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Introduction

The back-and-forth election oscillations in the United States leave a lot of observers bewildered about U.S. foreign policy. U.S. citizens and foreigners alike struggle to understand U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military policies. Recent foreign policy announcements from the Trump Administration, drastic shifts on international priorities from previous presidencies, has generated additional scrutiny on the topic. It has also raised foreign policy questions about federalism, U.S. unilateralism, foreign aid, and the separation of powers system enshrined in the Constitution.

This article provides a broad summary of U.S. foreign policy by examining its historical philosophical beginnings and how those have evolved over the 241 years of the nation's history. It examines the Founders' intentions and concerns for their new system of government. Included in that is the important sense of "exceptionalism" that guides national strategy and "manifest destiny" that justified U.S. continental expansion in the 19th century. The article describes four schools of thought on governance developed during the early decades of the Republic. It briefly describes how foreign policy is developed and which branches of government participate in the process. Related to that, the article describes two important components of how the U.S. creates foreign policy: (1) federalism and (2) the system of checks and balances among government branches. Differences and similarities between the two dominant political parties, Democrats and Republicans, are addressed as are Presidential Doctrines. Last, the article addresses the previous four presidential administrations – two Democrat and two Republican – to highlight contrasts between the political groups. Particular attention is paid to the Trump Administration and its foreign policy priorities.

The objective of the article is to explain the what's and why's of U.S. foreign policy. That is, by understanding the historical origins and sources of U.S. foreign policy, readers may be able to better understand the complex and multi-faceted elements of U.S. strategy abroad to include U.S. support for international institutions, human rights, democracy promotion, unilateral use of force, and military primacy. Perhaps most importantly, a comprehension of these important issues may help observers understand the direction that U.S. foreign policy goes as the global community moves into the profound uncertainty of the 21st century.

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What many perceive to be a radical foreign policy shift of President Trump is, in reality, a return to the conventional foreign policy that the U.S. practiced for most of its history. In contrast, President Clinton, Bush, and Obama's foreign policies were outliers from the isolationism and neutrality that characterized most of American history. Following the end of the Cold War, President Clinton deviated from the country's traditional isolationism to expand its overseas economic and political initiatives. As a result of the 9/11 attacks, President Bush launched nation building efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan and a broad freedom agenda to promote democracy overseas. These initiatives were contrary to historical U.S. foreign policy practices. Restraint and neutrality are the default principles of U.S. foreign policy, not liberalism and internationalism. President Trump promises to accelerate efforts to withdraw from the international community, the most extreme changes to U.S. foreign policy in 70 years. If enacted in full, the new U.S. foreign policy may reverse much of the liberal international order and create a level of uncertainty that will dramatically alter world politics in the 21st century.

The article is broken into four parts. First, it examines the founding principles of U.S. foreign policy. Second and from a historical perspective, the article addresses U.S. expansion into North America and the Western Hemisphere in the 19th century and during the global conflicts of the 20th century. Third, it addresses U.S. foreign policy development within the government. Last, it examines the last four U.S. presidential administrations – two Democratic and two Republican – to compare and contrast each President's foreign policies.

PART 1 – Founding Principles of U.S. Foreign Policy

Geopolitical Isolationism and Unilateralism

For the first 150 years of its history, the United States tried to remain geopolitically distant from its neighbors in Europe. To American leaders like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, links to the European motherlands could only result in protracted wars and trade complications that would pit the new country against one European country after another. Following the signing of The Treaty of Paris that ended the U.S. War of Independence, signed by diplomats of both countries in November 1782, the U.S. quickly turned inward, anxious to avoid the lengthy and consuming wars that had plagued the European continent for the past three centuries.² In his farewell speech, George Washington, the country's first President from 1783-1791, advised his countrymen to “steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world,” and cautioned them to use “temporary alliances [only] for extraordinary

² Inter-European wars during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries included the Anglo-Dutch Wars (1652–1654, 1665–1667, 1672–1674, 1780–1784), King William's War (1688–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1748), King George's War (1744–1748), the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and the Napoleonic Wars (1804–1815). The continent enjoyed a brief respite during the Pax Britannica of the 19th century that resulted from Napoleon's defeat and the Congress of Vienna. However, if George Washington could have seen the future, he would have reveled in the wisdom of his advice. In 1914, a series of alliances forced European nations to rush into war. The First World War resulted in widespread devastation and the lives of nearly 10% of the populations of Britain, France, and Germany.

emergencies.”³ In other words, the U.S. should interact for trade and commerce with other countries but avoid alliances that might draw the country into war or make it a target of a powerful colonial powers competing for European continental dominance. The U.S. could use its geopolitical advantages – two broad oceans and relatively weak neighbors – to remain distant from quarrelsome European states.

U.S. isolationism is a term frequently used – and misused – by foreign policy scholars. Isolationism refers to an extensive severance of all relations – political, economic, diplomatic – with foreign nations. No country with significant trade interests or overseas commerce would ever completely isolate itself. It is more appropriate to use terms such as unilateralism or neutrality to capture the sentiment that the U.S. should selectively engage with foreign partners when national interests are at stake. Nevertheless, many contemporary scholars continue to use isolationism to describe the U.S. limited political, economic, and diplomatic engagement with other countries.⁴ For the purpose of this essay, I will follow suit and use the term “isolationism” to refer to U.S. tendencies toward unilateralism and neutrality, not a complete cut-off of relations with foreign nations.

George Washington’s warnings to avoid European politics were well justified. The country’s first two decades were marked by frequent political intrusion by England and France. The U.S. emerged on the global political scene directly into the most serious confrontation on the European mainland in its history. The bloody French Revolution began in 1789 just a year after the United States had ratified its new Constitution. From the start of the Revolution, Britain would spend nearly the next twenty-five years constant war with France. Napoleon appeared in 1799 and quickly became Britain’s enemy number one. Britain would lead or participate in the seven Wars of the Coalition until Napoleon’s final defeat at Waterloo in 1815. European nations, as President James Monroe put it, were “nations of eternal war.”⁵

Issues of alliances and diplomacy with the European nations in these trying circumstances generated great debate in the United States. The new country needed trade to grow economically. Hence, its isolationism had to be limited to political and military alliances, not commerce. However, both Britain and France saw U.S. commerce with its opponents as a threat to its own interests. U.S. efforts to negotiate with competing European nations and remain neutral in the European wars ended in difficulty. Both British and French ships preyed on commerce ships from the young North American nation, vessels they considered to be aiding their enemy. The repeated attacks on the country’s maritime trade triggered two conflicts with their European opponents. The U.S. fought a “quasi-war” with France from 1798 to 1800 and a lengthier and more violent confrontation with Britain during the War of 1812.

³ The Avalon Project, “Washington’s Farewell Address, 1796,” Yale Law School, Link: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp

⁴ Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 40. For references to isolationism as a centerpiece of American foreign policy, see Eric Nordlinger, *Isolationism Reconfigured: American Foreign Policy for a New Century*, Princeton University Press, 1996.

⁵ McDougall, 73.

Federalists versus Antifederalists

Students trying to understand U.S. foreign policy need to know that the Founders were split into two politically philosophical factions during the development of the government, the Federalists and the Antifederalists. Federalists supported a central government with broad powers to manage commerce, equip a national army, and manage disputes between states. This group, led by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and George Washington, represented the interests of property owners and merchants, supported the Constitution, and tried to dispel fears of a powerful national authority.

On the other side of the debate, the Antifederalists sought to limit the powers of the central government. They were worried that a strong national authority run by a small group of elites or aristocrats could abuse citizens' rights much as King George III had done from England during the War of Independence. Led primarily by Patrick Henry and George Mason, the Antifederalists represented the interests of small farmers, shopkeepers, and frontiersmen who feared the potential "tyranny" of the central government. Consequently, they preferred a confederacy of small republics where states retained a majority of the power and the government was not permitted to infringe upon individuals' rights.⁶

The result of this critical debate was a series of compromises in the Constitution that have immense impact on both domestic and foreign policy. As a result of federalism, the U.S. system is politically decentralized and characterized by limited federal government authorities over both states and individuals. States have an enormous amount of political and economic autonomy. This competition between states and the federal government continues to be a delicate point of contention for domestic issues such as health care, gun control, gay rights, and many other domestic policy issues. The battle over states' rights led to the U.S. Civil War in 1861-1865 and the deaths of almost 680,000 Americans over the rights of Southern plantation owners to keep African Americans as slaves. Likewise, the autonomy of the states has significant impact on U.S. foreign policy. Congressional representatives in Washington are obliged to represent the interests of their state constituents before those of international matters.

⁶ Both sides detailed their political preferences in a series of publications distributed to the populace during the period of states' review and ratification of the proposed Constitution. Federalists outlined their ideas in 85 essays known as the Federalist Papers and written under the pseudonym of Publius between the fall of 1787 and the summer of 1788. The Antifederalists published their own ideas in the New York Journal under the pseudonyms of Brutus and the "Federal Farmer."



Graphic caption: Perhaps no other modern event in U.S. history captures the competition between states and the federal government than Alabama Governor George Wallace's symbolic standoff during the U.S. civil rights movement. In the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation (separate public schools for whites and blacks) was unconstitutional. Despite that, Wallace had campaigned on the promise of "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." On June 11, 1963, Governor Wallace stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama to prevent three African-American students from enrolling. He had mobilized the Alabama National Guard under his authority as governor to maintain order. However, when Wallace disobeyed the Deputy Attorney General of the United States and refused to move, the President nationalized the Alabama National Guard. Suddenly working for the President instead of the Governor, National Guard General Henry Graham told the Governor to move. Reluctantly, the Governor did. The photo above captures the moment that federal rights overruled states' rights. Photo credit: The Encyclopedia of Alabama.

Today, there persists a profound fear of the motives of the central government to infringe on state's rights and individual freedoms. One recent incident illustrates the intense competition between states and the federal government. Texas, the second largest state in the country by area and population, has a proud history of independence and autonomy. In 2015, as the U.S. Department of Defense prepared for a multi-state military training exercise designed to test U.S. Special Operations Forces ability to support resistance fighters in a foreign country, many Texans harbored fears that the military exercise was actually a conspiracy by the federal government to seize control of state territory. One poll revealed that a third of Texas Republicans believed the exercise was an attempt by the federal government to take over the state. Half of all Tea Party members (a conservative faction of the Republican Party) believed an invasion of Texas territory by the federal government was imminent.⁷ In particular, there was paranoia that President Obama, the nation's first African-American president, was going to use the military exercise as a pretext to declare martial law in the state and seize Texans' guns. Consequently, Republican Governor Gregg Abbott considered mobilizing the Texas National Guard (under his control as state governor) to protect state borders and ordered the Guard to "monitor" the federal military activity in case they needed to defend the state from federal invasion.⁸

⁷ Public Policy Polling, 03 May 2015. Link: http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/2015/PPP_Release_National_51315.pdf

⁸ Kevin Sullivan, "The Americans are coming! Some in a Texas county fear an Obama-led U.S. military invasion," *Washington Post*, 04 July 2015; Wade Goodwyn, "Texas Governor Deploys State Guard to Stave Off Obama Takeover," National Public Radio, 02 May 2015.

U.S. Reluctance to Ratify International Treaties

The political autonomy of the States has significant ramifications for U.S. foreign policy, particularly when it comes to ratifying international treaties. The Supremacy Clause of the Constitution (article VI) states that international treaties ratified by the United States “shall be the supreme law of the land” thereby superseding both national and local laws. Treaties approved by the President and U.S. Senate would be superior to national and state laws but inferior to the Constitution.⁹ Hence, adoption of an international treaty may impede the rights of U.S. states because it obligates nationwide participation if the United States ratifies an international treaty. State representatives often perceive this as an infringement on the sovereignty of their states, a highly-protected right especially for traditionally conservative states. For this reason, most U.S. Senators are reluctant to support international treaties that affect their state constituents. Furthermore, ratification of international treaties requires a two-thirds “supermajority” of the U.S. Senate to approve and, since the Senate is often split along partisan lines of Democrats and Republicans, ratifying international treaties does not occur frequently in the U.S. Senate.

The U.S. has ratified a number of important international treaties – the 1948 Geneva Conventions, the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the 1966 UN Covenant on Political and Civil Rights (ICCPR), the Convention Against Torture, and the 1970 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, for example - and often doesn’t get the credit for being a leader of human rights, promoter of democracy, and supporter of civil society groups through a number of other government aid programs. In some cases, the U.S.’s stated policy is to comply with the spirit of the treaty even if it doesn’t ratify it.¹⁰ But it also suffers from criticism for allegations of hypocrisy of promoting democracy and human rights through public statements while refusing to support them through international institutions or treaties.

As a result, the United States stands alone among developed nations – even when compared to communist China and authoritarian Russia – to have refused to ratify international treaties.¹¹ On the face of it, this unilateral outlook makes the U.S. appear aloof at best, arrogant at worst. Hence, it is important for students of U.S. foreign policy to understand the sources of this seemingly unapologetic unilateralism.

In addition to concerns of state sovereignty mentioned previously, there are a number of other commonly cited reasons the U.S. appears averse to ratification of international treaties. First, in the opinion of many Americans, the U.S. is an exceptional nation that has sufficient legal and social protections for its citizens. There is no need to adapt additional treaties because adequate protection of indi-

⁹ Theodore Lowi, Benjamin Ginsberg, and Kenneth Shepsle, *American Government* (9th Edition) New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 55; Lesley Daunt, “State vs. Federal Law: Who Really Holds the Trump Card?” *Huffington Post*, 28 Jan 2014; Michael John Garcia, “International Law and Agreements: Their Effect upon U.S. Law,” *Congressional Research Service*, 18 Feb 2005, 14.

¹⁰ Harold Hongju Koh, “Foreword: On American Exceptionalism,” *Stanford Law Review*, Vol 55, no. 5, May 2003, 1470-1528; U.S. Department of Defense, *Law of War Manual*, 12 June 2015, p. 71. Link: <http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/law-of-war-manual-june-2015.pdf>.

¹¹ See Appendix 1 for a list of treaties the U.S. has not ratified.

viduals already exists through the U.S. Constitution and the well-developed national code of law that protects citizens.

Second, U.S. foreign policy tradition is aligned with realist sentiment, not liberal idealist aspirations. Realism contends that the international community of nations revolves around a state-centric structure in which national sovereignty is more influential than any liberal collective government entity. Domestically, the U.S. system represents a powerful advocacy for individuals' rights and limited government power. But internationally, the U.S. jealously guards its sovereign rights and is inherently defensive of any external interference that seeks to change that system. The U.S. has often dabbled in sentiments of liberal internationalism – President Wilson's League of Nations after World War One or President Clinton's doctrine of humanitarian intervention in the 1990s come to mind – but when forced to choose between realist or idealist preferences the U.S. public has nearly always chosen *realpolitik* foreign policy preferences such as security and autonomy over that of liberal ones.¹²

Third (and related to the second point), there is fear that a world government may be trying to force change within the United States through international treaties. This is a perception left over from the Cold War when the Soviet Union sought to inspire a worldwide workers' revolution but one that still persists today. Opponents of the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention (UNCLOS), for example, contend that the treaty would give “unprecedented powers to a supranational organization” that would be harmful to U.S. strategic economic and military interests.¹³ In another example, the former Republican House majority leader called the International Criminal Court (ICC), “a shady amalgam of every bad idea ever cooked up for world government.”¹⁴ Another staunch opponent of international treaties declared, “Internationalists propose to use the United Nations to change the domestic laws and even the government of the United States and to establish a world government along socialistic lines. They would give the super-government absolute control of business, industry, prices, wages, and every detail of American social and economic life.”¹⁵ Most recently, a conservative U.S. journal in January 2017 called the United Nations, “the Islamist-Leftist vehicle for nullifying American constitutionalism.”¹⁶

Fourth, foreign policy is a multi-faceted topic of which, for example, human rights and democracy promotion is only one of a number of important interests. Trade and security arrangements with other nations are critically important points of negotiation. Holding a complex and multi-issued international relationship between the U.S. and another country hostage to one single matter when numerous others are at stake is often perceived to be counterproductive to U.S. interests. Taking a unilateral position on

¹² Daniel W. Drezner, “The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion,” *Perspectives on Politics*, March 2008, Vol. 6/1, 51-70; Andrew Moravcsik, “Why is U.S. Human Rights Policy so Unilateralist?” in *Multilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Cost of Acting Alone*, editors Stewart Patrick and Shepard Forman (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 2001), 345-376.

