

# Institute of International Education

International Relations Clubs

Syllabus No. II

## The Past, Present and Future of the Monroe Doctrine

By ARNOLD B. HALL, J. D.

Associate Professor of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin



November, 1920

# The Institute of International Education

419 West 117th Street, New York

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN, PH.D.

DIRECTOR

Telephone: Morningside 7419

Cable Address: "Intered"

## ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD

Herman V. Ames

L. H. Baekeland

William Lowe Bryan

Nicholas Murray Butler

Stephen Pierce Duggan

Dr. Walter B. James

Alice Duer Miller

Paul Monroe

John Bassett Moore

Henry Morgenthau

Dwight W. Morrow

E. H. Outerbridge

Henry S. Pritchett

Mary E. Woolley

## BUREAU DIVISIONS

Europe

Far East

Latin America

Women's Colleges

International Relations Clubs

Stephen P. Duggan

Paul Monroe

Peter H. Goldsmith

Virginia Newcomb

Bernice Sanborn

# Institute of International Education

International Relations Clubs

Syllabus No. II

## The Past, Present and Future of the Monroe Doctrine

*By* ARNOLD B. HALL, J. D.

Associate Professor of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin



November, 1920

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## PREFACE

Since the outbreak of the World War public interest has been absorbed in world affairs to an unprecedented degree. Never before have such ambitious and constructive plans for the intelligent ordering of the world's affairs received the active attention of responsible statesmen. All the great nations have been brought to a realization of a common unity of interest in the perfection of a just and effective settlement that will endure.

America is no exception. But the traditional indifference of our people to international affairs makes their intelligent participation doubly difficult. The importance of a wider interest in the study of American foreign policy is therefore apparent. The Monroe Doctrine, the principles that underlie it, the conditions that gave it birth, and its relation to our present problems, is the logical point of departure for those who would prepare themselves to grapple with the larger problems of the world. To aid those who desire to make a study of this policy is the purpose of the present syllabus.

In the readings that are suggested the writer has attempted to keep in mind the most available materials, and those that would be most useful to the general student. For chapters VII and VIII the writer is indebted largely to his colleague, Dr. Graham H. Stuart. In the last two chapters, many of the matters covered are in a controversial stage, and an effort has been made to open up all sides of the major question involved. The writer will cordially welcome suggestions and criticisms that will make the syllabus more accurate and helpful to the beginning student of international affairs.

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL

Madison, Wisconsin,  
November 17, 1920



# Additions and Corrections to Readings

Chapter II, add "The United States and Latin America", by J. H. Latané, Chapters

1 and 2

" III, add " " " " " " , Chapter 5

" IV, add " " " " " " , Chapters 3, 4 and 6

" VI, add " " " " " " , Chapter 7

" VII, add " " " " " " , and omit "Diplomatic

Relations between the United States and Latin America", by J. H. Latané

Chapter XI, add "The United States and Latin America", by J. H. Latané, Chapter 5

## CHAPTER I

### FOUNDATIONS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

- A. Precarious position of the United States in world politics in 1789
  - 1. Small population, large area, and no military or naval equipment
  - 2. Neighbors
    - a. Hostile Indians
    - b. Colonies of powerful European nations
  - 3. European fear and jealousy of the new republic
  - 4. Danger of being entangled in manoeuvres to maintain the "balance of power" in Europe
  - 5. Need of a foreign policy
- B. Isolation and the American policy of neutrality and non-intervention
  - 1. Isolation or the policy of the "two spheres"
    - a. Early suggestions
    - b. Washington's Farewell Address
  - 2. Policy of neutrality and non-intervention
    - a. French and English war
    - b. Revolutions of the Spanish American colonies
  - 3. Policy of non-intervention directed against European activities in America
    - a. Jefferson's opposition to the cession of Louisiana by Spain to France in 1800
    - b. Subsequent cession of Louisiana to the United States
    - c. President Madison and the Floridas, 1811
- C. American policy of expansion
  - 1. Primarily a policy of self-defense
- D. Monroe's recommendation for the recognition of the Latin American Republics, 1815
  - 1. A measure of self-defense

#### Readings:

- Fish, C. R., *American Diplomacy*, Chap. IX
- Hall, Arnold B., *The Monroe Doctrine and the Great War*, Chap. I
- Hart, A. B., *The Monroe Doctrine*, Chaps. I and II
- Latané, J. H., *From Isolation to Leadership*, Chap. I
- Moore, J. B., *A Digest of International Law*, Vol. VI, secs. 927-929
- Moore, J. B., *Principles of American Diplomacy*, 33-60
- Reddaway, W. F., *The Monroe Doctrine*, Chap. I

