48. Foreign Policy Operations

United Nations

THE foreign policy operations of the United States are simply its efforts toward accomplishing its goals in relation to other countries. Such efforts are numerous and of extremely varied character. All of them require some method of influencing one or more of the nations in the world. The United States today recognizes the sovereignty of seventy-eight different nations, by sending them either ambassadors or ministers; in addition, there are a handful of countries which the United States does not recognize as sovereign, but which nonetheless have their own political organizations. Communist China is an example of an independent government that the United States refused to recognize; instead it regards Nationalist China, holding only the island of Formosa, as the rightful representative of the Chinese nation to the outside world.

FORMAL ACTIONS

The formal actions of the government with respect to other nations are: the recognition of other governments; treaties; executive agreements with other states; and joint resolutions of Congress respecting foreign affairs.

Recognition

Recognition is the act whereby one government acknowledges the legality of another government. Recognition is the essential preliminary to all diplomatic operations; it is the indication that one government wishes to arrange diplomatic relations with another. Recognition is ordinarily followed by an exchange of representatives—ambassadors or ministers, and consuls. The withholding of recognition may be employed as a device to show dissatisfaction with a particular government. Until the twentieth century the United States usually extended recognition to any government that was actually in power, on the assumption that effective political rule merited recognition. During the present century, however, the federal government has indicated its aversion to several governments by denying them recognition. For instance, in 1913 President Wilson refused to recognize the regime of Victoriano Huerta in Mexico, on the theory that Huerta had usurped power; and this step by Wilson seems to have contributed to the subsequent fall of that government. The government of the United States did not recognize the Communist government in Russia until 1933.

Recognition is a power of the executive branch of the government, that is, of the President. Recognition may be tendered in any of several ways, the commonest being by the simple exchange of envoys. Another means for giving recognition is by a presidential proclamation. The Senate does have indirect control over recognition through its power to refuse assent to a presidential appointment of a diplomat; however, since the President may wait until the end of a congressional session before selecting an ambassador or minister, the Senate does not have assurance of being able to interfere in the recognition process. Once one government has recognized another, the two may carry on all the conventional practices of diplomacy, such as the arrangement of treaties and alliances. Governments that do not recognize each other must conduct their relationships through the envoys of a third government that each does recognize.

Treaties

Treaties are official agreements between two or more countries. They may be negotiated to deal with almost any question regarding the governments of the countries involved. Since 1789 the United States has entered into about one thousand treaties with other countries, regulating a host of problems. Most of these treaties deal with comparatively minor

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General Assembly of the United Nations, New York City.

issues. Some have been designed to handle only a temporary situation; others, by contrast, have been expected to endure as long as the signatory government did.

The negotiation of treaties is also an executive function. The actual arrangements are normally drafted by the State Department, but in the event of important matters the President closely supervises the activities of the Department. Treaties may be initiated by any sovereign government; discussions may go on either in foreign embassies in Washington or in American embassies in foreign capitals. After all disputed points in the language or terms have been eliminated, representatives of the participating governments all sign the treaty.

However, in the United States a treaty does not become operative until it has secured the approval of the Senate, by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators present. Senate approval is in the main granted or denied by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, a powerful and influential group. The Senate has not rejected many treaties; yet some of those to which it has denied approval have been important, such as the Versailles Treaty after World War I. The Senate must accept the text as it stands; if it insists upon changing the text, the signatory powers must then give their approval to the amended version. After the Senate has approved of the treaty, it can go into effect. This may occur as soon as the President exchanges so-called "articles of ratification" with the heads of the other governments concerned. It should be emphasized that the Senate does not "ratify" a treaty; it only gives its approval.

Executive agreements

Executive agreements are arrangements negotiated by the heads of states. Unlike a treaty, an executive agreement does not require the approval of the Senate. The precise difference between the impact of an executive agreement and that of a treaty has never been established. It might appear that the agreements are binding only on the chief executive, and not on the entire government; treaties, by contrast, might be said to obligate the entire government. In practice, however, the government exhibits about the same response to an agreement as to a treaty.

In the early years of the American Republic the government did not often resort to executive agreements; but in the twentieth century the agreement has become a very common instrument of American diplomacy. So far as the President is concerned, the agreement possesses the virtue of secrecy. Of course, the Senate may deliberate a treaty behind locked doors; yet there remains the danger that some of its provisions may be revealed. In the case of the executive agreement, the President is not compelled to divulge its contents to any person in the American government. During World War II President Roosevelt often had recourse to the agreement, for handling such matters as the trade of fifty American destroyers for the right to lease air bases on certain British island colonies. The use of the agreement to bypass the Senate has aroused a great deal of resentment in congressional circles; members of the upper house contend

that the President has usurped powers not rightfully his. The proposed "Bricker amendment" to the Constitution includes a clause that would deny the President the power to make such agreements.

Joint resolutions

The joint resolution is another means for settling an international problem. The resolution is simply adopted by Congress and signed by the President. Either Congress or the President may initiate the resolution; that is, the President may initiate it by submitting it to his congressional leaders, who can then bring it to the floor. A joint resolution, unlike a treaty, requires only a simple majority, but it does entail action by both houses of Congress. The joint resolution has been used many times in American history; an outstanding case of its use was the termination of World War I against Germany, after the Senate had refused its assent to the Versailles Treaty.

DIPLOMACY

With the exception of joint resolutions, the forms of action described in the previous section are initiated and developed through some of their phases by the diplomatic service of the United States (of course, in conjunction with the parallel services of other nations). Diplomats are thus agents working in behalf of principals, their governments. Because of the ease and rapidity of present means of communications, however, only rarely does the agent have full powers to negotiate and contract all phases of an accord with other nations. Indeed, the diplomats of the United States, owing to the important role of the Senate in treaty-making, have rarely possessed the initiative and responsibility given to the diplomats of most other nations in the past. Still, every encounter across national boundaries has a certain delicacy and difficulty about it, so that the standards of intelligence required even of junior Foreign Service officers must remain high.

Today more than in the past, the crucial negotiations with foreign countries are carried on by government officials at the highest level. Again, the reason lies in rapid communications. Secretary of State Dulles has been even more active than other high-ranking diplomats of the present day in conducting directly the relationships of the United States with other parts of the world; by the time he had been fifteen months in office, he had traveled 100,000 miles. If he had had to rely upon the transportation methods of 1853 in his travels, he would have been en route at some point every minute of the time and still not have completed the itinerary.

