4. **Required Reading**

None

5. **Reference Reading**


c. Kirkpatrick, E. M., *Years of Crisis*; 1957


h. American University's Field and Staff Reports Service.

i. **Periodicals:**

   (1) *Africa Today* - Various issues (1960-1962)

   (2) *The Reporter*

      (a) Howe, R. W., *Africa's Largest Nation Goes to the Poles*, 4 Feb 1960


      (d) Brook-Shepherd, G., *Red Rivalry in the Black Continent*, 18 Jan 1962


   (3) *Foreign Affairs - An American Quarterly Review*

      Vol. 37 #1

      (a) Nkrumah, K., *African Prospect*, Oct. 1958,

      Vol. 37 #3

      (b) Henry, P., *Pan-Africanism: A Dream Come True*
(c) Rivkin, A., *Israel and the Afro-Asian World*; Apr. 1959, Vol. 37 #3


(e) Silberman, L., *Change and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*; Jul. 1959, Vol. 37 #4


j. *Special Warfare Area Handbook for Nigeria*, April, 1961

CASE STUDY - ITALY

1. Introduction

a. Since the end of World War II, one of the most important and difficult problems with which Italy has had to contend has been the Italian Communist Party (PCI). The Italian party is the largest Communist party outside the "Iron Curtain", and is a very important factor in Italian politics.

b. Of the three methods by which Communists can theoretically come to power - Revolution, the Red Army, and the Ballot - the Italian Communist Party has concentrated on the third. This "Italian road to socialism" a long, slow but legal and respectable road, was devised and is being directed by Palmiro Togliatti, the party's secretary general. His strategy, ever since his return from exile in Moscow, has been to avoid a frontal attack and develop a maneuverable mass party, which, in coalition with the "more progressive" Socialist and Catholic forces, could gain power through legal means.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What is the basis for the strong Communist appeal in Italy?

b. How effective are the "peaceful political" efforts in gaining popular support for the Communist Party?

c. Do geographical divisions or ethnic groups contribute materially to the Communist efforts?

3. Scope and Purpose

To present reasons why the Italian Communist Party is the largest outside the Soviet Block and to acquaint the student with tactics employed by the Communists to achieve power by parliamentary means.

4. Required Reading

None.

5. Reference Reading

b. Bolles, B. The Big Change in Europe, 1958

c. Bouscaren, A. T. Imperial Communism, 1953

d. Gunther, J. Inside Europe Today, 1961

e. Hermans, F. A. Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy, 1951

f. Hughes, H. S. The United States and Italy, 1953

g. Kirkpatrick, E. M. Year of Crisis- Communist Propaganda Activities in 1956, 1957

h. Kohn, H. The Twentieth Century, 1957

i. Luce, C.B. Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review, Vol 39 No 2, Italy after 100 Years, 1961


k. Reitzel, W. The Mediterranean-Its Role in America's Foreign Policy, 1948

l. H. Seton-Watson, Neither War nor Peace

m. H. Seton-Watson, From Lenin to Khrushchev, 1960

n. The Reporter, June 9, 1960

do. The Reporter, January 4, 1962

p. Britannica Book of the Year, 1961
SINO-SOVET ACTIVITIES

DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES
IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1. Introduction

For many years it was axiomatic to regard the Communist Bloc as monolithic in organization, undeviating in application of policy, intolerant of independent thought, ruthless in enforcement of discipline, and subject to the total control by Moscow. Important changes have taken place in the Communist movement in recent years. It is no longer united under the leadership of Moscow either organizationally or ideologically. Discipline was badly shaken by Yugoslavia's defection in 1948, by Khrushchev's attacks on Stalinism, and by popular uprisings against Communist regimes. Factionalism has developed within the national Communist parties, taking the form of three ideological wings, led respectively by Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and Communist China. It would appear that as a result the Communist movement has received a serious blow at the very characteristics that made it strong and dangerous. This development is so important that it must be carefully studied, and its causes and possible consequences evaluated, for it may affect the nature of the Cold War, provide our foreign policy with new opportunities, and affect civil affairs operations.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. Is it realistic to expect increasing disunity, both ideological and organizational, in the Communist Bloc?

b. How can Communist Bloc internal differences affect Soviet policies in the Cold War? Our own policies?

c. What are the capabilities of the Soviet Union to enforce discipline and a uniform policy in the Communist Bloc?

d. Would a Communist Bloc consisting of a loose union of national Communist states be stronger or weaker, more or less stable, than the rigidly-controlled Communist Bloc of Stalinist times?
3. **Scope and Purpose**

To examine and evaluate the factors affecting the unity of the Communist Bloc.

4. **Required Reading**

Read any two of the following:


e. Dallin, David, *Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin*, pp 18-44; 335-382


5. **Reference Reading**


o. Selected Articles in following periodicals:

(1) Problems of Communism (Pub. by USIA)
(2) Bulletin, Institute for the Study of the USSR
(3) East Europe
(4) The Reporter
(5) Current History
(6) World Politics
(7) Orbis
(8) Foreign Affairs
1. Introduction

a. The Civil Affairs School has presented to you a series of classes on various aspects of Sino-Soviet affairs and Communist ideology. The society you have studied is a closed society, meaning that it is protected from outside influence, access, or understanding by the policy of each Communist government and that government's ability to exercise effective control over social and individual activities.

b. Studying a closed society and the policies of its government presents many problems to Western scholars. The usual sources of information to which we are accustomed either are not available or are not reliable. To learn something of the intentions and capabilities of Communist government and ruling Communist parties, we are forced to rely on clues, unreliable sources, the record of past performance, and careful techniques for organizing and evaluating available information. In other words, it is necessary to combine the techniques of academic scholarship and political intelligence.

c. When specialists begin to study Soviet affairs, their problem is very much that of the three blind men who tried to describe an elephant by the sense of touch alone. The man who felt the elephant's trunk and decided that the elephant was a huge snake mistook one part of the animal for the whole. The one who felt the leg thought the elephant was like a tree, and the one who felt the tail thought it was like a rope. Because each had learned only part of the truth, his conclusion turned out to be wrong.

d. There are many dangers in trying to discover the truth by organizing facts into an apparent relationship. For example, it can be proved statistically that every time the sales of ice cream go up, more people die by drowning. This relationship can be established by the facts beyond the shadow of a doubt, and it may even be presented as a cause of cause and effect. But do we really have there the whole truth? Perhaps something is missing. In this example, of course, the explanation lies in the existence
of a third factor, which is related to both the ice cream sales and the drownings. Seasonal variations in climate influence the behavior of people, so that when they escape the heat of summer by going to the beach, there is both a greater consumption of ice cream, and more drownings.

