

United States foreign policy

While the United States seemed content to set up a colonial administration in the Philippines, it specifically disavowed such an approach to China. By the end of the 19th century, European powers were taking advantage of a weakening Chinese regime to expand their influence, direct and indirect, in the country. These expanding spheres of influence threatened to leave the United States behind, even though the significant focus of US Asian policies and territorial acquisition in the Pacific has been to protect or further China trade.

The Open Door Policy

John Hay, the US Secretary of State, had to devise a way to assert US trading interests in China without resorting to war. His answer was the Open Door Policy. The Open Door stated that there was to be no discrimination of foreign powers within a country's sphere of influence and that the existing tariff structure as set by the Chinese government was to remain in effect. Hay proclaimed the Open Door in diplomatic notes sent to the major European powers. With no military threat to back it up and no international authority to enforce it, the Open Door could be observed or ignored as the Europeans saw fit. It would take an international incident to give the United States the leverage to press the Open Door into reality.

Chinese nationalists had long bridled at the gradual erosion of their economic and political sovereignty at the hands of European powers. This growing rage erupted in 1900 when a secret nationalist society called the Righteous and Harmonious Fists or Boxers rose against Europeans in China, besieging the foreign diplomatic corps in the British embassy in Beijing. A multinational force, of which over 2,000 were from the United States, eventually relieved the siege. This participation gave the US a say in the resolution to the incident and from which they further pushed the Open Door Policy. Hay further insisted that the resolution must therefore include the territorial integrity of China—that China would stay nominally independent—but that this “independence” must include free trade.

The Big Stick

When an assassin's bullet cut William McKinley's life and presidency short in 1901 it catapulted Theodore Roosevelt into the White House. Roosevelt, in many ways, typified a popular sentiment at the turn of the century. The Progressives and the era that bears their name, was a diverse group of interests within US society that believed that apparent US ascendancy on the world stage depended on a modern, scientific and professional approach in everything from industry to the military and diplomacy. The return of economic prosperity helped fuel this optimism. Under Roosevelt the US military would move from an ad hoc civilian army to a more centralized professional force. The diplomatic corps would be modernized with specialized training and examinations for those who would represent the United States to the world. Roosevelt also believed in the “civilizing”

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919)

Born into a wealthy New York family and mostly home schooled, Roosevelt later attended and would graduate from Harvard College. After a period of travel abroad, he entered politics as an elected member of the New York State Assembly. His political style was energetic and he became an ardent proponent of political and social reform, arguing against the power of special interests. After 1889, Roosevelt served in a number of political positions including Commissioner of the New York City Police and Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the McKinley Administration, all the while pushing a "Progressive" agenda. Roosevelt advocated for war with Spain and when this war finally broke on the United States he led a volunteer force in Cuba. In 1898, he was elected Governor of New York State and continued his energetic reforming of the bureaucracy of government and combating the power of big business. He was chosen the Republican vice-presidential candidate in 1900, a position that would catapult him into the White House when President McKinley was assassinated in 1901.

As president, Roosevelt valued action and tended toward autocratic decision-making. He understood that

US power must rest on a strong military but also had a sense that the United States must use this power to "civilize" the world. In the western hemisphere this "civilizing" mission generally meant an expansion of US influence backed by US military and economic might and the ignoring of Latin American nationalism. This led to an interventionist approach in Latin America that would become known as Big Stick Diplomacy. Outside of this sphere of influence, Roosevelt generally championed peaceful settlement of disputes between nations. Once out of office, in 1909, he grew disenchanted with Taft's policies. Prior to the 1912 presidential election, Roosevelt split with the Republican Party and founded the Progressive Party also known as the Bull Moose Party, effectively splitting the Republican vote and helping Woodrow Wilson's election victory. During the First World War, he would consistently argue for a stronger policy toward Germany.



obligation of the modern countries of the world—that it was their duty to bring the benefits of "civilization," as he saw them, to the "backward" corners of the earth. Inherent in that notion was the principle that the United States would have to become more involved in international affairs.

