

Poetic Fabrications and Subtle Interactions:

The Role of US Imperialism on Cold War Containment Theory:

The Marshall Plan

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Table of Contents:

Acknowledgments	3
Dedication	3
Introduction	4
Economics and the Marshall Plan	7
Empire as Economics	10
Politics Perpetuate the Plan's Purpose	17
Concealed Cultural Creep	27
United Efforts	39
Marshall Maintains	43
Figure Appendix	48
Annotated Bibliography	50
Primary Sources	50
Secondary Sources	56
Further Reading	66

Acknowledgements and Dedication:

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my future students.
I hope they enjoy it as much as I have!

The war was won. Germany had fallen, and the allies were once again paramount. World War Two had taken its toll, however, and most of Europe was in ruins. It was during this trying time that the world's two superpowers, the United States of America and Russia, began their decade's long standoff. Along with the emergence of the Cold War came the development of containment policy and the need for reconstruction. The Economic Cooperation Act, commonly referred to as the Marshall Plan, served to unite the goal of containment with the development of the European economy. Using politically charged trade, cultural influences, and a form of indirect imperialism, the Marshall Plan served as not only a sincere mission of economic aid, but also as a product of imperialist-motivated containment theory.

Imperialism is often misunderstood and perceived by many scholars as laden with ulterior and biased motivations. Recent scholarship, however, inspired by the new left of the 1960s and 70s, has challenged this claim. While imperialism remains a term often misunderstood, a scholarly approach unearths a range of definitions, from direct colonial rule to "poetic fabrications" and subtle interactions.¹ It falls on the shoulders of the scholar to see past the emotions inspired by this term and to look towards the power balance, or imbalance, it serves to define. Imperialist scholars remain united in the belief that there are three major branches of imperialist study: economics, politics, and cultural studies. Due to the size of these divisions, however, it becomes impractical to study imperialism through all three simultaneously. Therefore, in concert with the leading imperialist scholars, US imperialism must be studied in parts and united upon completion.

¹ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (NY: First Vintage Books, 1994), 9. and George Lichtheim, *Imperialism* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 4-6.

Political imperialism is the most well known form of imperialism and is often understood as colonialism, or the act of taking control of another by possessing and administrating their land.² Modern political imperialism no longer adheres to the need for direct land control; instead imperialism has amalgamated within modern society to develop into a hybrid, commonly referred to as “new” or “modern” imperialism. Giovanni Arrighi, has helped develop a common framework for understanding this new imperialism. According to Arrighi, “the supremacy of a group or, in this case a nation state can... manifest itself in two ways: as ‘domination’ and as ‘intellectual and moral leadership.’”³ Modern imperialism proves to be the most applicable to the United States. It is through the lens of “influence,” rather than direct rule, that America has developed such a presence in the current global community.

The more general and current definition of *modern* imperialism emphasizes the malleable nature of imperialism. It is no longer a set structure of expectations and actions, but rather an ideology of movement encompassing many of the basic human passions and beliefs. Marxist scholar Antonio Gramsci believed that, despite the seemingly simplistic economic interpretations of Marxist philosophy, an interconnected basis – uniting culture, politics and economy – is necessary to bring about the actions and influences of imperialism.⁴ In particular, Gramsci utilized the term “passions” to describe how human nature, emotions, and ethno-history (culture), can influence the economics of a nation and an empire.⁵ These passions make imperialism imperfect and human. Gramsci’s writings

² Said, 9. “As I shall be using the term, “imperialism” means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; “colonialism,” which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory.”

³ David Harvey, *The New Imperialism: Clarendon Lectures in Geography and Environmental Studies* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 36-37.

⁴ Antonio Gramsci, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, ed. Forgacs, (New York: Schocken, 1989), 189-221.

⁵ Gramsci, 189-221.

serve to highlight the cultural drives of imperialism and the possibility for motivations stemming solely from the cultural realm of society.

Despite the perceptions of Gramsci, a large percentage of the global population perceives imperialism through economics. Whether one believes that capitalism is the “highest stage of imperialism,”⁶ or that capitalism simply falls into place in a structure of “economic openness,”⁷ economics remain at the forefront of most global relationships, especially in reference to the United States. For this reason imperialism is often understood and explained through economics. This economic focus is carried throughout most imperial study, including the past works dealing with containment and the Marshall Plan.

The Marshall Plan, as first introduced by Secretary of State George C. Marshall in a June 5, 1947 speech at Harvard University, was a program developed to provide economic aid post WWII Europe and to reestablish the continent as an area of stability among the growing threat of communism and the evils of the USSR. The Marshall Plan worked to “restore the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own nations”⁸ and to take an active role in the reestablishment of Europe as a global power. The plan emphasized the importance of trade and global openness in achieving these incentives and encouraged the development and support of industrialization and agriculture.⁹ While the ultimate goal of the plan was aid, the imperialist nature of the plan became evident as the importance and implementation of containment developed.

⁶ Vladimir I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (NY: International Publishers, 1993).

⁷ John Bellamy Foster, *Naked Imperialism: The US Pursuit of Global Dominance*. (NY: Monthly Review Press, 2006), 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Economic Cooperation Act, “Bilateral and Multilateral Undertakings,” Pub. L. No. 472-169.

Economics and the Marshall Plan

While European economic reconstruction has been researched extensively, the influence of imperialism and the Marshall Plan has only recently become prevalent. The main focus of much of the scholarship before the 1960s has been focused on the economic successes and failures of the plan. Historians John Spanier,¹⁰ Harry Bayard Price¹¹ and the Foreign Policy Association¹² have discussed the value of the plan and the development of foreign policy. As Spanier has writes, the role of the US in post WWII Europe was “that of a doctor toward an ill patient – and the proscribed cure was a massive injection of dollars.”¹³ These works prove valuable in developing an understanding of the program, and its effectiveness; however, some scholars are apprehensive to label the Marshall plan an unquestioned success.

Theodore A. Wilson does not rate the Marshall Plan an overwhelming success; he includes a section within this text entitled “The Marshall Plan a Failure.” While the success of the plan to achieve economic stability is acknowledged, Wilson questions whether the ultimate goals of the plan were accomplished. Wilson discussed the uneven restructuring of Europe, arguing that while nations did reach impressive levels of economic prosperity, the areas of industry and agriculture were relatively unimpressive.¹⁴ The main goal of reconstruction was accomplished; however, America’s focus on agriculture and industry was unfulfilled. Wilson goes as far as to argue that the United States exercised only a fraction of the power it could to modify the European economy.

¹⁰ John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy since World War II*, 7th ed., (NY, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1977).

¹¹ Harry B. Price, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1955).

¹² Theodore A. Wilson, *The Marshall Plan: 1947-1951*. “HEADLINE Series” No. 236 (NY, NY: The Foreign Policy Association, June 1977).

¹³ Spanier, 50.

¹⁴ Theodore A. Wilson, 49.

Arguably, if more dramatic steps were taken the United States could have exacted a great deal more lasting change.

Herbert C. Mayer chooses to focus on the changes that America was able to bring about with the Marshall Plan. Within the text *German Recovery and the Marshall Plan* Mayer uses the case study of Western Germany to highlight the increased industrial strength of Europe after the completion of the plan and the impact of the United States' aid on the European economy. Within this singular work, the issues of US responsibility to Europe, the importance of the stability of the region to the world, and the ultimate goal of economic equilibrium throughout Europe are introduced.¹⁵ While Mayer serves to highlight the economic importance and success of the Marshall Plan through the lens of Western Germany, this work, much like the others, chooses to focus on the economic contributions of the plan and ultimate success. Once again, the cultural and political importance in the facilitation of European recovery is largely ignored.

Several works attempt to link the Marshall Plan with the politics of Europe, proving to be attempts at addressing political imperialism. Paul Hammond, author of *The Cold War Years: American Foreign Policy Since 1945*, addresses US/Russian relations and their role in molding the specifics and expectations of the plan. In particular the work serves to unite the quest of President Truman to gain popular support for his foreign policy incentives and the perception of an immanent communist threat.¹⁶ John Gimbel's work, *The Origins of the Marshall Plan*, also addresses the importance of Russia to the motivation of the plan. However, while this concern remains evident through most Cold

¹⁵ Herbert C. Mayer, *German Recovery and the Marshall Plan 1948-1952*. (NY, NY: Edition Atlantic Forum, 1969).

¹⁶ Paul Hammond, *The Cold War Years: American Foreign Policy since 1945* (NY, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969), 29.

War literature, the ultimate goal of the work remains an assessment of the economic program.¹⁷ The cultural and political relationship between the USSR and the US is further discussed in Harold C. Livesay's work, *Men Who Shaped the American Economy: American Made*.¹⁸ While the clear connections between Russia and the United States are identified and discussed in all works on the Marshall Plan, few address the connections between these "passions"¹⁹ and how they transform into issues of political and cultural imperialism.

The Marshall Plan has been deemed such an economic success that it has become one of the leading models for granting foreign aid to Third World nations. In his text *The Marshall Plan: 1947-1951*. Allen W. Dulles utilizes positive economic assessment of the Marshall Plan to further his plan for continued and substantial foreign aid to Central and Southern American nations. Dulles makes the connection between the success of the Marshall Plan and the needed economic improvements of many Third World nations. Going as far as connecting the Monroe Doctrine, Open Door Policy and Truman Doctrine to the Marshall Plan Dulles believes that applying similar economic policies to nations currently in need would serve equally productive to both the US and the Third World.²⁰

It was only with the influence of revisionist thinking during the 1960s that imperialism began to be applied to the Marshall Plan and more globally to Cold War containment theory. Even then, these works were initially criticized by established scholars. It has only been within the past few decades that scholars such as William

¹⁷ John Gimbel, *The Origins of the Marshall Plan*, Stanford, (CA: Stanford University Press, 1976).

¹⁸ Harold C. Livesay. *Men Who Shaped the American Economy: American Made*. (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979).

¹⁹ Gramsci, 189-221.

²⁰ Allen W. Dulles, *The Marshall Plan* (Providence, RI: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1993).

Appleman Williams,²¹ Peter Duigan, L.H. Gann,²² and Edward Said²³ have addressed the role of imperialism in containment policy. Yet, this new push towards imperialist study has also brought the complexity of managing such a large topic. Scholars rarely have been able to achieve a multidisciplinary analysis of the program; often the study is broken up in respect to economic, cultural and political facets. Even with this differentiation, however, the role of cultural and political imperialism in the development and implementation of the Marshall Plan have been underrepresented. By addressing these missing avenues of study and delving into the interconnectedness of the Marshall Plan, a great deal can be learned about the social and cultural imperialism which facilitated the plan and its implementations for the world.

Empire as Economics

The most applicable, and direct, form of imperialism which dictated the Marshall Plan is the field of economics. By establishing policy directed at halting Russian economic dominance while paradoxically allowing for the development of unchallenged capitalism, the Marshall Plan used American authority to direct world economics. While there is little doubt that the Marshall Plan had lasting positive affects on Europe, the manipulation of the balance of power proved problematic.

The importance of economics in the realm of imperialism first developed during the period of colonialism. Nations established colonies to gather natural resources and

²¹ William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life*. (Brooklyn, NY: I G Publishing, 2007), *A William Appleman Williams Reader*. Ed. Henry W. Berger. (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 1992) and *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. (NY: W.W. & Norton Company, Inc., 1972).

²² Peter Duignan and L.H. Gann. *The Rebirth of the West: The Americanization of the Democratic World, 1945-1958* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992). It is interesting to note that Duigan and Gann argued that imperialism served the best interest of the US and is not, in their eyes, considered an inconvenience or negative.

²³ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*. and *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books/ Random House, 1978).

supply their industrial base. These colonies also provided imperial nations with new markets to sell their goods and increased demand to match increased supply.²⁴ Similar to general imperialism, the economic needs and trends of economic imperialism changed when nations stepped away from traditional colonialism toward more “modern” forms. The bridge between old and new imperialism seems to lie in one work of immeasurable historic importance. *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, serves not only to outline the base of communist thought, but also, and arguably more important for this study, serves to define capitalist imperialism through the voice of the third world, or proletariat. Marx stepped away from the expected colonial focus of imperialism and took a step toward modern imperialism within this text by introducing the possibility of economic imperialism.

