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background

PUBLIC SERVICES DIVISION • DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MARCH 1957

HIGHLIGHTS OF FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS—1956

This pamphlet has been prepared as a readily accessible source for reference to some of the major events and pronouncements affecting U.S. foreign policy during calendar year 1956. It encompasses events in each of the major geographic areas as well as various general developments of our foreign policies. The material is presented in chronological order by subject and is compiled from previously published official sources.

CONTENTS

SOVIET UNION

The new year 1956 soon brought evidence of the "new phase of the struggle" between international communism and freedom, which Secretary Dulles had portended at the end of 1955. President Eisenhower, in rejecting Soviet Premier Bulganin's proposal that Russia and the United States sign a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation, pointed out that such a treaty might "work against the cause of peace by creating the illusion that a stroke of a pen had achieved a result which in fact can be obtained only by a change of spirit."

But the President held "some faint hope" of eventual useful results from his correspondence with the Soviet Premier; and Secretary Dulles looked forward confidently to a day when Russia would be governed by men "who put the welfare of the Russian people above world conquest."

The New Look

In February the Secretary announced "a notable shift" in Soviet foreign policy to economic and political devices for furthering their "expansionist aims," a shift which came about, he stated, because Soviet policies of violence had been "thwarted by the free world." And he called for new flexibility in our foreign policy. The 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress which ended in February had repudiated one-man rule. However, the full impact of the new look in Soviet policy became apparent in March when the world first heard news of Party Secretary Khrushchev's violent denunciation of Joseph Stalin and his regime in a speech given on the last day of the Party Congress.

Taking some satisfaction in these "signs of light which could mark the dawning of a new day," Secretary Dulles declared that "forces of liberalization are at work within the Soviet bloc." And President Eisenhower estimated that "we have reason for cautious hope that a new, a fruitful, a peaceful era for mankind can emerge from a haunted decade." The United States warned, however, that these developments did not signify any change in basic Soviet objectives. Deputy Under Secretary Robert Murphy asserted that the new strategy was "no less dangerous than the old."

In May the Soviet Union announced that it was cutting its armed forces by 1.2 million men. This move was greeted with little enthusiasm by Secretary Dulles, who viewed it as motivated by a calculated Russian desire to channel more manpower into industry and agriculture. He pointed out that "real disarmament" called for a reduction in weapons rather than reversible shifts in military manpower.

In June the State Department released an admittedly incomplete version of Khrushchev's February speech, which denounced Stalin as a murderer. Referring to the speech, President Eisenhower pointed out that Khrushchev had not condemned outright the methods of torture and terror of Stalin but had merely complained that the wrong individuals apparently were picked as victims. Secretary Dulles labeled the speech "the most damning indictment of despotism ever made by a despot" and called on the U.S.S.R. to permit free elections in the Soviet-bloc countries.

Later in June the Secretary noted that "control of the Soviet Communist Party over local Communist Parties had been very greatly weakened," and said the basic policy of Western unity "was beginning to pay off."

Probing Soviet Policy

In Moscow the Soviet Communist Party on June 30 issued a statement attempting to explain why the abuses of Stalinism had been tolerated for so long and what needed to be done to prevent their recurrence. Secretary Dulles again called on the U.S.S.R. to "restore independence to the satellite countries." The Secretary said such a step would be "one of the touchstones of the reality of a new policy." But there was little evidence of a new spirit as secret police crushed an uprising of Polish workers against Communist rule in Poznan.

In reply to a letter from Premier Bulganin proposing a reduction of armed forces, the President in August reemphasized the "obvious need of international supervisory mechanisms and controls" to encourage greater reductions in national armaments. And he appealed to the Soviet Premier to consider carefully U.S. proposals for aerial inspection and for calling a halt to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

In September the Soviet Union accepted an invitation to send representatives to observe U.S.

CENTRAL EUROPE

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national elections, and the United States offered to enter into a reciprocal agreement for U.S. and Soviet planes to fly between Nome and Murmansk in connection with the International Geophysical Year. The latter offer was turned down in December by the U.S.S.R.

In October the United States presented the U.S.S.R. with a $1,355,650 bill for damages to a U.S. Navy plane which the Soviets had shot down in 1954.

THE SATELLITES

As the new year began, the White House reiterated U.S. policy toward the Soviet satellites, declaring "the peaceful liberation of the captive peoples has been, is, and, until success is achieved, will continue to be a major goal of U.S. foreign policy."

By midsummer 1956 conditions in Poland proved so oppressive that on June 28 crowds of workers rioted in Poznań. At once they were brutally suppressed by Communist security forces. The United States expressed its sympathy for the workers and "profound shock" at the Communist killings and again called on the Soviets to give Poland self-government. Noting that the disorders were marked by "demands for bread," the United States offered to supply wheat, flour, and other foodstuffs through the International Red Cross.

Furthermore, the United States in October indicated its readiness to provide longer range economic aid to the captive peoples to tide them over the period of economic adjustment which would take place as they gained economic independence from Moscow. In making this offer, Secretary Dulles indicated it did not depend upon "the adoption by these countries of any particular form of society."

Also that month the Secretary expressed the belief that we were seeing "the beginning of the process whereby Poland would again retrieve its national freedom." Even if the Polish Government was Communist, he explained, the important thing from the point of view of the United States was to see the breakup of the "monolithic structure of the Soviet Communist world."

President Eisenhower, in turn, predicted that the Poles and other Eastern European peoples who have known freedom "cannot be for always deprived of their national independence and of their personal liberty." Our mission as a nation,

June 1956: Tanks take up strategic positions during rioting at Poznań, Poland.

Fleeing such scenes of tanks and terror as these in their native country, Hungarian refugees escaped to the free world.

he declared, was never to "compromise the fundamental principle that all peoples who have proved themselves capable of self-government have a right to an independent government."

