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**The Evolution of the American Foreign Policy from Isolationism to
Internationalism
From 1920 to 1955**

Dissertation submitted to the department of foreign languages in partial fulfillment for the
requirement of Master Degree in English
Option: Civilization and Literature

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Academic Year: 2014/2015

Dedication

- I take the pleasure in dedicating this work to everyone who contributed in making this work
successful

- to my loving parents “**BELLILI ABDALLAH**” and “**BELHANI SAMIA**” for their
patience, encouragement and constant love

- To all my family and friends who freely volunteer their time and supported me
throughout the entire Master program

- To the one I will never forget....

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I am highly grateful to God for His blessings that continue to follow into my life. I would like to express my extreme thanks to my supervisor **Smatti Said** for his perfect sense of understanding. Thank you sir for the assistance and constructive discussion we had

I would like to acknowledge the support of my professor **Boulegroune Adel** for his constant assistance and intellectually nourishing me on every imaginable issue throughout my studying process in Biskra. I give him special appreciation for his sincerity and willingness to participate and provide me with rich knowledge. I would similarly thank the jury members and **Amri Boutheina** who accepted to read this work and for any remarks they would make to refine it

I'm especially thankful to all those who have taught me here at **Mohamed Khieder University of Biskra**. Without forgetting my precious Professors of **El Taref University** and very special thanks goes to my dear Doctor **Ladaci Naima** for her valuable contribution in improving my level and her optimistic attitude.

Abstract

One of the most important and interesting puzzles in the international relations was the shift that happened in the American foreign policy during World War Two. Before that conflict, the dominant American conception was the strategy of Isolationism, which embraced a policy of avoiding international relation and involvement with European powers. After the First World War, the United States refused the leadership in the 1920's and the 1930's which caused the Great Depression and helped to produce conditions that led the USA to adopt a strict isolationist policy at that time.

The present dissertation is useful in explaining the evolution that happened in the American foreign policy from Isolationism to Internationalism. Hence the USA did not address its international problems in the 1920's and the 1930's; instead it favored to withdraw politically from commitments and remained out of disputes with European powers. However, the events occurred during 1940's caused the transformation in the international relations and the result was a dramatic shift toward Internationalism.

Abstract in Arabic

واحد من اهم الألغاز المثيرة في العلاقات الدولية هو التحول الذي حدث في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية. قبل ذلك الصراع الأمريكي السائد تمثل في استراتيجية العزلة التي تبنت سياسة تجنب العلاقات الدولية والمشاركة مع القوى الأوروبية. بعد الحرب العالمية الأولى رفضت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية القيادة في عام 1920 الى 1930 مما تسببت في الكساد العظيم وساعدت في تهيئة ظروف مؤدية الى اعتماد الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لسياسة عزلة متشددة.

اذا فالدراسة الحالية مهمة في شرح التطور الذي حدث في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية من سياسة العزلة الى الانفتاح. ومن ثم الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لم تستطع معالجة المشاكل الدولية في عام 1920 و 1930 بدلا من ذلك فطلت الانسحاب من اي التزامات سياسية و الانعزال عن نزاعات الدول الأوروبية غير ان الأحداث التي حدثت خلال 1940 تسببت في التحول في العلاقات الدولية وتمثلت النتيجة في التحول نحو سياسة الانفتاح.

Résumé

L'une des plus importants et intéressants changements dans les relations internationales qui a eu lieu dans la politique étrangère Américaine pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale. Avant le conflit, de la conception Américaine dominante était la stratégie de l'isolationnisme qui a embrassé une politique évitant les relations internationales et la participation avec les puissances européennes. Après la première guerre mondiale les états_unis ont refusé la direction au cours des années 1920 et 1930 le fait qui a causé la grande dépression et a aidé à produire des conditions qui ont conduit les états_Unis à adopter une stricte politique isolationnistes Là dessus.

Le présente thèse est utile pour expliquer l'évolution qui est arrivé dans la politique étrangère Américaine à partir de l'isolationnisme à l'international. Ainsi les Etats-Unis n'ont pas abordé ses Problèmes Internationaux dans les années 1920 et les années 1930, mais qu'elles favorisaient de retirer politiquement Des engagements et resté sur des différends avec les puissances européennes. Les événements survenus au cours de 1940-1941 ont provoqué la transformation dans les relations Internationales. Le résultat était un changement vers l'internationalisme.

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List of Abbreviations

USA: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty

OAS: Organization of American State

UN: United Nation

SEATO: Southeast Asian Treaty

FDR: Franklin Delano Roosevelt

WWI: World War One

WWII: World War Two

Definition of Key Terms

Isolationism: the policy or doctrine of isolating one's country from the affairs of other nations by declining to enter into alliances, foreign economic commitments, international agreements. Seeking to devote the entire efforts of country to its own advancement and remain at peace by avoiding foreign entanglements.

Internationalism: the principle of cooperation among nations, for the promotion of their common good, sometimes as contrasted with nationalism, or devotion to the interest of a particular nation

Interventionism: the policy or doctrine intervening especially government interference in the affairs of another state or in domestic economic affairs.

Unilateralism: the policy or practice of conducting foreign affairs with minimal consultation or cooperation with other nation including nation's allies.

Militarism: the principle or policy of maintaining a large military establishment

Neutrality: the policy or status of a nation that does not participate in a war between other nations.

General Introduction

The Foreign policy of America determines how the State conducts its relations with other countries. It is designed to further certain goals; it seeks to assure America's security and defense, and to protect America's national interests around the world. America's foreign policy has changed over time reflecting the change in its national interests.

The United States has a long tradition of avoiding entanglements with European powers and pursuing a policy of non- interference in European conflicts. Both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson promoted friendly relations with European nations but without permanent and entangling alliances. The flip side was the Monroe Doctrine's assertion that the USA expected European powers to reciprocate and refrain from interfering in the coexisted in nineteenth century America politics. However, The U.S entrance into World War One was the first major break from isolationism.

Although several factors contributed in the transition that happened and the national security and interests as concepts changed totally. In the 1920's, the attention of the U.S was directed towards internal rather than international affairs. While the 1930's were difficult for the Americans in which they faced an economic hardship. The USA became increasingly insensitive to the obliteration of fellow democracies at the hands of brutal fascist leaders like Hitler and Mussolini. The U.S was determined to stay out of war at all costs.

The Results left after the World War affected many Americans, they decided to adopt a largely isolationist policy during the 1930's. The situation became worse when Britain and France defaulted on their loans from the US, after they were unable to collect reparation payments from Germany. Meanwhile, the policy of Isolationism was reinforced when President Hoover approved the Hawley- Smoot tariff of the 1930's, where the raising of the

latter helped to foster the destruction of foreign trade. Thus the American isolationism had more dire consequences than the loss of trade on loan default.

During the 1930's, it became clear that fascism and the development of many totalitarian regimes was destroying many democracies around the globe, but America still opted for neutrality rather than war, hopelessly optimistic American politician's Frank.B.Kellogg created the Kellogg-Briand pact, signed by fifteen nations which would supposedly protect America from the threat of war. Nevertheless, the pact was utterly useless because it could not be enforced, similarly , the Nine power treaty attempted to keep the Open Door in China open by affirming the territorial integrity of the country. However, the agreement was easily broken by Japan in 1931 with the invasion of Manchuria. In order to avoid any unintentional disasters that might drive the U.S into war, Congress passed three consecutive Neutrality acts from 1935 to 1937 aimed at keeping Americans impartial and out of intervention.

President Roosevelt convinced that Britain needed aid and the American military required to be mobilized in order to assist the Allies, Roosevelt in his famous "Quarantine speech" in October 1937 warned forcefully of the dangers that the Japanese aggression posed to world peace, thus FDR called for an end to isolationism. Since he is aware that everything will change and evoke future problems. With Britain the only remaining power fighting against Germany, FDR decided to offer aid in some way. The goals of American foreign policy were reversed when Congress repealed the Neutrality Acts and ended their neutrality. Furthermore, the U.S began to send weapons to Britain. As the 1940's approached, with the growing of the fascist threat and the attack on Pearl Harbor, the U.S could no longer hide behind Isolationism and need to support the international intervention. Thus the U.S's foreign policy goals changed from isolationism to internationalism.

The main question which the dissertation undertakes is to what extent the goals of the American foreign policy changed during the era between 1920's until the US involvement into the Second World War, as well as, the major reasons behind that shift from isolationism to internationalism.

The main motive behind this research is the fact that I have some inclination toward foreign policy. In addition, I feel motivated to study the development of the American foreign policy from isolationism to internationalism since it was a controversial debate over centuries. This investigation is very significant to the Algerian LMD students because it seeks to provide students with a thorough understanding of American Foreign relations, also it will cover the basic principles of the US foreign policy.

