



▲ William Howard Taft

◀ Newspaper announcing Taft's goal

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Dollars for Bullets

Like President Roosevelt, President William Howard Taft stressed the need to assert American power around the world. Taft's "dollar diplomacy" aimed to expand American investments abroad:

"The diplomacy of the present administration . . . has been characterized as substituting dollars for bullets. . . . It is [a policy] frankly directed to the increase of American trade upon the axiomatic principle that the government of the United States shall extend all proper support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad."

—President William Howard Taft, 1912

The United States and Latin America

Objectives

- Examine what happened to Puerto Rico and Cuba after the Spanish-American War.
- Analyze the effects of Roosevelt's "big stick" diplomacy.
- Compare Wilson's "moral diplomacy" with the foreign policies of his predecessors.

Terms and People

Foraker Act	Roosevelt Corollary
Platt Amendment	"dollar diplomacy"
"big stick" diplomacy	"moral diplomacy"
Panama Canal	Francisco "Pancho" Villa

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details

Complete a table like the one below to note how the U.S. dealt with Puerto Rico and Cuba.

American Policy After Spanish-American War	
Puerto Rico	Cuba
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foraker Act establishes civil government in 1900 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

Why It Matters As the United States tentatively asserted its interests in East Asia, Americans called for a more aggressive role in Latin America. American entrepreneurs and government leaders viewed the region as the nation's backyard and as a sphere of influence from which other great powers should be excluded. American influence in Latin America brought obvious benefits to the United States, but it also contributed to anti-American hostility and instability in the region. **Section Focus Question:** What actions did the United States take to achieve its goals in Latin America?

U.S. Policy in Puerto Rico and Cuba

America's victory over Spain liberated the Puerto Rican and Cuban people from Spanish rule. But victory left the fates of these islands unresolved. Would Puerto Rico and Cuba become independent nations? Or would they become colonies of the United States? As questions lingered in the aftermath of war, the United States assumed control in Puerto Rico and Cuba.


Civil Government in Puerto Rico As the smoke from the Spanish-American War cleared, Puerto Rico remained under direct U.S. military rule. In 1900, Congress passed the **Foraker Act**, which established a civil government in Puerto Rico. The act authorized the President of the United States to appoint a governor and part of the Puerto Rican legislature. Puerto Ricans could fill the rest of the legislature in a general election.

Whether Puerto Ricans could enjoy citizenship rights in the United States, however, remained unclear. This unusual situation led to a series of court cases, known as Insular Cases, in which the Supreme Court determined the rights of Puerto Ricans. One case examined whether the U.S. government could assess taxes on Puerto Rican goods sold in the United States. The Supreme Court ruled the taxes legal and determined that Puerto Ricans did not enjoy the same rights as U.S. citizens.

In 1917, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Jones-Shafroth Act. It granted Puerto Ricans more citizenship rights and gave the islanders greater control over their own legislature. Still, many Puerto Ricans expressed their discontent because they did not enjoy all of the same rights as Americans.

United States Establishes Cuban Protectorate Although the Treaty of Paris granted Cuban independence, the United States Army did not withdraw from the island until 1902. But before the U.S. military left, Congress obliged Cuba to add to its constitution the **Platt Amendment**. The amendment restricted the rights of newly independent Cubans and effectively brought the island within the U.S. sphere. It prevented Cuba from signing a treaty with another nation without American approval. It also required Cuba to lease naval stations to the United States. Additionally, the Platt Amendment granted the United States the “right to intervene” to preserve order in Cuba.

Many Cubans strongly disliked the Platt Amendment but soon realized that America would not otherwise end its military government of the island. The United States, for its part, was unwilling to risk Cuba’s becoming a base for a potentially hostile great power. Cuba thus added the Platt Amendment to its constitution as part of a treaty with the United States. The treaty made Cuba a protectorate of the United States and governed their relationship for decades.

 **Checkpoint** Why did Cubans dislike the Platt Amendment?

Roosevelt Pursues “Big Stick” Diplomacy

Upon assuming the presidency after McKinley’s assassination, Theodore Roosevelt promoted a new kind of diplomacy based on America’s success in the Spanish-American War. Beyond determining what would happen to Puerto Rico and Cuba, Roosevelt developed a broader policy for U.S. action in Latin America. Historians have called this Roosevelt’s **“big stick” diplomacy** since it depended on a strong military to achieve America’s goals. “Big stick” stemmed from the President’s admiration for an old African saying, “Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.”

