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STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BUREAU
OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MARCH 21, 1961

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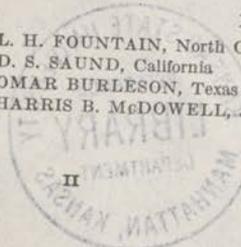
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STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BUREAU OF
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS, DEPART-
MENT OF STATE

TUESDAY, MARCH 21, 1961

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS,
Washington, D.C.

The Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements met in executive session at 10:40 a.m., room G-3, U.S. Capitol, Hon. Dante B. Fascell (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FASCELL. The meeting will come to order.

This is the first meeting in the 87th Congress of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 gave to the Committee on Foreign Affairs broad legislative jurisdiction over foreign relations including responsibility for continuing study and oversight of U.S. relations with and participation in international organizations. Most of the basic legislation dealing with U.S. participation in these organizations was considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, including the United Nations Participation Act, the United Nations Headquarters agreement, membership in the World Health Organization, UNESCO, the Caribbean Commission, as well as numerous others.

International organizations are instrumentalities through which the United States conducts some of its most important foreign relations. The United States is in most cases the principal contributor to their support. They employ significant numbers of U.S. personnel. In some fields of activities—for example, technical assistance—they are engaged in operations in which the United States is also engaged on a bilateral basis.

The Department of State has a Bureau of International Organization Affairs headed by an Assistant Secretary of State. The newly appointed incumbent of that office is with us this morning, Hon. Harlan Cleveland, accompanied by several of his key people.

I have asked Assistant Secretary Cleveland to sketch for us the organization of his Bureau, describe how it fits into the rest of the policy-making machinery of the Department and of other agencies of Government that deal with international organizations.

The relation of his Bureau to our mission to the United Nations is also a matter in which we are very interested. I suggested that he supply us with information on U.S. contributions to each of the international organizations to which we belong. Mr. Secretary, if any

other points should be brought to our attention in order that we may be better informed, please feel free to discuss them.

I have indicated to the Secretary that this morning's meeting is to be confined to background presentation. If we begin to explore some particular issue, like the Congo, we will be diverted from our basic objective. We will get into those matters perhaps at another time and I hope that we can keep this meeting this morning strictly within the framework of the reference to which I have alluded.

After hearing Secretary Cleveland's presentation, we can then decide as to particularly the matters we would like to explore.

Mr. Secretary, the floor is all yours.

STATEMENT OF HON. HARLAN CLEVELAND, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS

Mr. CLEVELAND. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. This is so large a subject and so sophisticated a group it is a little hard to know just where to begin.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Secretary, could you give us a little bit of your background and, if you would be so kind, introduce your staff.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Fine. I am accompanied by Mrs. Virginia Westfall, who is Director of our Office of International Administration in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs and Mr. Frank Hefner who is newly appointed as Deputy Director of the same office; and Miss Glen McKinney, who is on the staff of the office.

Mr. JUDD. Of your office or Mrs. Westfall's office?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mrs. Westfall's office.

Mr. JUDD. I will interrupt to say I have probably worked with her more than you have and she is really very competent, I know.

Mrs. WESTFALL. Thank you, sir.

Mr. CLEVELAND. My background can be relatively briefly stated. It consists of three different careers. I hope it won't be said of you, Dr. Judd, as it was of me once, that here is a fellow who is still trying to figure out what he is going to do when he grows up.

I went to a distinguished institution of learning at the same time that Mr. Frelinghuysen did: Princeton University.

Mr. FASCELL. That is a refreshing bit of news.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I was at Oxford for a year after that just before the war. I then came back here and started working for the Government, first as an intern in the office of young Senator Bob LaFollette and then in the Department of Agriculture, and beginning at the time of Pearl Harbor with every foreign economic agency that was invented. They had this system of changing the initials every couple of years, probably to confuse the Congress.

Mr. JUDD. Conceded.

Mr. CLEVELAND. During that whole period when I was involved in all the various foreign aid programs, including UNRRA, where I was both in Italy and China for them, I still think the most important single enterprise in which I engaged was to help carry out an idea which originated in this committee and was pressed especially by Dr. Judd, the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction in China. I think it still stands as one of the two or three best ideas in foreign policy in the postwar period.

I wound up in the Government as Assistant Director of the Mutual Security Agency in charge of the European program under Averell Harriman when he was Director for Mutual Security.

I then left the Government and took a job as executive editor and later publisher of the Reporter Magazine in New York. That was in 1953 and in 1956 I was appointed dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, which was the first graduate school to offer graduate training in public administration back in the twenties and to which we added, during the period I was there, a very strong interest in educational and research programs in the training of Americans for service abroad.

While I was there I headed a large research project which produced a report called "The Overseas Americans." It has been published as a book, which I think it is fair to say is for the moment the most thorough study in the too sparse literature on that very important subject.

Early this year President Kennedy appointed me to my present position as Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs in the State Department.

Mr. JUDD. May I interrupt again just for two comments? First, I think the record at this point ought to show that Mr. Cleveland, in his work at Syracuse, invented a word which had real impact—a word at the right time is worth a great deal—"overseasmanship."

Second, I hope and pray the people who are planning the Peace Corps are familiar with your book on this matter and will use it as the bible in the training of these youngsters who may go over with stars in their eyes and wholly dedicated, but who must learn what can be a rather complicated and difficult type of activity to be carried on which you summarized as "overseasmanship."

Mr. CLEVELAND. I hope they will make it mandatory for every member of the Peace Corps to buy a copy of the book.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, if I might interrupt, I would just like to point out, as the Secretary has pointed out, that he and I are old friends and classmates. He has certainly had a far more intensive and varied educational background in the years since our graduation from Princeton, but it is a particular pleasure for me as a member of this subcommittee to be hearing him making this presentation.

I should like also to apologize at this time to him because as fate would have it, I arranged for another subcommittee on which I sit as senior Republican to have a Cabinet officer under President Eisenhower testify, so I have no alternative but to show up at some point during that presentation and it is for that reason that I will be obliged to leave before this discussion can come to its conclusion.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I think it would be useful at this organization session of the subcommittee to discuss some of the organizational relationships as they relate to the sometimes rather spectacular issues that come up in international organizations.

First of all, to sketch the jurisdiction of the International Organizations Bureau—the job I hold is the job which, when Dean Rusk had

it a decade ago, was called Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs.

The name was changed to reflect the fact that it deals not only with the backstopping of U.S. representation in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, but also deals with other international organizations which are not part of the United Nations system, and also with all international conferences.

We were officially represented by instructed delegations last year at 352 conferences. There were 394 the year before and it will probably be something over 394 this next year. In other words, about one conference begins each day and that counts as one, the General Assembly, the GATT negotiations in Geneva, as another one, the nuclear test suspension, et cetera, so these numbers have quite important activities behind them.

There are also a great many much smaller scientific and technical meetings on every subject from meteorology to fisheries.

The Bureau of International Organization Affairs is responsible for developing the U.S. position on all subjects that come before international bodies, for preparing and laying before the missions, or delegations concerned, the instructions of the President, as to what they will do and how they will report and what positions they will take on the various issues that come up.

This has become a very large activity.

I was rather surprised myself to find when I came to the State Department this time that the Bureau of International Organization Affairs is larger and has more personnel in it than any of the regional bureaus, which are thought of as the operating divisions of the State Department. This is, in a sense, another regional bureau for interregional affairs, or intercountry affairs.

As such within the State Department, we have a good deal of responsibility for coordinating matters that affect two or more regional bureaus when a tactical situation arises in a meeting of an international agency.

In the Congo case, for example, which I was thrown into headfirst, the first day I arrived at work, our Bureau is the action office on the current business having to do with the Congo and the United Nations.

In spite of the fact that the Congo is undeniably in Africa, the Congo problem, as the U.S. Government faces it, is regarded essentially as a U.N. problem with 18,000 or 20,000 troops now, and prospectively 25,000 troops in the Congo; with an operation that is estimated to cost this calendar year \$135 million, where we pick up, of course, the largest individual share, with a constant problem of handling relationships with the executive agency concerned—that is, the Office of the Secretary General of the U.N., and with all of the other countries who are involved in the Congo at one time or another.

This is a day-to-day tactical problem to be handled within the State Department, and a problem that has in the past few weeks required two or three telephone calls a day between Ambassador Adlai Stevenson and myself in order to keep the lines straight between New York and Washington.

My job has been well described as a man on a flying trapeze between Adlai Stevenson and Dean Rusk.

Mr. JUDD. I know it was that way when Lodge was our Ambassador. I thought that, when the President put Mr. Stevenson in a new role, or created a new place for him in the Cabinet, maybe he bypassed you and even the Secretary. Is that right?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Well, it hasn't worked that way in practice. From time to time, on perhaps three or four different occasions since the time I have been there, the President has called him, or he has called the President on a particular item.

Since your erstwhile legislative colleague has all the instincts of a great administrator in the White House, this has not caused any confusion at all because in all of the cases there has been full information both from the White House and from Adlai Stevenson and his staff about these direct communications.

Mr. JUDD. I am glad to hear that because, if it is to lift the stature of the past, that is good. But if it is to change the way in which the operations are carried on, I think it might lead to more confusion.

Mr. CLEVELAND. No, I think it is pretty clear to all concerned that there has to be a kind of funnel for the extraordinary amount of business that Washington, taken as a whole, does with the New York mission. It is in effect an embassy to the 98 countries, in which we handle not only the subjects that are up before the U.N., but sometimes subjects that are not up before the U.N. but which are more conveniently handled by getting a number of countries together in the same place.

For example, right at the moment the mission is dealing with the discussions of when and where and under what conditions and before what forum disarmament will be discussed.

These negotiations with Mr. Gromyko and with the British and the French and the Italians and Canadians who are our colleagues on the present disarmament forum, these are being handled by Mr. Stevenson in New York. In fact, something of a point was made not to discuss that subject with Mr. Gromyko when he was down here last weekend in order to keep the locus of that particular discussion clear.

Now, such a subject, even though it is a Soviet matter as far as the organization of the Department is concerned, is also a multilateral matter and the day-to-day problem of how to handle it is in Mr. Stevenson's lap and therefore in the lap of our Bureau for coordination of all the departmental, White House, and Pentagon interests, as we go along.

I must say that the relationship which is inherently and potentially a very sticky one has worked, I think, very well so far, partly because all of the people involved knew each other before so you don't have to establish a whole new set of personal relationships, partly because Mr. Stevenson is very sensibly not using his Cabinet rank to deal at the Cabinet level on every subject. If he did it could cause indeed a great deal of confusion, but he is very sensitive to the fact that it could.

Just to mention something of the dimensions of this business, there are, as you know, 99 members of the United Nations. There are 47 organizations, of which the United Nations itself is one, to which we make contributions on an assessed basis. That is, we are assessed a contribution along with the other countries and contributions are in that sense more or less compulsory—we having agreed on them ahead of time.

Nine of these are United Nations and specialized agencies—a part of the U.N. system. Nine of them are inter-American organizations of various kinds. There are 7 other regional organizations and 22 other organizations most of which are technical and quite small.

There is a very good report which we prepare on U.S. contributions to international organizations which is printed by this committee and which has become a basic document not only for us—we use it every day as a reference work—we have all the figures in it—but it is very widely used, I understand, by the other countries, and by the United Nations Secretariat itself. It seems to be the clearest compendium of numbers that is produced and it might be that it would be useful for anyone who is not familiar with it, to become acquainted with it.

Mr. FASCELL. The Secretary refers to House Document 418, 86th Congress, 2d session, entitled “U.S. Contributions to International Organizations.”

Mr. CLEVELAND. We put up this year about \$48 million in assessed contributions and some \$90 million in voluntary contributions, of which the biggest item of course is the Palestine Refugee Fund. Other major voluntary programs are the U.N. Special Fund, the Expanded Technical Assistance program, the Children’s Fund, and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. The United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, for which we have put up about half the cost, has been costing us \$10 million out of about \$20 million total this last year.

The Congo cost a total of \$60 million in the second half of the last calendar year, and it is estimated, as I said before, to cost about \$135 million this next year. That is total cost.

In addition to these contributions to international organizations, we maintain at an annual cost of about \$2 million, missions at the headquarters of various international organizations. Our mission to the United Nations in New York costs roughly \$1,100,000 and we spend about \$900,000 on maintaining missions to other international organizations, the biggest of which are in Vienna and Geneva. Vienna is the headquarters for the International Atomic Energy Agency. A number of international organizations, including the European regional office of the U.N., are located in Geneva.

