

THE AMERICAN ENCOUNTER



THE UNITED STATES AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD

Essays from 75 Years of *Foreign Affairs*

Edited by

James F. Hoge, Jr., and Fareed Zakaria



BasicBooks

A Division of HarperCollins Publishers

Contents

Editors' Note	xi
<i>James F. Hoge, Jr., and Fareed Zakaria,</i> America's Past, America's Future: An Introduction	3
<i>Elihu Root, A Requisite for the Success of</i> Popular Diplomacy, SEPTEMBER 1922	11

After Versailles, the 1920s

<i>Karl Kautsky, Germany Since the War,</i> DECEMBER 1922	23
<i>Alfred E. Zimmern, Nationalism and Internationalism,</i> JUNE 1923	40
<i>Victor Chernov, Lenin,</i> MARCH 1924	50
<i>Walter Lippmann, Concerning Senator Borah,</i> JANUARY 1926	56

The Gathering Storm, the 1930s

<i>Edwin F. Gay, The Great Depression,</i> JULY 1932	69
---	----

Contents

<i>Nikolai Bukharin</i> , Imperialism and Communism, JULY 1936	79
<i>Benēdretto Croce</i> , Of Liberty, OCTOBER 1932	91
<i>Heinrich Mann</i> , Dictatorship of the Mind, APRIL 1934	97
<i>H. G. Wells</i> , Civilization on Trial, JULY 1935	104

War and Victory, the 1940s

<i>Arnold J. Toynbee</i> , A Turning Point in History, JANUARY 1939	113
<i>Julien Benda</i> , Pacifism and Democracy, JULY 1941	126
<i>James B. Reston</i> , The Critic Turns Actor, OCTOBER 1945	134
<i>Henry L. Stimson</i> , The Challenge to Americans, OCTOBER 1947	143

A Cold War, the 1950s

<i>X [George F. Kennan]</i> , The Sources of Soviet Conduct, JULY 1947	155
<i>Henry A. Kissinger</i> , Reflections on American Diplomacy, OCTOBER 1956	170
<i>Albert Wohlstetter</i> , The Delicate Balance of Terror, JANUARY 1959	187

Contents

- Isaiab Berlin*, The Silence in Russian Culture,
OCTOBER 1957 206
- W. E. B. Du Bois*, The Realities in Africa:
European Profit or Negro Development?
JULY 1943 227
- Margaret Mead*, The Underdeveloped and the Overdeveloped,
OCTOBER 1962 237
- A. Whitney Griswold*, Wormwood and Gall:
An Introspective Note on American Diplomacy,
OCTOBER 1960 248

The Quagmire of Vietnam, the 1960s

- Hans J. Morgenthau*, To Intervene or Not To Intervene,
APRIL 1967 265
- Henry A. Kissinger*, The Viet Nam Negotiations,
JANUARY 1969 274
- Irving Kristol*, American Intellectuals and Foreign Policy,
JULY 1967 291
- Clark M. Clifford*, A Viet Nam Reappraisal: The Personal
History of One Man's View and How It Evolved,
JULY 1969 305

An Age of Limits, the 1970s

- Hamilton Fish Armstrong*, Isolated America,
OCTOBER 1972 329
- David Fromkin*, The Strategy of Terrorism,
JULY 1975 336

Contents

- Fouad Ajami, The End of Pan-Arabism,*
WINTER 1978/79 350
- Richard N. Cooper, A Monetary System for the Future,*
WINTER 1984 365
- Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Human Rights
and the American Tradition,*
AMERICA AND THE WORLD 1978 382
- William F. Buckley, Jr., Human Rights and Foreign Policy:
A Proposal,*
WINTER 1980/81 402

The Collapse of Communism, the 1980s

- Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Misconceptions About Russia
Are a Threat to America,*
SPRING 1980 421
- Richard Pipes, Can the Soviet Union Reform?*
FALL 1984 453
- George F. Kennan, Communism in Russian History,*
WINTER 1990/91 466
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, The Cold War and Its Aftermath,*
FALL 1992 482

An Uncertain New Order, the 1990s

- Walter B. Wriston, Technology and Sovereignty,*
WINTER 1988/89 503
- Jessica T. Mathews, Power Shift,*
JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1997 513

Contents

<i>Isaiab Berlin</i> , The Bent Twig: A Note on Nationalism, OCTOBER 1972	530
<i>Samuel P. Huntington</i> , The Clash of Civilizations? SUMMER 1993	548
<i>Warren Zimmermann</i> , The Last Ambassador: A Memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia, MARCH/APRIL 1995	571
<i>Paul Krugman</i> , Competitiveness: A Dangerous Obsession, MARCH/APRIL 1994	589
<i>Fareed Zakaria</i> , Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew, MARCH/APRIL 1994	604
Contributors	619
Photo Acknowledgments	626
Index	627