

## The Making of US Empire at the dawning of its end

by Pepe Escobar

As the Exceptional Empire gets ready to brave a destructive – and self-destructive – new cycle, with dire, unforeseen consequences bound to reverberate across the world, **now more than ever it is absolutely essential to go back to the imperial roots.**

The task is fully accomplished by

**Tomorrow, the World: The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy**, by Stephen Wertheim, Deputy Director of Research and Policy at the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft and a research scholar at the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University.

Here, in painstaking detail, we can find when, why and especially who shaped the contours of US “internationalism” in a roomful of mirrors always disguising the real, ultimate aim: Empire.

Wertheim’s book was superbly reviewed by Prof. Paul Kennedy. Here we will concentrate on the crucial plot twists taking place throughout 1940. **Wertheim’s main thesis is that the fall of France in 1940 – and not Pearl Harbor – was the catalyzing event that led to the full Imperial Hegemony design.**

This is not a book about the U.S. industrial-military complex or the inner workings of American capitalism and finance capitalism. It is extremely helpful as it sets up the preamble to the Cold War era. But most of all, it is gripping intellectual history, revealing how **American foreign policy was manufactured by the real flesh and blood actors that count: the economic and political planners congregated by the arch-influential Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the conceptual core of the imperial matrix.**

### Behold Exceptionalist nationalism

If just one phrase should capture the American missionary drive, this is it: “The United States was born of exceptionalist nationalism, imagining itself providentially chosen to occupy the vanguard of world history”. Wertheim nailed it by drawing from a wealth of sources on exceptionalism, especially Anders Stephanson’s *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of the Right*.

**The action starts in early 1940, when the State Dept. formed a small advisory committee in collaboration with the CFR, constituted as a de facto proto-national security state.**

The CFR’s postwar planning project was known as the **War and Peace Studies**, financed by the **Rockefeller Foundation** and boasting a sterling cross-section of the American elite, divided into four groups.

The most important were the **Economic and Financial Group**, headed by the “American Keynes”, Harvard economist Alvin Hansen, and the **Political Group**, headed by businessman Whitney Shepardson. **CFR planners were inevitably transposed to the core of the official postwar planning committee set up after Pearl Harbor.**

A crucial point: the **Armaments Group** was headed by none other than **Allen Dulles**, then just a corporate lawyer, years before he became the nefarious, omniscient CIA mastermind **fully deconstructed by David Talbot’s The Devil’s Chessboard.**

Wertheim details the fascinating, evolving intellectual skirmishes along the first eight months of WWII, when the prevailing consensus among the planners was to concentrate on the Western Hemisphere only, and not indulge in “balance of power” overseas adventures. **As in let the Europeans fight it out; meanwhile, we profit.**

**The fall of France in May-June 1940 – the world’s top army melting down in five weeks – was the game-changer**, much more than Pearl Harbor 18 months later. This is how the planners interpreted it: **if Britain were the next domino to fall, totalitarianism would control Eurasia.**

Wertheim zeroes in on the defining “threat” for the planners: Axis dominance would prevent the United States “from driving world history. Such a threat proved unacceptable to U.S. elites”. That’s what led to an expanded definition of national security: the U.S. could not afford to be simply “isolated” within the Western Hemisphere. **The path ahead was inevitable: to shape world order as the supreme military power.**

So it was the prospect of a Nazi-shaped world order – and not U.S. security – that shook foreign policy elites in the summer of 1940 to build the intellectual foundations of global U.S. hegemony.

Of course there was a “lofty ideal” component: the U.S. would not be able to fulfill its God-given mission to lead the world towards a better future. But there was also a much more pressing **practical matter: this world order might be closed to liberal U.S. trade.**

Even as the tides of war changed afterwards, the interventionist argument ultimately prevailed: after all, the whole of Eurasia *could* (italics in the book) eventually, fall under totalitarianism.

### **It’s always about “world order”**

Initially, the fall of France forced Roosevelt’s planners to concentrate on a minimum hegemonic area. So by midsummer 1940, the CFR groups, plus the military, came up with **the so-called “quarter sphere”: Canada down to northern South America.**

They were still assuming that the Axis would dominate Europe and parts of the Middle East and North Africa. As Wertheim notes, “American interventionists often portrayed Germany’s dictator as a master of statecraft, prescient, clever and bold.”