## CHAPTER II

### THE FORMULATION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

- A. The Quadruple Alliance
  - 1. The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo
  - 2. The resulting alliance
    - a. The treaty of March 1, 1814
    - b. The treaty of March 25, 1815
    - c. The treaty of November 20, 1815
    - d. The Holy Alliance between Austria, Russia and Prussia, September 26, 1815
  - 3. The common interests of the Alliance
    - a. The growing fear of liberalism and democracy
  - 4. The meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818
    - a. Admission of France
    - b. Discussion of American affairs
    - c. Attitude of Canning
  - 5. The meetings at Troppau and Laibach, 1820
    - a. Popular revolts in Spain, Naples, Portugal and Piedmont
    - b. Intervention in the affairs of Spain and Piedmont
    - c. The Troppau circular
    - d. The attitude of the British Government
  - 6. The Congress of Verona, 1822
    - a. Intervention in Spain
      - (1) British attitude
    - b. Pronouncement against the cause of free government and in favor of the doctrine of "divine right"
    - c. Spain's demand for the subjugation of her American colonies
    - d. Plans for succeeding conference on American affairs
- B. American attitude towards the Alliance
  - 1. American belief that the purposes and spirit of the Alliance were hostile to the interests of the United States
  - 2. President Monroe's suggestion for joint recognition of the Spanish colonies by England and the United States
- C. The Rush-Canning negotiations
  - 1. British fear of possible French interests in America
  - 2. The Rush-Canning correspondence, 1823
  - 3. Its influence in the United States
- D. The dispute with Russia over the boundary in the Northwest
  - 1. The Russian Ukase, 1821
  - 2. American-Russian negotiations
- E. The preparation of President Monroe's message
  - 1. Monroe's correspondence with Jefferson and Madison
  - 2. Monroe's cabinet consultations
  - 3. The influence of Adams

## F. Promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine

1. Monroe's annual message, December 2, 1823
2. Reception of the Doctrine in America
3. Its reception in England and Europe

### Readings:

Edgington, F. B., *Monroe Doctrine*

Fish, Chap. XVII

Hall, Chap. II

Hart, Chaps. III-V

Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, Chap. XVII

Hazen, C. D., *Europe Since 1815*, Chaps. I-III, 1-45

Johnson, W. F., *America's Foreign Relations*, Vol. I, Chap. XII; Vol. II, Chap. XVI

Latané, Chap. II

Moore, J. B., *A Digest of International Law*, Vol. VI, secs. 930-939

Phillips, W. A., *The Confederation of Europe*, Chaps. IV-VI, 123-302

Reddaway, Chaps. II-VI

Snow, F., *Treaties and Topics in American Diplomacy*, 237-294

Tucker, *Monroe Doctrine*

## CHAPTER III

### EVOLUTION OF THE DOCTRINE: 1823-1869

#### A. Immediate effects of the Doctrine

1. On the European Alliance
2. On the dispute with Russia

#### B. Analysis of the Doctrine

1. Reiterated the "doctrine of isolation"
2. Opposed European intervention in the affairs of the New World
3. Reiterated America's traditional policy to abstain from the politics of Europe
4. Avoided the self-denying clause suggested by Canning
5. Did not oppose the peaceful transfer of European colonies in America
6. Primary purpose was to safeguard the United States against the menace of the great European powers

#### C. The Panama Congress, 1826

1. Purposes of the Congress
2. President Adams' favorable attitude
3. Congressional hostility

#### D. Falkland Islands episode, 1833

#### E. President Polk and his policy of annexation

1. The acquisition of California justified as a means of saving it from European hands

2. The project for the annexation of Yucatan, 1848
  - a. President Polk's message, April 29, 1848
  - b. Opposition as led by Calhoun
  - c. American opposition to peaceful acquisition of American territory by European powers was formally declared

#### F. American interest in Cuba

1. Traditional interest of American statesmen in the destiny of Cuba
2. Forsyth's declaration against British designs, 1840
3. President Polk's attempt to purchase the islands, 1848
4. Filibustering expeditions, 1849-1851
5. Proposal of France and England for a joint agreement with the United States
6. Secretary Everett's pronouncements regarding American interests in Cuba
7. The Ostend Manifesto, 1854
8. The influence of slavery upon the Cuban question

#### G. The Isthmian Canal controversy

1. Early American interest in the proposed canal
2. Senate action of 1835
3. Treaty with New Granada, 1846
4. British interest in the canal and in Central America
  - a. Settlement of Belize
  - b. Protectorate over Mosquito Indians
  - c. British capture of Greytown, 1848
  - d. British support of Costa Rica's claims against Nicaragua
5. American fear of a canal built exclusively under British control
6. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty
  - a. Terms of the treaty
  - b. Inconsistent with the theory of the dominant interest of the United States in American problems
  - c. Subsequent canal treaties with Honduras in 1864 and Nicaragua in 1868

#### H. French intervention in Mexico

1. Conditions in Mexico after the Mexican War
2. Joint intervention for redress of grievances by France, Spain and England, 1861
  - a. Withdrawal of Spain and England
  - b. French purposes as disclosed by Napoleon in 1862
  - c. Capture of City of Mexico
3. American opposition
  - a. Attitude of Secretary Seward
  - b. Action by the House of Representatives, April 4, 1864
  - c. Seward's demand for French withdrawal, 1866
  - d. Reasons for French acquiescence
  - e. Fundamental principles of the Monroe Doctrine were involved

Readings:

