

- 19 Humanitarian Rationale - US Doesn't get into Africa
- 21 - US Trying to police the whole world - Not like empires of old
- 25 - 2002 Chart of Defense Spending
- 26 Graph of Defense Spending
- 27 Military R&D - 7 times Next Country (France)
- 30 Informal Empire - allows us to preserve anti-imperialist self concept.
- 31 IRAN - Eisenhower - CIA sponsored Coup against Democracy in IRAN (1954?)
- CHILE - CIA - NIXON - elected Allende govt. Guatemala
- Nicaragua - Contras
- 37 Benefits of Empire - Accrue to Narrow, powerful groups
- 38 - make Causal Link between US Foreign Policy and Al Qaeda attacks on U.S. Targets Not "hate our freedom"
- 40 - USA - Barbaric conduct to Quell Philippine Insurgency
- 41 Athens Island of Melos - Attempted to make a moral case for peace - slaughtered
- 44 - Democracies - Start wars to counteract loss of Public support at home.
- ~~Not~~ Expansionists w/ US Nationalism/Patriotism use propaganda to quell dissent.
- 45 US Empire - None of Benefits - All of disadvantages of Traditional Empire.
- Now Inhibited from taking Traditional Plunder.
- We gain very little. ~~old empires~~ - lost money even with plunder, enslavement, tax
- Cost/Benefit Problem
- And Protecting Nations who could protect themselves
- 49 Even for Adam Smith - empire was a waste of money - it made the Center Poorer - Trade would naturally occur even without empire.
- 50 - meddling of Empire makes us More Vulnerable - 9/11
- 51 - Elite get Prestige Influence - At steep price for commoners
- 51 - Only the Peoples Branch of Govt - Congress has the power to declare war.
- First 175 years - Good policy - Take advantage of secure geography & have military restraint overseas
- Benefit - Low Spending - Small Army

- 52 Why Founding Fathers would be appalled at Militaristic Empire
- 53 Conservatives Most agree w/ spreading "democracy" and free markets around the world at the point of a gun
- 59 Why Cons. Should be against.
- War and Empire Cause Government Growth
- 60 - War caused Big Government in the First Place
- Bourne: "war is the health of the state."
- 60 Nation States themselves - evolved to have the money to buy the new weapons of war.
- Tilly "War made the State and the State made war."
- 61 THREAT/Control - The greater the (perceived) external threat facing a state, the bigger and more autocratic its govt will become.
- Soviet GDP was small $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ the size of the US's.
- Exaggerated Soviet Threat to win support for empire/spending
- Iranian Democracy Destroyed - Shaka back - They had nationalized the Anglo Iranian oil company
- Baath - Ballooning Mushrooming Govt. - Clinton - ~~reduced~~ size of govt
- Mil Ind Com - Still building latest fighters and sub. even if there is nothing to oppose them.
- So - war is main 20th cent. cause of growth of govt. - Don't
- 1 have Endless War if you want small govt.
- 2 High Defense Spending hinders economic growth
- Produces nothing useful to consumers and takes money from
- However financed, war causes drop in real wealth & real income in the economy
- 77 500,000 children? - 6 Many others UNESCO estimated Killed by comprehensive US led UN Sanctions
- US Policy has Killed far more Iraqis than Saddam
- 86 - No Situation in the World that can't be made worse by military intervention. AND - The more we interfere ("help") the bigger the Backlash will be
- IRAQ CAMPAIGN - 3 countries
- CIA coup - Destroyed Democracy - Created a Monster in IRAN
- 87 US Sponsored coup to bring Baath Party to power
- CIA Supplied Hit Lists / Helped win Iran War
- Gave Loans / Made Nukes / Chemical Weapons didn't bother us. Only Oil
- 88 In Afghanistan - Carter - then Reagan - Shoveled aid to what became al Qaeda.