When Roosevelt's progressive and internationalist inclinations were combined with his deep admiration for the military as an expression of a nation's strength, the result was Big Stick diplomacy—the notion that the United States could achieve its foreign policy goals if it backed its interests with a credible military threat. As an ardent follower of Alfred Mahan, Roosevelt understood this to mean primarily a large and modern navy. Between 1898 and 1913, the US navy constructed 25 battleships and more than doubled its personnel. In 1907, Roosevelt paraded this portion

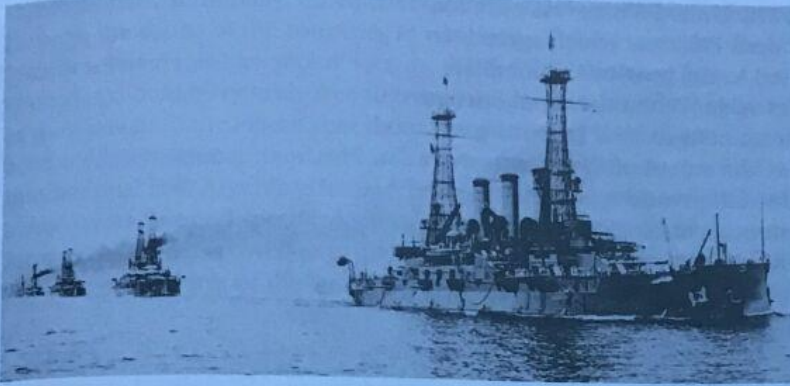
of his Big Stick around the world. The Great White Fleet made stops at a number of ports around the world including Yokohama in Japan.

The full proverb from which the term Big Stick comes reads: "Speak softly and carry a big stick." On occasion, Roosevelt could speak softly. When Russia and Japan went to war in 1905, it was Roosevelt who helped broker the peace in an attempt to maintain some sort of a balance of power in Asia. Under his leadership the United States grew closer

Warship tonnage of the powers, 1880–1914

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1914
Great Britain	650,000	679,000	1,065,000	2,174,000	2,714,000
France	271,000	319,000	499,000	725,000	900,000
Russia	200,000	180,000	383,000	401,000	679,000
United States	169,000	240,000	333,000	824,000	985,000
Italy	100,000	242,000	245,000	327,000	498,000
Germany	88,000	190,000	285,000	964,000	1,305,000
Austria-Hungary	60,000	66,000	87,000	210,000	372,000
Japan	15,000	41,000	187,000	496,000	700,000

Source: Kennedy, Paul. *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London: Fontana Press, p. 261.



The Great White Fleet, USS *Connecticut* leading North Atlantic fleet off the coast of Virginia, 1909.

to the United Kingdom than it had been in years. Roosevelt also helped to mediate a settlement on Morocco at Algeiras in 1906.

But there was also the Big Stick. Partially on the strength of the enlarged American fleet the Americans and Japanese came to an agreement on the *status quo* in the Pacific. But it was in Latin America that the Big Stick would be the most evident.

The Panama Canal

The prospect of cutting through Central America to join the Pacific and Atlantic oceans had been discussed since the middle of the 19th century. The failure of a French attempt had brought scandal and political disaster to the French Third Republic. The two primary questions surrounding such a massive project were “Who would build it?” and “Where, exactly, would it be built?” The United States and Great Britain had agreed to cooperate in the project, but by the time Roosevelt took office, this had fallen out of favor in the US and the McKinley administration had negotiated away this agreement. Where to locate this colossal project proved more complicated. The two leading contenders were Nicaragua and Panama.

In 1903, Congress and the president decided on the Panama option. The United States, however, had only purchased the rights to build the canal. It now had to acquire the land on which to build the canal, and this would require negotiations with the Colombian government, the country that owned Panama. The US Secretary of State, Hay, negotiated that the United States would lease the land for 100 years, pay \$10 million to Colombia for the lease and pay \$250,000 a year for the duration of the lease.

The Colombian Senate rejected the treaty favoring as it did US interests. Roosevelt was enraged at the nerve of the Colombian government, standing in the way of his idea of progress and civilization. Since speaking softly had not seemed to work, Roosevelt prepared the “Big Stick.” The fear that the United States might abandon the Panama option for the Nicaragua option drove the Panamanians to revolt against their Colombian overlords yet again. The fortuitous arrival of a US battleship and troops, a very real display of Roosevelt’s Big Stick foreign policy, prevented the Colombian



What was the importance of the United States Navy to Theodore Roosevelt’s foreign policy? What was the purpose of the Great White Fleet’s world tour? To what extent was it successful?