Then we have the conferences to which I previously referred which cost the United States perhaps \$2 million to participate in over the year. Not only one public intergovernmental conference per day, but about three private international conferences every day start somewhere in the world, so this matrix of international relationships has become a very large and very important business.

Now the Bureau in the State Department consists of about 180 people doing the staff work on the Washington end.

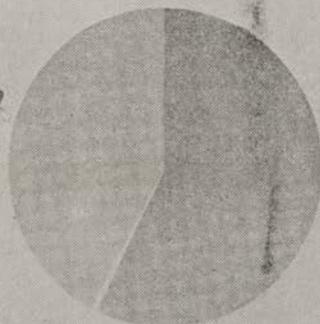
It might be useful to show you certain charts we have.

(A chart entitled “Total Contributions to International Organizations, Fiscal Year 1962, Estimated by Source of Funds,” was shown as follows:)

Total Contributions To International Organizations

F.Y. 1962 ESTIMATED BY SOURCE OF FUNDS
(Exclusive of U.S. Contributions to the U.N. Congo Account)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO
INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS
\$61,576,000



MUTUAL SECURITY
APPROPRIATIONS
\$83,650,000

OTHER
\$774,000

Mr. CLEVELAND. This appropriation, called contribution to international organizations, is a part of the State Department appropriation, and the other contributions are included in the mutual security bill.

Each of the items in the "Contributions" appropriation has a continuing authorization and we go therefore only to the Appropriation Committees on this appropriation.

The Mutual security appropriation, of course has to be reauthorized every year so that the items included in that part of the pie chart come before this committee as well.

Mr. FASCELL. I am not quite clear on the type of things where you differentiate between appropriations. Would you just give me an example?

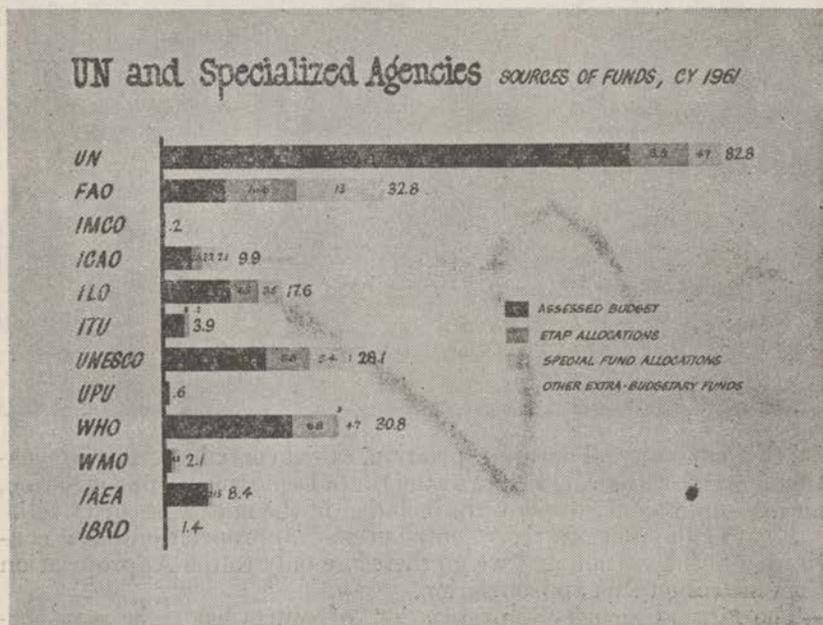
Mr. CLEVELAND. This section covers the assessed contributions. When the United Nations General Assembly approves the regular budget for the Organization, it also decides that each country will put up such and such a percentage of that budget. Our percentage generally varies between 30 and 33 percent; in some of the smaller organizations it is a good deal less than that. An assessed contribution of that kind is paid from the appropriation called a contribution to international organizations. It is paid from the blue or left side of this pie.

The other side of the pie shows voluntary contributions—for example, for a special malaria program of the World Health Organiza-

tion where we pay more than our usual share to get it started or for Palestine refugees where we pay 70 percent of the total.

These are voluntary contributions the United States makes to particular programs of an international character—programs regarded as so especially in the U.S. interests that they are worth contributing to over and above our regular assessed portion of costs. That is probably the best way to explain it.

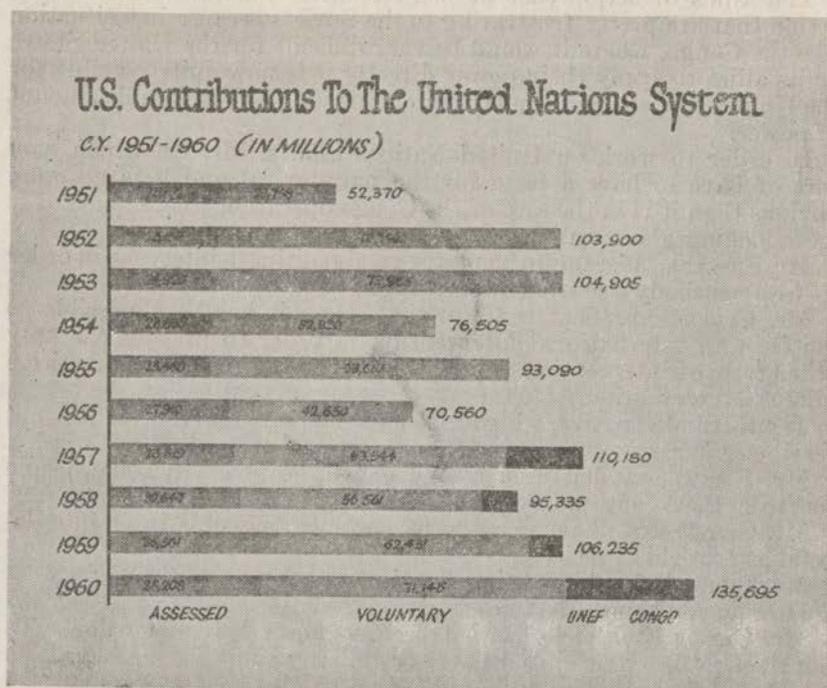
(A chart entitled "U.N. and Specialized Agencies, Source of Funds, Calendar Year 1961," was shown as follows:)



Mr. CLEVELAND. This chart shows the U.N. specialized agencies; the larger ones are familiar to you—UNESCO, the World Health Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the World Meteorological Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization; they have 4 different sources of money. One kind comes from the assessed budget to which we contribute from contributions appropriations. These other moneys come from the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, the Special Fund—(Paul Hoffman's organization)—and other special programs such as a new African educational program of UNESCO, and the malaria eradication program of WHO.

The assessed budget part comes out of the State Department appropriation and the other categories come out of mutual security funds.

(A chart entitled "U.S. Contributions to the United Nations System," was shown as follows:)



Mr. CLEVELAND. This chart shows the growth in the total and the composition as between assessments and voluntary contributions and then the appropriations in the last few years for these military operations. The United Nations Force in the Gaza strip came out of the Suez crisis, and now the Congo operation is beginning to dwarf everything else in its size and complexity.

I think it is worth saying, Mr. Chairman, on the Congo operation, that it will illustrate something very crucial about the United Nations. It illustrates that we are just now at the stage where the United Nations is becoming an executive operation of first magnitude. Up to very recently the United Nations was essentially a legislature without very much in the way of an executive branch except for the necessary staff work done for the legislative process. But with the United Nations Special Fund, with the Emergency Force, and now with the Congo, which is both a civil administration operation and also a sizable military force, we find ourselves in the presence of a considerable capacity to act.

Clearly the Soviets are unhappy about this. They see that whereas they established one kind of veto in the Security Council at the original San Francisco Conference, that even on the legislative side it was possible for the United Nations as a whole to escape from this veto by going into the General Assembly. And now it appears that it is possible to escape from the veto also by the executive going ahead and taking action. This is what Hammarskjold has demonstrated.

The kinds of action that he has elected to take are the kinds of action that are pretty frustrating to the Soviets because in a situation like the Congo, where it would be very difficult for the United States or its allies to apply their power directly it is now quite possible for the United Nations as a whole to intervene with a considerable amount of power.

In order to work on United Nations affairs, Mr. Chairman, you sort of have to have a taste for the paradoxical and it is no more obvious than it is in the case of the Congo operation where much of it has a looking-glass quality.

Mr. FASCELL. It seems to be pretty good politics to intervene in order to keep somebody else from intervening.

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is the point. Here it has been possible to mobilize an international intervention in order to prevent the only other form of intervention that is possible, which is really competitive bilateral intervention.

The third alternative, which is to have nobody intervene, is just not feasible.

Mr. FASCELL. It has been recommended, however, by some people just to let them continue their civil war.

Mr. CLEVELAND. This seems to be no longer possible in as interdependent a world as we have.

Mr. FASCELL. I am just being facetious.

How do you handle the Laos situation?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That has not been so far a U.N. operation. To put the U.N. into Laos in a somewhat similar way might not have been a bad idea, but the United Nations seems to be almost over its head with administrative work, financial problems, and so on, with the Congo operation.

It would have been better to start with the Gaza Strip and build up in two or three or four larger steps and develop this executive capacity to act, but to go from the Gaza Strip in one stride to the Congo really isn't the way you would plan it. Nobody has seriously suggested that another job of comparable size and certainly comparable urgency, should be handled in the same way, and in a sense this is why you are beginning to get built up in Laos a gradual escalation, a gradual buildup on both sides of competitive bilateral intervention, because this third force which was created in the case of the Congo was really not available in the case of Laos.

The Secretary General of the United Nations did send in a representative to serve as a U.N. presence, a Swiss named Zellweger who went there as a kind of technical assistance coordinator, but basically in order that there be a United Nations representative on the ground.

This may be a very important technique for the future in some of the other situations that are likely to blow up, to have some United Nations people there from a very early stage observing and deciding what to do in an emergency.

You see, getting the United Nations capability to act developed in this way is very frustrating for countries whose foreign policy consists of trying to undermine these new areas and take them over by subversion. This is, of course, why the Soviets have zeroed in very accurately, and with a very good analysis of the situation—have zeroed in on the Secretary General, because they see the dangerous thing in this whole U.N. complex now—the most dangerous thing of all—is that

the United Nations should develop the executive capacity to act. So they have targeted their attack directly on the executive side of U.N. operations.

This is going to be the thing to watch in the next few years, I think.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Secretary, they want to diffuse the leadership by imposing a committee, don't they?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes. Their idea is to set up an executive that doesn't have anybody but instead has a committee in charge and each of the three members of the committee would have a veto.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. They want to have another veto.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Now, you know that no business and no government agency can operate that way. This would be a formula for confusion and timidity and that is just what they want.

That is why we have to keep opposing this so-called tripartitism, wherever it comes up, because this is the crucial issue really in the development of the United Nations in our time.

Mr. McDOWELL. To what extent is the host nation requesting United Nations intervention in that area? Does that come in as part of the executive authority that is building up there?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes. In the Congo, for example, the U.N. is there because it was asked to come in, ironically enough, by Lumumba when he was Prime Minister, and it is very important obviously to preserve the form and the substance of the sovereignty of these small countries, to preserve the idea that not even the United Nations can wander in there with troops without some arrangements with the local authorities.

Mr. McDOWELL. The question of intervention arises?

Mr. CLEVELAND. The doctrine has been worked out over the years: that if you become massively involved in somebody else's internal affairs, that it be at their request.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. FASCELL. It becomes extremely debatable upon occasion.

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right. It is debated in courts all over the country all the time.

In a sense the most important single problem, I think, in relationship between the developed world and these new, underdeveloped countries, is to develop new ways of enabling the ones who are further along the road of development to help, without violating the very important principle of nonintervention. But if you think of nonintervention as meaning that nobody should be there, it doesn't make any sense.

If you think of nonintervention as giving the local people ultimately the authority to decide who is going to be there and for what purposes, then you have a viable revision of the doctrine of nonintervention, and the possibility of an international organization going in. An international organization can get in so much deeper with much less reaction, so to speak, from the local people.

One of my college roommates was in Guatemala for a time as the World Bank representative. He was as thoroughly an American as you would want to meet, yet after he had been there about a year the Guatemalans were asking him to represent them with the United Fruit Co. and the American Foreign Power Co.

They realized he was there to act as an international civil servant and that some person, with the same brains and the same approach and the same empathy and so on, operating out of the embassy, could

never have gotten into such a position of trust, simply because, as a Japanese once said to me, "You must remember, you carry the H-bomb in your pocket."

Well, the U.N. doesn't carry the H-bomb in its pocket so there is a strong case for conducting some of the necessary kinds of cross-cultural operations, cross-national operations, on a basis that removes some of the political sting from the cross-national aspect of it.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Secretary, I am wondering about the internal operation of a simple matter, like who formulates the instructions for a pending conference?

