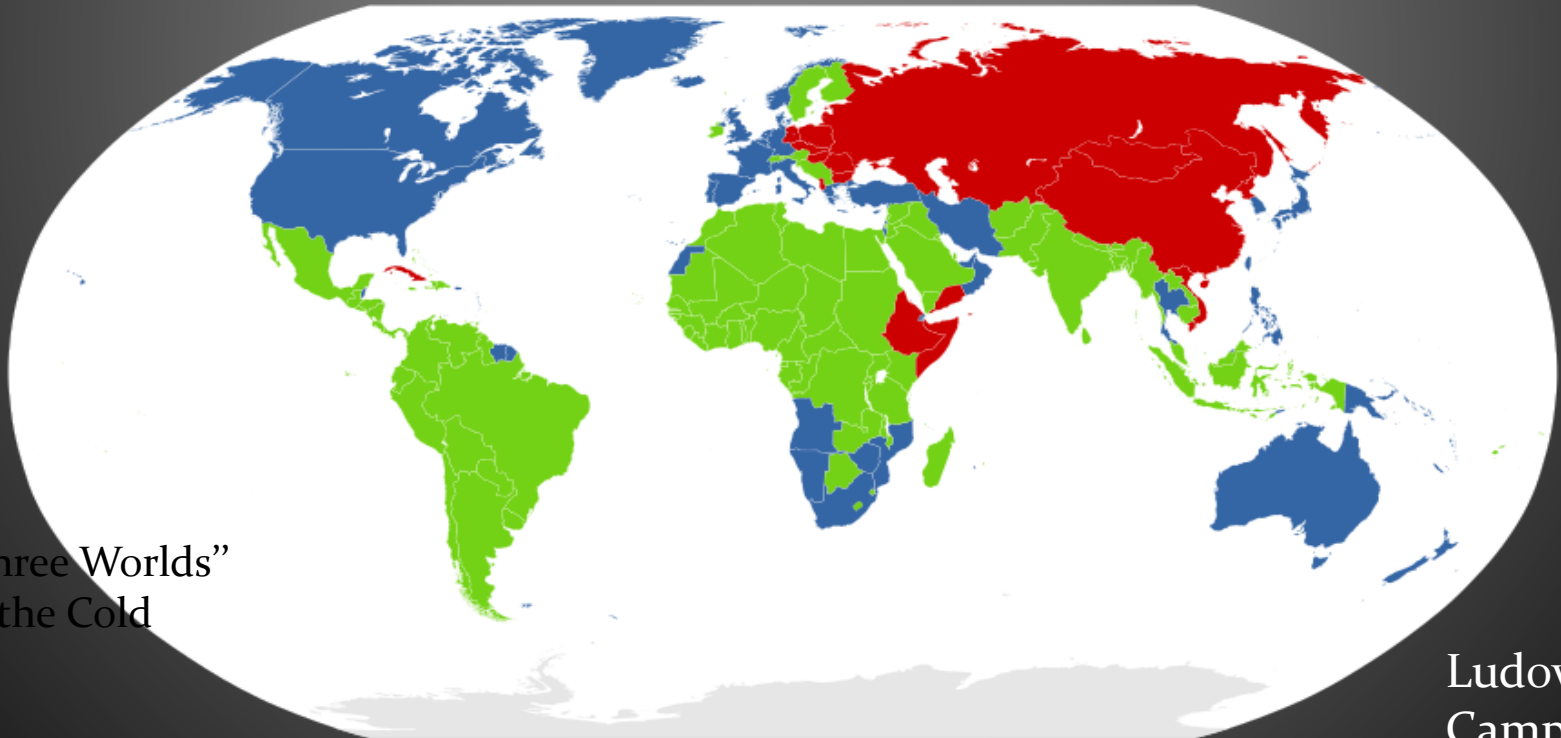


The USA as a global power

# THE GRAND STRATEGY OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

Key goal: containment of Communism (the *Evil Empire*)

