

AL TARTER

Turkey and Pakistan are the two anchors of the Dulles line. We are also arming Iran and Iraq

New Frontier for Freedom

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Secretary Dulles is forging a defense line on Russia's southern doorstep. Why is it

SECRETARY OF STATE John Foster Dulles rose from his desk in the State Department, Washington, and walked over to an illuminated globe in a corner of the office. "What would you think," he asked me, "if the free world's Middle East defense were organized right up on the Soviet border?" He drew his finger from Turkey across Iran and Afghanistan to Pakistan.

"Would the countries involved like it?" I asked.

"That remains to be seen," the secretary said.

My interview with Dulles took place last September. Four months later Turkey had—with our blessing—offered Pakistan a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation in the political, economic, cultural and defense fields, and the United States had agreed to add Pakistan to the long list of countries to which we are supplying arms for defense against aggression.

In April, we also concluded a military-aid agreement with Iraq. We have had a similar agreement with Iran since 1949, and there is reason to believe that Afghanistan would like to get American weapons, too. Thus the first steps have been taken toward forging what Dulles envisioned that September afternoon—a defense line on the Soviet Union's southern approaches.

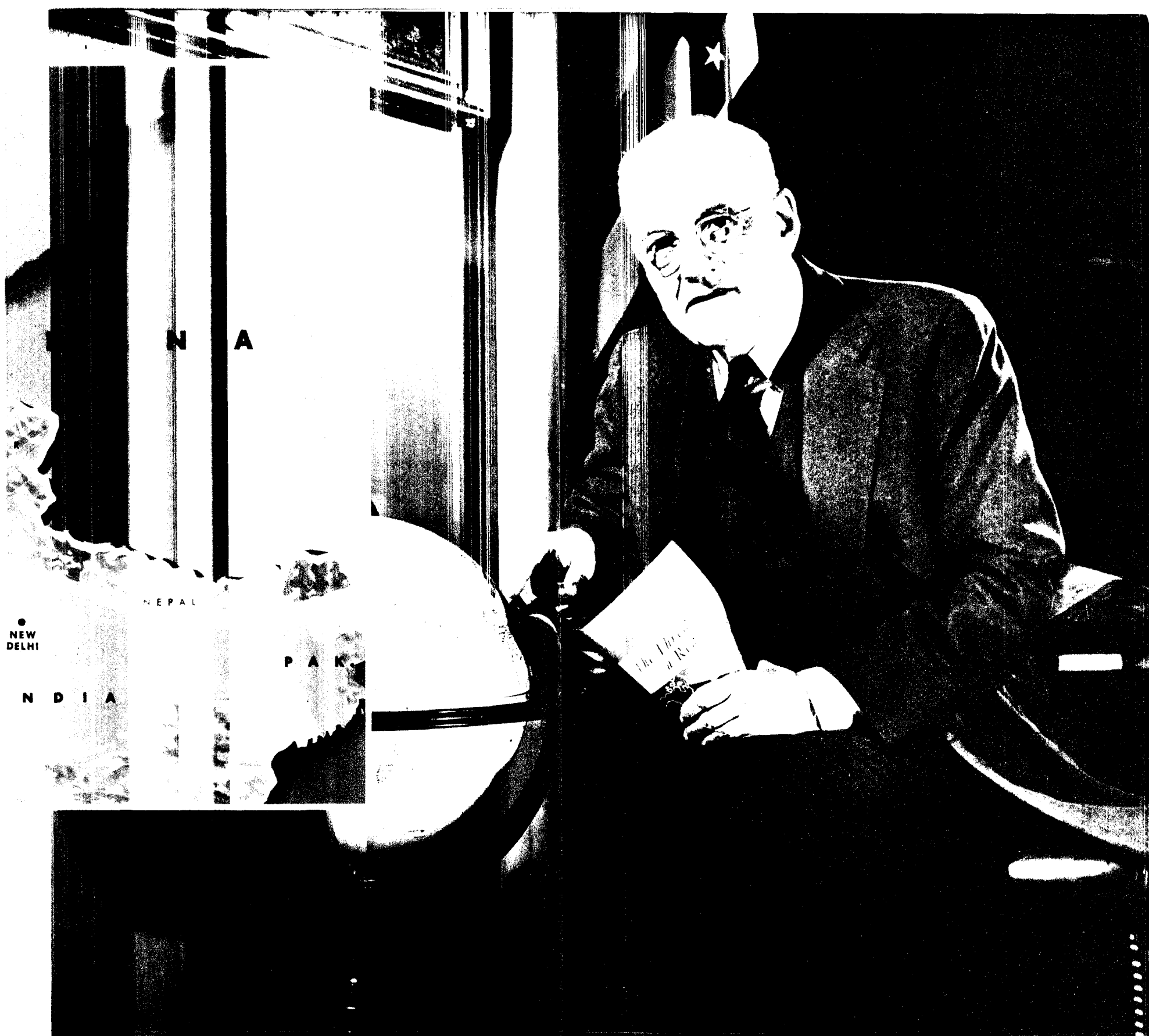
The whole Middle East is excited over the "Dulles line"—as I discovered on a tour of the colorful area. But before taking up what I saw and heard, let's consider for a moment how much the new pacts will mean to our own future.

