

## Index

- Abdul Hamit[d] (sultan), 51  
 ABM treaty. *See* Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty  
 abortion, 127, 160–1, 186–7, 200  
 Abrams, Creighton, 127  
 Abrams, Elliot, 120, 125, 139, 164, 177  
 Abu Ghraib prison, 176, 200  
 accidental presidents, 182–5, 197, 201, 203  
 Acheson, Dean, 85, 99–100, 127  
 ACLU, 236  
 Act of Havana, 76  
 active deterrence, 171  
 Adams, John Quincy, 24–6, 28, 182, 212  
 Addington, David, 176  
 Adelman, Kenneth, 198, 260  
 Afghanistan: bombing of suspected terrorist sites in, 148, 154–5; Bush (G.W.) on, 191; and Clinton, 148; invasion (2001) of, 41, 153, 159, 187; Taliban supported by U.S., 117–19, 123, 136; and war on terror, 19, 185–6  
 Afghan-Soviet War, 117–18  
 Africa, 49, 103, 105–7, 151–2. *See also specific country names*  
 Agency for International Development, 101  
 Agnew, Jean-Christophe, 95  
 Agnew, Spiro, 127  
 Agreed Framework, 162–3  
 Agreement of 1946, 60  
 Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 195  
 Albanians, 142, 150, 153–4, 205  
 Albright, Madeleine, 151–4, 260  
 Alito, Samuel, 172  
 Allawi, Ayad, 250  
 Allen, Richard, 129  
 Allende Gossens, Salvador, 117  
 Alliance for Progress, 116  
 Allied debts. *See* debts and deficits  
 Allied Expeditionary Force, 57  
 Amai Doctrine, 81–2  
 American Bar Association, 173  
 American Century, 92–4  
 American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 236  
 American Convention on Human Rights, 211  
 American empire: Cold War influence on, 133; denial of, 5, 14–15; in twenty-first century, 9, 19, 21, 180, 185, 187, 196, 210; uniqueness of, 15–17; virtuous nature of, 17, 21, 161, 180, 194; after World War II, 94, 110  
 American hegemony: development of, 2–3, 16, 40, 65, 110; future of, 5, 186, 191, 196; and national myths, 2, 17, 196; and neo-conservatism, 155, 165, 186; pattern of, 192; in post-Cold War era, 135, 153; after September 11, 9. *See also* hegemonic stability theory  
 American Heritage Institute, 167  
 American Joint Board of the Army and Navy, 86  
 Amin, Idi, 104  
 Amnesty International, 153–4, 195  
 Andijon, 186  
 Angola, 105–7, 121, 151, 168, 230  
 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, 125, 130, 139, 148, 161  
 anti-Bolshevism. *See* anti-Communism  
 Antichrist, 190  
 Anti-Comintern Pact, 80  
 anti-Communism: Cold War policies based on, 12, 98, 100, 103, 121–3; Dooley on, 114; and Japan, 81; and neo-conservatism, 124, 128–9; regime support based on, 105; and Wilsonianism, 61; Wilson's belief in, 13, 52, 56–7; after World War I, 52, 56–7, 59; after World War II, 98–9. *See also* Communism  
 apartheid, 150, 154  
 appeasement, 130, 153

- Arafat, Yassir, 41, 146–7  
 Arafat-Rabin agreement, 145  
 Arbenz, Jacobo, 116  
 Arendt, Hannah, 217  
 Argentina, 71  
 Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 36, 150–1, 161–2  
 Armageddon, 191  
 Armenia, 51–6, 136, 141, 244  
 Armitage, Richard, 139  
 arms race, 96, 131, 147–8, 161  
 arms trade: during Cold War, 109, 114, 118–19; in post-Cold War era, 136, 147–8, 152; in twenty-first century, 166, 186; before World War I, 45, 78; before World War II, 81. *See also* trade bans and embargoes  
 Army Corps of Engineers, 194  
 Army Industrial College study group, 84  
 Arthur, Chester A., 183  
 Asia: and blowback, 123; and Marshall Plan, 103; and Monroe Doctrine, 89; and Nixon Doctrine, 235–6; and Open Door policy, 35; in post-Cold War era, 8, 136; and sovereignty, 49; and Taft, 35; and trade with U.S., 70, 134, 159; before World War I, 79–83. *See also specific country names*  
 Aspin, Les, 148  
 Ataturk, 55–6  
 Atlantic Charter, 87–9  
 atomic bomb, 12, 88, 93, 95–9, 227. *See also* nuclear weapons  
 authoritarianism vs. totalitarianism, 121  
 Autonomy Statutes, 60  
 axis of evil nations, 163, 166, 186  
 Azerbaijan, 58, 107, 136, 168  
  
 Baath Party, 123  
 Babangida, Ibrahim, 151  
 Bahrain, 108  
 Baker Institute, 167, 197  
 Baker, James A. III, 141, 196–7  
 Baker-Hamilton Commission. *See* Iraq Study Group (ISG)  
 balance of trade, 70, 79–80, 110, 124, 130–1, 158–60  
 Balkans, 89, 148–50, 155. *See also specific country names*  
 Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, 148  
 Bangladesh, 104  
 Barak, Ehud, 146  
 Bartlett, Bruce, 189  
 Bashir, Omar Hassan Ahmed al-, 154, 186  
 Batista, Fulgencio, 29  
 Battle of Kosovo, 205  
 Bay of Pigs invasion, 29, 43, 114, 129  
 Baylor University speech, 100  
 Belarus, 47  
 Bennett, William J., 125, 139  
 Berncovitch, Sacvan, 3  
 Berger, Samuel R. (Sandy), 155, 246  
  
 Biafra, 104  
 Bill, James A., 107  
 “Bin Laden Determined to Attack Inside the United States,” 179  
 bin Laden, Osama, 118, 153–5, 179, 191  
 Biological Weapons Convention, 161, 177  
*Birth of a Nation* (film; Griffith), 216  
 Blaine Corollary, 212–3  
 Blair, Tony, 170–1  
 blowback, 13, 122–4, 203  
 Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Affairs, 129  
 Bobo, Rosalvo, 161–2  
 Bohlen, Charles, 100  
 Boland Amendments, 120  
 Bolivia, 71, 75  
 Bolsheviks: and Armenia, 55; and self-determination, 48, 57; and Wilson, 48, 52, 56–8, 61. *See also* Russia; United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)  
 Bolton, John, 125, 139, 163–4, 177, 185  
 Boothe, Clare, 93–4, 129  
 Borah, William, 78, 125  
 Bosnia, 50, 140, 142, 148–50  
 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 149  
 Bosnian-Croatian Federation, 150  
 Bourgeois, Roy, 236  
 Boykin, William G. (Jerry), 189  
 BP (British Petroleum), 136  
 Brazil, 71, 109  
 Bremer, L. Paul III, 167, 194, 197  
 Brest-Litovsk Treaty, 48  
 Bretton Woods agreements, 122, 124, 144  
 Brezhnev doctrine, 178  
 Brookhart, Smith, 125  
 Brown, Ron, 145  
 Bryan, William Jennings, 42, 46  
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 117–18  
 BTC pipeline, 136, 168  
 Buckley, William F., 125  
 Bulgaria, 51  
 Bundy, McGeorge, 95  
 bunker busters, 164–5  
 Bureau of the Budget, 109  
 Burke, Edmund, 23  
 Burundi, 104  
 Bush Doctrine, 168–70, 195–6, 235–6  
 Bush, George H. W.: and Cold War’s end, 131, 133; and CPSG, 241; and Faustian policies, 137, 140; and Haiti, 150; and Iran-Contra affair, 119–20, 177; and Monroe Doctrine, 43; and neo-conservatism, 129, 140, 184–5; and New World Order, 134–5, 138; and oil diplomacy, 108; and OSCE, 152; and Persian Gulf War, 50, 135; and Rice, 178; and sovereignty, 134; “Toward a New World Order,” 141  
 Bush, George W.: as accidental president, 182–5, 201, 203; and Angola, 106; and arms

- trade, 147; and civil liberties, 171–4, 252; compared to other presidents, 156–7, 189, 203; completing father's actions, 161; decision-making characteristics of, 189; and democracy, 41, 189, 194–5, 197, 202; and divinely ordained diplomacy, 188–90; domestic policies of, 157–8, 183–4; economic policies of, 158–60; evangelical rhetoric of, 186–8, 257; and exceptionalism, 201; Faustian policies of, 165, 174–6, 186, 200; and Haiti, 161–2; incompetence of, 200, 260; influence of advisers, 120, 185–6, 203; on Iraq War, 202; and isolationism, 160; and Kissinger, 198; leadership failures, 50, 184; legacy of, 164–5, 181, 184–6, 191, 193–7, 203; and neo-conservatism, 125–6, 128; neo-conservatives in administration of, 127, 139, 177, 185, 203, 249; and North Korea, 162–4; nuclear policy of, 164–6, 208–9; options for opposing policies of, 199–201; policy choices not made by, 191–3; and polls or focus groups, 115; and preemptive action, 153, 168–71; and presidential power, 240; as second-term president, 200–1; secret orders and directives of, 173, 175–6; and signing statements, 172–3; and Soviet expansionism, 90; terror suspect treatment methods authorized by, 173–4; and terrorism briefings, 155, 179; torture policies of, 174–6; and transformationalism, 179–81; and unilateralism, 160–1, 168–70
- Bybee, Jay, 175
- Byrd Amendment, 105
- CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement), 6
- Cairo summit, 89
- Cambodia, 104, 121
- Cambone, Stephen, 139, 176, 249
- capitalism: Communism competing with, 99; and consumerism, 247; and economism, 146; failure of, 6; imposition of, 5, 17, 40–1, 196; in undemocratic societies, 6–7, 121. *See also* democracy and capitalism; free trade; globalization
- Caribbean area, 34–6, 42, 65–6, 71. *See also specific country names*
- Carnegie Endowment, 170
- Carroll, Philip, 167
- Carter Doctrine, 118, 135, 166, 235–6
- Carter, Jimmy: as accidental president, 183; and Armenia, 56; Camp David diplomacy, 145; crisis management of, 183; on ethics, 210; as evangelical Christian, 19, 211; and Haiti, 151; and human rights, 117; and impunity, 117–18; influence of advisers, 184–5; and Iran hostage situation, 114, 188; and Monroe Doctrine, 43; and North Korea, 162; and nuclear weapons, 164; and oil diplomacy, 108; PFIAB abolished by, 130; and Rice, 178
- Casablanca summit, 88
- Casey, William, 127, 129
- Caspian Guard, 168
- Castro, Fidel, 29
- Cecil, Hugh, 210
- Cecil, Robert, 52
- CEDAW. *See* Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- Cédras, Raoul, 150–1
- Central America: democracy imposed in, 14; economic policies in, 65, 123; foreign loans to, 71; Iran-Contra affair and, 119–20; and Marshall Plan, 103; and Monroe Doctrine, 25, 74–5, 122; and Reagan (Kirkpatrick) Doctrine, 120–2; and Roosevelt (FDR), 75–6; and self-determination, 43; soldiers trained by SOA, 236; and Wilson, 36, 65–6; Wilson's policies in, 36–7. *See also specific country names*
- Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), 6
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA): in Afghanistan, 118; and “black hole” prisons, 157, 175–6, 181; in Chile, 117; during Cold War, 101–2, 105–8, 116; criticism of, 128–9, 171; death squads trained by, 122, 177; drug trade and, 119; as invisible government, 120; in Iran, 123; Iraq coup supported by, 123; in Italy, 168; in Nicaragua, 119–20; in Pakistan, 118; in Sudan, 154, 186; terror suspect treatment guidelines, 173
- Chad, 186
- Chalabi, Ahmed, 167, 171
- Challenge to American Foreign Policy, The* (McCloy), 227
- Chamberlain, Louis-Jodel, 162
- Chamberlain, Neville, 128
- Chechnya, 186
- checks and balances, 132, 181. *See also* separation of powers
- chemical weapons, 119. *See also* weapons of mass destruction
- Chemical Weapons Convention, 161
- Cheney, Richard (Dick): and Cold War's end, 131; and executive power, 172; and Iran concession offer, 179; and Khalilzad, 139; and Kissinger, 198; misinformation spread by, 238; and neo-conservatism, 125, 127; and privatization of oil, 167; and Rice, 178; and think tanks, 139; and torture, 176; wartime abilities of, 199
- ChevronTexaco, 106
- Chiang Kai-shek, 81, 86, 88–9
- Chile, 43, 71, 117, 121

