

Dull Advocates Living In World of Reality Today

Editor's Note: This is the text of Prof. Dull's speech at the Reed College discussion of "Crisis in the Far East" Thursday night.

By Paul S. Dull

There is one salient fact that I think we must recognize in this discussion of our crisis with China and that is we have to live in the world as we find it, not as we want to find it. Only by looking realistically at what we have to work with can we make hard plans for better worlds in the future.

These are the things that we start with:

1. Our nation is involved in what could become a life and death struggle with Communist Russia.

2. Communist Russia cannot be allowed to win that struggle if we are to keep a way of life that has been unique in the history of civilizations in the multitude of benefits that it bestows on each individual.

3. The China of today is inextricably linked by ideology and by ambition with Soviet Russia.

Not All Unnecessary

It does little good as we stand in the wreckage of traditional Chinese-American friendship to say that it has all been unnecessary. I am willing to grant that at least an opportunity existed in the 1940's for us to have prevented the close alliance between Mao's China and Stalin's Russia; I am also willing to admit the conditions in China that led to Mao's victory over the Kuomintang.

I will grant that on the basis of evidence available Mao is sincere in his efforts to better the miserable lives of the Chinese. But that does not change the facts of the present situation. The Chinese government as it exists is an enemy of the United States, by its own explicit admission. And because I do not happen to believe that Communism is a solution for Asia's troubles, I feel that however well intentioned it may be, Mao's Communism is a blind alley for the Chinese.

It is certain that if the normal historical process of revolution operated in China, the old order had to go. It is a tragedy for us and for the Chinese that they chose Western civilization's ideology of reaction instead of freedom. For whatever economic benefits may have accrued to China, the end product of Chinese Communism has been that thousands of Chinese and thousands of Americans have paid and are continuing to pay with their lives. The world is brought closer to the brink of a war it cannot afford because of the desire for world domination inherent in the Communist ideology predicated the universal revolution.

Little Use to Speculate

I think it does little good to speculate whether Mao is or is not a puppet of Moscow. From what I know of Mao I doubt it. I think Russian leaders, aware of the nationalism generated in the Chinese revolution and now vented against capitalistic powers, would be utterly stupid if they showed a firm hand in directing China.

Mao is an avowed Marxist who has consistently followed the Stalinist line in foreign policy. His goals, as he has stated them, are stated goals of Soviet Russia. When both have adopted the same interpretation of the same book, is it necessary for Stalin to direct?

I am quite aware of Mao's deviationism in internal policy. As we face 1951 and read what Mao says regarding world revolution, the United States and foreign policy, I see no deviation. I am also aware that a good chance remains at some future date for deviation in foreign policy. As we face the facts of 1951, can we afford to wait for that deviation? There may be no love lost between the Chinese and Russians, the alliance may be based on expediency and like convictions, but since when did a political alliance have to be based on love?

In our future foreign policy we must work around one unpleasant fact: the Chinese leaders are saturated with Leninism and their policy will reflect it. If that is so I do not see how any working arrangement could be made to regulate our relations if we recognized that state of Communist China. As long as their ideology has led them to aggression in Korea, I do not see how Communist China could be admitted to the United Nations, an organization whose purpose it is to stop aggression and whose legal will China has flouted.

Let us move to the proof of such contentions. It is true that I have not met China's Communist leaders. I have not even been in China since 1938. However, I do not feel entirely without competence in approaching the subject for I can let China's Communist leaders lead the case.

In the formal ideological declaration adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on June 11, 1945, it is stated "The Chinese Communist Party is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism . . . (It) is based on the dialectical and historical materialism of Marx. . . The task of the Chinese Communist Party will be to struggle, by necessary steps and according to the requirements of China's social and economic development and the will of her people for the realization of Socialism and Communism." The fact that Mao developed the concept of "New Democracy" does not negate this declaration. "New Democracy" is but a transitional step to Socialism-Communism by Mao's admission.

The dialectical method, as used, has rejected our traditional concepts of international law and practice as bourgeois. All international concepts must be re-examined de novo. The social revolution has precedence over traditional legal abstractions. Treatment of our counsels, Ward and Lodge, and of our nationals reflects the "new international practice". Chinese Communism accepts the traditional Leninist view that capitalistic countries inevitably must be imperialistic, that they inevitably are enemies of Communist countries and inevitably the latter must defeat the former.

