



**OLD DOMINION**  
UNIVERSITY



*WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL*  
*Greater Hampton Roads*

# Two paths for American Foreign Policy

Aaron Karp  
3 March 2018

*Washington Crossing the Delaware,*  
Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze 1851



*Washington Crossing the Delaware*  
Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze 1851.



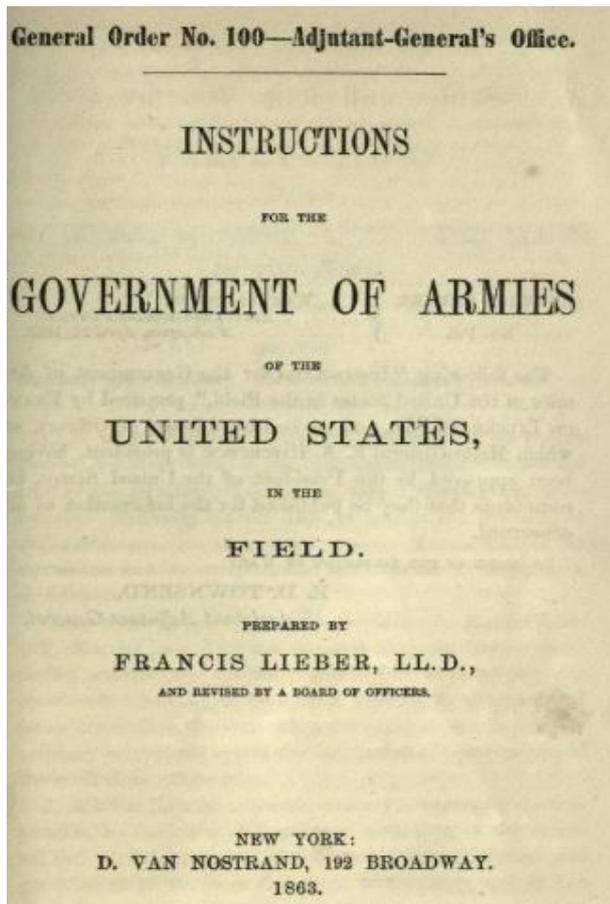
Ostensibly marshaling for the Battle of Trenton, 26 December 1776.  
Washington crossing metaphorical oceans.

The original was destroyed in World War Two. A copy  
by Leutze hangs in the Metropolitan in New York.  
Copies by others hang virtually everywhere.

# Frontier innocence and American exceptionalism



John Gast, American Progress, 1872.  
Chromolithograph published by George A. Crofutt.  
Source: Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



## The *American* origins of liberalism

- Americans are absorbing global trends,
- Lincoln and the *Lieber Code*, 1863, transforming international behavior through law,
- The *Universal Postal Union*, 1863-74, transforming international behavior through institutions
- First *Geneva Convention*, 1864: transforming through law and institutions

## McKinley's Philippines problem, 1898

- Unintended consequence of War with Spain, 1898.
- A war of *liberation* or *conquest*?
- Annexation, independence, or international control?
- Conflicting values. Can American be a colonial power without ceasing to be itself? Does it have self-interest?



## II. Creating a systematic approach: Woodrow Wilson

1890–1902 Professor of Jurisprudence  
and Political Economy, Princeton University

1902–1910 President of Princeton University

1911–1913 Governor of New Jersey

1913–1921 President of the United States



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times.

EXTRA  
8:30 A. M.

VOL. LXXV., NO. 2886. 1915

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1915—TWENTY-FOUR PAGES.

ONE CENT

## LUSITANIA SUNK BY A SUBMARINE, PROBABLY 1,260 DEAD; TWICE TORPEDOED OFF IRISH COAST; SINKS IN 15 MINUTES; CAPT. TURNER SAVED, FROHMAN AND VANDERBILT MISSING; WASHINGTON BELIEVES THAT A GRAVE CRISIS IS AT HAND

### SCROKS THE PRESIDENT

Washington Deeply Stirred by the Loss of American Lives.

### BULLETINS AT WHITE HOUSE

White House—There Cheers, but is Silent on the Nation's Course.