The most important step of all was the bringing of Pakistan into the Western camp. While the United States agreed only to arm Pakistan, the Turkish-Pakistan mutual-defense pact makes her a partner of our staunch ally, Turkey. Should

the Soviet Union attack the United States or any other member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the rest of the signatories—including Turkey—are pledged to full support. Under the Turkish-Pakistan pact, Pakistan would then be expected to go to Turkey's—and therefore our—assistance.

The Pakistan agreements could prove the free world's most important move since it went to war in Korea. They also mean a great extension of the former American policy of "containment" of Communism. Indeed, the free world seems to have seized the initiative in the cold war and certainly has established another front from which to fight in case the cold war gets hot.

Other Middle East countries may line up behind Turkey and Pakistan in a defensive alliance. If and when they do, the free world will be able to



Dulles may be accomplishing a "masterstroke in geopolitics" in Middle East, one expert says

Important to U.S. to Build Middle East Wall

seal the invasion routes around the Persian Gulf, protect or interdict the great oil fields of the area, defend the Suez Canal, deny the Indian Ocean to Soviet submarines, add perhaps 20 or more divisions to the forces of freedom, and give those forces air bases close to the Soviet's interior.

These goals are highly desirable regardless of what happens in Indochina and Korea. The Middle East is a major gap in the almost world-wide defense wall we have been gradually erecting against Communist aggression. Indochina and Korea lie far from this potential area of operations and cannot affect it; they are advance outposts of our Pacific chain of Far East bases. Given a few years, good fortune and resolute leadership, the free world may close the Middle East gap and thus complete a global Monroe Doctrine warning the Communists: So far but no farther!

Collier's for June 25, 1954

Dulles is providing the needed leadership in this first stage of building the Middle East wall. It was he who approved Pakistan as the key ally in the new setup, he who pushed through the arm-Pakistan program against powerful opposition, he who encouraged Turkey in her offer to Pakistan of a full military alliance.

Behind our decision to arm Pakistan raged one of the hottest, though virtually unpublicized, controversies in Washington in recent years. While the subject was still under consideration, India protested against any arming of her subcontinent rival. Paul Hoffman, original head of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), called on President Eisenhower to voice his disapproval; he said he agreed with Chester Bowles, former ambassador to India, that such action would only heighten tension between India and Pakistan and might

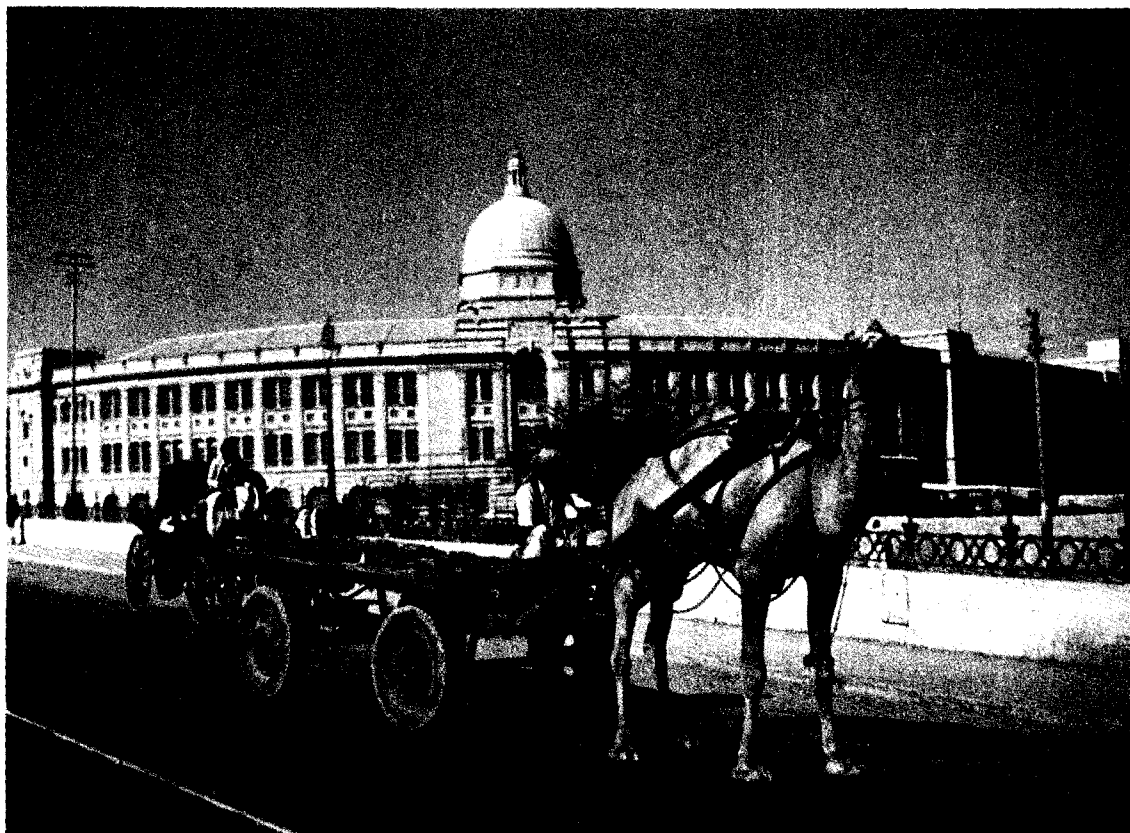
cause us to lose India altogether. There was even opposition within the State Department, where some officials feared that arming Pakistan might drive India into Communism.