- China: and Churchill, 89; and Clinton, 146; financing U.S. debt, 158, 160; increased demand for oil, 136; MFN status of, 146, 243; myths about, 81; and North Korea, 163; and Reagan, 121; and Rice, 178; and Roosevelt (FDR), 81, 88–9; state terrorism of, 186; and Stimson Doctrine, 79; in twenty-first century, 185
- Christian realism, 96
- Christopher, Warren, 145
- Church, Frank, 132
- Churchill, Winston, 86–91, 94, 225
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
- civil liberties and rights: of detainees and enemy combatants, 173–4; and economic conditions, 160; and Eleanor Roosevelt, 94; restrictions on, 157, 171–2, 195–6, 202; and transformationalism, 181
- Civil War, 29, 64
- Clark Amendment, 106
- Clark, Dick, 106
- Clark Memorandum, 75–6
- Clarke, Richard A., 155, 179
- Clinton, Bill: African policies of, 151–2; and the Balkans, 148–50, 153–4; and Cold War's end, 133; and democracy, 143; and Faustian policies, 140, 148; and Haiti, 44, 150–1, 161; interventions by, 36, 50, 148; legacy of, 146, 148; and Middle East policies, 146–7; and NATO expansion, 152–3; neo-conservatism's effect on, 140; neo-conservative letter to, 139; and North Korea, 162–3; and nuclear weapons, 147, 161; and oil diplomacy, 136; policies determined by polls, 115; and Pressler Amendment, 118; and Rice, 178; as second-term president, 200; and sovereignty, 141; and terrorism, 148, 154–5
- Closed Door policy, 35, 43, 65
- Coalition for a Democratic Majority, 121
- Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), 194, 197
- Cohen, Ariel, 167
- Cohen, Eliot, 198
- Cohen, Elizabeth, 158, 247
- Colby, Bainbridge, 54, 57–8
- Colby Note, 57–8
- Colby, William, 129
- Cold War: abuse of power during, 191–2; compared to other wars, 8; democracy imposed during, 5; end of, 131–2; and exceptionalism, 92–3, 113–14; executive powers increased during, 8; extended by CIA activities, 118; Faustian policies of, 2, 4, 8–9, 14, 92, 98–9, 107–9, 116–20, 140; foreshadowed by summits, 89–90; influence on twentieth century, 133; and Marshall Plan, 100–3; and minority rights; Monroe Doctrine perverted by, 122; NATO expansion seen as renewal of, 152; neo-conservative influence on policy makers, 127–31; oil diplomacy during, 107–9; organizations as instruments of, 144–5; origins of, 94–5, 99–100; and People's Century, 94; positive aspects of, 14; stability as goal of, 121; tactics used by U.S. during, 12–14, 19, 101–2, 111, 201; and Truman, 98–9; and Wilsonianism, 10–11, 13. *See also* post-Cold War era
- collective security: and hegemonic stability theory, 15; in post-Cold War era, 144; and Wilsonianism, 9–10, 61, 63; after World War I, 64, 69
- collectivist nationalism, 26–7
- Colombia, 33, 35, 65, 71, 186
- commercial patriotism, 157–8
- Commission of Inquiry into the Middle East. *See* King-Crane Commission
- Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf (CPSG), 139, 241
- Committee on International Petroleum Policy, 90
- Committee on Minorities, 59
- Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), 121, 129–31, 235
- Committee to Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy, 127
- “Common Sense and the Common Danger,” 130
- Communism: and Chiang Kai-shek, 81; Cold War tactics against, 12–14, 101–2, 111; collapse of, 131–2; containment of, 11, 95, 98, 124–5, 130–1; in Czechoslovakia, 102; fear of, 52, 54, 56–7, 94, 99, 128–9; and Johnson Doctrine, 235–6. *See also* anti-Communism
- competitive coexistence, 131
- Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), 147, 161, 165
- Conant, James B., 95–6
- congressional powers: diminishing nature of, 62, 88, 112–13; funding as means of control, 165; policy making, 33–4, 112–13; and presidential secrecy, 13, 80, 88, 90
- Congressional Research Service, 108–9, 239
- Connally, John, 129
- Conoco, 136
- Constitution, transformation of, 180
- Constitutional Government* (Wilson), 39
- consumerism, 158, 247
- containment, 95, 97–8, 124–5, 130
- Contra guerrillas, 119–21, 177
- Convention on Cultural Rights, 161
- Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 150
- Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 161, 211
- Cook, Blanche Wiesen, 93
- Coolidge, Calvin, 72, 183
- Cooper, John Milton, 55

## Index

293

- cooperative internationalism, 185; and competitive coexistence, 131; as foreign policy goal, 24, 35, 64, 76, 111; future of, 192–3; Roosevelt's (FDR) belief in, 156–7; and transformationalism, 181; Wilson's belief in, 11
- Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. *See* Roosevelt Corollary
- corporate libertarianism, 145
- Corsica, 23
- Council of Four, 53
- Counter Terrorism Evaluation Group, 171
- counterproliferation, 148
- Counterterrorism Security Group, 179
- covert operations: in Africa, 105–6; Cold War pattern of, 11–12, 43–4, 106, 113, 116, 128, 168; consequences of, 13, 19, 132; in Eurasia, 61, 101–2, 118; in Middle East, 107; in twenty-first century, 172, 175–6, 185; in Western Hemisphere, 29, 36, 43–4, 122
- CPSG. *See* Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf (CPSG)
- Crane, Charles, 53
- crimes against humanity, 52, 97, 153, 174, 194
- Croatia, 142, 148
- Cuba: Adams on, 212; as axis of evil nation, 163; effects of economic sanctions against, 192; and Eisenhower, 116; and Faustian policies, 29; financial supervision in, 75; Guantánamo Bay Naval Station, 173; and Kennedy, 114, 116; loans to, 71, 73; and Platt Amendment, 29–30, 75, 213; and Reagan, 121; and self-determination, 29–30
- Cuban missile crisis, 4, 116
- Culbertson, John M., 110
- cultural identity. *See* national myths
- Czech Legion, 57
- Czech National Front, 102
- Czech Republic, 152–3
- Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC), 102
- Czechoslovakia, 60, 102
- Darby, John, 190
- Darfur, 186, 192
- Dawes, Norman H., 72
- Dawes Plan, 72
- Dayton Accords, 149–50
- debts and deficits: during Cold War, 110, 123–4, 130–1, 133; in post-Cold War era, 134, 145, 153; statistics on, 15, 72–3, 158–9; in twenty-first century, 157–60, 166, 183–4, 190–1, 201–2; after World War I, 68–9, 71–4, 76, 222
- deception of the public: about Angola, 105; about Democratic Party, 180; about nuclear state terrorism, 12; by Bush (G.W.) administration, 167, 199; by Clinton, 153; by Committee on the Present Danger, 130; fear mongering, 12, 99, 111; by Iran-Contra participants, 120; by Johnson, 117; and morality, 210; by neo-conservatives, 128–31; by Nixon, 105; pattern of, 10, 14, 200, 202; on reasons for Iraq War, 166, 170–1, 187; by Roosevelt (FDR), 80; by Team B, 130; by Wilson, 13, 61. *See also* propaganda
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities, 141
- decolonization, 12, 104–7, 142. *See also* nationalism
- Defense Planning Guidance, 138–9, 168
- defense spending. *See* military spending
- Delahunty, Robert J., 175–6
- demilitarization in post-Cold War era, 147
- democracy, 36; and Angola, 106; and Bush (G.W.), 189, 191, 194–5, 197, 202; during Cold War, 106–7; definition of, 5, 23; and economic conditions, 43, 160; and economism, 145–6; and elections, 195; ephemeral nature of, 143–4; export of, 5–6, 23, 27, 64, 196; export vs. promotion of, 142–3; as foreign policy goal, 41, 121–2; functional vs. fictional, 140; and Iran-Contra affair, 120; liberal vs. illiberal, 143; myth of, 28; promotion of, 62, 168–9, 235–6; and Reagan (Kirkpatrick) Doctrine, 121–2; and self-determination, 28, 148; and transformationalism, 179–81
- democracy and capitalism: liberty defined as, 114, 196; and Marshall Plan, 101; and neo-conservatism, 126; relationship disputed, 6–7; Rostow on, 214; and self-determination, 5; and Wilson, 48–9, 69
- democratic imperialism, 126
- deniability, plausible, 120
- Depression, Great. *See* Great Depression
- Desert Storm. *See* Persian Gulf War
- Detainee Amendment, 172–3
- Detainee Treatment Act (DTA), 173–4
- detainees, 173–6
- détente, 117, 124–6, 128–9, 131–2, 238
- devil, deals or pacts with, 2, 4, 201
- Diamond, Larry, 106–7, 194–5
- disarmament, 12, 68–9, 88, 208–9
- dispensationalism, 190
- dollar diplomacy, 35–6
- dollar, value of, 159–60, 166–7
- domestic surveillance programs. *See* surveillance programs, domestic
- Dominican Republic, 36, 43, 71, 74–5, 116–17, 235–6
- domino theory, 120
- Dooley, Tom, 114
- dos Santos, José Eduardo, 105–6, 151
- double-coded language, 189, 257
- Downing Street memorandum, 170
- drug trade, 118–19, 154, 186