Revolt in Hungary

Mid-October brought a crisis in Eastern Europe for the Soviet rulers and their puppet regimes. A peaceful demonstration in Budapest was fanned by Communist repression into a nationwide revolt, and a general strike was called against Communist rule. President Eisenhower spoke out strongly against Soviet action in bringing troops into Hungary to quell the disturbances and declared that the Hungarians were seeking human rights guaranteed by the U.N. Charter and the peace treaty.

When wholesale Soviet troop movements into Hungary took place on November 2, the United States, Britain, and France called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the matter. President Eisenhower promptly authorized $20 million for Hungarian relief.

The United Nations in November and December became the focus of U.S. efforts to aid the Hungarian people. The U.S.S.R. on November 4 in the Security Council vetoed a U.S.-sponsored resolution calling for the Soviet Union to desist from intervening in Hungary's internal affairs. But the Security Council then adopted a U.S. motion for a special session of the General Assembly, under the Uniting-for-Peace resolution, to consider the question. At this session a U.S. resolution calling for an end to Soviet intervention was adopted. When it became known subsequently

Hungarian refugees registering at a receiving point in Vienna.

that Hungarian patriots were being deported to the Soviet Union, the United States gave strong support in the United Nations to efforts to prevail on the U.S.S.R. to cease the deportations and to return the thousands already shipped out in boxcars. And despite Soviet refusal to comply with U.N. resolutions, the United States continued to urge that U.N. observers be admitted to Hungary to determine the facts about conditions there.

Hungarian Refugees

President Eisenhower intervened personally with Soviet Premier Bulganin on behalf of the Hungarian people. He immediately ordered "extraordinary measures" to admit 5,000 refugees to the United States. Authorization was later given for the admission to this country of 21,500 Hungarian refugees, and in November the United States allocated $1 million to the United Nations for Hungarian relief.

Again, President Eisenhower, stating U.S. policy toward the satellites, made it clear that, while we seek to keep the spirit of freedom alive behind the Iron Curtain, we have never advocated open rebellion by the people against force over which they could not possibly prevail.

As the year drew to a close, Hungarian refugees under an accelerated program were arriving in substantial numbers in the United States where they were finding a warm welcome, both officially and from American sponsors in all parts of the country. The United States continued to manifest its concern for the Hungarian people. An additional $4 million was made available to the United Nations for Hungarian relief, and Vice President Nixon flew to Austria, acting as the President's personal representative, for a first-hand inspection of the escapee problem.

MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

In the Middle East and Africa area, 1956 began auspiciously with the achievement of independence by the Sudan, now a new sovereign nation in Africa. This happy event was overshadowed, however, by an intensification of the conflict between Israel and the Arab States and the dispute over Cyprus involving Britain, Greece, and Turkey.

As to Cyprus, President Eisenhower recalled our friendship with all parties to the conflict and offered to help in any reasonable way; but he pointed out that a solution would have to be reached by those most concerned.

Israel-Arab Policy

On February 1 President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Eden, after 3 days of talks, called on Israel and the Arab States to "reconcile the positions" they had hitherto taken and pledged the support, financial and otherwise, of both the United States and the United Kingdom to assist in a settlement. Shortly thereafter Secretary

Dulles stated that U.S. foreign policy "embraces the preservation of the State of Israel," and he pointed out that the U.N. Charter and the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 provided better protection for Israel than an arms race.

The problems to be solved in the area, the Secretary said, were the plight of the Arab refugees, the fear existing between Israel and her neighbors, and the lack of fixed boundaries between them.

By the end of March the United States, increasingly concerned that developments in the Palestine area might endanger the maintenance of peace and security, called for a meeting of the U.N. Security Council. There Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, called on the Secretary-General to undertake immediately "a personal investigation of ways and means of settling the numerous problems which stand in the way of peace."

Conflict Intensifies

In April, regarding the situation with the "utmost seriousness," President Eisenhower sent personal messages to the Heads of State of Israel and Egypt. In a significant pronouncement the White House pledged U.S. support of the Secretary-General's mission. The statement said the United States would observe its commitments under the U.N. Charter to oppose any aggression in the area and would assist any nation which might be attacked.

In May Secretary Dulles returned from a NATO Council meeting in Paris and reported "grave concern that the Soviet Union was playing fast and loose with peace" in the Middle East. He said the NATO countries backed Israel's independence but that we sought friendly relations with all the nations of the area on a basis of impartiality.

Egyptian-Soviet Rapprochement

Meanwhile, however, Egypt's relations with the Soviet Union grew closer. In May, when Egypt recognized Red China, Secretary Dulles commented that the United States did not look with favor on action by President Nasser "which seems to promote the interests of the Soviet Union and Communist China," and President Eisenhower called the Egyptian action a mistake.

On July 19 the United States withdrew its offer to help finance the High Aswan Dam in Egypt, pointing out that developments since the United States had first offered in December 1955 to assist Egypt in this project "have not been favorable to the success of the project." The U.S. statement added that "the ability of Egypt to devote adequate resources to assure the project's success has become more uncertain than at the time the offer was made." The United States, however, indicated that it was "prepared to consider at an appropriate time . . . what steps might be taken toward a more effective utilization of the water resources of the Nile."

