

# AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD DEPENDENT AREAS, BY RUPERT EMERSON. pdf

## 1: Wildfire - Wikipedia

*Puerto Rico and American Policy Toward Dependent Areas Show all authors. Rupert Emerson. Rupert Emerson. Department of Government, Harvard University Rupert Emerson.*

Colonialism has now come to be identified with rule over peoples of different race inhabiting lands separated by salt water from the imperial center; more particularly, it signifies direct political control by European states or states settled by Europeans, as the United States or Australia, over peoples of other races, notably over Asians and Africans. The Belgians attempted in the earlier years of the United Nations to broaden the concept of colonialism to include all ethnically distinct minorities discriminated against in their home countries. Contending that such minorities were often in greater need of UN attention than the people in overseas dependencies, the Belgian thesis proposed their acceptance as nonself-governing peoples under Chapter xi of the Charter. This interpretation was generally rejected in the UN and by the colonial and former colonial peoples themselves. South Africa lacks the geographic separation of colonies from the imperial center but can be at least partially brought within the colonial rubric because the dominant group is white European whereas the ruled are of different race and color. The Asian peoples of the Soviet Union are usually placed outside the traditional colonial category even though Western observers often accuse the U. Definitions of colonialism couched in terms of value and emotion take quite a different form. This is most true of those left-wing analysts who can find nothing but evil in colonialism. The more leftward-inclined Asian and African leaders frequently denounce colonialism in similar terms. Historical evolution of modern colonialism Modern colonialism started with the fifteenth-century voyages of the Portuguese along the west coast of Africa, which in brought Vasco da Gama to India. The Portuguese and Spaniards were the first to establish their dominions overseas and clung to them long after their imperialist drive had lost its forward thrust. The Americas were wholly taken over as European domains, the Dutch and British began to stake out their claims in India and the Indies, and France had won and lost more than one empire by The first blows for anticolonialism were struck by the American Revolution and the subsequent liberation of most of Latin America. The abandonment of mercantilism and the swing to laissez-faire and free trade made colonies less attractive than they had been before. Only in India did the British more or less consistently expand their colonial sway, and France took over Algeria and made its first encroachments in Indochina. In Britain it was even seriously proposed, not long before the start of the scramble for Africa, that there should be a withdrawal from African holdings. A very different climate of opinion and range of action prevailed in the last quarter of the century. The restraints on colonialism were swept away in the new imperialist flood that speedily completed the partition of the world between the imperial powers. Africa was almost totally divided into European dependencies. In other areas as well, new colonies were carved out or old ones consolidated and extended, as in southeast Asia, where the Dutch, French, and British greatly expanded the scope and intensity of their rule in the Indies, Indochina, Malaya, and Burma. Changing power relationships brought a redivision of territories in the Spanish-American War, in the Boer War, and after World War i with the transfer of German and Turkish holdings. To assess the causes of the change in the last decades of the nineteenth century would involve the whole range of theories of imperialism, but certain elements particularly related to colonialism may be singled out. Such men as Jules Ferry, Joseph Chamberlain, and Cecil Rhodes justified the revival of colonialism in terms of the needs of the new industrial system and by the demands of a Darwinian struggle between nations and races. The new wave of protectionism and governmental intervention at home restored validity to the assertion of direct political control overseas. Such control seemed particularly justified in tropical Africa, where it was arguable that only the assumption of full responsibility by a Western government could establish the conditions under which modern enterprise could function. This position found powerful support in the prevalent theories holding that certain races, notably the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon, had a peculiar genius for government. The transition away from colonialism Western imperialism reached its highest point before World War i, although several

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decades went by before World War ii brought a full rejection of colonialism. The Spanish-American War marked the beginning and the end of any large-scale American involvement with colonialism, and the Boer War crystallized the hostility of many, in Britain and elsewhere, to imperialism. The years preceding World War i were the last in which a complacent colonialism could flourish as a part of what seemed the natural order of things. Liberal and socialist attacks on colonialism were growing, although the belief in white supremacy lingered on. The adoption of the mandates system in the Versailles peace settlement was one significant expression of the doubts that were beginning to undermine colonialism. The only significant additions to the colonial domains between the two world wars were short-lived: All the forces opposed to colonialism and sap-ping its vitality grew in strength in the interwar years. The success of the Russian Revolution brought into being a world-wide network of agitation against imperialism, and nationalist activities and organizations were multiplying in the dependent territories themselves. In the imperial centers the will to maintain empire steadily declined with the spread of ideas hostile to racialism and colonial domination. World War ii greatly hastened the process through the Japanese displacement of the colonial powers in southeast Asia, the further weakening of those powers at home, the intensification of anti-imperialist opinion throughout the world, and the atmosphere of change that permeated many of the colonies. The possession of colonies, so long a matter of pride and prestige, now became a sin to be expiated only, if at all, by the granting of immediate independence. Attitudes toward colonialism Attitudes toward colonialism have varied greatly from time to time and from place to place. Most frequently, colonialism has been accepted as merely one manifestation of the ever-present truth that the strong dominate the weak. Although the missionary element has rarely been wholly absent, the usual presumption has been that every colony does or ought to exist for the benefit of the mother country. The justifications of colonial rule cover a wide range, often resting upon the right of the conqueror, perhaps bolstered by a claim of racial superiority. Some French spokesmen for colonialism acclaim it as the universal instrument for the spread of civilization, pointing to themselves and many of their neighbors as products of Roman colonization. The defense of colonialism is likely to adopt some variant of the criterion laid down by John Stuart Mill , who, in the case of peoples not yet ready for representative government, defended alien rule on the ground that the colonial mode of government was as legitimate as any other if it was the one which in the existing state of civilization of the subject people most facilitated their transition to a higher stage of improvement. Lord Lugard introduced another element in proposing that the colonial powers were under a dual mandate obligating them to secure the advancement of their dependent territories and to develop them in the interest of the world at large. The assumptions on which such defenses of colonialism rest have been increasingly subject to challenge in recent decades. The more moderate present-day approach tentatively accepts colonial rule if the authorities devote themselves to preparing their wards for independence, but growing skepticism as to the trustworthiness of the colonial powers has led to the insistence that they accept international supervision in so doing. The UN Charter looked to independence or self-government for all dependent peoples, tightened control over the trust territories surviving from the mandates system, and brought all nonself-governing territories into the international public domain. The more radical approach denounces the imposition of alien rule as always evil under all circumstances. This starting point eliminates all controversy as to whether one colonial system or policy is better than another by blanket condemnation of all, leaving immediate independence as the only way out. Building on the anticolonial resolution of the Bandung Conference , the UN General Assembly in its Declaration on the Granting of Independence gave this position international recognition. This declaration denounced the alien subjugation of peoples as a denial of human rights and an impediment to peace, proclaimed the right of all peoples to self-determination without conditions or reservations, and repudiated the doctrine of tutelage by asserting that inadequacy of political, economic, social, or educational preparedness shall never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. The anticolonialists project such doctrines into the future through the use of the concept of neocolonialism, which accuses the imperialists, among whom the Americans figure prominently, of regarding the independence that the colonial peoples have wrung from them

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as only the occasion to adopt more subtle tactics of domination and exploitation. Overt colonial rule is thus replaced by economic and other forms of control, including the provision of aid, and the nominally free countries are Balkanized and manipulated in the imperial interest. The colonial and former colonial powers see what has been happening in recent decades in a very different light. They reject the charge of being oppressors and exploiters and point to their accomplishments in advancing their dependent peoples in every sphere, including the granting of independence to hundreds of millions since . However, they differ greatly in the way in which they have envisaged their colonial mission. The position of four of them—Britain, France, Belgium, and Portugal—may be briefly sketched to indicate the wide range of variation. Varying colonial policies

Great Britain With the exception of the United States, whose colonial holdings were far smaller, Great Britain could adapt itself more easily to the new dispensation than any of the other colonial powers. The entire British policy of regarding colonies not as integral parts of the mother country but as countries with their own distinctive ways of life facilitated autonomous development. The colonial peoples were given an increasing share in the governing councils, public service, and judiciary and thus were started on what came to be a standard cycle culminating in self-government and then independence. This was a cycle through which the older dominions had passed and which was tested again in India, Ceylon, and elsewhere in the interwar decades. World War II brought both a heightening of the belief that colonial rule imposed responsibility for the well-being of dependent peoples and an acceptance of the need to move speedily to end colonialism. France

