

MEMORANDUM

December 12, 1951

TO: Mr. Alan Valentine  
FROM: George H. Greene, Jr.  
SUBJECT: OVERSEAS CHINESE CONTACTS BRANCH

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3828  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
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The purpose of this Branch is to develop contacts with both "overseas" Chinese (Chinese of the second and third generations born in the United States and in Asian countries outside of China) and Chinese refugees, travelers and business men in the United States and outside of China, in order to influence them to work with the Committee in various ways to combat communism. It was contemplated that their services might be utilized on a voluntary, paid or subsidized basis to provide literary contributions to be published or assist in policy consideration; that such Chinese might serve as staff members, correspondents or channels of communication to the mainland of China to influence the promotion of pro-western democratic sentiment for a purely national, as opposed to a Soviet-dominated, Government of China.

The Branch is thus far understaffed even in terms of its projected chart of organization. Dr. James M. Henry, Chief of the Branch, was formerly Chancellor of Lingnan University in Canton, and one of the best known and best loved American educators in China. He was pre-eminent both as a Cantonese linguist and in his wide acquaintance in South China. Unfortunately, high blood pressure incapacitated him at least temporarily for service with the Committee, but a recent letter indicates hope that he may be able to rejoin the Committee in January.

Mr. L. K. Little, Associate Chief of the Branch, and New York Representative of the Committee, served for thirty-six years with the Chinese Maritime Customs, having retired in 1950 as Inspector General of Customs, the highest position attainable by any foreign official in the Chinese Government. Mr. Little is, therefore, especially qualified to carry on contacts in his wide field of acquaintance among present and former Nationalist officials. He is due to return next week from a trip to Formosa in connection with his honorary appointment as Advisor to the Nationalist Ministry of Finance, with the expectation that he will resume his duties in New York.

Mr. John J. Waldron, Deputy Chief of the Branch, was for many years a rug manufacturer, exporter-importer, and insurance agent in Tientsin, where he was well known and respected in both Chinese and American official and business circles. He is particularly apt in gaining the confidence of the Chinese and has been successful in his contacts in San Francisco in making friends for the Committee and

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constructively influencing Chinese through the power of suggestion. Partly because of the absence of Dr. Henry, I have worked closely with Mr. Waldron in the development of his contacts.

The Committee's relationships with Chinese are complicated by the factionalism existing among non-communist Chinese. Thus the development of a constructive program to combat communism in China is rendered more difficult by the fact that the Nationalist Government of China is a one-party government under unitary leadership, while many dissident groups of Chinese seek a voice in the government, or represent themselves as potential third force governments, or seek American influence to bring about democratic reforms in the Nationalistic Government, or to create a unified front of all anti-communist Chinese elements.

Generally, the Committee has sought to avoid involvement in the internal politics of China and to avoid taking the leadership in bringing the various elements together. Although the Chinese generally tend to think in terms of leadership of the various groups the Committee obviously cannot nominate a leader and supply the statesmanship and wherewithal to build him up as the unifying force among the Kuomintang and dissident groups.

The premise on which the Kuomintang stands in respect to cooperation with dissident groups is that the latter should first repent of their waywardness and accept the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. Those minor parties which have tried to cooperate and are now represented in the Nationalist Government do not hold sufficiently important positions to give it the character of multi-party government. The other dissident groups which have not joined the government generally maintain that the Kuomintang should first institute further democratic reforms in the government and allow the dissident groups the opportunity of responsible minority participation in the government. However, the Kuomintang leadership does not accept the concept of a loyal opposition within the government, and the Generalissimo continues to hold the reins of control of the Government, the Party, the Armed Forces and the Secret Police, effectively, within his own hands. Thus, as matters stand, the only possible basis for cooperation in forming a united front of the Kuomintang and dissident groups would appear to be acceptance of the general principles of the Generalissimo's leadership, opposition to communism, a Government of, by and for the Chinese as opposed to Soviet domination, and a long-range program of more thorough-going democratic reforms, and economic and social improvements. Since each group considers itself wronged - and, therefore, to be conciliated - it does not seem likely that the desired united front could be brought about by the initiative either of the Kuomintang or of any one or several of the dissident groups.

Thus, it is necessary to look to some other source for the initiative of such a movement. Of the various possibilities, it would appear the <sup>most promising</sup> might be the non-political groups, such as a returned students organization in Hong Kong or Southeast Asia, a Chinese Medical Society or Chinese Society of Engineers, and Overseas Chinese organizations. Once the initiative was taken the various political groups might then endorse it, so that it might snowball into a Chinese irridentist movement to bring about the restoration of China to a truly national government of all non-communist parties.

This is the intangible substance of the project named "Seminar of Chinese Intellectuals" in the Committee's October 9 Status Report. It is perhaps the most difficult and at the same time possibly one of the most important in our program - one that requires careful master-minding and step-by-step development. The general stages through which the project might go would appear to be:

1. Implanting the idea in the minds of the leaders of various non-political groups;
2. A period of pro and con discussion of the idea among the various groups and in Chinese newspapers and periodicals;
3. The definition of the principles, aims, objectives and program within a general area of agreement, and the elimination of controversial items;
4. The discussion, preparation and circularization of an agenda of a meeting of representatives of all interested groups and agreement thereon;
5. Meetings of various groups separately to discuss the agenda;
6. Comparison of results of the various meetings and preparation of an agenda for a meeting of all group representatives.

Obviously, there can be no clearly defined course laid out for the development of this project, but only a general groping in the direction of the desired aim. The important steps to be taken at this point appear to be the establishment of contacts with many and various groups of non-communist Chinese, including writers, newspaper editors, overseas Chinese organizations, professional organizations, student and college alumni clubs, learned societies, and others, to implant the idea and stimulate discussion of it. Relations with Chinese newspapers and periodicals, which are to serve as media for the public discussion of the idea, should be developed, and perhaps some form of support of these media should be devised, such as our subscription to The Young China Daily News

for circulation to Chinese students in this country. Monopolization by or exclusive identification of the idea with any one newspaper or organization should be avoided, and constructive, rather than destructive, criticism should be encouraged. Taking one step at a time, the next step should become clearer. The Branch will probably not be able to observe progress in this program except by piece-meal subsidiary projects in the development of relations with parties, information media and groups, but by such gradual progress excessive optimism will not be built up to disappointment.

Several groups and individuals have already indicated endorsement of the idea, including the Chinese medical doctors in association with the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China; Dr. Hu Shih, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States; Dr. Y. C. Mei, a member of the Kuomintang and President-in-exile of Tsinghau University of Peiping; and Chinese newspapers in San Francisco and New York. In this connection, it will be interesting to hear Mr. L. K. Little's report of his recent contacts in Formosa. He and the other members of the Branch will no doubt be able to lay out their program from this point.

The foregoing is merely the gist of the Overseas Chinese Contact Branch's program. Many treatises have been and could be written of Chinese political movements and theories. Out of the amorphous mass of such things probably one central fact would stand out -- that the writings and theories of Dr. Sun Yat-sen have taken greater hold on the imaginations of modern Chinese political thinkers than those of any other Chinese leader. The Kuomintang is supposed to be the testamentary legatee of Dr. Sun, but has departed from the practice of his instruction. On the other hand, the Chinese communists have banned the teachings of Dr. Sun's political philosophy, but have not yet dared to attack his principles in their propaganda. This may suggest a central theme on which information programs may be developed to rally non-communist dissident elements in a unified front. The re-emphasis of this theme has already begun, in the Young China Daily News, which was founded here in San Francisco by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Whether or not it can be made sufficiently appealing and dynamic again remains to be seen.