For those officers in the diplomatic service who do not achieve the highest posts, the pattern of work keeps them tied closely to one post after another, with intervening periods at Washington for advanced training and observation of the making of American foreign policy in the United States. The State Department itself defines "the assignments in Washing-

ton or abroad that a Foreign Service officer may expect to receive in the course of his career" as the following:

Reporting on and analyzing political, economic, commercial, and labor conditions in countries abroad.
Representing the United States in negotiations with other governments.
Performing consular duties—issuing visas and passports, providing assistance to American shipping and seamen, protecting American citizens and property abroad, handling veterans' affairs.
Promoting American trade.
Distributing educational, scientific, cultural, and informational materials.
Assisting in the exchange-of-persons program.
Participating in the administration of Foreign Service posts or of the Department—budget, fiscal, personnel, and management work.
Intelligence research requiring special area and language knowledge.
Working with international organizations such as the United Nations.
Communications and cryptography [code] work.
Country and area "desk" work in the Department covering many or all of these activities in the day-to-day conduct of foreign affairs.

Depending, of course, upon the country and the times, this pattern of work may be pleasant, or it may be extremely tiring and discouraging. During the present state of "cold war," posts in the Soviet Bloc afford few pleasures to the American staffs. Relations with the native population are confined mostly to chill and formal encounters with officials of the government. The staff must be constantly alert so as not to provoke conflicts of any kind. Yet the work, as difficult as it may be, is highly important, for it is precisely these areas about which the United States lacks information and guidance.

ECONOMIC OPERATIONS

Today the government of the United States carries on a major part of its foreign policy through economic operations. There are many precedents for this practice, for both the United States and other nations. The Venetian navies and merchant fleets, working closely together, dominated the eastern Mediterranean for centuries. English colonies in the Orient were established, governed, and guarded by the East India Company; only in the nineteenth century did the English government take over the "political" government of India, leaving its commercial exploitation to private groups. The United States government has sometimes used force to protect the overseas commercial interests of its citizens, as when its navy defeated the pirates of Tripoli, who had been preying upon American shipping in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, if one reconsiders the purchase of Alaska and the Virgin Islands, the seizure of the Philippines and the Spanish possessions in the Caribbean, the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, and other similar cases, one must conclude that the United States had not, even before World War II, been innocent of the use of the economic tools of foreign policy and of the combination of money and force to open doors in the world.

Today, however, the makers of American foreign policy use economic manipulations in world affairs much more consciously and systematically. They realize that a dollar can sometimes do what a bullet or a stirring phrase cannot do. They further realize that a dollar cannot do today what it could do at one time. Consequently the methods of economic foreign policy have changed; nations today are wary of sheer commercial exploitation, so that economic policy usually has to be justified to the people on whom the policy is expected to work as well as to the Americans who must supply the money.

The several types of economic practices of American foreign policy comprise the manipulation of the tariff structure, assistance to and control over American business ventures abroad, loans and gifts of money to other countries, and technical assistance to foreign nations. The United States, as the producer of half the manufactured goods of the world, is in a better position than any other nation to use economic weapons as tools of foreign policy. The American government must, however, recognize that dollars, like words and armaments, can be wasted on useless projects that do not benefit, or even may harm, the efforts to achieve American goals overseas. This point can be seen in the following discussion.

The tariff

The tariff now has an important share in the execution of American foreign policy. Some countries are dependent for their economic survival upon their sales to the United States. If the federal government imposes a high tariff upon the products of those countries it may alienate their governments; yet if it fails to respond to the pressures of domestic groups, it may lose their assistance at election time. Today, for example, it is of the utmost importance to the Japanese government that its people be able to sell tuna fish to the United States. At the same time the tuna-fishing interests of southern California are waging a steady campaign to have the tariff on Japanese tuna raised; they assert that the Japanese tuna is unfairly competitive. Since the American government regards the health of the Japanese economy and the contentment of the Japanese people with the United States as important factors in the struggle against world Communism, it has so far kept the tariff low. It is evident that in some cases the United States levies its tariffs as much to implement its foreign policy as to protect American businessmen and workers from foreign competition. An outstanding illustration of American management of its tariff so as to implement American foreign policy is American adherence to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which thirty-five nations have signed. GATT provides means whereby governments may negotiate reciprocal tariff reductions. Nations that comply with GATT seek to avoid trade discrimination.

Promotion and regulation of American business abroad

The American government promotes and regulates American business abroad. As noted earlier in the text, American businessmen may re-

ceive advice, information, and, in some cases, subsidies for their work in expanding the export and import trade of the United States. The makers of foreign policy take care, however, to watch and control American enterprise abroad much more than once was the case. The guiding aim of such controls is to prevent any business from conflicting, through its foreign operations, with American policy. A case of the sort that occurred before World War II, when American businesses were exporting critical war materials such as scrap metal to Japan, is not likely to happen again. Indeed, American leaders watch not only American businessmen but also those of allied nations, to the same end; some of the most bitter debates in Congress from 1950 on concerned the quantity of trade that American allies had engaged in with the Soviet Bloc.

Sometimes the government takes the initiative in asking American interests to take part in foreign affairs along lines that the government cannot well undertake. The following paragraph, from a pamphlet on the Iranian Oil Agreement of 1954, published by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, illustrates the point:

> By then Iranian oil was no longer vital to the world's energy supply; additional refining capacity had been rapidly developed in other countries, the volume of crude oil production in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait had been greatly expanded, and Iraq production was moving up. But since a stable, prosperous Iran would be a political asset to the Western world, the companies having oil interests in other Middle East areas were urged by their respective governments to form a consortium, or association, whose purpose would be "the restoration of Iranian oil to world commerce." United States oil companies, in particular, were encouraged by their government to participate, and an opinion was rendered by the Justice Department that participation in the proposed consortium would not violate the United States anti-trust laws.

The "consortium" referred to reached an agreement with the Iranian government, and the relations of Iran with the western nations, particularly England, were stabilized on a peaceful and cooperative basis.

Loans and gifts

Today the United States government extends long-term loans, and actually gives money and materials, to foreign nations. The total assistance afforded by the United States has been considerable, amounting to some $50 billions between 1945 and 1956. Figure 118 on p. 755 presents the sums granted to the several areas of the world. Of course, assistance, chiefly of a military nature, had been going on since before the United States entered World War II; and some of the aid that had been pledged but not delivered during the war was sent after the war had ended.

Examining the American aid programs over the whole world one can perceive that beginning in 1948 the ratio between gifts for general purposes and those for military purposes started to change. In 1946 and 1947 the ratio was roughly one hundred to one; in 1948 it became less than twenty to one. In 1952 the ratio was one to one; of the slightly more than $5 billions extended in foreign aid, general purposes and military purposes

accounted for approximately equal amounts. The trend continued in favor of military aid, so that the foreign aid budget of 1957 called for grants of $1.8 billions for general assistance and $2.5 billions for military aid. Much of this aid now went to Asiatic countries. However, European beneficiaries had already enjoyed so much economic improvement that they now had little need for general aid from the United States; indeed, in every case they had exceeded their prewar levels of production and living standards.