On the other hand, Republican leader Senator William F. Knowland of California, who had recently toured the Middle East, thought the new plan might well become "Secretary Dulles' masterstroke in geopolitics."

On December 28, 1953, President Eisenhower gave final approval to the arms-for-Pakistan program. Three weeks later, I left on assignment from Collier's for Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey. I wanted to find the answers, if possible, to such questions as:

What kind of ally will Pakistan make? What new risks have we assumed? What is the outlook for bringing Iran firmly into the defensive alliance

Pakistan can provide up to a million trained men for the West



BILL STAPLETON

Population of Karachi, capital of infant state of Pakistan, has multiplied five times in last three years. Here a camel cart passes Karachi's modern-looking Port Trust building

to close the gap of nearly 1,200 miles between Turkey and Pakistan? What is the attitude of Iraq, of Afghanistan?

On my arrival at Karachi, capital of Pakistan, I found a remarkable change had occurred since my last visit three years before. The people had transformed the former sleepy garrison town of less than 300,000 inhabitants into a going capital of 1,500,000 population. The overhead roar of international airliners and the horns of motorcars and busses mingled with the shouts of farmers to their overloaded donkeys, the squawking of bicycle rickshas and cyclists, and the tinkling of bells attached to the knees of camels.

Many Feared for Pakistan's Survival

When Pakistan became an independent dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1947, even some of its friends predicted it would not survive. They asked how 75,000,000 people, divided into two widely separated mountainous areas with unfriendly Indian territory between, lacking many natural resources and with almost no well-developed industry, could hope to establish and maintain economic and political stability in a total area about one eighth the size of the United States. West Pakistan borders on Iran, Afghanistan and India, missing contact with Russia by only a few miles. East Pakistan is bordered by India, the Bay of Bengal and Burma.

Despite these heavy handicaps, I found, the people of Pakistan are determined to remain united and to remain free. By will and by work they are creating a Moslem state to preserve the Moslem way of life.

Pakistan's desire for an alliance with the United States stems from the firmest of foundations—calculated and legitimate self-interest. Its prime minister, Mohammed Ali, was formerly ambassador to Washington and saw for himself what Western life is like. But the alliance will be no one-way road. Pakistan is prepared to carry its share of the burden, both economically and militarily.

"Don't underestimate our stability," Mumtaz Hasan, Secretary for the Ministry of Finance, told

me. "We haven't much money, but we grow enough to feed our people—barring another bad drought like last year when you pulled us out with a gift of wheat. So long as the world needs jute and cotton, Pakistan can be self-supporting."

Pakistan's sense of unity with the Western nations in foreign affairs is strengthened by the possibility that Red China someday might move against East Pakistan. If so, the Karachi government would defend its eastern provinces with all its strength. A strong Pakistan thus will be a deterrent to any move by Red China into the subcontinent.

The Pakistan people have an indomitable spirit, a fine military tradition and a remarkable interest in world affairs, derived in part from long association with the British. I first noticed these qualities while talking at Karachi with Iskander Mirza, a former officer, now permanent defense secretary. Mirza, a man of action (he loves to hunt), welcomed me in English accents.

When I asked him what he thinks of foreign protests against American arms for Pakistan, he snorted: "Let them scream their heads off. As Pakistan becomes stronger, they will become friendly enough." Then he told me, "Go where you like, see what you like and talk to whom you like."