Activity

Why Nicaragua? Why Panama?

Research, create and make a presentation to the class on why the Central American Canal should either be dug through Nicaragua or Panama from the point of view of the Panamanians and Nicaraguans. Be sure to include potential economic, military, social, and foreign policy benefits of the canal.

government from crushing the revolt. The United States was only too happy to recognize the newly independent Panama, which agreed to the same payment as had been promised to the previous Colombian government for a strip of land ten miles wide. When the canal opened in 1914, North Americans saw it as a testament to their ingenuity, hard work and industry—a crowning achievement of the Progressive Era. To others in the Americas and indeed the world it was another example of imperialism backed by western technological advances. It also meant that the United States now controlled one of the most important waterways in the world. It needed to secure that ownership to achieve further control of the Caribbean.

Venezuela, Santo Domingo and the Roosevelt Corollary

While the Monroe Doctrine may have stopped European countries from physically intervening in the Americas, it did not stop European capital from flooding into the region through to the end of the 19th century. When early in Roosevelt's presidency Venezuela defaulted on loans to German, British and Italian creditors, these governments used force to secure payment by blockading Venezuelan ports and shelling the port city of Puerto Cabello, something that Roosevelt, the United States and the Monroe Doctrine could not tolerate. To prevent foreign powers from conducting any further debt-collecting incursions, Roosevelt articulated a policy that would come to be known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. While Monroe's original doctrine had been a warning to European powers to stay out of the United States' sphere of influence, the Corollary was an assurance that if the nations of Central and South America could not keep their financial houses in order and thereby threaten the "civilized" world, the United States would step in and manage their finances for them, even to the point of collecting debts for the European powers. Roosevelt wanted to remove any pretext that European powers might have for military interventions in the Caribbean.

The Corollary was first used in Santo Domingo. To stop France and Italy from forcibly collecting money they were owed by Santo Domingo and thereby threatening American strategic interests in the region, the US sent a financial administrator to manage Dominican finances, collecting duties on imports and using 55 per cent of this revenue to pay foreign creditors. The remaining 45 per cent was remitted to the Dominican government of Carlos Morales.

Responding to extraterritoriality

Extraterritoriality is a principle by which a country enforces its laws outside its own territory. During the later 19th and early 20th centuries this became an important tool of imperialism. Taken to its extreme, this principle held that British or US citizens living in a foreign country would still be governed by British or US laws regardless of the laws of the nation in which they were living. This could prove very handy for foreign businessmen trying to enforce contracts and a serious impediment to a country trying to exercise her sovereignty in the face of imperialism. Two Latin Americans developed doctrines in response to the principle of extraterritoriality. In the late 19th century, the Argentine jurist Carlos Calvo argued that extraterritoriality had no basis in

Activity

The Panama Canal

Research the history of the Panama Canal in the 20th century. Evaluate the effect of the canal on the United States and Panama respectively. List the benefits and drawbacks for each country.

Discussion point

How might the other countries of Central and South America react to the Roosevelt Corollary? What options were open to them?



What advantages did the Corollary have over simply taking control of Santo Domingo?

international law. Initially, Calvo advocated that debt had to be enforced through the courts of the countries in which the money was lent. He later developed this idea into a doctrine stating that all sovereign countries should be entirely free to treat foreigners within their borders as they saw fit to the extent that there would be very little if any accepted international standards; in a sense, there was no such thing as international law. Argentine foreign minister Luis Drago later developed a more workable and specific doctrine by which countries could not use force to collect debts owed to its nationals. The Hague Conference of 1907 adopted a form of the Drago Doctrine in its conventions.

Activity

TOK Link

Ethics

Extraterritoriality remains an issue in international relations. In recent years, it has been raised in response to the implementation of the death penalty in some countries. Specifically, debates have surrounded the extent to which a country should agree to deport people to countries in which they face a death sentence, despite the fact that the deporting country has no death penalty. Conversely, other instances surround the extent to which a country in which there is no death penalty should seek the release of its citizens under death sentences in other countries, as in the following case.

