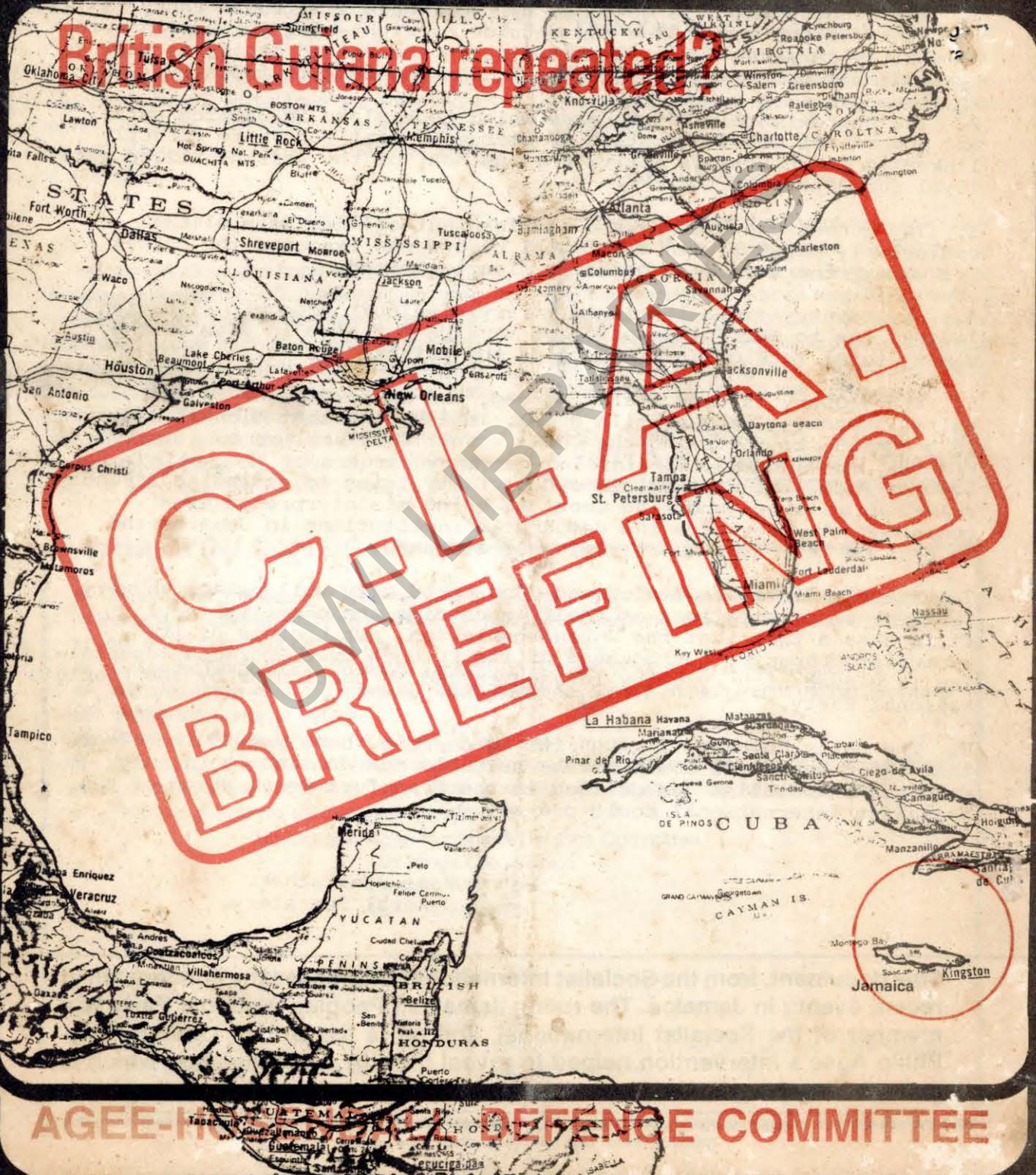


JAMAICA DESTABILISED



25p

British Guiana repeated?



AGREE-ING DEFENCE COMMITTEE

To Bureau members

Circular No.B /76.

THE SITUATION IN JAMAICA

-7 OCT 1976

CONFIDENTIAL

I attended the Congress of the People's National Party of Jamaica in Kingston in September and I have to make the following observations :

1. The country which is governed by the People's National Party is threatened both from inside and outside by right-wing forces financed by wealthy Jamaican businessmen living in the United States as well as by transnational companies, in particular the Bauxite industry.
2. The approximately 300 murders which took place in Jamaica until the government imposed a state of emergency last June were directly linked to these hostile activities and most of the persons killed were loyal supporters of the PNP.
3. The gunmen captured by the Jamaican authorities were almost exclusively persons with a criminal record who executed the crimes for money, the source of which is clearly abroad.
4. The country finds itself in a very difficult economic situation largely due to the fallen price of Bauxite but also in view of the almost total lack of investments in the private sector.
5. The country is also facing abroad, and in particular in the United States, a very hostile press, insinuating that Michael Manley is a communist, following the Cuban model. This has led to a decline of tourism, one of the major foreign currency earners of the nation.
6. The fact that Jamaica has successfully tried to establish friendly relations with neighbouring Cuba is being misinterpreted as a conspiracy to overthrow the democratic institutions in Jamaica and to replace them by a Cuban style dictatorship.
7. The fact is that Jamaica and Cuba could very well establish very fruitful trade relations as their industries are complimentary. It is also a fact that the Cuban revolution, not because of its communist character but because of its triumph over American imperialism, is viewed with sympathy in Jamaica and in particular by the People's National Party.
8. The party however, through its leadership, have made quite clear that the Cuban model would not be suitable for Jamaica where only democratic socialism as defined in the Frankfurt Declaration of the Socialist International could prevail.

Hans Janitschek.
General Secretary.

This document, from the Socialist International, expresses the concern felt at recent events in Jamaica. The ruling Jamaican Peoples' National Party is a member of the Socialist International, and so is the British Labour Party. Philip Agee's intervention helped to reveal the CIA destabilisation which is going on in Jamaica. We must stop the Labour Government deporting him!

NO DEPORTATIONS

AGEE & HOSENBALL MUST STAY!

LABOUR HOME SECRETARY Merlyn Rees is using the Immigration Act to deport American writers Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball. He claims they are a danger to 'national security'. He has refused to give any information on the matter to MPs or the Public.

WHO ARE THEY?

Mark Hosenball is a journalist for the London 'Evening Standard'. Philip Agee is a writer and a former CIA agent. Both have lived in this country for years. They are members of the National Union of Journalists.

WHAT HAVE THEY DONE?

They are not allowed to know what the specific charges are against them. Both have written many articles about the CIA. Philip Agee in particular has helped people from other countries to name CIA agents in their own lands. They helped to stop CIA subversion of democratic countries. Just three weeks ago, Philip Agee returned from Jamaica, where he named nine CIA agents who are organising disruption, violence, murder and arson to overthrow the Peoples National Party

government of Michael Manley. Like the Labour Party, the PNP is associated with the Socialist International. For helping save a sister party, Philip Agee is being deported!

THE IMMIGRATION ACT

The two are being thrown out without charge or trial. Other British journalists have co-operated with them — nothing has happened to them. Agee and Hosenball can be victimised because they are foreigners.

WHAT DOES THE CIA DO?

In his book 'Inside the Company — CIA Diary' (Penguin), Philip Agee began the process of exposing the CIA. American Congressional and Senate hearings have since revealed something of its bribery, manipulation, and interference in the affairs of political parties and unions, and planned murder and assassination. Should the British government rely on and help these people?

THE ISSUE AFFECTS US ALL AND
THREATENS OUR RIGHTS OF FREE
EXPRESSION AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Write to Merlyn Rees, Home Office, Whitehall, London SW1. Ask him to rescind the deportations. Ask your MP to seek an interview with Mr Rees asking for an explanation. Pass resolutions of support in your union branch or Labour Party.
- Picket the Home Office, Whitehall, London, SW1 every Wednesday between noon and 2 pm.
- A Day of Action, involving meetings, readings, theatre, etc. is planned for Wednesday December 8th. Watch the press for details.
- Order and distribute this and other 'CIA Briefings'.
- Join the growing band of researchers seeking out and documenting the truth about illegal intelligence activities subverting the political process in Britain and throughout the world.
- Financial support is also urgently needed.

Contact the: Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee,
186 Kings Cross Road,
London, WC1X 9DE
Tel: 01-278 4575

CIA Briefings

1. US Congress Intelligence Cttee Abstracts. 20p.
2. Jamaica Destabilised. 25p.
3. Covert Action: What Next? PHILIP AGEE 30p.

Further issues are planned on Covert Action and subversion in Britain and abroad. Contributions and other assistance from researchers in the field are welcome.

Briefing orders to: Defence Cttee. Postage extra on orders of less than 10 copies.

WHY JAMAICA?

PHILIP AGEE has named CIA agents throughout the world and has helped others to do so. Naming them neutralises their effectiveness as agents; once they are known, they cannot operate. One current centre of the CIA's attentions is Jamaica, where elections are to be held on December 15th, 1976. The ruling 'Peoples' National Party, a member party of the Socialist International, has faced a year of violence stirred up by supporters of the conservative opposition Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). There has been world-wide interest in Jamaica, but as this pamphlet indicates, not much accurate information. What was troubling the Socialist International, as the document reproduced on the inside front cover indicates, also concerns Jamaicans and people in this country. There has been evident intervention in Jamaica by outside interests.

