



## 46. The Civil Arm of Foreign Policy



Department of State

**T**HE civil arm of American foreign policy consists of the State Department, the United States Information Agency (USIA), and a number of secondary offices and divisions in the executive Departments and the independent agencies. The State Department is by far the most important among these elements; yet it is not beyond possibility that both the propaganda and the economic forces of the government abroad, which have undergone an erratic but spectacular development in the years after World War II, will find an increasingly important place in future foreign policy administration. The inertia of the old ways of behaving in international affairs acts to repress

evidence of the effectiveness of continuous economic and psychological operations; when they are constantly and systematically executed, and when they are financed merely with a fraction of the generosity accorded to military expenditures, they are effective and flexible instruments of foreign policy. Propaganda and foreign economic operations have been costing recently only about five per cent as much as military activities.

## THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### *General features*

Although the President is the mainstay of civilian control of foreign policy, he works in many ways through the State Department, which is the principal executive body for the conduct of foreign relations. It is the oldest of all the present Departments, having been created in 1789. During most of its history it was a small and comparatively unimportant establishment; in fact, it was even burdened with domestic responsibilities such as the custody of federal laws after they had been signed by the President. As recently as December, 1939, it had but 6,249 employees, and in fiscal 1939 it spent only \$19,145,000. The Second World War and its aftermath, however, greatly enhanced the significance of the Department; it underwent several reorganizations, and was relieved of almost all tasks connected with domestic matters. On January 1, 1956, it had 29,088 employees, and in fiscal 1956 its expenditures amounted to about \$138 millions. Even today it has fewer employees than any other Department save that of Labor, and its budget is smaller than that of any other Department. On the other hand, owing to the greatly increased participation by the United States in international affairs, the State Department today ranks in importance with the enormous defense Departments.

The Department of State has four major tasks: (1) It gathers information concerning all aspects of other countries, including political, economic, social, and cultural matters. (2) It assimilates and coordinates this material, and, in conjunction with other agencies such as the National Security Council, it assists the President in the making of foreign policy. (3) Through its overseas personnel, it represents the United States to the world. (4) Through these personnel, under the guidance of the President, it carries on negotiations with other nations.

### *The Secretary of State*

The Secretary of State is the chief official of the State Department. He is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate; and, because his Department is the oldest, he enjoys precedence over all other members of the Cabinet. The nature of the persons who have been chosen Secretary of State merits note. From 1789 to 1957 there have been fifty-one Secretaries of State. Almost without exception, they have been outstanding

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**American Embassies: a Variety of Architectural Styles.** *Left, top to bottom:* Stockholm, Sweden; Jidda, Saudi Arabia; Madrid, Spain. *Right, top to bottom:* Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Paris, France.

political figures; that is, they have held high rank in their parties. Three of these exceptions have held the office since 1940: Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., who might best be described as a political businessman; General George C. Marshall, a career soldier; and Dean G. Acheson, a skilled lawyer who for several years was Under Secretary of State. In fact, Secretary John Foster Dulles had not been deeply engaged in politics save on the international plane. Thirty-two Secretaries have been elected to one or both houses of Congress; only six of these have held office since 1898. Twenty have been members of State legislatures, only two of them since 1895. Ten have been State Governors, only one of them since 1877. Seventeen have occupied other posts in the Cabinet, none since 1933. Nineteen may be said to have had considerable previous diplomatic experience, most of them before the Civil War. Nearly all have been lawyers.

It does appear that there have been changes in the criteria used for naming Secretaries of State. It seems improbable that another Secretary will be chosen because he represents an important faction of the party that did not capture the White House, as Wilson chose William Jennings Bryan. Actually, it now appears that unswerving attachment to the party is no longer essential; for example, Dulles lent his talents to both Democratic and Republican administrations before his choice by Eisenhower. Experience as an overseas representative of the American government has become less of a prerequisite, although prior acquaintance with the State Department itself may be demanded. All of these factors appear connected with political developments that have tended to (1) remove the State Department from partisan politics; and (2) emphasize the administrative obligations of the Department and the skills that its governing requires.

### ***Domestic structure of the State Department***

The State Department today, in spite of the small number of its employees, has an unusual number of levels of responsibility. Immediately subordinate to the Secretary is the Under Secretary of State, who is the deputy of the Secretary and is his agent during the Secretary's absence. Beneath the Under Secretary are three Deputy Under Secretaries: one for Administration, one for Political Affairs, and one for Economic Affairs.

