

# American Foreign Policy

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By ANNE HARTWELL JOHNSTONE

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A PUBLICATION OF  
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Price 25 cents



Published under the Ruth Morgan Memorial  
Fund Given for the Promotion of Peace

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**T**HE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS is organized to promote the responsible participation of women in government. The League believes that a continuing political education is essential to the success of a democracy in order that citizens may have opinions based on facts and may, as voters, make these opinions effective.

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726 JACKSON PLACE • WASHINGTON, D. C.





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PUBLISHED OCTOBER, 1936



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"The primary purpose of American Foreign Policy is the maintenance and promotion of peace, not only between the United States and foreign nations but throughout the world. Whenever war prevails, the progress of civilization is retarded, commerce and industry are impaired, heavy tax burdens are imposed upon the people, and humanity in general suffers. The cause of peace can be promoted in a number of ways. [by] . . .

1. The routine settlement day by day of differences that arise between our government and foreign nations, and

2. Specific undertakings that have for their object the furtherance of peace."

—*Secretary of State Hull, before the Sub-committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, April, 1936.*

## FOREWORD

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THE citizen's responsibility toward foreign policy was summarized as follows by Paul Scott Mowrer, Associate Editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, in his book, "Our Foreign Affairs," published in 1924:

"In America, any citizen of average understanding, whether laborer, employee, farmer, or professional man who is willing to make the necessary contribution of time and effort to the study of some great public question, will soon find himself in a modest way distinguished. By his conversation, or if he becomes more ambitious, by his writing or speaking he will begin to influence the formation of opinion in his community. Having schooled himself and having begun to understand, in a wider and deeper sense, his duty as a citizen, he will have ceased to belong to the masses; he will have begun to emerge into the more limited, but more potent, fellowship of the elite. We cannot, in our democracy, have too many such men. Wealth, social station, place of residence—these are secondary. What tells is native ability thrust forward by perseverance and the sustaining power of public opinion.

"In every considerable community, there must be citizens who perceive the immense significance of foreign policy to our present stage of development, and whose minds are naturally attracted to the important and fascinating problems thus evoked. Let these citizens choose a line of approach, and begin at once to read and converse upon these topics. They will interest others. Small groups will begin to cohere, committees will be formed. . . .

"The work of these committees will be, first to educate themselves, then to educate and lead opinion in the community. They will search and sift facts; they will analyze situations, thresh out issues, suggest solutions. They will stimulate discussion, organize lectures, seek out good books and magazines, encourage the publication of foreign news of good quality in the local press. They will check the misleading statements of propagandists or of careless correspondents. They



will stand for the highest national interest, against partisanship and narrow prejudice. Finally, they will undertake to arouse, in Bryce's second category,—the citizens who are interested, but passive,—a comprehension of the moral, political, and economic significance of the problem involved. In the end, it is of course the mass of voters who will decide; but the decision will have been made possible for them, the issues will have been elucidated, by the voluntary work of these leaders."

The National League of Women Voters publishes the pamphlet, *American Foreign Policy*, as a guide to the study of foreign policy, what it is, how it works, and the citizen's part in it. The scope of the subject plus the desire to limit the length of the pamphlet has kept it from being a fuller account. For this reason annotated reference lists appear at the end of each chapter, to serve the reader who desires to supplement the information contained herein.

October 15, 1936.

## INTRODUCTION

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### The Growth of Interest in Foreign Policy

THE American people are gradually learning that they have a stake in world affairs. Historically they have been concerned more with transcontinental development. They have been interested in the acquisition of close-lying possessions as part of a manifest destiny—the domination of the western hemisphere—but the acquisition of the Philippines and of other distant Pacific islands has been appropriately termed an accident of history rather than part of a popular foreign policy. American entrance into the World War, however, demonstrated that this country was to take an increasingly important part in world affairs. Public attention was concentrated on this fact by the leading role played by President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference.

Following the refusal of the Senate to agree to American membership in the League of Nations, the attention of most Americans during the nineteen twenties turned again to domestic problems. The United States government having refused to assume the obligations of membership in the League of Nations made a point of having no contacts with Geneva, and for a few months even routine communications from the League were unanswered. Nevertheless, during this period, often termed one of aloofness, the United States called the Washington and Geneva naval conferences, initiated discussion of and signed the Pact of Paris, and gradually sent more and more unofficial observers and even official representatives to international conferences held under the auspices of the League. In 1926, the Senate agreed to membership in the World Court with reservations, and although such membership was defeated in 1935, the United States



had in the previous year become a member of the International Labor Organization. American participation in the World Disarmament Conference of 1932 resulted in the significant declaration that this country would refrain from steps which would interfere with the collective effort to preserve peace.

The world depression served to focus American public attention on the economic aspects of international relations. Through the calling of the London Economic Conference, in 1933, the international implications of the depression were temporarily faced, but the failure of that conference indicated that the United States as well as other nations was not prepared to cooperate in combating the depression. Today, in spite of the Administration's promotion of a reciprocal trade program and recent moves toward currency stabilization the country has still to make the decision whether to actively support international economic cooperation or to forego such cooperation in favor of economic nationalism. Either decision will have to be carried out through foreign policy and the implications of any policy pursued must be generally understood in order to gain the intelligent support of the American people.

There is no question but that an increasing number of American citizens are concerning themselves with foreign policy. There are obvious reasons for this. Improved facilities for communication and transportation have made possible more rapid dissemination of news from other countries and more personal acquaintance with foreign peoples. Today through the press, the motion pictures, and the radio we hear of happenings in Paris and Tokyo as quickly as do most residents of those cities. Every year thousands of American citizens visit Europe, South America, and the Far East, and many foreign visitors come to the United States. These contacts have done much to sharpen the interest of Americans in world affairs. In addition, large numbers of Americans make their livelihood through foreign trade, and their concern over the maintenance of foreign markets or of foreign sources of supply creates for them a necessitous interest in affairs abroad.

Finally, there is stimulation of interest in foreign affairs by schools and colleges and by private organizations. Each year brings an expansion of academic curricula to include more courses on foreign policy, international problems and organization, Latin American, European, Far Eastern, and Near Eastern history and politics, and

international economic relations. A three hundred page book, *The Study of International Relations in the United States*, is but a partial guide to the work being done by American organizations and foundations in behalf of promoting interest in and understanding of American relations to world affairs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ware, Edith E. *The Study of International Relations in the United States*. Columbia University Press, 1934 (Survey for 1935 in process of publication). See reference to Chapter III.



# I

## WHAT IT IS

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### Foreign Policy Defined

**F**OREIGN policy is the course of action which one nation pursues in its relations with other nations. It is made up of broad, more or less permanent principles and of the many specific acts necessary to carrying on relations with foreign nations. Foreign policies may be directed primarily toward a region, or may be global in application. The character of these policies is shaped by events both at home and abroad and the domestic repercussions of every policy pursued are as important to consider as are the foreign results.

There are certain basic factors in all foreign policy or relations between states. A map, for instance, may help to explain the foreign policy of a nation. It will indicate the character of natural or artificial boundaries, the proximity of strong or weak neighbors, the location of colonial possessions—all of which factors go to make up the strategic position of states. Economic resources within national boundaries are also vitally important as indicated by the current struggle between the "have" and the "have not" nations. Closely related to the possession of natural resources is the search for open competitive markets for manufactured goods and for capital, which creates problems of basic economic relationships between industrialized and non-industrialized states.

Another related factor is that of population pressure which in the past has been relieved by the seizure of new territories, by migrations to less populated countries, or by the development of manufacturing industries dependent upon export markets. But with the world already well divided and with the gradual outlawry of territorial changes by force at least on paper, plus stringent immigration restrictions set up by many countries, heavily populated states have only



the choice of promoting more intensive industrialization in order to secure employment for their citizens, and of obtaining foreign markets for the products of their labor. Such industrialization upsets the economic status quo and creates major economic competition, with resulting friction between nations.

An additional factor in the shaping of foreign policy is what is called nationalism, or the advocacy of the union of peoples with common racial, cultural, or religious backgrounds. The common interests of "Nordics," "Asiatics," or "Anglo-Saxons" are often referred to today as the reason why certain nations should pursue certain foreign policies: why the Nordics should unite against the threat of Jewish-inspired communism, why the Asiatics should unite against the encroachments of the West, or why the Anglo-Saxon nations should uphold each other's policies.

### Major American Foreign Policies

To understand the foreign policy of the United States one must become acquainted with outstanding American policies of the past and know their present status, both for purposes of knowing the historical reasons for the formulation and use of each policy, and for determining the desirability of continuing each into the future. For purposes of clarity American foreign policies are here classified as: (1) regional policies, primarily related to specific areas of the world; (2) global policies, generally applied throughout the world; and (3) domestic-foreign policies, often considered strictly domestic but having vital implications for our foreign relations.

### Regional Foreign Policies

American foreign policies have been defined and applied toward different regions of the world largely as a matter of expediency when relations with such regions were of paramount interest to the United States.

**Toward Europe: "No entangling alliances."** The first regional policy to be established was that of political isolation from Europe, or, "no entangling alliances." This leading principle of American foreign policy was included by President Washington in his Farewell Address in 1796, and later affirmed by President Jefferson. Both men feared that the young republic might have its independence threat-

ened if it became involved in the political alliances then the basis of European politics and conflict. The policy was closely related to that of neutrality which preceded it. It was toward Europe that it was originally aimed and has since been most constantly pursued. It has been pursued in spite of the fact that the United States entered the World War, from which it emerged the strongest nation in the world with close commercial and financial ties with Europe that have since been maintained.

"No entangling alliances" is undoubtedly reiterated more often and has a stronger hold on the minds of the American people than any of our foreign policies. Largely on the basis of this policy, post-war attempts to have the United States adhere to the collective peace system have failed. The political platforms of both major parties in 1936, in effect, reaffirm it.