Economic imperialism proves to be an issue of power due to the inherently unbalanced relation between the rich and the poor. As Cohen explains, “power does play a part in the relations between the rich and the poor. There is dominance, dependence, and exploitation. There is imperialism.”²⁵ This is no different in reference to the Marshall Plan. Europe suffered after WWII and the US stepped in to ‘save’ the needy nation. This act of granting aid, coupled with the development of the US Administration of the program and regulatory commission, served to develop a relationship of power between the haves and the have-nots. This imperialist connotation, however, is not evidence of contempt or distrust. To the contrary, the Marshall Plan is, at its roots, a humanitarian program of assistance and was designed with this motive at heart. The imperialist tendencies of the act relate more to America’s approach to the fulfillment and

²⁴ Benjamin J. Cohen, *The Question of Imperialism* (NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), 79.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 4.

development of the program and the actions and decisions that were made due to the nation's status as a world hegemon.

Russian president Vladimir I. Lenin furthered the discussion of US economic dominance within his work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.²⁶ Lenin argued that while capitalism preaches fair competition, it instead fosters consolidation, monopoly and finally imperialism. Uniting capitalism with imperialism furthered the common communist assumption that the economic development of the US and all the motivations and goals of the Marshall Plan to further global capitalism proved arduous. Similar to the containment argument of the American politicians, Lenin served to connect the economic characteristics of capitalism with the negative social and political connotations of Americanization.²⁷ In contrast, US politicians chose to build the Marshall Plan around capitalism in efforts of encouraging global openness and relatively unburdened free trade. US economists agreed on the liberalization Keynesian model. While the true connection between imperialism and capitalism remains muddled, both observations prove to be accurate. The past and present integrate to develop and re-enforce modern capitalist theories.

The economic imperialism present within the Marshall Plan is clear. Most notably, a list of ten stipulations were inserted into the Economic Cooperation Act, the congressional legislation that enacted the ideas of Secretary of State Marshall, which all nations which wished to accept aid from the US were forced to adhere and accept. By generating a list of requirements the US placed their judgment on what they determined to be most important. For example, special attention was paid to reducing trade barriers,

²⁶ Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism: a popular outline*. (New York: International Publishers, 1993).

²⁷ Ibid.

which would serve to better facilitate trade with the US. Similar arguments can be made for all ten of the official stipulations included in the ECA.²⁸ While many of these provisions appear mundane and list what many would consider obvious, such as the stipulation that action be made to re-establish the economic stability of the nations, the currency rate and boosting industrialization; the remaining stipulations prove more intriguing.

Within the Economic Cooperation Act the issue of trade concerned two of the ten stipulations. Nations were required, by the US plan, to further actions toward a program focused on free trade as well as alluding to the need for these nations to trade with the United States at domestic and reasonable rates.²⁹ Goods which the United States required were to be sold to the US at a rate equivalent to the lowest domestic value of the good. This immeasurable contribution to the ease of trade for the United States proved to be a detriment to the people of Europe. The large profits made through trade with the US were replaced with less substantial numbers. These trade stipulations provide an example of how the United States was able to modify the world economic stage through indirect influence. There was no universal law or colonial occupation which generated the change in trade practices; rather, the US utilized the powers of indirect imperialist rule to “influence” and “guide” a change in the global economic situation.

²⁸ Economic Cooperation Act, “Bilateral and Multilateral Undertakings.” In summary, these provisions included:

- 1) Promoting industrial and agricultural development.
- 2) Stabilize currency, exchange rates and balance governmental budget.
- 3) Reduce barriers to trade, regionally as well as globally.
- 4) Establish a joint program of European recovery, work towards regional success.
- 5) Facilitate the sale, exchange, or barter of resources needed in the US.
- 6) Set aside money to support the nation when US assistance is halted.
- 7) Yearly reports from the receptive nation to the US including use of funds, goods produced, and funds needed.
- 8) Nations must grant the US any additional information requested.
- 9) Assistance must not come at the expense of American resources.
- 10) Any legal issues involving grievances with the US must be tried before the International Court of Justice or an arbitrarily tribunal agreed upon by both parties

²⁹ Ibid.

Furthering the position of the United States, the act stipulated that nations were required to submit not only yearly reports to the US representative, or program's Administrator, but nations were also required to open their financial records and provide any additional information requested. This required reporting was instrumental in America's ability to control and regulate the plan from across the pond. Information is an endless source of power. The proper information can mean the difference of millions of dollars, and it is understandable that the US would include a stipulation such as this in the Marshall Plan. By reporting, nations were held responsible for the actions they had taken, planned to take, and any attempts to skirt around the requirements of the US. Because this plan required that one body supervise the program, and analyze the information, the individual or group designated with this task became paramount. In this respect, it becomes clear why the US would suggest and encourage inter-European relations and regulatory groups while also maintaining a US presence at a level above these groups. By making an appointed US official the primary executive of the Marshall Plan all the powers associated with this role were granted to the United States.

Global openness and disclosure of financial records challenged the most basic protectionist and socialist concerns of the USSR and served as a catalyst for the Russian government's refusal of the Marshall Plan. It was this challenge which also served to generate the development of a communist friendly, counter aid program, the Warsaw Pact.³⁰ While the authors of the Economic Cooperation Act took pains to include the entire "Western Hemisphere," within the plan, they never believed they would be funding

³⁰ Melvyn P. Leffler, *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1953*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 26 and 65.

all of Europe.³¹ US policy makers banked on the USSR and other communist nations refusing assistance because of the capitalistic and democratic stipulations.³² Nonetheless, it became the choice of Russian leaders to denounce the Marshall Plan. Stalin's foreign minister V.M. Molotov, and a contingent of Russian advisors, officially refused to accept the Marshall Plan in July of 1947.³³ "Nikolay Novikov, the Soviet ambassador to the United States, reported to Moscow that the Marshall Plan was an effort to inject American power onto Russia's periphery."³⁴ If Stalin had agreed to the Marshall Plan its very base as a policy of containment would be questioned. However, by proceeding forward and making it so that the Russians were forced to refuse the act due to these economic stipulations and their cultural and political implications, the United States remained positive in the eyes of global opinion and Russia became labeled non-cooperative and exclusionary.

Separate from the section dealing with stipulations lay more directly political expectations masked in economic camouflage. As part of the Marshall Plan, participating nations were required to cut off all bonds of economic loyalty to nations which did not have proper export licensure with the US.³⁵ What this meant was that nations in the Eastern block were excluded from trading with Western Europeans who agreed with the Economic Cooperation Act. The US Administrator of the plan also retained the right to exclude and punish any nation which violated this provision. This power further served to escalate the role of the US Administrator and perpetuate the tension between the East and

³¹ Economic Cooperation Act, "Western Hemisphere." Within the ECA the section which deals with the accessibility of funding lumps those eligible for aid under the subtitle "Western Hemisphere." It is clear, however, that the main focus of the aid was Western Europe.

³² Leffler, 65.

³³ Ibid, 26 and 65.

³⁴ Ibid, 65.

³⁵ Economic Cooperation Act, "Bilateral and Multilateral Undertakings."

the West. What made this political imperialism so unique, however, was the manner in which economics were used to facilitate political imperialism. This indirect rule was exemplar of how one of the forms of modern imperialism can manifest.

While all economic stipulations included in the Economic Cooperation Act were instruments of US economic imperialism, the most obvious of the expectations remains the section dealing with the US and the procurement of the aid to be used. In summary, the section explains that the assistance to Europe must never come at the expense of any American resource or US economic stability.³⁶ While the safety of the US economy is vitally important to the state its inclusion in this act proves to be a backdoor for the US policy makers. This stipulation allowed for increased ease in respect to passing the act through Congress, while also providing an escape clause if the act were to be ruled a failure. This power to dissolve the act, as well as the power to direct the amount of aid sent to Europe, placed the US in a position of unmatched hegemony.

The options for economic interpretations may seem endless; however, economics is far from the most important aspect of this act in terms of its imperialistic motivations. Only recently have scholars strayed from economic analysis to critical investigation, as well as being paired with Cold War studies. As Antonio Gramsci expresses, it is the “passions” of humanity, the drives and heart of man, which form the basis of economic policy – not the policy which creates the man.³⁷

³⁶ Economic Cooperation Act, “Bilateral and Multilateral Undertakings.”

³⁷ Gramsci, 189-221.

Politics Perpetuate the Plan's Purpose

Political imperialism serves as one of the most accepted focuses of modern imperialist scholars. Political imperialism though often dismissed as colonialism and ruled archaic and null in void, remains a force within most international affairs. Recent scholars have reinforced America's rule in the realm of political imperialism, noting a transition from colonial rule to a more modern and indirect manner of "guiding" global and state politics.

The US is not currently a colonial power, in the strict sense; however, the history of US colonialism proves vital in understanding America's role in global politics. Most notably, the US began as an English colony. From being a part of one of the world's largest empires it should be no surprise that the US employed many of the same imperialist policies that characterized the English empire.³⁸ The US occupation of the Philippines (1899-1901), Cuba and intervention throughout the Americas, served to perpetuate a US history of imperialism.

Most US colonial sentiments, however, were in fact turned in upon the nation itself. The United States has a long, sordid past of mistreating a number of its citizens. A laundry list of domination and belittlement can be constructed, including, but not limited to, the Sedition Act, "McCarthyism, the murder of incarceration of Black Panther Leaders, the internment of Japanese in the Second World War, surveillance and infiltration of opposition groups of all kinds, and now a certain preparedness to overthrow the Bill of Rights by passing the Patriot and Homeland Security Acts."³⁹ While all these actions have been veiled in a quest for national security, there remains a relationship of

³⁸ William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life*, 130.

³⁹ Harvey, 38.

those with power regulating those without. This power relationship was born out of the Cold War and containment policies such as the Marshall Plan.

Similar to modern economic imperialism, the US has taken an active, behind-the-scenes approach to exercising its political power over the world. Most notably, the US has entered such political groups as the United Nations (UN), The North Atlantic Trade Organization (NATO), the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and finally, The World Trade Organization (WTO). These political organizations allow for the US to maintain a leading role through continued participation and facilitation of these groups, while also removing the burden which often accompanies world domination. These organizations are vital to the betterment of the US position throughout the world. This was no different during the Cold War. Due to the brinkmanship between the USSR and the US, these organizations became even more important. A number of these groups were actually created specifically to facilitate Cold War foreign policy. NATO, for example, was generated to facilitate the US cause throughout the globe. The UN was also created to help facilitate redevelopment throughout Europe. This need for US friendly international organizations was emphasized in a State Department position paper presented to Congress July 23, 1947. The document reads, “This Government should also continue to press for the speedy building up of the supportive UN bodies in order that they may take over their full share of the burden as rapidly as possible.”⁴⁰

International organizations were vital to the US Cold War philosophy, as evident within the writings of the State Department and the Economic Cooperation Act. Within

⁴⁰ “Certain Aspects of the European Recovery Problem,” July 1947; ERP [folder 2]; Subject File, 1916 1960; Cark Clifford Papers. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

the Act a number of international committees were created or included. The “Bilateral and Multilateral Undertakings” section of the act required that nations agree to continue actively participating in the Committee of European Economic Cooperation and adhere to their decisions, as well as work towards the ultimate goal of mutual cooperation and joint recovery.⁴¹ Furthering the push for international cooperation, the Act included a section dedicated to the UN. This section the Act requests the support of the UN while also stipulating that copies of all reports to Congress dealing with the Economic Cooperation Act be sent to the Secretary General of the UN.⁴² What made this exchange of information so important was not the expression of unity with the UN, but rather the exchange of intelligence. With this allowance the US was imparting certain regulatory powers. If the information was contained the US would have been able to hold on to a position of authority. By making the reports public, however, the US lost its position of absolute power. Yet, it must be kept in mind that this allowance did not include all gathered information, nor did it allow for the UN to act independently of the US. It is also important to note that the US had veto power within the UN Security Council. With these facts in mind, the exchange of information proved to be more symbolic than genuine.