¹³ Frank Gaffney, Jr. “John Kerry's Treaty.” *The National Review*, 26 Feb 2004.

¹⁴ *The Economist*. “Let the child live”. January 25, 2007.

¹⁵ Moravcsik, “Why is U.S. Human Rights Policy so Unilateralist?” in *Multilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Cost of Acting Alone*, editors Stewart Patrick and Shepard Forman (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 2001), 355.

¹⁶ Andrew McCarthy, “Don't Defund the U.N., Just Say 'Go!'”, *The National Review*, 07 Jan 2017.

international treaties ensures the U.S. has sufficient room to maneuver when negotiating complex issues with other countries.

Fifth, when the U.S. does ratify a treaty, it attaches so many reservations, understandings, or declarations (referred to as RUD) that the treaty is often diluted to the point of ineffectiveness. These RUD are permitted in nearly all international treaties and many countries take advantage of them to make the treaties compatible with domestic law in the country. Additionally, the U.S. Senate can attach a “non-self-executing” declaration to any international treaty it ratifies thereby requiring additional domestic legislation to ensure it abides by U.S. laws or values.

Here is an example of U.S. unilateralism tendencies at play when negotiating an international human rights treaty. The Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC) was adopted by the United Nations on November 20, 1989. It provides certain rights for children such as the right to life, to their own identity, and to have a relationship with both parents if the spouses are separated. The CRC was ratified faster than any other human rights treaty in history. Within three years, the CRC had 127 members. Since then, it has been ratified by nearly every single country in the world including Somalia, one of the last holdouts, who ratified it in October 2015.

The U.S. is the only country in the world that has not ratified the CRC. Religious groups and conservative opponents reject the Convention because they contend it threatens the rights of U.S. parents to care for their families. According to critics, ratification of the CRC would place children’s rights in the U.S. under the supervision of the United Nations’ CRC Committee, a panel of 18 international experts that monitors states’ adherence to the treaty. Critics say that would give an international body authority over U.S. families.¹⁷ One opponent of the Convention said that, “American children and families are better served by constitutional democracy than international law. The United States demonstrates its commitment to human rights whenever it follows and enforces the Constitution of the United States, which is the greatest human rights instrument in all history.”¹⁸

Schools of Thought on American Foreign Policy

Walter Russell Mead in his 2001 book *Special Providence* identified four schools of thought on U.S. foreign policy: Jeffersonism, Hamiltonism, Jacksonism, and Wilsonism.¹⁹ Each doctrine is based on the foreign policy recommendations of U.S. statesmen, all of them Presidents except for Hamilton.

¹⁷ Luisa Blanchfield, “The United Nations Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC): Background and Policy Issues,” *Congressional Research Service*, 01 Apr 2009, 8.

¹⁸ Karen Attiah, “Why won’t the U.S. ratify the U.N.’s child rights treaty?” *Washington Post*, November 21, 2014.

¹⁹ See Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002); on Jefferson, see Jon Meacham, *Thomas Jefferson: The Art of Power* (New York: Random House, 2012); on Hamilton, see Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Penguin Book, 2005); on Jackson, see Jon Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House* (New York: Random House, 2009); on Wilson, see: Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) or G. John Ikenberry, Thomas J. Knock, and Anne Marie-Slaughter, and Tony Smith, *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonism in the Twentieth First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Students of U.S. foreign policy will encounter frequent references to these political philosophies. In many ways, they reflected the cultural, political, and ideological origins of the U.S. citizens who subscribe to each philosophy. For example, Thomas Jefferson, President from 1801-1809, advocated for the preservation of democracy and for states' rights over that of the federal government. He sought to avoid war (particularly in war-prone Europe during this period), warned of the costs of maintaining a large and expensive standing military force, and sought to restrict the executive branch's authority on military decisions.



Graphic caption: The four classic American Schools of Thought: Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, and Woodrow Wilson.

Alexander Hamilton, although never President, was one of the principal authors of the Constitution and wrote the majority (51 of 85) of the Federalist Papers which promoted the idea of a strong federal government. He advocated for foreign relations based on a powerful national overseas trade. Freedom of the seas were important but in order to ensure unrestricted commerce, not meddle in overseas political adventures. Advocates of Hamilton's ideas would later propose world trade organizations and a globalized economy.

Andrew Jackson, hero of the War of 1812 and President from 1829-1837, was considered the most populist of the four statesmen. He vocally supported the "common man" (typically lower and middle class Americans) over what he called the corrupt aristocracy in Washington. He expressed little regard for international law or wars that did not directly threaten U.S. national security, economic prosperity, or the U.S. way of life. Jackson advocated for maintaining a strong military to defend America's interests but, at the same time, was reluctant to intervene in conflicts perceived as unnecessary, unwinnable, or not vital to the American interest.

Finally, Woodrow Wilson, President from 1913-1921, insisted that U.S. foreign policy should be focused on promotion of democracy and human rights. Wilson contended that democracies makes better partners than tyrannies and therefore it was in the country's national interest to advocate for democracy and international stability. Whereas Hamilton supported commerce as a source of national strength and Jackson saw military might as an important tool, Wilson considered global governance – the moral

and legal structure in the international arena - as the key to America's benefits. As such, he supported the creation of international organizations and legal structures based on law and morality. His advocacy of the League of Nations, the first collective effort to establish a global government entity to oversee the actions of nations, was rejected by a U.S. Congress intent on returning to its geopolitical isolationism following the devastation of World War One.²⁰

U.S. Exceptionalism

A guiding sentiment during the early years of American expansion was the sense that the U.S. was a special or an "exceptional" example of democracy and individual rights. The distinctive rights culture enshrined in the Constitution – freedom of speech, religion, and assembly – represented the national political identity and served as an example of human dignity and democracy for other countries to emulate. To the earliest generations of American citizens, the country's democratic system was a model for others to follow, a nation with a set of rights unique in human history, a society where one can be upwardly mobile regardless of class or wealth bracket. As compared to the aristocracies of Europe, the U.S. represented the common citizen through its system of personal liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, limited government, free enterprise, republicanism, populism, and laissez-faire.²¹

Even in the 21st century, 241 years after its founding, U.S. exceptionalism remains an important point of pride for many Americans. For others, it represents an uncomfortable national reputation of arrogance and superiority. For the first group, those who think it should remain a guiding principle for American domestic and foreign policy, exceptionalism represents the "America first" philosophy of protecting national values and preserving the "American way of life." To these individuals, exceptionalism is synonymous with patriotism and nationalism. Either you have it or you don't. One triumphalist advocate of American virtues wrote, "Our greatness is simply a fact. Only those seeking to do harm to the United States can deny it."²² As some proud Americans contended, "Every nation is unique but America is the most unique."²³ The idea of American exceptionalism also carries a quasi-religious authority.²⁴ One author described the national duty as, "We Americans are a peculiar, chosen people, the Israel of our times. We bear the ark of liberties of the world."²⁵

²⁰ Northedge, F.S. *The League of Nations*. Leicester: Leicester Univ Press, 1986.

²¹ Some of these characteristics are described by Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: Norton, 1997), 17–19. Also see Michael Ignatieff, *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005; Harold Hongju Koh, "Foreword: On American Exceptionalism," *Stanford Law Review*, Vol 55, no. 5, May 2003, 1470-1528. Peter Beinart, "The End of American Exceptionalism," *The Atlantic*, 03 Feb 2014; Suzy Hansen, "Trump is making Americans see the U.S. the way the rest of the world already did," *Washington Post*, 08 Sept 2017; Andrew Bacevich, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism* (New York: Holt, 2009); Stephen M. Walt, "The Myth of American Exceptionalism," *Foreign Policy*, 11 Oct 2011.

²² Rich Lowry, "Yes, the Greatest Country Ever – Our Greatness is Just a Fact," *National Review*, 03 Dec 2010.

²³ Michael Barone, "A Place Like No Other," *U.S. News and World Report*, June 28, 2004, 38.

²⁴ More than 50 percent of American say religion is very important in their lives. Gallup Opinion Polls, Historical Trends on Religion. Link: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1690/religion.aspx>

²⁵ Herman Melville, *White-Jacket: Or, the World in a Man-of-War*. New York: Modern Library, 2002, 151.

In this sense, emulation of America's ethnocentric values is a one-way street. That is, other countries should model their government institutions after the United States. But the U.S., according to die-hard advocates of American exceptionalism, has little to learn from other nations. For example, during a case about the death penalty for juveniles, Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy suggested, "the opinion of the world community, while not controlling our outcome, does provide respected and significant confirmation for our own conclusions." Conservative Justice Antonin Scalia, however, dismissed the idea that the U.S. could learn anything from other countries. "The basic premise that American law should conform to the laws of the rest of the world ought to be rejected out of hand," he said.²⁶

For other Americans, the sense of cultural entitlement is something that has faded as other countries have developed systems of civil and political rights, equitable justice systems, and social welfare programs comparable or better than those in the U.S. At the time of its founding, the country was certainly a model of democratic advancements, civil liberties, and religious freedom unique in the world. But since then, the great political experiment has been blighted by the long and difficult civil rights movement, class inequality, and poor income distribution. To these skeptics, America's reputation is marked by the largest per capita prison population of any country in the world, indefinite detention of Guantanamo Bay prisoners, and of the nation's unfettered obsession with guns. This group is hypersensitive to America's notoriety for being "pushy, preachy, insensitive, and self-righteous."²⁷

American exceptionalism is considered more cautiously by younger generations. A 2013 poll by the Public Religion Research Institute found that while almost two in three Americans over 65 call themselves "extremely proud to be American," among Americans under 30 it is fewer than two in five. According to a Pew study in 2011, millennials were 40 points less likely than people 75 and older to call America "the greatest country in the world."²⁸

Among conservative Americans, support for American exceptionalism has become a moral cause to wrest control of the country from secular liberals who seek to undermine American values and destroy the heritage established by their ancestors. The defense of American exceptionalism has become a full-throated rallying cry during recent Presidential and Congressional elections. For example, during his 2011 campaign for the Republican Presidential candidacy, Newt Gingrich wrote *A Nation Like No Other: Why American Exceptionalism Matters*. In it, he contended that, "There is a determined group of radicals in the United States who outright oppose American Exceptionalism. These malcontents struggle to reduce American power and transform our political and economic systems into the kind of stat-

²⁶ Legal Information Institute, *Roper v. Simmons* (03-633) 543 U.S. 551 (2005), Cornell University Law School.

²⁷ Harold Hongku Koh, "On American Exceptionalism," *Stanford Law Review*, vol 55/5, May 2003, 1481. This particular image of Americans is perhaps best personified by the 1958 novel, *The Ugly American*, by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer.

²⁸ Jones, Robert P., Daniel Cox, and Juhem Navarro-Rivera. "Most Are Proud to Be American, Republicans More Likely to Engage in Patriotic Activities." *Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI)*, 2013. <http://www.prri.org/research/july-2013-prri-rns/>; Pew Research Center, "The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election," 03 Nov 2011. <http://www.people-press.org/2011/11/03/the-generation-gap-and-the-2012-election-3/#>.

ist, socialist model that is now failing across Europe.”²⁹ Other Conservative leaders echoed Gingrich’s contempt for those who didn’t embrace American nationalism. Mitt Romney, the 2012 Republican Presidential candidate lamented that Barack Obama “doesn’t have the same feelings about American exceptionalism that we do.”³⁰

Presidential Doctrines

Presidential doctrines are another vessel for articulating U.S. foreign policy. In contrast to the President’s National Security Strategy (normally published every four years) or the Secretary of Defense’s National Defense Strategy, presidential doctrines may not be as articulated or concisely stated by an Administration. They may focus on the most salient of foreign policy priorities of a President, not myriad of issues of interest most Presidents must address in the international environment. Few of the Presidential doctrines have every been published or announced by the President or his Administration. Nor are they codified into law or executive order. More often than not, they consist of a series of public announcements that are congealed by observers and that represent the Administration’s foreign policy priorities.

Most presidential doctrines seem to be focused around overseas national security interests.³¹ For example, presidential doctrines may be focused on assistance to allies (in Truman’s case), protection of strategic national assets (as in Carter’s case), or a shift of strategic focus, as in President Obama attempt to “pivot to the Pacific.” Perhaps the most influential Presidential doctrines were from the first U.S. Presidents. George Washington’s warning about “permanent alliances” (though never labeled the Washington Doctrine) guided national diplomatic behavior for the next 150 years. James Monroe’s declaration that Western Hemisphere nations were off-limits to European colonial powers initiated a period of U.S. hegemony that persisted well into the 20th century.

For students attempting to understand U.S. foreign policy, knowledge of the Presidential doctrines provides an important explanatory insight to the efforts and expenditures of the administration.³² See the list of Presidential Doctrines in Appendix 2.

²⁹ Newt Gingrich, *A Nation Like No Other: Why American Exceptionalism Matters*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2011. 9.

³⁰ Peter Beinart, “The End of American Exceptionalism,” *The Atlantic*, 03 Feb 2014; Seema Mehta, “Romney, Obama and God: Who sees America as more divine?” *Los Angeles Times*, 13 Apr 2012.

³¹ Donette Murray, “Military Action but not as we know it: Libya, Syria, and the making of an Obama Doctrine,” *Contemporary Politics*, vol 19/2, 147.

³² For more on Presidential Doctrines, see H. W. Brands, Presidential Doctrines,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 36, No. 1, (Mar., 2006), 1-4; Joseph Siracusa and Aiden Warren, *Presidential Doctrines: U.S. National Security from George Washington to Barack Obama*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2016; Stephen Ambrose, “The Presidency and Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 70.5, Winter 1991/1992, 120.

PART 2 – U.S. Expansion

The Monroe Doctrine and Western Hemisphere Hegemony

The United States' effort to avoid European political quagmires also translated to worries that England, France, and Spain would meddle in Western Hemisphere issues and thereby draw the U.S. reluctantly into a dispute. Since Hernán Cortés captured Tenochtitlan and conquered the Aztec Empire in 1521, Spain had controlled much of Central and South America. Following the French and Indian War, Britain controlled much of North America. France maintained numerous colonies in the Caribbean.

U.S. policy makers recognized that further colonialization of Caribbean or Latin American nations by European colonial powers would raise the prospects for increased tensions with the U.S. In 1823, President James Monroe announced a major foreign policy: European nations should refrain from meddling in the politics or issues of Western Hemisphere nations. Monroe's proclamation was simultaneously intended to discourage Russian encroachment on the Pacific Northwest and to dissuade the Spanish from trying to restore their control over breakaway states in South America. It also had a lesser known objective: to prevent U.S. states from demonstrating their economic autonomy from Washington DC by entering trade alliances with countries like Great Britain. Regardless of the numerous motivations for the Monroe Doctrine, the message was clear. European colonial powers should stay out of the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. The U.S. would not tolerate it.³³

The Monroe Doctrine became one of the most impacting and long-lasting foreign policies of the United States. With just a few exceptions (French occupation of Mexico from 1861-1867, the Venezuela Crisis of 1902, and the Malvinas War of 1982), European nations stayed cleared of Western Hemisphere matters permitting the U.S. to emerge as a regional hegemon. Subsequently, the U.S. oversaw the political and economic development of Caribbean and Latin American affairs as Spain withdrew from the region and new countries gained their independence in the first half of the 19th Century.³⁴

Manifest Destiny and Expansion in North America

Fear of overseas involvement did not hinder U.S. expansion across North America. The United States expanded rapidly westward following the War of Independence. As part of the Treaty of Paris, England granted the United States territory to the Mississippi River. In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson doubled the size of the country by acquiring the Louisiana Purchase, a vast tract of mostly unexplored

³³ Dexter Perkins, "The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826," in editors Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007, 58-59.

³⁴ Although a number of independent countries emerged from the decolonization period after World War Two, the remnants of European colonial powers are still visible in many parts of the Western Hemisphere, particularly in the Caribbean. Britain, for example, considers the British Virgin Islands, Turks and Caicos, and the Cayman Islands, among others, to be part of its English Commonwealth. The islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe are French overseas regions; residents on those islands have all the rights of French citizens. French Guiana on the South American continent is an overseas department of France. The Netherlands control Aruba, Curacao, and Sint Maarten; residents have full Dutch citizenship. Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands are protectorates of the U.S.

territory from the western bank of the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. Jefferson dispatched explorers Lewis and Clark to explore the new land and find a route to the Pacific Ocean.