I know, for example, that you are much too busy to take care of each one of these conferences that comes up every day and I know the President is probably not even aware of many of the less important conferences. I am talking about the normal routine today thing, about 375 of these meetings. Is a specific person assigned for a particular conference to prepare the instructions?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Well, as far as ultimate responsibility is concerned, and as far as signing the formal instruction is concerned, this is what I am hired to do. I sign, for the Secretary of State, the formal instruction to every U.S. delegation to every intergovernmental conference. This establishes—it has established for a good long time—the primacy of the State Department in these international arrangements no matter what the subject matter may be.

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, you would actually instruct Mr. Stevenson in writing?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right, or usually by telegram. The matters are usually that kind.

Mr. FASCELL. When you don't have time to write?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes. This means not that I am doing it, but that I am doing it for the Secretary of State and the President and that I am the final signatory on matters that don't really need to go to the Secretary because they are not that important or they are already within established policy. This also means, for example, that I sign a formal instruction to Mr. Arthur Dean.

Now, the substantive work on each subject is obviously not done in my Bureau or we would have 18,000 people and not 180.

The substantive work in the case of Mr. Arthur Dean and the nuclear test ban discussions is obviously done by Mr. McCloy in relationship with the Defense Department.

In the case of a fisheries conference, the Fish and Wildlife Service would do the substantive work.

In the case of the International Labor Organization, the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs in the Department of Labor gets involved.

Mr. FASCELL. Do I understand by that, on these examples which you have just now related that your Bureau, or your office, is a mere conduit?

Mr. CLEVELAND. It is a conduit, but it is not mere.

Mr. FASCELL. How does it not become "mere"?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Each one of these conferences raises a number of general questions of political import.

Mr. FASCELL. Are they operational or substantive?

Mr. CLEVELAND. They are substantive, but they are State Department-type questions, if you will.

For example, at every single international conference we attend, the question of Chinese representation comes in. There is often a question of Hungarian credentials.

The United States has been opposed to seating the Hungarians in a lot of places because of the events in 1956. The Soviets play each one of these international conferences in which they are involved for keeps. They play each one of them as if it was the very last game and they really had to win it.

It is remarkable the intensity with which they will tackle a fisheries conference, or a conference on health effects of radiation or something similar, as if it were the United Nations General Assembly and every single vote counted and so on.

Mr. FASCELL. Does that force us to do the same thing?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That forces us to make sure that the people in the delegation are able to handle themselves on political as well as substantive questions.

We have tended not to put into the delegations all diplomatic personnel though these are sometimes the main issues that come up, because we take these organizations seriously as operations; we want to develop their capacity to act and we therefore want people to go there who are subject-matter specialists, but they have to be a special kind of subject-matter specialists.

They have to be people who are not only good scientists or good specialists in one field or another, but also are able to operate in this atmosphere and are well enough supported by trained diplomats to be able to survive in what is always a very tough international negotiation. So that I think it is fair to say that while the definition of the work of our Bureau is that every subject we handle is also handled by somebody else, because this is a coordinating function, that we participate very actively indeed in the whole range of subject matter for each conference, because there isn't any such thing as separating off the technical aspects from the political aspects when you get into an international negotiation. The two are merged together.

The political people have to come to understand the technical work and the technical people have to come to understand the political considerations or it doesn't work.

So we have in our office at the staff level people who, through long experience, have come to know quite a lot about the subject matter of every one of these different kinds of agencies and conferences.

Mr. FASCELL. They apply political considerations to the subject?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. At what point does that occur?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That occurs in the process of developing position papers on each of the items on the agenda of the conference.

Mr. FASCELL. And prior to the formulation of instructions?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes. The instruction is a formal letter which I sign to which are attached position papers for the guidance and instruction of the delegation on each of the items that is said to be on the agenda of that conference.

Mr. FASCELL. Together with foreseeable alternatives, I suppose?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes, and together sometimes with instructions that, "If it turns out that you have to go beyond this point, telegraph back for further instruction."

This is a case not only with respect to conferences—one-time conferences—but this is also the situation with respect to these large enterprises like the General Assembly, the Angola issue last week, or the Congo Security Council discussion 2 weeks ago, and the big headline subjects. They are in a sense handled in the same way. So in that case there isn't a substantive department of the Government outside the State Department handling it; it is usually a question of negotiation between the one or two or three regional bureaus in the State Department concerned and our Bureau, and any outside agencies such as the Department of Defense that may be involved.

But again where the matter is serious and up before the United Nations, it is our job to effect the necessary coordination because ultimately it is our responsibility to produce a position for Governor Stevenson.

Mr. FASCELL. You effect coordination to arrive at a position as fast as possible?

Mr. CLEVELAND. And to make it fast enough to be useful tactically on the ground and not to depend on a call when they are already at the committee table to tell them what to say, which, as you know, sometimes does happen.

Mr. FASCELL. And then while that is going on, then I suppose you arrive at a tentative conclusion which then must be checked at, at least two other places, the Secretary and the President; is that correct?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes.

If I may give you just one very small example, the day that Lumumba died, or at least his death was announced, there was obviously immediately a question of what the U.S. Government would say about it and who would say it, and in what order.

We learned about it at 9:30 in the morning in the course of our morning meet with the Secretary. All the Assistant Secretaries meeting with the Secretary four times a week.

As soon as the meeting was over at 10 o'clock, I assembled in my office the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Mr. Williams, and two or three other people from the relevant bureaus. We discussed what ought to be said, we wrote a statement—really two statements, one short one which Roger Tubby, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, needed for Pierre Salinger and the President. The President made the statement about 10:45.

We then telephoned Adlai Stevenson, who had to go in and sit down at a Security Council meeting at 11 o'clock that morning. We gave him the gist of the statement. While he was sitting at the table, he then converted that instruction into a very eloquent piece of prose.

Mr. FASCELL. Which he is very good at doing.

Mr. CLEVELAND. And at 11:15 that day he made a very graceful little speech in the Security Council commenting on behalf of the U.S. Government on the Lumumba death and referring to the fact that the President had already commented in Washington.

We are not this well coordinated all the time, but this, to me, was a very good example of how we ought to work. Everybody was on board and saying the same thing and in the right order, and fast.

I have here a table that shows something about this coordination and how we participated in the economic and social council agencies. It

might be useful to take a look at that and perhaps put it in whatever record you have.

Mr. FASCELL. We will include it in the record.

(The charts entitled "Coordination of U.S. Participation in the Economic and Social Activities of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies" follows:)

Coordination of U.S. participation in the economic and social activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies (United Nations bodies)

United Nations body	U.S. agency with primary substantive interest	Other U.S. agencies interested †	Interdepartmental committee
Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (including Technical Assistance Committee (TAC)).	State.....	HEW, Commerce, Treasury, Agriculture, ICA, Labor, and Interior (CEA, HHFA, Budget Bureau, FAA, Justice, and Veterans' Administration).	United Nations Economic Committee (UNEC); Interdepartmental Committee on Foreign Policy Relating to Human Rights (CHR); and Interdepartmental Committee on International Social Welfare Policy (SOC).
ECOSOC subsidiary bodies:			
1. Committee on Industrial Development (CID).	.....do.....	ICA and Commerce.....	
2. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE).	.....do.....	Commerce, Agriculture, Treasury, HEW, Labor, Interior, ICA, CEA, HHFA, Budget Bureau, and Federal Reserve.	UNEC.
3. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).	.....do.....	.....do.....	UNEC.
4. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).	.....do.....	.....do.....	UNEC.
5. Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (United States not a member, but sends observer).	.....do.....	Commerce and ICA (Federal Reserve and HEW).	
6. Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT).	.....do.....	Commerce, Agriculture, Treasury, Labor, and ICA.	UNEC.
7. Social Commission.	HEW.....	State, Labor, Agriculture, Justice, ICA, Interior, HHFA, Commerce, Veterans' Administration, and Budget Bureau.	SOC.
8. Commission on Human Rights.	State.....	HEW, Interior, Justice, and Labor.	CHR.
9. Commission on the Status of Women.	State-Labor (Women's Bureau).	.....do.....	CHR.
10. Commission on Narcotic Drugs.	Treasury (Bureau of Narcotics).	State and HEW.....	
11. Population Commission.	Commerce (Bureau of Census).	State and Budget Bureau.	
12. Statistical Commission.	Budget Bureau.....	State, Commerce (Census), Agriculture, ICA, HEW, CEA, Federal Reserve, Export-Import Bank, Interior, SEC, Tariff, Treasury, CAB, and Immigration and Naturalization.	Federal Committee on Statistics.‡

See footnote at end of table.

Coordination of U.S. participation in the economic and social activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies (United Nations bodies)—Continued

United Nations body	U.S. agency with primary substantive interest	Other U.S. agencies interested ¹	Interdepartmental committee
Executive Board of UNICEF.	HEW (Children's Bureau).	State and Agriculture (Budget Bureau and ICA).	SOC (occasionally).
Governing Council of the Special Fund.	State.....	Treasury, ICA, Commerce, Agriculture, Labor, and Interior.	UNEC.
Executive Committee of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Program.	.....do.....		

¹ The agencies listed first are members of the interdepartmental committee. The agencies listed in the parentheses are not members of the committee and have an interest limited to 1 or 2 areas of the work of the organization.

Coordination of U.S. participation in the economic and social activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies (specialized agencies)

Specialized agency	U.S. agency with primary substantive interest	Other U.S. agencies interested ¹	Interdepartmental committee
1. International Labor Office (ILO).	Labor.....	State, Commerce, HEW, Agriculture, ICA, USIA (AEC, Budget Bureau, FAA, HHFA, Interior, MARAD, Justice).	Interdepartmental Committee on International Labor Policy (ILP).
2. Food and Agriculture (FAO).	Agriculture.....	State, HEW, Interior, Commerce, Defense, ICA, Treasury, Labor, Budget Bureau (AEC, Executive Office of the White House (Food for Peace)).	Inter-Agency Committee on Food and Agriculture Organization.
3. World Health Organization (WHO).	HEW (Public Health Service).	State, ICA, USIA, HEW (AEC, Defense, Budget Bureau, Agriculture, Labor, Interior).	Interdepartmental Committee on International Health Policy (IHP).
4. United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).	State-HEW.....	Agriculture, ICA, Labor, USIA (AEC, Budget Bureau, Commerce).	Interdepartmental Committee on Education Activities in International Organizations (ICEA).
5. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).	Treasury-State.....	State, Commerce, Federal Reserve, Export-Import Bank.	National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems (NAC).
6. International Monetary Fund (IMF).	.....do.....	.....do.....	Do.
7. International Finance Corporation (IFC).	.....do.....	.....do.....	Do.
8. International Development Association (IDA).	.....do.....	.....do.....	Do.
9. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).	Federal Aviation Administration (FAA).	State, Defense, Commerce, CAB.	Interagency group on international aviation (IGIA).
10. World Meteorological Organization (WMO).	Commerce (Weather Bureau).	State, Defense, NASA, (Budget Bureau, Interior, FAA, AEC).	
11. Universal Postal Union (UPU).	Post Office.....	State.....	
12. International Telecommunications Union (ITU).	State.....	FCC, FAA, Treasury (Coast Guard), Commerce, Army, Navy, Air Force, USIA.	Telecommunications Coordinating Committee (TCC).
13. Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO).	Treasury (Coast Guard)—MARAD.	State, Navy, ICA, Commerce Customs (AEC, Budget Bureau).	Shipping Coordinating Committee (SH).

¹ The agencies listed first are members of the interdepartmental committee. The agencies listed in the brackets are not members of the committee and have an interest limited to 1 or 2 areas of the work of the organization.

Mr. CLEVELAND. It shows all the organizations we have to work with just on economic and social problems. It is a brokerage operation. That is the best way to describe it.

Mr. FASCELL. I think that example you gave is a very clear one and fortunately a very happy one as far as the operation itself is concerned.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I might say in view of the fact that the New York Times said there was great internal difficulty in the State Department over the Angola vote the other day, that of all the voting instructions I have been involved in, this was the one that created the least eruption inside the State Department and in which we had our instruction up to New York long before—in fact, the basic instruction was there about 2 weeks before the question came up, in which full discussions had been had with the Portuguese and with our allies, and of all the ones to pick on, this was really the worst because the facts were just 180° from what they said.

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, this was thoroughly planned and it wasn't a crisis decision?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right. For once I felt completely relaxed the day the vote was going to be taken because we had already done all the work on it. I could work on something else.