It is not the intent of this study to deal with a complete history of Isolationism, as this has been the subject of numerous authors; the present study determines the evolution of this latter in the US policy to internationalism. The period covered starts from 1920's until the US involvement internationally in world order in 1955.

The research is an attempt to discuss the evolution of the U.S foreign policy from isolationism to internationalism during the 1920's till the US involvement in the Second World War. It is of great importance because it sheds the light on the struggle of the both notions over the soul of the American foreign policy, as it has been a reoccurring theme throughout history and has a wide ranging effect on how America conduct itself on the world stage. The significance of this study is to inquire how the USA played a minimal role in global affairs and keeping the nation out of conflict, this marked the period of isolationism. However, global events began to slowly draw the USA out of isolationism to interventionism.

For the sake of answering this question, this study follows the historical research as an approach since it identifies the chain of events chronologically and evaluates all the evidences

in order to establish facts also draw conclusions about past events. It involves a portrayal of past events with the aim of reconstructing a faithful representation of the past.

The use of this methodology involves a systematic collection and objective evaluation of data and it involves the approach of collecting as well as reading the research material and then writing, based on data gathered: books, magazines, internet articles and any relevant materials.

The following study would be expanded through three chapters; the first one is devoted to a description of the foreign policy during the first stage of its development which is isolationism. In this chapter, I'm going to highlight the origins of US isolationism that was initiated by Washington and reinforced by Monroe. The chapter examines the geographical and economic expansion of the USA under different concepts; Monroe Doctrine, the corollary policy and the dollar diplomacy, its origins, effects and goals.

The second chapter introduced the major reasons that led the US to adopt a policy of isolationism starting immediately after the First World War and exactly during the 1920's and the 1930's. It involves all the events, concepts, policies that are raised as a result of that apparent return to the traditional policy which was characterized to safeguard the American interest over the world. Thus the chapter stressed the noticeable strategy that was adopted during that time, as well as, presented the overwhelming question about whether the American foreign policy at that time was a fully isolationist or it simply altered its mode of international cooperation and substituted it by using economy and concerned with expansion of trade.

The last chapter deals with the important and puzzling development of American security thinking in the twentieth century through the two world wars, because the history of the American foreign policy provides two comparable episodes, one involving a crisis that produces ideational continuity, the other a crisis that causes transformation. This chapter

sheds the light on the evolution of the American foreign policy from isolationism to internationalism, since the coming of the Second World War witnessed the end of the American isolationist policy which seemed impractical and no longer appropriate to protect America's interests and dominance over the world, and marked the US direct involvement in world affairs which is internationalism.

Chapter One:

America's Isolationist Policy During the Early Days of The Republic

1.1. Introduction

The American Foreign policy recognized to be the core of the American diplomatic dealings with other countries .It refers to actions taken by the United States government according to their national interests, in order to maintain the security and protection for the Americans ("U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy" 1). The first chapter introduced a brief description of America's isolationist foreign policy starting from George Washington's proclamation of Neutrality and reinforced by James's Monroe Doctrine, which they called for an extreme isolationism, also examines the economic expansion of the USA under different concepts; Monroe Doctrine, the Open Door Policy and others. According to Manfred Jonas, American Isolationism refers to America's longstanding reluctance to become involved in world affairs and wars; it was given expression in the Farewell address of George Washington and in the early 19th century Monroe Doctrine. The chapter highlights the diplomacies and successive concepts undertaken during that era, as well as explains its objectives and factors contributing to each option, also to prove that the US economic and territorial expansion in the Western Hemisphere and the hegemony in Latin America were for the sake of protecting its own interests. Whereas the end of the chapter gives a clear description of the return to the extreme isolationist policy that affected the United States between the 1920's and the 1930's

1.2. George Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793

After the American independence, the United States emerged as an independent and weak nation. It had to coexist in a world dominated with powerful nations and this becomes the job of the first few presidents to lead the nation through this difficult time, they are recognized for their foreign and domestic policies to help this country to become a

superpower nation, in which through their actions they influenced the future of American foreign policy.

President George Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793, was a formal announcement issued by Washington who portrayed the United States of America as a neutral party in the conflict, the sides consisted of Great Britain and its allies whereas on the other side was France. The Americans were divided into two parts, many of them supported the French cause because they saw that the French resistance was similar to their own fight during the revolutionary war, others were on the England's side, George Washington wanted to stay out of this dispute, since he believed that any attempt to involve could ultimately drive the US into a destructive war. Thus he chooses a position of neutrality (Ladenburg 24)

Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part, and France on the other; and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent Powers (qtd. from The Proclamation of Neutrality 1793).

The Proclamation of Neutrality by Washington was viewed as a process to push the American public opinion to sympathize with French cause. The European war between Great Britain and France put the U.S. in a direct threat, since the issue was very sensitive because the USA had won the Revolutionary War of independence through the military and financial aid of France. America wanted to support the French under the "Treaty of Alliance" in 1778, in which they wanted to use the American ports in order to launch attacks on British commerce and ships. Such acts undoubtedly would immerse the US into a conflict with England. George Washington problem was to decide either to provide France with material aid as promised in the Treaty, or to avoid any kind of a destructive war with Great Britain.

Washington's decision to maintain neutrality was issued because the country faced problems. Moreover, the American political opinion was divided. The Republicans led by a Francophile, Thomas Jefferson, opposed any expression of neutrality and wanted to side with France. While the Federalists led by an Anglophile, Alexander Hamilton, wanted to abolish the Treaty with France and sided with the proclamation of neutrality which led by Washington, they promised to bare the American ships from supplying war material to either side. The proclamation stated that the USA would choose Isolationism and neutrality as well as violate any kind of war (25).

I have therefore thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those Powers respectfully; and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition (qtd. from The Proclamation of Neutrality 1793).

1.3. James Monroe's Doctrine of 1823

President James Monroe Doctrine and the Secretary of State Adams were concerned about the situation in Latin America, since those Latin American countries involved in a conflict with Spain in order to get their freedom. In spite of that many European countries wanted to side with Spain and Portugal to back its former Latin Colonies. President Monroe warned the European in taking such actions and issued "The Monroe Doctrine", in which he threatened the European nation not to try to establish new colonies in the America. In a message to congress on December 1823 affirmed that:

"The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects to future colonization by any European Powers" (qtd. in Gilderhus 8)

The Monroe's Policy that was introduced to Latin America's countries considered as a policy to reinforce the American policy of Isolationism. It had major implications for the Western Hemisphere as well as the US entanglements with other countries. The Monroe Doctrine meant that the US had the intention to remain neutral "hands off" and uninvolved with European affairs. However, this policy proved to reinforce the USA hegemony in Latin America, because the USA had the right to intervene in the affairs of others whenever those affairs coincided with its interest. The Doctrine was saying that "This is our sphere of influence and it is our right to try to shape the countries of this area to be more congenial to our interest" (8).

1.4. The Open Door Policy

The United States of America faced problems with European powers in terms of trading with China. However, for the aim of protecting its own interest, the USA issued a statement of principles in 1889 which is called "The Open Door Policy". Since China suffered from internal conflicts and wars with other countries, and it became known as the "sick man of Asia" because of its weakness, at that time European powers among them Great Britain, Germany, Russia and France rushed to establish rights for trade with China.

The Open Door Policy was introduced by the Secretary of State John Hay in the form of circular notes to Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy as well as Japan. The notes founded for the purpose of preventing the European and Japanese monopoly of Chinese trade, as well as this policy declared that all European nations and the United States were allowed to trade with China without restriction by other countries, but in support of Chinese territorial and administrative integrity. The principle that all nations should have equal access to any of the ports open to trade in China had been stipulated in the Anglo-Chinese treaties of (Nanking, 1842) and (Wanghia, 1844). However, the Chinese government was in a fragile state, and

different countries had begun “spheres of influence” in various parts of China , exercised by the major European powers in attempt to control the investment, it provoked the US’ fear that each would likewise seek to monopolize the trade. Meanwhile, it was generally feared that the breakup of China into economic segments dominated by various great powers would lead to complete division of the country its colonies, for the sake of China’s territorial safety there were an opposition of sending troops to North China to suppress the Boxer Rebellion.

The Open Door policy served to be an important base for the American foreign policy toward China, expressed hope to cooperate with foreign powers and looking for Chinese territories. Thus, the USA was acting in a way that was preferential and served its interest. Hay issued this policy to reinforce the American interest and involvement in East Asia relations, this policy was significant for the US in the sense that establishing trading links with China would benefit the US economy. Meanwhile, it helped to stop the growing disputes among powers about investment in China (“Open Door Policy”).