France, on the other hand, was forced to undertake a basic reversal in direction. In contrast to the British, the French inclined always to a policy of cultural, economic, and political assimilation. Yet in the succeeding months de Gaulle reconciled himself and the French people to African independence on terms of intimate collaboration between France and the newly freed countries—terms often so intimate as to lead to charges that a French neocolonialism had been instituted, rendering independence nominal. Belgium

Belgian rule over the Congo, which came to an abrupt end on July 1, 1960, was an unusual combination of elements. The Belgians concentrated power in Brussels, as did the French in Paris, but they did not follow France in associating Africans with them in the imperial center nor Britain in drawing the Congolese into the local administration and governing councils. The great triumvirate—the Belgian government, the giant corporations, and the church—made tremendous strides in economic development, and to a lesser extent in welfare and education, laying the foundation for what would have been a solid structure if uninterrupted decades of colonial rule had stretched ahead. The Belgian philosophy of colonialism explicitly excluded the creation of an elite on the French or British model until mass education would have spread widely and a middle class come into being. The haste with which Belgium moved to sever its formal ties with the Congo following the riots in Leopoldville in January 1960 gave no opportunity to bridge the immense gap between its patronizing paternalism and the responsibilities suddenly assumed by the Congolese, who were left with a government lacking trained African leaders and officials and an army lacking African officers. Portugal

The Portuguese offer a fourth variant of colonialism, ruling over an empire shorn of Goa but still reaching from Macao to Mozambique and Angola. Oldest of the Western colonial powers, Portugal continues to protest vigorously that she has no nonself-governing peoples but only equal provinces of a single indivisible realm. Furthermore, embittered competition has inevitably broken out between the advancing African elements and the thousands of Portuguese peasants and workers officially encouraged to emigrate to Portuguese Africa with the double purpose of relieving home poverty and establishing the Portuguese presence so firmly as to make it unchallengeable. The heart of the problem is that Portugal is itself only a partially developed country, having lived for many years under a dictatorship and being unable to overcome its own poverty and mass illiteracy. Its ability to secure the advancement of millions of people overseas is obviously questionable. The literature of colonialism

The literature dealing with colonialism is wide-ranging and diverse and reflects the changing nature of the colonial problem. For the most part it consists of studies of particular dependencies or groups of dependencies, but a substantial body of literature dealing with general aspects of colonialism has also been built up. Several studies have undertaken to compare the colonial policies of the powers in terms of the goals

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that have been set, the success with which these goals have been reached, and the administrative and other machineries that have been employed. At both ends of the spectrum the motives lying behind the acquisition of dependencies and the evaluation of the forces leading to the present surge of decolonization open challenging vistas to inquiry. Among the themes that have recurred regularly in the examination of colonialism are the relative values of direct and indirect rule, centralization and decentralization, varying types of economic policy, the acceptability and effects of white settlement, pressures of different kinds to aid in recruiting a labor force, and the scope and nature of the educational system. In the interwar decades there appeared in the literature of colonialism the relatively new theme of international control over the colonial powers, but since this has been superseded by the processes and problems of decolonization and the means of securing economic and political development. The transition through the last stages of colonial rule to independence has been studied in a number of instances but still offers an unusually rich field of inquiry. Africa, achieving independence almost overnight, has come in for unprecedented attention. Now that colonialism is virtually at an end, it becomes possible to explore in depth and in detail what type of colonial system has produced the best results, but before this question can be meaningfully explored it is necessary to determine the scale of values by which colonialism in its various guises is to be measured. The era of colonialism is far too close to us for any definitive and objective assessment of it to be possible. A few salient points may, however, be tentatively put forward. These regimes tended to train a few of their subjects in bureaucratic management and required passive acquiescence from the remainder. Cahiers internationaux de sociologie 11, no. Burns, Alan In Defence of Colonies: British Colonial Territories in International Affairs. New York and London: Revised by Louis Milliot. Hailey, Malcolm An African Survey: Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The Dutch East Indies. The Psychology of Colonization. Edited and translated by E. An Introduction to the Study of Race Contact: The Progress of Law.

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2: Colonialism | [www.enganchecubano.com](http://www.enganchecubano.com)

*Rupert Emerson. The ANNALS of the Puerto Rico and American Policy Toward Dependent Areas Show all authors. Rupert Emerson. Rupert Emerson. Department of.*

Starting in , the ILO adopted a series of conventions designed to establish standards for the treatment of indigenous inhabitants in dependent territories, a movement which culminated with the recommendation in , and the adoption three years later, of the comprehensive Convention on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories. Taking a longer and less formal view, one finds that the concept has much deeper origins. Imperialist acts and policies were often, if not usually, accompanied by statements concerning obligations toward the indigenous inhabitants, although scholars have disagreed concerning the sincerity, meaning, and strength of these declarations and their precise relationship to modern trusteeship. Nevertheless, as early as , with the signature at the Berlin conference of the general act concerning the Congo basin, some obligations toward the inhabitants of dependent territories were stated in legal form, and five years later, at the Brussels conference, international machinery was created to facilitate the implementation of these and other obligations. Scholars have interpreted the development of the concept of trusteeship in varying ways. Some have seen it as a notable departure from past colonial policies and as a significant step in the direction of world order, while others have seen it merely as a facade for the continuation of traditional imperial practices. Still others have advanced a full range of views between these two extremes. In terms of the effects of trusteeship, the first interpretation appears to have been closest to the mark. Whatever the motives of those who wrote the concept of trusteeship into various legal documents, in operation it appears to have led to improvements in colonial regimes and to have hastened the process of decolonization. It is worthy of note that improved colonial practices appear to have resulted in intensified demands for the liquidation of colonialism. The League of Nations Covenant prescribed extensive obligations only for the administration of dependent territories detached from the vanquished states in World War i, i. A rather modest goal was set for all other areas. The concept of trusteeship as included in the United Nations Charter applied to all dependent territories. However, although the obligations and goals of trusteeship were universally applicable, the charter envisaged widely different degrees of international supervision. It divided dependent territories into two categories: For the former, chapters XII and XIII of the charter created an elaborate system of supervision, consisting primarily of the Trusteeship Council, which is composed of an equal number of administering and nonadministering states, including the five permanent members of the Security Council. For the other category, non-self-governing territories, member states were merely required to transmit to the secretary-general of the United Nations statistical and other information relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories Chapter XI. Which regimen applied to any given dependent territory depended upon the administering state, since the decision to place a territory within the trusteeship system was a voluntary one. In theory, all dependent territories were eligible for the trusteeship system, although article 77 of the charter singled out former mandates and territories belonging to the defeated states of World War n as being pre-eminently eligible. Actually, only dependent territories falling into these two categories have been placed within the trusteeship system. In the General Assembly failed to adopt a resolution proposed by India expressing the hope that administering states would propose trusteeship agreements for other dependent territories. Thus, under both the League of Nations and the United Nations, the most extensive commitments have applied only to dependent territories detached from states defeated in the two world wars. On the other hand, the supervisory and enforcement machinery of the International Labour Organisation has applied equally, regardless of the status of the territory before the League or the UN, if the administering state has ratified the relevant conventions. Eleven territories were eventually placed within the trusteeship system. One of these, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, under United States administration, was designated as a strategic area under the special provisions outlined in articles 82 and 83, which had been inserted in the charter