What made these groups so instrumental to the ‘empire’ of the United States was their ability to further the goals of the US and to usurp the every day tasks of monitoring and administrating the Marshall Plan. Similar to the powers of the UN, by distancing themselves from the direct interactions and facilitation of the Marshall Plan in action, US policy makers were able to eliminate the stress and complications of the day-to-day

⁴¹ Economic Cooperation Act, “Bilateral and Multilateral Undertakings.”

⁴² Ibid, “United Nations.”

reality of the plan while also retaining the ability to influence and direct the program on a macro-level.

The UN, and other international groups, represented a reduction of burden to the US, not a relinquishing of power. It was through these organizations that the US could retain a level of guidance over the world while eliminating the paperwork and administration required. The actual control the US exerts over these nations is questionable, especially when compared to the unmatched regulation of the nations behind the Iron Curtain. However, the US uses its position of authority to develop a situation of negative imperialism, where nations are left to their own devices to take the easier path and follow the US.⁴³ If the nations choose not to accept the US plan they are not penalized, but they also lose the advantages which the superpower generates. These advantages, however, often outweigh the consequences of joining with the US and over the years had developed an environment of modern political imperialism.

In order to retain America's influence over participating nations within the Marshall Plan congress created a new US diplomatic position, the Administrator, and Committee, the Economic Cooperation Administration. The Economic Cooperation Act stipulates that in order for the US to properly regulate the Marshall Plan, and thus remain in a position of influence, an individual directly responsible for ensuring American interests must be installed. In addition, a staff must be provided to this individual in order for his task to be adequately carried out.⁴⁴ While the major role of the Administrator and his committee was to receive, evaluate and generate intelligence about the nations, their fiscal need and adherence to the regulations and stipulations of the Act; the Administrator

⁴³ John Gray, *Isaiah Berlin* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 38.

⁴⁴ Economic Cooperation Act, "Bilateral and Multilateral."

also reserved the right to deny and exclude nations, as well as to reprimand nations.⁴⁵ It was this position of authority which placed the US in a position of clear political imperialism and established the imperialist status quo, the US was truly interfering in the political spear and directed the flow of global politics.

While the role of political imperialism in the development and sustainability of the US hegemony is unquestioned, many feel that there were few alternatives for the United States. Recently the myth of the US as the reluctant superpower has begun to gain roots of support within public opinion. This theory, which claims that the US had no alternative but to rise to the forefront of the globe after WWII, because of its geography and relative economic superiority, is consistently discredited by scholars.⁴⁶ Analysis of containment policies, such as the Marshall Plan, and the evidence of America's blatant campaigns for world domination and hegemony, however, prove these claims of the reluctant superpower defunct. The European Cooperation Act provides undeniable evidence of the active and dynamic nature of the United States in establishing and securing its role in the post WWII world stage. The most obvious of the political imperialist motives of the Marshall Plan was to exclude the Soviet Union from Western European affairs. This "containment" served American purposes by fostering democratic and capitalistic ideals while also eliminating the conflicts between the Russian and US economic and political systems. While the motivation was always to exclude Russia from the plan, direct refusal was not politically viable.⁴⁷ If the United States refused the USSR, they would have become an exclusionary force and would have lost valuable popular

⁴⁵ Economic Cooperation Act, "Establishment of Economic Cooperation Administration" and "General Functions of Administrator."

⁴⁶ Andrew Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of US Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 8.

⁴⁷ Leffler, 65.

approval with their European allies. To counter these concerns the anti-Soviet message was implied rather than directly expressed. By requiring stipulations which violated the Russian economic structure the United States hoped to discourage Russia enough to force them to refuse the aid and allow for the US to remain in good graces with the international community.

The anti-Russian sentiment of the Marshall Plan was not limited to its veiled appearance in the Economic Cooperation Act, however. The idea of containment, and the Marshall Plan's role in this policy, was respectfully outlined in the speeches and papers presented during the early stages of the plan. *New York Times* reporter James Reston explains in his 1947 article, "The Administration still has the same objective. It has not wavered in its sincere belief that Soviet expansion and infiltration must be stopped."⁴⁸ This concern spearheaded containment policy and served to establish the consistent brinkmanship between the US and USSR.

Concerns over the Soviet Union were not restricted to 'zealous' news reporters. The language of the Economic Cooperation Act serves to expose this apprehension. As the Act reads, "If is further declared to be the policy of the people of the United States to sustain and strengthen principles of individual liberty, free institutions, and genuine independence in Europe."⁴⁹ Dismissing the clear savior complex expressed in this remark, the principles outlined here are the exact terminology used to foil the Soviet Union and communism with American democracy. While the USSR was not directly criticized within the Act, the groundwork of the Cold War and the animosity between the

⁴⁸ James Reston, "Administration Now Shifts Its Emphasis on Foreign Aid: Economic Reconstruction of Western Europe Now Held Best Bar to Soviet Expansion," *New York Times*, 9 May 1947. From The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

⁴⁹ Economic Cooperation Act, 137.

two superpowers remains evident. Along with these buried references a number of key policy makers delivered speeches to Congress and the public which dealt more directly with the communist concern and the need for a strong economy to counter this impending threat. As Marshall expressed, “It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace... Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions which free institutions can exist.”⁵⁰ Similar sentiments were expressed in a number of appearances by the Secretary of State Undersecretary Dean Acheson and containment gurus John Forester Dulles and George F. Keenan.⁵¹ The sentiments in these speeches and the Economic Cooperation Act serve to highlight the degree to which international politics played a major role in America during the Cold War. It was within this politically charged environment that America developed into the political powerhouse it is today.

While the American public would surely have encouraged the inclusion of a direct restriction excluding the USSR from the ECA; such a direct bias would have complicated European/US relations. A number of European nations had continual trade with Russia and did not want to disrupt their relations with the superpower. Keeping these connections in mind, US policy makers were careful to make it the choice of Russian leaders to denounce the Marshall Plan. The economic Cooperation Act served as a form of negative imperialism. It did not restrict admission, but rather placed the responsibility of the acceptance or rejection upon the Russians and other communist nations. This

⁵⁰ George C. Marshall, “The Marshall Plan.” (Speech Given at Harvard University, 5 June 1947).

⁵¹ John Lewis Gaddis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 61.

allowed the US to exact its desires without directly involving itself in a traditional imperialist relationship. The authors of the ECA purposely emphasized capitalism and democracy in an attempt to influence the decision of Russia and other communist nations to reject the act. Stalin's foreign minister V.M. Molotov, and a contingent of Russian advisors, officially refused to accept the Marshall Plan in July of 1947.⁵² "Nikolay Novikov, the soviet ambassador to the United States, reported to Moscow that the Marshall Plan was an effort to inject American power onto Russia's periphery."⁵³ By proceeding forward and making it so that the Russians were forced to refuse the act, the United States remained positive in the eyes of global opinion and Russia became labeled non-cooperative and exclusionary. As American participation in international diplomatic organizations and indirect influence of the ECA itself indicate, the United States had managed to employ the tactics of indirect rule and the influence of international committees to facilitate its motives and perpetuate its imperialistic aims.⁵⁴

Even with the regulatory powers of the Administrator, and the clear political advantages of the Marshall Plan, there were a number of American citizens and politicians who questioned such a large financial contribution to Europe. Many feared that aiding nations, such as Germany, and rebuilding Europe would allow for the animosities of the war torn nations to be rekindled and allow Germany to reemerge as a military threat. After all, it was Germany which played a leading role in both WWI and WWII. While US aid to occupied Germany was one of the main motivations behind the Marshall Plan. As former President Hoover expressed in a letter to President Truman, in

⁵² Leffler, 26 and 65.

⁵³ Ibid, 65.

⁵⁴ "Economic Cooperation Act, "Commission." For further interest, Figure One of the attached appendix includes a poster from this period which focuses on the OECD and their international, cooperative, message.

reference to the possibility of fiscal aid to Germany in January of 1947, “I feel... that such a mission, to be of real value and helpful to you and the country should be broadened out.”⁵⁵ It was because of the political animosity between America and Germany, coupled with the high price tag, that the Marshall Plan was such a hard sell to the people of the US.

While, in retrospect, the Marshall Plan is considered, almost universally, a success, and won Marshall the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953,⁵⁶ gaining the needed support for the legislation proved complicated. President Truman faced a great deal of opposition from Congress. While most congressmen were supportive of European assistance, passing the Economic Cooperation Act required a great deal of creative political haranguing. The task fell upon such political heavyweights as Secretary of State Marshall, Under-Secretary Dean Acheson, and President Truman. These men, in concert with the entire Truman administration, served to link the Marshall Plan with the democratic ideals of America and labeled the plan not as an economic Band-Aid, but as an issue of honor, responsibility, and benefit. Truman’s dedication to the Marshall Plan becomes clear when one identifies the level of political campaigning that was required to pass the Act through Congress. Through a number of informational speeches; pairing the policy with senate anchor, and foreign policy heavyweight, Arthur H. Vandenberg; and generating a clear connection between US national incentives the bill was successful.⁵⁷ In the end “nothing more quickly won the sympathy of the public than a President who

⁵⁵ Herbert Hoover to President Truman, personal correspondence, 19 January 1947. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

⁵⁶ “Tribute to General George C. Marshall,” *The Journal of the National Geographic Society*, (117)1, January 1960, 113.

⁵⁷ Theodore A. Wilson, 33 and 35.

seemed to be dealing vigorously with what the public perceived to be an external threat to this country's interest."⁵⁸ The Marshall Plan passed 69 to 17 in the Senate and 329 to 74 in the House of Representatives.⁵⁹ The plan remained active until June 30, 1950, and it was considered by most as an overwhelming success.⁶⁰

While the economic success of the Economic Cooperation Act is more measurable, the more subtle political achievement of the Act is equally impressive. The US was able to economically stabilize greater Europe and return nations to their state of political independence. However, within this position of independence the nations still held alliances to the US and remained active members in the international organizations lead by the United States. The Marshall Plan also encouraged the role of European Cooperation through such groups as the OECD. While this seems relatively unconnected from the interests of the US, in fact it could be argued as a political disadvantage to US supremacy, the grouping of European nations has served as a political asset to America. The Economic Cooperation Act served to unite the nations of Europe under the United States, allowing the US to guide the development of the region and establish a global economy and political environment best suited for the expansion of the United States. The role of US supremacy is perhaps best served by a full page political cartoon (Figure Two) fearing the US leading a parade of nations upon a large treadmill toward the future, included in a 1953 *Life* article, "A Policy of Boldness," authored by no other than containment giant John Forester Dulles.⁶¹ There was no match to the Marshall Plan

⁵⁸ Hammond, 29.

⁵⁹ Theodore A. Wilson, 37.

⁶⁰ Spanier, 53. "The Marshall Plan had indeed been a massive success, and at a cost that represented only a tiny fraction of the US national income over the same four-year period and was smaller than America's liquor bill for the same years!"

⁶¹ John Forester Dulles. "A Policy of Boldness." (*Life*, no. 32,) 19 May 1952, 147. (Figure Two: Cartoon is included in the appendix, Figure Two.)

during the Cold War. No other plan could have exacted such economic might while also reordering international politics.

Only recently have the global economic powers of the US begun to be challenged. With the fall of the USSR, the only true economic challenge during the age of the Cold War dissipated, the growing powers of the European Union (EU) and the Euro, as well as the outside influences of such rapidly expanding nations as China, serve to threaten the secure position of US supremacy. Nonetheless, the United States remains, in most political circles, the world's leading political power and will retain its title until another nation is able to challenge the political status quo and discredit the indirect political, imperialist manipulation of the US. The Economic Cooperation Act serves as an appropriate measure of US political imperialism because it appears to be a genuine mission of philanthropy and humanitarian idealism. However, through critical analysis political imperialism and the subtle manipulation the Act represents becomes clear.

