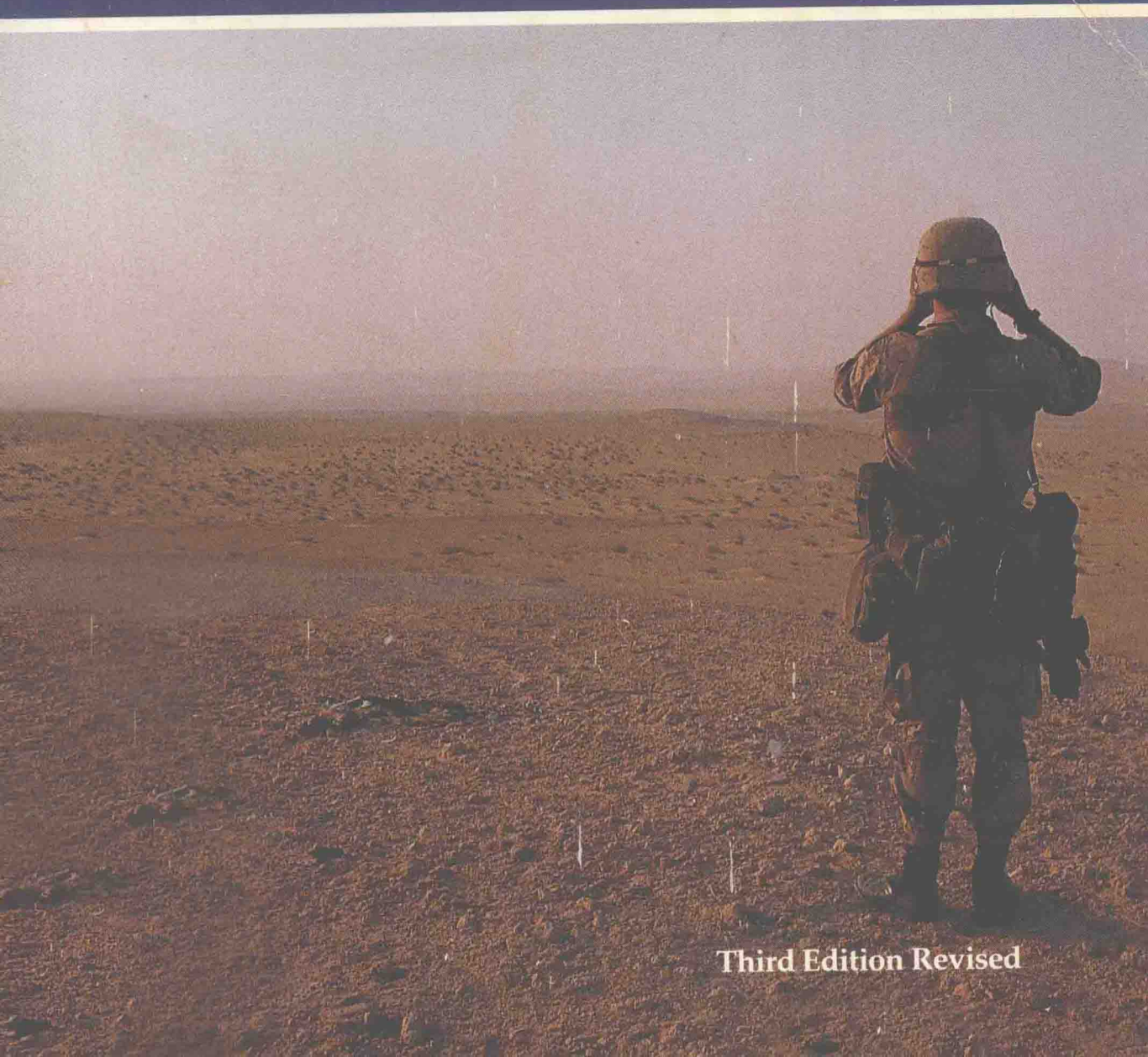


American Foreign Policy

A HISTORY • SINCE 1900

Thomas G. Paterson
J. Garry Clifford
Kenneth J. Hagan



Third Edition Revised

American Foreign Policy

A History / 1900 to Present

THIRD EDITION, REVISED

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Preface to the Revised Third Edition

As we watched the stunning events of the late 1980s and early 1990s, it seemed that an era was ending—a familiar and perhaps even comforting way of thinking and understanding was disintegrating as the international order molded by the Cold War was expiring. In this revised edition, we attempt to come to grips with the changes that have been surging through international relations. We attempt to provide historical context and a long-range perspective for interpreting the recent past and current world politics. We try to explain, not to predict.

