

THE ADMINISTRATION OF UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION
IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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FOREWORD

This report has been prepared to furnish material on the United States for an international study undertaken by the International Institute of the Administrative Sciences and UNESCO.

The authors, John F. Meck, now Treasurer of Dartmouth College, and Louis W. Koenig, of Bard College, served as Staff Director and a staff member respectively of the study on Foreign Affairs of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch (the Hoover Commission).

Mr. Meck and Mr. Koenig had the assistance, in the preparation of this report, of a special advisory committee appointed by Leonard D. White, then Chairman of the American Section of the International Institute of the Administrative Sciences. (Mr. White has since been succeeded in this position by Rowland Egger.) The members of this committee reviewed preliminary drafts of the report and contributed to its preparation by their advice and counsel, but the report in its present form is the responsibility of its authors and the committee has not been asked to approve it in detail.

Members of the advisory committee were:

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I. INTRODUCTION

In a study of present-day administration of United States participation in international organizations, there are two basic factors which must be thoroughly understood. The first is the separation of powers under the United States Constitution between the legislative and executive branches which affects all phases of United States foreign policy, including United States participation in international organizations. The second is the radical change in the role of the United States brought about by World War II.

The separation of powers under the United States Constitution creates a duality of authority in foreign affairs which is utterly unknown in countries operating under the parliamentary system of government. Under the Constitution the executive and legislative branches are regarded as separate and distinct entities. Indeed, as in 1947-1949, the Congress may be controlled by one major party and the executive branch by the other major party. By its powers over appropriations and by the Senate's powers over treaties and appointment of the chief officers of the State Department and other agencies, and of U. S. ambassadors and ministers (including the U. S. representatives to the UN and certain other international organizations), the Congress is today a highly important factor in the administration of U.S. foreign affairs and in U.S. participation in international organizations.

The powers of Congress are particularly significant in terms of appropriations. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, \$220 million was appropriated by Congress for U. S. activities in international organizations and conferences.*

*Of this amount, \$65 million was a loan to the U.N. for the construction of its headquarters and \$51 million was for relief programs (International Children's Emergency Fund and Relief of Palestine Refugees).

The total appropriations for the same year for the State Department including the Foreign Service (the Foreign Ministry) was only \$120 million.

The new role of the United States in world affairs has at least three major characteristics. These three characteristics have recently been described

in one of the reports of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch (the Hoover Commission), as follows:*

*See Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs, "The Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs," (Appendix H) (January, 1949).

1. The objectives and policies of the United States are today by necessity basically positive in nature rather than negative or declaratory as in the past.
2. United States foreign relations today are essentially cooperative in nature. Unilateral action by the United States without obtaining agreement of other nations is now the exception rather than the rule. International cooperation, mainly on a multilateral basis, is the order of the day as the attainment of United States objectives is being sought in increasing measure through agreements reached in the United Nations and other international organizations.
3. The conduct of foreign affairs today is the business, not of the President and the State Department alone, but of the President supported by almost the entire executive branch of the Government.

These new characteristics are sharply reflected in the organization of the executive branch of the United States government. The traditional responsibilities of the President and the State Department (the United States foreign ministry) have been greatly augmented. The participation of other departments and agencies also has become large-scale, thus creating imposing organizational problems for those agencies, the State Department and the President.

Indicative of the mounting pressure of foreign affairs problems, is the appearance of new institutional aids to the President since the end of World War II. Among these are the National Security Council, the National Security Resources Board, and the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems, all of which have primary importance in the conduct of today's foreign relations.

The United States budget for the fiscal year 1949 called for an expenditure of seven billion dollars for international affairs and finance. This figure constituted 18% of the total budget and a per capita cost of \$48 a person. Of this seven billion dollars, nearly 95% was earmarked for departments and agencies other than the State Department. If the two largest single items, the European Recovery Program and the occupation of Germany and Japan, are eliminated as unique or abnormal, over 51% of the balance consisted of appropriations for foreign affairs activities of departments and agencies other than the State Department.

The growing participation in foreign policy of departments and agencies other than the State Department since the war, is manifested by the fact that of 59 units in the executive branch, at least 46 are involved in some aspects of foreign affairs. These agencies participate both overseas and at home, and in June, 1948 had in their employ over 89% of the 128,500 civilian employees overseas.

In the State Department, today's requirements are manifest in terms of new functions, or old ones greatly expanded, which have sharply transformed the Department. In 1938, the total personnel of the Department in Washington was 963. In 1948 it was 5,652, an increase of 487%. Overseas the increase was from 3,749 Americans and local employees in 1938 to 12,294 in 1948, a growth of 230%. Even more strikingly evident of the Department's expansion is the fact that the appropriations for its Washington duties rose from \$2,600,000 in 1938 to over \$33,700,000 in 1948, an increase of almost 1,200%.

One evidence of the growing participation of the United States in foreign affairs, is the present record of international meetings. Prior to World War II, the United States participated in fewer than 75 international meetings a year. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, the United States participated in 394 multi-lateral meetings, at which 46% of the American representatives came from the departments and agencies other than the State Department, 25% from the State Department, 2% from the Congress, and the remaining 27% from non-governmental sources.

The United States' increasing reliance upon the United Nations and other international organizations as agencies for international cooperation, has posed new aspects of the continuing problem of co-ordinating the various agencies of the United States Government for participation in foreign affairs. One direct result of the participation of the United States in the UN and its associated organizations has been the creation in the Department of State of two supporting and liaison units: the Bureau of United Nations affairs in Washington and a special mission to the United Nations in New York. The work of these units as well as other devices that have been developed to coordinate a United States participation in international organizations will be examined in this report. But their work cannot be separated from the constitutional frame work within which all United States foreign policy is conducted. For this reason, it seems wise to include some explanation of the roles played by the President and the Congress, as well as that played by the Department of State, in the formation and execution of United States foreign policy.

II. THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Constitutional and Statutory Authority

The Constitution vests responsibility, on the executive side, for the conduct of foreign affairs in the President. Article II, Section 1, of that document reposes "the executive power" in the President and, so endowed, he has all of the usual responsibilities of any Chief of State in the conduct of foreign relations. Thus, as John Marshall once remarked in the House of Representatives, "The President is the sole organ of the nation in its external relations and its sole representative with foreign nations."

Various other provisions of the Constitution, either specifically or by implication, enlarge upon this conception of the President's powers. For example, he makes treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate. He receives foreign diplomatic representatives and can demand their recall. He has the power of the appointment (subject to Senate review) and removal which provides him with administrative command of those who conduct diplomatic negotiations. Together, these powers enable the President to discharge personally a great variety of actions in foreign affairs.

The President uses a variety of devices to fulfill his personal role in foreign affairs. He may address messages to the rulers of other nations. He may meet these rulers in personal conferences. He may have extensive official and unofficial correspondence with them. He may assign to personal agents, whom he chooses and can supervise alone, the performance of special diplomatic missions. He can enter into, entirely upon his own responsibility, executive agreements with other rulers, of the magnitude of those which Franklin Roosevelt concluded at Yalta. He may use the press conference and the radio address as means to discuss and win support for his foreign policy. The list could be prolonged, revealing an imposing variety of devices whereby the President participates personally in foreign

affairs.

The President's personal role may also be expanded by statute, for Congress has delegated to him extensive discretionary powers in diplomacy. For example, the neutrality legislation of 1939 gave the President personal discretion whether or not to recognize a state of war to exist between nations. Under the same statute he could establish "combat zones" into which United States ships could not enter. A survey of United States statutes now in force would reveal Presidential discretions equally broad in economic, social, military, and diplomatic fields, whose use profoundly affects United States foreign policy.

Equipped with these powers, the President may play the leading role in foreign affairs. Typically, the so-called "strong" Presidents have done so. The two Roosevelts, for example, had a primary part in almost every important foreign policy of their administrations. The same can be said for Wilson, Cleveland, Lincoln and Jefferson. In certain of these instances, the President played so active a part that the Secretary of State and his department were relegated to distinctly secondary roles. It is noteworthy that the American President has considerably more freedom than the European Prime Minister in disregarding the advice of his ministers or departmental secretaries. The idea of "collective responsibility," implicit in the European cabinet system, makes it less easy for the Prime Minister to overlook his Foreign Minister. The President, on the other hand, has complete Constitutional responsibility, and, not being subject to the restraints of "collective responsibility," is free to disregard his Secretary of State whenever he chooses to do so.

B. The Executive Office of the President

Despite the extensive role which the President may have in foreign affairs, his immediate staff assistance is only casually organized to that end. The three Secretaries to the President deal with press relations, correspondence, and appointments. Few of them over the course of numerous Administrations, have had even a noticeable impact on foreign affairs.

One of President Truman's most important present personal assistants, John R. Steelman, known formally as "Assistant to the President," is concerned with a great variety of domestic matters. He deals with foreign affairs only if the domestic matters happen to spill over into that area, whereupon he may serve in an important policy-making capacity. For example, he may coordinate several departments and agencies whose concurrence is required for a foreign policy. In 1947-48, when the United States sold nearly 100 tankers to foreign nations, Steelman took a leading part in securing the elusive agreement, which was required to complete the transaction, of the State Department, the Maritime Commission, and the Navy Department. In this episode, Mr. Steelman, speaking in behalf of the President, had considerable persuasive effect upon the agencies. The President has other administrative assistants who, although concerned principally with domestic politics, sometimes have a noticeable part in foreign policy. An "administrative assistant" such as David Niles, whose province is minority groups and civil rights, extensively influenced the United States position in the earlier phases of the Palestine question.

Also in the Executive Office of the President is the Bureau of the Budget, which, among other things, reviews in the President's behalf, the organization and methods and the budget estimates of all the agencies and thus may influence foreign policy, for the estimates and organizational processes may reflect foreign policy determinations. Yet the role of the Bureau has not generally been extensive in foreign affairs although in

particular episodes it has been important. At the San Francisco Conference, it was concerned with such items as agreements made with other governments involving financial commitments for the United States, the assignment of functions to international agencies affecting those of United States agencies, the organizational relations between the United States and other governments or international organizations; and the organizational and functional relations between two or more international organizations to which the United States belongs or participates in financially. In other international conferences and organizations, the Budget Bureau has played a leading part in their administrative phases.

The Council of Economic Advisers, established by statute in 1946 to advise the President on the national economic picture, has largely confined itself to factual acquaintance with the balance of trade and the effect of foreign trade on the domestic economy.

The National Security Council advises the President on the integration of domestic, foreign and military policies that affect the security of the United States. The Council regularly consists of the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board. With the advice and consent of the Senate, the President may add certain officers to this membership. As its title indicates, the Council is concerned with matters involving the national security and reviews its problems in light of the military power of the United States. Questions of foreign policy, although extremely germane, are considered only within this context.

The National Security Resources Board is closely associated with the National Security Council through the membership of the board chairman in each. The Board consists of a Chairman, appointed by the President, with Senate confirmation, and the representatives of various executive departments and agencies, that the President may designate. The Board advises the President

on the coordination of military, industrial, and civilian mobilization. Often this function includes the ultimate supervision of the program for stockpiling critical and strategic materials, many of which must be obtained from other countries. Hence the Board may often be significantly concerned with foreign relations.

C. Personal Advisers

More important than any device thus far mentioned are the personal advisers whom the President may utilize in discharging foreign affairs responsibilities. Sometimes these advisers have no official status in the government, as, for instance, Thomas Jefferson, during his interlude as a most influential counselor to President Monroe. At other times advisers have had a semblance of official status. An example is Harry Hopkins, designated by Executive Order as "Special Adviser" to President Roosevelt, who had the sweeping leeway in his activities that the title suggests. During both World Wars the President's personal advisers, Colonel House and Harry Hopkins, the latter as Chairman of the Munitions Assignments Board, had tremendous influence upon foreign policy both during the war and after, executing personal missions for the President abroad, which vitally affected the war, and suggesting to the President important patterns of the "peace" settlement.