**Toward Latin America: The Monroe Doctrine.** The second regional policy to be developed by this country was the Monroe Doctrine. This policy, which vies for importance only with that of "no entangling alliances," was first officially proclaimed in President Monroe's annual address to Congress in December, 1823. In effect, it was a "hands off" warning to Europe in respect to the western hemisphere. It was conceived at a time when the countries of South America were fighting to gain their independence from European powers, and when Russian and British interests in the northwest threatened to conflict with those of an already ambitious United States. Various interpretations of this doctrine have been made: at times it has been the excuse for the United States' political, economic, and military intervention in the affairs of other American republics, policies variously known as "dollar diplomacy" or the "big stick policy"; at times it has been termed strictly a defense policy of this country; and more recently it has been interpreted as the basis for the "good neighbor" policy of the Roosevelt Administration. Closely related to the Monroe Doctrine has been the development of Pan Americanism, through Pan American or Inter-American Conferences, the Pan American Union, and other Pan American institutions.

Proposals have been made that the Monroe Doctrine be redefined to make it a multilateral policy of all American states, instead of an independent United States policy, and to clarify its relation to the Covenant of the League of Nations, which states that "Nothing in



the Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of . . . regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine." United States approval of League of Nations efforts to conciliate disputes between South American members of the League, has already done much to dispel fear of serious conflict over the Doctrine.

**Toward the Far East: The Open Door.** The third regional foreign policy of the United States applies to its relations with the Far East which have for the most part been of a commercial character. In 1844 the United States signed its first treaty with China which established two important rights; the guarantee of equal trading privileges with all other nations; and the privilege of extraterritoriality, whereby American citizens living in China, involved in civil or criminal cases, should be tried under American instead of Chinese law (a right which, though assailed by the Chinese from time to time, is still maintained).

The commercial guarantee of this 1844 treaty was the forerunner of the Open Door policy formally defined in 1899 by Secretary of State John Hay through an exchange of notes with other world powers. In this manner the principle of equal trade competition was maintained at a time when the disintegration of the Chinese empire and its actual partition among various foreign powers was expected. It also came in a period when our interests in the Far East had been increased by acquisition of the Philippines. The Open Door principle was reaffirmed and expanded in the Washington Nine Power Treaty of 1922, which also guaranteed the territorial integrity of China. This later guarantee, together with the Pact of Paris, was the basis for the Stimson "non-recognition policy" as applied by the United States to Japan's conquest of Manchuria in 1932 (see Chap. I, p. 7).

The principle of the "Open Door" has been applied by the United States and other great powers in other regions of the world, notably in Africa and in the Near East, where it has been most recently reiterated in relation to the mandated areas. However, as an American foreign policy of major interest, it primarily involves the problem of protecting our trade and other commercial interests in the Far East, a problem accentuated by the encroachments of Japan on the continent of Asia, by the relations of the United States to the Philippines under the Independence Act, and by the recent failure to obtain naval limitation in the Pacific.

### Global Foreign Policies

In addition to these regional foreign policies of more or less limited application, there are foreign policies which the United States has from time to time applied toward all nations, as occasion demanded. Originally developed to meet specific situations, they have gradually been applied more generally, and may be termed global.

**Neutrality and Freedom of the Seas.** The first of these policies was that of neutrality. As originally stated by President Washington in the Neutrality Proclamation of 1793, it called for the adoption of a "friendly impartial attitude" toward all belligerent nations. The policy was developed at a time when England and France were at war and when American statesmen realized that it was imperative for the United States to safeguard its newly acquired independence. In addition to the desire to remain neutral and to keep out of the European war, it was also desired to protect growing American trade against the encroachments of belligerents. For this purpose there was developed the related policy of the "freedom of the seas" or the insistence on the right of neutrals to carry on private trade in war as in peace. The efficacy of these two policies, "neutrality" and "freedom of the seas," can be judged best by their failure to keep the United States out of three general European wars: with France, in 1798; with England, in 1812; and the World War, in 1917. The old policy of neutrality actually has succeeded in keeping the United States out of only relatively localized wars, such as the Franco-Prussian War, the Boer War, the Balkan Wars, the Sino-Japanese War, and the Russo-Japanese War. Therefore, the original neutrality policy, including freedom of the seas, apparently has failed and cannot be relied upon to protect our trade or to keep the United States out of major wars if they develop. The new neutrality legislation passed in 1935 and 1936, forbidding trade in arms and ammunition and financial loans, and withdrawal of protection from other commercial relations with belligerents, was applied for the first time during the Italo-Ethiopian War. The passage of this legislation indicates that slowly the old policy is being abandoned, and that in the future the United States Government will be more concerned with keeping out of war than with insisting on the maintenance of neutral rights and the freedom of the seas.



**Arbitration and the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.** The United States has played a conspicuous role in the development of arbitration for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Beginning with the Jay Treaty of 1794, for the settlement of disputes with Great Britain following the Revolution, the United States has been among the most active proponents of third party settlement of differences between nations. The United States agreed to the Alabama Claims Commission for the settling of disputes with Great Britain resulting from the Civil War; it became a party to The Hague Conventions of 1899 and of 1907 which established the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague (permanent to the extent that it provides a panel of judges from which arbitrators may be selected), and to the Inter-American Arbitration and Conciliation Treaties of 1929. In addition the United States has signed about seventy bilateral arbitration and conciliation treaties or agreements for the peaceful settlement of disputes which may develop between it and other governments. To date, however, the United States has refused membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice set up after the World War for the judicial settlement of disputes. Nevertheless the Court is open to non-members who wish to go before it, and the United States may at any time avail itself of the Court's services.

The United States has refused to become a party to agreements for "compulsory" or automatic arbitration and has advocated "voluntary" arbitration instead. When compulsory arbitration has been proposed, as in the Inter-American Arbitration Treaty of 1929, the Senate has objected and has insisted that it should approve the submission to arbitration of every dispute.

The United States has also taken an important part in the development of other types of peace machinery. The American contribution to the formation of the League of Nations cannot be overlooked in spite of repudiation of membership in that organization.

In 1923 the United States became a party to the Gondra Convention between American states, which provides for the setting up of a commission to consider any dispute which may develop between signatory states, the results of the commission's findings to be in no way binding, but hostilities to be postponed until one year from the date of the commission's report.

It was largely American initiative that produced the Pact of Paris,

signed by most of the nations of the world in 1928. This treaty condemns "recourse to war for the solution of international controversies" and states that the solution of all disputes "shall never be sought except by pacific means." Following the Japanese disregard of the Pact in 1931, the United States took the initiative in proclaiming the Stimson policy of not recognizing the "fruits of aggression" or territories seized in disregard of treaty commitments. This policy was later adopted by members of the League of Nations with respect to Manchuria. At the Montivedeo Pan American Conference in 1933 this policy of non-recognition was embodied in the Saavedra-Lamas Treaty, better known as the Argentine Anti-War Pact which, open for general signature, has been signed by the United States and twenty-one other European and Latin American nations. Its application to the present status of Ethiopia has yet to be decided upon by the United States Government, which, however, to date retains its former diplomatic and consular representatives in that country. If continued the policy will to a degree implement the Pact of Paris.

**Disarmament by International Agreement.** The United States first considered armament limitation by international agreement at The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, where the subject was briefly discussed. It was at the Paris Peace Conference, following the World War, however, that the United States actively espoused the policy. At that time one of President Wilson's Fourteen Points led to the inclusion of an article in the Covenant of the League of Nations on the reduction of armaments. The Treaty of Versailles and the separate peace treaty between the United States and Germany that followed, provided for drastic German disarmament "to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations."

The United States has assumed a position of leadership in each of the subsequent naval conferences, in Washington, in 1921-22; in Geneva, in 1927; in London, in 1929-30 and in 1935-36, and at the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1932, which is still technically in existence. Limitation has been achieved only for naval armaments, and while the principle of naval disarmament was retained in the London Naval Treaty of 1936, actual reduction and limitation have practically disappeared.



### Domestic-Foreign Policies

Domestic-foreign policies are of two types: those which relate to national defense and munitions control, and economic policies. These are often thought of as domestic problems but actually they are vitally related to foreign policy.

**National Defense.** The domestic side of the problem of international disarmament is national defense. A definition of national defense policy is difficult. In general the term applies to the creation and support of armed forces for the protection of the country. Such forces include the army, navy, and air services; and in times of war according to plans of the National Defense Act of 1930, all domestic activities, including industry, transportation, and agriculture, are to be considered part of the national defense forces of the country.

It is a question for debate, what our national defense policy means. Does it include territorial protection, both continental and colonial, defense of American lives and property in any part of the world, and defense of American world trade? At different times all three objectives have been supported. Obviously, the size of defense forces required will vary with the accepted objective. In the opinion of many students of foreign policy, one of the chief problems to be faced by the United States is the definition of its proper defense needs, and the limitation of defense forces to such needs.

**Control of Munitions.** Since the World War there has been an increasing awareness that the uncontrolled supply of munitions to foreign countries not only jeopardizes world peace but at times directly contravenes American foreign policy. Because of this the United States has taken steps to control munitions both nationally and internationally.

As early as 1912 the United States applied arms embargoes in cases of civil war in South America, and after 1922 in China. Following the signing of the Pact of Paris an increasing demand for the use of arms embargoes in international conflict finally resulted in the United States refusing to ship arms to Paraguay and Bolivia at war in the Chaco in 1934, and to Italy and Ethiopia in 1935.

The revelations of the Senate Munitions Committee, 1934-36 gave adequate indication of the need for more general control over the munitions industry with the result that a permanent National Munitions Control Board was set up under the terms of the Neutrality Act

of August, 1935. This board, with which all munitions firms must register, grants licenses for domestic production and for exports and imports of arms, ammunition, and implements of war. The arms embargo, also provided in the Neutrality Act, was administered by the newly established Munitions Board in the recent war between Italy and Ethiopia. The Munitions Board will also be responsible for carrying out our obligations under the 1925 Geneva Arms Control Treaty. This treaty, ratified by the Senate in 1935, provides primarily for publicity concerning the international trade in arms and will go into effect when ratified by all of the major munition producing countries.