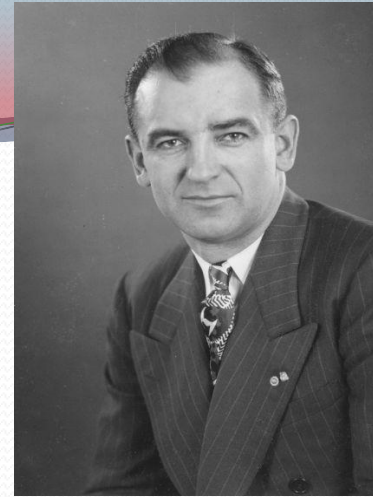


The "Three Worlds"  
during the Cold  
War

Ludovico  
Campagnolo

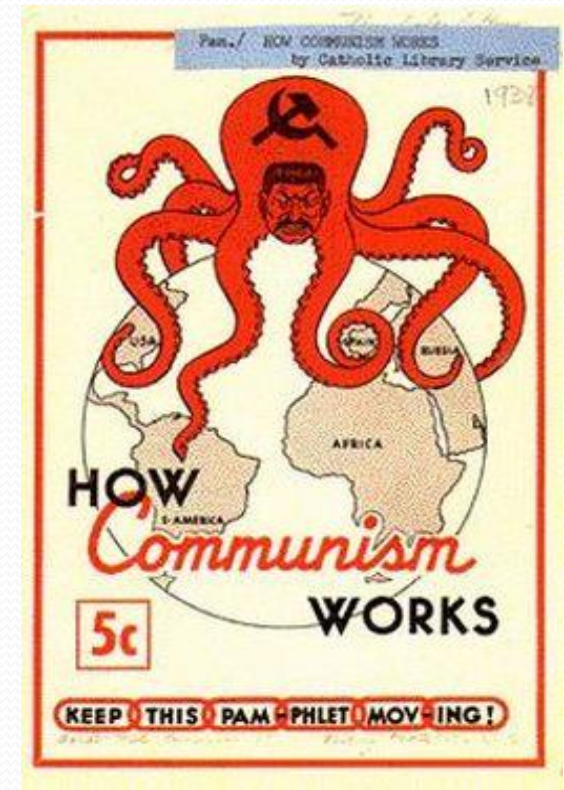
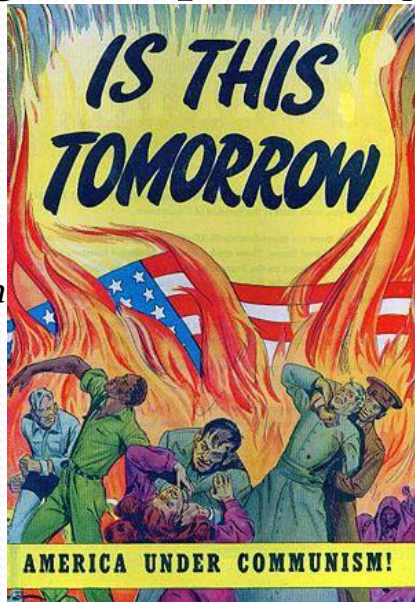
# Internal policies

- McCarthyism:
  - the second Red Scare began in 1947
  - FBI investigating and publishing documents with proofs of Communist affiliation and blacklists
  - the Lavender Scare also marginalized homosexuals
  - in popular media, Communists were grotesque to say the least



Senator J.R. McCarthy,  
1947

*Is This Tomorrow:  
America Under Communism*  
cover, K.A. Therrian,  
1947



# The Rosenberg Case

- Two american citizens, suspected of spying on US nuclear weapons, were executed
- Real proof of their guilt was found only decades later...
- It was the apex of the Cold War paranoia

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, separated by heavy wire screen as they leave U.S. Court House after being found guilty by jury, R. Higgins, 1951





# Foreign policies

- Presidential Doctrines: they are the ensemble of attitudes and goals a particular POTUS sets in his term.



