

28 September 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: CIO

SUBJECT: Committee for A Free Asia, Programs & Planning

1. The Committee for a Free Asia was launched as a public enterprise on 18 May, 1951. Over four months have elapsed since that time. Rapid expansion of physical facilities has taken place, including ample office space and radio studio in San Francisco, an office in New York and a small office at Stanford. 72 of the projected 161 positions in the organization have been filled. Radio Free Asia is on the air with three consecutive twenty-five minute programs of news and news commentary in Cantonese, Mandarin and English, beamed over RCAC to Manila and broadcast by medium wave toward China from there. A thousand tons of newsprint were given to the Korean Government to print vitally needed elementary school textbooks. Tak-tser Rinpoche, eldest brother of the Dalai Lama of Tibet has been welcomed to this country and is being cared for as an honored guest while undergoing medical treatment. It is planned to join with the China Institute in establishing a student reception center at the University of California. There have been various dinners and publicity activities. A number of projects are being considered. But as yet there has been no approach made toward framing an overall program. The Committee has not as yet charted its course nor even defined its destination except in the most general terms. This must now be done, in order that its operations may be fitted into a well-formed plan and in order, also, that position and progress may be plotted and measured from time to time.

2. CFA is, of course, the creature of OPC/CIA and its missions objectives and operations must be in consonance with the missions and objectives of OPC. It is not the purpose of this paper, however, to discuss the relationship of OPC to CFA and how CFA shall accomplish its actual - and covert-mission. This paper is devoted to a statement of the overt mission of CFA. That mission is to engage in psychological warfare in the informational field against communism in Asia. The statement of position, the targets, methods and priorities and the universal program, which now follow have been prepared with the provisions of NSC 48/5 and the OPC Cold War Plan for the FE Division clearly in mind and nothing herein proposed is believed to run counter to the requirements of those papers. This paper is intended for the consideration and discussion of the Committee itself, and is designed to be readily capable of being sterilized for use with unwitting personnel.

3. Under the directives and subject to the policy guidances dictated by Washington, CFA's overt mission is to bring to bear upon Asia and its peoples all of the pressure of free discussion, the dissemination of facts and ideas and all other weapons of the intellect and the emotions which may be effective in persuading or captivating the minds of Asians, and putting those minds to work toward the accomplishment of United States Foreign Policy

DOCUMENT NO. \_\_\_\_\_  
NO CHANGE IN CLASS.   
 DECLASSIFIED  
CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S C  
NEXT REVIEW DATE: 2010  
AUTH: MR 78-2  
DATE: 18 JUN 1980  
REVIEWER: [ ]

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objectives in Asia. The planning for this involves; a, A determination of those foreign policy objectives; b, A selection of targets; c, A choice of methods; and d, An assignment of priorities.

4. Reduced to their most simple form, the foreign policy objectives of the United States in Asia are to defeat and eradicate the influence of the USSR in Asia and to cause to be established stable, independent and responsible national states friendly toward the United States and dedicated to a course of peace with other states and enhancement of the public welfare of their peoples. Of necessity, this entails the eradication of international communism as it now exists as a weapon of Russian imperialism.

5. The targets are, in order of their importance: a, China (including Manchuria) and North Korea; b, Southeast Asia; c, Japan, the Philippines, India and Siberia. China is now dominated (as is North Korea) by a communist regime which is subjecting it to a ruthless and coldly impersonal regimentation and indoctrination designed to weld it solidly into a Russian empire, as part of a Russian plan for control of the entire Eurasian landmass. The blackout of freedom of discussion, of freedom of knowledge and learning of the free dissemination of truth must be breached and dispersed, as a prelude to the destruction of the communist regime. After China comes Southeast Asia, where the insidious appeal and influence of communism must be counteracted and the people shown wherein their best interests lie. Stable governments must be established and maintained. Next come the democratically-inclined, independent and more politically mature Japanese, Filipinos and Indians, whose institutions must be supported, whose faith must be secured and whose legitimate ambitions must be promoted.

6. The available weapons are many. They are all of the varied media for the exchange of ideas and information - books, pamphlets, newspapers, leaflets, plays, puppetshows, kamishibai, ballad singers, pictures, sound recordings, the radio and cinema. They also include education in all its varied forms. Those methods which display ideas most graphically and which are capable of reaching the widest audiences most effectively and rapidly must be first utilized. These are the radio, cinema, newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets, puppet shows, kamishibai or card shows, pictures generally and ballad singers. Selection will depend upon the conditions which obtain in the area or amongst the people to be reached. Beyond this, and no less important though far more slow in achieving effective impact are books, and educational activities.

7. What are the priorities? What must be done first, and when that is done, what next? The primary task, as I see it, is to establish the Committee for a Free Asia in the minds of the people, East and West, as an acceptable and effective vehicle for the accomplishment not so much of its declared objectives as the accomplishment of the aims and ambitions of the Asians themselves. Perhaps - indeed, truly - it will be necessary to crystallize and clarify these aims and objectives. But CFA must become known as a byword for a free, independent and equal society of national states in Asia and for the

enhancement and

enhancement and advancement of the individual human being in Asia. It must become completely identified with honesty, reliability, unselfish devotion to the cause of Asia and of truth, with courage, aggressiveness, objectivity and independence of prejudice, corruption, discrimination and oppression. It must be known everywhere as the champion of a fighting faith that Asia can and will be free. This is a large order. But it must be done, and done first, or CFA can never become effective. Once that has been done, and, indeed, while that is being accomplished, specific plans must be laid and specific operations undertaken for the use of selected weapons to accomplish basic objectives in the several target areas. This involves more - far more - than attacking communism qua communism or the USSR. It means the development and initiation of a positive program of constructive operations designed to replace every facet and segment of Russian influence and communist doctrine and implementation with something which the individual human beings of Asia will accept more readily and more quickly identify with themselves and their hopes and desires. The basic question is, what does Asia want? The next question is, how does CFA give it to them? In the informational field, Asia wants knowledge and the opportunity and freedom to learn. Our targets are ignorance and censorship.

