - The First World War is over. Germany lost, and on the 18th of January 1919 the winning countries (United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan) organise a one-year peace conference in Paris, with some intervals. The Versailles treaty is stipulated, imposing punitive measures on Germany, in territorial, economic and military terms.

Slide 1 - KEYNES

2. VOICE 3 - John Maynard Keynes participates in the drafting of the Versailles treaty as counsellor for the English Government.
3. VOICE 1 - But Keynes was not present when on the 28th June 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles, 44 states signed the treaty. Keynes had resigned from his duty a month earlier in protest because he considered the treaty too punitive towards Germany, and depicted it as the bearer of future wars, as indeed it has been.
4. VOICE 3 - Keynes retires to Charleston, and during the summer of 1919 he devotes himself to writing the book: *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* from which the text that we propose to you is freely drawn.
5. VOICE 1 - As you can hear, Keynes has a taste for caustic criticism of customs, managing to combine psychological analysis with a financial analysis. We listen to his words.

Track 2 - (*music*)

Slide 1 - Keynes disappears

Slide 2 - PARIS

6. VOICE 2 - When, in early January 1919, I arrived in Paris, everything was just as I foresaw, and no one even knew if the conference had already begun.

Slide 2 - PARIS disappears

Slide 3 - HOTEL MAJESTIC

But the distinctive atmosphere and routine of the Hôtel Majestic were now established, and from the feverish, boring gossip of that infernal environment emanated already the characteristic scent of meanness, cynicism, sufficiency, and cold excitement, that never abandoned it.

Slide 3 - HOTEL MAJESTIC disappears

A sense of impending catastrophe overhung the frivolous scene; the futility and smallness of man before the great events confronting him; levity, blindness, insolence, confused cries from without, – all the elements of ancient tragedy were there.

7. VOICE 3 - Paris was a nightmare and everyone there was morbid; in every meeting an atmosphere of supreme importance and extreme futility at the same time reigned.
8. VOICE 2 - I cannot leave this subject go as though its just treatment wholly depended either on our own pledges or on economic facts.

Slide 4 - GERMANY

The policy of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, and of depriving a whole nation of happiness: that is a policy to be avoided, and with fear, even if it were feasible, or it enriched ourselves. Some preach it in the name of Justice... but nations are not authorized, by religion or by natural morals, to visit on the children of their enemies the misdoings of parents or of rulers...

Slide 4 - GERMANY disappears

Slide 5 - CLEMENCEAU

9. VOICE 3 - Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, was by far the most eminent member of the Council of Four. He alone had an idea and had considered it in all its consequences. His age, his character, his wit, and his appearance joined to give him objectivity and a defined outline in an environment of confusion. He felt about France what Pericles felt about Athens - unique value in her, nothing else mattering; but his theory of politics was Bismarck's. He had one illusion – France – and one disillusion – mankind – including Frenchmen. He saw the outcome of the battle in terms of France and Germany, not of humanity and of European civilization in a difficult ascent towards a new order. He was nicknamed “the Tiger”. Listen to him:
10. VOICE 1 - The German (and perhaps all other peoples, without exception) understands nothing but intimidation. He is without generosity or remorse in negotiation and without honour, pride, or mercy. Therefore, you must never negotiate with a German or conciliate him; you must dictate to him. On no other terms will he respect you, or will you prevent him from cheating you. The glory of the nation you love is a desirable end, but generally to be obtained at your neighbour's expense. Prudence leads to some verbal concession to the ‘ideas’ of foolish Americans and hypocritical Englishmen. But it would be stupid to believe that there is much room in the world, as it really is, for such affairs as the League of Nations, or any sense in the principle of self-determination of peoples.

Slide 5 - CLEMENCEAU disappears

Slice 6 - WILSON

11. VOICE 3 - The President of the United States, Thomas Woodrow Wilson. When he left Washington, he enjoyed a prestige and a moral influence throughout the world unequalled in history. The enemy peoples trusted him to carry out the compact he had made with them; and the allied peoples acknowledged him not as a victor only but almost as a prophet. In addition to this moral influence the realities of power were in his hands. The American armies were at

the height of their numbers, discipline, and equipment. Europe was in complete dependence on the food supplies of the United States. Never had a philosopher held such weapons with which to bind the princes of this world.

