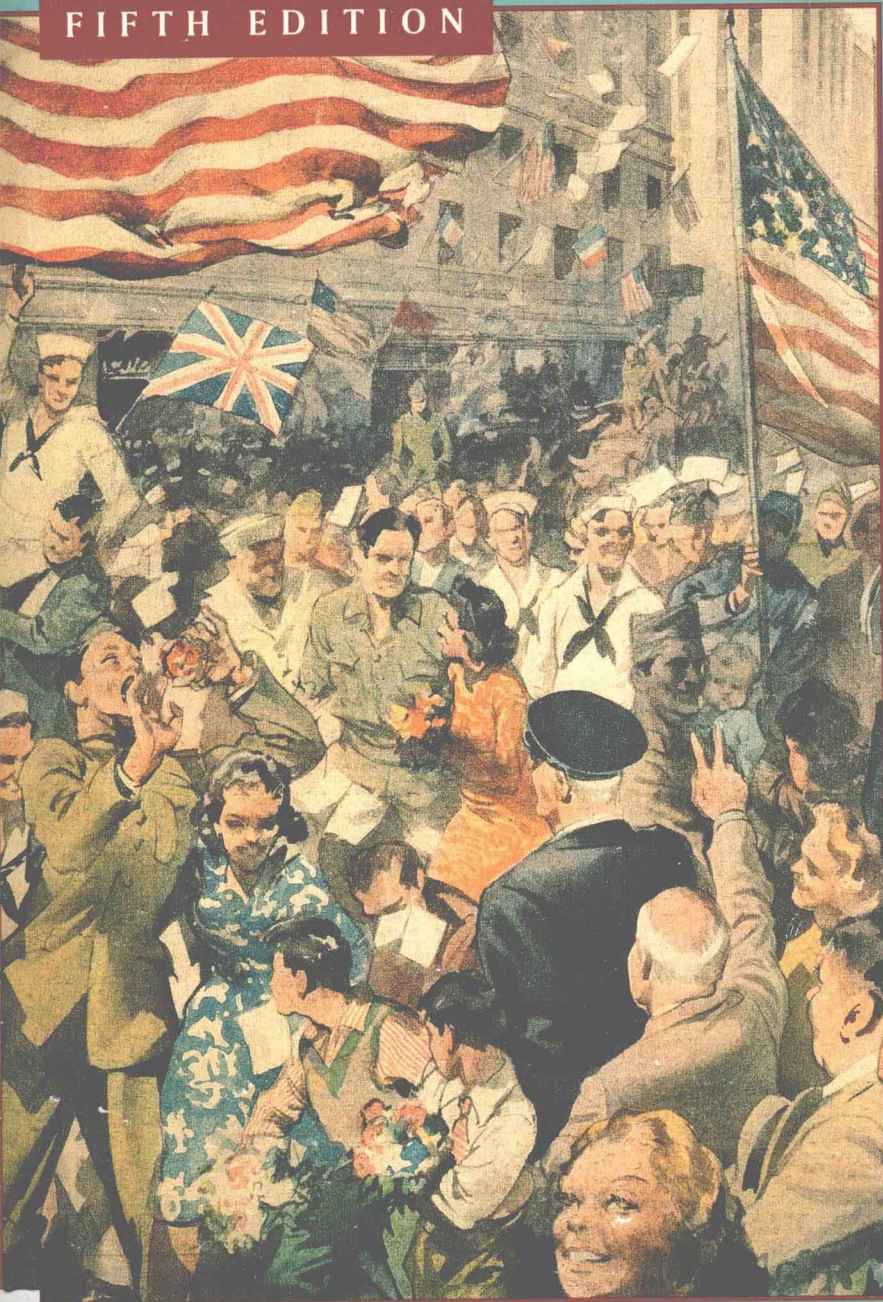


FIFTH EDITION

Thomas G. Paterson

J. Garry Cl

Kenneth J. Hagan



AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS
History • Since 1895

VOLUME II

AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Volume 2

A History • Since 1895

F I F T H E D I T I O N

THOMAS G. PATERSON

J. GARRY CLIFFORD

KENNETH J. HAGAN

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
Boston *New York*

Editor-in-Chief: Jean L. Woy
Associate Editor: Leah Strauss
Project Editor: Aileen Mason
Editorial Assistant: Jane Lee
Associate Production/Design Coordinator: Jodi O'Rourke
Assistant Manufacturing Coordinator: Andrea Wagner
Senior Marketing Manager: Sandra McGuire
Senior Cover Design Coordinator: Deborah Azerrad Savona
Cover Design: Diana Coe/ko Design
Cover Art: *New York Celebrates the End of World War II*, 1945 e.t. archive, London

The map on page 375 is reprinted from Norton, Mary Beth et al., *A PEOPLE AND A NATION*, Fifth Edition. Copyright ©1998 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted with permission.