Fish, Chap. XXIII

Hall, Chap. III

Hart, Chaps. VI-X

Johnson, Vol. I, Chap. XVI; Vol. II, Chap. XXIII

Moore, J. B., *A Digest of International Law*, Vol. VI, secs. 940-949; 955-961

Reddaway, Chap. VIII-IX

Snow, 294-312; 347

## CHAPTER IV

### EVOLUTION OF THE DOCTRINE: 1869-1920

#### A. The Isthmian Canal

1. Revival of American interest in the project
  - a. Treaty with Colombia, 1870
  - b. Report of the Inter-oceanic Canal Commission, 1875
  - c. Organization of French company to build canal, 1879

#### B. American dissatisfaction with the self-denying aspects of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

1. Secretary Fish's objection to joint control of the canal, 1870
2. Secretary Evarts on the paramount interest of the United States in the Canal, 1880
3. Hay's message, 1880
4. Garfield's inaugural address, 1881
5. Blain's circular dispatch, 1881

#### C. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 1901

1. Blain's attempt to prove the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty void
2. Secretary Frelinghuysen's campaign against the treaty
3. Cleveland's attitude
4. Harrison's attitude
5. Effect of Spanish-American War on the American attitude
6. McKinley's stand for an "American Canal"
7. Negotiation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 1901
8. Terms of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty

#### D. The Venezuela Controversy

1. Boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela
  - a. Extension of the British boundary lines westward
  - b. Venezuela's request for arbitration
  - c. Venezuela's request for aid from the United States
  - d. Severance of diplomatic relations between Venezuela and England, 1887
2. America's request that England arbitrate
3. The Olney message, 1895
4. Cleveland's message, December 17, 1895

5. The British reply
  6. The arrangement for arbitration between Great Britain and Venezuela, 1897
  7. Reasons for British acquiescence in American demands
    - a. German Emperor's telegram of congratulations to the president of the Boer Republic
- E. The second Venezuela controversy
1. The claims of England, Italy and Germany against Venezuela
  2. Roosevelt's Annual Message of December 3, 1901
  3. Assurances given by Germany and England, and Secretary Hay's reply
  4. Arbitration of the claims against Venezuela
  5. Roosevelt's statement of the issues involved, 1903
- F. Cuba
1. Movement for Cuban independence
    - a. Outbreak of movement, 1866
    - b. Secretary Fish's proposal for joint intervention
    - c. Outbreak of civil war again, 1895
    - d. Evil conditions attendant upon the civil war in Cuba
  2. American interest in the Cuban situation
    - a. Proximity of the conflict to the United States
    - b. Menace to the property and lives of many American citizens
    - c. Effect upon American trade
    - d. Filibustering expeditions
  3. American intervention in Cuba
    - a. Secretary Olney's communication to the Spanish government, 1896
    - b. Cleveland's position of neutrality
    - c. McKinley's message to Congress recommending armed intervention in Cuba, April 11, 1898
    - d. The declaration of war and the Teller Resolution
    - e. The Platt Amendment
- G. United States and the Hague Conferences
1. The American reservations
- H. Tendency of the Monroe Doctrine to become identified with the doctrine of "paramount interest"
1. Controversy over the canal
  2. The Venezuela episodes
  3. Cuba and the war with Spain

Readings:

Fish, Chap. XXVII

Hall, Chap. IV

Hart, Chaps. XI-XIV

Johnson, Vol. II, Chaps. XXV, XXXI, XXXIV, XXXV

Moore, J. B., *A Digest of International Law*, Vol. VI, secs. 950-952; 964-968

Snow, 326-346; 349-357

## CHAPTER V

### THE PACIFIC AND THE FAR EAST

- A. Early American interests in the Pacific
  - 1. Trade and commercial treaties with China
  - 2. Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan, 1854
  - 3. Early commercial treaties and relations with Hawaii, Borneo and Siam
- B. Annexation of Hawaii
  - 1. Commissioners petitioned for recognition of Hawaiian Kingdom, 1842
  - 2. Reply of Secretary Webster
  - 3. President Tyler's attitude toward Hawaii
  - 4. British and French interest in Hawaii
  - 5. French efforts to secure special privileges and the objection made by Secretary Clayton, 1849
  - 6. Proposal for annexation, 1851
    - a. Received little encouragement from Webster but more favor from Secretary Marcy
    - b. Position of Secretary Marcy
    - c. Proposed treaty for ratification
  - 7. Annexation of Hawaii, 1898
  - 8. America's policy in Hawaii was based upon the theory of the dominant interest of the United States and its defense
- C. The United States and the Philippine Islands
  - 1. Acquisition of the Philippines
  - 2. Occupation of the Philippines
  - 3. Government of the Islands
  - 4. American interests in the Philippines
    - a. Commerce and business
    - b. Military and naval considerations
    - c. Humanitarianism and national pride
  - 5. Problems of Philippine independence
  - 6. Effect of American acquisition of the Philippines upon the doctrine of the "two spheres"
- D. The Magdalena Bay episode, 1912
  - 1. The attempt to sell land in Lower California to Japanese subjects
  - 2. Secretary Knox's opposition
  - 3. The fear that Japan was back of the movement
  - 4. The Lodge Resolution
- E. The "open door" and "Chinese integrity"
  - 1. Leases obtained by European powers in China, 1898
  - 2. Secretary Hay's circular note to the powers suggesting the policy of the "open door"
    - a. American interest in China
    - b. The reception of the Hay note

