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## FOREIGN AID

A Thesis Presented to The Graduate Faculty University of Richmond

## Department of Political Science

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

by

Lloyd Jefferson Barbee, Jr.

August 1962

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This Thesis is dedicated to my wife, Beverly Gustafson Barbee, and my three children, Michael Lloyd, Jackie Kay, and Debra Ann.

#### PREFACE

In this thesis I have pointed out the types of Foreign Aid the United States of America has with the other nations of the world. Special emphasis has been put on the Latin American Nations. In the concluding chapter, I have pointed out why I think we need a good strong Foreign Aid Policy in order to prevent a balanceof-power among the nations of the Earth.

I find it extremely difficult to adequately express the gratitude that I have for those that have so eagerly helped me open new doors to knowledge. I am, therefore, particularly indebted to the faculty of the University of Richmond, especially Dr. Ralph McDanel and Dr. Spencer Albright for the guidance they have given me, both on the undergraduate and graduate level. My thanks are also extended to the staffs of the Library of the University of Richmond, the Virginia State Library, and Richmond Professional Institute Library.

and three children, the writing of this thesis would not have been possible.

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#### CHAPTER I

## OUR FOREIGN AID POLICY

Our Foreign Aid Policy has been to help those friendly countries that need our assistance. There have been several times in history when this philosophy has not been to our advantage. A very good example of this was December 7, 1941, when the Japanese pulled a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. We sold or traded scrap metal to the Japanese for little trinkets. Little did we know at that time that the Japanese would give us the metal back in the manner that they did.

For many years we have tried to buy friends and convert them to our way of thinking. I think that a man can be bought, but I do not believe that a man's opinions or basic ideas can be rapidly changed because of money. When a person or nation is bought by a stronger and wealthier person or nation, there is going to be a great deal of resentment toward the stronger power. Minority groups have been fighting for equality or power for many centuries, and I think they will for centuries in the future.

I often wonder how long we would give some of these backward nations of the world, if they refused to do us a favor in return. Many of the people today think we are putting too much money into many of the foreign countries. However, if we analyze the world problem today and see it as a Bipolar or a Tripolar world, we can see clearly that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would be assisting the neutral powers more than they are at present if we were to stop our aid. The United States of America cannot do this because we need as many friendly powers around the world as we can get. We need Iraq, Iran, and Indonesia almost as much as they need us. Since we are no longer getting sugar from Cuba, we need Indonesia for this commodity. If we could not get crude oil from the East, then we would have to completely revolutionize our machinery or find something that would take the place of our vital lubricants.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics can spend more freely because everyone works for the good of the government and the nation. Therefore, the wealth of the nation is largely controlled by the national government. The spending of the United States of America is greatly limited because the money is controlled by big business and industry.

Since electricians and mechanics at Cape Canaveral and other such installations are paid approximately six dollars per hour, we are limited as to the number of such workers we can get at these prices. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not hindered by these things,

because the government officials pay their workers exactly what they want to pay them, and if the people refuse to work for the government, they will be severely dealt with. I certainly do not sanction the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, however, we must agree their government has made some rapid progress since 1919. The Communist Government got its foothold in St. Petersburg, and today it controls approximately one-third of the people and one-fifth of the land area of the earth.

The security of the United States of America in today's world is built upon the concept of collective security. Our alliance system reflects the fundamental fact that the security and general welfare of the United States of America cannot be separated from that of the rest of the free world. The most compelling reason for our participation is that our own national self-interest is best served if the Communists are restrained from expanding their control over any more territory.

Against the Communist forces today, no free nation, including the United States of America, can individually be safe, nor can the United States of America alone assume complete responsibility for defending the entire free world. Therefore, alliances and agreements are needed among the free world. The world also needs a strong International Court of Justice to back up these alliances and agreements.

Despite the wealth and resources, the United States of America does not have the manpower, the materials, or the wealth to defend the entire free world against Communist aggression.

The Foreign Aid Program of the United States of America is a must to the existence of the nations of the free world. People buy cars with large fins and homes with large picture windows, which have no earthly value as far as our existence is concerned. These are generally the people that complain about spending too much for foreign aid. The people of the United States of America need to put values in their proper place.

#### CHAPTER II

## TYPES OF FOREIGN AID

January 1, 1962 we had foreign aid agreements with one hundred five countries in all parts of the world. Most of these range from atomic energy to trade and commerce. The main types of foreign aid are agricultural commodities, amity, atomic energy, aviation, defense, economic and technical cooperation, education, finance, health end sanitation, highways, lend-lease, mapping, maritime matters, military missions, mutual security, narcotic drugs, peace corps, postal, relief supplies and packages, surplus property, telecommunications, trade and commerce, tracking stations, and weather stations.

## AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES

Agricultural commodities agreements between the United States of America and other nations are basically the same. The major purposes are to aid the other nations by trading surplus commodities and not to trade these products to other nations without the consent of the nation from which the product came. However, there are some exceptions to this and where the exception enters there is an agreement not to trade these commodities with any unfriendly nations or powers. All these agreements explicitly state that the nations will not flood the market to the extent that world prices will be disrupted.

We have agricultural commodity agreements with the 1

following nations.

Argentina Austria Bolivia Brazil Burma Ceylon Chile China Colombia Congo (Leopoldville) Costa Rica Cyprus Ecuador El Salvador Finland France Federal Republic of Germany Greece Haiti Honduras Iceland India Indonesia Iran Israel

Italy Japan Korea Mexico Netherlands Nicaragua Pakistan Paraguay Peru Philippines Poland Portugal Spain Sudan Syrian Arab Ropublic Thailand Tunisia Turkey United Arab Republic United Kingdom Uruguay Venezuela Vict-Nam Yugoslavia

#### AMITY

Through amity agreements we have established a good relationship among several nations. This helps lead to more harmonious foreign trade and defense. As a general rule, declaring war on one of these nations is like declaring war on all of them.

