# CHAPTER 23

*From Isolation to Empire*

## ANTICIPATION/REACTION

*Directions*: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from *anticipation* to *reaction* and explain why you changed your mind.

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**Anticipation:** Between 1865 and 1890, while its attention was on industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, the United States played only a minor role in world affairs.

**Reaction:** As a result of the Spanish-American War, in 1898 the United States acquired Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii from Spain.

**Anticipation:** Domestic opposition to the acquisition of the Philippines was largely based on the racial prejudices of Americans.

**Reaction:** In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, former president Theodore Roosevelt warned the United States against assuming the role of “policeman of the western hemisphere.”

**Anticipation:** The United States adopted an “Open Door” policy at the turn of the century, which called for equal trade rights and nondiscriminatory tariff collections for all nations trading in China.

**Reaction:** The United States built the Panama Canal only after agreeing that it would be open to the ships of all nations.

**Anticipation:** Between 1865 and 1915, the United States adopted a policy of “the Constitution follows the flag” and granted U.S. citizenship to all the inhabitants of the lands it acquired.

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

*After reading Chapter 23 you should be able to:*

1. List factors leading to the rise of imperialism in the United States and explain American special interest in Latin America and the Far East at the turn of the twentieth century.
2. Summarize the Spanish-American War with reference to causes, key battles, outcome, and the peace treaty.
3. List reasons why Americans were divided over the question of annexing the Philippines in 1898.
4. Evaluate the significance of the Open Door policy in China.
5. Trace the timetable of events that led to construction of the Panama Canal.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Isolationism or Imperialism?

Busy exploiting the West and building their great industrial machine, Americans in the late nineteenth century showed little concern for events in Europe but indicated growing interest in Latin America and East Asia. The disdain for Europe was based on the perception of it as a decadent and undemocratic society, and was perpetuated by the United States’ being set apart from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean.

Great Britain was singled out for particular enmity as a result of historically based resentments and more recent events. For instance, the United States pressed for compensation from Great Britain for Union shipping sunk during the Civil War by Confederate cruisers that had been built in British naval yards during the Civil War. Britain finally agreed to pay an arbitrated settlement of the Alabama claims based on the 1871 Treaty of Washington.

Origins of the Large Policy: Coveting Colonies

The United States was particularly sensitive to European presence in the Western Hemisphere. During the Civil War, France had established a protectorate over Mexico and installed the Austrian Archduke Maximilian as emperor. Secretary of State William Seward demanded that the French withdraw, and the United States moved troops to the Rio Grande. France pulled out in 1867, and Mexican nationalists seized power and executed Maximilian.

In 1867, Seward arranged the purchase of Alaska from Russia, thereby ridding the North American continent of another foreign power. That same year Seward acquired the Midway Islands and proposed annexing Hawaii, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. This generated a great debate on extra-continental expansion. At the same time, American trade grew to the extent that by 1898 the nation was shipping abroad more manufactured goods than it imported. This growing awareness of the United States’ ability to compete with Europeans in foreign markets provoked more American interest in world affairs.

Shifting intellectual currents also encouraged interest in other nations. The Darwinist historian John Fiske claimed that American democracy was destined to spread peacefully over the entire world. The missionary Josiah Strong in Our Country claimed that God had ordained the Anglo-Saxon race to impress Christian institutions on all humankind. The completion of the conquest of the American West also encouraged Americans to consider expansion beyond the seas, as did the urge to compete with European imperialists and the sheer excitement and adventure of overseas enterprises.
Finally, military and strategic needs dictated that Americans adopt a colonial policy. Naval Captain Alfred T. Mahan in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* argued that a powerful navy and overseas bases would make the United States invulnerable in war and prosperous in peace. Therefore, he urged America to build a modern fleet, obtain coaling stations and bases in the Caribbean, annex Hawaii, and cut a canal across Central America. Leading disciples of Mahan’s “large policy” included Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge; President Harrison’s secretary of the navy, Benjamin Tracy; and future president, Theodore Roosevelt.

