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Do It As Wilson Says

The Wilsonian approach concerning US foreign policy.



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Do It as Wilsons Says!

Authors: Ellias Aghili Dehnavi, Mobin Karbasi

To Payam and Ali:

Sorry for that night in the restaurant

But it was all fun.

*And also To Roland, not the Weasley but the Von Hinuber who is
even more magical!*

Winter, 2019

Abstract

Generally, four approaches to US foreign policy can be explained. According to the tradition of Jacksonism, the United States, as the dominant power, provides global leadership to stabilize the political order and regulate the international economic system, and to prevent the emergence of a dominant power in order to maintain the balance of global power. According to the tradition of Hamiltonianism, the United States avoids thorny external obligations that harm its economy, society, and system of government. St. Wilsonism believes that the United States should support foreign freedom by expanding free markets, democracy, human rights, and national autonomy. The present study examines the Wilsonian approach concerning US foreign policy.

The fundamental question that has been raised and examined in this context is what are the foundations of the Wilsonian approach and what impact has it had on US foreign policy? The present study is a descriptive-analytical study using the library research method to investigate the question. The results of the study indicate that Wilsonism seems to reject "national interests" as a measure of national selfishness to interfere in the world and does not believe in interfering in different parts of the world to achieve national interests. In this school of thought, the goal of war is to rebuild the world based on the American model.

B- Transformation of the world system; Wilsonism does not see the principle of balance of power in the world as a good principle for American foreign policy.

1 .Introduction

There are four traditions in US foreign policy that overlap, reinforce, and sometimes contradict each other in a relationship: the tradition of Hamiltonism, which pursues national interests and economics wisely; The tradition of Jeffersonism, which focuses on the repeated use of force, coercion, and self-help, and another group, which portrays democracy as a shining beacon for others; and finally, Wilsonism, which is idealistic and considers democracy to build a safe world. Each of these traditions has its own unique characteristics; Hamiltonism is cautious, and its realism causes it to ignore moral attractions. Jacksonism is strong and hard, and this issue will lead to a lack of cooperation with others due to the strong emphasis on power. Thus, it can be said that Hamiltonianism and Jacksonism are inefficient in soft power; while Jeffersonism, on the other hand, has a lot of soft power and not enough hard power. Wilsonism has been able to be largely moderate (largely soft power and little hard power). While Hamiltonianism and Jeffersonism are cautious and conservative in foreign policy, the Wilsonians sought an opportunity to turn it into an international situation.

The focus of the present study is on the Wilsonian approach considering American foreign policy. Woodrow Wilson declared in 1919 that we were setting up this country to free the captives from the hands and feet of human beings, and do not limit this goal to the borders of the United States. Today, however, decision-makers play a key role in the foreign policy process; but it should not be assumed that national goals and interests arise from the minds of policymakers without preamble and are implemented in the form of specific policies and orientations. In many cases, these decisions are the result of values and beliefs, historical and cultural contexts, domestic needs, and the structure of the international system, based on which they provide reasons and justifications for policy makers to make decisions and set goals. Finally, it identifies a set of variables that can be used to evaluate one's own behavior as well as the actions of others. Accordingly, the study of the foreign policy of countries and great powers should be done according to the political traditions, values, concepts and broad meanings of the culture of liberalism in those countries. Liberal ideas are the source of liberal foreign policy, and this is the difference point between the foreign policy of liberal democracies and other non-liberal governments. This study examines the question of what are the foundations of Wilsonism in American foreign policy and what effect has it had on US foreign policy? In order to study and answer the question, first, Wilsonism in American foreign policy is explained and then the impact of this approach on American foreign policy is examined.

2. Wilson in American Foreign Policy

This section examines Wilson in US foreign policy and the components of this approach.

2-1- Formation of Wilsonism approach

It was a pivotal year, 1917, in the history of American foreign policy; in April of that year, the idealistic President Wilson announced his country's entry into World War I in response to repeated German submarine attacks on passenger ships. In doing so, he effectively abolished the Monroe tradition of continental isolationism and replaced it with an active foreign policy on the US diplomatic order which is also referred to as internationalism in the literature of international relations. The announcement of US entry into the war in April 1917 undoubtedly boosted the Allies' hopes of victory, but its effects required a one-year deadline; because the United States had no army and had to go to war after its creation. The first American units arrived in Europe in the fall of 1917, and their effective arrival began in the summer. However, with the United States entering the war, the Allies had more hope and were thus able to overcome the Axis Powers on various fronts and end the war that had overshadowed Europe continent for about four years. At the end of the war, a peace conference was held in Paris, the first agenda of which was the peaceful settlement of disputes between countries. The conference was an exceptional opportunity for Wilson to implement the fourteen principles he had set out on January 8, 1918, for the peaceful management of international relations.