Copyright © 2000 by Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system without the prior written permission of the copyright owner unless such copying is expressly permitted by federal copyright law. With the exception of nonprofit transcription in Braille, Houghton Mifflin is not authorized to grant permission for further uses of copyrighted selections reprinted in this text without the permission of their owners. Permission must be obtained from the individual copyright owners as identified herein. Address requests for permission to make copies of Houghton Mifflin material to College Permissions, Houghton Mifflin Company, 222 Berkeley Street, Boston, MA 02116-3764.

Printed in the U.S.A.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 99-71941

ISBN: 0-395-93887-2

456789-QF-06 05 04 03 02

AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

for

Colin Graham Paterson

Carol Davidge

Vera Low Hagan

Thomas G. Paterson is professor of history emeritus at the University of Connecticut. Born in Oregon, he earned his B.A. from the University of New Hampshire (1963) and his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley (1968). He has written *Contesting Castro* (1994), *On Every Front* (1992), *Meeting the Communist Threat* (1988), and *Soviet-American Confrontation* (1973), and he is co-author of *A People and a Nation* (1998, with Mary Beth Norton et al.). Tom has edited three books of original essays: *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (1991, with Michael J. Hogan), *Kennedy's Quest for Victory* (1989), and *Cold War Critics* (1971). He has also edited *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations* (2000, with Dennis Merrill), *The Origins of the Cold War* (1999, with Robert J. McMahon), and *Imperial Surge* (1992, with Stephen G. Rabe). With Bruce Jentleson, Tom was senior editor for the four-volume *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Relations* (1997). A microfilm edition of *The United States and Castro's Cuba, 1950s–1970s: The Paterson Collection* appeared in 1999. He has served on the editorial boards of *Diplomatic History* and the *Journal of American History*, and he is a past president of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. Recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship, Tom has also directed National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminars for College Teachers. A frequent speaker on American college campuses, he has also lectured in Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Russia, and Venezuela.

J. Garry Clifford teaches at the University of Connecticut, where he is a professor of political science and director of its graduate program. Born in Massachusetts, he earned his B.A. from Williams College (1964) and his Ph.D. in history from Indiana University. He has also taught at the University of Tennessee and Dartmouth College and has directed a National Endowment for the Humanities Seminar for High School Teachers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library. For his book *The Citizen Soldiers* (1972), he won the Frederick Jackson Turner Award of the Organization of American Historians. With Norman Cousins, he has edited *Memoir of a Man: Grenville Clark* (1975), and with Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., he has written *The First Peacetime Draft* (1986). Garry's articles have appeared in Gordon Martel, ed., *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered* (1994), Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (1991), and in such journals as the *Journal of American History*, *Review of Politics*, *Mid-America*, *American Neptune*, and *Diplomatic History*. He has served on the editorial board of *Diplomatic History* and also on the editorial board of the Modern War Series published by the University Press of Kansas. He frequently participates in American professional conferences and has also lectured in Russia.

Kenneth J. Hagan is an adjunct professor on the faculties of the U.S. Naval War College and the Naval Postgraduate School and professor of history and museum director emeritus at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis. He previously taught at Claremont McKenna College, Kansas State University, and the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. A native of California, he received his A.B. from the University of California, Berkeley (1958) and his Ph.D. from Claremont Graduate School (1970). Ken is the author of *This People's Navy: The Making of American Sea Power* (1991), a comprehensive history of American naval strategy and policy since the Revolution, and of *American Gunboat Diplomacy and the Old Navy, 1877–1889* (1973). His scholarship also includes two edited collections of original essays: *In Peace and War: Interpretations of American Naval History, 1775–1984* (1984) and *Against All Enemies: Interpretations of American Military History from Colonial Times to the Present* (1986). He frequently contributes articles to the journal *Naval History* and lectures annually at the Canadian Forces College in Toronto. Besides regularly participating in panels at conferences in the United States, he has given papers on the history of naval strategy in Sweden, Greece, Turkey, France, and Spain. A retired captain in the naval reserve, he served on active duty with the Pacific Fleet from 1958 to 1963 and currently advises the Naval ROTC college program on its history curriculum.