The discussion which took place at the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva, together with the recommendations of members of the Senate Munitions Committee, indicate that the next major decision to be made by the United States (which is now being made by other countries) is whether satisfactory control of munitions can be achieved without nationalization of the industry.

**Tariff Policy.** Certain economic policies, generally termed domestic, have foreign implications which have become more apparent as modern communication and transportation facilities have bound together the economic activities of all nations. Perhaps the most important of these is tariff policy, which has always been an issue in American politics. (See Chapter III, p. 38.) The question has been whether to have a tariff or tax on imported goods to raise the maximum amount of revenue, or whether to boost tariffs to any height necessary to limit or entirely exclude imports which compete with American products.

The so-called protective tariff has been the one most often pursued. The effects of this policy were less serious prior to the World War for two reasons: first, because tariffs on goods which Europe was in a position to export to us were not so high as to restrict imports greatly; and second, because the United States was a debtor nation and as a result was able to ship goods to Europe in return for the money it owed.

Following the World War the United States, whose productive activities had been greatly accelerated by the war, wished to continue to sell more goods abroad than it was willing to buy, in order to maintain "a favorable balance of trade." European nations, however,



had returned to peace-time activities and the United States, to protect itself from foreign imports, raised its tariff in 1921 and 1922. Also, at the end of the war, as a result of the huge war loans, the United States had become the greatest creditor nation in the world, which fact, together with higher tariffs, made it possible to sell abroad only by continuing to extend loans with which citizens of other countries could buy American goods with American money.

At the onset of the depression two changes in American policy occurred: a complete cessation of American loans abroad and the passage of the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, the highest in the history of the country. Thereafter, other countries, partially in retaliation and partially driven by a strong nationalistic desire to become as self-sufficient as possible in the face of war threats, imposed trade barriers of many varieties against the products of the United States and other countries. As a result, American foreign trade decreased by two-thirds between 1929 and 1932.

In an attempt to remedy this situation, Congress, in 1934, passed an amendment to the 1930 Tariff Act, which gave the President authority to negotiate trade agreements with foreign countries, and in connection therewith to alter the tariff rates in the Smoot-Hawley Act by not more than fifty per cent in return for similar reciprocal reductions in trade barriers against American exports. Under this reciprocal trade program fourteen agreements have been signed to date, affecting some thirty-four per cent of American foreign trade on the basis of 1934 figures.

Prior to 1922 the United States had based its foreign trade policy on the conditional most-favored-nation clause under which trade concessions between the United States and another nation were extended to third nations only when those nations would grant similar concessions in return. In 1922 this policy was abandoned in favor of the unconditional most-favored-nation clause under which any trade concessions granted by the United States to another nation are automatically extended to all other nations with whom the United States has "unconditional" treaties. The conditional treaty resulted in a complex series of special concessions and discriminations, while the unconditional policy now being followed generalizes concessions and provides for more equality of treatment. All concessions are extended to other nations except to those which discriminate against the United States.

**Trade Promotion Policy.** Along with the policy of protective tariffs traditionally employed by the United States to restrict imports, this country has supported, particularly in the post-war period, a vigorous trade promotion policy designed to develop foreign markets for American exports. This has been done by agents of various departments of the government, who have been sent abroad for the purpose, and through their official publications (see Chapter II, p. 25, for more extensive discussion). Considering the basic principle of foreign trade, that a nation must buy from other nations if it wants to sell to them, there is an apparent contradiction between the policy of protective tariffs and foreign trade promotion. One of the aims of the present trade agreements program is to remove this contradiction.

**Monetary Policy.** The country's monetary policy, like its tariff policy, has an important effect upon economic relations with other countries. It affects, among other things, the extension of public and private loans and credits to foreign nations, the purchase of foreign securities, and the price of American products abroad and of foreign goods in this country. No one can doubt the importance of monetary policies in foreign relations who considers the bitterness resulting from the default of the World War debts and of private foreign bonds held by citizens of this country, or the repercussions, particularly in China, of the American Silver-purchasing Act of 1934.

When the exchange values of major world currencies fluctuate widely, trade and financial transactions are rendered uncertain. Therefore, the fact that the United States recently agreed with Great Britain and France to support the French franc in a movement toward international stabilization of currencies is a matter of major concern to this and other countries.

**Immigration Policy.** While immigration regulations have been designed to control domestic population, they bear on American foreign policy. Until the World War, immigration was an important part of American economic development and was generally considered an asset to the country. Slowly, however, there developed among early American stock, a fear of "foreigners." The first major opposition to unrestricted immigration came on the West Coast, where the introduction of cheap oriental contract labor threatened American economic standards. There resulted the prohibition of



contract labor in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan of 1907 which aimed to stop Japanese labor immigration into the United States. The General Immigration Act of 1924, establishing the quota system of immigration by national origins and limiting immigration to two per cent of the population of the various national groups at the time of the 1890 census, in addition excluded all orientals from American citizenship and prohibited their coming into this country except for purposes of travel, business, or study. The effect of this act was particularly unfortunate on the relations between the United States and Japan, whose citizens had not been previously legislated against. This discrimination has been responsible for much friction between the two countries in recent years, and though various unofficial proposals for the placing of orientals on the quota system have been made, no action toward this end has been taken to date.

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## II

### HOW IT WORKS

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FOR a long time relations between countries were carried on by sovereigns or their personal representatives. Secret diplomacy was the accepted practice, wars were fought and peace was made with little regard for the people's welfare. The beginning of the industrial revolution marked the rise of popular governments in which the sovereign's power was broken. In these new governments the people's representatives participated, not only in the conduct of internal affairs, but also in foreign relations.

The independence of the United States was won at the beginning of this new era and the writers of the American Constitution were determined that, while foreign policy was to be a federal matter, the President, as chief executive, should not have a sovereign's power. Under the Constitution, the elected representatives of the people were also to have a share in the control of American foreign relations.

#### Division of Powers Under the Constitution

The exercise of foreign policy was reserved to the federal government, under the Constitution, by special delegation of powers, and was denied specifically to the states, as follows:

Article I, Section 10 [*Powers Denied to the States*]

"No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal, . . ."

"No state shall without the consent of Congress . . . enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit delay."

Article VI [*Authority of the Constitution*] paragraph 2

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which

shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; . . ."

Supreme Court decisions concerning the relations between individual states and foreign governments not specifically provided for in the Constitution have been in accord with one which ruled that "The Government of the United States has been vested exclusively with the power of representing the nation in all its intercourse with foreign countries. . . ." <sup>1</sup> Thus, all official intercourse between individual states and foreign nations is prevented, and exclusive authority for that purpose given to the United States. Treaties are held definitely to supersede state legislation.

Responsibility for the control of foreign policy is, under the Constitution, divided among the President, the Senate and the two Houses of Congress jointly.

#### The President:

**Express Powers.** Through a system of so-called checks and balances, the President was given express powers regarding foreign relations, most of which were to be exercised only with the aid and consent of one or both Houses of Congress.

Article II, Section 2 [*Powers and Duties of the President*]

"The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy . . ."<sup>2</sup>

"He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur . . ."

"He shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls . . ."

"The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Article II, Section 3 [*Further Powers and Duties of the President*]

". . . ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; "He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States."

<sup>1</sup> *United States v. Arjona*, 120 U. S., 479.

<sup>2</sup> But Congress must declare war and provide the money necessary for the support of the army and navy.

<sup>3</sup> But the appointments must later be agreed to by the Senate.



**Implied Powers.** In addition to these express powers, a liberal interpretation of the Constitution plus practice where the Constitution gave no guide, has been responsible for the President assuming many implied powers, the need for which was either overlooked or unforeseen by the writers of the Constitution.

1. The *initiative in foreign affairs* was assumed by the President as chief executive, both through Constitutional interpretation and as a matter of expediency. Under this power the President directs diplomatic negotiations and issues independent statements and proclamations on foreign policy. Diplomatic negotiations may lead to treaties or executive agreements.

Treaties are negotiated and signed for the President by diplomatic representatives abroad or by State Department officials in Washington; they are submitted to the Senate for its "advice and consent," and if agreed to by that body, they are proclaimed by the President. Actual ratification consists of depositing the official copy of the treaty with the government designated in the document. Treaties must be ratified to become part of the supreme law of the land.

Executive agreements are made by the President, or his diplomatic representatives, with the representatives of other nations and do not require the consent of the Senate. Such agreements are not binding from one administration to another and may be rescinded at any time by executive act. Executive agreements have been used primarily for political expediency and occasionally when Senate consent to a treaty was doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

Presidential statements and proclamations often embody important principles of foreign policy which may or may not be included in treaties or agreements with other nations. The Monroe Doctrine, the policy of no entangling alliances, and neutrality were formulated in this manner.

2. The *power of recognition of foreign states* was not provided for in the Constitution so it was assumed by the President as a result of his express power to receive and to appoint ambassadors and min-

<sup>1</sup> Another form of executive agreement is that which is carried out under authority granted the President by Congress. Resulting agreements do not require further Senate or Congressional approval. The present Trade Agreements are of this type. While the agreements with other countries are not submitted to Congress for approval, the President negotiates them under specific authority granted him by Congress in the 1934 Amendment to the 1930 Tariff Act.

isters. This is an important power. Under it the President of the United States refused to recognize the Russian Soviet government for more than sixteen years. Similar failure to recognize revolutionary governments in Latin America has at times caused ill feeling toward this country.

3. As *Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy*, the President can order the movement of armed forces both within and without the country and can so conduct affairs as to bring the country to the verge of war. Under this power the President has directed military intervention in the affairs of other countries for the purpose of protecting American lives and property. More than fifty cases of intervention, particularly in Latin America and the Far East, have been recorded in an official State Department report on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

At the Montevideo Pan American Conference of 1933, however, the United States became a party to a treaty on the Rights and Duties of States by which it virtually committed itself to opposition of this policy of intervention.