Roosevelt’s view that America needed to carry a big stick during the Age of Imperialism flowed from his adherence to balance-of-power principles and from his view of the United States as a special nation with a moral responsibility to “civilize,” or uplift, weaker nations. In this sense, the new President held beliefs similar to those of other imperial powers in Europe and Asia. Roosevelt also felt that America’s elite—its statesmen and captains of industry—had to accept the challenge of international leadership.

Vocabulary Builder

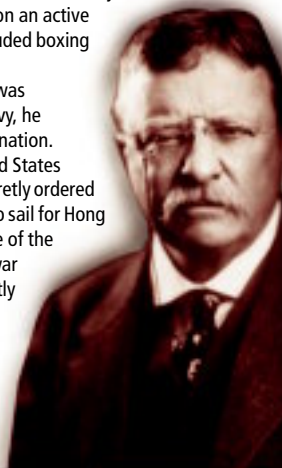
assess—(uh SEHS) *v.* to impose a fine, tax, or special payment on a person or property

HISTORY MAKERS

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919)

As a boy, Theodore Roosevelt suffered from asthma and poor eyesight. Determined not to be held back by physical limitations, he took on an active program of exercise that included boxing and horseback riding.

In 1898, when Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he again showcased his determination. Two months before the United States declared war on Spain, he secretly ordered Commodore George Dewey to sail for Hong Kong, within striking distance of the Philippines. Thus, when the war began, U.S. ships were instantly ready to attack the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Soon after Dewey’s victory, Roosevelt resigned from his post and organized the Rough Riders.



The Panama Canal

The construction of the Panama Canal was a monumental engineering feat. It fulfilled a vision of shortening the travel distance between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans that traced back to when the Spanish first began shipping gold and silver from the Americas in the 1500s. To complete the canal, workers built a series of locks to raise ships to the level of Gatún Lake, 85 feet above sea level, to cross the isthmus. (See the diagram below.) From 1904 to 1913, tens of thousands of laborers worked on the canal. In the end, the challenge of the landscape was overshadowed by the threat of the deadly mosquito, which spread yellow fever and malaria. "If we do not control malaria, our mortality is going to be heavy," warned Dr. William Gorgas, a United States Army surgeon. He convinced the chief engineer that fighting the mosquito was vital to keeping American steam shovels in action.



▲ In 1898, the U.S. battleship *Oregon* raced around South America to fight the Spanish in Cuba. Without a Central American canal to shorten its voyage to Florida, the *Oregon* spent more than two months at sea.



