

# 冷戰時期非政府組織的中介與介入： 自由亞洲協會、亞洲基金會的 東南亞文化宣傳（1951-1959）

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本文從權力中介者角度，探討自由亞洲協會、亞洲基金會在東南亞文化宣傳中權力運作的多重面向。冷戰時期非政府組織聯結美國官方和海外華人，並因其協商位置，使其在外部的政治利益和內部的理念價值間有所衝突和權衡。本文說明非政府組織的階段性變化，從原本的經費贊助者、政策輔助者，逐漸轉變為介入者，扮演自由價值捍衛者和宣傳網絡建置者等多重角色。其次，非政府組織逐漸成為行動主體，發展出自身的宣傳理念和策略。最後，非政府組織透過跨國中介，將美方的宣傳目標，中介給香港在地的行動者，然後傳播至東南亞，形成跨國層級中介的現象。

關鍵字：文化冷戰、權力理論、中介者、亞洲出版社、友聯出版社

# **Intermediaries and Interventions of NGOs in the Cold War: Southeast Asian Culture Propaganda of CFA and TAF (1951-1959)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This article explores the multiple aspects of the power operation of the Committee for a Free Asia (CFA) and the Asian Foundation (TAF) in the Southeast Asian cultural propaganda field during the Cold War from the perspective of power intermediaries. Non-governmental organizations during the Cold War connected the United States officials and overseas Chinese, and because of their negotiating position, made them try to balance the conflicts between political interests and internal values. This study argues that NGOs gradually changed their roles from sponsors of funds and facilitators to interventionists. NGOs are active participants, acting as value defenders of freedom and advocacy network builders. Second, NGOs have gradually become the subject of action, developing their own propaganda concepts and strategies. Finally, NGOs mediate the propaganda goals of the U.S. to the actors in Hong Kong, disseminate their information to Southeast Asia and form a transnational hierarchical intermediary.

Key Words: cultural Cold War, power theories, intermediaries, Asian Press, United Press