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THE REFERENCE SHELF

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UNITED STATES FOREIGN  
POLICY

*Isolation or Alliance*

COMPILED BY  
JULIA E. JOHNSEN



NEW YORK  
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1938

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## INTRODUCTION

Isolation is theoretically America's historic policy toward wars abroad, a policy supported at its origin by favoring geographical and other conditions. But the advance of science and progress long ago eliminated physical distance, and today American interest in the world is a very real concern, not only in view of worldwide trade, human ties and natural sympathies, but also in view of world principles of order, peace, justice, humanitarianism, and right. The world disorders, particularly since the rise of dictatorship nations and the defiance of international law in a recrudescence of power politics, have made the foreign policies of our country of special moment. Various measures have been proposed from time to time to coordinate our international policy with the enforcing of international law and the regulation of war-making nations. For the last few years we have had a legally constituted, altho not consistently enforced, neutrality policy, with the defined purpose of keeping our country out of foreign wars.

The special importance of America's foreign policy lies in her position as a leading world power, with resources and potentialities for leadership that could make her a world force. Along with other democracies abroad, however, her foreign policies have been, in a measure, indecisive and vacillating, while dictatorship nations have assumed a direct line of approach to their nationalistic ambitions and have proceeded to remake the world in accordance with their special interests. War potentialities have increased in frequency and gravity. Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria, China, and Czechoslovakia have become illustrations of the *fait accompli*, of the dominance

of might, and super-armaments have everywhere arisen as a concomitant to the new world psychology and fear. The situation following the agreement of Munich and the pacts enacted between democratic and totalitarian nations, followed almost immediately by new threats of impending change, is indicative of the present troubled and chaotic conditions of the world, and the imminent need for the application of the highest international principles of law and order that the world can offer.

Our Pan American policy has come to be increasingly stressed, both for itself and in relation to our proposed isolation from the European and Asiatic world. Pan Americanism is not a new concept. As "continentalism" and in other forms of aspiration, its roots can be traced back for more than a century. Conferences and other inter-relationships, treaties, agreements, accords, have marked a long series of years. The Buenos Aires Conference of 1936 marked a high point in measures designed to further American peace and solidarity, and the inter-American conference, now assembled at Lima, Peru, is expected to bring about further accord and to further implement the bonds of a continental unity.

Among the measures designed for the realization of a greater inter-American cooperation and accord have been a proposed American League of Nations, and a non-military alliance. Today stress is being placed predominantly upon a defensive alliance. Various influences have contributed to this. More immediate among these have been the general sense of world insecurity resulting from lawless policies abroad, crises such as that of Munich, the projected American super-navy capable of defending the western hemisphere from Canada to Cape Horn, the increased American amity resulting from the good neighborhood policy, new concepts of nationalistic equality, and multilateral, rather than unilateral, interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. Probably not least among influences tending to concern for a greater

American solidarity in defense has been the totalitarian impenetration of Latin America in various forms, with its implication of a more or less veiled menace for the future.

The present number of the Reference Shelf has been prepared primarily for debaters, but is intended to present also a readable and impartial view for the general reader and student. The bibliography, given in two parts, embodying the isolationist and international discussion, and that relating more particularly to Pan-American relationships, both classified for greater convenience, presents the possibility of debates on each of the two aspects, as well as on the unified one here given. A summary of arguments is included. Discussion and references have been kept recent, so far as possible. References to additional and earlier articles in relation to the background of our foreign policy, will be found in earlier numbers of the Reference Shelf series dealing with international affairs in relation to war and peace. Among these may be mentioned the *Neutrality Policy of the United States, Peace and Rearmament*, and the *Anglo-American Alliance*.

JULIA E. JOHNSON

December 12, 1938

## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	3
ISOLATION	
<i>General Discussion</i>	
Whitton, John B. Isolation: An Obsolete Principle of the Monroe Doctrine.....	
.....International Conciliation	13
Roosevelt, Franklin D. Forum Address.....	
.....New York Times	31
Way of Life.....	New York Times 33
Kerner, Robert J. America's Interest and Britain's Policy.....	Pacific Affairs 37
Buell, Raymond Leslie. Isolated America .....	43
Brief Excerpts .....	46
<i>Affirmative Discussion</i>	
Hoover, Herbert. Greatest Service the Nation Can Give.....	Vital Speeches 59
Thomas, Norman. Collective Security Means War	61
Randolph, James Lee. Implications of Collective Security.....	Dynamic America 66
Libby, Frederick J. Concerted Action Against the Fascist States.....	New Masses 69
Darvall, Frank O. America and Europe... Address	73
Brief Excerpts .....	76
<i>Negative Discussion</i>	
Hull, Cordell. Spirit of International Law.. Address	89
Sayre, Francis B. American Foreign Policy.....	
..... Address	94



Morley, Felix. How Can the United States Aid in Maintaining Peace?.....	98
.....Annals of the American Academy	
Hartley, Livingston. Our Bonds With the British .....	102
.....North American Review	
Newfang, Oscar. World Federation..World Unity	105
Brief Excerpts .....	108

#### PAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE

##### *General Discussion*

Alfaro, Ricardo J. An American League of Nations .....	127
.....World Affairs	
Mathews, John M. Roosevelt's Latin-American Policy.....	135
.....American Political Science Review	
Duggan, Stephen P. Latin America, the League, and the United States.....	141
.....Foreign Affairs	
Welles, Sumner. Results of the South American Conference .....	145
.....Academy of Political Science. Proceedings	
Stuart, Graham H. Pan-America in the Coming World Order.....	150
.....World Unity	
Shaw, Paul VanOrden. Pan America, Peace and Personnel.....	153
.....North American Review	
Brief Excerpts .....	156

##### *Affirmative Discussion*

Roosevelt, Franklin D. Can the New World Help the Old Avoid War?.....	175
.....Vital Speeches	
Alfaro, Ricardo J. American League of Nations .....	179
.....World Affairs	
Welles, Sumner. Unity of Americas Against Assault .....	185
.....New York Times	
Arbaiza, Genaro. Are the Americas Safe?.....	189
.....Current History	

CONTENTS

9

Nerval, Gaston, pseud. Europe Versus the United States in Latin America.....	Foreign Affairs	196
Castro, Hector David. Pan-Americanism, Its Justification and Future .....	World Affairs	199
Brief Excerpts .....		201
<i>Negative Discussion</i>		
D'Eca, Raul. Proposed Creation of an Inter-American League of Nations .....		217
Gavit, John Palmer. East is East but South is South .....	Survey Graphic	225
Murray, Robert Hammond. Pan Americanism, Myth and Failure.....	American Mercury	228
Pattee, Richard. Dictators, and More Dictators....	Christian Century	235
Trotter, Reginald G. Which Way Canada?.....	Queen's Quarterly	239
Brief Excerpts .....		244
SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS		
Introduction .....		261
Affirmative .....		262
Negative .....		271
BIBLIOGRAPHY		
<i>Isolation</i>		
Bibliographies .....		281
General References .....		281
Affirmative References .....		290
Negative References .....		291
<i>Pan American Alliance</i>		
Bibliographies .....		294
General References .....		294
Affirmative References .....		303
Negative References .....		306

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