- Dubai, 200  
 Dulles, John Foster, 51, 107  
 Dury, Guy, 190
- East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, 82, 135  
 East Pakistan, 104  
 East Timor, 104  
 Eastern Europe: and human or minority rights, 50–1, 59, 117, 140, 148–50; and immigration, 66–7; and NATO expansion, 152–3; and sovereignty, 142; after World War II, 90, 99, 102. *See also specific country names*
- Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), 101  
 Economic Defense Board, 84–5  
 economic expansionism, 35, 65, 70, 73, 214.  
*See also* Open Door policy; territorial expansion
- economic foreign policy, 30–2, 69–74, 109–11, 123–4, 158–60
- economic sanctions: against Cuba, 29; effects on civilian populations, 192; against Haiti, 151; against Iran, 107–8; against Japan, 77, 80, 83–6; against North Korea, 163–4; against Rhodesia, 105; against Sudan, 186. *See also* trade bans and embargoes
- economic theories: corporate libertarianism, 145; economism, 6, 145–6, 158; financialization, 159–60; globalism, 6, 20–1, 143–5; liberal capitalist internationalism, 6, 10, 61–2, 77, 100–1; market fundamentalism, 145; neo-liberal economics, 6, 109, 145–6; Third Way globalism, 145; Washington Consensus, 6, 144–6. *See also* free trade
- economism, 6, 145–6, 158  
 Eden, Anthony, 88  
 efficiency in government, 199–201  
 Egypt, 155, 175–6  
 Eisenhower Doctrine, 235–6  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 43, 50, 90, 107, 116, 121, 129, 200  
 El Salvador, 43–4, 75, 121–2  
 election of 1976, 129, 131  
 embargoes. *See* trade bans and embargoes
- empire. *See* American empire
- end of the world, 190–1  
 enemy combatants, 173–6, 202  
 enemy noncombatants, 175  
 enemy tactics, adoption of, 12–14, 19, 111, 175–6  
 ERP. *See* European Recovery Program (ERP)
- escalation dominance, 130, 239  
 ethics: and atomic bomb, 93, 95–9, 227; definition of, 18; and Faustian policies, 21; need for at a national level, 19–21, 199–201; of presidents, 138, 151, 154–5; and Puritans, 200
- Ethiopia, 121  
 ethnic cleansing. *See* genocide
- European New Order, 82, 135  
 European Recovery Program (ERP), 100–3, 144  
 European Union, 141, 153, 171, 210
- evangelical Christianity: and Bush Doctrine, 169; and double-coded language, 189; and elections, 200–1; and exceptionalist beliefs, 3; and presidents, 19, 186–8, 211; and Rapture beliefs, 190–1, 257; and transformationalism, 181. *See also* religion in politics
- evil empire, 126, 131, 180
- exceptionalism: and American Century, 92, 94; and American empire, 21; during Cold War, 92–3, 113–14; consequences of, 23; and empire, 15; Faustian policies linked with, 2, 16, 60, 67; foreign policy based on, 11–12, 74, 82, 98, 170; future of, 193, 195–6, 201, 203; history of, 2–5; and independent internationalism, 8, 20–1, 77, 82, 140; and invulnerability, 8; and national self-deception, 143; and neo-conservatism, 126; and presidents, 8, 160, 188, 206; and self-determination, 5, 22, 50, 126; and transformationalism, 180; in twenty-first century, 186, 192–3, 195–6; and unilateralism, 8, 20–1, 77, 140, 170; Wilsonianism based on, 11, 126; during World War I, 46–7; after World War I, 87. *See also* national myths
- Exchange Rate Mechanism, 144  
 executive agreements and orders, 80, 88, 91, 113, 157, 171–2, 231  
 exit strategy, 17, 136–7, 198
- expansionism. *See* economic expansionism; territorial expansion
- Export-Import Bank, 119  
 extraordinary rendition, 175–6
- faith-based nihilism, 191  
 faith-based social services, 157  
 Falk, Richard, 227  
 Falwell, Jerry, 189–90  
 Far East. *See* Asia; *and specific country names*
- Farouk I (king), 90  
 Fascism (fascist), 32, 77, 78, 80  
 al Fatah, 193  
 Faust (literary character), 2, 16, 201  
 Faustian foreign policies, nature of, 1–2, 69  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 236  
 Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 184  
 Federal Reserve Act, 40  
 federalism, myth of, 20  
 Federalist Society, 172  
 Feith, Douglas Jay: in Bush (G.W.) administration, 127, 171, 175, 177, 185;

## Index

295

- neo-conservative positions of, 138–9, 167, 171
- FEMA. *See* Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)
- Ferguson, Niall, 15, 72, 210
- Ferrell, Robert, 97, 228
- Fillmore, Millard, 28, 183
- financialization, 159–60
- Finland, 47–8, 73
- first Gulf War. *See* Persian Gulf War
- Fish Corollary, 212–13
- floating exchange rates, 124
- Ford, Gerald, 106, 108, 114, 129, 131, 183
- Fordney-McCumber tariff, 73
- Foreign Affairs Council, 152
- foreign aid: during Cold War, 36, 106, 117–19, 124; in post–Cold War era, 140; in twenty-first century, 12, 162; after World War I, 57; before World War II, 79; during World War II, 91, 107; after World War II, 93, 101. *See also* military aid
- Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), 172
- foreign loans, unregulated nature of, 70–1
- Forrestal, James, 227
- Fort Bragg address, 191
- forward operating sites, 15–16, 209–10
- Foster, John, 129
- Four Freedoms, 87
- Fourteen Points, 50–1, 53, 57, 59, 87
- France, 68
- free trade: agreements, 6; and American empire, 15; during Cold War, 12, 14, 124; and economism, 6, 145–6; and Faustian policies, 109; and globalization, 111, 158; and League of Nations, 63; myth of, 61–2, 109–11, 145–6; peace linked with, 5, 24, 37, 62–3, 111, 146; in post–Cold War era, 144; in twenty-first century, 157; and Wilsonianism, 10, 20–1, 61, 77; after World War I, 64; after World War II, 101, 104. *See also* capitalism
- Freedom House, 143
- Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 130
- freedom of the seas, 24, 63–4, 68, 87–8
- Friedman, Benjamin, 160
- Friedman, Milton, 125
- Frum, David, 198
- Fulbright, J. William, 100
- Gaffney, Frank, 198
- Galt, Edith Bolling, 55
- Garfield, James, 211
- GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
- Gaza, 138, 193–4
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 110, 122, 144, 231
- Geneva Conventions, 173, 175
- Geneva Initiative, 147
- genocide: of Armenians, 51–2, 56, 141; in the Balkans, 147–50; in Chad, 186; during Cold War, 104; in Darfur, 186, 192; Holocaust, 93, 149; of Kurds, 119; and sovereignty, 140; of Tutsis, 104, 152; and U.S. national interests, 152, 186; during World War II, 93
- George, Lloyd, 48
- George W. Bush Doctrine, 168–70, 195–6, 235–6
- Georgia, 47, 58, 136, 168
- Germany, 27, 51, 68, 71–2, 82, 135
- ghost prisoners, 175–6
- Gilpin, Robert, 24
- glasnost*, 132
- globalism, 6, 20–1, 143–5
- globalization: definition of, 31, 144; and economic blowback, 123; and free trade, 111, 158; future of, 144–5; in post–Cold War era, 9, 144–6; primitive versions of, 31, 63; in twenty-first century, 158
- Glover, Jonathan, 97, 194
- Goethe, Jonathan Wolfgang von, 2
- gold standard, 76–7
- Goldwater, Barry, 126–7
- Gonzales, Alberto, 175
- Good Neighbor policy, 71, 75–6
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 118, 131–2, 135, 178
- Gore, Albert, 115, 182, 195
- Gosh, Salah Abdallah, 186
- Graham, Franklin, 190
- Grand Strategy, 191
- Great Depression: causes of, 70, 77; and globalization, 31; and internationalism, 76, 100–1; and isolationism, 77; and League of Nations, 63; and New Deal policies, 157; and Open Door expansionism, 73; savings rate during, 159; U.S. policies during, 71; and war debts, 72–4
- Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, 82, 135
- Greece, 100, 103
- Greene, Graham, 15
- Grenada, 43–4
- Grew, Joseph, 83
- Griffith, D. W., 216
- Groves, Leslie, 95
- Guantánamo Bay Naval Station, 173, 176, 200
- Guatemala, 43–4, 116, 122
- Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe in the Soviet Union, 141
- Gulf of Tonkin incident, 117, 202
- Gulf Wars. *See* Iraq War; Persian Gulf War
- Haass, Richard N., 194
- habeas corpus, 173–4
- Hadley, Stephen, 249
- Hagee, John, 190
- Hague Peace Conferences, 69, 250

