

Contents

CHAPTER 1

Approaching the Study of American Foreign Relations

Page 1

ESSAYS

- Thomas J. McCormick • The World-System, Hegemony, and Decline 3
- Akira Iriye • International Relations as Cultural Relations 7
- Emily S. Rosenberg • The Gender Difference 11
- Melvyn P. Leffler • National Security, Core Values, and Power 14
- Michael J. Hogan • Corporatism and Capitalism 15
- J. Garry Clifford • Bureaucratic Politics and Policy Outcomes 18
- Richard H. Immerman • Psychology, Personality, and Leadership 22

CHAPTER 2

Woodrow Wilson, the First World War, and the League Fight

Page 28

DOCUMENTS

- The First *Lusitania* Note, 1915 30
- Robert Lansing and Johann-Heinrich Bernstorff Debate Submarine Warfare, 1916 31
- The Zimmermann Telegram, 1917 33
- President Woodrow Wilson's "Peace Without Victory" Speech, 1917 33
- Wilson's War Message, 1917 35
- Senator Robert M. La Follette's Dissent, 1917 37
- The Fourteen Points, 1918 38
- Articles 10 Through 16 of the League Covenant, 1919 39
- Wilson Defends the Peace Treaty and League, 1919 40
- The Lodge Reservations, 1919 45

ESSAYS

- Arthur S. Link • Wilson's Higher Realism 47
- Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt • The Peace Advocate Out of Touch with Reality 52
- Thomas J. Knock • Wilson's Battle for the League: Progressive Internationalists Confront the Forces of Reaction 62

CHAPTER 3
The International History of the 1920s
Page 77

DOCUMENTS

Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes on Naval Disarmament, 1921	79
The Isolationist <i>Chicago Tribune</i> Denounces Europe's Folly, 1921	82
Debts and German Reparations: Hughes Calls on Private Experts for Help, 1922	83
Manuel Ugarte Identifies the United States as the "New Rome," 1923	85
"Trade Follows the Film," 1925	87
Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover Extols U.S. Foreign Trade, 1926	91
The Kellogg-Briand Pact Outlaws War, 1928	93
Senator William E. Borah Urges Recognition of Soviet Russia, 1931	93

ESSAYS

Norman A. Graebner • Oblivious to Reality: The Extremes of American Isolationism and Internationalism	99
John Braeman • Powerful, Secure, and Involved: What More Should the United States Have Done?	103
Frank Costigliola • U.S. Cultural Expansion in an Era of Systemic Upheaval	114

CHAPTER 4
Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Origins of the Second World War in the Pacific
Page 127

DOCUMENTS

The Stimson Doctrine, 1932	130
President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Quarantine" Speech, 1937	130
Japan's Vision of a "New Order" in Asia, 1938	132
Stanley K. Hornbeck Urges Economic Sanctions Against Japan, 1938	133
Ambassador Joseph C. Grew Warns Against Economic Sanctions, 1939	134
Japanese Officials on China and U.S. Pressure, July 1941	138
Japan's Minimum Demands, September 1941	140
American Proposals to Japan, November 1941	141
The Japanese Position, Presented on December 7, 1941	143
Roosevelt's War Message, 1941	146

ESSAYS

Akira Iriye • Clash of Systems: The International Community Confronts Japanese Aggression	148
---	-----

- Hosoya Chihiro* • Miscalculation and Economic Sanctions: U.S. Hardliners Ensure War with Japan 166
- Waldo Heinrichs* • Roosevelt's Global Perspective: The Russian Factor in Japanese-American Relations 174

CHAPTER 5

Defeating the Axis, Planning the Peace: The Second World War
Page 185

DOCUMENTS

- President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the Colonial Issue, 1941–1945 187
- Roosevelt's Promise of a Second Front, 1942 190
- Josef Stalin's Impatience over a Second Front, 1943 192
- Roosevelt and Stalin on the "Four Policemen," at the Teheran Conference, 1943 193
- The Churchill-Stalin Percentages Deal, 1944 195
- The Yalta Protocol of Proceedings, 1945 196
- The Yalta Agreement on Soviet Entry into the War Against Japan, 1945 200
- Roosevelt's Anger with Stalin, 1945 201
- Roosevelt's Last Letter to Churchill, 1945 202

ESSAYS

- Gary R. Hess* • Roosevelt's Practical Idealism and the Successful Management of the Alliance 202
- Frederick W. Marks III* • The Pupil Roosevelt Concedes Too Much to His Teacher Stalin 215
- Lloyd C. Gardner* • Backing off the Colonial Issue 224

CHAPTER 6

The Origins of the Cold War
Page 235

DOCUMENTS

- Harry Hopkins and Josef Stalin Discuss Lend-Lease and Poland, 1945 238
- The Franck Committee Predicts a Nuclear-Arms Race If the Atomic Bomb Is Dropped on Japan, 1945 241
- Henry L. Stimson's Appeal for Atomic Talks with the Soviets, 1945 242
- George F. Kennan's "Long Telegram," 1946 244
- Winston S. Churchill's "Iron Curtain" Speech, 1946 247
- Henry A. Wallace Questions the "Get Tough" Policy, 1946 249
- Soviet Ambassador Nikolai Novikov Identifies a U.S. Drive for World Supremacy, 1946 253
- The Truman Doctrine, 1947 259