Philip Agee's contribution, on his visit to the island in September, was to outline the role of the CIA in this intervention, to alert people to the problems and perhaps to save the PNP government. In doing so, he undoubtedly offended the bauxite interests and other international firms backing the JLP. Philip Agee deserves a medal from the Labour government, not deportation. Whose interests does our government serve?

This pamphlet reprints an article, from the current issue of the American magazine 'Counterspy', by Ellen Ray, one of the magazine's editors, who accompanied Philip Agee on his visit. Such effective work against the CIA may be why Philip Agee — and Mark Hosenball — are being deported. There is no question that either is a threat to the interests of the people of this country, although they may have offended business interests and stepped on the toes of some civil servants by their writings.

We also print an article by Andrew Pollak of *Latin America Newsletter* as a general introduction to Jamaica. Andrew Pollak has also recently visited Jamaica.

Finally, on pages 12 to 15, we reproduce a series of cuttings from the *Sunday Times* and other newspapers which document CIA intervention in British Guiana — aided by British Security forces — leading to the overthrow of the Jagan Government in 1964. But even Forbes Burnham, placed in power by the British and Americans, has recently been subject to increasing pressure from the US against his attempts to develop a more independent third-world role for Guyana.

The press reports show that there are many parallels between the recent history of Guyana and the situation now developing in Jamaica.

UNDER HEAVY MANNERS

By ANDREW POLLAK

THE LINKS between Jamaica and Cuba have traditionally been very close, as would be expected of two Caribbean islands with only 90 miles of water between them. Thousands of Jamaicans emigrated to the larger island at the end of the last century and the beginning of this to cut sugar cane. Most of the fathers of Cuban independence from Spain — men like Jose Marti, Antonio Maceo and Maximo Gomez — spent time in Jamaica during their periods of exile. One of the two men who led Jamaica to nationhood, Alexander Bustamante, worked for a time as a policeman in Havana.

So links between the two islands are nothing new. In fact Jamaica never broke off relations with the Castro government either before joining or while a member of the Organisation of American States. The Jamaican consulate in Havana was upgraded to an embassy when Michael Manley, in conjunction with the prime ministers of Barbados, Guyana and

Trinidad, opened full diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1972.

The technical co-operation agreement signed between the two governments in November 1975 has been generally very popular in Jamaica. It has brought between two and three hundred Cuban technicians, engineers, construction workers and doctors to Jamaica to work on a number of projects including building an agricultural school, a housing estate, a number of microdams to help fight Jamaica's perennial drought problem and training hundreds of young Jamaican workers in construction techniques.

Trade between the two countries is not large, mainly because the two economies, with their large sugar-producing sectors, are very similar. Jamaica sold Cuba 284,000 dollars worth of beer, fruit and vegetables, aluminium extrusions and sulphuric acid last year in return for just over two million dollars' worth of refined sugar and condensed milk. The latter was

sold at low prices in special government shops in the island's poorer areas.

Michael Manley's government has incurred the wrath of the United States for these perfectly normal technical and commercial links with Jamaica's closest Caribbean neighbour. More specifically, Washington has been angered by Manley's statement of support for the Cuban intervention in Angola, an intervention seen by Manley, like most Jamaicans, as the only way in which the invading army of the racist South African regime could have been stopped.

The decision to hold the election on December 15 means that the three prospective candidates held under the emergency regulations — one from the ruling People's National Party (PNP), two from the opposition Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) — will not be able to stand. More important, says Manley, is that 400 people detained since last June, many of them in connection with alleged opposi-

tion plots to 'destabilise' his left-moving government, will not be able to subject the electorate to 'massive violent intimidation'. Both the prime minister and his national security minister, Keble Munn, have periodically produced figures to show that the emergency, which was extended again last month, has been successful in bringing the crime rate down by as much as 50 per cent. Jamaica 'under heavy manners', as the emergency is called by locals, is the best safeguard against a violent election campaign, the government claims.

Many local commentators believe, nevertheless, that a higher level of violence in the past month or so has raised serious doubts about the effectiveness of the once popular emergency legislation. They suggest that the government would have benefited more from a late summer election, perhaps after the highly successful Carifesta celebrations, when the state of emergency was seen to be working. Attacks on a number of opposition candidates, as well as an incident in the Clarendon constituency, in which a JLP motorcade was fired on, a PNP office was burnt down and 10 people received gunshot wounds, showed the continuing political nature of the violence.

The rhetoric of party leaders has not helped to cool things down. Seaga continues to describe his party members in detention as 'political prisoners', although it has not gone unnoticed that the JLP has never publicly denied last June's allegations against the party's deputy leader, Parnell Charles, and prospective candidate Peter Whittingham. One of the two main themes of the JLP's election campaign is its denunciation of the Manley government as communist-influenced; this denunciation is based on Manley's attempts to forge closer links with Cuba and on such limited reforms as cheap housing projects, crash programmes to create temporary employment, land taxation, rent restrictions and sugar industry cooperatives, already referred to.

There is little doubt that for the first time since the thirties the Jamaican electorate is being faced with a genuine ideological choice. The JLP is committed to diverting public funds back into the private sector, and strengthening ties with the United States at the expense, if necessary, of the links that Manley and his foreign minister, Dudley Thompson, have so assiduously built up with Cuba and the third world in general. The left wing of the PNP, represented by such men as housing minister Tony Spaulding, party chief Donald Duncan and Arnold Bertram, Manley's private secretary, has the support of perhaps 10-15 per cent of party members.

There is a strong possibility that if Manley gets back next time it will be without

the support of the large middle-class vote which ensured his sweeping victory in 1972, but with the votes of the young poor blacks, particularly in the Kingston area, most of whom are voting for the first time, and 80,000 of whom have benefited from the government's welfare and work provision programmes. The left hopes this new mass backing will be reflected in a cabinet with a more uniformly radical bent. Most Jamaicans, however, still see Manley's presence at the head of the PNP, despite his fondness for left-wing rhetoric, as their best guarantee against any drastic move in that direction if the PNP gets back in.

Seaga is on much stronger ground when he concentrates on the other main election issue, the parlous state of the economy. Finance minister David Coore said last month that Jamaica had lost some 185 million dollars since August last year in earnings from bauxite, sugar and tourism. The most recent Bank of Jamaica figures showed the country's net foreign reserves were still over 48 million dollars in deficit. Unemployment in some of Kingston's poorer areas is running as high as 50 per cent. The JLP has alleged that the government's high expenditure and high taxation policies, as well as its left-wing image abroad, have brought the business community to the verge of bankruptcy.

The PNP has accused the businessmen backers of the JLP of economic sabotage. According to mining minister Horace Clarke, over 200 million dollars have been taken out of the country illegally in the past two years. Carlton Alexander, president of the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica (PSOJ), has said that manufacturers will not increase production until after the election, as there is 'grave uncertainty' about the government's intentions towards private business. Several business leaders, such as the president of the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association, Douglas Vaz, and PSOJ executive director Anthony Abrahams, have been named as JLP candidates.

A recent poll showed a five per cent swing to the JLP compared with the 1972

WE continue our policy of providing readers with original source material so that they can make up their own minds.

The cuttings on pages 12-15 document the CIA's intervention in British Guiana. The *Sunday Times* revelations of April 1967 confirm Dr. Jagan's earlier suspicions (cuttings of Feb 1962 and Dec 1964). Under US pressure, the recently elected Colonial Secretary, Anthony Greenwood, refused to postpone the elections of December 1964 which had been planned in advance by Sandys to eliminate Jagan. Close working relations between British and US intelligence are revealed.

election results, putting the opposition party only two per cent behind the PNP. Academics from the University of the West Indies who conducted the poll attributed the swing to abstentions among disgruntled PNP supporters, and the harder work and better organisation of the JLP campaigners. One conclusion is that a low poll would seriously damage the ruling party's chances of being returned.

Meanwhile, suspicions of United States involvement in efforts to 'destabilise' the Jamaican political and economic system in order to ensure the return of a JLP government have been reactivated by the allegations of ex-CIA agent Philip Agee in September, and Cuban and Guyanese accusations of CIA connivance in the Cuban plane explosion in October. Agee alleged that a new CIA station chief, Norman Descoteaux, was appointed to Kingston in December last year, a month before the IMF riots, and at the same time as Henry Kissinger was in Jamaica — ostensibly on holiday — to try to persuade Manley to withdraw his support for the Cuban intervention in Angola. Descoteaux had previously spent two years in Buenos Aires and five years in Ecuador. Reliable sources in the security forces reported that at least three United States Vietnam veterans, all of them black and two of them Jamaica-born, were known to be organising gangs in the volatile slums of West Kingston, most of which are represented in parliament by Edward Seaga.

Also in September, the Coordinacion de Organizaciones Revolucionarias Unidas (CORU), the Miami-based Cuban exile group which claimed responsibility for both the bomb discovered on a Cuban plane at Kingston airport in July and the explosion off Barbados last month, held a congress to plan attacks on Caribbean countries friendly to Cuba. The group is understood to enjoy the tacit support of some branches of the United States intelligence community.