Canadian on death row in U.S. down to last legal remedy

The Canadian Press
Monday May 17, 2010

CALGARY — It's been a quarter-century of legal battles and court hearings, and now the only Canadian on death row in the United States is about to hit the wall in his fight to stay alive. Ronald Smith's case is to go before the U.S. Supreme Court this fall—the last legal option available to him.

"Frankly our assessment is any time you are asking the U.S. Supreme Court to review a case, and, given the limited number of cases they review, it's probably somewhat of a long shot," Smith's lawyer of many years, Greg Jackson, told The Canadian Press. "That's really from the court system standpoint our last chance ... We've exhausted all state and federal remedies other than the U.S. Supreme Court. If the U.S. Supreme Court does not either hear the petition or grant relief, then basically it will be remanded back to the state of Montana to go forward with an execution date."

Smith, 52, has been living on borrowed time since he was convicted in 1983 of murdering two

cousins, Harvey Madman Jr. and Thomas Running Rabbit, while he was high on drugs and alcohol. He originally requested and was granted the death penalty for his crimes, but he had a change of heart and has been fighting a legal roller coaster for the last 25 years. He has been sentenced to death four times and had the order overturned on three occasions.

Smith, originally from Red Deer, Alta., has spent 23 hours a day in his cell in the maximum-security wing of the Montana State Prison at Deer Lodge. Out behind that wing sits a small trailer, the state's death chamber, where three men have been executed by lethal injection in the last 10 years.

His latest setback came last week when a regional Appeal Court rejected a bid to have his case reheard. Jackson had argued that Smith didn't have effective counsel when he pleaded guilty and the death penalty wasn't warranted. Now Jackson will file the paperwork asking the Supreme Court to review the case. A decision isn't expected until October.

"It's coming down to where the rubber meets the road. It's a position that we all hoped we would never get to," Jackson said. If it goes as expected, and the Supreme Court refuses to hear the case, the final hope will be a request for clemency from Montana Gov. Brian Schweitzer.

"Once a petition is filed, then there is notice published in newspapers throughout the state of the hearing, Jackson explained. "There is a hearing at which the Board of Pardons and Parole listens to comments from the opponents and proponents for clemency. Then they make a recommendation to either grant or deny. "Either way it goes to the governor."

Jackson said the Canadian government will be asked for its support. Ottawa used to routinely lobby for clemency in such cases, but Stephen Harper's Conservatives have brought in a

policy that Canada will not get involved if there's been a conviction in a democratic country that honours the rule of law.

But last year a Federal Court justice ruled that Ottawa couldn't arbitrarily end its long-standing approach and ordered the government to try to win clemency for Smith. Liberal MP Dan McTeague, the party's critic for consular affairs, said he will hold the government to its responsibility to follow the federal court decision. "I expect the Canadian government to stand by the law and stand by its conventions and the minister of foreign affairs to do the job to seek to commute the sentence of Ronald Smith," said McTeague. "The reality here is a simple call made

by the Canadian government, through its minister of foreign affairs, to the governor would likely have the effect of sparing Mr. Smith's life."

Source: <http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CalgaryHome/20100517/ronald-smith-death-row-100517/>.

Class debate

To what extent are ethics universal? Are there some laws that should be applied to foreign nationals and other laws that should not? Is there a case for extraterritoriality? Divide into two groups and debate the following question:

? To what extent should the laws of a country apply to its citizens beyond its borders?

Activity

Backing down in Venezuela

Source A

Following is the view of historian Nancy Mitchell on the crisis in Venezuela.

President Theodore Roosevelt later claimed that it was only his big stick (wielded quietly) that stayed the Kaiser's hand [in Venezuela]. Analysis of German aims and ambitions in Venezuela, however, does not support this interpretation. It indicates that it was a withdrawal of British support, not Roosevelt's stick, that convinced Germans to end the blockade. It also reveals that, US fears and allegations to the contrary, Germany was exceedingly cautious before, during, and after the blockade. Its policy was far from recklessly aggressive. It was timid. ...