D. The Cabinet

The American Presidential Cabinet is quite different from the type of cabinet which obtains under the parliamentary system of government. In Great Britain, for example, the Cabinet minister is a member of the legislature and a leader of his political party. The United States Cabinet member differs in both respects. He is never a member of the legislature, and, nowadays, frequently is not a leading member of the President's party, or he may even be a member of an opposition party. Both circumstances have given the American Cabinet a role which is far less than what the European Cabinet enjoys.

Like the English and some other Cabinets, the United States Cabinet has developed informally and by custom. It had its origin when President George Washington called his Secretaries together for advice in the diplomatic crisis of 1793 growing out of the War between France and Britain. Other Presidents have consistently followed the practice of Washington and thus the Cabinet has become firmly established by custom as an institution. It is not mentioned in the Constitution, nor was it mentioned in any statute until 1907, and then only as a term of convenient reference for a salary appropriation.

A variety of causes relegate the United States Cabinet to a limited part. Above all, the President dominates it. He does not have to work with the Cabinet; he can disregard its advice as he pleases; he can, never or seldom, call it into meeting. Even a united Cabinet cannot prevail against him.

All this is tied to the fact that the Cabinet is not a responsible body. Unlike the European Cabinet, it has no political responsibility as an entity. Only the President is responsible, and the responsibility of the Secretaries is limited to their individual departments. They are not responsible as a group nor as a Cabinet. The President, with a monopoly of responsibility for the whole Executive branch, can exercise (if he chooses) an extreme degree of independence of the Cabinet.

Membership in the United States Cabinet has been limited to the established "departments," although President Franklin Roosevelt invited the heads of the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Loan Agency, and the Federal Works Agency. Many important agencies, e.g., the Federal Reserve Board and the Atomic Energy Commission, are not included in the cabinet. The President's principal wartime agencies, such as the War Production Board and the Office of Price Administration, were not departments and their heads were therefore not members of the Cabinet. In Europe they would have been. Thus the United

States Cabinet is very often not an authoritative source of advice for the President since its membership omits leading Executive agencies which play an important part in policy-making. (It is true that the President sometimes invites non-member agencies to the Cabinet, but this has not been consistently or extensively developed.) Also, the United States Cabinet, unlike, say, the English Cabinet, lacks the organization and methods necessary for the effective discharge of its business. The United States Cabinet has no secretariat, no agenda, no recording of the minutes or decisions. These shortcomings often reduce its business to an inconsequential discussion, or to what one member characterized as "hopeful but vague announcements of current departmental activities."

The concept of "loyalty" to the President on the part of Cabinet members has been inadequately developed. Since United States party organization is weak, there is no considerable amount of party policy or pressure to discipline the Cabinet members as is characteristic of European models. Yet some Presidents have been fairly insistent upon loyalty. President Washington dismissed Secretary of State Edmund Randolph for his equivocal attitude toward the Jay Treaty fight and reconstructed his Cabinet on the avowed basis of loyalty to the policies of his administration. During President Truman's administration, Secretary of Commerce Wallace was asked to resign because of his public criticism of the Administration's foreign policy. Yet even this episode illustrates the inexactness of the President's loyalty requirements. Mr. Wallace was not dismissed until he made several public pronouncements and the Secretary of State himself vigorously insisted that the President take the step. Indeed, it appears that only the Secretary of State's threat to resign prompted the President to request his Secretary of Commerce to resign instead.

III. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE (THE FOREIGN MINISTRY)

A. Introduction

The foreign ministry of the United States is the State Department in Washington. It is essentially an arm or agency of the President for the conduct of foreign affairs. While created by the Congress in 1789, its authority was originally, and has ever since been, defined in general terms as consisting of the performance of "those duties as shall from time to time be enjoined or entrusted" to it by the President. Thus, while the other important departments, such as Treasury, Agriculture, and Interior, have had their duties enumerated by Congress, the State Department's role has been left flexible and elastic.

Closely related to and administered by the State Department is the Foreign Service, which staffs the United States foreign missions. The Civil Service of the State Department and the Foreign Service, however, are not a single entirely unified corps. Although both are administered by the Secretary of State, they are distinct personnel systems.

As the arm of the President for foreign relations, the Department at home and abroad has traditionally possessed five main responsibilities. These are not exclusively the domain of the Department but, as will be seen, are participated in by other departments and agencies. These responsibilities are:

1. Providing information on the basis of which the United States conducts its international relations. The Foreign Service gathers information of all kinds abroad and reports it to the State Department, where it is sorted, some remaining with the Department and some going to other departments and agencies. This information today includes not only the traditional diplomatic data, but information in such technical fields as labor, social welfare and health, aviation and communications.

2. Representation of the United States in the bulk of its relations with other governments. This responsibility is discharged both by the State Department in Washington and by the Foreign Service abroad.
3. Negotiation with foreign governments both bilaterally and multilaterally.
4. Major participation in the formulation of United States foreign policy.
5. Providing information and facilitating services to international trade and commerce.

Two further major responsibilities have arisen since the pre-World War II era. One is the responsibility for much of the integration and coordination of foreign policy formulation and execution through interdepartmental committees and other interdepartmental arrangements. This includes administrative support of the increasing number of international organizations. The other is the responsibility for furnishing the American and foreign publics information regarding United States objectives and policies in world affairs.

B. Structure*

1. The Post-War Picture

In 1944, near the end of World War II the State Department underwent a major reorganization which represented the first real effort to adjust the Department's structure to its phenomenal growth and greatly increased responsibilities. This first step was followed in 1946 and 1947 by a number of other adjustments. Today a second and even more sweeping reorganization is in the process of being carried out. This current reorganization stems from the thorough study of the entire Executive Branch of the United States government in 1948 by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch (the Hoover Commission), of which former President Herbert Hoover was Chairman and the present Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, was Vice Chairman. The appointment of Mr. Acheson as Secretary of State just as the Hoover Commission was concluding its studies gave the State Department a chief who thoroughly understands

* See organization chart on next page.

its organizational weaknesses and who has the will to do something to correct them. As this study is written, however, the current reorganization is still uncompleted in certain respects and judgment must be reserved on its extent and its degree of success.

2. The Present Pattern of Organization

The State Department's present organization can best be viewed in three categories:

- (1) The Secretary - Under Secretary segment;
- (2) The substantive affairs segment; and
- (3) The administrative segment.

a. The Secretary - Under Secretary Segment

The Secretary - Under Secretary segment deals with administrative as well as substantive aspects of foreign policy at the highest level. It consists of the Secretary of State, who is responsible for the entire range of State Department and Foreign Service activities in the United States and abroad. Second in rank is the Under Secretary, whose duties will vary, depending on who is Secretary and on the arrangements between him and the Secretary. The Present Under Secretary exercises general supervision over all Departmental activities, becomes Acting Secretary in the Secretary's absence, and personally serves as a major coordinating force within the Department on the highest level. Immediately under the Under Secretary are two Deputy Under Secretaries. One is the immediate deputy for the Under Secretary in all substantive policy matters, who at present serves as the Department's staff representative on the National Security Council and directs over-all relations with the Department of Defense. The second Deputy Under Secretary is the head of the Department's large administrative segment.

This segment of the State Department also includes an ambassador-at-large who assists the Secretary and at times acts as his alternate in important intergovernmental negotiations, the Counselor who heads up the Policy Planning Staff, the Director for Mutual Defense Assistance, the Special Assistant for Press Relations, and the Executive Secretariat.

b. The Substantive Affairs Segment

(1) Its Composition

Beneath the Secretary - Under Secretary segment, substantive affairs are handled on various levels by eleven major units, each headed by an Assistant Secretary or by an official of equivalent rank. These eleven units, in turn, can be classified in two categories as either "action" or "staff" units.

In the "action" category are six bureaus, as follows:

Bureau of European Affairs

Bureau of Inter-American Affairs

Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs

Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs

Bureau of German Affairs

Bureau of United Nations Affairs

As the term "action" implies, these bureaus have primary responsibility for taking Departmental action within previously determined policies on matters pertaining to their respective jurisdictions. In so doing, the Bureaus themselves can, and do, make important policy. The Assistant Secretary positions for the heads of these bureaus were made possible by Act of Congress on May 26, 1949 as part of the first step in carrying out the Hoover Commission recommendations. A major consideration in that legislation was the creation of high ranking positions to which men of high calibre could be attracted and to whom the Secretary could delegate a greater amount of authority than had been possible in the past.

There are five units in the "staff" segment. Sometimes described as "advisory" units, they are as follows:

Economic Affairs - headed by an Assistant Secretary

Public Affairs - headed by an Assistant Secretary

Congressional Affairs - headed by an Assistant Secretary

Intelligence - headed by a Special Assistant

Legal Affairs - headed by the Legal Adviser

These "staff" units, while their work is primarily advisory in nature, at times also have responsibility for taking action. This is particularly true in the case of Public Affairs, but there such action is principally carrying out its special function of informing peoples of the world of the objectives of United States foreign policy. The Economic Affairs unit, moreover, has some measure of responsibility for action which takes it into the same fields as the four regional bureaus. It acts upon foreign economic problems which require broadly multilateral, as distinct from bilateral or regional, treatment and negotiates multilateral agreements. This overlapping of jurisdiction between units organized on a geographic basis and those organized on a functional basis is not peculiar to the State Department and exists in some degree in every foreign ministry.

A knowledge of the background of the present pattern of organization as between the geographic and the functional units and an appreciation of the continuing difficulties in this connection are essential to an understanding of how the State Department functions. Prior to 1949 the conduct of substantive foreign affairs by the Department was severely hampered by the division of the substantive work of the Department, partly on the geographic or political basis and partly on a functional or economic basis. Each type of unit reported to a different head, who reported only to the Secretary and Under Secretary. The authority of each was coordinate with that of the other. As a result, the Secretary - Under Secretary segment carried a heavy burden in effecting

coordination between the two types of units. An elaborate and time-consuming system of lateral clearance between the two types of units was in effect. Responsibility for policies and action taken was not definitely fixed. A considerable degree of undesirable duplication of effort existed. Further difficulty arose from the fact that the geographic units represented the traditional side of the Department, its key positions being held largely by career foreign service officers. On the other hand, the functional units came into existence for all practical purposes as recently as 1935 and have been staffed almost exclusively by non-career Departmental personnel. This difference in personnel accentuated the difficulty.

The current pattern of organization of the State Department attempts, as noted above, to place the bulk of action responsibility on the new regional bureaus and the Bureau of United Nations Affairs with the functional or economic units working more in a staff or advisory capacity. It is too early to gauge the success of this rearrangement. Current indications are that with the appointment of Assistant Secretaries to head up the regional and United Nations bureaus, the Department now has executive heads able and willing to assume responsibility. At lower levels, however, some signs indicate that the solution to the problem of coordinate authority has still not been attained. Nevertheless, there is encouraging evidence that the Department is trying to find a solution.

With the foregoing as a background, the responsibilities of the various action and staff units will be outlined, with special attention given to the Bureau of United Nations Affairs.

(2) The Four Regional Bureaus

The chief responsibility of the four regional bureaus is the relations of the United States with the major areas of the world: Europe, including the British Commonwealth; Latin America; the Far East; and the Near East; South

Asia, and Africa. These Assistant Secretaries must assure that regional policy is formulated, as well as advise the Secretary and other of the "top command" regarding major developments affecting formulation and execution of United States foreign policies within his region. The Assistant Secretaries must assure coherence in United States total relations with each country and the consistency of these relations with over-all policies. They have action responsibility for the application in their regions of over-all political, security, economic, public affairs, social, administrative and other policies, and they have review responsibility in their regions for those matters for which other units may develop the basic policies.