1.5. The Dollar Diplomacy

The Dollar Diplomacy is a diplomatic policy initiated by President William Taft, in which the American foreign policy makers intended to foster the investment abroad. Furthermore, this diplomacy attempted to reconcile American economic expansion and investment in Latin America with the latter’s development, it is founded for the purpose of creating stability and order abroad that would best promote American commercial interests. Taft once pointed out that “even though Washington’s foreign policy stance had to be just, interventions were not to be ruled out if they were necessary for the government to protect the interests of its citizens overseas” (qtd.in Timoneda 277). His administration’s main goal was to strengthen the U.S political position. In other words this diplomacy had more political

significance, it was evident in extensive U.S intervention in the Caribbean and Central America, especially in measures undertaken to safeguard American financial interests in the region in which Taft stated that:

“The United States has been glad to encourage and support American bankers, who were willing to lend a helping hand to the financial rehabilitation of [*Latin America*]” (277).

Besides the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in which maintaining that if any nation in the Western Hemisphere appeared politically and financially unstable, the USA has the right to intervene, thus Taft continued and expanded the policy starting from Central America (“The Dollar Diplomacy”).

The Dollar diplomacy, aimed at “furthering the interests of the United States abroad by encouraging the investment of U.S capital in foreign countries”. As a response, the United States felt obligated, through the dollar diplomacy to uphold economic and political stability, as well as to maintain its power. Taft’s dollar diplomacy not only allowed the United States to gain financially from countries, but also resisted other foreign countries from gaining any sort of financial advantage. According to The Secretary of State Knox, the Dollar Diplomacy could both “aid suffering humanity” and “replace insecurity and devastation by stability and peaceful self-development.” Overall, the dollar diplomacy was to support and protect trade within Latin America and Asia (277).

1.6. Wilson Attempt to Maintain Neutrality before WWI

Following the assassination of the Austrian “Archduke Franz Ferdinand” by a Serbian militant, evoked a great confrontation in Europe. During 1914, events became complicated in the entire continent of Europe and this made the starting point of a destructive war. The Great War as it was called, the most holocaust wars that played a major role in changing the world’s

history. Two coalitions emerged, the Central Powers which primarily consisted of Germany and Austria-Hungary, also the Allied Powers which included France, Russia and Great Britain. The tension emerged between the Great Powers and suddenly declared war on one another. However, the American stance of Isolationism since Washington's time reinforced the US Neutrality in that conflict.

Furthermore, with the outbreak of First World War, President Woodrow Wilson attempted to maintain the US Neutrality in which he stated that "the Americans should be impartial in thoughts as well as in actions". He argued that the country should stay aloof from the conflict. The President hoped that the so called "spirit of neutrality" would prevent domestic conflict within the American populace, although the American stance was staying aside from involvement and the U.S policy attempted to remain neutral, both the Central power and the Allied powers used propaganda in attempt to deceive the American public opinion ("U.S. Neutrality S1").

However, Wilson wanted to be neutral in the European Conflict proved to be practically impossible, since the American citizens were emotionally devoted to support the Allies. Moreover, there was an obvious reason that led the US to oppose neutrality. Firstly, there was a naval warfare between Great Britain and Germany, as well as the use of the submarine from the Germans that had frequently made a destructive attack on the American merchant ships. Finally, the attempt made by Wilson to remain staunchly isolationist, confronted with the progression of the conflict in Europe and the attacks by the Germans. Thus the US efforts failed to preserve peace and neutrality and decided to alter their attitude towards involvement into the Great War ("World War I").

1.7. The US Involvement in WWI

The United States of America decided to involve in the First World War, since the tensions in Europe begun and many countries competed for establishing colonies and control the land under patriotism. While aggression became popular in Europe, where most of the colonies competed to construct huge navies and armies, in order to challenge one another, the two most important alliances were the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. In 1914, many countries were pulled into the war as Austria-Hungary responded by declaring war on Serbia and Russia joined the war to help Serbia, whereas Germany declared war on Russia. It was the starting point of World War One.

America entered World War. While it kept its principles to avoid intervening in the conflict. Though America had traded with nations involved in the war, but unrestricted submarines warfare, introduced by Germans was the primary issue that caused Woodrow Wilson to ask congress to declare war on Germany on April 2nd, four days later, America joined World War one on the side of the Allies (Floyd 1-3).

When War was declared in Europe, America adopted a policy of neutrality and isolation. When news of a destructive warfare and the horrors associated with it reached the shores of America, it confirmed to the government that they had adopted the right approach; this policy had the absolute support of the majority of Americans. Woodrow Wilson took full control of limits of the constitution; he maintained the total control over what America did in terms of foreign policy. He was aware that the causes of war are very complicated, for this reason he assured America's neutrality, in August 1914, Wilson officially announced that America would be neutral in World War One , that a policy extended to a policy of "fairness", whereby American bankers could lend money to both sides in the war. However, a British naval blockade of the German coastline made it all but impossible for America to trade with Germany. Moreover, Britain blockaded Germany and declared that the North Sea

and the English Channel were 'military areas' aiming at restricting American trade with the Central Powers, it seized and searched neutral American ships and examined mail passing between the USA and Germany (Taylor 9-10)

Germany declared that any act of aggression that could affect the merchant shipping in specified zone around Britain would be a direct threat, Wilson warned the Germans that he would hold them to account if any American ships were sunk. This threat was tested in 1915 when the "Lusitania" was sunk and about 1.000 passengers died. In addition to that, the "Zimmerman telegram" issued by the United States proved that Germany sent a telegram to Mexicans in order to declare war on USA. Although, President Wilson convinced that the situation in America need to change and Neutrality no longer appropriate to preserve the security of America. Thus, he stated that "The United States entered the War". Finally, the USA declared to participate into the Great War and it was confirmed that Wilson attempt to maintain peace failed (18).

1.8. Wilson's Attempt to Maintain Peace after WWI

President Woodrow Wilson decided to declare a war against Germany. In his remarks, President Wilson vowed that the Great War would be the "War to end all". Obviously, he had promised more than anyone could deliver. Since World War I, the USA has been involved in five major foreign affairs conflicts. As it is evident today war persists, American have typically been idealists (Durant 3). Idealism is a foreign policy holds that a state should make its internal political philosophy, the goal of its foreign policy. It has been present in the American mindset from it founding days and to an extent in American foreign policy ("Idealism in international relations"). However, under President Wilson's leadership idealism took an expanded role in American Foreign Policy (4).

When World War One started in Europe in 1914, President Wilson had conflicting goals, he wanted to keep the USA neutral and try to end the war by acting as a mediator, but he also desired to protect the rights of American to trade. Wilson knew that he could not save the neutrality of his country anymore, so he led his country into a war alongside the Allies. He believed that strong trade and open communication between countries would make war unnecessary (“Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen points” 103). In several speeches Wilson expressed his vision of a peaceful postwar world, as he stated that:

“What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation. .” (qtd. in Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Point 101).

His most speech is known as the Fourteen Points address in which he established some basic principles for making peace. The Fourteen Points can be broken into several sections, the first five points proposed general rules governing the behavior of all warring parties, they called for freedom of the sea, free trade among nations, smaller armies, and new negotiations on colonial holdings that respected the people in those colonies.

According to the Fourteenth Point and Wilson’s views about the postwar world, he called for the creation of an international organization to settle the disputes between countries, whose main goal is to establish international peace and to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity as well as to promote the principles of collective security and this what came to be known later on as the League of Nations (103)

1.9. The US Return to Isolationism During 1920’-1930’s

The involvement if the US into the Great War evoked problems among the Central Powers (Germany and her allies), because of her large population and industrial might.

Although, when the war ended President Wilson was in a strong position to create peace treaties; the peace settlement was based in fact upon his "Fourteen Points". A new international body called the League of Nations was to be set up to keep the peace between nations.

Suddenly, the Americans opposed Wilson because they were disappointed about the catastrophic sacrifices they had confronted in the Great War. Americans rejected anything that might drag America into another European war. So the USA did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles officially, nor did she join the League of Nations or the International Court of Justice. Many Americans simply wanted to enjoy the prosperity that had developed in the previous decade and felt that foreign entanglements would threaten it.

During the 1920's and 1930's, America chosen to stay out of international relations with European countries and kept herself aloof and took little part in foreign affairs .In addition America, isolated herself in terms of trade. Tariffs were put on foreign goods to protect American industry. This was one of the causes of the Depression.

After the First World War period, America witnessed a real return to the traditional line of isolation in the American foreign policy by withdrawing from the international stage. The period was often referred to as the most isolationist time in American history during which the USA refused to join the membership of the League of Nations that President Wilson himself made great efforts to implement it in the Versailles Treaty ("Isolationism").

With the US rejection of the Versailles Treaty during 1920's, it was considered as a triumph of Isolationism, since the USA returned to adopt that policy directly after the World

War One. Isolationism of 1920's was real, despite the commercial requirement and the US expansion in the Western Hemisphere. The traditional policy, which the isolationists thought they were preserving, had always emphasized trade and commerce even while

shrinking from political commitments, and American influence and the desire for it had traditionally been a component of the "mission" of the United States.

