

**CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL
PEACE DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND
EDUCATION. PUBLICATION NO. 17: AMERICAN
FOREIGN POLICY: BASED UPON STATEMENTS
OF PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF STATE OF
THE UNITED STATES AND OF PUBLICISTS OF THE
AMERICAN REPUBLIC**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649492015

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Division of Intercourse and Education.
Publication No. 17: American Foreign Policy: Based upon Statements of Presidents and Secretaries of State of the United States and of Publicists of the American Republic by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

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and of Publicists of the American Republics

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

SECOND EDITION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

1920

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INTRODUCTION

The public discussions which preceded and attended the entry of the United States into the great war and, more particularly, the discussions in the Senate and in the public press concerning the terms and conditions of peace, have served to awaken new and widespread interest in matters of foreign policy. There have been frequent clashes of opinion as to what are the principles and traditions of American foreign policy. As a result many persons find themselves confused and uncertain in regard to those principles and purposes which have been announced and accepted as controlling the administration of the foreign policy of the government of the United States.

The present Publication has been planned by the Division of Intercourse and Education for the purpose of meeting a clear and obvious need for exact information. There are here brought together those official statements by successive Presidents and Secretaries of State which, having been formally or tacitly accepted by the American people, do in effect constitute the foundation of American foreign policy.

As Mr. Root has pointed out, not everything said or written by Secretaries of State or even by Presidents, constitutes a national policy. It is the substance of the thing to which the nation holds which constitutes its policy. The declarations contained in this Publication constitute the substance of the thing to which the American nation holds. They are the classic declarations of policy which, taken together, present a record of which the American people may well be proud.

It is quite customary to overlook or to minimize the important constructive work of the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and the important part played therein by the United States. It is true that the great war appeared to brush rudely aside the definite assurances and the high hopes which were the result of those two conferences; but as that war itself recedes into the distance it will be seen that the work of the Hague Conferences remains as the surest foundation for any new plan of international cooperation that is really practicable. A re-study by Americans of the work of the two Hague Conferences is vitally important, since it is from that work that the new task of construction must start.

Fortunately, in the Recommendations of Habana concerning international organization, adopted by the American Institute of International Law after the great war had been in progress more than two and a half years, there is provided a platform upon which all American governments and peoples can stand. Representative jurists from many different American republics united in formulating and in publishing this impressive Declaration. It may now be offered to the peoples of Europe and of Asia as America's positive contribution to the solution of the problem of providing a form of international cooperation which will avoid the creation of a super-government and rest international cooperation upon respect and reverence for law. This is the path of progress to which the traditions of American foreign policy point and this is the path upon which the Government of the United States may well invite other nations speedily to enter.

The Division of Intercourse and Education is indebted for the compilation of the material included in this publication to the Director of the Division of International Law, Mr. James Brown Scott, whose luminous commentary on the Recommendations of Habana (pages 108-119), is a marked addition to the value of the present Publication.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
Acting Director.

April 15, 1920.



CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. George Washington, President of the United States, 1789-1797.—Extract from the Farewell Address, September 17, 1796.....	1
Foreign policy discussed—Enjoins good faith and justice towards all nations—Passionate attachments to other nations should be excluded—Advises as little <i>political</i> connection as possible with foreign nations—Europe's primary interests have only remote relation to ours—Advantages of our situation—The period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance, when we may choose peace or war as our interest guided by justice may counsel.	
II. Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, 1801-1809.—Extract from the First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801.....	4
States the essential principles of our Government and therein counsels peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.	
III. James Monroe, President of the United States, 1817-1825.—Extracts from the Seventh Annual Message, December 2, 1823.....	5
American continents henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers—Extension of political system of Europe to any portion of Western Hemisphere should be considered as dangerous to our peace and safety—Existing colonies not to be interfered with.	
IV. James K. Polk, President of the United States, 1845-1849.—Extract from the First Annual Message, December 2, 1845.....	7
People of this continent alone have right to decide their own destiny—Union of independent States on this continent not a matter for European interposition on ground of "balance of power."	
V. James K. Polk, President of the United States.—Special Message to the Senate and House of Representatives, April 29, 1848.....	9
The United States could not consent to a transfer of dominion and sovereignty over Yucatan either to Spain, Great Britain or any other European power.	
VI. James Buchanan, President of the United States, 1857-1861.—Extract from the Second Annual Message, December 6, 1858.....	12
Relations with Mexico—Monroe Doctrine reasserted—The geographical situation of Mexico renders its progress and prosperity of particular interest to the United States and requires the integrity of its territory to be protected.	
VII. Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States, 1869-1877.—Extract from Special Message to the Senate, May 31, 1870.....	13
Voluntary application of the Dominican Republic for annexation to the United States—The Monroe Doctrine adhered to by all political parties—Hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject of transfer to any European Power.	
VIII. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State of the United States, 1881, 1889-1892.—Call for the First International American Conference, November 29, 1881..	14
Address of Welcome to the Conference, October 2, 1889.....	17
Closing Address, April 19, 1890.....	19
Governments of the American nations participate in a congress held "for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America"—Dedication of the two American continents to peace and to the prosperity that has peace for its foundation.	

