Dulles, John Foster
1947-52

Dulles

Many thanks for
your letter of
May 26. I am
very much
interested & hope
you will let me
know the
developments —

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
48 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5

May 26, 1947

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I apologize for not answering more promptly your letter of May 21st. It was because I was in Washington the latter part of last week.

There has been some thinking, principally in private quarters, with reference to the possibility of giving some present relief to Soviet Russia in exchange for their agreement to give us later on some raw material. However, as far as I know, nothing concrete has ever been considered officially, nor, as far as I know, have there been any discussions with the Russians themselves along this line.

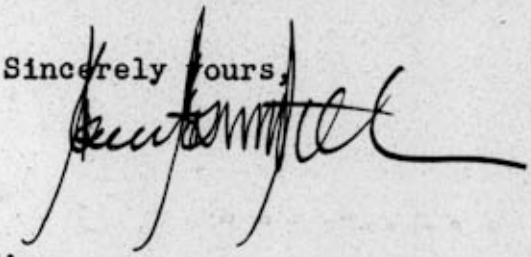
There are, I think, some practical difficulties. While the amounts of dollar credits we can vote are theoretically unlimited, there is a limit to the amount of goods we can produce and export. Whether or not we could add large exports to Russia to those we are now making to England, France, etc., is, I think, a question. This point, however, has not been adequately studied. One of the matters with which I was concerned in Washington was that a careful study be made as to relationship between foreign credits voted and available goods. If the credits get out of proportion to the goods, the principal effect is to put up prices. Mr. Bevin complained to me in Moscow that wheat had doubled in price since the British loan was made. That, I suspect, is due to the fact that the French and others were given credits with which to buy wheat and there was not enough to go around.

A political difficulty is the distrust between the two countries and the fear in many quarters here that any economic relief which we give to Russia would be used by them to build up a military establishment which

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
48 WALL STREET
NEW YORK

might later be used against us. In talking in Washington with some of the members of Congress, I found that feeling very strong.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
29 Washington Square, West,
New York, N.Y.

June 21, 1947

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I was very much interested in reading your address at Northwestern University. It makes me want to talk to you more than ever on certain things.

Would you and Mrs. Dulles care to drive up here some day, on a Saturday or a Sunday and have lunch with me? I know you must be very busy but it might be relaxing. It is a two and a half hour drive via the Parkway and I would love to have a chance to really talk over a great many things. Perhaps you could induce Ambassador and Mrs. Austin to come with you.

Very cordially yours,

P.S. Any day after the 30th I like to be here

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
48 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5

Eleanor Roosevelt

June 16, 1947

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you might be interested in seeing an advance copy of the address which I am making at Northwestern on Wednesday, which seeks to clarify our national attitude in certain respects where it seems to be unduly aggressive and imperialistic.

Sincerely yours,

John Foster Dulles

(Enclosure)

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
29 Washington Square West,
New York, N.Y.

For release
June 18, 1947
12 o'clock noon (EDST)

Northwestern University
Commencement Address
to be delivered
by
JOHN FOSTER DULLES
at Evanston, Illinois, on June 18, 1947.

You are going out into a world which is gloomy. Men are stumbling over the shambles of a past war and, when they look up, they see only dark clouds. It would not be surprising if some of you regretted leaving your academic halls. But I can assure you that you are needed outside. Those who have struggled through two World Wars and two attempts at world peace, need a recruitment of fresh vigor and faith. If peril confronts you, so also does opportunity. That, after all, is a good combination.

Today's problems are not insoluble; they are only hard to solve. I shall speak of the international problem. The crux of that is the effort of Soviet leaders to impose widely their system of government. There is no reason to believe that that effort will stop of its own accord. If it stops, it will be only because something stops it. That something will be either violent resistance, or a moral resistance so solid that to oppose it would evidently be futile. Clearly, Americans must see to it that there is a peaceful stoppage. However, the United States is in an awkward position to organize that, because, at the moment, our motives are suspect. That suspicion is found even among such historic and understanding friends as the British and French.