(3) Bureau of United Nations Affairs

The Bureau of United Nations Affairs, generally known as UNA, is today the principal unit concerned with handling relations with the United Nations and other international organizations. Prior to the current reorganization of the State Department, United Nations Affairs were cared for at the "Office level" of the Department, i. e., there was an Office of United Affairs on the same plane as any of the geographic offices. The Director of the Office of United Nations Affairs reported directly to the Secretary of State. Under the supervision of the Director were the Division of United Nations Political Affairs, the Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, the Division of International Security Affairs, the Division of Dependent-Area Affairs. Under the reorganization, the Office of United Nations Affairs has been raised to "bureau" status, and is now known as the Bureau of United Nations Affairs. The elevation in position of United Nations Affairs is to be attributed to the growing recognition of the importance of the new multilateral phases of United States foreign policy entailed by United States membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The Bureau of United Nations Affairs has an Assistant Secretary as its head. It has been enlarged by transfer to it of the Division of International

Conferences (formerly in the Administration section of the Department), the Refugees and Displaced Persons Staff, and of responsibility for social problems, health matters, and freedom of information. As a result the Bureau at present consists of the following:

1. The Assistant Secretary's unit, consisting of the Assistant Secretary's own staff, a planning unit and various special advisers.
2. Staff and administrative units, including the Refugees and Displaced Persons Staff.
3. Four action or line offices:
 - a. Office of International Administration and Conferences, consisting of a Division of International Administration and a Division of International Conferences.
 - b. Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs.
 - c. Office of Dependent-Area Affairs.
 - d. Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs.

The Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs serves (1) in a staff capacity as adviser to the Secretary, Under Secretary, and other Assistant Secretaries on matters involving United States participation in international organizations; (2) as coordinator and manager of preparations for United States participation in such organizations; (3) as action officer concerning political and security questions in the United Nations, and dependent areas, human rights, social, health, freedom of information, organizational and like matters; (4) as reviewing officer regarding economic, transport, communications, and labor policies as expressed through international organizations; and (5) as the principal representative of the Department in relations with international organizations.

The role of the Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, as one who has action responsibility for U. S. positions in international organizations, but who is to obtain policy guidance as far as possible from other areas of the Department, entails diverse relations. Those with the four regional bureaus involve designation in each of the bureaus of an officer specifically charged to maintain liaison with the Bureau of United Nations Affairs on matters concerned with the UN, especially on matters in the political and security fields. Relations between the Bureau of United Nations Affairs and the offices under the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs arise at many points, particularly in connection with the work of the Economic and Social Council and similar organs or agencies. With Public Affairs, the Bureau of United Nations Affairs has numerous relations in connection with interpreting many aspects of U.S. policy through the United Nations and the Special Agencies. Finally, the Bureau of United Nations Affairs must maintain liaison with departments and agencies outside the State Department on a great number of matters for which the Bureau of United Nations Affairs has action responsibility. Among these are the appointment of delegates to international conferences; organizational, administrative, and budgetary matters; dependent area questions; social health, human rights, and freedom of information matters.

A number of instances exist inside the Department where units other than the Bureau of United Nations Affairs, not specifically organized to support international organization, do carry the major burden for the formulation of substantive policies as part of their regular duties. The Office of Transport and Communications Policy, for example, formulates in behalf of the State Department substantive policies regarding the following

international organizations: International Civil Aviation Organization, International Maritime Consultative Organization, and the International Telecommunications Union. Another instance is the Office of International Trade Policy, whose International Resources and Economic Security Policy staff does the substantive backstopping for the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Trade Organization, and the Commodity councils and groups. The Bureau of Inter-American Affairs has the same relation to Organization of American States as the Bureau of United Nations Affairs does to the international organizations with which it is concerned.

Special comment is necessary on the role of the Bureau of United Nations Affairs (through its Office of Economic and Social Affairs) with respect to UNESCO, since there is also a UNESCO Relations Staff under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. Both units have responsibilities for United States participation in UNESCO. The Public Affairs Bureau's basic substantive work is very closely related to UNESCO's activities. To preserve this advantage, the separate UNESCO Relations Staff has been continued outside the Bureau of United Nations Affairs as part of Public Affairs. It performs the dual function of serving as secretariat for the National Commission and as the planning unit and channel of communication between the Department and UNESCO. The Staff develops policies on substantive matters relating to United States participation in UNESCO, subject to review by the Office of Economic and Social Affairs in the Bureau of United Nations Affairs. In this capacity, the Staff also assists the United States Counselor on UNESCO's Affairs resident in Paris. The Bureau of United Nations Affairs formulates and implements United States policy with reference to UNESCO on questions of constitutional development, jurisdiction, and coordination of UNESCO's activities in relation to the United Nations and specialized agencies. It also evaluates the organizational structure,

general administration, and budget of UNESCO.

The work of the Bureau of United Nations Affairs in the general area in which UNESCO operates, on the other hand, is much broader in scope than UNESCO alone, comprehending, as it does, an important segment of the United Nations and responsibilities with respect to all the specialized agencies and other organizations. The Bureau, working through its Office of Economic and Social Affairs, seeks the most effective use of the machinery of the Economic and Social Council of the UN, its subsidiary bodies, the specialized agencies and other international organizations in the economic, social and humanitarian fields by developing proposals on social, health, human rights, and freedom of information policies; formulating and implementing U.S. policy on the constitutional development, jurisdiction, and coordination of activities of the UN and specialized agencies in these fields; and reviewing the programs and activities of the agencies in order to avoid overlap and loss of effort. The Bureau also evaluates the organizational structure, general administration, and budgets of organizations, and conducts the State Department's relations with other Federal agencies on matters relating to U.S. participation in the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and other international organizations in the economic, social and related fields of concern to the Bureau.

In the drafting and development of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the proposed Covenant on Human Rights, the Bureau and its Offices have been particularly active in matters concerning the protection of minorities, the prevention of discrimination, freedom of information, and the status of women. While in the human rights field, and in the social and health fields, the Bureau has the primary substantive responsibility in the State Department, in economic affairs its responsibilities are limited to constitutional, organizational, administrative, and budgetary aspects.

A recent addition to the Bureau of United Nations Affairs, effected

by transfer from the administrative side of the State Department, is the Division of International Conferences. The Division plans and coordinates the organizational and administrative aspects of all international conferences, congresses, meetings, and expositions, etc., in which the United States Government participates. The Division coordinates the character and extent of U.S. participation, nominates delegates and representatives for conferences and meetings, with the advice and review of other areas of the Department and of other Federal agencies. The Division organizes the preparation of formal instructions for delegates; makes all administrative arrangements for participation by U.S. delegates and representatives; plans (administratively), organizes, and manages international meetings for which the U.S. Government is host; prepares estimates of funds required and allocates funds provided for U.S. participation in international conferences.

In general, it appears that during its period of existence the Bureau of United Nations Affairs has changed from an organization based on the structure of the United Nations to a pattern of organization which is primarily functional. This latter arrangement appears to be preferable because it permits handling of problems by subject matter regardless of the UN unit concerned. Since this arrangement permits staff to be utilized more effectively and economically, it is expected that future organization trends will continue along functional lines.

(4) Economic Affairs

The Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs and the staff under him has as its basic purpose the definition of U.S. economic foreign policy objectives and the development and application of measures for the furtherance of such objectives. To this end they serve (1) in a staff capacity as adviser to the Secretary, Under Secretary and other Assistant Secretaries; (2) as a coordinator with other Departmental units to assure by advice or review that U.S. policies toward a country or region are consistent with U.S. economic foreign policy;

(3) as action officers on economic problems having multilateral aspects which go beyond the justification of particular regional bureau; and (4) as a coordinator with the Treasury Department, Labor Department, and other governmental agencies on economic matters affecting several departments and agencies.

The Economic Affairs unit consists of the immediate office of the Assistant Secretary and three offices, namely, the Office of International Trade Policy, the Office of Transport and Communications Policy, and the Office of Financial and Development Policy. Reference to the responsibilities of certain of these offices in the support of international organizations has been made earlier.

(5) Public Affairs

The Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and the units under him are concerned with both domestic and foreign public opinion. On the domestic side this work is almost entirely carried on by the Office of Public Affairs, the principal purpose of which is to furnish the Secretary and Under Secretary with public relations advice and with advice on trends of public opinion in the United States and to carry out programs of public information on Foreign Affairs within the United States. On the foreign side, while advice on foreign public opinion is involved, the basic work involves observation and policy guidance of the foreign information and educational exchange programs.

Public Affairs has many relations within the Department. Its Assistant Secretary acts as a coordinator to assure that the foreign educational and exchange policy practices toward any one country or region are consistent with overall United States policies. This requires particularly close day-to-day working relations with the regional bureaus which have action responsibility for conducting public affairs programs in the countries in their regions. The UNESCO Relations Staff, which is part of Public Affairs, has been described above.

(6) Congressional Relations

The Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations heads up a legislative liaison staff, supervises the legislative program of the Department, arranges for presentation of the Department's views on legislation and other matters requiring Congressional action, participates in the general formulation of U.S. foreign policy from the viewpoint of Congressional relations. This position was established on a full-time basis as part of the 1949 reorganization, it having been found that the immediately previous method of handling Congressional relations as part-time work by the Counselor was not satisfactory.

(7) Intelligence and Legal Affairs

The Legal Adviser and the Special Assistant for Intelligence head up these two units on the staff side of the Department. The Intelligence unit collects, files and distributes intelligence information received from all sources, maintains the Department's library services, prepares factual reports, analyses, interpretations of foreign situations, and discharges liaison functions in the overall governmental intelligence structure. The Legal Adviser and his staff are, as the name implies, the source of legal advice for the Secretary of State and other units of the Department.

c. The Administrative Segment

The administrative segment of the Department is immediately under the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration. It contains a large proportion of the total personnel of the Department and performs a wide range of administrative services.

Prior to the 1949 reorganization the Department and the Foreign Service each had its own separate administration in terms of budget, personnel and management. As part of the action of the 1949 reorganization these separate offices were combined so as to permit more effective general administration. This represents the

first step toward eventual consolidation of the Departmental and Foreign Services. Further steps to complete this consolidation of the two services will require additional legislation by Congress. Suggestions for such legislation are understood to be in the course of preparation.

C. Personnel

1. Examination and Recruitment

Departmental personnel are recruited by the methods which apply to civil service personnel throughout the government. Formal responsibility for recruitment is vested in the United States Civil Service Commission, a body of three members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commission announces and conducts examinations, classifies positions, reviews appointments to positions, maintains service records, and gives promotional examinations.

Within the State Department and other agencies are Personnel Officers of department-wide jurisdiction, which, in conjunction with the appointing officers of the Department, have the following responsibilities: They may choose one of three names of eligible candidates certified by the Civil Service Commission for a vacant position or request further certifications if the first three are not suitable. They prescribe the duties of each employee and supervise his work. They develop in-service training programs and discharge other of the personal and morale-building aspects of personnel management. The Hoover Commission, upon the belief that the departments themselves can better innovate modern personnel methods than the central Civil Service Commission, has recommended that there be greater concentration of responsibility for recruitment and training in the departments.

The professional staff may be recruited at the entrance level through a variety of examinations, among them the Junior Professional Assistant examination. This examination, developed in recent years, consists of a number of options such as Social Science Analyst, Economist, and Management, Budgetary and Personnel

technicians. These examinations presuppose a university background and degree and, except for the Social Science Analyst, are technical in nature. Such is the tradition of United States Civil Service examinations, that the applicant's detailed knowledge of a specialty is taken to assure his competence. The Social Science Analyst examination represents a departure; it is quite general in nature and seeks to test the applicant's versatility. All of these examinations have a general intelligence test. In some cases the appointing officer places more emphasis on this test than on the portion devoted to technical competence. The examinations are given at present on a quarterly basis and are conducted at the principal metropolitan areas.

The Civil Service Commission also devises and administers examinations for employees with substantial experience in the federal service. Thus an employee of intermediate rank can take an examination which will place him on a register from which nominations are made for vacancies in higher-rank positions. The appointing procedures for these registers are the same as those outlined for entrance positions.

For higher executive positions, recruitment is often done through the "unassembled" examination which relies upon a personal interview to ascertain the personality and implicit qualifications of the candidate, and an appraisal of his experience. In addition, a written test may be used. If so, the result is merely one among several of the factors just indicated which determine the eligibility of the candidate.

2. Training

Historically, the relation of education in United States colleges and professional schools with government recruitment and its needs and methods has been quite inexact. In the past decade, however, there has been a growing realization that university training and Civil Service examinations ought to be somewhat better reconciled. A number of university programs at present carefully link the training

they offer with governmental needs.

