

THE MENACE OF COMMUNISM IN THE FAR EAST

Address by Lieut. General C. P. Cabell, USAF

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You asked me here to discuss with you on this eleventh anniversary of the Japanese surrender, the subject of the Far East. I am delighted to be able to do this for I feel that the Far East today presents a direct, serious and, let me emphasize, complicated, challenge to American policy and interest. The Far East, for our purposes today, ranges from Afghanistan and Pakistan, on the West, the sub-continent of India, the Asian mass of Russia, through the vast bulk of China. It includes the Southeast Asian countries: Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Malaya, and Indonesia. It also includes Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, the Republic of China, and the countless little dots of coral on the charts of the Pacific. The Far East consists of about 10% of the non-Communist land, and about 50% of the people of the free world today.

The free world area of Asia is rich in natural resources. It furnishes 90% of the natural rubber, tea, and jute used in this country. It provides significant quantities of other vital raw materials, including tin, tungsten, manganese, chromite and oil. It is even richer in the potential energies of a significant population.

Here in Texas, we use considerable amounts of strategic materials of the kind the Far East provides. 95% of the manganese used in the U.S. is imported. We can make steel without tungsten or chromite, but we cannot roll steel unless manganese is available. 37% of our imported manganese comes from India, a Far East country. Sheffield Steel Division of Aramco, at Houston, the Lone Star Steel Company here in Dallas (which I understand manufacture oil country pipe), and Texas Steel Company at Fort Worth, would be helpless without manganese, to say nothing of the impact the lack of rolled steel would have on our Texas auto, aircraft and machine tool industries. Tungsten, another important product, is imported from Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, and Indonesia. Tungsten, as you know, is essential to the production of hard alloys and is used extensively here in Texas in the manufacture of rock bits for oil drilling equipment produced by firms like the Hughes Tool Company, Reed Roller Bit and Dresser Industries. Or natural rubber -- most of the natural rubber used in this country comes from Southeast Asian sources: Thailand, Malaya, and Indonesia. Considerable quantities of natural rubber are used in the manufacture of truck and aircraft tires. If rubber supplies from Southeast Asia were cut off, plants in Dallas using this important strategic product would have to find less usable substitutes. I could go on.

Now the areas from which these important products come are being threatened by Communism.

To help us get the picture of the situation a little clearer in mind, let me back up a bit in recent history and draw your attention

to the chart which shows in black the land area of Japan before she began her aggression in 1931. By 1941, the Japanese held one-fourth of China's area and had conquered one-half of its population. They had received Indo-China by default from the French Government at Vichy. These areas are shown in blue. They stood ready to take over the balance of Southeast Asia.

As a next step, the Japanese felt that they had to neutralize the United States Navy. They were afraid that we might not be ready to knuckle under to their further expansionism, and that we would go to war to prevent it. Thus, the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and almost simultaneously, strikes at Hong Kong, Manila, Thailand, Singapore, Midway, Wake, and Guam.

On the map, those areas in purple represent the furthest extent of conquest; that is, before we were able to stop them at the great cost familiar to you all. Their over-all conquests had increased Japanese-held land area from a quarter of a million to more than three million square miles, and encompassed over 460 million people.

Now compare this with the other map showing the course of the Communist Empire in the Far East. They first communized all of the China mainland, and progressively extended their control to a land area of nearly 4 million square miles, encompassing a population of 621 million people. The combined Soviet-Chinese Communists, based on the vast land mass of China, and in command of all of its people and resources, present a new and more dangerous threat than ever posed by the Japanese.

The Communists know that a take-over of the non-Communist parts of Asia, whether by military conquest, by subversion, or by default, will tip the balance of power in their favor. If they can lull us into a sense of false security, or precipitate a break in relations between us and our friends so as to force us to withdraw our protective shield from the free Asians, they will open the way for progressive Communist control over the entire Far East -- cheaply and easily.

But, we have not allowed them to maneuver us into this position. Our firm stand in Korea, and, after the loss of North Vietnam, in Indo-China, has already forced the Communists to shift their tactics, in their struggle for control of the Far East. For the moment, and possibly for some time to come, their emphasis is on the drive for normal diplomatic relations, for increased trade, for cultural exchanges, and for all the trappings of peace. But, keep in mind that the ultimate Communist objective -- the conquest of the free world -- is unchanged. Let me repeat: the ultimate Communist objective -- conquest of the free world -- is unchanged.