Wilson's fourteen principles are (Naqibzadeh, 2009):

1. Open diplomacy and dialogue between states and the prohibition of any confidential agreement or personal understanding of international affairs
2. Freedom of shipping at sea; Both in time of peace and in time of war, with the exception of coastal waters
3. Removing customs barriers and establishing equality and freedom in trade
4. Reduction of weapons to the minimum necessary to maintain their internal security.
5. Fair and open settlement of colonial disputes
6. Evacuation of Russian territory and help Russia choose its political development and national policy.
7. Re-independence of Belgium

8. The evacuation of France and the return of Alsace and Laurent to this country (France in the nineteenth century) and the reform of Prussian behavior

9. Italy had to achieve its national borders again

10. Allowing the right of destiny self-determination to nations living in Austria - Hungary

11. The evacuation of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania and the just settlement of the Balkan disputes

12. Internal independence of Ottoman nations (Kurds, Armenians, Assyrians) and internationalization of the Dardanelles

13. Re-establishment of the Polish government with access to the sea and guarantee of its political independence and territorial integrity.

14. Establishment of Nations union to ensure the collective security, political independence and territorial integrity of all states considering large and small ones

The most important principle of his above-mentioned principles was the formation of a community of independent nations within which governments were to form their own relations. Thus, the community he was considering was formed on January 10, 1920 with forty-nine members, and it was determined that by convening certain meetings, periods, and joint actions it will implement the treaties and peace programs concluded after the First World War. To pay. Wilson also urged the United States to join the unity of independent nations, which he had proposed, and to abandon forever the policy of isolation that had determined its international orientation for nearly two centuries.

Wilsonism was founded by Wilson, President of the United States, and dates back to Immanuel Kant's treatise "Sustainable Peace." Formerly a university professor of political science, he considered his most important mission to be the transfer of democratic values to Europe and its spread throughout the world. He believed that only then could another great war be prevented. Wilson, who believed in making the world as a safe place for democracy, categorized it into fourteen articles and sent it to Congress in January 1918. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919. Wilson's ideas and views greatly influenced the Paris Peace Conference (Versailles) and led the conference to build a new international order based on liberal internationalism. The Wilson Peace Plan declared that the era of covert diplomacy was over and that agreements should be open to public scrutiny. Shipping at sea should be free and borders reopened for trade. Advertising must be reduced to the extent which is necessary to maintain internal integrity. Colonies and land disputes must be settled in accordance with the right of destiny self-determination of nations. Eventually an assembly of nations would be formed under special treaties aimed at guaranteeing the multilateral political independence and territorial unity of nations - Wilson's last point led to

the founding of the League of Nations at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.

2-2 -Components of Wilsonism approach

Among the points that Wilson has expressed to create a peaceful world, two points deserved special attention. The first issue is related to the advancement of democracy and the right for destiny self-determination. The point is that liberals believe that democratic states have never and will never confront with one another. Wilson hoped that the advancement of liberal democracy in Europe would put an end to tyrannical and war willing governments and replace them with peace-loving governments which leads to strengthening of liberal democracy. The second point that draws attention in the Wilson program is the creation of an international organization to form government relations within that and to be replaced with the realist point of view which is the European Concert and the Balance of Power, and international relations were regulated by a set of common rules of international law, and it was in fact such a view that caused Wilson to create the League of Nations. Wilson's idealism can be summarized as follows: The idea which is based on the issue that with the conscious creation of an international organization, it is possible to end war and create a lasting peace. However, it does not argue that it is possible to discard governments, politicians, ministers, armed forces and other institutions and instruments of international conflicts, but claims that by organizations, institutions and international law, governments and statesmen can be controlled.

Therefore, some of the most important principles of this view are as follows: Wilsonism rejects "national interests" as a measure of national self-interest to interfere in the world and does not believe in interfering in different parts of the world to achieve national interests. In this school of thought, the goal of war is to rebuild the world based on the American model; b) to change the world order; Wilsonism does not consider the principle of creating a balance of power in the world as a good principle for American foreign policy, c) the world must be safe for democracy, d) it is the essence of American values.