Armed with this carte blanche, I saw a good deal of the Pakistan army. I visited Chief of Staff General Nasir Ali in his house at army headquarters in Rawalpindi. I stayed at Peshawar with Divisional Commander Haq Nawaz, a devout man who discusses religious philosophy and military strategy with equal ease. I went to the races at Lahore with Major General Azam Khan. I spent hours in discussions with younger officers. And I visited the school for recruits at Rawalpindi.

Nearly all the high command, I found, were trained in English military schools and had led troops in World War II against the Germans or Japanese. To the Pakistanis, the military is the finest of all professions. Voluntary service is often for as long as 30 years—and hereditary! In three separate companies where I lunched, the fathers of three fourths of the rookies had served with the colors. In many villages the prettiest girls scorn suitors out of uniform.

Pakistan's army, navy and air force consist entirely of volunteers. All three services can get as many recruits as they can pay. These are the people of the famous Khyber Rifles, the Pathan Regiment, the Baluchi Regiment, the Punjabis. Kipling's Gunga Din was from what is now Pakistan.

Pakistan leaders told me they hope to raise their army from its present strength of eight divisions and assorted special battalions to 20 peacetime and 30 wartime divisions of 15,000 men each. In terms of man power, 225,000 men are now in the armed forces and there is a pool of a million men with military training. The eventual size of the Pakistan army will depend largely on the amount of equipment supplied by the United States. The extent and kind of military aid we will provide is now being studied by a survey commission.

Foreign Minister Opposes Neutrality

India's prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, talks earnestly of the good that might flow from maintaining a policy of neutrality in the world struggle between Communism and freedom, but the martial Pakistanis take a different view. Bearded and pious Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan told me, "Neutrality offers no safety for us. Our sympathies are with the West and we prefer to carry our share from the beginning."

Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, a heavily built, smiling Bengali, went further. "We consider the dangers involved in becoming your ally," he explained, "smaller than those of remaining aloof and seeing the free nations go under one by one."

General Ayub Khan, Pakistan commander in chief, clinched the argument. "We are prepared to be your friends," he said. "But we will fight Communism whether you are our friends or not."

At Karachi, Major General Mohammed Musa, deputy chief of staff, gave me the picture as the Pakistanis see it:

"Communism's four military objectives in this part of the world are the Suez Canal Zone, the great Persian Gulf oil area, Pakistan's airfields, notably at Dalbandin, Pishin and Quetta, and Pakistan's port of Karachi. As things stand, we could not prevent Soviet occupation of the first two, though we could make it costly. With sufficient arms, Pakistan alone can preserve its airfields for the wartime use of American planes and prevent Karachi from becoming a Soviet submarine base."

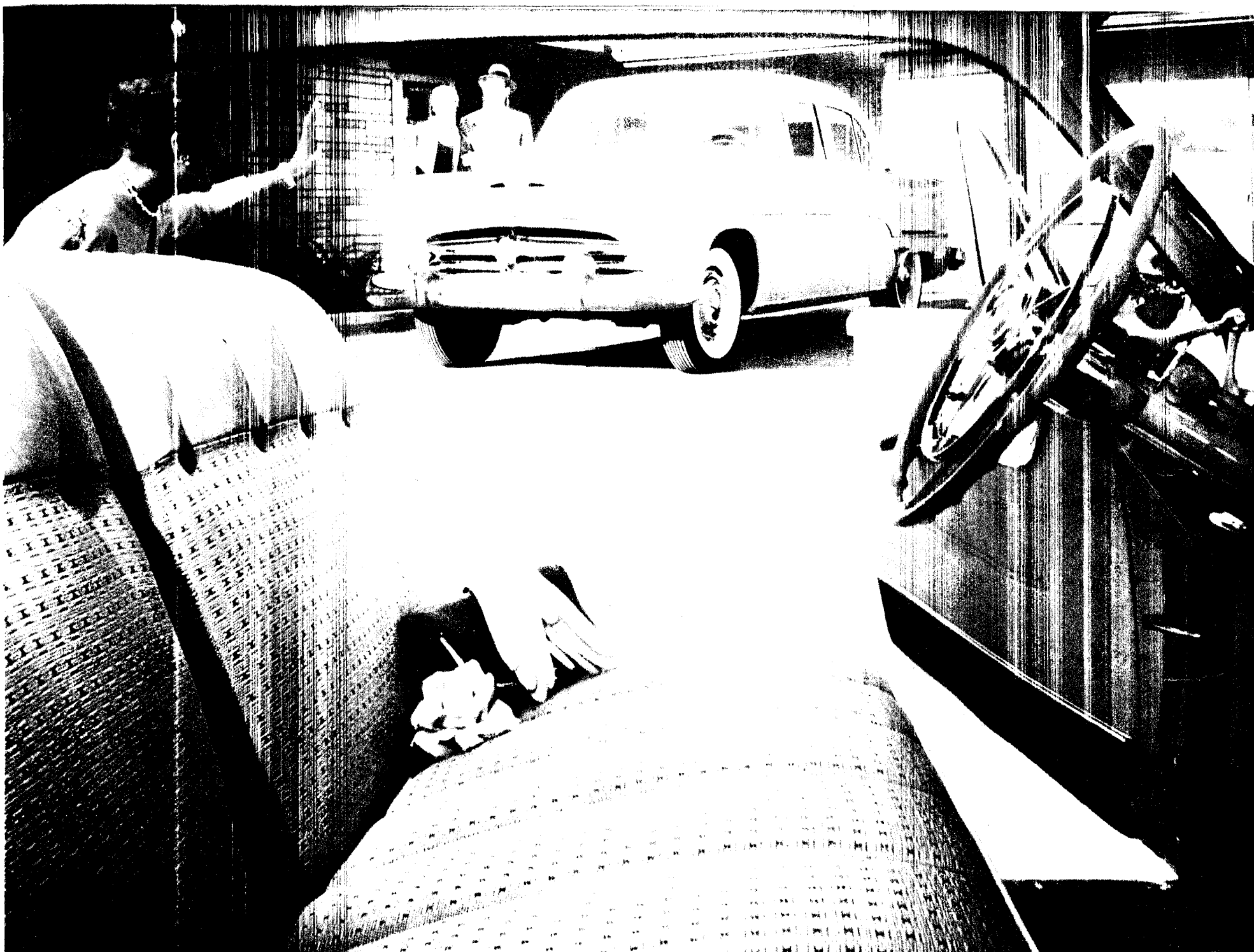
Wartime airfields closer to the new Soviet industrial centers beyond the Urals are considered immensely valuable by high allied officers whom I consulted—General Gruenther, NATO commander; General Paul Ely, French chief of staff; and Greece's premier, Field Marshal Alexander Papagos.