Then, at the request of the State Dept., the crucial CFR’s Economic and Financial Group worked feverishly from August to October to design **the next step: integrating the Western Hemisphere with the Pacific Basin.**

That was a totally myopic Eurocentric focus (by the way, Asia barely registers on Wertheim’s narrative). **The planners assumed that Japan – even rivaling the US, and three years into the invasion of mainland China – could somehow be incorporated, or bribed into a non-Nazi area.**

Then they finally hit the jackpot: **join the Western Hemisphere, the British empire and the Pacific basin into a so-called “great residual area”: that is, the entire non-Nazi dominated world except the USSR.**

They found out that if Nazi Germany would dominate Europe, the U.S. would have to dominate *everywhere else* (italics mine). That was the logical conclusion based on the planners’ initial assumptions.

**That’s when U.S. foreign policy for the next 80 years was born:** the U.S. had to wield “unquestionable power”, as stated in the CFR planners “recommendation” to the State Dept.,

delivered on October 19 in a memorandum titled “**Needs of Future United States Foreign Policy**”.

This “Grand Area” was the brainchild of the CFR’s Economic and Financial Group. The Political Group was not impressed. The Grand Area implied a post-war peace arrangement that was in fact a Cold War between Germany and Anglo-America. Not good enough.

But how to sell total domination to American public opinion without that sounding “imperialistic”, similar to what the Axis was doing in Europe and Asia? Talk about a huge P.R. problem.

In the end, U.S. elites always came back to the same foundation stone of American exceptionalism: should there be any Axis supremacy in Europe and Asia, the U.S. manifest destiny of defining the path ahead for world history would be denied.

**As Walter Lippmann succinctly – and memorably – put it:** “Ours is the new order. It was to found this order and to develop it that our forefathers came here. In this order we exist. Only in this order can we live”.

That would set up the pattern for the subsequent 80 years. **Roosevelt**, only a few days after he was elected for a third term, **stated it was the United States that “truly and fundamentally...was a new order”**.

It’s chilling to be reminded that 30 years ago, even before unleashing the first Shock and Awe over Iraq, Papa Bush defined it as the crucible of a “new world order” (incidentally, the speech was delivered exactly 11 years before 9/11).

**Henry Kissinger has been marketing “world order” for six decades.** The number one U.S foreign **policy mantra is “rules-based international order”:** **rules, of course, set unilaterally by the Hegemon at the end of WWII.**

### **American Century redux**

What came out of the 1940 policy planning orgy was encapsulated by a succinct mantra featured in the **legendary February 17, 1941 essay in Life magazine** by publishing mogul Henry Luce: “**American Century**”.

Only six months earlier planners were at best satisfied with a hemispheric role in an Axis-led world future. **Now they went winner takes all:** “complete opportunity of leadership”, in Luce’s words. In early 1941, months before Pearl Harbor, the American Century went mainstream – and never left.

That sealed the **primacy of Power Politics**. If American interests were global, so should be American political and military power.

**Luce even used Third Reich terminology:** “Tyrannies may require a large amount of living space. But Freedom requires and will require far greater living space than Tyranny.” Unlike Hitler’s, the unbounded ambition of American elites prevailed.

Until now. It looks and feels like the empire is entering a James Cagney Made it, Ma. Top of the World! moment – rotting from within, 9/11 merging into 1/6 in a war against “domestic terrorism” – while still nurturing toxic dreams of imposing uncontested global “leadership”.

## 'Tomorrow, the World' Review: From Isolation to American Empire

Where did America's global dominance begin? In Stephen Wertheim's view, look to the fall of France in 1940.

By Paul Kennedy

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How fast it was, really, for America to become No. 1. It took a mere five summers -- so short a time in the grand sweep of Great Power politics -- for a vague ambition held in the minds of a small group of American intellectuals before 1940 to become the firm grand strategy of the Republic by June 1945. One month earlier than that, in May, the Supreme Allied Commander of the West's forces in Europe, five-star American Army Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, had accepted the Nazi surrender. Six thousand miles away, and only a few weeks later, the nations of the free world met to sign the U.N. Charter in San Francisco and formed a new international order very much along American lines. Even as that historic event was happening, the President of the United States was preparing, confidently, to further arrange the world's future at Potsdam. And while Harry Truman was sailing back from Europe after the Potsdam Conference, he ordered the dropping of the first atomic bomb upon a distant, battered Japan. This was world power as had never been seen before; little wonder that both its supporters and its few remaining doubters shook their heads in awe. Was this not, indeed, manifest destiny?