The federal service, in recent years, has given increased attention to in-service training, i.e., the training of employees to improve their present work and to prepare them for higher positions. These programs take a variety of forms. A new employee may be turned over to an experienced one for instruction and guidance. There may be an orientation program, (used extensively in the State Department), which consists of an introductory series of lectures and inspection trips to afford a bird's eye view of the entire organization. Perhaps the most remarkable in-service training project is the Graduate School of the Department of Agriculture which offers a wide variety of technical and liberal arts courses to government employees after hours. The School is supervised by the Department of Agriculture and all of the departments are represented among its students.

3. The State Department: Problems and Prospects

The personnel program for the civil service portion of the State Department follows the general system just outlined. In the past the Foreign Service's power to determine its own personnel program has weakened the powers of the Central Personnel Office to establish a program for the entire Department and Foreign Service staff.

The State Department generally attracts recruits more easily than the "less glamorous agencies, although there sometimes is difficulty recruiting for top-level positions and for specialists. As a remedy, the Department has set up recruitment teams of personnel specialists, who work closely with the operating offices, to secure people for these jobs. To date, however, the teams have accomplished little (except immediately after the war) because of slender travel funds and Congressional budget cuts from which personnel activities have suffered. Indeed, on several occasions since the close of the war, the Department has been subject to general personnel cuts which, of course, render unnecessary any general recruitment

program. The longer-term plans of the Department call for a more fully developed recruitment program when the personnel requirements and budgetary situation reach a more normal setting.

The Departmental Personnel Office allows the operating offices considerable latitude in selecting applicants for positions. The Personnel Office feels that the operating offices are well qualified to make their selections and that often they may know where to find potential employees while the Personnel Office and the Civil Service Commission may not. In any event, the Personnel Office requires the operating offices to keep it completely informed of the status of all vacancies and makes a final review of all operating office decisions on hiring and promoting. Close cooperation with the Budget Office facilitates the supervising role of the Personnel Office.

The State Department now has in operation an interne program established in August 1949. The program includes 33 persons service for approximately a ten-month period. These internes were drawn by the Department and Foreign Service from successful contestants in the Foreign Service examinations, and from the nominations of 325 selected colleges. Internes receive \$2880, and at the end of six months those who prove outstanding are eligible for promotion to \$3240. The training and work assignments include orientation, rotating assignments in at least three areas, and further rotation within those areas. During the initial year of service, the internes are encouraged to take Civil Service examinations, and those who qualify under Civil Service and successfully complete their internship are eligible for appointment to the Department or to the Foreign Service.

At various times in-service training programs have been executed in the State Department chiefly through inter-assignment arrangements. The Division of Department Personnel fosters interchanges of employees between the various offices, including the geographic and economic, to fill out the experience of employees and

to improve inter-office relations. Thus far, however, these interchanges have not been numerous, principally because of the highly independent personnel program of the Foreign Service and the domination by Foreign Service officers of top positions in the geographical units which prevents the rise of non-Foreign Service employees into the higher echelons and renders assignment to those units unattractive.

D. The Foreign Service

1. Structure

The Foreign Service is the overseas arm of the President in foreign affairs. It is in many important respects separate from the State Department, having its own personnel,* and, to a modified degree, its own administration. Its existence pre-dates even the Constitution. Its basic task is to man the overseas missions which now consist of 47 embassies, 18 legations, and nearly 250 consular posts.

* At the time this report is being written, the Secretary of State has just appointed a commission of three to investigate the degree to which the Foreign Service and Departmental staffs should be integrated into a single service.

Today, through statute, the Foreign Service includes not only the traditional officers, but the foreign services of the Commerce and Agriculture Departments and the Interior Department's mineral specialists. During World War II the need for service abroad of additional personnel who were specialists led to the creation of an Auxiliary Foreign Service in 1941, to do such things as analyze import requirements in Latin America, to supervise the "black list", and to do cultural relations work. By 1941 the Auxiliary had 976 offices as contrasted with 820 in the career Foreign Service. The Auxiliary was terminated by the Foreign Service Act of 1946, which altered the Foreign Service in several important respects. Among these were: 1. All Foreign Service personnel were classified in five basic groups, ambassadors, and ministers, Foreign Service Officers, Foreign Service Reserve Officers, Foreign Service Staff and employees, and alien personnel. 2. The Foreign Service

Reserve was a new branch of the Service which consisted of specialists in various fields, who were to serve for temporary periods only. 3. The Foreign Service Institute, to train both Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel of the Department, was created. 4. A system of home leave, after two years abroad for all personnel, was provided, and the requirement that all Foreign Service officers serve at least three of their first fifteen years of service within the United States, was established. 5. The Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor were given membership on the Board of Foreign Service and authority to participate in the assignment of Foreign Service Personnel. 6. A promotion-up or selection-out procedure was established for Foreign Service officers, to eliminate officers who did not meet Service requirements, and to assure promotion of qualified officers at a rate enabling them to reach the top while still relatively youthful and vigorous.

2. Personnel

a. Recruitment

The Foreign Service consists of several professional Personnel categories: First, the Foreign Service officer who represents the traditional group of diplomatic and consular representatives and is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Second, the Foreign Service staff which consists of administrative and clerical employees: Third, the Foreign Service Reserve of professional employees who are temporarily appointed and enable the Service to utilize specialized skills which it requires from time to time in such fields as journalism, radio, the arts, scholarship, and science.

Recruitment for Foreign Service officers is handled by the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service. The Board prepares examinations and determines eligibility for entrance to the Foreign Service, for Class 6 Officers, the probationary group, and for "lateral" entrance into the higher classes. The nature of the Foreign Service career system requires that most recruits enter at the bottom.

This is reflected in the policy of the Board of Examiners that the most desirable age for admission to the lowest grade is between 21 and 25 years and the maximum age is 30. Both written and oral examinations are given to entrants under circumstances that appear impartial and free of political pressure. The examinations respond to two assumptions concerning the nature of the Foreign Service official; i.e., that he ought to be both a representative young American and a generalist (although the Foreign Service needs various specialists at high level posts, and there is a noticeable trend for Foreign Service officers to become specialists).

In 1947 the Foreign Service examinations underwent changes based upon recommendations of an advisory committee on Foreign Service examinations, consisting of outstanding representatives from education, industry and government. The new examination questions were geared to the level of the college graduate or his equivalent. They were heavily factual, relatively difficult, and not readily subject to cramming. They placed strong emphasis upon the humanities and less upon the social sciences. In economics, for example, knowledge of an introductory course is deemed sufficient. The examinations are given this form upon the belief that a "cultured" person is more likely to be the versatile generalist who is considered necessary for United States representation overseas.

The officers of the Foreign Reserve category are temporarily appointed for nonconsecutive periods of not more than four years each, and having served one such period, an appointee is not eligible for reappointment until the lapse of a period equal to his preceding tour of duty, or one year, whichever is shorter. Under the Foreign Service Act of 1946, transfer can occur to the Foreign Service Officer Group from the Staff and Reserve upon completion of appropriate examinations and if the applicant has completed four years of service, if under 31 years of age, and three years of service if over 31 in either the Foreign Service or the State Department.

The Hoover Commission Foreign Affairs Task Force deemed the temporary nature of the service in the Reserve to be unrealistic. The Task Force found that over 60 per cent of the Reserve's membership in 1948 came from the Department, non-career Foreign Service, and the wartime Foreign Service Auxiliary. All such employees have remained with the intent of seeking permanent employment in the Foreign Service.

Recruitment for the Foreign Service Officer category above the lowest grade has not been extensive since the close of World War II. Selection, when made, is exceedingly rigorous.

Recruitment of the Staff category is done by the Division of Foreign Service Personnel purely on an ad hoc basis. Although examinations are given, the instant needs of the Service, far more than the examination results, determine the appointment of a member to the Staff. Persons, therefore, who wish to join the Staff, apply to the State Department and may be appointed on the basis of a personal interview and the information given in their application. Following appointment, they report to the State Department and, after a course of indoctrination, are assigned to a post in the field.

Of all the categories discussed above, only the Foreign Service Officer category is a fully developed career service. The Reserve is temporary and the Staff Corps does not have career characteristics.

b. Training

The Foreign Service Institute is responsible for carrying out programs of training for Foreign Service and departmental personnel, and, upon request, for employees of other Government agencies who are being sent abroad. Among the programs of the Institute are those for basic officer training, advanced officer training, management and administrative training, and language training. Together these programs constitute the in-service training efforts of the Foreign Service.

Various officers of the intermediate and upper classes are also assigned to the War College for special studies.

IV. THE ROLE OF OTHER DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Introduction

The roles of the other departments and agencies in foreign affairs and in specific international organizations differ widely. At one extreme is the Economic Cooperation Administration, organized and administered entirely for a foreign policy purpose. The Departments of Agriculture, Treasury and Commerce, and such interdepartmental units as the National Advisory Council and the National Security Council all have extensive roles in foreign affairs and in the work of international organizations. At the other extreme are agencies like the Securities Exchange Commission which has a relatively minor influence upon international matters.

B. Organization for International Organization Affairs

No single pattern characterizes the organization of departments and agencies other than the State Department for their responsibilities in foreign affairs. Most of the agencies do not have units established specifically for promoting work which is directly or even indirectly related to U. S. participation in international organizations. Typically, foreign policy tasks, including participation in international organizations, are performed through the regular organization which cares for the domestic responsibilities of the agency, and which therefore handles international affairs by the same processes which are applied to domestic tasks.

Certain departments and agencies, however, have established central organizations specifically responsible for supporting their participation in international affairs. For example, the Department of Labor has an Office of International Labor Affairs at the Assistant Secretary's level, the Census Bureau has an Office of International Relations, the Civil Aeronautics Administration has an ICAO Division of the Staff Programs Office as an adjunct of the Administrator's Office, and the Department of Commerce has an Office of International Trade which has among its units an "Adviser on UN Affairs." The Department of Agriculture has an Office of Foreign

Agricultural Relations, the Federal Security Agency an Office of International Relations, and the Department of Interior a Special Assistant to the Secretary in charge of International Affairs.

The Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations well illustrates the role which these central units may play. The Office serves the Secretary of Agriculture in a staff capacity and maintains surveillance over foreign economic relations affecting agriculture. The Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations advises the Secretary concerning interrelated problems of agriculture policy and foreign economic policy and the coordination of the Department's activities in these fields. The Office represents Agriculture's interests in matters of policy, (international organizations included), and conducts negotiations with representatives of foreign governments in cooperation with the State Department. The Office also acquires and disseminates information on foreign agriculture and other economic policies and implements U. S. foreign policy by technical agricultural collaboration with other countries, including assistance in the development of complementary and strategic crops. The authority and responsibility of a central control unit such as the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations are set forth in an Organization Manual or similar document which is circulated and observed throughout the Department.

The Justice Department is a further instance of an agency in which contact with international matters is incidental to responsibilities which are primarily in domestic affairs. Yet the occasions of contact are often extremely important. They involve such matters as the negotiation and establishment of the United Nations Headquarters Agreement, the privileges and immunities for international organizations, the Freedom of Information Convention, the Conventions for Human Rights, and for the Suppression of Prostitution.

Typically, Justice handles these matters by use of existing organization rather than by the creation of new organization. The Attorney General is required

by statute to provide opinions and drafting services when requested by the President or by the head of a department. His aid with the foregoing was requested by the Department of State. The contact of the State Department ordinarily is with the Office of the Assistant Solicitor General, which most frequently drafts the Attorney General's opinions. The Office enlists the aid of other agencies in the Justice Department whenever the international matter under question requires, and furnishes whatever coordination of these agencies in the field may be necessary. It is estimated that in the fiscal year 1949 the equivalent of the full time of two attorneys and two stenographers in the Office of the Assistant Solicitor General was required to conduct work arising out of international matters.

For the most part, the departments and agencies other than the State Department handle their international duties through personnel who are regularly engaged in domestic affairs. The arrangement may entail attendance by these employees at international conferences, the preparation of papers used in international negotiation, and service on interdepartmental committees where contact is established with officers of the State Department and of other agencies whose concern is primarily with foreign affairs. In general, the transference of departmental personnel from entirely domestic duties to a mixture of foreign and domestic duties has been accomplished with a minimum of disturbance. Routines are usually established which permit the departments and agencies to undertake and complete assignments of an international character without undue dislocation of normal activities. In offices and bureaus where demands are recurring or continuous, staff may be assigned full-time to conduct duties involved in international negotiations. Often the officers so assigned become coordinators or controllers of their agencies' interests in international matters, and the detailed work still falls upon part-time and assigned personnel.