Under these officials are twelve functionaries possessing the title or at least the rank of Assistant Secretary. Four of them possess duties that may be defined as auxiliary; that is, they are related to the upkeep of the Department. Two, the Counselor and the Legal Adviser, deal with matters involving, respectively, international law and domestic law. The Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations maintains liaison with the legislative branch. This office is unusually important because the State Department cannot rely upon the support of pressure groups, as the Agriculture Department may count on the Farm Bureau Federation, or the Commerce Department on the NAM, to expound its program to often unsympathetic congressmen. The Assistant Secretary-Controller assists the Deputy for Under Secretary for Administration.

The remaining eight have obligations under which they either carry out the work for which the Department was intended, or afford research and advice to the chiefs of the Department. Five of these Assistant Secretaries are heads of so-called "Regional Bureaus": Inter-American Affairs; European Affairs; Far Eastern Affairs; Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs; and International Organization Affairs. Each of these Bureaus is subdivided into Offices; for example, in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs there are Offices of Chinese Affairs, Northeast Asian Affairs, and Philippines and Southeast Asian Affairs.

Offices then are broken down into "desks" for individual countries; the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs contains a desk for Korea and a desk for Japan. Heading each desk is an individual expert on that country, who performs research on all phases of activity within the country that may be of interest to the United States, then submits reports on his conclusions to his superiors. It should be apparent that the preferences of the official holding a given desk on such matters as the political organization or the distribution of wealth in the country under his scrutiny may have a large effect upon foreign policy decisions finally taken by the President.

The other three officials at this level head agencies that deal with functional problems. The Assistant Secretary for Policy Planning aids the Secretary and the Under Secretary in evaluating and formulating policy, and represents the Department on the National Security Council Planning Board. The Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs administers the public information undertakings of the Department, along with associated duties that include the maintenance of the official history of American diplomacy and the supervision of programs for the exchange of students and professional personnel with other nations. The Special Assistant for Intelligence, whose rank is equal to that of an Assistant Secretary, coordinates the information returned to the United States about other countries. A final office in the Department, with both auxiliary and line functions but not under an Assistant Secretary, is the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. This Bureau, which is responsible to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, controls the issuance both of passports to American citizens—so that they may travel overseas—and of visas to aliens—so that they may visit the United States.

### ***The Foreign Service***

The Foreign Service comprises the State Department organization in foreign countries. The State Department maintains three types of offices outside the United States: embassies, legations, and consulates. Embassies and legations deal primarily with diplomatic issues, with relations between the United States government and the governments of other countries. The principal distinction between them is that the chief of an embassy is an ambassador, and the chief of a legation is a minister. Supposedly an ambassador is the deputy of the entire government, but a minister represents only the chief of state. Inasmuch as an ambassador takes precedence over a minister, an embassy is considered more honorific than a