3. The Boxer outbreak
    - a. Foreign intervention
    - b. Fear that intervention would lead to permanent acquisition of Chinese territory by European powers
  4. Hay's policy for the preservation of "Chinese integrity" and the establishment of the "open door"
    - a. Temporary success of the policy
    - b. Hay's proposal for an alliance with England and Japan for the support of this policy
    - c. Gradual weakening of the policy
  5. American policy in China characterized by the principle of equal opportunity rather than that of exclusive privilege
- F. Japan's "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia
1. Japan's participation in the Great War
  2. Recent Japanese diplomacy
    - a. The twenty-one demands on China
    - b. The Russo-Japanese Treaty
    - c. The secret agreements with France and Great Britain
    - d. Japan at the Peace Conference
  3. Japan's "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia
    - a. The Japanese position
    - b. Alleged consistency with the policy of "Chinese integrity" and the "open door"
    - c. Comparison of the content of Japanese doctrine with the principles of the Monroe Doctrine
  4. America's interest in Japan's policy
  5. The Lansing-Ishii Agreement

#### Readings:

Abbott, J. F., *Japanese Expansion and American Policies*, Chap. IX  
 Gibbons, H. A., *The New Map of Asia*, Chaps. XVI-XXIV  
 Hall, Chap. V  
 Hart, Chap. XVIII  
 Hornbeck, K., *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*  
 Johnson, Vol. II, Chaps. XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII  
 Kawakami, K. K., *Japan in World Politics*, Chaps. IX-XIV  
 Latané, Chap. V  
 Millard, T. F., *Democracy and the Eastern Question*  
 Snow, 361-397

## CHAPTER VI

### DOLLAR DIPLOMACY AND THE CARIBBEAN

- A. Danger of European intervention in the Caribbean
  1. Unstable conditions in the Caribbean
  2. Occasion for European countries to intervene in behalf of the interests of their citizens

3. Possible forms of such intervention
  4. Such intervention inimical to American interests
- B. American policy of intervention
1. Development of the policy of intervention
    - a. Principle involved in the utterance of President Hays against the joint Isthmian Canal
    - b. The Platt Amendment
    - c. President Roosevelt's message, 1904
  2. Purpose and necessity of the policy
- C. Intervention in San Domingo, 1905
1. Recent history of San Domingo
  2. Indebtedness of San Domingo
  3. Threat of European intervention
  4. President Roosevelt's protocol
    - a. Terms of protocol
    - b. Senate's refusal to ratify
    - c. Placed in operation by executive agreement
    - d. Roosevelt's defence of the San Domingo policy
  5. San Domingo policy embodied in the treaty, 1907
  6. Results of the policy
- D. American policy in Nicaragua, 1909
1. Conditions in Nicaragua in 1909
  2. The proposed treaty with Nicaragua
    - a. Its provisions
    - b. Senate's refusal to ratify
    - c. Terms of agreement carried into effect by an executive agreement
    - d. Subsequent ratification with minor changes in 1916
  3. Results of the policy
- E. American policy in Haiti, 1914
1. Conditions in Haiti
  2. Demands by Germany and France for control of the customs
  3. The treaty with Haiti, 1915
    - a. Its provisions
    - b. Unusual amount of internal supervision involved in treaty
  4. Results of the policy
- F. Intervention in Cuba
1. Intervention in 1906
  2. Intervention in 1916
- G. Justification of American policy
1. Necessary to prevent European countries gaining a foot-hold
  2. American interest in the Caribbean
    - a. Rapid growth of trade

- b. America's economic imperialism finds its logical outlet in the Caribbean
  - (1) The Caribbean countries provide an expanding market for American goods
  - (2) They provide resources of raw material
- c. Competition with Europe for these opportunities is inevitable
- 3. American policy was necessary to protect these interests
- H. Criticism of Doctrine
  - 1. "Dollar diplomacy"
  - 2. Prostitution of the Monroe Doctrine to an ulterior economic end
  - 3. It violates the principle of equality of nations
- I. Altruistic aspects of the American doctrine
  - 1. Has protected weak countries against European powers
  - 2. It is a policy of international guardianship rather than territorial aggrandizement
  - 3. Its principle is equal opportunity for all rather than exclusive concessions

#### Readings:

Fish, Chap. XXXI

Hall, Chap. VI

Hart, Chap. XX

Johnson, Vol. II, Chap. XXXV

Jones, C. L., *The Caribbean Interests of the United States*

Latané, Chap. VII

MacCorkle, W. A., *Monroe Doctrine and its Application to Haiti*, in *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. 54, pp. 28-56

