

# Our Barricade Against Peking Is Crumbling

First of two articles.

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THE UNITED NATIONS begins its 19th General Assembly session Tuesday with 112 member nations in their seats and three more approved for admission. But this roster does not include the one nation which accounts for one-fourth of the world's people, which is the real focus of most of today's tensions in Asia and which just recently exploded itself into the world nuclear club—Communist China.

China never has rapped on the U.N. door and never has even indicated that she would accept if asked to join. And since 1950, the United States has taken the lead in seeing to it that China never was asked.

"The United Nations is not a reform school," Secretary of State Dean Rusk declared a few weeks ago in making it clear that until China showed some peaceful intentions, American opposition would not budge.

THE CHINESE representation question probably won't come before the U.N. for debate until early next year. And when it does, the consensus is that American opposition once again will prevail.

But many U.N. representatives now say that this will be the last such year. And even some American officials concede that the latest motion, co-sponsored by Cambodia, Algeria, Guinea, Mali, Congo-Brazzaville and Albania, may gain a majority vote while going down to defeat.

That is possible because of the gimmick devised by the United States in 1961 that makes the China issue an "important question" requiring a two-thirds vote of approval under the rules of the U.N. Charter.

THERE ARE SEVERAL reasons why time may now be running out on America's China policy:

• Many nations have long warned that if China were not asked into the U.N. before she became a nuclear

power, she might prefer to hold on to her outlaw status in order to remain free of test ban and disarmament agreements. Because China's September test shot could still be five to ten years short of actual nuclear armament, these U.N. members think that China still may be converted.

• There are reports at the U.N. that more and more delegates are abandoning their concern about admitting Communist China to co-membership with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist China—"little Taiwan with its 11.5 million people."

• Even though the Communists invented the phrase, some of the United States' own friends are beginning to question whether the American policy of isolating China has not resulted in China isolating the United States.

BILATERALLY and historically, United States-China relations were once excellent. America was the one big Western nation never to stake out a territorial claim on the Chinese mainland. Instead, this country provided China with missionaries, educators, schools and hospitals and even refunded the indemnity for Boxer Rebellion damages in order to provide scholarships for Chinese students.

But relations soured fast after the Communist takeover of China at the end of World War II. With its diplomats harassed, the United States pulled out of the mainland in 1949. Bad relations became impossible relations after 1950 with the Korean War and the subsequent Chinese debouchement into the Korean Peninsula.

Then came the "witch-hunt." In hindsight, a group of conservative Americans decided that Chiang Kai-shek was not driven off the mainland by Communist force but by American treachery. The "traitors" had to be the State Department's old China hands.

The conservative group, which became known as the "China Lobby," equated American loyalty with being pro-Chiang. Sens. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) and Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.)

began investigations. Members of the State Department's China service were either fired or benched. Time is only now letting the wounds heal.

But the myth of the "China Lobby" has lived on to intimidate any American policy maker who might be thinking of a change. The assumption has been that the "China Lobby," Congress and that vague entity "the people" would rise in wrath.

WHAT IS THE reality behind the myth? Of the people most prominently identified with the "China Lobby," Sens. McCarran and McCarthy, as well as Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.), are dead. Sens. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) and William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) are obscurely out of office.

Of the military members, Gens. Claire Chennault and Patrick J. Hurley are dead; Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer and Adm. Arthur W. Radford are retired. Of the civilian officials, Ambassador William C. Bullitt, Pennsylvania Gov. George A. Earle and Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, are long retired.

Of the private citizens, Alfred Kohlberg, the importer of Chinese lace handkerchiefs who headed the American China Police Association, is dead; Henry R. Luce, publisher of Time, Inc., now takes a less active role in his organization; his wife, Clare Boothe Luce, recently did a public turnabout on United States-China policy; William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) Union-Leader, has lost voice in his own state, and author Freda Utley, the frequent congressional witness, is now reintroducing herself at Washington cocktail parties.

The one member of the "China Lobby" still active, former Rep. Walter H. Judd (R-Minn.), a onetime missionary doctor in China, now speaks for the "Committee of One Million," a group which one American official guardedly called "a term rather than a reality."

The august Council on Foreign Rela-



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tions is said to have found, in a survey of public opinion to be published next spring, that the American people are either indifferent or apathetic about America's China policy.

IT WAS THE Korean War that hardened the American attitude toward Communist China. Yet after that war was over, on Nov. 11, 1954, the late President Herbert Hoover was quoted by the *Farmers Union Herald* as declaring: "The United States can't go on forever ignoring Communist China . . . I think eventually we'll have to work out some kind of arrangement whereby we can start up some trade with them."

President Kennedy is said to have confided to a few of his advisers that he intended to change United States-China policy during his second administration, but he never spelled out how.

President Johnson's views on China policy are unknown to Government officials. In 1958, when Mr. Johnson was Senate Majority Leader and a resolution was considered to involve American military forces in the defense of Nationalist China's frontier

island of Quemoy, Mr. Johnson declined to commit himself.

TODAY, United States-China policy is complicated by the heavy American commitment to the defense of South Viet-Nam, an area where Communist North Viet-Nam aggression is at least encouraged by China, if not physically assisted. Yet in candid moments, American officials acknowledge that their opposition to China's admission to the United Nations cannot last too much longer.

Such staunch friends as Britain have cited the arguments that China, after all, is the de facto government of 700 million Chinese on the mainland; that the United Nations, unlike the ill-fated League of Nations, was organized on the "universality" principle in order to have the bad boys inside with the good in the belief that they would then be subject to good influence.

Yet at the moment, American officials indicate that the United States not only will oppose any move to admit China to the U.N. General Assembly; it also will oppose any invitation to

seat China in a U.N. disarmament or nuclear test ban session.

Presumably China wouldn't want to be included in such discussions, but she can afford to look sorrowfully willing if she is sure that the United States will keep her from being invited.

A WEEK AGO, George F. Kennan, former American Ambassador to both the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, wrote in the *New York Times* magazine:

"It is one thing for us to decline to share the responsibility for bringing Peking into the U.N. It is another thing to conduct a campaign to keep it out—and to risk unnecessary prestige defeats for ourselves in the event that the decisions eventually go against our wishes.

"We must remember that over the long run, after all, both diplomatic recognition and U.N. membership are the normal conditions of international life for a great nation such as China, and both must be expected to ensue sooner or later. We will be ill-advised to place ourselves too demonstratively in the path of the inevitable."