**Toward an Empire in the Pacific**

The Hawaiian Islands were an important way station to East Asia, and the control of those islands was essential to American success. Therefore, the United States took very deliberate steps to acquire Hawaii, using the sugar trade as leverage. Descendants of missionary families who were engaged in raising sugar dominated the Hawaiian monarchy. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 discontinued a duty on raw sugar and compensated American producers of cane and beet sugar through a bounty. This policy destroyed the advantage Hawaiian sugar growers had gained in an earlier reciprocity treaty. Interest thus developed among American sugar growers in Hawaii to annex the islands to the United States in order to avoid the tariff.

In 1891, Queen Liliuokalani, a Hawaiian nationalist, attempted to rule as an absolute monarch. She was overthrown in a coup supported by the United States diplomatic minister, John L. Stevens. A treaty of annexation was drafted in the closing days of the Harrison administration, but President Cleveland withdrew the agreement because he believed that the Hawaiians opposed annexation and he disapproved of the way the monarchy had been toppled. Nevertheless, in 1898, Congress annexed the islands by joint resolution, a procedure requiring only a simple majority vote.

**Toward an Empire in Latin America**

In Central and South America the United States had major economic interests, and the strategic importance of the region was clear. The Monroe Doctrine had long conditioned Americans to the idea of protecting the national interests in the Western Hemisphere. As early as 1869, President Grant had supported construction of an interoceanic canal even though the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain made exclusive U.S. control of such a canal impossible at that time. In 1880, though, the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps formed a company to build a canal across the isthmus, prompting President Hayes to announce that the United States would not permit a European power to control such a waterway.

In 1895, President Cleveland, seeking an election issue, became involved in a border dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. He directed Secretary of State Richard Olney to dispatch a near-ultimatum to the British, declaring that “the United States is practically sovereign on this continent.” Britain finally agreed to Cleveland’s call to arbitrate the dispute. The boundary tribunal ironically awarded most of the disputed land to Britain. Although Cleveland had threatened war, the dispute marked the beginning of an era of Anglo-American friendship.
The Cuban Revolution

An 1894 tariff act cut Cuban sugar growers off from the American market. The resulting distress precipitated a revolt in Cuba. In 1896, General Valeriano Weyler arrived in Havana from Spain to assume duties as governor of the island. Determined to end the guerrilla warfare waged by Cuban nationalist rebels, Weyler herded the rural population into “reconcentration” camps, which only hardened the rebels’ resolve. The American public, most newspapers, veterans’ organizations, labor unions, and many Protestant clergymen sympathized with the Cubans, whom the press depicted as fighting for liberty and democracy against an autocratic Old World power. But although the fighting also endangered American investments in Cuban sugar plantations, President McKinley genuinely desired to avoid intervention.

When riots broke out in Havana in early 1898, McKinley sent the battleship Maine to protect American citizens. Shortly thereafter, William Randolph Hearst’s New York Journal printed a letter written by the Spanish minister in Washington, Dupuy de Lôme, to a friend in Cuba. The letter denounced McKinley as a “bidder for the admiration of the crowd,” an insult to the president. On February 15, the Maine exploded and sank in Havana harbor; 260 crew members perished. No one has ever determined what actually happened, but Americans were outraged and blamed the Spanish. Spain’s culpability seems doubtful because such action would have guaranteed a declaration of war by the United States.

After weeks of uncertainty, Spanish pride and Cuban patriotism took the question of peace or war out of his hands and President McKinley asked Congress for authority to use the armed forces in Cuba. At the last moment, the Spanish government seemed to yield, but Cuban nationalists pressed for what Spain could not give them without a fight—full independence.

The “Splendid Little” Spanish-American War

On April 20, 1898, Congress by joint resolution recognized the independence of Cuba, authorized armed forces to drive out the Spanish, and passed the Teller Amendment, which disclaimed any intention of annexing the island to the United States. Though the war was ostensibly fought to free Cuba, the early action took place in the Philippines, where Commodore George Dewey moved his naval squadron and captured the Spanish base at Manila Bay in the Philippine Islands.