8. The foregoing offers a specific program. How can this program be implemented within the framework of CFA and what are the immediate stages of advancement which can be planned for? This will now be taken up, branch by branch, within the framework of the CFA organization. This program is intended to cover the balance of the current fiscal year and to prepare for the period beyond.

9. Foreign Organizations Branch. This branch should, for the next twelve months, devote itself to the selection, assessment and where appropriate formation of these organizations which are capable of reaching into or influencing people within Communist China - and elsewhere as opportunity arises and which can most effectively acquire and disseminate information and ideas through one or more of the informational media discussed in Paragraph 6 supra. As and when such organizations are selected, the branch should determine how best they can be aided and encouraged and how best they can be used i.e; which of the media would be most appropriate.

10. Student Contacts or Relations Branch. This branch should devote itself first of all to establishing points of contact or reception to Asian students and then to establishing the mechanics of aiding, supporting and indoctrinating them, and utilizing them. See paragraph 12 infra.

11. Overseas Chinese Contacts Branch. This branch has the enormously important task of rallying to the support of a free and independent China all of the numerous and potentially powerful Chinese communities in South-east Asia, in India, Japan and the Philippines and in the United States. The first six months or more should be devoted to selecting key contacts and establishing the bona fides of the Committee and then, and not until then, should the work of organization and persuasion be undertaken.

12. Asian Residents

12. Asian Residents Contacts Branch. This branch might in fact be consolidated with the Student Contacts or Relations Branch. Its work is similar and parallel. At the same time, it should concern itself with the task of establishing good relations with Asian visitors, of entertaining Asians and generally establishing the bonafides of the Committee.

13. Editorial Branch. This branch should concern itself with developing all possible sources of material - information about Asia & Asians, processing it for use, and dispensing it through all available media. Its primary task for the next year should be the establishment of the facilities for the collection, analysis, evaluation, processing and dissemination of information, country by country and interest by interest. This is and should be the major support group. Eventually, it would support RFA also.

14. Lecture Bureau. This branch should undertake to select, train, and despatch lecturers of all types, but primarily Asians, into all countries in the Far East and communities of Asians elsewhere.

15. Publications Branch. This branch should be made responsible for all substantive publication of written material for the Committee. Its first task should be the publication of a newsletter (which could be subsequently expanded into a magazine) issued on a weekly basis, and containing material supplied by Asians and the most specific kind of promotional material for the Committee.

16. Graphic Arts Branch. This branch should be organized to assume responsibility for all forms of dissemination of information through pictures, cinema, kamishibai and the like.

17. Historical Research Branch. Better called Research Branch. As its name suggests, this branch should devote itself to the development of basic research in Asia; what it is, what it needs, where it is going.

18. Public Relations Branch. In one sense, the entire organization must devote itself to the job of public relations in Asia - the work of selling the Committee to Asia. This branch should restrict its activities and endeavors to establishing and maintaining the goodwill in the United States necessary to protect CPA's cover and to permit smooth and unimpaired operations, and to publicize the work of CPA. This branch should also be responsible for liaison with and support of the Crusade for Freedom.

19. Radio Branch -Radio Free Asia. It is believed that Radio Free Asia has a greater potential for furthering the work and accomplishing the objectives of the Committee than any other single activity. But it will require long and careful preparations and it is submitted that Radio Free Asia should engage in no active operation of any sort, other than continuation of its present limited news broadcast, for at least nine months or until such time as the most exact and thoroughgoing survey has been made of the facilities

and potentialities

and potentialities of the situation with respect to radio in the Far East and the utilization of the atmosphere electrically, electronically or otherwise for the dissemination of information.

20. The Foreign Organizations Branch, the Student Contact Branch combined with the Asian Residents Branch (Asian Contacts and Relations Branch), the Overseas Chinese Branch and the Radio Branch are or should be the effective operating branches for the implementation of the work. The Editorial Branch partakes both of operation and support. The other branches should be treated and regarded as support groups for the use of the operating branches.

21. The foregoing paragraphs 9 through 19 state the basic tasks of each branch of the Committee for the next nine months and beyond. It should now be the responsibility of each branch to list the specific undertakings which it considers necessary to accomplish the stated objective. That is to say, the Foreign Organizations Branch should compile a list of the organizations which it thinks it should contact and with which relations should be developed, and so on. In the same way, there should be a specific estimate of the money required for each proposed operation, or for each group of operations, with the total not exceeding the totals allocated under the FY1952 budget.

22. The Committee will be known by the friends it makes as well as by the things it does. This first year should be devoted to establishing itself in the eyes and minds of Asian everywhere. The operations it engages in should primarily be those which sell it to Asia as The Committee for a Free Asia, whether those operations be substantive, exploratory or preparatory. The specifics of who and what and where and how must be left to the men and women who staff the organization, in cooperation with and under the guidance of OPC. But there must not be any further haphazard and uncoordinated launching into activities merely for the sake of doing something. Every dollar and every hour should be devoted to the accomplishment of one further step toward the goals we have fixed along the course we have chosen and using the methods we have selected.

[ Chief, FI/DTDORIG ]