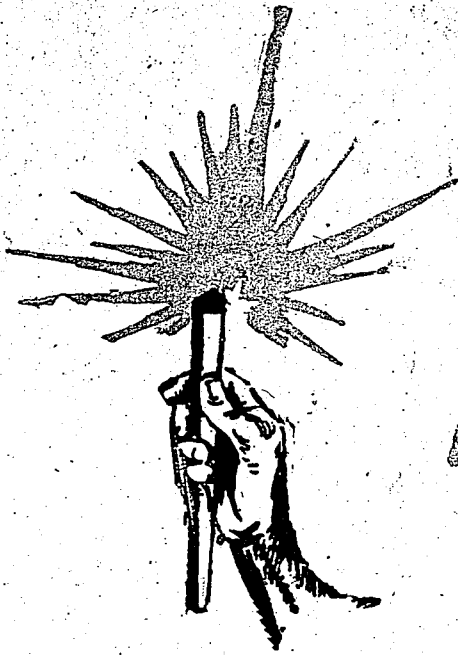


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FRONT PAGE COMMENT:

Lessons of the Congo



Patrice Lumumba—one of the victims of imperialism

BARELY a week ago, to be exact on 30th June, the United Nations operations in the Congo came to an end. With what result? Congo remains a political volcano. Over £150 million of U.N. Congo fund has gone down the drain. Dag Hammarskjöld, former Secretary-General of the U.N. and other top U.N. personnel have lost their lives. U.S. and Belgian imperialisms are openly directing the affairs of the Congo. Guerilla fighting has broken out in the Kwilu and Kivu provinces.

The U.N. operations have brought neither political stability nor peace to the Congo. Indeed, U.N. presence in the Congo in the past few years has helped to create conditions that undermine both political stability and peace. For it has served as a convenient cover for the penetration of the Congo by U.S. imperialism. And far from the young African Republic moving closer to real independence, the tragic truth remains that it is today being run by a consortium of U.S., Belgian and British imperialisms with the U.S. as the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

For us in Africa, the events of the past four years in the Congo constitute a mine of information on how neo-colonialism operates. What are the principal lessons of the Congo?

First, the Congo has shown how the United Nations Organisation, as presently constituted, can serve as a convenient cover for the manoeuvres and machinations of the big imperialist powers.

Before her independence on June 30, 1960, the Congo was largely a sphere of influence for Belgian, French and British imperialisms. U.S. capital played an important but subordinate role. But today the Congo has become a sphere

of influence primarily of U.S. imperialism with Belgium, France and Britain trooping around as associates.

The U.N. operations in the Congo opened the way for the U.S. For by being the principal financier of these operations, the U.S. acquired the decisive voice in shaping the policies of the Congo. After taking control of the central Congolese government through President Kasavubu and General Mobutu and the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the U.S. posed as the champion of a united Congo. It used U.N. troops to dislodge Moïse Tshombe from Katanga and by this act effectively undermined Belgian and U.K. positions — positions which could be equated to Union Minière of Katanga.

Once the mineral-rich province of Katanga was firmly under central government control, the stage was set for the U.S. to negotiate with both Belgium, France and Britain. A new "modus vivendi" had to be found to accommodate the interests of the various imperialist circles. And this is the process which has been broken upon a shocked Africa by the announcement of Moïse Tshombe's return to the Congo, followed a few days later with an even more stunning news—Tshombe is Prime Minister of the Congo! The new central government in the Congo thus becomes a reconciliation of U.S., Belgian, French and U.K. interests in the Congo with the U.S. playing the strongest hand.

The second lesson of the Congo is the unmasking of the U.S.A. as a thorough-going imperialist country anxious to carve spheres of influence for herself in Africa.

Up to recently, U.S. propaganda has sought to persuade African opinion to the view that the U.S. is a friend of Africa and is anxious to help

Africa break her colonial bonds with Europe. The truth that now stands revealed is that while she is anxious that Africa sever her ties with Europe, the U.S. wants these same ties established between Africa and North America.