12. VOICE 2 - The President was not a hero or a prophet; he was not even a philosopher. He rather recalled a Presbyterian minister. His thought and his temperament were essentially theological, with all the attributes of that manner of thought, feeling, and expression. He was a generously intentioned man, with many of the weaknesses of other human beings, and lacking that dominating intellectual equipment which would have been necessary to cope with the subtle and dangerous spellbinders whom a tremendous clash of forces and personalities had brought to the top as triumphant masters in the swift game of give and take, face to face in Council, - a game of which he had no experience at all. What chance could such a man have against Mr. Lloyd George's unerring, almost medium-like, sensibility to every one immediately around him?

Slide 6 - WILSON disappears

Slide 7 - LLOYD GEORGE

13. VOICE 1 - The Prime Minister, the "Chameleon", took a position as a personal friend of President Wilson against the deprecated rapacity and lack of idealism of the French. He had no wish to impose a "Carthaginian peace", to crush Germany; the strain of pacifism and radical idealism, which governed him during the Boer War, was a genuine part of his composition. Why then did not the joint forces of these two powerful and enlightened autocrats not give us the "good peace"?
14. VOICE 2 - The answer is to be sought more in those intimate workings of the heart and character, which make the tragedies and comedies of the domestic hearthrug than in the supposed ambitions of empires or philosophies of statesmen.
15. VOICE 1 - The President, "the Tiger" and the "Welsh Witch" were shut up in a room together for six months and the Treaty was what came out. Yes, the "Welsh Witch", the British Prime Minister, contributed the female element to this triangular intrigue.

Slide 7 - LLOYD GEORGE disappears

Slide 8 - CLEMENCEAU-WILSON-LLOYD GEORGE

An old man of the world, a *femme fatale*, a Presbyterian minister: these are the characters of our drama.

16. VOICE 3 - Lloyd George has carved out the part of explaining Wilson to Clemenceau and Clemenceau to Wilson, and to seduce everybody all round. But Clemenceau is much too cynical, much too experienced to be taken in, at his age, by the fascinations of the lady from Wales. But for the President it is a wonderful, almost a delightful, experience to be taken in hand by such an expert. The President's very masculine characteristics fell a complete victim to the feminine enticements, sharpness, quickness, sympathy of the Prime Minister - who knew in his heart that this Peace would disgrace him and that it might ruin Europe. But he had dug a pit for himself deeper than even he could leap out of; he was caught in his own toils, defeated by his own methods.
17. VOICE 1 - "Clemenceau, aesthetically the noblest; the President, morally the most admirable; Lloyd George, intellectually the subtlest. Out of their disparities and weaknesses the Treaty was born, child of the least worthy attributes of each of its parents, without nobility, without morality, without intellect". Thus writes Keynes.

Track 3 - (*music*)

Slide 8 - CLEMENCEAU-WILSON-LLOYD GEORGE disappear

18. VOICE 3 - But in the business there were also the interests of the winning countries: France, that suffered great losses and many damages, and wanted huge reparation. Clemenceau rode into battle, for his electoral purposes, with a sense of revenge for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine in the war of 1871. The British pushed to prevent Germany from owning a fleet, and German gold was used to keep the value of the pound high; something that would have been useful even to the Americans.
19. VOICE 1 - The fear of the affirmation of socialism loomed. And maybe everyone thought that crushing Germany would have meant crushing socialism.
20. VOICE 2 - From Paris to Trier, in American-occupied Germany.

Slide 9 - TREVIRI

It was January 1919, and setting foot on German soil seemed to all of us to be an extraordinary adventure. But basically we unsuccessfully indulged in the right of the winner to lay down the law to the conquered. For us civilians, it was a distant imitation of the thrill, which I felt vividly for the first time, that even the smallest units of a victorious army feel when they settle in an unknown and defeated country.

Slide 9 - TREVIRI disappears

We were committing an atrocity: this was so pleasant. The Germans had come to meet us. They walked stiffly and awkwardly; it seemed as if they raised their feet, like the characters in a photograph or a film.

Slide 10 - FOCH

21. VOICE 3 - Marshal Foch is behind the window of a carriage of the Allied Armed Forces. He pulls his bristly moustache, lighting his pipe. The Germans get in the carriage, bowing in mechanical bows.

Slide 10 - FOCH disappears

22. VOICE 2 - I asked, in an affable voice, if they all spoke English.
From the group came an exquisitely neat little man, very well-dressed, with those eyes that stared at us, extraordinarily painful, like a gentle animal, but ready to defend itself. This was the man with whom, in the months to follow, I had one of the most strange relationships in the world, in my capacity as representative of a financial institution in the Supreme Economic Council, and shared some bizarre experiences when we examined, in the most minute details, different ways by which Germany could have paid for food supplies: Dr. Carl Melchior.