Isolationism of the 1920's was ultimately specific, since it projected its diplomacies and treaties to the commercial or political desire of the USA. However, many leaders ignored any external kind of commitment with other countries and rejected the idea of trade and investment. The American believed that avoiding any kind of involvement with other powers could safeguard the superiority of the American nation (Djeddi 17).

1.10. Conclusion

The American Foreign Policy of Isolationism and from the early days of its development followed an expansionist policy throughout the Western Hemisphere and East Asia, through many diplomacies and treaties. Among them the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door Policy in which those concepts contributed to shape the American Policy of aloofness, also reinforce the idea of preserving its own national interest and borders. Isolationism then tended to preserve American freedom and independence by staying aloof from political commitments in the Old World. As the chapter highlights and shows how the American foreign policy underwent different changes considering the world environment and the nation's growth, America's instability after the First World War and specifically during 1920's and 1930's led the nation to adopt a strict isolationist policy and stuck to Neutrality.

Chapter Two:

The United States Foreign Policy of Isolationism during 1920-1930's

2.1. Introduction

After the World War One, the world underwent different changes. The United States withdraw from the international stage, turn inward, and enter what is generally considered the most isolationist time in history. This chapter portrays the American foreign policy during the period between the 1920's and the 1930's, highlights whether the USA was actually isolationist at that time or it simply changed its mood of international involvement by using economy and trade as its primary foreign policy tools.

2.2. The Historical Background of American Isolationism during 1920's

Over centuries, the policy of Isolationism has been a controversial debate used to describe the American foreign policy in relation to European affairs; it is a political approach in the US foreign policy, dating back to the time of the founding fathers, particularly George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Washington was the father of the first American Neutrality Act, which incorporated both the principle of his proclamation of Neutrality, it is directed for advocating the avoidance of formulating alliances or participation in the world affairs outside the American Hemisphere, the USA maintained an almost a policy of aloofness throughout the 19th century. However at the beginning of the 20th century, it began to turn away from this, as it became a major industrial power and its foreign markets expanded, the USA was soon considered as a global nation. Whereas, its isolationist policy continued to shape the economic and diplomatic life of the United States until WWII.

The American Foreign policy of Isolation was an attempt to avoid any involvement with European powers, but it favored the social and especially the economic advantages offered through foreign trade (James 1).

Seling Adler stated that:

“We can begin by saying that American isolationism has never meant total social, cultural, and economic self-sufficiency.

Such a concept has had few rational advocates and the very idea is nullified by the history of the United States” (1)

Throughout the history of the United States, there has been a controversial debate among the advocates of returning to earlier time of Isolationism to escape the threat of war and the opponents of this policy. According to Seling Adler, the implication of the term “Isolationism” founded in the 1850 and given emphasis as a political term in 1896, based on two twin policies of neutrality and non-intervention (Restad 61).

The Founding Fathers proclaimed the policy of Isolationism as a “positive policy”, designed for the purpose of maintaining security and freedom of action to Americans, also to prevent any sort of aggression that would threaten the US national interest. It enables the Americans to take the advantages of Europeans through the economic and cultural commitments rather than political ties. Thus, Isolationism underscored “to stay out of foreign wars with an unwavering refusal to enter into alliances” (63).

Isolationism strengthen its most powerful and popular form between the two world wars, following the senate’s rejection of the Versailles Treaty, which was an official peace treaty that marked the end of the First World War between the Allies and Germany, as well as the decision of the US to reject the League of Nation helped the USA to return to Isolationism.

Many Americans wished to withdraw from international relations after WWI and took the form of Isolationism, as President Harding envisioned the country to get back to “normalcy” .The complexities and the participation in the European conflicts, pushed the USA to be convinced that the only effective approach was the completely withdrawal from

these disputes, it began with the US rejection to join the League of Nation and the opposition of any further connections with other powers. Nevertheless, during 1920's the USA concentrated on its domestic affairs. The Act of 1924 aimed at restricting the immigrants into two percent for each country from the Eastern and Southern Europe, this Act expressed that USA reversed to its former policy.

Furthermore, the experience of World War One had influentially increased the role of USA as an economic, political and even military factor in world affairs and made a coordinating links with other nations, but at the same time, the war had left bitter memories and evoked danger towards international commitments. Many American after the postwar events convinced that their intervention had clearly failed to maintain security and democracy in the world. Thus the USA set out an isolationist policy that could best be described as one of the cooperation without engagement, as a result, the United States and for the first time curtailed immigration, and took negotiations on naval disarmament that would reduce the danger of war (Jonas).

In the beginning of 1930's, the Great Depression and the memory of tragic loses in World War One contributed to push the American public opinion and policy toward isolationism, president Herbert Hoover declared that "we should cooperate with the rest of the world, we should do so as long as that cooperation remains win the field of moral pressures....but that is the limit". Two reasons that helped the USA during the 1930's to adopt the policy of isolationism, on one hand, the Great Depression itself as Roosevelt felt that becoming heavily involved in foreign affairs would take away energy that could be better preserved and spent on domestic issues while sustaining an international policy. On the other one, the second reason for isolationism in the USA during that time was the presence of aggression in Europe and Asia which reinforced isolationist sentiment and the failure of Wilson's goals after World War One in keeping peaceful environment for the Americans. The

US turns inward between the 1920's and the 1930's, a return to normalcy and concentrate on internal affairs ("50 a, 1930s Isolationism").

2.3. Post-WWI Consequences

The World War results were devastating on Europe. The Great War destroyed the Austria-Hungary Empires and the Russian Empire, the results was the establishment of new states, including Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and others. Many totalitarian regimes emerged in Eastern Europe, while Britain and France annexed many territories. Due to war, many diplomatic policies emerged. The Great War affected many areas in America and its consequences had a direct effect on the change that happened in the foreign policy at that time ("Results of the First World War")

The end of the Great War brought a universal destruction. The effects of these were seen in many areas, as in the destruction of human life and property, and in the political, social and economic fields, the evolution of capitalism and progress of the scientific spheres were also significant consequences. After the war there was an important impact because at the close of the First World War, the USA found itself in a great loss, millions of veterans were suddenly looking for jobs at a time when industry was reeling from the cancellation of billions of dollars in war contracts. In addition, shortages of consumer goods that were not produced during the war created high prices, thus causing a great distress from many American.

the First World War led to what can be described as a cultural despair in many former combatant nation's, disillusionment with international and national politics and a sense of distrust in political leaders and government officials permeated the consciousness of a public which had witnessed the ravages of a devastating four-year conflict, in some circles this detachment and disillusionment with politics and conflict fostered in pacifist sentiment. In the

United States public opinion favored a return to isolationism; such popular sentiment was at the root of the US Senate's refusal to ratify the Versailles Treaty and approve US membership in President Wilson's own proposed League of Nations ("The impact of the First World War")

2.4. The U.S. Rejection of the League of Nation

International organization, located in Geneva, Switzerland, created after the First World War to provide the peace and resolve international disputes, it is called the "League of Nation". It was initiated by President Wilson as part of his fourteen points plan for an equitable peace in Europe; the USA never became a member ("Milestones: 1914–1920").

The League of Nations considered as an organization where representatives of the world's nations would meet and settle their differences by discussion instead of war, it had taken Wilson's months of hand bargaining to persuade the other Allied leaders to accept his plan, as well as, he tried to convince the Congress and the American people, because many of them were opposed the idea that their country became permanently involved in problems with Europe, and they were suspicious of the League of Nations, the rejection of joining such an organization might dragged the USA into quarrels.

Wilson attempted to remove such fear, but he failed. This was reflected in all of his Fourteen points, which were themselves based on theories of collective security and international organization, he used his tremendous influence to attach the covenant of the League, its charter, to the Treaty of Versailles. The struggle to ratify the treaty and the covenant in the US, Congress helped to define the most important political division over the role of the USA in the world.

The organization which assembled for the purpose of preventing war and keeping peace, proved to be less-successful in its task, especially in its inability to prevent the Second World War. The League of Nations stemmed mainly from Wilson's after the Great War, where he proposed the fourteen points concerning the war aim of the USA and the creation of this organization, he explained that "a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenant for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike" (Sarin 4)

Foreign participants who supported Wilson's idea urged the USA to take the foremost role in creating the new institution as they felt that U.S participation was crucial for its success, the League of Nations had two main objectives stated in the preamble of its covenant "To promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security" (qtd in the covenant of the League of Nations)

According to the covenant, the League's council was to consist of

"Representatives of the principle Allied and Associated Powers, which included France, Great Britain, Italy, the USA, and four other members of the league whom were to be elected by the Assembly" (qtd in the covenant of the League of Nations).