In other words, U.S. imperialism would like to see Africa not as an appendage of Western Europe but as the sphere of influence of U.S.A. Hence, West European imperialisms must be undermined and replaced by U.S. imperialism everywhere in Africa. Where this proves a bit difficult, then West European imperialism must accommodate U.S. imperialism.

The chain of events in the Congo since the murder of Lumumba shows how ruthless the U.S. can be in pursuing this line of action. These events show that the U.S. is as imperialistic as any of the West European powers. What is more, they show that U.S. imperialism is much more powerful than West European imperialisms. The impact of U.S.A. on Africa therefore represents a manifold increase in imperialist pressures and not a relaxation of that pressure as some romance writers in the West would like us believe.

The third lesson of the Congo is that the cache of stooge politicians in Africa, created by and owing allegiance to imperialist circles and powers, cannot solve the problems of the African peoples.

The Congo has witnessed unending changes in governmental personnel. But each successive administration has failed to solve the problems of the Congo because these leaders are mere pawns in a game played by imperialist circles of Western Europe and U.S.A.

Despite the chaos in the Congo and the wor-

sening of the conditions of the masses which are generally admitted, imperialist enterprises are raking in the profits. "Although agriculture has all but collapsed, industry is humming because it is in efficient hands. Belgian-owned Union Minière now produces more copper than ever before in its history". (American magazine "Newsweek" July 6).

In this game of squeezing out the super-profits, imperialist circles make use of African politicians only to throw them off when they no longer serve this purpose. Cyrille Adoula, a former member of the Lumumbist party, was made Prime Minister partly to disrupt the nationalist party and partly because he could be used as leader of a central government committed to a united Congo. Now he has been sacrificed by U.S.A. to make room for Tshombe, Belgium's No. 1 man because the imperialist powers are now busy working out a "modus vivendi" in the Congo.

But what is the fate of Adoula? He is out, and U.S. "Newsweek" calmly disposes of him as "weak, indecisive and without grass-roots support". Ironically, the imperialists themselves have confessed, in a roundabout way no doubt, to the charge that they imposed an unpopular Prime Minister on the Congo people.

The fourth lesson of the Congo is that the most powerful of imperialisms could be held at bay through armed struggle waged by the people.

Nothing has given the imperialists the jitters like the outbreak of po-

pular uprisings in the Congo. Pierre Mulele in Kwilu province and Emile Soumialot in Kivu province have proved, after only a few weeks' fighting, that an armed people can deal crushing blows on the armies of puppet regimes, thereby knocking off the main prop that keeps such regimes in existence. Even Western reports agree that the armed revolt has already taken control of an area as large as Belgium.

This armed struggle by the people of the Congo has exposed both the character of the Congolese government and the relative degree of control exercised by the various imperialisms in the Congo. It has become clear for all to see that the central government of the Congo is merely the civil authority of an imperialist consortium. And the presence of U.S. military equipment and personnel proves that the principal role in the Congo belongs to Wall Street.

In this drive by U.S. imperialism into the Congo various arguments are being used. It is held for example that the Congolese are not fit to rule themselves and, significantly, this view is attributed by Western press to an officer of the Nigerian battalions that have just left the Congo. This officer is credited with saying: "One hates to admit it, man, but these people won't be ready for independence for another ten years."

Another argument is that the Belgians are not ready to discharge their obligation even though the Congo is on the verge of falling into Communist hands. Says U.S. "Newsweek" July 6: "The U.S. had concluded—

and President Johnson has advised Belgian Premier, Paul-Henri Spaak—that it has become imperative to put Belgian officers into the field as 'advisers' to the Congolese Army.

"But the face-conscious General Mobutu has said 'no' and the Belgians aren't pushing. If the Belgians don't move, it seems inevitable that before long the U.S. will have to choose between getting directly involved in the Congo itself or risking an outright take-over of Africa's richest country by friends of Communist China".