e. When we try to learn the truth, we take available evidence and analyze it. We may or may not know whether the key facts are present, and it is often very difficult to know how close or how far away we may be from the truth. Prosecuting and defense attorneys at a trial sometimes present totally contradictory explanations from the same set of facts. The identical problem exists in the study of Communist affairs.

f. During the past ten years especially, the literature on Communist and Soviet affairs has acquired a new depth. By now, the Soviet regime has existed four decades and has gone through several stages of development, so that it can be evaluated with historical perspective. World War II and the period that followed provided fresh sources of evidence, such as German combat and occupation records, refugee testimony, the experience of Soviet bloc countries, and covert intelligence efforts.

g. The Cold War has provided the incentive for an elaborate effort to collect, organize, and evaluate information on the Sino-Soviet bloc. "Soviet Affairs" has developed into a recognized academic discipline, complete with a large body of trained specialists. Research was stimulated by the establishment of special institutes, by government grants, and by the direct participation of government agencies in research. Some of them, including the CIA, the Department of Defense, and the Department of State, make a major effort in the field. Almost every agency of government, however, supports a small group of specialists to follow developments behind the Iron Curtain in its special field of responsibility.

h. The monopoly long held in Soviet Affairs by historians, political scientists, and economists has been invaded by other academic disciplines. Specialists in anthropology, sociology, psychology -- are all eager to throw new light on the subject, and in some instances they even claim to provide an understanding of the key factors of Soviet behavior.

i. As a result of all the effort, we now know much more about the Communist world than formerly. This is true especially about special or technical fields of knowledge. But if you read studies of the Soviet political system, you will discover that scholars of recognized honesty,
judgment, and experience offer conflicting and contradictory theories on what really motivates or influences Soviet behavior and on how the system is developing. They disagree in their assessment of internal Soviet policies; on whether Khrushchev's current position is strong or weak, for example; or whether or not Soviet totalitarianism is beginning to show democratic tendencies; and whether or not it is possible for the system to produce another period of Stalinist terror. Questions such as these are important, for the future course or the Cold War depends not only on the vulnerability of the Free World to Communist penetration, but also on the direction of development and the internal condition of the Communist bloc.

j. The literature available today on Communism and Sino-Soviet affairs is enormous. The subject is an interesting one, as well as an important one to you as American citizens and as responsible officers who will actually be confronted by problems of the Cold War. It is your responsibility to read as much as you can on the subject, and to develop if not an expert knowledge, then at least a grasp of its major elements.

k. The Civil Affairs School, and the United States Army, are no more omniscient in the field of Sino-Soviet affairs than individual scholars or agencies of government. In this concluding class on the Sino-Soviet bloc we cannot offer you the kind of authoritative evaluation of Sino-Soviet affairs that you may have been expecting. By now you acquired some basic factual knowledge and have heard historical surveys of how the Sino-Soviet world developed to its present condition. What we can do now is to give you some compass bearings, so that you will be able to orient yourself when you hear or read more on the subject. We will survey briefly the different methods now being used to study the Communist world, some of the different levels on which the subject may be approached, and some current schools of thought on particular problems.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. It is frequently said that no Communist statement can be believed or promise trusted. At the same time quotations from statements and works of Communist leaders are often used in describing Communist intentions and the reality of the Communist threat to the world. Reconcile the two approaches.

b. Consider what different methods might be used in studying Sino-Soviet affairs and evaluating available information.
c. What factors affect the course of History?

d. In what ways do Soviet internal conditions and policies affect Soviet foreign policy?

3. Scope and Purpose

To describe the different approaches used in studying Sino-Soviet affairs; the capabilities of research, and the problems of evaluating Sino-Soviet behavior.

4. Required Reading


One of the following:


5. Reference Reading


A compilation of 15 articles originally published elsewhere by such people as Daniel Bell, George F. Kennan, Nathan Leites, Philip Mosely, Henry Roberts, Bertram Worbie, and Barrington Moore, Jr.


s. Russian Foreign Policy and the Western World, in Current History, v. 37, No 219 (Nov 1959). The entire issue of Current History is devoted to the above theme.


1. Introduction

In the past three decades, there has been a keener and wider appreciation of United States interests in overseas areas. The traditional diplomatic functions of representation, negotiation, and reporting have been augmented by many activities of economic, military, public relations, and scientific nature. Accordingly, there has been a proliferation of U. S. national agencies operating abroad. There also has been a trend toward greater refinement and sophistication of U. S. operations abroad. This latter trend specifically includes:

a. An insistence upon unified management of American official programs, involving strengthening the authority of the Ambassador as administrator and efforts to harmonize separate U. S. agency programs, both military and civilian.

b. An insistence that U. S. aid programs be based upon forward planning—both by U. S. agencies and by the aided country. "The potential importance of U. S. Civil Affairs programs in overseas areas in situations short of war makes imperative, therefore, the CA operator is able and willing to draw upon and augment the total resources of the country team."

c. This block of instruction describes the main functions of State, AID, MAAG, USIS, and the various specialized attaches, with emphasis upon the officials typically found in each type of mission, the skills represented, the planning responsibilities, and the organizational relationships among elements of the Country Team and between the field and Washington. Coverage of MAP and the Country Team concept is kept relatively brief in view of the more extensive treatment in Subjects 305S and 502S.

2. Topics for Consideration

Any thoughtful consideration of this subject will raise questions such as the following:

a. The President has a difficult organizational problem: How can he be sure the United States speaks with one official voice to another country while assuring complex problems receive the technical expertise of appropriate U. S. official bodies?

b. How do U. S. executive departments other than State satisfy their needs for information and action abroad?
c. How do we blend U.S. military and civil aid programs?

d. What overseas activities possibly can justify the rather large number of Americans serving abroad? Just what do the various U.S. agencies actually do?

3. Scope and Purpose

To acquaint students with the functions and organization of the more important U.S. agencies operating abroad. The intent thereby is to give the Civil Affairs officer an appreciation of Country Team program interests and skills which may directly affect his operations.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading

None.
US FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

1. **Introduction**

   a. A basic understanding of the mechanics of manufacturing foreign policy is essential to an understanding of the fast-moving events of the world of the Twentieth Century. This is especially true for persons dealing actively in Cold War operations.

   b. U. S. Foreign Policy Implementation makes no attempt to provide answers to particular problems facing the United States in the world arena. It does, however, concern itself with basic requirements of United States Foreign Policy, how it is formulated and the social, economic and political influences which govern its implementation.

2. **Topics for Consideration**

   a. What are the basic ingredients of United States foreign policy?

   b. What are the roles of the White House, the Congress, the Supreme Court and other federal agencies in the formulation of United States foreign policy?

   c. What basically is the foreign policy of the United States?

   d. What role do military forces have in the implementation of United States foreign policy?