In the run-up to the elections the opposition to Manley clearly has at its disposal funds on a scale never before seen in Jamaican politics and out of all proportion to the resources available to the ruling PNP. This has been reflected in advertising on radio, in the Press and on street hoardings; in the distribution of leaflets and circulars on an unprecedented scale; in the bussing of activists round the countryside to give mass support to JLP speakers in even the smallest villages; payments to village elders and opinion formers; placing of false reports in the local and overseas press and the training of gunmen to operate with military precision. Jamaican industry has been in recession for two years and does not have the cash available to fund such activities: it is generally agreed that the money is coming from abroad.

CIA and Local Gunmen Plan Jamaican Coup

By ELLEN RAY

Peter Wittingham, Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) candidate for parliament, was attending his party's convention at the Montego Bay Holiday Inn on June 19, when Jamaica Security Forces arrested him. In his briefcase the police found a number of documents—later established to be in Wittingham's handwriting—which revealed the existence of a plot to overthrow the constitutionally elected government of Prime Minister Michael Manley. The code name of the conspiracy was OPERATION WEREWOLF.

It was the first hard evidence linking the conservative JLP to a wave of terrorism and violence which had plagued the Caribbean island for six months and which Manley and his Peoples National Party (PNP) believed to be the work of the JLP, acting in concert with the CIA to "destabilize" the democratic-socialist government of Jamaica.

"Werewolf is now willing to take up arms against the communist regime and purge them from our shores," one document in Wittingham's briefcase read. "Michael Manley and his Government are dedicated Communists and we intend to destroy them at all costs," stated another. But Wittingham, a former officer in the Jamaica Defense Forces, was more than a rhetorician of anti-communism; his documents also discussed operations and logistics. One, under the heading "St. Ann Area" (a north coast parish) listed: "22 trained men, 100 submachine guns, 2 barrels of gunpowder, 50,000 anti-government pamphlets."

The "Werewolf" documents, along with tapes of secret transmissions of the Security Forces found in the possession

of the deputy leader of the JLP, Senator Pearnel Charles, led the government to the conclusion that it had narrowly averted a coup by a paramilitary organization equipped with sophisticated weapons and capable of overthrowing the government by force. A week before Wittingham's arrest, a bomb factory was discovered by police in Montego Bay; 257 sticks of dynamite were seized, enough to blow up at least forty bridges or to knock out the island's power and water systems. The discovery of the bomb factory led Manley to declare a State of Emergency, which in turn led to the arrests of Wittingham and Charles.

Michael Manley has not always been under the gun. A charming, sophisticated graduate of the London School of Economics and son of the legendary Norman Manley—the man who led Jamaica to independence from the British in 1962—he did not seem cut out for the role of a revolutionary, third-world leader. Though he had been active in Jamaica's trade union movement, he was neither a Marxist nor a communist. Rather, he was someone about whom a Henry Kissinger might have said, "He's our kind."

That was before Manley announced a policy of democratic socialism in 1974. Manley came to power in 1972, ousting the long-entrenched JLP, and promising "Better Must Come." But his closest advisors were from the liberal bourgeoisie, including several who were members of Jamaica's oligarchy—"the twenty-one families." During the first two years of his administration, Manley followed a relatively conservative economic course. Many of his supporters, both the left wing of the PNP and leftists outside the party, were not satisfied; they waged what some have called "the battle for Michael's mind." Manley, being a humanist and a socialist, began to move toward the left and show a greater concern for the welfare of the island's two million inhabitants—over ninety percent of whom are descendants of slaves, and who still lived in the brutal poverty of a semi-plantation economy. The inevitable consequences of this change was a "destabilization" of the oligarchy.

At the 1974 PNP congress, Manley announced that his government would pursue a policy of democratic socialism, modeled after the policies of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere who had been a guest at the congress. Several months earlier, Manley had met Fidel Castro for the first time when he flew with the Cuban Premier to the 1973 Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Algiers. Manley later described the meeting as "one of

the great experiences of my life." Cuba and Jamaica subsequently pledged mutual economic, political, social, and cultural cooperation.

While the democratic socialist policies of the government called for "mixed" socialism, with a role for the private sector, it was difficult both to correct the huge inequities of the vast numbers of people and to tread only lightly on the toes of those whose status and position would be threatened by a firm economic overhaul of the system. Among the new policies adopted by Manley was a plan to raise taxes for the transnational aluminum companies operating in Jamaica. Jamaica, rich in bauxite which is used to make aluminum, joined with other bauxite-producing nations—Australia, Guyana, Guinea, Surinam, Sierra Leone, and Yugoslavia—to form the International Bauxite Association along the lines of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The formation of the bauxite association and the increase in taxes was of great concern to the U.S., which imports almost half of its bauxite from Jamaica, and to such corporations as Kaiser, Alcoa, and Reynolds, which have extensive investments in Jamaica.

In July, 1975, Manley and two hundred members of the PNP paid an official visit to Cuba. In a speech stressing Jamaica's commitment to its northern island neighbor, Manley said, "Every step you take, you do not take alone, because the feet of the Jamaican people are marching beside you." On his return to Jamaica, Manley went straight to Bethel Town, traditionally a JLP stronghold, where local elections were being held. He told an enthusiastic crowd that if anyone thought they could come to Jamaica to become a millionaire, he had this advice for them: "There are five flights a day to Miami." The next day, the PNP won an overwhelming victory in the election. (A reggae song titled "Five Flights a Day" soon became a big hit.)

The JLP was angered by the election results. Politics in Jamaica has always been spiced with strong-arm tactics, guns, and gangs. So it was not surprising when gunmen, known to be in the pay of the JLP, began terrorizing Manley supporters. But by late 1975, it was clear that the violence was more widespread and more sinister than the usual partisan vendettas that accompanied local elections.

The trouble was not caused just by thugs; there were indications of economic sabotage as well. Many companies cut back production and several bauxite plants announced they were planning to close down. At the same time, there were

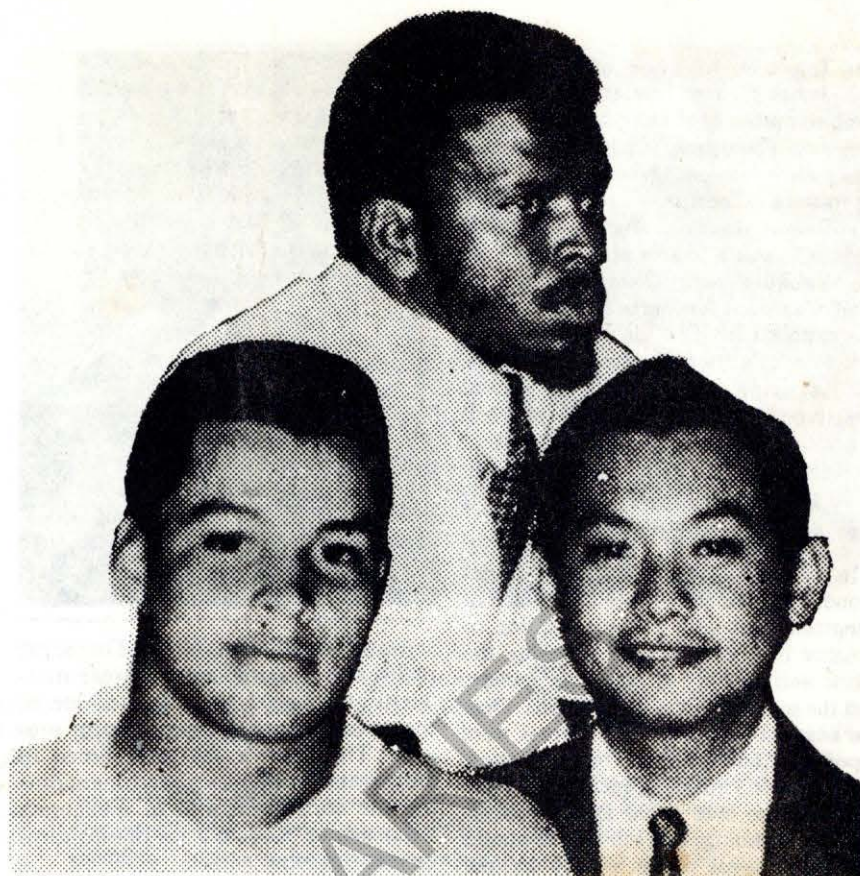
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increasing numbers of strikes by transport, telephone, and electrical workers provoked by graduates of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—known to have connections with the CIA. The JLP and the *Daily Gleaner*, Jamaica's conservative newspaper, blamed each strike, each cutback, on Manley's socialist policies. Meanwhile, as rumors of Jamaica's instability were circulated internationally, Manley found himself caught in the middle of a credit squeeze. The U.S. turned down a request for a \$2.5 million A.I.D. food grant and refused to loan additional money bilaterally to Manley's government. Wealthy Jamaicans began smuggling cash out of the country, even though it was illegal to do so. The president of an ITT-owned supermarket, Winston Wong, was convicted of having taken over \$200,000 out of the country to Canada; it is estimated that 100 times that amount was transferred out of Jamaica between January and June of this year. Jamaica's biggest industry, tourism, also began to suffer. Scores of hotels on the fashionable north coast were shut down, throwing thousands of workers out of jobs. The unemployment rate in Montego Bay rose to more than 50 percent.