## CHAPTER VII

### LATIN AMERICA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

- A. The struggle for independence in Latin America
  - 1. Causes
    - a. Doctrine of the French Revolution
      - Voltaire and Rousseau better known in South America than in North America
    - b. American Revolution
      - Miranda fought in it
    - c. Spanish attitude
      - Colonies merely a source of income by exploitation and corrupt methods
    - d. Napoleonic period
      - Conquest of Spain
      - Joseph Bonaparte as usurper
  - 2. Beginnings
    - a. Miranda's filibustering expedition from New York against Venezuela, and its failure, 1806

- b. First decree of independence adopted by Congress of Venezuela under leadership of Miranda and Bolivar, 1811
  - 3. Revolutionary period
    - a. Struggle in the south
      - San Martin, leader
      - Long preparation
      - Crossing of Andes
      - Capture of Valparaiso and Santiago, 1817
      - He wins Peru, 1820
      - He meets Bolivar, 1822
      - San Martin resigns
    - b. Struggle in the north
      - Bolivar, leader
      - Early failures
      - Successful in 1819
      - Joins New Granada and Venezuela as Republic of Colombia
      - Ideas for union of South America
      - Independence gained, 1824
- B. Recognition of the Latin American Republics
  - 1. Attitude of the United States
    - a. Championship by Henry Clay in Congress
      - The question before Monroe
      - Monroe tries to get backing of England and France
    - b. Clay's declaration of interest carried in Congress, 1821
      - Monroe recognizes *de facto* independence, 1822
      - Appropriations for missions voted
  - 2. Attitude of Great Britain
    - a. Growth of British commerce with Spanish colonies
      - Castlereagh's attitude at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818
      - Absence from Troppau and Laibach
      - Wellington withdraws from Verona, 1822
    - b. Canning commends course of United States in recognizing colonies, 1822
      - England refuses to aid Spain
      - Canning forecasts recognition of colonies, March, 1823
    - c. Canning confers with Rush
      - Asks cooperation of the United States
      - Canning unwilling to acknowledge independence but tells Polignac foreign interference would force it
- C. The Monroe Doctrine from the Latin American viewpoint
  - 1. Monroe Doctrine not always satisfactory to Latin America
    - a. Desire for cooperation
      - Bolivar invites United States to Congress of Panama
      - United States shows unwillingness
    - b. Doctrine not always available for South America
      - Falkland Island incident
      - French intervention in Mexico

- c. Doctrine dangerous to South America
  - President Johnson's fourth annual message
  - President Hays and our coastline
  - President Cleveland's doctrine of American supremacy
  - President Roosevelt's "big stick" policy
- 2. Imperialistic policy of the United States
  - a. Annexation of Texas
    - War with Mexico
    - Annexation of California and New Mexico
  - b. Spanish War
    - Protectorate over Cuba
    - Annexation of Porto Rico
  - c. Recognition of Panama
    - Construction and control over the canal
  - d. Intervention in San Domingo, Nicaragua, Haiti
  - e. Intervention in Mexico
    - Attempt to dictate Mexican internal policy
- D. Attempts of United States to cooperate with Latin America
  - 1. International American conferences
    - a. Conference at Washington, 1889
      - Establishment of Bureau of American Republics
    - b. Conference at Mexico City, 1901
      - Acceptance of Hague Conventions
    - c. Conference at Rio, 1906
      - Speech of Elihu Root
    - d. Conference at Buenos Aires, 1910
      - Lengthy program of reform measures
  - 2. Other Pan-American conferences
    - a. Two Pan-American financial conferences, 1915 and 1920
    - b. Two Pan-American commercial conferences, 1911 and 1919
    - c. Two Pan-American scientific conferences, 1907 and 1915
  - 3. Attempts to get better acquainted
    - a. Visit of Secretary Root to South America in 1906; visit of Mr. Robert Bacon in 1913
    - b. Establishment of better means of transportation and means of communication and press service
  - 4. Policy of President Wilson
    - a. Watchful waiting in regard to Mexico
      - Acceptance of "A. B. C." cooperation
    - b. Alleged extension of Monroe Doctrine to the world
      - Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations
    - c. Latin American attitude toward Article XXI
- E. Latin American doctrines
  - 1. The Calvo Doctrine
  - 2. The Drago Doctrine
    - Its acceptance at the Second Hague Conference

3. Salvador asks interpretation of Article XXI of the League of Nations with view to its acceptance as an established principle of international law

#### Readings:

- Barrett, John, *Practical Pan-Americanism*, *North American Review*, Vol. 202, p. 413
- Bonilia, Policarpo, *Wilson Doctrine, Interpreted by Latin-American Countries*
- Calderon, F. G., *Latin America*
- Calderon, Ignacio, *The Pan-American Union and the Monroe Doctrine*, *Journal of International Relations*, Vol. X, p. 133
- Hart, Chap. XV
- Latané, J. H., *From Isolation to Leadership*, Chap. VIII
- Latané, J. H., *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Latin America*
- Moore, J. B., *Principles of American Diplomacy*, Chap. X
- Moore, J. B., *A Digest of International Law*, Vol. VI, sec. 969
- Reyes, Gen. Rafael, *For Better Relations with our Pan-American Neighbors*
- Root, Elihu, *Latin America and the United States*
- Snow, 312-326
- Reports of the four international American conferences