Mr. FASCELL. That is wonderful. I hope we can keep that up.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I might mention in this connection that it is very impressive how very close to these matters the President himself feels and how very much he is involved in setting the position on really important issues. He takes a very great substantive interest. He reads both the newspapers and the important cables with remarkable assiduousness. You have to get up quite early in the morning to be sure that he is not asking you some question by 9 o'clock that you don't know the answer to.

Mr. FASCELL. There are nothing like spurs, I've been told.

Mr. Secretary, at what point, if any, does a problem like the alleged second RB-47 incident cross your Department?

Mr. CLEVELAND. If either we want to raise it in the U.N., which presumably we will not, or if the Soviets decide to make that an issue in the U.N., if they decide to make a speech up there or if they want to place an item on the agenda, as they did in the U-2 case last fall—

Mr. FASCELL. We would have no way of knowing at this time of either?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right.

Mr. FASCELL. But we could anticipate—maybe—after an analysis of the preliminary facts, as to a probable course of action by the Russians, which might indicate a position, our own course of action, or maybe an immediate statement. Supposing we had the problem of an immediate statement by somebody in the Government. Would your Department have any coordinating responsibility because what is said now might affect some jurisdiction later?

Mr. CLEVELAND. We would only have direct responsibility if the statement were to be made by the U.S. mission in New York or in U.N.

channels, or at an international conference for which we were the backstopping agency.

Mr. FASCELL. Certainly the President would say nothing without having cleared it through you?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Well, I don't know about that.

Mr. FASCELL. I know he wouldn't have to.

Mr. JUDD. If Secretary Rusk wanted to handle it at that level, he could do it and you would come in only if it has to be done with and through the U.N., is that right?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right.

Obviously there are many questions which are not before the U.N. but might be some day.

Mr. FASCELL. That is just the point I was raising.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Which is one reason why we have to spend such a long time with the newspapers and with the cables.

For example, my office is on the distribution list for all the cables about the Lao crisis. This is not, at the moment, a U.N. problem, but it might be a U.N. problem at some time, and we have to be fully familiar with the background as it goes along so if it blows some day in the direction where we would want to raise the Russian intervention question directly in the U.N., for example, then we would be in a position to do so.

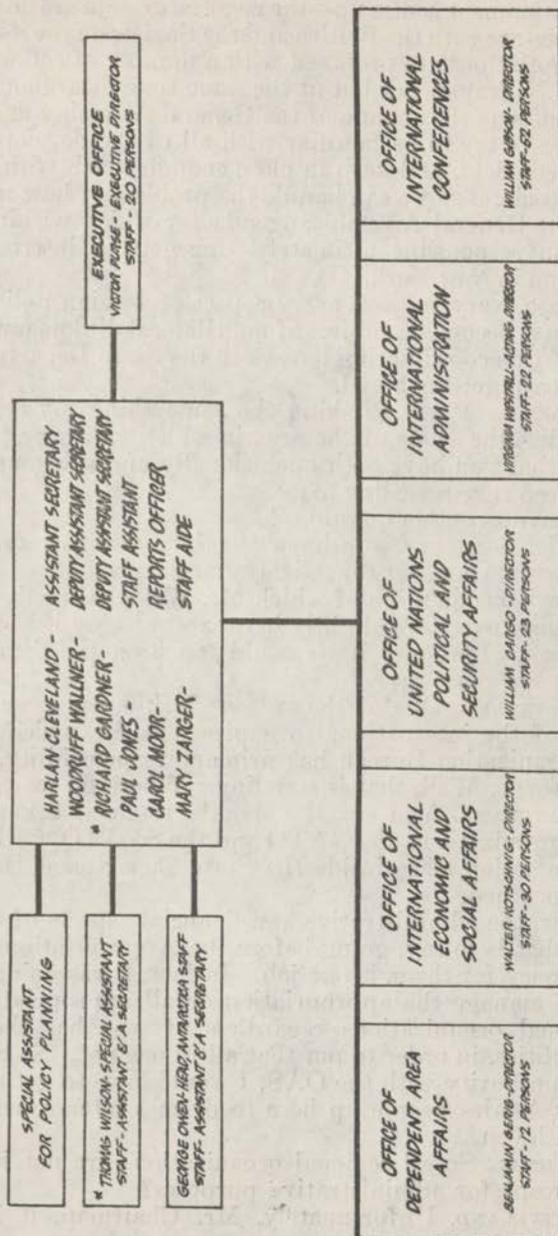
Mr. FASCELL. From an operational standpoint, do you have a specific person to sort of keep watch on this boiling point?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Well, in that particular case, for example, there are three or four of us who are keeping a watching brief on it. We don't have an expert on Laos because the experts on Laos are just down the hall in the Far Eastern Bureau. So we don't need a country specialist in our bureau.

What we do need is the people who are primarily concerned with U.N. political affairs—one of the offices here is shown in this chart, Mr. Cargo and Joe Sisco, the two of them and my deputy, Woody Wallner, who is a senior Foreign Service officer, and myself, I would say that all four of us are watching the Lao thing from day to day.

(A chart entitled "Bureau of International Organization Affairs" was referred to, as follows:)

Bureau of International Organization Affairs



* PROPOSED INCUMBENT, EXPECTED TO E.O.R. IN APRIL

Mr. CLEVELAND. It is not so much a question of what to do about Laos, in Laotian terms, but what to do about Laos in the U.N. and when, if that becomes a problem. It is similar with disarmament, you see. Disarmament comes up—the negotiations we are now having, our negotiations are with the British and the Soviets on the test ban.

The negotiations are proposed with a number of countries also outside the U.N. framework but at the same time disarmament as a general subject is on the agenda of the General Assembly at this moment. So we have to try to be familiar with all of the developments in the disarmament field, and keep in close enough touch with Mr. McCloy and his associates so we can handle the problem of how to handle that item on the General Assembly agenda for which within the department I am responsible ultimately—for getting instructions to the U.S. mission in New York.

In a sense every subject, every aspect of foreign policy at the moment when it becomes a subject of multilateral diplomacy, becomes the concern of this coordinating bureau in the State Department. There is no chance of getting bored.

Mr. FASCELL. I was thinking the same thing myself. I frankly didn't realize the scope of the area in which you have to operate, or the effect that you have both operationally and substantively.

It has been very revealing to me.

Do we have any other questions?

Well, Mr. Secretary, you have certainly given us a very comprehensive presentation, very effectively and clearly.

I did have one question of which Mr. Westphal reminded me. We have skimmed over OAS lightly here except to say it is a multilateral organization. I wonder if we could touch on the details of that a little bit?

Mr. CLEVELAND. One of the reasons I skimmed over it is that it isn't one of the international organizations for which the International Organization Bureau has primary responsibility.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, that is startling. Where do we go from here?

Mr. CLEVELAND. You see, the strictly regional organizations, the security organizations, the NATO and the SEATO, CENTO and the OAS—the action office inside the State Department is the regional bureau concerned.

However, the administrative and financial aspects of those organizations—that is to say, going before the Appropriations Committees for the money for them, is our job. In fact, I was doing that yesterday. We manage the appropriation or all appropriated funds for international organizations regardless of who has the substantive responsibilities, in order to put that all in one pot. So beyond a very general familiarity with the OAS, I would have to get the American Republics Affairs people up here to discuss inter-American organizations with you.

Mr. FASCELL. So all regional organizations are not in your jurisdiction except for administrative purposes?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, it isn't even as clear as that.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, confuse me some more.

Mr. CLEVELAND. The U.N. regional organizations, the Economic Commission for Europe, the one for Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Far East, are my responsibility.

Mr. FASCELL. That is because they are part of the U.N. system?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes; but it would take a page or two of legal language to really describe the jurisdictional arrangements in the State Department. They get quite complex because it is the essence of modern large-scale administrations and it is even true in large businesses these days that in all subjects, actions are the result of a kind of multilateral brokerage among vice presidents, in effect. This is very true in large corporations. It is very true in General Electric as I became familiar with it in Syracuse. It is true in a university, perhaps more than any place but in a hospital, Dr. Judd. That is the most horizontal organization—where the doctors aren't even on the payroll of the institution. At least in an academic organization the professors are on the payroll of the institution.

There is really no subject in the State Department that is the sole business of one division or bureau. Every subject has angles.

Mr. FASCELL. There is a primary place of rest though.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes, and what gets established in the State Department internal clearance system is a kind of system of mutual trust. On a matter which is primarily my responsibility, with an African angle, I will check it out with the African Bureau because I want to be sure when they have a primarily African problem that has a U.N. angle that they will check it out with me.

The danger is that you will get too much checking and not too little. A cable may wander around for days without getting any action so it takes a certain amount of administrative followup.

Mr. JUDD. On this organization chart—does the handling of all the financing—you spoke of the financing of OAS and so on—come under the executive office?

Mr. CLEVELAND. No, the executive office handles our own internal budget and the budgets for the U.S. missions—Mr. Stevenson's budget and the one for Graham Martin in Geneva and so on, but the big money for the contributions to international organizations is handled by Mrs. Westfall's office, the Office of International Administration, and the funds for international conferences—a little over \$2 million for the 300—the one-a-day conferences—is handled by the Office of International Conferences.

Mr. JUDD. The one that Sterling Cole is the head of, the Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, does that come under the Atomic Energy Commission rather than you?

Mr. CLEVELAND. No, this is my responsibility for State Department action.

Dr. Glenn Seaborg was in my office 2 days ago and we were discussing the problem of the new American representative to that organization. We pretty much have to get his agreement, obviously, to such an appointment but the appointment is made by the Department of State.

Mr. JUDD. And the positions he takes in various negotiations there are sent out through you?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes, indeed.

Mr. JUDD. I didn't realize that.

Mr. CLEVELAND. In this case a Special Assistant to the Secretary for Atomic Energy matters, Mr. Farley, is involved so we have a substantive string to our bow in the State Department and he in effect acts as liaison between my office and Glenn Seaborg.

We sat together to make some decisions just the other day on this subject.

Mr. FASCELL. Do I read this chart correctly, "Special Assistant for Policy Planning," is that a vacancy?

Mr. CLEVELAND. It is at the moment. I am looking for the right man. I haven't found a man who is good enough yet although there are plenty of applicants. It needs to be a person with a real sense of how to address himself to the question, Where do we want this whole system of international organizations to go, what are we trying to do here? Most of us, you know, are working with tactics from day to day and finance and administration and we are not really thinking enough about what kind of a U.N. we would like to see 10 years from now, to which we can relate our day-to-day decisions.

Mr. FASCELL. This is what you mean by policy planning. You are not referring to your own operations as such within the Department?

Mr. CLEVELAND. No.

Mr. FASCELL. Or our own policy within the Department?

Mr. CLEVELAND. No. I am thinking really of the policy planning problem that is special to this bureau. Of course, there is a policy planning staff for the Department as a whole but the policy planning problem for this bureau is to assess the direction of international organizations and the objectives our Government should pursue. I don't find very much doctrine lying around on that subject in the Bureau or in the Department and my concern is to try to develop some. I need somebody familiar with this whole business, perhaps who is familiar with or who is a specialist in international law and international organizations.

(A chart entitled "Organization of the Department of State, April 20, 1961," faces this page.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. I wish we were really this well organized.

What you have in effect is the firing line, which is the regional bureaus, the five regional bureaus and our Bureau.

Mr. FASCELL. This line right here?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes.

To the effect that you can use such old terms as "staff" and "line," we are the line, but you have to realize that the State Department is in a sense—the whole thing is a kind of staff agency; that it doesn't have operations in the sense of, for example, the General Services Administration. This is a policy machine, the whole thing.

Mr. FASCELL. Can you say that there are chains, not of command as such, but anything analogous to that in this organizational setup?