Preface

Once again the advance of scholarly literature, the encouraging comments of instructors and students in history, political science, and international relations, and the passage of time have prompted us to revise *American Foreign Relations*. As before, in this fifth edition we engage influential approaches and interpretations, especially those articulated by younger scholars. We seek to explain foreign relations in the broadest manner as the many ways that peoples, organizations, states, and systems interact—economic, cultural, strategic, environmental, political, and more.

We continue to emphasize the theme of expansionism, explaining its many manifestations. We also show that on almost every issue in the history of American foreign relations, alternative voices unfailingly sounded among and against official policymakers. Americans have always debated their place in the world, their wars, their overseas commitments, and the status of their principles and power, and they have always debated the people of other nations about the spread of U.S. influence. We try to capture with vivid description and quotation the drama of the many debates.

A historical overview such as this one necessarily draws on the copious work of scholars in the United States and abroad. Their expertise informs this book throughout and helps lend it the authority instructors and students expect. Our “Further Reading” and “Notes” sections are one way to thank them for their books, articles, and conference papers. We have also appreciated their recommendations for text revisions and their suggestions for teaching the courses for which this book is intended. We thank them, too, for challenging us to consider the many different approaches and theories that have commanded attention in this field: world systems, corporatism, dependency, culture, psychology and personality, medical biography, lessons from the past (“thinking in time”), bureaucratic politics, public opinion, executive-legislative competition, gender, national security and power, impact on recipients of foreign aid, the natural environment, and ideology among them. This book also presents the findings of our own ongoing archival research and writing as we discover and rediscover the past.

The traditional topics of diplomacy, war, economic intercourse, and politics remain central to our presentation of the foreign-relations story, but we have made this edition more comprehensive by extending our discussion of the cultural dimensions of foreign relations: race-based and gender-based images of other peoples that condition the decisionmaking environment; the proliferation abroad of American mass culture (such as films and sports); the foreign response to “Americanization”; travel and tourism that help create a pool of knowledge about foreign places that promotes an expansionist consciousness; and “public diplomacy”—the presentation of a positive image of the United States abroad through propaganda, radio and television, and trade fairs. We have also expanded our coverage of relations with Native Americans and the frontier experience in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Issues that spring from human interaction with the natural environment and the international conferences convened to deal with damage to the environment also receive more space in this edition. The post-Cold War declassification of documents in foreign archives—Russian, East German,

Cuban, and Chinese among them—has helped us rewrite our treatment of the Korean War, Sino-American relations, the Cuban missile crisis, and the failure of détente in the 1970s. Because scholars have increasingly explored medical health as a factor in decisionmaking, we have integrated this subject—as in the lives of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Ronald Reagan.

In preparing this edition, we once again immersed ourselves in the memoirs, diaries, letters, speeches, recorded tapes, and oral histories of U.S. and international leaders. We often let them speak for themselves in the frankest terms, guarded and unguarded. We have sought to capture their anger and their humor, their cooperation and their competitiveness, their truths and their lies, their moments of doubt and times of confidence, their triumphs and setbacks. *American Foreign Relations*, in short, strives to capture the erratic pulse of international relations through peoples' struggles to plan, decide, and administer. We study not only the leaders who made influential decisions, but also the world's peoples who welcomed, resisted, or endured the decisions that profoundly influenced their lives. In this regard, we have drawn on the growing scholarship that studies non-state actors, including peace groups, African Americans, and international bodies such as the World Health Organization.

Each chapter opens with a significant and dramatic event—a “Diplomatic Crossroad”—that helps illustrate the chief characteristics and issues of the era. The introductory and concluding sections of each chapter set the themes. Illustrations from collections around the world—many of them new to this edition—are closely tied to the narrative in image and caption description. The revised maps, graphs, and “Makers of American Foreign Relations” tables in each chapter provide essential information. The updated chapter bibliographies guide further reading and serve as a starting point for term or research papers. The “General Bibliography” at the end of the book is also a place to begin research or seek more information. The “General Bibliography” consists of three parts: first, general reference works, such as biographical dictionaries, atlases, statistics, encyclopedias, and bibliographies; second, overviews of U.S. relations with countries and regions, from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe; and, third, overviews of subjects, such as Air Force and air power, CIA and covert action, Congress, cultural relations, ethnic conflict, human rights, isolationism, Manifest Destiny, Monroe Doctrine, oil, refugees, slave trade and slavery, terrorism, and United Nations.