1. Department of State, <u>Treatles in Force</u>: <u>Jan-</u> <u>uary 1, 1962</u>. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 3-218, passim. Practically all of these agreements are made with Latin American countries. The two exceptions are Canada and the United Kingdom.

We have amity agreements with the following 2 nations:

Brazil	Ecuador
Canada	Guatemala
Chile	United Kingdom
Colombia	Venezuela

#### ATOMIC ENERGY

Most of our atomic energy agreements are specifically for peace and not for war. We have loaned or sold several nations nuclear reactors and other equipment for the production of electricity. The secrets of the production of atomic energy have not been revealed to all the nations.

Many of the atomic and other nuclear weapons have been sold to other nations, but not on a large scale. We have also traded many nuclear secrets with the United Kingdom.

The main agreement made with the other nations is that the United States of America will not be responsible for any damage that is caused after the materials have been received by the government, or an authorized repre-

## sentative of the government.

We have atomic energy agreements with the follow-3 ing nations:

> Argentina Australia Austria Bolgium Brazil Canada Chile China Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Denmark Ecuador France Greece Guatemala India Indonesia Iran Ireland Israel

Italy Japan Korea Lebanon Netherlands New Zealand Nicarague Norwey Peru Philippines Portugal South Africa Spain Sweden Switzerland Thailand Turkey United Kingdom Venezuela Viet-Nam Yugoslavia

Federal Republic of Germany Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

#### AVIATION

The government of the United States of America has agreed to build airfields and airports in many nations for military uses. However, a large number are also used for civilian planes.

In other nations such as the Federal Republic of Germany we have lent airplanes, generally for a period of

five years. These planes are to be returned to the United States of America at the end of this time in good condition. Our government realizes that the planes will show reasonable wear during the five years.

We have sent pilots to train the future pilots of other nations. This is a form of aid even if the other nations such as Argentina and others are paying for these pilot trainers.

We have aviation agreements with the following 4 nations:

Australia Austria Belgium Bolivia Brazil Burma Canada Ceylon Chile China Colombia Congo (Brazzaville) Costa Rica Cuba Cyprus Czechoslovakia Donmark Dominican Republic Ecuador Finland France Federal Republic of Germany Ghana Greece Guatemala 24 25 333

Honduras Iceland India Indonesia Iran Ireland Israel Italy Javan Korea Lebanon Liberia Malaya Mexico Netherlands New Zealand Nicaragua Nigeria "orway akistan ranama Paraguay Peru Portugal Sierra Leone

South Africa Spain Sweden Switzerland Syrian Arab Republic

Thailand Turkey United Arab Republic United Kingdom Uruguay

## Venezuela

#### DEFENSE

This is perhaps the broadest type of foreign aid that we have and as a general rule varies with each nation. However, there are a few things that are common to most nations. We agree to defend those nations that we have agreements to defend unless the aggression is on their part. There have been several occasions in the past twenty years when we have honored these defense agreements, such as with Korea.

We have loaned ships and planes to several nations, such as Argentina, Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany, for a period of five years. These ships and planes are to be kept in good condition, with reasonable wear, and returned to the United States of America in such condition. The United States of America reserves the right to recall these vessels on a thirty day notice if needed for her own defense.

The defense agreements with many of the large nations are bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral. This is especially true because of organizations such as the

United Nations, and the Organization of American States. The United States of America has defense agreements 5 with the following nations:

Argentina	Japan
Australia	Norea
Belgium	Lebanon
Bolivia	Liberia
Brazil	Libya
Burma	Luxembourg
Cambodia	Malaya
<sup>°</sup> Canada	Mal1
Ceylon	Netherlands
Chile	New Zeeland
China	Nicaragua
Cuba	Nigeria
Cyprus	Norway
Denmark	Pakistan
Dominican Republic	Panama
Ecuador	Peru
Ethiopia (1999) and the second second	Philippines
France	Portugal
Federal Republic of Germany	Saudi Arabia
Ghana	Sierra Leone
Greeco	South Africa
Guatencla	Spain
Haiti see al	Sweden
Honduras	Thailand
Iceland	Turkey
India	Unitod Arab Republic
Indonesia	United Kingdom
Iran	Uruguay
Iraq market the	Viet-Nam
Israel	Federation of West Indies
Italy	Yugoslavia

ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION Economic and technical aid are closely related because our technical aid has helped many nations become more economically stable; however, there are very few

nations that are truly economically stable. Some of the more stable nations are the United States of America, United Kingdom, Canada, Uruguay, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Our government spends around two billion dollars per year for foreign aid. The people of the United States of America send millions of dollars in the way of CARE packages and for Radio Free Europe. These things are free gifts to other nations.

Our private enterprises have done wonders in foreign nations by building plants and investing in banks and other foreign enterprises. These companies, such as Ford Motor Company, and Standard Oil of New Jersey, have taken skilled workers to other nations and these skilled men have trained non-skilled workers. Therefore, jobs have been provided for millions of people around the world.

Our government has made this private investing possible because we have established good relations with many other nations, and above all our government guarantees a large percentage of the investments made in other nations.

Technical aid has also been provided in the military realm through military training missions to several nations, such as South Korea and Viet-Nam.

We have economic and technical cooperation agree-

ments with the following nations:

Afghanistan Argentina Australia Austria Bolgium Bolivia Brazil Burna Cambodia Cameroon Canada Cøylon Chilo China Congo (Brazzavillo) Costa Rica Cuba Cyprus Dahoney Donmark Ecuador El Salvador Ethiopia France Federal Republic of Germany Ghana Greece all and the second states of the second Guatemala Heiti Honduras Icoland India . Indonesia Iran Iraq Igrael Italy Ivory Coast Japan Jordan Korea 👘

LGOB Lobanon Liboria Libya Luxobdourg Malagasy Ropublic Malaya Mali Morico Morocco Nepal Nothorlands Nicaragua -Nigor -Nigoria Normay Pakistan Panana Paraguey Poru Philippines Portugal. Baudi Arabia Senogal Sierra Leone Somali Ropublic Spain Sudan Swodon Syrlan Areb Republic Thalland Togo Tunicia Turkey United Arab Republic United Kingdom Upper Volta Uniquey Vonezuela Vict-Nam Yoman

Yugoslavia

1.12

6. 1011.

pp. 3-218, passim.