Meanwhile, in the Cuban theater of the war, the United States won swift and total victory. Americans blockaded Santiago, where the Spanish fleet was docked, while an expeditionary force commanded by General William Shafter pressed toward Santiago. By July 1, American volunteers known as the Rough Riders—led by Teddy Roosevelt and Leonard Wood—stormed San Juan heights outside the city. When the Spanish fleet tried to run the American blockade, it was destroyed.

After the surrender of Santiago, American troops occupied Puerto Rico. On August 12, a day before the fall of Manila in the Philippines, Spain agreed to vacate Cuba, to cede Puerto Rico and the island of Guam to the United States, and to decide the fate of the Philippines at a peace conference in Paris.
Developing a Colonial Policy

The debate over taking the Philippines thrust the United States into the ranks of major world powers. In view of the Teller Amendment forsaking any claim over Cuba, logic would indicate that the United States would not annex the Philippines. Yet expansionists wanted to take the entire archipelago to expand the trade, wealth, and power of the United States. President McKinley believed that the public wanted the islands, and business opinion, eyeing the markets of East Asia, shifted dramatically in support of annexation.

The Anti-imperialists

An important minority of Americans argued that because Filipino statehood was not under consideration, it would be unconstitutional to annex the islands. Annexation would violate the right to self-government that lay at the heart of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence because in such a scenario the United States would govern without the consent of the governed. Many who opposed annexation were partisan Democrats; others were motivated by ethnic and racial prejudices that led them to believe Filipinos were unfit for U.S. citizenship. Labor leaders feared competition from Asian workers who might flood into the United States.

McKinley was unable to think of any practical alternative to annexation and he looked favorably on the commercial possibilities that would stem from acquisition of an empire. Public opinion made his decision for annexation easier. In the Treaty of Paris (1900), the United States acquired the Philippines but agreed to pay a $20 million indemnity to soothe the feelings of the Spanish. The United States Senate narrowly approved the treaty when William Jennings Bryan, as titular head of the Democratic party, did not openly oppose it. Bryan hoped to use the issue in his planned 1900 presidential rematch with William McKinley.

The Philippine Insurrection

In 1899, Filipino nationalists under Emilio Aguinaldo rose in guerrilla warfare against the U.S. occupying forces, beginning a three-year war that cost more in lives and money than the Spanish-American War. The rebellion, characterized by extreme brutality on both sides, continued even after McKinley sent a federal judge, William Howard Taft, to be the first civilian governor of the islands. Though anti-imperialists continued to object to taking over territories without the consent of the local population, McKinley’s reelection in 1900 settled the question of Philippine annexation.

Cuba and the United States

Grave constitutional questions arose as a result of the acquisitions that followed the Spanish-American War. McKinley quickly established military governments in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. In 1900, the Foraker Act established a civil government in Puerto Rico, but it did not give the Puerto Ricans American citizenship or self-government and placed tariffs on imports to the United States. When challenged, the Supreme Court in *Downes v. Bidwell*, the first of several “insular cases” on colonial policy, upheld the tariff on Puerto Rican goods. This
in effect ruled that the “Constitution does not follow the flag,” and that Congress could develop colonial policy as it pleased.

Americans found Cuba in a state of collapse and chaos after the war. American soldiers had difficulty working with the Cubans, a fact attributed in part to racial prejudice. No strong national leader capable of uniting Cuba appeared, but the desperate state of the Cubans, the heavy economic stake of Americans in Cuba, and the island’s strategic importance militated against U.S. withdrawal from the island.

The United States helped to modernize sugar production, improve sanitation, establish schools, and restore order. President McKinley appointed General Leonard Wood as military governor. In November 1900, Cuban leaders drafted a constitution for an independent Cuba. In the Platt Amendment, the United States recognized the independence of Cuba but held open the possibility that the United States would intervene if Cuban independence were threatened. In 1902, the United States vacated Cuba, but repeatedly used the threat of intervention to coerce the Cuban government.