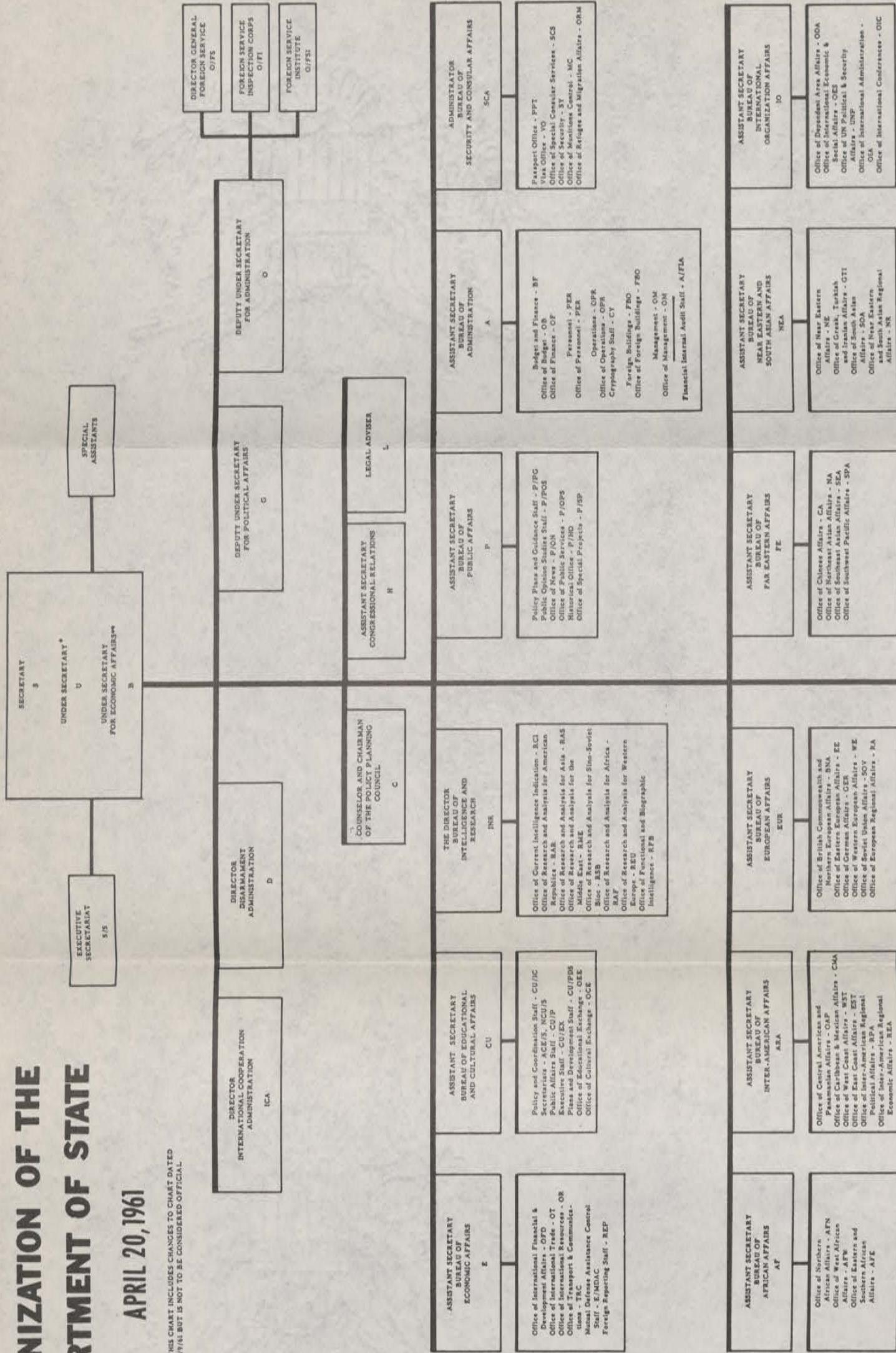
Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes, but the chain of command—you see, in effect there are a number of special coordinators on special kinds of subjects. There is a coordinator of all administrative problems who is the ultimate man before you get to the Secretary on that, the Under Secretary.

There is a Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs to coordinate certain matters. For example, he has a responsibility for the busi-

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

APRIL 20, 1961

THIS CHART INCLUDES CHANGES TO CHART DATED 1/7/61 BUT IS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED OFFICIAL.



DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, CONSULAR OFFICES, AND DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

*Chief of Protocol - U/PR
**Inspector General and Comptroller - Foreign Assistance - B/JCC
***Office of the Deputy Coordinator for Foreign Assistance - B/JFAC

ness of foreign ministers and chiefs of state coming to Washington and who is going to see the President. It gets very complex.

Mr. JUDD. Who is that?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That has been Ray Hare, and it apparently is going to be Mr. U. Alexis Johnson when he comes back.

There is, of course, the International Cooperation Administration which is a huge organization over here of its own. Then we have the policy planning staff—these two jobs have been combined; counselor and policy planning staff. We have the Legal Adviser and Brooks Hays, your former colleague here, in Congressional Relations.

Then we have these functional units. The Intelligence unit is by far the biggest, and it has a huge setup for trying to find out what is going on in the world, as a matter of research. There exists the Educational and Cultural Affairs Bureau, which is now to be headed by Bill Coombs and the Bureau of Economic Affairs, and units on administration and security and consular affairs. Now, all of these units have interrelationships with these regional bureaus and with the diplomatic missions in the field and with the international organization matters.

Mr. FASCELL. You may touch one or all.

Mr. CLEVELAND. We touch all. I see all of these people I suppose at least once a week on business and I see them all three or four times a week in the Secretary's staff meeting.

Mr. FASCELL. What I am getting at is this: You don't just follow that black line on this chart and you don't have written mandatory pattern of command—you see what I am getting at? In other words, this is a question of judgment on your part?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right.

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, you might skip all of those people if you wanted to take the responsibility.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I have a favorite way of drawing an organization chart which is in a circle. It is much more descriptive of how things really work, around and around, inside the organization. But actually to draw this correctly you would have to have a line between each one of these boxes and each of the other boxes and then you would have to have some kind of a line to show that on some subjects you get four or five people—you have to get four or five people in the same room to figure out what to do.

Mr. FASCELL. Then you should have a punch line on the bottom "What are we going to do with our spare time?"

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right. With Secretary Rusk working until eight or eight-thirty most nights, it is pretty hard to find any spare time, I must say. He called a meeting at 11 o'clock on Sunday this last week. He is a hard-working fellow.

Mr. FASCELL. On these sections of your organization chart, would you just give us a brief jurisdictional résumé of each?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Starting from the left, the Office of Dependent Area Affairs handles roughly the kinds of subjects which are handled in the United Nations in the Trusteeship Council, both trusteeship matters and so-called dependent area matters.

For example, the southwest African issue where a good many countries, including ours, are objecting to the Union of South Africa importing a Apartheid into an old mandated territory in southwest

Africa—this sort of problem is handled there. There is a lot of special procedure and so forth on these mandates.

Mr. FASCELL. Do we have special representatives to some of these areas that come under your jurisdiction?

Mr. CLEVELAND. In this case we have a U.S. representative on the trusteeship council, Mr. Bingham. He is in Stevenson's mission in New York and he and the people in that office are on the telephone all the time.

Mr. FASCELL. There is no direct connection between your office and any of these areas?

Mr. CLEVELAND. For example, southwest Africa.

Mr. FASCELL. Yes.

Mr. CLEVELAND. No, because the people in southwest Africa would be under the African Bureau, you see, and we would deal with them through the African Bureau in the State Department.

The Office of International Economic and Social Affairs handles all the relationships with organizations that are under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Mr. FASCELL. Strictly the U.N. family.

Mr. CLEVELAND. They are the so-called specialized agencies of the United Nations.

The Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs handles most of the political General Assembly and Security Council issues and also certain other agencies like the Atomic Energy agency and the Outer Space Committee of the U.N., and disarmament.

Mr. FASCELL. They have the primary responsibility of watching what is boiling and perhaps anticipating and getting an initial conference together to formulate a tentative position?

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right. They do a great deal of drafting in that office, both of speeches to be made in New York and also of instructions and policy papers because this is where—

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, this is the wellhead right here?

Mr. CLEVELAND. It is the wellhead for that kind of issue.

Mr. FASCELL. That is what I meant.

Mr. CLEVELAND. For the kind of issues that get into the headlines, that office handles most of them.

The Office of International Administration is responsible for administrative and financial aspects, some of which, of course, are highly political. The question of financing the Congo operation is going to be one of the big issues before this General Assembly apparently, and on that the staff work is done very competently indeed if I may say so, by Mrs. Westfall.

The Office of International Conferences is quite large because it is a kind of administrative division, you see. It not only plans and does the staff work on getting the money for conferences, it also organizes and staffs every delegation. It does all of the administrative work and sometimes deals with other agencies as to who is going to be on many delegations; which is as much of a political problem as personnel appointments and sometimes more so.

They are also responsible for managing any international conference which the United States agrees to host so if we are the host for the conference, they put it on, whether it is in Seattle or in Washington. Then these others are the standard staff officers, except for

Antarctica, which is not a U.N. affair, but it was provided for in a treaty, as you know, and was ratified by us last year. It has yet to be ratified by Argentina and Chile, I believe, but there is a certain amount of work of coordinating the other government agencies with respect to this treaty. The treaty is going to set up a treaty organization so it will be a new international organization, not a U.N. organization, but an international organization which will be our responsibility.

Mr. FASCELL. This Antarctica thing is not a regional setup, but will be truly international in the sense that the U.N. is?

Mr. CLEVELAND. It isn't in the U.N. and doesn't include all the members. It includes only a dozen or so members.

Mr. FASCELL. Yet it doesn't fall into the same category as—

Mr. CLEVELAND. It isn't regional; it isn't in any of the regional bureaus. It is really a very special beast. Outer space is similar. We get more and more into that and nobody knows where to put it because it doesn't fit into our geography.

We have an organizational manual, a description of the Bureau which you might want for the record.

Mr. FASCELL. Yes.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

ORGANIZATION

THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS

BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS

(a) Promotes the most effective use of the machinery of international organizations in the conduct of foreign affairs.

(b) Acts as the official channel between the United States and international organizations of an interregional character, except where official diplomatic channels are expressly provided for this purpose.

(c) Plans, formulates, and implements U.S. policies and positions, with the advice or review of other areas of the Department, as appropriate, on:

- (1) Political and security matters relating to the United Nations.
- (2) Social, health, human rights, and freedom of information matters.
- (3) Matters within the United Nations and the specialized agencies regarding refugees, displaced persons, migrants, and stateless persons.
- (4) Trusteeship and dependent areas policies.
- (5) Development of the United Nations and its charter.

(d) With respect to economic matters arising in international organizations, reviews, coordinates, and, where substantive responsibility is not otherwise located, formulates U.S. policy.

(e) Initiates, coordinates, and reviews for the Department U.S. policy on disarmament; represents the Department on the President's Special Committee on Disarmament and backstops the President's Special Assistant on Disarmament; reviews and coordinates departmental policy on the international aspects of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and related matters.

(f) Conducts studies and develops U.S. policy and proposals on constitutional, organizational, budgetary, and administrative matters of the United Nations and other international organizations, and prepares instructions to, and provides technical advice for, U.S. representatives on these matters.

(g) Formulates the Department's position on privileges and immunities of international organizations and their personnel, and helps maintain high standards of integrity and competence in the selection and placement of persons employed by international organizations.

(h) With the advice or review, where appropriate, of other areas of the Department or of other Federal agencies, prepares U.S. positions on the extent and character of participation by the U.S. Government in governmental and nongovernmental international organizations and conferences, congresses, and commissions, except for those of a bilateral nature; nominates delegates and

representatives to international organizations and conferences; and provides for the necessary administrative services and facilities.

- (i) Provides advisers for international meetings, as required.
- (j) Coordinates the provision of services and information within the Department to permanent U.S. representatives and missions at the seats of international organizations.
- (k) Plans, organizes, and manages international meetings for which the U.S. Government is host.
- (l) Prepares estimates and justifications for appropriations for U.S. contributions to international organizations and for the costs of U.S. participation in international meetings and conferences, and administers the expenditure of funds therefor.
- (m) Prepares reports to the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and to the Congress on U.S. participation in the United Nations, as required by the United Nations Charter, the constitutions of the specialized agencies, and U.S. law.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY

1. *Executive director*

- (a) Assists the Assistant Secretary and Deputy Assistant Secretaries in assuring that (1) policies are properly implemented, (2) operations are conducted efficiently, (3) adequate staff work is performed, (4) deadlines are anticipated and met, and (5) resources are appropriately deployed in order to perform assigned functions.
- (b) Plans, establishes, and maintains effective internal organization structure, staffing pattern, and external coordination pattern, including administrative and substantive relationships with other offices of the Department, other agencies, the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and certain other missions to international organizations.
- (c) Prepares operating plans, programs, and budget estimates for the operations of the Bureau within overall budget standards and ceilings, and assists in their justification and defense before the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.
- (d) Serves on behalf of the Assistant Secretary as financial coordinator for all appropriations for which the Bureau is responsible, and maintains, or reviews the necessary budget and fund controls.
- (e) Establishes and maintains records and procedures for the administration and control of the appropriation "Missions to international organizations"; and administratively services U.S. permanent representatives and staffs to international organizations and special missions.
- (f) Plans, develops, and establishes standards of performance and sound operating procedures for the Bureau, and promotes studies to reduce operational costs.
- (g) Formulates and implements, in conjunction with the Office of Personnel, a personnel management program for the Bureau; reviews or advises with respect to personnel actions affecting the Bureau and its related activities, including appointments of U.S. representatives to the United Nations, its commissions, and specialized agencies.
- (h) Executes studies for strengthening internal physical security, and for the Bureau's participation in the relocation, evacuation, and records management activities of the Department.
- (i) Provides the Bureau with necessary operating facilities, including office space, supplies, equipment, internal communications and message center service, etc.