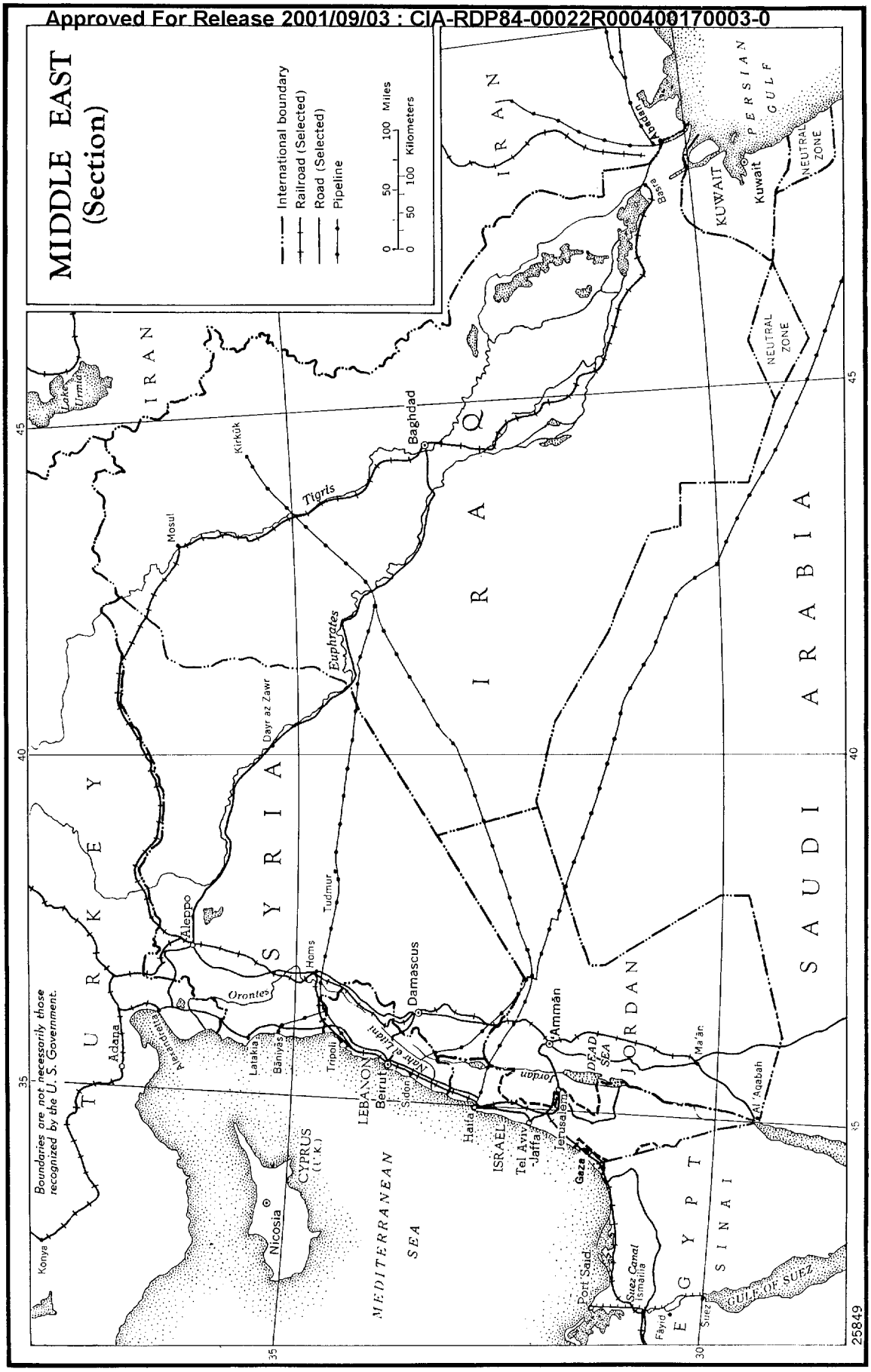
Suez Canal Nationalized

On July 26 Egypt seized the installations of the Suez Canal Company, a step which was to set off a tragic chain of events in the Middle East area. Secretary Dulles declared at the time that to permit Egypt's action to go unchallenged would be "to encourage a breakdown of the international fabric upon which the security and the well-being of all peoples depend."

Subsequently, at a 22-nation conference held in London in August, the Secretary called for an international, nonpolitical administration of the canal which would have the confidence of the users, and he stated a set of principles upon which an equitable plan should be based. These included operation of the canal as a free, secure international waterway in accordance with the Suez Canal convention of 1888 and divorced from the influence of any nation's politics, consideration for the rights of Egypt, and fair compensation for the Suez Canal Company.

Meetings and Agreements

Following acceptance by 18 nations at the conference of a U.S. plan for a solution of the Suez problem, President Nasser of Egypt agreed to meet with a 5-nation committee to hear the views of the majority group. Despite the subsequent rejection of the plan by President Nasser, the United States in September reasserted its determination to continue to seek a just and peaceful solution to the problem. President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles both declared that U.S. policy barred the use of force in seeking a solution. The Secretary revealed that the United



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States would back a plan for a Suez Canal Users Association to act as agent for the users.

Early in October the Suez problem came before the U.N. Security Council. There the first part of a British-French resolution, which embodied a 6-point agreement on the principles that should guide a Suez settlement, was unanimously approved.

Conflict in Egypt

The events of late October were to supplant negotiations on the canal with even more urgent matters. Reports from the Middle East indicated large-scale mobilization of troops in Israel. President Eisenhower on October 27 sent an urgent personal message to Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion expressing his grave concern and urging that no forceful initiative be taken which would endanger the peace. The next day the President dispatched a stronger message to Israel and announced that he had ordered discussion of the developments with Britain and France under provision of the Tripartite Declaration of 1950.

President Eisenhower's plea went unheeded, however, for on October 29 Israeli military forces invaded the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt. Following emergency meetings with top U.S. officials, the President declared the United States would honor its pledge to assist any victim of aggression in the Middle East. The following day the U.N. Security Council, meeting at the request of the United States, considered a draft U.S. resolution urging Israel to cease its military activities against Egypt and to withdraw to its borders. This resolution was vetoed by both Britain and France.