**The Senate:** Under the Constitution, the Senate has two functions pertaining to foreign policy: one in regard to treaties, and the other concerning appointments.

**Treaties,** according to Article II as already quoted, are valid only with the approval of two-thirds of the Senators present concurring. Under its treaty power the Senate has assumed the right by majority vote to make amendments, changes in or additions to, and reservations, exemptions to or interpretations of treaties the latter of which do not affect the text of treaties. If the President is satisfied with these amendments or reservations, he must obtain the consent of the foreign governments, parties to the treaties, before the treaty can go into effect. If he does not approve of them, on the other hand, he can refuse to ratify or put into effect the treaty. For example, when the Senate in 1934 first agreed to the 1925 Geneva Arms Treaty, it did so with a reservation exempting the treaty's application to the Persian Gulf area. This exemption the President would not accept and later he returned the treaty to the Senate asking for its approval without reservation. Such action was taken by the Senate in 1935.

<sup>1</sup> Right to Protect Citizens in Foreign Countries by Landing Forces. 3d ed. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1934.



**Appointments of ambassadors, public ministers and consuls** are, according to Article II, bonafide only with the advice and consent of the Senate. Nominations for ambassadors and ministers are submitted to the Senate by the President. Generally, their acceptance is routine.

Executive agents appointed by the President to perform certain diplomatic tasks are exceptions to this rule. These agents have diplomatic rank as the President's personal representatives but their names are not submitted to the Senate for confirmation. Their salaries are paid out of the "contingent" fund allotted to the President by Congress, for which no itemized accounting is required. While objection has been raised to the use of executive agents, they are generally regarded as necessary to the proper conduct of diplomacy. The most famous executive agent in recent years was President Wilson's Colonel House.

**The Congress:** Both Houses of Congress under the Constitution share responsibility for certain phases of foreign policy.

Article I [Legislative Department], Section 8 [*Powers Granted to the Congress*] provides power:

"To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; . . .

"To regulate commerce with foreign nations . . .

"To establish a uniform rule of naturalization . . .

"To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

"To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

"To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

"To provide and maintain a navy;

"To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

These responsibilities give the House of Representatives a decisive influence in: (a) appropriation of money required for any specific foreign policy; (b) a general supervision over all monetary relations

between this and foreign countries<sup>1</sup>; (c) regulation of foreign commerce, including the determination of tariff policies; and (d) declaration of war and provision for the support of necessary military activities.

**Judicial Control:** Article III [Judicial Department], Section 3 [*Jurisdiction and Methods*] provides:

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; . . .

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls . . ., the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction . . ."

Under the Constitution, the Supreme Court presumably could rule a treaty unconstitutional, but it has never done so. The Courts have ruled that treaties and federal statutes are of equal status in domestic law, and that in the event of conflict between them, the one of later date shall prevail. The Court also has the right to pass judgment on the constitutionality of presidential acts in the conduct of foreign policy. When it has done so, the executive has always been upheld.

### The Department of State

**Constitutional Provision.** The President is assisted in his executive duties relating to the formulation and carrying out of foreign policy by the Department of State. This department, like other executive departments, is not specifically provided for in the Constitution, which does, however, recognize that there shall be executive departments to help the President with his executive duties. Article II, Section 2, reads:

"He [the President] may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices . . ."

The Secretary of State is the ranking member of the President's Cabinet. It is through his office that relations with foreign govern-

<sup>1</sup> The consent of the House, for instance, would be necessary to any settlement of the war debts.



ments are carried on.<sup>1</sup> Because of the nature of his work, the Secretary of State, alone of the Cabinet members, is not required to submit an annual report to Congress. Instead, the President's annual message submits matters of foreign policy "not incompatible with the public interest."

**History of the Department of State.** Forerunners of the present Department of State were the Committee of Secret Correspondence under the Continental Congress of 1775, the subsequent Committee for Foreign Affairs of 1777, and the Department of Foreign Affairs, 1781 to 1789. In July, 1789, the Department of Foreign Affairs was the first executive department to be designated by Congress under the Constitution. A few months later its name was changed to the Department of State in order to encompass certain domestic duties then allotted to it, such as the keeping of congressional acts, electoral records, and the Seal of the United States.

The first Secretary of State was Thomas Jefferson, who took up his duties early in 1790. At that time the department staff included one chief clerk, three ordinary clerks, and a French translator. Thereafter, the department expanded as demands on it increased and in 1833 the department was completely reorganized. Various bureaus were established to handle different aspects of the Department's work. In 1870, five geographical bureaus, later geographical divisions, were established to handle diplomatic affairs in different parts of the world. Certain administrative divisions were also added in that year. An enormous increase of responsibilities in the field of foreign affairs followed the outbreak of the World War and necessitated a corresponding increase in the department's personnel, and considerable development and reorganization in all branches of its work.

**Present Organization.** The present organization of the Department of State is indicated in the accompanying chart. Taken from the official *Department of State Manual*, the chart has been simplified for purposes of clarity. On it are indicated the most important offices, divisions, and bureaus of the Department, the names of which largely indicate their work. There are now thirty-three divisions,

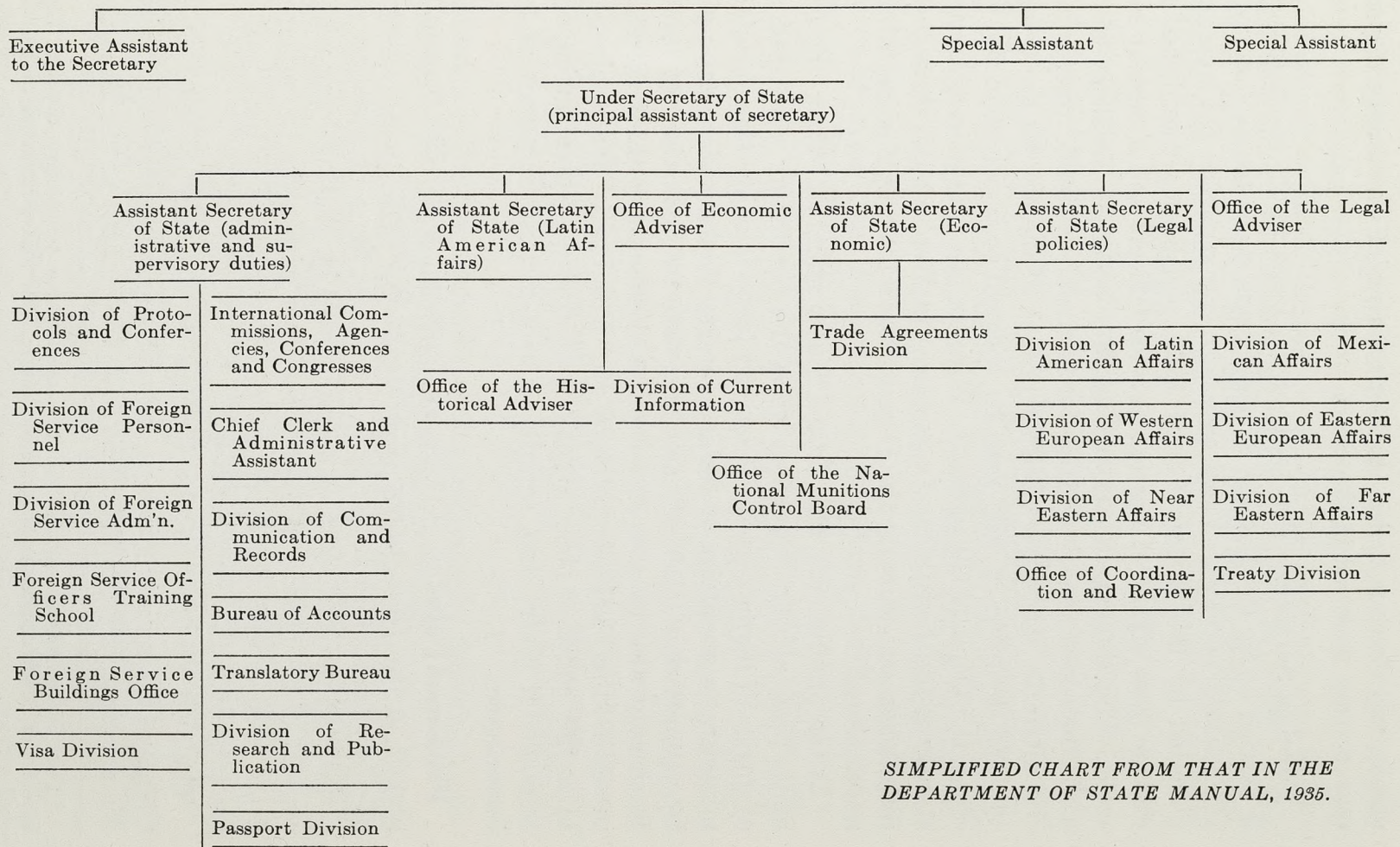
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<sup>1</sup>There are some exceptions to this rule. The Secretary of the Treasury can, with the President's consent, negotiate fiscal agreements with foreign governments. The recent stabilization agreement between this country, and Great Britain and France, was negotiated in this manner. The Postmaster General is authorized to directly negotiate international postal treaties and conventions.



# ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRETARY OF STATE



*SIMPLIFIED CHART FROM THAT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE MANUAL, 1935.*



offices, and bureaus within the Department, of which only the minor ones are not included in the chart.

**Foreign Service.** The work of the Department of State abroad is carried on by the Foreign Service, made up of the *diplomatic* and the *consular* services. These were formerly separate, but were amalgamated by the Rogers Act of 1924, which also established nine classes (now eight) of Foreign Service Officers and a regular salary scale. The diplomatic service handles political problems abroad, while the consular service cares for financial, economic, and commercial interests. Members of either branch of the service are transferable to the other or they may be assigned to positions in the home office, the Department of State. When in the field officers keep constantly in touch with the Department in Washington, through mail dispatches and through the Department's telegraph office, which is never closed.