Slide11 - MELCHIOR

23. VOICE 1 - Dr. Melchior performed his duties in warm, persuasive English, almost perfect; he spoke staidly, but convincingly, in a way that gave an extraordinary impression of sincerity.

His greatest effort was to keep his colleagues on a leash, always ready to intervene with servile and out-of-place appeals, or with silly nonsense, which wouldn't deceive even the most obtuse of Americans. He was a Jew, who kept the dignity of your country in defeat.

Slide 12 - MELCHIOR disappears

24. VOICE 2 - The Germans were defeated! They had to buy food from abroad ... but how to pay for it? I explained the psychological and financial reasons why not a single loan could be granted to Germany by the United States, nor by 'The Entente powers'. We had convinced Melchior to offer gold to a value of four million pounds ...
25. VOICE 3 - ... but the embargo on the use of German gold, wanted by the French, was still valid: it was necessary to deal again, for the approval of the Supreme Council.
26. VOICE 2 - So, two weeks later we were back on the road, heading for Spa, where the Armistice Commission was located. As we talked, it became clear that we were all wasting our time, because the directives of the German delegates were incompatible with ours. I looked at Melchior, beyond the table: fixed eyes, face frowning, distressed mood, that I already knew, of a good animal in defence. It seemed like he felt the same feelings that I felt. Couldn't we wipe out the empty formalisms, knock down those three doors, three times barred interpretations, finally speak of the real truth, like sensible people?
27. VOICE 3 - Keynes turned to Carl Melchior saying:
28. VOICE 2 - "Can I talk to you privately? I share your omens of misfortune, Dr. Melchior. I too know how urgent it is to provide food for Germany ... I personally believe that my government, and also that of the United States, are firmly convinced of this. For us it is a vital interest that the German government survives. Bolshevism must be stopped; we are all aware of this. But we have our hands tied in making formal commitments. You have to adapt to the idea of yielding up the fleet, Dr. Melchior, if you could get from Weimar at least a small margin of initiative ..."
29. VOICE 1 - "I'll do my best ... Of course, I will call Weimar ... But there is no account of the state of things ... Have you seen? The order, the organization, German morality: everything is in disrepair. To be honest, I don't see any chink ... Germany will collapse, and our civilization will disappear in darkness. Certainly, we must do all we can, but the dark forces will bypass us."

Track 4 - (music)

30. VOICE 2 - We arrived in Paris on the 6th of March for the meeting of the Supreme Council. Lloyd George had warmed up. He can be wonderful when you agree with him. Now he spoke vehemently. His oratory was direct but swept away spiders and cobwebs. It was a superb mixture of reason and feeling. Here are his words:
31. VOICE 1 - "We need to take the necessary steps to feed Germany without delay. They are left dying of hunger, while thousands of tons of foodstuffs lie in Rotterdam. As long as we can maintain order in Germany, there will be a dam between us and the waters of the revolution. Today we Allies are in favour: but one day the memory of famine will turn against us! We sow hatred for the days to come! The British troops are outraged by our refusal, the British soldiers do not tolerate that children wander through the streets half-starved. We have already heard about gold issues six weeks ago!"
32. VOICE 3 - "Telegram for Lloyd George!"
33. VOICE 1 - "It is from our gen. Plumer, from Germany. I'll read it: 'Mr. Prime Minister, I ask that a date be set to send food. Mortality among women, children, the sick, is very high. The population would rather be killed by a bullet, than die from starvation.'"

34. VOICE 2 - Only later did I learn that the telegram of our commander in Germany had been sent by instructions sent to him in the morning, in view of the afternoon meeting. The effect was profound, no one could raise objections. Clemenceau said:
35. VOICE 3 - "We think supplies can begin. But, before telling the Germans, they must formally recognize the obligation to give up the fleet! Marshal Foch will meet the Germans and communicate the message to them."
36. VOICE 2 - But Lloyd George intervenes in a burlesque and witty tone:
37. VOICE 1 - "But... no! We are talking about ships, of sea, not of land! I am second to no one, no, no one really and sincerely admire Foch on land..."
38. VOICE 2 - Then Lloyd George holds out his hand to Foch, who looks at him a little astonished and evidently disapproves.
39. VOICE 1 - "But what guarantees that he is equally at ease at sea? That he does not suffer from seasickness? I have never crossed the Channel with you, Marshal Foch, and I can't say anything for sure ... but, believe me, if I didn't reserve this prerogative to an Admiral, I'd have a bad time in England, a really bad time! The man who needs us to deliver the message is Admiral Wemyss, the First Lord of the Sea! "
40. VOICE 2 - Foch had failed to follow everything he had said, but he realized he was both flattered and mocked, and grinned, pulling on his moustache. Lloyd George had immediately felt the pitfall: Marshal Foch could organize the delivery of the ultimatum in such a way to make inevitable its rejection by the Germans. The playful reference to the possibility that Marshal Foch suffered from seasickness was a stroke of genius; the Prime Minister had succeeded in raising the general hilarity, the tension had eased and the Wemyss proposal passed without discussion.
41. VOICE 3 - But the French insisted, and got the Germans to accept the unconditional surrender of the ships, before knowing how much food they would receive.