The map tells why. To Omsk in Siberia from our Moroccan fields is about 4,000 miles; from Okinawa, more than 3,200 miles; from Libya, 3,000 miles; from Foggia in Italy, about 2,700 miles; from Ankara in Turkey, something over 2,100 miles. But from Quetta (or Pishin) in Pakistan, Omsk is only 1,700 miles. What a spot for a refueling station or a fighter base to support our bombers on their way to or returning from Siberian targets should war be forced upon us!

Yet—even with Turkey's assistance—Pakistan could not (as General Musa admitted) prevent Communist land forces from advancing south and occupying the great Irani or Iraqi oil fields or the Suez Canal Zone. The oil fields and the Canal Zone can be defended by weaker forces against land attack from the north on only one line: the Zagros Mountains, which range northwest to southeast through Iran to Pakistan, with peaks as high as our Rockies. Just three major passes lead through the Zagros into Iraq and the same number to the head of the Persian Gulf.

Farther east, access to the warm salt water of the Arabian Sea lies across a 900-mile-wide stretch of desert. Properly defended by a coalition

Collier's for June 25, 1954



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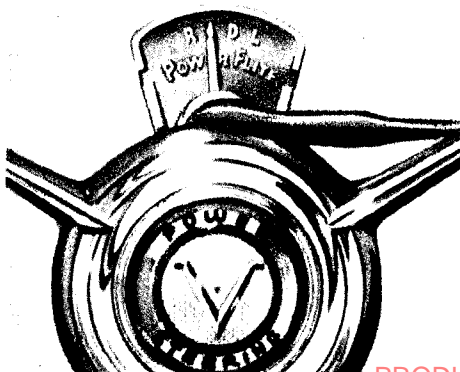
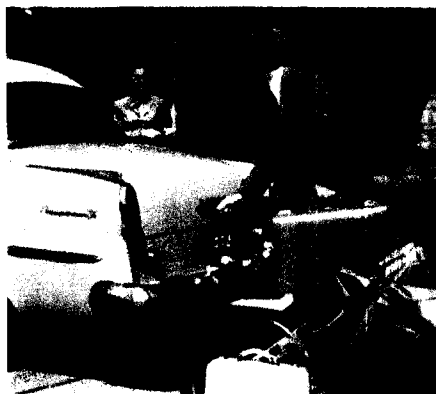
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America's \$1,500,000,000 investment in Turkey is paying off



BLACK STAR

Pakistan soldiers parade in Karachi. The country has fine military tradition. Its armed services are composed entirely of volunteers



FOREIGN OPERATIONS ADMINISTRATION

Turkey is modeling its army along American lines. Officer conducts class in tactics for second-year cadets at Turkish military academy

of Turks, Iraqis, Iranians and Pakistanis, with Anglo-American air support, this mountain-and-desert line might be held against a multitude. And holding it would be even easier if Afghanistan would permit Pakistan forces to advance north to the Hindu Kush mountain range, just south of the Afghanistan-Soviet border.