Leftists, both within and outside the PNP, called for stronger controls over the capitalists who not only were taking out millions, but were refusing to reinvest in the economy. Conservatives and reformists in the party, on the other hand, urged Manley to cut back the progressive land lease, workers' cooperative, minimum wage, and adult literacy programs. But Manley refused to punish the poor. And when the attempt to defeat the left within the party failed, a concerted effort was made to sabotage the party itself.

Though charges of destabilization in Jamaica are difficult to prove — just as they were in Chile before the coup—a pattern is discernable behind the events which rocked the country for six months. The organization and planning that went into these acts of violence—political assassinations, arson against the poor and working-class communities of Trench Town, and the plot to overthrow the government through OPERATION WEREWOLF—suggest outside interference in Jamaican affairs.

The danger posed by Manley to U.S. interests was not so much in what he had accomplished through democratic socialism, but in his encouragement of the political awakening of the Jamaican people and in what he represented to oppressed peoples throughout the area. Socialism in the Caribbean could no longer be contained on one island



Three WEREWOLF plotters: from left to right, Peter Whittingham (JLP caretaker), Pearnal Charles (Deputy Leader of JLP), and Ferdie Yap Sam.

In December, 1975, a number of unusual "coincidences" occurred. On Christmas Eve, a delegation from the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) came to Kingston to request technical assistance. Shortly thereafter, Manley reportedly received a phone call from Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda who asked, at Henry Kissinger's request, that Manley not recognize the MPLA. Several days later, Kissinger himself flew in, preceded by an advance party of 75 aides. He was accompanied by his wife, his son and his dog, and was ostensibly spending the holidays with Sir Harold Mitchell at Mitchell's north coast mansion. During Kissinger's "vacation" he attended a meeting with Manley and a number of other high-level Jamaican officials and U.S. Embassy personnel. Though no information about the meeting was publicly released, it was reported by several who attended that Kissinger had come specifically to put U.S.-Jamaican relations on the line. The Secretary of State was said to have promised U.S. A.I.D. and economic relief if the policies of socialism were abandoned and relations with the MPLA and Cuba broken off. In addition, he assured Manley that the U.S. was not carrying out any CIA operations in Jamaica. (In late 1971, Kissinger personally assured the Chilean Ambassador to the U.S., Orlando Letelier—

who was assassinated in Washington this September—that the CIA was not involved in any internal Chilean "destabilization" plans.)

Not long after his meeting with Kissinger, Manley gave a speech praising Fidel Castro for having "saved Jamaica's black brothers and sisters in Angola from conquest by racist, apartheid South African imperialism."

One final, ominous event took place at the end of December, 1975. A new CIA station chief, Norman Descoteaux arrived in Kingston, replacing Thomas J. Keenan. He brought with him his wife, Judy, who was his secretary and fellow CIA worker. Descoteaux had served for five years in Guayaquil, Ecuador, and for two years in Buenos Aires. In Kingston, he joined a team of CIA officers working under cover at the U.S. Embassy. This team included:

—Joel H. Beyer, deputy chief of station; and

—Daniel J. Calloway, operations officer, both of whom had arrived the previous June;

—Brian Bennett and Kenneth Stan-

ton, Telecommunications officers;

—James W. Holt (under cover as U.S. Embassy security officer);

—Les Thompson (under cover as a Drug Enforcement Agency officer), both operations officers;

—Robert Houdek, chief political officer, who was a former staff member of the National Security Council and deputy chief of mission for Sierra Leone until he was expelled in 1974 for interfering in that country's internal affairs.

—Adrienne McKenzie, CIA secretary, lived in Kingston and was married to a well-known JLP businessman, Ian McKenzie;

—Jerzy Hauptmann, operations officer, arrived in Kingston later.

In January, 1976, the International Monetary Fund conference took place in Kingston, and with it the escalation of violence to a level directly affecting the fabric and stability of Jamaican society, and the security of the government. Over the next six months, 2,900 crimes were reported, 1,662 involving the use of guns; there were 163 murders, including 19 policemen, and over 1,000 armed robberies. Fire bombings and burning of houses and whole areas of the shanty section, Trench Town, a PNP stronghold, became common occurrences. In desperation, people in those areas blocked access to their own streets with burning tires, old cars, tree stumps and furniture, giving West Kingston an eerie resemblance to Belfast or Derry under state of siege. Residents knew the violence was coming from outside paramilitary units, and set up all-night neighborhood patrols and "no go" areas. Tragically, it was often impossible to distinguish friends from enemies and, for a time, security forces were attacked as well as the intruders.

What follows is a partial record of some of the major acts of violence during this period:

—Protesting the racist South African delegates to the IMF conference, a Marxist group, the Workers' Liberation League, along with the more progressive forces of the PNP, the Women's and the Youth organizations, led a demonstration from the hotel where the IMF was meeting to the American Consulate. After the demonstration had dispersed, the U.S. Ambassador demanded police protection for the Consulate. Four hours later the two Jamaican policemen who were stationed there were murdered. Although the press and the JLP propaganda tried to pin the killings on the left, only the police and the American authorities knew the guards had been especially



stationed there that night. The same night, two other policemen were murdered at a public housing site, one of the government's socialist reform projects. The four deaths were timed to embarrass the Manley government during the conference and to inaugurate what was to become a six month campaign of planned terror.

—In May, 50 armed men blocked off exits to the Orange Lane tenement in Trench Town and hurled molotov cocktails into the area. Residents who tried to escape were pushed back by gunfire, as were the firefighters who tried to control the blaze. Small children, running from the inferno engulfing the row houses, were picked up by the gunmen, who threw them back into the flames. When the Security Forces arrived, the arsonists moved to a nearby cemetery and continued the shootout, retreating in a disciplined military formation. Ten people were killed in the fire, eight of them children, and 500 were left homeless. One of the invaders was shot and killed by police: a 13-year-old boy, armed with a sawed-off, double-barrelled Winchester shotgun.

—Twenty gunmen attacked a PNP youth club dance in a commando-style raid. They sealed off exits to the hall and opened fire with machine guns. Six people were killed and 50 wounded. When the police arrived, the gunmen retreated, only to fire on the ambulances as they sped to the hospital. A woman, already wounded, was killed.

—Three men attempted to firebomb a huge, indoor marketplace in Kingston where peasants from all over the island come to sell agricultural produce. The terrorists were spotted before they hurled their bombs down on the market from nearby rooftops, but they managed to

escape.

—In May, 95 guns were seized on a deserted freighter, the *Atahualpa*, near Montego Bay. But many more weapons—according to Jamaican intelligence sources more than 8000 illegal guns—had been distributed on the island. The source of these arms remains a mystery.

—A cargo of flour, brought to Jamaica on a German ship, the *Heidelberg*, was discovered to have been contaminated with the deadly poison Parathion. Much of the flour had already been sold, and 11 people died from the poisoning. Laboratory tests indicated that the high level of Parathion in the flour was not the result of a chemical accident. A similar incident occurred in Guyana in 1966—at a time when the CIA was destabilizing the socialist government of Cheddi Jagan—leading many Jamaicans to suspect that the CIA might have poisoned the flour.

—A series of fires of unknown origin destroyed many acres of sugar cane. Most of these fires occurred on estates where workers had formed cooperatives to run the plantations.

—James Holt, one of the CIA operations officers, aroused suspicion by his involvement with a well-known Jamaican gunman and a Canadian aluminum executive. According to the gunman, who was subsequently arrested by Jamaican Security Forces, Holt and the Canadian contrived a plot to turn the military against the PNP. A tape of a PNP youth rally was spliced with a falsified message, purporting to be from Fidel Castro, urging young people to rise up in armed struggle against the police and the army. The tape was supposed to fall into the hands of the military and cause dis-sension. (Holt left Jamaica suddenly in September when former CIA officer



Philip Agee arrived for a visit. So did political officer Robert Houdek.)

In addition to acts of violence, there was a coordinated propaganda effort to undermine Manley's government. Many aspects of this campaign were similar to those used in Chile to attack Allende and shake the people's confidence in socialism. Jamaica's press was solidly controlled by the opposition and was instrumental in stimulating anti-communist feelings. Unsigned articles and commentaries blamed Manley for the violence and called for his resignation; one pirate radio broadcast demanded that he be overthrown.

A group of middle-class women, led by an organization called the National Council of Women, began meeting and agitating against the Manley government. The women attempted to organize a one-day strike accompanied by a march with empty pots and pans. (Similar pots and pans demonstrations, coordinated by the CIA, were held in Chile before the 1973 coup.) But many militant women from the PNP attended the organizing meeting and presented a counter-proposal calling for more constructive ways of helping the country at a time of crisis; the National Council of Women's proposal was defeated and they were never heard from again. A few months earlier, a group calling itself the "Silent Majority" tried to organize a demonstration of car owners to drive with their headlights on in a protest against Manley's policies. Although the group took out a half-page advertisement in the *Daily Gleaner*, the demonstration was a failure.

Anti-Castro articles appeared regularly in the press after Manley's visit to Cuba. Editorials from U.S. papers condemning Cuban communism were often

An estimated 3,000 Jamaicans listen to Philip Agee speak in Kingston about CIA and destabilization plans against their government.

reprinted. One article, signed "Contributed," traced Cuba's history before the revolution and concluded that Castro had "deceived and betrayed the people in their belief that he represented a hope for democracy and freedom from tyranny." The article then asked: "When Castro took power by force in 1959, had the course of the Cuban evolution on Marxist-Leninist principles already been decided, or did he genuinely believe in a democratic system? . . . The answer to this question contains a warning for those Latin American and Caribbean nations now embracing 'democratic' and other forms of socialism." The next day, the *Gleaner* ran an unsigned letter, presumably from the same authors, criticizing Manley for not doing away with the radical members of his party, and comparing him to an early Fidel Castro and those who would turn him leftward to Che Guevara.