Soviet propaganda, endorsed by a few Americans, persistently says that we have become an aggressive nation; that we are taking advantage of the weakness of others to impose on them our own particular way of life. That propaganda is plausible because most Americans are truly proud of their country and do not hide that feeling. Our nation has shown for 160 years, and is still showing, that a society of freedom bears good fruit, spiritual, intellectual and material. It is America's unique productivity which today fends off death from millions throughout the world.

Because our society is so powerful and because most of us believe in it so completely, it is easy for hostile propaganda to spread fear that we will use our power to coerce others. That weakens our influence. Most of the peoples of the world feel too weak and impoverished to adopt our example, much as they may admire it. I have seen in Moscow, Berlin, Paris and London the long lines of patient, weary people standing in queues to get the food and clothing which barely suffice to keep life going. That has been going on for about eight years throughout much of the world. The cumulative result is a great mass of humanity which is sick, nigh unto death. To them, our country seems like a stadium where healthy people play rugged, competitive games. That may be the best way to develop physique and discipline and sharpen the faculties. But the finest athletic contests will not tempt sick people into the arena. They want to be taken care of and in their present weakened condition they would rather have some measure of state socialism than our system of free enterprise.

Since that is so, a first phase of our quest for peace must be to restore our moral influence. The United States must make it clear, clear beyond a doubt, that it has no thought of using economic or military might to impose on others its particular way of life. Unless we do make that clear, we shall not be able to assume moral leadership in the world. Rather, we shall be shunned and dangerously isolated.

Fortunately, there would be no difficulty in making our position clear. Our society is a society of difference and of experimentation. It encourages individuals to think and believe as their minds, conscience and circumstances dictate. Many Americans have deep-seated convictions, religious and social. But none of us, whether as private groups or as government, wants to impose those beliefs by force, intimidation or other methods of intolerance. It would be a flagrant violation of our most cherished traditions were the United States to try to compel other nations to conform to our way. We can, and I hope we shall, continue to set the example of a good way of life. We shall, I hope, continue to be imbued with a righteous faith and a sense of mission in the world. We shall, I hope, use enlightened judgment in applying our resources and our resourcefulness to help others to help themselves. But whether others adopt our particular economic system is for them freely to decide. Never will our system be extended by force or duress. That is the positive will of the American people and of their government. On that, all the peoples of the world can rely utterly.

Once that is clear, we can, without fear of being misunderstood, take leadership in consolidating world-wide opinion.

That is the second phase of our quest for peace. It requires that the moral issue be clarified. That issue is not the issue of economic communism against capitalism or state socialism against free enterprise. It is not an issue of relative national power. Those are not moral issues. The moral issue is the issue of the free state as against the police state.

A police state is a state where a few who control the police power proclaim a pattern of political, social and economic life and then use the police power to perpetuate it, detecting and crushing all who do not conform to their pattern.

A free state is a state where the police power is used to protect the right of individuals to think, believe and persuade in accordance with the dictates of their mind and conscience.

The philosophy back of the police state is materialistic, that men will be more peaceful and secure if, like domesticated animals, they are cared for, herded and driven in accordance with some superior human will.

Back of the free state is belief in a God who endows men with certain inalienable rights which none can justly take away and which none should want to take away because cooperation which admits of diversity produces richness far beyond that of enforced conformity.

The Soviet Union is today a police state. Its rulers believe in that system and they believe that it should prevail generally. They are effectively translating that belief into reality. Their recent action in Hungary adds one more to the number of European countries with police state governments.

There are now ten. In other countries, Soviet leaders have great influence through labor unions and political parties and, in several of these countries, they are close to being able to duplicate their Hungarian performance.

The efforts of Soviet leaders to spawn police states throughout the world would, if persisted in, lead to widespread violence, even war. The overwhelming majority of mankind does not want to be subjected, in perpetuity, to the dictation of a small minority. Even the Russian people are not all happy about that, as shown by the generally accepted fact that for every member of the Communist Party in Russia, there are at least two political prisoners. Russian Communist circles discretely suggest that the time has come for that "withering away" of dictatorship which Marx forecast. In other countries, where freedom has long prevailed, imposition of the police state system would inevitably lead to underground resistance movements and long and bloody struggles.