The mixed pattern which is presented of both part- and full-time staff attention to international duties suggests a continuing problem of choice. Those departments and agencies which have not established full-time units for international affairs must decide periodically whether to continue with only part-time arrangements or to establish a full-time unit. The consensus of experience of various agencies indicates that a full-time organization may become necessary either from an increased burden of work or when an agency deems it appropriate or desirable to give special recognition to international organization work.

In general, the departments and agencies other than State have willingly assumed their international duties, and have not found that the work involved has seriously affected their regular programs. In very few instances has reference been made at Congressional budget hearings to disturbances occurring from the work requirements of international matters. Since the close of World War II and up until mid-1948 only the Department of Interior has complained of a lack of budget and staff to provide the comprehensive support entailed in U. S. participation in international organizations and conferences that it considers necessary. The Department wishes to make far more studies than it now can execute to anticipate policy positions which the United States might require in future international negotiations. Interior has found that it lacks both funds and staff to make such studies as extensively as it thinks necessary.

V. INTER-AGENCY COORDINATION

A. Introduction

The increasing interest of departments and agencies other than the State Department in the conduct of foreign affairs, including participation in international organizations, has created a most serious problem of coordination. For its solution, the Hoover Commission turned to the point of ultimate responsibility for this task, the President. He alone is ultimately responsible for defining foreign policy objectives, for initiating policies and programs, for realizing these objectives, and for effecting the necessary coordination between the operating programs. Since he cannot perform all these activities alone, the President must establish such machinery and processes as Congress permits that will aid him in discharging his tremendous responsibilities.

The means now available for determining foreign policy objectives are highly informal and unsystematic. If the President should decide, for example, to review the aims of our foreign policy toward the Argentine, he could, of course, turn to the Secretary of State, but assistance from that quarter would give him a quite incomplete coverage of the subject. The Treasury would have pertinent financial information on the matter, and likewise the Department of Agriculture and the military establishment would have data and opinions which could not be overlooked. Also, the President, in considering U. S. foreign policy objectives toward Argentina, cannot afford to discount their impact on the U. S. domestic economy. Thus a variety of agencies contribute to the establishment of our foreign policy objectives.

The same diffusion exists for the coordination of foreign policies and programs. A variety of coordinating techniques have appeared and functioned with uneven effectiveness. These we shall now review.

B. Interdepartmental Committees

The coordinating device most widely used is the interdepartmental committee. As of July 30, 1948, there were 33 such committees in the foreign affairs field, and more than 20 of these had been established since the close of World War II.

(1) Methods of Establishment

On these 33 committees, 6 were established by acts of Congress, 8 by Presidential letter or executive order, 13 by exchange of letters between Secretaries or Assistant Secretaries, and the balance by such means as departmental orders and informal arrangements. Since World War II the trend has been toward statutory establishment, e.g. the National Security Council, the National Security Resources Board, and the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. The number and importance of these bodies indicate a Congressional desire for better coordination within the executive branch. The Hoover Commission, however, recommended that this practice be abolished in favor of Presidential establishment of these committees in crucial areas in the conduct of foreign affairs which contain matters requiring Presidential consideration or decision. Statutory action, in the eyes of the Commission, entailed undesirable inflexibilities; it infringed upon the President's interest in determining the existence, jurisdiction, and membership of the committees, and the President is generally responsible for the coordination sought through committees.

Handwritten note: This is statutory establishment.

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(2) Determination of Membership

Sometimes there is a conflict of interests in determining committee membership -- the need to keep the committee to workable size and the desire to accord participation to all interested departments and agencies. Under present practice, all agencies with "primary interest" are members and other agencies are invited to individual meetings when the committee deems the interest of the non-member to be involved.

Usually, at the establishment of a committee, effort is made to obtain the highest level of agency representation possible. In 1948, for instance, high-level representation (from the Secretary to the Office Director levels, inclusive) constituted 62 per cent of the membership of interdepartmental committees. Experience indicates that after an initial period of 6 months to 2 years, a deterioration occurs, first by members being represented by alternates, and second by alternates being represented by substitutes. The tendency develops because high-level officials, pressed with other duties, cannot attend all committee meetings, and a member agency may prefer to dispose of a matter unilaterally rather than resort to a committee and the possibility of a less favorable decision.

(3) Subcommittees

A count taken in 1948 indicated there to be 142 subcommittees or ad hoc working groups organized under the 33 subject interdepartmental committees. The large number reveals the scope of the committees' work and the relatively uncontrolled establishment of subcommittees. Overlapping and duplication are characteristic of many of these committees. The Hoover Commission's Foreign Affairs Task Force also found that there is a strong tendency for decisions to be made by the subcommittees, with a consequent weakening of the parent committee.

(4) Secretariats

Most interdepartmental committees have secretariats. There are five main types: (1) a secretariat located within the substantive office of one of the departments which is a member of the committee, the office personnel doing the secretariat job on a part-time basis; (2) a secretariat established within a department solely to manage the committee's business (The State Department makes particular use of this type); (3) a separate central secretariat, located in the committee itself and supported by dollar contributions from member agencies; (4) a secretariat composed of personnel detailed from the member agencies (the Hoover Commission's

Foreign Affairs Task Force considered this last type a dubious device because the secretariat tends to become much larger than it might otherwise be. Each committee member insists upon representation on the secretariat to assure that its interests are properly cared for); (5) Interdepartmental Committees such as the National Security Council have secretariats separate from Departmental staffs, paid by funds appropriated directly by Congress.

Deserving of particular attention is the existence in the State Department of a committee secretariat staff within the Executive Secretariat. Among the responsibilities of this staff is the providing of secretariat services for departmental committees and most interdepartmental committees chaired by the State Department. Since 1944 the staff has become a professional group which has systematized committee organization and procedure to a considerable degree, and, by making available centralized and standardized services, has reduced the personnel needed for secretariat work on interdepartmental committees.

(5) High-Level Committees

Three high-level committees created by Congress are especially important in the conduct of present-day foreign policy and, in turn, upon the foreign policy "line" that the United States follows in international organizations. These are the National Security Council, the National Security Resources Board, both of which are in the Executive Office of the President, and the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. The National Security Council and the National Security Resources Board were created by the National Security Act of 1947 to advise the President, the former on "the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to national security," and the latter on "the coordination of military, industrial, and civilian mobilization for war." The National Advisory Council was created by the Bretton Woods Agreements Act of 1945 and advises the President on the general policy to be followed by U. S. representatives to the

International Bank and International Monetary Fund in international financial matters, and coordinates the policies and operations of those representatives, the Export-Import Bank, and all other government agencies in the making of foreign loans and other financial transactions.

(6) Illustrations of Interdepartmental Committees

There follows a detailed treatment of two interdepartmental committees which have proven important as "backstops" to international organizations. These committees have been chosen not because of any dominant importance they might have among the committees in general, but only because they illustrate well the method that is used to coordinate participation in international organizations.

The United States Food and Agriculture Organization Interagency Committee

This Committee was established in 1946 by Presidential letter to the Secretary of Agriculture. It was created to meet a definite need within the U. S. Government for the centralization of U.S. activities concerning FAO, and in response to a recommendation by FAO that member governments establish national FAO committees so that non-governmental as well as governmental, scientific, technical and other resources might more effectively accomplish the FAO program.

The Committee consists of a chairman and vice chairman, both from the Department of Agriculture. The further membership includes the State Department, Commerce, Interior, Treasury, Budget Bureau (observer), Federal Security, and Labor. There is also authority to establish an Advisory Committee consisting of representatives from private agricultural, labor, business, and consumer groups. This Advisory Committee has never been formally established, although a small group of farm, forestry, fishery, and consumer organization representatives meet frequently with the Interagency Committee for informal consultation.

In 1947 the Committee held 20 meetings and until July, 1948 it held 8 meetings. In 1949, its meetings have markedly increased. It has a regular meeting

time on alternate Tuesdays, and only occasionally meets at less frequent intervals. Agriculture has initiated most of the matters considered, although State and Interior also have important substantive roles. Ordinarily the Committee resolves its own questions through discussion and compromise and without vote, and its recommendations become a part of U. S. policy. On several occasions, however, matters have been carried to the Cabinet-level for decision. The Committee considers all types of questions concerning U. S. policy on FAO, including the composition of U. S. delegations to FAO conferences and meetings, the preparation of instructions, and the implementation of FAO recommendations by the U. S.

Decisions of the Committee are implemented by the appropriate agency or person. For instance, if the Committee's decisions are embodied in instructions to the U. S. member of the FAO Conference, they will be implemented by the U. S. member of the conference and his advisers. Often the chairman, after the Committee has agreed upon an action, asks one or several Committee members to carry it out. Any Committee member can call for a report at subsequent meetings of action taken.

The Committee itself contributes to coordination of its affairs with other interdepartmental committees by cross-membership or interlocking membership in such other committees having common fields, as the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy and the Committee on International Social Policy. The Committee on FAO, the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, and the National Advisory Council occasionally exchange papers for circulation.

The secretariat of the Committee is provided by the Department of Agriculture and its Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations. The secretariat serves only this Committee, but its officers have devoted only part-time to their Committee duties. The secretary of the Committee, for instance, is the Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations and has other responsibilities in that Office. Among the secretary's committee duties are the sending of

notices of meetings with tentative agenda, briefing the chairman before and during the meeting on the background and progress of matters up for consideration, preparing minutes, drafting position statements, carrying on voluminous correspondence with FAO on procedural and technical matters, convening ad hoc panels of Committee members and others to consider particular problems, organizing the government's annual report to FAO on the food and agricultural situation in the U. S. and territories(as required by Article XI of the FAO Constitution), circulating FAO documents to Committee members, servicing, in a limited way, the non-governmental organization advisers, and acting as secretary or adviser in U. S. delegations to meetings of the FAO Conference and Council.

There are no standing sub-committees, though ad hoc committees are established as needed. There is an established arrangement whereby statistics requested by FAO are cleared through the Federal Committee on International Statistics. The latter Committee is represented on the FAO Committee through the observer from the Bureau of the Budget. Other technical information is cleared by the secretary with the appropriate agencies.

Committee on International Social Policy

This committee is one of two committees established in 1947 with jurisdiction over each of two major phases of foreign policy, social and economic. The International Social Policy Committee was established by Presidential letter following extensive consultation between the State Department, Labor and Federal Security. The Committee has the scope of the entire social field, that is, labor, social welfare, relief, health, human rights, information and related problems. All of these the Committee is concerned with when they affect foreign policy, including action taken through international organizations. Strictly speaking, the Committee does not "establish" policy; it recommends, but seldom do its views fail to become policy. Membership of the Committee consists of State, Agriculture, Commerce, Federal Security,

Interior, Labor, Budget (observer); other agencies such as the Department of Justice are invited to participate in questions directly concerning them. Formal representation on the Committee is at the assistant Secretary level. Active participation, however, has frequently been at lower levels, particularly when a technical question is at hand.

The chairman of the Committee is the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and the Executive Secretary is attached to the Chairman's office. The Committee met 14 times in 1947 and 14 times in the first half of 1948, and averaged 2 hours per meeting. Initiative in most matters was exercised by State, Labor and Federal Security. Particularly in the sub-committees was initiative exercised. The Federal Security Agency has the chairmanship of the sub-committee on social welfare, Labor, the chairmanship of the sub-committee on labor, and State the chairmanship of the other sub-committees. The Department having the chair prepares most of the papers.

The Committee has five standing sub-committees on health, human rights and the status of women, labor, non-self-governing territories, and social welfare. Each sub-committee provides detailed drafting and preliminary discussion for matters within its scope and makes the recommendations which ensue to the plenary Committee. Thus most documentation reaches the main committee through a sub-committee. The Executive Secretary of the main committee carefully follows the progress of each sub-committee, keeps in touch with each sub-committee secretary (who acts in this capacity as part of his regular duties in a substantive office), and reviews all sub-committee documents prior to reproduction and distribution. The central secretariat in the Department of State runs off the stencils of sub-committee minutes, agenda and documents and distributes the copies.