3. **Scope and Purpose**

   The purpose of the period is to acquaint civil affairs officers with basic foreign policy, its influence on individual citizens and military officers and to adopt certain basic rules for effective "on-site" considerations of foreign policy moves in the International Arena.

4. **Required Reading**

   None

5. **Reference Reading**


e. Zinner, P. E., *Documents on American Foreign Relations* (1955)
g. Baldwin, Hanson W., *The Price of Power* (1947)
h. Beloff, Max, *New Dimensions in Foreign Policy* (1961)
i. Demis, Samuel F., *A Short History of American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy* (1959)
l. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (Index)
r. Lerche, Charles O., *Foreign Policy of the American People* (1958)
s. Osgood, Robert E., *Ideals and Self-interest in America's Foreign Relations* (1953)


w. Westerfield, H. G., *Foreign Policy and Part Politics* (1958)

x. Wriston, Henry M., *Diplomacy in A Democracy* (1956)
THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT IN FOREIGN POLICY

1. Introduction

a. In 1948, President Harry Truman said, "I make American foreign policy." Even allowing for President Truman's natural tendency to over-simplify issues, it nonetheless remains true that he reduced the problem of the President's role in foreign policy to its bare essentials. Far more than any one else in our system of government, the President of the United States has both the power and the responsibility to determine the final decisions directly affecting this nation's foreign relations. Perhaps more than the British Prime Minister or even Khrushchev, the President as the Chief Executive agent and "sole organ" has the ultimate power of decision, not only over his own government's policies, but also those of the Free World. What are the reasons for this preeminence of the President in the field of foreign policy?

b. For one, the continual growth of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government has been one of the chief characteristics of the changing political patterns in the U. S. since the establishment of the Republic. It has grown considerably faster than Congress and the Courts and the President has been the main beneficiary of this development. This tendency has been intensified during the periods of the great wars in which the United States has been involved. The Civil War, World War I and World War II all created emergencies which could best be solved by strengthening the power of the President. So-called "war powers" have accrued over the years, accompanying those derived from being Commander-in-Chief, which permit him to do things in wartime which he could not do in peacetime.

c. Another is that Court decisions, such as Missouri vs. Holland, the Curtis-Wright case of 1936, the Belmont and Pink cases, have added to the President's considerable arsenal of authority. Foreign relations have been declared as essentially different from domestic relations. In other words, the government has been permitted to do things in foreign policy which it could not do in domestic policy. In addition, Executive agreements have been declared to be as legally binding as treaties.
d. Moreover, it is clear in our system of government that the states, the Courts, the Congress and the people are not in a position to conduct day to day foreign policy or even to formulate decisions. Inevitably, these must be left to the President and his appointed agents.

e. The business of conducting foreign relations also requires secrecy and dispatch which are notoriously lacking in the other branches of the federal structure. Closely related to this is the superiority of information available to the President as the chief executive officer of the government. The intelligence-gathering services of the CIA, the Defense Establishment, the State Department and other executive departments and agencies are not at the beck and call of anyone else but the President. What can happen when Congressmen try to challenge the President on this score is all too vividly demonstrated in the famous story of Senator Borah, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who informed President Roosevelt in the summer of 1939 that according to his sources of information it was unlikely that there was going to be a war in Europe for at least ten years.

f. The American President and Vice-President are the only officials elected by all of the people in the country; as a result, they are more entitled to speak for the entire nation than anyone else. Since the election is for four years and usually eight, the President has a unity of office which is denied the Congress, which must regroup every two years.

g. If these reasons were not sufficient to explain the preeminence of the President in our foreign policy-making process (and they are), then one could cite others. The fact that in foreign relations the nation must, by the nature of the state system, speak with one voice legally, and preferably, politically too, to other governments. Power to appoint officials, recognize governments, call out the troops, enforce the law, declare an emergency, recommend legislation and speak to the people through the mass media of communications, all contribute to making the President, par excellence, the voice of the American people in foreign policy.

h. Clinton Rossiter in his book, The American Presidency, delineated ten roles that he believes the President plays in our national life. These are Chief of State, Chief Executive, Leader of Foreign Policy, Commander in Chief, Chief Legislator, Chief of Party, Voice of the People, Manager of Prosperity, Protector of the Peace, and Leader of the World's Free Nations. It is interesting that all of these involve foreign policy in one way or another and that four and possibly five deal exclusively with this activity. Indeed, this is a tremendous change from the days when a Secretary
of State could declare in the 1880's that there were only two rules of business at the State Department: "One is that no business is conducted outside of business hours; the other is that no business is conducted during business hours."

i. There is only one rule of business for both the President and the State Department today and that is there are no hours that aren't business hours. Business is going on all the time around the clock, on Sundays and holidays, in the nursery, on the Honey Fitz, the golf course, Paris, London or Caracas. Wherever the President is, that's where the business of United States foreign policy is being conducted.

2. **Topics for Consideration**

   a. Why is the President "more equal" than others in foreign policy?
   b. What are the roles of the President in policy formulation?
   c. What are the powers of the President in foreign policy?
   d. What has the Supreme Court said about the President's powers?
   e. How have wars affected the President's powers?
   f. What are the limits to the President's powers in foreign policy?

3. **Scope and Purpose**

   This lecture undertakes to describe and explain the preeminent role of the President in making of United States foreign policy.

4. **Required Reading**


5. Reference Reading


q. Herring, Pendleton, Presidential Leadership, New York, Rinehart, 1940.
r. Hershey, John, Profile Series in New Yorker, Spring, 1951. "Mr. President, II-Ten O'Clock Meeting," April 14, 1951, pp. 38 ff.


1. Introduction

a. It is useful in considering how foreign policy is made in the United States Government to distinguish between those departments and agencies which are "core" and "non-core". The "non-core" departments and agencies are those, such as the Labor, Commerce, Agriculture and Justice Departments and the Atomic Energy Commission and Civil Aeronautics Board, which play a significant role in policy process, but one on the periphery of rather than at the decision-making center. The "core" groups, on the other hand, are those at the heart of the process and include the President's advisors, the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the State, Defense and Treasury Departments.

b. Probably next in importance to the President himself in making foreign policy are his own personal advisors in the White House. People such as Robert Kennedy, Maxwell Taylor, Jerome Weisner, McGeorge Bundy and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., constantly have the ear of the President. In addition there are others like Ted Sorensen, Larry O'Brien, Kenneth O'Donnell, Ralph Dungan, Mike Feldman and Pierre Salinger, who do the kind of staff work which must inevitably influence the final product.