Technical assistance

"Point Four": "Point Four" is a program of technical assistance for countries whose agriculture and industry are underdeveloped. This program obtained its name through being the fourth of a series of "points" for com-

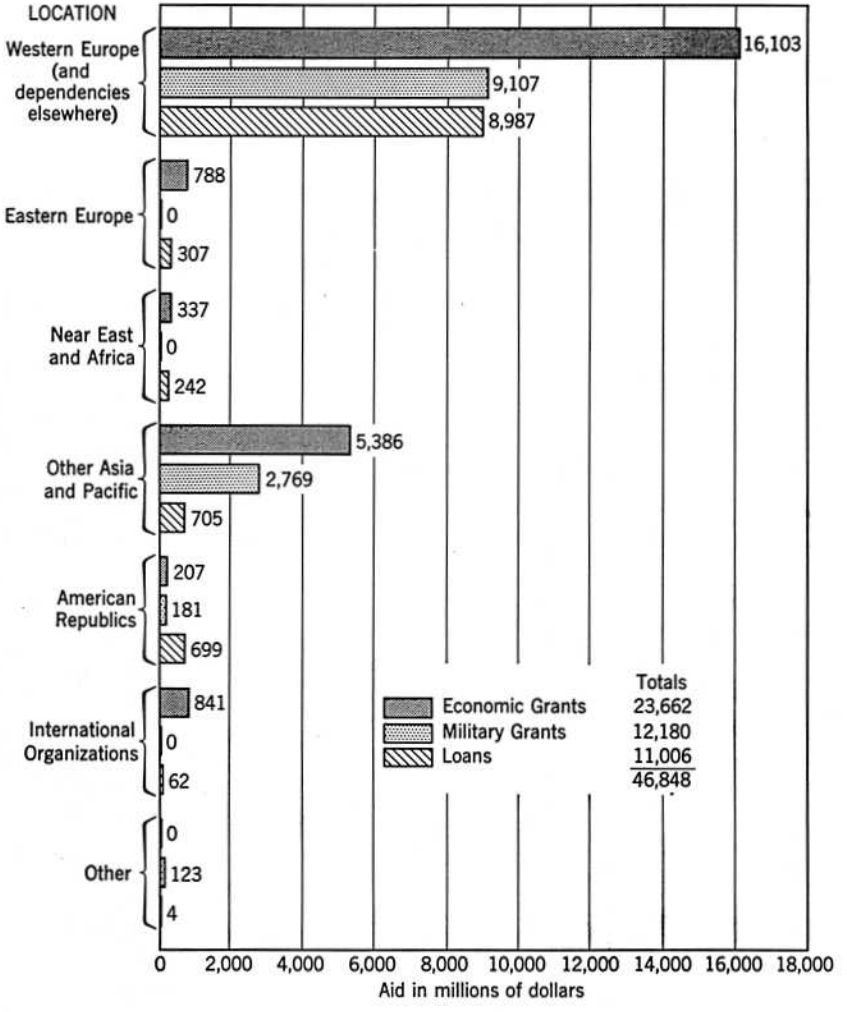
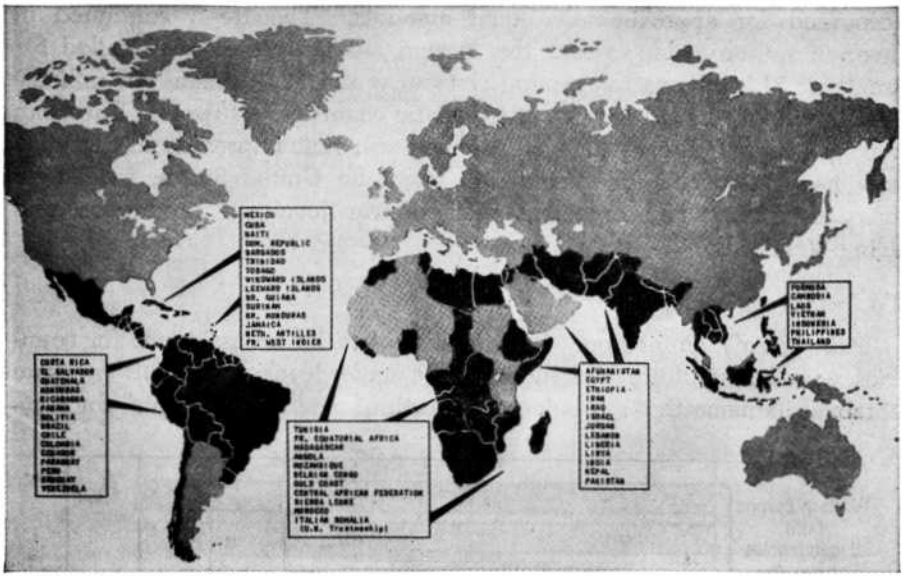


Figure 118. Total United States Aid to the World (July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1954).



International Cooperation Administration

Figure 119. Technical Cooperation Around the World. Countries with whom the United States has separate Technical Cooperation Agreements are shown in black. The United Nations has a similar type of arrangement with some countries; such agreements are not shown here, even though the United States also contributes money and personnel to them.

batting communism that were submitted to Congress and the nation by President Truman in his Inaugural Address on January 20, 1949. The administration of this program is currently the responsibility of the International Cooperation Administration of the State Department. Its aims are to help countries such as India that lack modern farming practices to improve their agricultural techniques, to assist others such as Egypt to develop their water resources and mineral deposits, and to aid yet others to construct modern industrial facilities. Some of the technical aid goes abroad indirectly through American universities that contract with the federal government to set up an educational program under the sponsorship of the host government. The nations with which the United States has made "Point Four" agreements are designated on the map in Figure 119. It can be seen that they are countries that either have been under colonial rule in the recent past or for other reasons have lagged behind Europe and the United States in improving their agricultural and mechanical techniques during the last century.

Atomic Energy Development: A second, and newer, part of the American technical assistance programs is that of sharing with other nations American preeminence in the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. On December 8, 1953, in an address before the United Nations, President Eisenhower appealed for a universal plan to control the destructive aspects of atomic energy and to promote everywhere its peaceful uses. Congress, in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, authorized the United States to par-

ticipate in an international program of this sort. The United States, unable to push its plan through the United Nations because of Soviet opposition, nevertheless in 1955 began to sign agreements with other nations in an effort to create an International Atomic Energy Agency. The Agency would be a clearing house for the exchange of technical information and the negotiation of cooperative arrangements.