In the late 1970s, the People's Republic of China 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. Use of the Pinyin method is now common, and we use it in *American Foreign Relations*. Many changes are minor—Shantung has become Shandong and Mao Tse-tung has become Mao Zedong, for example. But when we have a possibly confusing Pinyin spelling, we have placed the Wade-Giles spelling in parentheses—for example, Beijing (Peking) or Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek).

Instructors and students interested in the study of foreign-relations history are invited to join the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR). This organization publishes a superb journal, *Diplomatic History*, and a newsletter; offers book, article, and lecture prizes and dissertation research grants; and holds an annual conference where scholars present their views and research results. Dues are very reasonable. For information, contact the SHAFR Business Office, Department

of History, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435, or see SHAFR's web site at www.ohiou.edu/~shafr/shafr.htm. At this home page you will also find links to other sites related to American foreign relations.

Another informative web site is H-Diplo: Diplomatic History, found at www.h-net.msu.edu/~diplo. Besides presenting provocative online discussions on foreign-relations history, this site also provides research and bibliographic aids and an extensive list of links to other useful resources, including journals, newspapers, archives and presidential libraries, research organizations such as the National Security Archive, and government agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency and Department of State.

Many colleagues, friends, students, and editors contributed to this edition of *American Foreign Relations* by providing research leads, correction of errors, reviews of the text, library searches, documents and essays, and editorial assistance. We give our heartiest thanks to John Burns, Alejandro Corbacho, Frank Costigliola, Michael Donoghue, Elizabeth Mahan, Elizabeth McKillen, Dennis Merrill, Marc O'Reilly, Chester Pach, Kenneth E. Shewmaker, Mark A. Stoler, Thomas Walker, Wang Li, and Imanuel Wexler. Jake Kawatski expertly prepared the comprehensive index. Houghton Mifflin's talented team merits the highest of praise: Jean L. Woy, editor-in-chief; Leah Strauss, associate editor; Aileen Mason, project editor; Jodi O'Rourke, production/design coordinator; Andrea Wagner, manufacturing coordinator; Pembroke Herbert, photo researcher; Patricia Herbst, copyeditor; and Deborah Karacozian, proofreader.

We are also eager to thank the many people who helped us in previous editions: Philip J. Aivillo, Jr., Richard Baker, Ann Balcolm, Michael A. Barnhart, Kenneth J. Blume, Robert Beisner, R. Christian Berg, Richard Bradford, Kinley J. Brauer, Richard Dean Burns, Charles Conrad Campbell, Chen Jian, John Coogan, Carol Davidge, Mark Del Vecchio, Ralph Di Carpio, Justus Doenecke, Xavier Franco, Irwin Gellman, Paul Goodwin, James Gormly, Eric Hafter, Hope M. Harrison, Alan Henrikson, Gregg Herken, George Herring, Ted Hitchcock, Joan Hoff, Reginald Horsman, Michael Hunt, Edythe Izard, Holly Izard, Richard Izard, Leith Johnson, Burton Kaufman, Melville T. Kennedy, Jr., Thomas Lairson, Lester Langley, Thomas M. Leonard, Li Yan, Terrence J. Lindell, Martha McCoy, David McFadden, Charles McGraw, Matt McMahon, Robert McMahon, Shane Maddock, Elizabeth Mahan, Paul Manning, Herman Mast, Dennis Merrill, Jean-Donald Miller, Carl Murdock, Brian Murphy, R. Kent Newmyer, Arnold Offner, John Offner, Jerry Padula, Carol Petillo, David Pletcher, Salvatore Prisco, Stephen G. Rabe, Carol S. Repass, Wayne Repeta, Barney J. Rickman III, Michael Roskin, John Rourke, Kent M. Schofield, David Sheinin, Anna Lou Smethurst, Elbert B. Smith, Thomas G. Smith, Kenneth R. Stevens, Mark A. Stoler, William W. Stueck, Jr., Duane Tananbaum, George Turner, Jonathan G. Utley, Wang Li, Kathryn Weathersby, Ralph E. Weber, Edmund S. Wehrle, Lawrence Wittner, Sol Woolman, and Thomas Zoumaras.

We welcome comments and suggestions from students and instructors.