c. It is also usual for a President to have close friends outside the Government whom he may consult and who by simply being his friends have varying degrees of influence in the making of policy. The President's father, Dean Acheson, Robert Lovett, Rowland Evans, Jr., Walter Lippman, and Joseph Alsop are among such people.

d. The chief agency for formulating and coordinating national security policy on the highest level is the National Security Council. The N.S.C. was set up by the National Security Act of 1947 and includes as regular members of its Council, the President, Vice-President, Secretaries of State and Defense and Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Usually attending its meetings are the Secretary of Treasury, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Director of the Bureau of the Budget and the President's Special Assistant for National Security Council Affairs.
e. The Council, with the help of a Planning Board made of second rank officials and a Secretariat, is charged with assessing and appraising the objectives, commitments and risks of United States foreign policy in the light of the nation's actual and potential military power. It also advises the President on the integration of domestic, foreign and military policies relating to national security and on the coordination of those agencies concerned.

f. Recommendations of the Council are not official until the President accepts them. The importance of the N.S.C. has grown considerably over the years, although in the early days of the Kennedy Administration it was frequently ignored. After the Cuban Affair in the spring of 1961, the Council began again to play its previous important role in making security policy.

g. One of the chief aims of the N.S.C. is the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA, as it is commonly known, acts as the chief coordinating agency of the government for all intelligence matters. Its director, John McCone, reports directly to the N.S.C. and usually sits in on its meetings.

h. The chief activity of the Agency in addition to its coordinating functions, is in the field of strategic intelligence. It employs both covert and overt methods, although the latter are by far the most important. Most of its work is routine collecting, filing and evaluating intelligence information from all available sources. It has been said, not without reason, that the new CIA building houses a greater concentration of Ph.D.'s and other assorted eggheads than any place in the country.

i. Since the Cuban Affair, it has undergone a drastic shake-up and some of its larger scale covert quasi-military operations have been turned over to the Defense Department. Its work is generally conceded to be comparable in quality to the best done in the world and its influence on policy in the United States is very, very great indeed.

2. **Topics for Consideration**

   a. What is meant by "core" and "non-core" departments and agencies in foreign policy?

   b. What is the role of the White House Staff in making policy?

   c. What is the National Security Council?

   d. What is its importance in policy formulation?
3. Scope and Purpose

This lecture describes and assesses the role of the President's advisors, official and unofficial, the N.S.C. and the CIA, in the foreign policy process.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading

None.
THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

1. Introduction

a. The chief department of the government dealing directly and exclusively with the problems of the foreign policy is of course the Department of State. Its Secretary, usually the first officer of the Cabinet, is normally the chief advisor to the President on matters relating to foreign affairs. Both the duties of the Department and the Secretary depend a great deal on the personal predilections of the President. As the Organic Statute setting up the Department states, the Secretary "shall conduct the business of the Department in such manner as the President shall direct".

b. Today's involvement in world affairs by the United States has increased greatly the size and responsibilities of the Department. Up until WW II the number of employees did not exceed 1,000. Even this was a substantial increase from the five that ran affairs in 1789. Nowadays the number of employees exceeds 20,000.

c. State has four main functions: (1) to gather information needed to enable the President, Executive officials, the Congress and the public to keep abreast of world affairs; (2) to serve as the chief executive agency for formulating and implementing foreign policies; (3) to represent the United States abroad through the Foreign Service, and (4) to interpret U. S. life, institutions, culture and policies to foreign peoples and governments.

d. At home, State is organized both geographically and functionally. In addition to Area Desks covering Inter-American, Far Eastern, European, African, Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, each area is broken down into country desks. Since the mid-30's new divisions have been added dealing with Economics, Public Affairs, Congressional, Cultural and International Organization affairs. In addition a Policy Council was organized, first by George Kennan and now headed by Walt W. Rostow, to cope with long range problems, over and beyond the day to day crises.

e. Abroad, the Department handles both consular and diplomatic problems. The Embassies are staffed with an
Ambassador, who is in charge of all U.S. government personnel in that particular country. His staff includes the Foreign Service officers, Staff Officers, alien clerks and other employees. One of his chief responsibilities, besides handling the diplomatic negotiations, is coordinating the activities of the many U.S. agencies functioning in his country.

f. The role of the Secretary largely depends on his own abilities, especially his ability to gain and hold the confidence of the President. If he is successful in this, both the Secretary and his Department will play, not only a major role in implementing policy, but in formulating it as well.

g. Because of its fast growth and tremendous responsibilities, State has come to be, usually unfairly, the whipping boy when U.S. foreign policy goes wrong. It does have many problems involving definition of its role, staffing and friction with other Departments, but it continues to play an indispensable role in the making and execution of U.S. foreign policy.

2. Topic for Consideration
a. What is the purpose of the Department of State?
b. How is it organized at home?
c. How is it organized abroad?
d. What is the role of the Secretary of State?
e. What are some of the continuing problems of State?

3. Scope and Purpose

The lecture describes the purpose, organization, importance and continuing problems of the Department of State in the making and execution of United States Foreign Policy.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading
None.
1. Introduction

a. More than a half century ago, Alfred Thayer Mahan wrote that, "To be efficient as counsellors all military men must be familiar with international relations as well as military principles." Whether or not Mahan's advice was actually followed in his day is perhaps open to question, but there is no doubt whatever that it is followed today and followed vigorously. The tremendous changes in the role of the United States in World Affairs has brought the professional military to the forefront where he shares with political leaders and scientists the responsibilities for both formulating and executing the national securities policies of the nation.

b. The functions of the military remain largely the same -- defend the nation, staff military establishments, administer military aid, advise on defense policy and help formulate defense budgets -- but the area of applicability has greatly increased. With the nation's security in deadly peril and the Defense Budget running over $50 billion a year, the professional military men have nowadays a continuing and crucial role to play which exceeds anything they have ever had, except in time of actual war.

c. After W W II the Armed Service was reorganized by the National Security Act of 1947 into the present Department of Defense. The Joint Chiefs of Staff were at the same time set up as chief military advisory group to the government, including the National Security Council. Over time the authority of the Secretary has grown considerably, as has the power of the Deputy Secretary and the numerous Assistant Secretaries, especially that of the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs. The Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air still are the nominal civilian heads of their services and are served by their own staffs as well. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and other groups such as the Joint Staff, Armed Forces Policy Council and the Joint Secretaries are responsible directly to the Secretary.

d. Besides presiding over armed forces in excess of 2½ million and a plant investment far exceeding A. T. and T., the professional military must increasingly cope with the problems of rapidly changing weapons systems, the definition of role of the various branches, the allocation of defense contracts, and the proper military strategy for the United States to follow in this day and age of thermonuclear weapons and "protracted conflict."
e. The broadened duties of the military have given rise to the political general and the specialist, and at the same time there is a need for more in-service education and the necessity of understanding something of the wider issues of policy formation, including politics, science, bargaining theory and diplomacy.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What is the new role of the military?

b. What are the functions of the military?

c. How is the military organized?

d. What is the role of the Secretary and the Joint Chiefs of Staff?

e. What are some of the continuing problems of the military establishment?