U. S., China Enemies

It follows that the United States, the greatest capitalistic country, is the chief natural enemy of China, and the isolation and defeat of the United States is China's most pressing urgency. Lu Ting-yi, editor-in-chief of the Emancipation Daily, in a series of broadcasts from Tenan beginning Jan. 7, 1947, stated, "The world is divided: on the one hand are the 'reactionaries of the various countries'—"American imperialism and its stooges in the various countries of the world."

"On the other hand is the 'world anti-imperialist camp' comprising 'the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries of Eastern Europe, the national liberation movements of China, the countries of Southeast Asia and Greece and the people's democratic forces in all countries."

"After World War II, American imperialists took the place fascist Germany, Italy, and Japan, becoming the fortress of the world reactionary forces. . . The reactionaries of all countries and the fascist remnants have now all become traitors, directly or indirectly supported by American imperialism, selling out the people of all countries."

Could Go On for Hours

I could go on for hours quoting this intense anti-American hatred—almost word for word repetition of that emanating from Russia, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania.

The next major theme is Soviet friendship, a major theme since 1945. Let's look at what Liu Shao-chi, Mao's most trusted lieutenant, said over the North Shensi radio

Nov. 9, 1948. He said it was "utterly groundless demagogic propaganda and vicious slanders of the imperialist bourgeoisie" the allegations that "the Soviet Union is a red imperialist," that "the Soviet Union is carrying out an expansionist policy."

Hsin Hua Jih Pao—"Why do the Russian people hold such decisive power?" "They are simply the outcome of the realization within their country of the most perfect democratic system in the world. Every member of the vast population of the Soviet Union has become the master of the state, living freely and happily, as it were, in the larger family of democracy. The spirit as well as the principles of democratic unity pervades all the domestic and foreign policies carried out by the Soviet Union."

To round out the picture rapidly, the Chinese Communist leaders have vowed to maintain the International United Front, the International Communist offensive leading to a proletarian world victory.

Must Face Crisis

If what these Chinese leaders say is true, and we have only to look to Hitler, Mussolini, Lenin, and Stalin to guess that they mean what they say, then we must face up to the crisis with this in mind:

1. Chinese Communism is Lenin-Stalin Communism in foreign policy.

2. It is impossible to conduct diplomatic relations with such Communists by old rules of international law.

3. Whatever we do will be called imperialism.

4. What we consider aggression by our morality is to be expected.

The answer then is not recognition nor a seat in the Security Council. The answer would seem to be to deal with this menace at the heart of the trouble and not to be diverted by satellite states whose ideology allows them to be manipulated by the Soviet Union. It is a tragedy for both us and China that this crisis should have arisen.

Blood Donations

(Continued from page one)

appeared in the Emerald, Miss Brennan stated. The policy of the Red Cross now is to accept persons for blood donations who have had infectious jaundice if at least one year has elapsed since the time of their donation.

Other persons who will not be accepted are those who have been inoculated for typhoid or vaccinated within the preceding 30 days. These persons and those who have had infectious jaundice recently are asked not to sign up for the drive, since their rejection would hamper the chances of reaching the 350-pint quota.

If a potential donor's appointment conflicts with a class, he should check with the Office of Student Affairs to make some arrangement to enable him to keep his appointment, according to Director of Men's Affairs Ray Hawk.

Sasnett Handles

(Continued from page two)

the SU and will speak during the fireside lectures.

Wife Was Monodramatist

Before her marriage, Mrs. Sasnett won many distinctions as a professional monodramatist. She is listed in "American Women," "Who's Who on the Pacific Coast," and is the only American monologist in the International Blue Book.

Since her marriage Mrs. Sasnett has been active in interpretations of prose and poetry by authors whose works are noted for their moral and spiritual values. At present Mrs. Sasnett is foreign student assistant at the University of Southern California.

Strong, Professors Air Views on Asiatic Crisis

A Reed College audience—heavy with accents and questions favoring both the right and left—listened to Anna Louise Strong and three professors talk about Communism in China and China in the world at a forum late last week.

After listening, the audience asked questions—and many of the answers were as revealing as the four-minute talks given by the speakers.

Paul S. Dull, coordinator of the Far Eastern department in the University of Oregon, was one of the speakers. He took a directly opposite view from that one held by Anna Louise Strong, friend of Mao Tze-tung and Communist China.