U.S. spirit for expansion was considered simultaneously a duty, right, and even an obligation for some Americans. Like The British Empire's "white man's burden," U.S. leaders believed it was the country's "manifest destiny" to civilize the Wild West and spread the egalitarian concepts of government developed in the young nation. President Andrew Jackson, for example, spoke of "extending the area of freedom."³⁵ For those willing to make the arduous passage across the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, the U.S. government promised nearly unlimited land for those audacious settlers.



Caption: American Progress, an 1872 painting by John Gast, contains many symbols of manifest destiny. Lady Columbia, representing the United States, accompanies American pioneers as they move west into darkened territory, leaving illuminated lands behind. In one hand, she carries a school textbook, representing knowledge. In the other, she carries a telegraph wire, representing technology. Pioneers drive savage Indians and wild beasts before them and cultivate the land as they go. Trains and steamboats follow close behind.

Some of the pioneers who moved West ventured into northern Mexican territory, areas that were lightly populated and even less controlled by the central government in Mexico City. Mexico had just achieved its own independence in 1821 and control over many parts of the country was still a work in progress. The lack of government presence in northern Mexican territories was an encouragement for self-determination for many of the Americans living in those areas. In 1835, the desire for their own independent nation grew among settlers in the Republic of Texas. In response, Mexican President General Antonio López de Santa Anna assembled a young force of recruits and conscripts and, in March 1836, defeated the Texas rebels at the Battle of the Alamo.

³⁵ John William Ward. *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age: Symbol for an Age*. Oxford University Press, 1962.

Santa Anna's celebration was short-lived. Just a month and a half later, a reorganized Texan Army routed his forces at the Battle of San Jacinto. General Santa Anna was captured and, in return for his life, ordered his forces to retreat across the Rio Grande River. Texas declared itself the "Republic of Texas" and officially became a U.S. state on December 29, 1845.

Mexico was unwilling to let its northern territory go and, less than four months later, tensions between the two countries peaked again. This time it led to all-out war. The Mexican-American War of 1846 started along the border between the two countries but in March 1847 the U.S. shifted strategy and laid siege to Veracruz along the Gulf Coast of Mexico. The U.S. Army and Naval forces marched inland and seized control of the government in the Mexican capital. At the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo outside the Mexican capital in July 1848, Mexico agreed to accept over \$18 million in return to its northern territories. Like the Louisiana Purchase 45 years earlier, the U.S. acquired a huge expanse of land, this one that completed its coast-to-coast aspirations. The U.S. had fulfilled its manifest destiny of continental expansion.

U.S. Isolationism persists even as the U.S. acquires overseas colonies

U.S. isolationism remained a bulwark of U.S. foreign policy well into the 20th Century. The country was geographically separated from others outside the Western Hemisphere by two huge expanses of water. Only on a few occasions – the Spanish American War of 1898 and the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 – did the U.S. send its military forces outside of the hemisphere to protect its interests or conduct military interventions.

The conflict with Spain in 1898 marked the end of one global empire and the beginning of another. Spain's demise as a colonial power had begun with Napoleon's Peninsular Campaign in 1807 when the French leader invaded Portugal and occupied Spain. Spanish authority splintered and the subsequent vacuum of governance gave separatists in the New World an opportunity for independence. Militarily-experienced leaders like Jose de San Martin and Simon Bolivar launched rebellions against Spanish loyalists across the continent. From 1810-1825, 16 new countries in Central and South America declared their independence. The Spanish crown was restored to Madrid following Napoleon's defeat and withdrawal from the Peninsula. King Ferdinand VII of Spain was able to turn his full attention toward the rebellious factions in the New World. But it was too late. The mestizo leaders in Colombia, Argentina, and Venezuela had suffered enough subjugation at the hands of the Spanish crown that independence was a forgone conclusion.

Hence, just 80 years later, Spanish control of its colonies in the Western Hemisphere had been reduced to just a few holdings. By the end of the 19th Century, Cuba was Madrid's prized remaining possession. The Caribbean island had long been Spain's center of activity in the Western Hemisphere, the source of Conquistador expeditions that conquered the Aztec and Incan Empires and brought immeasurable wealth across the Atlantic to Madrid. However, like other colonies, a revolutionary sentiment had gripped men like Jose Marti and inspired them to seek self-rule.

The U.S., intent on expanding its economic investments, saw its chance to strengthen its sphere of influence in the Caribbean Basin. Spain had been the Western Hemisphere hegemon long before U.S. independence but, in the Cuban rebellion, Washington lawmakers had an opportunity to eject one of the last European colonial hold-outs. A combination of U.S. expansionist sentiment backed by “yellow journalism” tactics by news tycoons such as William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer coupled with new aspirations for overseas colonies by Alfred Thayer Mahan helped foment feverish American ideas of ousting the “abusive” Spanish and liberating the Cuban dissidents. When the U.S. battleship MAINE exploded from a coal bunker fire in Havana harbor in 1898 resulting in the death of 266 sailors, the U.S. had its justification for military action.

The first battle of the war occurred outside the Western Hemisphere. The U.S. Pacific Fleet moved against Spanish possessions in the Philippines and quickly seized Spanish fortifications there. Then the U.S. Navy gave chase of the dilapidated Spanish forces in the Caribbean. When the Spanish fleet sought shelter in Santiago de Cuba harbor, the U.S. Navy boxed them in and waited. With former Assistant Secretary of State Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders applying pressure from inland, the Spanish Navy had no choice but to make a breakout dash for safety. U.S. battleships were waiting. In just over an hour, the Spanish fleet was destroyed, leaving the fate of Cuba in the hands of the United States.

For many reasons, the second overseas expedition, the Boxer Expedition, was a wholly uncharacteristic decision by U.S. leaders: the deployment of U.S. forces on a humanitarian mission under command of a European military leader as part of an eight-nation alliance in an extra-hemispheric military operation. All of these justifications were contrary to U.S. foreign policy doctrine of isolation and neutrality. The U.S. deployed two U.S. warships and 3,400 soldiers and Marines to Beijing to suppress a rebellion against the Chinese government. The U.S. overseas adventure, officially called the China Relief Expedition, was relatively short-lived. Most U.S. forces returned home after just a few months.

The U.S. in World War One and World War Two

Despite the acquisition of a number of overseas colonies, U.S. isolationist tendencies continued to dictate U.S. foreign policy leading into World War One. As fighting broke out in August 1914, President Woodrow Wilson vowed, “The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name.” Even after 100 Americans died on the Lusitania in May 1915, President Woodrow Wilson adhered to the advice of his predecessors and kept the U.S. out of the European conflagration. He was reelected President for a second term in 1916, running on a campaign promise of maintaining U.S. neutrality in the conflict. However, the German announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare in early 1917, the subsequent sinking of a number of American ships in March, and the Zimmerman Telegram scandal in April finally forced U.S. intervention. On April 2, 1917, Wilson acknowledged that the situation had changed. “Armed neutrality is impractical. The world must be made safe for democracy,” he admitted.³⁶ He asked Congress for a declaration of war and two days later Congress gave the President what the U.S. had successfully avoided for 135 years: direct involvement in a European war.

³⁶ President Woodrow Wilson during his war request to Congress, 02 Apr 1917.

Following the war, Wilson tried to implement a new order among the community of nations that would help avoid conflicts between states. He advocated for a collective government, the League of Nations, and encouraged the adaptation of democracy and human rights programs by all parties. Like his successor 90 years later, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee awarded the U.S. President the 1919 award for his multilateral efforts to establish the League of Nations. However, the U.S. Congress would hear none of it. Partly perturbed because senior Congressional leaders were left out of the post-conflict discussions at Versailles, a bipartisan committee of both Democrats and Republicans in Congress vigorously lobbied against U.S. participation in the League of Nations. Public opinion following the steep price the U.S. paid – over 320,000 American were killed or wounded from April 1917 to the end of the war in November 1918 – was also largely in favor of retrenchment and non-intervention. U.S. isolationism, particularly from the complex politics in Europe, would continue to be the U.S. foreign policy priority.



Caption: In this cartoon from the National Republican, President Woodrow Wilson attempts to persuade a reluctant U.S. Congress to embark on a trip to foreign entangling alliances in Europe. The cartoon caption reads, “You can’t really blame him for wanting a life preserver.”

YOU CAN'T REALLY BLAME HIM FOR WANTING A LIFE-PRESERVER.
—Reid in *The National Republican*

Less than 15 years later, Europe plunged into a second international crisis. Like World War One, the U.S. doggedly resisted involvement in World War Two. However, in this case, Congress preempted the President’s authority to deploy U.S. forces with a series of Neutrality Acts in the 1930s that would limit U.S. involvement in the war. As in 1918, both Democrats and Republican leaders advocated for non-interventionism. For example, the Neutrality Act of 1936 prohibited all loans or assistance to any of the belligerents in Europe.

Only the devastating attack on the Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii in December 1941 would force the United States to abandon its continental isolationism.

Multilateralism after World War Two

The post-war period marked a sea change in U.S. foreign policy, one from the unilateralism and isolationism of the U.S.’s first 150 years to a broad strategy of multilateralism represented by foreign aid, overseas alliances, and bilateral accords. As the war wound to a close in 1945, the U.S. proclivity was to return to its safe geopolitical vantage point in North America. The U.S. demobilized its massive military and sought to return to its comfortable isolationism. But the world had changed significantly during

over four years of violent conflict. Former colonial powers Britain, France, and Germany had suffered immense physical and economic damage. China had emerged victorious though badly damaged in the Asian conflict and soon found itself engulfed in a civil war between Nationalists and Communists. Soviet troops had raced Allied forces to Berlin and Europe was divided between the East and the West.

Fear of Soviet expansion quickly drove U.S. leaders to look outward, not inward. Foreign policy experts warned that the Soviet Union was intent on launching a worldwide workers' revolution, something contrary to U.S. interests of free markets and capitalist economies. The U.S., now one of two only two global superpowers, was forced to reassess its foreign policy priorities.

President Truman and Secretary of State George Marshall realized that battered European countries were particularly vulnerable to communist revolutions. Subsequently, the U.S. launched the largest aid program in the country's history. Between 1948 and 1951, the United States provided \$13.3 billion (\$150 billion in 2017 dollars) in assistance to 16 European countries. The 1949 appropriation alone represented roughly 12% of the U.S. federal budget.

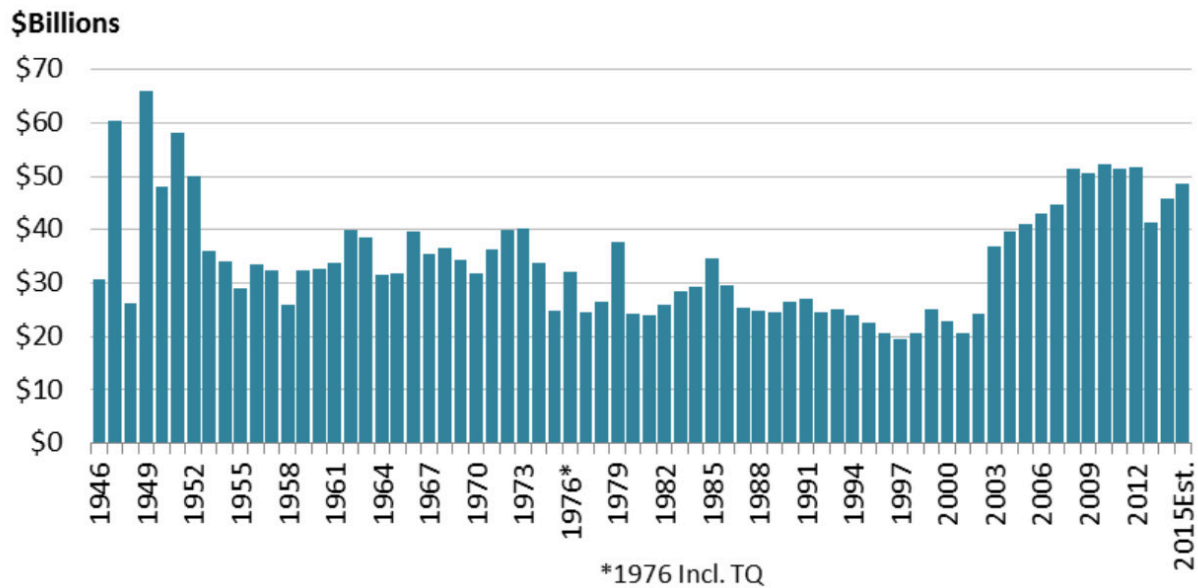
In the light of the new global dynamics, the U.S. sought to create a new international order that would indirectly support U.S. economic and security objectives. The Truman Administration broke with U.S. tradition and made open-ended military alliances that could draw it into war against the Soviet Union, deployed U.S. forces overseas to prevent communist expansion, helped launch a number of important international institutions, and provided substantial foreign aid to shore up struggling economies. By establishing political, economic, and security institutions, the U.S. assumed these programs would serve its own national interests. U.S. national security was, for the first time from the U.S. perspective, synonymous with global stability.

Foreign Assistance as a Tool of U.S. Foreign Policy

The Marshall Plan was the start of a long foreign assistance program, a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy for the next 70 years and one that continues today. Since 1945, the U.S. has provided over \$1.1 trillion dollars to other countries in foreign aid.³⁷ For example, in 2015 (the last year for which data is publicly available), the U.S. spent \$43 billion of foreign aid funds to help other countries. Each year, about 75% of the assistance each year is economic and 25% military.³⁸

³⁷ Foreign policy programs revolved around three broad principles: defense, diplomacy, and development (often referred to as the "3 Ds"). See U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), "U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants: Obligations and Loan Authorizations, July 1, 1945-September 30, 2015," p. 12. Commonly referred to as "The Greenbook," the report is prepared annually by USAID as required by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (P.L. 87-195), Section 634, as amended. See also, Curt Tarnoff and Marian L. Lawson, "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy," *Congressional Research Service*, June 17, 2016.

³⁸ There are five broad categories of aid: peace and security; investing in people; governing justly and democratically; economic growth; and humanitarian assistance. Curt Tarnoff and Marian L. Lawson, "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy," *Congressional Research Service*, June 17, 2016; U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), "Foreign Aid Explorer: The Official Record of U.S. Foreign Aid," 2017, <https://explorer.usaid.gov/data.html>; "The U.S. Foreign Aid Budget, Visualized" *Washington Post*, Oct. 18, 2016.



Graph caption: U.S. foreign aid from 1946-2015 (in billions of U.S. dollars). Note the heightened foreign aid during the Marshall Plan from 1948-1951, the reduction of foreign assistance after the end of the Cold War, and the sharp increase after the attacks of 9/11 in 2001. Graph provided by Congressional Research Service, “Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy,” 17 July 2016, 16.

This foreign assistance serves a number of purposes. First, it helps create sustainable governments and prosperous economies so that internal strife from social or fiscal problems do not grow into larger problems. Humanitarian relief helps struggling nations restore governance in the wake of natural disasters. Second, it bolsters the military capacity of partner nations, permitting internal security problems from becoming destabilizing issues. During the Cold War, military assistance was focused on anti-communist efforts. Since 2001, it has focused on counter-terror programs. If foreign nations can handle their own domestic security issues, it prevents the U.S. from having to get involved in costly overseas military operations. Military assistance, for example, may be attached to a requirement to permit U.S. base facilities in overseas locations. Third, because much of the economic and military assistance comes directly from U.S. business firms, it stimulates the U.S. economy. The U.S. benefits financially from productive overseas markets that produces revenue and generates jobs for Americans.

The U.S. also supports multinational institutions that many American unilateralists have historically been contemptuous of. For example, the United States pays 22% of the United Nations budget and is the largest financial contributor to United Nations Peacekeeping, contributing about 23% of the total peacekeeping budget.³⁹ The U.S. also pays about 42% of the total budget for the Organization of

³⁹ United Nations General Assembly, “Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations,” (Resolution 70/245), 08 February 2016. Assessments are based on a variety of factors including the estimates of gross national income. China is the second highest contributor paying about 8% annually. See also, General Accounting Office, “United Nations: Costs of Peacekeeping Is Likely to Exceed Current Estimates.” Washington DC, August 2000.