At the present time the United States maintains sixty-one diplomatic posts abroad, seventeen embassies headed by ambassadors in countries of major concern to us, and forty-four legations headed by ministers in countries of lesser concern. Ambassadors are assisted by counselors of embassy and ministers by counselors of legation. Each may also have first, second, and sometimes third secretaries, in addition to clerks, translators, etc. The United States also maintains 288 consular posts abroad, with consuls-general in important commercial places and consuls or vice-consuls in places of lesser importance.

**Personnel Policies.** There are approximately 750 persons employed in the Department of State in Washington. Of these employees, the secretary, the under-secretary, the four assistant secretaries, and the legal adviser are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. All other positions within the Department of State proper, with the exception of a few experts in high positions, are subject to the Civil Service Act.<sup>1</sup>

The two branches of the Foreign Service employ 3662 persons. Chiefs of diplomatic missions, including ambassadors and ministers, are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. All

<sup>1</sup>The Trade Agreements Division, considered a temporary division for the life of the *Trade Agreements Act* (until June, 1937 unless renewed), is not under civil service.

other officers of the Foreign Service are admitted through special competitive foreign service examinations which are both written and oral. Promotions within the service are on the basis of merit on the recommendation of the Board of Foreign Service Personnel. The following quotation from the official publication, *The American Foreign Service*, indicates the activities which a foreign service officer must be qualified to perform:

"The efficient Foreign Service officer creates good will and common understanding, and, with restrained and critical leadership born of mature experience and profound knowledge of men and affairs, uses these as instruments for enhancing international confidence and cooperation among governments and people; promotes and protects the interests of the United States and of its citizens; negotiates, with tact, sound judgment, and intimate knowledge of conditions at home and abroad, protocols, conventions, and treaties, especially regarding international intercourse, tariffs, shipping, commerce, preservation of peace, etc., in strict conformity to Government instructions; establishes and effectively utilizes personal contacts in far-sighted ways for the benefit of his Government and of American citizens; analyzes and reports on political and economic conditions and trends of significance to the United States; exercises skill in following prescribed form and routine procedure when possible; and displays discriminating judgment, as may be necessary in more complicated situations requiring investigations, careful accumulation of information, or professional understanding of laws, customs, conditions, etc.; and administers an office in a business-like and efficient manner."<sup>1</sup>

**Activities.** The Department of State performs the following functions in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy:

1. Drafts, negotiates, interprets, and executes treaties and other international agreements. Negotiations with foreign governments are carried on either through American diplomatic officers abroad or through representatives of foreign governments in Washington.
2. Supervises and administers the Foreign Service, the so-called field force of the Department and conducts a Foreign Service School for new appointees to the service.
3. Arranges for United States participation in official and unofficial international conferences, congresses, expositions and conventions.

<sup>1</sup>*The American Foreign Service*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934, pp. 3-5 passim.



During 1935 the United States participated in seventy-three such international meetings, a larger number than in any previous year.

4. Protects American citizens, their property and claims, abroad; likewise protects aliens, their rights and claims, within the United States.<sup>1</sup>

5. Grants passports to American citizens for travel abroad and grants visas for the entrance of aliens into this country.<sup>1</sup>

6. Advises the President concerning the recognition of foreign governments, the reception of foreign diplomats, and the recognition of consular officers.

7. Arranges participation in foreign ceremonies (coronations of kings, etc.), entertains high foreign guests, and passes on rights and immunities of foreign diplomats.

8. Arranges for the extradition of fugitives from justice.

9. Administers the National Munitions Act granting licenses for the import and export of all munitions.

10. Translates foreign communications and treaty texts, and carries on all research and administrative work connected with the conduct of foreign policy.

11. Acts as a clearing house for the activities of all departments and independent offices of the federal government concerned with foreign policy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These duties entail considerable responsibility, for in 1935, 40,900 American citizens resided abroad and 118,000 passports were granted Americans for foreign travel. During the same year Americans possessed foreign investments worth \$13,483,000,000. Also, in 1935, the number of foreigners who entered this country for temporary purposes was 67,147, and foreigners had invested in this country \$6,255,000,000.

<sup>2</sup> The Secretary of State or his representative acts as chairman of the following interdepartmental committees: (a) the Executive Committee on Commercial Policy, established in 1933 and composed of representatives of the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, and Agriculture, the Tariff Commission, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, coordinates the commercial foreign policy of various agencies of the government, (b) the Trade Agreements Committee, made up of representatives of the same agencies and chaired by the Chief of the Trade Agreements Division within the Department of State. (c) Interdepartmental Committees on the Philippines and on Civil International Aviation have also been set up, with chairmen designated from the Department of State; (d) the National Munitions Control Board, the latest interdepartmental group, was created under the Neutrality Act of 1935 and is made up of the Secretaries of State (chairman), Treasury, War, Navy, and Commerce.

### Other Departments and Offices Dealing with Foreign Relations

With the increasing interdependence of nations, almost every department of the national government is concerned with some aspect of foreign policy. Many of them maintain representatives abroad.

The *War* and *Navy Departments* are jointly responsible for national defense. The War Department and the Army, through the General Staff, are responsible for land defenses, while the Navy is responsible for sea defenses. In accordance with recognized international practice, army and navy officers are regularly attached to our embassies and legations abroad for the purpose of observing and reporting foreign military and naval developments. In December, 1935, there were 85 army officers and 17 naval officers thus employed. The Navy, in addition, has participated in the development of peacetime foreign policy. It has been used for the development and protection of foreign markets. Most spectacular of such undertakings was Rear Admiral Perry's opening of Japan in 1853. The political implications of the fleet's trip around the world in 1907-08 should not be overlooked.

The *United States Shipping Board* encourages the development of the merchant marine which is necessary to our peacetime commerce and becomes a part of the naval auxiliary in the event of war. It also regulates ships engaged in foreign as well as interstate trade, and must agree to the sale of any American ship to a prospective foreign owner.

The *Department of Commerce* maintains agents in thirty-two principle foreign cities abroad to search for new opportunities for American commerce. Its Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce regularly prepares information on foreign market conditions, taxation, and trade barriers. Under the present reciprocal trade program the Department of Commerce shares responsibility for the program's administration with the Department of State and with the independent *United States Tariff Commission*, the latter of which is an advisory agency on questions of United States tariff. The *Federal Trade Commission*, another independent executive agency concerned with foreign trade, investigates and reports directly to the President on unfair foreign trade practices and competition. The *Foreign Trade Zones Board* was set up in 1934 for the purpose of establishing "free



zones" at certain American ports through which foreign goods may be transhipped without being subject to American tariffs.

The *Department of Agriculture* sends its agents all over the world to search for improved agricultural methods, and to help guard against the entry into the United States of devastating insect and plant diseases. The *Department of Labor* administers official relations with aliens desiring to enter this country through its Immigration and Naturalization Service. Since the United States joined the International Labor Organization in 1934, this department has carried on our official relations with that body.

The *Department of the Treasury* is responsible for fiscal relations with foreign governments. The *Custom Service* within the Treasury Department is the sole administrator of the tariff, evaluating imports and collecting duties and maintaining agents abroad to facilitate tariff enforcements. In peacetime the *Coast Guard*, also under this department, performs such duties as the prevention of smuggling, while in wartime it becomes an adjunct of the Navy. The *Federal Reserve Board* acts as the agent of the Department in carrying out fiscal policies which the Department has undertaken, such as purchasing silver abroad or extending foreign loans. Two independent federal *Export-Import* Banks of Washington have been set up during the last few years to facilitate American foreign trade. One of these has recently been liquidated but the other continues to function.

The *Post Office Department* in its relations to the International Postal Service, conducts a most important part of our foreign relations. Without its cooperative activities the multitudinous private and public relations between citizens of this and other countries would be sharply curtailed.

The *Department of Justice* has two Assistant Attorneys General particularly concerned with problems of foreign relations: one deals with matters of extradition, war crimes, alien enemies, and passports; the other deals with cases related to admiralty and international law.

A number of additional commissions, boards, and independent offices have been set up as the result of foreign wars. These include the various war claim commissions, the office of *Alien Property Custodian*, and the *War Claims Arbiter*, the names of which largely indicate their work.

### Congressional Committees

Just as the President finds it necessary to delegate certain of his powers and responsibilities toward foreign affairs to the Department of State and other offices of the federal government so the two Houses of Congress have found it necessary to have committees to aid them with their responsibilities in the same field.

**Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.** In 1816, the Senate passed a resolution making the Committee on Foreign Relations the first committee of the Senate. Previous to that date, treaties and other subjects relating to foreign policy were referred to specially delegated committees, and so during the first eight years of the Senate's existence nineteen different committees were appointed for the consideration of nineteen treaties. The Committee on Foreign Relations now has sixteen members selected by the political parties in proportion to their strength in the Senate. The majority party always maintains a majority of the committee, and designates as chairman their member who has served longest on it. Membership on the Committee on Foreign Relations is coveted.

All treaties and proposed laws relating to foreign relations are referred by the Senate to this committee. Following examination of the documents involved the committee may call on officials of the Department of State or any other public or private agency in a position to give information regarding the advisability of the proposed action and it may choose to conduct open hearings on the subject. The Committee has the right to propose any amendments or reservations it wishes to a treaty, and these the Senate as a whole must vote on before proposing additional amendments or reservations of its own. Considerable prestige is given the Committee's recommendations.

Nothing compels the Committee to report out measures, and many important ones have remained in the Committee's hands for years; some have never been reported. In general, committee opposition has blocked the ratification of treaties. Even when the majority of the Committee favors some action such as membership in the World Court a strong opposing minority may successfully delay and often defeat a measure.