We suggest that the United States, suffering domestic woes it seems unwilling to address, is in relative decline; that although the Cold War may have waned, Soviet-American interests remain in conflict and residual Cold Warriorism is tenacious; that neither side really won the Cold War; that neither Washington nor Moscow seems able to control the cascading events stimulated by Mikhail Gorbachev's remarkable policy initiatives; that U.S. interventionism in the Third World persists, especially in Latin America and the Middle East; and that global environmental questions have become central to the new world order.

We have substantially revised Chapter 16 on the Carter-Reagan years of 1977–1989 to account for new scholarship, the publication of decisionmakers' memoirs, and recent events. The entirely new Chapter 17 studies the remarkable worldwide developments of 1989 and after—in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, South Africa, Central America, the Middle East, and elsewhere. We present and analyze such European issues as Gorbachev's attempted domestic reforms, the collapse of communism in the Warsaw Pact nations, the reunification of Germany, and Western European integration. In Asia we study Philippine instability, the prodemocracy movement in China, and Japan's economic ascendancy. We also consider South Africa and *apartheid*, U.S. intervention in Panama and Central America, debt crisis and drug wars in the Americas, accelerating violence in the Middle East, the U.S. trade deficit, international communications questions, and the ecological deterioration of the global environment. New maps, illustrations, and captions are closely linked to the text.

We thank Martha McCoy, Charles Campbell, and Paul Manning for their help; Michael A. Barnhart and Kenneth J. Blume for their thoughtful suggestions; and our fine editors at D. C. Heath—Sylvia Mallory, James Miller, Renée M. Mary, and Margaret Roll—for their wise guidance and expert touch.

Over the years we have received helpful advice and questions from instructors and students. We continue to welcome comments from all of them.

T.G.P.

J.G.C.

K.J.H.

Preface to the Third Edition

As scholars we are proud that *American Foreign Policy* represents some of our best research and writing, gratified that our colleagues in the United States and abroad have appreciated its up-to-date scholarship, and pleased that students have found it both challenging and entertaining. The opportunity to offer a third edition meant that we could improve the two volumes based upon users' and reviewers' critical suggestions, our own ongoing research, and the latest historical literature, and bring the story forward to the present.

Writing a survey book is necessarily a learning experience, for the authors must read and synthesize the prolific work of fellow scholars. We have brought our own research in primary sources and our own interpretations to this synthesis, but the scholarship of our friends and colleagues in diplomatic history has proven indispensable. We have cited their contributions in our extensive footnotes and in the bibliographic sections, and we gratefully acknowledge their contribution to this third edition and the earlier two.

We have designed this book to include the tools needed to study American diplomatic history. The illustrations, many of them rare and unusual prints selected from depositories in the United States, Great Britain, and elsewhere, have been closely integrated with the text. Their captions elaborate material in the text and offer additional material. The book also includes maps, charts, and graphs to render the historical record precise and complete. Each chapter presents a listing of the Presidents and Secretaries of State, with their terms of office, and the Appendix adds the Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Secretaries of Defense, and Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs. The footnotes and "Further Reading" sections, reflecting recent scholarship, will assist the curious in further exploration, as will the General Bibliography and its lists of reference works, documents, bibliographies, and overviews of relations with specific countries and regions and of subjects such as "intelligence," "nuclear arms race," "President," and "propaganda."

For continuity, thoroughness, and thematic unity, we have treated in each chapter such basic points as the comparative influence of ideology, economics, and strategy, the importance of personalities and styles, domestic politics, bureaucratic and executive-legislative competition, criticisms of and alternatives to American foreign policy, definitions of the national interest, historical "lessons," measurements of American power, and the impact of American interventions on other cultures. We emphasize the theme of expansionism. "People" are central to

history as both actors and victims. Thus we have incorporated a good deal of biography in the diplomatic story and have liberally quoted participants and scholars, letting them speak for themselves. Each chapter opens with a "diplomatic crossroad," a significant event that helps illustrate the chief characteristics and issues of the era. The opening episode is then placed in its large historical context and the main themes and characters of the period are discussed. Chronological and topical sections follow next. Each chapter closes with a discussion of the legacy of the period—the lessons each generation bequeathed to the next generation of Americans.

