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## An Estimate of Chinese Communist Intentions

*Remarks by Secretary Dulles<sup>1</sup>*

I can assure you that I receive this award with a very deep sense of the good will that goes behind it and of the inadequacy of my performance, which you have kindly judged to warrant it. There is one thing to which I should like to allude—you have spoken of my travels around the world. These trips would not have been possible if it hadn't been for my wife's presence on practically all of them, and I am sorry she is not here today. I know she would have been moved to hear the kind words that you have said.

Also, I want to express my recognition of my associates in the Department of State and in the Foreign Service of the United States whose efforts alone have made possible what you have been good enough to call my achievements. Without their dedicated and skilled efforts, it would not have been possible to reach the level of attainment of our foreign policy goals which we have done during the past year. One of the things which I have been able to do on these travels of mine has been to talk face to face with our Foreign Service people in 35 countries (most of which have never been visited by any U.S. Secretary of State), and I have found them universally to be dedicated, loyal, and capable people—many of them functioning under conditions of very real hardships. They deserve the recognition which you are good enough to accord to me.

What you have said in giving me this award is a cause of great encouragement as we face the future. Under today's conditions, there is never time to stop for long to take satisfactions with reference to the past; and it seems that the only

way in which one can recognize progress is the fact that the problems one is working on today are different from those of a little while ago. That is a measure of progress. It also is evidence of the degree to which it is necessary to maintain a sustained effort and sustained courage because the forces that we are up against are not going to retreat easily from the field of battle and allow us to rest on our oars.

### **Attitude of Chinese Communists**

Indeed, I came back from this trip to the Far East with a sense of deep concern. What I learned there about the attitude of the Chinese Communists made me appreciate that they constitute an acute and an imminent threat.

They seem to be dizzy with success. They entertain a very exaggerated sense of their own power, and they gravely underestimate the power and resolution of the non-Communist world.

Their successes, when they are superficially judged, are indeed considerable.

In 1949, they completed the conquest of the China mainland and its nearly 600 million people.

The next year, in 1950, when United Nations forces in Korea were at the Yalu, they entered the Korean war and gained a victory which gave them control of Northern Korea.

In 1951, their armies moved into and seized Tibet.

In 1953–54, they stepped up their aid to their Communist allies in Indochina and helped them to win a spectacular victory over the French Union forces at Dien-Bien-Phu.

Now, they are active in the Formosa Straits, where they have taken by force one of the Nationalist-held islands and have taken others which the Chinese Nationalists voluntarily evacuated.

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Advertising Club of New York at New York City, Mar. 21, 1955, on the occasion of the award to Mr. Dulles of the Club's Bronze Plaque of Achievement.

#### Advertising Club's Citation

*Following is the citation read by Thomas B. Haire, a director of the Advertising Club of New York, when he presented the club's plaque to Secretary Dulles.*

A lawyer by profession and an idealist by nature, a prominent and active layman in the Presbyterian Church, he has been guided by Christian principles and a firm belief in the dignity of man.

In spreading this gospel around the world, he has become the world's most traveled statesman of all times and one of the world's greatest salesmen of freedom. With almost complete disregard for his personal life and his physical health, he has driven himself relentlessly in the cause of freedom and world peace.

They are building up their military power in North Korea, in open violation of the armistice terms. They press ominously their campaign of subversion against the free states of Southeast Asia.

They hold and continue to hold United States prisoners of war in flagrant disregard of the Korean Armistice terms, and they have so far rebuffed the efforts of the United Nations to secure their release, despite the fact that the Secretary-General traveled all the way to Peiping on a mission of intercession.

They have contemptuously rejected an invitation to participate in United Nations proceedings, initiated by New Zealand, which were designed to bring about a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits area.

In view of this 6-year record, it is not surprising that the Chinese Communist leaders should feel a certain sense of intoxication. They have, with impunity, three times challenged and rebuffed the United Nations, and they seem to feel that the entire non-Communist position in the Western Pacific, extending from the Aleutians in the north down to Australia and New Zealand in the south, is ripe to crumble under the impact of their successive thrusts.

#### Contrast to Soviet Communism

The aggressive fanaticism of the Chinese Communist leaders presents a certain parallel to that of Hitler. Also, it contrasts to the past tactics of Soviet communism.

Both the Chinese and the Soviet Communists have, of course, the same ideological motivation, but the manifestations are different.

So far, the expansion of the Soviet Union has been accomplished by coldly calculated and deliberate steps. For the first 20 years after the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks concentrated upon consolidating their internal position. They did not risk external ventures. When they did move outwardly, it was done skillfully under the cover of alliances with the only powers which could have successfully opposed them. Thus, it was under the cover of an alliance with Hitler that the Soviets took their first bite out of Eastern Europe. It was under cover of alliances with Great Britain and the United States that they took their second bite after the German defeat in World War II. They have stated that their program will involve an entire historical era, and so far at least they have not taken reckless risks.

The temperament of the Chinese Communists is different, and while, in the long run, the Soviet method may prove more formidable, yet, in the short run, the Chinese Communist method may prove more dangerous and provocative of war.

#### Patience of Free Nations

The picture I have to draw is a somber one, but it is by no means a hopeless one. I believe that there is still time to bring the Chinese Communists to a more sober mood. The fact is that their so-called "successes" have not been due to their own strength but to contributing causes. Among these have been the restraint and the patience of the free nations and their love of peace.

These qualities should not be misinterpreted as manifestations of weakness or of fear. The fact is that they stem from strength and resolution which can afford to be patient up to the point where patience is clearly productive only of dangerous misunderstanding and increased risk.

The task of peacefully bringing the Chinese Communists to see that reality is one of the utmost difficulty. A major step in that direction was the action whereby the Congress, with virtual unanimity, authorized the President to use the Armed Forces of the United States in the Formosa area. With national unity under the calm and strong leadership of President Eisenhower, I remain hopeful that peace will yet prevail.