A secretariat in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs serves jointly in an executive capacity the Executive Committee on Economic Policy and the Committee on International Social Policy. The secretariat consists

of two officers, the executive secretary and assistant executive secretary, and two clerical personnel. The secretariat thus seeks to coordinate closely the work of the two Committees and their sub-committees as well as exercise a watchdog role to assure that all questions properly within the jurisdiction of the Committee are referred to them. The State Department's General Secretariat Staff handles the duplication and distribution of documents and drafts minutes for the two top committees.

The International Social Policy Committee also maintains liaison with other committees and agencies, and circulates documents to certain non-member agencies.

Most often the Committee's decisions are implemented by the State Department or the U. S. representatives to international conferences who are so instructed by the Department. Position papers on social problems before the UN and its commissions, the ILO, WHO, and regional commissions clear through the Committee's machinery, upon approval by the Secretary of State or his office, they constitute the "instructions" or "guides" of U. S. representatives. Implementation may also be by the other agencies having primary operating responsibilities in the particular field involved. Implementation is assured by the full and usually immediate information which member agencies have of the progress of the Committee's decisions.

The Committee on International Social Policy, in close cooperation with the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, back-stops the U. S. delegates to the General Assembly of the UN on appropriate topics, the Economic and Social Council and its numerous commissions and sub-commissions, the Regional and Economic Social Councils, and many of the specialized agencies, notably WHO, IRO, ILO and in special cases, UNESCO. Likewise the Committee on International Social Policy and the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy prepared the policy papers on the economic and social questions discussed at the Bogota Conference and regularly back-stop the U. S. representatives to the various Latin American conferences in these fields.

(7) Hoover Commission Proposals

Recognizing the value of interdepartmental committees in the making of foreign policy, the Hoover Commission, in its report on Foreign Affairs, made recommendations toward their improvement. It proposed that specific institutional aids be created in the Executive Office and the State Department to foster the successful functioning of the committees. Among these was a staff secretary to the President who should keep the President advised of policy issues being considered by the principal Cabinet-level committees, and of any overlapping of assignments or conflicts which may exist. Also proposed for each cabinet-level committee was a full-time executive secretary, and a small nucleus of staff supplemented by additional staff drawn from the regular policy units of the departments and agencies participating in the work of the various committees.

C. Means of Liaison Other Than Committees

As might be expected, the minimum of system which characterizes U. S. organization for international affairs also marks the further efforts at liaison between the State Department and other departments and agencies. The liaison arrangements of the other departments and agencies are varied, though there are to be perceived remarkably varied and sometimes ingenious liaison techniques.

On the whole, interdepartmental relations other than those maintained by committees consist chiefly of day-to-day dealings which may take such forms as joint research, arrangements for international conferences, discussions of answers to queries from United States foreign missions. Most of these relationships are informal, though on important matters letters are exchanged, and are pursued at many and various planes of departmental hierarchies. Considerable difficulties sometimes arise when subordinates have exceeded their authority during such relations and claimed to represent a department policy, when in fact, it is a bureau or perhaps only a personal policy. However, as a result of the Hoover Commission report, the

State Department has now worked out a systematic arrangement for inter-agency liaison which, it is hoped, will provide a method for more adequate and effective coordination.

VI. PERMANENT MISSIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

A. Missions Now Maintained

Participation by the United States in international organizations has increased remarkably in the postwar years. Most important of the organizations to which the United States belongs is, of course, the United Nations. The United States is also a member of the various specialized agencies composing the United Nations system. These include the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and the organizations for health, cultural relations, labor, and aviation.

To certain of the UN organizations, permanent Missions are now maintained by the United States. These are as follows:

United States Mission to the United Nations, New York City.
Office of the United States Representative to the United Nations
Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, Switzerland.
Office of the United States Counselor for UNESCO Affairs, Paris, France.
Office of the United States Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, Montreal, Canada.
Office of the United States Representative for Specialized Agency Affairs, Geneva, Switzerland.

In addition, the Department maintains a Conference Attaché at Geneva. The Attaché and his assistants are members of the Legation staff in Berne and are resident in Geneva. This staff is principally concerned with advance arrangements for United States delegations to conferences convened in Geneva, most of which are meetings of international organizations. The Conference Attaché also makes advance survey and arrangement trips to other conference sites on the continent.

The "backstopping" for all of these missions is performed within the Department by the Bureau of United Nations Affairs.

B. Functions and Organization

1. United States Mission to the United Nations, New York City

All governmental contacts with the United Nations at its headquarters in New York are channeled through the United States Mission. The Mission is organized

along the lines of the United Nations itself and includes the United States Representatives to the United Nations, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and other organs of the United Nations. All these representatives report to the United States Representative to the United Nations.

In addition to organizational contacts, the United States Representative maintains constant liaison with the various other national delegations located at the seat of the United Nations. The United States Mission is largely a self-contained operation in the managerial sense, though functioning under instructions from the State Department in matters of policy and general administration.

Major meetings such as the General Assembly sessions are usually attended by United States Representatives appointed by the President. The remainder of the delegation is made up of advisers, technicians, and administrative/clerical employees and includes personnel on the rolls of the United States Mission, the Department of State, and other Federal agencies. During the period of the General Assembly, the United States Mission provides continuous administrative, reporting, analysis, reference and technical services for the Delegation. However, the continuing type of meetings are usually covered by members of the Mission's staff assisted by advisers detailed from the State Department. For example, Ambassador Austin is the senior United States representative attending all meetings of the Security Council. He is also the United States Representative on the Headquarters Advisory Committee as well as many other permanent bodies of the organization.

2. Office of the United States Representative to the United Nations
Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, Switzerland

Since the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe is an operating, rather than purely advisory organization, which carries out its duties and functions through meetings of technical committees and subcommittees, it is necessary for the United States to provide competent technical advisers to cover a meeting schedule

which has reached well over 200 sessions during 1949 and is constantly increasing. United States representatives not only attend meetings. They must analyze problems to be considered, make recommendations regarding United States positions, advise interested United States agencies of current developments, and maintain effective liaison with delegations of other nations.

The United States Mission is organized similarly to the operating committees of the Economic Commission for Europe. The staff consists mainly of Foreign Service Reserve officers and staff, and local employees as telephone operators, chauffeurs, janitors, etc. The Mission, on the average, consists of twenty persons.

3. Office of the United States Counselor for UNESCO Affairs, Paris, France

The Office of the United States Counselor for UNESCO Affairs observes the operations of UNESCO at its headquarters and reports on the progress being made on the organization's program. It represents the United States in relations with representatives of other governments in Paris on matters concerning UNESCO and serves as a channel for all official correspondence in negotiations between the United States and the Director General of UNESCO. The Office also maintains day-to-day liaison with the Director General of UNESCO and his staff, facilitates appropriate contact between United States organizations and individuals and UNESCO, and services United States delegations to UNESCO meetings. The Mission consists of two senior officers and two secretaries. The officers are Foreign Service Officers attached to the embassy in Paris.

4. Office of the United States Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, Montreal, Canada

The United States is a member of the Permanent Council of International Civil Aviation Organization. It also participates in the work of the several standing committees of the Council. Since the Council and these committees are in almost constant session, the United States provides permanent representation at these

meetings through a mission established in Montreal. This mission also acts as the appropriate channel for all contacts between the organization and United States organizations and officials. It maintains permanent liaison with the Secretary General and provides assistance to all delegations attending meetings called by ICAO. The Mission consists of eight persons: three of senior rank are Presidential appointees; the other five are administrative and secretarial. All are considered State Department employees assigned to the field.

5. Office of the United States Representative for Specialized Agency Affairs, Geneva, Switzerland

The activities of the United States Representative have centered around the International Refugee Organization. Because of the extensive program and expenditures involved, the United States has found it advisable to maintain close liaison with the IRO to keep the State Department fully informed on the day-to-day operations of the IRO and the decisions, plans and long range programs being contemplated. The mission also maintains liaison with other national delegations at the seat of the IRO, and provides technical advice to United States delegations to meetings of the organization. In addition, the United States representative serves the Department in day-to-day liaison with the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization and the United Nations Office at Geneva, provides technical advice to delegations attending meetings of the organizations concerned, and serves on special assignment to international organization meetings elsewhere on the continent.

The Mission consists of two persons, the United States Representative, who is a Foreign Service officer, and a secretary who is a departmental person assigned to the field. Administrative services for the United States Representative are provided by the staff of the Economic Commission for Europe also located in Geneva.

C. Representation at Regional Offices

No permanent representation is maintained at the United Nations Office at Geneva nor is it presently anticipated that representation will be maintained at other regional offices, if they are established. Necessary liaison with the United Nations Office at Geneva is maintained through the Office of the United States Representative to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and the Office of the United States Representative for Specialized Agency Affairs.

VII. UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (PAN AMERICAN UNION)

A. Relation of Organization of American States to Pan American Union

The Charter of the Organization of American States signed at Bogota, Colombia in 1948, establishes an organization into which the existing structure of Inter-American agencies and agreements are to be incorporated. The old Pan American Union is now the General Secretariat of the new organization. The old Governing Board of the Pan American Union has become the Council of the new organization.

The Bogota Charter provided for the following components of the Organization of American States: The Inter-American Conference, which is the supreme organ of the Organization and decides general action and policy; the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to consider urgent problems; the Specialized Conferences, to consider technical matters; the Council of the Organization, which comprises the permanent executive body and provisional organ of consultation; an Advisory Defense Committee; and Specialized Organizations to perform specialized technical functions. The Organization envisages an Inter-American Economic and Social Council, an Inter-American Council of Jurists, and an Inter-American Cultural Council. Not all of these units have been established. For example, the Inter-American Council of Jurists will not be created until March of this year, the Inter-American Cultural Council not until June or July. Certain Inter-American official conferences and organizations have been designated in the Bogota Charter as Inter-American Specialized Conferences and Inter-American Specialized Organizations.

B. United States Participation

United States participation in the Pan American Union was authorized by executive action following the resolution of the first International Conference of American States (1890). In 1931, the Senate expressed consent to ratification of the Pan American Union Convention of 1928. While this convention did not formally

come into effect, because it was never ratified by a sufficient number of nations, the convention as ratified is considered an additional authorization of U. S. participation and payment of its quota. The State Department hopes for the ratification of the Charter of the Organization of American States during the present session of Congress.

C. United States Representation

In recent years, in keeping with a decision of the Mexico City Conference of 1945, the appointment of a full-time special representative with the rank of Ambassador to represent the United States to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union (now the Council of the Organization of American States) has replaced the old practice of appointing the Secretary of State to be the United States representative. The present special representative is "back-stopped" by the Bureau of American Republic Affairs in the State Department, in the same manner as the Bureau of United Nations Affairs "back-stops" the United States delegation to the United Nations, although the latter Bureau has primary responsibility for administrative and budgetary matters concerning the regional organizations as well. The special representative has no staff of his own and is not considered to be a "delegation." The location of his office in the State Department building facilitates his obtaining informal advice and assistance in addition to the formal instructions which the Secretary of State may issue to him.

Since the creation of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in the Organization of American States, the United States has also had a special representative to that organization. He also holds the rank of Ambassador and is "back-stopped" formally by the Bureau of American Republic Affairs. In practice, he works very closely with the economic units of the State Department and with the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, and with the Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs of the Bureau of United Nations Affairs.

Neither special representative is responsible to the other.

D. Role of United States Representatives in Meetings of the Inter-American Conference

Although it is assumed that the special representative of the United States to the Council of the Organization of American States and to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the Organization would be included in a United States delegation to an Inter-American Conference (viz., the major conferences, of which nine have been held), it is not assumed that either would automatically be the head of such a delegation.