The Communists have launched a major campaign to make friends. Swarms of Communist diplomats, trade officials, dancers and actors are going abroad. Swarms of non-Communist businessmen, students, teachers, and government officials are being invited to Peiping and Moscow where they are wined and dined. These visitors, and even many foreign government officials, return home with their previous worries about Communist encroachment eroded, or erased, and some even return with glowing accounts of the "Communist paradise on earth."

The Chinese Communists and Russians are making a major effort to prevent the rebirth of Japan as a free world power. The Japanese Government, although aware of the political risks in opening relations with the Chinese Communist regime and Russia, is under heavy pressure from her own business interests to accept these risks for the sake of economic benefits. The Chinese and Russian Communists are taking advantage of this pressure to make political demands. They count on closer ties with the Japanese to cause problems and bad blood between Washington and Tokyo.

So far, there have been no serious differences apparent between the two Communist giants, China and the Soviet Union. Opinions on the nature, stability and durability of the Sino-Soviet partnership range all up and down the scale. I believe the best estimate is, that although China is much more a partner than a satellite, and is so acknowledged by the Russians, she is nevertheless under effective Soviet control. Soviet aid has helped make the Chinese military establishment the reasonably modern, efficient war machine it is today. The Russians are now helping the Chinese to develop a war industry of their own. There is no evidence that either partner badly wants a change in the present arrangements.

Against this united phalanx, the free world part of the Far East, with American support, has powerful resources to bring to bear -- both in war, should it eventuate, and in political, economic and cultural competition.

Japan is now an ally of the free world. Its strategic position and its heritage of strength and energy are tangible assets. The Free

Chinese on Formosa have never wavered in their steadfast hatred of the Communist tyranny which has overrun their homeland. The Philippine Republic is strongly anti-Communist, the more so because of its own experience after the war in crushing a Communist-led rebellion in the islands. The Republic of Korea has no illusions about the Communists. Pakistan is allied with us in two defensive pacts. Australia and New Zealand are, of course, reliable partners in the Free World. In Southeast Asia, Thailand has cooperated closely with the free-world plans for checking Communist expansionism, as has the new Republic of Vietnam.

Let me give you some facts about the developments in Vietnam, a country which most of the world feared might be lost following the debacle at Dien Bien Phu.

At that point, only two years ago, a plucky Vietnamese nationalist, by the name of Diem, virtually unknown outside his own country, was named to head Vietnam's legitimate non-Communist government, operating in the portion of the country south of the 17th parallel, the line of division decided on at the Geneva Conference of 1954. Without an army, without money, without an organized government, and under conditions of indescribably confusion, this human being, short in stature but big in principle, spearheaded the almost miraculous achievements of the Vietnamese people in their fight to remain free.

By popular referendum -- the first free national voting in the country's history -- a republican form of government has been adopted, replacing a discredited monarchy. In another election, the people have

constituted a National Assembly which in turn has drafted a democratic constitution to order Vietnam's future growth. The constitution was approved early in July after extended debate. From the start, President Diem, while continuing to reaffirm his people's desire to see all of Vietnam reunited, refused to accede to all-Vietnam elections, proposed at the Geneva Conference for July 1956. Such elections, he maintained, would be rigged by the Communists north of the 17th parallel and become a mere travesty in view of the failure of the Communist leaders to allow any genuine freedom to the people in their zone. The compulsive character of the regime in the north was eloquently demonstrated by the flight of over 800,000 refugees from the North to the Free South in less than a year. The U. S. supported President Diem in his courageous defense of freedom. On 8 May, the Geneva co-chairmen, Great Britain and the USSR, issued statements making it clear that, while the armistice would be maintained in Vietnam, no elections would be held under present circumstances.

Great strides have been taken to bolster Vietnam's economy, hard hit by eight years of civil war, by the amputation of North Vietnam, and by the influx of the 800,000 refugees from the north who forfeited homes to escape the heel of Viet Minh Communism. Hundreds of thousands of the refugees already have been resettled in the government-sponsored villages and given an opportunity to lead productive lives.