Б

#### EDUCATION

This phase of foreign aid is in several cases overlapping with other types of foreign aid such as military and army missions. However, we have provided money to many nations to build schools and to help some of the more backward nations to become better educated. Most of the educational aid has been to bring foreign students to this nation to study.

Since the formation of the Peace Corps, many teachers have gone to foreign nations to help educate those that need our assistance. This is regarded as one of the best types of foreign aid, because we are now working very closely with the people that need our assistance and probably could not have afforded it any other way. We have educational agreements with the following 7 nations:

Argentina Australia Austria Belgium Brazil Burma Ceylon Chile China Colombia Denmark Ecuador Ethiopia

Finland France Federal Republic of Germany Greece Iceland India C 39.44 Iran Iraq Ireland 经股份股份 的复数形式 Israel Italy Japan Korea

Luxembourg Nepal Netherlands New Zealand Norway Pakistan Paraguay Peru Philippines Portugal South Africa Spain Sweden Thailand Turkey United Arab Republic United Kingdom Uruguay

#### FINANCE

This type of aid deals basically with the lending of money to nations to help improve their economy and on occasions to help them finance their wars or their recovery, such as the United Kingdom and France. Honey has been loaned to finance the development of natural resources.

It is important to note that quite frequently we have been repaid with the resources that we need and therefore are helping ourselves as well as the other nations. Brazil's sodium phosphate and Chile's copper are examples of this.

We have finance agreements with the following 8 nations:

Afghanistan Argentina Austria Belgium Bolivia Burma Canada Chile Costa Rica Cuba Czechoslovakia Denmark Ecuador El Salvador

Estonia Finland France Foderal Republic of Germany Ghana Groeco Guatemala Haiti Hondures Hungary India Iran Iroland Israel Italy Ivory Coast Japan Jordan Korea Latvia Liberia

Lithuania Luxenbourg Malaya Morocco Nonal Notherlands Nicaragua Norway Pakistan Panama Paraguay Poru Philippines Portugal Sierra Loone Sudan Tunisia Turkey United Kingdom Vict-Nam Yugoalavia

#### HEALTH AND BANITATION

We have health and senitation agreements with 9 Canada, Nationalist China, Philippines, and Thailand. The purpose of this type aid is to help these nations with their health and sanitation programs. The last three of these have the greatest problems due to over population. In many parts of the far east, the people use ditches along the side of the street to deposit their body waste. We are trying to help these nations to eliminate these practices.

Our agreements with Canada are of a different

9. Ibid. pp. 3-218, passim.

nature. Here we are concerned mostly with the health of the people and produce that travel across our boundaries.

HIGHWAYS

We have built highways and helped to finance the

building of others in order to facilitate better travel and 10 means of trade within the following nations:

> Canada Costa Rica El Salvador Guatemala

Honduras India Nepal Nicaragua

Panama

#### LEND-LEASE

Most of the lend-lease agreements are a carryover from World War II. Material aid in the form of airplanes, munitions, tools and food, was granted to foreign nations whose defense was deemed vital to the defense of the United States of America, under the provision of the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941.

We still have lend-lease agreements with the follow-11 ing nations:

> Australia Belgium Brazil China Czechoslovakia Ethiopia

France Greece Iceland India Iraq Liberia

· 医根子宫 化酸盐 医水白磷酸 医软骨 网络花枝 网络

10. <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 3-218, passim. <u>11. Ibid</u>. pp. 3-218, passim. LuxembourgPolandNetherlandsSouth AfricaNew ZealandTurkeyNorwayUnited KingdomPakistanYugoslaviaUnion of Soviet Socialist Republics

## MARITIME MATTERS

These agreements are more important than the title might suggest. Ships need repairs, fuel and supplies in foreign ports and these agreements allow these transactions to be carried out smoothly. During the Korean conflict, United States of America ships were fueled and supplied by United Kingdom, Japanese and many other civilian ships.

Our ships are repaired in many foreign ports and many foreign ships are repaired in our ports. Since these ships are operating in foreign and international waters, there must be international laws and agreements that they abide by.

Maritime and warships have an international language that they all understand. This language is spoken with different color flags and special lights. It would be a good idea if all people had an international language.

We have maritime agreements with the following 12 nations:

Argentina Japan Australia Korea Brazil Nex1co Canada Norway Chile Pakistan China Panama Colombia Peru Cuba Philippines Denmark Poland Dominican Republic Portugal. Ecuador Spain Estonia Sweden Federal Republic of Germany Thailand Turkey Greece Haiti Venezuela Italy Yugoslavia Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Military Affairs Program is a part of our broad program of aid to foreign countries, which in total is called the Foreign Assistance Program. This program, including military assistance, comes under the supervision and general direction of the Secretary of State.

Authority for carrying out the Military Affairs Programs stems from Public Laws 87-195 and the President. His principal advisors on military aid are the Secretary of State for foreign policy, the Bureau of Budget for budgetary policy, and the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff for strategic and military guidance. The Secretary of Defense is responsible for the program's operation.

men in the missions who determine largely the productivity

of the program because their knowledge, efforts, perseverance, and tact are deciding factors. They arrange for receipt and transfer of materials in the foreign countries, they provide advisory services and technical assistance, they report on the utilization of the materials furnished, and they make recommendations to the unified commanders.

MISSIONS, MILITARY AFFAIRS

These military missions are paid for by the foreign nations. We send military men to the various nations to train their military personnel. Until April 1, 1959 the foreign governments paid the men; however, this practice was discontinued because Congress thought it would be better if we paid our own servicemen. Now the foreign governments pay the United States of America for the services of these men.

The men in the missions receive the same facilities for their families as the men of the regular armed forces. These men perform administrative and training duties, but they have no command duties. They receive the same immunities as a consul while serving as a member of the mission.