The Marshall Plan (Economic Cooperation Act of 1948)	261
National Security Council Paper No. 68 (NSC-68), 1950	262

ESSAYS

<i>Barton J. Bernstein • Secrets and Threats: Atomic Diplomacy and Soviet-American Antagonism</i>	265
<i>Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov • Stalin's Inexorable Aggression</i>	284
<i>Melvyn P. Leffler • With a Preponderance of Power: America's Wise, Prudent, and Foolish Leaders</i>	296

CHAPTER 7

Mao's China and the Chances for Sino-American Accommodation Page 316

DOCUMENTS

U.S. Ambassador John Leighton Stuart on Mao's Overture, 1949	318
Zhou Enlai's (Chou En-lai's) <i>Démarche</i> , 1949	320
The State Department's Response to the <i>Démarche</i> , 1949	321
President Harry S. Truman on the <i>Démarche</i> , 1949	322
Huang Hua Recalls His Talks with Stuart (1949), 1990	322
Secretary of State Dean Acheson in the "White Paper," 1949	326
Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) on U.S. "Imperialism," 1949	329
Bo Yibo Remembers the Origins of China's "Lean to One Side" Policy (1949-1950), 1991	332
Senator William Knowland Argues Against Recognition, 1950	334

ESSAYS

<i>He Di • From Cooperation to Confrontation: Chinese Communist Views on Sino-American Relations</i>	337
<i>William W. Stueck, Jr. • The American Failure to Negotiate</i>	348
<i>Nancy Bernkopf Tucker • Dean Acheson's Plan for Accommodation and Recognition</i>	357

CHAPTER 8

The Korean War Page 366

DOCUMENTS

Secretary of State Dean Acheson on the Defense Perimeter in Asia, 1950	369
North Korea Blames South Korea for Starting the War, 1950	371
President Harry S. Truman and His Advisers at the "Blair House Meeting," June 26, 1950	371
The Defense Department's Case for Crossing the Thirty-Eighth Parallel to Reunite the Two Koreas, 1950	374

- Mao Zedong Informs Josef Stalin of China's Decision to Enter the Korean War, 1950 375
- General Douglas MacArthur on the Likelihood of Chinese Intervention, 1950 377
- Truman Discusses the Possible Use of Atomic Weapons in Korea, 1950 377
- The Chinese Case for Intervention, 1950 378
- Truman Defends U.S. Policy, 1951 379
- MacArthur's "No Substitute for Victory" Speech, 1951 381

ESSAYS

- Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings* • Korea's Civil War and the Roots of U.S. Intervention 383
- James I. Matray* • Ensuring Korea's Freedom: The Decision to Cross the Thirty-Eighth Parallel 395
- Michael H. Hunt* • Why China Intervened in the Korean War 405

CHAPTER 9

Dwight D. Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles, and the Nuclear-Arms Race Page 416

DOCUMENTS

- The National Security Council Debates Cold War Defense Costs and Nuclear Weapons, 1953 419
- National Security Council Paper No. 162/2 (NCS-162/2), 1953 422
- Secretary of State John Foster Dulles Explains Massive Retaliation, 1954 423
- Lewis Mumford Protests the Nuclear-Arms Race, 1954 425
- Dulles and President Dwight D. Eisenhower Threaten to Use Nuclear Weapons: The Taiwan Strait Crisis, 1955 426
- Eisenhower Proposes "Open Skies," 1955 427
- Howard L. Rosenberg's Description of a 1957 Atomic Test in Nevada Witnessed by "Atomic Soldiers," 1980 428
- The National Security Council Discusses the Ramifications of *Sputnik*, 1957 430
- Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev Reflects on the Nuclear-Arms Race, 1970 433
- Senator John F. Kennedy Presses for More Military Spending to Close the Missile Gap, 1960 435
- Eisenhower on the "Military-Industrial Complex," 1961 436

ESSAYS

- Robert A. Divine* • The Beauty of Eisenhower's Nuclear Strategy 438
- Gordon H. Chang* • Eisenhower's Reckless Nuclear Gamble over the Taiwan Strait 448

CHAPTER 10
Cuba and the Missile Crisis
Page 460

DOCUMENTS

- CIA Assassination Plots Against Fidel Castro (1960–1965), 1975 462
- President John F. Kennedy Vows to “Show Our Will” After the Bay of Pigs, 1961 467
- Guidelines for Operation Mongoose, 1962 468
- General Anatoly I. Gribkov Recalls the Soviet Military Buildup in Cuba (1962), 1992 469
- Cuba Protests U.S. Aggression, October 8, 1962 472
- Missiles Photographed in Cuba: Kennedy’s First Meeting with His Advisers, October 16, 1962 474
- The Rejection of Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen’s Call for Diplomacy, October 17, 1962 480
- Kennedy’s Television Address, October 22, 1962 482
- Premier Nikita Khrushchev Asks for a U.S. No-Invasion Pledge, October 26, 1962 486
- Fidel Castro Urges Khrushchev to Resist a U.S. Invasion, October 26, 1962 488
- Khrushchev Asks for U.S. Removal of Jupiter Missiles from Turkey, October 27, 1962 489
- Kennedy and ExCom on Trading the Jupiter Missiles in Turkey, October 27, 1962 489
- Anastas I. Mikoyan and Castro Debate and Review the Crisis, November 3–5, 1962 491

