

SECURITY INFORMATION

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20 December 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director (Plans)

VIA: Assistant Director for Policy Coordination

SUBJECT: The Committee for a Free Asia

1. Attached is a revised operating program, budget and set of administrative procedures (tabs A through F) for the Committee for a Free Asia. I am also enclosing a copy of the former operating program. The only change of any substance is with respect to Radio Free Asia. Your attention is invited to the fact that the former operating plan and the attachments were approved by ADPC's office, and by (C) for DD/P, with a notation to the effect that certain budget items might be subject to later review.

2. The revised operating plan has been reviewed by the p area of State which over a period of time has made suggestions which have been incorporated into the revised plan, and has approved the revised plan in principle (copy of memorandum of approval is attached). It has not been cleared with the Area Division of State, which has had the plan for a month and a half. I am told by Bob Joyce, however, that he expects this approval will be forthcoming. I feel it is important to get started and so I am sending it to you for approval. In doing so you might make the proviso that any suggestions the area desk of State makes will be carefully considered.

3. Despite the specific clearance from State, in my meetings with Devine I have been told informally that this clearance should not be construed as limiting any decision to be made by the ad hoc joint CIA-State group which is considering our relations with the p Area. In these meetings Devine is taking the view, which he described as Barrett's view, that many of the things listed in the attached operating program, already approved by Barrett, can be done equally as well by the State Department. I have myself taken the view that since they are worth doing and the State Department considers them worth doing, there is no harm in blanketing the target area and that in so doing we furnish cover for other operations which the Committee can do and which cannot be done by State.

4. We hope that the Committee will serve two purposes: (1) an instrument of psychological warfare through means listed in the attached operating report; (2) a vehicle for covert operations. I am also attaching a brief memorandum from the Chief, FE, indicating the importance which he attaches to the latter function.

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5. I hope you will approve the operating program so that the staff of the Committee can get under way. If the joint ad hoc CIA-State group should decide as a matter of policy to make changes in the plan, or even to abolish the Committee altogether, it will have to come as a separate decision on a policy level. In view of the P Area's approval of the operating program as it now stands, that possibility should not be a limiting factor on your present decision.

C]
Chief, International Organizations Branch

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Attachments:
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COMMITTEE FOR A FREE ASIA

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1. General Functions and Objectives

CFA is an instrumentality of OPC for the conduct of PW, including political warfare, and for providing cover for OPC covert activities.

The general objectives are, through PW, to stem the tide of Communism in Asia and to roll it back by:

- a. Encouraging native leadership friendly to the U. S.; and to deny such leadership, including professional personnel and other assets, to the Communists.
- b. Encouraging the development of organizations (political, youth, women's, labor, religious etc.) whose goals are consistent with U. S. objectives.
- c. Developing situations overtly which may be exploited by OPC covertly.

2. Guiding Principles

- a. Although initially it will not be possible, CFA should work toward removing the U. S. label - private and public - from its operations and take on an Asian coloration.
- b. CFA activities, including RFA, should be decentralized as far as possible and transferred from San Francisco to Asian countries.
- c. CFA should operate as far as possible through local groups comprised of selected Asian leaders.
- d. CFA should generally not undertake activities of the kind presently carried on or planned by USIS or other official overt U. S.

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agencies. The type of activities within the cognizance of USIS are set forth in Appendix I. However, there may be some occasions in which CFA can either take a more strident line or slant material of the type normally produced by USIS in a way which would not be appropriate to USIS. However, the USIS line has toughened and this area in which CFA can operate and in which USIS cannot has narrowed. There may also be certain activities of the type set forth in Appendix 1, which CFA may be able to undertake in certain areas more appropriately than USIS. Through close coordination in the field and in Washington, these may be spelled out and non-duplication insured.

Radio Free Asia

RFA should be guided by the general policies set forth above.

More specifically:

1. RFA should phase out broadcasts which bear the U. S. label from San Francisco. RFA should be the voice of Asia.
2. RFA should generally avoid the kind of program which VOA broadcasts and for which the U. S. Government can accept responsibility (in this regard there are few restrictions to be placed on VOA as respects the toughness of its anti-Communist line).
3. Operations should be transferred to Asia and decentralized as far as possible so that broadcasts can be made under the sponsorship of local groups through local stations, as near as possible to the target audience. Broadcasts should be made via medium wave where possible.

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4. Example of the kinds of activities which can be undertaken by RFA and which cannot be appropriately handled by VOA are:
- a. Broadcasts designed to influence political elections.
 - b. Broadcasts aimed at assisting specific local labor, youth, teachers, women or other groups, whose goals are consistent with long-range U. S. interests.
 - c. Influencing the development of leadership by giving hearing to selected leaders and withholding it from others.
 - d. Openly encouraging the subversion of the Chinese Communist Government.
 - e. Take stands against specific persons and specific groups: the corruption of a Tony Quirino; the leaders of Communist-dominated unions.
 - f. Act as a transmitter of black "plants" and "twisted" stories, under specifically defined controls.
 - g. Encourage debates and discussions, loaded as required.