## CHAPTER VIII

### EUROPE AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

#### A. European attitude at its formulation

1. Attitude of Great Britain
  - a. Castlereagh's attitude towards the Holy Alliance
  - b. Canning's attitude at Congress of Vienna
    - His proposals to Rush
    - His public statements after its promulgation
    - His private opinion
  - c. Mr. Brigham's expression of approval in the House of Commons
2. Attitude of Austria
  - a. Plan of Prince Metternich
    - His opinion of the message
  - b. Opinion of Von Gentz on the Doctrine
3. Attitude of France
  - a. Prince de Polignac's opinion regarding the independence of the Spanish colonies
  - b. Chateaubriand's expression of disapproval

#### B. Europe refuses to recognize the Doctrine

1. British opposition to the Doctrine
  - a. Occupation of Belize, the Mosquito Coast, Tigre Island
  - b. Lord Salisbury's opposition to the Cleveland-Olney doctrine

2. Continental disregard of the Doctrine
  - a. Napoleon III and the Mexican expedition
  - b. Bismarck's characterization
    - Von Bülow's definition
    - Germany and Venezuela
  - c. Germany and the Zimmerman note to Mexico

#### C. Present attitude of Europe towards the Doctrine

1. British approval of the Doctrine
  - Friendly attitude during Spanish American War
    - Abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and acceptance of the second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty
  - b. Acceptance of Article XXI of the Covenant of the League of Nations
    - Commentary of British delegation at the Peace Conference
2. French acceptance of the Doctrine
  - a. Opinions of M. Paul Deschanel and M. André Tardieu in 1911
  - b. M. Clemenceau accepts Article XXI of the League
3. Germany accepts the Doctrine
  - a. Von Bernsdorff's recognition of the Doctrine
  - b. Bernhard Dernburg's assurances of its acceptance
4. Alleged acceptance of the Doctrine by the Peace Conference
  - a. All nations signatory of the Covenant of the League of Nations accept the principle of the original Monroe Doctrine in Article X
  - b. Article XXI
    - Meaning of the article uncertain

#### Readings:

Capella y Pons, *Monroeisme*

Hart, Chap. XVII

Kraus, Herbert, *Die Monroedoctrine*

Kraus, Herbert, *What European Countries Think of the Monroe Doctrine*, in *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. 54, pp. 107-112

Moore, J. B., *International Law Digest*, Vol. VI

Petin, Hector, *Les États-Unis et la Doctrine de Monroe*

Phelps, E. J., *America and Europe*

## CHAPTER IX

### ENFORCEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE

#### A. Enforcement of the Doctrine in the past

1. It has been successfully invoked against France, Italy, England, Germany and Japan
2. Enforcement not due to voluntary acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine by other powers
3. Influence of the European balance of power
  - a. Withdrawal of French troops from Mexico partly due to Bismarck's intention to force a war with Austria

- b. England's acquiescence in Venezuelan policy largely influenced by events in the Transvaal
    - c. Germany's attitude in 1902 influenced by fear of the British navy
  - 4. Commercial interests of Great Britain were favorable to the preservation of the doctrine
  - 5. Fear of arousing the enmity of United States and of Latin America
  - 6. Temporary and unstable character of the factors that have contributed to the enforcement of the Doctrine
- B. The problem of enforcing the Doctrine in the future
- 1. Importance of the problem
  - 2. America's development into a manufacturing nation and the national necessity of a policy of economic imperialism
    - a. America must become an aggressive competitor for the markets of the world
    - b. Tremendous competition of the future between America and European powers
  - 3. Difficulty of enforcing Doctrine under these new conditions
    - a. Possibilities of a European alliance against the Monroe Doctrine
- C. The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine through moral and diplomatic force
- 1. The liberal character of the doctrine has made it more difficult for foreign powers to challenge it wantonly
  - 2. The World War has shown, however, that moral restraint will not always suffice
  - 3. Diplomatic methods succeeded in the past largely through the influence of the balance of power, but that situation may not continue as a safeguard for the future
- D. Enforcement of the Doctrine through international law and arbitration
- 1. The Calvo Doctrine
  - 2. The Drago Doctrine
  - 3. Development of a definite body of international law governing claims for damages on account of alleged injustice at the hands of foreign states to the citizens of the complaining state
    - a. Is such a scheme at present feasible?
    - b. Would this protect America against claims backed by European governments?
  - 4. Enforcement by arbitration
    - a. Monroe Doctrine not a principle of international law
    - b. Arbitration necessarily a matter of compromise and not a method of enforcement
- E. Enforcement by the military power of the United States
- 1. Temporary military advantage due to the war exhaustion of European powers
  - 2. Rehabilitation of European nations would menace a policy of armed defence