The United States in the Caribbean and Central America

The United States assumed the role of protector and stabilizer of the entire Caribbean and Central America. Those regions’ countries were economically underdeveloped, socially backward, politically unstable, and desperately poor. A few families owned most of the land and dominated social and political life. Cynicism and fraud poisoned relations between those nations and the great powers. In 1902, trouble broke out in Venezuela when a dictator refused to honor debts owed to Europeans. Germany and Britain imposed a blockade of Venezuela to force payment. Under American pressure, the Europeans agreed to arbitrate the dispute. For the first time, European powers accepted the broad implications of the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1903, the Dominican Republic defaulted on $40 million worth of bonds. President Theodore Roosevelt arranged for the United States to take charge of Dominican customs service. This resulted in the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine that declared that the United States would reluctantly “exercise... an international police power” in Latin America to maintain peace and stability. Roosevelt’s policy brought order but caused resentment in Latin America toward the United States.

The Open Door Policy

In East Asia, the United States tried to prevent the absorption of China by the great powers through the Open Door policy announced by McKinley’s secretary of state, John Hay. Hay asked that the trading rights of all countries be honored and that there be no discriminatory duties within the various spheres of influence along the China coast. Tariffs were to be collected by the Chinese. Hay’s action marked a revolutionary departure from the nation’s traditional policy of isolation from international power politics.
Hay’s policy was tested in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Chinese nationalists swarmed into Peking (Beijing) and drove foreigners behind the walls of their legations, which were placed under siege. An international rescue expedition freed the foreigners. Fearing that the rebellion would lead to further problems, Hay sent off another round of Open Door notes, broadening the Open Door policy to include the territorial and administrative integrity of all China, not merely the spheres of influence.

Thereafter, the United States became involved in the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War that began in 1904 when Japan attacked Russia in a quarrel over Manchuria. President Theodore Roosevelt invited the belligerents to mediate the struggle at a conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The Japanese were disgruntled over the resulting treaty because although they gained control of Korea, Port Arthur, and the southern half of Sakhalin Island, they felt that Roosevelt led them to compromise for less than they deserved. Further angering the Japanese was the San Francisco school board’s policy of segregating Asian children in a special school, instituted in 1906. Roosevelt persuaded the school board to abandon segregation, and Japan, through the Gentlemen’s Agreement (1907), halted further Japanese immigration. Japanese resentment at American racial prejudice, however, continued.

The Panama Canal

In 1901, the United States and Britain signed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which abrogated the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and granted the United States the right to build a canal across Central America. As a condition, the United States agreed that any canal it might build would be “free and open to the vessels” of all nations. A route across Panama, then part of Colombia, was finally selected for the project, and in 1903, the United States signed the Hay-Herran Treaty to pay Colombia for the land. The Colombian Senate rejected the treaty on grounds that the offer was insufficient.

President Roosevelt therefore ordered a naval cruiser to Panama, where a revolution erupted, instigated by the French, who were eager to divest themselves from the canal, in November 1903. Roosevelt recognized the new Republic of Panama, from whom the United States acquired the Panama Canal Zone, a strip of land 10 miles wide across the new country. Historians have long criticized Roosevelt’s aggressiveness in the canal incident, but he never wavered in his belief that he had acted in the national interest. But his intolerance and aggressiveness in the canal incident bred resentment and fear in Latin America.

President Taft’s policy toward the outlying areas, termed “dollar diplomacy,” assumed that economic penetration would stabilize underdeveloped areas and profit the United States without the need to commit troops or spend public funds. American investments reached $500 million in Cuba by 1920, and smaller investments were made in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Like the Roosevelt Corollary, however, dollar diplomacy also provoked apprehension in Latin America.