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to accommodate American wishes. The United States may restrict access to the territory, and it need not extend the economic privileges it exercises there to other states. Ultimate supervisory authority with respect to this territory rests with the Security Council rather than the General Assembly, which has this authority in all other cases. This authority is relevant and exercised particularly at the time of the approval and the termination of the trusteeship agreement. The Security Council, however, transferred routine supervisory functions with respect to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Trusteeship Council. The trusteeship system thus included only a small fraction of the territories and peoples under colonial rule at the conclusion of World War n. However, the system appears to have had a broader impact than its limited application would indicate. Seven of the trust territories were grouped, for administrative purposes, with non-self-governing territories. Consequently, the UN has often considered issues affecting the latter as well. More importantly, developments in the trust territories inevitably have had an impact in other dependent areas. The system in action. The administering authorities are required to submit annual reports on the administration of the territories. These reports are based on a questionnaire prepared by the Trusteeship Council, with special questions prepared for certain individual territories. When the Trusteeship Council considers a report, a special representative of the administering authority, often the highest-ranking administrative official in the trust territory, attends the sessions for the purpose of making statements and answering questions. In addition, written and oral petitions concerning the trust territories can be submitted to the United Nations, and the United Nations can dispatch special and periodic visiting missions to the trust territories. Through these several devices, the United Nations has maintained close contact with the inhabitants of the trust territories and with the individuals responsible for their administration. As applied to Somaliland, the trusteeship system had certain additional special features. Italy agreed to be aided and advised in the administration of the territory by an advisory council composed of representatives of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines. The most important special feature was that the trusteeship agreement was limited to a ten-year period after its approval by the General Assembly on December 2, . At the expiration of this period Somali-land had to be given independence. In no other case would the administering authorities allow a final target date for independence to be established. At the time that the United Nations Charter was drafted, it was generally expected that all League of Nations mandates would be placed within the trusteeship system, other than Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine, which had already gained, or were about to gain, independence. The General Assembly sought, through a series of resolutions, to induce the Union of South Africa to place South-West Africa within the trusteeship system. After the futility of these efforts became apparent, and on the basis of an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice issued in , the General Assembly, starting in , has established a series of committees in an attempt to exercise a measure of international supervision over the administration of the territory. Starting with the first session, there has been pressure in the General Assembly to create machinery so that non-self-governing territories would be subject to almost the same measure of international supervision as trust territories. This pressure would have existed in any case, given the anticolonial bias of the General Assembly, but it probably gained strength because of the limited application of the trusteeship system. Article 73 e , which required administering states to submit statistical and other information relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in their non-self-governing territories, has provided a basis for action by the General Assembly. The initial step was the creation of a committee, composed of an equal number of administering and nonadministering states, to examine and consider this information. Its recommendations have paralleled those of the Trusteeship Council. Attempts were made to give the committee the right to receive petitions and dispatch visiting missions, but these efforts were unsuccessful. Some administering states did, however, respond to the urgings of the General Assembly and include in their delegations to the committee representatives of the indigenous inhabitants of their non-self-governing territories and specialists on various aspects of administration. Although article 73 e does not require the submission of information on constitutional and political developments in the non-self-governing territories, the General Assembly always encourages the administering states to supply such material, and since all states do so. Beyond creating the

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Committee on Information, the General Assembly assumed the power of ruling on whether or not administering states should transmit or could cease transmitting information on specific territories. Portugal alone has defied the General Assembly and refused to submit information, insisting that its overseas territories are not colonies, but integral parts of the state. Cases which did not involve either of these solutions were controversial. The aims of the General Assembly with respect to both trust territories and non-self-governing territories have been similar. They have included improving colonial practices in various ways, eliminating all racial discrimination, and, above all, liquidating colonialism. In this sense the United Nations has differed from the League of Nations, for the concept of trusteeship as applied in the League focused principally on the first and to a much lesser extent on the second and third of these goals. However, since the administering powers have been in a considerably stronger position in these two bodies, they have taken a somewhat more sanguine view of the adequacy of existing colonial practices and have made considerably more modest demands with respect to the pace of decolonization. In addition, these two bodies have been more seriously concerned about the nature of the political system of the emerging states than the General Assembly, which has been content to advocate the principles of the plebiscite and universal suffrage. In specific terms, although the anticolonial group could vote actions which might alienate minor colonial powers, such as Belgium and Portugal, they could not afford to alienate the major administering states, in particular the United Kingdom. Starting in 1945, the tone and tempo of the United Nations proceedings with respect to its trusteeship functions has changed sharply. The increasingly rapid liquidation of colonialism in Africa, marked that year by the granting of independence to the French African territories and the former Belgian Congo, signified the acceptance by the administering states of a rate of decolonization which they hitherto had resisted. Upon entering the United Nations, as seventeen did that year, the emerging states swelled the anticolonial majority. As more and more trust territories attained the ultimate goals of the system, the importance of the Trusteeship Council faded. In 1954 a special committee was created to examine and to make recommendations and suggestions concerning the implementation of this resolution. States holding anticolonial views were given a predominant position on the committee, which was given powers almost equivalent to those of the Trusteeship Council. In this committee assumed the functions of the Committee on Information, which was disbanded. Since 1954, the General Assembly has taken the view that the period of trusteeship is nearly over, and that colonialism should be liquidated as rapidly as possible. Assessments of the application of the concept of trusteeship are technically difficult and also raise various value-laden issues. Depending on their view of colonialism and their image of what attributes emerging states should have, scholars and statesmen have interpreted the record in widely different terms. Both the legality and the efficacy of the way in which the concept of trusteeship has been applied to non-self-governing territories have been hotly debated. Although the debate has been more moderate, the record of the trusteeship system in trust territories has also been controversial. Some have argued that the United Nations has done too much, while others have maintained that it has done too little. Similarly, some have felt that the administering states have more than fulfilled their obligations with respect to both the indigenous inhabitants of dependent territories and the international community, while others have thought that they have been laggard. Of course the debate has had other dimensions as well. Belgium, for example, has complained that the provisions of Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter have been applied only to dependent territories which are geographically separated from the administering state and has stated that they should also have been applied to dependent territories within states. This characteristic has been attributed to the fact that the Trusteeship Council is composed of representatives of states, while the Permanent Mandates Commission was composed of individuals appointed in their own capacity. The lack of objective standards by which to measure achievements and the failure to construct such criteria or even to measure progress in dependent territories against that in independent territories has often been decried; but little academic work has been done in this area. Most scholarship has concentrated on the historical description of the activities of the League of Nations and the United Nations and on the legal and formal aspects of the concept of trusteeship. Prominent among the explanations for this is the fact that formal and legal analyses are technically easier.

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They can be based principally on documentary sources, and they avoid difficult problems of establishing and delimiting interrelationships. The most that can be said, at present, concerning the effects of trusteeship is that it has altered the climate of opinion in the dependent territories, the administering states, and other countries. Although some steps have been made in the direction of determining more precisely through what means, in which directions, and with what effects the climate of opinion has been altered, this too remains an important task for future scholarship. Pages in Inis L. Claude, *Swords Into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*. United Nations Challenge to French Policy. Acceptance of the League of Nations Mandate System. Acceptance of the United Nations Trusteeship System. International Labour Conference, 26th Session, Philadelphia, Philadelphia, April to May *International Labour Review* 50, no. *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. Rivlin, Benjamin *Self-determination and Dependent Areas*.

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### 3: World Peace Foundation Records (DG ), Swarthmore College Peace Collection

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*Korean independence: a Soviet-American problem, by Yongjeung Kim.* --*Nationalist movements in southeast Asia, by Rupert Emerson.*

Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation*: Beacon Press, , pp. Its subsequent history has been a checkered one, both in its practical application and in the theorizing concerning it. It has tempted the sophisticate to display his wit and learning by demonstrating its inadequacies and contradictions and forced irascible statesmen to shake their heads in dismay at its uncouth proportions. Neither the skeptical sophisticate nor the perturbed statesman, it should immediately be added, has had any significant bearing on the revolutionary drive of peoples to achieve their independent destiny in their own fashion. A summary glance at the experience of the world with self-determination since World War I will indicate its curious career. Brought to explicit formulation by Woodrow Wilson and the Bolsheviks in the course of the war, it became one of the fundamental principles of international society, and yet it found no place in the League Covenant. It served as a guideline for much of the reshaping of states in the peacemaking that followed close on the heels of the war, but after that process was completed the only new states to emerge on the international stage in the interwar decades were Eire in Europe and Iraq and Saudi Arabia in Asia. The experience of the Second World War and its aftermath is in many respects the reverse of the first. Although the Atlantic Charter paid appropriate homage to self-determination in a somewhat indirect fashion, the Allies, leaving aside the restoration of peoples overrun by the Axis, were not only divided as to the application of self-determination but had also largely lost their enthusiasm for it as anything approaching a panacea. For the Soviet Union the aim in relation to its Western neighbors had become one of absorption or domination, and for the colonial powers self-determination meant self-destruction of empire. Hence, although the principle of self-determination of peoples now figured among the purposes of the United Nations Charter, it played only a scanty role in such peacemaking as took place. As a sorry substitute for a peace settlement, the cold war indeed worked to produce national partitions at some of the key points on the new-style international frontier. In Germany, Korea, and Vietnam the pleas of nations for unity were subordinated to the high strategy of international politics with the result that each had a jealously guarded barricade erected across it to demarcate the spheres of the two great opposing blocs; and China underwent a division between the mainland and Formosa. In each instance there were two bitterly opposed regimes, one Communist and the other non-Communist, each claiming to represent the national will under its own symbols. Self-determination was still very much alive but its locus had shifted from Europe to Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, with the anti-colonial powers tending to insist that it was for practical purposes an issue which had relevance only in the colonial realm. In , even though the Versailles peacemakers could frequently do little more than ratify states of fact already accomplished by the peoples directly concerned, the reordering of Central and Eastern Europe was carried on under the auspices of the victorious Allies essentially at the cost of their enemies and Russia. In and thereafter self-determination was a weapon aimed primarily at the victorious imperial powers themselves, and was under their control only in the sense that they could either fight it outright, as in Indochina and Indonesia, or yield to it with greater or less grace, as in the Philippines, India, Burma, and Ceylon. The principle of self-determination derives from a familiar set of doctrines, whose apparent simplicity conceals a multitude of complications. The prime starting point is presumably the eighteenth-century proposition that governments must rest upon the consent of the governed, to which the nineteenth and twentieth centuries added the assumption that, since man is a national animal, the government to which he will give his consent is one representing his own nation. For full-blown self-determination to emerge it was only necessary to secure recognition of a new principle of natural law which entitles nations to possess their own states and, as the other side of the coin, renders illegitimate states with a non-national base. As Woodrow Wilson put it, the Central Empires had been forced into political bankruptcy because they dominated "alien peoples over whom they had no natural right to rule. In the current temper of world opinion

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no one can in principle oppose what has come to be the almost self-evident right of peoples to dispose of their own destinies, but it is unfortunately equally impossible to formulate this right in such terms as to make it meaningfully applicable to reality. Who can say the nations nay, and yet who can say what nations are and when and how they may assert themselves? A RIGHT OF REVOLUTION If the issue is put in its most drastic terms, to accept the right of self-determination in blanket fashion is to endow social entities which cannot be identified in advance with a right of revolution against the constituted authority of the state, and even to obligate the state to yield to the demands of the revolutionaries. As for the first part of this proposition, little need be added to what has already been said about the vagrant character of our knowledge concerning what are and what are not nations. The matter becomes even more tangled when the Charter of the United Nations endorses the self-determination of peoples. Any number of questions come immediately to mind, and virtually none of them have answers which can be relied upon. How are the people to whom the principle applies to be defined? And if a majority decides one way today, may the whole or a segment of it decide differently tomorrow? Who speaks for the people in order to set the process in motion, and under what circumstances and by what methods may they press their case? What degree of maturity and political experience is needed to qualify a people to make an informed and responsible choice and to maintain the independence for which it may opt? That these are not idle academic questions can be illustrated by a host of examples. In addition to the whole troubled experience of the effort to sort out the European peoples on national lines there may now be added such Asian and African examples as Palestine, the partition of India, claims to Kashmir and Pushtunistan, the Karens in Burma, separatist movements in Indonesia and the West Irian issue, the divided peoples of Nigeria and the Sudan, the claims and counterclaims of China, Formosa, and the Formosans, the racial complexities of Malaya, tribal peoples in many areas not yet brought within any national fold, and the uncertain allegiance of the Arabs. This is one key facet of the question - that peoples and even nations are uncertain quantities which from time to time assert themselves with irresistible force but which cannot be known in advance with any assurance. Even if nations are taken for granted as given - a not unreasonable assumption since nations will at all events make themselves heard in their own good time - when they come to self-determination they are inevitably exercising a revolutionary right. As far back as in the setting of the French Revolution Carnot reported to the National Assembly that: Self-determination constitutes formal recognition of the principle that nation and state should coincide, but the plain fact is that the state structure derived from the past only occasionally and accidentally coincided with the national make-up of the world. That is, indeed, what all the furor was about. No question of sympathy with the desire of states to continue in existence in their present form need be involved in the contention that the exercise of self-determination is ordinarily an exercise of the right of revolution. The overturn and reconstitution of states to bring them into harmony with the demands of "the changing content of natural law" may be a highly praiseworthy achievement, but this necessitates appeal to a higher law which supersedes and seeks to nullify the established legality of states and governments. The states are the creators and maintainers of law in the ordinary sense, and a challenge to their own existence must have some other basic point of reference. At this stage there emerges a clash of rights derived from different sources: It is, of course, conceivable that the right of self-determination should be explicitly embodied in the constitutional structure of individual states or of the international community as a whole. There is a ring of fundamental improbability to the notion that states will in advance concede their own potential dissolution. It may be that the Jeffersonian defense of occasional revolution is an admirable thing, but it defies constitutional formulation. The only examples of a preordained acceptance of self-determination which I have been able to find are contained in the constitutions of Burma and the Soviet Union, and for the French dependencies in the constitution of the Fifth Republic. The grant of a right of secession to the constituent republics of the U. From Lenin on, it has been made clear that the needs of socialism override the claims of nations. Already embraced within the Communist fatherland, the peoples have achieved their summum bonum, and, by the easy logic of Communist dialectics, any recalculation of their destiny is to be undertaken by the hierarchy of the single and monolithic Party. Hancock adroitly put it in

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a dictum which has wider applicability than merely to the Soviet Union: Under the constitution of the states representing the minority peoples within the Union of Burma, with the exception of the Kachins and by later constitutional amendment the Karens, were given the right to secede after an interval of ten years from the time the constitution came into force, and, in contrast to the Soviet model, the processes by which this might be accomplished were spelled out in some detail. On the international stage the most significant earlier effort to institutionalize self-determination was that of Colonel House and Woodrow Wilson in preliminary drafts of the League Covenant. In brief, it provided that, subject to League approval, territorial readjustments might be undertaken to meet "changes in present racial conditions and aspirations, pursuant to the principle of self-determination. The earlier Dumbarton Oaks version of the Charter made no mention of it, but at San Francisco the four sponsoring governments introduced it as amendments to existing articles, at the suggestion, it has been stated, of the Soviet Union. The harsh reality remained that self-determination very often involved secession and that what was labeled as a principle was sure to be asserted as a right. Since San Francisco the concern of the United Nations with problems of self-determination has been continuous and many-faceted. In very considerable part it has focused on one or another aspect of colonialism, including involvement in specific cases such as that of Indonesia, Algeria, or Cyprus, but the debates swirling around the effort to draft Covenants on Human Rights have also provoked much searching discussion of more general considerations. Even when the latter has been the actual or nominal intent, however, the problems of colonialism are so evidently the central issue that they habitually intrude themselves. A little later in the year the Commission on Human Rights obeyed by elaborating the proposed article in the following fashion: Not satisfied with these actions, the Commission recommended a further resolution, to the profound pain of the colonial powers, which not only specified that the demand for colonial self-government should be ascertained through a plebiscite held under UN auspices, but also roundly declared that "slavery exists where an alien people hold power over the destiny of a people. Generally the Western powers and their friends, normally including the United States, took an increasingly dim view of the entire matter, while the Asian-African and Soviet blocs, aided by some of the Latin Americans, pressed their case as vigorously as possible. The charge of slavery was eliminated and other terms were softened, as, for example, in the decision of the Assembly in December, that the administering powers should facilitate the exercise of the right of self-determination by colonial peoples, "the wishes of the people being ascertained through plebiscites or other recognized democratic means, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations. As the debate wore on, it became increasingly clear that Covenants including the disputed self-determination provisions were exceedingly unlikely to secure the adherence of the Western powers. To add to the already ample array of problems, from the Human Rights Commission and other sources came proposals to establish some type of organ which would be empowered to look into, and perhaps act upon, allegations of a denial of the right of self-determination. One of the difficulties in the situation is that, although the United Nations might help to make it so, self-determination is not a right which finds any place in international law. The leading case on the subject, a singularly clear-cut one, has not lost its validity. Immediately after World War I Sweden laid claim to the Aaland Islands which, together with Finland, it had lost to Russia early in the nineteenth century. When Finland achieved independence in the course of the Russian Revolution the islands continued to form a part of Finnish territory. It was not seriously disputed that over 95 per cent of their inhabitants were "altogether Swedish in origin, in habits, in language, and in culture," and informal plebiscites as well as other evidence confirmed their desire for incorporation in Sweden. The Swedish claim was considered by the League of Nations in its earliest days, just after the adoption of self-determination by the peacemakers as a major principle in the reshaping of Europe. Despite the unassailable case that had been presented as far as self-determination for the islanders was concerned, the claims of peoples to disrupt states were flatly rejected. In a Committee of Jurists, appointed by the Council, reported that national self-determination was not recognized by positive international law; "In the absence of express provisions in international treaties, the right of disposing of national territory is essentially an attribute of the sovereignty of every State. Asking whether it were possible to have a general rule that a