90 Geographic Advantage - makes us intrinsically more secure - Grand malts, friendly weak Neig hboas - Getting involved in other peoples wars puts a bulls eye on USA. Blowback terrorism because of our activist foreign policy

91 Most empires Overextended themselves - Great Conflicts often brought empires down - Even if they won WWII destroyed winning Brit & French empires - by depletion of resources.

98 U.S. Military (Army) Operates in 120 countries

103 Retrenchment - Solidification - Much more likely to protect American Power in the Future than more war.

105 Real "Security Budget" is about twice the Defense budget Foreign Aid, International Debt, Veterans Services

106 "Defense" budget skyrocket in recent years - After end of Cold war

Allies - save \$ by US subsidizing defense - plan that back to get faster real growth
U.S. Stagmates - Defense spending constrains growth power
- Difference of a percentage point or two - leads to shift in power.

Also - Prosperity / Technology diffuse from the center to make other countries stronger.

107 US Subsidizes defense of E.U. and Japan.
109 China has been the center of the world for 2 of the last 3 000 years - Rome, West.

Extended Commitments, bloated Military Spending, Recipe for collapse. USA 400 Bil - China 50 Bil.
Military spending > stagnation - Both China & India could have bigger economies by mid century

Imperial Overreach Wars, brought down 9 empires in 20th Cent.

96 Maintaining an Empire -> lead to Americas Decline
② Maintaining an Empire could lead to Americas Decline, could Distort the Constitution.

114 Cons. may support empire (i.e. the wars i.e. needs) despite the fact that it continues to erode the system of checks and balances of the Const. the foundation of our Geo. Washington Against Military Industrial Complex inauspicious & hostile to Republican Liberty.

Before 20th Cent. Congress was Dominant Now with constant "wars" "hotter cold" religious or cultural we have Imperial Executive.

No Way the American way of Government, & ultimately the American way of life can be maintained if we allow an executive to maintain a policy of endless war

114 In Wartime Power flows to the president But Founders didn't consider Big Brother and Endless Positions

115 Founders' Position - Father of the U.S. Constitution (War) is in fact the true name of

The Empire Has No Clothes - executive U.S. Foreign Policy Exposed a grandizement

John Adams Pres #2 The love of power is insatiable and uncontrollable... there is danger from all men... trust no man living with power to endanger the public liberty.

Madison: "A standing military force with an overgrown Executive, will not long be safe companions to liberty."

So Most War power was vested with Congress.

But No Congressional Declaration of War issued since WWII

"The most menacing threat are those who have no policies and only know how to deal with menacing threat."

And only rarely exercise the power of the purse. Because (Goering) in First Flush of war, branded as unpatriotic, election

119 Cold war led to perversion of US constitution - Executive War making

123 Before WWII Americans had been suspicious of standing armies and militarism

133 - Puerto Rico - First Imperialist Act Took over an elected govt. & imposed military rule.

135 1915-1934 - US went into Haiti & wrecked it - dissolved parliament

155 If we didn't get involved in other peoples civil wars we would be a target.

157 - Developing Countries - Benefit more from Ending Import Restrictions (Raw material & Manufacture) & terminating subsidies to American Farmers. S. Africa - would be happy to drop all aid.

Defense is hidden subsidy for Big Business

In 1953 Guatemala 1954 - Prevented Nationalization

161 1921 John Quincy Adams: "America Does Not Go in Search of Monsters to destroy" If she became dictator of the world she would no longer be ruled by her own spirit

USA - Uniquely Defined by its liberties. Foreign Policy is to defend it

WAR - Killed Greek Democracy AND The Roman Republic

Greatest Drawbacks of Imperial wars may be at home loss of liberties

More Praise for *The Empire Has No Clothes*

"Focusing on the post-Cold War period, Eland brings together the American actions in Kosovo and Gulf War I & II in a discussion of the ways in which our 'nation-building' has become a new form of empire. And what was disastrous for other ambitious world powers going back to Rome, he suggests, will fall upon us—sooner than we think. The heart of the book, moreover, are the chapters showing how both liberals and conservatives need to rethink their positions, and join in an effort to challenge the empire on grounds of self-interest. It is a great book!"