Concealed Cultural Creep

Imagine a peaceful country town nestled between two groves of evergreens. A distant rumble is heard. As the beast nears the noise gets louder and deeper. Finally, over the crest of the once peaceful hill comes something so unnatural, corruptive, and loud that you shutter. The image of a Sports Utility Vehicle cresting the hill can only be compared to the first time one witnesses the power and emotion of a tank on the battle field.

Eduardo Mendieta's article entitled "The Axis of Evil: SUVing through the slums of globalizing neoliberalism," utilizes the cultural measure of the sport utility vehicle (SUV)

to direct the study and interpretation of imperialism.⁶² Mendieta uses the SUV as a representation of anti-urbanization and imperialism and illustrates the connections between these elements: “the SUV, like a tank, runs roughshod over the urban environment while it simultaneously displays its own conspicuous consumption of scarce resources; it encapsulates the inherently anti-urban sentiment of the new American imperialism.”⁶³ The SUV serves a double purpose within society, similar to imperialism. The SUV insulates the driver from the “battlefield and jungle” while also allowing him to conquer the same terrain. The SUV projects a utopian pseudo-reality allowing for culture to be both projected and protected.⁶⁴ Cultural historians illuminate a realm of study often ignored and provide new insights into the field of American imperialism as a whole. This source proves useful in examining one particular cultural representation of imperialism and provides the possibility for similar representations and explanations.

The SUV represents a sense of entitlement characteristic of American society. As the image relates, Americans believe that they are better than even the lands they call home. They make their own paths, and force their own desires. While there is something to be said for challenging the accepted, when one believes that they have the right to make others follow their lead, an element of hubris emerges. In the case of the United States, the Marshall Plan served as a new road to reconstruction. The plan outlined a new path and the stipulations and consequences of refusal provided little option for deviation.

The great transformation between the modern study of imperialism and the historic texts can be understood as the influences of new forms of history, such as

⁶² Eduardo Mendieta, “The Axle of Evil: SUVing through the slums of globalizing neoliberalism,” *City*, vol. 9, no. 2, (July 2005).

⁶³ Mendieta, 195.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 196.

sociology and cultural history. In particular, cultural history has become vital in fostering the study of imperialism. These new studies have served to create further depth and understanding in the field of imperialism. Through the study of literature and the other elements of a society's culture a stronger grasp of the role of cultural imperialism is possible. One of the founders of modern cultural thinking, in respect to imperialism, is the famed Edward W. Said. Within his text *Orientalism* ideas of imperialism and power are discussed through the scope of the Middle East.⁶⁵ However, more vital to the study of cultural imperialism is Said's subsequent text, *Culture and Imperialism*. This foundation text raises issues such as the role of culture in imperialism and the grave misrepresentations embedded in previous imperialist studies, establishing a connection between national imperialist motivation and a nation's literature. Said also takes pains to solidify the link between imperialism and culture, explaining, "just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings."⁶⁶ While imperialism is unquestionably an issue of geography, Said clearly expresses that geography is equally dependent on political boundaries as cultural ideals. Said continues to argue the importance of culture within American imperialism by highlighting the importance of the feelings of "greatness" and "superiority" and the development of a world based on an "us and them" dynamic, fundamental to the growth of imperialism.⁶⁷ Within *Culture and Imperialism* Said has managed to develop a concise and effective representation of culture and apply it to imperialism in a way often ignored by scholars.

⁶⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*.

⁶⁶ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 8.

The Marshall Plan served to address a theoretical interpretation of culture. The plan, while focusing on the power of economics, spoke more highly of the responsibility of the United States to help, and the requirement of economic stability to foster democracy and counter the corrupting influence of the “Communist Peril.” As Dean Acheson expressed in a 1947 speech in Cleveland, MS, “It is the necessary if we are to pursue our freedoms and our own democratic institutions. It is necessary for our national security. And it is our duty and our privilege as human beings.”⁶⁸ When the United States decided that nations needed to follow the principles of democracy, and be a part of international committees, to participate in the Marshall Plan the US pronounced the ‘correct’ way to live. It is this cultural distinction, based on the ideology of the US that became the clearest representation of cultural imperialist policy within the Marshall Plan.

As Said expressed, “Culture is a sort of theater where various political and ideological causes engage one another.”⁶⁹ If culture was a theater, than the US served as the director throughout the Cold War. By deciding what could and should be emphasized, and working it into economic policy, the US used the Marshall Plan to place value on specific cultural characteristics while downplaying others. Stipulations such as the economic transparency clause included in the Economic Cooperation Act emphasized capitalism and democratic ideals while devaluing the protectionist basis of Communist economic. By emphasizing democracy and devaluing communism, the US placed a value judgment upon nations which adhered to these philosophies. It was this cultural determinant that, along with political and economic distrust, facilitated USSR’s decision

⁶⁸ Dean Acheson, “The Requirements of Reconstruction.” Speech given at Cleveland, MS., 18 May 1947. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

⁶⁹ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiii.

not to accept the Marshall Plan. It was not only Russia that the US was interested in influencing, however. The goals of consumerism and transparency were equally applicable to the whole of Europe.

The connection between culture and imperialism, however, was far from the minds of scholars until the emergence of more liberal thinking throughout the sixties and seventies. One of the most influential of these imperialist scholars was political historian William Appleman Williams. Williams' work is vital to a study of Containment policy not only because of his interpretations of the imperialist values of culture, but due to his extensive interpretation of Cold War foreign policy. In particular, within his text *Empire as a Way of Life*, in a chapter aptly titled "A Psychologically Justifying and Economically Profitable Fairy Tale: The Myth of Empty Continents Dotted Here and There with the Mud Huts, the Lean-tos, and the Tepees of Unruly Children Playing at Culture," Williams tackles the role of culture as a means of justification for imperial policy. Williams' argument centers on the idea that we learn more about ourselves by how we treat our enemies than what and how we carry ourselves.⁷⁰ In this respect, the justification for imperialist policy becomes of utmost importance. Williams argues that America, much like most empires, has assigned its culture to be paramount. Those nations that do not adhere to these social norms are seen as uncivilized or corrupt. Through the perception of the American government, the US was a beacon of hope in a sea of lost children. This cultural hubris allowed the US to rise to the position of assumed cultural supremacy without questioning their interference.

⁷⁰ William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life*, 31.

Williams centers his work on the ideologies of Christianity, or the Christian Ethic, and a sense of racial supremacy based in the theory of the Noble Savage.⁷¹ The Christian ethic evident within the Economic Cooperation Act, and larger containment policy, however, is one of subtle influence. The influence of Christian ideals has been transformed into a civic religion based on the ideals of democracy, personal freedoms and idealistic nationalism. It is the proliferation of this civic religion which is emphasized within the ECA and greater containment policy. The message within the Act remained that of responsibility and duty to help Europe in the name of the betterment of the condition of humanity, differing a great deal from the previous periods of Social Darwinism and European imperial domination. As former President Herbert Hoover expressed in a letter to President Truman, the people of Germany required food and economic resources. The justification for these resources and the US's responsibility to provide them was expressed by the former President as follows, "After all, our flag flies over these people. That flag means something besides military power."⁷² Utilizing the ultimate example of American freedom and democracy Hoover has managed to unite US ideology with philanthropy and a responsibility to help. This message is echoed by Secretary of State Marshall who justifies his request for US aid to Europe as a means to fulfill a requirement of any responsible nation in the position to do so, a civic responsibility.

A sense of cultural superiority emerging from American religious and political supremacy did not begin with the Cold War. From the religious undertones of the

⁷¹ William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life*, "Chapter Two."

⁷² Herbert Hoover. press release, *The President's Economic Mission to Germany and Austria*, report no. 1: German Agricultural and Food Requirements, 28 February 1947. From The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

settlement of the thirteen colonies to the proclamation of Boston as the “city upon a hill”⁷³ the people of America have characterized themselves as the moral and religious models for the world. No matter the denomination or creed, Americans view themselves as a chosen people. As Andrew Bacevich explains, “belief in the uniqueness of the American experience is deeply embedded in the nation’s psyche. The US is not only different, it possess special responsibilities.”⁷⁴ These responsibilities, as explained by Herman Melville in 1850 are a result of America being elected as God’s chosen people entrusted with the “ark of the liberties of the world.”⁷⁵ This image serves to expertly represent the religious and ideological hubris which facilitated transition from the perception of the US responsibility to the Marshall Plan.

To have a chosen people there must also be a group of dammed. In the case of Cold War containment damnation clearly fell to Russia and the communist menace. While there are few differences between an individual from Eastern and Western Europe, it is their politics which form the divide. However, in order to escalate the victories of the US the enemy must be portrayed as something grand and intimidating. As one scholar explains, “The poets of empire had to pay their respects to the enemy if there was to be any glory in the imperil business.”⁷⁶ In this respect the people of the Cold War worked on portraying the conflict between the US and USSR as a battle between the absolutes of good and evil, culturally as well as politically. Through this battle of definition, the power of language to direct cultural interpretation and wield cultural imperialism emerged.

⁷³ Governor John Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity” (1630).

⁷⁴ Bacevich, 43.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Lichtheim, 86.

John Forester Dulles, an influential containment policy author portrayed the USSR not only as the ideological enemy, a “grave peril,” but also as sub-human beings. As an excerpt of one of his many articles reads, “they [Russian communists] are like unto whitened sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones and of all uncleanness.”⁷⁷ These words were able to introduce a vision into the heads of Americans, transforming the Russians into a race of monsters. While there is little racially distinct between these two nations, the argument served as a means of cultural legitimization and justification for the actions of containment and the animosity between the two superpowers. By culturally belittling Russia, American policy makers built up the supremacy of the US.

Equally inflammatory language was used to describe the power and honor of the American people and the nation as a whole. In comparison to Dulles’s portrayal of the Russians, within the writings of Dulles the US is referred to as “the world’s greatest and strongest power.”⁷⁸ By elevating the US to such a degree and dehumanizing the Russians, the actions taken by the US to contain communism, no matter how grave and drastic, are justified through the eyes of many Americans. This practice remains alive to this day within American political and cultural life. President Bill Clinton, for example, has referred to the US as a “beacon of hope”⁷⁹ for the whole world, and an “irresistible nation.”⁸⁰ Whether utilized positively or negatively, the power of language to mold and perpetuate culture is immeasurable and exacting.

⁷⁷ John Forrester Dulles, 148.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 146.

⁷⁹ Stephen M. Walt, “Taming American Power,” *Foreign Affairs* (84)5, (September/October, 2005), 106/7.

⁸⁰ Bacevich, 1.

This separation, between the great and the devalued became escalated throughout the duration of the Cold War. The resulting animosity created between the East and the West, democracy and communism, develops into a situation of ‘us verses them,’ serving to highlight cultural differences and facilitate the development of cultural imperialism.⁸¹ As expressed in *Culture and Imperialism*, “Culture in this sense is a source of identity, and a combative one at that.”⁸² Therefore, it becomes understandable that these national identities are often very different and create environments of contest. In the case of the USSR and the US, the discontent between these two nations rose to epoch levels.

Cultural studies provide a unique insight into imperialism and its role in Cold War containment policy; its applicability to a discussion on imperialism, however, depends on the accepted definition of culture and its appropriateness for the subject at hand. The definition of culture remains as varied as the people who define it. While there are many competing definitions of culture, each is supportable and correct in its own right, but none are extensive or general enough to facilitate every factor of the individual and society. There is no universal definition of culture. Which meaning is being referenced depends a great deal on the context of the statement, and thus interpretation plays a large role in understanding the term.