Anglo-French Intervention

A new element then entered the situation. Britain and France on October 30 sent an ultimatum to the combatants to cease fire or face Anglo-French intervention. President Eisenhower at once sent personal messages to the Prime Ministers of our two allies urging them not to use force and to permit the United Nations to achieve a settlement. But with Egypt's rejection of a cease-fire, Britain the next day launched air assaults on Egyptian bases, and Britain and France prepared to invade Port Said.

President Eisenhower deplored this military action and declared the United States would not become involved in the fighting. He revealed that the United States intended to bring the matter before the U.N. General Assembly, where no veto could be used. In this subsequent emergency session of the Assembly in the first days of November, the United Nations adopted a U.S.-sponsored resolution urging an immediate cease-fire and a return of Israeli forces behind the armistice lines. Though Britain and France rejected the U.N. call for a cease-fire, they did agree to a U.N. takeover of the Suez area by a U.N. international force. The resolution establishing the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was adopted by the United Nations following deferral by the United States of action on a pair of resolutions seeking to achieve "permanent" solutions to the problems of the canal and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Soviet Proposal

In the United Nations the United States continued to urge an end to the fighting in Egypt and offered logistic support for UNEF. The Soviet Union's solution for the problem was embodied in a proposal that the U.S.S.R. and the United States act together militarily to halt "aggression against Egypt," a suggestion the White House on November 5 termed "unthinkable." The next day Britain and France announced a cease-fire. And Israel, on November 8, agreed to withdraw from Egyptian territory when UNEF could take over, following a request the previous day by President Eisenhower to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion that Israel comply with a U.N. resolution to that effect.

One Law For All

The situation again grew tense, however, with reports that "volunteers" from the U.S.S.R. and China might join Egypt's forces. At this juncture President Eisenhower warned that the United States would support the United Nations in opposing such a move. Meanwhile, the first UNEF units left for Egypt. In mid-November Acting Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., in the United Nations repeated the President's warning and called for an attack on the basic causes of unrest in the area, a policy restated a few days

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later by Secretary Dulles, who made the point that a truce alone would not bring peace. The United States continued to press for withdrawal of the invading forces from Egypt and supported an Asian-Arab resolution to that effect, which was adopted on November 24.

In a significant address in early December, Vice President Nixon made the point that, if aggressive force were to be outlawed as an instrument of national policy, other ways would have to be found to protect the legitimate interests of nations when they were threatened by means short of force. He observed that the United States in its stand in the United Nations on the Egyptian question upheld the rule of law and that the peoples of Asia and Africa now know that we have one law for both the East and the West. President Eisenhower pointed out that while our policy had created a certain strain with our traditional allies, Britain and France, it was limited to a particular difference and meant no weakening or disruption of the great bonds with which we were joined.

At the U.N. Emergency Force Headquarters at Port Said, Egypt, a Danish military policeman stands guard under the U.N. flag.

Other Significant Developments

Other developments in the Middle East and Africa area included the following:

The Baghdad Pact, linking the United Kingdom, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan, received strong U.S. support; and although not a member of the pact, the United States did participate in its economic and countersubversive committees and engaged in bilateral economic and technical aid agreements with pact members. In late November the Department of State declared significantly that the United States would view "with the utmost gravity" a threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of the members of the pact.

Sudanese independence, which began the year so auspiciously, was followed by autonomy for Tunisia and Morocco as well—developments which met with U.S. backing. The United States also supported the movement toward independence of the Gold Coast, which, together with British Togoland, now forms the new state of Ghana. In addition to its recognition of the three new African nations which gained independence in 1956, the United States in October relinquished its right to extraterritoriality in Morocco.

Clarifying our policy in North Africa, the U.S. Ambassador to France, C. Douglas Dillon, announced that the United States stood "solidly behind France in her search for a liberal and equitable solution of the problems in Algeria." He explained that the United States considered Algeria primarily a French domestic affair.

In September 1956 the Department of State gave practical recognition to the increasing importance of Africa in world affairs by reorganizing its African Affairs area, creating a new position of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

EUROPE

Declaration of Washington

The United States early in 1956 conferred with some of its closest allies in Europe on common problems and laid the groundwork for joint action to meet a number of international contingencies. First, there was the conference at the end of January between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden. Following this meet-

ing, the two Western leaders issued the "Declaration of Washington." In this statement they set forth the basic principles which guide their conduct in their relations with other nations. Also, in a joint statement, they welcomed the increasing range of consultation on political and other problems in NATO and pledged themselves to the reunification of Germany.

German and French Talks

Secretary of State Dulles in June held conferences separately with French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau and with German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The French talks took in the subjects of effective disarmament controls, German reunification, NATO's expanding functions, Algeria's future, European unification, the problems of peace in the Middle East, and the economic development of newly developing areas.

As might be anticipated, the talks with Chancellor Adenauer dealt primarily with the subject of the reunification of Germany. In a joint communique issued at the close of the conference, the two nations asserted that the West's attitude toward the Soviet Union should be determined by the U.S.S.R.'s performance on the matter of German reunification. The communique dealt also with such topics as German war assets in the United States, NATO, Franco-German agreement on the Saar, and recent steps toward European integration, a subject which had also received extensive consideration in the French talks.

The problem of German reunification received further consideration in early October when France, Britain, and the United States sent identical notes on the subject to the U.S.S.R.

Another matter which continued to occupy the attention of Western diplomacy in 1956 was the movement toward European unity. Secretary Dulles said on October 2 he believed it would be "quite appropriate" for Europe to become a "third great power," and he strongly advocated the unity movement.

Aid to Yugoslavia

During consideration of the Mutual Security Act of 1956, Congress questioned the advisability of continuing assistance to Yugoslavia, particularly in the military field. Therefore, the act was amended to provide for a suspension of assistance to Yugoslavia unless the President found that Yugoslavia was not under Soviet control and that it was in the U.S. national interest to continue furnishing aid. On October 16 the President decided that aid should be continued.