INFORMATION PROGRAMS

The United States Information Agency (USIA) has the difficult task of assuring the recipients of American aid that the meaning of the aid is that American foreign policy is right and Soviet foreign policy is wrong. The USIA, of course, must do the same for the military and diplomatic opera-

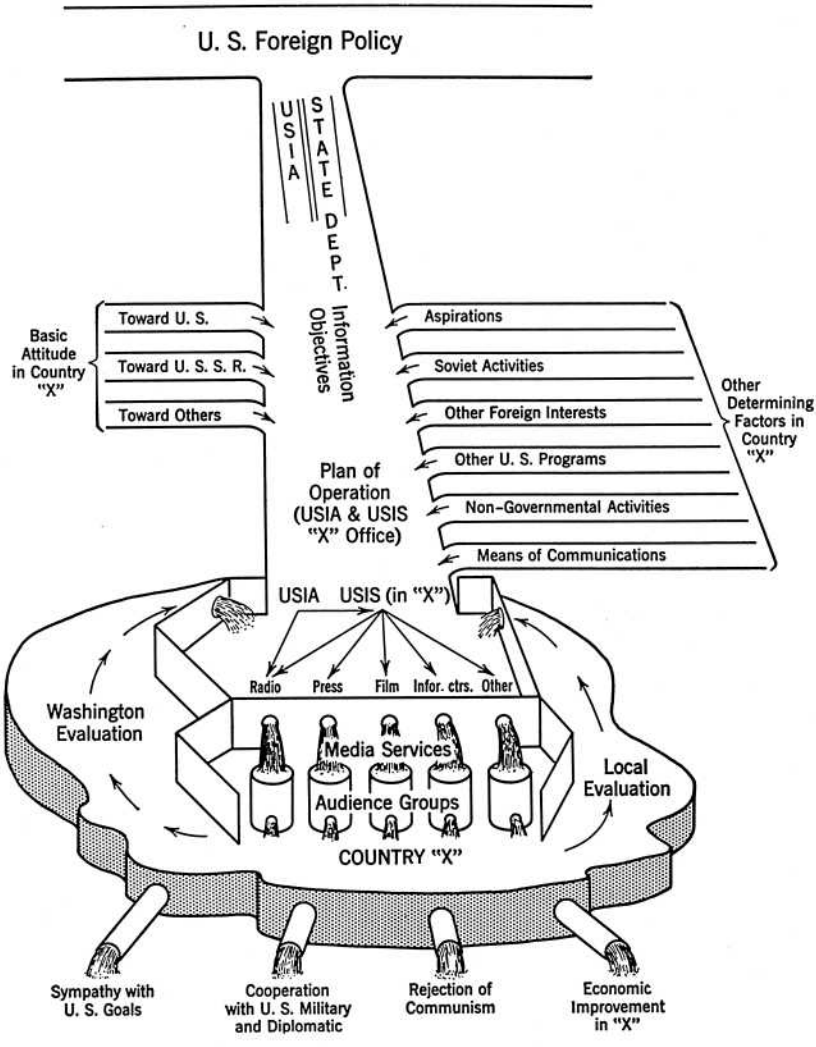


Figure 120. How United States Propaganda Is Developed.

tions of the United States. It is the grand American apologist among the peoples of the world. The elaborate apparatus for spreading the American point of view, as described in the last chapter, works according to a process that is diagrammed in Figure 120. Policy directives go into one end of the process, and, it is hoped, attitudes more favorable to the United States emerge from the other end.

The scope of the American propaganda operations is impressive. Though they change from time to time, some recent figures on the programs are worth mentioning. The Voice of America broadcasts daily in thirty-eight languages: Europe receives seventeen hours and thirty-five minutes of American broadcasts every day; the Far East, eight hours and five minutes; the Near East, Southern Asia, and Africa, four hours and a half; and South America, half an hour. The International Press Service of the USIA six days a week sends all over the world a 7000-word Wireless News File; the File contains the texts of major speeches by the President, the Secretary of State, and the leading congressmen, as well as the texts of other important policy statements and interpretations not normally carried by other fast channels of international news services. A film, *Our Times*, is produced each month in thirty languages for sixty-nine countries. The approximately two hundred information centers entertained 54 million visitors in the latter half of 1954. Two hundred eighty book translations were produced in the same period for distribution abroad. The Office of Private Cooperation helps American individuals, communities, corporations, non-profit organizations, and civic groups to get in touch with people abroad, to exchange information and to build friendships.

Yet this effort pales beside the Soviet program. It is estimated that the Soviet Union spends ten times as much as the United States on foreign propaganda. China and the satellite countries are also very active. Indeed, in international broadcasting the United States ranks seventh in total time on the air in all languages; the first six in order of time in 1954 were the USSR, Great Britain, Poland, Australia, Luxemburg, and Switzerland.

MILITARY ALLIANCES AND OPERATIONS

Today the United States is a partner in several military alliances, depicted in the map in Figure 121, that are aimed at preventing further expansion by Soviet Russia or any of its satellites. The alliances typically call for mutual armed assistance in the event of an attack on one of the signatories by a non-signatory power, and for the United States to lend aid to the other signatories in arming their military forces. The relative strengths of the American and Soviet alliances are described in Figure 122, and the comparative military readiness of the two alliance systems is shown in Table 26. These alliances mirror the present conviction in American governing circles that the Soviet Union is unalterably hostile to the United States, that restraining Soviet ambitions demands military strength, and that the United States must form a series of alliances with other countries so as to improve

its position with respect to the Soviet Bloc. Too, these alliances demonstrate the belief that the United States could not survive if Soviet Russia were allowed to absorb all of the Eurasian continent. They mean that the United States has assumed military commitments all over the globe. Finally, they assure that the United States will have tremendous military budgets, and that the government will have a major role in the national economy.

The most important of the postwar alliances is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), established by the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949. NATO includes fifteen countries in Europe and America, along the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The goal of this organization is to bar Soviet expansion into western Europe. It is administered by a North Atlantic Council, made up of the foreign ministers of the signatory powers; it also has a Council of Deputies and a number of boards and committees. Its principal military figure is the Supreme Allied Commander —Europe, a post that up to this time has always been filled by an American general.

