

20 November 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Radio Free Asia

The data set forth below has been extracted from a teletype message received from the Committee on November 20, 1951

1. The Voice of America is primarily a projection abroad of America, designed to win for us friends among the free and slave peoples of the world. It seeks to explain what America means, and through this explanation to give denial to the big lie of Communism.

Radio Free Asia by fulfilling the function suggested in the following quotations will supplement and complement the function of VOA.

a. The Manila Bulletin stated editorially on October 12, 1951: "Governments everywhere are suspect, for they can be sources of great evil as well as of great benefit. They are instruments of power. They can generate respect, fear or scorn according to their character. When they indulge in outright and purposeful propaganda for or against a cause or ideology they are most suspect of all. That is why American Government propaganda against Communism can never be wholly effective; but a movement generated by the people themselves can generate trust and respect where governments can not. Such is the role of the Committee for a Free Europe and its new counterpart, The Committee for a Free Asia, which is barely six months old. We have all heard of the heady and effective radio propaganda being thrown over the satellite nations of western Europe as much more effective than the Voice of America because it can operate beyond Government restrictions and say things that a Government agency could not say".

b. The Honorable Minoo R. Masani in an address to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on October 26, 1951 said: "In my country the Communist Party concentrates not on the impoverished and working people but on the intelligent. Empty minds and souls are as good a breeding ground for Communism as empty stomachs. The time is ripe in India for a vigorous counter-offensive against Communism. It is not a job the Uncle Sugar Information Services can perform by themselves. India has been flooded with Russian and Chinese Communist propaganda, and in every bookstore and on every

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street corner, not only in big cities but even in provincial towns, Soviet books and pamphlets are sold at prices that would not pay for printing. The Soviet Government is spending millions of rupees on propaganda for India. Has there been able democratic answer? So far not any. But there is one approach to this problem of filling the gap of understanding which the people of India can understand and appreciate - that is by the newly formed Committee for Able Free Asia, able committee of private citizens which has been created right here in San Francisco. These people can do more by speaking from the heart than any Government Agency could possibly do. The record of Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam make the Government approach suspect. Only by first establishing sympathetic understanding between the peoples of your country and mine, and then gradually by shaping Government policy in terms of that understanding, can Communism be defeated in India, and indeed in all of Asia. At least one great democracy understands the nature of the menace we face - the menace of world conquest by Soviet dictatorship, and is preparing to meet it."

c. The following is quoted from able memorandum of conversation with Mr. F. Karim, Government of East Bengal, Pakistan; "Inquiry was made of Mr. Karim as to his attitude toward the Committee for Able Free Asia and its purposes. The substance of Mr. Karim's reply was to the effect that our psychological approach to Asia must necessarily be supported by Uncle Sugar Government policies; and that the Asians generally were far from convinced that the Uncle Sugar Government was honestly practicing what it preached. Mr. Karim asserted that Communist propaganda had succeeded in gaining converts among the majority of Pakistan students, although he considered that Islam offered very powerful natural buffers to Marxist Dogma. In discussion of the possible psychological tactics which CPA might adopt, Mr. Karim was in hearty agreement with our tailoring the content and form of our American message to its Asian environment. He considered that the Russian method of introducing Communism in Pakistan and in other Asian countries was far subtler than ours in that their agents succeeded to able very large extent in masquerading under able purely Asian front. He was insistent that any cry of anti-Communism was valueless since the average Asian regarded it merely as an American battle cry designed to subserve Uncle Sugar military interests. Instead we must show genuine concern for Asiatic freedom as such and offer proof of the honesty of our propaganda by converting American Government policies to actions which would support preachments."

SUBJECT IS: Where Radio Free Asia Fits In

1. Radio Free Asia is not a projection of America. Nor does it attempt to explain the meaning of America.

a. RFA provides an effective platform from which free Asians can address their own people -- in terms which are mutually understood.

b. RFA does not identify itself with America. It identifies itself with Asia.

c. Like VOA, RFA presents the news. But unlike VOA, RFA presents the news with an Asian -- Not American -- viewpoint.

2. The objectives of the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia -- and the means by which each achieves its objectives -- are poles apart.

The Voice of America seeks to create a wider understanding of American Policies and ideals through an able campaign of truth.

Radio Free Asia wages psychological warfare, employing all known techniques to influence the behavior and attitude of its listeners. The propagation of the truth is but a small part of these techniques.

Behind the Iron Curtain, Radio Free Asia works to undermine the strength of the tyranny of Communism by sowing the seeds of distrust and dissension among its leaders.

In the free countries Radio Free Asia seeks to rally the forces of freedom around the principles of self-determination, economic expansion, social development and the recognition of the cultural heritage of each ethnic group.

3. The Voice of America is international and extensive -- Radio Free Asia is national and intensive.

4. The Voice of America -- after more than two years in the field is broadcasting but five and one half hours daily to China in four dialects,

Radio Free Asia plans within the same period of time to broadcast daily to China as many hours as can be developed of its particular types of programs in at least six dialects to complement the VOA programs.

5. The Voice of America programs are prepared primarily by Americans and translated into the native tongue. Radio Free Asia programs are prepared by free Nationals of the target countries in their own language.

6. The Voice of America specializes in news of events in America and the world. Radio Free Asia specializes in local news of the country to which it is broadcasting, augmenting this with international news only as it relates to the affairs of the target countries.