We have military affairs missions in the following 13 nations:

Argentina Austria Bolivia Brazil Canada Chile China Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Eouador El Salvador France Federal Republic of Germany Greece Guatemala Haiti Honduras Indonesia Iran Korea Liberia Nicaragua Panama Paraguay Peru Turkey Uruguay Venezuela United Kingdom

## RELIEF SUPPLIES AND PACKAGES

As of January 1, 1962 we were sending relief Supplies and packages to twenty-seven nations. Relief is sent for many reasons, such as Chile because of her for any reasons, such as Chile because of her for and viet-Nam because of her recent revolts.

Most of the relief packages are being sent to refugees in places like the Federal Republic of Germany, Jordan, and Nationalist China. During the past few years we have had large numbers of refugees coming from Cuba to our nation.

We have relief supplies and packages agreements 14. with the following nations:

Afghanistan Austria Bolivia Chile China Ecuador France Federal Republic of Germany

14. Ibid. pp. 3-218, passim.

Ghana Greece Haiti Honduras Indic Iran Italy Jordan Korea Libya Netherlands Norway Fakistan Paraguay Peru Philippines United Arab Republic Viet-Nom

Yugoslovia

## SURPLUS PROPERTY

The United States of America has an agreement with nine nations to sell them our surplus military property at about one-half actual cost. Under this agreement we sell electric motors, controllers, tools, munitions, machinery, small boats, and many other types of surplus property.

Most of these materials could be sold here in our nation; however, by selling them abroad we are able to establish a more sound relationship with our allies that need these materials.

Our surplus property agreements are with:

Canada China Federal Republic of Germany Indonesia

Italy Korsa Netherlands Poland

#### Turkey

#### TELECOMMUNICATIONS

By means of telecommunications the United States of America and her allies can send telegraph, radio, and

15. Ibid. pp. 3-218, passim.

television messages around the world rapidly. This means of exchange is essential to the existence of the free world, especially in case of an attack on one of the smaller nations.

We maintain telecommunication agreements with two communist nations because we have consuls and ambassadors in these nations, and they in turn have theirs in our nation. Our nation maintains telecommunication agreements 16 with the following nations:

Bolivia		Honduras
Canada		Iceland
Ceylon		Liberia
Chile		Luxembourg
Costa Rica	· ·	Mexico
Cuba	*	Nicaragua
Denmark	and the second second	Panama
Ecuador		Paraguay
France		Poru
Greece		United Kingdom
Haiti		Venezuela
	Republic	

Federal Republic of Germany Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

TRADE AND COMMERCE

We have trade and commerce agreements with half the nations of the world, and several of these are communist nations. The main trade agreement is not to flood the world market with any one or more products so that the economy would be disrupted.

No nation could exist over a long period of time without the ability to trade with other nations. The basic

existence of all mankind is to trade his services or products for those of others. The nations of Europe realize this and have formed the Common Market.

Developing better trade relations with Europe and the rest of the world will definitely hurt many of the small businesses in our nation unless they seek to take advantage of governmental loans to improve and modernize their business.

President Kennedy is right in wanting to establish strong trade agreements with Europe. There are many types of trade that we cannot afford to lose. If we had to depend solely on our own petroleum supply, it would be exhausted in ten years. This in itself would be a disaster in a machine age.

We need the bauxite from Surinam, copper from Chile, sugar from Indonesia, oil from Iraq and Iran, and many other products from other nations, as much as they need our products.

Our nation has trade and commerce agreements with 17 the following nations:

> Canada Chile Chine Colombia Costa Rica Cuba

Albania

Austria

Belgium

Bolivia

Bulgaria

Argentina

**Ozechoslovakia** Notherlands Donmark Nicaragua El Salvador Norway Estonia Pakistan Ethiopia Panama Finland Paraguay France Poru Federal Republic of Germany Philippines Greece Poland Guatemala Portugal Haiti Saudi Arabia Honduras South Africa Iceland Spain India Sweden Iran Switzerland Irac Thailand Ireland Tonga Israel Turkey Italy United Areb Republic Japan United Kingdom Korea Uruguay Latvia Venezuela Liberia Viet-Nam Liechtenstein Yemen Lithuania Yugoslovia Nepal Zanzibar

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

#### TRACKING STATIONS

Our government has tracking stations in nine nations. These stations are built by our government and maintained and operated by our personnel; however, in many places our allies have some men in these stations. These stations are essential to the defense of our nation as well as our allies.

This year many of these stations have been used for tracking our two orbital flights around the earth, and will be used in the future for the same purpose.

Our tracking stations are located in the follow-

18 ing nations:

> Australia Canada Chile Ecuador United Kingdom

Mexico Nigeria South Africa Spain

#### WEATHER STATIONS

Our weather stations are very helpful to the nine nations in which they are located. These stations give warning of storms and earthquakes which allow the people to prepare before many of the storms reach the area. Weather forecasts are also very helpful to the farmers in the nations as well as those in the United States of America.

These stations have been helpful in the launching of our astronauts and will be in the future. These stations in other nations are as helpful to us as they are to the nation in which they are located.

We have weather stations in the following nations:

Australia	$= - \frac{\sqrt{2}}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \right) \left( \frac{1}{2} + $	Ecuador
Canada		France
Chile	1	Mexico
Colombia		Peru
United	Kingdom	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

18. <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 3-218, passim. 19. <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 3-218, passim.

#### CHAPTER III

### LATIN AMERICA

Although Latin America has many rich farms, busy industries, and modern cities, most of its people are very poor. Six in every ten Latin Americans are farmers, but most of them do not own the land they work on. They till the soil with orude hand tools to raise their crops. In city slums thousands of workers live in great hardship. In some countries, such as Uruguay, eighty-five per cent of the people can read and write, but only five per cent in other countries, such as Haiti, can do so.

The poverty of these people has led to great discontent. In many of these countries, this unrest and poverty has led to riots and revolutions.