Imperialism Without Colonies

The United States acquired its colonies in the period between 1898 and 1903. Thereafter, a conviction that the costs of colonial administration outweighed profits brought about a gradual
retreat from imperialism. Colonialism, though, is not only defined politically; many members of the American “empire” remained de facto economic colonies long after the United States relinquished political control. Critics of this economic hegemony claimed the United States exploited the underdeveloped countries while ignoring the different cultures and needs of their people. Most Americans saw it as a national duty for the United States to guide the development of countries with traditions far different from their own. This led the U.S. government into a self-defeating policy of supporting Latin American dictators in the repression of the impoverished people of developing countries.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

“reconcentration” camps __________________________________________________________

archipelago ________________________________________________________________

anti-imperialists _____________________________________________________________

“insular cases” _____________________________________________________________

“spheres of influence” _______________________________________________________

“yellow peril” __________________________________________________________________

isthmus ____________________________________________________________________

“dollar diplomacy” __________________________________________________________________
Describe the following:

Treaty of Washington

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

Maine

Teller Amendment

Platt Amendment

Roosevelt Corollary

Boxer Rebellion

Open Door Policy

Treaty of Portsmouth

“Gentlemen’s Agreement”

insular cases
Identify the following:

Rough Riders

William H. Seward

Queen Liliuokalani

John L. Stevens

Valeriano Weyler

Dupuy de Lôme

George Dewey

Emilio Aguinaldo

Leonard Wood

John Hay

MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the top map on the following page. Place the letter in the blank that corresponds to the correct location.
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Refer to the bottom map on the preceding page. Place the letter in the blank that corresponds to the correct location.

1. Australia  
2. China  
3. Guam  
4. Japan  
5. Korea  
6. Manchuria  
7. Midway  
8. Philippines  
9. Sakhalin Island  
10. Wake Island

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Late-nineteenth-century Americans did not ignore world events entirely; they just had little direct concern for what went on in
   A. South America.
   B. East Asia and the Pacific.
   C. Europe.
   D. Central America and the Caribbean.

2. Secretary of State William H. Seward oversaw U.S. acquisition of
   A. Guam and Wake islands.
   B. Alaska.
   C. the Dominican Republic.
   D. the Hawaiian Islands.

3. All of the following caused the United States to consider outward expansion EXCEPT
   A. Darwin’s theories.
   B. racial and religious prejudices.
   C. U.S. imports beginning to exceed exports.
   D. the closing of the frontier.

4. Naval admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, author of *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, argued that for the United States to be prosperous and powerful it must do all of the following EXCEPT
   A. annex the Philippines.
   B. build a modern naval fleet.
   C. obtain coaling stations and naval bases.
   D. cut a canal across Central America.
5. Which of these statements regarding American interest in Hawaii is FALSE?
   A. Hawaii was annexed by a treaty ratified by the U.S. Senate.
   B. The United States obtained the right to establish a naval base at Pearl Harbor in exchange for admitting Hawaiian sugar imports into the United States duty free.
   C. The Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown by a coup of American residents who were supported by the head of the U.S. diplomatic legation there.
   D. President Cleveland refused to annex Hawaii when the opportunity was presented to him.

6. The claim that “Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, . . .” was uttered by
   A. Secretary of State William H. Seward following the purchase of Alaska.
   B. Secretary of State Richard Olney during the Venezuelan boundary dispute.
   C. President McKinley in his message to Congress requesting a declaration of war on Spain.
   D. President Roosevelt announcing his Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

7. Until president McKinley drafted a war message in April 1898, U.S. entry into war with Spain had been generally opposed by
   A. labor unions.
   B. the public.
   C. business leaders.
   D. the New York press.

8. The United States declaimed any intention of annexing Cuba in the
   A. Roosevelt Corollary.
   B. Teller Amendment.
   C. Open Door notes.
   D. Platt Amendment.

9. The leader of the Filipino nationalists was
   A. Emilio Aguinaldo.
   B. Valeriano Weyler.
   C. Pascual Cervera.
   D. Dupuy de Lôme.

10. What is the correct order of occurrence of these events? 1) sinking of the Maine; 2) publication of the De Lôme letter; 3) beginning of the “reconcentration” camp policy
   A. 3, 1, 2
   B. 3, 2, 1
   C. 1, 2, 3
   D. 2, 3, 1

11. As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired all of the following EXCEPT
   A. the Philippine Islands.
   B. Cuba.
   C. Guam.
   D. Puerto Rico.
12. The “fundamental element” in the anti-imperialists’ opposition to U.S. annexation of the Philippines was their
   A. assumption that Filipinos were unfit for self-government.
   B. fear that Filipino workers would compete unfairly against American workers.
   C. belief it was unconstitutional and a violation of a peoples’ right to self-government.
   D. view that the Spanish-American War was immoral and the Philippines, as fruits of victory in that war, were tainted.