Perhaps the most blatant propaganda came from a group called "Christian Women Agitators for Truth" attacking those who criticized the U.S. or the CIA. They dragged out the example of Dr. Tom Dooley, who set up a hospital in Indochina, ostensibly for humanitarian reasons. (Dooley, it was later documented, turned out to be a CIA operative, and his hospital a CIA safehouse.) Some churches and ecumenical groups in Jamaica also took part in the attempt to discredit Manley. In recent months, evangelist tents have sprouted up all over the island, bringing articulate, anti-

communist and anti-government evangelists and faith healers from the U.S. to the Jamaican people.

When Herb Rose, a JLP organizer and executive committee member, defected from the party in early June, he charged that the JLP election strategy was based on violence, arson, and murder. Rose said that he had personally witnessed some top JLP leaders giving guns and ammunition to half-starved youngsters and training them to commit murders and to destroy property. The violence, he explained, was planned to gain momentum and ferocity between the independence celebration, Carifest, in August, and the next elections, scheduled to be held sometime before February.

On June 19, 1976, Manley responded to the growing crisis by declaring a State of Public Emergency. He invoked the section of the Jamaican constitution referring to "action threatened on such a scale as to endanger public safety."

Under the State of Emergency—known in Kingston argot as "heavy manners"—the government was given the power, for a limited time, to suspend some of the constitutional rights of Jamaicans, and to allow the Security Forces the power to detain those whom they believed to be the planners of violence and terrorism. Among the first acts under the emergency were the arrests of Wittingham and Charles.

Eddie Seaga, leader of the JLP, had been predicting that the government would soon declare a State of Emergency to put pressure on the opposition, eventually destroying Jamaica's right to free elections. But when the government finally announced the emergency, it took Seaga 48 hours to respond. The timing of the announcement had obviously taken



the JLP by surprise. Seaga at first was forced to support the declaration—the violence was so grave that only gunmen and criminals could object. By the following week, however, he was outraged at the arrests of several of his top people. Seaga claimed that the emergency was being used to detain, harass, and intimidate JLP members and others associated with the party.

But by then, Jamaican Security Forces had produced enough documentary evidence to justify the government's charge of destabilization by the JLP and outside forces. The government of Jamaica had, for the time being, averted a military coup. With Wittingham and Charles in jail—followed by JLP member Ferdie Yap Sam, leader of an organization which manufactured molotov cocktails, bombs and grenades in his bottling company, Diamond Mineral Water Co., and who was suspected of being responsible for at least nine murders; and Pat Stevens, owner of a construction company which allegedly used its communications system to tape police maneuvers, and who was known to be a gunrunner—the crime rate in Jamaica was cut in half in two months.

After the emergency went into effect, Manley told the PNP youth organization, "If anybody asks what is our policy towards political violence and to the gunmen who terrorize our people, our answer is very clear: *heavy manners*."

Since June, the violence in Jamaica has subsided. Strangely, it is only now that

At a recent PNP conference in Kingston, over 30,000 Jamaicans respond with clenched fists to Prime Minister Michael Manley's socialist platform.

the American press is reporting the burnings and killings. Articles in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, frequently based on information provided by "official intelligence sources," suggest that Jamaica is under martial law. U.S. tourist agencies are recommending that tourists vacation elsewhere. Eastern Airlines recently cancelled its U.S.-Montego Bay-Kingston service.

But the State of Emergency in Jamaica is almost unnoticeable, except to the 200 political detainees. One reads in the Kingston press about persons arrested "under Heavy Manners" but the gun battles that were once concentrated in a square mile of Trench Town have stopped. A border of burned-out buildings, a "no man's land" separates the PNP areas from those controlled by the JLP, like Tivoli and Reema—through which Seaga Blvd. runs both ways. And there is plenty of graffiti: "Eddie Turn Them Back," in JLP districts; "Terrorist War is Strategy of CIA," "Cuba We Love," "CIA Bomb Poor People," and CIAGA — CIA Agent, in PNP areas.

Manley and his party, however, are not so naive as to believe that it is all over. Though there has been an affluent minority who have left the country in fear of losing what they own, there are still

influential members of the "twenty-one families" who will not give up their tremendous holdings without a fight. And the JLP and the CIA are still in business.

When Philip Agee travelled to Jamaica in September he spoke before packed audiences all over the island about his experiences destabilizing Latin American governments when he was in the CIA. The parallels to the Jamaican situation were clear. He also released the names of seven CIA officers, two secretaries, and two other embassy personnel who he felt certain were working with the CIA. The Jamaican Council for Human Rights printed the CIA names, addresses, phone numbers, and car license plates on 100,000 leaflets, and distributed them throughout the island. This campaign, seen as public education, has alerted the people of Jamaica to better understand the kind of political terrorism which was used against them and what may come next. What happened in Chile occurred, in part, because the people were not prepared to defend themselves and their country against fascism. Still, the Manley government itself has a long way to go before it understands that the bourgeoisie are not the natural allies of the masses. When the policies of socialism begin to threaten them they will retaliate. Jamaican and U.S. money interests have not given up, and a long political battle has yet to be waged. One can only hope that the PNP has more than sincerity backing its slogan: *Forward Together, Socialism Forever, Backwards Never!*

Media Operation Against Jamaica

CounterSpy has just received information from Jamaica that shootings and burnings, instigated by the Jamaica Labor Party in PNP areas, particularly areas which are markedly socialist, have begun again as the general elections draw near. Disinformation on an international scale has increased proportionally in the media, as have new fears of a CIA sponsored right-wing coup on this Caribbean island.

In the rural constituency of socialist Senator Hugh Small, parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of National Security, an incident occurred on November 1 which has been so grossly misrepresented in the international press, as to confirm charges that there is an ongoing CIA media campaign against the government of Jamaica. That the so-called responsible press would buy such a ludicrous story involving a government security minister, without checking with the Jamaican government, is indicative of a policy that has not changed since U.S. media complicity in the destabilization of the Allende government.

According to a *Reuters* dispatch, printed in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, opposition leader Edward Seaga and former JLP Prime Minister Hugh Shearer were attacked and "narrowly" escaped death when gunmen from Small's campaign headquarters fired on their motorcade, injuring 10 people, as it passed the PNP office in York Town, Clarendon, about 45 miles from Kingston. The story went on to report that Seaga was in a state of shock and required sedation afterwards. It stated that the attack was likely to start up the violent war again, despite the State of Emergency and that if the civil war began, no one could predict Cuba's reaction to a threat against "one of its few friends in the Caribbean," nor could one predict the American reaction to Cuban involvement.

The facts of the incident, according to *CounterSpy's* government source

and confirmed by sources outside the government, are:

About 400 JLP supporters on foot and riding in 25 cars were going to rally, called by Seaga, at a location just beyond the PNP headquarters. A car driving in front of the crowd, pulled up before the PNP headquarters and a group of men brandishing guns jumped out. The aggressors were led by JLP candidate Mike Henry (president of Kingston Publishers, a subsidiary of McGraw Hill). Gunmen began ripping socialist campaign posters from the walls, and when several PNP supporters tried to stop them, the intruders shot Small's campaign manager, Rowan Skyers, in the face and set fire to the building. The 20 PNP members took cover in the adjoining cane fields, defending themselves with shotguns, but were flushed out when Henry and his men set fire to the field. The PNP building was burned to the ground, and the gun battle which took place injured 10 persons.

By the time the last cars carrying Seaga and Shearer arrived at the building, the shooting was over. Seaga then called a mass meeting, blaming Small for the violence and demanding that he resign, even though the Senator was in Kingston during the incident.

Winsome Lang, the *Daily Gleaner* reporter who filed the story from Jamaica with the *Caribbean News Agency (CANA)* and with *Reuters*, for whom she is a stringer, now claims the facts of her story were changed at the cable office in Barbados. Our sources doubt this, and point out that Lang, an English woman, was the sole author of both the *CANA* version which was sent directly to New York and the *Reuters* story which was laundered through London. What is curious is that neither American paper bothered to confirm the facts with the Jamaican government, nor did they later print the official government statement alleging total "inaccuracy." On the same day Lang's story appeared in the

American press, syndicated columnist William Buckley speculated on editorial pages across the country that "if Castro, financed by the Soviet Union, should begin to extend his empire, for instance into Jamaica, and then hopscotch his way east along the Caribbean . . . would Venezuela sanction-sanctions?" And on the same day in the *London Daily Telegraph* was an unscrupulous piece entitled, "Jamaica: Castro Up to His Old Tricks."

And, after suffering through a rice shortage in Jamaica for months, consumers looked forward to a shipment of rice from Costa Rica on board the ship, *The City of Bochum*, October 10. When the cargo of over 160 tons arrived, however, inspectors discovered it was contaminated by the same poison, parathion, which was blamed for the flour-poisoning deaths several months before. The entire shipment of rice had to be destroyed when it was confirmed that unknown persons had loaded a cargo of the insecticide, destined for another port, in the hold with the rice. Inspectors observed there was leakage from the pails in which the poison was stored.