What chance have the United States, Pakistan and Turkey of forming such a Middle East coalition and bridging the gap? What prospects are there that Afghanistan will permit Pakistan forces to move across the border?

Over Mountains and Desert to Kabul

The answers lay to the west of Pakistan. I headed first toward Afghanistan. The country lies between Pakistan and the Soviet Union and at present forms a neutral buffer between the Communist and anti-Communist camps. Because no pilot cared to land a plane on the ice-covered dirt field at Kabul, the Afghan capital, I hired a chauffeur-driven car and set out from Peshawar. The unheated, 1949-model American car first threaded the 28-mile-long Khyber Pass until the pavement ended at the Afghan frontier. Then we crossed a desert, ascended a steep, narrow gorge, climbed painfully over a 7,000-foot snow-blown mountain range and came down soon after dark into frozen Kabul (pronounced *cobble*). We had traveled 180 miles in 12 hours.

On both sides of the frontier we continually met camels. These giant beasts are still an important means of transportation even in progressive Pakistan. Each winter tens of thousands of persons migrate from Afghanistan across the Khyber Pass into Pakistan and India in search of livelihood and return in the spring. We met many camels, and at each meeting it was the car, not the camel, that turned aside.

Afghanistan's 12,000,000 inhabitants are almost untouched by Communism—or democracy. Their government is unusual. Until recently, the king and most high state officials were members of a single branch of a single family—the Duranis. Afghans call their country a "democratic constitutional monarchy."

Keeping such a kingdom independent is no small diplomatic feat. Of the 120,000 conscripted soldiers, 70,000 are used for police duty. The remainder lack even simple equipment. Appeasing the mighty Soviet Union seems—at present—a necessity. But Indian loans are welcome, and the Afghans—with a minimum of publicity—are appealing to the United States for as much aid as possible. The U.S. Export-Import Bank already

has advanced the country \$39,500,000 for economic projects, and the Afghans also would like to get some modern weapons.

I came away convinced that the Afghan rulers, although anti-Communist, are conscious of their country's weakness and exposed position and will not open their borders to Pakistan troops or join the West until they feel that the United States is willing and able to defend them under all circumstances—a difficult task. There is no official confirmation of recent reports that the Afghans have suggested or are considering federation with Pakistan. On the contrary, the story has been officially denied.

Iraq was the next country I visited. Officials in Washington and Karachi had said Iraq's adherence to the Turkish-Pakistan pact was eminently desirable—partly because Iraq lies just west of the Zagros Mountains, partly because the Iraqis are Arabs and their adherence might eventually bring other Arab states into the alliance.

In the legendary city of Baghdad, I interviewed the then prime minister of Iraq, Dr. Mohammed Fadhil al-Jamali, in his European-type house. Dr. Jamali and his cabinet later resigned over a domestic political issue, but his successor, Arshad al-Umari, continued the existing foreign policies.

Talks initiated by the Jamali government resulted in an agreement in April whereby the United States will furnish military aid to Iraq in return for that country's promise to defend itself against aggression.

"But joining a military alliance with Turkey and Pakistan is something different," Dr. Jamali told me. "It might cause misunderstanding among our friends of the Arab League. Also we should have to consult our ally, Great Britain, before answering any such invitation."

My visits and interviews in Afghanistan and in Iraq gave me no firm conviction that either country would come quickly into the Dulles line for Middle East defense, though of the two we seem to have a better chance to win over Iraq. However—and this is somehow encouraging—while both are highly desirable as allies, neither is absolutely necessary at the moment. The one essential country—in addition to Turkey and Pakistan—is Iran. If Iran is missing as a strong member of the alliance, a door comprising 900 miles of common frontier with Soviet Russia will be left open.

Failure to close this door will not blot out all we gain by having Pakistan as an ally, but it surely would leave the non-Communist Middle East and the free world dangerously and unnecessarily vulnerable. The door can be closed by building Iran as a strong link in the defense line. Iranians with

whom I talked stated openly that the United States must put up the money needed.

Iran is not only exposed externally, but is fearfully weak internally. Few Americans realize how close Iran came to Communism in August, 1953. Our ambassador, Loy W. Henderson, believes that had the Iranian people waited 48 hours longer to throw out weeping Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh and recall the exiled shah, the Tudeh (Communist) party would have seized control of the nation and made it another Soviet satellite.

Many observers told me that Iran still could lurch downward through nationalism into Communism—or could rise to become a stable nation capable of considerable self-defense against its northern neighbor. They believe that the course Iran follows depends largely on the amount of American aid it receives—and how well that aid is utilized.