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minority can separate to join another state or become independent, it stated: The answer can only be in the negative. To concede to minorities either of language or religion, or to any fractions of a population, the right of withdrawing from the community to which they belong, because it is their wish or their good pleasure, would be to destroy order and stability within States and to inaugurate anarchy in international life; it would be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very idea of the State as a territorial and political entity. It is the normal and expected procedure that the state authorities should proclaim their right to maintain things as they are whenever a segment of the people seeks to secede or to overturn the existing state. As the Pope protested French incorporation of Avignon in the Revolution, so Metternich held that for the powers to recognize the inclinations and repugnances of provinces within states would be to introduce a new and limitless confusion, bringing the social body to the point of an overpowering anarchy. In similar language Abraham Lincoln, confronted with the threatened secession of the South, laid it down in his first Inaugural: The Indian nation had successfully asserted its right of self-determination as against British rule, but at the cost of a further secession in Pakistan which pointed to dangers like those of which Lincoln had warned. The demand in India for a redrawing of the map of the country on the basis of linguistic states has, since independence, had to yield priority to the prime need of maintaining unbroken national unity. The report of the States Re-organization Commission stated firmly that, so far as the component parts of the Indian Union were concerned, there could be no question of a right of self-determination regardless of other factors and circumstances. The Commission held that if self-determination were the governing principle, the possible demand for separate States would be unlimited. That other Asian and African states would in the normal course of events act in the same fashion seems not open to question, even though the Bandung Conference of gave its full support to the principle of self-determination as basic to all fundamental human rights. In his memoirs former President Truman, referring to the nationalist movements in Asia and Africa, affirmed that the American people have always accepted without "ifs" the right of a people to determine its own destiny. The United States has moved beyond the days when President Coolidge could defend his veto of a bill calling for a Philippine plebiscite with the contention that it would be trifling with the sacred feelings innate in humankind to ask the Filipinos with which state they wished to be associated, but the American position is still a cautious one. Even in the latter category it would not be difficult to demonstrate that the United States, like all other states, has inserted "ifs" where other political considerations appeared to make them desirable. The wishes of the people of Okinawa will be given less than full credence where they run counter to the American estimate of military needs. All too often self-determination is a right to be defended in lofty terms when it is politically advantageous and to be rejected when it is not. Despite occasional surface appearances to the contrary, the issue is not one which divides East and West in any of the meanings of that geographical expression. Pakistan is as enthusiastic for free self-determination for Kashmir as is Afghanistan for Pushtunistan; and neither Nationalist nor Communist Chinese give evidence of profound concern over the self-determination of the Formosans, nor is the United States prepared to acquiesce in the choice of the form of government made by the mainland Chinese. The Soviet Union finds it an excellent right for use against the West and its colonies as the West holds it eminently applicable to the peoples of the U. The Communists are, however, more frankly selective in their use of self-determination than is the rest of the world. Lenin and Stalin made it clear that self-determination was good where it involved a breach in the imperialist structure and intolerable where it involved separation from the Communist fatherland. In the days before he was read out of the brotherhood Trotsky defended the Soviet take-over of Georgia with the active participation of the Red Army and went on to state the general principle under which he and his colleagues acted: We do not only recognize but we give full support to the principle of self-determination, wherever it is directed against feudal, capitalist and imperialist states. But wherever the fiction of self-determination, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, becomes a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently from the other "principles" of democracy perverted by capitalism. It is no accident that self-determination, as a new tenet of natural law attacking the existing state structure, should be associated in its practical manifestations with wars and the

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aftermath of wars. The wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon started it on its way in Europe; the unification of Germany and Italy required war; Central and Eastern Europe were reconstructed as a consequence of the first World War; and the Second World War opened the door to self-determination for Asia and Africa.

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*America's future in the Pacific; American policy toward dependent areas, by Rupert Emerson*  
*Korean independence: a Soviet-American problem, by Yongjeung Kim.*

Department of State " That means ensuring that all who live within the boundaries of a state consider themselves fully respected and enfranchised citizens of that state. As a corollary to this principle, the way a government treats its own people is not just an "internal matter"; it is the business of the international community, for there are issues of both universal values and regional peace at stake. By extension, this principle gives American diplomacy a template for supporting self-determination without necessarily encouraging secessionism Democracy is the political system most explicitly designed to ensure self-determination. Democracy can be a vehicle for peaceful secession, but it is also the best antidote to secessionism and civil war, since, in a truly democratic state, citizens seeking to run their own lives have peaceful alternatives to taking up arms against their government. This principle is global. It can, and should, be applied to conflicts deriving from demands for self-determination in Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere The characters and the settings are different, but the plot is the same: The people who live in a remote corner of a country resent, often with good reason, the powers-that-be in the far-off capital; they are a majority locally but a minority in the larger state; they want independence and are prepared to fight for it. Sooner or later, the resulting conflict becomes a challenge to American foreign policy, either because of the magnitude of the humanitarian crisis or because of the threat to regional peace and stability -- or both. Nowhere on the shelves of the State Department is there a ready-made, one-size-fits-all blueprint for dealing with this scenario. In each instance, policy makers must consider unique historical and political circumstances; they must strike a balance among various interests and values, while weighing the competing needs and concerns of friends and allies. Still, there is at least one general guideline for the American response to separatist conflicts, and it derives from how the world is changing. Independence is still a powerful impulse for the creation of new states, particularly among peoples who are ignored or repressed by central governments. But, in many cases, the rise of interdependence among states offers a remedy for conflicts within states that is better than secession: Present at the Creation in Versailles The United States itself has lived through a version of this basic story. In the 18th century, the American people fought a colonial power to win their freedom; then, in the 19th century, they fought on both sides in a much more brutal war pitting the Union against an independence movement called the Confederacy. But the state that emerged from the American Revolution and remained intact after the Civil War was fundamentally different from the states of Europe. The United States became a melting pot of immigrant nationalities, while in Europe, the Treaty of Westphalia had established, in place of the crumbling Holy Roman Empire, nation-states: There are two difficulties with the concept of the nation-state. The first is that, carried to an extreme, it means that every one of the thousands of nationalities on Earth should have its own state, which would make for a very large United Nations and a very messy world. The other problem is that a pure nation-state does not exist in nature. Ethnographic boundaries almost never coincide with political ones. That is one reason why, for years after the Peace of Westphalia, Europeans kept going back to war and redrawing the map of the Continent in blood. World War I led to the breakup of the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires and the birth of a new generation of nation-states. His Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, confided to his diary at the time that self-determination would likely "breed discontent, disorder and rebellion," and that the phrase itself was "simply loaded with dynamite. Wilson in his long coat and top hat has become the cartoon personification of the squishy-soft half of this stereotype. This false dichotomy misses one of the most important, distinctive, and salutary aspects of American foreign policy: Particularly in this century, the United States has explicitly and persistently sought to champion both its national interests and its national values, without seeing the two goals to be in contradiction. While Wilson gave that principle a voice and put it into action, so did Roosevelt. In fact,