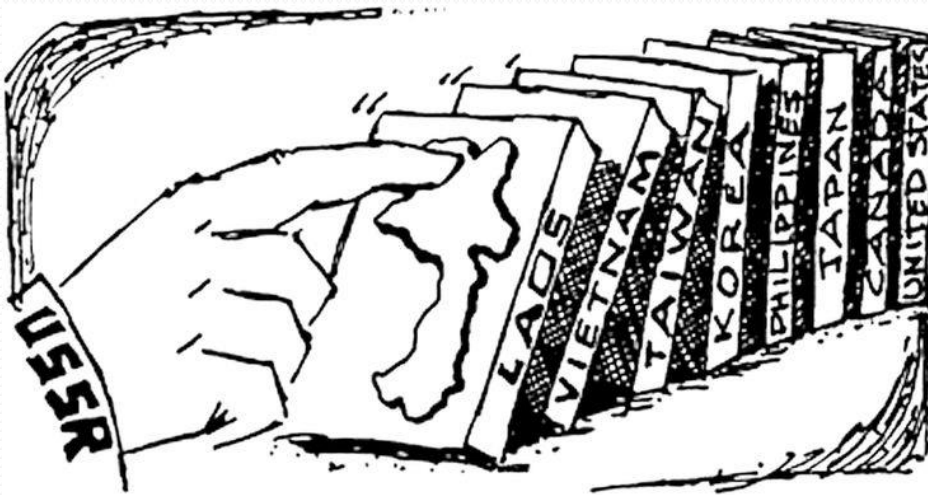
*Callin' the Blue*, Andy Thomas, 2018



*The Republican Club*, Andy Thomas, 2018

# Truman Doctrine

- The containment policy began: Greece and Turkey; Italy and France
- Domino theory (Acheson): a Communist state is like a rotten apple
- Achieved bipartisan support
- Birth of NATO and Marshall plan



*Presidential portrait of Harry Truman, G. Kempton, 1945*



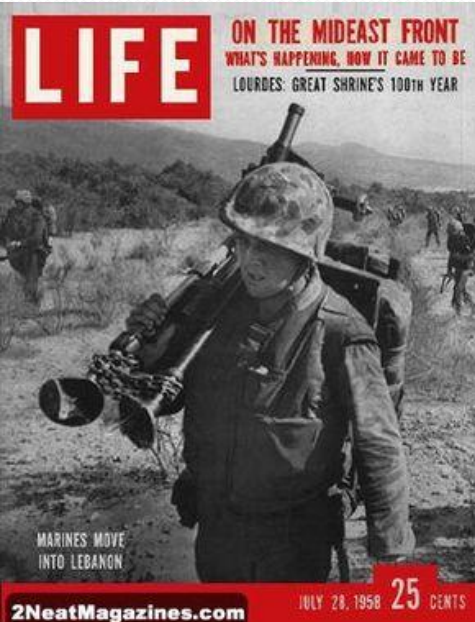
“ I believe it must be the policy of the US to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures.

I believe we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.” (Truman’s speech on March 12, 1947)