T. G. P.
J. G. C.
K. J. H.

AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Contents

Preface **xv**

Chapter 1

Imperialist Leap, 1895–1900 **1**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE VENEZUELAN CRISIS, 1895 **2**

Men of Empire in the 1890s **6**

Cleveland Confronts *Cuba Libre*, 1895–1897 **8**

McKinley's Road to War, 1897–1898 **11**

Why War: Exploiting Opportunity **14**

The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War **17**

Peace and Empire: The Debate in the United States **19**

Imperial Collisions in Asia: The Philippine Insurrection and the Open Door in China **21**

The Elbows of a World Power, 1895–1900 **27**

Further Reading for the Period to 1895–1900 **29**

Notes to Chapter 1 **30**

Chapter 2

Managing, Policing, and Extending the Empire, 1900–1914 **32**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: SEVERING PANAMA FROM COLOMBIA FOR THE CANAL, 1903 **33**

The Conservative Shapers of Empire **37**

Cuba's Limited Independence Under the Platt Amendment **41**

The Constable of the Caribbean: The Roosevelt Corollary, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic **43**

The Quest for Order in Haiti and Nicaragua **45**

The Mexican Revolution Threatens U.S. Interests **48**

Japan, China, and Dollar Diplomacy in Asia	51
Anglo-American Rapprochement and Empire-Building	55
Further Reading for the Period 1900–1914	62
Notes to Chapter 2	64

Chapter 3

War, Peace, and Revolution in the Time of Wilson, 1914–1920 67

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE SINKING OF THE <i>LUSITANIA</i> , 1915	68
The Travails of Neutrality	73
Submarines, Neutral Rights, and Mediation Efforts	77
Wilson Leads America into World War	79
The Debate over Preparedness	83
The Doughboys Make the Difference in Europe	86
Wilson Imagines a Better Future: The Fourteen Points and the Peace Conference	89
Principle, Personality, Health, and Partisanship: The League Fight	92
Red Scare Abroad: Bolshevism and Intervention in Russia	97
The Whispering Gallery of Global Disorder	101
Further Reading for the Period 1914–1920	103
Notes to Chapter 3	105

Chapter 4

Descending into Europe's Maelstrom, 1920–1939 108

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: ROOSEVELT'S ATTEMPT TO EXTEND AMERICA'S FRONTIER TO THE RHINE, 1939	109
The Independent Internationalists	113
Economic and Cultural Expansion in a Ricketty World	117
Peace Seekers for a World Without War	122
Cold as Steel: Soviet-American Encounters	125
Hitler's Germany, Appeasement, and the Outbreak of War	128

American Isolationism and the Neutrality Acts	131
Roosevelt Shifts and Congress Balks on the Eve of War	133
Further Reading for the Period 1920–1939	136
Notes to Chapter 4	138

Chapter 5

Asia, Latin America, and the Vagaries of Power, 1920–1939 **141**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS, 1931–1932	142
A Question of Power	144
Facing Japan: The Washington Naval Disarmament Conference and China	146
Japan's March for a New Pacific Order	149
Making and Managing Good Neighbors in Latin America	153
Building Dictators and Guards: The Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Haiti	158
Subverting Nationalism in Cuba and Puerto Rico	162
Compromising with Mexico: Oil and Nationalism	164
Pan Americanism and the Approach of the Second World War	167
Further Reading for the Period 1920–1939	169
Notes to Chapter 5	170

Chapter 6

Survival and Spheres: The Allies and the Second World War, 1939–1945 **173**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE ATLANTIC CHARTER CONFERENCE, 1941	174
Juggling Between War and Peace, 1939–1941	177
Asian Collision Course: Japanese-American Relations, 1939–1941	182
The Big Three: Strategies and Fissures, 1941–1943	187

In Search of a China Policy	192
Bystanders to the Holocaust: Americans and the Murder of the Jews	196
Planning the Postwar Peace, 1943–1945	200
Compromises at the Yalta Conference	204
To Each Its Own: Allied Divergence and Spheres of Influence	208
The Potsdam Conference and the Legacy of the Second World War	212
Further Reading for the Period 1939–1945	215
Notes to Chapter 6	218

Chapter 7

All-Embracing Struggle: The Cold War Begins, 1945–1950 **222**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE ATOMIC BOMB AT HIROSHIMA, 1945	223
The Big Two and the International System: Sources of the Long War	229
Challenging the Soviet Sphere in Eastern Europe	232
Stiffening Up: Early Cold War Crises	236
The Truman Doctrine, Israel, and Containment	241
The Marshall Plan, NATO, and the Division of Europe	245
Asian Allies: Restoring Japan and Backing Chiang in China	249
The People's Republic of China and U.S. Nonrecognition	253
The Cold War Mentality Takes Root	254
Further Reading for the Period 1945–1950	258
Notes to Chapter 7	262