- Haig, Alexander M., Jr., 127–8  
Haile Selassie (emperor), 90  
Haiti: and Bush (G.W.), 161–2; and Clinton, 148, 150–1; effects of economic sanctions against, 192; and Hoover, 75; loans to, 71; and Wilson, 36, 40, 43, 151, 161–2  
Haliburton, 194  
Hamas, 179, 192–5  
Hamby, Alonzo, 97, 228  
Hamdan, Salim Ahmed, 173–4  
*Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, 173–4  
Hamilton, Alexander, 210  
Hamilton Fish Corollary, 212–13  
Hamilton, Lee H., 196  
Harding, Warren G., 54, 56, 72  
Hasagawa, Tsuyoshi, 97  
Hawaii, 30–1  
Hay, John M., 34–5  
Hayes, Rutherford B., 182  
Haynes, William J. II, 175–6  
health care reforms, 157  
health insurance, 183–4  
Healy, David, 40  
Heater, Derek, 48  
hegemonic stability theory, 15, 18, 24. *See also* American hegemony  
Helms-Burton Act, 29  
Helsinki Accords, 117, 129  
Henry Cabot Lodge Corollary, 212–13  
Herceg-Bosna, 150  
Hersh, Seymour M., 249  
Hezbollah, 138–9, 179, 193–4  
Hiroshima, 95  
*History of the American People* (Wilson), 39  
Hitler, Adolf, 128  
Hixson, Walter, L., 2, 192  
Hobbes, Thomas, 9, 23  
Hojjatieh, 190  
Holocaust, 93, 149  
homeland security, 158, 184  
Honduras, 43–4, 71, 177  
Hoover, Herbert, 7, 56, 70–2, 74–5, 79, 101  
Hornbeck, Stanley, 83  
House, Edward M., 41–2, 45  
Hughes, Charles Evans, 70–1, 74  
Hull, Cordell: and Japan, 82, 84–6; moralism of, 83; and neutrality, 78; and oil diplomacy, 90; and summit diplomacy, 87–8  
human rights, 161; and American empire, 15; and Bush (G.W.), 195; and Carter, 20, 117, 184–5, 188; and democracy, 142–3; and economism, 145–6; executive agreements, 113; group vs. individual rights, 60, 103–4, 142; international enforcement of, 141; and NATO forces, 153; and Roosevelt (Eleanor), 94; sovereignty vs., 140–2; standards reduced by U.S., 121; universalization of, 60, 103–4, 141; U.S. refusal to adopt UN conventions, 20, 211; violators supported by U.S., 117–18, 136, 146, 160, 168, 177; and Wilson, 104. *See also* humanitarian interventions; minority rights  
Human Rights Watch, 154  
humanitarian interventions: Bush (G.W.) retreats from, 160; future of, 20, 192; inhumane results of, 153–4, 192, 195; and minority rights, 56, 104, 140; and sovereignty, 17, 140–1; and Wilson, 56–7, 61, 63. *See also* human rights; minority rights  
Hungarian revolution of 1848, 28  
Hungary, 60, 152–3  
Hussein, Saddam: American support for, 123; as Antichrist, 190; and Bush (G.H.W.), 135–6; and Bush (G.W.), 136–7, 171, 241; linked to al Qaeda, 200; and neo-conservatism, 138–9; and oil industry, 167; and Persian Gulf War, 135–7; and weapons of mass destruction, 119, 171, 238. *See also* Iraq; Iraq War  
IAEA. *See* International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)  
Ibn Sa'ud (king), 90  
Ibos, 104  
Ickes, Harold, 86  
illiberal democracies, 143  
IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund (IMF)  
immigration, 39, 53, 69, 183–4  
independent internationalism, 69; during Cold War, 91, 111, 122–4; and exceptionalism, 8, 20–1, 77, 82, 140; future of, 20–1, 193; history of, 7–9, 207; and neo-conservatism, 155, 185; during New Deal, 77, 79; and post-Cold War presidents, 140, 148; and self-determination, 64, 201; after World War I, 63; and World War II, 82. *See also* unilateral internationalism  
India, 104, 147, 166, 200  
Indonesia, 104  
Infinite Justice, 187  
innocence, loss of: and American empire, 14–15; and exceptionalism, 4, 203; after September 11, 4–5, 14–15, 17, 193; and Wilsonian rhetoric, 12. *See also* national myths  
inspector general of the Department of Defense, 171  
intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), 129  
Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, 132  
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 163  
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 211  
international cooperation. *See* cooperative internationalism  
International Court of Justice, 120



## Index

297

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 20, 104
- International Covenant on Economic and Social Cultural Rights, 104, 211
- International Criminal Court, 18, 20, 146, 161, 193
- International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 154
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 122–3, 144–5
- internationalism. *See* cooperative internationalism; independent internationalism; liberal capitalist internationalism; unilateral internationalism
- interrogation methods. *See* torture
- interventionism: during Cold War, 94, 104, 122; history of, 34–5; human rights as justification for, 140, 149, 195; in Iran, 107–8; in Latin America, 34–6, 76; positive aspects of, 40; in post-Cold War era, 138, 140, 148; and sovereignty, 61–2, 104, 140; Wilsonian, 21, 61–2. *See also* noninterventionism
- invulnerability, 4–5, 8, 17, 130
- Iran: as axis of evil nation, 163; and Bush (G.W.), 165–6, 184, 193, 202; during Cold War, 107–8; concessions offered by, 179; economic sanctions against, 107–8, 192; and Eisenhower, 116; elections in, 195; hostage crisis, 118; and human rights, 20; and invasion of Lebanon, 193–4; Iran-Iraq War, 119; and neo-conservatism, 138–9, 198; preventive action against, 165; and Roosevelt (FDR), 91. *See also* Iran-Contra affair
- Iran-Contra affair, 117, 119–20, 177, 234–5
- Iranian Revolution, 118
- Iran-Iraq War, 118–19
- Iraq: al Qaeda linked to, 171, 200; as axis of evil nation, 163, 166; and blowback, 123; bombing of suspected terrorist sites in, 154–5; and Clinton, 148, 154–5; corruption in, 194; democracy in, 27, 41, 191, 194–5, 202; effects of economic sanctions against, 192; Iran-Iraq War, 119; National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq, 202; neo-conservative positions on, 138–9, 166–8, 171, 197–9; oil reserves of, 12–13, 166–8; Persian Gulf War, 12–13, 50, 108–9, 135–7; privatization of economy, 250; and war on terrorism, 19, 185–6, 193; and weapons of mass destruction, 136–7, 170–1, 238. *See also* Hussein, Saddam; Iraq War
- Iraq Study Group (ISG), 180, 196–7, 199
- Iraq War: cost of, 159; domestic policies overshadowed by, 184; evaluation of, 199; ISG recommendations for, 180, 196–7; lessons of, 202; linked to September 11 attacks, 191; oil link to invasion denied, 166; and Pakistan; postwar occupation and reconstruction, 50, 171, 193–4, 200, 202, 250; precedents for invasion, 153; and provocative weakness, 128; torture used during, 176; troop increase called for, 198; and weapons of mass destruction, 170–1, 200. *See also* Hussein, Saddam; Iraq
- Iraqi Council of Representatives, 197
- Iraqization, 196–7
- Ireland, 47, 66
- ISG. *See* Iraq Study Group (ISG)
- Islam, 190. *See also* Muslims
- Islamic fundamentalism, 107–8, 118, 121
- isolationism: history of, 24, 30, 32–3, 212; during 1930s, 77, 125; in post-Cold War era, 147, 160; in twenty-first century, 202; after World War I, 64, 68–9; before World War II, 86
- Israel: Christian fundamentalist support for, 190; and Clinton, 146–7; consequences of U.S. support for, 192–4; and Iran, 165–6; and Iran-Contra affair, 119; and King-Crane Commission report, 53; and neo-conservatism, 138–9, 165, 198; and oil diplomacy, 108; and Rice, 179
- Italy, 27, 59–60
- Jackson, Henry M. (Scoop), 125, 127
- Jacobinism, New. *See* New Jacobinism
- James G. Blaine Corollary, 212–13
- Japan: as anti-Communist nation, 81; atomic bombing of, 93, 95–7, 227; and Churchill, 87; democratic regime change in, 14, 27; economic reconstruction of, 31; economic sanctions against, 77, 79–80, 83; expansionism of, 57, 79–82, 85–6; financing U.S. debt, 158; and New Order, 82, 135; and oil diplomacy leading to World War II, 83–7; and racism, 59, 81, 85; and six-country talks on North Korea, 163; and trade with U.S., 70, 79–81, 109, 124; and USSR, 88–90
- Jean-Juste, Gérard, 162
- Jefferson, Thomas, 33, 182
- Jenkins, Jerry, 190
- jihād* terrorists, 118
- John Paul II (pope), 132
- Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, 138
- Johnson amendment to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, 78
- Johnson, Andrew, 29
- Johnson Doctrine, 235–6
- Johnson, Hiram, 78, 125

- Johnson, Lyndon B.: as accidental president, 183; crisis management of, 183; as evangelical Christian, 211; impunity of, 117; influence of advisers, 185; legacy of, 197; as second-term president, 200; and Vietnam War, 114, 188
- Jordan, 175–6
- Joseph, Robert, 249
- Judge Advocates Generals (JAG) Corps, 175
- Juhasz, Antonia, 250
- Justice Department, 175
- Kahn, Herman, 130, 239
- Kamperlman, Max, 129
- Kantor, Mickey, 145
- Karimov, Islam A., 186
- Katrina (hurricane), 184, 200
- Kazakhstan, 168
- Kellogg Brown and Root (KBR), 194
- Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), 69, 76, 78
- Kemal, Mustafa, 55–6
- Kennan, George, 48, 107, 152
- Kennedy, David M., 225
- Kennedy, John F., 29, 43, 108, 114, 116–17, 127, 129
- Kennedy Round of GATT, 110, 231
- Kenya, 146
- Keynes, John Maynard, 72
- Khalilzad, Zalmay, 139, 197
- Khomeini, Ruhollah (ayatollah), 119
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 116
- Kim Dae Jung, 162
- Kim Jong-il, 163–4
- Kindleberger, Charles P., 24
- King, Henry, 53
- King-Crane Commission, 53–4, 218
- Kirk, Russell, 125
- Kirkpatrick Doctrine. *See* Reagan (Kirkpatrick) Doctrine
- Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 121
- Kissinger, Henry, 105–6, 108, 114, 117, 127–8, 131, 198
- KLA. *See* Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)
- Klare, Michael T., 209–10
- Korea, 89, 109. *See also* North Korea; South Korea
- Korean War, 50, 98, 101, 116
- Kosovo, 50, 140, 148, 150, 153–4
- Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), 153–4
- Kraemer, Fritz A. G., 127–8, 132, 169, 198–9
- Kraemer, Sven, 127, 139, 238, 243
- Krasner, Stephen, 110
- Kristol, Irving, 125
- Kristol, William (Bill), 125, 139
- Ku Klux Klan, 39
- Kurdish People's Republic, 107
- Kurds, 119, 135
- Kuwait, 135, 137, 241
- Kyoto Protocol, 146, 160
- La Follette, Robert, 125
- LaFeber, Walter, 34, 113, 214
- LaHaye, Time, 190
- Lake, Tony, 152
- Land, Richard, 188
- Land Mines Treaty, 146, 161
- Lansdale, Edward G., 127
- Lansing, Robert, 40, 45, 47, 52, 57, 66
- Latin America: and Adams, 212; authoritarian governments supported in, 5; banking, 40; and Carter, 117; foreign loans to, 71, 74; intervention in, 34; and Johnson (LBJ), 117; and Kennedy, 116–17; and Monroe Doctrine, 43, 65; and Reagan (Kirkpatrick) Doctrine, 120–2; and Roosevelt (FDR), 75–6; self-determination in, 25, 28; Wilson's policies in, 35–6. *See also specific country names*
- Latortue, Gérard, 162
- Lavalas Family Party, 162
- Law of Land Warfare, 250
- Le Carre, John, 19
- League of Nations: and Armenia, 54–6, 244; cooperation with, 68–9; Covenant of, 42–3, 47–50, 58–9; and economic interdependence, 63; and King-Crane Commission report, 53; and minority rights, 58–9, 103, 141; and self-determination, 47–9, 58–9; and Stimson Doctrine, 79; U.S. entrance into, 33, 38, 54–5, 64, 188; Wilson's support for, 10, 33, 56, 58–9, 63. *See also* mandate system
- League to Enforce Peace, 10
- Leahy, William, 227
- Lebanon, 55, 116, 119, 138, 193–4, 198
- Ledeem, Michael, 198
- legislative veto, 113
- Lenin, Vladimir, 48
- Lespswa party, 162
- Libby, I. Lewis (Scooter), 139
- liberal capitalist internationalism, 6, 10, 61–2, 77, 100–1
- liberal democracies, 143
- Liberia, 73
- Libya, 163
- Limited Test Ban Treaty, 95
- Lincoln, Abraham, 29, 182
- Lincoln, Bruce, 257
- Lindsey, Hal, 190
- Link, Arthur, 215–16
- Lippman, Walter, 94
- loans, unregulated nature of, 70–1
- Lodge Corollary, 212–13
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 55, 188
- London Economic Conference, 76
- long war theory, 185
- Luce, Clare Boothe, 93–4, 129
- Luce, Henry, 92–3
- Lusitania*, 46