Theodore Roosevelt claimed, almost fourteen years after the fact, that he had delivered a secret ultimatum to the Germans that brought them to the bargaining table. The US naval exercises had been planned well in advance and were known to the Germans and the English before the blockade began, yet not one document has been found to confirm the president's assertion, not in the United States, not in Germany, and not in England.

Source: Mitchell, Nancy. 1999. *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America*. University of North Carolina Press. pp. 65, 87.

Source B

Following is an alternative view put forward by the historian Edmund Morris.

The Venezuela incident of late 1902 is the *locus classicus* [classic example] of [Roosevelt's] famously colloquial foreign policy, "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

If Roosevelt expected an answer to his ultimatum of 8 December, he was soon disappointed. That Sunday von Holleben [the German ambassador] seemed interested in talking only about the weather, of all things, and tennis. Losing patience, TR [Theodore Roosevelt] asked if Germany was going to accept President Castro's arbitration proposal transmitted by Secretary of State Hay. The ambassador said no.

Controlling his temper, the president replied that Kaiser Wilhelm must understand that he, Roosevelt, was "very definitely" threatening war.¹¹ Von Holleben declined to be a party to such preemptory language.

From there [New York], before midnight [16 December], certain words flashed to Berlin. ... The evidence suggests that von Holleben's cable [to Berlin] was burned after reading, in approved German security fashion.

... The reaction in Berlin was immediate [once it received the ultimatum].

On 17 December, the Reichstag decided to accept arbitration, acting secretly and in such haste that urgings from Secretary Hay in Washington and Metternich in London were redundant on receipt.

¹¹ TR (Theodore Roosevelt), quoted by William Loeb (witness) to Henry Pringle, 14 April 1930, Henry Pringle Papers, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass. (Edmund Morris's citation)

Source: Morris, Edmund. "A matter of extreme urgency": Theodore Roosevelt, Wilhelm II, and the Venezuela Crisis of 1902." *Naval War College Review*. Spring 2002.

Questions

- 1 Compare and contrast the views of why the Venezuelan crisis did not result in war in each document. Can you account for the differences?
- 2 Is it possible for both historians to be correct? Why or why not?
- 3 According to source A, what was the role of Britain in the resolution to the crisis?
- 4 With reference to its origin and purpose, evaluate the value and limitations of source B.

Activity

Two views of Roosevelt

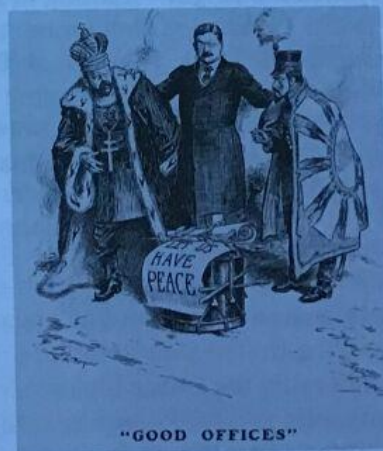
Source A

President Roosevelt standing atop Sagamore Hill (his home) wearing wings labeled "Down With Peace" and "Hurrah For War" while carrying a "big stick"



Source B

President Roosevelt "speaking gently" to the Russian Czar and Japanese Emperor in an effort to mediate an end to the Russo-Japanese War in 1905.



Questions

- 1 Compare and contrast the view of President Theodore Roosevelt in the two sources.
- 2 How might these two views be explained?
- 3 How might the domestic context in the United States, when each of these cartoons were published, have affected the cartoonists' opinions of Roosevelt?

Dollar Diplomacy

William Howard Taft succeeded Roosevelt as president in 1908 and sought to hold the same foreign policy course as his predecessor. Taft, however, was less inclined to use the Big Stick. He looked to the apparent success of the Roosevelt Corollary and expanded on what he saw as the lesson gleaned from it. His approach would come to be known as Dollar Diplomacy.

Dollar diplomacy sought to replace US military might with the power of its burgeoning economy and the financial know-how of Progressive Era financial wizards. Like the Corollary, Dollar Diplomacy wished to remove any pretext for European intervention in Latin America by managing the financial affairs of countries whose economies were “backward” by US standards and thus ensure that European debts were paid. Loans from US bankers would be used to pay off European creditors. Financial managers would move in and remake the economy, if not in the US model, then to US advantage. Tax collection would become more efficient, budgets regularized, a form of the gold standard adopted.

