

*BY 115*

January 15, 1952

MEMORANDUM

TO: *[Handwritten initials]*

FROM: John Devine *[Handwritten initials]*

SUBJECT: Opinion of PAO Conference on Activities of CFA

Attached are two copies each of (1) Mr. Barrett's comments on CFA which were presented at the PAO's meeting in Baguio and (2) a memorandum concerning CFA prepared by those in attendance at the meeting.

Copies of these papers have previously been sent to your agency. The first was attached to a December 18 memorandum to Mr. Wisner from Mr. Barrett. The second I sent to you on January 2. Additional copies are being sent at this time so that a copy of each memorandum can be sent to Dr. Valentine in compliance with a request made to Mr. Barrett by Dr. Valentine during their meeting here.

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Attachments: (4)  
 Copy of Mr. Barrett's Comments on CFA presented at PAO's Meeting in Baguio and  
 Copy of Meader's Memo to Mr. Barrett dtd. 12/14/51

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December 14, 1951

MEMORANDUM

TO: P - Mr. Edward W. Barrett

FROM: James L. Meader, Chairman, Public Affairs Conference, Baguio, 12/10-14/51

SUBJECT: Consensus of Opinion of PAO Conference, Baguio, Regarding Committee for A Free Asia

The following is the considered opinion of the PAOs representing Australia, Burma, Formosa, Hong Kong, Indo-China, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Korea, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand regarding the purposes and program of CFA:

"CFA is publicly constituted as a private organization. It should look and act like one. There is an important role for such a private body, supplementing the activities of government, but not duplicating them. As a private organization, CFA is in a position to reach groups in the Far East which are reluctant to become associated with U.S. government sponsored activities or groups with which the U.S. government cannot associate itself, including but not limited to extreme nationalist and leftist groups. CFA, by supplementing but not duplicating government activities, can obtain the active cooperation of American individuals and organizations both at home and in the Far East regardless of political affiliation. CFA can do these things, however, only if it preserves publicly its private character and avoids overt connection with official agencies or activities which, because they duplicate those of government, would tend to associate CFA with government.

"CFA has the option of appearing as a purely anti-Communist organization without regard to any distinction between the various brands of leftist and theoretical Communist dogma on the one hand and the imperialist fact of the power aims of the Kremlin and Peiping on the other; or CFA can make the distinction between these two things, tying its campaign to an attack on Kremlin and Peiping imperialism. The former course would gratuitously shut CFA off from precisely some of the most important Asian target groups it ought to hit-- leftist and fellow-traveling Asian intellectuals, students, labor leaders and some government officials. It is recommended that careful consideration be given to the latter course for CFA which would enable it to drive hard against the Kremlin and Peiping power plants of communism without isolating itself from the large numbers of Asians who have come under Communist or socialist ideological influence.

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"If the foregoing considerations are valid, a review of CAF staff organization and work plans is indicated. For example, the CFA staff is organized along lines which are similar to USIE, including a press and publications section, a radio section, etc. Aside from the question of the venture into mass media, it may be asked if it is desirable for CFA to elaborate its internal organization in this way.

"We recommend that, in view of the manner in which CFA was organized and in view of the non-Asian character of its board of directors as originally announced, the CFA act primarily as an American steering committee which stimulates and supports projects carried out by Asian individuals and groups, the CFA remaining studiously in the background. In order to elicit any degree of enthusiasm from Asians, the CFA should, further, on a continuing basis, present the Asian point of view to Americans to as great a degree as possible.

"The following are some types of projects which we think CFA could usefully take up:

"1. Encourage Asian Communist defection. There are a good many avenues here, but the technique of personal Asian to Asian contact and infiltration into leftist and Commie groups in Southeast Asia appear to be promising. Probably the best means of encouraging defection would be the development by CFA of something for defectors to do when they have defected.

"2. Discreet cooperation with American business firms in the Far East to elicit financial support and (or) lines of action by them which would advance U.S. objectives in the Far East.

"3. Exploration of the feasibility of establishing a Chinese refugee university. This question has been under consideration in the Department for some time, and there has been general agreement that the idea, in principle, is a good one. It does not, however, appear that the project is one the Department could sponsor officially.

"4. Promote the establishment of a publication and distribution organization by means of which the creation of a favorable political climate in the Far East will be encouraged.

"5. Subsidies to, and cooperation with, Asian organizations which are going our way. As a private organization, and operating carefully, CFA would be able to make contact with various Asian organizations which remain entirely inaccessible to the Department. Later on, certain reliable Asian friends of CFA might be able to go even farther by penetrating into leftist and possibly even Commie groups in the area with a view to encouraging divergence and defection from the Kremlin line.

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"6. Arrangements and grants-in-aid to make possible "leader" exchanges among Asian countries.

"7. Financial aid and other assistance for getting suitable textbooks into Asian schools.

"8. Encouragement of effective types of cooperation between American academic, professional, and other organizations and their Asian counterparts on a non-official basis.

"9. Stimulating exploitation of special issues through existing communications media in Asia and U.S. The Peiping extortion racket among overseas Chinese is a particularly favorable example.

"10. Promotion of Asian newspapers which strive to achieve high standards of journalism and which editorially serve the long-range interests of the U.S.

"11. Encouragement of non-Communist student and faculty activities and organizations in the Far East."

The above is not offered as a complete list of the possibilities for CFA. Some of the items may on closer examination prove not to be practically feasible.

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REQUEST FOR OPINION OF PAO CONFERENCE ON ACTIVITIES OF CFA

December 12, 1951

We have in the Committee for Free Asia a group of distinguished, public spirited U. S. citizens who are well financed and exceedingly eager to do useful work in the so-called Cold War. While it is true the CFA has been the subject of some rather flamboyant publicity, its members are genuinely intent upon doing work that is constructive, with or without publicity.

There is grave doubt within the Department that the CFA's planned schedule of Chinese language broadcasts out of San Francisco will have any appreciable usefulness. It is doubted that the distinction between U.S. government broadcasts and U.S. private broadcasts means enough to make added shortwave broadcasts worthwhile.

However, it is felt that there are useful activities which CFA can perform more effectively than can government. Tentative suggestions include:

- 1) Support and assistance to deserving or "promising" Chinese now stranded in the U.S.
- 2) Sponsoring and financing work among Overseas Chinese in various lands to help convert them into a united front against the Peiping regime.
- 3) Working with U.S. business and professional men abroad to enlist them actively in anti-Communist activities. By appealing to these men's self interest in a way that U.S. Embassies often cannot do, the CFA might cause them to use their substantial influence in their overseas communities to strengthen anti-Communist forces.

- 4) Sponsoring important cultural activities of a type not now approved for government sponsorship. Example: Sending the Hall-Johnson Choir to certain countries in Asia.
- 5) Added sponsorship of book-translation programs.

It will be appreciated if the Conference of PAO's will review this tentative list, add any others that come to mind, and present a consensus as to genuinely useful functions which the CFA can perform more effectively than can government.

George Harris has been asked to confer with you on this and to present a unified document for your approval.

Edward W. Barrett