3. European nations would have a unity of interests in opposition to the Doctrine that might result in a European alliance
- F. Enforcement of the Doctrine through some form of international alliance
1. Pan-American policy of enforcement
  2. An alliance with Argentina, Brazil and Cuba
    - a. Influence upon Pan-American relations
    - b. Facilitate the solution of inter-American questions
    - c. Would not relieve the United States of the main burden of defending the Doctrine
    - d. Could the United States abandon its liberty of action in regard to such a fundamental policy?
  3. The League of Nations
    - a. Article X would protect the integrity of all nations that were members of the League
    - b. Can national defence be secured through the League rather than through national armaments?
    - c. If the League succeeds it would afford protection to many interests now protected by the Monroe Doctrine

Readings:

Brown, P. M., *International Realities*, Chaps. IV, VIII  
 Hall, Chap. VII  
 Hart, Chaps. XIX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV  
 Latané, J. H., *From Isolation to Leadership*, Chap. III

## CHAPTER X

### WORLD WAR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- A. Events leading to America's participation in the World War
1. The effect of the outbreak of the world war upon American opinion
  2. President Wilson's proclamation of neutrality
  3. The rôle of the neutral was soon found difficult
    - a. British control of the sea
      - British extension of the theory of continuous voyage
      - British enlargement of the laws of contraband
      - British regard for human life
    - b. German violation of neutral rights
      - Submarine campaign
      - Illegal acts of secret service agents in this country
      - The South American note to the German minister in Mexico
- B. America's entrance into the war
1. President Wilson's address to Congress, April 2, 1917
  2. Reasons back of American participation
    - a. Wanton violation of American life
    - b. German victory a menace to American interests

- c. Realization that America had a definite interest in world affairs as affected by the outcome of the war
- d. Hope that this was a war to end war
- 3. America's interest in the League of Nations
  - a. President Wilson's early declarations regarding the League of Nations
  - b. President Wilson's "fourteen points"
  - c. President Wilson's declaration that the League of Nations must be a part of the peace settlement, September, 1918
  - d. American efforts at the Peace Conference for a League of Nations
- C. League of Nations Covenant
  - 1. The Assembly
  - 2. The Executive Council
  - 3. Methods for the settlement of disputes and the avoidance of war
    - a. Proposed establishment of an international court for the settlement of justiciable disputes
    - b. Non-justiciable disputes to be referred for advice or recommendation to Executive Council
    - c. No nation to begin war without first referring controversy to court or Council
    - d. Agreement to abide by decision of the court
    - e. Agreement to abide by decision of the Council if unanimous and the nation against whom it is given accepts
  - 4. Mandatories
  - 5. A proposed commission on disarmament
  - 6. Article X
  - 7. Article XXI
  - 8. Sanctions and penalties
- D. Opposition to America's entering the League on the ground that it would violate our policy of isolation
  - 1. Contention that Article X would involve America in entangling alliances
    - a. Meaning of entangling alliances
    - b. Obligations assumed under Article X
    - c. Proposed reservations regarding Article X
    - d. Obligations assumed under Article XVI
    - e. Proposed reservations affecting Article XVI
  - 2. Contention that it involves a departure from policy of isolation
    - a. Washington regarded the policy of isolation as a temporary measure
    - b. Is a policy of isolation possible today?
      - America has passed the stage of self-sufficiency
      - American commerce is found on every sea
      - American participation in the trade rivalries of the world
    - c. Has America already abandoned the policy?
      - Perry's expedition to Japan
      - Participation in European conferences
      - Acquisition of islands in the far Pacific
      - Active foreign policy in China

American participation in the two Hague Conferences  
America at Algeciras  
Inability to maintain isolation during the world war

- E. Objection to America's participation in the League of Nations on the ground that it will involve the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine or the loss of independence of action in regard to its enforcement
1. Relation between the original Monroe Doctrine and Article X
  2. President Wilson's contention that Article X extends the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to all the members of the League
  3. Effect of the League upon American policy in the Caribbean
    - a. Article X as a restraint upon American intervention in the states that are members of the League
    - b. Contention that intervention would not be necessary as Article X would also prevent European intervention
    - c. Effect of League in regard to Caribbean countries not members
    - d. Possibility that European power might, by a war of conquest, gain territory in America, when America could not oppose by war
  4. Effect of League upon America's right to oppose a voluntary transfer of American territory to European power
    - a. Nothing in the League to prevent this unless it be Article XXI
    - b. America could not resist such interference by war without first leaving the matter to the Executive Council
    - c. Proposed reservation to meet this situation
  5. Effect of the League of Nations on United States hegemony
    - a. Limitation of Article X on America's relations with member states
    - b. Intervention under mandate of League as distinguished from independent intervention
  6. Article XXI
    - a. Meaning of the Monroe Doctrine as used in this article
    - b. Who is to interpret the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine under this article?
    - c. Commentary on Article XXI by the British delegation to the Paris conference
- F. Position of America in case she refuses to enter the League of Nations
1. Possible difficulties of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine
  2. Possibility of European alliance against America resulting from the fear of American military power
  3. Possibility of concerted pressure against the Monroe Doctrine in the coming struggle for world markets
  4. Increased preparedness necessitated in the United States

Readings:

Duggan, S. P., *The League of Nations*  
Hall, Chap. VIII

Hicks, F. C., *The New World Order*

Hill, David J., *Present Problems in Foreign Policy*

Latané, J. H., *From Isolation to Leadership*, Chap. IX, X

- Phelps, Edith M., *Selected Articles on a League of Nations*  
 Robinson and West, *The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson*  
 Rogers, Lindsay, *America's Case Against Germany*  
*Three Months of the League of Nations, League of Nations, Vol. III, nos. 1-2*  
*The United States Senate and the Treaty, League of Nations, Vol. III, no. 4*  
 Hughes, C. E., *The Proposed Covenant of a League of Nations, International Conciliation, Special Bulletin, April, 1919*  
 Lodge, H. C., and Lowell, A. L., *Joint Debate on the Covenant of Paris, League of Nations, Vol. II, no. 2*  
 Root, Elihu, *Letter to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, International Conciliation, Special Bulletin, April, 1919*  
 Taft, W. H., and others, *The Covenanters, Letters on the Covenant of the League of Nations, League of Nations, Vol. II, no. 3*  
 Wilson, G. G., *Monroe Doctrine After the War, League of Nations, Vol. I, no. 5*  
 Wilson, G. G., *The Monroe Doctrine and the Program of the League to Enforce Peace, World Peace Foundation, Pamphlet Series, Vol. VI, no. 4*

## CHAPTER XI

### THE MONROE DOCTRINE OF THE FUTURE

- A. Four aspects of the Monroe Doctrine as it is popularly understood today
  1. The original doctrine against interference with the independence of American states and against further colonization in the Americas
  2. President Polk's declaration against voluntary cession of American territory to a European power
  3. American policy of protectorates in the Caribbean
  4. Doctrine of "paramount interest" or the United States hegemony in the Americas
- B. Criticism of the Monroe Doctrine
  1. Much criticism based upon misunderstanding of the Doctrine
  2. In considering the validity of the criticism it is necessary to determine which aspect of the Doctrine is involved
  3. The criticism that the Monroe Doctrine prevents the development of the Central and South American countries
    - a. Nature of the argument
    - b. Directed against the original Doctrine
    - c. Objections to this criticism
      - (1) Intervention by European powers would weaken the principles of international law
      - (2) It would transfer the seat of European colonial quarrels to this hemisphere
      - (3) Interference with American trade in Latin America
  4. The criticism that the Monroe Doctrine creates friction with Latin America
    - a. This criticism directed mainly against the later aspects of the Doctrine

- b. Criticism largely the result of extravagant and undiplomatic assertions of American dominance
- c. Proposed remedies
  - (1) More tactfulness and a more generous recognition of the legitimate right of Latin American states
  - (2) Abandonment of the theory of "dominant interest" so far as it applies to all countries south of the equator
  - (3) Effort to secure greater cooperation in enforcing the other aspects of the policy
- 5. Objection to the name of Monroe Doctrine
- 6. Objection that the Monroe Doctrine endangers our peace and safety because its enforcement may bring us in conflict with foreign powers
  - a. Content of the criticism
  - b. Suggested answers to this criticism
    - It is not the conflict with the Monroe Doctrine but the conflict of economic interests that causes wars
    - The Monroe Doctrine secures to America the strategic advantage of absence of powerful neighbors in case of conflict
    - If America must fight it is better to fight from the vantage ground preserved by the Monroe Doctrine
- 7. The criticism that the Monroe Doctrine is obsolete
  - a. Content of the criticism
  - b. Suggested answers to this criticism
    - Rivalry of European powers for political dominion as a means of securing exclusive commercial advantage
    - Were it not for the Monroe Doctrine certain parts of Latin America would afford an inviting field for European intervention
    - Under these conditions it is still necessary to the peace and safety of America

### C. The Monroe Doctrine of the future

- 1. Most criticisms apply to the later aspects of the Doctrine or to methods of its enforcement
- 2. In the present state of economic rivalries do the interests of self-defence require that America oppose the natural inclination of powerful nations to acquire a foot-hold in neighboring territory?
- 3. What other defences would safeguard America from the menace of powerful neighbors?
- 4. What other policy would secure equal opportunity for American commerce in this hemisphere?
- 5. If a successful League of Nations be established, how would that effect the importance of the Monroe Doctrine to America?

### Readings:

Bingham, H., *The Monroe Doctrine an Obsolete Shibboleth*

Blakeslee, George H., *Should the Monroe Doctrine Continue to be a Policy of the United States*, in *American Society of International Law Proceedings*, 1914, pp. 217-229

- Dole, Charles F., *Right and Wrong of the Monroe Doctrine*, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 95, pp. 567-573
- Hall, Chap. IX
- Hart, Chap. XXII
- Hull, W. I., *The Monroe Doctrine*
- Mahan, A. T., *Monroe Doctrine*, in *National Review*, Vol. 40, pp. 871-889
- Root, Elihu, *The Real Monroe Doctrine*, in *American Society of International Law Proceedings*, 1914, pp. 6-22
- Taft, W. H., *The United States and Peace*, Chap. I