U.S. Air Force Sabre jets stationed in Holland under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization streak over the Dutch countryside.

NATO Developments

Beginning in the spring of 1956 the future of NATO and the extent of its role in the Western alliance was the subject of intensive discussion by the member nations. Secretary Dulles, after meeting with the Foreign Ministers of the other NATO nations in April, reported general agreement on the further development of NATO cooperation "particularly in the nonmilitary political fields." And he explained that a committee composed of the Foreign Ministers of Canada, Italy, and Norway (the "three wise men") was to consider the matter and report on it as quickly as possible. Again, in May, Mr. Dulles called on NATO to advance from its initial phase "into the totality of its meaning." In pursuance of this objective, President Eisenhower called upon Senator Walter F. George to act as his "Personal Representative and Special Ambassador" to NATO, and requested him to study the problem in consultation with the "three wise men."

At the meeting of the NATO Council in Paris in mid-December, the committee's report was submitted for consideration. It was at this time that Secretary Dulles took the opportunity to try to

strengthen those relationships which had been weakened as a result of the Middle East situation. The Secretary pledged that the United States would seek the way to "bury past discords in a future of peaceful and fruitful cooperation," and he offered U.S. aid in the economic crisis facing Europe as a result of the interruption of the oil flow from the Middle East.

Final Communique

Evidence of the progress made by the NATO members toward their aim of strengthening the alliance was embodied in the final communique of the Council meeting. It indicated approval of the committee's recommendations for "wider and more intimate consultation among the member states on political matters." The Council also approved arrangements to aid in settling disputes among members and adopted measures to strengthen NATO internally. The extent of the unity achieved by the Council members was demonstrated by their unanimity on measures to be taken concerning the urgent problems in the Middle East and Hungary and their determination to maintain their "concept of forward defense in NATO strategy" in the face of the "continued rise in Soviet capabilities." At the year's end it appeared that politically, as well as militarily, NATO was still the main bulwark against any Communist aggression in the North Atlantic area.

LATIN AMERICA

Economic and Political Bonds

The year 1956 saw a further strengthening of the many economic, social, and political bonds which link the United States with the other American Republics. As in recent years, Latin America continued its amazing economic progress, due in large part to its mutually beneficial trade relations with the United States. Henry F. Holland, at that time Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, told the Congress in January that 27 percent of our exports were sold in Latin America and 34 percent of our imports came from there. And he pointed out again the need for the United States to import even more goods from Latin America to provide our southern neighbors with the dollars needed to purchase U.S. products.

Communism Under Control

Politically, as well as economically, U.S. relations with Latin America continued to set the world an enviable example. The unity of the American Republics in the face of Communist attempts to penetrate the hemisphere had been demonstrated at Caracas in 1954. And in 1956 Secretary Dulles was able to say that the danger of Soviet penetration was "more under control in Latin America than in most" other areas.

Meeting of the Presidents

Outstanding among the developments in the hemisphere was the historic meeting of the Presidents of 19 of the 21 American Republics at Panamá, July 21–22. There, in a room where the first Pan-American Conference was held 130 years ago, the American Presidents signed a 5-point declaration outlining the political and economic philosophy of the Western Hemisphere nations. At the meeting President Eisenhower called on the nations of the Americas to combat disease, poverty, and ignorance in the area just as they had joined together to oppose aggression. And he offered practical assistance along those lines by proposing that the Presidents appoint representatives to a committee which would prepare recommendations for making the Organization of American States "a more effective instrument in those fields of cooperative effort that affect the welfare of our peoples." The President suggested that thought be given to "ways in which we could hasten the beneficial use of nuclear forces throughout the hemisphere."

Presidents' Committee

At its first meeting held in Washington September 17–19, the Committee of Presidents' Representatives decided to proceed with a study of problems in a dozen different fields of activity. Dr. Milton Eisenhower, brother of the President and Chairman of the session, outlined U.S.–Latin American cooperative efforts in the atomic energy field. He also invited the other nations to send representatives to an Inter-American Symposium on Nuclear Energy to be held in 1957 in New

At the Presidential Palace at Panama City, Panama, Presidents from 19 of the 21 American Republics meet for the first time in the history of the Americas.

York. As to the further work of the Committee of Presidents' Representatives, it was decided that they would meet again in January, after the member governments had had time to consider the problems presented, in order to draw up an agenda for a final meeting later in 1957.

In the field of atomic energy in Latin America the United States during 1956 signed agreements for cooperation in research in the peaceful uses of atomic energy with Uruguay, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala. These were similar to the agreements concluded since June 1955 with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Peru, and Venezuela.

FAR EAST

Secretary's Report

Early in 1956 Secretary Dulles visited 10 countries of the Far East and Southeast Asia. His trip followed a meeting with the Foreign Ministers of the member nations of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization [1] in Pakistan. Reporting later on the trip, Mr. Dulles expressed his confidence that the combined strength of the SEATO powers would safeguard the treaty area against open armed aggression. He also declared that Asian leaders were well aware of the dangers of Communist economic penetration of Asia. The Secretary called for continued U.S. economic assistance to the Asian nations to help them meet the "powerful urge" for economic and social betterment.

SEATO Progress

In March the SEATO Council representatives issued their first annual report in which they stated that in the past year "substantial progress

[1] The Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty came into effect on Feb. 19, 1955, with the following member countries: Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

has been made." The report asserted that "the determination of the members to prevent and deter further aggressive expansion into Southeast Asia by armed force and subversion has made an important contribution to the preservation of peace in the area." In June a SEATO headquarters was established at Bangkok, and subsequently a SEATO international staff was recruited and began activities in various civilian fields. Secretary Dulles called the establishment of the new headquarters "another forward step" in SEATO's development, serving, as he put it, as an aid "in strengthening the security of the member states against armed aggression or subversion."