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Roosevelt preached the gospel of hardheaded idealism before Wilson did. If Roosevelt were around today, he would be mightily offended to hear himself depicted as a sort of Yankee Richelieu or Metternich. It has become almost a matter of conventional wisdom that his concept of self-determination, as proclaimed at Versailles, led straight to the roiling chaos of the Balkans in the s. Yet whatever the shortcomings of Versailles, Wilson and the other peacemakers gathered there did try, where possible, to put multiple nationalities together under the roof of a single state. One result was Czechoslovakia -- the land of the Czechs and Slovaks. Another was Yugoslavia -- the land of the South Slavs: Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Those new countries did not survive the century in which they were born; but that was not so much because of the shortsightedness of the mapmakers of Versailles as it was because of the rise of fascism in Central and Southern Europe and the consolidation of communism in the East. The peoples of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were subject to the double jeopardy of having to live under both those forms of totalitarianism. They never had an adequate chance to develop democratic civil societies and federal systems. Their failures extended into the decade that just ended. Czechoslovakia broke up in the so-called Velvet Divorce eight years ago, while Yugoslavia came apart in a far more protracted and violent fashion. Now, in the wake of the seventh Balkan war of the 20th century, here we are again, more than 80 years after Versailles, trying one more time to get it right: The United States is working with its European allies and partners, and with the people of Southeastern Europe, to remake the politics of the region without, this time, having to redraw the map -- without splitting up large, repressive, or failed states into small, fractious ministates that are neither economically nor politically viable. Self-determination is a right guaranteed under international law to all peoples seeking to freely choose their social, economic, political and cultural future without external interference. The principle is unambiguous in its application to peoples having the collective right to freely choose their own future. It is a stunning fact to consider that just as the United States, France, England, Germany, Russia and Italy roll their troops into Kosovo to preserve the peace and secure human rights and self-determination, these same states have become active leaders in the drive to rewrite international law In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the U. There is reason for cautious optimism about reaching this goal. While the task is going to take a generation or more, at least the leaders of the communities that make up Bosnia have begun to put in place common institutions that embrace both the Serb entity, Republika Srpska, and the Muslim-Croat one, the Federation. The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina now has a flag, a national currency, and a national license plate -- all steps in the right direction. But there is a long way to go, especially in developing a political culture. After all, citizens of the former Yugoslavia also had the accoutrements of single statehood; but, in the end, they did not have the requisite sense of common identity. Kosovo is an even more complex case than Bosnia. The Kosovars have historically wanted -- and under Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito enjoyed -- a high degree of autonomy. Then, under President Slobodan Milosevic, they suffered a decade of Serbian oppression and more than a year of ethnic cleansing. It is not about devolving power from the higher to the lower. It is not about devolution. It is about freedom from alien Sinhala rule. At the same time, the struggle for Tamil Eelam is also about how two free peoples may associate with each other in equality, in freedom and in peace. A meaningful negotiating process will need to address the question of working out a legal framework for two free and independent peoples to co-exist - a legal framework where they may pool their sovereignty in certain agreed areas, so that they may co-exist in peace. The demand for Tamil Eelam is not negotiable. But an independent Tamil Eelam will negotiate. And there will be everything to negotiate about. It will be idle to pretend that equity will be achieved through a negotiating process which does not itself commence on an equitable footing They want total independence ; they want to break free completely -- constitutionally, juridically, and in every other respect -- from Belgrade, the perceived source of all their woes. For the time being, under U. Security Council Resolution , the question of final status is deferred. Kosovo today is administered by the United Nations and will be for some time to come, at least until that status is resolved. What ultimately happens there -- whether the people of Kosovo will come to accept a high level of autonomy within a larger, democratic, federalized, multiethnic state that has the same boundaries as the

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current Yugoslavia -- will depend in part on what happens in Serbia, the Balkans more generally, and Europe as a whole. But this much is clear: The Great Experiment in Europe Broader trends in Europe demonstrate why Milosevic is swimming against the tide of history. The old Westphalian system of nation-states -- each sovereign exercising supreme, absolute, and permanent national authority -- is giving way to a new system in which nations feel secure enough in their identities and in their neighborhoods to make a virtue out of porous borders and intertwined economies and cultures. The establishment of the euro as a common currency is only the most obvious example of the pooling of sovereignty in certain areas of governance. Simultaneously, many European nations are also now secure enough to grant their regions greater autonomy and a higher degree of self-determination. On matters where communal identities and sensitivities are at stake, such as language and education, central governments are transferring power to local authorities. The German Lander -- from Bavaria to Schleswig-Holstein -- have taken responsibility for affairs whose control once resided in the national capital. In Britain, the Blair government has sanctioned the establishment of a parliament in Scotland and an assembly in Wales, thereby actually making the United Kingdom more united, because the institutions of governance are more accommodating of the national communities that make up the state. In this fashion, Europe is managing and sublimating the forces that might otherwise trigger civil strife and conflict across borders. It is establishing a new culture of national and international politics in which healthy civil society and self-determination can flourish without requiring the proliferation of ethnically based microstates or encouraging irredentist conflict. Helping Europe succeed in this great experiment is a challenge for the United States. In various forms, the OSCE has existed for more than a quarter of a century. Its predecessor, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, contributed substantially to the ending of the Cold War. On the one hand, international borders should not be changed by force -- either by wars of aggression or by wars of secession; on the other hand, governments have a responsibility not just to defend the territorial integrity of the state but to establish and preserve the civic integrity of the population. As a corollary to this principle, the way a government treats its own people is not just an "internal matter" ; it is the business of the international community, for there are issues of both universal values and regional peace at stake. By extension, this principle gives American diplomacy a template for supporting self-determination without necessarily encouraging secessionism. It has struggled throughout its history with the "Kurdish question": All too often, the answers sought by both sides -- violence and terror in the name of liberation, military repression, and suspension of many basic rights in the name of combating terror -- have accelerated the spiral of uprising and crackdown. Now, after decades of tension and violence, there is genuine hope that the question of the Kurds will be resolved peacefully. In the wake of the arrest of Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the PKK, many Kurds have dropped calls for a separate state and begun to realize that violence and armed struggle will not help them achieve their basic rights. For its part, the Turkish government has recognized that there cannot be a purely military solution to the Kurdish question: The Post-Soviet Challenge Russia is an especially complex case. When the Soviet Union dissolved in , Russia and the other 14 Soviet republics made a historic decision: They affirmed the old interrepublic borders as the new international ones. To his credit, former President Boris Yeltsin, at several key points, repudiated the bellicose and irredentist claims of his noisier opponents. For example, he disavowed an incendiary Duma resolution laying claim to Crimea in Ukraine. For all the problems plaguing the former Soviet Union today, they are nothing compared with the catastrophe that would have occurred if post-Soviet Russia had behaved like post-Yugoslav Serbia and Croatia and had used force to change borders along ethnic lines. The recent horror of the Balkans might have been replayed in Eurasia, across 11 time zones, with 30, nuclear weapons in the volatile and violent mix.