American States (OAS).⁴⁰ Since World War II, with the exception of several years between 1989 and 2001 during which Japan ranked first among aid donors, the United States has led the developed countries in net disbursements of economic aid. In 2014, the most recent year for which data are available, the United States disbursed \$32.73 billion in overseas development assistance (ODA), or about 24% of the \$136.16 billion in total net disbursements that year.⁴¹

The expansive U.S. contributions to democracy and human rights often goes unrecognized. Fortifying democratic institutions and human rights standards are long been a key foreign policy objective. The U.S. has distributed more than \$2 billion dollars annually in foreign aid during the past ten years to advance democratic standards and promote U.S. values such as a strong civil society and robust programs on human rights and the rule of law.⁴²

Foreign Policy Dilemmas during the Cold War

During the Cold War, U.S. policymakers had to decide between two difficult choices: realist requirements such as stability and security or idealist values such as democracy and human rights. In the long effort to contain communism, many American foreign policy experts perceived the struggle between communists and capitalists as an existential battle between forces of good and evil. Tough foreign policy choices had to be made some of which included abandoning traditional American values in order to contain Soviet expansion. For example, George Kennan (author of the influential 1947 “Long Telegram” and a year later the Foreign Policy article, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct”) said, “We must concede that harsh government measures of repression may be the only answer; that these measures have to proceed from regimes whose origins and methods would not stand the test of American concepts of democratic procedures.”⁴³ President Eisenhower’s Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, contended that “The U.S. should back strong men in the Latin American governments,” because “wherever a dictator was replaced, Communists gained.”⁴⁴

Part 3 – U.S. Foreign Policy Development

Separation of Powers between Branches of Government

There are two important structural features of U.S. government that play an important role on how foreign policy is developed: (1) federalism and (2) separation of powers between the three branches of

⁴⁰ An amount equivalent to \$58.5 million in FY2015 budget. Peter J. Meyer, “Organization of American States: Background and Issues for Congress,” *Congressional Research Service*, 22 Aug 2016, 5.

⁴¹ Curt Tarnoff and Marian L. Lawson, “Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy,” *Congressional Research Service*, June 17, 2016, p. 20.

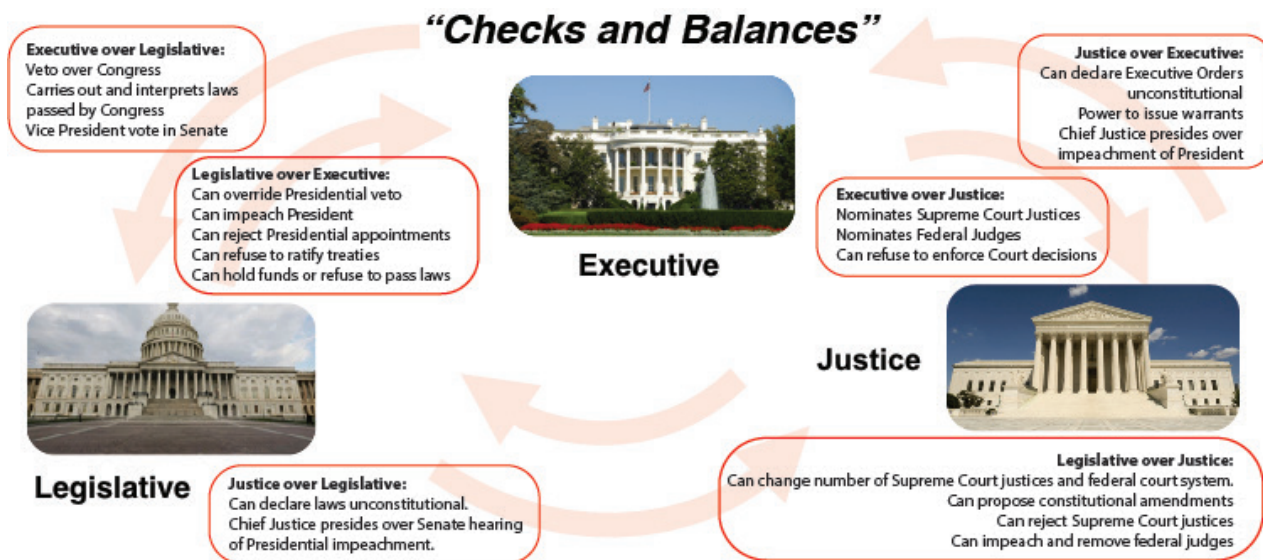
⁴² Marian L. Lawson and Susan B. Epstein, “Democracy Promotion: An Objective of U.S. Foreign Assistance,” *Congressional Research Service*, 31 May 2017, 1.

⁴³ George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925–1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), 354–356.

⁴⁴ James Wood, *Problems in Modern Latin American History: Sources and Interpretations*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014, 203.

government. The first, federalism, refers to the sovereign authorities vested with the individual 50 states and the federal government. This balance of states' rights and the rights of the central government has been one of the most important and controversial issues since the founding of the Republic and has been examined in some detail previously in this article.

The second structural element of U.S. foreign policy development is the separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. The U.S. government is organized to ensure an important system of checks and balances where each of the three branches of government (executive, legislative, and judicial) perform oversight on the other branches. It is a constitutional arrangement presidential scholar Edward S. Corwin described as an "invitation to struggle."⁴⁵ For example, the Executive Branch representatives sign foreign treaties but ratification is dependent upon two-thirds of the Senators' approval. Likewise, the President nominates U.S. ambassadors to foreign countries but the individuals require Senate approval before assuming their diplomatic posts. The Legislative Branch (the two houses of Congress) passes laws but the Judicial Branch determines the constitutionality of the laws. Numerous other government entities are involved in the development and execution of U.S. foreign policy. For example, Congress's Foreign Affairs Committees⁴⁶ and Armed Services Committees in both the House of Representatives and the Senate play an important role in determining U.S. relations with other countries. Other groups – inside and outside government – also affect decisions on foreign policy to include public opinion, domestic politics, economic interests, and special interest groups.



Caption: The U.S. system of checks and balances enshrined in the U.S. Constitution.

⁴⁵ Edward S. Corwin, *The President: Office and Powers, 1787-1948*. New York: New York University Press 1948, 208; Norman J. Ornstein and Thomas Mann, “When Congress Checks Out,” *Foreign Affairs* 85/6, Nov/Dec 2006, 67.

⁴⁶ The House Committee is called the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Senate Committee is called the Foreign Relations Committee.

Disproportionate U.S. Foreign Policy Power in the Executive Branch?

Observers of U.S. foreign policy have noticed a disconcerting shift in the separation of powers system enshrined in the Constitution. The Executive Branch - the President and his Cabinet - have accumulated a disproportionate amount of influence on how the country manages its relations with other countries.⁴⁷ Nearly the entirety of the Executive Branch – about five million government employees (including the armed forces) with billions of dollars of budget largesse – do the bidding of the President. Similarly, the President’s 15 hand-picked Cabinet Secretaries are tasked to execute the President’s priorities. Through the Secretary of State, the President oversees nearly 190 ambassadors to foreign nations and organizations, all of whom serve as the direct U.S. government liaison to foreign countries on political, economic, social, and security issues. Included in this list of diplomatic envoys are U.S. representatives to international organizations such as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations, the European Union, and the Organizations of American States, as well as a number of Ambassadors-at-Large.

Normally, Congress has the exclusive power to pass federal laws. But the President has the authority to declare “executive orders” to the members of the Executive Branch. There is no direct reference to “executive orders” in the Constitution but the practice (as an administrative tool) has been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. If not in direct contradiction to the Constitution, executive orders carry the full force of laws. In this manner, presidential decisions can bypass the separation of powers developed by the Founders, undermining the authority of the Congress. For example, Executive Order 9066 by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1942 ordered the internment of 120,000 Japanese-Americans in the United States during World War Two.⁴⁸ More recently, on January 27, 2017, President Trump passed Executive Order 13769 banning Muslim immigrants from seven Arab countries from entering the United States. It was declared unconstitutional by federal courts the following day.

Similarly, the President has the authority to reach executive agreements with foreign parties. Like executive orders, there is no direct reference to executive agreements in the Constitution but the practice is widely accepted. The great majority of international agreements are not formally ratified international treaties that are subject to advice and consent of the U.S. Senate but rather executive agreements made by the President and the Executive branch. In fact, in some cases, there is no requirement to consult Congress on the President’s actions, providing the Executive a degree of autonomy that is contrary to the Founders’ intentions. Since 1789, over 18,500 executive agreements have been concluded by the United States (more than 17,300 of which were concluded since 1939). In comparison, only about 1,100 international treaties that have been ratified by the U.S.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Eugene Wittkopf and James McCormick. “Congress, the President, and the End of the Cold War,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42/4 (Aug 1998): 440-466; Arthur Schlesinger’s, *The Imperial Presidency*, New York: Mariner Books, 2004; Donald Wolfensberger, “The Return of the Imperial Presidency?,” *The Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 2002, 36-41.

⁴⁸ Two-thirds were U.S. citizens and had lived in the U.S. for 20-40 years. President Ford rescinded Executive Order 9066 in 1976. President George H. W. Bush ordered redress payments and letters of apology sent to all detainees in 1989.

⁴⁹ Michael John Garcia, “International Law and Agreements: Their Effect upon U.S. Law,” *Congressional Research Service*, 18 Feb 2015, 4.

The President also enjoys additional privileges unique to the Executive branch. For example, he may declare “executive privilege” if he believes certain internal communications related to presidential decision making and deliberations within the Executive Branch should remain private. Not all internal executive branch information is legally shielded from Congress; the president must choose whether to invoke it with regard to a particular topic. The infrequently invoked rule is not in the Constitution but has been upheld by Supreme Court decisions. For all intents and purposes, this protects the President and members of his cabinet and staff from inquiries and subpoenas from Congress, effectively limiting an important tool of oversight within the government.⁵⁰

The President also has the broad authority to grant pardons for crimes or legal infractions. Presidential pardons are constitutionally legal and not subject to Congressional scrutiny. U.S. Presidents have granted on average dozens of criminal pardons, most often at the end of their term in office.⁵¹

Perhaps the most worrisome example of executive autonomy is the President’s ability to deploy the armed forces or use his executive authority as Commander in Chief of the armed forces to launch military strikes without the consent of the Congress. The President is expected to notify Congress before he sends the U.S. military into action for an extended period. But in times of crisis when deploying the military requires a prompt and often covert action, the President has the authority to deploy the armed forces for up to 60 days without Congressional approval.⁵² Despite the constitutional power-sharing system, the President’s power as Commander in Chief permit him to make unilateral decisions. The Congress, on the other hand, is forced to act in a reactive, rather than proactive manner.

The U.S. has only declared war on a foreign nation eleven times in its history.⁵³ However, the U.S. has used force abroad hundreds of other times. Many of these instances were undeclared wars such as the Korean War of 1950-1953, the Vietnam War from 1964 to 1973, the Persian Gulf War of 1991, actions against terrorists after the 9/11 attacks, and the war with Iraq in 2003.

Presidents have rarely received formal congressional approval to go to war. More often, the President notifies a few senior members of Congress of his intentions and then proceeds with the military

⁵⁰ Todd Garvey, “Presidential Claims of Executive Privilege: History, Law, Practice, and Recent Developments,” *Congressional Research Service*, 15 Dec 2014; Charlie Savage, “Explaining Executive Privilege and Sessions’ Refusal to Answer Questions,” *New York Times*, June 15, 2017.

⁵¹ For example, see the Department of Justice, Clemency Statistics, <https://www.justice.gov/pardon/clemency-statistics>. The most recent example of Presidential pardon was the case of Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Arizona, a controversial pardon granted by President Donald Trump on August 25, 2017. Richard M. Thompson II, “The President’s Pardon Power and Legal Effects on Collateral Consequences,” *Congressional Research Service*, 26 June 2016; T.J. Halstead, “An Overview of the Presidential Pardoning Power,” *Congressional Research Service*, 12 Dec 2006.

⁵² The War Powers Act gives the president authority to use force in advance of “specific statutory authorization” or declaration of war in the case of “a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces.” The legislation cuts off presidential use of force after 60 days unless authorized by Congress. When it was passed in 1973, President Richard Nixon tried to veto it, calling it a Congressional infringement on executive power. Congress overrode the Presidential veto.

⁵³ These were during five separate war declarations: Britain, 1812; Mexico, 1846; Spain, 1898; World War One against Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1917; and World War Two against the Axis Powers, 1941 and later against Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania in 1942.

operation. Truman didn't have Congressional approval when he ordered troops to Korea, George H. W. Bush sent forces to Panama without congressional authority, and Bill Clinton acted on his own when he initiated the air war over Kosovo. This effectively cuts the Congress out of the decision-making progress and leaves the authority to deploy the military in the hands of the president. As Presidential scholar Arthur Schlesinger wrote, "the American President had become on issues of war and peace the most absolute monarch among the great powers of the world."⁵⁴

In 2001, following the 9/11 attacks against targets in New York City and Washington DC, Congress passed the Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF). It was passed nearly unanimously by both houses of Congress on September 14, 2001 and gave the President the authority to use all "necessary and appropriate force" against those whom he determined "planned, authorized, committed or aided" the September 11th attacks, or who harbored said persons or groups.⁵⁵ But since then, the terrorist threat has evolved significantly from the Taliban, to Saddam Hussein, to Al Qaeda, and now to a network of global terrorist groups loosely aligned with the Islamic State. In addition to Afghanistan and Iraq, U.S. military forces have seen action in Yemen, Syria, Libya, and the Philippines. Despite that, neither President George Bush nor President Barack Obama requested permission from the Congress for the continued use of the U.S. military in other countries or under circumstances that differ from the original intent of the AUMF.⁵⁶ The AUMF permits the unilateral use of military power by a President, one that is significantly different from what is intended by the Constitution.

Consistencies on U.S. Foreign Policy among Democrats and Republicans

The U.S. has never had a president from other than two principal political parties, Republicans (conservatives) and Democrats (liberals). Many observers of U.S. politics remark that the distinctions between the foreign policy objectives of these two political parties are in reality very minimal. Despite the political gridlock present in Washington DC,⁵⁷ there are a number of important foreign policy priorities that are of mutual agreement between any U.S. President, regardless of his political affiliation. Every American President places a great deal of emphasis on the defense of American territory, maintaining American military superiority, invigorating U.S. economic opportunities, supporting and defending constitutional values, and providing support for Israel. Since the attacks of 9/11, protecting the home-

⁵⁴ Arthur Schlesinger's, *The Imperial Presidency*, New York: Mariner Books, 2004. As quoted in Donald Wolfensberger, "The Return of the Imperial Presidency?" *The Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 2002, 36-41; Kennedy, David. "Founders' Fuzziness." *Time*, 29 January 2007, 13.

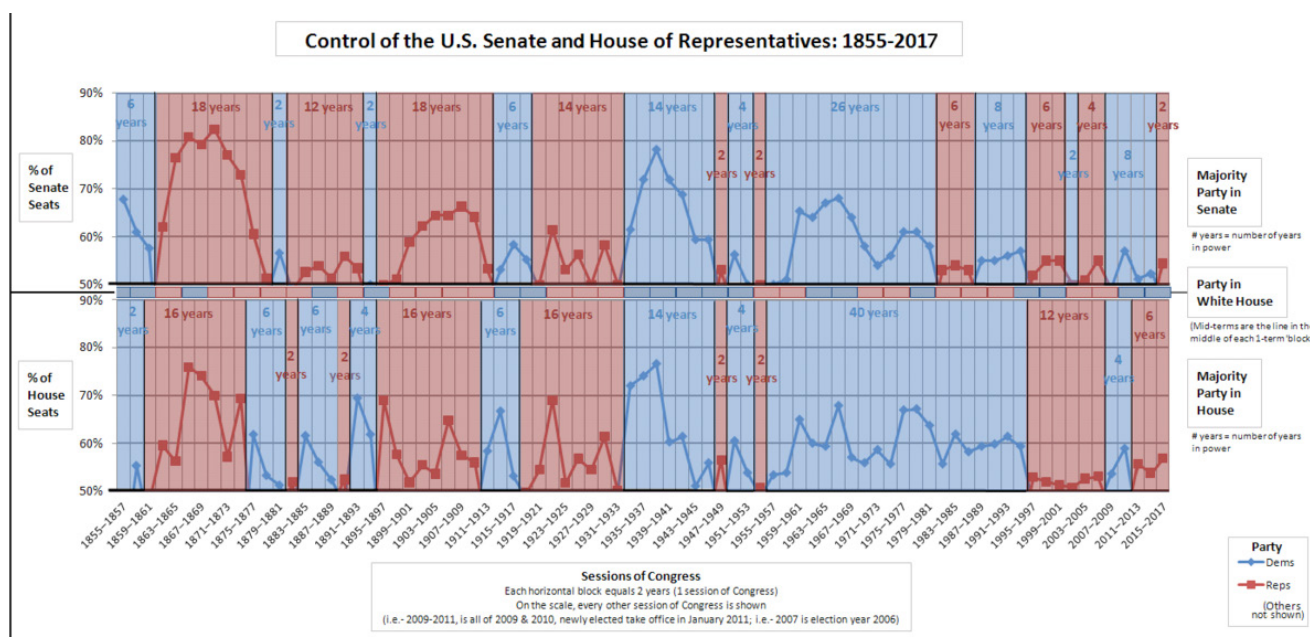
⁵⁵ 115 STAT. 224. Public Law 107-40—SEPT. 18, 2001. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington DC.