The future must not unfold in that way. It need not if, while most of the world is still free, the issue is clarified. Then there will develop a world opinion strong enough to stop a program which otherwise will be stopped by violence. I do not doubt that world opinion can do this. Why should not moral forces be as powerful in peace, to preserve peace, as they are powerful in war, to promote victory? They would be if, during peace, the issues were clear. Actually, the issues are usually kept blurred in the hope that that will keep peace. Thus, it is left for war itself to be the precipitant of international issues. When that happens, the

peoples of the world show the power of their moral judgement. President Wilson, after the beginning of World War I, and President Roosevelt, after the beginning of World War II, did much to consolidate and marshall world sentiment to insure Germany's defeat. Thereby, they became great war Presidents. They confirmed Napoleon's statement that "In war, moral considerations make up three-fourths of the game". But if that moral power which won the war could have been used to prevent the war, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt would have been great peace Presidents. That is what we want for the future. We cannot afford any more great war Presidents.

If world opinion is brought into being, its quality and quantity must be made evident at a time and place conducive to peace. That is a third phase of our quest for peace. Opinion is not effective merely in the form of inchoate individual aspirations for peace. It must reflect a strong will and a steadfast purpose. There must be willingness to accept discipline and sacrifice. Most of all, world opinion must be focused. In this respect, we should use the United Nations.

The United Nations was never designed mechanistically to keep the peace. It was designed to provide a place where international differences could be aired and where every nation's international acts and purposes could be subjected to the pressure of public opinion. The General Assembly was designed to be a town meeting of the world. It is time to use it in relation to what really matters. There are a number of issues which could impair friendly relations among nations. Most of them involve no great principle and they could be compromised in the interest of

peace. There are some issues which involve principles that cannot be compromised. The moral judgment of the world could be relied on to make clear which those principles were and that assault on them would lead only to disaster. The issue of the police state versus a free society cannot, I believe, be compromised. On that, the Assembly would pronounce. Certainly, if we intend to settle that issue by peaceful processes, we should give the Assembly a chance to talk about it. It is, in fact, being discussed everywhere else. Why should it not be discussed in the place which was especially designed to make discussion productive of peace?

Such are some of the problems and some of the tasks which lie ahead. Such are some of the opportunities. They provide a challenge to everyone of you. World opinion, of which we talk and on which we rely so heavily, is not the opinion of the few, but of the many. Everyone has a part to play. Each individual is tempted to feel that his particular part is so small that it is not worth while. If everyone feels that way, then there will be no effective world opinion. It is like voting for President. So many million votes are cast that it may seem that any single vote is not worth casting. But if many feel that way and few vote, the whole representative process collapses. It is imperative that the peace process shall not collapse. That puts a responsibility on each one of you.

June 26, 1947

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I am delighted that you and Mrs. Dulles will come to Hyde Park later on. I shall be here until the 14th of July, and then I expect to be away until about the 15th of August.

Dulles

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
48 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5

June 24, 1947

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have your letter of June 21st. Janet and I would like very much to come up to Hyde Park sometime. However, it does not seem very practical to work this out in the near future. For one thing, we are now living at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, which increases considerably the distance to Hyde Park. For another thing, we are going away for a short time the first of next week. On our return, I may take the liberty of getting in touch with you again to see if we can work something out. I should indeed like to have the chance to talk to you.

Please do

I was at dinner last night with the Austins and mentioned your reference to them. They said they would be delighted to come out with us if we should go to Hyde Park; however, Mrs. Austin is going up to Vermont for the months of July and August.

I hope that in your International Bill of Rights you can get "freedom of religion" and not merely "freedom of religious worship" - as per Soviet Constitution. We had quite a battle about this at Moscow in working out a proposal for a German Bill of Rights. Finally the Soviet gave in and accepted "freedom of religion", which is also the language of Potsdam - "freedom of speech, press and religion shall be permitted, and religious institutions shall be respected".

Tuesday
Monday

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Hyde Park,
Dutchess County,
New York.

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