Lets look at the Voice of America schedule for Asia:

Column I	Column II	Column III
<u>Country</u>	<u>Time Schedule</u>	<u>Program Content</u>
China	Five and One Half Hours Daily	News, Commentaries & features (e.G., "American Economy",
	Two & One Half hours in Mandarin	"Negro Music", "American Literature, Science," etc.)
	Two hrs. in Cantonese: Thirty Mins.	
	Amoy; Twenty Mins. Swatow.	
Indonesia	Thirty Mins. Daily	US and World News & Music
Japan	Thirty Mins. Daily	Intnl. News & Commentary.
India	Sixty Mins. Daily (Thirty Mins Hindu & Thirty Mins Urdu)	
Thailand	Thirty Mins Daily	World News & Commentary.
Burma	Fifteen Mins Daily	News & Commentary.
Malays	Fifteen Mins Daily	News & Commentary

There would appear to be considerable need for a supplementary pattern of intensive propaganda programs to meet the voluble outpourings of the Communist Voice.

Radio Free Asia plans a program pattern that will be intensive -- both in quality and quantity.

Radio Free Asia is Essential in the Present crisis

1. Because it is not an official governmental voice. The very uniqueness of this fact provides its greatest effectiveness among Asians who, almost without exception, have never known anything but governmentally-controlled broadcasting. Many Asians are peculiarly sophisticated about propaganda, and for good reason. They have been intensively

bombarded by governmental propaganda as no other peoples on earth -- particularly by the Japanese and the Russians. A non-Government voice has an undeniable advantage in penetrating this conditioned defense.

There are reports of widespread anti-American sentiment in Asia. This is a distinct disadvantage to the Voice of America in the conduct of political warfare. It does not affect Radio Free Asia.

Since it is not an official voice it is hoped that Radio Free Asia will never be subject to the whims of a Congress that looks with suspicion upon "Propaganda".

Radio Free Asia should be able to conduct a planned operation of psychological warfare without fear that its funds will be cut midway through the program, or that its program will be subject to review by a group that is unsympathetic with its aims.

2. Because Radio Free Asia is able to conduct psychological warfare from the standpoint of the Asians:

a. Our programs are composed of information gathered from inside our target area, not outside. This is made possible by the unique sources of information available to Radio Free Asia, including: Pan Asian News Alliance Service, an information gathering network, Committee representatives in every country of Asia, intelligence data, refugees, etc.

b. For the most part, our programs will be produced in Asia with Asian talent. (This is particularly important with respect to Japan.) We can compete successfully with existing radio fare in Asia.

c. We have the all-important advantage of time because our programs will originate in Asia--and because they will be written largely by Asians -- Radio Peiping and Radio Moscow can be answered in a matter of minutes.

d. RFA features will be planned campaigns, unlike the Voice of America features. In preparation now is a down-to-earth study of the land reform program in China. Not land reform in America, but land reform in China. This is but one example. Other examples (now in preparation) are: "Big Mouth and the Professor" (Satire)
 "Bad Checks" (Communist Promises Exposed by RFA) Announcer)
 "Thunderbolt" whose name is derived from Chinese superstition that lightning will strike the perpetrator of falsehood.
 "Communist Bedtime Story" (Satiric Dialogue)

Compare these with the VOA features to China:

Chinese Poetry Selection
 Hong Kong News
 American Economy

Activities of the Overseas Chinese
American Literature
Agricultural Cooperation
Science Program
Musician's Biography
Negro Music
American Folk Songs
Children's Music
American Musicians
Theatre Music
String Music

In Radio Free Asia, drama, satire, native entertainment, and anti-Communist philosophy--prepared by Asian nationals--are coupled with Modern American broadcast techniques and showmanship. It has been conclusively proved (Japan is able good example) that American broadcasting techniques are not only acceptable to Asians, but tend to stimulate and increase interest in any given subject when used.

Historically, southeast Asia has been the crucible of revolt for China. Thousands of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia listen to Radio Peiping for news of their homeland -- only because of a paucity of other news sources. Radio Free Asia proposes to provide a reliable and extensive source of undistorted information about China for the overseas Chinese.

Radio Free Asia will be a hard-slugging weapon against Communists, showing up the perfidy of their acts not in generalizations but with specific information gathered from our correspondents.

3. Because it is desirable that private agencies enter the fight for freedom on a global scale.

Radio Free Europe is proof of the efficiency of this idea if for no other reason that the effect which it has had on improving and strengthening the attack of the Voice of America by setting a pattern of improving and strengthening the attack of the Voice of America by setting a pattern of boldness and forthrightness in exposing specific Communist treacheries.

It is inconceivable that anyone should argue that one voice can do a better job than two voices, if these two voices are linked together in such a manner that unnecessary duplication is avoided, each strengthening the other. (Note: In order to avoid duplication, we have agreed to an exchange of scripts with VOA.)

Since November 1, we have been sending copies of our scripts each

day. We have not yet received a single VOA script in return. If there were no other reason for the existence of Radio Free Asia, this one would still exist:

It provides--through the Crusade for Freedom--the answer to the question every intelligent citizen is asking himself: What can I do? Radio Free Asia and Radio Free Europe are the answer.

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