Thomas G. Paterson initiated this project and coordinated its development. He wrote most of Chapters 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16, and shared in writing Chapters 4 and 11. J. Garry Clifford wrote most of Chapters 1, 2, and 3 and shared in writing Chapter 11. Kenneth J. Hagan wrote most of Chapter 7 and shared in writing Chapter 4. In all three editions, the authors criticized one another's work, interchanged suggestions and ideas frequently, and worked as a team to ensure a unified book.

In this third edition we have completely revised Chapters 5 and 16. In all other chapters we have incorporated new research and interpretations. New maps, charts, illustrations, and captions appear throughout. The "Further Reading" sections, Appendix, and General Bibliography have been revised and updated. We have also increased our coverage of the nuclear arms race, United States relations with Canada and Africa, and the impact of nineteenth-century United States expansion on Native Americans.

The People's Republic of China in the late 1970s adopted a new system for rendering Chinese phonetic characters into the Roman alphabet. Called the Pinyin method, it replaced the Wade-Giles technique, which had long been used in English. The United Nations, United States Board of Geographic Names, *National Geographic*, *Foreign Affairs*, and many other newspapers and journals shifted to the new Pinyin system, and, accordingly, we have also. Many changes are minor and pose no problem: Mao Tse-tung, for example, has become Mao Zedong and Shan-tung has become Shandong. But when we first use a possibly confusing Pinyin spelling, we have put the Wade-Giles spelling in parentheses—for example, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) or Beijing (Peking). Some names deeply rooted in English usage, such as Canton, have not been changed.

Many people have assisted us in preparing this third edition. We acknowledge with sincere thanks the reviews and comments provided by Richard Bradford, Kinley J. Brauer, John Coogan, Reginald Horsman, Thomas M. Leonard, John Offner, David M. Pletcher, Stephen G. Rabe, William W. Stueck, Jr., Duane Tananbaum, and Jonathan G. Utley. We also appreciate the recommendations of Melville T. Kennedy, Jr., Salvatore Prisco, Michael Roskin, and Elbert B. Smith. We thank Lisa Ferriere, Roberta Lusa, and Diedra Gosline for typing, and Barney J. Rickman, III, Ann Balcolm, and David Sheinen for research and suggestions.

We are also pleased to recognize again the assistance we received during the preparation of the first and second editions. We thank Robert Beisner, R. Christian Berg, Kinley J. Brauer, Paul Goodwin, Alan Henrikson, Gregg Herken, George Herring, Michael Hunt, Burton Kaufman, Thomas Lairson, Lester D. Langley, Dennis Merrill, Jean-Donald Miller, Stephen Rabe, Thomas G. Smith, Mark Stoler, Ralph E. Weber, Edmund S. Wehrle, Joan Hoff Wilson, and Thomas Zoumaras for reading all or parts of the manuscript and improving it. For other

assistance in the first and second editions, we thank Richard Baker, Richard Dean Burns, Carol Davidge, Mark Del Vecchio, Justus Doenecke, Xavier Franco, James Gormly, Eric Hafter, Edythe and Richard Izard, Chen Jian, Leith Johnson, Burton I. Kaufman, Herman Mast, Robert McMahon, R. Kent Newmyer, Holly I. Paterson, Wayne Repeta, Anna Lou Smethurst, George Turner, Sol Woolman, and Li Yan. We continue to appreciate the valuable, if not always respectful, comments of the midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy.

We welcome comments on *American Foreign Policy* from both students and instructors.

T.G.P.

J.G.C.

K.J.H.