In the case of containment policy there are two definitions which become important. First, Karl Marx credited with the creation of Communist theory, explained culture in a purely economic manner. According to Marx, culture was nothing more than “a materialistic connection of men with one another.”⁸³ Lenin and the Cold War

⁸¹ Bacevich, xiii.

⁸² John Carols Rowe, *Literary Culture and US Imperialism: From the Revolution to WWII*, (NY,NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13. and Ibid, xiii.

⁸³ Carl Marx in Stephen Duncombe, ed., *Cultural Resistance Reader* (New York: Verso, 2002), 46.

communist scholars were disciples of Marx, and this perception of culture served as the basis of their understanding. The Marshall Plan served as an effective policy of containment because the economic ideals of capitalism and economic openness contrasted the economic culture of the USSR and violated the accepted social norms of the nation. The sentiments of democracy served to further distance the program from the ideals and values of the USSR because the cultural connotations of accepting aid from a democratic nation was perceived as more damaging than the economic struggle they faced. The USSR had criticized the US for their capitalistic, consumer driven, gluttonous culture – joining the American beast was out of the question.

While containment was a success in Russia due to their economic interpretation of culture, the policy was effective in the United States and Western Europe due to another perception of culture. Mathew Arnold, a nineteenth century theorist, developed a more rounded and theological approach to the definition of culture. For Arnold, culture has a much higher and distinguished role in modern social thought. Simply put, Arnold believes that culture consists of man's desire to achieve a world as close to perfect as possible, and is derived from grand theories of love, religion and faith; along with these grand theories fall democracy, global openness and nationality.⁸⁴ What makes Arnold so different from Marx, and Communist Russia, is his belief that there is a much grander method to measure the influence of a man on society, as well as society on a man. A

⁸⁴ Mathew Arnold in Stephen Duncombe, ed., *Cultural Resistance Reader* (New York: Verso, 2002), 51. As Arnold writes, "There is of culture another view, in which not solely the scientific passion, the sheer desire to see things as they are, natural and proper in an intelligent being, appears as the ground of it. There is a view in which all the love of our neighbor, the impulses toward action, help, and beneficence, the desire for stopping human error, clearing human confusion, and diminishing the sum of human misery, the noble aspiration to leave the world better and happier than we found it – motives eminently such as are called social – come in as part of the grounds of culture, and the main and permanent part."

man's life is guided and measured by the ideas and contribution he makes to his society in attempts to create a better community.

In 1967 an analysis of the Marshall Plan was amassed to evaluate the Economic Cooperation Act and its ability to effectively address the concerns of Europe by the US NATO Ambassador, Harlan Cleveland.⁸⁵ The most interesting section within this report was the section outlining the “philosophical heart” of the plan. Cleveland expresses that “the philosophical heart of the Marshall Plan is easy to overlook because it is so simple: nations in more fortunate circumstances should help those in need, provided only that they are prepared to help themselves.”⁸⁶ While the simplicity of the Marshall Plan is questionable, the basic evaluation of the plan as a means of humanitarian aid seems to adequately summarize the beliefs of the majority of Americans. In reality, the position of authority that the US was able to capture through the position of lifesaver is unavoidable.

Through the philanthropic influence of the Marshall Plan, the US was able to ensure that American goods could be shipped to Europe and goods needed by Americans could be purchased. By encouraging the development of the European markets, policy makers were able to ensure the economic stability of the new American empire as well. It was this bilateral contribution that made the Economic Cooperation Act so beneficial to the US. The ability of the US to emerge from WWII in the condition they had provided the nation with a sense of economic as well as cultural supremacy. The people of the United States viewed themselves as the chosen people with the responsibility to help save the dammed.

⁸⁵ Harlan Cleveland, “The Marshall Plan – Then and Now;” no. F-67-104; Vertical File, United States Congress. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

How does the US influence the cultures of European nations with such distinguished and developed ideals? The goal of the US throughout the Cold War was not to transform the cultures of Europe, but rather to enhance the democratic, capitalist, and consumer driven aspects of these nations which previously existed. The goal of the US was not to implement a new world order, but to contain the contradictory culture of the Soviet Union. As long as the Soviet Union was contained, and communism was not emerging from behind the Iron Curtain, the US was content. With this said, however, the United States was interested in facilitating better perception of American culture abroad as well. By generating a commercial environment in which US goods are easily incorporated into the European market the ideals and meanings of these good are also exported. While the cultural value of the agricultural machinery sent to Europe may seem inconsequential, the opened markets serve to facilitate the eventual influx of more culturally saturated goods, such as movies and clothing.

While few direct indications of the influx of American culture were noticeable during the early years of the Marshall Plan, as the years went on the cultural migration became clearer. One of the most famous examples the clash between European and American culture can be found in the actions of the head of the French Confederation Paysanne Farmers' Union, Jose Bove. Bove is known worldwide for driving his tractor into a newly built McDonald's in protest of the influx of American fast food and consumerism into one of the world's most renowned culinary nations.⁸⁷ (See one of Bove's cartoons, Figure Three).⁸⁸ What this situation, and the general expansion of

⁸⁷ BBC News, "Bove Goes to Jail by Tractor" (19 June 2002) <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/2053204.stm>> (20 April 2007).

⁸⁸ Sara Burke and Claudio Puty, "Gloves Off: Bare-Fisted Political Economy" (2003-2004) <http://www.glovesoff.org/images/bove_cartoon.gif> (20 April 2007).

McDonald's throughout the world, indicates is not a change of culture but rather signifies an opening for the development and expansion of American ideas of consumerism throughout the world.

Equally important to the perpetuation of American culture is the power of language to enable cultural growth and development. Ideals of the US are entrenched within the very text of the Economic Cooperation Act. As the Act reads, "It is further declared to be the policy of the people of the United States to sustain and strengthen principles of individual liberty, free institutions, and genuine independence in Europe."⁸⁹ What these ideals serve to do is create a window into the culture of the US. America's desire to spread her ideals and as this excerpt represents, the use of language to carry out the Americanization of Europe and the expansion of American cultural presence within the world, is matched by few.

The role of cultural imperialism within the Marshall Plan serves as the guiding force of all containment policy. The enemy is construed as animalistic and dangerous, something that one needs to be protected against, and the ideals of the US are elevated to a near divine state. The American ideals are used as weapons against the animalistic challengers.⁹⁰ This purposeful generation of inequality makes cultural imperialism such a useful tool of control for nations such as the US.

United Efforts

Dulles once mused that "continental Europe has been the world's greatest fire hazard."⁹¹ While this observation remains unchallenged by most, the reality of the rescue

⁸⁹ Economic Cooperation Act, 137.

⁹⁰ John Forrester Dulles, 154.

⁹¹ Ibid, 157.

remains far more complicated. The importance of economic, political and cultural imperialism and their relation to Cold War containment theory remains clear. What becomes muddled is the cause and effect of these policies. The reality is that there is no one guiding force of American imperialism, but rather three. These three approaches work together to make the Marshall Plan both effective and imperialistic.

Marshall Plan remains, at its most basic, an economic plan, yet the role of the US on the global stage cannot be attributed only to the loans and aid it was able to provide. The role of economic assistance in the perpetuation of US imperialism should not be overemphasized.⁹² The economic imperialism evident during the Cold War served to further the political and cultural ideals of the US and to perpetuate the role of the US as the savior of Europe.

Economics served to provide an entrance for the ulterior motives of US imperialism, although, cultural and political imperialism in turn proved to be influential in blazing the way for US economic incentives as well. Issues such as free-trade became more than economic policies during the Cold War. Free-trade became an ideology of interdependence and democracy, linked to the US and Europe through a shared need and desire for economic stability and ideological supremacy over the communist threat.⁹³ As the Marshall Plan illustrates, the economic principle of free-trade is transformed into “global openness” and is paired with such lofty ideals as democracy, individual liberty and independence. Association between economics and ideology served to establish not only the economic supremacy of the US, but also played a role in establishing the political and cultural supremacy. The US was able to become so integral to the

⁹² Cohen, 72.

⁹³ Rowe, xi.

population of Europe, through their financial assistance, that they are able to interject cultural and political stipulations and beliefs which would otherwise be vetoed by many nations. In contrast, it is this position of authority generated through “the emulation of US consumerism, ways of life, cultural forms and political and financial institutions which has contributed to the process of endless capital accumulation.”⁹⁴ Not only has economics served to facilitate cultural and political imperialism, the reverse has also occurred.

One of the clearest examples of the interconnectedness of the three strands of US imperialism remains economic imperialism’s reliance on political imperialism. The Marshall Plan would have floundered if the regulatory position of the US Administrator was unable to influence the political and economic structure of the program. Also, without the influence of international organizations, such as the UN, and international committees, such as the OECD, the task of managing the Marshall Plan and stabilizing the tension between Russia and the US would have easily overwhelmed the nation. Finally, without the political clout of US policy makers and US Congressmen the Marshall Plan would never have been accepted by the American people. In the end, it was not only the need of the European people which inspired the US to act, but rather a combination of responsibility dependent upon a sense of Christian ethics, a belief in American cultural and political supremacy, and the possible economic advantages for the US, which spurred action.

In the same respect, political imperialism is nothing without the support of fiscal power and cultural supremacy. Even in a society of “modern” imperialism, in which direct territorial colonialism had gone extinct, without an economic basis of supremacy an imperial structure is hard to generate. If the US had no funds to send to Europe, its

⁹⁴ Harvey, 41.

position of cultural and political authority would have been challenged. However, because America had the money that Europe desperately needed, the Marshall Plan was able to generate a more lasting impact than economics alone. After all, “political power is always constructed out of some unstable mix of coercions,” economic influence and cultural jockeying.⁹⁵

The Economic Recovery Act was an economic policy with motives far beyond its feeble frames. The goal was to utilize the guise of economic policy to direct and regulate the nations of Europe and create, within seemingly free states, an empire of influence which would serve to balance the world stage between the USSR and the US. Through the process of expanding the influence of capitalism, free-trade and economic openness, US policy makers served “to open up the world politically, culturally, and, above all, economically.”⁹⁶ The US employed elements of both positive and negative imperialism in concert with the tri-fold focuses often highlighted. By utilizing positive economic imperialism, through the setting of exclusionary boundaries, while allowing for negative imperialism to mandate the cultural and political particulars of containment, policy makers were able to easily direct the nations of Europe towards actions which served the best interests of the US. Antonio Gramsci was accurate in his observation that the world cannot be measured simply through the lens of economics, but rather through the interpretation of both economics and the natural passions of humanity. There is, after all, more to a man than the money in his pocket.

⁹⁵ Harvey, 42.

⁹⁶ Bacevich, 4.

Marshall Maintains

The Economic Cooperation Act has lasting relevance within the world today. The Cold War was a time of great emotional and political strife buried under a blanket of economic turmoil. Once again, after the September 11th terrorist attacks, an environment of ideological fear has grasped the global community. Due to American's continued presence as the world's leading superpower the issue of the War on Terror and the economic stabilization of a now 'liberated' Iraq has fallen on the shoulders of the US. This burden has been criticized, however, by many politicians, average citizens and nations throughout the world.

While the actions of the US continue to be questioned, the War on Terror remains prevalent upon the world stage. Once again, the US has attempted to utilize the policy of containment to eliminate the terrorist threat while asserting its role of superiority in the global community. As President George W. Bush explained in the fall of 2002, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US is now the "single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy and free enterprise."⁹⁷ By placing such a label upon the US, however, Bush has served to facilitate a sense of responsibility and duty; revitalizing the savior complex that was utilized by US policy makers during the Cold War to carry out the goals of containment policy. In the case of Iraq, the US has 'liberated' the nation and has instilled a government built in such a way to best facilitate US/Iraqi connections in the future. Through the invasion of Iraq and the installment of a US designed government the US has exercised positive political and military imperialism upon the people. Similar to Europe during the Cold War, however, the US has followed up these measures with more subtle cultural interactions. Yet, the culture of the Muslim majority, within Iraq,

⁹⁷ Foster, 12.

and the Christianized consumer driven society, of the US, clash a great deal more than the cultures of Europe and the US ever did. It is this cultural incongruity which serves to differentiate the experiences of the Cold War Europeans and Iraqi civilians. The successes of the Marshall Plan appear to be inapplicable to Iraq; however, policymakers and politicians continue to push forward containment inspired policy.