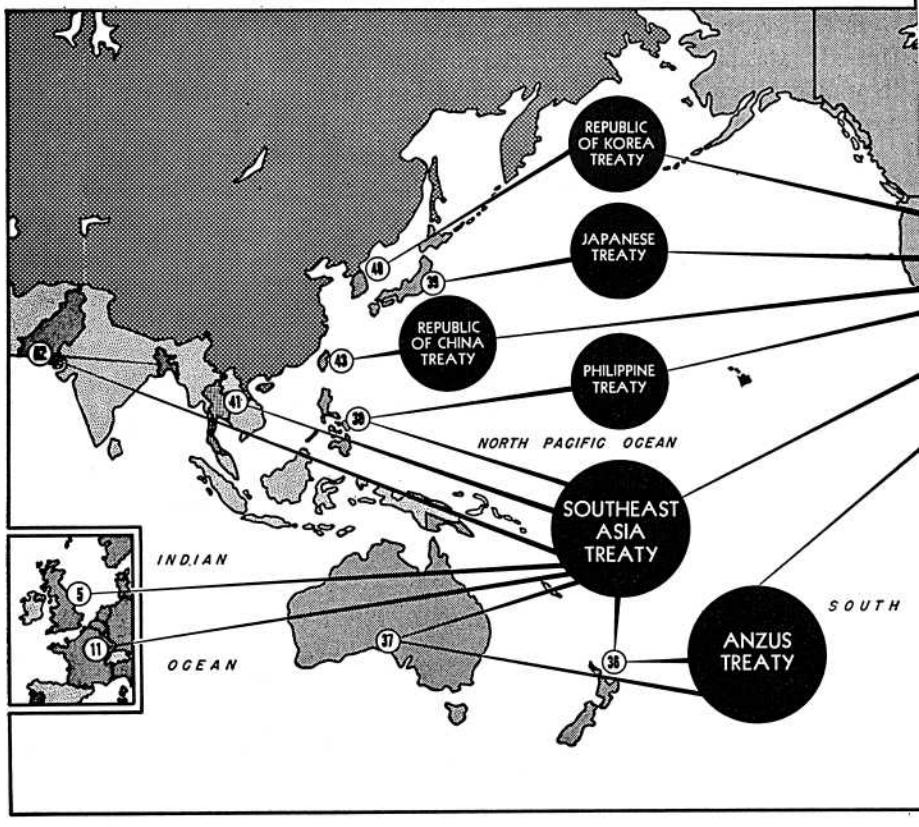
NATO has been criticized on two grounds. The first is that the organization marks a reversion from universal collective security, as typified by the

TABLE 26. THE COMPARATIVE MILITARY READINESS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR, TOGETHER WITH THEIR ALLIES[1]

	U.S.	USSR	NATO (except U.S.)	European Satellites	China & Satellites	TOTALS WEST	TOTALS EAST
Manpower							
ARMY	1,300,000	2,500,000	2,300,000	1,200,000	3,500,000	3,600,000	7,200,000
AIR FORCE	960,000	800,000	400,000	90,000	80,000	1,360,000	970,000
NAVY	907,000	825,000	300,000	13,000	25,000	1,207,000	863,000
TOTALS	3,167,000	4,125,000	3,000,000	1,303,000	3,605,000	6,167,000	9,033,000
Air Forces. Combat Planes							
Interceptors	2,700	10,000	2,000	1,350	1,800	4,700	13,150
Fighters & Bombers	2,400	6,100	2,250	1,040	780	4,650	7,920
Strategic Bombers	1,700	1,600	None Committed	0	10	1,700	1,610
Transports	700	1,800	to NATO	110	220	700	2,130
TOTALS	7,500	19,500	4,250	2,500	2,810	11,750	24,810
Navies							
Battleships	15	3	9	0	0	24	3
Carriers	101	0	26	0	0	127	0
Cruisers & Destroyers	429	293	528	7	11	957	311
Submarines	200	375	132	7	0	332	382
TOTALS	745	671	695	14	11	1,440	696

[1] *Time*, May 9, 1955, p. 29.

Figure 121. United States Collective Defense Arrangements.

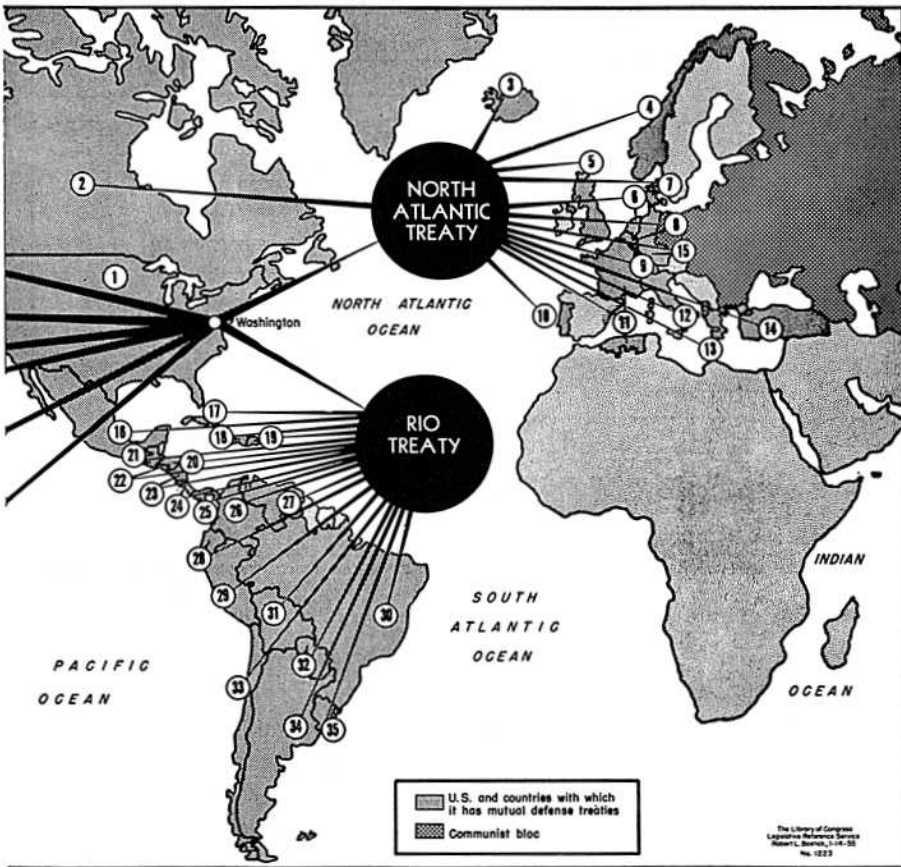


North Atlantic Treaty (15 Nations). A treaty signed April 4, 1949, by which "the parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and . . . each of them . . . will assist the . . . attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary including the use of armed force . . ." 1 United States; 2 Canada; 3 Iceland; 4 Norway; 5 United Kingdom; 6 Netherlands; 7 Denmark; 8 Belgium; 9 Luxembourg; 10 Portugal; 11 France; 12 Italy; 13 Greece; 14 Turkey; 15 Federal Republic of Germany.

Rio Treaty (21 Nations). A treaty signed September 2, 1947, which provides that an armed attack against any American State "shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and . . . each one . . . undertakes to assist in meeting the attack . . ." 1 United States; 16 Mexico; 17 Cuba; 18 Haiti; 19 Dominican Republic; 20 Honduras; 21 Guatemala; 22 El Salvador; 23 Nicaragua; 24 Costa Rica; 25 Panama; 26 Colombia; 27 Venezuela; 28 Ecuador; 29 Peru; 30 Brazil; 31 Bolivia; 32 Paraguay; 33 Chile; 34 Argentina; 35 Uruguay.

Anzus (Australia–New Zealand–United States) Treaty (3 Nations). A treaty signed September 1, 1951, whereby each of the parties "recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." 1 United States; 36 New Zealand; 37 Australia.