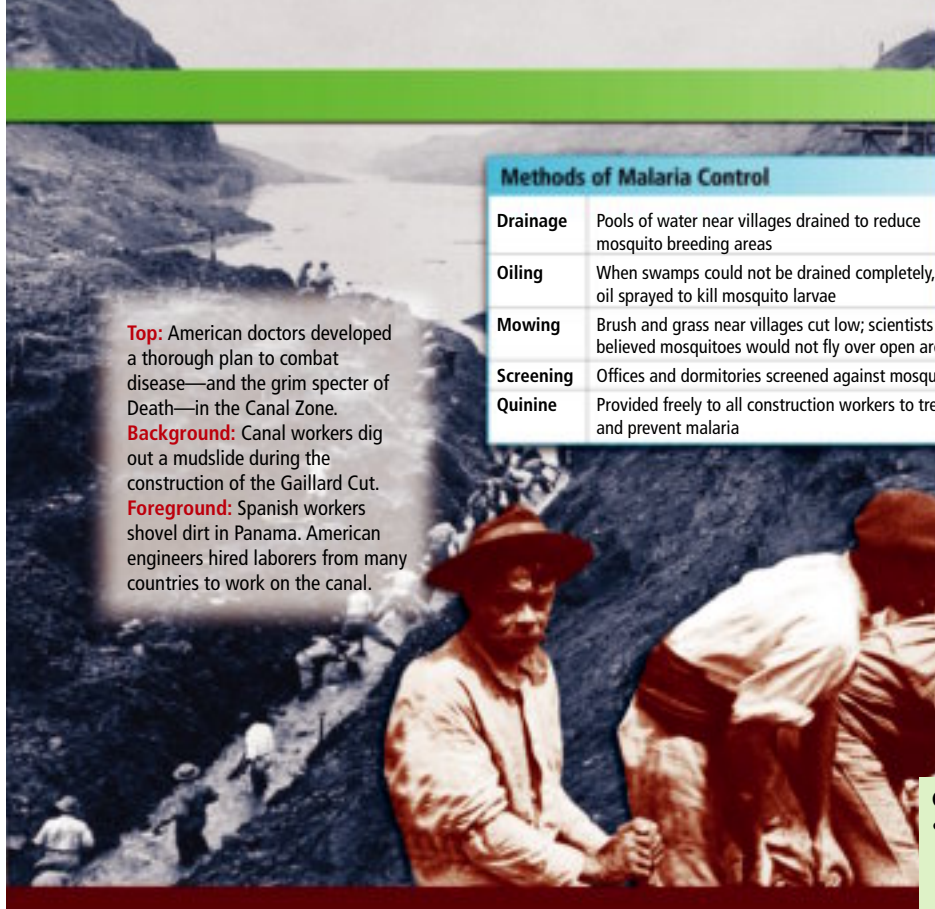
Vocabulary Builder

nevertheless—(nehv er thuh LEHS) *adv.* in spite of that; however

America Builds the Panama Canal Although the plan to dig a canal across Central America did not originate with Roosevelt, he nevertheless played a crucial role in its history. In the late 1800s, a French company had tried to link the Atlantic to the Pacific across the Isthmus of Panama but failed. Afterward, some suggested building a canal through Nicaragua. However, those plans came to nothing. Eventually, an agent from the French company that had abandoned its canal attempt convinced the United States to buy the company's claim. In 1903, the U.S. government bought the Panama route for \$40 million.

Before it could build a canal through Panama, however, the United States needed the consent of the Colombian government. At that time, Panama was part of independent Colombia. American efforts to negotiate a purchase of land across the isthmus stalled when Colombia demanded more than the United States was willing to provide.

So Roosevelt stepped in. The President dispatched U.S. warships to the waters off Panama to support a Panamanian rebellion against Colombia. The appearance of the United States Navy convinced the Colombians not to suppress the uprising. Panama soon declared its independence from Colombia. The new nation immediately granted America control over the "Canal Zone." To secure this land for its vital trade link, America agreed to pay Panama \$10 million and an annual rent of \$250,000.



Top: American doctors developed a thorough plan to combat disease—and the grim specter of Death—in the Canal Zone.

Background: Canal workers dig out a mudslide during the construction of the Gaillard Cut.

Foreground: Spanish workers shovel dirt in Panama. American engineers hired laborers from many countries to work on the canal.

Methods of Malaria Control

Drainage	Pools of water near villages drained to reduce mosquito breeding areas
Oiling	When swamps could not be drained completely, oil sprayed to kill mosquito larvae
Mowing	Brush and grass near villages cut low; scientists believed mosquitoes would not fly over open areas
Screening	Offices and dormitories screened against mosquitoes
Quinine	Provided freely to all construction workers to treat and prevent malaria



Geography and History

- By how much did the canal shorten the distance between San Francisco and Jupiter, Florida?
- Which methods of malaria control involved direct changes to the physical environment of the Canal Zone?

More than 35,000 workers helped dig the **Panama Canal**, often in very difficult conditions. Completion of the canal depended on scientific breakthroughs by doctors as they learned how to combat tropical diseases. Still, more than 5,000 canal workers died from disease or accidents while building the canal. When the finished waterway opened in 1914, it cut some 8,000 nautical miles off the trip from the west coast to the east coast of the United States.

Roosevelt Updates the Monroe Doctrine In the early 1900s, the inability of Latin American nations to pay their debts to foreign investors raised the possibility of European intervention. In 1903, for example, Germany and Britain blockaded Venezuelan ports to ensure that debts to European bankers were repaid. Roosevelt concluded: “If we intend to say hands off to the powers of Europe, then sooner or later we must keep order ourselves.” So in a 1904 message to Congress, he announced a new Latin American policy.