Appendix

Makers of American Foreign Policy

<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Secretaries of State</i>	<i>Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee</i>
George Washington (1789–1797)	Thomas Jefferson (1790–1794) Edmund Randolph (1794–1795) Timothy Pickering (1795–1800)	
John Adams (1797–1801)	Timothy Pickering (1795–1800) John Marshall (1800–1801)	
Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809)	James Madison (1801–1809)	
James Madison (1809–1817)	Robert Smith (1809–1811) James Monroe (1811–1817)	James Barbour (1816–1818)
James Monroe (1817–1825)	John Quincy Adams (1817–1825)	James Barbour (1816–1818) Nathaniel Macon (1818–1819) James Brown (1819–1820) James Barbour (1820–1821) Rufus King (1821–1822) James Barbour (1822–1825) Nathaniel Macon (1825–1826) Nathan Sanford (1826–1827) Nathaniel Macon (1827–1828) Littleton W. Tazewell (1828–1832) Littleton W. Tazewell (1828–1832) John Forsyth (1832–1833) William Wilkins (1833–1834) Henry Clay (1834–1836) James Buchanan (1836–1841) James Buchanan (1836–1841) William C. Rives (1841–1842) William C. Rives (1841–1842) William S. Archer (1842–1845)
John Quincy Adams (1825–1829)	Henry Clay (1825–1829)	
Andrew Jackson (1829–1837)	Martin Van Buren (1829–1831) Edward Livingston (1831–1833) Louis McLane (1833–1834) John Forsyth (1834–1841)	
Martin Van Buren (1837–1841)	John Forsyth (1834–1841)	
William H. Harrison (1841)	Daniel Webster (1841–1843)	
John Tyler (1841–1845)	Daniel Webster (1841–1843) Abel P. Upshur (1843–1844) John C. Calhoun (1844–1845)	
James K. Polk (1845–1849)	James Buchanan (1845–1849)	William Allen (1845–1846) Ambrose H. Sevier (1846–1848) Edward A. Hannegan (1848–1849) Thomas H. Benton (1849) William R. King (1849–1850) Henry S. Foote (1850–1851) James M. Mason (1851–1861) James M. Mason (1851–1861)
Zachary Taylor (1849–1850)	John M. Clayton (1849–1850)	
Millard Fillmore (1850–1853)	Daniel Webster (1850–1852) Edward Everett (1852–1853)	
Franklin Pierce (1853–1857)	William L. Marcy (1853–1857)	

Makers of American Foreign Policy

<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Secretaries of State</i>	<i>Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee</i>
James Buchanan (1857–1861)	Lewis Cass (1857–1860)	James M. Mason (1851–1861)
Abraham Lincoln (1861–1865)	Jeremiah S. Black (1860–1861)	Charles Sumner (1861–1871)
Andrew Johnson (1865–1869)	William H. Seward (1861–1869)	Charles Sumner (1861–1871)
Ulysses S. Grant (1869–1877)	William H. Seward (1861–1869)	Charles Sumner (1861–1871)
	Elihu B. Washburne (1869)	Simon Cameron (1871–1877)
	Hamilton Fish (1869–1877)	Hannibal Hamlin (1877–1879)
Rutherford B. Hayes (1877–1881)	William M. Evarts (1877–1881)	William W. Eaton (1879–1881)
James A. Garfield (1881)	James G. Blaine (1881)	Ambrose E. Burnside (1881)
		George F. Edmunds (1881)
Chester A. Arthur (1881–1885)	Frederick T. Frelinghuysen (1881–1885)	William Windon (1881–1883)
		John F. Miller (1883–1887)
Grover Cleveland (1885–1889)	Thomas F. Bayard (1885–1889)	John F. Miller (1883–1887)
		John Sherman (1887–1893)
Benjamin Harrison (1889–1893)	James G. Blaine (1889–1892)	John Sherman (1887–1893)
	John W. Foster (1892–1893)	
Grover Cleveland (1893–1897)	Walter Q. Gresham (1893–1895)	John T. Morgan (1893–1895)
	Richard Olney (1895–1897)	John Sherman (1895–1897)
William McKinley (1897–1901)	John Sherman (1897–1898)	William P. Frye (1897)
	William R. Day (1898)	Cushman K. Davis (1897–1901)
	John Hay (1898–1905)	
Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909)	John Hay (1898–1905)	William P. Frye (1901)
	Elihu Root (1905–1909)	Shelby M. Cullom (1901–1913)
	Robert Bacon (1909)	
William Howard Taft (1909–1913)	Philander C. Knox (1909–1913)	Shelby M. Cullom (1901–1913)
Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921)	William Jennings Bryan (1913–1915)	Augustus O. Bacon (1913–1915)
	Robert Lansing (1915–1920)	William J. Stone (1915–1919)
	Bainbridge Colby (1920–1921)	Henry Cabot Lodge (1919–1924)
Warren G. Harding (1921–1923)	Charles E. Hughes (1921–1925)	Henry Cabot Lodge (1919–1924)
Calvin Coolidge (1923–1929)	Charles E. Hughes (1921–1925)	Henry Cabot Lodge (1919–1924)
	Frank B. Kellogg (1925–1929)	William E. Borah (1925–1933)
Herbert C. Hoover (1929–1933)	Henry L. Stimson (1929–1933)	William E. Borah (1925–1933)
Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945)	Cordell Hull (1933–1944)	Key Pittman (1933–1941)
	Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (1944–1945)	Walter F. George (1941)
		Tom Connally (1941–1947)