This view has to be assessed against the background of U.S. Harvard planes bombing defenceless citizens several weeks before the article appeared. The truth is that the U.S. is already fully involved in the Congo even in the military sphere. The western press, true to its role as

agent of imperialism, is merely concerned with paving the way for getting the African people to accept what is already in existence.

The Congo is now entering a new phase in its struggle for unity and national independence. Imperialist exploitation seeks to perpetuate itself through a civil administration of stooge politicians serving foreign companies and through the military might of the U.S.A.

The people, wearied of political double-dealing dressed up as parliamentary niceties which the people simply do not and cannot comprehend, have taken the road of armed resistance against collective neo-colonialism. The struggle will be long and bitter because as the imperialists see it "the potential of the Congo could make any industrialised nation's mouth water."

Read later issues of
The Spark
for comments on
Commonwealth
Conference and
O.A.U. Conference.

WHAT THE C.I.A. CAN DO

Espionage has become the stock-in-trade of vast and invisible "armies" used in the cold war for the sole purpose of making the world "safe" for finance Capital and the giant monopolies that operate behind the imperialist governments. This murderous game, which goes by the innocent sounding name of "Intelligence" has its Western-world nerve-centre in America's C.I.A.

The article below, which is a careful study by a renowned journalist, V. Valentinov, covers the C.I.A. operations in Latin-America. We recommend it for careful reading in the light of events in the Congo, Laos, Cuba and South Vietnam.

THE Right-wing bourgeois press in the United States is trying to justify those responsible for the "pronunciamiento" epidemic, which has been going on in Latin America during the last few years, by talk about the "supreme duty" of the military to "safeguard their country against bankrupt civilian leadership and advancing communism". But even in the United States this kind of argument is not shared by all political leaders.

Wayne Morse, Chairman of the Sub-committee in Latin American Affairs of the Foreign Relations Committee, for instance, called this sort of argument the "old red herring" which is "pretty well known" to many U.S. Congressmen. "I found it difficult to understand," Senator Gruening stated, "why this Great Nation, with all its wealth, power, influence, and prestige, could not prevail upon and prevent a handful of tin-born gangsters not to overthrow a constitutional government established after a free election."

However, no answer has been given to this quite legitimate question. To answer it would mean to lay bare one of the secrets of U.S. intelligence, which Richard Helms, the CIA's Deputy Director for planning (or D.D.P. as he is referred to in the agency) and head of its Operations Division carefully guards. One of the objects of this division is to help implement the policy of U.S. monopoly subjugation of Latin America.

BIG VOTE FOR C.I.A.

Richard Helms has under him nearly half the CIA's personnel, numbering more than eleven thousand, and spends the greater part of its budget, which reaches almost one billion dollars. According to Stewart Alsop, Saturday Evening Post commentator, "All the CIA's covert operations in recent years that have come to life—and many that have not—have been the work of the D.D.P."

Apart from the ordinary gathering of intelligence, the division headed by Helms is also called upon to carry out so-called special operations with a view to overthrowing Governments undesirable to the United States and to organise interventions similar to that undertaken against Cuba in the spring of 1961.

There are many facts to show that this division has also played an active part in the coups staged in Latin-America in the last two years, though the U.S. Government has repeatedly stated that it is not going to support dictatorial regimes in countries to the south of the Rio Grande.

While speaking about this behind-the-scenes activity of the Central Intelligence Agency, the U.S. Ambassador to a Central American country told Senator Gruening during the latter's tour

and enjoyed the support of the majority of its electorate. The decision permitting Arevalo to run for presidency once again was not acceptable to U.S. intelligence, for he was in the way of getting Roberto Alijos, a CIA secret agent, and leader of the Guatemalan oligarchy, elected to this post.

ARMED RAIDS ON CUBA

Alijos was invited to cooperate with the CIA by Richard Bissell Jr., Helms' predecessor, when the invasion of Cuba was being prepared. At that time Alijos placed three vast plantations at Bissell's disposal for training Cuban counter-revolutionaries for landing on the Island of Freedom. Not so long ago, on Helms' instructions, Alijos acquired for three million dollars tracts of land in Retalhuleu suitable for runways, and also the San Juan Acul plantations on the Guatemalan-Mexican border, and the Dos Lagunas plantation in the jungles. The latter has already been used by the CIA to set up a camp for interning those Cuban counter-revolutionaries who refuse to serve under former Batista officers and to make armed raids on Cuba.

