

CONCEPTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Are Our Present Policies Suitable to Our Aims and Abilities?

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There are a number of reasons to believe that fundamental changes are necessary in United States foreign policy, and some of these reasons have been developed in recent statements by Senator William J. Fulbright (Arkansas) of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Richard Russell (Georgia) of the Armed Services Committee, Senator Frank Church (Idaho), Senator Wayne Morse (Oregon) and others. In such a reconsideration, the basic *objectives*, the *means* for achieving them, and the *limitations* of American capability should be considered.

The American people, one fairly assumes, want to maintain political independence, economic prosperity, high culture, and the general respect for their country generally accorded after World War II except in the Communist world, a respect which more recently has suffered considerable diminution both in the uncommitted world and among America's allies. Few Americans want United States dominance in the world, or power for power's sake, though some of its actions seem to have given some states this impression, accounting, perhaps, for the diminution of respect for the U.S. notably in France and in Africa.

The achievement of the aims mentioned depends on proper domestic policies, but their full realization seems hardly probable except in a world which is relatively peaceful, which is increasingly prosperous, and in which the occurrence of nuclear war is extremely improbable. In a world of high tensions, all states tend to become military states, defense requirements take precedence over domestic policy, democracy languishes, and civil liberties are neglected.

In the shrinking world of today, a world in which every state is vulnerable to attack from anywhere in the world, regional policies are obsolete. The world as a whole must be secure. Foreign policy directed toward the development of a stable, peaceful and prosperous world is of major importance, particularly for states like the United States with a dem-

ocratic constitution likely to be subverted under conditions of high international tensions.

The issue is, therefore, presented: what can the United States Government do to promote the realization of such a world and to maintain it? The first problem is to develop a correct image of such a world, a world which it is possible to realize and one which is capable of maintaining peace and stability and of advancing general world prosperity. There seems to be a general consensus among governments that such a world would allow each sovereign state to develop its own institutions in its own way so long as they do not encroach upon the equal opportunity of other states to do the same. This is the conception which international law has had for the last few centuries. It is the conception of the United Nations Charter based upon the sovereign equality of all its members, their freedom from use or threat of force by any state, or from intervention in their domestic jurisdictions. This concept of states with different social and economic systems peacefully coexisting and cooperating to maintain this image can be contrasted with two other familiar concepts.

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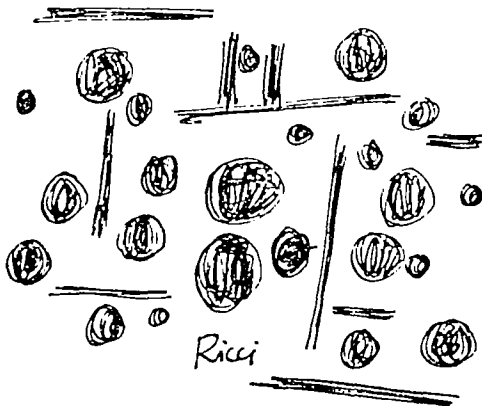
The first is isolationism: each state defends itself by its own forces and refrains from cooperating in collective security, remaining neutral in foreign wars. This was a policy familiar in the United States prior to the twentieth century but one which few responsible people consider feasible in the shrunken world of today.

The other opposing concept is that variously called interventionism, reformism, or imperialism: the state continually tries, by force or subversion, to impose its conception of a perfect world and perfect institutions upon other states. This policy was familiar in imperialisms of the past, and it has been associated with vigorous ideologies such as those operating in the French revolution, the Communist revolution and to some extent the American revolution. The Communists have repudiated this conception, more in Russia than in China, but even the most

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rigorous Communists seem to recognize that for a long time varied social and economic systems are going to have to coexist in the world, by the necessities of balancing power, if not by conviction of the merits of peaceful coexistence. This form of thinking is not, however, confined to the Communists. There are Americans who are so convinced that the American institutions for maintaining the dignity of man are superior to any others that they believe the United States should continuously use its influence and its power to defend and expand them everywhere, not only against external attack and subversion, but also against internal dictatorship or revolution. Such a policy denies the right of self-determination, but its adherents think it essential for the maintenance of the dignity of man and for human progress. Others characterize it as imperialism, motivated either by the spirit of aggrandizement or by ignorance of the conditions and desires of other peoples.

Reflection on these alternatives of internationalism, isolationism, and interventionism should make it clear that, at least for the foreseeable future, policies based on internationalism, which places the rights of nations ahead of any self-interpretation of the rights of man, is superior to policies either of isolationism or of interventionism.



The details of any international policy should doubtless vary in different parts of the world and under different conditions, but initial efforts should be made to promote in this country a general image of a peacefully coexisting world and some understanding of the detailed meaning of this concept, especially as it is set forth in the United Nations Charter. With this image established, immediate efforts should be made to relax tensions between the Communist and Western countries (the East-West problem), and to improve relations between the devel-

oped and the underdeveloped, usually unaligned, countries, through policies assuring these countries of respect for their independence and of assistance in developing their economies (the North-South problem).