1-2-2- Rejection of war

Wilson's political tradition is rooted in Immanuel Kant's treatise "Sustainable Peace" and the key idea is that "democracies do not fight against each other" (Kogley and Witkoff, 2003: 103). Wilson, a university professor of political science, defined his most important treatise in the field of foreign policy as to spread American values, especially across borders; therefore, this political tradition can be considered as a kind of idealism. The central reason for the Wilsonian discourse is the idea of "securing the world for democracy." Among political theories, liberal internationalism is the best definition for Wilson's tradition (McDougall, 2017). In this view, American security is defined not in pursuit of interests but in adherence to international obligations (Dehshiar, 2009: 86). In Wilson's tradition, American exceptionalism was first defined in the context of value-oriented interventionism and missionaryism. "We created this country for human being to be free, and we did not limit our purpose to the United States," Wilson said. So now we are looking for human freedom. "If we do not, all of America's reputation will be lost and all its power will be disappeared." The Wilsonian tradition can be considered as one of the most important traditions shaping the political behavior of the United States in modern times. It was this tradition that established the international theoretical order after the First World War and played an important role in the establishment of the post-World War II order.

In Woodrow Wilson's view, isolationism was not in accordance with America's interest. Therefore, after the declaration of neutrality, the government showed itself to be the advocator of peace and entered the war. On December 8, 1945, Wilson founded what is known as the Principles of Wilsonian Thought or Wilsonianism. In his view, the foundation of international order is not the balance of power but the respect and commitment of states and nations to world peace, which is the only criterion in the foreign policy of states. According to Wilson, the nature of American benevolence and philanthropy is the proof of divine providence, and the world is waiting for a peace-loving nation to spread its benevolent intentions to the world. At the beginning of 1915, Wilson considered American security to be dependent on the security of other nations, and declared that the United States's mission was to achieve world peace in the face of aggression by any state anywhere. (297: ol. Vol, 1981, Link) It was in this way that Wilson, with his vision of a better world, moved toward the realization of an ideal America; an effort to be present in the war. In such a way that the United States goes to war only to defend the rights and freedoms of nations, to achieve peace and security for all of them, and ultimately to liberate the world. Wilson believed that the realization of peace and freedom was of equal interest to all nations of the world, and made much effort for international unity to punish countries that denied the principle. (2009: Storey) It was in this way that he came up with the idea of forming a League of Nations, emphasizing that if public opinion was aware of the consequences of

war, the formation of a League of Nations would take place, leading to the formation of a democratic world and the realization of the rights of people. According to Wilson, power could no longer be the source of peace, but peace is achieved through a universal agreement that is protected within the framework of lawful and purposeful oversight. On January 22, 1917 in order to achieve peace, he considered war as a struggle for the balance of new power and emphasized that a collective power and a common and systematic peace leads to the realization of peace, not systemic competition. (Vol40:536-7, Link,1982)

This approach is known in international law books and articles as the Legal Thought Approach, the Classical Legal Approach, the Legal Idealism Approach, or Utopianism. Idealism is, in fact, the extremist form of liberalism, as the first wave of thought to overshadow the study of international relations from the late World War I to the late 1930s. "The idealists sought to create a secure world by emphasizing moral principles and strengthening international law." They believe that international democracy can be established through parliamentary democracy and the presence of law. Many idealists believe that the internal conditions of a system can be reproduced for the international environment. From the utopians' point of view, peace is not a natural state but a phenomenon that must be prepared through conscious planning. In other words, peace must be managed in a certain way. "

With the outbreak of World War I, Wilson declared neutrality. Wilson's response was a neutrality driven by American isolationism, and on December 7,1914 he resisted in response to Roosevelt's request to strengthen US military; because Wilson believed that the reasons and motives for the war had nothing to do with the United States, and that only the results mattered which would provide opportunities for friendship and honest service to the United States. But when a German submarine attack on an American ship led to the US presence in the war and placed it on the side of the Allies, Wilson agreed to enter the war, stating in 1917 that he maintained his balance of power: " The future of world peace and politics depends on whether the current war is an attempt to achieve a just and secure peace, or just a new balance of power. This war must not be organized for the balance of power or a kind of rivalry, but must be organized to create common power and all-encompassing peace." (Kissinger, 405: 2002)