3. Scope and Purpose

This lecture describes the new role of the military in policy formulation, the organization and functions of the Defense Establishment and some of the continuing problems faced by the professional military in the mid-twentieth century.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading

None
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT INSTRUMENTS IN FOREIGN POLICY

I. Introduction

a. The number of Executive Department agencies involved in making United States foreign policy is almost beyond count. Many of them are "non-core" or on the outer periphery of policy-making. This does not mean that they do not play an important and, even at times, a central role in policy formation, only that their role is subordinate to the so-called "core" agencies.

b. The Commerce, Agriculture, Labor, Interior, Justice and Post Office Departments all play a minor role in the process. They may send attaches abroad or regulate the narcotic trade or help facilitate the mail, but most of their duties involve domestic problems.

c. The Bureau of the Budget, the Council of Economic Advisors and the Office of Defense Mobilization, all located with the Executive Office of the President, play roles of varying importance. Involved as it is in budgeting, the Bureau can and does frequently exercise considerable leverage on the Defense Budget and those of other Executive Departments as well. It is an often heard complaint that the Bureau, in fact, sets policy by setting the budget. The Council and the ODM often have influential roles if the occasion calls for their advice. In the event of war the power of the ODM would grow immensely, considering its duties to plan and supervise the defense mobilization of the country.

d. Certain executive agencies such as the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Import-Export Bank, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Trade Commission and the United States Tariff Commission all have significant places in the policy process. Especially important considering the role of atomic weapons and missiles are the A.E.C. and N.A.S.A.

e. The semi-autonomous agencies set up by Congress in the no-man's land between the Executive and Legislative branches are key agencies today. The propaganda functions of the United States Information Agency, the technical and financial aid functions of the Agency for International Development, the long run loans of the Department Loan Fund
and the many varied activities of the Peace Corps all contribute importantly to the many faceted policies of the nation.

f. These are the more important of the many executive agencies engaged at one time or another, in one way or another, in contributing to the making of policy. Many others play minor roles from time to time along with private groups and semi-official organizations.

2. Topics for Consideration.

   a. What is the range of Executive Department participation in foreign policy?
   
   b. What do the "non-core" Cabinet Departments do?
   
   c. What is the role of the Executive Office of the President?
   
   d. What is the role of executive agencies?
   
   e. What is the role of the semi-autonomous agencies?

3. Purpose and Scope

   This lecture enumerates and describes the activities of the many "non-core" executive agencies involved in the making of foreign policy in the United States.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading

   None.
1. Introduction

a. Glenn H. Snyder, the author of *Deterrent and Defense*, has written that "A policy decision is the product of the perspectives of the participants, the power of the participants and the procedures through which the decision is made." This quotation serves to focus attention on the end product of the inter-relationship and interaction between all the departments and agencies concerned with the formulation and execution of foreign policy in Washington. The process by which policy is made is, thus, a very complicated and intricate thing. Frequently decisions are made, not as a result of rational planning, but as quick reactions to a crisis situation by the President and his advisors or by someone who had to act because he was faced with the need to resolve the problem quickly.

b. Ideally, of course, long thought and careful planning precede a policy decision and sometimes does -- the U. S. decision to resume nuclear tests in the spring of 1962, for instance. When this happens the policy process takes certain patterns which are worth noting. Whatever the point of origin -- the President's Office, N. S. C., State, JCS or USIA -- there must be an occasion for decision. This may be an anticipated decision or a forced one. After it is recognized it must be defined and analyzed, preliminary recommendations must be drafted and circulated both laterally within or between units and vertically upwards within and between interested units.

c. Criticisms and suggested modifications are made and conflicts resolved over language and meaning. Finally the decision is made by legal authority and it becomes policy to be implemented. Checks are usually made to insure that such policy decisions are indeed implemented and not merely buried in someone's office.

d. Policy decisions are either major or minor. The major ones require inter-unit collaboration, heavy use of conference, extensive planning and delicate handling because of the political nature of the decision. High officials of the government customarily have the last word. The minor decisions involve more opportunity for individual initiative, less inter-agency collaboration, less planning, decision-making at lower levels and issues which are highly politicized.

e. In the United States there are many problems in rational decision-making because of the multiplicity of agencies and departments involved. The problem of who will coordinate the coordinators is a constant one.
The instability of public opinion and the generally uncertain foundations of policy causes considerable difficulty as does the problem of selecting the correct strategy in getting legislative acceptance of policy if by chance it is needed. Pressures on the decision-makers are intense and constant and there is all too often a time lag between needed policy decisions and actual policy decisions. Policy frequently follows events, rather than staying abreast of them or anticipating them.

2. **Topics for Consideration**
   a. What is meant by the policy process?
   b. To what extent can such a process be controlled and rational?
   c. What are the steps in the policy process?
   d. What kinds of decisions are there?
   e. What are the characteristics of the policy process in the U. S.?

3. **Scope and Purpose**
   
   This lecture pulls together the separate parts of the policy process and casts them into an overall pattern of rationality which shows how the end product of foreign policy is reached.

4. **Required Reading**

5. **Reference Reading**
   None
POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF ALLIANCE POLICY

1. Introduction

a. The natural condition of international relations is the individual operation by a state in foreign affairs. Any coordination of a state's actions with those of another state involves the necessity to coordinate interests and, inevitably, to take or refrain from actions which would otherwise be rejected or adopted. In this situation, a state involves itself in alliances only under pressure of some need greater than the sacrifices which the alliance will impose on it.

b. Given the fact that the United States is obliged to act as a world power - or to cease acting and existing completely - its geographical position alone imposes three imperatives which drive it to an alliance policy.

(1) The United States needs overseas territory to overcome its sea isolation. Land bases on the "World Island," raw materials, support in foreign policy from other states, protection of American frontiers through the protection and cooperation of other extra-hemispheric areas - all these illustrate the needs for overseas territory. The concept "overseas territory" itself can be understood to cover colonies, bases, or allies. Our ideology, which favors people's right to govern themselves, rules out acquisition of colonies. Of the two remaining choices, the United States feels that greater stability in relations is acquired through cooperation among allies, rather than through complete reliance on military bases (similar in concept to small colonies).

(2) The United States needs air and sea power to tie in with these overseas territories. For defense, communications, supply, transportation of military and civilian personnel, there must be bridges across the Atlantic and Pacific moat. The need for alliances, therefore, poses the corollary need for mobile application of American power.