## Index

299

- Madeleine's War, 153  
 Madrid Conference, 198  
 Magic decripts, 85–6  
 Maier, Charles S., 110  
 Makino Nobuaki, 59  
 managed trade, 110–11  
 Manchukuo, 79  
 Manchurian crisis, 69, 78–9, 84  
 mandate system, 49, 53–5, 59, 71, 103. *See also* League of Nations  
 Manhattan Project, 96–7  
 Manifest Destiny, 1, 24. *See also* territorial expansion  
 market fundamentalism, 145  
 Marshall, Andrew W., 127–8  
 Marshall, George C., 86, 95, 100  
 Marshall Plan, 100–3, 144  
 Masaryk, Jan, 102  
*Mayaguez* incident, 114  
 Mayer, Jane, 176  
 MCA. *See* Military Commissions Act (MCA)  
 McCain, John, 172–3  
 McCloy, John J., 96, 227  
 McCullough, David, 228  
 McKellar, Kenneth, 99  
 McKinley, William, 30, 34  
 McNamara, Robert S., 96, 117  
 Mead, Walter Russell, 207  
 media, 113–16, 133, 142, 153, 180–1  
 Mexico, 6, 35–6, 41–3, 65; and Good Neighbor policy, 76; loans to, 71; and trade with U.S., 109  
 Middle East: and American hegemony, 135, 165; and blowback, 123; democracy in, 27, 41, 109, 179–80; and Eisenhower Doctrine, 235–6; and faith-based diplomacy, 190–1, 203; and Islamic fundamentalism, 118, 192; and Israeli invasion of Lebanon, 193–4; and Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, 146–7; and New World Order, 135–6; reputation of U.S. in, 192–3; and Roosevelt (FDR), 90–1, 107; after World War I, 53. *See also* Afghan-Soviet War; Iran-Contra affair; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq War; oil diplomacy; Persian Gulf War; *and specific country names*  
 militarization, 98–9  
 military aid, 87, 100, 116, 118, 122, 186, 235–6. *See also* foreign aid  
 military bases and installations, 15–16, 90, 99, 136, 139, 209–10  
 Military Commissions Act (MCA), 174  
 military humanism, 140  
 Military Intelligence Division, 99  
 military spending: during Bush (G.W.) administration, 159; during Cold War, 12; and neo-conservatism, 130, 138–9; in post-Cold War era, 12; and Roosevelt (FDR), 81; Russian cuts in, 131  
 military tribunals, 173–4  
 millennium, 190  
 Milosevic, Slobadan, 150, 153, 205  
 minority rights: of Armenians, 56; and Bush (G.H.W.), 135; during Cold War, 229; in post-Cold War era, 135, 140, 148–50; and repatriation, 142; and self-determination, 49–51, 149–50; UN declaration on, 141; and Wilson, 38, 56, 58–60, 66–7. *See also* human rights; humanitarian interventions  
 Mises, Ludvig von, 125  
 Mobutu Sese Seko, 151  
 Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (shah), 107–8, 123  
 Molotov, Vyacheslav, 88  
 Monroe Doctrine: changes to, 34–5, 41–4, 76, 122; corollaries to, 25, 34–6, 212–13; Good Neighbor policy vs., 74–7; Haiti excluded from, 36; history of, 24–6, 28–9; and isolationism, 30; and Kellogg-Briand Pact, 69; noncolonization principle, 25, 212; nonentanglement provision, 25, 41; nontransfer principle, 212–13; and self-determination, 65–6; universalization of, 42–4  
 Monroe, James, 24, 28  
 Montenegro, 51  
 Moorer, Thomas, 125, 131  
 Mora, Alberto J., 176  
 moralism, 18–19, 67, 93. *See also* moralistic diplomacy; morality; universal morality; Wilson, Woodrow  
 moralistic diplomacy: and Bush (G.W.), 160–1, 186–8; and China, 83; dangers of, 18–19, 210; and neo-conservatism, 126; of Wilson, 41, 45–7; during World War I, 45–7. *See also* moralism; morality; universal morality  
 morality: and Bush (G.W.), 157; definition of, 18; misuse of, in foreign policy, 18–19, 210; overshadowed by anti-Communism, 120; rhetoric of, 199; and Wilson, 41, 45–7. *See also* moralism; moralistic diplomacy; universal morality  
 Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., 84–6  
 Morgenthau, Henry, Sr., 54  
 Moscow summit, 88  
 Mossadegh, Mohammed, 107–8, 116, 123  
 most-favored-nation status (MFN), 146, 243  
 Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 125  
*mujahadin*, 117–19, 123  
 Mukhabarat, 186  
 multinational corporations, 110–11  
 Multinational Force (MNF), 151  
 Munich Agreement, 128, 130, 153  
 Murad, Abdul Hakim, 155  
 Musharraf, Pervez, 123, 186  
 Muslims, 142, 149, 187, 193. *See also* Islam  
 Mussolini, Benito, 60  
 Muste, A. J., 96

- Mutual Security Act, 101  
Mutual Security Agency, 101  
myths. *See* national myths
- NAFTA. *See* North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- Nagasaki, 95  
nation, definition of, 26  
National Council of Churches, 189  
national cultural identity. *See* national myths  
National Defense Strategy document, 171, 185  
National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), 105–6  
national identity, 3, 23, 26, 31. *See also* nationalism  
National Institute for Public Policy, 164, 249  
National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs), 129, 202  
national myths: about atomic bomb, 95–6; diplomatic policies fostered by, 5, 16, 111; essential nature of, 1–2; function of, 193, 195–6, 201, 203; as historical lies, 62, 205; importance of, 3; invulnerability as, 4, 8; persistence of, 3, 17, 28, 62, 205; universal principles as, 46, 207; about Yalta Summit, 90. *See also* exceptionalism; free trade; innocence, loss of; superiority of U.S.; virtuousness  
national security: and American empire, 17; as Cold War priority, 13, 103, 109, 133, 144; and ethics, 20; and Good Neighbor Policy, 76; and Monroe Doctrine, 69; and neo-conservatism, 130; in post-Cold War era, 148; and self-determination, 64; in twenty-first century, 158, 161, 170, 186; and use of semi-constitutional powers, 113  
National Security Agency (NSA), 127, 171–2, 181, 184, 200  
National Security Council (NSC), 119, 127, 167, 178–9  
National Security Council Paper Number 68 (NSC-68), 97–8, 127  
National Security Decision Directive 114, 119  
National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD-1), 158  
“National Security Strategy for a Global Age, A,” 146  
“National Security Strategy March 2006, The,” 185  
National Security Strategy (NSS) reports, 146–7, 164, 169  
“National Security Strategy of the United States of America, The,” 164  
National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM) 39, 105  
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), 105–6, 151  
nationalism: Arab, 107–8; during Cold War, 62, 100, 104–5; development of, 23, 26–7; ethnic concerns, 49–50, 148–50, 153; in Germany after World War I, 51; since September 11, 201–2; types of, 26–7; Wilson on, 65–6. *See also* decolonization; national identity  
nationality, definition of, 65–6  
nation building, 141, 148, 160, 192–3  
Native Americans, 28, 35  
NATO, 97–8, 104–5, 144, 149, 152–4, 169  
Nazis (Nazism), 32, 60, 80  
Negroponte, John D., 177  
neo-conservatism: anti-Communist tactics of, 128–31; and Bush (G.H.W.), 137; and Bush (G.W.), 160, 202–3; and Cold War’s end, 131; compared to evangelical Christianity, 186; and election of 2006, 200; and exceptionalism, 126; and Iraq Study Group, 197–8; during the 1990s, 138–40; and oil diplomacy recommendations, 166–8; and oil industry, 167–8; origins of, 124–7, 131; and provocative weakness, 128; and Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 238; and terrorism, 155; on threats posed by enemies, 165, 171; and transformationalism, 181; and unilateralism, 155, 168–9; and unitary executive theory, 172; and use of federal power, 184  
neo-liberal economics, 6, 109, 145–6  
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 138–9, 146  
Netherlands East Indies, 82, 84–5  
neutrality: historical roots of, 24–6, 32; Wilson’s version of, 45–7, 78, 217; after World War I, 64, 68; before World War II, 78, 81  
Neutrality Acts, 78, 81  
New Deal diplomacy, 77–8  
New Economic Policy, 124  
New Jacobinism, 126–7, 139. *See also* neo-conservatism  
New Order, 82, 135  
New Right, 125  
New Way Forward address, 202  
New World Order, 5, 24, 134–6, 138, 143–4, 186  
Newspeak, 17, 202  
Nicaragua: and Carter, 20; CIA-trained death squads in, 122, 177; intervention in, 36, 75; and Iran-Contra affair, 119–20; loans to, 71, 73; and Monroe Doctrine, 43–4; and Reagan (Kirkpatrick) Doctrine, 120–2; and Wilson, 43  
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 96, 210  
Nigeria, 20, 104, 151  
9/11. *see* September 11 attacks  
9/11 Commission, 179  
Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, 80  
Ninkovich, Frank, 61  
Nitze, Paul H., 98, 127, 129–31  
Nixon Doctrine, 235–6