While the cultural similarities between Europe and Iraq prove futile, the twofaced economic incentives of the Marshall Plan serve well as a comparison to the situation in Iraq. While the buried ulterior motives of the Economic Cooperation Act centered on the exclusion of communism and the procurement of more US focused trade agreements, the motivations of the US invasion of Iraq seem similarly veiled. For example, while extensive bidding was held in respect to building permits within Iraq, the American company Halliburton won the majority of these contracts. While the people of Iraq may be unable to rebuild by themselves, the use of the rebuilding effort to send more money to the US seems contradictory. It would better serve the people of Iraq if funds were allocated for domestic companies or international taskforces to accomplish these tasks. While the work may take longer utilizing domestic companies, it would not further develop US supremacy in the region, but rather serve to help rebuild a sovereign nation relatively independent from the US.

No changes in the imperialistic policy of the US towards Iraq can occur until an admission of the role of imperialism in the development of US global supremacy, the ever expanding role of capitalism, and the connection between these characteristics and the conflicts between the Middle East and the US, are acknowledged. The 9/11 attacks

did not “fall out of the skies” or come from the sinister “head of one man.”⁹⁸ On the contrary, the September 11 attacks were a part of a larger global debate surrounding American supremacy; cultural imperialism and the challenges of multiple cultural definitions; and continued economic inequality. Not until the US is able to relinquish some of its power and loses its status as leading superpower will cease to be a terrorist target. Unfortunately, in reaction to threats against the nation the Bush Administration has only served to enhance the presence of the US abroad. This measure serves not as a deterrent, but rather further enrages most dissenters and challenges the possibility of world peace.

The War on Terror is a war against an idea, and ideal, a philosophy. Much like the Cold War, there is no tangible enemy. In the case of both the Cold War and the War on Terror, fear has come to serve as the guiding emotion of the conflict. It is this level of cultural apprehension which has served to further complicate the relations between the US and the Middle East. However, these very fears also serve as the basis of many of the policies of the US. For instance, the concept of the pre-emptive war is a remnant from some of the most aggressive of the Cold War policies.⁹⁹ While the policy makers of the Cold War were able to avoid the utilization of this extreme measure, in the case of Iraq the nation has not been as fortunate. What this action does, however, is challenge the supremacy of the US and provides ammunition for nations to address the possibility of America to misuse its power. The effectiveness of Cold War containment policy depended upon its ability to bring about change while making the USSR the aggressor. As stipulated in the Economic Recovery Act the aid was to be offered to the entire

⁹⁸ Foster, 7-8.

⁹⁹ Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Empire of Capital* (London: Verso, 2005), xv.

Western Hemisphere.¹⁰⁰ By forcing Russia to reject the plan, America was able to retain the moral high ground and the USSR was labeled the aggressor. This approach was dismissed by President G.W. Bush and his advisors. The Bush Administration became the aggressors when they set foot in Iraq, resulting in a loss in respect for the legitimacy of US power.

While the methods may have changed, the domestic perceptions of the US have remained the same. American hubris lives strong within the catacombs of US political opinion. As President G.W. Bush exclaimed, “America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon of freedom... in the world.”¹⁰¹ There is no lack of confidence within the words of the President, nor should there be. The US remains the leading superpower of the world and will continue for many years to come. However, the perception of other nations is dependent upon the manner in which American culture is portrayed and introduced. By representing American culture in such a way, the President served to emphasize American overconfidence rather than the benefits of compliance. While the US may continue to dominate the world stage, comments of this nature threaten to undermine the subtle, behind-the-scenes, power the US has been able to expertly craft since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The necessity of regulating US hubris and the benefits of tact were not lost on the policy makers of the Cold War and the authors of the Economic Cooperation Act. President Woodrow Wilson says it best when he explains that the US should “exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation, which realizes its own strength and scorns to

¹⁰⁰ Economic Cooperation Act, “Western Hemisphere.”

¹⁰¹ Walt, 108.

misuse it.”¹⁰² Then again, it was President Wilson who spoke of peace in Europe while invading the sovereign nation of Mexico.

The power of imperialism to mold and direct containment policy during the Cold War is undeniable. The Marshall Plan serves as a representation of not only economic imperialism, but of cultural and political imperialism as well. Lessons must be learned from the Cold War and the Economic Cooperation Act. Through the internalization and application of humility, and the acknowledgement of the role of US imperialism, perhaps the US will be able to correct some of the distrust and upset surrounding the War on Terror, and the rebuilding of Iraq. Even if the American people are unable to learn from the Cold War, hopefully, future interpretations of the War on Terror will serve to generate a more peaceful and mutually beneficial solution to the issues of imperialism and inequality.

¹⁰² Ibid, 120.

Figure Appendix

Figure One



(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Marshall_Plan_poster.JPG)

Figure Two



(John Forester Dulles. "A Policy of Boldness." (*Life*, no. 32,) 19 May 1952, 147.)

Figure Three



(Sara Burke and Claudio Puty, "Gloves Off: Bare-Fisted Political Economy" (2003-2004)
<http://www.glovesoff.org/images/bove_cartoon.gif> (20 April 2007).)

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Acheson, Dean. "The Requirements of Reconstruction." Speech given in Cleveland, MS., 18 May 1947. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

Cold War primary documentation proves to be the most useful tool in analyzing the actions and decisions of the policy makers of the time. In the case of the Marshall Plan the writings and speeches of Acheson and Marshall prove to be invaluable. This particular speech provides a more emotion laden approach to economics than Marshall while also establishing the outline of economic aid to Europe that Marshall later utilized in his famed Harvard Speech.

Baldwin, Simeon Eben. "The Historic Policy of the United States as to Annexation" *Yale Review*, New Haven, Conn.: The Yale Publishing Company, August 1893.

This microfilm text provides a study in annexation and its use as an American foreign policy. This source proves useful as a source of definition of earlier US imperialism as well as severing as a comparison device to current "new imperialism." By studying annexation, the researcher will be better able to understand how it interacts and deviates from current imperialism.

Bernstein, Barton J. and Allen J. Matosow, ed. *The Truman Administration: A Documentary History*, NY, NY: Harper and Row Publishers, 1996.

Bernstein has compiled a collection of primary documents from the Truman Administration. While the collection is far from exhaustive and does not specify on the Marshall Plan, an analysis of these documents proves useful in developing sound understanding of the environment which surrounded the President and his policies.

Blair, James L. *Imperialism, our new national policy an address delivered before the Monday Evening Club, January 9, 1899*. Saint Luis: Gottschalk, 1899.

This microfilmed address, delivered and published in 1899, provides a unique look into the thinking and justification for the US during the height of colonial imperialism. This text serves to reference many of the claims of the more recent texts, and provides excellent comparisons in an attempt to create a universal definition of US imperialism.

"Certain Aspects of the European Revocery Problem," July 1947; ERP [folder 2]; Subject File, 1916 1960; Cark Clifford Papers. From, The Truman Presidential Museum

and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This primary document is one of many which deal with the many facets of the Marshall Plan, officially known as the European Recovery Act, and its supplementary programs. This is a working document and proves to be invaluable as a source of evaluation and understanding of the development of the program. This particular document also includes a great deal of emotional language and deals with the philosophy of the plan as well as the economic specifics.

Cleveland, Harlan, "The Marshall Plan – Then and Now;" no. F-67-104; Vertical File, United States Congress. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This document is a NATO report generated to evaluate the effectiveness of the Marshall Plan. The source proves invaluable not only as a gauge of the productive nature of the plan, but also as a source of understanding in reference to its motivations. The section on the "Philosophical Motivations" of the program is especially intriguing.

Dulles, John Forester. "A Policy of Boldness." *Life*, no. 32, 19 May 1952.

This article outlines Dulles's views on containment theory and suggestions to improve the situation of the Cold War. Dulles makes arguments for increased military presence and modified relations with the Soviet Union. However, perhaps the most helpful element of this source is the emotion and rhetoric which emerges between the lines of suggestions and challenges. Dulles provides a window into the thoughts and emotions of Cold War policy makers, as well as Americans as a whole.

Economic Cooperation Act, Pub. L. No. 472-169.

This congressional act proved to be invaluable. In a study of the Marshall Plan, the ECA serves as the legislative component of economic containment. Through a reading of this primary document the motivations and intricacies of the plan surface. The language, economic stipulations, and embedded cultural undertones serve to highlight the existence of the role of imperialism in the Cold War and the Marshall Plan. Of all the source material, this is by far the most interesting and helpful in understanding the Marshall Plan.

"European Recovery Program Basic Document No. 1," 31 October 1947; ERP [folder 2]; Subject File, 1916-1960; Clark Clifford Papers. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This document served as a report to Congress and presented the basic facts and policy issues connecting to the ECA. What made this report, and those like it, helpful were the level of candor and the more direct motivations expressed. This document also provides an interesting list of concerns and possible problems.

Franks, Oliver to Paul G. Hoffman, personal correspondence, 21 June 1950; Economic Cooperation Administration File; Paul G. Hoffman Papers. From From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This letter deals with the feelings of Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador, toward economic assistance to Europe. The letter provides insight into the connections made between the ECA and the UN and the need for cooperation between the US and Europe. The letter reads as a call for unity with the US and a call for more general European cooperation.

Hoover, Herbert to President Truman, personal correspondence, 19 January 1947. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This letter provides insight into the concerns of President Hoover in the applicability and popularity of a program providing economic assistance to Germany after the War. He expresses concern that plans focused only on Germany would anger a number of Americans and prove hard to pass by the American people. Hoover argues that the best approach would be to develop a more rounded and far spanning program featuring all of Europe.

Hoover, Herbert. press release, *The President's Economic Mission to Germany and Austria*, report no. 1: German Agricultural and Food Requirements, 28 February 1947. From The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

The purpose of this press release is to gain support for the economic assistance to Europe and to establish the need of Europe within the minds of Americans. Hoover goes as far as to say within the statement that, "After all, our flag flies over these people. That flag means something besides military power."

Jones, Joseph to Mr. Russell, personal correspondence, 2 July 1947. From The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This letter provides unique insight into the lives and concerns of the men in power within the White House during the age of containment. This letter, for example, serves to highlight a power struggle between the White House and the policy makers over who takes credit for containment and who serves as the primary figure head of the program. What this document illustrates is the high level of emotion which surrounded the Cold War as well as the contention within departments that echoed the contentions now felt among scholars when studying the Marshall Plan.

Marshall, George C., "The Marshall Plan." Speech Given at Harvard University, 5 June 1947.

Marshall's speech provides insight into the economic arm of containment theory through the European Assistance Program (Marshall Plan). This speech proves useful in making the connection between economic imperialism and the containment theory. This speech serves as a source to better understand Cold War rhetoric through an analysis of Marshall's language. Similar to the ECA, studying the Marshall Plan without reading Marshall's speech would be ill advised.

Marx, Carl and Fredrick Engles. *The Communist Manifesto*. New York, NY: Signet Classics, 1998.

This vital communist text serves to highlight communist theories and proves a key comparison to imperialism. Marx's theories on capitalism also serves useful in comparing globalization and the idea of "new imperialism." Finally, this source also provides background and substance to many of the other texts referenced, including those by theorists such as Lenin.

Miller, Arthur. *The Crucible*. NY: Penguin Books, 1952.

By examining Miler's work through the lenses of McCarthyism, containment, and Cold War imperialism this text serves to add a great deal to developing a rounded understanding of US cultural imperialism. The greater message of intolerance is also an issue of interest in reference to the role of the US as the determinant of democratic values throughout the world.