Reference and documents section:

- (a) Provides specialized research and reference services on matters pertaining to the United Nations, its subsidiary bodies, and the specialized agencies.
- (b) Maintains a central file of United Nations documents.

2. *Staff assistant*

- (a) Develops and applies standards for staff paperwork.
- (b) Determines assignments of action and information within the Bureau and makes appropriate followup.
- (c) Assures that necessary briefing is available to the Assistant Secretary.
- (d) Serves as the focal point for advice and assistance on the coordination of interdepartmental problems coming within the area of the Assistant Secretary.

(e) Prepares minutes of the Assistant Secretary's staff meetings and follows up on action determinations made at meetings.

(f) Directs the flow of action and information documents to the Assistant Secretary and the Deputy Assistant Secretaries and assures their coordination before presentation.

(g) Disseminates policy decisions made within the Bureau to personnel in the Bureau, to other parts of the Department, to the missions, and to other Federal agencies, as appropriate.

(h) Disseminates information originated in other parts of the Department to personnel within his own area and to the missions.

(i) Controls the distribution of action and information documents within the Bureau.

(j) Provides technical guidance to message center operations.

(k) Supervises a policy reports staff.

(l) Performs special assignments as directed by the Assistant Secretary and the Deputy Assistant Secretaries.

3. *Special assistant for U.N. planning*

(a) Coordinates preparation of U.S. policies regarding possible changes in the United Nations Charter in preparation for the United Nations Conference on Charter Review.

(b) Undertakes long-range policy-planning studies of U.S. participation in international organizations.

(c) Plans, develops, and prepares studies regarding effect upon structure, organization, and functions of United Nations bodies due to addition of new members to the United Nations.

(d) Performs special projects as directed by the Assistant Secretary or by his deputies.

4. *Special assistant for public affairs*

(a) Advises the Assistant Secretary on public relations aspects of the Bureau's activities and reviews, clears, or prepares speeches, articles, and public reports on United Nations matters on behalf of the Assistant Secretary and other officers of the Bureau.

(b) Provides guidance and coordination within the Bureau on international information, educational exchange, and domestic public affairs matters relating to U.S. participation in the United Nations, and the specialized agencies.

(c) Advises the Regional Bureaus and other bureaus and offices of the Department on informational aspects of matters relating to the United Nations and other international organizations.

(d) Provides, in cooperation with the Public Affairs area, policy information for the U.S. Information Agency and the Operations Coordinating Board as to Bureau policies, programs, and activities for appropriate utilization in overseas and domestic information programs.

(e) Maintains liaison with the U.S. mission to the United Nations to insure coordination of information and intelligence activities therein with those in the Department.

(f) Prepares, or arranges for the preparation of, statements and briefing papers on various aspects of U.S. participation in the United Nations and other international organizations for use by the News Division in connection with the Secretary's press conferences.

(g) Discharges the functions of intelligence adviser for the Bureau.

5. *Special Assistant for International Organization Recruitment*

Plans, initiates, and maintains a program to insure that international organizations in which the United States participates employ an adequate number of well-qualified U.S. citizens.

OFFICE OF DEPENDENT AREA AFFAIRS

(a) Discharges the substantive responsibilities of the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs which relate to U.S. policies and programs pertaining to:

(1) Non-self-governing territories and the international trusteeship system.

(2) The Caribbean and South Pacific Commissions.

(b) Prepares the department position on international organization matters relating to territories under U.S. administration.

(c) Conducts relations with other Federal agencies on international organization matters relating to trust territories and other non-self-governing territories.

OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

(a) Discharges the substantive responsibilities of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs which relate to U.S. policies and programs pertaining to:

(1) The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, its subsidiary bodies, and specialized agencies; and economic, social, humanitarian, and related matters in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and other intergovernmental organizations.

(2) Social, health, human rights, and freedom of information matters, and matters within the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned with refugees, displaced persons, migrants, and stateless persons.

(3) Relationships between the United Nations, specialized agencies, and other intergovernmental organizations; and the relationships of nongovernmental organizations to these international organizations.

(b) Formulates and implements U.S. policies on constitutional development, jurisdiction, and coordination of activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the economic, social, and related fields; reviews the programs and activities of these agencies and evaluates the organizational structure and budgets of these organizations as related thereto; reviews substantive policies relating to U.S. participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

(c) Assists in the coordination of technical assistance programs of the United Nations and other international agencies with those conducted by the U.S. Government.

(d) Conducts relationships with other Federal agencies on matters relating to U.S. participation in the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and other international organizations in the economic, social, and related fields which are of concern to the Bureau and which are not specifically assigned to other areas of the Department.

OFFICE OF UNITED NATIONS POLITICAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

(a) Discharges action responsibilities of the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs which involve political and security matters relating to the United Nations; reviews responsibilities for related matters arising in other international bodies or regional organizations.

(b) Formulates (with advice or review of other bureaus and concurrence of other departments or agencies as appropriate), coordinates, and transmits to U.S. representatives departmental policy concerning:

(1) International security affairs, including disarmament, the international aspects of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and related matters, and the development of procedures and programs pertaining to United Nations enforcement measures to maintain or to restore international peace.

(2) Pacific settlement of international political disputes or situations arising in the United Nations, as well as the development of procedures for facilitating such settlements.

(c) Coordinates and supervises the overall preparations for each session of the General Assembly.

OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Performs the following functions relating to international organizations, with review, as appropriate, by the regional bureau concerned in the case of regional organizations:

(a) Furnishes advice from an overall management point of view to other units of the Department and to other agencies of the Government which are concerned with the operating programs of international organizations and the effective implementation of those programs.

(b) Formulates U.S. policy and proposals on personnel, financial, budgetary, and other administrative matters of the United Nations, specialized agencies, and other international organizations, including relationships among these or-

ganizations on such matters, and prepares instructions to, and provides technical advice for, U.S. representatives on these matters.

(c) Formulates or coordinates the formulation of departmental policy and proposals on the level of financial support for international organizations.

(d) Prepares requests and justifications for appropriations for U.S. contributions to international organizations, and administers the expenditure of funds therefor.

(e) Prepares requests and justifications for appropriations to finance U.S. participation in such multilateral programs as United Nations Technical Assistance, the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, the United Nations Children's Fund, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund; administers the expenditure of funds therefor.

(f) Advises the Bureau of European Affairs on financial, budgetary, and other administrative matters in connection with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

(g) Advises the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs on financial, budgetary and other administrative matters in connection with the Inter-American organizations.

(h) Formulates and implements the Department's position on privileges and immunities of international organizations and their personnel, and on problems arising from the status of the United States as host Government to the United Nations and other international organizations.

(i) Transmits material to, and directs the conduct of, negotiations with international organizations on matters arising under Executive Order 10422, as amended.

OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Coordinates the U.S. Government position on official and unofficial participation in governmental and nongovernmental international conferences, congresses, commissions; plans and executes organizational and administrative arrangements for U.S. participation; and administers and controls the International Conferences and Contingencies Appropriation.

1. Office of the Director

Documents Service Staff:

(a) Compiles and maintains basic information on international conferences of interest to the Government.

(b) Establishes documentation systems and procedures for hostship conferences and for U.S. delegations to international conferences.

(c) Prepares publications on conference activities, including the official proceedings of hostship conferences, the annual volumes on "Participation of the U.S. Government in International Conferences," the quarterly "List of International Conferences and Meetings," and press releases.

2. Conference Program Staff

(a) Coordinates the views and recommendations of the Department and of other areas of the Government concerning the national interest in conference participation.

(b) Negotiates and makes final recommendations as to the size and composition of delegations.

(c) Prepares the formal notifications to the conference authorities, including accreditation of U.S. delegations.

(d) Prepares the formal instructions to delegations and includes therein, after appropriate review, the positions developed by the respective areas of the Government.

(e) In addition, for hostship conferences, prepares and issues invitations, programs, agenda, rules of procedure, and related material.

(f) Maintains liaison with all agencies of the Government and with nongovernmental bodies on planning, organizational, and administrative matters relating to official international conference activities.

3. Conference administration staff

(a) Provides for all administrative services and facilities including personnel practices and procedures, required in connection with U.S. participation in international conferences, as well as the organization and staffing needs of delegation and hostship secretariats, residence and office quarters, communications, trans-

portation, fiscal services, equipment and supplies, and official entertainment. Makes special per diem determinations for persons traveling under Conference funds which are exempt from the standardized government travel regulations, except in cases of employees serving without compensation (WOC) and exchange-of-persons programs.

Mr. FASCELL. Are there any further questions?

Mr. MERROW. I have no questions but I am happy that we have had hearings on this. It has been very well presented.

Mr. CLEVELAND. We have one other article. A revision of an article done by a man who used to work in this bureau called "Organization of U.S. Participation in the United Nations System." It is a general description of how it all works. It is a lucid description.

Mr. FASCELL. We would be very happy to have it included in the record.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I think it might be useful to include it in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

THE ORGANIZATION OF U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM
BASIS FOR PARTICIPATION

The United Nations, under its Charter to which the United States and 98 other nations are signatories, is a "center for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations, and the achievement of international cooperation in the economic and social fields.

The United Nations deals in the first instance with a wide range of international political problems involving security, regulation of armaments, peaceful settlement of disputes, and peaceful change of the international status of territories, all of which are of major concern to the United States as a leading world power. In addition to political and security problems, there is a host of complex "functional" problems which cut across national boundaries. The self-interest of nations including our own requires international cooperation in dealing with them constructively. Economic, social, educational, human rights, and related international problems are dealt with by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, which together make up what is here referred to as the United Nations system.

In practice, the United Nations has acquired major significance as an agency for influencing and maintaining world opinion. At the same time, it has proved to be a significant center for diplomatic negotiation.

Multilateral diplomacy is complementary to bilateral diplomacy, not a rival to it. The United Nations is an important means to achieve broad foreign policy ends to which the United States is committed. The American national interest is served by the use that is made of this instrument, and by our effectiveness in preventing its misuse by others.

For these fundamental reasons, the Congress has provided a body of legislative authorization under which the executive branch develops and carries out policies and programs through international organizations in order to further the interests of the United States.

THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

In the United Nations proper, the representative organ is the General Assembly, which meets annually for approximately 3 months, and may hold special sessions. All 99 member nations participate with equal voice and vote.

The Security Council has 11 members, including the 5 permanent members who have the right to veto important matters. The Economic and Social Council consists of 18 nations. The Trusteeship Council has 14 members on which the Big Five are also always represented. The Disarmament Commission has the same membership as the General Assembly. The Military Staff Committee consists of military representatives of the Big Five chiefs of staff, including our own. All members are entitled to sit on the Interim Committee. Temporary

United Nations bodies include the Collective Measures Committee and Peace and Observation Commission (14 members each).

United Nations operating programs include the United Nations Programs of Technical Cooperation, Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, the Children's Fund, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Under the Economic and Social Council are seven functional commissions (Statistical, Population, Social, Human Rights, Status of Women, Narcotics, and International Commodity Trade) plus four regional economic commissions (Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa). The United States has been elected to membership in the first three of these commissions.

The International Court of Justice, sitting at The Hague, consists of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and Security Council. It has jurisdiction in contentious cases brought by agreement of states, and renders advisory legal opinions at the request of the Assembly or Security Council.

The United Nations Secretariat, with personnel drawn from many member nations, services all organs of the United Nations.

Outside the United Nations proper but considered part of the United Nations system are the 13 Specialized Agencies—intergovernmental bodies in technical fields where what might be called functional problems cross national and regional boundaries and require cooperative efforts. These are the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank (IBRD), International Finance Corporation (IFC), Universal Postal Union (UPU), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), and the International Development Association (IDA).