(3) The United States needs good relations within its own hemisphere. This is a radical departure from the traditional pattern of relations known through European and older history, where a state's neighbor was traditionally its enemy. American policy has been consistently to
overcome such tendencies, and - through domination or accommodation - to create a stable hemispheric base of power. This unique situation is important in understanding the position of the Inter-American alliance.

c. In theory, the need for allies can take several forms. States ally to increase their power; the element of cooperation tends to result in the aggregate being greater than the sum of its parts (an example is NATO). A state seeks allies to extend its power over additional geographic territory; alliances of this type usually involve a strong and a weaker member, although the weaker may profit through the acquisition of protection (i.e., its power is increased) (an example is the United States-Pakistan Alliance). States engage in alliances to regulate expectations in international relations and to provide bases for foreign policy action; when alliance members make and receive commitments, they let both each other and the potential opponent know what can be expected, how much automatic action will be taken, and what concrete elements to deal with in foreign policy (an example is SEATO or, again, NATO). Finally, states ally to coordinate the use of their power; they may in fact all take action anyhow in a particular case, but may seek to maximize the effects of their individual policies through consultation (an example is the ANZUS Pact).

d. Against these pressures towards engagement in alliances, a state must be aware of continual counter-pressure within the alliance itself. The basis of any alliance is a common interest; this common interest may be the result of an external challenge. In any case, there are always an equal number of conflicting interests which are important to members of the alliance. The cohesiveness of any alliance is a function of the internal battle between these conflicting and common interests. Furthermore, the mere existence of common interests does not impose the creation of an alliance. Only when common interests are in need of organization (coordination, consultation, automatic implementation, definition, etc., in many possible forms) does an alliance become necessary. Thus, England and the United States had common interests between the time of the Monroe Doctrine and World War I, but only at the latter time was there a need to organize these interests into an alliance. If the internal needs and beliefs change (OAS, Commonwealth, for example), or the external challenge disappears (Wartime Grand Alliance, for example), or the number or importance of conflicting interests increases (Baghdad Pact, Balkan Pact, for example), then the alliance becomes faced with a strain that may bring about its end. In such cases, there is a need to reaffirm or reinforce the common interest, or to devise new interests.
common to the members in order to keep the alliance strong; such developments are noticeable in the evolution of NATO during recent years. Frequently the existence of the alliance itself in such cases becomes a strong common interest; the Arab League lives from crisis to crisis on such a thin thread, and the Franco-Soviet Alliance was for a long time used to similar effect. It is above all important to realize that the alliance is a dynamic creation that is changing in nature under the pressure of the situation in which it exists, as well as under the pressure of interrelating conflicting and common interests, and that this dynamic element controls the effectiveness of the alliance and indeed its very existence. The alternative to reaffirmation or the creation of new interests is to scrap the alliance, which may no longer serve a common purpose.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What needs have the individual alliances of the Post-War world served?

b. What is the comparative value of overseas bases vs. overseas allies?

c. What peculiar impositions does the need for hemispheric good relations make on the United States and what is the reason for this imperative?

d. What is the relation between commitments and power among the members of an alliance?

e. What reason is there for the existence of conflicting interests?

3. Scope and Purpose

To examine the fundamental principles of alliance policy in order to understand better the specific problems faced by the United States and its allies in Cold War alliances.

4. Required Reading

Arnold Wolfers (editor), Alliance Policy in the Cold War (The Johns Hopkins, Baltimore 1959), Introduction and chapters 1 and 7.

5. Reference Reading

VIII World Politics, 2:238-263; XII International Organization, 440-458; X 357-373.
1. **Introduction**

a. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the backbone of the Free World; it represents the organization of those nations of the West which are closest to each other and share the greatest common interests. This situation is not one which was created by the signature of a document, but rather one which has resulted from the centuries through which a North Atlantic civilization has evolved. Wartime and peacetime cooperation, a colonial experience which united two shores of the Atlantic, a common cultural heritage, similar socio-economic conditions, and a common system of values have all contributed to create a modern region of cooperation about the North Atlantic. Specific treaties, programs and policies in the immediate post-war years led to the formation of NATO in 1949. These include the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, the Entente Cordiale, Allied cooperation in World War I, Lend-Lease, the Atlantic Charter, the Grand Alliance of World War II, the Truman Doctrine, the Dunkirk Pact, the Benxelles Pact, the Marshall Plan, and the Vanden-berg Resolution.

b. NATO today is a response to specific common elements, as well as to the background of similar developments. There is above all a common danger posed from the East against the European continent and the Free World. There are shared obligations which go beyond a simple engagement by one party to defend the rest; they include the creation of a common army out of national units, stationed in others' territory, and supported by high defense budgets. There are specific commitments which form a basis on which members can build their policy and which shape the expectations - and hence the strategy - of the enemy; these expectations fill the role of both deterrence and defense. There is an increased awareness of mutual interdependence, not only in the field of defense, but also in the field of economic life and even in social characteristics. Finally, there is an organization, involving a military command and political consultations, which becomes in itself an institution to be preserved.

c. On the other hand, there are certainly conflicting interests even with this close community. Colonial experience, recent wartime status, systems of government, policy outlooks, atomic capabilities, geographical location, standards of living, sub-regional interests, and behind all,
nationalism, are the most important of the pressures which continually work to split the alliance.

d. The interaction of these conflicting interests with the common elements, within a changing world situation and particularly in face of changing tactics by the enemy, have led to several concepts of NATO within its short life. The Alliance began as a guarantee pact extending the American atomic umbrella over the defenseless European nations. From this initial position it developed into a common defense treaty, building up a shield to go along with the sword. After the death of Stalin and the apparent easing of East-West tensions, it entered into a time of troubles, and began to appear to some European spokesmen as a liability. Under the pressure of this crisis, and of parallel events, it has turned into an organization for policy coordination in the political field, has posed the problem of common atomic armament in the military field, and has been paralleled by plans for integration in the economic field. Thus the present evolution of Atlantic cooperation in NATO is inextricably tied up with the evolution of the Common Market and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and of the other projects for European Integration. The basic idea of the alliance still remains intact, however, and that is the concept of creating military strength and its economic infrastructure in order not to have to put the military strength to use - a deterrent idea, above all.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. Why is NATO referred to as the backbone of the Free World, and what is the significance - other than sentimental - of the European nations to the United States.

b. Is NATO only a military alliance or does it have further values? Would Intra-NATO conflicts perhaps be minimized by concentration of the purely military aspects of the organization?

c. What effects should be anticipated from the development of the European integration move within NATO?

d. What lessons does the experience of the still-born European Defense Community (EDC) have for NATO?

e. What effect does the possibility of a common atomic defense pact have on the nature and common conflicting interests of NATO?