### WANTS OF CONGRESS CALL

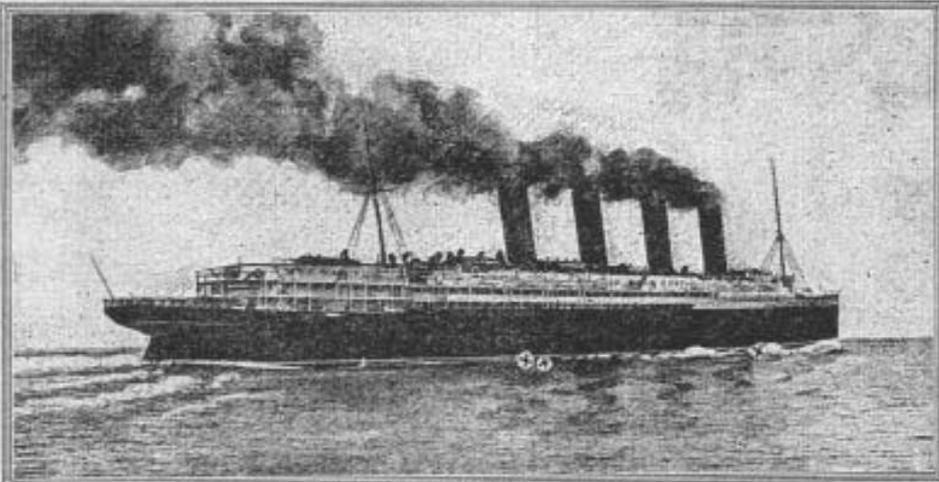
Loss of Lusitania Recalls Firm Tone of Our First Warning to Germany.

### CAPITAL FULL OF HUMORS

Response That Liver Was to be Baked Was Heard Before Return of News Gains.

### News to the East Coast

WASHINGTON, May 7.—News from the East Coast today was dominated by the sinking of the Lusitania. The news was received with a sense of shock and horror. The loss of the ship, which was carrying a large number of passengers, including many Americans, was a major blow to the United States. The sinking of the Lusitania was a clear violation of international law and a direct challenge to the United States' neutrality. The news of the sinking of the Lusitania was a major blow to the United States. The sinking of the Lusitania was a clear violation of international law and a direct challenge to the United States' neutrality.



The Last Cunard Steamship Lusitania  
X Where the First Torpedo Struck. Z Where the Second Torpedo Struck.

### SOME DEAD TAKEN ASHORE

Several Hundred Survivors at Queenstown and Kinsale, STEWARTS FOLLOWING

One Torpedo Crashes Into the Divided Liner's Bow, Another Into the Engine Room.

### SHIP LISTS GHER TO PORT

Master of Lusitania to Leave Many Hours, He Warns Must Have Some Doubt.

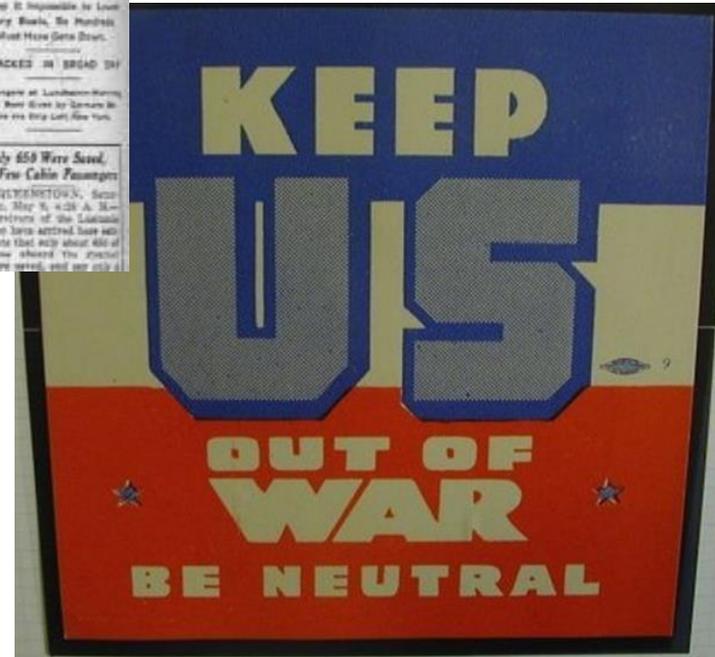
### ATTACKED IN BROAD DAY

Passenger at Loughswilly, May 7, 4:28 A. M.—Survivors of the Lusitania who have arrived here are making their way about 400 of those rescued by British war vessels, and are still

### Only 650 Were Saved, Few Cabin Passengers

QUEENSTOWN, May 7, 4:28 A. M.—Survivors of the Lusitania who have arrived here are making their way about 400 of those rescued by British war vessels, and are still

Wilson's greatest problem, 1915-16



# Wilson's liberal innovations

## Building American support for intervention in the war requires broad national principles:

- The United States has the freedom and power to transform rules of international order.
- Foreign policy is primarily about principles.
- America does not fight for self-interest, but for universal principles.
- America engages the world to transform it.
- Peaceful change requires legal and institutional transformation.