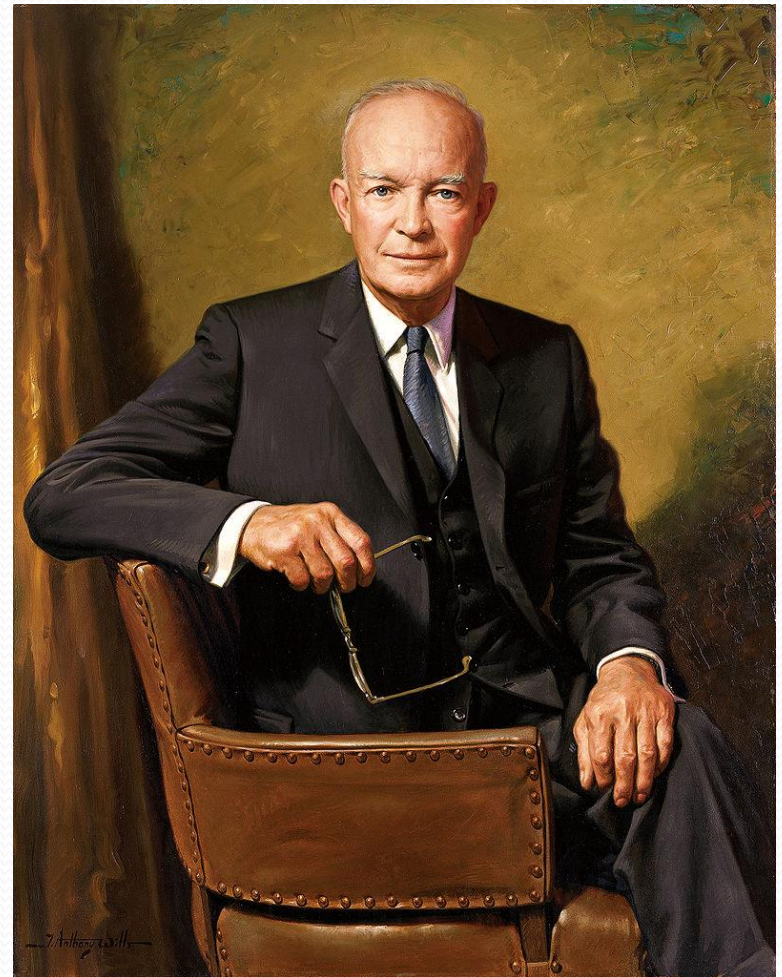
# Eisenhower Doctrine

- Reacting to French and British decline as imperial powers (as proved by the Suez Crisis), the US had to intervene whenever aid was requested
- Keep the Middle East under control while enhancing trade with Latin America
- Solution to 1958 Lebanon Crisis



*Life*  
magazine  
cover, July  
28 1958

*Presidential  
portrait of  
Dwight  
Eisenhower,  
J.A. Wills,  
1967*





# Kennedy Doctrine

- Various crisis undermined US position (Cuban Revolution, Bay of Pigs, Missile Crisis, Berlin Wall, etc.)
- Goal of landing the first human on the Moon
- First Vietnam escalation, leading to the Gulf of Tonkin Incident and full war commitment (albeit under LBJ's presidency)
- Us-vs-them mentality

*John Fitzgerald  
Kennedy, A. Shikler,  
1970*





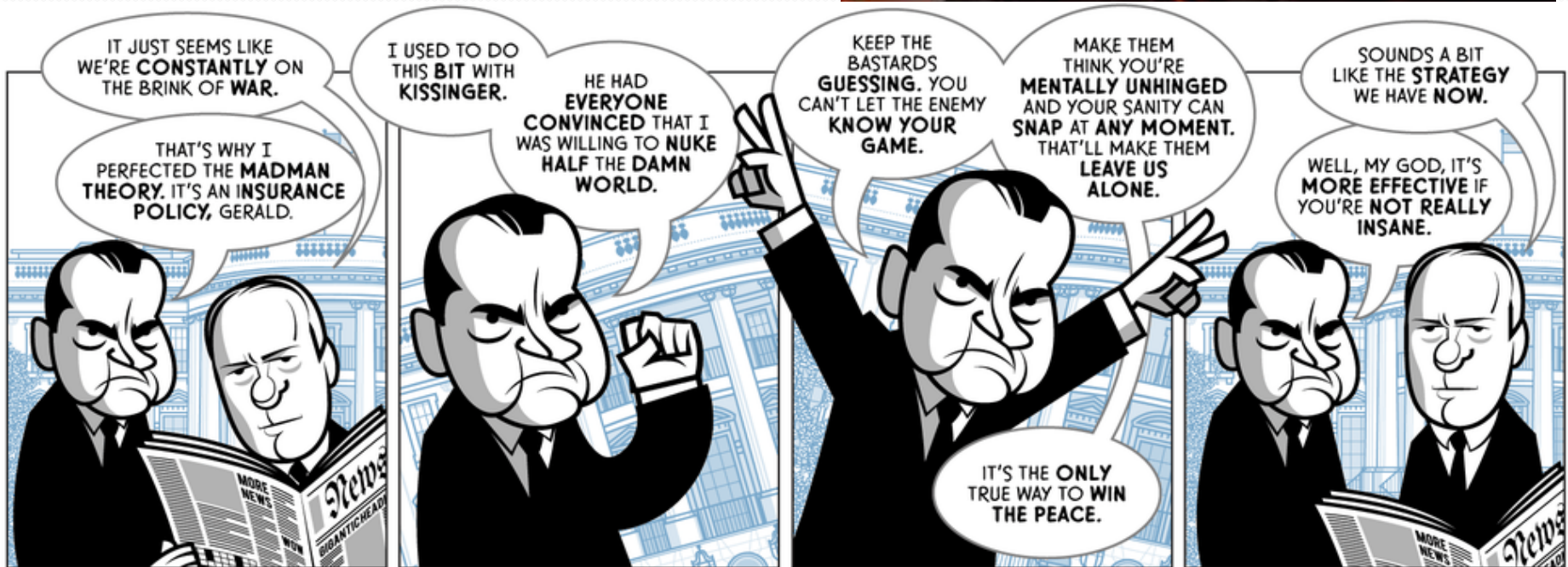
“ Pay any price, bear any burden [...] to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

