

# WAR OR PEACE

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

With a Special Preface for this Edition

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY : NEW YORK

© John Foster Dulles 1950, 1957

All rights reserved—no part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in connection with a review written for inclusion in magazine or newspaper.

FIRST PRINTING WITH SPECIAL PREFACE, 1957

*Printed in the United States of America*

# CONTENTS

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Preface | v |
|---------|---|

## PART I: *The Problem*

### CHAPTER

|     |                   |    |
|-----|-------------------|----|
| I   | The Danger        | 2  |
| II  | "Know Your Enemy" | 5  |
| III | The Goal          | 17 |

## PART II: *The Policies We Have*

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| IV   | "No Appeasement"                          | 24  |
| V    | United Nations                            | 33  |
|      | Atlantic Charter                          | 33  |
|      | Dumbarton Oaks                            | 34  |
|      | San Francisco Conference                  | 36  |
| VI   | The United Nations in Operation           | 42  |
|      | Iran                                      | 42  |
|      | Greece                                    | 44  |
|      | Korea                                     | 46  |
|      | Israel                                    | 48  |
|      | Indonesia                                 | 52  |
|      | Blockade of Berlin                        | 54  |
|      | Italian Colonies                          | 59  |
|      | United Nations Intangibles                | 65  |
| VII  | Colonial Evolution vs. Violent Revolution | 74  |
| VIII | Regional Associations                     | 88  |
|      | The Rio Pact of 1947                      | 93  |
|      | North Atlantic Treaty                     | 95  |
| IX   | Filling in the Economic Vacuum            | 100 |
| X    | Filling in the Military Vacuum            | 110 |
| XI   | Bipartisanship in Foreign Policy          | 120 |

PART III: *The Measure of Our Foreign Policies*

## CHAPTER

|                                       |  |     |
|---------------------------------------|--|-----|
| XII                                   | The Five-Year Score                        | 140 |
|                                       | Central Europe                             | 140 |
|                                       | Asia                                       | 145 |
|                                       | The Colonial World of Asia                 | 147 |
|                                       | Africa                                     | 148 |
|                                       | Latin America                              | 150 |
|                                       | Atomic Weapons                             | 151 |
|                                       | The Minus Score for Communism              | 152 |
|                                       | Yugoslavia                                 | 153 |
|                                       | Western Europe                             | 155 |
|                                       | Greece                                     | 161 |
|                                       | The United Nations                         | 161 |
|                                       | The Net Score                              | 162 |
| XIII                                  | Why Soviet Communism Wins                  | 165 |
| PART IV: <i>What Needs to Be Done</i> |  |     |
| XIV                                   | A Summary of Needs                         | 174 |
| XV                                    | A Future for Bipartisanship                | 178 |
| XVI                                   | Developing World Organization              | 185 |
|                                       | Universality                               | 188 |
|                                       | Voting in the Assembly                     | 191 |
|                                       | Veto in the Security Council               | 194 |
|                                       | Assembly Procedures                        | 197 |
|                                       | Development of International Law           | 198 |
|                                       | Future of Collective Security Associations | 204 |
|                                       | A United Nations General Conference        | 207 |
| XVII                                  | Western Unity                              | 211 |
| XVIII                                 | Policies in Asia                           | 224 |
| XIX                                   | The Role of the Military                   | 233 |
| XX                                    | New Techniques                             | 242 |
| XXI                                   | Our Spiritual Need                         | 253 |
| XXII                                  | Conclusion                                 | 262 |
|                                       | Index                                      | 267 |

# WAR or PEACE

is the crucial question of our day—and on its answer may depend the very existence of each of us. John Foster Dulles here issues a clarion call: "Let us mobilize for peace!" Peace, he says, requires strategic planning, willingness to sacrifice, and the impulsion of a righteous faith. If we summon up these qualities now, rather than reserve their use for war, our generation can accomplish what no other has—the establishment of lasting peace.

On the basis of his wide experience and intimate first-hand knowledge, John Foster Dulles analyzes the dangerous situation of our world today, emphasizing the importance of resolution, strength, and cool judgment in facing the Russian threat. He traces the course of international affairs and American foreign policy during the past decade, giving many fascinating glimpses behind the scenes. He explains, simply and understandably, our present foreign policies, weighing gains against reverses. Finally, he points out what needs to be done, setting forth a constructive program for strengthening the United Nations and drawing together the free peoples behind policies which will be a bulwark for peace.

Mr. Dulles is uniquely qualified to discuss with authority the entire range of issues that must be wisely resolved if we are to preserve peace. During the five years that began with the San Francisco Conference in 1945, he took part in ten major international conferences, each of which brought him face to face with the Russians. As one of the chief architects of America's bi-partisan foreign policy, as delegate to the United Nations, and as United States Senator, he participated in many momentous decisions. As Secretary of State during the present critical period of history, he has been one of the foremost spokesmen for the ideals and aspirations of the free world. In this book you will find a frank appraisal of the prospects for peace and a program to enable us to achieve it—a program that represents the mature judgment of a commanding figure on the world's political stage.

Straightforward and informative, free from both prejudice and illusion, realistic yet appealing to the highest moral values, this is a book that every American who cares about the future of our country and of the world should read and ponder.

*The Macmillan Company*

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.