Despite Wilson's efforts to establish and promote the League, the United States was unable to see the benefits of membership largely in part due to the opposition from isolationists in the U.S. Senate, especially the influential Republican leader Henry Cabot Lodge. He believed that membership in the world peacekeeping organization would threaten the sovereignty of the United States by requiring the nation to participate in international commitments that it would not or could not keep. In 1919, Senator Lodge argued against the League by saying:

The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her powerful good, and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come, as in the years that have gone (“Lodge Reservation”).

According to Cabot Lodge, the strongholds of isolationist foreign policy were still present post-WWI, despite the United States dismissal of this policy during the war. Entering an organization to promote peacekeeping interests was not on the United States agenda at the time. The United States was ready to reinvest itself in its isolationist tendencies post-WWI, as they felt that America would be better off by ending its brief participation in European affairs in order to focus on its own potentials as a nation (5).

2.5. The United States and the Great Depression

The Great Depression and the collapse of the Wall Street in September- October 1929 were among the most important events of the twentieth century and they made the transformation in the American politics and lead the U.S into the Second World War.

The Great Depression was a severe World Wide economic depression in the decade preceding World War Two, the timing varied across nation, but in most countries it started in 1930 during Herbert Hoover administration. It was a global event that derived in part from events in the United States and US financial policies; it affected the U.S foreign policy and was the source behind the USA to adopt again the policy of isolationism

There is no single cause for the Great Depression, since several events worked together and evoked this economic problem. The initial factors were the First World War which

contributed to the upset of international balances of power and a cause a dramatic shock to the global financial system. The gold standard which had long served as the basis for national currencies at their exchange rates, had to be temporarily suspended in order to recover from the costs of the Great War, however market crash of 1929 was the most devastating crash in history of the USA. an economic downturn Germany , and financial difficulties in France and Great Britain all coincided to cause a global financial crisis, on “Black Tuesday” the stock market lost 14 billion dollar and causing a disastrous lost in banks and companies, led to a great mass among people who lost their jobs and homes, they were called “Hoovervilles”, according to President Hoover. In addition to the political catastrophic consequences of the depression that would lead to another World War (“The Great Depression”).

In the United States, the political economy was transformed and the President FDR introduced a wide range of economic relief and recovery programs collectively known as the “New Deal”. This latter focused on overcoming The Depression and pushed America’s foreign policy towards isolationism and again focuses on internal domestic affairs known as “Relief, Recovery and Reform” as a political project dealing with economic, military and political issues. The Great Depression finished with the prosperity of the 20’s, the economy was changing and was necessary to enforce the country, that’s why Roosevelt really wanted interventionism and the New Deal that implemented in 1933 had the objective of getting the U.S. out of the Great depression. It’s measures included employment support. Isolationism was the order of the day in congress, according to public opinion if the United States could not solve its domestic problem; it had no business attempting to solve problems beyond its border (Akis and Streich 96).

2.6. The U.S. International Relations during the Interwar years

During the Interwar years, the United States foreign policy of Isolationism focused on economic commitments it could be better called limited internationalism, because the USA kept its Unilateralism and freedom of action, but dependent on trade and economy in making relations with other nations. Thus the USA was economically involved in foreign affairs.

After the First World War the USA economy was prosperous, the USA emerged as a hyper power country in the world. However, due to the great loss behind the experience of the Great War and the Great Depression, America turns back to its traditional foreign policy of isolationism.

The Interwar period from 1914 to 1941, America choose to stay out of conflict and avoid the costly wars and the great loss of human life, to adopt the doctrine of isolating one's country from the affairs of other and stay aloof from commitments and international concurrence. As well as, determined to remain in peace and refrain from entanglements. Moreover, the Neutrality issued by President Wilson was a contradiction because they proclaimed non- intervention but at the same time opposed it, because the USA has an interventionism intention supported by the US attempt to involve in the League of Nations. While this policy continued through the exchanging of trade, repayment of foreign debts and the advocating of international peace.

The end of U.S Neutrality was behind two events. Firstly, the drowning of the Lusitania vessel, on the other hand the Zimmerman telegram. President Wilson was certain that the US involvement in the European conflicts would help the spread of the American democratic freedoms to the rest of the world. The United States foreign policy experienced isolationism but it had anticipated to the triumph of two dogmatic reforms, the restriction of immigration

and national prohibition, the Great Depression also helped to foster the US to choose a policy of isolationism.

With the introduction of the “New Deal” policy by FDR, it made an end for the Depression and reinforced the American Isolationism again, this policy directed towards preserving the domestic issues and prohibit the country from another war, likewise through the “Quarantine speech in 1973”, President Roosevelt attempted to split from the traditional policy and discussed the need for collective security and avoidance of wars. International relations between the two World Wars were elusive and nations tried to make reparation but many variables persisted that caused diplomacy to fail and lead into WWII (“the interwar year 1919-1938”).

2.7. The Washington Conference in (1921-1922)

During the term of Harding in 1921, the US membership in the League of Nations was practically impossible. Likewise, for the sake of replacing the advantages of the League, Secretary of State Charles Hughes officially declared the end of war with Germany and then decided to negotiate separate peace treaties with the former Central powers. Through those treaties, American foreign policy makers believe that the USA would receive all the advantages of the Versailles treaty, since Hughes wanted to find something that would replace the League as a guarantor of world peace and stability, he embarked therefore on a series of efforts to build safeguard against future wars but without standing an obstacle in front of the American freedom of action in the world.

The most important of these efforts were the Washington conference of 1921, also called the International Conference on Naval Limitation (1921-1922). A system of arms control in an international environment, issued by the United States, Japan, Italy and France to

discuss the naval armament limitation and workout security agreement in the pacific area (Robrer 51) Prior to take the inception of the treaty, it was an attempt to prevent what was threatening to become a costly and destabilizing naval armaments race between America, Britain, and Japan. Because the arms race originated from the First World War, when the United States built their navy followed by a similar program from the Japanese and the British parts. Thus, Hughes startled by proposing a plan for a dramatic reduction of the fleets of all nations and a ten years moratorium on the construction of large warships. He called for the scrapping of nearly 2 million tons of existing shipping (“The Global Crisis, 1921-1941” 710).

According to Robert Jervis, it was a doctrine articulated for the purpose of dominating the offensive action that pervaded the naval doctrine, he stated that “it is easier to destroy the other’s army and taker its territory that is to defend one’s own” (52).

Representatives worked hardly, and struggled to settle arguments on naval armaments and security issue, whereas the main goals were to stop the competition for the largest navy and to ease the tension among naval powers. The Conference Disarmament led to the creation of several treaties concerning further actions of the great naval powers.

Although Isolationism that was adopted by Republican governments under President Harding (1921-1922) and President Coolidge (1923-1929). The American foreign policy of isolationism was a diplomatic and economic doctrine that aimed at self-advancement to make the USA economically self-reliant and retaining peace with other nations by staying out of involvement, the Conference on disarmament led to the creation of international treaties (Goldstein 1-4).

2.7.1. The Five Power Agreement

Signed by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy was the cornerstone of the naval disarmament program, it called for each of the countries involved to maintain a set of ratios of warship tonnage which allowed the USA and Britain 500,000 tons, Japan 300,000 tons, as well as France and Italy 175,000 tons for each. The respective actions of capital ships to be held by each of the signatories were fixed at 5, each for the USA and Great Britain, 3 for Japan and 1.67 for France and Italy. These steps are important in improving relations between nations in the Pacific, and limiting naval tonnage. The reason behind the higher amount of tonnage that the USA and Great Britain hold was both nations maintained two ocean navies in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Finally, this agreement demanded from the signatories to stop building capital ships and reduce the size of their navies, also destroying older ships. Although the Five Power Treaty controlled tonnage of each navy's warships, some classes of ships were left unrestricted.

2.7.2. The Four Power Treaty

The Treaty signed by the USA, Great Britain, Japan and France in 1921. An agreement stated that those countries would respect one another's rights regarding the various Pacific islands and mandate that they possessed those powers, they agreed to consult with each other before taking actions about any possible events of future crisis in East. This treaty replaced the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902, the US and Japan entered into a conflict, Britain might be obligated to join Japan against USA, by ending this treaty and creating the four power agreement, the countries involved ensured that none would be obligated to engage in a conflict, but a mechanism would exist for discussions if one emerged.

2.7.3. The Nine Power Treaty

The final multilateral agreement made at the Washington Naval Conference was the Nine Power Treaty, which marked the internationalization of the US open door policy in China. The Treaty promised that each of the signatories, the USA, Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal and China would respect the territorial integrity of China, the treaty recognized Japanese dominance in Manchuria, but otherwise affirmed the importance of equal opportunity for all nations doing business in the country.

Together the treaties signed at the Washington conference in order to maintain peace and reinforced the isolationist position of the United States (“The Washington Conference”).