It is a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.” (JFK inaugural address on January 20 1961)



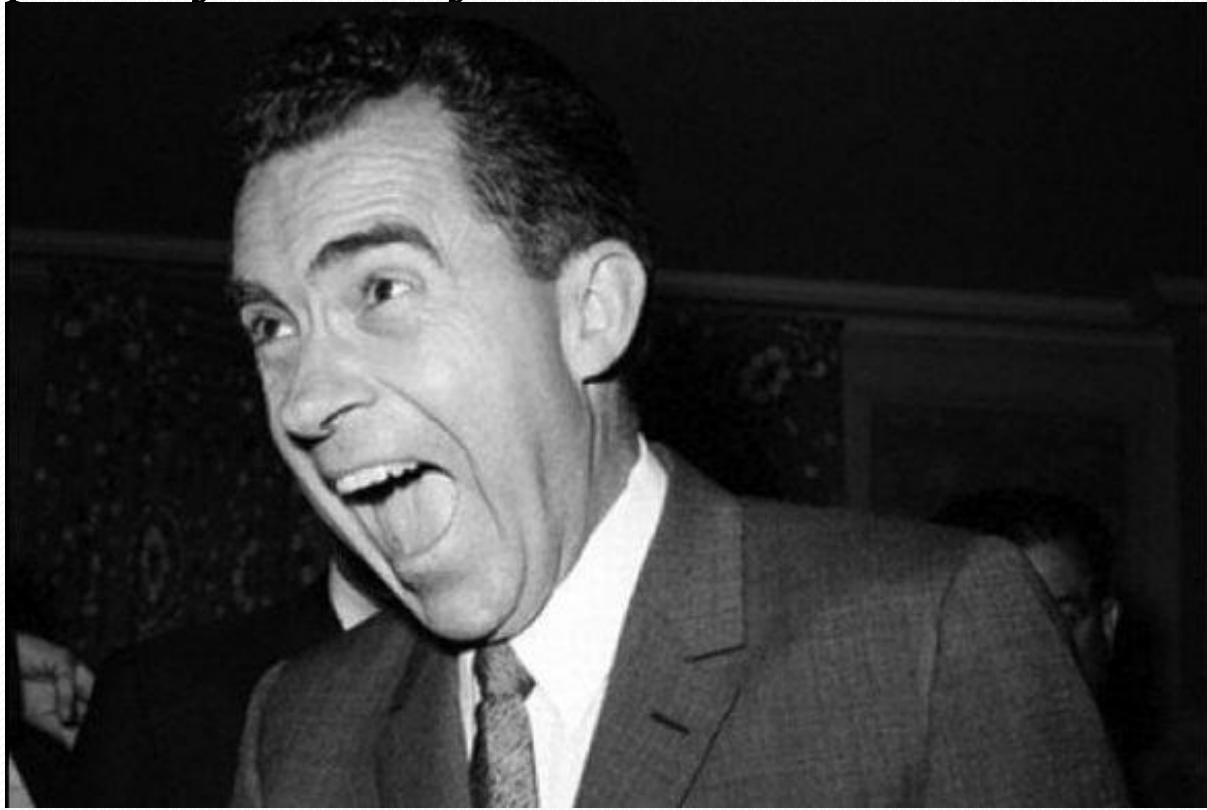
# Nixon Doctrine

- Madman theory
- Vietnamization after the Têt Offensive, leading to the *Peace with Honor* stage
- Persian Gulf pivotal