His reason for entering World War I was the beginning of the formation of the idea of Wilsonianism or the Wilsonian idea with the preamble to the founding of the "League of Nations" to be introduced as the final institution of war (Nixon, 1992: 30) And the idea that involved America in the war, in Wilson's view, was more compatible with American historical experience than with the principles of the European balance of power. But Wilson believed that in order to participate in the system of balance of power, one could not face dangers such as war alone. However, entering the war did not bring the damage that other European countries suffered to the United States, and it was an

opportunity for that country to stay away from the battlefield to support Europe, which was involved in war, materially, economically, and militarily (Ambrose), 1404: 12)

The Wilsonian school of thought emphasizes the rejection of war as the solution to global problems, the balance of power in the world, and the expansion of democracy as the solution to confront the presence of war. A small number of Democrats and a smaller number of Republicans are in favor of this school of thought. Proponents of this theory were worried about the disruption of the balance of power. Among the actors in the region according to the withdrawal of American forces from Syria and the spread of totalitarian and anti-democratic currents led by Russia, China and Iran in different parts of the world.

2-2-2- Considering ethics in foreign policy

Wilson's views on ethics in foreign policy were a new one. Wilson with the creation of a global organization; that is, the League of Nations considered peace to be achievable through social security. In January 1917, he declared the United States as a pioneer of membership in the the League of Nations, citing that he used the Monroe Doctrine as his role model and suggested that countries, with empathy and unity, should consider the Monroe Doctrine as a doctrine of world peace; in such a way that no country imposes its political sovereignty over other countries or nations (Manela 2009:24) He advised all countries of the world to stay away from the alliances that make them to enter a kind of rivalry. Of course, he was skeptical that other countries would accept his views quickly, but after the United States went to war in April 1917, he wrote to his top adviser that after the war, he would force Europeans to accept his ideas, because European countries after the war will depend on US financial aid (Shop and Minter, 24: 1991)

In late October 1917, he sent his advisor to Europe to ask Europeans to set the goals of the war in accordance with his ideas for emerging peace without territorial annexation or compensation of losses. (Link; 1957:100) Finally, on January 1918, Wilson stated America's goals in the war on fourteen principles, which were divided into two parts. He considered eight points, including open and undisguised diplomacy, the freedom of the seas, general disarmament, the removal of trade barriers, the unilateral resolution of colonial claims, the preservation of Belgium, the evacuation of Russian territory, and finally the creation of League of Nations were necessary to be implemented and others that were less necessary to be implement, including the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the autonomy of the Austrian, Hungarian, and Ottoman minorities, the reorganization of Italy's borders, the evacuation of the Balkans, the internationalization of the Strait of Dardanelles and the creation of an independent Poland with a better access way to the sea in order to govern Europe in a better way (Welch, 1999: 82-5; Thomson, 1962: 543-36; Paxton and Hessler, 2011: 142).

Wilson's desire in international relations in the early years of the twentieth century was to establish a forum that could solve problems before the political and economic rivalries of nations turned into wars and conflicts. The idea of the League of Nations originated in American thought, which was formed from within the peace movements of the early years of the war, first in the United States and then in Europe. When the Versailles Peace Conference approved the formation of the League of Nations on January 25, 1919 and delegated the task of drafting the treaty to a special committee (enc.: Part, 1967, Spencer), Wilson became chairman, and the United States, Italy, Japan, France and the United Kingdom were major member states. The UN General Assembly ratified the Treaty of Versailles on April 28, 1919. The first seven principles of this treaty form the basis of the new international system. The first principle described the conditions of membership, entry and

withdrawal of states into the community of nations, and from the second to the fifth principles, the quality and powers of the Assembly and the Council were mentioned. The Sixth and Seventh Principles discussed about the Secretary-General and the staff, the place of the League of Nations in Geneva, and the appropriations needed for the actions of the Assembly. Moreover, eighth and ninth principles referred to Disarmament, tenth to respect for Territorial Integrity, eleventh to Dispute Resolution, twelfth to fifteenth to different ways for resolving disputes, and sixteenth to Immediate Action against a member state that had engaged in a war against another state by violating the treaty.