In general, the specialized agencies are autonomous and directed by their various governing bodies, on which the United States and other member governments are elected to sit. However, through agreements between these agencies and the Economic and Social Council, as prescribed in the United Nations Charter, their programs and administration are reviewed and coordinated by the United Nations.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is also an intergovernmental organization related to the United Nations by a negotiated agreement. The agreement unlike the specialized agencies is between the IAEA and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

(Outside the United Nations system but performing functions of concern to the United Nations are such ad hoc intergovernmental consultative arrangements as those under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration (ICEM).

U.S. CHAIN OF COMMAND

The President is responsible for the "formulation, execution, and coordination of foreign policies." As Chief Executive, as Commander in Chief, and as Chairman of the National Security Council, he presides over the process of defining U.S. objectives in the world, and coordinating foreign affairs activities to achieve those objectives.

In directing U.S. participation in international organizations the President under his constitutional authority determines policy and designates representatives and agencies for its execution.

The National Security Council advises the President as prescribed by statute, and acts on major policy problems arising in the United Nations in the same way as with other foreign policy issues before it.

The Secretary of State is "principal adviser to the President in the determination and execution of U.S. foreign policy" and "is charged with the responsibility for all the activities of the State Department." In directing U.S. relations with international organizations, the Secretary performs his functions in the same fashion as he does in all fields of international relations.

The Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs is one of the 10 Assistant Secretaries with action responsibilities, who, in the words of the Hoover Commission, have "responsibility for decisions within clearly defined limits," and "serve as focal points of contact between the Department and the oversea and international organization missions in both substantive and admin-

istrative matters." The Hoover Commission described the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs as being "in charge of relationships with international organizations, including the United Nations and its affiliated organizations," and as "the channel for instructions to and from U.S. representatives and delegations at the United Nations" as well as to certain other international organizations and conferences.

The Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs has the function of servicing or backstopping the U.S. representative to the United Nations, and U.S. delegates to other United Nations agencies (and some non-United Nations bodies). In short, his job is to see that the policies these representatives express in the name of the U.S. Government always represent agreed national policy.

To furnish this staff support, the Assistant Secretary supervises the Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO) which provides three types of services:

- (1) it coordinates the policy views and technical requirements originating in various other parts of the Department and other agencies, so that U.S. representatives in international organizations can be sure they are always stating consistent and unified U.S. positions.

- (2) it develops the actual U.S. policy positions on questions which are peculiarly multilateral in nature, which cut across the bilateral functions of the geographic units and the specialized subject units in other agencies, and which no other office is staffed or equipped to handle.

- (3) it assembles in one unit the special knowledge and experience the United States has built up in the field of multilateral diplomacy so that the Government can prepare itself most efficiently to uphold its interests in international organizations.

Thus, in the first category, where another part of the Department of State or another Government agency is responsible for relations with one area or one subject, the Bureau furnishes policy guidance for use in international organizations in terms of precedents, relation to United Nations matters, parliamentary problems, United Nations personalities, etc.

In the second category, the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, as indicated, has the primary policy responsibility for specialized multilateral questions. Examples of these are: such items as admission of new members, counter-strategy to Soviet propaganda charges, collective security within the U.N. framework, amendment and review of the United Nations Charter, refugee problems, parliamentary tactics which have been proven best by experience in specific United Nations agencies, international secretariat problem, operations of the United Nations Trusteeship system, and problems of non-self-governing territories, world health, social welfare, narcotics, and human rights problems, and international budgets.

In the third category, the Bureau of International Organization Affairs contributes to the process of policymaking the technical know-how in the field of multilateral diplomacy. This means chiefly the political and organizational side of the work of United Nations bodies. It includes questions of credentials, elections (the balancing of interests, blocs, and geographic distribution in the membership and officers of multilateral bodies), budgets, secretariat organization and practices, agenda and procedural problems, relationship of other multilateral bodies to the United Nations, etc.

The U.S. representative to the United Nations is, as prescribed by Executive Order 10108, the Chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations (USUN). The Mission includes: various other U.S. representatives and deputy representatives (i.e., those serving in the United Nations Economic and Social Council and its Commissions, the Trusteeship Council, Disarmament Commission, Military Staff Committee, etc.); and the Deputy Representative to the United Nations, who is also Deputy Chief of the Mission and Deputy Representative on the Security Council.

The U.S. Representative coordinates the activities of the Mission in carrying out the instructions of the President transmitted either by the Secretary of State or by other means of transmission as directed by the President. He thus is responsible for directing U.S. Government activities at the United Nations headquarters, administers the U.S. Mission, is the chief U.S. representative in the United Nations Security Council, Chairman or Acting Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the General Assembly, representative ex officio and principal U.S. spokesman in any United Nations body at United Nations headquarters, and

principal U.S. negotiator with the United Nations Secretariat and representatives in New York of some other member governments.

The status of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, while unique in many ways, is in a sense comparable to a major American Embassy abroad in terms of the normal working relationships with the State Department. Just as the Bureau of European Affairs is the home desk for our London Embassy, so the Bureau of International Organization Affairs is the home desk for the U.S. mission to the United Nations. The American ambassadors in both cases are appointed by and responsible to the President. They are instructed by and report to the Secretary of State, acting for the President. The Assistant Secretary of State, acting for the Secretary, is in both cases responsible for insuring that they are instructed and advised, and that such instructions and advice represent the coordinated views of the Government (including where necessary the decisions of the Secretary, the NSC, and the President). In practice also, the head of the U.S. Mission takes an active part in the formulation of U.S. policy and tactics both prior to and during United Nations meetings, and recommends changes in policies if in his opinion conditions on the ground so require.¹

PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

Multilateral diplomacy involves a wide variety of subjects, only some of which are purely political. The Department of State, in collaboration with military and other agencies, directly manages U.S. interests in problems which are primarily of a political or security nature, such as disputes between states, organization of collective defense against aggression, problems involving colonial areas of the world, regulation of armaments, and world trade.

The political and territorial problems which arise in the United Nations General Assembly, Security Council, and Trusteeship Council are basically the responsibility of the Department of State. The Department of Defense has a major interest in these issues, and in the military and security aspects of the disarmament proposals, as has the Atomic Energy Commission. The international political aspects of disarmament are a continuing responsibility of the Department of State, in conjunction with the Advisers to the President on Disarmament. In the case of the Trusteeship Council, the Departments of the Navy and Interior administer certain overseas territories and possessions of the United States, and their assistance is required periodically in reporting on our stewardship and administration of U.S. territories.

Since World War II the United States has greatly increased its collaboration with large numbers of nations on essentially technical questions of mutual interest, such as epidemic control, famine relief, currency stabilization, flight safety, labor conditions, narcotics smuggling, radio frequency allocations, and comparative statistical methods. This has meant that other agencies of the U.S. Government must be looked to for defining this country's interest in the matter, often in consultation with business, farm, professional, and labor organizations. Because of the diversity of subjects dealt with internationally, these expert source areas range across much of the Government, from the Atomic Energy Commission to the Tariff Commission, from the Narcotics Bureau to the Department of Agriculture, from the Budget Bureau to the Federal Aviation Agency. In addition to the Department of State at least 24 other executive agencies are concerned with United Nations activities, and frequently the success of the domestic programs they undertake are materially affected by what happens in the United Nations body which is dealing with the same subject.

THE COORDINATION OF POLICY

The process of coordination

The objective of U.S. participation is to forward this Nation's role and interests in multilateral diplomatic bodies. In organizing and disciplining U.S. Government machinery to participate in this process, there are two objectives: (1) To insure that the United States speaks with one voice on issues arising in the international forums; and (2) to insure that this voice represents the best considered judgment and skill that can be brought to bear on problems of foreign policy. At all of the meetings of the United Nations organs and subsidiary bodies and specialized agencies a U.S. representative must be pre-

¹ President Kennedy has appointed Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson to be a member of his Cabinet.

pared to speak for his Government on the matter at issue. This explains why the structure must be pyramidal—a broad base to secure as many points of view as possible, exchange ideas and information, and develop policy recommendations; a system of screening and reviewing to secure responsible approval of policies and, where necessary, to reconcile them with positions taken on other matters; and, finally, a point of departure at which the official sanction of the Government can be granted so that the U.S. representative in the international body may be assured that he speaks with complete authority. This process involves not only the preparation of official positions before a particular meeting, but also the adjustment of those positions during the meeting itself, as circumstances require.

The stage at which the coordination process comes to light is the instruction of American delegates and representatives, and expression by them of the official policies and views of the United States at the meetings of international organizations. We have permanent missions at the United Nations in New York, at the International Civil Aviation Organization at Montreal, at the International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna, and in Geneva for liaison with the United Nations European Office and the several specialized agencies located there. There are also U.S. liaison officers for FAO at Rome, for UNESCO at Paris, for ECIA at Santiago, and for ECAFE at Bangkok. U.S. delegations are assembled, instructed, and sent to conferences of international bodies throughout the world, and, between sessions of major organs, there is a continuous process of consultation and exchange of views and information with other governments on United Nations problems. This consultation takes place throughout the year among the permanent delegations to the United Nations in New York. Other exchanges are carried on by U.S. missions abroad with the various foreign offices. Still other talks are held by the Department of State with the foreign missions in Washington. The use of these diplomatic channels is intensified during periods prior to major conferences and reaches its peak in the months immediately preceding the annual regular session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The final step in the process is the implementation of decisions and recommendations produced by the international organization. When an adopted resolution of one of the organs of the United Nations, or one of the specialized agencies, is transmitted to the Secretary of State by the Secretary General or Director General concerned, the machinery of the executive branch must ensure that proper action is taken by this country. The responsibility for action must be assigned; there must be followup mechanisms to insure that the action is taken; and a report must generally be made to the organization.

In addition, there is a continuing stream of questionnaires and requests for information that require coordinated replies.

The process of U.S. participation in international organizations thus works like a funnel. At one end, experts in various Government agencies recommend policies for the United States to adopt in the United Nations on a wide variety of topics. At the other end U.S. spokesmen in international forums are expected to state these policies with clarity and authority. This presents the Government with a formidable task of coordination.

When real conflicts of views exist between interested parts of the executive branch, they must be resolved before a unified and agreed to American position can be confidently presented in an international forum. Even when no substantive conflict exists, varying approaches and methods are often suggested by the interested agencies. These contributions must be brought into harmony.

The ultimate purpose of the coordination process is to insure that when the United States speaks officially to the world at large, it speaks with one voice, and with the knowledge that in the next room, the next city, or the next continent, other U.S. spokesmen are, so to speak on the same wave length. U.S. policies must fit together into an effective program for the advancement of U.S. interests throughout the whole United Nations system.

The machinery of coordination

The process within the Government of funneling to a single point of action all necessary views and interests on a host of political and nonpolitical subjects requires machinery of coordination. For this function of coordination, by definition one central point is required. This is the Bureau of International Organization Affairs in the State Department.

Under the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, IO's five offices, Political-Security (UNP), Economic-Social (OES), Dependent Areas

(ODA), International Administration (OIA), and International Conferences (OIC), pull together the many threads within the executive branch with the purpose of insuring that throughout the whole system of international organizations and conferences, the representatives of this Government are adequately equipped with agreed policies on all topics of concern to the United States.

The Hoover Commission recommended that the Assistant Secretary for International Organizations Affairs, "while participating in the formulation of foreign policy * * * should, so far as possible, obtain his policy guidance from the various regional units, the planning (staff), and from other staff advisers * * *". In accordance with this, as indicated earlier, IO operates in the first instance as the coordinator of departmentwide and governmentwide policy-formulating operations.

A considerable part of the coordination job is done through informal day-to-day contacts between the desk officers in IO and the subject specialists elsewhere in the Department or other Departments. Often this is the only way in which deadlines can be met at United Nations meetings, or prompt action taken to deal with imminent votes or sudden shifts in position by other countries. In this way also, the countless routine matters that arise in various international organization operations can be resolved with a minimum of bureaucratic layering or formal clearances.

In the political field, for example, when there are indications that a political problem will come before the United Nations a working team is often formed. The representative of UNP usually chairs the group, prepares papers for consideration by the group, and drafts instructions for the U.S. representative. His responsibility is to insure that the views of all interested offices are secured and that any information required is obtained from Department and oversea files. He furnishes the knowledge of United Nations Charter considerations, precedents established in various United Nations bodies, past performance of various delegations and delegates, voting probabilities, and operation of regional and special-interest blocs in the United Nations, etc. He frequently acts as principal adviser to the U.S. Representative during the United Nations meeting when the case is considered.

Also on the team are representatives of the affected geographic areas, who provide the general U.S. policy toward the country or countries affected. In addition, they furnish the knowledge of geographic factors, national characteristics, and official personalities, and often they participate in the actual General Assembly or Security Council sessions as political liaison officers with delegates from countries in their areas. To harmonize the work of the geographic bureaus, and the economic area with that of IO, each has a full-time adviser on United Nations affairs, who collaborates continuously with IO officers on international organization problems affecting the particular region.