**House Committee on Foreign Affairs.** The House Committee on Foreign Affairs is considered less important than the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations because it has no direct responsibility for treaties. None the less it has taken an active part in shaping decisions made on foreign policies. Established in 1822, this committee now has a membership of twenty-five, elected in the same manner as members of the Senate Committee. In recent years the House Committee has conducted more public hearings than has the Senate Committee, and because of the faster turnover of membership in the House, it is thought that these hearings reflect public opinion more accurately. The interest of the House in foreign affairs is shown by the passage of numerous resolutions recommended by this committee. These resolutions often have no binding effect, but are indicative of popular feeling on the subject and therefore carry weight with the Administration as expressions of public opinion.

### Proposals for Improving the Conduct of Foreign Policy

An examination of government machinery for the conduct of foreign policy leads to the consideration of various proposals which have been made for its improvement.

**Approval of Treaties.** The constitutional provision that treaties shall be ratified with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate has led to the defeat of important treaties by a minority vote of one-third of the Senate, which is only one-sixteenth of the total membership of Congress. Such defeats have sometimes been based on party politics or purely domestic grounds rather than on consideration of the general public welfare. Although proportionately the number of treaties not accepted by the Senate has been small, the importance of those which have been defeated has emphasized the difficulty involved. The most noted of such defeats in recent years were membership in the League of Nations in 1920, by seven votes, and membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1935, by six votes.<sup>1</sup> The opponents of these measures look upon their defeat as sufficient justification of the so-called Senate veto power over treaties. Proponents of the measures, on the other hand, have felt justified in urging a change in the Senate treaty power.

<sup>1</sup> Senate vote on membership in League of Nations, March, 1920, 49 ayes, 35 nays. Senate vote on adherence to World Court protocols, January, 1935, 52 ayes, 36 nays.

Two methods of solving the problem have been proposed, either of which would require a constitutional amendment. One proposal is to require that ratification of treaties shall need only a majority vote of the Senate; the other is that responsibility for treaties shall be shared by the Senate and the House of Representatives by requiring a majority vote of both.<sup>1</sup>

**Closer Cooperation between the President and Congress.** Disagreement as to how much independent discretion the President should have in conducting the foreign relations of the United States has resulted from time to time in considerable friction between the President and Congress. Fears have been expressed that the President, in the use of his implied power, might overstep his authority to the detriment of the country. As a result, executive acts have been criticized as means of evading treaty approval by the Senate, and every delegation of authority to the President by congressional act is the subject of close scrutiny.<sup>2</sup>

Presumably, President Washington originally interpreted the constitutional provision that treaties should be made with "the advice and consent of the Senate" to mean that the Senate should act as a council on foreign affairs. On his own initiative he went before the Senate to discuss some early treaties, but the Senate evidently fearful that his presence would influence its decision refused to discuss the treaties in his presence. Thus rebuffed, President Washington is said never to have repeated his attempt to use the Senate as a conference body.

Methods which have subsequently been used by presidents to gain congressional support of projected foreign policies have included:

- (a) the naming of members of both Houses of Congress and of both political parties as delegates to international conferences;
- (b) inviting congressional leaders to the White House for conference and advice concerning matters of foreign policy which may later involve congressional action.

<sup>1</sup> It was by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress that the United States became a member of the International Labor Organization in 1934.

<sup>2</sup> One of the earliest debates on this subject was caused by President Washington's proclamation of neutrality. A written debate followed in a series of articles by Alexander Hamilton writing as *Pacificus*, who defended the strong initiative of the President in the conduct of foreign policy, and James Madison, writing as *Helvidius*, who attacked the assumption of such power by the President. An excellent summary of the two cases is contained in Edward S. Corwin's *The President's Control of Foreign Policy*.



Additional methods variously proposed are:

- (a) that the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and of the House Foreign Affairs Committee be appointed members of or be invited regularly to meet with the President's Cabinet for the purpose of discussing foreign affairs;
- (b) that the two Congressional Committees concerned meet regularly with the President to discuss the status of present and future foreign policies;
- (c) that the Secretary of State be invited to appear before the Senate to explain and defend the administration's proposed policies (as is done in England and other democracies);
- (d) that a *Council on Foreign Relations* be set up composed of representatives of the Cabinet, of Congress, and of the general public for the dual purpose of planning foreign policies and of gaining public support for them.

**Popular Referendum on War.** From time to time bills have been introduced into Congress proposing a constitutional amendment to the effect that Congress cannot declare war until a nation-wide referendum or plebiscite has approved such action. The arguments given for a war referendum are:

- (a) the general public would never agree to an aggressive foreign war;
- (b) the time required to hold a referendum would provide a desirable time lag for the decline of any war hysteria which might have arisen.

Arguments made against such a referendum are:

- (a) having abandoned aggressive wars by signing the Pact of Paris, the question of the United States considering an aggressive war, presumably, would not occur, and in the event of a threatened attack there would not be time or desire to vote on whether or not to defend ourselves;
- (b) there is no guarantee that the general public inflamed by propaganda would be less likely to declare war than would responsible legislators.

**Strengthening the Department of State.** Several ways of strengthening the work of the Department of State have been suggested. More adequate appropriations have been proposed to make possible increased personnel of the State Department in Washington in order that officers concerned with the formulation of important policies may be relieved from routine duties. The personnel of the Foreign Service also needs expansion, which is evidently indicated

by the recent renewal of foreign service examinations, not given since 1932. It has been pointed out that salaries within the Department in Washington and in the Foreign Service need to be equalized in order that men of the same calibre will be drawn into both services. Salaries should be sufficiently high as to make ability, not independent wealth, the determining factor in the appointment and promotion of men in all parts of the Department's work. Another need for funds is for the publication and wider distribution of official department papers and releases for the purpose of keeping the public better informed about problems of foreign policy.

At the present time three government committees are at work on the problem of reorganization of the executive departments, a President's Committee approaching the problem from a functional standpoint and two Congressional Committees from a structural standpoint aimed to eliminate duplication of activities. To what extent the recommendations of these committees may affect the conduct of foreign policy is still undetermined. Earlier official committees on reorganization, however, have proposed the consolidation of the War and Navy Departments into a Department of National Defense, but have made no other major proposals affecting the Department of State or other agencies of the federal government concerned with foreign policy.

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### III

## THE CITIZEN'S PART

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THE responsibility of the citizen toward foreign policy is little different from his responsibility toward other problems of government. The ideal of a democracy is for every citizen to have an intelligent opinion on every major subject of public concern. On this opinion the citizen is expected to base his action, as a part of the electorate or voting public, in his local community, in his state, and in his relation to federal affairs. Citizens will assume responsibility toward foreign policy when its tremendous importance to them individually is made clear, and when the importance of and opportunities for their participation are pointed out.

### The Citizen's Stake in Foreign Policy

**War or Peace.** It has been said that foreign policy is the most domestic of all policies. Certainly, no other governmental policy can affect the individual more intimately. If foreign policies lead to war, personal freedom is sharply curtailed, families are broken up, individual economic pursuits are interrupted; social, educational, and economic progress become secondary considerations; and all national activity is geared to war purposes, purposes which are recognized as being economically non-productive and as having devastating repercussions. On the other hand, a foreign policy which results in peaceful relations promotes the individual security of citizens; heightens domestic prosperity by removing the necessity for large defense expenditures, thus making more funds available for the promotion of domestic welfare; and makes possible unrestricted commercial, social, and cultural relations between this and other countries.



**Economic Welfare.** To every citizen, either as a consumer or producer, the economic foreign policy of this country is of direct interest. On the height of American tariff depends the price paid for foreign goods—English tweeds, Irish linens, French perfumes, Brazilian coffee, oriental rugs. Prices of domestic goods are also controlled to a considerable extent by tariff, for lacking competition, prices can be boosted without regard to cost of production. Also, on the tariff depends the ability of American capital and labor to find profitable foreign markets for their products, whether agricultural or industrial. If the United States pursues a tariff policy aimed to restrict the import of foreign goods, its citizens must suffer a proportionate loss of foreign markets. The ability of American capital to seek profitable investments abroad depends on whether this country agrees to a policy of international monetary stabilization.

When the citizen is convinced of these facts he will want to know whether he, personally, can be effective in the field of foreign policy, and if so, how his effectiveness may be increased.

### Public Opinion and the Conduct of Foreign Policy

The conduct of foreign policy is dependent on the public support which the administration receives for the adoption of new policies or the continuation of old ones. Public opinion, or what people collectively think about foreign policies, is a vital concern to all government agencies involved in their conduct. Hence, each agency must devote a part of its efforts to educating the public about its activities and to gaining public support for the policies which it favors.

**The President and Public Opinion.** There are few occasions when the President will pursue any policy for which there is no popular support. This is as true in the field of foreign affairs as in strictly domestic ones. Such support he may attempt to gain in a number of ways. He may discuss foreign policies at his regular press conferences; he may include an important statement concerning them in any of the numerous public addresses he is asked to make; he may refer to them in his annual or special messages to Congress. In some cases the President may choose to have another official initiate discussion of a proposed policy. Such "trial balloons" give him the benefit of public comment and reactions without personally involving him. In wartime, the President is much less dependent on public

support. Under his extraordinary war powers, granted by Congress, he is able to curb opposition to foreign policies which he pursues, even to the extent of assuming control of all agencies for disseminating news concerning them.

**The State Department and Public Opinion.** Through the State Department, the administration has another channel for opinion making regarding foreign policy. The Secretary of State, like the President, holds regular press conferences where he may make statements or answer questions concerning certain policies. Several offices within the Department have special responsibilities toward public relations. These include the *Division of Current Information* which releases to the press official statements on foreign policies and copies of negotiated treaties and agreements which are then printed in pamphlet form as *Press Releases*; the *Division of Research and Publication* which is responsible for selecting, editing, and publishing official documents, the most important of which later appear in the many volumes of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, papers of lesser importance being printed in serial pamphlets for general distribution; and, the *Office of the Historical Adviser* which, in addition to advisory work on matters of policy, aids private research students.