ESSAYS

- Thomas G. Paterson* • Spinning Out of Control: John F. Kennedy, the War Against Cuba, and the Missile Crisis 495
- Alexander L. George* • Kennedy’s Prudent, Successful Crisis Management 509

CHAPTER 11
The Vietnam War
Page 532

DOCUMENTS

- The Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, 1945 535
- President Dwight D. Eisenhower Explains the Domino Theory, 1954 536
- Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, 1954 537
- General Vo Nguyen Giap on People’s War, 1961 538
- The Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 1964 539
- President Lyndon B. Johnson on Why Americans Fight in Vietnam, 1965 540

- Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara Recommends
Escalation, 1965 543
- Johnson Questions Dissenting Under Secretary of State George
Ball, 1965 546
- Senator J. William Fullbright on the "Arrogance of Power," 1966 547
- Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford Recalls His Post-Tet Questions
(1968), 1969 549
- Private Paul Meadlo Explains the 1968 My Lai Massacre, 1969 551

ESSAYS

- Larry Berman • Lyndon B. Johnson's Tragic Decision to Escalate 555
- Gabriel Kolko • America's Quest for a Capitalist World Order 564
- Eric M. Bergerud • An Unwinnable War 572

CHAPTER 12

Richard M. Nixon, Henry A. Kissinger, the Grand Strategy, and Détente
Page 585

DOCUMENTS

- President Richard M. Nixon Recalls His Initial Goals (1968), 1978 587
- The Nixon Doctrine, 1969 590
- Nixon Explains the Five Power Centers of the New Global Economy,
1971 591
- Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger on Rapprochement with China
(1972), 1979 593
- The SALT-I Agreements, 1972 596
- Kissinger on Détente, 1974 598
- U.S. Covert Action in Chile (1963–1973), 1975 601
- The Journalist Anthony Lewis's Critique of Kissinger's Record, 1977 606

ESSAYS

- John Lewis Gaddis • The Skill and Wisdom of the Nixon-Kissinger
Détente 608
- Raymond L. Garthoff • Why Détente Failed 619
- Walter Isaacson • Kissinger's Realism Without Morality 630

CHAPTER 13

Washington and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process
Page 637

DOCUMENTS

- United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, 1967 641
- The Palestinian National Covenant, 1968 641
- Egypt's Gamel Abdul Nasser Endorses Peace But Denounces Israel and
the United States, 1968 645

Foreign Minister Abba Eban Presents Israel's Nine-Point Peace Plan, 1968	648
Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger Defends U.S. Support for Israel in the October War (1973), 1982	651
Platform of Menachem Begin's Likud Coalition, 1977	656
Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's Plea for Peace Before the Israeli Parliament, 1977	657
Former President Jimmy Carter Remembers the Highs and Lows of the 1978 Camp David Summit, 1982	661
The Camp David Framework for Peace, 1978	665

ESSAYS

<i>Steven L. Spiegel</i> • The Six-Day War and the Benefits of the U.S.-Israeli Alliance	669
<i>Cheryl A. Rubenberg</i> • The October War and the Disadvantages of the U.S.-Israeli Alliance	680
<i>William B. Quandt</i> • Carter's Creative, Pragmatic Summit Diplomacy	691

CHAPTER 14

The End of the Cold War

Page 707

DOCUMENTS

President Jimmy Carter Identifies a "Crisis of Confidence," 1979	710
President Ronald Reagan Denounces the Soviet Union, 1981	711
Reagan Touts U.S. Military Power and Introduces the Strategic Defense Initiative, 1983	712
General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on U.S. Delusions, 1985	714
Reagan Defends SDI After the Reykjavík Summit Meeting, 1986	715
Gorbachev Criticizes SDI After the Reykjavík Summit Meeting, 1986	717
Paul Kennedy on "Imperial Overstretch" and the Relative Decline of the United States, 1987	720
George Arbatov Explains the "New Thinking" in the Soviet Union, 1989	722
Zbigniew Brzezinski Lauds Carter for a U.S. Cold War Victory, 1992	725

ESSAYS

<i>Thomas G. Paterson</i> • Superpower Decline and Hegemonic Survival	727
<i>John Lewis Gaddis</i> • Hanging Tough Paid Off	738
<i>Michael McGwire</i> • Generational Change, Not U.S. Bullying, Explains the Gorbachev Revolution	742
<i>Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry</i> • Engagement and Anti-Nuclearism, Not Containment, Brought an End to the Cold War	746