Our government has offered the Latin American countries two billion dollars a year for ten years. The money is to be used to increase farms and factory production, raise the people's earnings, and improve living conditions. To get aid, Latin American countries must plan projects carefully and they must pass laws to help poor people own land. In August, 1961 at Montevideo in Uruguay, all the Latin American republics, except Cuba agreed to join this "Alliance for Progress."

Colombia has great mineral and forest resources.

International Agreements between the United States of America and some of the Latin American Nations.

#### ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

Argentina was the most interesting of the Latin American Nations and many of the agreements with other Latin American Nations are similar in many aspects to Argentina's agreements.

#### Atomic Energy

#### Article I

A. Subject to the limitations of Article Vy the parties hereto will exchange information in the following fields:

1. Design, construction and operation of research reactors and their use as research development and engineering tools and in medical therapy.

2. Health and safety problems related to the operation and use of research reactors. 3. The use of radioactive isotopes in physical and biological research, medical therapy, agriculture, and industry.

B. The application of the data is the responsibility of the party that receives the data and the giver of the data does not warrant the accuracy, completeness, or suitability of the data.20

Article II states that since some of the atomic energy materials are harmful unless handled properly, the Government of the Argentine Republic is responsible for

20. Department of State, <u>Treaties and other</u> <u>International Acts</u>: Series 4527 (Washington: Government Printing Office, June 1960). Hereafter, this source will be referred to as TIAS. all safe handling of the materials insofar as the Government of the United States is concerned.

The Government of the United States of America shall not be held liable for the material delivered to authorized private organizations after the materials have been delivered to the Commission of the Argentine Republic or to authorized private organizations or private individuals under its jurisdiction.

#### Article III

Both Farties agree to avail themselves as soon as practicable of the facilities and services of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to this end the Parties will consult with each other from time to time to determine in what respects, if any, they desire to modify the provisions of this agreement for cooperation.21

Article IV extends the agreement to July 28, 1962.

Article V states that the amendment goes into force on whatever date the Governments have received written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements for the entry into force and stay into force until the expiration date or until amended.

Army Mission to Argentina and the second

This agreement contains thirty-six articles dealing with the purpose and duration; composition of personnel;

De 21. Ibid.

duties, rank and precedence; privileges and immunities; compensation, transportation and other expenses; requisites and conditions; nonaccredited personnel. Some of the important articles are condensed as follows:

Article I states that the purpose of the mission
is to cooperate with the Argentine Army and its officers
and to act in an advisory capacity to improve the technical
efficiency and preparation of the Argentine Army.
Article III states that the agreement may be
broken if:

a) Thirty days written notice is given.

b) The entire personnel of the mission are recalled by the Government of the United States of America or at the request of the Argentine Republic.

c) Either party becomes involved in foreign or domestic hostilities.

3. Article VII states that if a person is recalled to the United States of America he is to be replaced by a person of equal ability or experience.

mission have no command duties.

5. Article X states that in performing their duties, members of the mission shall be responsible to the War Department, solely through the Chief of the Mission. 6. Article XI states that members shall serve at the same rank held in the United States Army and shall wear the uniform and insignia of the United States Army.

7. Article XII states that they shall receive the same privileges of the Argentine Army and shall be subjected to regulations and laws of the Argentine Republic.

8. Article XIII states that they shall be immune from civil jurisdiction of Argentine tribunals for acts in the performance of duty.

9. Article XIV states that members of the mission and their families are to be governed by the United States Armed Forces and are subjected to the same type of disciplinary action. They must be removed from the Argentine Republic at the request of the Argentine Republic. 10. Article XV states that the members of the mission shall receive the same immunity from taxes as the United States diplomats to the Argentine Republic.

11. Article XVI states that their household effects are immune from taxation of the Argentine Republic and can be brought in and out of the nation freely without customs check on the part of the Argentine Republic. 12. Articles XVII - XXVI state that the Argentine Republic shall bear the expenses of the mission and shall pay for the transportation of personnel and their household effects as well as one automobile. If the person

does not stay there for two years the United States of America will pay the transportation and expenses.

The Argentine Republic will also pay the hospital and medical expenses of personnel and families.

13. Article XXVIII states that the Argentine Republic agrees not to engage any service personnel of any foreign country that is not a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization except those engaged under previous agreements, or except by mutual agreement of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the 22 Argentine Republic.

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On April 1, 1960 the Government of the United States of America delivered two submarines to the Government of the Argentine Republic to be used for five years and must be returned to the Government of the United States of America if we need them to defend our nation. The Government of the Argentine Republic will maintain the ships while they are in their custody and will be liable for any harm brought to a third party.

The vessels will be used solely to maintain the legitimate self-defense of Argentina or to participate

22. TIAS. Series 4546, August 1960.

in the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Guaranty of Private Investments

23

In order to insure private investments in the Argentine Republic the two governments agree to maintain a stable monetary exchange and the private organizations must receive written approval of the Government of the Argentine Republic. The private capital will stimulate the economy of the Argentine Republic and build their trade especially 24 with the United States of America.

Terms of Nuclear Agreements

The terms of nuclear agreements between the governments of the Argentine Republic and the United States of America are paraphrased and listed as follows:

1. The equipment and materials to be acquired in accordance with this note are to be used for peaceful purposes only, and it is agreed that they will be used for no other purpose.

2. The Government of the Argentine Republic will procure, or arrange for the procurement of all equipment and materials to be financed under this agreement. The Government of the Argentine Republic will meet the costs of transportation, insurance while in transit, installation,

23. <u>TIAS</u>. Series 4455, April, 1960. 24. <u>TIAS</u>. Series 4799, December, 1959. and operation of this equipment and material.

3. At least fifty per cent of the gross tonnage which is financed under this agreement and which may be transported on ocean vessels will be transported on United States of America flag vessels, to the extent that such vessels are available at fair and reasonable rates for United States of America flag vessels.

4. The funds received by the United States of America will be used to purchase new materials in amounts not in excess of such prices as established by the United States Atomic Energy Commission; any difference between actual cost and the cost established by the commission cannot be applied to the purchase of other items.