The concern of the Department of State for the success of its public relations activities is reflected in the attention it pays to current press comments which are clipped from representative newspapers and circulated within the Department. Comment on American foreign policies from abroad, although less important politically than home opinion, is very important diplomatically. Hence, one of the major activities of American foreign service officers stationed abroad is to keep the State Department in Washington abreast of such opinion.

**Other Government Departments and Public Opinion.** Other government departments aid in gaining support for their activities relating to foreign affairs through their own press offices and publications. This is particularly true of the Department of Commerce, through its Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, which maintains branch offices, termed "service stations," in twenty-four major American cities. It publishes and widely circulates the monthly *Commerce Reports* containing information gathered by its foreign agents relative to trade conditions and opportunities abroad for



American business, and the annual *Foreign Commerce and Navigation*, a statistical summary of American exports and imports. The Bureau also makes available popular motion pictures aimed to gain support for foreign trade policies. The publication by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace of the popular pamphlet *America Must Choose* is indicative of his department's concern that the public understand the relation to foreign policy of any agricultural policy pursued. Through public addresses at patriotic celebrations the civil and military representatives of the War and Navy Departments attempt to enlist public support for their respective policies.

**Congress and Public Opinion.** Congress, also, is concerned that the public approve its acts relating to foreign, as well as to domestic policies. When the Senate is asked to give its consent to a treaty, the Committee on Foreign Relations may conduct public as well as private hearings. Witnesses appearing before the Committee may be invited as experts or as representatives of public opinion on the subject. On the question of American membership in the World Court public hearings were held in 1931 and in 1934. At the 1931 hearing, Mr. Elihu Root, eminent jurist and author of the Root protocol for American adherence to the Court, was the only witness, while at the 1934 hearings representatives of practically all groups supporting and opposing American membership in the World Court were heard.

Similar public hearings are also conducted by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Its most recent ones were on the subject of American neutrality in 1935 and in 1936. These hearings were indicative of the concern of Americans of foreign descent in particular foreign policies. Private witnesses appeared representing "over a million Americans" of Italian ancestry who wished to prevent the United States from invoking embargoes against Italy during the Italo-Ethiopian war. Another type of congressional hearing at which public opinion concerning foreign policy is presented is on the tariff. The testimony of various economic interests regarding the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act appeared in eighteen printed volumes.<sup>1</sup>

When proposed policies reach the floor of either House much of the debate which takes place concerning them is for "home consumption." This was true during the Senate debate on the World Court

<sup>1</sup> See *References* at end of chapter for full citation of Hearings.

in 1935, which was as often directed toward the public galleries as toward Senate members. During the same period national radio broadcasts by senators holding opposing views on Court membership further indicated the desire to obtain public support for both sides of the question. In the House, debates on appropriations for the Army and Navy are regularly accompanied by emotional appeals aimed to stimulate public support or opposition to the policies of the military branches of the government.

Individual congressmen or senators sometimes gain support of policies which they favor, by introducing bills and resolutions embodying such policies. These bills then become the rallying point for public opinion on the subject. In time such support may grow to the extent that it cannot be overlooked, and eventually the policy may be espoused by administration leaders and thereafter become a matter of active concern to Congress as a whole. For instance, in 1921, Senator Borah introduced an amendment to the naval appropriation bill requesting the United States Government to call a naval conference. The Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922 with its treaties followed. Senator Capper, as early as 1927, began introducing various bills for arms embargoes against belligerent nations. Such embargoes, in 1934 and 1935, became part of the law of the land. Since its introduction in the last session of Congress, Senator Pope's resolution providing for American membership in the League of Nations has been the basis of an educational campaign for public support of such membership.

Congressional investigations may be used as another means for gaining support for foreign policies. The recent Senate munitions investigation, under the chairmanship of Senator Nye, was particularly successful in this regard. The sessions of the investigations were widely reported and newspapers, day after day, carried front page stories of its revelations. The support which the investigation thus gained enabled it to continue, in spite of the explosive nature of many of its sessions. Public support of its activities also led to the establishment of the National Munitions Control Board and was largely responsible for the adoption in 1935 and 1936 of neutrality legislation.

**State Legislatures Reflect Opinion.** As the conduct of foreign policy is reserved to the federal government, state legislatures have



no part in it. They do, however, occasionally pass resolutions and memorials urging some particular action by the President or Congress. Such resolutions are important as indicative of opinion in the states where they are passed. During the 1935 World Court debate, Senator Walsh of Massachusetts read to the Senate a resolution against American membership in the Court, which had been signed by a majority of the Massachusetts state legislature. The Senator then announced that for this reason he felt obligated to cast his vote against Court membership.

### How the Citizen Can Participate

**Through Political Parties.** Membership in a political party provides opportunity for shaping foreign policies. Examination of party platforms will help reveal whether a party stands for foreign policies in which a citizen believes. Primary differences between the major parties have been on the tariff—Republicans standing for protection, Democrats, in general, for revenue only; and on imperialism as exemplified particularly in Philippine policy—the Republicans supporting expansion and control of weaker peoples as “a duty to mankind,” Democrats supporting Philippine independence and denouncing imperialism.

Both parties have upheld and reasserted the principle of no entangling alliances and the Monroe Doctrine; both would protect American citizens abroad—later, American property. Both parties have advocated increased national defense forces at different times, defining national defense in such various ways as “protection for United States policies and citizens,” “to uphold the Monroe Doctrine and watch over commerce,” “to protect national interests and honor of the flag.” Since the World War, both parties have advocated universal drafts in wartime and have called for international disarmament, and both parties have at one time or another, until 1936, supported American membership in the World Court. A lack of consistency can be found in the platforms of both parties occasionally as between different planks in a single platform, and more often as regards a single issue over a period of years.

Only occasionally has a problem of foreign policy played a major part in a political campaign. Imperialism as it developed under the Republican regime at the end of the last century became a major

political issue. In the Democratic platform of 1900 it was stated, “the burning issue of Imperialism is the paramount issue of the campaign.” In 1916, the major campaign cry of the Democrats was to reelect President Wilson because “he kept us out of war.” In 1920, the major partisan issue was whether or not the United States should join the League of Nations.

Opposition to the foreign policy planks of the political platforms is only occasionally the basis for a change of party allegiance, for such policies are rarely major partisan issues and domestic considerations tend to counterbalance them. Party members, therefore, have to make use of every opportunity to shape future party platforms, in accordance with their personal desires. Unusual opportunities for such action sometimes occur. At the 1936 Democratic Convention, for instance, a group of party women drafted a series of peace planks which were presented to the Resolutions Committee and given wide publicity. The similarity between the final foreign policy planks and these proposals indicates the possible importance of the part they played.

Platforms are not always a guide to action, once a party is in power. Policies actually pursued are conditioned by decisions of the President and his advisers and their ability to gain necessary support for them, and by the development of conditions often unforeseen at the time the platform is written. This fact indicates the continuing opportunity for party members to work for policies which they favor even though such are not endorsed in the party platforms.

**Through Private Organizations.** Many persons become members of one or more of the various private organizations whose programs are partially or wholly devoted to foreign affairs. The great number of these organizations may be explained in part by the remoteness of the conduct of foreign policy from the daily governmental relations of the average citizen. The result has been that discussion of problems in this field of government, more than in others, has tended to become specialized and to be taken over by organized groups whose representatives can maintain direct contacts with the offices of the federal government responsible for foreign policy. Another explanation is that American participation in the World War stimulated public interest in international relations and was responsible for the large number of groups which sprang up



everywhere, motivated by the desire to end war. Some of these groups later disappeared, some were consolidated, but many continued their separate activities.

The most complete survey of organizations working in this field is that edited by Edith E. Ware, *The Study of International Relations*, Survey for 1934, published by the Columbia University Press. More than a thousand organizations are classified in this survey although the names of many local and state groups are omitted. These groups provide for the citizen every conceivable approach to problems of international relations and American foreign policy. For purposes of convenience the following classification has been adapted from that used by Miss Ware.

**Fact Finding Groups.** Such groups as the Foreign Policy Association, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the American Council on Foreign Relations, the World Peace Foundation, and the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations are primarily research groups. Their members are either experts or those who wish to contribute to research work. As fact finders these groups provide information necessary for better understanding of foreign policy, a service provided for the general public. Also classifiable here are professional groups, such as the International Law Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

**Carrier Groups.** In contrast to groups whose primary purpose is research, there are organizations, the chief aim of which is to spread interest in and knowledge of foreign policy and international relations. These may be termed carrier groups and may be classified in several ways. Miss Ware's survey has two major categories:

1. *Organizations primarily interested in international relations* may be divided into two groups; those which take no stand on policy and those which advocate specific courses of action. The Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation are among the groups which refrain from endorsing particular policies. The League of Nations Association and the National World Court Committee work, as their names indicate, for particular ends, while groups such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a strictly pacifist organization, and World Peaceways work for many measures. There are also composite groups, made up of different or-

ganizations which work for a variety of policies. These include the *National Peace Conference*, *National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War*, and the *National Council for the Prevention of War*.

2. *Organizations secondarily interested in international relations* may be divided into secular and religious groups. Most organizations in this category work for some kind of legislative program on foreign policy. Of the secular groups there are the national women's organizations having part of their programs on international relations or foreign policy, of which the eleven national groups, members of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, are the most important; the student groups; and the various service clubs.

Also among the secular groups whose programs are partially concerned with foreign policy and international relations are the so-called patriotic societies such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion, and the Navy League. The efforts of these groups are combined in the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies, and the women's groups unite in the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense.

The religious organizations which devote part of their time to promoting international understanding, are made up of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups. The largest such group is The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, made up of members of all faiths and denominations. Of the Protestant groups the two best known are the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches, and the Society of Friends. The Catholic Association for International Peace is the largest Catholic group, and various member groups of the American Jewish Congress foster international understanding. Of non-denominational religious groups the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. promote extensive activities in this field.