	PAGE
IX. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, 1885-1889, 1893-1897.—Extract from the Third Annual Message, December 2, 1895.....	21
Boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana a proper subject in its entirety for friendly and impartial arbitration—The established policy of this Government firmly opposed to a forcible increase by any European Power of its territorial possessions on this continent.	
X. John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, 1898-1905.—Memorandum to the Imperial German Embassy, December 16, 1901.....	22
Recites the position of the United States on the Monroe Doctrine as expressed by the President in his annual message—Upon the assurances of the German Government that no acquisition of territory is contemplated, the President does not consider himself called upon to enter into a consideration of the difficulty of Germany with Venezuela.	
XI. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, 1901-1909.—Extract from the Fourth Annual Message, December 6, 1904.....	23
Goodwill of the United States towards other nations of the Western Hemisphere—Obligations of the former under the Monroe Doctrine as regards exercise of an international police power—Responsibility of every nation to make good use of its independence.	
XII. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.—Extracts from Special Message to the Senate, February 15, 1905, transmitting a protocol of an agreement between the United States and the Dominican Republic providing for the collection and disbursement by the United States of the customs revenues of the Dominican Republic signed on February 7, 1905.....	24
Relations with the Dominican Republic—Responsibilities connected with the Monroe Doctrine—Intervention in support of contractual claims—International duty under Monroe Doctrine to be performed in the interest of all nations, and with strict justice toward all.	
XIII. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, 1905-1909, United States Senator from New York, 1909-1915.—The Real Monroe Doctrine.....	29
Theory and practice of the United States in regard to the Monroe Doctrine—Instances of its application—Necessity of Monroe Doctrine shown to protect the United States.	
XIV. The First Hague Peace Conference, 1899: American Instructions and Report..	43
Instructions to Andrew D. White, Seth Low, Sanford Newel, Alfred T. Mahan and William Crozier, the American Delegates to the Hague Conference of 1899	44
Annex A.—Historical Résumé	47
Annex B.—Plan for an International Tribunal	51
Report to the Secretary of State of the Delegates to the First Hague Conference	53
Purpose of the Conference "to secure the benefits of a real and durable peace"—Program: limitation of armaments; non-employment of certain destructive agents; humane succor; good offices, mediation and arbitration—Résumé of American propositions for amicable and final adjustment of international disputes—American plan for an international tribunal—Codification of laws of warfare—Participation of all American Republics—The Monroe Doctrine—Results of the Conference.	
XV. Reservation of the United States of America to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International disputes, 1899.....	63
XVI. The Second Hague Peace Conference, 1907: American Instructions and Report. Instructions to Joseph H. Choate, Horace Porter, Uriah M. Rose, David Jayne Hill, George B. Davis, Charles S. Sperry and William I. Buchanan, the American Delegates to the Hague Conference of 1907.....	63

CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
Report to the Secretary of State of the Delegates of the United States to the Second Hague Conference	76
Program—Peaceful settlement of international disputes—Codification of laws of warfare—Neutral rights and duties—Private property at sea—Future conferences—Monroe Doctrine—Limitation of armaments—Arbitration—Participation of Latin America—Results of the Conference.	
XVII. The Recommendations of Habana Concerning International Organization, Adopted by the American Institute of International Law at its Second Session in the City of Habana, January 23, 1917.....	106
Recommendations to the effect that the Third Hague Conference should be convoked, the work of the Second Conference carried on and perfected—Proposals by which this may be accomplished.	
XVIII. Commentary on the Recommendations of Habana Concerning International Organization, adopted January 23, 1917.—By James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	108
Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations, Adopted by the American Institute of International Law on January 6, 1916.....	115
The principles of justice stated which obtain between individuals and should govern independent and equal States in their mutual relations.	
XIX. Provision of Law declaring the International Policy of the United States—Enacted by the Sixty-fourth Congress, August 29, 1916.....	123