The President’s **Roosevelt Corollary** updated the Monroe Doctrine for an age of economic imperialism. In the case of “chronic wrongdoing” by a Latin American nation—the kind that Europeans might use to justify military intervention—the United States would assume the role of police power, restoring order and depriving other creditors of the excuse to intervene. This change, Roosevelt argued, merely reasserted America’s long-standing policy of keeping the Western Hemisphere free from European intervention.

U.S. Interventions in Latin America

Geography Interactive

For: Interactive map
Web Code: nep-0508



Map Skills The United States repeatedly intervened in the affairs of its Latin American neighbors from the time of the Spanish-American War through the early 1900s.

- 1. Locate:** (a) Cuba, (b) Mexico, (c) Veracruz, (d) Nicaragua, (e) Panama Canal Zone
- 2. Place** Why was Panama an ideal place for the construction of a canal?
- 3. Analyze** Why was Cuba vital to U.S. operations in Central America and the Caribbean?


◀ Wielding the Big Stick

With his update to the Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt wanted only "to see neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous." But if those governments were to collapse, the United States stood ready to restore order and prevent European intervention.

Latin Americans React to the Roosevelt Corollary Many Latin Americans resented America's role as the hemisphere's police force. They disagreed with Roosevelt's belief that Latin Americans could not police themselves. Francisco García Calderón, a Peruvian diplomat, contended that the Monroe Doctrine had taken on an "aggressive form with Mr. Roosevelt." Like Calderón, Nicaraguan spokesman Augusto Sandino felt that the United States threatened the "sovereignty and liberty" of his people. Sandino eventually led an army of guerrillas against U.S. Marines in Nicaragua in the 1920s.

Taft Switches to Dollar Diplomacy Roosevelt handpicked William Howard Taft to succeed him as the Republican candidate for President in 1908. Taft shared Roosevelt's basic foreign policy objectives. After defeating William Jennings Bryan in the general election, Taft wanted to maintain the Open Door Policy in Asia and ensure ongoing stability in Latin America. The new President pursued both goals with the aim of expanding American trade.

Taft hoped to achieve these ends by relying less on the "big stick" and more on "**dollar diplomacy**." As Taft commented in 1912, he looked to substitute "dollars for bullets." The policy aimed to increase American investments in businesses and banks throughout Central America and the Caribbean. Americans busily invested in plantations, mines, oil wells, railways, and other ventures in those regions. Of course, "dollar diplomacy" sometimes required a return to the "big stick" and military intervention. Such was the case when President Taft dispatched troops to Nicaragua in 1909—and again in 1912—to protect the formation of a pro-American government there.

 **Checkpoint** What were Roosevelt's most important foreign-policy initiatives in Latin America?

Wilson Pursues Moral Diplomacy

During the 1912 presidential election campaign, Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson criticized the foreign policies of his Republican predecessors Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. After his election victory, Wilson appointed the anti-imperialist William Jennings Bryan as Secretary of State, which sent a strong message to the American people.

The U.S. Supports Honest Government in Latin America The new President intended to take U.S. foreign policy in a different direction. He promised that the United States would "never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest" but would instead work to promote "human rights, national integrity, and opportunity." Wilson spelled out his new "**moral diplomacy**" in a message to the American people:

Primary Source

"We must prove ourselves [Latin America's] friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor. . . . We must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our own interest or not. . . . Comprehension must be the soil in which shall grow all the fruits of friendship. . . . I mean the development of constitutional liberty in the world."

—Woodrow Wilson, October 27, 1913

In spite of his stated preference for "moral diplomacy" over "big stick" or "dollar diplomacy," Wilson used the military on a number of occasions to guide Latin Americans in the directions that he thought proper. In 1915, Wilson sent marines to Haiti to protect American investments and to guard against the potential of German or French aggression in the nation. Wilson prodded the government of Haiti to sign an agreement that essentially gave the United

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Compare As you read, compare Wilson's moral diplomacy with the foreign policies of Roosevelt and Taft by completing a flowchart like the one below.