2.8. The Locarno pact in 1925

The Locarno conference was called partly because of the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to satisfy many nations and solve conflicts between countries that remained after the First World War. The Treaty of Versailles ended military actions against Germany in World War I; it resulted in the Rhineland Security pact as well as six other treaties.

In October of 1925, representatives of seven European countries met in Locarno, Switzerland. The seven countries involved were Belgium, United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy and Poland. The purpose of the conference was to discuss political borders and build permanent peace; it was the second peace conference, however the most important issue was to find settlement between France and Germany and for the first time, nations treated Germany as a friendly nation (“Locarno Pact”).

France and Germany wanted more security from each other. Through the Locarno treaties they were able to achieve this by setting Germany’s Western border, the key factor of

the treaties was that Germany would not choose combat as a means of resolving differences with France or Belgium, whereas, they would use diplomatic measures in order to finish their problems.

The principal treaty organized at Locarno was the “Rhineland pact” between Germany, France and the others; they agree not to attack each other. Furthermore, Germany signed arbitration conventions with France and Belgium, as well as arbitration treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia; also France undertook a mutual assistance treaty with Poland and Czechoslovakia as a response of the conflicts with Germany.

The Locarno treaties were regarded as the key stone of the improved Western European diplomatic climate, introducing a hope for international peace. It is called the “Spirit of Locarno”, this spirit no future war in Europe and it was seen in Germany’s admission to the League of Nations in 1926, but Adolf Hitler violated the Locarno pact and sent the Germanic troops again to Rhineland in 1936 (Fry, Goldstein and Langhorne 217).

2.9. The Kellogg Briand Pact in 1928

The Kellogg Briand Pact also called the Pact of Paris in Aug, 27, 1928, was a mutual agreement attempting to eliminate war as a tool for national policy. It was considered as a series in order to maintain peace after World War One, but it had little impact in stopping the rising of militarism of the 1930’s or preventing World War Two.

The Kellogg Briand Pact of 1928 was an international agreement in which countries that signed the treaty promised to avoid war and to disputes which may arise among them, it was signed by Germany, France and the United States, as well as sponsored by the US and France. The pact renounced the use of war, promoted peaceful settlement of disputes and called for collective force to prevent aggression. Its provisions were incorporated into the UN charter

and other treaties; it is named by the United States Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg and French minister Aristide Briand. The Pact was concluded outside the League of Nations, and remains as a binding treaty under international law.

The Kellogg pact was violated in promoting the international peace and proved to be useless. Moreover, the pact erased the legal distinction between war and peace, having renounced the use of war started to wage wars without declaring them as evidenced by U.S intervention in Central America, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935, the Soviet invasion of Finland in 1939 and the German Soviet invasions of Poland. Nevertheless the pact is an important multilateral treaty because in addition to binding the particular nations that signed it, also it has served as one of the legal bases establishing the international norms that the threat or use of military force in contravention of international law, also the territorial acquisition resulting from it, are illegal (“Kellogg- Briand Pact”).

2.10. The Good neighbor Policy

Many American of the 1930's, favored U.S isolationism and many supported pacifism. The Roosevelt administration tried to maintain friendly relations. FDR recognized the USSR in 1933 and set up a Good Neighbor Policy with Latin America and said that the United States had the right to intervene in the affair of another, he stated that “In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor_ the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others” (“MILESTONES 1921-1936”).

The policy of ‘Monroe Doctrine’ adopted towards Latin America was practically modified and improved. This policy lasted for more than century, which was devoted to the United States as the only country that could collect debts to foreigners by countries in the

Western Hemisphere, as well as, followed by the Roosevelt Corollary seemed to be impractical to preserve America's interests.

During Wilson's administration, the new conception founded for the purpose of improving ties between countries and USA, it was a modification of the traditional 'Monroe Doctrine' policy in order to encourage the cooperative work and policies that would affect the Western Hemisphere. The new policy coined by FDR which was the Good Neighbor Policy.

It was an American foreign policy introduced by President FDR towards the countries of Latin America, the USA wished to have good relations with its neighbors, especially at a time when conflicts were beginning to rise once again and this policy was more or less intended to maintain its influence in Latin America. The policy's main objective was that of non-intervention and non-interference in the domestic affairs of Latin America. Whereas, reinforced the idea that the USA would be a Good Neighbor and engage in reciprocal exchanges with Latin American countries. Overall, the Roosevelt administration expected that their new policy would create new economic opportunities in the form of reciprocal trade agreements and research the influence of the USA in Latin America. It helped to end the US Marines occupation of Nicaragua in 1933 and occupation of Haiti in 1943. The Good Neighbor policy meant that the USA must keep its control on Latin American but in a peaceful way (Morison and Commager 510-514).

2.11. Conclusion

The United States foreign policy during the Interwar years was isolationistic because of several events that led the country to suffer, and this contributed to create a hegemonic country in the world. Nonetheless America did not turn its back on the world during the Interwar year, i.e. America was not fully isolationist at that time because of several diplomacies and peace treaties introduced to protect the country. It was occupied with

stooping disputes, trading goods, training national guards and having allies, until the outbreak of the Second World War it was unavoidable for the U.S to transform its policy and take the high road to Internationalism through the intervention in the War.

Chapter Three:

The Transformation in the U.S. Foreign policy from Isolationism to Internationalism

3.1. Introduction

The American Foreign policy in the year after the First World War attempted to remain neutral, which ultimately proved to be impossible. The USA determined to be the major hegemonic power in the world through an extending trade commitment, as well as influence other nations according to their own beliefs and interests. Whereas, in spite of its powerful ambitions, the United States decided to limit its freedom of action through the refusal admission into the League of Nations and the aloofness from the world court or constructing links with other nations.

Global events correlated together and dragged the United States into greater engagement with others, among them the disarray that the Great Depression created, the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe and Asia, the expansionist ambitions of powerful men leaders, all worked together to destroy the stability and peaceful environment of the post-world war. However, Franklin Delano Roosevelt tried throughout the 1930's to push the USA into a greater involvement in international affairs and to take forceful actions and support the Allies to engage in naval conflicts. Finally, the turning point in the foreign policy from isolationism to internationalism was enhanced by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor which drove the USA out of the traditional policy and engages into another destructive war.

3.2. F.D. Roosevelt Struggle to return to Internationalism

The American people favored to remain neutral, although President FDR attempted to deceive the public opinion by his “Quarantine speech” in order to change their isolationistic views. FDR through his six years in office spent much of his time trying to bring out the United States out of the Great Depression. However, he did not ignore the American foreign policy and the presence of an isolationist sentiment among a significant member of Americans, thus FDR was obliged to draw his internationalist stream in order to extract the USA from the greater silence and passivity.

As the coming of the Second World War, the United States Isolationist tendencies were replaced by more interventionism and involvement internationally in world affairs. At first FDR issued U.S neutrality, whereas he changed utterly according to his intensive support and aid to Britain and France. In 1939, Germany invaded Poland, Britain and France launched a war against Germany, and this marked the turning point in history with the outbreak of the Second World War (Kuehl et al).

President Roosevelt promised his nation to remain out of conflict, but his intent on neutrality position was impossible, since it may provoke a huge danger to USA. Furthermore, the war split into two sides: non interventionists, who advocate staying out of disputes, on the other side, the interventionist who find it important to take part in the war as a response of the growing aggression threat from the German parts against their country’s security.

In 1941, Germany defeated France and Britain was the remaining power left between Germany and the United States, FDR felt insecure by the goals of the fascist regimes, he is convinced that disengagement from international commitment was impractical and it is the time of the “immediate adoption of compulsory military training for all you man” (Klar).

FDR opposed the military intervention, but the colonization of Europe by the Germans changed the concept of Roosevelt and evoked him to struggle to return the policy of Internationalism, and pushed the USA into the course of conflict. The Foreign policy changed during his term through two phases; the first came in 1939 with the passage of the Fourth Neutrality Act, which permitted the USA to exchange arms and enhance belligerents with weapons, it is called the policy of “Cash and Carry”. The second phase articulated by FDR was the “Lend-Lease” policy in which the USA exchanged, sell, barter arms, ammunition, food with Britain as a defensive way against the Nazis.

After WW II the United States foreign policy shifted towards interventionism in order to contain the spread of communism, such form of interventionism included giving assistance to European nation and take an active role in the UN, NATO, as well as police actions around the world, and involving the CIA in several cases in Latin America and the Middle East, thus the USA became the most actively intervening and leading the world affairs (Wilkison).