For this purpose it seems particularly important to clarify in legal terms the meanings of the Charter principles: no use or threat of force in international relations against the territorial integrity or political independence of other states, and non-intervention in their domestic jurisdiction. The first of these seems to prohibit military attacks upon other states (either their territory or their ships at sea) thus barring the use of military force in international relations, except as provided in the Charter, in individual or collective self-defense against armed attack (Art. 51) or in collective security operations under the authority of the United Nations (Art. 39). Acts of so called "indirect aggression," such as subversion, infiltration, economic assistance to guerrillas, etc. should be regarded, not as aggressions justifying military action in defense, but rather as interventions which should be dealt with by different methods.

It is difficult to draw the line between such illegitimate interventions in the domestic jurisdiction of another state and proper exertions of influence through diplomatic communication, debate in United Nations organs, and the maintenance of information agencies. It is important that states be free to develop their own models of government and economy for domestic progress without interference, but it is also important that they should be able to communicate the results of their efforts to other states in order that human progress may be promoted according to the Jeffersonian thesis that the best ideas will prevail in a free market of opinion. The problem of distinguishing proper exertions of influence from improper interventions is, however, frequently difficult to solve.

It is to be expected that the United States will seek to promote its conceptions of human dignity based on democracy and respect for civil liberties, and that the Soviet Union will seek to promote its conception of human dignity through centralized planning and the development of social and economic rights of individuals. The debate on the universal declaration of human rights in the United Nations, and on covenants to implement this declaration, indicates the diversity of views on what is essential for human dignity at various stages of economic development. But the debate also indicates the possibility

of gradual accommodation, if each becomes aware of the meaning of other conceptions, and adapts creatively rather than insisting dogmatically on the superiority of its own traditions for everyone.

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A policy directed toward the domestic realization of American values and respecting the equal rights of other countries to pursue within their territories their own values is a desirable policy; in fact one could say that it is necessary for a stable world. In pursuing such a policy it should be realized, as it was in the early stages of American history, that every state as a matter of domestic jurisdiction enjoys the "right of revolution" and that, therefore, intervention at the request either of the recognized government or of the insurgents is not permissible when domestic strife exists in a foreign country. The theory that such intervention on request of the recognized government is permissible denies the right of revolution and encourages intervention in behalf of the insurgents, thus escalating internal to international war. On the other hand, intervention at the request of the insurgents denies the right of the government to govern and also invites counter-intervention by other states. Non-intervention on either side in domestic strife, required by inter-American conventions and accepted by most of the powers during the Spanish Civil War of the 1930's, is the only proper policy.

To pursue this policy, it is necessary sharply to distinguish *civil strife* from *foreign aggression*. Collective self-defense or intervention for collective security at the request of the United Nations in cases of aggression is, of course, permissible under the Charter. Furthermore, if in a particular situation there is danger that civil strife may, through foreign interventions and counter-interventions, develop into international war it is permissible and may be necessary for the United Nations, but not for countries individually, to intervene. Its explicit power to deal with "threats" to international peace and security permits the United Nations to take action to stop civil strife which threatens international peace as it did in the Congo, but such intervention by the United Nations is in a wholly different category from interventions by nations individually.

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This outline of United States policy is based on four assumptions which many have questioned and may continue to question.

First, that policy should seek to prevent nuclear war by cooperating for the development of a world

reasonably satisfactory to all, rather than by building superior power to deter others from initiating such a war. The policy of building armaments as a support of diplomatic policy whether by a state or an alliance leads to rivalry, because opponents will not regard such arms as intended solely for deterrence or defense. Threats to use such arms must be credible if they are to serve as instruments of policy, but incredible, except against nuclear first strike, if they are to serve as instruments of mutual deterrence. A threat cannot be both credible and incredible at the same time. The problem of war concerns the whole world not just one part of it, and it is primarily a psychological not a technological problem.

Second, the world must be treated as a moral order rather than a natural order. In the nuclear age states can survive only through creating a moral and legal order reasonably satisfactory to all, and thus serving the self-interest of all, rather than by conviction that survival depends on individual superiority in a struggle for existence certain to eventuate in nuclear war. Each state, in a shrinking world, must seek its security by subordinating some of its immediate interests to the long run interest of all in a stable and peaceful world.

Third, at the present time only a world based upon the concepts of internationalism, in which sovereign states peacefully coexist and cooperate, is feasible. These concepts must take priority over concepts of isolationism, of interventionism and even of a cosmopolitanism, whether of religion or ideology, which conceives of a human order in which state boundaries are insignificant and the human race operates as a single unit to protect the rights of man. It is possible that in a remote future such a world community, whether sustained by conscience or world government, will become feasible, but at the present time with wide diversity of cultures, conditions and ideals in the world, efforts to make any one of these conceptions universal militates against the only possible peaceful order.

Finally, this conception of an international order rests upon a sharp distinction between domestic and international questions, it accords each state self-determination and freedom to deal with its domestic problems, including revolutionary movements, in its own way, and it defines domestic problems as those which impose upon the state no international obligations. If international obligations exist, their maintenance through diplomacy, the United Nations, or adjudication should be accepted by all states and not considered encroachments upon their domestic jurisdictions.