3. Scope and Purpose

To examine the nature of the Atlantic Alliance in order to understand its purpose, its problems and its power in the American world position.
4. **Required Reading**

Wolfers, *Alliance Policy in the Cold War*, Chapters 2 and 6.

5. **Reference Reading**

Salvatori, Massimo, *NATO, A Twentieth Century Community*; Wolfers, Chapter 5; XII *International Organization* 425-439; Ball, Margaret, *NATO*, Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 12.
I. Introduction

a. Hemispheric solidarity has its roots in common membership in the European colonial system, but the conflicting interests of the American Alliance also have their roots in the diverse experiences of North and South America under British and Spanish rule. The American Revolution actually lasted from 1776 to 1823, by which time the entire hemisphere (except for Canada and the few slivers which are only now attaining independence) was free of colonial involvement in the European power system. To maintain this isolation, the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed in 1823, with heavy reliance on the parallel aims of England and the protection of its fleet. Early attempts at Latin unity were abortive and only in 1889 was the first Inter-American Conference held, with little effect. The three decades which followed were particularly harmful to North-South cooperation, both because of the American policy of intervention and because the Industrial Revolution which was so important in the United States at that time made little impression on the Latin countries. The series of four conferences inaugurated in the Roosevelt Era under the slogan of the Good Neighbor Policy (1933, 1936, 1938, 1940) laid the groundwork for the present hemispheric cooperation by declaring principles of Non-intervention, Neutrality, Continental Solidarity, Consultation, and the Continentalization of the Monroe Doctrine.

b. The postwar system of inter-American cooperation was set up in three meetings. In Chapultepec (Mexico) in 1945, an agreement was signed between the American states incorporating the principles of collective security, non-intervention, mutual consultation, and hemispheric solidarity. In Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1947, the Rio Pact was created, reaffirming the principles of collective security and collective defense. The consultation provision was strengthened by a provision for action on the basis of a two-thirds majority, modified by the condition that no American state be compelled to bear arms without its consent. In Bogota (Columbia) in 1948, during the Ninth Inter-American Conference, the Organization of American States (OAS) was brought into being through five separate treaties. The most important effects were to formalize the inter-American system in one organization and to build up a tradition of inter-American law which was to govern the solution
of international problems within the hemisphere; at the same time the Monroe Doctrine has been reaffirmed by the understanding that American problems are within the exclusive competence of the OAS and not open to interference by the United Nations or other international organizations.

c. The members of the OAS are the independent nations of the Hemisphere, with Cuba temporarily excluded; independent members of the Commonwealth such as Canada are eligible to join but have not done so. Organisms of the OAS were the Council, headquartered in Washington, with the Pan-American Union as its secretariat, the Conference of American States which meets every five years, the Meeting of Consultation of the Foreign Ministers, and the Advisory Defense Commission with the permanent Inter-American Defense Board appended to it. In addition, a number of other commissions and agencies deal with specific problems of inter-American cooperation. As a result, most areas of activity are covered by an applicable organization. Yet nationalism, different ways of approaching problems, vastly different social and political conditions, rising feelings of anti-Imperialism, and even differing national interests have tended to keep cooperation ineffectual in the political field and limited in other areas.

d. By 1960 it was realized that a complementary program was necessary to overcome some of these conflicting interests inherent in the different conditions throughout the continent, before deep and widespread cooperation would be possible in the political field. In August 1961, in a conference in Punta del Este (Uruguay), the Alliance for Progress was subscribed to by the members of the OAS. In it, the United States agreed to furnish long-term low-interest development loans, on the condition that Latin American nations would themselves devote rapidly increasing shares of their own resources to development and bring about necessary reforms. In the year since March 1961, when the program was conceived and early assistance was extended, $1 billion have been granted to Latin America, a third of it to Brazil and another third to Mexico, Venezuela and Chile, combined. Of the three major reform areas - land, taxes, and national development plans - most progress has been made on tax reforms, and most difficulties are being registered in land reform. The Alliance for Progress has gained a foothold in the hemisphere, although in many cases, the obstacles and conflicting interests which the program was to overcome are overwhelming the program. Unless basic terms of equality - or at least comparability - can be established among the members of the hemispheric community, the conflicting interests will continue to destroy cooperation. It should, however, also be realized that as new terms of equality are approached and Latin nations gain in power and stability, new conflicting interests are equally
certain to arise, foremost among them being continued pressure to redefine relations and leadership existing within the hemisphere.

2. **Topics for Consideration**
   
a. What basic elements of the Cuban problem are relevant to the understanding of hemispheric relations?

b. What types of programs are necessary to make effective the many organizations engaged in Pan-American cooperation?

c. What is the meaning of the accusation of American imperialism when made by Latin nations?

d. What are the alternatives for handling the Cuban problem within the hemispheric system?

e. How does the hemispheric "core" of American interests compare with the Atlantic "core" or community?

3. **Scope and Purpose**

To examine the nature of the Hemispheric Alliance system in order to understand its limitations and possibilities for action.

4. **Required Reading**


(b) Mora, Jose "The Organization of American States," in International Organization, XIV, pp. 514-523.

5. **Reference Reading**

(a) Hirschman, Latin American Issues.


(d) Fenwick, Charles, The Development of Inter-American Law.
1. Introduction

a. British and American attempts to maintain internal stability in the Middle East and to protect the area in the Cold War led to the creation of the Baghdad Pact in 1954. The conflicting purposes inherent in the alliance stem largely from the diverse membership, coupled with other complex elements of the entire Mideast situation; these conflicts have led to confusion and weakness in the alliance. After the Iraqi Revolution of 1958, one element of confusion was eliminated and the alliance was reconstituted as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). However, the division in membership between Great Britain (a former colonial power in the area), and the local Muslim members (Pakistan, Iran and Turkey) have worked to maintain the importance of divergent interests. The United States' position of participation in the work of the alliance without actually adhering to it reflects these contradictions; yet the United States is directly allied to each of the Treaty's members through another type of alliance.