## Index

301

- Nixon, Richard M.: and abuse of power, 114; and Chile, 43; and China, 124–5, 131; and decolonization, 105; and economic policy, 123–4; Ford's pardon of, 131; impunity of, 117; and Middle Eastern arms race, 148; neo-conservative views on, 124–6, 131; and OPEC, 108–9; resignation of, 183; as second-term president, 200; and support for undemocratic governments, 121; and Team B, 129; and USSR, 95, 127, 131, 239; and Vietnam War, 50, 196–7
- No Child Left Behind, 157, 183–4
- Nomura, Kichisaburo, 85–6
- noncolonization principle. *See under* Monroe Doctrine
- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), 117
- nonintervention provision. *See* Monroe Doctrine: nonentanglement provision
- noninterventionism, 25, 61, 76, 104, 125. *See also* interventionism
- nontransfer principle, 212–13
- Norris, George, 125
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 6, 145
- North Korea, 139, 162–4, 166, 178–9, 184, 193
- NSA. *See* National Security Agency (NSA)
- NSC. *See* National Security Council (NSC)
- NSC 40 Committee, 105–6
- NSC-68. *See* National Security Council Paper Number 68 (NSC-68)
- NSS reports. *See* National Security Strategy (NSS) reports
- NSSM 39. *See* National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM) 39
- Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), 163, 165–6
- nuclear weapons: and Bush (G.W.), 128, 161, 164–6, 192, 194; and Committee on the Present Danger, 129–30; elimination of, 195; and ethics, 93, 95–7; and Hussein, 136; and India, 166; and Iran, 165–6; and North Korea, 162–4; and Pakistan, 118, 123; and PNAC, 139; and preemptive diplomacy, 170; proliferation of, 147; and Quebec Summit, 88; Reagan's views on, 131; and state terrorism, 12; testing of, 147, 161, 163–4; and USSR, 99–100. *See also* atomic bomb; weapons of mass destruction
- Nunn, Sam, 152
- Nuremberg Trials, 69
- Nye, Gerald P., 78, 125
- Nye, Joseph S., Jr., 221
- October (Yom Kippur) War, 108
- Office of Legal Counsel (OLC), 175–6
- Office of Net Assessment, 127
- Office of Policy Coordination, 101
- Office of Special Plans (OSP), 171, 175–6
- oil diplomacy: in Angola, 106; in Asia, 83–4; based on supply and demand, 10–11, 91, 136; blowback from, 123; and Faustian policies, 107–8; influence on foreign policy, 90–1; in Middle East, 107–9, 195, 197, 201–2; post-Cold War era changes in, 136; post-Cold War era goals of, 135; in twenty-first century, 166–8; war as option to secure oil resources, 12–13, 108–9, 136; and Wolfowitz Doctrine, 138
- oil industry: in Asia, 79, 82; extortion paid by, 106; influence on foreign policy, 83–4, 91, 136, 166–8; and Iraq Study Group report, 197; and neo-conservatism, 167–8; pricing issues, 159, 166–8
- oil pipelines, 136, 168, 194
- “Oil: The Issue of American Intervention” (Tucker), 109
- OLC. *See* Office of Legal Counsel (OLC)
- Olmert, Ehud, 139
- Oman, 108
- On the Rights of the Child, 20
- On Watch* (Zumwalt), 131
- OPEC. *See* Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
- Open Door policy, 35, 57, 65, 70, 73, 79–80. *See also* economic expansionism
- Operation Ajax, 107–8
- Operation Condor, 117
- Operation Enduring Freedom, 187
- Operation Iraqi Freedom, 187
- Operation Restore Democracy, 151
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 152
- Organization of American States (OAS), 117, 120, 122, 150, 169
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 108–9, 123, 166–8, 197
- Ortega, Daniel, 20
- Orwell, George, 17, 202
- Oslo peace accords, 138
- OSP. *See* Office of Special Plans (OSP)
- Paine, Thomas, 24
- Pakistan: and Bush (G.W.), 186; CIA programs in, 118, 175–6; and human rights, 20, 175–6; and India, 104; and North Korea, 162; and nuclear weapons, 147; pipelines in, 136; Talibanization of, 123
- Palestine and Palestinians, 41, 53, 55, 146–7, 179, 190, 192
- Palestine Authority, 147, 192–3, 195
- Pan Americanism, 41–2, 74–5
- Panama, 5, 7, 35–6, 43–4, 65, 75
- Panama Declaration, 76
- pan-American Pact, 41–2
- pan-German policy, 82, 135

- Paris Peace Conference (at Versailles), 42, 48, 50–1, 53–5, 72, 215–16
- Parker, Philo W., 84
- Partnership for Peace, 152–3
- paternalism, 17, 36–7, 39–41, 157
- Patriot Act, 157, 184
- patriotism: and citizen obligations, 157–8, 201–2, 247; commercial, 157–8, 247; as cover for incompetence, 199; and national myths, 4, 23; after September 11, 31, 158, 199
- Pax Americana, 140, 169
- peace: commerce/free trade linked with, 5, 24, 37, 62–3, 111, 146; as diplomatic goal, 43; and economics, 74, 77; and Kellogg-Briand Pact, 69; and League of Nations, 63; minority rights as threat to, 56, 60; and neutrality, 33; and self-determination, 47, 50; war in the name of, 17, 195, 202; Wilson on, 66
- Pearl Harbor, attack on: economic pressures leading to, 83; public opinion before, 80; as reason for U.S. entry into war, 86–7, 93; Roosevelt (FDR) affected by, 156–7; as shocking event, 4, 139, 156, 169
- People's Century, 93–4
- perestroika*, 132
- Perle, Richard, 127, 131, 138–9; Bush (G.W.) conduct of Iraq War criticized by, 198; Feith mentored by, 171; on Iraq Study Group report, 198; on United Nations demise, 153
- Permuter, Amos, 61
- Persian Gulf region, 91, 118–19, 138, 165, 235–6
- Persian Gulf War, 12–13, 50, 108–9, 135–7
- Peru, 71
- Petroleum Reserves Corporation, 90–1
- PFIAB. *See* President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB)
- Philippines, 30–1, 40, 43, 66, 121, 155
- Phillips, Howard, 125
- Phillips, Kevin, 159–60, 190
- Pinochet, Augusto, 117
- Pipes, Richard, 129–31
- Placentia Bay of Argentinia summit, 87
- Platt Amendment, 29–30, 43, 76, 213
- plausible deniability, 120, 179
- PNAC. *See* Project for the New American Century (PNAC)
- Podhoretz, Norman, 124–5
- Pol Pot, 104
- Poland, 48, 59–60, 89, 132, 152–3
- Polk, James, 28, 34
- Ponzi, Charles, 159
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), 105–6
- population conferences, disruption of, 161
- post–Cold War era: Bush (G.W.) overturns diplomatic policies, 160–1; demilitarization during, 147; Faustian policies of, 4, 16, 137, 201; military budgets in, 12; and New World Order, 134–5; policy changes resisted in, 7, 9, 111, 133, 140; problems of, 140–5; and Wilsonianism, 13–14. *See also* Cold War
- Powell, Colin, 178, 185–6
- preemptive action: and Bush Doctrine, 168–70; Clinton's support for, 148; dangers of, 193; neo-conservative support for, 138–9; preventive action vs., 170–1; U.S. asserts right to, 146, 235–6
- prescription drug policy, 183–4
- presidency, transformation of: absolute nature of presidential foreign powers, 114, 169; Bush (G.W.) creates post-truth presidency, 199; Cold War's influence on, 112–14, 132–3; Congress bypassed in secret negotiations, 88; Congress concedes diplomatic power, 62, 120; effect of Nixon presidency, 125–6; effect on Bush (G.H.W.) presidency, 137; executive powers increased, 7–8, 111, 132–3, 138, 214; history of, 32–5; and Persian Gulf War, 108–9; refusal to negotiate with USSR, 95; and signing statements, 172
- presidential candidates, 115
- Presidential Decision Directive 39, 146
- Presidential Directive 59, 164
- presidential doctrines, 235–6. *See also specific doctrine names.*
- presidential memoranda, 113
- presidential predominance, 180
- presidential types: accidental, 182–3; imperial, 8, 62, 112–14, 133, 137, 203; imponderable, 8, 32, 114–16, 133, 137, 181, 203; modern, 8, 32, 62, 112–14, 120, 137; postmodern, 8, 32, 114–15, 137; premodern, 8, 32–3, 62, 112; second-term, 182, 200
- presidents: authority of, 169; discredited by events, 114; effects of crises on, 156–7; impunity of, 116–19; influence of advisers, 98; legacy patterns of, 182–3; reputations of, 156; secrecy of, 13. *See also* presidential types; *names of specific presidents*
- “President's Constitutional Authority to Conduct Military Operations against Terrorists and Nations Supporting Terrorism, The,” 169
- President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB), 129–30, 171
- Pressler Amendment, 118
- Préval, René, 162
- preventive action, 165, 170–1
- privatization, 167, 197, 250
- Proclamation of Neutrality, 24, 26, 32
- Project for the New American Century (PNAC), 139–40, 168–9, 198
- propaganda: during Cold War, 12, 62, 98, 116; before Iraq War, 166; on Kosovo invasion,

## Index

303

- 142–54; and neo-conservatism, 126; after September 11, 4; Team B use of, 130; during World War I, 45; after World War I, 48; before World War II, 80–1; during World War II, 87. *See also* deception of the public
- provocative weakness, 128, 132, 169, 198–9
- Psalm 23, 187, 257
- public deception. *See* deception of the public
- Puerto Rico, 65
- Pungong, Victor, 104–5
- Puritans, 1, 3, 180, 200
- Putin, Vladimir V., 161
- al Qaeda: and Clinton, 154–5; interrogation methods for, 173, 175; Iraq linked to, 171, 200; and Reagan's policies, 118; and Rice, 155, 179
- Qatar, 108
- Qavam as-Saltaneh, Ahmed, 107
- Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), 185
- Quebec summit, 88
- Quiet American, The* (Greene), 15
- racism: during Cold War, 105–7; as influence on foreign policy, 85, 103; and minority rights, 59; and national security, 13; and presidential power, 214; of Roosevelt (Theodore), 35; of Wilson, 37–40, 56, 66–7, 216; and Wilsonianism, 61
- RAND Corporation, 127–8, 130
- Rankin, Jeannette, 125
- Rapture, 190–1
- rational actor theory of history, 98
- Reagan (Kirkpatrick) Doctrine, 118, 120–2, 155, 235–6
- Reagan, Ronald: and Afghan-Soviet War, 118–19; and Armenia, 56; and Cold War's end, 131–2; as evangelical Christian, 211; Faustian policies of, 118–19; and Iran-Contra affair, 114, 120; and Iran-Iraq War, 118–19; misconduct of administration officials of, 234–5; and Monroe Doctrine, 43; and neo-conservatism, 125, 127, 129–31, 184–5; and oil diplomacy, 108; and Rice, 178; as second-term president, 200; and signing statements, 173; and support for undemocratic governments, 120–2
- “Rebuilding America's Defenses,” 139, 168
- reciprocal trade agreements, 73
- Red Scare, 57
- refugee policies, 150
- regime changes, 5, 12–14, 27, 120, 126, 139, 235–6
- Reich, Robert, 145
- religion in politics: and Bush (G.W.), 169, 179–81, 186–90; influence on policies, 190–1; and neo-conservatism, 125; rhetoric of, 199; and Truman, 96; and Wilson, 41, 50, 66. *See also* evangelical Christianity
- Renan, Ernest, 205
- reparations, 51, 68, 71–2
- repatriation, 50–1, 60, 103, 141–2
- Republican Party, 125, 194, 196, 199
- Republika Srpska, 150
- reputation of U.S., 14, 169–70, 174, 192–3, 199
- revolutionary utopianism, 200
- Rhodesia, 105
- Rice, Condoleezza, 155, 163, 176–9
- rights. *See* human rights; minority rights
- Rio Pact, 122
- Roberto, Holden, 105–6
- Roberts, John, 172
- Robertson, Pat, 190
- Robison, James, 188
- robust earth penetrator, 164–5
- Roh Moo Hyun, 163
- Roosevelt Corollary, 34, 36, 75, 212–13
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 93–4
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano: and Asia, 79–85; concessions to Soviets, 89–90; and Eastern Europe, 90; executive powers increased by, 8; Faustian policies of, 88–90; health problems, 90; internationalism of, 156–7; and Latin America, 75–6; leadership style of, 78; legacy of, 91, 97, 182; and Middle East, 90–1, 107; and Monroe Doctrine, 43; and Neutrality Acts, 78; reputation for greatness of, 156; as second-term president, 200; and summit diplomacy, 50, 87–91, 225
- Roosevelt, Kermit, 107
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 25, 34, 55–6, 65, 80, 183
- Ross, Dennis, 146
- Rostov, W. W., 214
- Rostow, Eugene, 129
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 23
- Rove, Carl, 179, 183–4
- Rowney, Edward, 127
- Royal-Dutch Shell, 84
- Rubin, Michael, 198
- Rubin, Robert, 145
- rule of law, 9, 18, 40, 134, 173–4, 195
- Rumania, 51
- Rumsfeld, Donald: as adviser to Bush (G.W.), 185; and Cold War's end, 131; and Iraq, 119; and Kraemer, 127–8; misinformation spread by, 238; and neo-conservatism, 125, 127; and nuclear weapons, 164–5; oil link to Iraq invasion denied by, 166; on provocative weakness, 198–9; and Rice, 178; and think tanks, 139; and torture, 176; unpopularity of, 183–4, 198; on USSR, 129; wartime abilities of, 199
- Russia, 56–8, 158, 161, 163, 167, 178, 186. *See also* Bolsheviks; United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

- Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics, 57. *See also* United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
- Rwanda, 149, 151–2, 186
- Ryan, David, 104–5
- Ryn, Claes G., 126
- Safeguard ABM system, 127–8
- Saito, Hiroshi, 81
- SALT agreements. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation (Salt I and II) agreements
- sanctions, economic. *See* economic sanctions
- Sandinistas, 20, 36, 119, 177
- Sarajevo, 149
- Saudi Arabia: and arms trade, 148; and Bush (G.H.W.), 135–6; during Cold War, 108; and human rights, 20; and Iran–Iraq War, 119; oil pricing agreement by, 166; during post–Cold War era, 136; and privatization of oil, 167; and Roosevelt (FDR), 90–1; terror suspects interrogated in, 175–6
- Saul, John Ralston, 6, 124
- Saul, Norman E., 58
- Savimbi, Jonas, 105–6
- Scalia, Antonio, 172
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 210
- Schlesinger, James, 125, 131
- School of the Americas (SOA), 117, 122, 236
- School of the Americas Watch, 235–6
- Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, 107
- Scowcroft, Brent, 178, 180
- SDI. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- seas, freedom of. *See* freedom of the seas
- secession, right of, 141–2
- second Gulf War. *See* Iraq War
- self-determination: during Cold War, 43, 104; after Cold War, 111; as decolonization, 142; definition of, 23; and democracy, 28; denials of, 28–30, 39, 43, 47, 57–9, 64–5; and ethnic nationalism, 49–50, 149–50; and exceptionalism, 5, 22, 126; external vs. internal, 142; free market democracy as, 148; history of, 22–3; in Latin America, 25, 74; myth of, 22, 28, 61–2; and noncolonization, 25; peace linked with, 47, 50; and sovereignty, 43, 48, 140–2; and Truman, 102; and Wilson, 10, 22, 41, 47–50, 57–8, 64–7, 201; and Wilsonianism, 61–2, 141–2; after World War I, 47–50, 64
- self-possession, 3, 206
- semi-constitutional powers, 8, 112–13, 120, 132–3, 172
- Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 238, 243
- separation of powers, 111, 132. *See also* checks and balances
- September 11 attacks: and Clinton, 155; diplomatic effects of, 160, 201–2; effect on public, 156; Faustian policies after, 4; Islam labeled as evil after, 190; linked to Iraq War, 191; as motive for foreign policy, 17; and national identity, 31; and national myths, 4–5; and neo-conservatism, 126, 139; and 9/11 Commission, 179; and patriotism, 158; and provocative weakness, 128
- Serbia, 51, 154, 205
- Serbs, 142, 148–50, 153–4
- Seward, William H., 29
- shah of Iran, 107–8, 123
- Sharif, Nawaz, 123
- Sharon, Ariel, 146
- Shell, 83–4, 167
- Shiites, 135
- Siberia, 48, 57, 61, 65
- signing statements, 113, 172–3
- six-country talks on North Korea, 163–4
- Slovenia, 142
- Smith, Gaddis, 42–3, 122, 212
- Smoot–Hawley tariff, 73
- Snow, Tony, 180
- SOA. *See* School of the Americas (SOA)
- Social Security, 157, 183–4
- soft power, 65, 221
- Solidarnosc (Solidarity), 132
- Somalia, 148
- Somoza, Anastasio, 20, 121
- Son of Star Wars, 160
- South Africa, 105, 121
- South America: and Adams, 212; Cold War policies toward, 43, 122–3; and Good Neighbor policy, 71, 75; and Monroe Doctrine, 24–6, 74–5, 122; and self-determination, 43; soldiers trained by SOA, 236; and Wilson, 41; Wilson's policies in, 36–7. *See also specific country names*
- South Asia. *See* Asia
- South Korea, 121, 162–3, 178
- South Tyrol, 59–60
- sovereignty: definition of, 141; and democracy, 142; humanitarian limits on, 140–2, 192–3; and interventionism, 40, 61–2, 104, 140; need for redefinition, 140–1, 193, 195; North Korean demand for recognition of, 163; and self-determination, 22, 43, 48, 140–2; violations of, 30, 43, 49, 61–2; Wilson on, 10
- Soviets. *See* Bolsheviks; United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
- space, weaponization of, 139
- Spanish–American War, 29, 31, 33, 64–5, 137
- Special Subcommittee on Investigations of the House Committee on International Relations, 109
- Spengler, Oswald, 2
- Spy Who Came In from the Cold, The* (Le Carre), 19
- Stalin, Joseph, 88–90, 107. *See also* United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)



## Index

305

- Standard-Vacuum Oil Company (Stanvac), 83–4
- Star Wars, 148
- START treaties. *See* Strategic Arms Reduction (START) treaties
- State of Denial* (Woodward), 198
- state terrorism. *See* terrorism
- “State Terrorism versus Humanitarian Law” (Falk), 227
- Stiglitz, Joseph, 145
- Stilwell, Joseph W., 89
- Stimson Doctrine, 78–9
- Stimson, Henry, 78–9, 83–6, 95–7, 227
- Stone, William J., 46
- Strait of Hormuz, 165
- Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT I and II) agreements, 125, 130
- Strategic Arms Reduction (START I & II) treaties, 130, 161, 208–9
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 128, 130, 148, 160
- strategic trade policy, 110–11
- Strauss, Leo, 125
- Sudan, 148, 154, 186
- summit diplomacy, 87–91
- sunshine policy, 162–3
- superiority of U.S.: of economic system, 41, 74; influence on foreign policy, 10, 15, 17, 34; and nationalism, 23, 40; and neo-conservatism, 125–6, 169; Wilson’s belief in, 3. *See also* national myths; universal morality
- Supreme Court, 20, 113, 172–4, 182, 184
- surveillance programs, domestic, 157, 171–3, 181, 184, 200, 202, 252
- Syria, 53, 55, 138–9, 163, 175–6, 193, 198, 202
- Taba, 147
- Taft, Robert, 94, 101
- Taft, William Howard, 34–6, 40, 56, 65
- Taiwan, 109
- Taliban, 117–19, 123, 136, 139, 175
- Tanzania, 104, 146
- tariffs, 69, 73, 76, 109–10, 123, 144
- tax cuts, 157, 183–4
- Team B, 128–30, 132, 185
- Tehran summit, 89
- Teller Amendment, 29
- Teller, Edward, 129
- Tenet, George J., 179
- territorial expansion: as foreign policy goal, 2, 30, 64; Japanese, 57, 80–2, 84; and Manifest Destiny, 24; and Puritans, 1; and self-determination, 28; and Seward, 29; Soviet, 90, 94–5. *See also* economic expansionism
- terrorism: breeding grounds for, 6, 118; and Clinton, 146, 148, 154–5; and globalization, 158; influence on national goals, 191; and Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), 153; presidential authority against, 169; state practice of, 12, 117, 186; state sponsors of, 164; U.S. asserts right to preemptive action against, 146. *See also* war on terrorism
- Terrorist Surveillance Act, 172
- theater missile defenses (TMDs), 148
- think tanks, 138–9, 164
- Third Way globalism, 145
- Thomas, Clarence, 172
- Thomas, Raju G. C., 142
- Thornburg, Max, 90–1
- Tibet, 186
- Tilden, Samuel V., 38
- Tito, Josip Broz, 89
- torture: of Armenians, 52; as defined by MCA, 174; and Detainee Amendment, 172–3; as foreign policy component, 116; of Murad, 155; and Operation Condor, 117; by SOA-trained soldiers, 236; by U.S., 169–70, 174–6, 195, 200, 202
- Torture Memo, 175
- totalitarianism vs. authoritarianism, 121
- “Toward a New World Order” (Bush), 134
- trade bans and embargoes: on arms, 78, 149, 186; against Haiti, 151; against Japan, 83–6; against North Korea, 162–3; by OPEC, 108; against South Africa, 105. *See also* arms trade; economic sanctions
- trade deficits. *See* balance of trade
- Trade Expansion Act, 231
- Trade Promotion Authority, 158
- trans-Arabian pipeline, 90
- transformationalism, 179–81, 203
- Treaty of Berlin, 51
- Treaty of Lausanne, 56
- Treaty of Sèvres, 55–6
- Treaty of Versailles, 51, 56, 59, 63
- tribalism, 144
- Tribulation, 190
- Tripartite Pact, 80, 83
- triumphalism, 7, 9, 93, 140, 149
- Trotsky, Leon, 48
- Trotter, William Monroe, 39–40
- Truman Doctrine, 97–8, 100, 235–6
- Truman, Harry S., 202; as accidental president, 183; and atomic bomb, 93, 95–7, 227; crisis management of, 183; decision-making characteristics of, 97–8, 228; on freedom, 100; and Korean War, 116; leadership failures, 94–5, 97; oil diplomacy of, 107; after Roosevelt’s death, 91; and self-determination, 102
- Tucker, Robert W., 109
- Türk, Danilo, 229
- Turkey, 51–3, 55–6, 66, 100, 136, 168
- Turkmenistan, 136
- Tutsis, 104, 152
- Tyler, John, 183