*“ First, the US will keep all of its treaties committed [...] Third, in cases involving other types (i.e. non-nuclear) of aggression, we shall furnish military and economic assistance [...] But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the [...] responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense.” (Nixon speech in Guam on July 26 1969)*

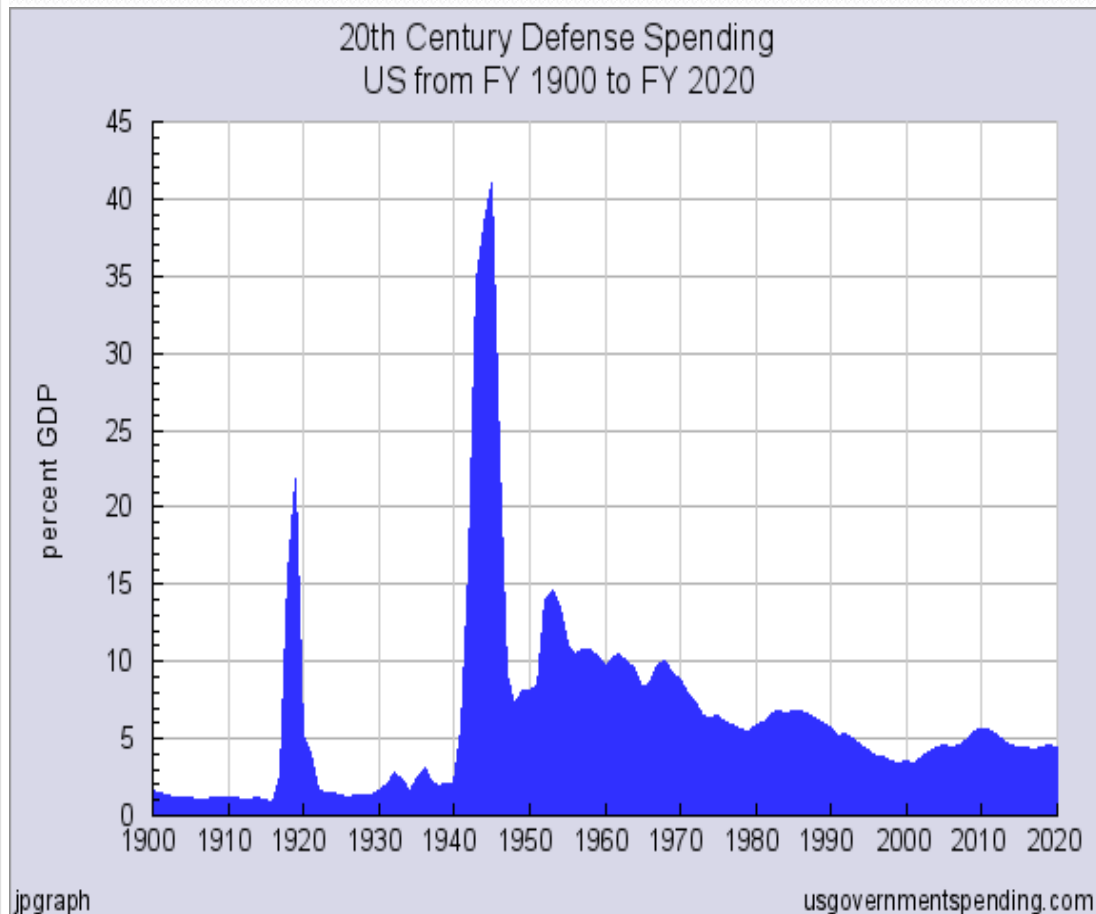


- Military & Economy:
  - Huge investments

**Table 1**

**Real Military Purchases (in Billions of 1982 Dollars),  
1948-87**

Year	Spending	Year	Spending
1948	4.7	1968	209.8
1949	59.2	1969	198.2
1950	59.8	1970	182.9
1951	134.7	1971	166.9
1952	181.2	1972	166.5
1953	189.2	1973	156.6
1954	158.2	1974	153.0
1955	143.4	1975	151.1
1956	144.8	1976	148.0
1957	153.3	1977	149.9
1958	155.9	1978	150.8
1959	152.6	1979	155.1
1960	146.6	1980	166.5
1961	153.5	1981	178.2
1962	163.3	1982	192.8
1963	159.0	1983	206.4
1964	153.2	1984	217.8
1965	150.9	1985	232.7
1966	177.1	1986	243.1
1967	204.5	1987p	251.2



jpggraph

usgovernmentspending.com



➤ **Power Projection:** it is the capability to deploy a variety of forces from multiple locations to respond to a present threat.

- **Soft power (Nye):** it is the ability to influence others without resorting to sheer force, either militar or economic. E.g. incentives, seductive political and cultural values, moral authority legitimating policies (i.e. Manifest Destiny)...
- **Empire by Invitation (Lundestad)**
- **Hard power:** military intervention, economic sanctions, etc.
- A combination of hard and soft power leads to what Nye describes as "smart power"



“Key to its reputation for strategic supremacy, however, was not the effectiveness of its actual military interventions, which had decidedly mixed results [...]. Nuclear weapons were no longer the crucial American asset. What gave America its hegemonic military luster was its unparalleled capacity for the projection of force from a distance and with superb accuracy, so-called full-spectrum dominance.”

C. Maier,  
*Among  
Empires*,  
Harvard  
Univ. Pr.,  
2007, page  
254

## U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD, 1945



Map created by Kelly Martin/kmartindesign.com for David Vine, *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World* (Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2015).



- Proxy war: a conflict where the two sides are acting on the behalf of other actors.