Iran has been getting some military aid from the United States for several years. Brigadier General Robert A. McClure, head of the U.S. military mission training the Iranian army, considers the soldiers first-rate material and the officers, many of them French-trained, quick to learn. In a couple of years, the Iranian army could—if it gets enough U.S. help—fill its part of the gap between the Turks and Pakistanis. But first the nation must get back on its feet economically.

An Interview With the Shah of Iran

The shah, Mohammed Riza Pahlevi, frankly discussed Iran's dire economic plight and need for American aid when he received me at a mountain-top hotel outside Tehran. He entered the room without ceremony, dressed for skiing. A handsome man of thirty-four who speaks excellent English, he waved me to a seat beside him on a sofa and began to talk.

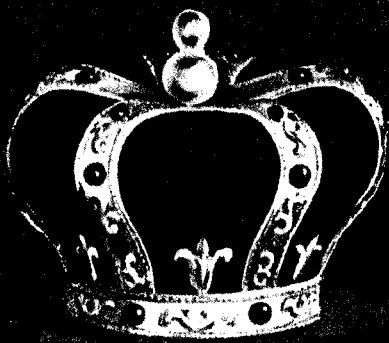
"Iran is a ruin," he said. "First military occupation, then rule by Mossadegh have left us with a shattered economy. We urgently need more money to pay our civil servants, our police and our army. We need funds to increase our productivity by more irrigation, to repair our railroads and main roads, to transform our army from an internal police to a national defense force."

"Until we have repaired the damage of recent years, our people would never understand any discussion of common defense with Turks or Pakistanis. Our present job—I repeat—is rehabilitating our country."

"In 1949," the shah continued, "I visited Washington and asked for American economic help. Had I got it, Iran would never, I feel sure, have

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"It is up to you to decide whether you wish to tide us over until our oil revenues fill the gap. You have given Turkey a billion and a half dollars. Iran could be equally important."

The new prime minister, General Fazollah Zahedi, the man who arrested Mossadegh and put down the combined Communist and fanatical nationalist conspiracy just in time, also talked eloquently of "economic aid" from the United States, but did not answer my questions about common defense.

This situation seems to leave the problem of total Middle East defense very largely in the lap of the shah. Foreigners insist that only he can give the popular backing to make the vital decisions, some of them unpopular, necessary to stabilize and strengthen his country. Moreover, he still must prove that he can rule Iran. The shah is liked as an affable, well-meaning young man, but in the past he has been indecisive.

From these countries of more or less uncertainty, I moved next to Turkey, where there is no doubt of national sympathies and capabilities.

The most striking characteristic of new Turkey is determination. Modern Turks have decided that their country (a tenth the size of the United States and with only 22,000,000 people) is to be a great nation—and they are well on their way to making it so.

Greatness requires that the Turks maintain an army larger than they can afford—at present, 19 divisions, 13,000 men to a division. They acquired the means to support such forces by becoming an ally of the United States and entering NATO. Since 1947, U.S. taxpayers have invested about a billion and a half dollars in Turkey.

In the Shadow of the Soviet Menace

To deserve this money, the Turkish Republic for almost three years stood at the end of the NATO line, exposed to the threatening might of the Soviet Union to the north and northeast and with only the political soft spots of Iran and the Arab countries to the east and south. But the Turks are not a timid people. Some two thirds of the Turkish soldiers invalidated home from Korea or released after a term of service volunteered to go back.

Former President Ismet Inonu, old, deaf and wonderfully brash, confided to me at his Ankara home: "Our next task must be raising the morale of our European allies to the level of America and Turkey."

The Turks are modeling their army on American lines. They are committed to partnership. President Celal Bayar, returning home from his visit to the United States, told his countrymen, "The Americans like us and have confidence in us just as we



India's Prime Minister Nehru says American arming of Pakistan may involve area in war

like them and rely upon them." Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and opposition leader Kasim Gulek both made the same remark: "Never forget that no matter how sharp our internal political struggles, they will not change Turkey's will to be a close friend of the United States."

All this helps explain why Turkey, once it was sure of American approval, took the initiative in starting the mountain-and-desert wall across southern Asia. Its first choice of an ally in the area was Pakistan. An army captain who showed me around Ankara remarked: "If we can get a few more such friends, we may avoid World War III."

Today Turkey—no longer *end* man, but *key* man—has become a sort of universal joint linking three defense groups: the 14-nation NATO, the Ankara Alliance (Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia) and the Turkish-Pakistani partnership, whose further development is Turkey's chief diplomatic task in the days ahead.

Pakistan's rejection of neutrality has dispelled a nightmare of certain U.S. ambassadors (names withheld on request)—that India might succeed in creating a vast neutral belt from Indonesia to Egypt. Any neutral belt, they think, inevitably helps the Communists.

But India's Nehru has not abandoned his impracticable dream, as I learned when I called on him in New Delhi. "By arming Pakistan," he told me, "you are involving a whole area that needs peace and economic improvement in a political dispute and perhaps in a new war. I do not see what you expect to get out of it."