SEATO in 1956 also engaged in two successful military maneuvers designed to test the mobility of the defensive forces of the treaty countries.

More Broken Agreements

During the year the vigilance and strength of the free nations did indeed bar any serious overt aggression. But Communist violation of the accepted practices of international conduct continued throughout the area.

In Korea there was flagrant violation of the armistice agreement by the North Korean Communists who brought new weapons into the area and built a new air force. Also, the Communists prevented Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission teams from carrying on inspections in the Communist zone. The U.N. Command on May 31 accordingly ordered the withdrawal of the inspection teams from South Korea.

In Viet-Nam the story was much the same. In June Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson reported that the Communist Viet-Minh, in complete disregard of their obligations under the Geneva accords, had imported voluminous quantities of arms from Red China.

The United States continued throughout the year to offer support and encouragement to the Republic of Viet-Nam, and the new nation made great strides in achieving political, economic, and military stability.

Communist China

During 1956 the United States remained firm in its opposition to recognition of Red China or its admission to the United Nations, with both Congress and the executive branch going on record as unequivocally opposed to such action. Congressional action was unanimous.

The conversations between American and Red Chinese representatives continued at Geneva, but by the year's end the Chinese still held 10 Americans in violation of their pledge of September 10, 1955, to release them. The Reds also continued in their refusal to renounce the use of force in the Formosa area. In a statement in January, the United States pointed out that the Chinese Reds "seem willing to renounce force only if they are first conceded the goals for which they would use force."

A new aspect of Red Chinese policy which developed during the year was their attempt to launch a so-called "cultural offensive." In ambassadorial talks at Geneva the Communists sought to develop cultural exchanges with the United States. The United States held to the position that it could not consider such a proposal at a time when Americans were being held as political hostages in Red China and when the Communists were unwilling to renounce the use of force in the Formosa area.

Even while they sought to convince the world of their peaceful intentions, the Chinese Communists engaged in an unjustified attack on August 22 on a U.S. Navy patrol plane, resulting in the loss of the plane and its crew. The United States subsequently served notice on the Communists that compensation would be demanded.

Free Asia

As to the free nations of Asia, the United States drew closer to many of them during 1956, either individually or through their association with SEATO.

On July 3 Vice President Nixon and Philippine President Magsaysay issued a joint statement in which it was announced that the United States would transfer to the Philippines all title papers and claims to all land areas used as military bases. The transfer was made in December.

Japan during 1956 continued as our major market in Asia and a strong friend of the United States. However, the question of the importation of Japanese textiles into the United States in competition with local producers led to some difficulties. In January 1956 Japan began voluntarily controlling cotton textile exports to the United

States. In September Japan announced it had decided on a broader program of limiting exports for 1957 and subsequent years to effect orderly marketing of Japanese textile products in the United States.

Japan–U. S. S. R. Negotiations

In connection with Japan's negotiations during 1956 with the Soviet Union relative to a peace settlement, the United States, in support of the Japanese position, informed Japan of its view that certain islands under Soviet occupation should in justice be acknowledged as under Japanese sovereignty. With the conclusion of a Joint Declaration between the U.S.S.R. and Japan on October 19 ending the state of war between the two countries, the Soviet Union agreed to hand over to Japan the Habomai Islands and Shikotan after the signing of a peace treaty. Another result of the agreement was Soviet acquiescence in the membership of Japan in the United Nations, a step it had previously prevented and the United States had strongly supported. The achievement by Japan of U.N. membership at the year's end became the final step in the full circle of Japan's return as a free, respected, and valuable member of the family of free nations.

Prominent Japanese attend the ceremony as the flag of Japan is raised at U.N. Headquarters following Japan's admission to the world organization. Left to right: Mrs. Toshikazu Kase, wife of Japan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations; the late Mamoru Shigemitsu, Japan's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs; his daughter Miss Hanako Shigemitsu; and Naotake Sato, Japan's chief delegate to the Eleventh General Assembly.

DISARMAMENT

The administration in 1956 did not cease in its efforts to find a basis for a comprehensive, progressive, and enforceable system of disarmament under effective international inspection and control. In the United Nations and elsewhere, the United States urged the adoption of President Eisenhower's plan for aerial inspection and other confidence-building measures which on December 16, 1955 had received the overwhelming approval of the U.N. General Assembly. In February Secretary Dulles told Congress that, with a thorough system of inspection, conditions could be created so that neither the U.S.S.R. nor the United States would feel in danger of a sudden surprise attack, and this "would open the way to some substantial limitation of armament."

On March 1, 1956, President Eisenhower in a letter to Soviet Premier Bulganin stated that efforts should be directed especially to bringing under control the nuclear threat and that the United States would be prepared to work out, with other nations, suitable and safeguarded arrangements so that future production of fissionable materials anywhere in the world would no longer be used to increase the stockpiles of explosive weapons. He reaffirmed his proposal of December 8, 1953, "to begin now and continue to make joint contributions" from existing stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic agency. He stated it was

his ultimate hope that all production of fissionable materials anywhere in the world will be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes. The President also stressed his feeling that disarmament should be sought primarily through limitation of arms not men.

During the session of the Subcommittee of the U.N. Disarmament Commission in London March 19 to May 4, the United States proposed the exchange, for a test period, of a small number of inspection personnel who could be used as members of inspection teams if an inspection agreement is subsequently concluded. Likewise, as a preliminary measure, the United States proposed the designation of small strips of territory in the United States and the U.S.S.R. within which the feasibility of inspection systems could be tested. U.S. representatives also stated that, assuming the political situation is reasonably stable, the levels of armaments, armed forces, and military expenditure should be reduced in the first stage of any comprehensive disarmament plan. Given a reasonably stable international political situation and adequate inspection and control methods installed and operating satisfactorily, the United States would be willing to make definite armament reductions. The United States proposed, as a basis for measurement, force levels of two and a half million men for the armed forces of the United States and the U.S.S.R., assuming the conditions mentioned and agreement on relatively equitable force levels for other states.