  - In the Diệm era (1954-1963), the Vietnam War is a prime example of a proxy war
  - Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and the Nicaraguan Revolution (1970-1990) are also examples



*FDN and  
ARDE Frente  
Sur  
Commandas,  
Nueva  
Guinea, Tio  
mono, 1987*

*Vietnam  
War  
Protesters.  
1967.  
Wichita, KS,  
1967*



- Friendly dictators: in the effort to contain Communism, the US didn't despise the local aid of a number of dictators, at times even physically removing them when they were no longer necessary.



Eisenhower greets Diệm, South Vietnamese President, 1957. The latter will be killed by CIA in 1963



JFK and Brazilian President Goulart review the troops, 1962.

Goulart will be overthrown by a coup d'état staged by the US after he tried to nationalize Petrobras



US Secretary of State Kissinger meets with Chilean President Pinochet in 1976



Ford and South Korean 'President' Park Cheung-hee in Seoul, 1975



H.W. Bush (as head of CIA) meets with Noriega, who will become Panama ruler and then overthrown by the US



- Bretton Woods: It is the first example in human history of an international negotiation to govern the monetary system. The World Bank and the IMF were also created
  - It sustained a dollar-centric market, as every currency was to maintain a primary exchange relationship with dollars, which were linked to gold
  - These agreements ended in 1971, and the free market of currencies as it is today began



Mt. Washington Hotel, where the 730 delegates reunited in 1944

H.D. White and J.M. Keynes at the inaugural meeting of IMF, 1946





- Cultural hegemony: “The UN Declaration of Human Rights and various UNESCO studies denied the validity of racism and sought to found a universalism of private property and of individual rights [...]. For this to work demanded that the US should depict itself as the pinnacle of civilization and a bastion of individual rights. Pro-Americanism had to be cultivated and projected abroad. And so began the [...] cultural assault upon ‘decadent’ European values and the promotion of the superiority of American culture and of ‘American values’. Money power was used to dominate cultural production and influence cultural values [...].



*D. Harvey at  
Subversive  
Festival 2013  
in Zagreb, R.  
Crc, 2013*

A portrait  
of A.  
Gramsci  
around 30  
in the early  
20s





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