VIII. NATIONAL DELEGATIONS TO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

A. Forming the Delegation

Responsibility for the organization and administration of United States Government participation in all international conferences centers in the State Department's Bureau of United Nations Affairs. Such responsibility includes both the regular and ad hoc meetings of the United Nations, its subordinate bodies, and its specialized agencies, and the meetings of other intergovernmental organizations, as well as meetings called by governments or private organizations and having no direct connection with international organizations in which the United States participates. This arrangement of responsibility is in keeping with the State Department's general responsibility for leadership in United States international relations. Within the Bureau of United Nations Affairs, the Division of International Conferences is responsible for obtaining suitable representation of the interests of other Federal departments and agencies, and of private groups, associations and individuals, regarding questions of conference participation, delegations' size and composition, instructions and reports. Funds for participation and administrative arrangements incident to participation are also centered in this Division.

The Division of International Conferences "registers" a conference expected to require State Department assistance sometimes as long as two to four years in advance of the convening date. It also "budgets" for the conference in light of information obtained from within the State Department, its foreign missions, other agencies, and conference authorities. Involved is an evaluation of the conference vis-a-vis other anticipated conferences and the objective of affording the best possible use of available funds for all conferences. For each fiscal year, the Division prepares an estimate of conference funds required which is submitted to the departmental budget office for use in determining the total international activities funds to be requested from Congress. The estimates approved by the State Department's

Budget Officer, which include specified amounts for contingencies in the international conference field, next proceed to the Bureau of the Budget in the Executive Office of the President, which may approve or revise the estimates, and these are transmitted to Congress as a part of the total budget recommended by the President.

The selection of national delegations to international conferences creates a problem of establishing a balance, in terms of national interest, between various interests and pressures, and the requirements occasioned by the conference agenda. Heightening the difficulty are the limited funds and facilities available for conferences from public and private sources. Also, generous acceptance of agency and personal demands for representation sometimes results in overly large and poorly coordinated delegations. In determining United States delegations, the Division analyzes the requirements for participation as based on the agenda and a reconciliation of the interests of the other departments and private organizations through negotiation and the establishment of substitutes for direct representation, e.g., membership on preparatory committees and soliciting recommendations on the delegation instructions.

To obtain recommendations for delegation memberships, the Conferences Division utilizes interdepartmental committees, ad hoc committees, and direct solicitation from agencies, public and private, as situations warrant. Generally, the Division seeks to reconcile the following in this phase of its task: (1) a squaring of the delegates and their technical specialties with the coverage of agenda items, including the designation of a principal spokesman for each major committee of the conference; (2) recognition of a given subject-matter; (3) personal technical competence, including ability to cover more than a single section of the agenda; (4) the necessity for private representation, including pertinent regional group, and personal factors; (5) skill in group negotiation. The delegation list formed upon these

considerations is discussed in committee or directly with the pertinent substantive areas within the State Department and other interested departments and agencies.

The completed list is forwarded by the Conferences Division to the appropriate higher authority, whether the President or the Secretary of State. The list at this stage indicates the concurrences of the State Department units, the Assistant Secretaries having jurisdiction over them, and of other departments and agencies concerned.

In the preparation of instructions for the United States delegation, the International Conferences Division seeks to assure (although sometimes unsuccessfully) that all interested agencies play their due role. Position papers representing the coordinated view of all the interested government agencies are turned over to the Conferences Division for incorporation in the written instructions submitted to the appropriate higher authority for final approval and signature (the Secretary of State or Assistant Secretary responsible for the subject area). The Division has developed standard general provisions to be included in instructions concerning the responsibility of the Chairman, the delegation of authority, etc.

In addition, the Conferences Division arranges delegation meetings at which key officials responsible for substantive areas included in the agenda discuss the position papers and the general background. The Office also arranges to have the delegation briefed on any special political problems anticipated and on administrative services available to delegation members en route and at the conference site, as are of general interest to delegation members. Whenever possible, the Division arranges for the Chief of the U. S. Mission at the seat of the conference to brief the delegation members on the local situation, including political factors within the host Government, and local customs. In collaboration with the State Department's Division of Biographic Information, the Conferences Division also makes available biographic data on key conference officials of the host Government and of participating delegations.

B. The Delegation Secretariat

The secretariat of the United States delegation may be provided by the Conferences Division from its staff, or, in collaboration with the Office of Personnel, from other units of the State Department or from other departments and agencies. The delegation secretariat is customarily headed by an International Conferences officer, trained and experienced in conference techniques. The technical secretary is drafted from one of the substantive areas concerned. The number and types of subordinate staff of the secretariat are determined by the Conferences Division according to the estimated work load. The Division's responsibility for secretariat personnel is limited to furnishing a minimum number of key officers and clerical personnel. This portion of the secretariat staff may vary from one to as many as six officers. These persons are carefully selected to assure that the best qualified serve, which usually entails that the secretariat is composed on a detailed basis.

The State Department has found that when the United States participated in few international conferences, there was no problem of recruiting sufficient personnel from the Department for secretariat needs. Nowadays, however, with United States participation in international conferences greatly increased, it has become increasingly difficult as well as inappropriate to obtain proper personnel without placing an undue burden upon the whole Department. The Office of Personnel has developed procedures making a proportionate levy of personnel from the interested offices and divisions of the department, and other departments and agencies substantially interested in particular conferences. Such a practice has permitted a wider selection of competent secretariat personnel. It also precludes limiting conference attendance to personnel of the International Conferences Division.

C. Reports of Delegations to Home Government

The International Conferences Division has continuous responsibilities concerning the reports of United States delegations to the home government. Plans are made both before and during the conference to foster prompt completion of the report. The Division's Research and Editorial Section serves to fashion the reports into suitable form for publication. Where the United States is the host government, this Section is responsible for organizing the proceedings and documents in complete readiness for publication.

The International Conferences Division has other publishing duties. It annually issues the volume, "Participation of the United States Government in International Conferences," which includes accounts of all international conferences in which the United States participated officially during the preceding fiscal year. The Division also issues, on a quarterly basis, a "List of International Conferences and Meetings," which provides the date, name and place, background, agenda, participation, and other data for each international conference in session or scheduled during the calendar year. Each month the Division prepares a calendar of meetings of international organizations and conferences for publication in the Department of State Bulletin.

The publicity engendered by a conference during its progress or in its immediate aftermath is in great part the responsibility of the International Conferences Division. Press releases on all international conferences to which the Government is party are prepared by it and turned over to the Department's Office of the Special Assistant for Press Relations. Articles from the Bulletin are arranged for, edited, and sometimes drafted by the Division. These articles give substantial accounts of the conference -- the background, the agenda, the countries participating, the United States delegation, the conference organization, the results of the meeting, and plans for the next conference.

D. Standardization of Conference Planning and Procedures

The International Conferences Division is establishing standard procedures for international conferences and United States delegations. A training program for international conference personnel -- secretariat and delegates -- is maintained by the Division. The following standard procedures have been treated in published form: a collection of approximately 100 aids on the organization and running of conferences and delegations; a General Information Memorandum for each delegation advising on the origination of the conference, its program, arrangements for the United States Delegation and the conference site; a Guide (when the United States is host government) for use at the Conference Site, which describes conference arrangements for the delegates, services of the secretariat, and conference directories. The Guide is distributed to all participants of the Conference, sometimes in more than one language. There are also the Chairman's Handbook, the Secretary of Delegation Handbook, the Fiscal Manual and the Secretariat Handbook which describe the responsibilities and duties of various members of the delegation.

E. Participation of Legislators in International Conferences

A special feature of United States participation in major international conferences is the presence of members of Congress among the delegation. The legislators may be from either or both of the major parties; e.g. Senator Connally (Democrat) and Senator Vandenberg (Republican) were Delegates to the U. N. preparatory conference in London; Senator Brewster (Republican) and Senator McCarran (Democrat) were delegates to the Bermuda aviation conference. More frequently, the legislators serve as "Congressional advisers". Views are mixed concerning the desirability, as a general practice, of legislators as participants in international conferences. Often the conferences have served to enlarge the understanding of legislators whose personal support may be invaluable in the Congressional phases of conference decisions. On the other hand, it has been seen that legislators are sometimes hesitant

to play a helpful role for fear of prejudicing their Congressional position. Also, there may be embarrassments when legislative members of delegations fail to stay within instructions. Such incidents have led to the suggestion that the role of legislators ought to be limited to that of observers which might preserve the advantages and avoid the liabilities of their participation as delegation members.

IX. DISCHARGE OF UNITED STATES OBLIGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

A. Financial Obligations

Nearly all the assessments which are due from the United States to international organizations are centralized in the budget estimates of the State Department. In scattered but very minor instances, however, these assessments are decentralized in the estimates of the Departments and agencies other than State which are directly concerned with an international organization. All of these estimates, whether in the State Department or elsewhere, are combined as parts of the President's Budget which in January of each year is submitted to Congress. The estimates are defined before the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate by the Departments which are identified with the particular estimates. Where necessary, however, departments provide mutual aid if estimates are jeopardized in a legislative committee and affect programs of concern to several departments.

Appropriations are made directly to the department which submitted the estimates. Thus appropriations relative to international organizations are made to the State Department, except for a few small organizations. These appropriations provide for the costs of United States Missions to international organizations. Ordinarily, appropriations are enacted very shortly before the new fiscal year begins on July 1, or in some cases they are made after the fiscal year begins.

The foregoing is the standard process required under the Constitution. Thus no United States delegations to an international meeting can commit Congress to the appropriation of funds for any project or purpose. In recognition of the changed emphasis in foreign affairs since the end of World War II, Congress provided an International Conferences Appropriation for the first time in the fiscal year 1945 for the cost of United States participation in international conferences. This appropriation obviated the need for seeking special appropriations for particular international meetings, as was required in the past.

A further trend evident in Congress is the increasingly detailed scrutiny which its committees apply to United States budgetary assessments for international organizations. Illustrative is the work of the Subcommittee on Relations with International Organizations of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Also, Congress when accepting United States membership in the World Health Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization, fixed a ceiling on budgetary contributions.

There follows a list of international organizations on which the United States participated as a contributing member during the fiscal year 1949. Those organizations marked with an asterisk (*) are financed by the State Department's International Conference Appropriation.

1. UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES 1/

United Nations (including International Court of Justice and
International Children's Emergency Fund)
Food and Agriculture Organization
International Civil Aviation Organization
International Labor Organization
International Refugee Organization
International Telecommunication Union
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Universal Postal Union
World Health Organization

2. INTER-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood
Inter-American Indian Institute
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences
Inter-American Radio Office
Inter-American Statistical Institute
International Office of Postal Union of Americas and Spain
Pan American Institute of Geography and History
Pan American Railway Congress
Pan American Sanitary Organization
Pan American Union (its budget includes expenses for the Inter-American Defense Board and the Inter-American Commission for Women)

3. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS 2/

Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the Promotion of
International Arbitration

Cape Spartel and Tangier Lighthouse
Caribbean Commission
Central Rhine Commission*
Inter-Allied Reparation Agency*
International Authority for the Ruhr*
International Bureau for the Protection of Industrial Property
International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs
International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration
International Bureau of Weights and Measures
International Cotton Advisory Committee*
International Council of Scientific Unions and seven
Associated Unions
International Criminal Police Commission
International Hydrographic Bureau
International Meteorological Organization*
International Penal and Penitentiary Commission
International Seed Testing Association*
International Statistical Bureau at The Hague
International Sugar Council
International Tin Study Group*
International Union of Official Travel Organizations*
Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses
Rubber Study Group*
South Pacific Commission

1/ The organizations listed under this heading do not include the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the International Monetary Fund, which are financed by capital subscriptions from Member Governments and income from operations rather than by annual contributions.

2/ For the fiscal year 1950, in addition to the organizations listed under this heading, with the exception of the International Statistical Bureau at The Hague, the United States is expected to make an annual contribution to the International Whaling Commission and the International Wheat Council.

The appropriations, both for United States contributions to international organizations and for the cost of United States delegations are administered by the Bureau of United Nations Affairs under the general supervision of the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration and his budget office.

B. Informational Obligations

Requests for information from the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international organizations are made directly to the State Department or, by agreement, to the Federal agency charged with supporting United States participation in the international organization from the standpoint of its substantive or technical interest. This supporting unit then is responsible for obtaining the necessary data from the proper governmental department or agency and transmitting it back to the requesting organization. In most instances, the Bureau of United Nations Affairs is the supporting unit in the State Department charged with this informational obligation. In other instances it may be a unit in some department or agency other than the State Department. For example, the Agriculture Department has this function with respect to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and the Labor Department is the point of contact with the International Labor Organization (ILO). Sometimes the requests for information are so extensive that additional appropriations or special arrangements with the Budget Bureau for the use of funds in one or more departments are required.