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## 6: Puerto Rico:from territory to Commonwealth - CORE

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By Rupert Emerson [and others] Collation: United States -- Territories and possessions. Emerson, Rupert, Institute of Pacific Relations. The americanization of Micronesia: University Press of America, c Micronesia -- Politics and government. United States -- Insular possessions. University of North Carolina Press, Includes bibliographical references and index. Army -- Operational readiness. Military bases, American -- Philippines. Military bases, American -- Hawaii. United States -- Military policy. United States -- History -- United States -- Foreign relations -- Japan. Japan -- Foreign relations -- United States. Quayle, Dan, Title: Current policy ; no. Bureau of Public Affairs. United States -- Foreign relations -- Pacific Area. Pacific Area -- Foreign relations -- United States. United States -- Foreign relations -- Soviet Union. Soviet Union -- Foreign relations -- United States. Office of Public Communication. Battistini, Lawrence Henry, Title: The rise of American influence in Asia and the Pacific. Walt Whitman , Title: University of Texas Press, Ideas and action series ; no. Asia -- Economic integration. Pacific area -- Economic integration. Asia, Southeastern -- Economic integration. United States -- Foreign relations -- Asia. Asia -- Foreign relations -- United States. Wiens, Herold Jacob, Title: Pacific island bastions of the United States. Van Nostrand searchlight books, 4. Gibney, Frank, Title: Maxwell Macmillan Canada ; New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, East Asia -- History. Pacific Area -- Relations -- United States. United States -- Relations -- Pacific Area. School of Naval Administration. Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; a handbook for use in training and administration. Karig, Walter, Title: New York, Rinehart [] Material Type: Pacific destiny; an informal history of the U. Boston, Little, Brown [] Notes: New Brunswick, Rutgers Univ. Our Far Eastern policies in relation to our overall national objectives by J. Michael Patrick , Title: Playing by the rules: Georgetown University Press, c Includes bibliographical references p. Pacific Area -- Foreign economic relations -- United States. United States -- Commercial policy. Foreign trade regulation -- United States. Arbitration and award, International. University of New Mexico Press, c Histories of the American frontier. Oceania -- Relations -- United States. United States -- Relations -- Oceania. Pacific Area -- History. Dudden, Arthur Power, Title: Oxford University Press, America and the Pacific Rim: Grenfell Archibald Grenfell , Sir, Title: The Western invasions of the Pacific and its continents; a study of moving frontiers and changing landscapes, Oxford, Clarendon Press, Moorehead, Alan, Title: The fatal impact; an account of the invasion of the South Pacific, Tahiti -- Discovery and exploration. Australia -- Discovery and exploration. International rivalry in the Pacific islands, Colonial emancipation in the Pacific and the Caribbean: Praeger special studies in international politics and government. Fox, Frank, Sir, Title: London, John Lane, [] Material Type: United States -- Foreign relations -- Great Britain. Great Britain -- Foreign relations -- United States. University of Minnesota Press, Europe and the world in the age of expansion, v. Pacific area -- Discovery and exploration. Pacific area -- Description and travel. East Far East -- Description and travel. East Far East -- Relations general with Europe. Barry, William Jackson, b. Barry, written by himself, Westview special studies on China and East Asia. Includes bibliographies and index. China -- Economic conditions -- -- Addresses, essays, lectures. China -- Economic policy -- Addresses, essays, lectures. China -- Foreign economic relations -- Addresses, essays, lectures. China -- Foreign relations -- Addresses, essays, lectures. To Siberia and Russian America: Crownhart-Vaughan and Thomas Vaughan. North Pacific studies series ; no. Includes bibliographies and indexes.

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### 7: Untitled Document

*Development through democracy / Luis Muñoz Marín --Puerto Rico and American policy toward dependent areas / Rupert Emerson --From colony to Commonwealth / Antonio Ferns-Isern --Congressional conservatism and the Commonwealth relationship / Pedro Muñoz Amato --The Commonwealth Constitution / Victor Gutiérrez-Franqui and Henry Wells --The.*

Except for Israel, Middle Eastern countries have long histories of authoritarianism, influenced by both culture and religion. In modern years, this has manifested itself in the rise, if not of direct military rule, then of states supported by militaries focused more on inward threats than on external enemies. Middle Eastern militaries, whether in Algeria, Egypt or Turkey, have served as the main bulwark against the spread or empowerment of Islamists. However, Western policymakers must prepare for the day that the regional militaries will switch sides, casting their lot with Islamists, rather than more secular autocrats. After the Israel-Hezbollah war, polls suggested that Hezbollah Secretary-General Hasan Nasrallah was among the most admired Arab political leaders. Beginning in the s, many academics analyzed how Asian and African states changed from traditional societies to modern, developed nation-states. First in Turkey, then in Iran and Egypt, and later in Iraq, Yemen and Libya, military leaders seized power and established or abolished monarchies. Military leaders also retained predominant power in Syria, Algeria, and Tunisia. In Jordan and the Persian Gulf emirates, more traditional leaders survived only by forging close ties with the military and establishing vast security services. In some countries, the military coexisted with traditional Islam and even Islamists. Indeed, while demands for U. With time, however, Islam grew to threaten military stability and rule. The ramifications of this shift in power politics are great. This process was gradual and came at the expense of the pan-Islamic alternative. Pan-Arabism grew to become the dominant ideology, even as Arab leaders divided Arab-speaking areas into separate countries. Almost a century later, pan-Arabism is on life-support, paid lip service to only at Arab League meetings and among some intellectuals and artists. A similar rise in Islamist sentiment has come at the expense of ethnic identity in Turkey, Pakistan, and Somalia. For the masses, Islamism is simply more attractive. Whereas the nation-state was alien to Middle Eastern political culture, authoritarian regimes and patrimonial leadership have long been part of the regional heritage, in which religion demanded submission to God and the leaders who claimed to be his representatives on earth; culture demanded similar submission to tribal and political leaders. Patrimonialism makes authoritarian regimes resistant to democratic reform. In most Arab countries, Iraqi Kurdistan and Iran, ordinary citizens feel compelled to display portraits of national leaders in schools, offices, and sometimes even private homes. As they developed, Arab states became marked by political corruption, a high level of army involvement in shaping and managing policy, weak political institutions, a lack of democratization, and an absence of formal decisionmaking institutions. Together, these led to arbitrary, centralized government leadership and a maximization of the role of the military in politics that placed them almost in hierarchical command. Squares, buildings, and universities are still named after the Twelfth Century Kurdish warrior Salah ad-din al-Ayyubi Saladin. Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser may have been a dictator, but he did enjoy popular appeal. Today, however, the heroes of the masses are often Islamic leaders. Iranian revolutionary leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini captured the imagination of the Third World. In many countries, the military provides a bulwark against unconstrained Islamism. When the Muslim Brotherhood grew too vocal and active in Syria, President Hafiz al-Assad ordered his army to raze its stronghold in Hama, killing perhaps 20, civilians. After Islamists won the elections in Algeria and, as is often forgotten, promised to change the constitution to prevent future polls, the Algerian army intervened. Democratic principles would be violated by cancelling the second round, just as they would be seriously threatened by a theocratic, authoritarian, Islamist takeover. The army took a difficult step, but one that saved Algeria from an even worse fate. Islamism seeks to replace the modern mechanisms of state with an Islamic social and cultural framework. In some cases, the military either declares its neutrality or joins with the

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Islamists to topple the secular order. Turkey provides a troubling example. The Turkish military long served as the defender both of Turkish secularism and democracy. The problem distills to conflicting concepts of legitimate, authoritative government. In the West, in the mid-Eighteenth Century, Jean Jacques Rousseau outlined the concept of a social contract between a people and its government. Islamists, however, reject the idea of a social contract in the Western sense. According to Arab culture and many Islamic tenets, legitimacy is granted exclusively to the leader. Especially within the Arab Middle East, civil society is weak. The problem is not the absence of organizations, but, rather, their independent function. Even if there are political parties, professional and civic associations and opposition groups, they have little influence on governance and decisionmaking. Parties operate more on behalf of the regime as mass organizations for political mobilization, while opposition is mostly illegitimate and works underground. The Arab Human Development Report, for example, found deficits in freedom, knowledge, and opportunities for women. When the chips are down, identifying oneself with kinship is much deeper and more significant than identification with any other group, including the state or its political institutions. It represents the norms, attitudes, and values of the individual and the group towards political institutions and the state. In Arab society, political culture is, in the best case, subjugated at the center and parochial at the periphery. Cultural values of honor and shame hamper Arab political culture. Traditional political culture and ethnic divisions pose a barrier to the development of effective parliamentary government and constitutional democracy. There is no egalitarianism between leader and subject, between man and woman, Arab and non-Arab, Muslim and non-Muslim, or even between segments of society. The Western temptation to engage moderate Islamists is misguided. Many Islamist movements readily embrace the rhetoric of democracy, but fail to follow its principles when no longer convenient. This was the case with Algerian Islamists who, upon winning the first round of elections in December, , spoke openly of changing the constitution and abandoning the democratic process. Erdogan, while mayor of Istanbul, summed up this problem when he quipped, "Democracy is like a streetcar. When you come to your stop, you get off. Egyptian-American sociologist Saad Eddin Ibrahim described the dichotomy that exists between autocrats and theocrats. Who, in due course, generated their mirror image? Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood or Tablighi Jamaat can be dangerous in other ways. Even when they say they eschew violence, they often serve as a "recruiting agency" for more radical groups or terrorist causes. There is little social and economic development. Both military regimes and pro-Western monarchies are shaky. The departure of U. Security is declining in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Only the Ethiopian Army prevents a whole-scale Islamist takeover in Somalia. The population in each country, however, is fiercely anti-American. Both have already weathered Islamist threats to their security with their government secured only through significant military and security investment. Bin Laden has repeatedly denounced the Saudi government as illegitimate and called for its overthrow. On March 1, , for example, he called for Muslims to revolt against Saudi Arabia and, the following year, complained: Iranian leaders already feel themselves the paramount power in Iraq and, perhaps, Lebanon. The Supreme Leader has referred to Iran as a "superpower. Islamist terrorist groups are well-established in Somalia and increasingly active in Yemen, and together threaten the Gulf of Aden and, by extension, access to the Suez Canal. Scholars and policy experts find attractive the notion that political Islam is a spent force. Today, Islamism is rising not only in Egypt and Pakistan, but also in once-secular countries such as Turkey. In each of these cases and in states including Algeria, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia, only the military prevents further Islamist gains. But like the proverbial boy with his finger in the dike, armies dependent upon recruits for ever more conservative societies cannot forever hold off the flood. It is quite possible that the Middle East and South Asia might look quite different a decade from now. It would be wise for Western policymakers to consider the possibility, rather than continue to assume that the militaries that imposed security in the past will continue to repel Islamism in the future. 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### 8: Self Determination in an Inter Dependent World - Strobe Talbott, US Secretary of State