Philippine Treaty (Bilateral). A treaty signed August 30, 1951, by which the parties recognize "that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on either of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety" and each party agrees that it will act "to



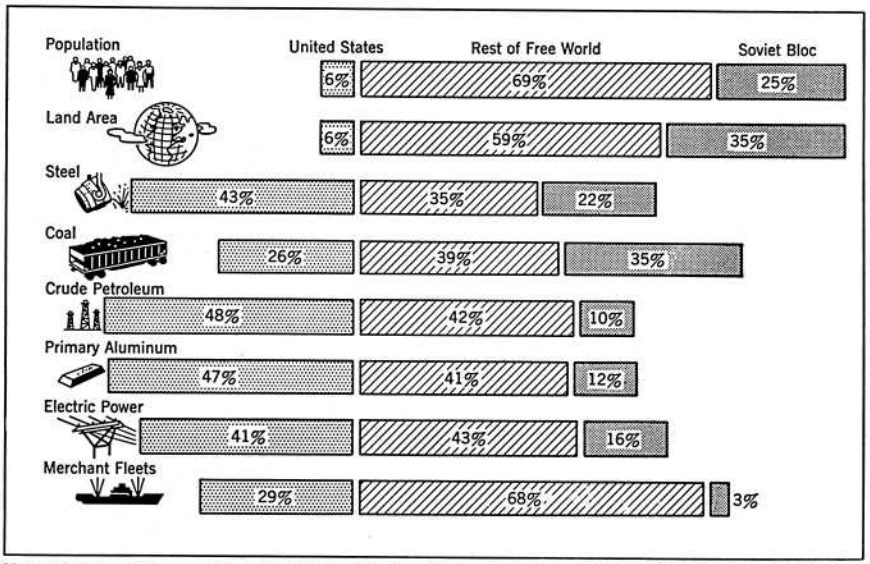
meet the common dangers in accordance with its constitutional processes." 1 United States; 38 Philippines.

Japanese Treaty (Bilateral). A treaty signed September 8, 1951, whereby Japan on a provisional basis requests, and the United States agrees, to "maintain certain of its armed forces in and about Japan . . . so as to deter armed attack upon Japan." 1 United States; 39 Japan.

Republic of Korea (South Korea) Treaty (Bilateral). A treaty signed October 1, 1953, whereby each party "recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the Parties . . . would be dangerous to its own peace and safety" and that each Party "would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." 1 United States; 40 Republic of Korea.

Southeast Asia Treaty (8 Nations). A treaty signed September 8, 1954, whereby each Party "recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties . . . would endanger its own peace and safety" and each will "in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." 1 United States; 5 United Kingdom; 11 France; 36 New Zealand; 37 Australia; 38 Philippines; 41 Thailand; 42 Pakistan.

Republic of China (Formosa) Treaty (Bilateral). A treaty signed December 2, 1954, whereby each of the parties "recognizes that an armed attack in the West Pacific Area directed against the territories of either of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety," and that each "would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." The territory of the Republic of China is defined as "Taiwan (Formosa) and the Pescadores." 1 United States; 43 Republic of China (Formosa).



Mutual Security Administration, "The Mutual Security Program: Fiscal Year 1956" (Washington, D.C., 1955), p. 10

Figure 122. The Comparative Physical Strength of the United States and the USSR, Together with Their Allies.

United Nations, to a conventional sort of regional military alliance. The second criticism is that, because the Treaty contains the proviso that "The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all. . . ," it takes the power to declare war away from Congress. This criticism is of somewhat dubious validity, because the Treaty does not state what assistance the member countries should give to any nation that is attacked. The United States has also reached an agreement with the Spanish government whereby it maintains air bases in Spain.

The United States has negotiated alliances with several Asian countries. It has joined Australia and New Zealand to form ANZUS. It has military pacts with the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, the Nationalist government of China, and Japan. It has contributed to the defense of South Viet Nam against the Indochinese Communists. Apart from these alliances, the United States in 1954 organized the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) for mutual defense against Communist aggression. Finally, as a co-signer of the Rio Pact of 1947, the United States has a military alliance with every nation in the Western Hemisphere.

Thus the United States has striven to make an unassailable bastion of the New World, and to girdle the Soviet Bloc with a series of military alliances. The only region in which the United States does not have such pacts is the Middle East, excepting that with Turkey. Pakistan has an agreement with the United States which is not, however, a military alliance; India and most of the Arab nations seem to favor a policy of neutrality.

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The United States participates in many international organizations, which are devoted to a variety of tasks. Some of the bodies, such as the Universal Postal Union, are sheerly administrative; that is, they are not concerned with issues of political power. Others, such as the Committee of Control of the International Zone of Tangier, do deal with matters of political force. A number of these organizations are affiliated with the United Nations, although some, including the International Labor Organization, are older than the UN. Others, among them the Inter-American Defense Board, are limited to the Western Hemisphere. The United States may be fairly described as an enthusiastic member of these associations, and it works through a number of them to implement its foreign policy. The limitations of space forbid an extended description of the dozens of international groups that count the United States among their constituents; however, a few of the more important bodies merit particular note.

Regulatory agencies

Methods of transportation and communication have in a sense bound up the civilized world into a single community. Therefore most of the nations in this community have banded together to form agencies to regulate various kinds of activities that frequently cross international frontiers, to lessen the problems that may arise from differences in the same type of institutions situated in neighboring countries. For example, the International Civil Aviation Organization handles questions of international air traffic, promotes the adoption of safety practices and devices, supervises the operation of a fleet of weather-observation vessels in the Atlantic Ocean, and grants technical aid to retarded countries seeking to establish air routes. The International Monetary Fund is designed to stabilize the moneys of the world, to restrain member countries from inflating their currencies in an effort to encourage their export trade, and to simplify the international exchange of funds. The International Telecommunication Union drafts regulations for international telephone, telegraph, and radio services; perhaps its most important task today is the allocation of radio frequencies to broadcasters. The Universal Postal Union fixes rules for the handling of postal matter sent from one country to another, aiming especially at procuring uniform rates. Each of these bodies is an agency of the United Nations.

Promotional and welfare organizations

Just as the national government has undertaken many promotional and welfare functions on the domestic scene, so, too, the United States has joined a number of organizations dedicated to these tasks at the international level. This practice has been especially noticeable since the end of World War II, for the decade since the termination of hostilities has been marked by great American concern for the well-being of other peoples. The American government is a member of some organizations designed to improve the

lot of the population in certain regions. For example, the United States, France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, have formed a Caribbean Commission to elevate the living standards of the area about the Caribbean Sea; the United States has also joined with those countries, and with Australia and New Zealand as well, to establish a South Pacific Commission, to improve economic conditions in the islands of the South Pacific; finally, the United States is a member of the Pan American Sanitary Organization, to cope with problems of disease in the New World.

