colonies. Thomas Paine, writing in *The American Crisis*, states his belief that the Revolutionary War was a fundamentally defensive action, and that self-defense was justified, whether the aggressor was "an individual villain or an army of them"(150). Alexander Hamilton, in arguing for a strong national government, believed that the desires of the anti-federalists would lead to a government unable to act "necessary to the purposes" of "the common safety," particularly raising revenue for a standing military (207). In contrast, anti-federalist Patrick Henry believed that a standing army would result in "all power…in the possession" of a strong central government, which would pose a dire threat to liberty.

As America moved into the nineteenth century and a more expansionist foreign policy began to emerge, ideas related to national defense became more integral to American political thought. Henry David Thoreau penned his famous resistance to civil government after serving a brief jail sentence for refusing to pay his taxes. One of Thoreau's major objections was to the waging of the Mexican War by the United States, which he believed was "the work of comparatively few individuals using the standing government as their tool." Thoreau saw the prevailing idea of Manifest Destiny as fundamentally a pro-slavery policy which he, as an abolitionist, found abhorrent. To Thoreau, "the standing army is only an arm of the standing government" (485).

America's westward expansion also had its defenders. Theodore Roosevelt believed that the conquering of the frontier was ultimately "for the benefit of civilization and in the interest of mankind." To Roosevelt, the indigenous people of the Americas and other parts of the world were "barbarous and savage" and their lands were of ultimately better use to men "who in the end shape their own destinies. " Roosevelt defended American actions in the west, noting that much of the land transfers were through treaty, and that armed conflict with some Indian tribes was inevitable only because of the latter's warlike nature. In Roosevelt's view, the west was won by Americans because of their inherent superiority and that formerly aboriginal lands throughout the world should "become the heritage of the dominant world race" (908-9).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, as the American frontier began to close, a new conflict about American foreign policy arose between those who believed that the United States should join the European powers in their quest for colonies and imperial influence, and those who saw the quest for empire as fundamentally inconsistent with American values. Indiana Senator Albert J. Bevridge advocated for the expansion of American territory and influence. According to Bevridge, the rapid development of the American economy in the nineteenth century required "new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor" and made necessary the incorporation of territories captured during the Spanish-American War into an American empire. In Bevridge's eyes, divine Providence and American moral authority required the United States bring further development and rational self-governance to these

areas. Bevridge believed that it was America's duty to provide an "example of right and honor" and that "the [American] flag must henceforth be the symbol and the sign to all mankind"(915-17)

Though many supported Bevridge and his views, there was also fierce opposition to the annexation of captured Spanish territory. The Anti-Imperialist League, an organization that opposed making the Philippines an American territory, believed that "the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends towards militarism, and evil from which it has been our glory to be free. To Anti-Imperialists, annexation by the United States was deeply offensive to American the concept of self-determination and that "a self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people." The Anti-Imperialist League made clear that they would oppose the election of any politician or party "that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people" (919-20).

Colonial competition between the European powers would contribute to the outbreak of massive military conflict in the First World War. After initially pledging American neutrality, Woodrow Wilson ended the traditional American policy of non-interference in Europe by declaring war on imperial Germany and joining the allies. Wilson believed that American intervention was justified by German aggression and stated his view that American involvement was necessary because "the world must be made safe for democracy." In an address to Congress requesting the war declaration, Wilson stated that American interests would "be satisfied when….rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them."

Though America and its allies prevailed in World War I, another even larger conflict broke out just a generation later. America entered World War II after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. With its major allies, the Great Britain and the Soviet Union, American defeated the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. A decisive military victory by the United States would quickly give way, however, to a post-war world of great potential danger and geopolitical complexity.

As a "Cold War "commenced between the United States and the Soviet Union, the question of how to deal with a hostile and powerful nation confronted American policy makers. American Foreign Service officer George Kennan would advocate for a policy of containment that would become the cornerstone of American foreign policy for the next forty years. Kennan believed that the Soviet Union's totalitarian structure and long-term commitment to Communism made them vulnerable to a flexible approach utilizing "vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points" (1220). Rather than direct confrontation, Kennan believed that by "giving the peoples of the world generally the impression of a country that knows what it wants…and has a spiritual vitality capable of holding its own among the major ideological currents of the time," the United States could limit Soviet influence (1221). Winning the Cold War, Kennan believed, would require America to "measure up to its own