5. The Government of the Argentine Republic will be notified promptly of any reimbursement due them as established by the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

6. The Government of the Argentine Republic has kindly undertaken to furnish copies of technical publications which derive from the use of equipment and materials financed under this agreement, and it is agreed that these publications will be provided from time to time to the Government of the United States of America. 7. The Government of the Argentine Republic has expressed a desire to provide an appropriate plaque acknowledging the assistance of the Government of the

United States of America; it is agreed that such a plaque will be permanently displayed in the laboratory in which the equipment and materials financed under this agreement are located.

8. The Government of the Argentine Republic will indemnify all liabilities from any case whatsoever, including a third part liability, which may result from the equip-25 ment or materials furnished.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities It is the agreement of both nations not to flood the world market with surplus agricultural commodities. Therefore, both governments agree to sell the exchange commodities in their nation at a fair price so their own economies can remain reasonably stable.

Both governments also agree not to sell the exchanged commodities to nations that are not friendly nor to other nations unless agreed upon by the nation from which the product 26 came.

## REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA

We do not have as many recent foreign aid agreements with the Republic of Bolivia as we do with many of the other Latin American nations. Two of the most recent agreements are the Surplus Agricultural Commodities and the

> 25. <u>TIAS</u>. Series 4508; May, 1960. 26. <u>TIAS</u>. Series 4527, June, 1960.

Mutual Defense Assistance agreements.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities It is the agreement of both nations not to flood the world market with surplus agricultural commodities. Therefore, both nations agree to sell the commodities in the other nation at a fair price so their own economies 27 can remain reasonably stable.

Mutual Defense Assistance

The United States of America will supply the Republic of Bolivia with equipment, materials, services and other assistance for the defense of their nation and 28 for the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL

The relations between the United States of America and the Government of the United States of Brazil are the most unstable of all the Latin American nations with the exception of Cuba.

Within the past five years the Brazilian Government has played two sides against the middle with the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America by trying to get as much as possible from these two nations. However, the Brazilian Government has shown

> 27. TIAS. Series 4869, April 1961. 28. TIAS. Series 4705, February 1961.

pro-western tendencies. There is a large communist movement in the northeastern part of the United States of Brazil which may cause much trouble in the future.

The United States of Brazil went through a turbulent change of presidents during the late summer of 1961. Who can say what will happen? There are too many uncertain factors for anyone to predict clearly what lies ahead. The sudden resignation of President Quadros is still not satisfactorily explained. President Quadros held a strong grip on the nation, and his policies, though controversial, had not been rejected by the Brazilian Congress. Nevertheless, he abruptly resigned and left the country. The center of the storm then moved to Vice-President Joao Belchior Marques Goulart, the leader of the Brazilian Labor Party.

Goulart's constitutional position was clear. He was the automatic successor to the presidency. But his record of left-wing views and previous actions in working with and through communists and their sympathizers aroused the fears of many Brazilians, including part of the Brazilian military, who opposed his ascendancy to Brazil's highest executive office.

Widespread support of legality in the succession, despite a lack of enthusiasm for Goulart, led to a compromise. A constitutional amendment was quickly adopted by Congress to set up a parliamentry form of government. It provided for transfer of the principal executive authority from the President to a Council of Ministers nominated by the President but requiring the approval of the Lower House of Congress, the Chamber of Deputies.

Following the compromise, the military opposition stepped aside and Goulart became President. He appointed, and Congress approved a Council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister Tancredo Neves. While the policies of the Neves Government are not yet clearly defined, they appear to be along the lines of those followed by Quadros. Its attitude to the United States of America is believed to be basically friendly.

Throughout the crisis, the United States of America attitude has been consistent with our long time cordial relations with Brazil. The policy of the United States has been non-interference in Brazil's internal affairs.

In spite of this instability our government has continued to pour money and aid into the United States of Brazil. In 1954 the Brazilian Government owed the United States of America over seven million dollars which was not paid until 1961, at which time the Government of the United States of America demanded payment of part of this amount in various types of materials such as sodium sulphate and 29 magnesium. However, just before the payment was demanded

29. TIAS. Series 4755, January, 1961.

the United States of America loaned the Brazilian Government 30 four destroyers and two submarines for defense purposes. The Economic and Social Development in the Brazilian Northeast Agreement is basically under the Alliance for Progress. The Government of the United States of America shares the view of the Government of the United States of Brazil that the problems of the Brazilian Northeast require urgent attention, and has sent a survey team to the United States of Brazil which studied the problems and presented a report to the Government of the United States of America. On the basis of the report and its recommendations, the Government of the United States of America agrees to provide aid to directly further the objectives of the Charter of Punta del Este.

The Government of the United States of America agrees to provide the cost of such projects not to exceed thirtythree million dollars or the cruzeiro equivalent thereof; not to exceed fourteen million six hundred seventy thousand dollars will be supplied in the form of dollar grants or loans and the balance estimated at the equivalent of eighteen million three hundred thirty thousand dollars as grants or loans in cruzeiros derived from Agricultural Commodities Agreements between the two Governments, subject to the

30. TIAS. Series 4662, December, 1960.

availability of funds under such agreements. The Government of the United States of Brazil agrees to guarantee the repayment of principal and interest on all loans made by the Government of the United States of America under this agree-31 ment.

There have been so many frequent amendments to the Surplus Agricultural Commodities Agreements with the Brazilian Government that it would almost take a book to describe the subject.

The Grant for Procurement of Nuclear Research and Training Equipment and Materials, and the Military Advisory Missions Agreements between the United States of America and the United States of Brazil are the same as those previously stated between the United States of America and the Republic of Argentina.

### REPUBLIC OF CHILE

The Government of Chile is in the process of rebuilding or reconstructing many areas since the recent earthquakes, On October 28, 1960 the Government of the United States of America gave Chile twenty million dollars to assist the reconstruction program of the Republic of Chile. The above mentioned funds shall be disbursed to the account of the Republic of Chile from time to time in accordance with

31. TIAS. Series 4990, April 13, 1962.

arrangements agreed upon between the International Cooperation Administration, an agency of the Government of the United States of America and representative of appropriate 32 agencies of the Government of the Republic of Chilo.