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Charles and Mary Beard Professor of History, Rutgers University

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—ANDREW J. BACEVICH

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"An eloquent and well-researched argument that very much needs to be heard, contending that Americans have become ensnared in an imperialism of which they are largely unaware, and of which they should disapprove. The book will play an important role in structuring a major debate about American foreign policy."

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"Ivan Eland's provocative and well-researched critique of America's interventionist foreign policy makes a powerful case for returning to the practical principles of the Founding Fathers. With convincing examples that range across history, he clearly demonstrates that our current democratic empire is a dangerous oxymoron."

—MELVIN SMALL

Distinguished Professor of History, Wayne State University

"Think a U.S. empire is desirable and viable? Read Ivan Eland's highly insightful, essential book, and you will change your mind."

—EDWARD A. OLSEN

Professor of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School

117 - Imperial Republics are prone to authoritarian takeover.
 History War - "The surest and shortest means to destroy liberty."
 Madison - No Nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of
 "Continual warfare" (to more) - History in USA...
 16th Am - "No Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause."
 And 5th Amendment - and 6th Amendment (Constitution)
 only Congress can suspend habeas corpus, ^{prevents} indefinite ^{detention}.
 170 George Bush Says "Fighting for Freedom" - but has constricted
 these freedoms more than ~~any~~ any president in memory.

173 *The Empire Has No Clothes*

"speedy and Public Trial"

U.S. Foreign Policy Exposed

173 - "Effective counsel"? Now Monitoring ~~Attorney/Client~~ Relationships.

174 Patriot II - Allows citizenship to be stripped away
 DNA Database for suspects. Refusal to give DNA a crime.

175 Core principles of Due Process. "Terrorists" NO we know
 Are we "more interested in protecting Terrorists"? will
 that whatever practices are approved for "terrorists" will
 soon be used on citizens. Standing up for our Country/Constitution

175 Ivan Eland
 Think of Terrorism as a Crime - Not a War ^{This is the} Basic Problem
 A broad high profile War on Terror just generates more
 anti US Terrorist Attacks - "Blowback" or "lightning Rod" or
 "presenting targets" approach. BUT They want the war
 to be "war leaders" so they can maintain secrecy, spy on ^{hate}
 everyone, and take all power to themselves. ^{It is true}
 They are handing Osama Victory, if his goal is what they say it is.

182 Think "Opportunity Cost" of AN THIS WAR
 lower terrorism by "toning down" foreign Policy. Without big
 Webb's change in foreign policy we can never protect every-
 thing without police state. That's the way things are heading.

Waspikes corporate welfare
 184 Defense budget - more than half of federal disbursement
 Spending. M.C. Fatcha happy

185 - Eisenhower's ^{The INDEPENDENT} ^{INSTITUTE} ^{generates Imperial} ^{Presidency.}
 188 - Imperial Foreign Policy

191 - Greatest wisdom of the Constitution is the clause which confides
 the question of war and peace to the legislature, and not the Executive
 "temptation would be too great for any one man."
 USA has constantly fabricated reasons to go to war.
 Cong. war power usurped / Since 1945, 100,000 soldiers died
 in undeclared wars.

192 - President is Commander in Chief - After Congress declares War.

194 "Support for the Troops" Now means support for getting them killed in actions that bear little resemblance to National Security.

Goering quote - Congress has abdicated its most important powers under the constitution. Founders knew War undermines freedom of the republic.

196 "They Hate our Freedom" crap - SKI fully direct attention away from the consequences of imperialism.

198 Events like 9/11 are called "Blow back" terrorism

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196 Other free nations are not so threatened by terrorism as we are. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by electronic or mechanical means now known or to be invented, including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval systems, without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote brief passages in a review. Nothing herein should be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of the Institute or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

196 - Polk says American culture is admired worldwide, The Independent Institute 198 Osama cares little about cultural issues.

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197 "Blowback" Terrorism is caused by U.S. Intervention - USA in state of Denial about this.