In July the U.N. Disarmament Commission stated that a resolution introduced by the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and France "sets forth the principles upon which an effective programme for the regulation and limitation of all arms and armed forces can be based." The Commission requested the Subcommittee to continue its efforts to increase the area of agreement in the field of disarmament.

In October President Eisenhower issued a review of the Government's policies and actions concerning the testing of nuclear weapons as they affect defense and disarmament. Included was a 90-point memorandum presenting the record on disarmament negotiations. The President concluded, "We must . . . continue to strive ceaselessly to achieve, not the illusion, but the reality of world disarmament."

HIGHLIGHTS IN SOME OTHER AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Mutual Security

During 1956 the administration continued its efforts to promote the security and interests of the United States through its programs of military assistance to 38 countries and economic and technical assistance to some 60 nations, most of them newly developing nations.

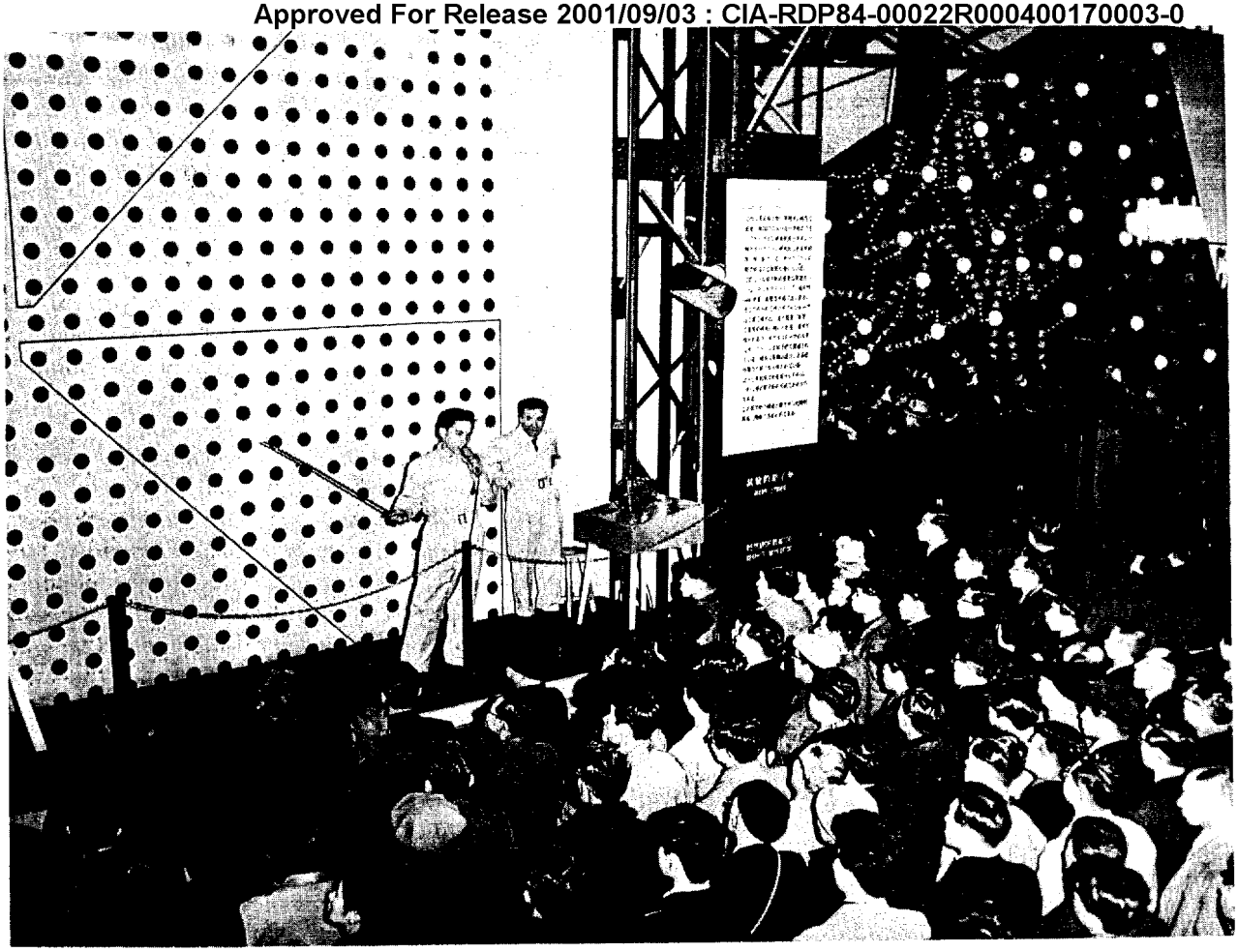
As the year began the U.S. delegation to the United Nations called on the American people to "wake up" to the fact that we are in a contest with the U.S.S.R. "in the field of economic development of underdeveloped countries which is bitterly competitive."

President Eisenhower, in his message to the Congress on March 19, stressed the "urgent" need for the mutual security program if we are to achieve our goal of an enduring peace with justice. He pointed out that "there are still forces hostile to freedom that compel the free world to maintain adequate and coordinated military power." And, he added, "there are still people who aspire to sustain their freedom but confront economic obstacles . . . beyond their capabilities of surmounting alone." He called these facts "as fundamental to our own security and well-being as the maintenance of our own armed forces."

In May the President pointed out to the Congress that the nations receiving our support had forces equivalent to 200 divisions, over 2,000 naval ships, and some 300 air squadrons.