The United States also participates in promotional and welfare organizations that are world-wide in scope. It has joined the World Health Organization, which strives to conquer disease and emphasizes preventive medicine. It belongs to the World Meteorological Organization, which seeks to facilitate the international exchange of weather information. It is a member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which aims at reducing international tensions and hostilities by international bartering of science, culture, and education. It has been the chief contributor to the funds of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, whose purposes have been to lend money for the rebuilding of economies ruined by World War II, and to make loans to technologically backward states that intend to erect new industrial facilities. It is associated with the International Labor Organization, which attempts to raise wage levels everywhere in the world. Finally, it has joined the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which is devoted to raising levels of nutrition throughout the world. These activities typify an attitude that may be designated as "enlightened selfishness"; that is, the government appears to feel that its investments will be returned in future years in the shape of increased trade with the populations concerned. Of course, these activities also reflect the conviction among some political leaders that the alleviation of poverty is essential in order to succeed in the struggle with the Soviet Union.

Organization of American States

The Organization of American States (OAS), the successor to the Pan American Union, is a major international agency for the United States, since it in a fashion embodies one of the most important aspects of American foreign policy—the Monroe Doctrine. The OAS, a regional agency within the United Nations, comprises the twenty-one republics of the Americas. Its goal is to defend its members against outside attack. Its governing body is the Council, made up of one representative from each member nation; each nation has one vote. Its Secretariat, or administrative framework, is the Pan American Union. Among its other tasks, the OAS holds consultations regarding disputes between American countries, and is vigilant for any threat by a non-American power to an American republic. The OAS also contains several specialized agencies for managing such technical concerns as social, economic, legal, and cultural matters. The structure of the OAS,

with each country having an equal voice in the Council, shows how the United States has discarded its former practices of "dollar diplomacy" and how it has concluded that it can hope for much more success in the conduct of its foreign policy if it treats the other American nations as its peers. At the same time the existence of the OAS demonstrates that American foreign policy emphasizes the protection of the Western Hemisphere.

United Nations

Structure: The United Nations is a political organization containing today eighty nations. Its principal aims are to preserve the peace and to furnish a body within which nations may cooperate in finding solutions for political, social, economic, and cultural problems. Created in 1945, the United Nations is situated on Manhattan Island, in a skyscraper reared close to the East River. Here the UN exercises certain sovereign powers, such as the issuance of stamps and the control of its own police; moreover, delegates to the UN possess diplomatic immunity. The framework of the UN is set forth in its Charter, drafted in San Francisco in 1945, which amounts to the constitution of the United Nations. This Charter provides for six major bodies and many subsidiary units, as shown in Figure 123.

1. GENERAL ASSEMBLY. The General Assembly may be termed the legislature of the United Nations. Each member country may send delegates to the General Assembly, and each country has a single vote. The Assembly names many of the other officers of the United Nations. It also keeps a watchful eye upon international politics, and brings situations that menace peace to the attention of the Security Council. It enacts the budget of the United Nations and apportions the expenses among the members. Ordinarily the Assembly meets every year; it may also be called into special session.

2. SECURITY COUNCIL. The Security Council performs the functions of a special legislature devoted to problems of peace and war. It has eleven members, each from a different country. Five of the seats are assigned permanently to the so-called "Big Five"—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France, and China. The General Assembly elects the other six members of the Council, choosing three annually to hold office for two years. The function of the Council is to "act on behalf of the members of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security." In the event of international disputes the Council is authorized by the Charter to take appropriate steps to avoid the outbreak of hostilities. In any situation calling for substantive action, at least seven members of the Council must cast affirmative votes for the action, including all five permanent members. The Council is in permanent session.

3. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is the principal welfare agency of the United Nations. It consists of eighteen members elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms. It is designed to investigate economic and social conditions that the United Nations may improve, and to draw up studies recommending possible improvements.

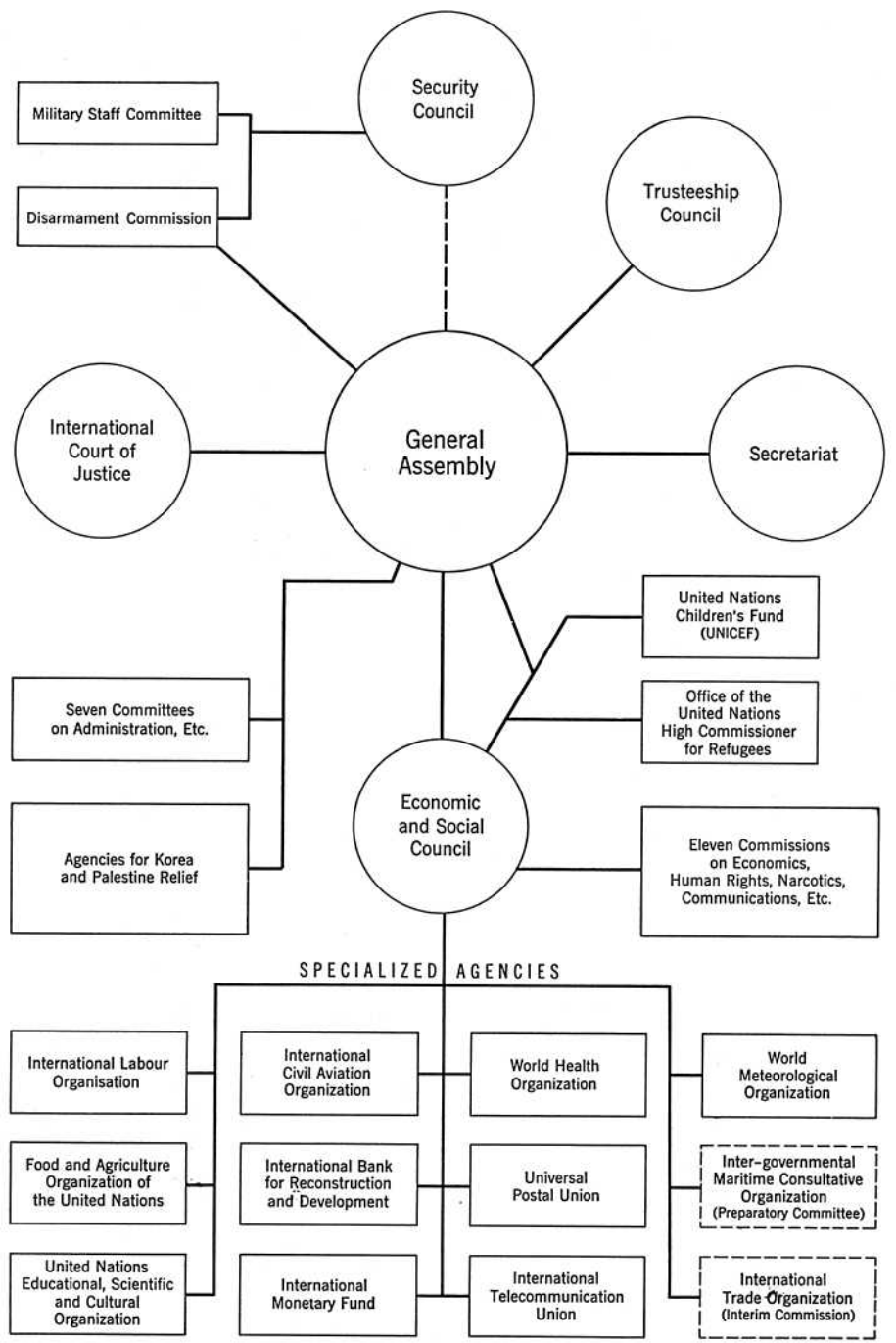


Figure 123. Structure of the United Nations.

4. TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL. The Trusteeship Council supervises the administration of the former colonial areas that have been placed under the International Trusteeship System. Under this arrangement, these territories are assigned to a specific country for administrative purposes; the administering government can be held responsible for its governmental practices. The areas presently under this system include mandated regions (colonies of defeated World War I powers, notably Germany and Turkey, that were assigned to the victorious nations but were under League of Nations supervision) and the territories taken from the powers defeated in World War II; provision has been made for administering colonies whose proprietors have placed them under this system, but no country has so far done so. The Council is made up of all nations that administer trust territories, and an equal number of nations that do not administer any territories; each of the Big Five must be represented on the Council. The General Assembly elects the non-administering powers. On July 1, 1956, the Council had twelve members; the administering countries were Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, Great Britain, and the United States.

5. THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. The International Court of Justice is the chief judicial body of the United Nations. Only governments may bring cases before the Court. All members of the United Nations are by the fact of membership authorized to appear in the Court; other countries may be admitted according to conditions set by the General Assembly. The Court is made up of a President, a Vice President, and fifteen justices chosen by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting separately, for nine-year terms. No two justices may come from the same country. The Court handles disputes arising out of provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Statute appended to the Charter. For example, the Court will decide cases in which a treaty between nations seems to be in conflict with the Charter, which is declared to be supreme over other treaties. Like some American State courts, but unlike the federal Supreme Court, the International Court may also render advisory decisions. Its decisions are final, and binding when a case is one that a country has submitted to its jurisdiction; in the event any government fails to comply with the terms of a decision, the Court may ask the Security Council to take steps that will force compliance.

6. SECRETARIAT. The Secretariat is the administrative office of the United Nations. It consists of the Secretary General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council, and whatever additional staff may be necessary. Members of the Secretariat are to comport themselves as officials of an international organization; they are not to abide by counsel given them by any sovereign government, nor are the member states to attempt to influence personnel of the Secretariat. The functions of the Secretary General are to prepare an annual report on the activities of the United Nations, for the use of the General Assembly, to draw the attention of the Security Council to any disputes among nations that imperil world peace, and to direct the operations of the Secretariat.

Activities: The United Nations has had an important role in the resolution of numerous world problems. It supported South Korea when that country was invaded by the North Koreans. It condemned Communist China as an aggressor when that country sent its troops into the Korean War. It has not admitted Communist China to membership in place of Nationalist China. In 1946 the UN helped bring pressure on the USSR to withdraw its troops from Iran. It aided the Israeli and the Arabs to sign a truce after bloody warfare over the possession of Palestine. It helped the United States and the Soviet Union to solve their dispute respecting the so-called Berlin blockade of 1948–1949. It contributed to preventing a war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, which each claimed for its own. It has actively sought some type of international control of atomic energy. It sent an international police force into Egypt in 1956.

Apart from these endeavors in behalf of world peace, the United Nations has engaged in many efforts at achieving higher standards of welfare throughout the world. It has helped underdeveloped nations with technical assistance and information services. It has provided food and supplies to millions of refugees in Europe, Palestine, Korea, and elsewhere. It has resettled hundreds of thousands of displaced persons in new homes. It has given milk, medicine, and other care to millions of children in devastated areas. It has investigated and published reports on the atrocities of the communists in Korea and the practice of the USSR in using the slave labor of millions of people. It has been active in investigating and in fostering legislation for the control of the world commerce in narcotics. In general it has provided a world forum in which all nations could express their needs, likes, and dislikes, and could debate issues with each other.

The United Nations has been unable to accomplish some things that were predicted for it, such as becoming a federal union of the world. The creation of an effective world political organization presents almost insuperable difficulties. It is naive to draw a parallel between the thirteen American States after 1783 and the powers of the world today. Although there were important differences among the American States, their populations did speak the same tongue, shared a common legal system, had just finished a war against a common enemy, and were confronted by the possibility of attack from that enemy. More important than anything else, there was a group of respected leaders from all the States who worked together by spending money, agitating, propagandizing, and organizing, to unite the country. They would be imprisoned or executed for such activities in half the nations of the world today. Moreover, today there is not such an accomplished group of leaders who can work independently in world politics or who can work to the end of world organization without violating oaths of office.

By contrast, the modern world powers have enormous differences among themselves. They have not had the unifying experience of fighting the same enemy. It is frequently proclaimed that modern nations should unite against war, or poverty, or famine; however, the fact is that countries

do not band together solely in opposition to such abstractions. Peoples today speak a multitude of languages, and have conflicting theories of government. Leaders and peoples subsist from day to day on local resources and give only academic attention to the rest of the world. To match the power and qualities of the Founding Fathers, there would have to be a conclave of men such as Nikita Khrushchev, Chou En-lai, Dwight Eisenhower, Sir Anthony Eden, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pope Pius XII, and others equally powerful and respected, conspiring and working together for a world government based on principles to which all adhered.

Most countries do not acknowledge, or are completely ignorant of, the rule of law, whose preservation was a leading cause for the writing of the present American Constitution. Perhaps only a slow acceptance of the rule of law by the other countries of the world, and a decrease in the blind submission to the doctrines of inevitable conflict that form part of the communist ideology, might ease the birth of a working international organization. The success of the American way of government may hasten the acceptance of the rule of law everywhere.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. How would the United States recognize Communist China should it desire to do so? What would be the practical consequences of such a recognition? Why does the United States refuse to do so?
2. How are treaties negotiated and approved?
3. Why have executive agreements grown in number in recent years?
4. Describe the work of American Foreign Service officers.
5. Compare American expenditures for diplomacy, economic aid, propaganda, military operations, and international organizations.
6. What foreign operations would you expand next year should you wish to bring greater success to American foreign policies?
7. How can propaganda operations contribute to the success of diplomatic, military, and economic activities?
8. Describe the world-wide system of American alliances.
9. Describe the structure of the United Nations, and the functions it performs.