⁵⁶ David J. Barron, *Waging War: The Clash Between Presidents and Congress, 1776 to ISIS* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016). See also, Andrew Rudalevige, "War Powers and the White House," *Washington Post*, 10 Sept 2014; Bruce Ackerman and Oona Hathaway, "Death of the War Powers Act?" *Washington Post*, 11 May 2011; Matthew Dallek, "Despite its imperial power, the presidency sometimes bends to Congress in wartime," *Washington Post*, 27 Oct 2016; Philip Bump, "The president was never intended to be the most powerful part of government," *Washington Post*, 13 Feb 2017.

⁵⁷ The political paralysis in the U.S. Congress may be part of the reason U.S. citizens voted in favor of change from the status quo in the 2016 election. According to public opinion polls, public approval of Congress's performance declined to 8% in 2013. Link: <https://www.realclearpolitics.com/>

land and ensuring the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have been a major concern of every U.S. political leader regardless of political ideology or party affiliation.

The freedom to take unilateral military action is also a mutual interest of all Presidents. Despite Democratic presidents' proclivity for multilateralism, nearly every American President reserves the right to act unilaterally, if necessary. President Obama, for example, made sure to mention this prerogative while receiving the Nobel Peace Prize for embracing multilateralism after eight years of U.S. unilateral action under President Bush. "I reserve the right to act unilaterally if necessary to defend my nation," he said.⁵⁸ He repeated the same message years later during an address to graduating Army officers at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. "The United States will use military force, unilaterally if necessary, when our core interests demand it, when our people are threatened, when our livelihoods are at stake, when the security of our allies is in danger," the President said.⁵⁹



Graph caption: Control of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, 1855-2017. The top portion represents the U.S. Senate. The bottom portion represents the U.S. House of Representatives. The President's party is marked on the center line. Every vertical line represents two years. Democratic control is provided in blue, Republican in red. The jagged lines represent the percentage of control of each party. Notice that the majority parties since 1995 have had only a slight advantage and the frequency in which the Congress has shifted power among the two parties. Credit: "Party in Power: Congress and Presidency, A Visual Guide to The Balance of Power in Congress, 1945-2008". Retrieved 10 September 2017. Link: <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-political-make-up-of-congress-3368266>

Similarly, Congressional decision makers from both sides of the aisle also share common foreign policy concerns. In 1999, the Kyoto Protocol was rejected nearly unanimously 99-0 in the Senate because it was perceived to hurt the U.S. economy. The closing of the detention facility in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba and transfer of terrorist suspects to stateside federal prisons was rejected by Congress 99-0, one of the few instances of Congressional cooperation.

⁵⁸ Barack Obama, "A Just and Lasting Peace," Nobel Prize speech, 10 December 2009.

⁵⁹ President Barack Obama, commencement address at the United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, May 28, 2014.

Likewise, just as there are commonalities between the political parties, each President may opt for foreign policy priorities that are not in keeping with his party's political ideology. In fact, it is hard to find a U.S. President that was ever completely loyal to his party's political agenda. That is, on occasion, a Democratic President may choose U.S. foreign policy issues popular with Republican Presidents and vice versa. For example, President Clinton did not get United Nations approval for military operations in Kosovo, Bosnia, or Somalia. Likewise, many observers were surprised to see the extent of Wilsonian-flavored liberal approaches to international relations by President George W. Bush who encouraged the spread of democracy in the Middle East. For example, following the 9/11 attacks, Bush said, "the advance of human freedom. . . now depends upon us,"⁶⁰ and "It is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight."⁶¹ Such liberal ideas are usually those of Democratic presidents.

Part 4 – U.S. Foreign Policy since the End of the Cold War

The final part of this manuscript focuses on the foreign policy of the United States since the end of the Cold War. An analysis of the last four Administrations – alternating between Democratic and Republican Presidents – permits students of U.S. foreign policy to see the ideological contrasts and similarities between the two parties.

Clinton Foreign Policy, 1993-2001

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the United States emerged as the world's sole superpower. In just 50 years, the U.S. and its allies had vanquished fascism and communism. Almost as a demonstration of its military primacy, the U.S. defeated the Iraqi Army during the January 1991 Persian Gulf War. The conflict – a 5-week strategic bombing campaign followed by a lightning-quick 4-day ground war – decimated the fourth largest armed forces in the world. America's military power was unmatched. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, democracy and the U.S.-led liberal international order had won the day and the U.S. was now unencumbered to promote its political and economic agenda without interference from Moscow.⁶² Francis Fukuyama termed it the "end of history."⁶³ Democracy was suddenly the "only game in town."⁶⁴

Bill Clinton was elected to the U.S. Presidency less than a year after the end of the 40-year Cold

⁶⁰ George W. Bush, Address to Joint Session of Congress, 20 Sept 2001, following the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington DC.

⁶¹ George W. Bush, State of the Union Address to Congress, 15 Feb 2002.

⁶² Robert Kagan, *The World America Made*, New York: Vintage, 2012; Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21st Century*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

⁶³ Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The National Interest*, Summer 1989. Fukuyama made 3 points: (1) democracy and free market capitalism were now widely accepted, (2) with the defeat of communism, there was no other challenger to the liberal-capitalist economic model, and (3) even potential superpowers such as Russia and China were adapting to the liberal international order.

⁶⁴ Stephen Linz and Alfred Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, 5.

War. The Administration's first year was marked by a significant debate on how to cash in on the peace dividend from the Cold War. Should the U.S. reduce its armed forces and return to its isolationist position as it had attempted to do after World War Two? Should it withdraw from internationalism and restore its traditional foreign policy practice of noninterventionism? Or should it take advantage of the "unipolar moment" and spread American values and democracy across the globe?⁶⁵

At this critical juncture, a number of prominent foreign policy scholars recommended that the U.S. return to its traditional practice of isolationism and restraint. During Clinton's first term as President, a team of professors from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) wrote an influential article titled, "Come Home, America."⁶⁶ In it, they argued that pursuing an internationalist agenda was contrary to U.S.'s interests. The payback for security cooperation efforts with overseas partners that the country receives was, in their words, "vanishingly small."⁶⁷ The U.S. could save a tremendous amount of money by reducing the number of active duty troops and decreasing the country's overseas military presence, particularly in Europe and Asia. In place of additional overseas investments, the U.S. should cash in on a "peace dividend," not a security dividend. The funds would be better utilized to address internal problems – crumbling infrastructure, education system, budget deficits, and race relations – that had taken a back seat to Cold War security necessities. Pursuing open-ended engagements such as stability operations would lead to costly overseas adventures that would result in mission fatigue and imperial overstretch.

Support for international organizations such as NATO had served their purpose, the authors wrote. The threat of the Soviet Union had passed therefore there was no need for NATO. In the authors' opinion, continued support for European partners was unnecessary. Under this design, NATO members "lacked the incentive to act responsibly" and would continue to rely on the United States to "solve problems they could tackle themselves."⁶⁸

Despite the recommendations from these and other scholars, President Clinton chose another path, one that would lead the country into uncharted foreign policy territory for the next eight years. Clinton opted to continue building the liberal international order that the U.S. had laid as groundwork at the start of the Cold War. It consisted of strong international institutions, respect for international law and rules, and promotion of democracy and human rights as global values. American global hegemony – the world's unrivaled superpower – provided a historical opportunity to remake the world

⁶⁵ See Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs*, 01 Jan 1990; Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Arise" *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring, 1993), pp. 5-51; Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited", *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Fall 2006, pp. 7-41. For a general overview of U.S. foreign policy options, see Posen, Barry R., and Andrew L. Ross. "Competing U.S. Grand Strategies." In *Strategy and Force Planning*. Edited by Strategy and Force Planning Faculty. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1995, pp. 115-134; and Holsti, Ole R. "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." *Diplomatic History* 13, no. 1 (Winter 1989): 15-44.

⁶⁶ Gholz, Eugene, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky. "Come Home America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation." *International Security* 21, no. 4 (Spring 1997): pp. 5-48.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 11.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 15.

in America's political image. The President's UN ambassador, Madeleine Albright, called the United States the "world's indispensable nation."⁶⁹ The U.S. would play the lead role in building that international system, one that reflected its own image.⁷⁰

The Clinton foreign policy – alternately referred to as “assertive multilateralism” or “liberal internationalism” – would include a number of important components. First, it would involve an effort to continue expanding democracy among developing nations. As Clinton and his team saw it, democracies were stable, responsive, and compatible with free markets which served America's economic interests.⁷¹ “Democracies do not threaten their neighbors. They do not practice terrorism. They do not spawn refugees. They respond to the needs of their citizens and thereby achieve greater stability and prosperity for all,” explained Secretary of State Warren Christopher.⁷² Because democracies were more likely to be politically enduring, this Wilsonian-style advocacy of democracy and individual rights became a national security priority.⁷³

Second, Clinton would work closely with international institutions like the United Nations. He recognized that the U.S. could quickly become overextended by trying to play the world's policeman and sought support for United Nations peacekeeping operations. “The most important thing is for the United States to recognize that, flaws and all, the U.N. serves our interests because it deals with problems that we do not wish to take on unilaterally,” U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Richard Holbrooke admitted.⁷⁴ UN operations (if carefully managed) could be mutually beneficial for U.S. interests.⁷⁵

Third, the U.S. would use its military advantages to intervene in humanitarian missions. Reluctantly acknowledging its military hegemony while at the same time wanting to avoid becoming the world's police force, Clinton would not stand idly by while atrocities were committed by rogue governments or in failed states. Under his watch, American forces would intervene in Somalia in 1993, in Bosnia in 1995, and in Kosovo in 1999.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Bob Hebert, “In America; War Games,” *New York Times*, 22 Feb 1998.

⁷⁰ Political pundits assigned a number of titles to Clinton's foreign policy. It alternately became known as “assertive multilateralism” or “liberal hegemony” or “liberal internationalism” or “democratic enlargement.”

⁷¹ Marian L. Lawson and Susan B. Epstein, “Democracy Promotion: An Objective of U.S. Foreign Assistance,” *Congressional Research Service*, May 31, 2017, 6.

⁷² Tony Smith, “A Wilsonian World,” *World Policy Journal*, Vol 12/2, Summer 1995, 65.

⁷³ Strobe Talbott, “Democracy and the National Interest,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 75/6 (Nov/Dec 1996); Chester A. Crocker, “All Aid is Political,” *New York Times*, 21 Nov 1996, 29.

⁷⁴ Stewart Patrick and Shephard Forman, *Multilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2002. 213.

⁷⁵ President Bill Clinton, *Remarks to the 54th Session of the United Nations General Assembly*, 21 Sept 1999; See Presidential Decision Directive 25, “Clinton Administration Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations,” 22 Feb 1996; General Accounting Office, *United Nations: Costs of Peacekeeping Is Likely to Exceed Current Estimates*. Washington DC, August 2000; Sarah Sewall, “U.S. Policy and Practice Regarding Multilateral Peace Operations” Carr Center for Human Rights Policy Working Paper 1-03, 2000; Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, “Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe,” *International Security*, Vol 16/1, Summer 1991, 114-161; Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, “The Promise of Collective Security,” *International Security*, Vol 20/1, Summer 1995, 52-61.

⁷⁶ James Turner Johnson, “Just War I: The Broken Tradition,” *The National Interest*, no 45, Fall 1996, 35-36; Charles Kupchan, “Reclaiming the Moral High Ground: What Does the West Stand for if it does nothing,” *Los Angeles Times*, 23 July 1995; Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Democratization and the Danger of War,” *International Security*, Vol 20/1 Summer 1995; Anna Simons, “Shades of Somalia,” *Washington Post*, 17 Nov 1996.

Fourth, the United States would seek to maintain its military primacy over potential emerging competitors like Russia or China. The U.S. would use its military advantages in the fields of technology, mobility, sea power, and strategic sealift to protect its overseas interests, particularly in the Middle East and Asia.⁷⁷

George W. Bush Foreign Policy, 2001-2009

During the 2000 Presidential campaign, Republican candidate George W. Bush's criticized Clinton's liberal policies on humanitarian interventionism and overseas stretch. Bush, like other Republicans, preferred unilateralism to multilateralism and was suspicious of the United Nations, an organization that to many Administration officials represented a world government run by unelected bureaucrats that could interfere with U.S. domestic law and sovereignty. He vowed to never place U.S. troops under United Nations command.⁷⁸

Bush's initial foreign policy was labeled "assertive nationalism." His security policy priorities, announced soon after taking office in January 2001, consisted of four objectives. First, the U.S. would continue to build the tools of American power by raising defense spending and strengthening the military. Second, the country would avoid open-ended humanitarian or peacekeeping missions as those seen during the Clinton years. Third, it would challenge rising competitors such as China and address the threat of the possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by rogue states. Fourth, it would act unilaterally when needed.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ "Excerpts from Pentagon's Plan: 'Prevent the Re-Emergence of a New Rival,'" *New York Times*, 08 March 1992.

⁷⁸ Governor George W. Bush, "A Distinctly American Internationalism," Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, November 19, 1999. Republican Senator Jesse Helms, the powerful head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1995-2001 reflected what many conservative Americans thought: the U.S. would place no forces under UN peacekeeping commanders. Rather, the U.S. was powerful enough to run its own operations. See Senator Jesse Helms' 2000 address to the U.N. Security Council.

⁷⁹ Colucci, Lamont. *The National Security Doctrines of the American Presidency*. Volume One. Praeger Security International. 2012, 439.



Photo caption: Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama wrestled with how to manage U.S. foreign policy at the end of the Cold War and in the face of religious extremism. Photo credit: Reuters.

Much of the Bush strategy focused on using America’s military might to advance its interests. The 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review stated that the U.S. would “maintain or improve the long-term military preeminence” of the country’s armed forces.⁸⁰ The President promised, “America has and intends to keep military strengths beyond challenge.”⁸¹ Under Bush, foreign policy emphasis was on defense more so than diplomacy.

Less than nine months into President George W. Bush’s first term, the United States suffered the worst attack in the country’s history. The attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington DC killed nearly 3,000 people, including 372 foreigners from 61 countries, demonstrating the ability for terrorists to launch overseas attacks in a globalized world. One hundred thirty-eight of the victims were from Latin American and Caribbean nations.

Americans found themselves asking difficult introspective questions about U.S. foreign policy after the atrocities on that day. Why do they hate us? Was it the fanatical ideology of Muslim extremists or the basing of U.S. soldiers on sacred Muslim territory in Saudi Arabia after the 1991 Gulf War? Was it the support Washington provided for repressive regimes? Or was it the perceived unconditional support of Israel that somehow made the United States complicit for human rights violations in the Occupied Territories of the Gaza Strip and West Bank? Was it the sanctions against Saddam Hussein’s government in Iraq that allegedly resulted in thousands of deaths from starvation as the Iraq government

⁸⁰ U.S. Department of Defense, “Quadrennial Defense Review Report,” Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 30 Sept 2001, 30, 62.