United States Foreign Policy		
Roosevelt	Taft	Wilson
<ul style="list-style-type: none">•• Supported rebellion in Panama	<ul style="list-style-type: none">••	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• "Moral diplomacy"•

INTERVENTION IN MEXICO: THE HUNT FOR PANCHO VILLA

On March 9, 1916, the Mexican rebel Francisco “Pancho” Villa and his gang of outlaws attacked Columbus, New Mexico, killing 18 Americans. An enraged President Wilson dispatched General John J. Pershing to hunt Villa down. Equipped for the first time with airplanes such as the Curtiss JN-3 to support its movements in the field, the U.S. Army pushed 400 miles into Mexico. The Americans chased Villa for 11 months in spite of protests from the Mexican government and occasional clashes with the Mexican army. Preoccupied more by the ongoing war in Europe than by the apprehension of Villa, Wilson ultimately withdrew Pershing’s army in early 1917.



Thinking Critically

1. Analyze Information

Do you think Pershing’s expedition violated the ideals of “moral diplomacy”? Explain.

2. Draw Conclusions

Why would American commanders be eager to test new military technology in the field against Villa?



States the right to control its financial and foreign affairs. The marines did not leave until 1934. Under Wilson, U.S. soldiers and sailors also intervened in the Dominican Republic and in Mexico.

Revolution Grips Mexico For decades, Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz had benefited his country's small upper class of wealthy landowners, clerics, and military men. With Díaz's encouragement, foreign investments in Mexico grew. As a result, American business people owned large portions of Mexico's industries. While foreign investors and Mexico's aristocracy grew rich, Mexico's large population of farmers struggled in poverty.


In 1911, Francisco Madero led the Mexican Revolution that toppled Díaz. Madero was committed to reforms but was a weak administrator. In 1913, General Victoriano Huerta seized power and executed Madero. Under “dollar diplomacy,” Taft probably would have recognized Huerta as the leader of Mexico because Huerta pledged to protect American investments. But under “moral diplomacy,” Wilson refused to do so, declaring that he would not accept a “government of butchers.” Instead, Wilson favored Venustiano Carranza, another reformer, who had organized anti-Huerta forces.

Wilson Sends U.S. Troops Into Mexico In 1914, the President used the Mexican arrest of American sailors as an opportunity to help Carranza attain power. Wilson sent marines to occupy the Mexican port of Veracruz. The action caused Huerta’s government to collapse, and Carranza assumed the presidency.

Huerta’s fall from power cheered many Mexicans and appeared to validate Wilson’s “moral diplomacy.” However, Wilson soon discovered that he faced more trouble in Mexico. The new Carranza government was slow in bringing about reforms, and rebels again rose up, this time under the leadership of **Francisco “Pancho” Villa**. For a while, Wilson courted Villa. After American support disappeared in 1916, Villa’s forces crossed into New Mexico and raided the town of Columbus, leaving 18 Americans dead. President Wilson responded by sending General John J. Pershing and more than 10,000 troops on a “punitive expedition” to Mexico.

Pershing’s forces chased Villa for several months but failed to capture the rebel leader. Wilson eventually withdrew American troops from Mexico in 1917, mostly because of his concerns about World War I raging in Europe. Not long afterward, the United States declared war on Germany. Free from hunting Villa, Pershing took command of the American Expeditionary Force in France.

A generation earlier, few would have believed it possible that more than one million American troops would engage in a large-scale war in Europe. But the triumph over Spain and U.S. actions in Asia and Latin America demonstrated that America had emerged as a world power. Now, World War I would test that new global strength.

 **Checkpoint** What was “moral diplomacy”?

SECTION

4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0510

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** Define each term below. How are they similar? How are they different?
 - “big stick” diplomacy
 - “dollar diplomacy”
 - “moral diplomacy”

- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details** Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: What actions did the United States take to achieve its goals in Latin America?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Write a Conclusion** A narrative essay should include a conclusion that wraps up the events described in your story. Suppose that you want to write a narrative from the perspective of United States Army General John J. Pershing as he pursued “Pancho” Villa through northern Mexico. Write a conclusion to the story Pershing would tell of the pursuit.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Analyze Geography** What impact did the building of the Panama Canal have on American trade?
- 5. Identify Assumptions** How do the Platt Amendment and the Roosevelt Corollary reflect similar assumptions about the governments of Latin American nations?
- 6. Draw Conclusions** Do you think Woodrow Wilson succeeded in carrying out the principle of “moral diplomacy” in Latin America? Explain.