# GERMANY ASKS PEACE EXTRA EXTRA ON WILSON'S 14 POINTS

## Thousands Gather for Celebration When News of Peace Move Comes

Several thousand people gathered at the ringing of the fire bell and blowing of the machine whistles, to witness the celebration of the news of peace. The celebration was held at the fire bell and blowing of the machine whistles, to witness the celebration of the news of peace. The celebration was held at the fire bell and blowing of the machine whistles, to witness the celebration of the news of peace.

## WILSON THE MAN OF HOUR



Fourteen Terms of Peace to Go Down in History as a Second Declaration of Independence, Say Diplomats.

## NO PEACE TALK UNTIL GERMAN TROOPS LEAVE FRANCE, BELGIUM, RUSSIA

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6.—There will be no peace talk until German troops leave Belgium, France and Russia. This is the answer that officials and diplomats make today to reports that Germany is sending a request for peace negotiations. That Prime Max would propose a cessation of hostilities was expected, and ask for a discussion of war aims pending approval by President Wilson. Germany's greatest peace offensive is on the way, according to all views here. Seeing her doom in the field of battle she is now offering into a string of clever peace maneuvers in the hope that she can stave off the fate that is ahead of her. Military officials warn against any feeling that the end of the war is at hand.

PARIS, Oct. 6.—Paris newspapers today turn their backs on the latest attempt of the agitator to peace. The front pages of these Paris newspapers today bear the only possible sentiment most common from a French victory in the war was made known.

## WORLD HAS FOUGHT THROUGH FOUR YEARS OF BLOODSHED

The world has fought through four years and two months of bloodshed and horror. It is the result of the war that has been fought through four years and two months of bloodshed and horror. It is the result of the war that has been fought through four years and two months of bloodshed and horror.

PARIS, Oct. 6.—Paris newspapers today turn their backs on the latest attempt of the agitator to peace. The front pages of these Paris newspapers today bear the only possible sentiment most common from a French victory in the war was made known.



## Wilson's global triumph

- War is to be avoided as an instrument of policy,
- Democracy and national self-determination are the basis of world justice and peace,
- International institutions are essential to managing conflict without war.



Wilson arrives in Paris to negotiate the Treaty of Versailles, 1919

## The U.S. Senate declines to ratify the Treaty of Versailles

- Fear of foreign entanglements.
- Loss of sovereignty (freedom of choice).
- Discomfort with continuous engagement.
- Lack of apparent necessity.



Senator Henry Cabot Lodge escorts the Treaty of Versailles out of the U.S. Senate

### III. Wilson's ghost; post-war liberal consensus

'The American way', Norman Rockwell, 1944.

The innate goodness of people, released from the disasters of dictatorship by American benevolence.



## America's post-war liberal order: goals

- Designed to prevent another Great Depression,
- To prevent another World War,
- To expand American power and values,
- And America is willing to bear costs to prevent defection.

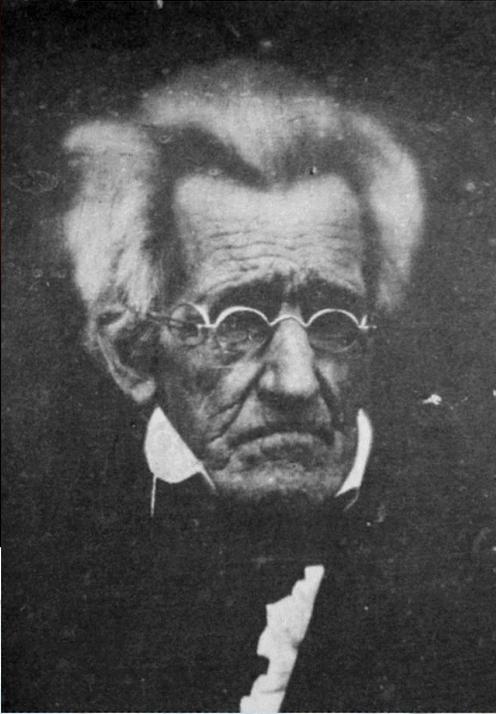
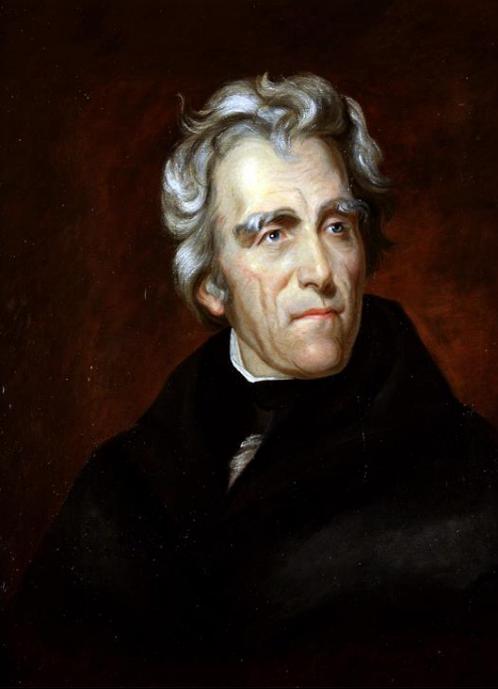
# America's post-war liberal order: institutional consensus