⁸¹ President’s graduation address to U.S. Military Academy, West Point. 01 June 2002.

neglected its citizens? The President had another explanation. “They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other,” he told a Joint Session of Congress just over a week after the attacks.⁸²

The fear in the corridors of Washington following the 9/11 attacks were of an impending second attack. For many, it was not *if* a second attack was coming but *when* it would come. Bush and his cabinet secretaries believed that to stop future attacks, the U.S. needed to go on the offensive, not remain in a defensive posture and wait for the attackers to appear. To be successful, Bush needed to be preemptive, to beat the terrorists to the next event. “We cannot wait for the final proof -- the smoking gun -- that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud,” he said.⁸³

The 9/11 attacks prompted a quick change for U.S. foreign policy. The President formally unveiled his new national security doctrine at the June 1st, 2002 commencement ceremony at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. The Bush doctrine would draw upon elements of American primacy, assertive realism, selective multilateralism, and democratic transformation.⁸⁴ It consisted of four core elements: first, a renewed emphasis on unilateralism, not multilateralism; second, preemptive attacks, if necessary, would be employed to protect the U.S. homeland and interests abroad; third, the promotion of democratic practices in the Middle East that would counteract extremist groups; and, fourth, the use of military force in lieu of diplomacy to protect Americans and U.S. interests.

Less than a month after the attacks in Washington and New York City, the U.S. launched its offensive against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The strange juxtaposition of Air Force strategic bombers flying overhead while U.S. Special Operations soldiers rode horses alongside Northern Alliance surrogate forces below indicated that 21st century conflict would be a mix of old tactics and new technology. In just three months, the U.S. and its coalition allies drove the Taliban from power and began a long, costly effort of nation-building effort in the country.

Paradoxically for a Republican president, President Bush foreign policy channeled a bit of Wilsonian idealism. Bush’s discourse after 9/11 included lofty, liberal aspirations in which the U.S. would export American-style democracy and individual rights to the Middle East and Southwest Asia. In the President’s perspective, it would make the governments of the region more responsive to citizens’ needs and thereby subvert the recruitment propaganda of the terrorists. “Our nation’s cause has always been larger than our nation’s defense.”⁸⁵ He called the confrontation with Islamic extremists “the great ideological struggle of the 21st century.”⁸⁶ This newly established strategy was to be formally known as

⁸² “Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation,” Washington Post, 20 Sept 2001; Fareed Zakaria, “Why Do They Hate Us?” *America & World*, 260-277.

⁸³ George W. Bush speech in Cincinnati, Ohio, 08 Oct 2002.

⁸⁴ See, Stanley Renshon and Peter Suedfeld, *Understanding the Bush Doctrine: Psychology and Strategy in an Age of Terrorism*, New York: Routledge, 2007, 13-20.

⁸⁵ Robert Kaplan, “World of Difference,” *New Republic*, March 29, 2004, 20.

⁸⁶ Reported in Michael Hirsh, “Obama and Bush: Two Very Different Wars,” *The Atlantic*, May 6, 2011; see also Condoleezza Rice, “The Promise of Democratic Peace: Why Promoting Freedom is the Only Realistic Path to Security,” *Washington Post*, December 11, 2005.

Bush's Freedom Agenda. Afghanistan and Iraq became the laboratories of the new experiment.

The Bush Administration also increased foreign assistance to help struggling governments who may be vulnerable to extremist ideology. Failing or weak states, such as Afghanistan, can become terrorist and criminal safe havens and might be pathways for the proliferation of dangerous weapons.⁸⁷ On March 14, 2002, the President announced a significant increase in development aid for partner nations. To spread democracy through politically stunted countries, the President was intent on a nation-building effort that surpassed Clinton's efforts. On April 17, 2002, at the Virginia Military Institute, the President committed the United States to "lead the international effort to rebuild Afghanistan on the model of the Marshall Plan for Europe after World War II."⁸⁸ Bush administration officials saw the Afghan assistance program as a catalyst that might lead to democratic reforms in neighboring Pakistan and Iran.⁸⁹ His administration established the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), an independent agency overseen by the Department of State and USAID, and promised to double the amount of overseas foreign assistance by 2004. Foreign assistance eventually tripled under the Bush Administration, from \$9.1 billion in 1999 to \$26 billion in 2008.⁹⁰ "We must include every African, every Asian, every Latin American, every Muslim, in an expanding circle of development. By offering hope where there is none, by relieving suffering and hunger where there is too much, we will make the world not only safer, but better," the president said.⁹¹

In Afghanistan, it worked. Temporarily. Less than two years later, perhaps flush with success from the victory in Afghanistan, U.S. forces invaded Iraq. Again, the initial conflict was over quickly; Saddam Hussein's forces dissipated into the Iraqi desert after being pounded by air strikes.⁹² However, the nation-building and security assistance programs in both countries proved frustrating. Government corruption, poor professionalism of the security forces, and a resilient enemy hindered much of the foreign development efforts of the Bush Administration.

Obama Foreign Policy, 2009-2017

Barack Obama's election as President in 2008 coincided with a multitude of complex foreign policy challenges. Security conditions in Iraq were fragile, the Taliban had reappeared in Afghanistan, and North Korea and Iran had continued to resist efforts to curtail its nuclear arms program. Public opinion polls strongly supported a withdrawal of U.S. forces and a more restrained overseas military strategy. After five years of violent struggle in Iraq without any apparent end in sight, a war weary public wanted to see less American adventurism overseas.

⁸⁷ Liana Sun Wyler, "Weak and Failing States: Evolving Security Threats and U.S. Policy," *Congressional Research Service*, 28 Aug 2008, 5.

⁸⁸ Afghanistan's Marshall Plan. *The New York Times*. April 19, 2002.

⁸⁹ Hassan, Oz and Hammond, Andrew. "The Rise and Fall of American's Freedom Agenda in Afghanistan: Counter-terrorism, Nation-building and Democracy." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15:4, 533.

⁹⁰ U.S. Department of State archives, Foreign Assistance Budget. Link: <https://2001-2009.state.gov/f/budget/>

⁹¹ William Easterly, "This Common Argument for U.S. Foreign Aid is actually quite Xenophobic," *Washington Post*, March 31, 2017.

⁹² Beinart, P., 2011. "Obama's foreign policy doctrine finally emerges with 'offshore balancing'." *The Daily Beast*, 28 November 2011.

After mixed successes in Afghanistan and little return for its investment in Iraq, Americans were ready for a change in the foreign policy status quo. Political pundits encouraged a more selective U.S. foreign policy, what some called restraint and retrenchment.⁹³ More accurately, the Obama foreign policy strategy was best described as “offshore balancing.”⁹⁴ The U.S. would withdraw from direct intervention in overseas conflict and instead rely on securing U.S. interests from outside the country. Obama would leave Afghanistan security problems to the Afghans and keep Al Qaeda from reconstituting itself with Special Forces and attacks from the air.⁹⁵ This would slow what many saw as the U.S. overstretch of the Clinton and Bush Administrations. The U.S. would pull back, be more selective in its overseas engagement, and return to the continental isolationism that was the trademark of U.S. foreign policy prior until 1945.⁹⁵ Obama’s campaign promises in the 2008 Presidential election included a promise to (1) end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, (2) repair international relations damaged during the eight years of the Bush Administration, and (3) to comply with domestic and international law. Internationally, Obama’s arrival was widely welcomed, especially by foreigners who had tired of President Bush’s unilateral policies. Obama’s Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, said “There is a great exhalation of breath going on around the world. We’ve got a lot of damage to repair.”⁹⁶ Just eight months after he entered the White House, Obama won the Nobel Peace Prize more for his embrace of multilateralism than for any significant accomplishment in his short time in office. The citation read, “. . . for his extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples. Multilateral diplomacy has regained a central position, with emphasis on the role that the United Nations and other international institutions can play.”⁹⁷ His first National Security Strategy in 2010 promised, “we will seek broad international support, working with such institutions as NATO and the UN Security Council.”⁹⁸ With regard to international institutions like the United Nations, Hillary Clinton said that one of her goals was to “anchor [American alliances] in multilateral institutional regional organizations so that they would be there for the long run.”⁹⁹

Obama was a pragmatic internationalist who recognized the limitations of U.S. power overseas. Unlike his predecessor, Obama believed he could not rely principally on military firepower and hegemony to achieve foreign policy objectives.¹⁰⁰ From his perspective, unilateralism was too risky, too costly, often counterproductive, and unattractive to many Americans weary of U.S. troops fighting and

⁹³ Barry Posen, “Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January/February 2013), 116-129; Barry Posen, “The Case for Restraint,” *The American Interest*, Nov/Dec 2007, 7-32.

⁹⁴ Colin, Dueck. “The Accommodator: Obama’s foreign policy.” *Policy Review* 169, October, 2011.

⁹⁵ Beinart, Peter. “Obama’s foreign policy doctrine finally emerges with ‘offshore balancing.’” *The Daily Beast*, 28 November 2011.

⁹⁶ Mark Landler, “Clinton Sees an Opportunity for Iran to Return to Diplomacy,” *New York Times*, 27 Jan 2009.

⁹⁷ Citation for Nobel Peace Prize, October 9, 2009.

⁹⁸ 2010 National Security Council.

⁹⁹ *The Economist*, “An Interview with Hillary Clinton,” 22 Mar 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Rajaei, Bahram M. and Miller, Mark J. *National Security under the Obama Administration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 21-23.

dying in two Muslim countries. “Since World War II, some of our most costly mistakes came not from our restraint but from our willingness to rush into military adventures without thinking through the consequences, without building international support and legitimacy for our action, without leveling with the American people about the sacrifices required,” he told West Point cadets in 2014.¹⁰¹ Obama would reject unilateralism, embrace multilateralism, rely on diplomacy and development as well as defense, and seek to improve U.S. relations with the Muslim world. A low-cost, light footprint approach, in his opinion, would generate less “anti-American sentiment, or anti-Israel sentiment, or anti-Western sentiment.”¹⁰²

An example of Obama’s promise to confer with the United Nations emerged during the Libya crisis in 2011. Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi launched a scorched earth campaign against his political opposition using mercenaries and indiscriminate bombing against civilian populations. Obama’s foreign policy team was reportedly torn. Some recommended using U.S. military force to prevent another Srebrenica or Rwanda, a humanitarian crisis where thousands were murdered in horrific fashion by a megalomaniac leader. Others were concerned about the optics of the U.S. military operating in another Muslim country. Regardless, the U.S. was not prepared to act unilaterally as it had in Iraq. Obama’s Secretary of State Hilary Clinton admitted, “We think it’s important that the United Nations make this decision [for military intervention] – not the United States.”¹⁰³

Obama recognized the benefits of alliances with partner nations despite the U.S. traditional inclination toward unilateralism. From a historical perspective, the U.S. had benefited greatly from working closely with its allies. Crucial assistance in the U.S. War of Independence was provided by Spain and France. The combined Allied forces during World War Two were necessary to defeat fascists from Japan and Germany. The NATO alliance provided a critical deterrent to Soviet expansion in the Cold War. African Union and ECOWAS troops had considerable success preventing African crises from spilling over its borders. Additionally, since the beginning of the Cold War, security assistance has been a vital part of the U.S. effort to build capacity among partner nations battling dispersed violent extremist groups like the Islamic State, Boko Haram, and Al Shabaab. Perhaps the best restraints on Chinese hegemony in Asia were the numerous bilateral defense treaties that the U.S. has with Asian partners in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Australia.¹⁰⁴

On May 27, 2010, one year after taking office, the Obama Administration published its National

¹⁰¹ President Obama’s commencement address at West Point, *Washington Post*, 28 May 2014.

¹⁰² Beinart, Peter. “Obama’s foreign policy doctrine finally emerges with ‘offshore balancing.’” *The Daily Beast*, 28 November 2011; Cropsey, Seth and Feith, Douglas. “The Obama Doctrine Defined.” *Commentary*. Jul/Aug 2011; Obama, Barack. Obama’s White House Press Conference. 15 February 2011.

¹⁰³ Clinton, H., 2011. Interview with Kay Burley of Sky News. 8 March.

¹⁰⁴ The U.S. has collective defense treaties with Australia and New Zealand (signed September 1, 1951) and bilateral defense treaties with the Philippines (August 30, 1951), and South Korea (October 1, 1953), and Japan (January 19, 1960). Additionally, the U.S. signed the Southeast Asia Treaty for collective defense with Australia, France, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, and the United Kingdom on September 8, 1954.

Security Strategy. The strategy stood upon three pillars. First, the U.S. would focus on American institutional wellbeing by bolstering the domestic strengths of the country: economic renewal at home, an improved education system, transformation of the country's energy program, promotion of economic innovation, access to health care for all Americans, and the reduction of budget and trade deficits. Second, the U.S. would "pursue comprehensive engagement" with major powers such as India, China, and Russia. Third, the U.S. would support and strengthen a just and sustainable international order.¹⁰⁵

Under Obama, emphasis was placed on diplomacy and development on an equal or stronger footing as defense. Obama's Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, testified that "defense, diplomacy and development ... must be mutually reinforcing." The USAID website stated, "The United States is safer and stronger when fewer people face destitution."¹⁰⁶ Under this emphasis, the State Department (the diplomacy component of foreign policy) and the United States Agency for International Development (the development component) published the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), strategic guidance similar to that of the Pentagon's Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). Even senior military leaders in the Obama Administration recognized the importance of development and diplomacy – coupled with strong defensive capabilities through a well-equipped and capable armed forces – to protect U.S. national security interests abroad. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, for example, spoke of "the critical importance of diplomacy and development as fundamental components of our foreign policy and national security" during his May 2011 commencement address at the University of Notre Dame.¹⁰⁷

State and USAID also produced the State Department Strategic Plan 2014-2017 which highlighted five U.S. strategic goals. First, the U.S. government would strengthen America's economic efforts both domestically and internationally by promoting economic growth, reducing extreme poverty, and improving food security. Second, it would emphasize diplomacy and development as tools of U.S. foreign policy, elevating both to an equal or higher status as military efforts. In theory, this would improve stability in the Middle East and North Africa and rebalance the U.S. commitments toward the Asia-Pacific region. Third, it would transition the U.S. energy market into a low-emission, climate friendly, sustainable system that would assist international efforts to combat climate change. Fourth, it would fortify U.S. support for democracy, human rights, and civil society in other countries. Fifth, the strategic

¹⁰⁵ The document specified six main security objectives sought to be achieved by the United States: (1) homeland security, (2) the defeat of al-Qaeda (by denying it safe havens in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia), (3) reversing the spread of nuclear and biological weapons, (4) achieving peace in the greater Middle East, (5) shoring up failing states, and (6) securing cyberspace. Cropsey, Seth and Feith, Douglas. "The Obama Doctrine Defined." *Commentary*, July/Aug 2011.

¹⁰⁶ William Easterly, "This common argument for U.S. foreign aid is actually quite xenophobic," *Washington Post*, March 31, 2017.

¹⁰⁷ Schuyler Foerster and Ray Raymond, "Balanced Internationalism: 5 Core Principles to Guide U.S. National Security Policy," *The National Interest*, 31 July 2016.

plan would modernize the way the U.S. managed diplomacy and development.¹⁰⁸

Militarily, Obama had campaigned to end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan by turning the conflict over to the host nation security forces. He was “tired of watching Washington unthinkingly drift toward war in Muslim countries,” he told his staff.¹⁰⁹ In Afghanistan, as Obama’s Secretary of Defense wrote, “it’s all about getting out.”¹¹⁰ But despite hundreds of billions of dollars of investment in development and defense programs, much of it begun under President Bush’s nation building efforts, Iraq and Afghanistan struggled to govern themselves. In Afghanistan, the Karzai government proved to be an obstinate partner, refusing to sign a status of forces agreement, demanding less American military autonomy in the country, and unable to reduce rampant corruption throughout the country. Additionally, efforts to professionalize the Afghanistan Army was a glacially slow process. Across the Pakistan border, the Islamabad government resisted U.S. efforts to deny Afghan insurgents safe havens in their territory.¹¹¹

In Iraq, the situation deteriorated rapidly soon after the U.S. withdrew its forces in 2010. Ethnic tensions – something U.S. forces had managed to keep at bay – deteriorated into civil conflict with the Americans gone. The Islamic State quickly filled the vacuum of authority.

Defensively, the lengthy efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan demonstrated to the Obama Administration that nation building efforts were too costly and, more often than not, only moderately successful. This became clear when the 2012 National Security Strategy eliminated nation building as a strategic objective, a clear reluctance to pursue large scale ground campaigns overseas.¹¹² Secretary of Defense Robert Gates put it more bluntly. “Any future defense secretary who advises the president to again send a big American land army into Asia or into the Middle East or Africa should ‘have his head examined,’” he proclaimed.¹¹³ Obama instead preferred to focus on domestic issues or, as he put it, to do “nation building right here at home.”¹¹⁴

As Obama proceeded through his two terms as President, many Americans and even government bureaucrats grew worried that Obama’s foreign policy was not muscular enough.¹¹⁵ The President had

¹⁰⁸ The Department of State and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2014 to 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Paul Miller, “Reassessing Obama’s Legacy of Restraint,” *War on the Rocks*, 06 Mar 2017.