Price, Harry B. and Roy E. Foulk, Interview with George C. Marshall. 30 October 1952; Harry B. Price Papers. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This interview provides insight into the political motivations of the Marshall Plan, and serves as a window into the policy of Marshall. The interview also proves to be an interesting study of Marshall and his undeniable influence on the policies of the US and the continued role of containment and politics in the development of national security policy throughout the Cold War and today.

Reston, James, "Administration Now Shifts Its Emphasis on Foreign Aid: Economic Reconstruction of Western Europe Now Held Best Bar to Soviet Expansion," *New York Times*, 9 May 1947. From The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This newspaper article serves as an evaluation of the national pulse during the period of containment. By publishing this article the *NYT* was capitalizing on the emotion of the Cold War and developing the US consensus that communism was the enemy and the USSR its facilitator. The only way to secure the safety of the free world was to help those nations that adhered to American ideals, and the Marshall Plan was a means to accomplish just that.

"Summary of State Department's Position of European Recovery Plan," 26 August 1947; ERP [folder 2]; Subject File, 1916 1960; Clark Clifford Papers. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This paper published as an informational tool for the US Congress and its development of the ECA serves to highlight the need for continued and vigilant monitoring of the economic aid sent to Europe. The message within this document is the need for aid to Europe to focus on enhancing trade and not just resulting in an influx of American dollars into the economy. The article also deals with the need and importance of the UN.

Swift, Morrison I. *Imperialism and liberty*. Los Angeles: Ronbroke Press, 1899.

This microfilm text proves useful because of its age as well as the information it provides. In particular, this source is valuable as a tool for tracing the past history and emergence of imperialism. This also serves as a means of contrasting past imperialism and the "new imperialism."

The Masrhall Proposal of Assiatnce to Europe, 10 July 1947; European Revovery Program; Secretary of the Treasury, Alphabetical File; John Snyder Papers. From From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This informational document for the US Congress deals with the economic specifics of the ECA and the effects of these policies. This document, in particular, serves as an outline of the dollars and cents of the Marshall Plan. The article handles such topics and the IMF and inflation, while also acknowledging the need for European cooperation.

"Tribute to General George C. Marshall," *The Journal of the National Geographic Society*, (117)1, January 1960, 113.

This obituary, published within *National Geographic*, proves to generate insight into the life of General George C. Marshall, the US Secretary of State who generated the majority of the Marshall Plan and whose name has been given to the program. While relatively short, the succinct article adequately relays the major achievements of the well known man.

Truman, President to Herbert Hoover, personal correspondence, 18 January 1947. From, The Truman Presidential Museum and Library, *Establishing the Marshall Plan: Documents*, 2006, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/> (25 February 2007).

This response to Hoover's call to make the economic aid plan to Germany more general serves to illustrate Truman's concern with the situation of food scarcity in Germany and his continued interest in helping to rebuild Europe. His main focus within this letter, however, was the crippling conditions of Germany and the insights Hoover's assessment of the situation.

Wilson, President Woodrow, "Fourteen Points." Speech Delivered to US Congress Joint Session, 8 January 1918.

This famed speech provides context for the language and background of the economic and political incentives of the US abroad, specifically connected to Europe and Germany. Through the reading of this speech US dedication to free trade can easily be detected.

X (George F. Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947, <<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/coldwar.htm>> (11 November 2006).

Within this famed article the policies of containment become clear and are first introduced. This document, while meant to determine and understand theory, soon became official policy. By reading these primary documents the language as much as the ideas can become helpful in understanding imperialism and Cold War policy.

Presidential Inaugural Addresses

The following addresses provide clear insight into the motivations and plans of the appropriate administrations. The effects of the Cold War are clear and prove to be useful in developing an understanding of the contemporary culture and the desires of the people, and what the presidents feel should be addresses to appease the people.

Truman, Harry S., *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1949.

Eisenhower, General, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1953.

Eisenhower, General, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 21 January 1957.

Kennedy, John Fitzgerald, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1961.
 Johnson, Linden B., *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1965.
 Nixon, Richard, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1969.
 Nixon, Richard, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1973.
 Carter, Jimmy, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1977.
 Regan, Ronald, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1981.
 Regan, Ronald, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 21 January 1985.
 Bush Sr., George, *Presidential Inaugural Address*, 20 January 1989.

Secondary Sources

Ardent, Hannah. *Imperialism: Part Two of the Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1968.

This text includes a particularly interesting chapter entitled “The Decline of the Nation State and the End of the Rights of Man.” The comparison of theories allows for the development of a better understanding of what imperialism actually is, as well as highlight what it is not. This text also introduces the element of race into the discussion of imperialism.

Bacevich, Andrew. *American Empire: The realities and Consequences of US Diplomacy*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002.

This text deals with the era after the Cold War and before 9/11. While at first this text may seem meaningless, because of the new aspects of terrorism, in fact, this book deals with the complex theories of justification and responsibility that are largely ignored in recent literature. This book also serves to highlight how terrorism has generated reactionary analysis in new and more recent sources.

Barrow, Clyde W. “The Return of the State: Globalization, State Theory, and the New Imperialism” *New Political Science*, vol. 27, no. 2, June 2005.

This article examines the relationship between the nation state and such forces as globalization and imperialism. The author states in his abstract that, despite common belief, the nation state has become a main player in globalization and claims that this new globalization is nothing more than a form of American Imperialism, states exercising control over others while proliferating their culture.

Cohen, Benjamin J., *The Question of Imperialism*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973.

This source, while a bit outdated, provides concise and basic explanations of imperialism and its many facets. This resource includes discussion on classical imperialism, modern imperialism as well as the meaning of imperialism. This is a great text to use as a means of gaining a quick and basic understanding of imperialism.

Desai, Radhika. "From national bourgeoisie to rogues, failures and bullies: 21st century imperialism and the unraveling of the Third World" *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2004.

This article outlines the effects of American economic dominance, or economic imperialism, on the Third World as a whole and uses the politics of imperialism to discuss the position of many Third World nations. While this article does tend to lean towards socialism, it provides a clear example of American economic dominance and the effects of such a policy. However, it becomes clear with further reading that focusing solely on economics fails to do imperialism justice.

Duignan, Peter and L.H. Gann. *The Rebirth of the West: The Americanization of the Democratic World, 1945-1958*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

Duignan and Gann provide a uniquely positive view of imperialism. Highlighting the advantages US imperialism brought the nation and the expanse of American culture, or Americanization. This comparative study also provides insight into international organizations, the role of nations throughout the global community, as well as the US's role in that mix.

Dulles, Allen W. *The Marshall Plan*, Providence, RI: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1993.

Dulles' text deals with the applicability of the Marshall Plan to current nations of the Third World experiencing economic depression and claims that the positive outcomes of the Marshall Plan and its ease of implementation make it the perfect program for the world today. In particular, Dulles believes that the Marshall Plan policy could be applied to Central and South America. Dulles also ventures into a discussion of the role of the Open Door Policy, the Truman and Monroe Doctrine and the Domino Theory within the Marshall Plan.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Arlie Russell Hochschild. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York, NY: Owl Books, 2004.

Ehrenreich and Hochschild examine the affects of globalization on women and their possible exploitation and job opportunities. While the book proves inapplicable to the direct study of the Marshall Plan, it proves useful to illustrate the effects of globalization and provide links between "new imperialism," globalization, and the United States.

Fakiolas, Efsthios T., "Kennan's Long Telegram and NSC-68: A Comparative Analysis," *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 31, no. 4, January 1998.

This article proves useful in understanding and comparing perhaps the two most important documenters of Cold War containment. While most containment sources introduce and discuss these documents they are usually superficial and do not attempt to compare the two. The author of this article explains that he is attempting to compare the

power of these two documents to influence Cold War policy, and therefore this article serves to solidify a base knowledge of containment but also investigates the power politics that illuminate the imperialist nature of these two documents.

Fontana, Benedetto. *Hegemony and Power: On the Relations between Gramsci and Machiavelli*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

This text deals with the works and theories of Gramsci and Machiavelli. While interesting, the work proves inapplicable to the specific topic of American Imperialism and containment policy. The work would prove valuable in an assessment of the general concept of hegemony or power.

Foster, John Bellamy. *Naked Imperialism: The U.S. Pursuit of Global Dominance*. NY: Monthly Review Press, 2006.

Forester makes efforts to make a solid connection between recent US militarism and economic capitalistically driven imperialism. This text calls for global unity as the only means to deter the impending problems and violence of continued US world domination. This text is useful in assessing of US imperialism as well as adding depth to the economic imperialist argument.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005.

This text examines the years and age of the Cold War in great detail, and proves very valuable in developing an assessment of containment policy. The work provides readers with an opportunity to gain a balanced and well researched understanding of the Cold War and the policies which were generated to enforce the American objectives throughout the period.

Gimbel, John. *The Origins of the Marshall Plan*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976.

Similar to the Gaddis text, this source proves to be a valuable source of introduction. However, Gimbel's books focuses solely on the Marshall Plan. Unlike the new liberal/revisionist studies which emerged during this time, however, this text focuses more on the economic impact and generation of the plan than the intricacies and role of external forces, such as imperialism.

Gramsci, Antonio. *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, ed. Forgacs, New York: Schocken, 1989.

This text provides grounding for the issue of hegemony and power relationships within imperialist study. The works of Gramsci, especially his prison notebooks, provide insight into the development of modern understandings of power dynamics and their role in US imperialism as well as imperialism in general. This knowledge can be used to

develop a framework to study and analyze imperialism and can be applied to the Marshall Plan.

Hammond, Paul Y. *The Cold War Years: American Foreign Policy Since 1945*, NY, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, 1969.

This source proves to be an introductory and general study of Cold War containment policy and the general development of US policy. The book serves to provide insight for the novice and develops a solid understanding of the Marshall Plan and its role within the policy of the US.

Harvey, David. *The New Imperialism: Clarendon Lectures in Geography and Environmental Studies*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003.

David Harvey utilizes this text to explain the force of “new imperialism” which he believes is directing current American foreign and domestic policy. In particular Harvey touches upon the war in Iraq, oil, militarism, and a sagging economy. This serves as a strong post-9/11 analysis of the US after 9/11 in reference to the world and their position in it.

Horowitz, David, ed., *Containment and Revolution*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

This text is a compilation of critical essays on the topic of containment and imperialism. This text combines both imperialism and containment and proves helpful in building the bridge between the cause and effects of imperialism and Cold War containment policy.

Hunt, Michael H., *Ideology and US Foreign Policy*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.

This text provides a clear introduction to American foreign policy. The ideas and concepts outlined in this text proves helpful in tracing the background of containment theory, while also addressing the Truman Doctrine and the possible motivations of future acts.

Independence Institute “The New McCarthyism: Depriving Constitutional Rights Based on Mere Superstition” *Issue Backgrounder*, June 2005.

This article compares McCarthyism with recent developments and feelings surrounding Muslim Americans and Muslims abroad. This connection between McCarthyism and the fear of Islamic fundamentalism proves to be an interesting comparison and evidence in respect to the existence of a new imperialism, an imperialism of fear.

Kennan, George F., *American Diplomacy: Walgreen Foundation Lectures*. Expanded Edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Within this text Kennan addresses American foreign policy from 1900-1950 with two additional speeches from 1984. This text provides the opportunity for Cold War policies to be understood through one of its primary facilitators.

Kennan, George F., *Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1941*. Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960.

This text provides insight into the Soviet Policy taking place during US containment. The book proves to be an interesting foil to the US focused works included in this study. However, the policies included point toward Soviet powers not the role of imperialism in US policy.

Kesselman, Mark, Joel Krieger & William A. Joseph. *Introduction to Comparative Politics*. 3rd ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.

This text addresses the politics of a number of nations and concludes with a chapter about the US and how the themes of government and foreign policy interact to influence the actions of the nation. This chapter proved the most useful in understanding how hegemony interacts with current and past US foreign policy.

Kiernan, V.G. and Eric Hobsbawn. *America: The New Imperialism: From White Settlement to World Hegemony, New Edition*. Verso, 2005.