Though the government has not announced the date of the elections, it is expected they will be held in late December or early January. The violence and dirty tricks, however, lead some Jamaicans to fear the worst. According to polls, a majority of the people of Jamaica support Michael Manley for re-election and do not hold him responsible—as his opponents had planned—for the violence and disruption of their society. But the JLP, with CIA help, have demonstrated a sophistication in manipulating events; and if they allow the elections to take place, there is no guarantee they won't try to manipulate the outcome—one way or another.

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How the CIA got rid of Jagan

By the Insight Team

IN THE House of Commons on Tuesday, the Prime Minister faces a more than usually leading question. Stan Newens, Labour MP for Epping, will ask:

"Will the Prime Minister make a statement on his policy towards efforts which are being made by the United States Central Intelligence Agency and other United States intelligence organisations to infiltrate and influence organisations which function in British administered territories for purposes of subversion of law and order?"

As a booby trap, the question lacks finesse, and "No . . . sir" is the most likely, albeit ambiguous answer. But there is more to it than that. Although Mr Newens himself appears to know nothing of the details, he is in fact hinting at a substantial case.

This is the downfall of the Left-wing Jagan Government in the colony of British Guiana (now independent Guyana) in 1964. Inquiries by Insight last week made it clear that this was engineered largely by the CIA.

The only cause for a certain amount of Parliamentary unease would seem to be that this Government happened to be in a British colony. And the cover which the CIA used was a London-based international trades union secretariat, the Public Services International.

As coups go, it was not expensive: over five years the CIA paid out something over £250,000. For the colony, British Guiana, the result was about 170 dead, untold hundreds wounded, roughly £10 million-worth of damage to the economy and a legacy of racial bitterness.

Votes according to races

British Guiana, perched on the north-east corner of South America, was never one of Britain's happiest colonies. When, in 1953 the first government was elected—under an Indian dentist,

Cheddi Jagan—he and his wife, Janet, did seem a trifle Left-wing, but the Colonial Office reasoned—correctly—that he had won not because of his politics but because of his race.

Race has always split the country: 300,000 Indians scattered mainly through the rural areas, 200,000 Africans clustering mainly in the townships, and about 100,000 polyglot.

The Indians voted fairly solidly for the ascetic Left-wing Jagan. The Africans voted equally solidly for Forbes Burnham, an African lawyer well to the Right.

To Britain's intense surprise, Jagan meant his Left-wing words. He moved against the foreign sugar companies—he lasted three months. Then the British Government moved in to quell the uproar, flung out Jagan and stayed until 1957. Jagan, saying exactly the same things, won the 1957 elections too.

It began to dawn on everybody—most forcibly upon the Americans looking somewhat apprehensively southward—that only an upheaval would ever unseat him.

The gulf between the British and American attitudes to politics becomes starkly apparent at this point. In Whitehall they were vaguely thinking in terms of opposition coalitions. In Washington they were thinking in terms of upheavals. And there was an ideal tool to hand—the Guyanese trade union movement.

Big unions were anti-Jagan

With 40,000 members cutting across all races and parties, the local TUC was an admirable ready-made opposition. Fortunately, the two dominating unions were already somewhat anti-Jagan. The sugar workers' union had been dealing with the plantation owners quite successfully without interference from Jagan—and, anyway, though racially mixed, the union supported Forbes Burnham's African party.

The other power base, the civil servants' union, was anti-Jagan primarily because few of its members were Indians. All that was needed was organisation.

The Public Services International had been in contact with the Guyana Civil Service union since the early fifties. It was one of the weaker and less prestigious of the various international networks which exist to export the union know-how of advanced industrial countries to less developed societies.

By 1958 its finances were low, and its stocks were low with its own parent body, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It needed a success of some kind.

The financial crisis was resolved, quite suddenly, by the PSI's main American affiliate union, the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

ts boss, Dr Arnold Zander had, he told the PSI executive, "been shopping," and had found a donor.

The spoils were modest at first—only a couple of thousand pounds in 1958. It was, the kind donor had said, for Latin America. The money went towards a PSI "recruiting drive" in the northern countries of Latin America by one William J. Doherty, junr., a man with some previous acquaintance of the CIA.

The donor was presumably pleased, because next year, 1959, Zander was able to tell the PSI that his union was opening a full-time Latin-American section on the PSI's behalf. The PSI was charmed.

The PSI's representative, said Zander, would be Howard McCabe. McCabe, a stocky, bullet-headed American, appeared to have no previous union history, but the PSI liked him. When he came to its meetings, he distributed cigarette lighters and photographs of himself doling out food parcels to peasants. The lighters and the parcels were both inscribed, "with the compliments of the PSI."

The full ludicrousness of this situation appears not to have dawned on the PSI. Zander's union had about 210,000 members at that time, and a monthly income of about £600—barely enough to cover its own expenses. Yet everyone in the PSI knew that the Latin-American operation must be costing every penny of £30,000 a year.

"We did not ask where the money came from," said the secretary of the PSI, Paul Tofarhn last week, "because I think we all knew."

Jagan finally precipitated his own downfall—seemingly working on the principle that if he did not fix the unions they would fix him.

The catalyst was a Labour Relations Bill, modelled largely on the American Wagner Act. It would have forced Guyanese employers to recognise whatever union the workers chose in a secret ballot. The catch was that, since Jagan could organise the polling areas, the balloting was wide open to government gerrymandering.

General Strike

The general strike began in April, 1963. Jagan seems to have thought that the unions could hold out a month. It was an expensive miscalculation, and by the tenth week it was Jagan, not the unions, who was desperate.

What Jagan had forgotten was the presence of a stocky, bullet-headed man tirelessly bashing a typewriter in the downtown Georgetown hotel that was the strike headquarters—Howard McCabe, the American representative of the Public Services International of London.

McCabe was providing the bulk of the strike pay. McCabe found

the money for distress funds, and for the strikers' daily 15 minutes on the radio, and their propaganda, and considerable travelling expenses. All over the world, it seemed brother unions were clubbing together.

It was a touching vision, marred only by the fact that the PSI London office sent less than £2,000 to the strikers. Zander's "kind donor" was putting up nearly all the rest. The best estimate is that the kind donor produced at least £150,000, which reached McCabe from Zander's office.

Jagan was crushed by the longest general strike in history—79 days. Even the mediator sent from London, Robert Willis, then general secretary of the London Typographical Society and a man not noted for his mercy in bargaining with newspaper managements, was shocked.

"It was rapidly clear to me that the strike was wholly political," he said. "Jagan was giving in to everything the strikers wanted, but as soon as he did they erected new demands."

To Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys, the strike furnished the required proof that Jagan could not run the country. He used it to justify a remarkable constitution which, by splitting-up Jagan's voters, made it inevitable that Jagan lose the 1964 elections to Burnham.

Labour Party

At the time Jagan—and a few of the British Labour Party—complained of CIA influence. But nobody could prove who Zander's "kind donor" was. Some kind of hint emerged later in 1964 when after a particularly rugged election a Brooklynner named Jerry Wurf ousted Zander from the Presidency.

"I went into the offices in Washington," Wurf recalls, "and there was this whole floor crawling with clerks and translators and all manner of people. I said: 'What's all that?' And they said: 'That's your international department.' 'Oh, yeah?' I said." Wurf took a dim view. He had all the locks changed on the doors one night—and the "international department" simply disappeared, as did McCabe.

In February, 1967, Zander confessed that his little union had been heavily financed by the CIA from 1958 to 1964. The "kind donor" was in fact an outfit called the Gotham Foundation—run from a small law office in New York by "a man with a funny sounding name" which Zander does not now recall. The Gotham Foundation, now wound up in the Johnson CIA clean-up is acknowledged to have been a CIA front.

S. TIMES: 16 APR 67

Macmillan, Sandys backed CIA's anti-Jagan plot

INSIGHT continues the Guiana subversion controversy (Letters, page 12)

AMERICA'S Central Intelligence Agency (the CIA) was working under an agreement with the British Government when it subverted the Jagan government in British Guiana in 1963.

A senior British security officer disclosed this to the Sunday Times this week. He said the understanding was reached under the Premiership of Harold Macmillan, Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys, and the head and of British security.

Other Cabinet Ministers were not told of the decision. And probably the secret papers were not shown to Harold Wilson on his election in 1964.

Last week, Insight reported that the CIA, operating under the "front" of an international trade union office, dealt a mortal blow to Cheddi Jagan's leftist government by financing a 79-day general strike against it. Control of the colony, now the independent Commonwealth nation of Guiana, passed to the moderate socialist Forbes Burnham, to the right of Jagan.

Last Tuesday, Mr Harold Wilson, questioned in the House of Commons by Labour MPs, said: "You had better ask the Opposition front bench."

On Wednesday, the trade-union organisation which was used as a front, the Public Service International, issued a statement. This

admitted the truth of the Insight report, but denied that the PSI leadership knew its Guiana office was being used for subversion.

The PSI is an international alliance, London-based, of trade unions operating among public employees. Its statement confirmed that in 1959-60 one of its American affiliates, the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, offered to set up on the PSI's behalf a department in Guiana. The PSI did not know that this American affiliate had been penetrated by the CIA.