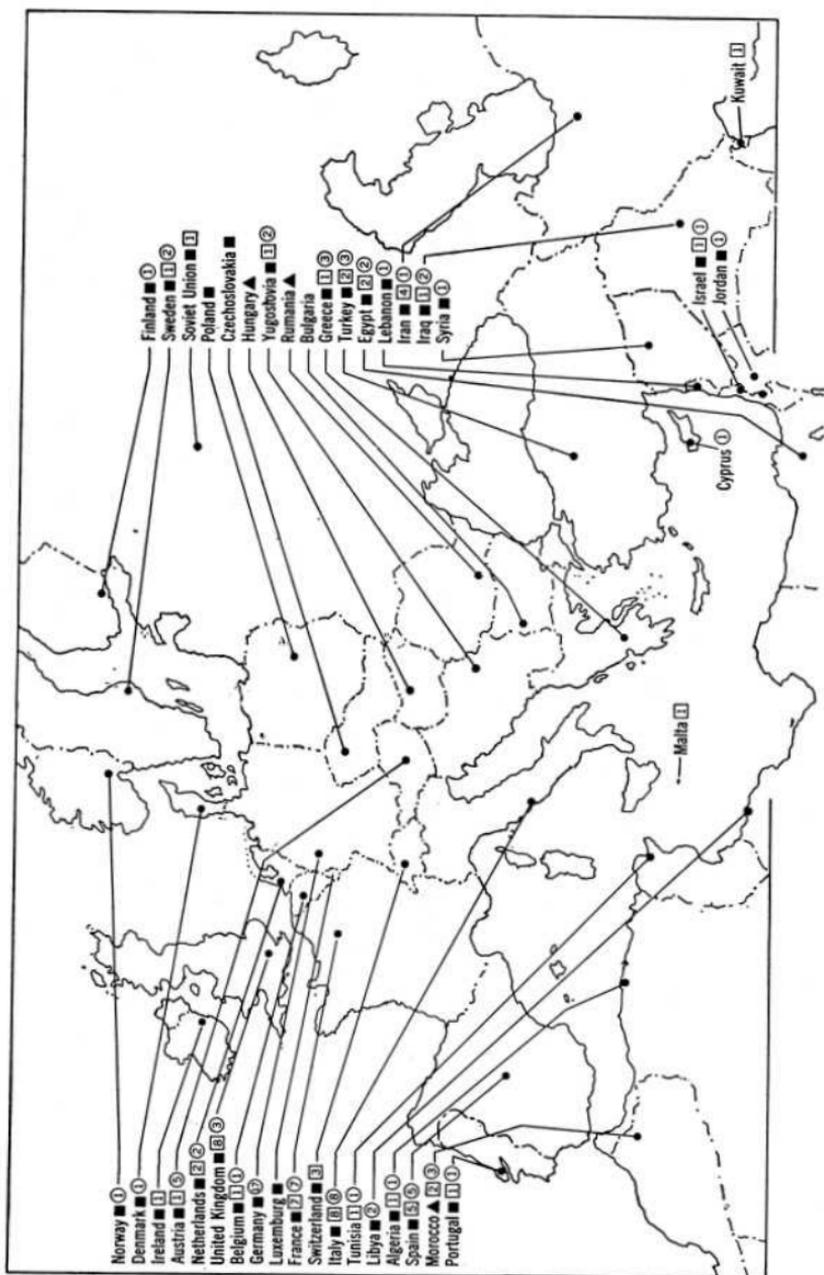
legation. Although at one time the United States had no overseas embassies, today it sends an ambassador to virtually all countries with which it maintains diplomatic relations. The United States now has seventy-four embassies and but four legations.

A consulate handles affairs involving the relations between an American citizen and the government of a foreign country, between a citizen of a foreign country and the government of the United States, and between a private American citizen or group and a foreign citizen or group. The American government now possesses more than 160 consulates apart from the consular offices in connection with embassies and legations. The map in Figure 115 shows where these offices are situated. It is noteworthy that, because of the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Bloc, there are no American representatives in the Soviet Union outside of the Moscow embassy, no American offices at all in either Bulgaria or China, and only legations in Hungary and Romania. The offices are, of course, concentrated in western Europe and in Canada and Mexico along the borders of the United States. Foreign Service personnel on January 1, 1956, totalled 15,931.