Frank Munk, professor at Reed and President A. L. Strand of Oregon State College were the others on the panel.

The complete text of Dull's speech is printed on this page. He was asked only one question by the audience.

Russia Aggressor?

That question was: "Where in the history of the world has Russia been the direct aggressor?"

Dull reeled off a list of "wheres" including Finland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Albania, and said "you don't always have to be the man who does the poking if you have your friend doing it."

Dr. Strong disagreed with Dull's stand against UN recognition of Communist China.

She said, "The UN will not be in Asia unless China is in the UN. Asian countries know this and so does Nehru."

A position of leadership is now held by China in Asia, she continued, "and the Asian people are learning from Communist China that a country grows strong, not weak, from revolution."

She said Dull made it unnecessary for her to prove that the Chinese Communists are Marxists and are friendly to Stalin, and she agreed with Dull's remarks about Mao's hostility to the U.S.

U. S. Aid Criticized

"Mao's position toward us changed when the U. S. offered great gifts to Chiang just after the Chinese had launched a civil war in five or six provinces," explained the intense, white-haired woman.

"The Chinese peasant turned against America when he saw American planes—we call them Chiang's planes—and he said 'American bombs falling.'"

"When you send out arms to a country in revolution, you'd better be on the right side," she emphasized.

The Chinese think the trouble lies with the "reactionary Truman government, not with the American people," she said. "We can move to peace if we'll sit down and listen to the Chinese Communists."

Miss Strong was asked if the Chinese Communist delegation had shown many signs of compromise at the UN.

"Yes, I think they did, but not as we had hoped," she answered. "They came a little proud, not humble, agreeing to negotiate on an equal level, but they felt that they were not met with the courtesy which a visiting delegation might expect."

Claims U. S. Loyalty

This woman whose name was linked to International Commun-

ism for 30 years was also asked "where do your loyalties lie at this time?"

She answered, "My loyalties are and always have been to the people of these United States, but ultimately to the people of the human race."

Strand talked of agricultural conditions in the Philippine Islands, which he recently visited with the State Department's economic survey mission.

Munk said that Europe is the most important area in the entire conflict, "and any lessening of prestige will decrease the willingness of Europeans to defend themselves."

Recognition Mistake

Recognition of Communist China would lessen the prestige of both the United States and the UN, he declared.

Arguing that "military power can be stopped only by military power," Munk said the Soviet revolution has betrayed its own ideals, and the Chinese revolution will also lead to a "new nation of imperialism."

"I believe the peasants of China will hate Mao more than Chiang," he continued, "because one type of oligarchy has been replaced by another more dangerous."

During the question period, the Reed professor said he was "very much out of sympathy with those people in this country who always blame themselves."

He also added that he thinks that is a conflict which will last as long as sovereign states exist, and "we should concentrate now to do something about it in the line of world government."

CLASSIFIED

FOR RENT: 3 room apartment; close to campus; Boys preferred, \$50.00. 727 East Broadway Ph. 48586. 57

FOR SALE: Tuxedo size 38 good condition. Phone 51350 or 746 E. 19th Apt. 1. Mrs. J. W. Wick. 59

FOR SALE: 1 pr. 71 Splitkein laminated skies, Groswald micromatic bindings, perfect condition, almost new, \$20. 166 Washington St. Apt. 4. 58

FOR SALE: Silver fox jacket, Etc. condition; 2 boys topcoats made in England, size 4-6. Ph. 48215 58

Do you need auto insurance? Phone Tom Barry 4-2269, representative for Parmenter Insurance Agency of Eugene. M-W-F

HEILIG Dial 4-9311

"Pagan Love Song" with Esther Williams
"Post Office Investigator"

MAYFLOWER Dial 5-1022

Walt Disney's
"Fantasia"

LANE Dial 4-0431

"Broken Arrow"
"Saddle Tramp"

McKENZIE Dial 7-2201

"Let's Dance"
"Union Station"

VARSITY Dial 7-3403

"Rocketship XM"
"Baron of Arizona"

ODGON DAILY EMERALD

TODAY'S STAFF

Assistant Managing Editor: Gretchen Grondahl
Copy Desk: Dolores Dyer, Betty Johnson, Sunny Allen, Bill Clothier

NIGHT STAFF

Night Editor: Dick Thompson
Night Staff: Bill Holman, Kathleen Stryker