The Guiana office was ostensibly for "educational activities in under-developed countries." But during the 1963 general strike the Guiana representative of the PSI, Howard McCabe, disbursed around £100,000 in strike pay, apart from energetic advice and assistance. McCabe, nominally seconded from the State, County and Municipal Union, appears in fact to have been a CIA operative.

Last week the PSI said that although its head office sent some money to Guiana for relief of strikers' families as a normal act of trade-union solidarity, "at no time did the PSI suspect that McCabe may have had other funds at his disposal, or that he indulged in activities other than attempts to settle the strike."

Insight's report last week dealt

only with the CIA presence in Guianese union affairs. But the British security man we approached last week—as he is still serving, his name cannot be mentioned—said that the CIA were also operating under consular cover in Guiana.

He said that to the best of his knowledge the agreement under which the CIA were in Guiana was the first one allowing them to move into a British colony. Although known at first only to Macmillan, Sandys, and the two top security men in Britain, it inevitably became known to a number of British officials in Guiana.

Apart from encouraging industrial action against Jagan, the CIA appears to have had a good deal of success in encouraging politicians to break away from Jagan's party and government. Their technique for financing sympathetic figures was to take out heavy insurance policies for them. The CIA insured one ex-Jagan supporter for 30,000 dollars in 1964.

Clearly, not all the British officials on the spot were happy with what the Americans were doing: they agreed that Jagan and his American wife Janet were in temperate Marxists, but did not feel that this justified such massive manipulation of the local political scene.

Steps taken to oust Jagan as Premier

By Richard Eder, Georgetown, Saturday

SIR RICHARD LUYT, Governor of British Guiana, announced today that he would name Mr Forbes Burnham, leader of the People's National Congress as the country's new Premier in place of Dr Cheddi Jagan.

Steps to enable such an appointment to be put into effect were already being taken, the Governor added in a statement. This meant according to reliable sources, that formal steps are under way to obtain an order-in-council to remove Dr Jagan from office.

Dr. Jagan, whose People's Progressive party won 24 seats of the 53-seat legislature in Monday's

election, has refused to resign even though the opposition parties—Forbes Burnham's Peoples National Congress and Peter D'Aguiar's United Force—had agreed to co-operate in forming a new Government. The two parties muster 29 seats.

The Order-in-Council is expected to be made early next week. It will give the Governor authority to convene the Legislature whereupon Dr Jagan's term automatically expires.

The order thus modifies the

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present Constitution, which makes no provision for compelling a recalcitrant Premier to convene the legislature.

Mr Burnham said today that he had completed his cabinet. He is expected to reveal his immediate plans and policies in an address to supporters tomorrow.

Although the Order-in-Council has already been prepared, the British Government delayed putting it into effect in the hope that Dr Jagan might change his mind and resign.

Dr Jagan tonight warned the Colonial Secretary, Mr Anthony Greenwood, that amending the Constitution to depose him would result in grave dissatisfaction among more than half of the people of the country.

The executive committee of Dr Jagan's party met again for the third successive day to decide upon its future policy. One proposal, being seriously considered, is that its M.P.'s would boycott the new legislature. A more radical proposal also being discussed is a long-range effort to press for partition of the country.

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This feeling was strengthened by the fact that the CIA's efforts were worsening the colony's already-severe racial difficulties: the Africans supported Burnham and the Indians supported Jagan, and tension between the two racial groups grew as the CIA levered the two sides further apart. (Eventually, this broke out in bloodshed.)

Our informant indicated that the "guiding spirit" on the British side of the CIA entry agreement was Colonial Secretary Sandys. Mr. Sandys, on tour in the Middle East, was not available to comment yesterday.

S. TIMES: 23 APR 67

U.S. activities in British Guiana

MR. NEWENS (Epping, Lab.) asked the Prime Minister if he would make a statement on his policy towards efforts which were being made by the United States Central Intelligence Agency and other United States Intelligence organizations to infiltrate and influence organizations which functioned in British-administered territories for purposes of subversion of law and order.

MR. HAROLD WILSON (Huyton, Lab.).—No. I know of no activities of this kind in British-administered territories.

MR. NEWENS.—Is the Prime Minister not aware of the involvement of the C.I.A. in British Guiana before independence?

MR. WILSON said the events which had been the subject of certain press comment recently, were before October, 1964. He was not responsible for what happened in British-administered territories before October 16, 1964.

MR. HEFFER (Liverpool, Walton, Lab.).—In view of the revelations which have now been made, and proved, as far as I can see, up to the hilt, would the Prime Minister not carry out a thorough investigation, and at the same time indicate to the American authorities that we do not approve of this sort of activity and that they must keep out of our territories?

MR. WILSON.—These questions, so far as that period is concerned, should be put elsewhere.

So far as British-administered territories now are concerned, I have already said that I know of no activities of this kind. You can be pretty sure that if there were any I should.

MR. MICHAEL FOOT (Ebbw Vale, Lab.).—The Prime Minister really ought to institute an inquiry whether these facts are correct and, if they are, to make representations to the United States Government that we intend this to be stopped. Would he not say to the United States Government quite clearly that we do not want the C.I.A. interfering in our affairs?

MR. WILSON said that if Mr. Foot could find a way of doing it, the right place to address questions would be the Opposition front bench.

TIMES: 19 APR 67

Guyana: British involvement in Jagan's downfall

Sir,—In the story entitled "CIA Rôle in Jagan's Downfall," your Commonwealth Correspondent, Mr Patrick Keatley, correctly involved the CIA through the Gotham Foundation and the London-based Public Service International, the foreign relations arm of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

What he did not bring out, however, was the British Government's involvement which was posed by the "Sheffield Morning Telegraph" (April 17): "Was the British Government aware of what was happening, and did it perhaps connive at the attempts to get rid of the Left-wing Jagan?"

This query was actually answered by the "Sunday Times" on April 23 in a story "Macmillan, Sandys backed CIA plot." The newspaper also involved two top security men in Britain and "a number of British officials in Guyana," and asserted that "the CIA were also operating under consular cover in Guyana."

FAILURE TO COOPERATE

The involvement of the British Government was the reason for the refusal of the Governor to expel in 1963 the CIA agent, Howard McCabe, and for the failure of the Governor and the Commissioner of Police to cooperate fully with my Government and to use the police and security forces to maintain law and order. Indeed, so bad was the non-cooperation that Janet Jagan resigned in protest as Minister of Home Affairs in early 1964.

Before the "Sunday Times" story, Drew Pearson, the American columnist, in March 1964 had indicated that the 1963 80-day "strike was secretly inspired by United States CIA money and British Intelligence. It gave Lon-

don the excuse it wanted." The latter is a reference to the October 1963 Independence Conference, when Duncan Sandys refused to fix a date for independence and imposed the list system of proportional representation.

What the "Sunday Times" story, however, failed to do was to show the Labour Government's involvement. When in Opposition, the Labour Party leaders, Harold Wilson, Arthur Bottomley and Anthony Greenwood had taken a very strong position. Mr Wilson had referred to the outcome of the 1963 Conference as "a fiddled constitutional arrangement."

When in office, however, the Labour Party changed its position.

In October, 1964, I saw Anthony Greenwood and Harold Wilson in London and presented them with a full documentation of the CIA plot, including the Security Branch report entitled "Research Paper on the PNC Terrorist Organisation," which had named 50 persons including top leaders and activists of the PNC and an American with a recommendation that 25 should be prosecuted. I requested that the elections fixed for December 7 should be postponed and that a Commonwealth team, as had been proposed in June, 1964, by Harold Wilson in the House of Commons, should go out to Guyana to help work out a solution. However, both Wilson and Greenwood agreed to go ahead with the elections.

It is significant to note that during the same week I saw the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary, the "New York Times" (October 31, 1964) reported that the British Government "bowing to United States wishes, had ruled out early independence for British Guiana," and was going ahead with the PR elections fixed for December 7 "This development, reported by senior officials tonight," said

the newspaper, "came after high level British-American exchange on how to check the spread of Castroism in the Western Hemisphere. . . . Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon Walker, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk examined the situation in their talks in Washington this week. Informants said that Mr Rusk had left Mr Gordon Walker in no doubt that the United States would resist a rise of British Guiana, as an independent Castro-type State."

The Labour Government thus failed to work out a political settlement in Guyana, and instead allowed the United States to establish a puppet regime here which is step by step leading the country to a dictatorship. Already the National Security Act empowers the Government to restrict and detain individuals indefinitely without trial. Anti-strike legislation in the form of compulsory arbitration is to be enacted. And there is every indication that elections in 1968 will be rigged.

JOHNSON DOCTRINE

The British people rightly have expressed horror at the military rape of democracy in Greece. What about Guyana and Vietnam? There is a short step indeed for US policy makers from CIA subversion in Guyana to a military takeover in Greece and to a cruel war in Vietnam. From the Truman Doctrine of "containment" the world has arrived at the Johnson Doctrine of "intervention." For their own security, the British people must shout now for an end to the close collaboration between Britain and the war maniacs in Washington.—Yours truly,

Cheddi Jagan.

People's Progressive Party,
Freedom House,
41 Robb Street,
Lacytown, Georgetown.