There developed a marked gap between the theory of Dollar Diplomacy and its practice. As rational and “progressive” as the measures seemed to the United States, Latin Americans could not help but see them as very thinly veiled imperialism. Costa Rica and Guatemala rejected it outright—refusing to sign treaties based on the principles of Dollar Diplomacy. Honduran nationalists persuaded their congress to do the same. This provoked a US-sponsored revolution, which installed a pro-US regime that was more amenable to the dictates of Dollar Diplomacy. The Dominican agreement also broke down in 1912, requiring the US military to restore the obligations of Dollar Diplomacy.

Nicaragua was another trouble spot for US diplomacy. In response to the nationalism of the Nicaraguan leader José Santos Zelaya, US mining interests sponsored a revolution eventually backed by Taft’s government and the United States Marine Corps. When the US Senate would not ratify the Dollar Diplomacy treaty with Nicaragua, private US companies and banks acquired controlling interests in Nicaraguan banking and railroads. Such economic imperialism was bound to enrage already tense nationalist sentiments and more marines were called upon to suppress another revolution in 1912. The marines would remain in Nicaragua for another 13 years.

Dollar Diplomacy was not restricted to Latin America. By 1908, Liberia in West Africa was deep in debt. Surrounded as it was by

William Howard Taft (1857–1930)

A Yale-trained lawyer, Taft distinguished himself in the Republican judicial appointments that he was able to secure while practicing in Ohio. Rather than rise through traditional political channels, Taft proved himself a sound administrator in the Philippines and Cuba and as Roosevelt’s Secretary of War. He also handled diplomatic tasks associated with Japanese affairs surrounding the Russo–Japanese War.

Taft can be seen as a reluctant president who nonetheless initially bore Roosevelt’s stamp of approval though little of his political skill and stubborn, autocratic style. While in office, Taft was caught between the Progressives and the conservative Republicans. Trying to strike a balance between these two factions pleased few and in the Republican nomination convention of 1912 Roosevelt split with Taft and the Republican conservatives starting the Progressive or Bull Moose Party. Wilson’s victory relieved him of the burden of governing and he became a professor of Law at Yale University. He was appointed Chief Justice of the United States in 1921, a post to which he had always aspired.



Activity

Continuity and change

Compare and contrast the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft in the following areas:

- domestic policy
- foreign policy (Latin America)
- foreign policy (Europe)
- economic policy

Discussion point

What were the benefits and drawbacks of Dollar Diplomacy from the perspective of Latin American governments? Latin American businesses?

British and French colonies, the Taft administration feared that a bankruptcy would result in its annexation to one or more of the neighboring colonial empires. To forestall this, Taft approved a loan and the menacing presence of a US warship. Nevertheless, Dollar Diplomacy did not stop Liberia's financial and political problems.

Taft also looked to Dollar Diplomacy as a means to curtail Japanese and Russian influence in China and Manchuria. As in so many other parts of the world, building an effective railroad system was the key to further economic expansion and the US arranged to be an investor in the development of this system in Manchuria. Eventually, Russia and Japan cooperated in dividing the Manchurian economic interests between them and the Chinese government was not strong enough to oppose them. The US, unable to secure the support of France (a Russian ally) or Great Britain (a Japanese ally), settled for more moderate financial intervention in China.

Moral Diplomacy

Despite the aggressive foreign policies of Roosevelt and Taft, there was still anti-imperialist sentiment in the United States and it was to this that Woodrow Wilson appealed as the Democratic presidential candidate in 1912. Publicly repudiating acquisitive foreign policies such as the Big Stick, Wilson promised a foreign policy that would encourage human rights and the development of "constitutional liberty" in the world. Guided by a belief that the Christian precepts of the United States could offer a model to the rest of the world, with little diplomatic experience and a very autocratic nature, Wilson set out to chart a new course for US foreign policy. In light of the actions of his Republican predecessors and the growing tension and later international chaos that would grip the world, this was going to be a difficult course to chart. Wilson, despite his idealistic intentions, would come to understand that like Dollar Diplomacy—his new Moral Diplomacy—would, in the end, depend on its ability to back up good intentions and moral precepts with military force.