C. Action Obligations

Responsibility for action upon recommendations, agreements and conventions arising from United States participation in international organizations and conferences, as in the case of informational obligations, lies with the appropriate supporting unit in the Executive Branch. Again this responsibility may rest on the State Department, in which case the Bureau of United Nations Affairs usually is the supporting unit, or with another department or agency.

In the particular case of the Bureau of United Nations Affairs, it has the responsibility for assuring, to the maximum extent feasible, that action is taken by the United States in accordance with commitments entered into as a member of the United Nations and certain affiliated organizations. In discharging this responsibility

the Bureau deals directly with other units of the State Department and with other agencies of the government. The Bureau may, and often does, draft the necessary documents, whether in form of multilateral agreements, executive orders or departmental orders. Where the interests of other governmental agencies are concerned, the Bureau secures the requisite clearances. In instances where the matter requires drafting of documents or other action by other units within the State Department or by other departments or agencies, they will proceed with the necessary action with UNA checking up to see that they do so.

X. THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Powers

The roles of the President, the State Department, and other agencies of the Executive branch cannot be described as mentioned earlier, without reference to the role of the Congress in foreign affairs. To a degree strikingly surpassing that of most legislatures, the Congress has an imposing part, conferred by various provisions of the Constitution. The Senate, for instance, can approve or reject Presidential nominations for the posts of "ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls." Likewise, its approval is required in the appointment of other high officials in the Executive branch. The Senate may, and sometimes does, use this power to affect the conduct of foreign relations, and because of that possibility, the President often consults with Senate leaders before making his formal nominations.

The treaty-making process, as established in the Constitution, is also shared between the President and the Senate. Policy formulation and negotiation is carried on by the Executive branch alone; ratification is effected by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The President is free to refuse ratification even though the Senate has granted its constitutional "advice and consent." The Senate, on the other hand, may grant its consent subject to amendments to the text of the treaty or with other reservations and conditions. Under the Constitution, the consent must derive from two-thirds of the Senators present, a severe requirement because of the heavy majority involved, which has often operated to defeat treaties that would have been approved under a simple majority rule. Desire to avoid the difficulty has caused resort to a number of devices, constitutionally valid, for concluding international agreements. The device most common is the "executive agreement" by which the President, acting upon his own authority under the Constitution, or by authority delegated to him by the Congress (by legislation or by previous treaty), makes agreements with foreign governments. Many such agreements

require implementing legislation, particularly in the form of appropriations, so that the Congress may review the policy contained in the agreement, and even prevent the attainment of its objectives.

Both the treaty power and the power to make executive agreements have been employed as the basis of United States participation in international organizations. The United States entered the United Nations originally by treaty; and, of the specialized organizations of U.N., the United States joined the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Telecommunications Union by treaty. In addition, the World Meteorological Organization, in which the United States is already a member by treaty, but which has not heretofore been a specialized agency of the U. N., is to be reorganized as such a specialized organization. The International Maritime Consultative Organization, now being formed, may have the membership of the United States provided for by a treaty now before the Senate. Other international organizations the United States has joined through executive agreement. Of the list of international organizations on page 65, the nine agencies marked with an asterisk (*) were joined by the United States by executive action without authorizing legislation. These nine are temporary organizations. In some, United States participation is temporary; others are new organizations in which United States participation will subsequently be covered by legislation when the full requirements of participation are known. The other thirty-four organizations listed on page 65 have United States membership through specific Congressional authorization, either by treaty, or by legislative action authorizing or approving an executive agreement.

Though the general legislative powers of the Congress have always been significant in foreign policy, in recent years their importance has substantially increased. Since 1945, the British Loan Agreement, the Greek-Turkish Aid Program, and the European Recovery Program have all required Congressional authorizations and appropriations. The participation of the United States in the work of the U. N. and

its specialized agencies is possible only because the Congress makes funds available for the purpose. A variety of general legislative powers affect foreign affairs. Enumerated powers of the Constitution, such as those to declare war, to maintain a navy, to lay and collect taxes, and to make appropriations, and general powers, such as those to provide for the general welfare and to make all laws that are necessary and proper for the execution of the enumerated powers, together give the Congress an impressive role in foreign affairs. It is to be noted, in explanation of the Congress's present rising importance in these affairs, that as foreign and domestic policies grow increasingly intertwined, as they are today, the impact of Congressional power upon foreign affairs increases. Domestic programs, such as the price support programs in agriculture, for instance, affect United States commercial policies abroad, and the federal budget, though a domestic matter, is of critical importance in the scope of the European Recovery Program.

The investigatory power of the Congress, broadly sanctioned in holdings of the Supreme Court, is also applicable to foreign affairs, although its principal use has been in domestic subjects. Generally, the Senate has been more active in the foreign affairs field than the House, although in recent years the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has not used the investigatory power extensively. A recent aspect of the investigatory power is the "watchdog" committee -- the joint Congressional committee -- established to oversee the execution of policies that the Congress has laid down. Illustrative is the Joint Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, which constantly studies economic assistance programs and reviews the progress made in their execution. The reports of the committee to both houses of the Congress have contained recommendations for revision of the legislation under which the European Recovery Program is administered.

Among the world's legislative bodies, the committees of the Congress have incomparable power. They may rewrite measures referred to them, or withhold measures from the floor of the Congress, a tactic which is difficult to foil. For what a committee determines also largely determines the action to be taken by the house in which the measure is under consideration. In no other portion of government affairs is committee action more vital than in foreign affairs. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs once had virtual control over foreign policy matters before the Congress. At present their influence is somewhat lessened, since other committees, those dealing with appropriations, the armed services, agriculture and commerce, for instance are deeply involved in foreign policy matters.

Among the various committees, there is considerable duplication of effort, partly owing to the bicameral system, partly owing to overlaps of jurisdiction. The Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives and the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate are major sources of duplication in the handling of enabling legislation. The same is true of the committees which handle the appropriations (the Senate and the House Appropriations Committees) and in recent years there is a growing overlap between the so-called "policy" committees and the appropriations committees. Major international programs must often undergo close scrutiny in all these committees, and top executive officials must spend considerable time testifying before several committees on the same subject matter.

The House Appropriation Committee is particularly instrumental in making policy. Instead of examining a proposed appropriation to determine whether it is duly authorized and whether it would be a proper expenditure of funds, the House committee often proceeds to review extensively, and often with adverse effect, the policy for which the appropriations have been requested.

In addition to its constitutional authority and the mechanisms through which it operates, mention must also be made of the idea of party responsibility in the Congress. The Congressional party system is usually weak. Although committee chairmen and the President may be of the same party label, they still may be opposed upon important policy questions. The conflict is, of course, even worse when the President and the Congress are of different parties. This circumstance has been somewhat eased by the development in recent years of the "bipartisan foreign policy," or general agreement between the leaders of the political parties in Congress to consider foreign policy questions on their merits for the national welfare, without regard to party division. It was largely through bipartisan support of the policy on participation in international organizations that the United States was able to exercise initiative in creation of the United Nations, to exert its influence in the U. N., to undertake the program of aid to Greece and Turkey, to implement the Marshall Plan, and to carry out other recent policies such as the North Atlantic Treaty and the defense program for foreign military assistance.

B. Liaison

The State Department has recognized the importance of Congressional liaison by constituting a special officer with such duties. In 1944, there was established an Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. After the war the office lapsed, and it was not revived until 1949, in pursuance of a recommendation by the Hoover Commission that liaison with the Congress ought to be assigned to a high-level official who can represent authoritatively the views of the Secretary. The present Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations has several assistants, one of whom is assigned to each of the houses of the Congress. The Assistant Secretary keeps in touch with high-level staff meetings in the department when policy decisions are reached, gains accurate information on policy for use in consultations with members of the Congress, and participates in the formulation of policy from the viewpoint of Congressional relations.

XI. A GENERAL EVALUATION

The record, viewed in its entirety, reveals that the numerous departments and agencies of the United States Government are well aware of the high stakes involved today in international cooperation. They recognize the significance of the commitments arising from participation in international organizations and seek to live up to them. This is evident in the extensive establishment, since the end of the Second World War, of special organizational units in the State Department and in other departments and agencies to facilitate the discharge of international responsibilities.

Important parts of the machinery of the Executive Branch have been subject to reorganization because of the new demands of cooperative international action. Within the State Department itself there has been a continuous study of the effectiveness of the machinery for international affairs, and particularly of the machinery for United States relationships with international organizations. As noted, a number of reorganizations have occurred within the Department since the close of the War. Of all the reorganization efforts in the postwar period, the most comprehensive is the study conducted by the Hoover Commission. This group employed "task forces" to examine numerous segments of the Executive Branch, including those dealing with foreign affairs. Its conclusions have provided the basis of a number of legislative and administrative measures, already accomplished or contemplated, which have revised the administration system for the conduct of international affairs. Some of the more important of these have been noted in this discussion.

These efforts, and commentaries by various students of our organization for participation in international affairs, indicate several problems which are of major interest in the United States today.

First, the State Department and the other departments and agencies have realized that the old attitudes toward the conduct of foreign policy had to be profoundly changed to take into account the existence of international organizations. The United Nations and its specialized agencies, the Organization of the American Republics, the numerous other international organizations herein listed, in which the United States participates, have all occasioned important changes in the substance and method of United States foreign policy. This, in turn, has required alteration of the methods used for participation in foreign affairs.

Second, there is the realization that today the relation of foreign policy to domestic policy is far more close and sensitive than in the past and that many matters once regarded as properly reserved for national action have become more and more matters of international concern. The war and postwar disturbances have emphasized the interdependence which has arisen by reason of modern science and technology. The subject matters of the various international organizations listed herein exhibit this point. As a former Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, has remarked, "Foreign affairs are now our most intimate domestic concern."

Third, a practical administrative problem grows out of the previous point: how can the whole government, both in its international and domestic activities, be welded into an effective unity? The seriousness with which this problem is regarded throughout the Executive Branch is shown by the numerous interdepartmental committees now working in the international field which require the participation of agencies whose functions are primarily domestic in nature. The Hoover Commission's study of foreign affairs, with its emphasis upon means for coordinating international policies throughout the executive branch, was further evidence that the administrative problems involved in United States participation in international organizations are not being ignored.

Relationships between the Chief Executive and Congress have traditionally caused difficulties in coordination. Throughout American history there has been rivalry as well as cooperation between the two branches in international matters. The Constitution has given each branch functions and powers which it can exercise independently of the other, and in many matters both branches have a role. The pride, and the differences in organization and function, of each branch make the problem of suitable relations one of the most difficult in American government today. However, it is widely recognized that the reduction of this rivalry is essential if the United States is to conduct effectively its present role in world affairs. And, at the risk of over-optimism, it is possible to see an increasing willingness to experiment with means which will facilitate cooperation between the Executive and Congress.

Finally, there are difficulties in the coordination of governmental activities which emerge from the relations between the government and the people. For its active role in world affairs, the United States requires an alert and informed public opinion. The development of that opinion presents challenging problems. In a democracy, the public will is rarely unitary. Special interest groups, segmenting the populations, are highly organized and vocal, and it is often difficult for public officials to know which portions of expressed opinion deserve the greatest weight on a given question. Certain segments of public opinion may support inconsistent policies simultaneously, and the government must take a stand on one or the other. Again, the government may be required to move cautiously in a direction in which the public is unwilling to follow. Increased attention is being given in public agencies to techniques for discovering public opinion, and for means to explain more effectively to the public the different objectives which have been established or might be chosen in international affairs.

Altogether, the United States today seems to realize that its role in world affairs and in the support of international organizations, is enormous and complex; and that the job can be done better than it is being done, and that steps must be taken toward improvement. We may expect that the new arrangements, after a period of experience, likewise will be subject to critical examination. The machinery for participation in international organizations must be continuously subject to review and improvement.