Chapter 8

Global Watch: The Korean War and Eisenhower Foreign Relations, 1950–1961 **266**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE DECISION TO INTERVENE IN THE KOREAN WAR, 1950	267
--	------------

The Korean War Intensifies the Cold War	269
Ambivalent Cold Warrior: Dwight D. Eisenhower	275
John Foster Dulles, McCarthyism, and the New Look	279
The Glacier Grinds On: Khrushchev, Eisenhower, and the Cold War	280
Missile Race, Berlin, and the U-2 Mess	286
To the Brink with China; To the Market with Japan	291
The Third World Rises: Revolutionary Nationalism and Nonalignment	295
Stormy Weather: Nationalism in the Middle East and Latin America	300
Cultural Expansion and the Globalized Cold War	305
Further Reading for the Period 1950–1961	308
Notes to Chapter 8	311

Chapter 9

Passing the Torch: The Vietnam Years, 1961–1969 **315**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE TET OFFENSIVE IN VIETNAM, 1968 **316**

Vietnamese Wars Before 1961	320
John F. Kennedy and His “Action Intellectuals”	325
Arms Buildup, Berlin Crisis, and Nation Building	328
The Most Dangerous Area in the World: The Cuban Revolution and Latin America	333
Spinning out of Control: The Cuban Missile Crisis	335
Laos, Vietnam, and the Kennedy Legacy	340
Nose to Nose: Lyndon B. Johnson and the World	344
“The Biggest Damned Mess”: Johnson’s Vietnam War	346
As the Doves Dissent, the Peace Efforts Fail	351
Further Reading for the Period 1961–1969	354
Notes to Chapter 9	357

Chapter 10**Détente and Disequilibrium, 1969–1977 361****DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: RICHARD M. NIXON’S TRIP TO CHINA, 1972 362**

Nixon, Kissinger, and Their Critics	365
Détente, SALT, and the Nuclear Arms Race	369
Arab-Israeli War and the Mideast Arms Race	374
Covert Action Against Radicals in Latin America and Africa	379
Economic Competition, Environmental Distress, and the North-South Debate	383
Vietnamization, Cambodia, and a Wider War	389
The Peace Agreement, Withdrawal, and Defeat	392
The Many Lessons and Questions of Vietnam	395
Further Reading for the Period 1969–1977	400
Notes to Chapter 10	402

Chapter 11**To Begin the World Over Again: Carter, Reagan, and Revivalism, 1977–1989 406****DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS, 1979–1981 407**

Zbigs and Zags: Carter’s Divided Administration	412
The Panama Canal and Nationalism in High Voltage: Latin America	415
Carter’s Activism in the Middle East and Africa	419
The Red Thread: SALT-II, Afghanistan, and the Carter Record	423
Ronald Reagan’s Mission to Revive Hegemony	430
Soviet-American Crises and Antinuclearism	434
The “Backyard”: Central America and the Caribbean	440
Endangered Interests in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia	446
Triumphs and Time Bombs: The Reagan Legacy	451

Further Reading for the Period 1977–1989	453
Notes to Chapter 11	456

Chapter 12

Sheriff of the Posse: Americans and the World Since 1989 **460**

DIPLOMATIC CROSSROAD: THE BERLIN WALL COMES DOWN, 1989 **461**

Mikhail Gorbachev and the Revolutions of 1989	462
Not Just Another Country: Bush, Clinton, and Post–Cold War Priorities	465
Europe Transformed: Soviet Disintegration, German Reunification, NATO Expansion, Balkan Hell	470
Hope and Tragedy in Africa	477
Markets and Invasions in Latin America	481
Mideast Tests: Persian Gulf War and Arab-Israeli Peace Process	488
Feuding and Trading with China, Vietnam, and Japan	493
Global Bewilderments	498
Further Reading for the Period Since 1989	505
Notes to Chapter 12	508

Appendix: *Makers of American Foreign Relations* **513**

General Bibliography **517**

General Reference Works	517
Overviews of Relations with Countries, Regions, and Other Places of the World, Including Atlases and Gazetteers, Annual Surveys and Chronologies, Bibliographies, Biographical Aids, Chronologies, Encyclopedias and Dictionaries, and Statistics	518
Overviews of Subjects, Including Atlases, Annual Surveys, Bibliographies, Biographical Aids, Chronologies, Encyclopedias, and Statistics	529

Index **541**