There were, however, important elements of continuity between Wilson and his predecessors. He believed in the expansion of international trade and US financial interests and the role that the government can play in that expansion, with or without the consent of trading partners. When this belief was combined with his inability to understand the nature of nationalism and its role in revolutions in places like China and Mexico, a gap emerged between Wilson's perception of the United States in international affairs and the perception of other countries.

Wilson initially supported the Chinese revolution that predated his presidency. As a reformer, he saw it as the birth of a modern state out of the ashes of a corrupt relic of a bygone era. He moved quickly, and unilaterally, to recognize the new government, even though it was by no means clear that this was the final form that the government would take. He also took the US out of a banking agreement, in the hope of fostering Chinese independence, leaving the other signatories a free hand to benefit from Chinese instability. With the outbreak of the First World War, Japan further expanded its influence in China

TOK Link

Ethnocentrism

Wilson's Moral Diplomacy hinged on his ideas of morality and these in turn were based on his own Christian principles and the established US system of government.

- 1 What ways of knowing are involved in developing a morality-based foreign policy?
- 2 What are the strengths and weaknesses of using "morality" as a basis for foreign policy?
- 3 What might a Chinese version of Moral Diplomacy look like in 1914? What about a Japanese version? In what ways would they be similar and different to Wilson's version?

3 • The emergence of the Americas in global affairs, 1880–1929

with little opposition from the US state department. Again, although he sympathized with the revolution, Wilson's idealism was no match for the expansionist self-interest of the Japanese and by 1916 he began to drift to a policy that bore some resemblance to Dollar Diplomacy in that it authorized private loans to China and promised action if the Chinese defaulted.

In the Dominican Republic, Wilson imposed free elections in 1913, but this brought the republic no closer to stability with civil war and revolution constantly simmering just below the surface of Dominican affairs. Efforts by Wilson's Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, to appeal to the Dominicans to formally renounce revolution did no good. In 1915, a frustrated Wilson ordered the US military to intervene and establish order. They would occupy the country until 1924.

In neighboring Haiti, similar revolutionary upheavals coupled with European financial interests persuaded Wilson to occupy that half of Hispaniola as well. In the case of Haiti, the occupation lasted until 1934.

Likewise, in Mexico, Wilson favored the reforming elements in the 1911 revolution that brought down the regime of Porfirio Díaz. Under Díaz, US oil and railroad concerns had prospered while the Mexican élite profited from this prosperity, alienating Mexican peasants and workers. Francisco Madero's reforming government was itself soon overthrown by General Victoriano Huerta. Wilson, however, was less enamored of Huerta and his regime.

Wilson brought increasing pressure to bear on Huerta, soliciting international support from the likes of Great Britain and offering support to the opposition leader Venustiano Carranza. Carranza, a Mexican nationalist, was hesitant to accept help from the United States. By 1914, the US did not officially recognize the government of Mexico, but had no credible replacement that supported the United States. The quandary was that while recognizing the Huerta government was repugnant to Wilson, if they intervened militarily it would anger, perhaps to the point of war, the Mexican nationalists that opposed Huerta. Moral Diplomacy had again run into the complicated realities of actual diplomacy.

After a minor diplomatic slight, Wilson ordered the US navy to occupy Veracruz in April 1914 precipitating an attempt at mediation by Chile, Brazil and Argentina. Eventually, Carranza's forces forced Huerta from office, but Carranza proved no more able to bring the country together than his predecessor and the country again descended into civil war. During the course of this civil war, Pancho Villa mounted a raid into US territory. The punitive raid ordered by Wilson soon broadened. Wilson did not, however, let these events drag the United States into longer, wider war. As relations with Germany deteriorated and it looked more and more likely that the United States would join the Allies in their war with Germany, Wilson ordered US troops out of Mexico in early 1917.

Discussion point

Often, once in power, leaders find it difficult to implement the principle they held before they were in power. Why is that?