13. President McKinley considered all of the following alternatives to U.S. annexation of the Philippines EXCEPT
   A. allowing Great Britain or another great power to have them.
   B. returning them to Spanish control.
   C. granting them independence and self-government.
   D. calling a national referendum in the United States to decide.

14. Compared to the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection was all of the following EXCEPT
   A. more costly in lives.
   B. less brutally fought.
   C. longer lasting.
   D. more financially expensive.

15. The “insular cases” decided that
   A. “the Constitution follows the flag.”
   B. Congress could not impose tariffs on products from annexed territories.
   C. inhabitants of annexed territories were not citizens of the United States.
   D. foreign acquisitions could not be held in territorial status indefinitely.

16. The amended constitution for an independent Cuba in 1900 required all of the following EXCEPT
   A. a tariff would be placed on all Cuban products imported into the United States.
   B. the United States was authorized to intervene in Cuba when necessary to preserve its independence.
   C. Cuba could make no treaty with a foreign government that compromised its own independence.
   D. Cuba must grant naval bases on its soil to the United States.

17. Theodore Roosevelt announced his Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in order to
   A. make a U.S. colony of the Dominican Republic.
   B. make the United States an international police power in the Western Hemisphere.
   C. relieve the suffering among Latin America’s uneducated peasants.
   D. mollify the resentment toward the United States in Latin America.

18. Secretary of State John Hay’s Open Door notes
   A. established a significant U.S. military presence in the Far East.
   B. played a significant role in preserving the territorial integrity of China.
   C. helped diminish the significance of “spheres of influence” in Chinese commerce.
   D. marked a significant departure from the traditional U.S. policy of isolation from events in the Far East.
19. The San Francisco school board abandoned its policy of segregating Asian children in exchange for Japan’s pledge to cut off further immigration of Japanese workers in the
   A. Platt Amendment.
   B. Gentleman’s Agreement.
   C. Treaty of Portsmouth.

20. President William Howard Taft called the U.S. early twentieth-century policy of obtaining profitable economic penetration of underdeveloped areas without the trouble of owning and controlling them
   A. “Speak softly and carry a big stick.”
   B. the Open Door Policy.
   C. dollar diplomacy.
   D. non-colonial imperial expansionism.

Essay Questions

1. Explain how the Philippine annexation question divided Americans in 1898. What was the ultimate outcome?

2. Summarize the Spanish-American War, with emphasis on causes, principal battles, immediate results, the peace treaty, and long-term implications to American foreign policy.

3. Explain how the Open Door policy and Boxer Rebellion worked to shift America from isolationism to interventionism.

4. Discuss principal events over a period of nearly 60 years that made possible the construction of the Panama Canal.

5. Explain how the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine affected American policy at the turn of the twentieth century.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Label each of the following statements as “I” for isolationist attitudes toward foreign policy or “E” for expansionist or imperialist beliefs.

___1. “The trade of the world must and shall be ours.”

___2. Colonial holdings promote the prosperity of a nation by providing markets for manufactured goods.

___3. The United States has enough to be concerned with here on the continent that it need not be excessively involved in world events.
4. Whenever America has become involved in distant wars of this century, she has emerged with as many problems as she faced before entering such wars.

5. It was inconsistent to annex the Philippines in view of the Teller Amendment.

6. Had the Platt Amendment not been revoked in 1934, Cuba might well be a free nation today.

7. Unrest in French-speaking Quebec, Canada, in the 1990s should give pause to those promoting Puerto Rican statehood.

8. No major power can shirk its foreign responsibilities for long and retain major-nation status.

9. “We want peaceful commerce with all nations, and we want contact and communications, both cultural and diplomatic, with all the peoples of the planet.”

10. “We do not want to fight other peoples’ wars or use the tax dollars of our citizens to pay other nations’ debts.”