- Uganda, 104
- Ukraine, 47–8, 60
- UN. *See* United Nations
- UN Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH), 151
- UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), 151
- UN Security Council. *See* United Nations
- unilateral executive authority, 33–4, 100
- unilateral internationalism: and Clinton, 146; future of, 20–1; history of, 7–9; and neo-conservatism, 138; and post–Cold War presidents, 140; and Roosevelt (FDR), 76; and self-determination, 64; and Wilsonianism, 10. *See also* independent internationalism
- unilateralism: and Bush (G.W.), 160–1, 168–70, 186; during Cold War, 122; and free trade, 109; and Japan, 81; and Monroe Doctrine, 25; and New Deal policies, 76; in post–Cold War era, 148; and war on terrorism, 193; after World War I, 69
- UNITA. *See* National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)
- unitary executive theory, 172–3, 180
- United Arab Emirates, 108
- United Nations: and Atlantic Charter, 87; and Bolton, 177; and Bush (G.H.W.), 134–5; and Bush (G.W.), 165, 171, 177, 195; Charter of, 60, 104, 120, 142, 169, 188; and Clinton, 146; during Cold War, 100, 103–4; and decolonization, 105; future of, 192–3; and Haiti, 151, 162; human rights conventions, 20, 150, 211; and Israel, 147; and minority rights, 60, 140–1; neo-conservative disdain for cooperation with, 169; North Korea sanctioned by, 163–4; and Persian Gulf War, 135; Resolution 678, 135; secession rights, 141–2; Security Council, 116, 135, 151, 169; and self-determination, 141–2; and sovereignty, 140–1, 195; U.S. relationship with, 122
- United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): and Afghanistan, 117–18; and Carter, 117, 188; as characterized by U.S., 99, 126, 128; collapse of Communism in, 131–2, 178; and Committee on the Present Danger, 129–30; Gorbachev's reforms, 118, 132; and Iran, 107–8; privatization of oil after collapse of, 167; and provocative weakness, 128; and Reagan, 121; recognition of, 69; and Rice, 178; and summit diplomacy, 88–90; territorial expansion of, 90, 94–5; and United Nations, 134–5. *See also* Bolsheviks; Russia
- United States and Decolonization, The* (Ryan and Pungong), 104–5
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 104
- universal morality, 11, 14, 16–17, 87–8, 126, 134, 169, 208. *See also* moralism; moralistic diplomacy; morality; superiority of U.S.
- universal principles: and anti-Communist containment, 98; and Atlantic Charter, 87–8; and Bush Doctrine, 170, 196; and globalism, 207; and neo-conservatism, 126, 169; and Wilson, 11, 36–7, 40–1, 46–7
- Unocal, 136, 139
- U.S. Army School of the Americas (SOA), 117, 122, 236
- USS *Cole*, 155
- USS *Greer*, 81
- USS *Quincy*, 90
- USSR. *See* United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
- Uzbekistan, 186
- Van Cleave, William, 130
- Van Impe, Jack, 190
- Venezuela, 71
- Versailles Peace Conference. *See* Paris Peace Conference (at Versailles)
- victim mentality. *See* innocence, loss of
- Vietnam, 104
- Vietnam War: CIA assessments of, 128; compared to Iraq War, 202; economic costs of, 122–4; ending of, 50, 112, 184–5, 197–8; and executive power, 133, 240; Faustian tactics used during, 12, 116–17, 202; Johnson's (LBJ) personalization of, 188; and morality, 96, 210; and neo-conservatism, 125
- Vietnamization, 124–5, 196–7, 235–6
- Viguerie, Richard, 125
- Virgin Islands, 65
- virtuousness: and American Century, 92, 94; and American empire, 15, 17, 21; and Bush (G.W.), 158, 180, 194; and ethics, 17–18; and exceptionalism, 3; Faustian policies linked with, 2; and Wilson, 13. *See also* national myths
- Vloyantes, John, 65, 221
- Volcker, Paul A., 109
- Walden, George S., 84
- Wallace, Henry, 84–5, 93–4, 100–1
- Walters, Vernon A., 127
- war: Arendt on, 217; and democracy, 5, 143; and God, 189–90; lessons of, 202; and modern presidency, 113; in the name of peace, 17, 202; Niebuhr on, 96; preemptive vs. preventive, 170–1; Wilson's conclusions on, 61
- war crimes, 18, 174, 186, 193
- war debts. *See* debts and deficits
- war on terrorism: Bush (G.W.) on length of, 202; citizen participation required during, 157–8; and civil liberties, 157, 171–2;

## Index

307

- cooperative diplomacy necessary in, 193;  
costs of, 158; diplomacy based on, 160–1;  
long war theory, 185; and neo-conservatism,  
160, 185–6; as rationale for peace, 195. *See also* terrorism
- war powers: Church on, 132; congressional  
responsibility decreased, 112–13; and  
modern presidents, 116–17; presidential use  
of undeclared war, 36, 81, 117, 135
- War Powers Resolution, 113, 120
- Warburg, Max, 72
- warrantless eavesdropping. *See* surveillance  
programs, domestic
- Washington Consensus, 6, 144–6
- Washington, George, 24, 26, 32–3
- Washington–Wall Street consensus, 123
- Watergate affair, 112, 120, 125–6, 133, 183,  
240
- weapons of mass destruction: as crime against  
humanity, 97, 194; Iran-Iraq War use of,  
119; Iraq's possession of, 130, 137, 167,  
170–1, 200, 238; and neo-conservatism,  
138; and preemptive diplomacy, 170; and  
War Powers Resolution, 113. *See also*  
nuclear weapons
- Webster, Daniel, 29
- Weinberger, Casper W., 120
- Western Hemisphere Institute for Security  
Cooperation, 236
- Weyrich, Paul, 125
- Wilkerson, Lawrence, 176
- Williams, John Sharp, 52
- Wilson, Joseph Ruggles, 37–8
- Wilson, Woodrow: Allies disliked by, 55, 219;  
on Armenia, 52–4, 244; background of,  
37–8, 41; on the Balkans, 148; and Central  
America, 36–7; compared to other  
presidents, 135, 189; *Constitutional  
Government*, 39; deception of the public by,  
61; on exceptionalism, 46–7; and  
exceptionalism, 126, 201; Faustian policies  
of, 4, 42, 45, 50, 60; fear of Communism  
(Bolshevism), 54, 56–7; and Haiti, 36, 40,  
43, 151, 161–2; health problems of, 38, 49,  
55, 215–16; *History of the American People*,  
39; and human or minority rights, 38, 56,  
58–60, 66–7, 104; and Japan, 80; and Latin  
America, 35–6, 74; League of Nations  
supported by, 10, 33, 56, 58–9, 64, 188;  
legacy of, 9–12, 43, 58, 60–7, 104, 203;  
Monroe Doctrine transformed by, 41–4;  
moralism of, 10, 41, 45–7, 50, 67; and  
neutrality, 45–7, 78, 217; paternalism of,  
36–7, 39–41; on peace, 66; on presidential  
powers, 114; racism of, 37–40, 56, 66–7,  
216; secrecy of, 13, 57; and  
self-determination, 10, 22, 41, 47–50, 57–8,  
64–7, 141–2, 201; and self-possession, 3,  
206; and South America, 36–7; and  
sovereignty, 10, 141–2; and universal  
principles, 11, 36–7, 40–1, 46–7; war beliefs  
of, 61; and war debts, 72; before World War  
I, 39–41; during World War I, 45–7; after  
World War I, 47–51. *See also* Wilsonianism
- Wilsonian Century, The* (Ninkovich),  
61
- Wilsonianism: and Cold War, 10–11, 13, 104;  
definition of, 60–1; and exceptionalism, 11,  
126; and Faustian policies, 13–14, 60;  
foreign policy practices characterized by,  
207; and Hoover, 74; and liberal capitalist  
internationalism, 10, 61–2, 77, 100–1;  
negative version, 10–11, 19, 61–2, 104, 208;  
positive version, 10, 61, 74, 208; and self-  
determination, 22, 62, 141–2. *See also*  
Wilson, Woodrow
- Winthrop, John, 3, 201
- wiretaps. *See* surveillance programs, domestic
- Wohlstetter, Albert, 127–8
- Wolfowitz Doctrine, 138, 155
- Wolfowitz, Paul: during Bush (G.W.)  
administration, 177, 185; during Clinton  
administration, 138; and Cold War's end,  
131; and Defense Planning Guidance, 138; as  
early neo-conservative, 125, 127; and Iraqi  
oil reserves, 167; on Kraemer, 128;  
misinformation spread by, 238; and Team B,  
129; and think tanks, 139
- women, 23, 40, 140, 143, 161–2,  
211
- Wood, Leonard, 29
- Woodward, Bob, 187–9, 198
- Woolsey, James, 16, 125
- World Bank, 122–3, 144–5, 177
- World Court, 18, 68, 120, 169
- World Food Program, 106
- world peace. *See* peace
- World Trade Center attacks, 146, 154–5
- World Trade Organization (WTO),  
144–6
- World War Foreign Debt Commission, 72
- World War I: economic disruption of, 63, 69;  
effects of, on Wilson, 41; Faustian aspects  
of, 4, 45–7; and Monroe Doctrine, 41–3;  
reparations for, 51; as singular historical  
event, 49–50, 61
- World War II: and atomic bomb, 95–7; causes  
of, 77, 84–7; legacy of, 94; peace terms  
misunderstood, 90; in popular memory,  
92–3, 95; postwar problems, 99–101,  
103–5; postwar world visions, 93–4;  
summits during, 87–91; unconditional  
surrender demanded, 89; U.S. entry into,  
80–1, 86–7, 93
- WTO. *See* World Trade Organization (WTO)
- Wurmser, David, 138
- Wurmser, Meyrav, 138
- Wye River Memorandum, 146

308

Xinjiang, 186

Yalta Summit, 50, 89–90

Yeltsin, Boris, 152

Yeman, 108

Yoo, John, 172, 175–6

Young, Owen D., 72

Young Plan, 72

Young Turks, 51–2

Yugoslavia, 89, 147–50, 153

Zaire, 151

Zakaria, Fareed, 194–5

Zia ul-Haq, 118, 123

Zumwalt, Elmo, 125, 129,  
131*Index*