"Another deterrent to a possible Soviet attack."

"Local forces are no deterrent. The only real deterrent is Russia's fear of war with America," he declared.

"That fear failed to prevent the Communist attack in Korea," I countered.

"That was another matter. Now you will drive awakening young Asians into the Communist camp by seeming to seek Asian man power to fight your battles. If you really want peace, you should cease talking of alliances, armament and war. You should think peace, talk peace and act peace."

"Mr. Prime Minister," I broke in, "are you trying to stop armed aggression by incantation?"

Talk of War and A-Bombs Criticized

Nehru's handsome face grew darker. "No and no. It is your Mr. Dulles who is using incantations—always talking of war and A-bombs."

"I think Mr. Dulles wants peace as much as you do."

"Then he is on the wrong track," Nehru retorted. At the door the prime minister said good-by and added: "Always remember, we must have peace at almost any price." And he was gone.

Some Americans and others argue that in arming Pakistan we are losing India. The truth is we never had India to lose, and U.S. officials in Asia expect no very serious reaction to the Pakistan agreements. Some even say that if the United States continues to offer arms to India for the same anti-Communist purpose as to Pakistan, India someday may decide to accept them and join the armed freedom front.

Informed Americans in the Middle East will give you a guess that the cost of building the Dulles line of defense will be a billion dollars over the next few years, but they agree that it is worth building. Back home I found no money estimates available from officials, but Vice-President Nixon told me he considers the move "a necessary step in resisting Communist penetration."

Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, goes still further. In his office at the Pentagon, he said: "Our decision to bolster the Middle East was essential. If we had done nothing, the Soviets were almost sure to move into the area. They have had their eyes on it for a long time."

Every successful move we have made over the last seven years—whether helping Greece and Turkey, breaking the Berlin blockade, operating the Marshall Plan, promoting NATO or intervening to save the Republic of Korea—has entailed the danger of major war.

This danger is perhaps what Secretary Dulles had in mind when he said:

"Sometimes it is necessary to take risks to win peace just as it is necessary in war to take risks to win victory." ▲▲▲



Pakistan's Premier Mohammed Ali prefers an alliance with West to neutrality favored by Indians



Turkey's President Celal Bayar, back from U.S. tour, says Turks like Americans and rely on them



Iranian Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi wants nation to get on feet before entering alliances



Afghanistan king, Mohammed Zahir Shah, steers the middle road between Soviets and West

Collier's for June 25, 1954

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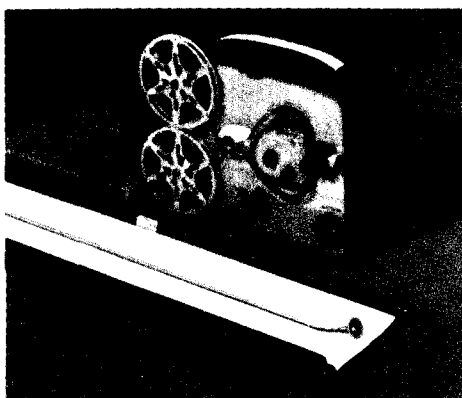
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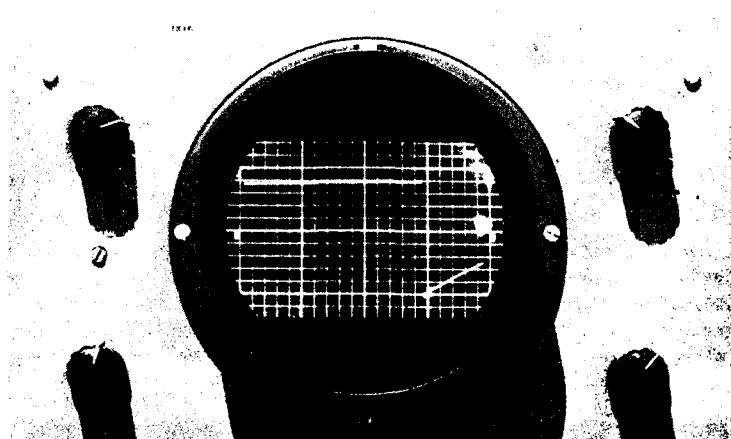
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Above, oscillograph screen shows Turley's 94-mile-an-hour pitch as it looked electronically (it's the line crossing the grid near top). Below, photoelectric-eye-view of the Baltimore pitcher. Ball passed through triangular opening, breaking beams from two photoelectric circuits set six inches apart

Turley's Fast

Enemy hitters knew Oriole Bob Turley was fast. Now science shows that his hard one reaches home plate in just .4 of a second

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR COLLIER'S BY LEW MERRIM AND HUGH BRODERICK