5. It is recognized that news such as that provided by FANA and features such as those already broadcast directly by RFA remain important aspects of a gray psychological warfare program as well as audience-gaining assets. RFA will follow the general principle, however, of furnishing such news and features to local groups for their use rather than for direct production under the RFA label.

It is considered that the development of a strictly Asian commercial newsgathering organization, specializing in local news and not seemingly subsidized by a U. S. instrumentality, is advantageous to the U. S. Government as a whole as well as to the over-all objectives and activities of the Committee.

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3. Targets and Priorities

The targets to which CFA should address itself are in order of priority:

a. The overseas Chinese (including those in the U. S.) with particular effort directed at:

(1) Developing leaders friendly to the United States who would be able to communicate with and ultimately influence other Chinese overseas and on the China mainland.

(2) Denying leaders, professional personnel and other key personnel to the Communists.

(3) Assisting where possible in the rescue and relocation of key Chinese who are presently homeless and starving.

(4) Developing personnel who could be trained for intelligence duties; or stay-behind or other covert missions in time of war.

- b. China.
- c. Korea.
- d. Burma.
- e. Thailand.
- f. Indo-China.
- g. Malaya and Indonesia.
- h. Japan.
- i. The Philippines.
- j. India.

Targets and priorities within each country are set forth in country annexes presently in preparation.

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4. Coordination

In order to insure that CFA objectives are consistent with national objectives and to insure non-duplication of USIS and other similar activities in the field, close coordination between State, OPC and CFA is essential. Adequate arrangements exist for coordination between State and OPC at the Washington level. Machinery for field coordination will be worked out as the program develops.

Equally important is the need for close coordination between CFA and OPC activities in the field to insure non-compromise of OPC covert operations and to define fields of activity for CFA and OPC. An initial statement of OPC-CFA relationships is set forth as Appendix II.

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APPENDIX I

* Listed below are examples of activities undertaken by the Department of State and/or ECA. Normally the association of such activities with the U. S. government is either acknowledged or if not, the association if it became known would not embarrass the U. S. government or discredit the activity.

a. The Voice of America broadcasts.

b. Contracts for purchase of published materials for overt distribution abroad, including subscriptions to magazines, purchase of additional copies of books, pamphlets or other printed material prepared by foreign organizations, publishing houses, trade unions, et cetera.

c. Contracts for dissemination of information materials such as posters, pamphlets, or leaflets, motion picture films, still photos, exhibits, et cetera.

d. Contracts with publishers, motion picture producers, and other producers of information media for production of materials for foreign distribution.

e. Direct production and dissemination of material which may be attributed to the United States Government without serious embarrassment or produced and/or disseminated without attribution to any source.

* Extracted from USIS publication dated November 1, 1951, Subject: USIS and Indigenous Operations.

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APPENDIX II

OPC-CFA Relationships

CFA activities and its relationships with individuals and organizations in Asia will normally be open, admitted and attributable except under those circumstances where the cooperation of such individuals and organizations is conditioned upon a confidential relationship or where open support, at least in the initial phases, would impair the proposed activity.

CFA will, however, introduce no confidential relationship involving an activity which is not consistent with its announced objectives and for which it could not therefore risk exposure.

CFA may not engage in other types of clandestine or unconventional warfare without prior specific headquarters approval.

No restrictions will be placed upon CFA's overt information-gathering activities. Certain restrictions must, however, be placed on operational aspects of its program -- political and psychological warfare -- and on confidential activities.

Field coordination between the covert station chief and a witting representative of CFA will be required both for purposes of mutual assistance and to avoid impairment of the covert mission by CFA overt activity.

CFA will not, however, be subject, except in emergency situations, to the operational control of the area station chief. In case of conflict between the station chief and the CFA representative, the issue will be resolved by the CFA and OPC at the headquarters level. The views of the station chief, however, are important to the proper development of CFA operations and should be available to the CFA field representatives.

OPC does not take the position that CFA cannot tap covert resources and in fact assumes that both the covert missions and CFA must largely utilize the same assets within certain areas. Any approach by CFA to a covert contact or group must, however, be coordinated in advance at the field or Washington level.

The method of field coordination may vary according to local conditions.

In addition to field coordination (which in most areas will not be possible until the development of a CFA field staff), arrangements will be worked out for coordination between CFA and OPC at the Washington level.

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All CFA witting representatives proceeding to the field will be briefed prior to their departure until further notice at Washington headquarters or by OPC representatives traveling to San Francisco.

OPC assumes responsibility for the counter-espionage protection of CFA.

Operations involving the use of CFA as cover for OPC covert missions will require Washington approval.

All communications of a covert nature between CFA and its field representatives must presently be transmitted through OPC covert channels. Other communications arrangements will be developed after further study.

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