3.3. Neutrality Acts in the 1930's

The Neutrality Acts of the 1930's were a series of laws by the congress in 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1939 to cover the growing turmoil aggression in Asia and Europe which led to the outbreak of several conflicts in World War II. Those set of acts helped to push America's willingness to practice non-involvement and Isolationism, as well as, ensured that the United States of America would not entangle in world disputes and remain neutral by avoiding financial deal with countries at war .The Neutrality Acts which affirmed the USA inclination to stay aside from involvements, ultimately proved to be failed to make the difference between victims and aggressors during the war, since the policy of Isolationism allowed the United States to treat all the countries as belligerents, and limited its ability to aid Great Britain or other European Allies in their fight against the Nazi Germany. However, the

Neutrality Acts were repealed in 1941 directly with the U.S involvement in the Second World War.

The Democratic President FDR and his Secretary of State Cordell Hull were unsure about the Neutrality Acts, since it would limit the USA assistance of the Allies in time of crisis. Moreover, those enacted Acts were divided into separate Acts (Whiteclay).

3.3.1. The Neutrality Act of 1935

By the mid of the 1930's, events in Europe and Asia indicated that a new World War might soon erupt and the U.S congress took all the precautions to safeguard the US neutrality.

On August 31, 1935, Congress passed the first Neutrality Act for the purpose of restricting arms trading and the delivery of war materials between all parties in a conflict. The Act also stated that the citizens of the USA advised to stop moving towards the dangerous war zones. FDR originally refused the legislation and the act was repealed in 1936 which call for the US prohibition of extending loans to belligerent nations.

3.3.2. The Neutrality Act of 1937

The declaration of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and the growing tide of fascism in Europe increased support for extending the Neutrality Act of 1937. According to this Act, the citizens of the United States were forbidden from traveling on belligerent ships, as well as prevented from trading arms and transported them to the warring nations, even those military devices were produced outside the USA. The president officially eliminated the belligerent ships from the US shorelines. Finally Civil War resulted from the terms of the Act.

The Neutrality Act of 1937 included the “Cash and Carry” policy, which set officially by President Roosevelt for the sake of exchanging goods and sale supplies or materials to belligerent nations in Europe. As the recipient of those products pay in cash. The provision of this Act proved to be very important in pulling the USA out of war, FDR saw this program crucial for aiding Great Britain and France in their crisis with the Nazis, and they were benefactor of the provision because of their geographical locations. The Act was tested by the Japanese invasion of China.

Roosevelt decision to support China was impossible because of the Neutrality Acts; American ships were prohibited from transporting arms to China. However, the British could assist them and this marked the transition in the foreign policy from neutrality to eliminating all the aggressors.

3.3.3. The Neutrality Act of 1939

In the 1939 with the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, Roosevelt asked from the Congress to renew the cash and carry provisions in order to add the exchanging of arms with the warring nations. With the increasing conflicts in Europe, the possibility of the cash and carry policy disappeared until the bill was passed, in which it permitted the sails of arms with belligerents.

In 1941, after the USA had committed itself aiding the Allies through the lend-lease policy, the passing of the act marked the dissolution of Neutrality policy. Overall, the Neutrality Acts reflexes the isolationist sentiment of the USA, while the US joined the Allies in their fight against the Germans and Japan in 1941; the Neutrality Acts became irrelevant (“The Neutrality Acts”).

3.4. The Cash and Carry Program

Undoubtedly, there was no serious question that the American public opinion and FDR favored Britain and France and the other Allied nations in the conflict. However the question to be asked is how the USA managed to aid those countries in their crisis. Roosevelt believed that the United States should make the armaments available to the Allied armies to assist them encounter the highly productive German munitions industry.

In 1939, he asked the congress to repeal the Neutrality Acts because the Ancient provisions, had forbidden the sale of American weapons to any nations engaged in war, the isolationists opposed FDR for his internationalist desire for exchanging arms. Furthermore, Roosevelt permitted belligerents to purchase arms on the same “Cash and Carry” basis.

After Germany invaded Britain, and the bill was rejected because its provisions were designed to maintain the Allied powers with military materials, also could drove the US into the conflict, FDR decided to pass the law and gain the approval from the House. The purpose of the policy was to replace the Neutrality Acts and to provide security between USA and European countries while giving aid to Britain, by exploiting the fact that Germany had no funds and could not reliably ship across the British controlled Atlantic. The US economy was rebounding following the Great Depression, but there was still need for industrial manufacturing jobs, the cash and carry program helped to solve this issue. At the same time Great Britain benefited from the purchase of arms and other goods.

The cash and carry legislation ended in the arms embargo that had been in place since the Neutrality Act of 1936 and paved the way for lend-lease Act (“Cash and Carry-World War II”).

3.5. The Lend Lease Act of the 1940's

During World War II, the United States started to provide significant military supplies and other assistance to the Allies in 1940's, though the USA did not enter the war until 1941, but the aid directed towards Britain and other nations in the war against the Nazi Germany were arranged under the Lend-Lease program.

Great Britain faced economic problems and could not cover the cash and carry requirements imposed by the Neutrality Acts; the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill warned FDR that the British were not able to pay for the supplies. As a response, FDR suggested a new initiative that would be known the lend-lease that would “eliminate the dollar sign”, in which the USA provide Great Britain with the supplies it needed to fight. In other words it could allow the government to lend or lease armaments to any nation “deemed vital to the defense of the United States”, but without immediate payment. Thus the USA would offer all the supplies under the British promises to pay back after the war (“The Global Crisis, 1921-1941” 722).

Through the establishment of the Lend-Lease act, Roosevelt encounter serious problems, ensuring that the American supplies would actually reach Great Britain, shipping lanes in the Atlantic had become extremely dangerous. The British began to lose a great amount of ships and find obstacles in transporting materials across the Atlantic Ocean. The request from the USA to transmit vessels to England approved by FDR, in which he attempted to rely on the concept of “Hemispheric defense”, in order to restrict the USA defensive navy to defend the transport of ships only in the Western Atlantic.

Moreover, in 1941 events in Europe changed and the USA controlled the Ocean with their devastating vessels. German forces invade the USSR and moved forcefully towards

Russian territories. Thus the USSR refusal to surrender made FDR to convince the Congress to extend the Lend-Lease privileges to them.

This Policy was designed to serve the America's interests in defeating the growing threat of the German's power, also to create a new relationship with Stalin that would ultimately lead to a formal Soviet-American Alliance. Finally, participating in the formation of such a policy, the USA was breaking its isolationist policy and actively involved in World affairs (723).

3.7. The Transformation in U.S Foreign Policy During WWII

In the pre-World War I, many presidents among them Woodrow Wilson showed continuity across political parties, the leaders convinced that the United States place was changing in the World, but after the Great War the foreign policy returned to the traditional view of Isolationism. However, the need for the interaction with other powers and involve in international affairs could be only through commercial commitments, since Presidents aftermath WW I saw Europe as a source of danger and instigator of militarism. In addition to the economic desire of the US, Americans were hesitant to interact in continental power politics, this reluctance became clear as World War erupted and the United States rush for keeping its distance (Legro 259).

With the US involvement into the Great War, Wilson started to prepare to enter a peaceful zone, because he is aware that the USA position in the World had fundamentally changed for economic goals rather than political ones, where he stated that "no policy of Isolation will satisfy the growing needs and opportunities of America". Since Warring Harding declared in a speech that "It is not aloofness, it is security". The US had changed in the sense that it was no longer a debtor but a creditor and need to expand its markets (Legro 260).

Furthermore, during the term of FDR, American concept of security showed strong continuity with the traditional ideas that emerged after WWI, the USA opened to cooperate through the reluctance of armaments in order to preserve its neutrality from the threat of militarism, since the USA called for international commitments but at the same time managed to stay aside from any political intervention.

However, with the growing threat of major powers in Europe, the transition happened in the American thinking from 1939 in which US favored Unilateralism, as far as FDR in 1934 declared that the “ United States cannot take part in political arrangements in Europe” (Legro 261).

From 1939 to 1941, things became complicated with FDR warnings that the influence of other nations closely affected the American way of life and drove the US into entangling with alliances. The outbreak of 1941 stressed the shift that happened in the balance and the need for the US to engage politically into the great turmoil in Europe in order to avoid the determination from the dictators and protect the country’s safety, FDR called the Isolationists who opposed the US internationalism as “selfish men who would clip the wings of the American people in order to feather their own nest” (Legro 261).

Finally, the American security during 1942 transformed and embraced the idea of international cooperation and supported militarism, since the American foreign policy changed and transformed into interventionism, as well as, proved that the US security is best served by the USA being actively integrated into political affairs. The traditional dominant views were no longer appropriate and accommodate the United States requirements. Thus it needs to take the high road toward international engagement, cooperation, and most notably commitment of force to other major power (Legro 262).

3.7.1. The US foreign policy from Isolationism to Interventionism

The policy of Isolationism was simply no longer appropriate in a world in which neutrality for the USA was impossible, because the USSR was regarded as the primary aggressive foe, in which the problems in Europe or Asia affected the world balance, as well as, the development of nuclear weapons and intercontinental missiles had destroyed the safety that geography had offered. Overall, isolationism was made practically impossible, while the USA emerged as the dominant world power in an unstable world.