- Bretton Woods economic institutions: IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO)
- United Nations and regional organizations
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other defensive alliances
- Geneva Conventions
- Arms control treaties
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)

## But, America's post-war liberal order faces growing division

- Bi-partisan consensus; 1947 through the early 1990s,
- Democratic Party still generally accepts the Wilsonian approach,
- Parts of the Republican Party begin to dissent from selected parts in 1990s,
- President Trump uniquely rejects the entire liberal consensus.



## IV. Andrew Jackson's revolution

President of the United States (1829–1837)



*Above;* Thomas Sully portrait, 1824

*Middle;* Daguerreotype 1845

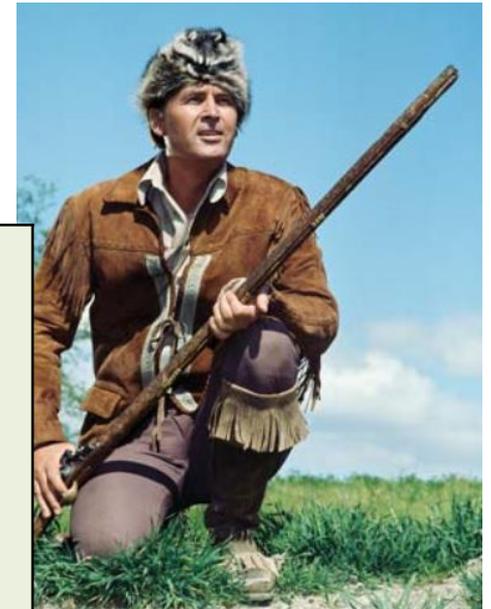
*Left;* Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans 8-18 January 1815



## Above all, a populist faith

George Caleb Bingham, *Daniel Boone Escorting Settlers through the Cumberland Gap* (1851-52)

Below, Fess Parker as Daniel Boone, 1964-70



Foundational elements of American populism:

- Jeffersonian emphasis on the superiority of the common man: uneducated, unsocial, uncorrupted.
- White, rural, Evangelical Protestant,
- Predominantly Southern and Western.

# General elements of populism (right or left)

- Requires opposition.
- *Legitimacy* belongs exclusively to the common man.
- *Emotion* and *personal experience* are the best guides to action.
- Anti-education, science and expertise (concept of *over-educated*).
- *Conservative*, opposes change and reaffirms earlier truth.



Elites are useless or dangerous: The harmless but useless professor of *Gilligan's Island*, Jerry Lewis as the dangerous *Nutty Professor*

# Jacksonian foreign policy

- Emphasis on distinguishing *friends and enemies*
- *Rules* (restraint) are for friends only
- Against enemies, anything is permitted (restraint is immoral)
- Emphasis on *destruction of enemies*
- Suspicion of diplomacy and institutions
- Only total destruction of enemies ensures success



V. Andrew Jackson is back



# Shifting American face of policy-making

- Extreme self-reliance, in the White House itself,
- Distrust of anyone the President did not appoint,
- Diplomacy must be personally done by the President or a handful of trusted people.
- Result: cannot do much diplomacy.

*Left to right:* National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster, Chief of Staff John Kelly, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, Vice-President Mike Pence



## Broader repudiation of liberalism

- *Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action* (JCPoA, the Iran nuclear deal), threatened,
- *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA), threatened,
- *Paris Agreement* on climate change mitigation, threatened,
- *Trans-Pacific Partnership* (TTP), America has withdrawn,
- *UN Cultural and Scientific Organization* (UNESCO), done,
- *U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement* (KORUS), threatened,
- *World Trade Organization* (WTO), imperiled,

# Trump administration liberalism

- Stresses *democratization* of enemy states: Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Syria, Venezuela,
- *Human rights*: rights of women in Islamic countries,
- *Selective* emphasis, reserving value diplomacy for enemy states and regions.



# Irony of Trump administration liberalism

- American diplomacy now emphasizes the UN.
- Scene of the Trump Administration's greatest diplomatic achievements, albeit with the same selective emphasis on enemies.
- UNSC/2375, responding to the September nuclear test, 11 September 2017
- UNSC/2397, responding to the December ICBM test, 22 December 2017



## Conclusion: The future of American foreign policy



Domenico Tojetti, *Progress of America*, 1875, Oakland Museum