Makers of American Foreign Policy

<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Secretaries of State</i>	<i>Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee</i>	<i>Secretaries of Defense</i>	<i>Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs</i>
Harry S. Truman (1945–1953)	Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (1944–1945) James F. Byrnes (1945–1947) George C. Marshall (1947–1949) Dean G. Acheson (1949–1953)	Tom Connally (1941–1947) Arthur H. Vandenberg (1947–1949) Tom Connally (1949–1953)	James V. Forrestal (1947–1949) Louis A. Johnson (1949–1950) George C. Marshall (1950–1951) Robert A. Lovett (1951–1953)	
Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1961)	John F. Dulles (1953–1959) Christian A. Herter (1959–1961)	Alexander Wiley (1953–1955) Walter F. George (1955–1957) Theodore F. Green (1957–1959) J. W. Fulbright (1959–1975)	Charles E. Wilson (1953–1957) Neil H. McElroy (1957–1959) Thomas S. Gates, Jr. (1959–1961)	Robert Cutler (1953–1955; 1957–1958) Dillon Anderson (1955–1956) William H. Jackson (1956) Gordon Gray (1958–1961)
John F. Kennedy (1961–1963)	Dean Rusk (1961–1969)	J. W. Fulbright (1959–1975)	Robert S. McNamara (1961–1968)	McGeorge Bundy (1961–1966)
Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–1969)	Dean Rusk (1961–1969)	J. W. Fulbright (1959–1975)	Robert S. McNamara (1961–1968) Clark M. Clifford (1968–1969)	McGeorge Bundy (1961–1966) Walt W. Rostow (1966–1969)
Richard M. Nixon (1969–1974)	William P. Rogers (1969–1973) Henry A. Kissinger (1973–1977)	J. W. Fulbright (1959–1975)	Melvin R. Laird (1969–1973) Elliot L. Richardson (1973) James R. Schlesinger (1973–1976)	Henry A. Kissinger (1969–1975)
Gerald R. Ford (1974–1977)	Henry A. Kissinger (1973–1977)	J. W. Fulbright (1959–1975) John Sparkman (1975–1979)	James R. Schlesinger (1973–1976) Donald Rumsfeld (1976–1977)	Brent Scowcroft (1975–1977)
Jimmy Carter (1977–1981)	Cyrus R. Vance (1977–1980) Edmund Muskie (1980–1981)	John Sparkman (1975–1979) Frank Church (1979–1981)	Harold Brown (1977–1981)	Zbigniew Brzezinski (1977–1981)
Ronald Reagan (1981–1989)	Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (1981–1982) George P. Shultz (1982–1989)	Charles Percy (1981–1985) Richard G. Lugar (1985–1987) Claiborne Pell (1987–)	Casper Weinberger (1981–1987) Frank C. Carlucci (1987–1989)	Richard Allen (1981) William P. Clark, Jr. (1981–1983) Robert C. McFarlane (1983–1985) John M. Poindexter (1985–1986) Frank C. Carlucci (1986–1987) Colin L. Powell (1987–1989)
George Bush (1989–)	James A. Baker III (1989–)	Claiborne Pell (1987–)	Richard B. Cheney (1989–)	Brent Scowcroft (1989–)

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