Track 5 - *(music)*

Slide 12 - BRUXELLES

42. VOICE 2 - The Conference took place in Brussels. Grant, captain of the General Staff, and I, slipped away from the headquarters of the British Legation, and arrived at the hotel where the Germans were installed. At that time, they were taking a hearty breakfast, the paper napkins tied under the throat.

Slide 12 -BRUXELLES disappears

I said: "The Allied delegation has just arrived. I would like to have a quick word with Dr. Melchior about the time of the afternoon meeting". Melchior was called. We went up in the lift: Melchior, Grant and myself. I turned to Melchior: "I would like to discuss with you the order of the work this afternoon. We will begin by inviting His Excellency von Braun to say something about the ships, and until we have done it we cannot discuss anything else. However, as private information, I think it is desirable for you to know what will follow. If von Braun is willing to make, freely and without reservation, the aforementioned declaration, the allied representatives will proceed with the organization of Germany's provisions. Can you assure me that von Braun is willing to do this?"

43. VOICE 3 - Melchior winces, looks at Keynes, looks at Grant. And after a short break, he answers "Doctor Keynes ... Captain ... Yes, there will be no difficulty about this".
44. VOICE 2 - Jack Grant and I returned to the headquarters of our Legation.

45. VOICE 3 - Wemyss invited His Excellency von Braun to make the statement on the surrender of the ships and he said: "Certainly, Germany has always been ready to fulfil its commitments".
46. VOICE 1 – After a few days, the trains, loaded with food aid, were in movement.

Slide 13 - AMSTERDAM

47. VOICE 2 - In October 1919 I was in Amsterdam, to meet some Dutch financiers. I knew that Melchior had abandoned politics and administration, and returned to his banker activity in Hamburg. Then I sent him a telegram, to say that I would be very pleased to meet him. It was the last time I saw him.

Slide 13 - AMSTERDAM disappears

Track 6 - (*music*)

It was an extraordinary experience meeting without barriers. Last time we were in opposition, following etiquette and very reserved. During our conversation, I understood for the first time, with absolute clarity, how the inhabitants of the eastern part of Germany looked not to the west, but to the east: what was most haunting was the thought of the dark forces that could overthrow Europe. He said:

48. VOICE 1 - I think Germany is almost as guilty for having accepted this, knowing it could not fulfil the reparations, as the Entente powers are for having imposed what they did not have the right to claim.

Slide 14 - BOOK THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE

49. VOICE 2 - The *Economic Consequences of the Peace* hadn't yet been published, but I had part of the manuscript with me. I read it in an ancient convent courtyard, which gave a sense of order and withdrawal, where Melchior led me.
50. VOICE 1 - I am aware of the background, often petty, sometimes casual, of the Conference: "not inevitable Fate, not splendid wickedness, but the oblique minuet of the old man of the world, of the *femme fatale*, of the Presbyterian minister. The Tables of the Law, I think, ignominiously collapsed".

Slide 14 - THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PEACE disappears

Track 7 - (*music*)

51. VOICE 1 – Let's travel now through space and time.
52. VOICE 2 - Keynes has been gone for over half a century; who knows what he would say to us ...
53. VOICE 3 - Friday the 12th September 2008: the figures of quarterly report of the American Lehman Brothers, one of the largest investment banks in the world, have been known for two days. Losses amount to four billion dollars.
54. VOICE 1 - We are in the offices of the Federal Reserve in New York, chaired by Timothy Geithner; but it is the Bush administration's Treasury Secretary, Hank Paulson, who proceeds with the honours.

Slide 15 - HENRY MERRITT "HANK" PAULSON JR.