These teams also frequently include representatives of the Legal Adviser's office and, when necessary, of the Public Affairs, and Research office. The UNP member often consults informally on military aspects of the cases with officers in the Defense Department. The team members turn to their respective Assistant Secretaries for major decisions, and these in turn consult higher echelons, as required, before approving final U.S. positions. Many political issues in the United Nations require decisions by the Secretary of State, and in some cases the President. Either IO or the geographic offices undertake consultation with appropriate U.S. Missions abroad and foreign envoys in Washington.

An essentially similar process takes place within the Department on economic and social questions before the United Nations and specialized agencies. Here, the clearance process involves not only many different units within the State Department, but a variety of other Government agencies as well.

A group of interdepartmental committees furnishes the chief means of coordination in this field. (Annex A lists some of the major interdepartmental committees concerned.) Unless another agency clearly has a predominant interest (e.g., the Department of Agriculture, for FAO), the State Department furnishes the chairman or secretary of the committees. Within the State Department, IO usually provides either or both. (In the technical economic committees, the economic area of the State Department generally leads the Department's participating group, which usually includes IO.) Position papers on multilateral economic subjects often require personal approval by several Cabinet officers before the normal process of clearance through the interdepartmental committees can be completed.

The same process also operates in dealing with problems of dependent and colonial areas, where issues of the greatest complexity arise which vitally

affect U.S. relations with both its principal allies and the strategically important regions of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, where most dependent areas are located. Conflicts between these two groups on colonial questions come to a head in the United Nations, both in the Trusteeship Council and in the General Assembly. IO's Office of Dependent Area Affairs (ODA) teams up with the geographic desk officers concerned and with Defense and Interior Department officers for the task of harmonizing both within the U.S. Government and in the United Nations the traditional U.S. attitudes toward colonial peoples on the one hand, and the special problems of the administering authorities, which include close allies of this country, on the other.

During the process of developing U.S. policies the Department of State, through IO, constantly consults the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and members of his staff, seeking their views and judgment on all matters of importance. For his part, the U.S. Representative conducts consultations with his diplomatic colleagues in New York, and carries the burden of top-level negotiation on behalf of the U.S. Government on all matters under discussion in the United Nations. As a source of political intelligence, the United Nations is a key diplomatic listening post for all member governments. The U.S. representatives are constantly in contact with high officials from 98 other countries. This flow of information, combined with the recommendations of our representatives, significantly influences the formulation of policy, of strategy, and of tactics.

IO, like other Bureaus in the Department, is responsible for keeping the U.S. Information Agency currently provided with policy information on important aspects of U.S. participation in the United Nations. This is accomplished by formal communications through the "P" area, by daily briefing conferences, and by informal contacts. An important purpose of this liaison with USIA is to insure that U.S. positions and policies advanced through the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations, are given full and prompt dissemination abroad through facilities of USIA. IO also arranges for USIA officers to be represented on the U.S. delegations to the General Assemblies and to certain other important conferences.

Conferences operations

In the United Nations system most meetings are regularly scheduled, and can be planned for systematically. Other international bodies frequently issue invitations for special conferences. IO's Office of International Conferences (OIC) screens all such invitations, recommends as to U.S. participation, negotiates throughout the Government the makeup of the U.S. delegations, assists when appropriate with the preparations of U.S. positions, allocates funds, makes all travel, housing, etc., arrangements, and, in meetings away from United Nations headquarters, furnishes the service staff of the delegation itself. After the meeting OIC makes sure all official reports, documents, and other followup items are properly discharged.

Formal steps in the process of administrative preparations are:

Staff study—OIC with concurrences of all policy units effected secures the written approval of the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, or, if necessary, the Secretary or President, for U.S. participation in each international meeting.

Naming of U.S. delegations.—Public Law 341, in addition to requiring Presidential appointments of permanent U.S. representatives to United Nations organs, specifically makes him responsible for naming U.S. delegates to the annual United Nations General Assembly. Presidential appointments are also required by statute for certain other U.S. delegations (such as Public Law 643 with respect to U.S. delegates to the WHO Assembly). To ease the burden on the White House for the appointment of delegates to numerous lesser meetings, the President on February 26, 1948, approved a delegation of authority to the Secretary of State "to designate all * * * representatives and delegates as well as advisory and secretarial staff for all groups" other than those assigned by law to the President, or in special cases such as the naming of congressional consultants.

On March 6, 1953, the Secretary of State redelegate his authority to the Assistant Secretary for IO Affairs. All delegation members are named subject to security clearance. IO, which, in addition to coordinating all policy preparations, administers the funds for conference participation, decides on the advisory and service staffs of U.S. delegations after weighing recommendations from all interested offices and agencies. The basic factors are scope of

the agenda and availability of funds. The specific criteria are to the greatest extent possible, delegation members must be "working members," actually responsible for agenda items; they must be able to handle several items each; generally, they must represent the Government as a whole; and maximum use should be made of qualified U.S. personnel at the conference site.

(Revised March 17, 1961.)

ANNEX A

MAJOR INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES WHICH DEAL WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION MATTERS¹

Interagency Group on International Aviation (IGIA):

Functions: Facilitates the provision of coordinated recommendations to the Secretary of State on international aviation matters.

Membership: *FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY*, State, Defense, Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Board.

Subcommittee on General ICAO Matters:

Membership: STATE, Air Force, Army, CAB, Commerce, *Federal Aviation Agency*, Navy, Post Office.

Interagency Committee on Food and Agriculture Organization:

Functions: Formulates U.S. positions in FAO, under a chairman appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, with State providing "policy guidance on international political * * * and general organizational and administrative questions * * *."

Membership: *AGRICULTURE*, Bureau of Budget, Commerce, Defense, Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), Interior, International Cooperation Administration (ICA), Labor, Treasury, and State.

Interdepartmental Committee on Education Activities in International Organizations (ICEA):

Functions: Advises Secretary of State on education problems and developments in such organizations as Organization of American States, International Bureau of Education, and UNESCO.

Membership: HEW, Agriculture, ICA, Labor, *State* and USIA.

Interdepartmental Committee on Foreign Policy relating to Human Rights (CHR):

Functions: Advises Secretary of State on human rights questions in U.N.

Membership: *STATE*, HEW, Interior, Justice, Labor.

Interdepartmental Committee on International Labor Policy (ILP):

Functions: Advises Secretary of State on U.S. policies in U.N. (ILO).

Membership: *LABOR*, Commerce, HEW, ICA, *State*, USIA, and Agriculture.

Interdepartmental Committee on International Social Welfare Policy (SOC):

Functions: Advises Secretary of State on social questions in the U.N.

Membership: *HEW*, Agriculture,, Justice, Labor, State, ICA, Bureau of Budget, Interior, HHFA, and Commerce (Bureau of Census), Veterans Administration.

Federal Committee on International Statistics:

Functions: To advise the Division of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget, respecting the coordination of the international statistical interests and activities of this Government and informally to advise and assist the U.S. member of the U.N. Statistical Commission.

Members: *BUREAU OF THE BUDGET*, Agriculture, Council of Economic Advisers, Commerce, ICA, HEW, Federal Reserve Board, Export-Import Bank, Interior, Labor, Securities and Exchange Commission, State, Tariff, Treasury, Civil Aeronautics Board, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems (NAC):

Functions: Coordinates policies and operations of U.S. representatives on International Bank and International Monetary Fund, the Export-Import Bank of Washington, and all other government agencies engaged in foreign loans and foreign financial exchange and monetary transactions.

Membership: *TREASURY*, Commerce, Export-Import Bank, Federal Reserve Board, State.

¹The agency furnishing the Committee Chairman is listed first in capital letters. The agency furnishing the Executive Secretary is italicized.

Telecommunications Coordinating Committee (TCC):

Functions: Advises Secretary of State on telecommunications problems insofar as they concern international relations.

Membership: STATE, Commerce, Federal Aviation Agency, Federal Communications Commission, Army, Navy, Air Force, Treasury (Coast Guard), USA.

United Nations Economic Committee (UNEC):

Functions: Advises the Secretary of State on economic policy and technical assistance questions in connection with the work of U.N. organs and specialized agencies, as well as other intergovernmental organizations in the economic field that are not treated by a specialized interdepartmental committee.

Membership: STATE, Agriculture, Bureau of the Budget, Commerce, Council of Economic Advisers, Federal Reserve Board, HEW, Housing and Home Finance, Interior, ICA, Labor, Treasury.

Shipping Coordination Committee (SHG):

Functions: Advises the Secretary of State; coordinates interdepartmental and shipping industry views on international maritime subjects—particularly with regard to the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization.

Membership: STATE, Navy, ICA, Maritime Administration, Coast Guard, Bureau of Customs, Commerce.

(Revised March 16, 1961.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Secretary, I want to thank you and members of your staff for taking your time not only to appear here, but to be as thoroughly prepared as you have been on this complex organizational matter. Your testimony certainly has been helpful to me and I know all the members of our committee. I don't begin to say that any of us understand it all, but at least we have scratched the surface.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I don't pretend to say I understand it either.

Mr. FASCELL. I hope we can be helpful to you and we can be mutually helpful in our positions.

We will probably take the opportunity of calling on you from time to time. We assure you of our interest and our desire to cooperate in every way possible. We take this meeting this morning, your participation and that of your staff, and your presentation, as a very sincere effort on your part to cooperate with us for which we are very grateful.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I think, Mr. Chairman, there are one or two subjects which might be useful to discuss in more detail as we go along this spring.

One of them is the financing of the Congo operation which is pretty costly for the United States and very important, and is a highly political issue internationally where the Soviets are refusing to put up a dime, or even a ruble—of which I believe the true value is less than a dime.

Mr. FASCELL. I am sure our committee will be interested.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Even though this is not a legislative subcommittee, as I understand it, there are some important issues of substance that we face.

Mr. FASCELL. We could be legislative from the standpoint of a policy determination by merely an expression of the intent of Congress, or the intent of the committee, for that matter. In that sense we could be legislative.

Mr. CLEVELAND. There are some issues coming up also in connection with the U.N. Participation Act, mostly to get a little more flexibility into Mr. Stevenson's mission up there.

For example, it is impossible under present conditions for some of the senior people—even of ambassadorial rank—to represent the

United States in some of the major organs. The deputy representative can't represent the United States in the Security Council because the organization chart is a little too rigidly set up in the U.N. Participation Act, so we would like to loosen the thing up so he can use his whole team more flexibly there. I think it would be well to work these things out with your subcommittee.

Mr. FASCELL. We would be very happy to go into it with you at any time, whenever you are prepared.

Mr. MERROW. On that first point you just made, it is rather disconcerting that the Soviet Union is not paying anything for the Congo operation and I suppose that is true of the other Communist countries in the U.N., is it not?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Yes, they do seem to follow.

Mr. MERROW. I don't know whether there is much we can do about it, but has there been any thought given to ways and means of getting them to contribute? I doubt if we have publicized the fact enough that they aren't contributing. If we could crystallize opinion in the world somehow, perhaps we could get something out of them. I think that is one of the most disconcerting things in connection with this operation.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Well, this is true, Mr. Merrow. It is something of a two-edged sword in an interesting way. This kind of money is power. We put up such a large share of the Congo operation—close to half of it, in 1960—that we have, in a sense, in our hands the power to stop this operation any day of the week. It is a little surprising to me that the Russians, who understand the power of ideas so well, don't yet understand the power of money very well. We are perhaps in reverse. We understand the power of money and don't understand the power of ideology.

Mr. MERROW. Your point is well made.

Mr. CLEVELAND. But if they and their satellites were putting up a third—they keep talking about tripartitism—if they were putting up a third of the cost of this operation, they could make trouble for Hamarskjold by continually threatening to pull the plug, you see.

As it is, they have sort of voted themselves out. This may, in history books, turn out to be as comparable an error on their part to staying off the Security Council just when they were going to unleash the North Koreans in 1950, which was a very bad error of tactics, obviously. It was bad coordination somehow inside their own government.

Mr. MERROW. We could expand at some length on the power of ideas. I think we should do very much more in this field than we are doing. That is why I have introduced a bill to establish a Department of Public Information.

Mr. CLEVELAND. That is right. This is a subject about which I feel very strongly perhaps as a result of having made my living as a writer for several years. It is very important.

Mr. FASCELL. Is there anything additional?

If not, thanks once again, Mr. Secretary.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)

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