203 Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Libia - Pan Am - Lockerbie bomb / 6 9 11 - caused by the interventionist foreign policy - sacrifice civilians - for anger

203 US Govt - May have little interest in protecting his citizens.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-945999-98-4 (alk. paper)

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201 PATRIOTIC - To remind Americans that our Founders wanted non-interventionist policy. Little or no standing army And War Power Not with The President

EMPIRE - and wars needed to maintain it - are slowly destroying the American republic. Like Greece to Rome
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

205 - War on Terror is used to cloak Imperial Actions. Like Iraq "Bait and Switch" - Provides cover to launch offensive war against anyone we don't like. (9/11) to Imperialism / Rumfeld opportunity (like after

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regardly comes
sw II to "refashion much of the world"

207 Saudi Arabia 2/3 of world's oil reserves
Iraq - world's second largest oil reserves.
206 How could our goal really be to Reduce the Number of Americans Killed by terrorism?? NO to set us up painting big Bull eye on Americans

207 Bush does just what bin Laden Wants -
"a common tactic of weaker terrorists and guerrilla groups is to attack the stronger party and hope for an over-reaction"

Quran - mandates that Muslims defend Muslim Nations. Homeland

208 Iraq war makes other countries help us less to isolate Iraq
a) Qaeda the war on terror.

209 Empire Building is outmoded and dangerous
Empires have always been hated

212 After we invaded Iraq, N Korea dropped its offer to drop its nukes

215 Strategically - Terrorism is an effective Defensive technique
Tactically on the Offense
Strategically plays defense.

216 - Wolfie admits it is OIL - "economically, we just had no choice in IRAQ. The Country swims on a sea of oil" ~~★~~
On Autopilot to war - WMD's was simply what the different agencies could agree on.

218 - Carrying out civil Liberties - gives 9/11 Terrorists a second victory - Destroys what is unique about USA.
Osama second strategy - stated - To change the character of US society" (Where)

Officers say - Emphasis on more effective Law Enforcement Techniques are needed NOT taking away liberty.

Intervention - Costs always increase as benefits decline.

219 An anachronism to protect rich friends
spending - Defense - equal to the next 13 countries.

6) - An Appropriate Foreign Policy
In retrospect, No Empire has been seen as successful

USA - has unparalleled intrinsic security eroding
Interventionist Policies ① Weaken (undermine) the status of the USA as a great power ② Undermine the security of its citizens.

When Benefits are concentrated and Costs diffused throughout Society - The Vested interests will dominate policy.

262 USA 4% of Pop. / 80% of Spending for Military R&D.
masters of war, merchants of death, and mad scientists.
279 National Security Strategy Preemptive War
in Footnote/End notes Bush Doctrine

Real Power & Security come from the strength of the National Economy
23 - Monroe Doctrine (control the Americas) Also pledged that the USA would stay out of great power concerns elsewhere.

25 - Liberty (imported from Britain) was a product of the intrinsic geographical security that both nations uniquely had.
Average citizens - lose the most from wars - Government officials get power, fame and Businessmen get rich.

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Notes 225 Founders Know that Foreign Interventions would doom their experiment in limited government.

Index 226 - ~~inter~~ Foreign Interventions Break down the system of checks & balances - leading to an imperial presidency at home

★ Loss of domestic Liberty and system of checks and balances is the best reason for abandoning empire.

227 Post Cold war - Outlook bleak for empire - until they were given 9/11 as a horse they could ride - continued empire.

230 - We are a large, open society - "A policy of military restraint overseas may be the only way to inhibit terrorists from striking the United States."

He wants an "Offshore balancing strategy"
History - military (civilian) spending Low - Economy grows to the world's largest and civil liberties generally flourished.

233 Why does the USA defend Rich Allies - who can defend themselves unless USA removes security guarantees Rich nations will never do more for their own defense.

235 - Israel - The largest recipient of US Aid. Disaster

237 - Why do we spend so much money to protect rich allies.