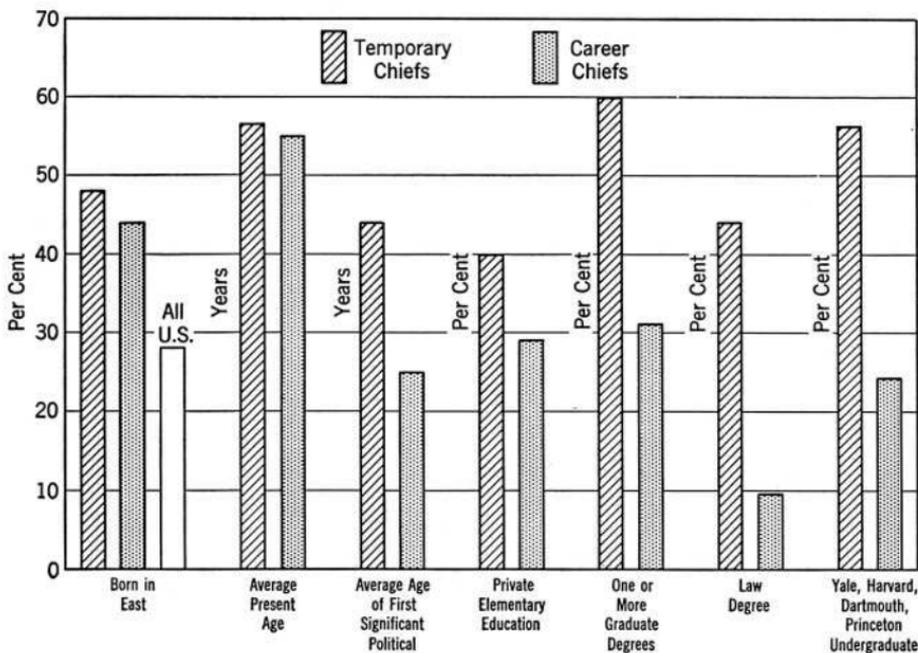
*Chiefs of Mission:* The chiefs of mission are the ambassadors and ministers; they are the principal officers of the "mission," or group of representatives, that the United States government sends to foreign countries. Chiefs of mission are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They do not need to prove any experience or training for their post; frequently they do not speak the language of the country to which they are delegated. Many chiefs of mission have been appointed because they were important party figures or because they had made large campaign contributions. Under these conditions it was necessary only for the President to determine that the individual was *persona grata*—in other words, acceptable—to the country in which he was to represent the United States. In recent years, however, there has been a growing trend toward naming persons whose careers have been in the State Department, and who are prepared through training and professional experience to administer their offices. Furthermore, the political appointees have been chosen recently from among highly educated, as well as wealthy, men and women. Figure 116 provides a comparison between the political and the career chiefs of mission in the American embassies and legations.

Chiefs of mission, and all their subordinates in the field of diplomacy as well, enjoy what is known as "diplomatic immunity"; that is, they may not be arrested or prosecuted for any offense in the country to which they are accredited. Of course, it is of the utmost importance that they avoid violating any laws, lest the action strain relations between that government and the United States. Should a diplomat break a law, the government of the offended country might simply declare him "*persona non grata*," in which case the United States would have no other recourse than to recall him. If the government of the foreign country discovered other reasons for becoming hostile toward the United States, it might ask the American government to recall its chief of mission. Should the American government





**Figure 115. Locations of American Diplomatic and Information Services Abroad.** These maps are based upon information available in 1954; therefore they vary in a few details from the situation today and from several later figures used in the text.



Based on information supplied by Mr. James Eaves

**Figure 116. Contrast of Temporary and Career Chiefs of Mission, 1954.**

refuse, or even hesitate, the government of the nation concerned might give the diplomat his passport and dismiss him. Usually, although not always, this is a quite serious step which may be the prelude to war. Finally, the State Department may recall the diplomat temporarily in order to consult with him or to give him particular instructions. Chiefs of mission are paid salaries up to \$27,500 per annum, along with allowances for housing and living necessities that may add another \$25,000. Even \$50,000 yearly may be insufficient to pay the costs of the social obligations connected with a diplomatic post such as London or Paris, so that frequently the incumbent must be an independently wealthy person.

*Foreign Service Officers:* Foreign Service officers make up most of the trained diplomatic and consular corps immediately subordinate to the chiefs of mission. They hold such positions as counselor of embassy or of legation, diplomatic secretary, consul general, consul, and vice consul. Foreign Service officers are recruited through a series of difficult written and oral examinations; of the several hundred that ordinarily commence these tests—which are given annually—fewer than one hundred pass. The candidate must demonstrate a broad knowledge of history, politics, economics, and general culture; be able to use at least one foreign language; and have desirable personal traits. He must almost certainly be a college graduate; however, an advanced degree is not necessarily advantageous. Successful candidates after their appointment are given intensive training in Washington under the supervision of the State Department; they then may be named to a diplomatic or a consular post. After two or three years they

may be recalled to Washington for further training, then assigned to another post. A Foreign Service officer may be transferred from the diplomatic service to the consular service, and the reverse. The officer may look forward to a more or less regular series of advancements, depending upon the quality of his performance, rising to the level of consul general or of first counselor. At any point, if his superiors determine that he does not merit promotion, he may be dropped from the Service rather than allowed to superannuate at a low level because of his inefficiency.