55. VOICE 2 - Henry Merritt "Hank" Paulson Jr.: born in Palm Beach in 1946 into gold (his father traded in wholesale jewellery), of Norwegian, German and English-speaking Canadian ancestors, who reappear in his very clear eyes, in his implacable, strong-willed look. Boy Scout; adherent to the Christian Scientists movement; football champion; a true American. Two children: a boy, Henry Merritt III, excellent sportsman; a girl, smart, successful journalist. His career is still truly American: Master in Business Administration at Harvard, then Pentagon and Goldman Sachs; from the Midwest to the top of finance. Then the government alongside George W. Bush, in his heart the faith in the allocative efficiency of the financial market. A theology?
56. VOICE 1 - A few months earlier, in May 2008, Paulson had released a statement to the Wall Street Journal that would become famous:
57. VOICE 2 - I am fully convinced that we have probably left the worst behind.
58. VOICE 1 - ... and reiterated in July at CBS:
59. VOICE 2 - The banking system is safe and goes on as it should. We can manage the situation very well.

Slide 15 - PAULSON disappears

Slide 16 - GEITHNER

60. VOICE 3 - Timothy Geithner, class of 1961, is the other host, indeed the true landlord. Son of a senior Ford Foundation official. Since he was a child, Tim has travelled throughout the world, especially in Asia, and studied Eastern languages. He and Hank have in common the prestigious Dartmouth College, where both studied, and where Tim met his future wife. A Master in International Economics, achieved at John Hopkins: another great, important University. His career began in the Public Administration of the United States, moving to the Monetary Fund and the Federal Reserve. The real American and the youngest finance manager on earth, both with an eye on China and Asia.

Slide 16 - GEITHNER disappears

61. VOICE 1 - Even on that fateful Friday, few people, each with their own experience, their character, their human strengths and weaknesses, around a table to decide what will be of the most spectacular bankruptcy in the history of the world's largest economy. Why not save Lehman Brothers? He had no guarantees to offer, it was said. But perhaps the real reason was another. Three days later, Monday 15th September 2008, Paulson declares:
62. VOICE 2 – “I never once considered it appropriate to put taxpayer money on the line” for the bail-out.
63. VOICE 1 - The government would not have saved any business from bankruptcy for that reason:
64. VOICE 2 – “It would just invite foolish risk-taking. It would create a moral hazard”.
65. VOICE 1 - We're at Lehman Brothers, that fateful Friday. The managing director Richard Severin "Dick" Fuld, born in 1946, is convinced that he will be fine also this time.

17 - RICHARD SEVERIN DICK FULD

66. VOICE 3 - New Yorker, of Jewish family, Richard Severin studied at the University of Colorado and at New York Stern Business School. "Stern" and "Severin" have the same meaning: severity - a Kabbalistic sign? He pursued a career as a military pilot, that soon ended,

after a clash with an officer. He earned the nickname of "Gorilla". Then, from 1969, the year of Robert Lehman's death (one more Kabbalistic sign?), the rise to Lehman Brothers, which lasted forty years. He will be the managing director from 1994 to 2008, the longest career in the history of Wall Street: and a career of sizeable profits. He was affectionately nicknamed *Mr. Wall Street*.