b. The negotiated solution to the Indochinese War of 1946-54 brought about the creation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) following the end of the war. The purposes of the alliances here, too, include both protection of the area from an enemy both external and internal, and the creation of stability within the region. Membership in SEATO is even more diversified than CENTO, and by its nature brings together powerful divergent interests. Two Asian mainland nations (Pakistan and Thailand) and an island Asian member (Philippines) are joined by two Australasian islands (Australia and New Zealand), two ex-colonial nations (Britain and France) and the United States. Three more states (South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos) are guaranteed by the alliance, without participating entirely in its aims and hindered by the 1954 agreement from participation in its formal structure. Another country (Malaya) is attached to Britain by bilateral defense agreements. The heterogeneity of membership, its geographical non-contiguity, and the antipathy reflected or created by the alliance from other states within the same area all tend to weaken its effectiveness. The need to place events in South East Asia within the very old tradition of fluid politics and within the newer development of an anti-colonial revolution further complicates the problems of the alliance.
c. The need for a firm defense perimeter has led to other American alliances in the Asian area, although the divergent interests and insular geography have been reflected in the creation of bilateral alliances rather than an alliance organization. These alliances cover South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and the Philippines. Although they are purely military in nature, they are usually accompanied by economic aid agreements. In a non-homogeneous area, such arrangements tend to be more successful in attaining their aims than multilateral organizations, for they allow flexibility both between the bilateral allies and also in the policies of the hub-power, the United States.

d. Each of these alliances has to face other types of similar problems. Each is to some extent based on the barrier concept, creating a land (or island) wall against Communist aggression. Such a concept is effective against conventional forms of military conquest, but is greatly weakened by subversion or, more important, by instable indigenous societies. Non-local allies (United States, United Kingdom, France, and to a certain extent, Australia and New Zealand) are thus forced to exert reform pressure on the local government because of their interest in the land or the people; this concern is not always reciprocated by the people and the reform pressure is rarely welcomed by the government. The barrier concept also has its weakness in the face of new technology which allows military attack (ICBMs) or political penetration (Indonesia, United Arab Republic, and Congo) despite treaty walls.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What are the merits of Britain withdrawing from CENTO, United States joining CENTO, or dissolving CENTO into a number of bilateral alliances?

b. What are the merits of replacing SEATO with bilateral agreements, with a guarantee pact by non-local states, or with a regional Monroe Doctrine?

c. Why is there no multilateral alliance uniting the countries of the North Asian (Western Pacific) Defense Perimeter?

d. How does the approach of civil affairs fit into both the purposes and the problems of American alliances in the Near and Far East?

e. What problems in the very concept of alliances that are posed by operating in underdeveloped areas?
3. **Scope and Purpose**

To examine the nature of multilateral and bilateral alliances in the Near and Far East in order to appreciate their purposes and the limitations on their effectiveness.

4. **Required Reading**

Campbell, John C., *Defense of the Middle East*, Chapters 11-14; Wolfers, *op. cit.*, Chapter 8.

5. **Reference Reading**

Campbell, *op. cit.*, rest; Wolfers, *op. cit.*, Chapter 9.
I. Introduction

a. The United Nations is both an instrument of international politics and a step towards world government; it is both the product of states' real actions and of its founders' idealistic dreams. These two natures create conflict in the very structure of the United Nations and confusion in interpreting its role. In its early years (1945-1948) the United Nations was conceived as a security system based on the Security Council, on Big Five guarantee of world peace, and on Big Five unanimity. It played a part in dealing with security problems in Indonesia, Palestine, Kashmir, Iran and Berlin during this period. Following the outbreak of the Cold War and the breakup of Big Five unity (1949-1956), the United States and its allies were dominant in the United Nations. The United Nations for Peace resolution contributed to the rise of the General Assembly in importance. Security problems, such as Korea and Suez, were handled effectively because they coincided with United States policy. The U.S.S.R., however, was forced by its permanent minority position to turn the United Nations into a propaganda forum. Since that time (1956-1962 and after), United Nations membership has more than doubled through the accession of new ex-colonial nations, and even the Secretary General comes from this group. In a situation where neither bloc in the Cold War can dominate the organization, the United Nations has become an arena where both sides attempt to gain support for their foreign policies from uncommitted nations, who themselves do not have the two-thirds majority necessary to act.

b. The United Nations is now a permanent multilateral diplomatic conference, facilitating continual contacts among nations. It is an instrument of national policy, as is any aspect of diplomacy, and is neither the sole alternative to war nor a trap for United States foreign policy. The United Nations is also a continuing forum for ideological debate and for propaganda purposes, and is open for use in this sense to all members. On the other hand, the United Nations is not only no world government; it is not even the security system which it founders had hoped and planned it to be.
c. In a limited number of situations the United Nations has also developed the role of an independent actor in its own right in international affairs. This role can be useful to members who wish to undertake specific actions but do not wish to carry them out alone (United States and armed force in Congo) or cannot carry them out in their own name (economic aid in some areas). The United Nations has discussed the creation of an International armed force since its inception, particularly during the first period, but even then it proved unattainable. During the second period (Korea), the United Nations name was used to cover a collection of national armed forces under American control. At the end of this period (Suez) and during the third period (Congo) the United Nations has developed into an agency for the use of national contingents under international control and under specific conditions. The fact, however, that it is independent enough to contradict the foreign policies of important members without being strong enough to impose its own policy definitively has brought an element of conflict and confusion into its position as an international actor.

2. Topics for Consideration
   a. How has the changing nature of the United Nations affected its use as an instrument of American foreign policy?
   b. What are the merits of the United States or the U.S.S.R. ceasing membership in the United Nations?
   c. What opportunities and what difficulties are posed by the development of an International armed or police force? What are the limits of its effectiveness?
   d. What are the common interests of different categories of states in membership in the United Nations?
   e. What conditions would be necessary and what problems would be raised by the use of the United Nations as a limited security system (application of collective security in certain cases, full collective security being presently excluded)?

3. Scope and Purpose
   To examine the nature of the United Nations in order to understand its role in international affairs and its place in American foreign policy.

4. Required Reading
   None

5. Reference Reading
   Bloomfield; Frye; Good; Legum
   11 - 204.5 - 2
PART III
COLD WAR, ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS
FILE 301S

HISTORY OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

1. Introduction
   a. Civil-Military relations have taken place since the birth of organized armies. Throughout history armies have been a dominant influence in the history, society and economies of civil populations. History of Civil-Military Relations develops those relations and summarizes new concepts in the use of armies as instruments of economic and political stabilization.
   b. The lesson develops the role of the United States Army in the development of the United States and the contributions the military continues to make to the welfare and security of the American economy and society.

2. Topics for Consideration
   a. What has been the contribution of military forces to the growth and stability of our own country?
   b. What contributions do military forces appear uniquely qualified to make toward the welfare of developing areas?
   c. What are the changing concepts of the use of military force as an instrument in removing the causes of insurgency?

3. Scope and Purpose
   The period is designed to familiarize civil affairs officers with their role in Civil-Military relations and possible contributions to be demanded of them in the future. Students will be encouraged to take as liberal a view as possible of the Army as an instrument of effective participation in the growth and welfare of developing areas.

4. Required Reading
   None

5. Reference Reading
   a. Akzin, Benjamin, Data on Military Government in Occupied Areas, with Special Reference to the United States and Great Britain (1942)