In effect, a line was drawn across the country and 800,000 refugees poured across that line on the economy of the south. This land area is only one-fifth the size of Texas, yet it supports half again the

population of Texas. I suggest that an influx of that number of people into Texas - without money, without jobs, and completely dependent upon the state government for sustenance - would even in our highly advanced economic system create a dislocation factor of serious consequence.

For the first time in decades a deep sense of national pride is being manifested in the fighting spirit of the Vietnam Republic's National Army. This is the army that has recently fought Communist subversion in the swamps of Rung Sat by wading shoulder deep in disease infested waters and hanging by trees at night to keep from drowning in their sleep.

The American people have reason to be proud of our country's efforts to help reorganize and train this group of soldiers to be an effective fighting force. The determination of the Vietnamese people is a gratifying spectacle in the face of the almost insurmountable odds which they are overcoming.

The ways of Communism have been brought home clearly to Vietnam, but there still remain many Asian countries which do not recognize the full danger of Communist infiltration of their economic and political systems. These uncommitted, or unconvinced nations, pride themselves on being practical. They feel that if they can be left alone -- by standing aside -- they can contribute to the obtaining of a long period of peace. By refusing to join blocs, they feel they have an independent voice in world affairs.



Some of these nations are newly independent and fiercely nationalistic. Each wants to go its own way, and each is resentful of advice, especially from nations with a history of colonialism.

At this point, let me say something about colonialism. In our country we obtained our independence so long ago, that now the word "colonial" conjures up for us visions of lovely ladies in hoop skirts, gracious and cultured living, and all the good things in life. As a matter of fact -- and here is a good point to get in a commercial -- some years ago when my brothers, Ben and Earle, started their ice cream business, they described their product as "Cabell's Colonial Ice Cream." The purpose was, by the use of that word, to convey a feeling of quality and acceptability, and to capitalize on the pleasant association of the word "colonial" -- and so to sell more ice cream. I think they have. "Colonial" or "colonialism," in the Far East today, however, is not a parlor word. It evokes a depth of passionate resentment that is hardly understandable to us. Asians' sensitivity to what this raises in their minds, is a factor which will have to be lived with for a long time.

Whether we like it or not -- and most of us do not like it -- we are now engaged in an economic, as well as political, conflict or competition, with the Communists in the underdeveloped areas of the world, especially Asia.

Asians are impressed with the rapid emergence of the two Communist giants from underdeveloped countries to their present status of major powers. Many Asians choose to ignore the means by which Russia and Communist China have increased their power. Those means were slave labor,

low living standards and total loss of freedom and human rights. They see only the carefully selected and displayed results, and wonder what they might accomplish by imitating Communist methods, or cooperating with Russia and Communist China.

Until a year ago, there was no Russian or Chinese Communist economic aid program in the Far East. Recently, however, the Communists have seized on a major economic problem of the area: one-crop surpluses. Unhampered by the necessity of sticking to sound business practices, or rendering an accounting to their taxpayers, the Communists seek, in effect, to acquire first mortgages on these countries and later to use these liens to gain their objectives. Take Burma, for example. The Communists have agreed to take surplus Burmese rice in exchange for capital goods -- goods for which the West asks cash, usually in hard currencies. They have offered to other Far East countries large loans on very attractive terms -- long terms with two or two and half percent interest -- payable in raw materials or in soft currencies. They have insisted without stopping, that no strings are attached to these loans.

We know, that once these one-crop surplus countries take the Communist bait, they are hooked. The Communists can shut off the flow of aid as summarily as they turned it on -- and by that time, these countries may have gone beyond the point of no return.

However, I do not want to leave you with the impression that I assume or estimate that the Communists will have unmitigated success. You will have seen in the press of late, reports that the results of these barter agreements are sometimes disappointing to the recipients.

Burma's recently resigned Premier U Nu, noting that the Communists had rigged the prices, was reported as now saying "a man would have to be out of his mind" to engage in barter trade when he can sell for cash.