The United States soon found that its grand strategies of Isolationism, Unilateralism, and strict neutrality failed to make the country secure from the growing threat of communism. The Second World War paved the way for the US to divert from its isolation policy. The globalization and industrial production meant that the US had to make interchanges in terms of selling and receiving goods from other countries. Therefore, even though the US did not support the idea of interventionism, but they had to act in situations where their national interests were at stake, the United States feared the threat of USSR because it furthered communism.

During 1940, the stance of the country was changed and marked the end of the US isolationism, when the German military succeeded in Europe, also after the Battle of Britain the USA convinced that its policy towards international policies had to transform, because the country believed that Germany and Italy formed hegemony in Africa and Europe, as well as the Japanese domination of Asia, so the US saw its affective role to help defeat the Axis powers . However, Roosevelt justified the intervention of the US in the Second World War with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese witnessed the USA fully engagement in the Second World War. The US changed its policy to intervene politically since the atomic

bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in order to show the world the shift that happened for the sake of protecting its own interest.

The US position after the Second World War proved the transition in powers towards internationalism, the US was very aggressive in its foreign policy and the way it correlated with others. The USA confirmed to be a superpower and asserted its influence, economically, militarily and politically.

The USA aftermath WWII adopted a policy of interventionism. The consequences of USA's involvement in world affairs American policy makers were forced to consider a greater global involvement due to the protection of its domestic concerns. After the American independence, the country gained economic relations more than political ones, and the USA became actively engaged in international conflict. Furthermore, the Policy of interventionism foster to allow the democratic governance in countries that was vital to the foreign policy.

The involvement of the US in foreign policies led to the creation of the United Nations and other International Organization, among them NATO, OAS and SEATO in which they helped for maintaining peace in the world. The intervention of the US has helped the country to departure from the principle of Isolation to an ideology of Intervention ("Interventionism").

3.8. The US involvement in World Organization after WWII

Following World War Two, the United States refused to stay out of international agreements and recognized that the policy of isolationism doesn't suite the US position in the world affairs, the U.S felt that the country need to contact with the external world to make extensive relationships through developing International Organizations, which advocate a great economic and political cooperation among nations.

The creation of International Organizations after the Second World War proved that USA opened its doors to Internationalism, since nations and peoples are aware that they should share certain interests and objectives across national boundaries; as they could solve their conflicts by pooling their resources and effecting transnational cooperation, rather than unilateral efforts. Through these organizations nations became preoccupied with their respective national and occupied with coordinating with other nation. Thus, the U.S through the creation of such organization, NATO, SEATO, OAS and the UN confirmed the concept of internationalism and drove the USA to be a democratic globalization nation and the leading world power (“The International Organization”).

3.8.1. The Foundation of the United Nations in 1945

After World War Two, several organizations were established to promote international cooperation and Security. The largest and most influential was the United Nations

Despite the creation of the League of Nations to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War, as well as the German occupation of European States, and the failure of the League of Nations in maintaining peace. During World War Two, FDR decided that the need to create another International Organization in order to preserve peace, in which the establishment the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

The United Nations (UN), international organization preceded the League of Nations under the same purposes, located in Geneva, Vienna and other cities. The basic framework for the proposed United Nations emerged from FDR vision that USA; USSR; UK and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system (Office of the Historian).

According to its charter, the UN aims:

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights,...to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom (qtd.in the UN Charter).

The Objective of the United Nation directed to maintain peace and security, also developing friendly cooperation, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. The UN promoted human rights and equality, as well as served to be the core where countries coordinate with each other; the UN correlated with the League of Nations in general purposes since several agencies related to the UN's organs. However, the UN regarded as a successful international organization which ultimately promoted peace and security.

The Cold War tensions between the USA and the USSR influenced the security of the UN during its first 45 years, though the maintenance of peace would lead to the control and eventual reduction of weapons, because of the enormous destructive use of nuclear weapons and atomic bombs during WWII. With the end of the Cold War, the USA has taken all the precaution on increasing security's responsibilities, in which it undertakes all the measures in order to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the conflict and the UN officially came into existence in 1946 to establish its permanent headquarters in New York city, since the USA overlapped and opened economically and politically as a world powerful nation. The UN seemed to represent hope that such devastating would not occur, as the UN's first test and ability to prevent the widespread of international conflict was the North Korea invasion of South Korea ("The United Nations").

3.8.2. The Organization of American State in 1948

The organization of the American state (OAS) considered being the oldest multilateral regional organization in the world. It was founded in 1948 by the United States and twenty Latin American countries, in order to prevent any outside intervention in the western hemisphere, as well as preserving peace with the hemisphere and concentrated to promote democracy human right protection; economic and social development (Meyer 1-2)

Since the organization's foundation, the USA appealed to use the OAS to advance critical; economic; political and security objectives in the western hemisphere. During WWII Latin American nation declared war against the western axis powers and power after this conflict most of independent nations agreed on mutual defense assistance, also the beginning of the cold war, there was a great demand on security in the western hemisphere to control communism.

Nevertheless, at the urging of the United States, the OAS provisions were signed in 1948 and it is aimed at promoting peaceful settlement of disputes between members, also provide international corporation; support economic corporation, social and cultural exchange between members (the "OAS")

3.8.3. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949

The growing threat of communism with the rise of the USSR ambitions did not stop The European nation's fear that the assistance they received from the Marshall Plan would not secure them from the totalitarian; they wanted to build a shield as a "collective security" defense system under America, which they succeeded to form a military alliance in 1948 under the leadership of the USA. The communist policy was also took part in 1949 with the foundation of the North Atlantic Treaty or NATO (Djeddi 33).

The NATO represented that the USA obtained all the means for participating in global affairs and facing the Soviet influence, this internal organization founded for the purpose of saving the Western members from any possible attack from the communist bloc, as well as promoting security and stability for its members.

The ratifies of the treaty with the US as the most influential one regarded any attack against any nations would be a direct aggression to every one of them, the NATO organization extended its members and other nations joined the alliance under a permanent duration. The treaty succeeded to bring order and stability to the world pushed the USA to internationalism.

The United Nation (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty organization both emerged within the context of World War Two international order, since the UN recognized to focus on the “collective security” method, whereas NATO regarded as a “Collective security” defense alliance for the mutual purposes of maintaining peace and containing the emerging threat of the USSR and communism. Therefore, the NATO-UN cooperation remains as the highly institutionalized cooperation organization after the Second World in pursuing the USA affective policy of internationalism and the highly influential involvement in world affairs (Oertel 2-3).

3.8.4. The Southeast Asian Organization in 1955

The South East Asian Treaty Organization or SEATO was founded for the same purposes as the NATO and intended to prevent the spread of communism from gaining ground in the region. Although it is called the South East Asian Treaty, only two South East Asian countries became members, among them The Philippines and Thailand because of their closest ties with USA.

The SEATO organization's members were located far from the organization, only for Asian interchangeable affairs because of their geographical position in the Pacific; like Australia and New Zealand. However, the US found that the SEATO is a crucial frontier in the fight against communist expansion. That's why the SEATO is regarded as an essential part in the cold war policy of containment.

The organization located in Bangkok, it avoids the military forces, although the threat caused by the USSR. The SEATO worked to strengthen the economic foundations and living standards of the Southeast Asian States (Milestones 1935-1960).

3.9. Conclusion

The American foreign policy played a drastic change from the policy of isolationism which suggested that America should be self-sufficient and unconcerned with the rest of the world, pursuing a policy of neutrality and a complete removal from the world arena. However, the United States during the outbreak of Second World War marked the transition towards internationalism since the U.S is viewed as governing power. Thus with the reinforcement from FDR to push the US into international court the United States foreign policy changed and embraced a policy of interventionism.

General Conclusion

The United States after the independence led the newly established nation to adopt a strict isolationist foreign policy. As George Washington realized the concept of non-involvement with other nation and followed by Monroe. The European interference in the Western Hemisphere constituted a real threat to the security of USA. Thus the old world with the traditional views must be completely kept away from the new world and Isolationism was the effective policy to reinforce that.

The outbreak of World War One represented a direct change in the American foreign policy of Isolationism. The USA was slowly dragged to the war as a result of the German threat to their national interests. The consequences were disastrous, encouraged Americans to support the sentiment to return to isolationism. The Great Depression was devastating; Americans again turned their focus inward.

The coming of the Second World War witnessed the end of American Isolationism, though American wanted to stay out of the conflict. FDR took the first strides towards forming a basis for interventionist policies, the shift happened as result of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The USA was officially involved into the conflict.

Finally, it was clear that the policy of Isolationism was simply no longer viable in a world which neutrality was impossible. The end of WWII marked that USA became a world power and involved internationally in world organization, reach that America could not retreat itself from world responsibilities.

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