¹¹⁰ Robert Gates, *Memoirs of a Secretary at War*, (New York: Knopf Publishers, 2014), 557.

¹¹¹ Indurthy, Rathnam. The Obama Administration Strategy in Afghanistan. *International Journal on World Peace*. Volume XXVIII, No. 3. September 2011

¹¹² National Security Strategy, 2012.

¹¹³ Remarks by Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, Friday, February 25, 2011.

¹¹⁴ Remarks by the President on Afghanistan, June 22, 2011. Office of the Press Secretary, White House.

¹¹⁵ James Kirchick, “Why It’s Hard to Take Democrats Seriously on Russia,” *Politico*, 24 July 2017; Lawrence J. Haas, “Encouraging Putin’s Recklessness,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 27 June 2017; Eli Lake, “Obama Choked on Russia Long Before the 2016 Election,” *Bloomberg*, 27 June 2017; Josef Joffe, “How Trump Is Like Obama,” *Wall Street Journal*, June 13, 2017; John Vinocur, “Obama’s European Legacy,” *Wall Street Journal*, 29 May 2017; James Kirchick, “Who Killed the Liberal World Order?” *American Interest*, 03 May 2017; Leon Wieseltier, “Aleppo’s Fall is Obama’s Failure,” *Washington Post*, 15 December 2016.

increased drone attacks against targets in Iraq and Afghanistan more so than his predecessor, George W. Bush, and had launched a risky cross border raid into Pakistan to kill Osama bin Laden. But he had taken little action against Russia for its invasion of Ukraine. In Syria, he had allowed President Al-Assad to use chemical weapons against his own people, crossing a self-declared red line without any consequential action. One State official claimed Obama had “constructed an entire intellectual edifice” around the President’s justification for refusing to get involved in the Syrian civil war.¹¹⁶ A reported “call to arms” by senior administration officials from State, Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the military failed to sway the President’s decision.¹¹⁷ In an incident that reveals the level of anxiety in the diplomacy-before-defense circles, more than 50 frustrated State Department officials encouraged a more aggressive response and took the unusual path of writing an internal diplomatic cable encouraging the Secretary of State to pursue military action.¹¹⁸

Had events in the Middle East gone as some Obama officials wistfully hoped they would, the Obama Doctrine would have a very different meaning. In 2012, the National Security Strategy announced a “pivot to the Pacific.” Asia had the world’s largest economies, important economic and military bilateral treaties with the U.S., commerce was growing at exponential rates, the South China Sea had immense oil reserves, and many U.S. allies in the region were concerned about the rise of China as a regional hegemon. In 2012, the Department of Defense started redeploying forces from Europe and the Middle East toward the Pacific. The Obama Doctrine legacy could have been how U.S. offshore balancing prevented the rise of China. However, problems persisting from the Iraq and Syria conflict would not permit the U.S. to extricate itself so easily from the Middle East. Obama’s preferred legacy – a strategic shift to Asia from Europe and the Middle East – was derailed soon after it was announced.

President Trump and the Changes to US Foreign Policy

Donald Trump’s election as the 45th President of the United States caught the American electorate and the international community by surprise. Although the Republican candidate won the electoral vote (by state representatives of the electoral college), he lost the popular vote (total number of voters) by almost three million votes.¹¹⁹ His election represents years of frustration by middle America voters who had grown increasingly angry by the political distance of Washington DC from the rest of the country. Trump railed against Democratic Party Hillary candidate Clinton and the rest of the political establishment in Washington that, he claimed, had proven year after year to be deaf and ineffective to Americans’ needs. To some U.S. citizens, the nation’s capital was synonymous with bloat, corruption, greed, and

¹¹⁶ Susan B. Glasser, “Trump Takes on the Blob,” *Politico*, March/April 2017, 7.

¹¹⁷ Gordon, M.R. and Landler, M., “Backstage Glimpses of Clinton as Dogged Diplomat, win or lose.” *New York Times*, 2 February 2013.

¹¹⁸ Mark Landler, “51 U.S. Diplomats Urge Strikes Against Assad in Syria,” *New York Times*, 16 June 2016, A1.

¹¹⁹ Democratic candidate Hilary Clinton won just under 66 million votes, 48.5% of the votes. Republican Candidate Donald Trump won about 63 million votes (46.4%). This is the fourth time in U.S. history that a candidate has won the Presidency without winning the popular vote.

wastefulness that only served elite interests, far removed from red-white-and-blue America. Consequently, many voted for change (Trump) rather than the status quo (Clinton) in Washington.

Trump's message particularly resonated with the "forgotten man" in America – disillusioned farmers, factory workers, service industry employees, "blue collar" Americans – who had been left behind and seen little benefit of American prosperity that elites on the coasts and in the cities enjoyed. City infrastructure was crumbling and the gap between the rich and poor was growing. More than 15% of the country, over 45 million Americans, had fallen into poverty.¹²⁰ The election was in many ways a statement of U.S. economic inequality and a failed series of trickle-down economics that had benefited little of middle America. Trump's former chief strategist Steve Bannon complained that globalists like Clinton, Bush, and Obama had "gutted the American working class and created a middle class in Asia."¹²¹

Trump took the "forgotten man" phrase from Andrew Jackson's "common man." Jackson, the U.S. President from 1829-1837, was a champion of middle America that had little consideration for the international laws or overseas conflict that didn't directly serve the country's interests. Trump, like Jackson nearly 180 years earlier before him, was all about U.S. nationalism and patriotism. Both wanted to use American economic and military muscle to advance U.S. interests.

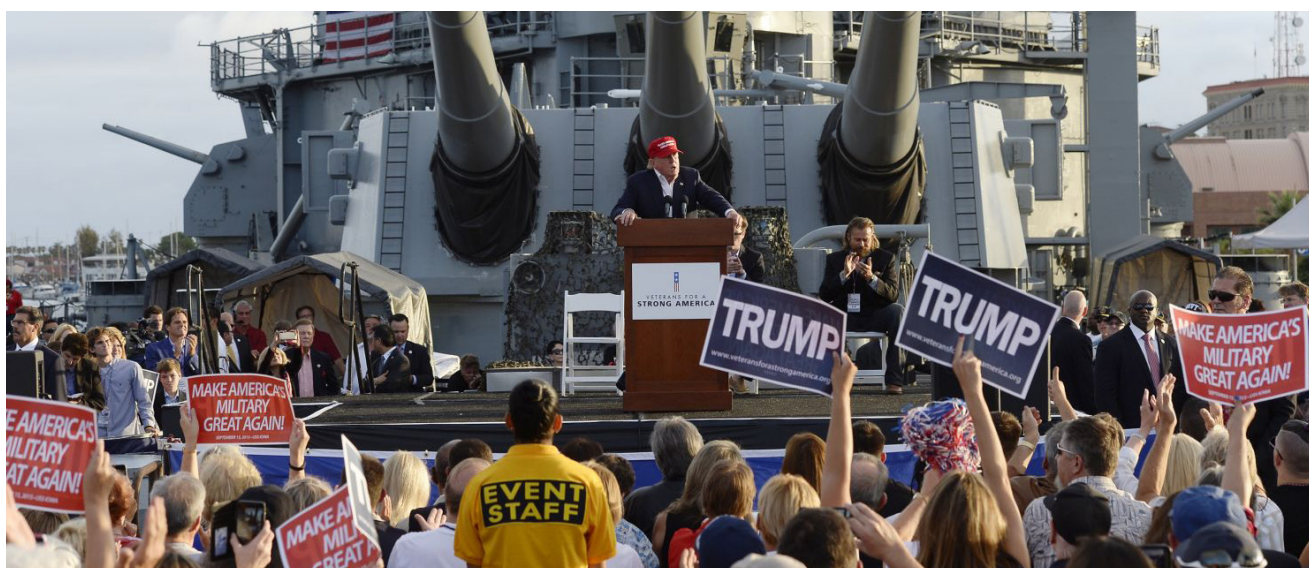


Photo caption: Donald Trump's foreign policy may depend more on military might than diplomacy or development. Photo credit: Associated Press.

President Trump promised to "make America great again." The United States was still the world's preeminent economic, military, and political power. But many Americans were frustrated by the realization that the country's ability to affect change in other countries was limited. The American unipolar moment was passing and emerging superpowers like China and Russia were surging forward despite the United States' extensive efforts to prevent them. Foreign policy failures in Iraq, Afghanistan, North

¹²⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, Number in Poverty and Poverty Rate 1959 to 2011.

¹²¹ Louis Nelson, "Steve Bannon Hails Trump's 'Economic Nationalist' Agenda," *Politico*, 18 November 2016.

Korea, and Syria represented trillions of dollars of lost investment and American lives with little to show for it. The country suffered from enormous accumulated debt, trade deficits, eroding infrastructure, and a slow economy. The American public was frustrated and looking for change.¹²²

Not all the President's foreign policy issues are new. Trump generated foreign policy waves when he called the 70-year old NATO "obsolete" during the 2016 campaign and then scolded NATO leaders for "free riding" on U.S. defense spending during a summit in May 2017. But President Obama voiced a similar concern when he dispatched his Secretary of Defense Robert Gates to convey the same warning to NATO members in June 2011. "There will be dwindling appetite and patience in the U.S. Congress to expend increasingly precious funds on behalf of nations that are apparently unwilling to devote the necessary resources or make the necessary changes to be serious and capable partners in their own defense," Gates said.¹²³ The Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement was opposed by Democratic presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders long before Trump withdrew from it in January 2017.

Trump embraces realism like no other recent U.S. President. In a Trump state, national interests come before international efforts or multilateral institutions. There will be no humanitarian interventions because, as Trump claims, "the legacy of the Obama-Clinton interventions will be weakness, confusion, and disarray."¹²⁴ Previous generations of U.S. presidents since the end of the Cold War had dabbled with liberalism and idealism, promoting democracy and economic egalitarianism overseas at the expense of American voters. Liberal hegemony and Bush's Middle East democratic efforts would not be part of the Trump foreign policy. "This is realism's moment in the sun," said Daniel Drezner.¹²⁵ Tufts University Professor Emeritus Tony Smith called Trump "the most anti-liberal internationalist president" the U.S. has seen since 1940.¹²⁶

Once he arrived in the White House on January 20, Trump quickly set out to reverse the world order that the U.S. had established since the end of the Cold War 25 years earlier. In his first two weeks as President, he called NATO obsolete, withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and vowed to renegotiate NAFTA. He ordered an immigration freeze for travelers from seven Muslim-majority nations. He proposed a \$54 billion budget increase for the U.S. military and ordered more troops into Syria while at the same time slashing foreign aid and U.S. diplomatic budgets by 30%. He supported Israel's effort to build settlements in Occupied Territories and effectively abandoned the pledge for a

¹²² Trump's arrival in Washington coincided with a war-weary American public that broadly wanted to see the U.S. adopt a more isolationist stance. In a Pew public opinion poll in May 2016, 70% of Americans said they wanted the next president to focus on domestic policies more than foreign policy. Nearly six-in-ten Americans (57%) want the United States "to deal with its own problems and let other countries deal with their own problems the best they can. Pew Research Center, "Public Uncertain, Divided Over America's Place in the World," May 5, 2016.

¹²³ Thom Shanker and Steve Erlanger, "Blunt U.S. Warning Reveals Deep Strains in NATO," *The New York Times*, June 10, 2011.

¹²⁴ The National Interest, Trump on Foreign Policy (27 Apr 2016); Jeremi Suri, "How Trump's Executive Orders Could Set America Back 70 Years," *The Atlantic*, 27 January 2017.

¹²⁵ Daniel W. Drezner, "So When Will Realists Endorse Donald Trump?" *The Washington Post*, 1 February 2016.

¹²⁶ Tony Smith, "The End of American Liberal Exceptionalism?" *The International Security Studies Forum (ISSF)*, 30 Mar 2017.

two-state solution. He pulled the U.S. out of the Paris Climate Accord, making the country only one of two nations in the world (with Syria) who did not recognize the immediate urgency of global warming. Princeton professor and renowned foreign policy scholar G. John Ikenberry said, “U.S. President Donald Trump’s every instinct runs counter to the ideas that have underpinned the postwar international system.”¹²⁷

In many ways, President Trump’s policies mimic those of Republican Presidents Reagan and Bush, two of the last three presidents from his party to lead the country. His foreign policy preference is motivated by U.S. unilateralism, rather than President Obama’s efforts to support international institutions like the United Nations and International Criminal Court. Trump like other conservatives preferred to “*go it alone*” rather than be encumbered by the international community. Like other Republicans, he prefers military decisiveness to inaction, and defense over diplomacy. He reversed the decision to withdraw forces from Iraq and Syria, something President Obama had ordered on behalf of a war-weary American public. Trump also lifted human rights restrictions on aid to Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, downplayed the roll-out of the annual Department of State country reports on human rights, and cozied up to strongmen around the world like Putin in Russia, Al-Sisi in Egypt, Duterte in the Philippines, and Erdogan in Turkey.

In sum, Trump will pursue an “America first” foreign policy that clearly reflects a realist perspective of international relations.¹²⁸ National Security Advisor Lieutenant General H. R. McMaster and Director of the National Economic Council Gary Cohn described Trump’s foreign policy as one in which, “the world is not a global community but an arena where nations, nongovernmental actors, and businesses engage and compete for advantage. Rather than deny this elemental nature of international affairs, we embrace it.”¹²⁹ Emphasis will be placed on defense, rather than diplomacy or development. This is reflected in the 2018 budget proposal that reduced allocations for all government agencies except for the Department of Defense, the Department of Homeland Security, and the Department of Veteran Affairs. The Department of State, in contrast, is facing budget cuts of over 30% and significant reduction in personnel. With the State reductions would also go the generous foreign assistance development budget the U.S. had considered a standard foreign policy tool for 70 years. “We are just not going to be able to do that. We have to rebuild our country,” the President said.¹³⁰ As the Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Mick Mulvaney stated, “this is not “a soft power budget. This is a hard power budget and that was done intentionally. The president very clearly wanted to send a message to our allies and to our potential adversaries that this is a strong-power administration.”¹³¹

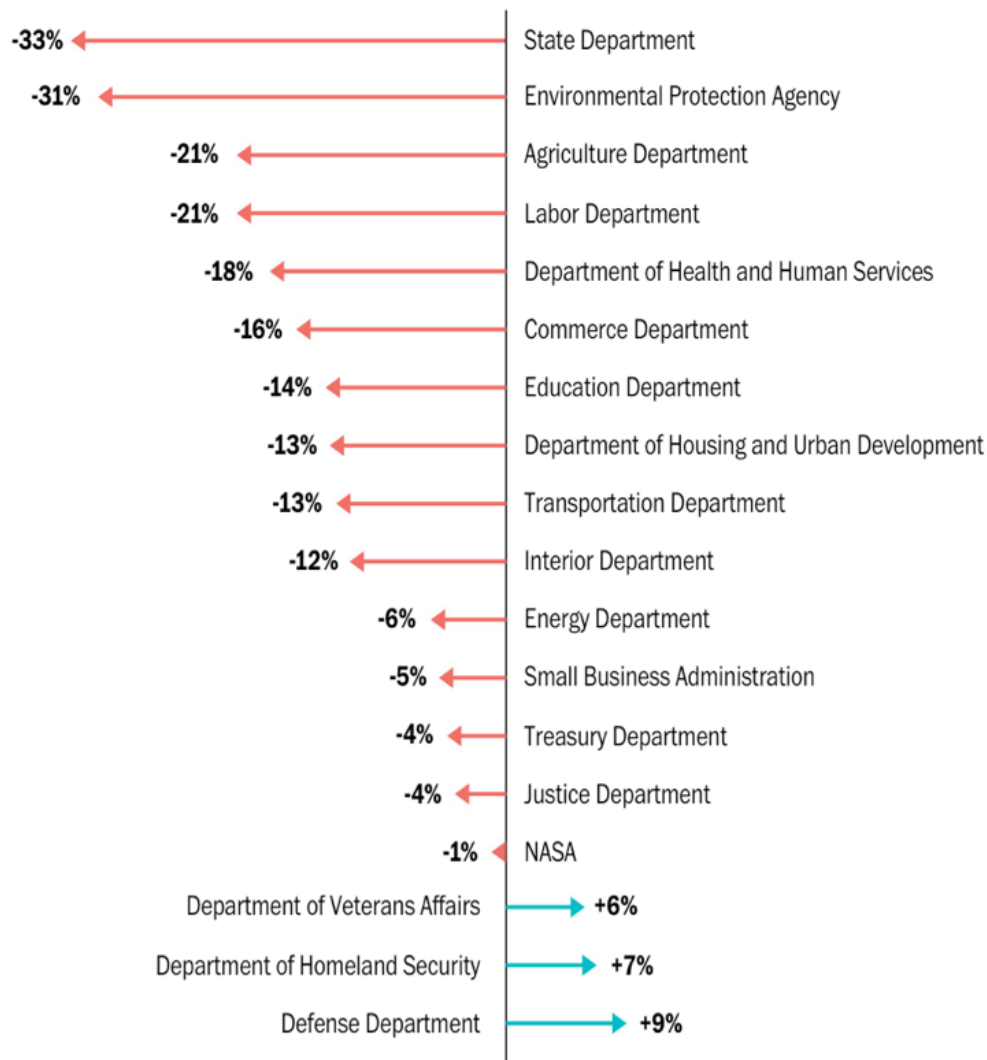
¹²⁷ G. John Ikenberry, “The Plot against American Foreign Policy: Can the Liberal Order Survive?” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2017.