The fruits of our sensible, long-range aid programs will be slow in maturing, but the steady, growing exchange of students, technicians, and scholars has already bettered relations and understanding. With time, the Asians will become increasingly aware that we do not seek to exploit them, and that our aim is to help them become self-reliant and strong. They will see that we continue to respect their independence and to encourage their sense of equality in world affairs.

Maybe you will already have noted that I haven't so far offered you a policy or plan that the U.S. should follow to meet the situation in the Far East. Let me go a little further and say that I'm not going to either. I am sticking to my role of an Intelligence Officer, which is to present the facts. It is then up to the policy makers and to you, the public, to weigh these facts with other facts and conditions known to you, and then to decide for yourselves the best policies to keep the Asians strong and free.

Now if I may deviate from the topic of the day, I should like to make a few comments on the much publicized Khrushchev speech. As you well know, Khrushchev, at the final session of the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress last February, delivered what has come to be known as "the secret speech," in which he recited, chapter and verse, the record of Stalin's misdeeds during his later years.

Why did Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders decide to break with Stalinism so abruptly? For internal purposes, the bosses in the Kremlin wanted to be relieved of the heritage of hate which devolves on their regime from that of Stalin. They also realized that over-centralization, maintained by the terror which developed under Stalin, was working against efficient administration. Moreover, they decided to give the appearance, not only at home but also abroad, of setting up a barrier against the emergence of a Stalin in the future, and thereby create the impression that they have actually embarked on a "new, peaceful, course."

Events following the Party Congress suggest that the anti-Stalin campaign may have gotten somewhat out of hand. Disorders broke out in Stalin's homeland, the republic of Georgia. The satellites showed striking differences in their understanding of the new Communist line. Amid this confusion, the Polish workers in Posnan rioted on 28 June, and were struck down with tanks and guns. And it was necessary for the Czech Communist Government to call a general alert to forestall a similar uprising in Czechoslovakia.

Within some of the Western Communist parties the reaction was also pronounced. They were stung by the U.S. Government's acquisition and release of Khrushchev's secret speech -- probably the first chance many of them had to read it. They broke out in a rash of statements critical of the present-day Soviet leaders.

At this point, party discipline began to assert itself. The Soviet leaders published a resolution explaining and defending the downgrading

of Stalin, but to some, it fell short of the "full Marxist explanation." For example, they side-stepped the fundamental issue of how a system which is purportedly based on scientific law, can produce a Stalin. They tried to weasel out of responsibility for Stalin's abuses, by claiming that many of the errors were unknown to the present leaders during his lifetime, and that, in any case, an attempt to remove him, quote: "would not have been understood<sup>d</sup> by the people." End quote.

Pravda, the Soviet Party mouthpiece, has indicated that the Soviet Party has, for the time being at least, tried to close the debate on the causes and implications of Stalinism. (They will not be permitted to keep the debate closed.) Pravda has stated the limits beyond which "democratization" will not be carried, emphasizing that there can be no question of freedom of the press in the Western sense, or of a multi-party system in the USSR. Pravda states: quote "the Communist party was, is, and will be the one and only rule of thought, the one to express the ideas and hopes of the people -- the leader and organizer throughout the entire struggle for Communism." End quote.

Back off and take a good look at all of the facts -- what would you estimate -- has the leopard really changed its spots? I submit that the mere burial of outward forms of Stalinism has in no way altered the ultimate objective. In fact, there is really a relatively small step between Stalin and Lenin, who is held up as the model today. It is a misconception to believe that the elements of the Communist system are the consequence of one devil who happened to conjure the system.

If so, what does the future hold in this so-called turnabout? As one foreign Communist expressed it, the revelations of the secret Khrushchev speech had deprived the Kremlin of the "mystique" of the Soviet cause which could never be recovered. He remarked, "Kremlin rulers might bribe, finance and corrupt foreign Communists in an endeavor to control them but they could never again enjoy, to the same degree at least, the loyalty to the Soviet Union as the leader of a "holy cause."

There is one thing certain, the Soviet leaders have raised hope in the people of their satellites -- hope which will become harder to dampen. In the process, they have started what may become a dangerous chain reaction, and in the long run, they may achieve results they neither anticipated nor desired.

I appreciate very much the privilege of sharing these ideas with you. Thank you for your generous hospitality.