For almost 80 years now, historians and diplomats have sought not only to describe America's swift advance to global primacy but also to explain it, and the sheer number of contending schools of thought -- patriotic, revisionist, realist, liberal-internationalist -- is not surprisingly very large. Any writer wanting to make a novel contribution either has to have evidence for a new interpretation, or at least be making an older argument in some improved and eye-catching way. Stephen Wertheim's "Tomorrow, the World" does both. The book is a re-statement, in a more sophisticated form, of the old left-wing claim that the rising U.S. internationalism of this time was a cloak for ambitious quasi-imperialist policies. But the text also presents "new" archival materials, and uses them to advance a seriously original claim about exactly when and why the transformation occurred.

Mr. Wertheim, a historian at Columbia University and Deputy Director of Research and Policy at the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft, **takes his first bold step by presenting the argument that it was** not Pearl Harbor and events in the Pacific in late 1941 that pulled America out of isolationism, but **rather the shocking fall of France in June 1940**. Previous scholarship has hardly ignored the impact upon American politics of the seismic shaking of the Atlantic world that summer and autumn, and the rush of U.S. measures to shore up its own security (the naval Acts, the destroyer-bases deal). But no historian before Mr. Wertheim has shown in such detail how a small, networked bunch of Ivy League-elite public intellectuals and strategists -- Rhodes scholars galore and underwritten by the Rockefeller Foundation -- could step in and use the shock of France's fall to articulate their visions of the path forward for the American Republic from their posts at such organizations as the **Council on Foreign Relations**, the **Yale Institute for International Studies** and the **Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J.** Acting as the State Department's virtual "think tank" for the country's future, **the CFR** and the many planning sub-groups it spawned **stepped forward** to convince important senators, the broader Congress, the American newspapers and the public at large **that their nation should now assume the many burdens of global leadership**. For if the United States would not stop the Fascist threat to world domination, who else could? Their interventionist and Atlanticist drumbeat was loud, then, even before

**Pearl Harbor gave these folks the chance** to push the country into the role they wanted to assume in any case.

**Mr. Wertheim's second, even bolder argument is that virtually all these intellectuals took America's greatness for granted.** Whether they were of the harder-nosed "realist" tradition (like University of Chicago professor Hans Morgenthau and Yale professor Nicholas Spykman), or advocates of a new United Nations-based security architecture (like professors James T. Shotwell and Leo Pasvolsky), **all of them held that global leadership was their birthright.** Because America was an inherently "good thing," the world and the world-system American made could only benefit when the country acted in its own best interests. America's good was the planet's good, and vice-versa. Only by the end of 1945 -- after the atomic bombs, the carve-up of Europe at the Potsdam conference, and the spread of America's military footprint across the globe -- **did a few American voices remain** (the thoughtful political scientist Quincy Wright was one) **to wonder whether the nation was embracing too much the world of raw power-politics.**

Given the ambitious title and subtitle, "**The Birth of U.S. Global Supremacy,**" of Mr. Wertheim's book, though, it is important to understand what it is not about. While the striking dust-jacket shows that famous 1943 modernist poster of aircraft, warships and tanks advancing out of American factories, "Tomorrow the World" is not about the creation of the U.S. military-industrial complex, nor is it much interested in the story of the emergence of American financial dominance over the rest of the world (the U.S. Treasury, tellingly, is not in the index). The planners and strategists in and around the State Department, and the academics and public intellectuals of the CFR, **all took the untrammelled American economic and military might for granted.** They did not bother much about how or even where the U.S. armed forces fought the war, or the tough strategy debates about a second front, or the type of weapons systems deployed to defeat Japan. The important role of the formidable Adm. Ernest J. King, whose Navy took over the entire Pacific realm, is not covered here, nor is that of Hap Arnold, the architect of American global air power. Roosevelt's closest military aide, his confidante Adm. William D. Leahy, described in a recent biography as "The Second Most Powerful Man in the World," has no entry in the index; nor, remarkably, does the Secretary of War Henry Stimson. **Yet, by contrast, the realist thinker Spykman gets a lot of mention, and internationalist Quincy Wright even more. Significantly, the Council on Foreign Relations itself gets the most coverage, and more pages, than any other subject in this book.** After all, "Tomorrow, the World" is a study in American foreign-policy thinking, not in the actual wielding and making of American

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