The next principle referred to the advocacy of a member state of a community from another member against a non-member third state. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Principle referred to the submission of all treaties to the President of the League of Nations to administrate necessary amendments to them. The twentieth principle stipulates that all existing treaties contrary to the treaty of the League of Nations must be terminated; and the twenty-first principle emphasized that the treaty would in no way detract the importance and credibility of the Monroe Doctrine. The Twenty-second Principle emphasized the establishment of a trusteeship system for countries after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the German colonies in Africa, and the next one required members to use the League of Nations as a means of dealing with the conflicts of international relations in achieving peace. The twenty-fifth principle also dealt with the administration of institutions, and finally, according to the twenty-sixth principle, the members of the community of nations were required to provide the situation for the expansion of the activities of national organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. (223-209:App.II, 2009, Pollock)

Although valuable steps were taken in the early years of the League of Nations to resolve disputes between members of the United Nations or even non-member countries, but gradually they revealed their weaknesses. (309-22 :1963, Hinsley) European governments resorted to force to resolve disputes and did not pay attention to resolving them by the League of Nations in accordance with its legal principles. According to Wilson, the only way countries could resort was the mutual trust and goodwill between member states of the United Nations, while this trust and goodwill were considered a missing link among European countries. (All: 1941, Birdsall) In the case of the Rhineland's secession from Germany and its annexation to France, the United States and Britain demanded a guarantee from France. The United States offered a guarantee through the legal provisions of the League of Nations, while the United Kingdom considered it as a gift to France (ol.; Vol. 1, Hunter Miller). France, however, was reluctant to accept it because it believed that in this situation, the help of the United Nations was somehow after death, the doctor after.

2-2-3- Emphasis on international law

Wilson, the president of the United States, often was known for his foreign policy based on legal arguments, founded idealism in the hope of bringing world peace from the United Nations. In fact, by seeking institutionalist idealism, he sought to create a community of nations for world peace and tranquility. In this approach, by emphasizing the goodness of human nature, they are in the valley of pursuing harmony between personal interests, law and morality. Relations between states are based on cooperation, reconciliation and coordination, and the international system is conceived as a society of international actors acting collaboratively in solving global problems.

From the idealists' point of view, ethics is the source of the rules that govern international relations. In the international community, there is an attempt to achieve justice and law. Man has the ability to learn, adapt and obey legal rules to regulate behavior, and the goal of education and reform should be security and well-being for all people. These are the foundations of the legal conduct in international relations. Strengthening the alignment of multilateral organizations can rectify situations that lead to international war and chaos. Nevertheless, realists believe that idealist philosophical ideas are, unpractical and irrelevant to real modern international policies and laws.

From the idealists' point of view, international law, ethics, and international organizations are more effective than power in international events, and the foundation of the international system is based on the community of states that potentially strive to overcome international problems. They believe that the principles of international relations should be based on ethics.

In relation to world order and politics, they believe that such order does not originate from a system of balance of power, but originates from interactions between many layers of governing arrangements which are laws, agreed norms, institutional rules, and international regimes.

Wilson focuses on establishing peacekeeping mechanisms such as international law and especially the League of Nations, collective security, a secure world for democracy, the right of nations to self-determination, public diplomacy, the freedom of shipping on the international waters, the removal of economic barriers and the equality of trade conditions for all. He combined the idea that freedom in trading is a promoter of peace with the notion that international organizations are also a mechanism for peace.

Theorists of the legal thinking approach do not deny the conflicts and challenges in the international system, but try to solve these challenges by providing institutional and organizational mechanisms. One of the proposed mechanisms is to make law as a custom of the in-

ternational community. Custom, on the other hand, is one of the enduring democratic norms for free societies. Rights are also strengthened and made effective through voluntary processes and informal mechanisms.

Idealists offer solutions to encourage global cooperation through international institutions, disarmament, and international law. These solutions involve: the need to strengthen attitudes to develop unity among human beings, instead of emphasizing the existence of governing states based on national and local allegiances, utilizing the capacity of ideas through limited political sociability to stimulate public opinion globally against violence and war, developing and removing barriers to international free trade instead of emphasizing economic nationalism, establishing a set of open treaties instead of covert diplomacy, strengthening multilateralism and military order based on collective cooperation instead of bilateral alliances.