On August 3, 1961 the United States of America agreed to lend the Government of the Republic of Chile one hundred million dollars to aid in the rehabilitation of the Republic of Chile because of damages done by earthquakes. This amount will be repaid to the United States of America as soon as  $\overline{JJ}$ possible after the reconstruction program is over.

The United States of America loaned the Republic of Chile one submarine of the "Saloo" class and two destroyers of the "Lavalette" class for a poriod of five years. These ships must be returned to the United States of America in the same condition with reasonable wear and tear permitted.

The Republic of Chile agreed to pay to have these ships put into serviceable condition and to use them for 34 the defense of the Republic of Chile.

The two Governments have recognized the desirability of expanding trade in agricultural commodities between their two nations and with other friendly nations is a manner

v	32.	TIAS.	Series	4651,	October, 1960.
	33.	TIAS.	Sorios	4862,	August, 1961.
	34.	TIAS.	Series	4638,	December, 1960.

which would not displace usual marketing of the United States of America in these commodities or unduly disrupt world prices of agricultural commodities or normal patterns of commercial trade with friendly nations and have taken into account the recent disaster of the Republic of Chile. The Government of the Republic of Chile agrees not

to resell the products unless they have the agreement of 35 the Government of the United States of America.

A technical agreement for a Cooperative Program of Agriculture and Livestock was entered into on January 16, 1951 between the Government of the Republic of Chile and the Government of the United States of America for the purpose of assisting in the development of agriculture in Chile through a cooperative effort of the two Governments.

This agreement was extended on April 27, 1955 and again for the final time on January 15, 1961 to terminate 36 on December 31, 1962.

The Weather Station at Punta Arenas was built by the Government of the United States of America. The purpose of this weather facility is to conduct meterological research, especially in connection with the air movements between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres.

> 35. <u>TIAS</u>. Series 4633, November, 1960. 36. <u>TIAS</u>. Series 4622, January, 1961.

The operations of this station are carried out by 37 unarmed Air Force personnel. This fact clearly points out that this station is not a defensive point.

# REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

The Surplus Agricultural Commodities Agreements between the Republic of Colombia and the United States are basically the same as those with the Republic of Chile. The Government of the United States of America agrees to provide economic assistance to the Government of the Republic of Colombia in accordance with written arrangements to be entered into by appropriate agencies of the two Governments. Articles II, III, and IV of the General Agreement for Technical Cooperation between the two Governments, which entered into force on March 9, 1951, as amended, shall apply to all such assistance furnished hereunder.

The Government of the Republic of Colombia will consider any mission and its personnel in the Republic of Colombia to discharge the responsibilities of the Government of the United States of America hereunder as a part of the diplomatic mission of the United States of America in Colombia for the purpose of enjoying the priviliges and immunities accorded to that diplomatic mission and its 38 personnel.

> 37. TIAS. Series 4822, April, 1961. 38. TIAS. Series 4712, April, 1961.

On April 3, 1961 the Government of the United States of America agreed to furnish the Republic of Colombia with certain military equipment, materials and services for the purpose of maintaining its internal security.

The equipment, materials, and services referred to above shall be furnished in accordance with and under the terms of the Military Assistance Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Colombia signed at Bogota on April 17, 1952, to be amended to include the maintenance of peace of the Western Hemisphere instead of just between our two Governments. The materials may be used for defense 39 plans.

### " COSTA RICA

Two of the most recent agreements between the Costa Rican Government and the Government of the United States of America are the Atomic Energy Agreement of 1956 and the Military Mission Agreement of 1959.

The latter agreement is basically the same as the Military Mission Agreements between the Government of the United States of America and the other latin American nations, such as Argentina and Brazil.

The United States of America agrees to sell or

39. TIAE. Series 4740, April, 1961.

lease to the Government of Costa Rica reactors and atomic materials for peaceful uses, and the Costa Rican Government agrees not to use the materials for other purposes.

The Costa Rican Government also agrees to maintain such safeguards as are necessary to assure that all other reactor materials, including equipment and devices purchased in the United States of America under this agreement by the Government of Costa Rica or authorized persons under its jurisdiction, shall be used solely for design, construction, and operation of research reactors which the Government of Costa Rica decides to construct and operate and for research in connection therewith, except as may 40 otherwise be agreed. This agreement did not become effective until February 1961.

REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR

Two of the most recent agreements between the Government of the Republic of Ecuador and the Government of the United States of America are the Economic Assistance Agreement and the Surplus Agricultural Commodities Agreement. The Government of the United States of America will give economic assistance to the Government of the Republic of Ecuador with written arrangements to be entered into by appropriate agencies of the two Governments.

40. TIAS. Series 4682, February, 1961.

Provious agreements are binding unless amended, especially those under the Agreement for Technical Cooperation between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Ecuador.

The Government of the Republic of Ecuador will consider any mission and its personnel in Ecuador to discharge the responsibilities of the Government of the United States of America hereunder as part of the diplomatic mission of the United States of America in the Republic of Ecuador for the purposes of enjoying the privileges and immunities 41 accorded to that diplomatic mission and its personnel.

The Government of the Republic of Ecuador agrees that it will take all possible measures to prevent the resale or transshipment to other nations or use for other than domestic purposes, except where such resale, transshipment or use is specifically approved by the Government of the United States of America, the agricultural commodities received from the United States of America.

Both nations agree not to unduly disrupt world prices or disrupt the normal pattern of trade with friendly 42 nations.

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41. TIAS. Beries 4791, July, 1961. 42. TIAS. Series 4768, April, 1961.