*Other Foreign Service Personnel:* Apart from Foreign Service officers there are several other grades of Foreign Service employees. Foreign Service Reserve Officers are members of other government agencies who hold temporary assignments in the State Department, for no longer than four years. Foreign Service staff officers hold lower-ranking positions in American embassies and consulates; they are clerks, accountants, bookkeepers, translators, and members of other trades and professions necessary for the maintenance of American overseas offices. The federal government also employs many natives of the country involved, to serve as chauffeurs, porters, and interpreters. Finally, the government designates businessmen—either American or foreign—as consular agents in cities where the United States does not have a regular embassy or consular office. All these personnel are chosen by the Secretary of State or a representative of his offices, as distinct from Foreign Service officers, who are named by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

## THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

The United States Information Agency (USIA) is the office that administers American overseas information activities. In clearer terms, the USIA is the propaganda arm of the American government. It is an independent agency, whose origins are singular. It was created on August 1, 1953, by authority of the President's Reorganization Plan 8, and approved by Congress. Formerly, the main body of its personnel and work had been located in the International Information Administration of the Department of State. Other parts of the USIA came from the Technical Cooperation Administration and the Mutual Security Agency. The chief executive of the USIA, the Director, reports the activities of the Agency to the National Security Council; however, since the NSC is an advisory and not an executive group, the Director resorts to the President for immediate orders and aid. The Director receives daily guidance on United States foreign policy from the office of the Secretary of State; it is on the basis of these statements of American attitudes with respect to the questions of the day that the Agency prepares its materials for dissemination throughout the world.

On October 22, 1953, the White House issued a directive establishing the primary mission of the USIA: "to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communications techniques that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their