GUARDIAN: 29 MAY 67

PLOT TO OVERTHROW DR. JAGAN

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
GEORGETOWN, FEB. 11

Dr. Jagan, the Premier of British Guiana, said in a statement to the Legislature: "It has come to the knowledge of the Government that violence is actually being planned on a general scale by certain elements acting for minority groups. It is also understood that attempts against the Premier's life and the lives of certain of his Ministers and supporters are contemplated. These acts of violence are intended to secure the overthrow of the legally elected Government by force, and tax proposals in

the budget are being used as a screen for a general plan.

"These plotters intend to call a general strike on Monday. Since there is no likelihood of this strike call being widely supported by the workers, certain elements of the business community plan to shut down their business houses. The intention is, in effect, to stage a general lockout on the excuse that the strike has created conditions which prevent business operations."

The statement said every possible step was being taken to bring the Civil Service in on the strike and if this was successful it would cause widespread dislocation of the country's economy. Such action would very likely end in riots and violence. It went on:

ANOTHER CONGO

"The people who plan this operation must be aware of this. It seems they are seeking to cause turmoil and unrest in order

to halt our march to independence and economic well-being. This small clique is determined to preserve the positions of privilege and create another Congo.

"They talk about freedom and democracy but are determined to use unconstitutional means to achieve these ends. They feel they can depend on foreign support. In the circumstances the Government intends to take energetic steps to forestall the plan and I am now appealing to all reasonable public-minded citizens not to allow themselves to be persuaded or fooled into taking part in what can only be a disastrous and futile effort on the part of a small, misguided, selfish element in the community to turn back the clock of history."

Hundreds of People's National Congress and United Force members picketed the public buildings and the police were called.

TIMES: 12 FEB 62

US may intervene if Marxist Jagan wins

By Cal McCrystal
Kingston, Jamaica, Saturday

UNITED STATES intervention in the former British colony of Guyana is expected if the country votes in a Communist government on December 16, according to reliable sources here.

The actual course of US action in the event of the elections "going the wrong way" is hard to determine for until the Nixon administration takes over in America the State Department is not likely to make any rash statements. High government officials in Jamaica—the Caribbean nation which most fears a Communist regime in Guyana—say bluntly that the US would have to send in troops; the State Department goes little further than an ominous "we would look with great disfavour on a Communist government in Guyana."

Telephone inquiries from here to the State Department in Washington evoked the response, however, that while "we are a little more cautious today than we were five years ago" (concerning direct action against undesirable regimes), the chances are that Venezuela, which has territorial claims on Guyana, "would probably jump at the chance to march in the name of anti-Com-

munist."

Hasty efforts are being made to ensure defeat for Guyana's People's Progressive Party, headed by the self-avowed Marxist and former Prime Minister, Dr Cheddi Jagan, who is regarded as a supporter of Cuba's Fidel Castro.

One dramatic development this week brought speculation that the US Central Intelligence Agency is hard at work: Dr Jagan's name was suddenly linked with a Castroite plot to topple the Guyana government of anti-Communist Prime Minister Forbes Burnham.

At the same time, strenuous efforts to help Guyana's floundering economy were being pushed by other Caribbean nations—particularly Jamaica which is coming increasingly under American influence.

With Dr. Jagan discredited in the alleged "red plot" scare and the Burnham administration credited with rescuing the economy before the December 16 elections, the United States is hoping that the People's Progressive Party will take no more than 45 per cent. of the vote.

The "red plot" disclosure came from Mr Burnham while Dr Jagan had left the capital,

Georgetown, to press his party's election campaign in Essiquibo County. The Prime Minister announced that security police had uncovered a Castroite plot involving the opposition party and the terrorist Movement of Revolutionary Left.

Later, I learned that the US State Department had been following closely the movements of Dr Jagan. It was noticed, for example, that he had been travelling a great deal throughout the Caribbean and that he had had discussions with a Venezuelan terrorist leader.

Despite State Department optimism that Forbes Burnham will scrape through the Guyana elections, Caribbean leaders believe that Jagan might just win. A very high official of the Jamaican Government said however: "We know for certain that the United States will not—cannot—allow this to happen. The Americans will not permit a Communist Guyana to exist."

On the other hand, assuming that Dr. Jagan's party wins and takes control of the country, the United States may first wait to see the direction along which Jagan takes the country before making a move. For as long as Cuba's relations with the Soviet Union are not all that clear to State Department officials they can't be certain whether Jagan would bow to Havana or to Moscow.

"In any case," a State Department source said, "Dr Jagan

would find it very difficult to govern. If he were to adopt radical policies he would find himself confronted with some serious difficulties." Whatever the implications of this observation, it should provide some encouragement to Jamaica which not only is uncomfortably close to Cuba geographically but also has dangerous internal conditions that seem ripe for subversion.

The Jamaican Government is trying to stamp out its own Castroite movement while wrangling with other Caribbean nations over economic co-operation. In the ferment, powerful forces have been released—rioting, anti-Americanism, and even Black Power.

Since achieving independence in 1962, Jamaica has undergone an Americanisation equal only to the Bahamas in all the English-speaking Caribbean. Although the Jamaican peasant has not benefited much, the Government does tend to regard the country as superior to the rest of the Caribbean nations.

This attitude has so affronted the others, particularly Trinidad and Barbadoes, that at least one opportunity for co-operation is in jeopardy—the establishment of a Caribbean regional development bank which should have been set up in May with substantial backing from the United States, Canada and Britain.

S. TIMES: 8 DEC 68

Socialist sugar daddy's dilemma

HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY
in Georgetown, Guyana

'I AIN'T Fader Christmas. He was a white man with a white beard. Can't y' see me beard is black?'

With a mixture of folksiness and urgency Mr Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, harangued his audience of mainly Negro workers at the Rose Hall sugar factory in the hot sun on the need for harder and harder work if Guyana was to survive and prosper.

As Guyana this week celebrates the tenth anniversary of its independence from Britain and the nationalisation last Tuesday of the British-owned Booker McCon-

nell sugar and industrial complex which had up to now dominated the country's economy, Burnham is caught in a maelstrom of political and racial manoeuvring.

His country is bitterly divided between Negroes and East Indians, the descendants of former slaves and indentured labourers. It is also the target of the competing interests of Cuba, the Soviet Union, China and the United States.

Burnham has incurred the anger of the US, which co-operated with the British Government in 1964 in helping him and his mainly Negro Peoples National Congress to topple the predominantly Indian Peoples Progressive Party and its Moscow-line Communist leader Dr Cheddi Jagan. Now Washington is perturbed by his rapid leftwards shift, his growing friendship and co-operation with Cuba and his fiercely independent Third World posture.

US hostility mounted this year, when Burnham allowed the Cubans to use Georgetown as a staging post for flights to and from Africa. Guyanese officials are convinced that Washington is conducting an orchestrated campaign to 'destabilise' the Burnham Government by

spreading false reports of the presence of thousands of Cuban and Chinese troops in Guyana and by encouraging Brazil and Venezuela to administer a series of carefully controlled border violations.

These violations, at the rate of one or two a month, are forcing Burnham to spend more on defence and to divert funds from the already tiny development budget of a country whose total population is only 800,000.

Though Venezuela claims much of Guyana's territory, the civilian Government of President Carlos Andres Perez in Caracas has always been prompt in its apologies for incursions by Venezuelan troops. Brazil has taken a much tougher diplomatic stand.

While the war of nerves goes on along the borders and in his diplomatic relations with Washington, Burnham is trying to steer an independent course among his new-found friends in the Communist world. Yesterday, he inaugurated a Chinese-built brick factory, the first stage of a textile mill. For nearly a decade he has fostered the connection with China.

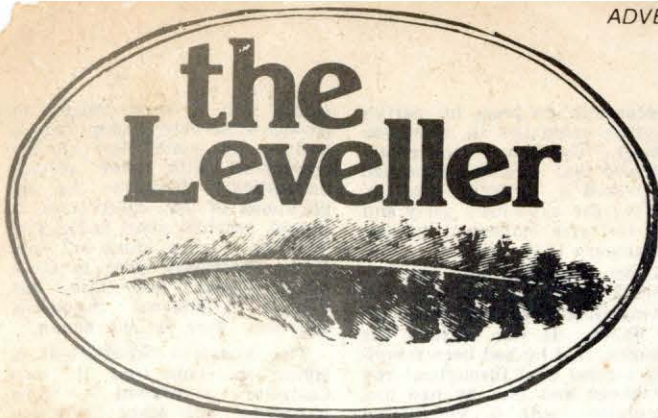
At the same time, however, his shift to the left has

brought him in closer contact with the Castro Government in Cuba. The increased aid and technical training being offered by the Cubans has inevitably meant closer contacts with the Soviets. Last year, Burnham allowed the Soviets to open an embassy in Georgetown.

The Soviet Union is rumoured to be offering to trump the Chinese textile mill by offering to build a massive £500 million dam and aluminium smelter on the remote Mazaruni river near the Venezuelan border. Cubans, Russians and Chinese—not to mention the Romanians and East Germans—are therefore now locked in a grand diplomatic battle to win Burnham's ear.

Meanwhile, conservative East Indians, fearful of Burnham and disgusted by Dr Jagan, whom they see as having sold their racial birthright to the Negro Burnham, are planning a new conservative party. They are hoping for American help to match the funds they say the Burnham party takes out of the Government treasury and Dr Jagan gets from his Communist friends abroad.

OBSERVER: 30 MAY 76



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Race Today Editorial,
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