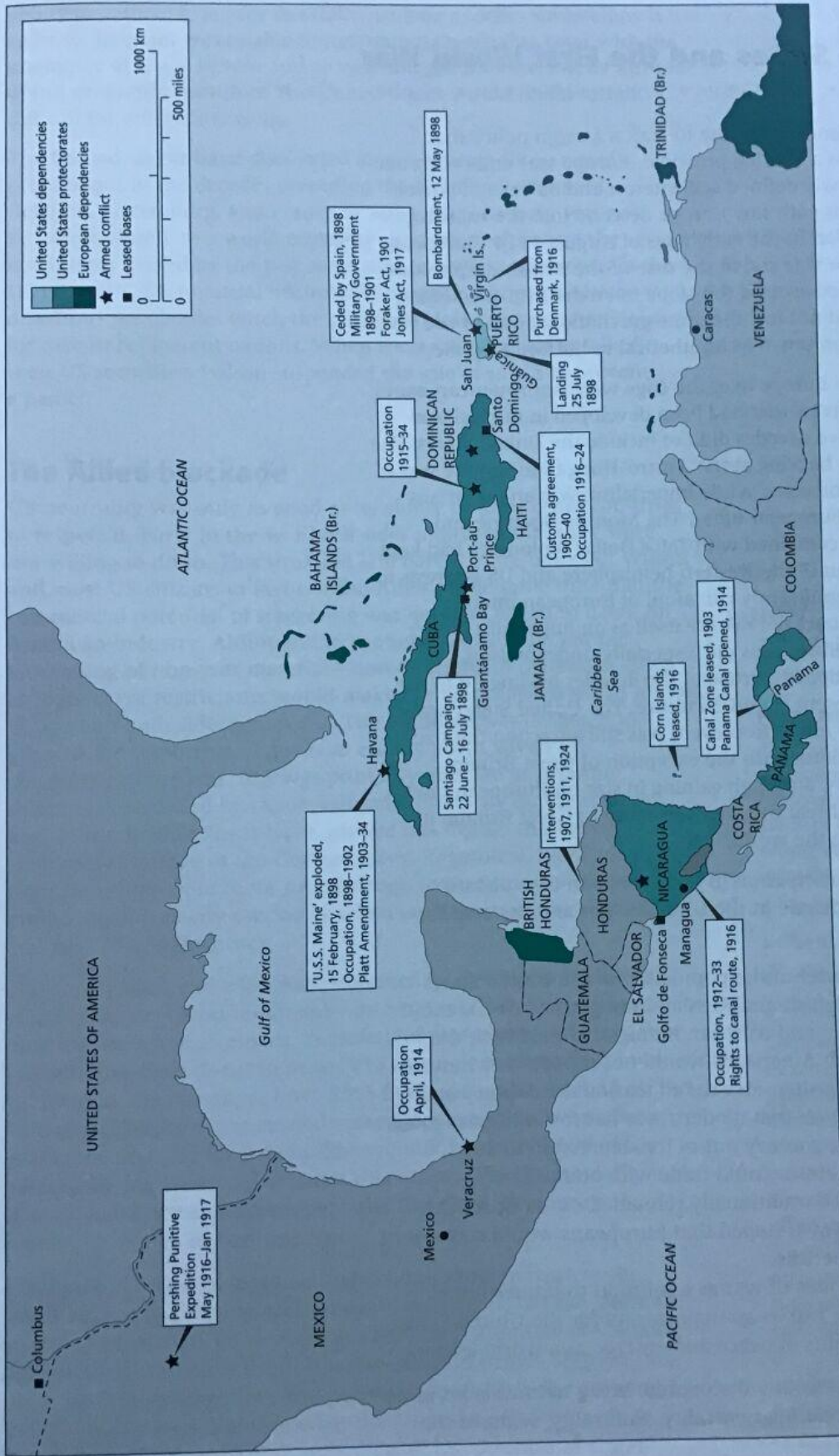


How did Wilson's actions compare to his rhetoric and principles?

Activity

Evaluating US foreign policy, 1900–14

Policy	Proponents	Strengths	Weaknesses	Results
Big Stick Diplomacy				
Dollar Diplomacy				
Moral Diplomacy				



The United States in the Caribbean, 1898-1934.