#### HONDURAS

The Economic, Technical and Related Assistance Agreement 1s one of the most recent agreements between the United States of America and Honduras. The Government of the United States of America will furnish such economic, technical and related assistance herounder as may be requested by the representatives of the Government of Honduras, and approved by representatives of the agency designated by the Government of the United States of America to administer its responsibilities hereunder, or as may be requested and approved by other representatives designated by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Honduras. The furnishing of such assistance shall be subject to the applicable laws and regulations of the Government of the United States of America. It shall be made available in accordance with arrangements agreed upon between the above mentioned representatives.

# REPUBLIC OF MEXICO

The Republic of Mexico has a President, who is elected for a six-year term. It also has a legislature composed of two houses, a senate and a chamber of deputies. Members of the Senate are elected for a six-year term. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected for a three-

43. TIAS. Series 4800, May, 1961,

year term. Mexico is divided into twenty-nine states, and each state has its own government as doothe states in the United States of America.

Many people work in the valuable Mexican mines, which are among the richest in the world. Mexico produces more silver than any other nation, and ranks second in the production of lead. There are also zinc, copper and gold mines. Mexico ranks seventh in the production of petroleum. Many of these products are needed in the United States of America. Therefore, friendly relationships between these two nations are vital. We can not overlook the importance of having friendly neighbors in a time when communism is growing so rapidly.

Three of the most outstanding agreements between the United States of America and the Republic of Mexico are Mexican Agricultural Workers, Transfer of Equipment for use of National Police Force of Mexico, and Utilization of Boundary Waters.

On August 11, 1951 the Government of the United States of America agreed to permit the Mexican agricultural workers to work in the United States of America, providing no more than fifty per cent of the workers were Mexican and they abide by the laws of the United States of America, and if at any time they were suffering due to lack of employment they would be sent back to the Republic of

47 two nations.

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47. Richmond, Times - Dispatch, July 1, 1962, p. 1, col. 5.

#### CHAPTER IV

# FOREIGN AID TO PREVENT A BALANCE-OF-POWER

The Declaration to the Peoples of America, or the Alliance for Progress is the most expensive foreign aid program that the United States of America has undertaken. This program is designed to build stronger American nations. The President outlines a ten-year plan for Latin American development that would require maximum effort on the part of the American nations to achieve these goals. His proposals led to a special meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States, which was held at Funta del Este, Uruguay, August 5-17, 1961. Cube was the only nation that attended the meeting that declined to sign the Alliance for Frogress.

This program will cost the United States of America a minimum of twenty billion dollars during the next ten years. If this agreement builds a stronger alliance between the American nations and helps to prevent a third world war, then the twenty billion dollars will be well invested.

The United States of America is a powerful nation, but it is not powerful enough to stand alone in the world today. Too many people today have a poor concept of the problems of the world and how they affect us. The aid we are giving the nations around the world helps them to be more stable and better able to withstand the communist movement. Communism is the biggest threat to freedom that the United States of America and other free nations have. Therefore, we need a strong allied free world to resist communism.

The types of foreign aid outlined in chapter one are essential, both to the nations involved and the United States of America. We need these nations and their products to maintain our standard of living as well as our existence as a world power. Our foreign aid can help us maintain a balance-of-power in the world.

The balance-of-power generally refers to the balancing of powers around two opposing main powers in order to keep one side from becoming more powerful than the other. In theory this is said to maintain peace, but in reality it upsets peace.

The main points of the theory of the balance-of-power can be set forth as follows; given a large number of nations with varying amounts of power, each one striving to maximize its own power, there is a tendency for the entire system to be in balance. That is to say, the various nations group themselves together in such a way that no single nation or group of nations is strong enough to swallow up the others, for its power is balanced by that of some opposing group. As long as this balance can be maintained, there is peace, and the independence of small nations is assured.48

48. A. F. K. Organski, <u>World Politics</u> (New York: 1958) p. 273. A balance-of-power sounds good if it would really work.

A balancer is generally needed to balance the powers if one side gets too large, then the balancer can unite with the weaker powers to help balance the powers. England had been the balancer for many years. The balancer should be a quite powerful nation. In theory if a nation or group of nations become too powerful, the balancer can unite with the weaker nation or group of nations. Thus the sides will become somewhat balanced and will provent war.

Peace is sometimes said to be the purpose of the balancing of power. Perhaps it is correct to classify it as a secondary purpose, or, even better, as an incidental result which the balancing process sometimes brings about. Peace, however, is not the prime purpose. In fact, as will be seen, states sometimes deliberately resort to war for the purpose of establishing or preserving a balance.49

Mr. Van Dyke is misinformed, because more nations have gone to war to establish themselves as a more powerful nation and to gain more territory to meet the needs and pressures of the people, than to establish a balance of power.

Mr. Organski wrote,

Shifts by nations from one side to the other have been extremely rare if one considers only the period since industrialization became widespread, and where they have occurred, they have usually been preceded by far-reaching internal changes. Cer-

49. Vernon Van Dyke, <u>International Politics</u> (New York: 1957) pp. 200-201.

tainly the idea that nations have shifted sides in order to balance a power score is far-fetched, indeed. International politics is not a game of chess, and modern nations are not isolated individuals who can arrange themselves in combinations as they wish. Modern nations are tied to each other by subtle, deep, and intricate ties that are political, economic, and psychological in nature. Their quest for power is but one aspect of a far more fundamental set of relationships.50

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There is a greater chance of war when the powers are balanced than when one or a group of powers are stronger than the other. When two powers are evenly matched, there is a good possibility that one will want to become stronger than the other. This can be accomplished by war. However, if one power is stronger than another, there is little possibility of the weaker power starting war, and they will usually make concessions to the stronger power to prevent war.

Through our foreign aid to various nations around the world, we can keep the communist nations from becoming as powerful as the free nations of the world. Peace may be expensive, but war is more expensive.

Our foreign aid to one hundred five nations may vary in minute details, but basically each type of foreign aid is the same with each nation. The loan of vessels.

50. <u>Organski</u>, op. cit., p. 290.

ships, and airplanes, are for a five year period and are to be returned in good condition, allowing for reasonable wear.

Foreign aid is vital to the American way of life and must exist as long as the United States of America expects to remain a world power.

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#### VITA

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