Idealists emphasize the structures of fairness and impartiality, noting that the coexistence of individuals, societies and governments is accompanied by fairness and justice. They reject the use of force and emphasize justice and fairness in the international community. According to the theory of idealism as fairness, the goal of society is to reach an acceptable stage of civilization, which means coexistence in society, implementing the role impartiality and with respect to norms and the avoidance of inconsistent and hypocritical behavior and moral rules should be used as a basis for creating free and impartial social behavior among governments. Therefore, government policymakers insist on legitimacy, non-use of force, education and persuasion, and the establishment of just laws in the international community. Courts such as the International Criminal Court, war crimes trials in Yugoslavia and Rwanda, international human rights and humanitarian tribunals, and International humanitarian

law can be explained in terms of idealism.

2-2-4- Emphasis on American values and model

This view, like Hamilton's, is based on the globalization of American values and attaches great importance to the Americanization of the world; but unlike Hamiltonism, it pursues it not through strengthening internal institutions and increasing efficiency, but through external adventures and interventions in different parts of the world.

Wilson's identity is based on Americans' belief in the uniqueness of America. This identity has created the greatest difficulty in understanding US foreign policy, even among

experts. Many Americans believe that the United States is a special country in human history and therefore has a special mission to the world. Wilson's rise to power in the second decade of the twentieth century led to a sharp injection of idealism into American foreign policy. The idealistic and just tendencies that had become so influential and decisive in the form of the progressive movement in the domestic realm, with Wilson's rise to power, which was imbued with liberal tendencies, led to a manifestation in shaping and at the same time justifying American goals. Wilson placed government at the service of ideas and legitimized, by his actions, the idea that government has no duty beyond the administration of ideas. For Wilson and his followers, what gives meaning to a whole, whether political or social, and determines its quality, are educated people and institutions. Ideas are crystallized in the form of human beings and institutions.

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This identity is perhaps the most controversial US foreign policy identity. Many experts believe that the greatest difficulty in understanding the characteristics of foreign policy lies in the lack of proper understanding of this identity by US foreign policy experts. They wanted to export American values to the rest of the world. This was done in the nineteenth century by American Christian missionaries around the world. Fundamentalist Protestant missionaries took their thought to countries like China and tried to teach them their way of life. This thought is based on the principle that other ways of life, the non-American way, are wrong. "These Christians believed that fundamentalist Christian thought was the only way to save humanity in all parts of the world." Wilson believed that the spread of democracy and international institutions was the only way to end the burning civil wars. He strongly believed in the expansion of international institutions and civilization in the world. The Wilsons consider one of America's missions as the expansion of democracy and personal freedoms around

the world. Woodrow Wilson himself sought to spread the idea of democracy and independent government to the rest of the world by creating the League of Nations after the end of World War I. The spread of democracy in different parts of the world, at least verbally, has always been at the forefront of the speeches of the American government. Of course, practically democracy was established by the Americans in Western Europe and Japan as well. Various democratic governments, such as Mossadegh in Iran, Allende in Chile, and many others, were overthrown by the United States or its allies because of their opposition, which is in stark contrast to Wilson's thought. Both Bill Clinton and George W. Bush have shown signs of Wilson thought in their foreign policy. Clinton emphasized the expansion of international institutions as well as the expansion of democracy, and George W. Bush, by attacking Iraq and launching a new Middle East plan, at least apparently intended to expand democracy and export it to the Middle East.

The incomprehensible point to many Wilsonian's identities is the violation of national interests based on its realist definition by Wilsonian's American politicians. Even an expert like Henry Kissinger, before coming as policymaker, considered foreign policy in the United States to be naive and stupid. The problem is that in the realist definition of European experts, in the traditional thought of Otto Bismarck, the famous German Chancellor, there is no place for values in foreign policy. Therefore, relying on values in foreign policy, when it leads to a conflict with national realist interests, seems irrational and naive from the point of view of traditional European realism. Some European realist scholars combine their lack of understanding of Wilson's American foreign policy with the ignorance of the American public, especially of foreign policy, and ridicule the foreign policy process in the United States.

It is true that the American public is less aware of its foreign policy comparing with the most of European countries, but it is a great mistake to ignore the foreign policy makers of the United States. America's non-reliance on the colonization of others and its emphasis on issues such as free trade, the freedom of the seas, and the keeping costs of war low, which are of little importance to traditional realists, had taken European realists by surprise in the nineteenth century. It may be foolish in a realistic view to boycott and condemn China after the massacre of Tiananmen Square or to pressure US friends to respect human rights, but such an action is justified by Wilson's identity.