Slide 17 - FULD disappears

67. VOICE 1 - Why the collapse? The "Gorilla", with limitless ambition, who in September 2008 was declared by the press the worst manager of all time, warlike, unshakeable, who never recognized his mistakes, - he dared too much. He had a strong envy of Goldman Sachs, as he declared in a book the following year to an official of the late Lehman Brothers. But markets have a short memory: a few months earlier he was considered among the thirty best managers, nicknamed *Mr. Wall Street*.
68. VOICE 2 - With the decisive intervention of Geithner, six months earlier JP Morgan had saved Bear Stearns, thanks to a loan from the Fed; and at the beginning of September, the Fed had directly saved Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the real estate giants. But the "Gorilla" was not to follow the same benign fate of Fannie, Freddie, and the Bear.
69. VOICE 3 - Fuld desperately searches for someone willing to buy his bank, which is slipping along the steeply inclined plane of excess leverage. He is not invited to the meeting with Paulson and Geithner, he is looking for help from the Bank of America, but the latter has to buy Merrill Lynch, which is much more appealing ... but is it really so?
70. VOICE 2 - Paulson had a finger in the pie, it will be clear later. He had put pressure in favour of Merrill Lynch on the head of the Bank of America, whom he knew from the days of Goldman Sachs. And perhaps Geithner had also acted in this direction.
71. VOICE 1 - It's Sunday morning. Fuld still has a thread of hope. He plays his last card with Barclays, but its statute requires the assent of the share-holders' assembly. Now there is no more time.
72. VOICE 2 - During that crucial weekend of fear, Paulson doesn't answer phone calls from Fuld. Paulson, "the hammer": Puritan, teetotal, Christian Scientist and keen bird watcher, of the Harvard and Goldman Sachs tribe. In the end, he will prevail ...
73. VOICE 3 - He will prevail over the "Gorilla", Fuld: trained in public schools, where he got a Master's degree at night school; a gambler with a strong penchant for risky deals ...
74. VOICE 2 - And will push Lehman Brothers down the slope, causing its fall before the opening of European and Asian markets, on Monday morning.
75. VOICE 1 - Was this a clash between two ethical codes, between two world views? Or simply the liquidation of a rival, in the tough world of investment banking that was to be restructured? A beneficial creative destruction? In Keynes' words, the doubt of bad luck, or rage, is still present: less than a month later Fuld remembered that, just when his bank was declaring bankruptcy, the Fed changed the rules: it would have been enough to make these changes a little earlier to help Lehman Brothers.
76. VOICE 3 - The following week, Ben Bernanke, the Fed governor, who learned from the crisis of 1929 how to properly intervene, would have saved the AIG, a colossus banking and insurance company, to avoid disruptions in global finance by offering adequate guarantees, which were adapted to the new parameters, of course. But in times of serious turbulence the world's leading experts teach us that it is really difficult to judge with certainty what guarantees a bank is able to offer.

Slide 18 - BEN BERNANKE

77. VOICE 2 - Who is Ben Bernanke? From an practicing Jewish family that lived in central Europe in the 1920s, his father was a pharmacist and theatre manager, his mother was a teacher. He paid for his studies by working as a waiter. He was an excellent student, attending Harvard and MIT. Hard work took him to the top of the American academy, to teach at Stanford and Princeton. Ben is not just this: he plays saxophone, he loves baseball ... and he met who would become his future wife on a blind date.
78. VOICE 3 - First-rate preparation and knowledge of history does not prevent him from being a bad prophet when he comes to say that the age of the cyclical fluctuations of the economy is now at sunset. We are in February 2004, Ben is already on the board of the Federal Reserve:

Slide 18 - BERNANKE disappears

but facts do indeed matter, and in 2008 they proved he was wrong.

79. VOICE 2 - The economy is a universe of many possibilities, Keynes taught us, and through them one can pursue the general interest in a world of individuals who pursue their own private interests. Public intervention, liquidity injections, abandoning the rhetoric of the market: these are some of the references to Keynes.
80. VOICE 1 - But there is still a neglected aspect. Economic rationality seems still to condemn the debtor to many sacrifices and to bankruptcy. Instead, Keynes' "reasonableness" calls to decide according to the circumstances; to exercise imagination and creativity in order to find solutions that we judge according to their consequences.

Track 8 - (*music*)

81. VOICE 2 - So this was what Keynes did during the Paris Conference.

Slide 19 - BOOK THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE

- Thus reasonableness should have guided the decision to save Lehman Brothers; certainly not the idea of an exemplary punishment. And it should have pushed to consider the consequences of what was being done on financial stability and growth.
82. VOICE 3 - This is the unheeded lesson of *The economic consequences of the peace*. A confrontation between personalities and interests today - as then -, has prevented one reasonable solution from being pursued.
83. VOICE 1 - The Spirit of the Years and the Spirit of the Pities meet: "Observe! - says the Spirit of Years - (...) Nought remains. But vindictiveness here amid the strong, and there amid the weak an impotent rage". The Spirit of Pities asks: "Why prompts the Will so senseless-shaped a doing?"

The End

Notes

The following notes indicate the bibliographical sources of the cues.

Cues 6-7, Keynes (2019 [1919], ch. 1; 1931; 1933a).

Cue 8, Keynes (2019 [1919], ch. 5).

Cues 9-12, Keynes (2019 [1919], ch. 3).

Cues 13-17, Keynes (1933b).

Cues 18, Keynes (2019 [1919], ch. 3 and 4).

Cues 19-49, Keynes (1933a).

Cue 50, Keynes (1933a; 1933b).

Cues 51-82, Marcuzzo (2011); Massini (2014; 2016).

Cue 83, Keynes (2019 [1919], ch. 1), who quotes *The Dynasts* by Thomas Hardy.

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