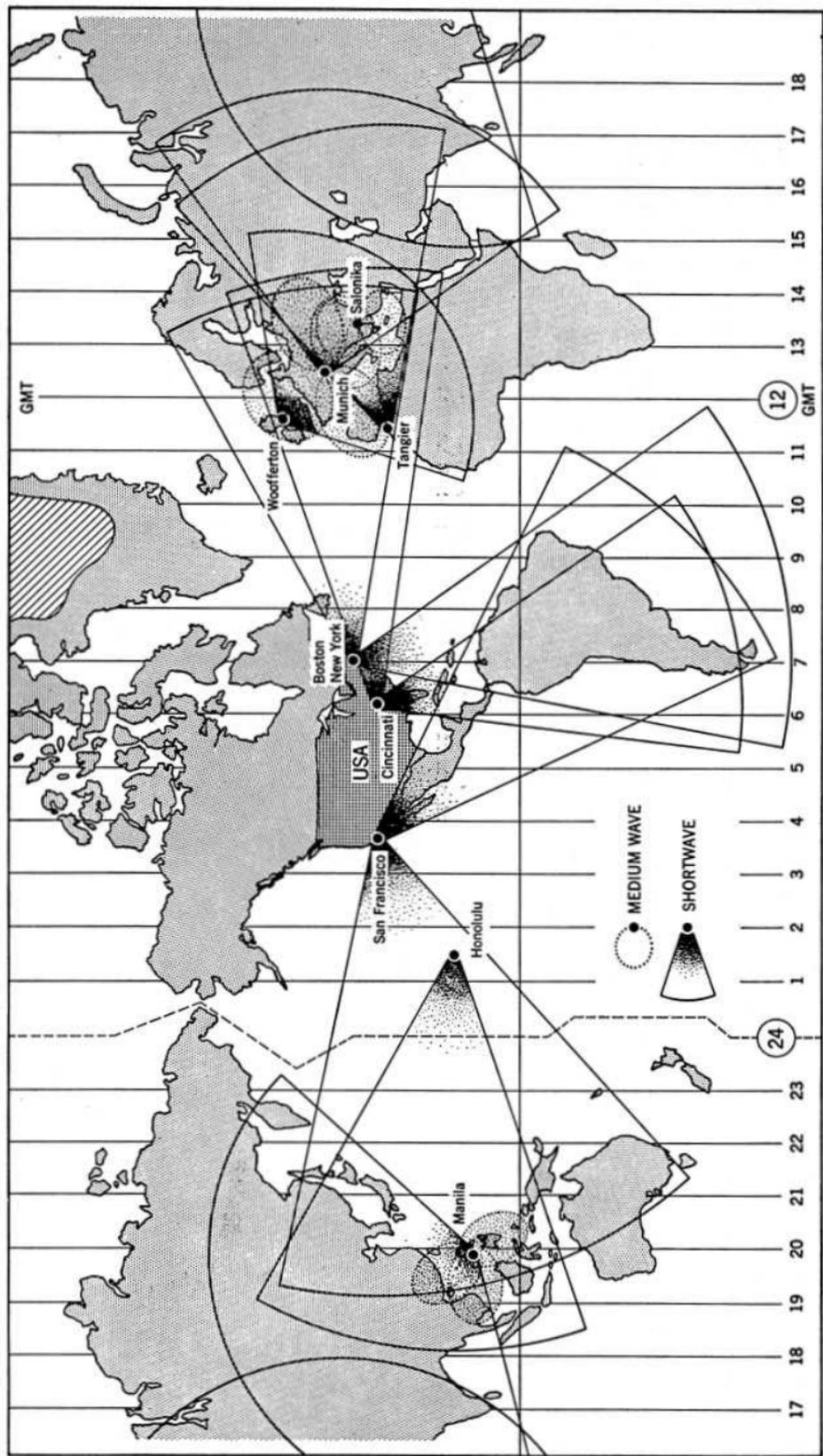


Figure 117. Foreign Areas Reached by the Voice of America.

legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress and peace." The directive further detailed the functions of the Agency, as follows:

- (1) explaining and interpreting to foreign peoples the objectives and policies of the United States Government;
- (2) depicting imaginatively the correlation between U.S. policies and the legitimate aspirations of other peoples of the world;
- (3) unmasking and countering hostile attempts to distort or to frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States;
- (4) delineating those important aspects of the life and culture of the people of the United States which facilitate understanding of the policies and objectives of the Government of the United States.

The structure of the USIA is modeled after that of the Department of State. Its Director is appointed by the President and serves at his pleasure; the first Director, Theodore C. Streibert, had been Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Mutual Broadcasting System before assuming this post in 1953. Under the Director are seven Assistant Directors. One, for Administration, handles auxiliary tasks. A second, for Policy and Programs, administers staff functions. Four manage specific areas: American Republics; Europe; Far East; and Near East, South Asia, and Africa. The seventh Assistant Director, for Radio and Television (Broadcasting Service), is in charge of coordinating broadcasting activities.

There are 172 field offices, each known as the United States Information Service, located altogether in eighty-two countries (see Figure 115). In each country is a Public Affairs Officer, who administers the several types of local operations. He reports to, and receives policy directives from, the chief of the American mission in the country; this point is noteworthy, because, although the USIA is in structure an independent agency and is

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### **The Voice of America's Global Network of Broadcasting Facilities**

This visualization of the world, on Mercator's Projection, aims to show at a glance how a vast array of transmitters and relay stations carry Voice of America programs in 30 languages to listeners everywhere.

For European countries, the programs are transmitted from stations in the United States located near New York City, Boston and Cincinnati, via directional antennas with powers ranging from 50,000 to 200,000 watts.

The transmissions are beamed toward Europe, where a network of relay stations pick up and re-broadcast the programs. Shortwave relay stations are located at Munich, Germany, Tangier, North Africa, and Woofferton, England, while medium wave transmitters are located in Munich, Germany, and Salonika, Greece.

Latin American programs are transmitted from shortwave stations located near New York City, Boston, Cincinnati and San Francisco, to all countries south of the United States.

To Far Eastern countries the programs are broadcast from high-powered transmitters located near San Francisco, then relayed by shortwave transmitters at Honolulu and Manila and by a medium-wave transmitter at Manila.

The map indicates a considerable overlap of radio coverage from the various transmitters. Sometimes the overlapping areas indicate different language programs, and sometimes they indicate that a single language program is broadcast on several wavelengths, in order to give listeners a choice of the clearest signal in a locality.

Vertical lines indicate Time Zones, with GMT at 12 and the International Date Line at 24.

responsible directly to the President, it is closely tied to the State Department both in Washington and abroad.

In effect the Agency has two superiors, the Secretary of State at home and the ambassador or minister in the field. Thus there has been an incomplete severing of bonds between the child and the parent agency; this situation was not unforeseen, however, for it was considered desirable to tie the USIA closely enough to the State Department to assure that the United States was not speaking with two voices throughout the world. One may very well ask why the split was instituted at all; apparently the USIA, when it was a part of the State Department, was an uncomfortable burden upon the administrators of the Department, especially since the information services were for a time under attack by Congress, on the grounds that they were harboring a number of persons who were "security risks" and that they were incompetent in managing the propaganda campaigns of the United States abroad. The State Department, too, is a tradition-laden body that does not take easily to new and "undignified" tasks.