The wide array of organizations working wholly or partially in the field of international relations makes a comparison of their objectives, activities, and achievements almost impossible. Objectives within the field vary from those of non-resistance to war to advocacy of strong national defense, from support of American membership in the League of Nations and other parts of the collective system to support of isolation. Activities include strict research, serious programs of adult education, various types of popular propaganda, and lobbying for legislative measures. Individual group



achievements are even harder to compare, as organization objectives and activities overlap, so that few groups can claim responsibility for the success of any given policy which they have supported. It is, instead, the varying contributions of these groups which make for advancement in the general field to which they devote all or part of their energies. Thus, their variety is justified, as it provides for everyone the kind of activity which the individual feels most competent to perform.

**Through News Agencies.** Just as governmental agencies, concerned with foreign policy, use the press, the radio, and motion pictures, to gain public support of policies which they approve, private citizens, individually or in groups, may also use such news agencies. These agencies are important for several reasons. Most information concerning foreign policy is obtained second-hand by the average citizen from one or more of them. Considering the hazards which news runs before reaching the public either in newspapers or magazines, over the radio, or on the screen, it is no wonder that even the most diligent students of foreign policy have difficulty in gaining an accurate comprehension of the true facts involved. Take, for example, the news which comes to us most quickly, through newspapers. If this comes from abroad it is funnelled into the country through one of a few major news agencies, the A. P., the U. P., the International News Service, and the North American Alliance, or through a syndicate service conducted by one of the metropolitan papers such as the New York Times, or Herald Tribune, or the Chicago Daily News. Literally thousands of dollars daily are used for thus cabling news into the country from every part of the world. Obviously small and medium sized papers do not have the space to use the vast amount of materials received nor can they afford to pay for it. Hence, editors must decide what kind of news their readers desire. Sensationalism is too often the basis of the choice.

Another problem is that of the untrained reporter on a local newspaper staff who cannot be expected to know the most important foreign news which, as a result, may go into the waste-paper basket. Other limitations such as the interests of advertisers and political affiliation of owners also tend to affect the selection and presentation of news. To protect this source of information, then, it is necessary to

insist on as free and accurate presentation of the news as is possible.

News agencies are also important to individual or groups as channels of expression for their various views on problems of foreign policy. Such agencies provide opportunities for reaching large public audiences through the press or over the air and provide publicity for all kinds of community activities. In addition to being sources of information and channels of expression, news agencies are also potent mediums of propaganda. Numerous illustrations of the power of these agencies in shaping public opinion on problems of foreign policy are to be found in American history, as set forth, for example, in Walter Millis' *The Martial Spirit*, Harold Lasswell's *Propaganda-Technique in the World War*, and George S. Viereck's *Spreading Germs of Hate*. The use of the press, the news reel, and the radio in the 1935 defeat of the World Court is the most recent reminder of their influence on decisions concerning foreign policy.

### The Need for Leadership

The success of a democracy depends, in the last analysis, on the will of the people being translated into action by their government. In the United States there is no provision for popular referendum on federal matters except through constitutional amendment which has never been applied to a problem of foreign policy. The administration, therefore, must rely on other methods of determining the will of the people. Sources of such information are scattered and inadequate. People may study problems of foreign policy as much as they wish, but unless their opinions concerning such policies are made known, they can have no effect on shaping future policies. As a result, there is in this field of government, to a greater degree than in others, a need for coordination and expression of public interest. Coordination requires leadership and such leadership may be said to have three major functions:

First, to stimulate wider interest in problems of foreign policy, making people realize the importance of understanding long time issues as well as spectacular current developments;

Second, to provide adequate educational opportunities including study materials, study groups, open meetings, and other types of popular education, for the purpose of making clear the content of foreign policies and the method in which they are formulated and carried out;



Third, to serve as a channel of expression for group members, to direct publicity activities, mass demonstrations, congressional interviews, and communications with administrative leaders.

\* \* \* \* \*

Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, speaking before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on February 6, 1931, evaluated organized effort in the field of foreign policy as follows:

"I never realized the full importance of your function until I got at the other end of the stage and learned from painful experience the importance of such a public opinion, and the difficulty, in its absence, of carrying on the business of the foreign relations of the United States."

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National League of Women Voters  
726 Jackson Place  
Washington, D. C.

October 1936

STUDY GUIDE  
to be used with  
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

The pamphlet, American Foreign Policy, can be used either as a guide to the study of foreign policy by beginners or as the basis for review by those who have already worked in this field. Advanced groups may be able to review the contents of the three chapters in three meetings, one meeting devoted to each. Beginning groups, on the other hand, will go more slowly. Because of the varying uses to which the pamphlet will be put, this study guide is not arranged by meetings, but rather by topics. Information on each topic may be expanded by use of the references listed and described at the end of each chapter.

When the study is complete each member of a study group should be thoroughly familiar with the major American foreign policies and the method in which they are conducted. With this knowledge the citizen will be in a position to follow intelligently and to help shape current developments in the field of foreign policy.

Introduction

Topic 1 - What has been responsible for increased interest in American foreign policy?

Chapter I - What It Is

Topic 2 - Define foreign policy. What are the various factors shaping it?

Topic 3 - Characterize the following regional foreign policies: "no entangling alliances"; the Monroe Doctrine; the Open Door.

Under what circumstances and for what purpose was each policy defined? To what extent has each been followed and what is the present status of each? What is your opinion concerning the desirability of continuing each policy?

Topic 4 - Characterize the following global foreign policies: neutrality and freedom of the seas; arbitration and the peaceful settlement of disputes; disarmament.

Under what circumstances and for what purpose was each policy defined? To what extent has each been followed and what is the present status of each? What is your opinion concerning the desirability of continuing each policy?

Topic 5 - Characterize the following domestic-foreign policies: national defense; control of munitions; tariff; trade promotion; immigration; and monetary policies.

Do you agree that each of these policies must be considered from the foreign as well as purely domestic standpoint? Do you think that this has been done as each policy has been developed? What changes, if any, would you propose in these policies?



Chapter II - How It Works

- Topic 6 - Discuss the reasons for the constitutional division of powers pertaining to foreign policy. What powers does the President have, the Senate, both Houses of Congress? Which powers are held independently? Which in conjunction with another agency?
- Topic 7 - Give a brief history of the Department of State, and describe its present organization. Differentiate between the "home office" or Department of State proper, the foreign service, the diplomatic service, the consular service.
- Topic 8 - Summarize the duties of the Department of State. Which would you consider the most important functions in the present day world?
- Topic 9 - What concern have other departments and offices of the federal government in foreign relations? What do you know of their activities? (An up-to-date book on American government would give further information on each).
- Topic 10- Describe the functions of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. What is the chief difference in their responsibilities?
- Topic 11- Summarize the objections to the present requirement for two-thirds Senate approval of treaties. What changes have been proposed? How could these be accomplished? Would you consider any change desirable?
- Topic 12- Summarize the proposals for closer cooperation between the President and Congress on matters of foreign policy. Which seems to you the best?
- Topic 13- Give the arguments for and against a proposed constitutional amendment providing for a popular referendum on war.
- Topic 14- What proposals have been made for strengthening the Department of State? Which do you think should be put into effect?

Chapter III - The Citizen's Part

- Topic 15- What stake has each member of the study group in the maintenance of peace? What relation has foreign policy to this goal?
- Topic 16- Discuss the importance of public opinion in the conduct of foreign policy to: the President, the State Department, other governmental departments, Congress, state legislatures.
- Can you recall any recent instance in which one of these governmental agencies has tried to shape public opinion in behalf of any given foreign policy.
- Topic 17- Discuss the attitude of the political parties toward foreign policy during political campaigns; at other times. Discuss the opportunity which a member of a party has to work for particular foreign policies.



Topic 18 - What do you think is responsible for the great number of organizations working in the field of foreign policy and international relations? What different kinds of jobs do they do? Do you agree that their variety is justified?

Topic 19 - Why is group leadership particularly important in the field of foreign policy?

\* \* \* \* \*

Foreign Policy in Your Community

Topic 20 - Make a list of the various organizations in your community interested in foreign policy. What kind of work did each do last year?

Topic 21 - Make a study for at least a week, of the foreign policy news which is carried in your local press. Compare its volume and objectivity with other sources of information which you have, such as current news magazines - Time, Literary Digest, or any other survey of current events.

Are you satisfied with the news that you get? If not, what might a group of women do about it?

Topic 22 - Analyze the work of your local League in the field of foreign policy, remembering that the League's chief aim in this field is to make citizens use proper governmental channels in helping to shape current foreign policies:

- (a) Are the numbers of League people interested in foreign policy increasing? Have you recently obtained new members for the League because of its work in the field of foreign policy?
- (b) Are you providing adequate educational opportunities on problems of current foreign policy through study groups, open meetings, etc.? Are you emphasizing sufficiently the interest of your local community in various foreign policies?
- (c) Are you, as League members interested in foreign policy, aiding your local League president in fulfilling legislative requests on foreign policy measures which come to her, through your State League President, from the National League? Do you know the attitude of your congressional representatives on current problems of foreign policy?

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RELATED PUBLICATIONS

- CONTROL OF THE MUNITIONS TRAFFIC, by Anne Hartwell Johnstone and Elizabeth Armstrong Hawes, 1935. 25 cents.
- AMERICAN NEUTRALITY, by Louise Leonard Wright, 1935. 15 cents.
- THE UNITED STATES AND THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION, by Anne Hartwell Johnstone, 1934. 15 cents.
- ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR AND THE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE, by Beatrice Pitney Lamb, 1932. 40 cents.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY OF THE TARIFF, by Idella Gwatkin Swisher, 1932. 40 cents.
- THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR DEBTS, by Beatrice Pitney Lamb, 1935. 15 cents.

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