

The Permanent Bases of American Foreign Policy

By John W. Davis

An attempt to state the permanent bases of any nation's foreign policy opens a range for discussion too broad for the compass of a single article. History, tradition, political structure, geographical location, commercial interests, all these, to say nothing of the ambitions of statesmen and the exigencies of the moment, go to the making of a foreign policy. Some of these factors are fixed and stable. Others must change with the changing times. Rarely is there entire consistency in the pursuit of the policies to which these factors give rise. It is only in the most abstract sense therefore that any policy or the bases on which it rests can be called permanent. Yet it is possible, with the aid of history, to give a hurried summary of certain ideals and purposes which seem to have run with reasonable persistence throughout the course of American diplomacy and which cannot be ignored in predicting its future direction.

Of these, the first in point of time, if not in point of importance, is the wish to abstain as far as possible from any participation in foreign questions in general and European questions in particular. The roots of this feeling go deep into the American past. It has as its background the world situation at the time the United States of America came into being. The instruments employed by European monarchs in the midst of their quarrels and jealousies to advance their several interests, the alliances and counter-alliances, the balances of power, the armaments and counter-armaments, the treaties open and secret, were stigmatized *en bloc* by the American colonists as the European system. Looking at the turmoil it had bred and the burdens it imposed, they set up after the Revolutionary War a government republican in character based upon ideas of human equality, personal liberty and popular sovereignty, which, whether original or borrowed, new or old, they were pleased to call American. They asked nothing more of the world at large than a chance to develop these ideas undisturbed. Between them and the turbulent shores of Europe rolled the broad Atlantic. Their homeland was an unpeopled continent of vast natural resources. And the same self-reliance which had brought them and their fathers across the waters made them confident of their power, if only they were let alone, to realize the great things the future held in store.

In such surroundings it was a priceless advantage to be aloof and neutral in a world that was torn by the contemplating of present and future wars. John Adams spoke for himself and his countrymen in the conversation he reports between himself and Richard Oswald in 1782: "'You are afraid,' says Mr. Oswald today, 'of being made tools of the Powers of Europe.' 'Indeed I am,' said I. 'What Powers?' said he. 'All of them,' said I. 'It is obvious that all the Powers of Europe will be continually manœuvring with us to work us into their real or imaginary balances of power. They will all wish to make us a make-weight candle when they are weighing out their pounds.'"

There was no "philosophical tranquillity," as Baron von Nolcken, the Swedish Minister at St. James's, suggested to Adams in their long-distance watching of "European throat-cutting;" only a feeling that it was none of their business and that it would be fatal to the survival of the new-born nation if it took part in the mêlée.

This attitude, so easily understood, was erected into a dogma by Washington with his warning in the Farewell Address against implicating ourselves with Europe "by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations or collisions of her friendships or enmities," and confirmed by Jefferson in his first inaugural declaring for "commerce and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none."

Tuned as these words were to the times and circumstances in which they were uttered, their effect upon the subsequent conduct of America has been continuous. Their weight cannot be exaggerated. They have been echoed in substance, if not in terms, by statesmen of every

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United States. Department of State. Office of the Historian, 1983 *American Foreign Policy*, 2008 **American Foreign Policy Current Documents**, 1961 The Constitution and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy David Gray Adler, Larry Nelson George, 1996 In this provocative and readable volume eleven leading constitutional authorities challenge business as usual in American foreign policymaking For far too long they contend Americans have acquiesced to presidential claims to sweeping executive powers in foreign affairs thanks to imperial minded presidents a weak willed Congress and neglectful scholars These authors forcefully argue that the president is not the supreme crafter of foreign policy and that Congress must provide more than a rubber stamp for the president s agenda Unilateral presidential control of foreign relations they warn can pose a grave threat to our nation s welfare and is simply without constitutional warrant Combining constitutional theory with keen historical insights these authors illuminate the roots of presidential abuse of executive power and remind us of the past and potential costs of such disregard for our unique system of checks and balances An essential guide for all concerned citizens and members of Congress this volume should help revive a proper understanding of this crucial dimension of American democracy *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations* Henry Merritt Wriston, 1929 **The New Age of American Foreign Policy** Frederick H. Hartmann, 1970 **Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin**, 1920

Our War Too Margaret Paton-Walsh, 2002 In the late 1930s a number of American women especially those allied with various peace and isolationist groups protested against the nation s entry into World War II While their story is fairly well known Margaret Paton Walsh reveals a far less familiar story of women who fervently felt that American intervention was absolutely necessary Paton Walsh recounts how the United States became involved in the war but does so through the eyes of American women who faced it as a necessary evil Covering the period between 1935 and 1941 she examines how these women functioned as political actors even though they were excluded from positions of power through activism in women s organizations informal women s networks and even male dominated lobbying groups In the Great Debate over whether America should enter the war some women favored aid to the Allies not because they hoped for war but because they hoped aid would forestall more direct U S involvement but also because they believed war was preferable to a Nazi victory Paton Walsh shows that this activism involved some of the most prominent women of their day Elizabeth Cutter Morrow whose son in law Charles Lindbergh was an isolationist spokesman supported the revision of the Neutrality Acts to allow the sale of arms to the Allies and expressed her support in a national radio broadcast Soon other women joined this debate Esther Brunauer of the AAUW journalist Dorothy Thompson and organizations like the League of Women Voters and National Women s Trade Union League broke from the pacifist tradition to advocate American aid for the Allied cause Focusing on the conflict in Europe Paton Walsh shows how these women grasped the implications of the Lend Lease program for America s

entry into the war but supported it nevertheless By late 1941 the Women s Division of the Fight for Freedom Committee had been established no longer merely advocating aid to Britain to keep American boys out of battle this organization supported direct American involvement in the war as a means of stopping Nazi oppression While most historians have focused on women s pacifism Paton Walsh connects women more directly to world events and shows how those interventionists reformulated maternalist ideas to justify and explain their beliefs Our War Too is a story of American women trying to reconcile the irreconcilable to preserve both their principles and their peace It expands our understanding of women as political actors and thinkers about foreign policy as it sheds new light on American public opinion over the build up to the war

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