It has been noted that the directive establishing the USIA speaks of communication techniques as the means for carrying out its objectives. These techniques include the radio, press, pamphlets, libraries, motion pictures, and various miscellaneous means for conveying ideas and attitudes to overseas audiences. In 1956 the USIA was maintaining a number of facilities for transmitting abroad the messages of the government. It was shipping printed and filmed materials, some produced in the United States and others produced locally, to the field offices. Most USIA offices contained libraries, some of which were the best in their areas, especially for works on technology and on the American way of life. The USIA was also operating the Voice of America, a world-wide radio broadcasting system beamed particularly at the nations of the Soviet Bloc. Figure 117 indicates how the facilities of the Voice reach the peoples of the world; it should be added, however, that both the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Soviet radio transmitters have larger audiences, partly because they are on the air more hours of the day.

The operations of the USIA are administered by a staff which on January 1, 1956, numbered 10,500 employees; of this corps, 8,118, or four-fifths, were stationed abroad. The Americans of the USIA staff are under the merit system. Plans are under way also to establish a separate Information Service corps akin to the Foreign Service of the State Department; a career development system was installed in 1954 and a recruitment program launched to bring in young persons who wish to make the information program their life work.

## **COUNCIL ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY**

The Council on Foreign Economic Policy is an agency that helps plan the direct foreign economic undertakings of the federal government. For a number of years federal authorities have been convinced that in order

to assure itself of cooperative relations with certain nations the United States must bolster the economies of these nations through loans, technical advice, and outright gifts of money. American officials have concluded that one of the principal reasons for which countries resort to Communism is internal poverty; moreover, these officials believe that foreign governments will cooperate more willingly with the United States in various international ventures if they can obtain material benefits from such cooperation.

The Council on Foreign Economic Policy is the successor to a number of agencies that have dealt with this program; it was established in 1954 to coordinate the work of all the federal agencies that were concerned with American overseas economic undertakings. The Chairman of the Council, who also bears the title of Special Assistant to the President, occupies an office with Cabinet rank. It is reported that the first tenant of this post, Joseph M. Dodge, formerly Budget Director and in private life the head of the Detroit Bank, had vast powers, for supposedly he could overrule even the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury in deciding issues.<sup>1</sup> The Council also includes the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of Commerce, and of Agriculture; the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; the Administrative Assistant for Economic Affairs; and one member of the Council of Economic Advisers. The Chairman of the Council collaborates with the National Security Council and the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. The Council maintains a number of economic missions abroad, supervising the expenditures of the United States on behalf of the economic development of various countries and in emergency aid for lands threatened by famine, plague, or other natural disaster.

Other Departments, too, whose link with foreign policy is not immediately visible, nonetheless include bureaus or divisions for international operations. The foreign responsibilities of the Commerce Department have been described previously; then, there is an Office of International Labor Affairs in the Department of Labor, and a Foreign Agricultural Service in the Department of Agriculture. Altogether there are several dozens of agencies in the federal government that carry on some detail of the intricate foreign relations of the United States. The fact is that events elsewhere in the world are so likely to have some effect upon the United States in one respect or another that all the major administrative bodies are almost compelled to heed the political and economic events occurring in all parts of the globe.

## QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. From what kinds of backgrounds have Secretaries of State been recruited? Has there been any recent change?
2. Describe the organization of the Department of State.
3. What arguments can you offer to justify the existence of a special Foreign Service outside the general Civil Service?

<sup>1</sup> *U.S. News and World Report*, July 1, 1955, pp. 68-71.

4. Compare the backgrounds of the political and the Foreign Service occupants of ambassadorial and ministerial posts.

5. How is the USIA organized? What functions are assigned to it?

6. Explain the process by which Foreign Service officers are recruited. In your opinion, is it more or less likely than the recruitment process of the armed forces to yield officers who are capable of administering foreign policies? Explain your answer.

7. Describe the membership and functions of the Council on Foreign Economic Policy.