Secretary Dulles, testifying before the Congress in April, stressed the need for longer term commitments in the mutual security program to match the long-range projects of other countries. He pointed out that, while a number of matters justified a study of the program (several studies were under way during the year), "none of these questions relates to the basic validity of the program itself." The program, he said, "is part of a national insurance policy" against a serious and evident threat.

In its appropriation for mutual security for 1957, the Congress made available for military assistance $2 billion and for economic aid $1.8 billion. Also, in response to the President's em-



A Japanese technician explains a model of a graphite reactor at the United States atoms-for-peace exhibit at Tokyo, Japan.

phasis on the need for a long-term program, the Congress included in the Mutual Security Act a fundamental statement of policy. It declared essentially that it was U.S. policy to continue, as long as the danger to world peace and U.S. security persists, "to make available to free nations and peoples assistance . . . as may be needed and effectively used by . . . [them] to help them maintain their freedom."

Atomic Agency

Atomic energy matters were prominently on the scene in 1956. By far the most important development in this field was the great step taken toward the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency. After 18 meetings the Twelve-Nation Negotiating Group came to agreement on a draft statute for the agency. And finally on October 26 at U.N. headquarters in New York, the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency was signed by 70 nations at the conclusion of an 81-nation conference. The conference heeded a plea by U.S. Delegation Chairman James J. Wadsworth to invest the agency with "a uniform system of safeguards of universal application," a step which Mr. Wadsworth declared could help make the agency the cornerstone of U.S. international activities in the field of atomic energy for peace. In a message read at the closing session of the conference, President Eisenhower told the delegation that the statute and the new agency "hold out for the world a fresh hope for peace." Furthermore, he offered to make

available to the agency 5,000 kilograms of uranium 235 and agreed to match the contribution of atomic materials to the agency by all other members.

Trade Policy

The foreign trade of the United States—both imports and exports—rose to record levels during 1956. At Geneva during the early part of the year, 22 of the 35 countries that are parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including the United States, successfully concluded negotiations at the 1956 tariff conference. In announcing the results of the bargaining, the Department of State declared that the United States and each of the governments with which it had negotiated "struck a mutually satisfactory balance of concessions on products which figure importantly in their two-way trade."

In May President Eisenhower received, from a group of nongovernmental advisers who had attended the negotiations, a strong recommendation for U.S. adherence to the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation, which is designed to administer the General Agreement. After full hearings the House Ways and Means Committee approved the OTC bill 18–7, but the measure was not brought up for debate in either House. At the year's end the President indicated he would again urge passage of the legislation in 1957.

With the passage of the Customs Simplification Act of 1956, one important administration trade proposal did receive congressional approval. In approving the bill, the President said it would do "more than any other single measure to free the importation of merchandise from customs complications and pitfalls for the inexperienced importer."

Information Abroad

In its 11th semiannual report to the Congress, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information stated that over the past 2 years the U.S. Information Agency had made remarkable advances in the orderliness and efficiency of its operation. An innovation by the Agency during 1956 was an agreement whereby the United States now sells each month in the U.S.S.R. 50,000 copies of a new Russian-language magazine *America Illustrated*. Russia has the reciprocal privilege of selling an equal number of its magazine *U.S.S.R.* in the United States.

A significant break in the Iron Curtain was created when the Government of Poland decided to stop jamming Western broadcasts. The action was taken both on economy grounds and in connection with the general movement toward liberalization in that country.

East-West Exchanges

On June 29 President Eisenhower approved the recommendation of the National Security Council that the United States should engage in exchanges of persons with the countries of Eastern Europe, including the U.S.S.R.

The President expressed the belief that such a program, "if carried out in good faith and with true reciprocity," could contribute to better understanding among the peoples of the world. The exchanges were to be along the lines of the 17-point program proposed to the U.S.S.R. by the Western Foreign Ministers at Geneva in October 1955.

Several groups were exchanged under the program during the year, but following the repressive Soviet action in Hungary in the fall, officially sponsored exchanges with the U.S.S.R. were suspended by the United States. Exchanges with the other countries of Eastern Europe, however, were continued.

Educational Exchange and Cultural Programs

August 1, 1956, marked the 10th anniversary of the signing of the "Fulbright Act," which launched the largest international educational exchange program in U.S. history. The Department of State, which administers the program, commemorated the occasion by issuing a review of the program's accomplishments over the decade. The study indicated that 24,750 persons had been exchanged through 1955; this figure includes both Americans and nationals of the 28 countries with which we had exchange agreements during that period.

An important development affecting the program during the year was the acquisition of additional foreign currencies—through the sale abroad of surplus agricultural commodities—to be used for exchange activities. This permitted a notable expansion of the program, particularly in Latin America. Agreements were signed during the year with Argentina, Ecuador, Israel, and Peru for educational exchanges under the Fulbright Act.

Noteworthy progress was also made by the Cultural Presentations Program of the Department in 1956. Since 1954 the United States had been sending abroad outstanding American performing artists and athletes under this program, using funds appropriated from the President's Emergency Fund for International Affairs. But with the passage of a new act by the 84th Congress, Public Law 860, the program was put on a permanent basis.

The new act, known as the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956, provides also for the appointment of a 10-member Advisory Committee on the Arts. Its function is to advise and assist the President, the Secretary of State, and the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange on the conduct of the Cultural Presentations Program.

September marked the launching by President Eisenhower of the "People-to-People" program. This nongovernmental venture, under the aegis of the U.S. Information Agency, gives promise for the development of international understanding through personal contacts and other media of communication. Its purpose, like that of the Government-operated programs, is to promote international friendship and understanding through contacts between Americans and other peoples, principally those of the free world.

Greek students demonstrate United States farm equipment on model farm forming part of United States exhibit at the Salonika International Trade Fair.

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