Kiernan's text deals with the US and their positions of imperialism during times of war. This unique analysis, and the connections made to current events, make this source valuable in connecting the theories of US economic and social imperialism with US and world power relations.

Klem, Naomi and Debra Ann Levy. *Fences and Windows: Dispatches from the front lines of the Globalization Debate*. New York, NY(?): Picador, 2002.

This is a key study of modern globalization, and if a connection is to be made between imperialism and globalization it is a necessary text to read. This text also provides background information about globalization in its infancy to now. In particular, the authors make clear and detailed descriptions of what globalization is and how it affects the world around it.

LaFebber, Walter. *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1996*. 8th ed. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1997.

LaFebber's text is a complete and complex analysis of the Cold War and has been undated a number of times. This text pays special attention to the connection between culture and economics, domestic and foreign, in the development of American foreign policy. Of all the compiled assessments of containment theory, this book proves to be the most solid source on the Cold War.

Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1953*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1994.

This text outlines the spears of influence as well as the development of the conflict between Russia and the US. This source serves as a useful background for further study into containment theory as well as the possible connection between imperialist thought and practice (economically, politically as well as culturally). This book also proves especially useful in investigating the role of Soviet policy makers in rejecting the Marshall Plan.

Lenin, Vladimir. *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism: a popular outline*. New York: International Publishers, 1993.

Vladimir Lenin was fundamental in the development and use of communism throughout the world, and more specifically Russia. Reading this text allows the reader to develop an understanding of the socialist/communist views on imperialism, while also providing explanations of communist theory. It is important, while researching an ideology such as imperialism to study the alternative theories and ideologies in order to better understand the environment and setting in which both theories emerged.

Lichtheim, George. *Imperialism*. New York: Praeger, 1971.

This text provides a solid outline and definition of the ideology and actions of imperialism. The author provides a helpful twenty page introduction which lays out the basics of imperialism and spends the following eight chapters focusing on specific topics related to imperialism. The chapters, "Imperialism and Nationalism" and "From Marx to Mao," prove particularly applicable to containment study.

Livesay, Harold C. *Men Who Shaped the American Economy: American Made*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979.

This source proves useful in summarizing the role of economics in developing the United States and its role in the modern world. The text also focuses on the individuals who generate the economic policies. In the case of the Marshall Plan this book provides a few pages which serve to highlight the connection between the economics of European reconstruction and the role of democracy and political, nationalistic, sentiment in furthering the goals of economic containment.

Lovaas, Deron. "Taking the High Road to Energy Security" (lecture given at the Young Global Leader's Summit Securing the Future: Oil Dependency and What We Can Do About It, 30 September 2006), Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

This keynote speaker spoke about the US dependency on oil and the political and environmental impact of this condition. What links this source to US imperialism was his concise synopsis on why the US is hooked on oil and how that equates to the political

situation of the US abroad. He spoke of US relations and their connection to oil, as well as methods of approaching and changing the imperialistic tendencies of US foreign policy, in reference to oil.

Magstadt, Thomas M., *An Empire If You Can Keep It: Power and Principle in American Foreign Policy*. Washington D.C.: CQPress, 2004.

This text analyzes Benjamin Franklin's famed comment and serves to develop an argument around the role and extensions of American power. Written after September 11th this source has a unique ability to apply the policies of American power to the complex and further complicated post-9/11 world. This book is well written and proves to be easily and logically connect generations of history under the banner of American power and Empire.

Mayer, Herbert C., *German Recovery and the Marshall Plan 1948-1952*. NY, NY: Edition Atlantic Forum, 1969.

This text provided analysis of US economic aid to Germany. This case study evaluates the power of economics and utilizes an isolated nation to further the understanding of the possible impacts US aid to Europe generated. While the specificity of this source serves to make it inapplicable to a general understanding of European reconstruction, the specificity provides useful in other avenues. This source is a must read for those who wish to understand the tangible effects of the ECA.

Mendieta, Eduardo. "The Axle of Evil: SUVing through the slums of globalizing neoliberalism," *City*, vol. 9, no. 2, July 2005.

This source uses the image and symbol of the SUV and its effects on the environment, as well as its perception, as a representation of modern imperialism. While obviously leaning towards socialist sentiment, this source was interesting and useful in respect to understanding modern socialist ideas towards imperialism.

Merrill, Dennis & Thomas G. Patterson. *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations: Volume II: Since 1914*. Vol. 2, 6th ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005.

This text deals with analysis though the compilation of texts as well as the inclusion of primary documentation to support the arguments of analyzers. This source is an excellent text for generating basic knowledge and provides access to primary documentation.

Nye, Joseph S., *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*. NY, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002.

This text proves to examine the effects of 9/11 on the conscience of the US as well as its role of the War on Terror on US foreign policy. Nye also delves into the need

for the US to maintain control of the Third World and its need to maintain relationships with the leading world nations to allow for the US to retain its position of power.

Owen, David Edward. *Imperialism and nationalism in the Far East*. New York: H. Holt and Company, 1929.

This text references US imperialism and imperialism in general, in a number of Asian nations. For the purpose of this study the sections on Korea and China will serve most useful. While this source is rather old, the information none the less proves helpful in tracing the past reasons and influences that developed into the Korean War, and how imperialism may have contributed.

Paterson, Thomas G., *American imperialism & anti-imperialism*, NY: Crowell, 1973.

This collection of essays deals with imperialism and included essays expressing the positive as well as negative aspects of US policy. This collection is of great use because of its balance and attempt to exclude bias. However, these essays are outdated, in the realm of historical study, and must be treated as thus.

Plummer, Brenda Gayle. "The Changing Face of Diplomatic History: A Literature Review" *The History Teacher*, vol. 38, no. 3, May 2005.

This literature review provides a clear representation of the literature pertaining to the study of diplomatic history. The author follows many diplomatic trends and in particular highlights both colonialism and imperialism. While the source citations and other research materials presented within this review prove very helpful. This article also contains astute synthesis which is of great use.

Price, Harry B., *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1955.

This analysis of the Marshall Plan was published a few years after the plan was officially ended. The source focuses on the effects of the plan in generating economic success and stays close to the purely economic focus of most early Marshall Plan scholars. Nonetheless, this source is invaluable due to its proximity to the completion of the plan and use and access to primary source materials.

Rowe, John Carlos. *Literary Culture and US Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Rowe has compiled and analyzed a series of American literature which was influenced or responding to American Imperialism. This unique literary lens allows for an interesting study on the effects of imperialism on not only literature, but on a grander scale, culture.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*, NY: First Vintage Books, 1994.

This text compares cultural analysis of literature and political science in an critique of imperialism. This text proves irreplaceable in contrasting the economic imperialism focus and adds to the literary supplementation of cultural analysis. The definitions and analysis generated by Said is second to none, and the works he has published have become the benchmark for scholars of all fields.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books/ Random House, 1978.

Orientalism provides insight into imperialism through the lenses of political and cultural study. This text focuses on the Middle East, however, through comparison and incorporation the books provides a reference for any imperialist relationship and is worth while for any serious scholar.

Sale, Sara L. *The Shaping of Containment: Harry S. Truman, the National Security Council, and the Cold War*. Saint James, NY: Brandywine Press, 1998.

Sale addresses the issues of containment through the use of acronyms. In particular, the window of focus of this text is the NSC and its involvement in developing Cold War policy, especially during the Truman presidency. This text proves helpful in gaining added understanding of containment theory.

Schimitz, David F. *Thank God They're on Our Side: The United States & Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1921-1965*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

This source serves to highlight the history of the US and its dependence on maintaining fascist states in order to guard against communism. This source serves to highlight the US's focus on the mentality of 'anything but communism,' rather than the pursuit of true democratic ideals.

Snyder, Louis Leo. *The imperialism reader: documents and readings on modern expansionism*. Princeton, N.J., Van Nostrand, 1962.

This collection of documents and readings provides primary sources and readings on many different facets of imperialism. The ease at which key primary sources can be located in such a resource makes this collection irreplaceable. The documents provided within this book are general, however, and not as applicable to the Marshall Plan as imperialism in general.

Spanier, John. *American Foreign Policy since World War II*, 7th ed., NY, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

This source provides a basic introduction to foreign policy, beginning with containment. This source also proves to trace the impacts of containment to more current

policy. However, the publishing date of 1977 limits the applicability of the text in a post 9/11 world.

Stoessinger, John G., *Crusaders & Pragmatists: Movers of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Norton & Company, 1979.

This text takes a unique approach to foreign policy. Stoessinger chooses to compare the character and personality of the men responsible for foreign policy and the acts they are able to pass. By comparing the personalities of men in power and the acts they passed it becomes clear who is responsible for policy and how it is implemented. The case studies on containment, Truman and Korea prove most useful. There are also a number of useful inter-chapters that follow themes and unite the work.

Walt, Stephen M. "Taming American Power" *Foreign Affairs*, (84)5, September/October 2005, 105-120.

Walt's article, published in *Foreign Affairs*, challenges the assumption that imperialism must be studied through the focus of the past and argues that American power politics must be understood in their current forms as well. Arguing that US hegemony has generated a number of reactions, the cultural and political importance of this study emerges and highlights American hubris which lends directly to formulating global policy – especially in reference to the Middle East and Third World.

Wexler, Laura. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in the Age of US Imperialism*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

This unique book looks at domestic images of the US during the era of US imperialism. What makes this book useful for this study is the fact that by focusing on domestic issues the text as well as the photographs can provide insight into the cultural and social aspects of the US during this time. This allows the ideas and policies of imperialism to be put in context with the social and domestic culture of the US at the time.

Williams, William Appleman. *A William Appleman Williams Reader*. Ed. Henry W. Berger. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 1992.

Williams proves to be one of the leading scholars of the Cold War and revisionist imperialist study. This collection of writings proves vital in understanding the works of Williams and his applicability to a study of US power relationships.

Williams, William Appleman. *Empire as a Way of Life*. Brooklyn, NY: I G Publishing, 2007.

While all the work of Williams proves invaluable in a study of the Cold War, this particular study of the US Empire proves very intriguing. Williams provides a new

insight into the role and definition of 'way of life' as well as how these ideas are applicable to the Marshall Plan and containment.

Williams, William Appleman. *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. NY: W.W. & Norton Company, Inc., 1972.

Williams challenges the generally accepted premise of isolationism often denoted to American foreign policy. Williams, instead, isolates evidence and arguments of economic imperialism throughout US history, starting with the Spanish American War and culminating with the US reactions to Fidel Castro's Revolution in Cuba. This study proves useful in developing a connection between the economic basis of such policies as the Marshall Plan and US imperialism.

Wilson, Theodore A. *The Marshall Plan: 1947-1951*. "HEADLINE Series" No. 236 NY, NY: The Foreign Policy Association, June 1977.

This short text proves to be helpful in quickly and successfully relaying the message and purpose of the Marshall Plan and its effectiveness. The book is a part of the Foreign Policy Association's Headline series and provides solid and understandable information to political novices. This text proves most useful as a quick and simple reference source.

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. *Empire of Capital*. London: Verso, 2005.

This source argues the countries are driven by the direct effect of their economics. The book ends with a discussion of what the author describes as the "new imperialism we call globalization." This study is a good balance to all the sources that have downplayed economics and provides another perspective in approaching the question of American imperialism.

Further Suggested Readings

Boren, David L. "An Identity Crisis for the United States," *World Literature Today*, September-October 2006, 30-32.

Chollet, Derek and James M. Goldgeier. "The Faulty Premises of the Next Marshall Plan," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2005-06, (29)1, 7-19.

Cox, Michael and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe. "The Tragedy of American Diplomacy: Rethinking the Marshall Plan," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, (7)1, Winter 2005, 97-134.

Jentleson, Bruce W. and Thomas G. Paterson. Ed. *Encyclopedia of US Foreign Relations*, vol. 3, NY, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Trachtenberg, Marc. "The Marshall Plan as Tragedy," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, (7)1, Winter 2005, 135-140.