¹²⁸ *The National Interest*, Trump on Foreign Policy (27 Apr 2016)

¹²⁹ H.R. McMaster and Gary D. Cohn, “America First Doesn’t Mean America Alone,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 30, 2017.

¹³⁰ Josef Joffe, “The New American Isolationism Will Outlive Barack Obama,” *Tablet Magazine*, 03 May 2016.

¹³¹ Russell Berman, “President Trump’s ‘Hard Power’ Budget,” *The Atlantic*, March 16, 2017. Also cited in O’Rourke and Moodie, 14.



Graph caption: 2018 Budget Proposal. President Trump’s proposed 2017 budget would severely cut diplomacy and development programs but boost defense spending.¹³²

In his first few months as President, the outlines of a new Trump Doctrine have begun to emerge.¹³³ Under the new President, the U.S. will be more inward looking and less engaged overseas. The government, as was the case for previous Republican administrations, will be inclined to unilateral action rather than deferring to multilateral organizations. Security is the preeminent concern, not promotion of freedom, democracy, or human rights. Economically, President Trump will seek protectionist measures to maintain U.S. economic power and jobs at home, rather than permitting them to go overseas.¹³⁴ Trump’s foreign policy may not be complete isolationism but it will certainly not include the broad

¹³² Gardiner Harris, “A Shift From ‘Soft Power’ Diplomacy in Cuts to the State Dept,” *New York Times*, March 16, 2017, A19.

¹³³ *The National Interest*, “Trump on Foreign Policy,” 26 Apr 2017.

¹³⁴ Ronald O’Rourke and Michael Moodie, “U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress,” *Congressional Research Service*, 17 Aug 2017, 8.

range of international efforts of his presidential predecessors to build global prosperity and ensure stability in other nations.¹³⁵

These are fraught times for many Americas worried about the political in-fighting and unraveling of their country. As much as the focus in the U.S. is on the new President at the moment, the real test is for the American government institutions and civil society to see if they are developed enough to maintain a rule of law system and constitutional practices. The justice system rejected Trump's Muslim ban as unconstitutional. The Congress has (so far) refused to repeal the Obama health care plan. Trump's 2018 budget proposal which slashes foreign aid has met wide resistance in the Senate and House of Representatives. His attacks on the press and "fake news" have been met with vigorous responses by the Washington Post and New York Times. Can the American bureaucracy that serves as a model of government efficiency for so many other countries stand up to one individual? Will the system of checks and balances that America's Founders developed in the Constitution be sufficient to prevent the domination of government by the Executive Branch? Trump has vowed to restructure the vast government bureaucracy of thousands of U.S. government career officials who work in the Departments of Defense, State, and Justice and continue to do their job in the absence of a well-developed foreign policy strategy.

It is still early in the Trump Administration. His foreign policy and military strategy are just emerging. His 2018 budget proposal is under review by Congress and facing some stiff resistance.¹³⁶ Additionally, the President is distracted by a number of formal Congressional investigations into his alleged collusion with Russian President Vladimir Putin to win the 2016 election, investigations that many liken to the Watergate scandal of the 1970s that led to President Nixon's impeachment process and eventual resignation. There have been a number of rapid personnel changes within the Administration. Important positions in many government agencies have gone unfilled. In addition, the President has recruited a number of high-ranking retired military officers to fill Cabinet positions. Normally, too much military influence in government is widely regarded as unhealthy for liberal democracy because it may militarize foreign policy. But in the topsy-turvy world of contemporary Washington politics, the heavy military presence in the Trump Administration is paradoxically being met with sighs of relief. Retired senior military officers like James Mattis, John Kelly, and H. R. McMaster (still on active duty) know the consequences of resorting to military force too quickly, especially when the country has other economic and diplomatic tools at its disposal that could solve international problems more affordably.

¹³⁵ Hal Brands and Eric Edelman, "America and the Geopolitics of Upheaval," *The National Interest*, July/August 2017.

¹³⁶ Daniel Drezner, "Rex Tillerson has lost his primary reason for being the secretary of state," Washington Post, 11 Sept 2017.

Presidential Foreign Policies, Clinton to Trump				
Objective/President	Clinton	Bush	Obama	Trump
Political Party	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican
Doctrine	Liberal internationalism	Assertive Nationalism	Restraint and offshore balancing	Nationalism
Principal elements	Humanitarian intervention, liberal hegemony, democratic enlargement,	Preemptive action, democracy promotion, freedom agenda	Retrenchment, disengagement, selective engagement, rebalancing	Realism, protectionism, muscular militarism, economic nationalism
Unilateralism or Multilateralism?	Multilateralism	Unilateralism	Multilateralism	Unilateralism
Power emphasis	Smart power	Hard power	Smart power	Hard power

Conclusion

At the end of the Cold War, the U.S. attempted to expand its international activism under Presidents Clinton and Bush, a foreign policy contrary to the country's traditional proclivity for isolationism and neutrality. To varying degrees, the policies of both Presidents followed an idealist, liberal agenda rather than the realism that normally guided U.S. leaders. By 2008, the failures of Clinton's humanitarian intervention efforts and Bush's nation-building attempts heightened the urgency of a foreign policy of restraint and disengagement. President Obama tried to implement a more reduced U.S. role in international politics by withdrawing forces from Iraq and by rebalancing toward Asia. Under President Trump, the U.S. will continue to withdraw from world events placing the liberal international order created in the western image at risk and generating a level of uncertainty that will have long term repercussions.

There are a number of important takeaways in this article for students of foreign policy. First, the U.S. has historically relied on geopolitical isolation and neutrality, a selective foreign policy that only changed after World War Two. After the end of the Cold War, U.S. leaders struggled between the tendencies of retrenchment and engagement. That debate continues today and serves as the principal fundamental strategic consideration for U.S. foreign policy.

Second, U.S. exceptionalism remains an important justification for unilateral action even 241 years after the U.S. was established. It serves as a guiding doctrine that determines U.S. action on international treaties and support for multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and the International Criminal Court.

Third, federalism and the separation of powers are part of an internal system of checks and balances that have important ramifications for U.S. foreign policy. Both states' rights and growing autonomy of the Executive branch are vital determining factors in U.S. foreign policy.

Fourth, there are distinct differences between Democratic and Republican Presidential foreign

policies. At the same time, there are mutual security and economic issues that are of interest to all U.S. leaders. Regardless of political party affiliation, all U.S. Presidents have made homeland security, the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the right for unilateral action, and maintaining U.S. military primacy foreign policy priorities.

Fifth, foreign aid since the start of the Cold War has been an important tool for overseas assistance. It provides important development and defense assistance to partner nations. Simultaneously, it serves U.S. national interests by strengthening U.S. allies, preventing the U.S. from getting involved in costly (in money and personnel) overseas military operations, bolsters the economic well-being of other countries, and stimulates the U.S. economically by providing prosperous international markets. Foreign aid under the Trump Administration may undergo serious reforms.

Last, the power of the U.S. executive branch has grown disproportionately strong in the past few decades. Presidents and his Cabinet members now enjoy executive privileges and authorities that protects them from Congressional scrutiny and provides a preponderance of authority different than that intended by the nation's Founders. Most importantly, the ability to deploy the military rests nearly completely in the hands of the Commander in Chief.

Appendix 1 – Status of Select International Treaties (as of Sept 2017)

According to the Congressional Research Service, approximately 1,100 international treaties have been ratified by the United States since 1789.¹³⁷ During the same period, an estimated 18,500 executive agreements were made. The U.S. Department of State produces an annual report on U.S. Treaties in Force. See Office of the Legal Adviser, U.S. Department of State, “A List of Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States in Force,” January 1, 2017. <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/273494.pdf>.

There is no one central database for all international treaties. The United Nations maintains an online database of 560 multilateral treaties deposited with the UN Secretary-General: <https://treaties.un.org>. The International committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) maintains records of international humanitarian law treaties. <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/vwTreaties1949.xsp>. The Arms Control Association maintains a status of major arms control treaties. <https://www.armscontrol.org>.

Appendix 1. Status of Select International Treaties Not Ratified by U.S. (as of Sept 2017)		
Treaty (entry into force date)	International Status and Support	U.S. Status
Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, 03 Aug 1972	Bilateral arms treaty between U.S. and Soviet Union.	Signed by President Nixon on 26 May 1972. Ratified by U.S. Senate on 03 Aug 1972. President G. W. Bush withdrew the U.S. on 13 Dec 2001.
The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), 3 Jan 1976.	165 countries have ratified the Covenant.	Signed Oct. 5, 1977. Submitted to Senate 23 Feb 1978; never ratified. The U.S. maintains that economic, social and cultural rights are “aspirational,” not inalienable or enforceable.
American Convention on Human Rights, 18 July 1978	Went into force 18 July 1978. Mexico, plus all Central and South American countries have ratified the Convention. Canada and a number of Caribbean nations have not ratified it.	Signed by the United States on June 1, 1977. Submitted to Senate February 23, 1978; never ratified.

¹³⁷ Michael John Garcia, “International Law and Agreements: Their Effect upon U.S. Law,” *Congressional Research Service*, 18 Feb 2005, 5.

Protocol I and II of the Geneva Conventions, 07 Dec 1978	Protocol I ratified by 174 countries. Protocol II ratified by 168 countries.	No action by U.S. AP II was passed to the Senate by President Reagan in 1982. At the same time, he recommended rejecting AP I as irretrievably damaged. The Senate did not take ratify either one.
Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 03 Sept 1981	Ratified by 189 countries. Went into force on 03 Sept 1981.	Signed by U.S. on 17 July 1980. Never ratified. The U.S. is only one of seven countries (with Iran, Somalia, and Sudan) that has not ratified the CEDAW.
The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), 10 Dec 1982	168 parties have signed it.	No action by U.S.
The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 02 Sept 1990	Ratified by 196 countries. Went into force on 02 Sept 1990. The U.S. is the only country in the world who has not ratified the CRC.	Signed by U.S. 16 Feb 1995. Never ratified.
Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), not yet in force. Adopted by UN 10 September 1996	Opened for signature by UN on September 24, 1996. As of August 2016, 183 states had signed it and 164 had ratified it. Not yet in force.	Signed by U.S. on September 24, 1996. Sent to Senate for ratification by President Clinton on 22 Sept 1997. Senate voted against it on 13 Oct 1999. Since 1992, the U.S. has observed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosive testing.
The Kyoto Protocol Against Climate Change, 16 Feb 2005.	The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in on December 11, 1997 and took effect February 16, 2005. To date (Sept 2017), 191 countries have ratified it.	President Clinton signed the Kyoto Protocol on 12 Nov 1998. It was never ratified by the Senate. Earlier in 1997, the U.S. Senate voted 95-0 (the Byrd-Hagel Resolution) against any international agreement that would harm the U.S. economy and exempt developing countries from pollution reduction requirements.
Rome Statute of The International Criminal Court (ICC), 01 July 2002.	Ratified by 124 countries.	Signed by U.S. on 31 Dec 2000, unsigned 06 May 2002. ¹

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 03 May 2008	Went into force 03 May 2008. 174 countries have ratified it.	Signed by U.S. on 30 July 2009. Senate voted against ratification 61-38 on 04 Dec 2012.
International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, 23 Dec 2010	Entered into force on 23 Dec 2010. As of Dec 2016, 96 states have signed the convention and 54 have ratified it	No action by U.S.
Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), adopted by UN 24 Dec 2014	Sponsored by UN. entered into force on 24 December 2014. As of March 2017, 92 states have ratified ATT.	The U.S. signed on 25 Sept 2013. Not ratified. The treaty faces opposition from gun advocacy groups in the U.S.
Paris Climate Accord, adopted by UN 12 December 2015.	As of August 2017, 195 UNFCCC members have signed the agreement, 160 of which have ratified it.	Signed by U.S. on April 22, 2016. Entered into force in the U.S. on 4 November 2016. On June 1, 2017, the U.S. announced intention to leave Paris Accord. The U.S. is only one of two nations in the world (with Syria) that did not ratify the Paris Climate Accord.

¹ Under the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1980), article 18, states that have signed but not ratified a treaty must refrain from acts that would defeat the purpose of the treaty. The Clinton Administration signed the Rome Statute on the ICC in 2000. On 06 May 2002, The Bush Administration subsequently “unsigned” the Rome Statute to demonstrate its opposition to the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Appendix 2. Presidential Doctrines through U.S. History		
President	Name of Doctrine	Description
Washington Doctrine	Avoidance of permanent alliances	Washington warned his countrymen to avoid alliances with European powers because of the frequent conflicts on the continent. The nation's first president encouraged the U.S. to remain neutral and unilateral in overseas politics, a practice that persisted for nearly 150 years.
Monroe Doctrine	Western Hemisphere Hegemony	James Monroe, the fifth President from 1817-1825, announced that European colonial powers should remain out of Western Hemisphere countries' affairs, permitting unchallenged U.S. hegemony in the region.
Truman Doctrine	Communist Containment	At start of Cold War, Truman supported nations resisting Communism with mostly economic assistance. He promised to <i>"to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."</i> The U.S. sent money, equipment, or military force to Iran, Turkey, Greece, and others. The Truman Doctrine eventually evolved into "communist containment," the most wide-reaching foreign policy in U.S. history.
Nixon Doctrine	Security Responsibility of Allies	U.S. allies should assume primary responsibility for their own military defense. <i>"We shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower of their defense."</i> Example: "Vietnamization" of the war in Vietnam. U.S. provides military and economic assistance when requested.

Carter Doctrine	Protection of U.S. Strategic Interests in Persian Gulf	Protection of U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf. The United States would use military force if necessary to defend its national interests (specifically, petroleum) in the Persian Gulf. In response to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. <i>“An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.”</i>
Reagan Doctrine	Roll back Communism	Arming anti-communist rebels in foreign countries to roll back Soviet Union communist advances. This generated extensive military assistance to Central America in particular.
Clinton Doctrine	Humanitarian Intervention	Genocide as a crime against humanity and an obligation for other countries to act to prevent it. Prompted by Somalia operation, 1992 and Rwanda genocide, 1994. <i>“We cannot, indeed, we should not, do everything or be everywhere. But where our values and our interests are at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must be prepared to do so.”</i>
Bush Doctrine	Preemptive attack against perceived enemies and democratic expansion.	Following terrorist attacks of 9/11, Bush declared that the U.S. would take preemptive action against terrorist nations. Subsequently used as a justification for the 2003 Iraq War. Bush used the opportunity to promote a Freedom Agenda of democratic advancement.

Obama Doctrine	Emphasis on Security Cooperation with allies.	Obama has replied that the United States would have to “ <i>view our security in terms of a common security and a common prosperity with other peoples and other countries.</i> ” Extensive emphasis on multilateral efforts.
Trump Doctrine	Muscular Nationalism	While still under development, most foreign policy scholars agree that Trump foreign policy doctrine will consist of unilateralism, less cooperation with multilateral organizations, less reliance on alliances, less emphasis on democracy and human rights promotion, and more economic protectionism.



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