*Colonialism has been a sore spot in the handling of American foreign policy in the post-World War II period largely because of ambivalent forces, domestic and foreign, which have been tugging at the United States.*

Born in of a working class family in Detroit, Michigan, Bunche went to live with his maternal grandmother in Los Angeles, California, after the death of his mother in . Bunche conducted post-doctoral work in anthropology and colonial policy at Northwestern University in , the London School of Economics in and the University of Capetown, South Africa, in . He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Bunche met Ruth Harris in Washington, D. They married in . Born in Montgomery, Ala. Her father, Charles Harris, was the chief mailing clerk and a prominent civic leader in Montgomery. The Bunche couple had three children: Joan, Jane and Ralph, Jr. Ralph Bunche joined the staff of Howard University in , first as a lecturer and later as the chairman of the Department of Political Science. While at Howard, he organized a series of conferences on the problems of African-American communities in the United States. He joined various committees protesting discrimination by department stores and theaters, and organized his students to join picket lines in Washington, D. Bunche took a leave of absence from Howard University in and joined the staff of the Carnegie Corporation in conducting and organizing a comprehensive survey of the social, political and economic status of blacks in the United States. In addition to coordinating various administrative aspects of the project, Bunche conducted several field trips in the South in and was the author of four sizable research memoranda: After the entrance of the United States in the Second World War, Bunche accepted a temporary assignment at the State Department, working first as a Senior Research Analyst in the Office of Strategic Services and, in , as an area specialist for Africa and dependent territories. He became a member of the U. Known also as Committee Four of the General Assembly, the Council supervised the administration of colonial territories formerly belonging to Germany. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his mediation of the Armistice Agreement between Israel and the Arab states in , and was also credited for his role in organizing the U. He also played a major role in the day to day work of the organization, and enjoyed a wide reputation for his integrity, his commitment to world peace and his gift as a negotiator and administrator. Gravely ill toward the end of his life, Ralph Bunche retired from the United Nations in , the year of his death. Ralph Bunche enjoyed wide prominence and respect both as a scholar and statesman. A political moderate, he believed in petitioning government for justice but did not hesitate to march in protest when all else failed. During the s, however, he came under attack for his apparent lack of support and identification with the politics of protest and direct action advocated by the civil rights movement of that era. He was also criticized for his role in the Congo after the failure of the U. Bunche is honored today, nonetheless, as an outstanding world leader and as a role model in the African American community. They have been divided into the following series: The Ralph Bunche papers are arranged in ten series: The Ralph Bunchesubseries includes educational, medical and financial papers, passports, personal and family documents. The Ruth Harris Bunchesubseries consists of general and professional correspondence, speeches and miscellaneous writings, certificates and awards, scrapbooks and printed matter. The correspondence reflects her contributions to various benefits, charities and social activities, sponsored in many cases by wives of influential men such as David Rockefeller, Walter White, Vladimir Horowitz, Count Bernadotte and Roy Wilkins. Other noted correspondents include Martin Luther King, Jr. She participated, along with her husband, in the March on Washington in

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9: El Status de Puerto Rico: Una Perspectiva Histórica | Emilio Pantojas García - www.enganchecubano

*CHAPTER XVI. The Principle of Self-Determination. IN ITS WILSONIAN heyday self-determination seemed to many a simple and straightforward proposition consolidating under one rubric a number of nineteenth-century liberalism's most cherished propositions as to freedom and democracy and the rights of individuals and peoples.*

The vertical lift of a severe thunderstorm or pyrocumulonimbus can be enhanced in the area of a large wildfire, which can propel smoke, soot, and other particulate matter as high as the lower stratosphere. It shows the very low soil moisture associated with the fire season in Texas. Low atmospheric oxygen during the Middle and Late Devonian was accompanied by a decrease in charcoal abundance. Surface fires driven by dry seasons[ clarification needed ] are evident in Devonian and Carboniferous progymnosperm forests. Lepidodendron forests dating to the Carboniferous period have charred peaks, evidence of crown fires. In Jurassic gymnosperm forests, there is evidence of high frequency, light surface fires. As these grasses shifted to more mesic habitats , their high flammability increased fire frequency, promoting grasslands over woodlands. These fires are lit by local farmers every year in order to promote the growth of a certain mushroom The human use of fire for agricultural and hunting purposes during the Paleolithic and Mesolithic ages altered the preexisting landscapes and fire regimes. Woodlands were gradually replaced by smaller vegetation that facilitated travel, hunting, seed-gathering and planting. However, while ancient Hebrew, Greek, and Roman writers were aware of fires, they were not very interested in the uncultivated lands where wildfires occurred. From the Middle ages , accounts were written of occupational burning as well as customs and laws that governed the use of fire. In Germany, regular burning was documented in in the Odenwald and in in the Black Forest. In Spain during the s, sheep husbandry was discouraged in certain provinces by Philip II due to the harmful effects of fires used in transhumance. Scottish botanist David Douglas noted the native use of fire for tobacco cultivation, to encourage deer into smaller areas for hunting purposes, and to improve foraging for honey and grasshoppers. Charcoal found in sedimentary deposits off the Pacific coast of Central America suggests that more burning occurred in the 50 years before the Spanish colonization of the Americas than after the colonization. An increase in fire-related debris flow in alluvial fans of northeastern Yellowstone National Park was linked to the period between AD and , coinciding with the Medieval Warm Period. Dendrochronological fire scar data and charcoal layer data in Finland suggests that, while many fires occurred during severe drought conditions, an increase in the number of fires during BC and AD can be attributed to human influence. However, a period of increased fire frequency between and was suggested by charcoal data from North America and Asia, attributed to human population growth and influences such as land clearing practices. This period was followed by an overall decrease in burning in the 20th century, linked to the expansion of agriculture, increased livestock grazing, and fire prevention efforts. Researchers explain this a transition from nomadism to settled lifestyle and intensification of agriculture that lead to a drop in the use of fire for land clearing. Examples include species such as Eucalyptus in California [ ] [ ] and gamba grass in Australia. Fire protection Smokey Bear poster with part of his admonition, "Only you can prevent forest fires". Wildfire prevention refers to the preemptive methods aimed at reducing the risk of fires as well as lessening its severity and spread. Roosevelt initiated a nationwide fire prevention campaign, highlighting the role of human carelessness in forest fires. Later posters of the program featured Uncle Sam , characters from the Disney movie Bambi , and the official mascot of the U. Forest Service , Smokey Bear. Alteration of fuels is commonly undertaken when attempting to affect future fire risk and behavior. Controlled burns are fires ignited by government agencies under less dangerous weather conditions.

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