CIA activity in the Dominican Republic was the subject of a talk held between del Rosario, Dominican Ambassador to Washington, and Senator Morse. "... If only 10 per cent of what Ambassador del Rosario told us was factual," Morse said in the Senate on October 9, 1963, "we cannot justify American foreign policy in the Dominican Republic."

'SPIRITED HORSES WITHOUT BRIDLES'

When speaking in the House of Representatives two days later, Congressman Rogers called the CIA "spirited horses without bridles". It was perhaps out of prudence that he refrained from disclosing the activities of U.S. secret agents in Latin-America. This, however, was done by some American papers, which have access to the facts carefully concealed by the CIA Director, John A. McCone, and his right hand, Richard Helms.

What leaps to the eye in the first place is the fact that the military in Latin-American countries overthrow those civilian political leaders whose actions jeopardise the plans of U.S. imperialism in this part of the world.

For instance, Guatemalan President, Ydigoras, was overthrown in April 1963, immediately after he had allowed Juan Jose Arevalo to enter the country to get registered as a Presidential candidate. Arevalo, President of Guatemala from 1945 to 1950, was a leader of the anti-imperialist movement in the country

towards the CIA-sponsored military agreement between the United States and Argentina on the reorganisation of her army with a view to assigning one or two brigades to fight progressive movements in other Latin American countries, particularly in Brazil.

AROSEMENA'S FALL

The military coup in Ecuador took place a few days after President Arosemena had said to the U.S. Ambassador: "The United States Government is a government that exploits and robs Latin-America." Now it is quite clear that the reason why Arosemena fell was his open dissatisfaction with the secret ties maintained by Ecuadorian generals with the CIA and Pentagon. The CIA found out that Arosemena was going to repay his generals for the ultimatum they presented to him after one of their meetings with General Bogart and the commander of the CIA and Pentagon "anti-guerrilla" forces in the Panama Canal Zone. After it came to power, the junta imprisoned nearly one thousand people, including the leaders of the 1961 general strike which had resulted in the overthrow of President Velasco Ibarra, a CIA stooge, and the election of Arosemena as President.

Helms' associates in Ecuador are said to have proposed the dissolution of the National and provincial electoral councils and the registration of all electors. These measures were announced by the junta the day after the coup. They were intended to prevent a man, who would, like Arosemena, be against the U.S. monopolies, from appearing in the presidential palace of Ecuador.

COUP AGAINST THE BOSCH GOVERNMENT

Juan Bosch, former President of the Dominican Republic, also fell into dis favour with the CIA, for he was going to keep his pre-election promise to place the country's armed forces under control, which was by no means the intention of the Central Intelligence Agency. Had President Bosch become Commander-in-Chief, Brigadier-General Elias Wessin y Wessin, chief hope of the CIA and Pentagon in the armed forces of the Dominican Republic, would have lost his independence of action. Moreover, Bosch stated quite definitely that "he prefers his policies to be made in Santo Domingo rather than in Washington."

The coup against the Bosch Government and the dissolution of the parliament were engineered by the junta immediately after the President had decided to convene a special session of the parliament to approve him as Commander-in-Chief and to meet his demand to remove Brigadier-General Wessin y Wessin from the post of Commander-in-Chief of the country's tank and infantry forces.

President Villeda Morales had to leave Honduras a few weeks before the presidential elections planned for November 1963, which might have brought to power his old friend Modesto Rodaz Alvarado, who obviously did not suit U.S. ruling circles.

THE PACT OF AGUA AZUL

It will be recalled that Morales became President of Honduras in 1957, after the conclusion of the Pact of Agua Azul, which was an agreement with the army. Apart from Morales and Colonel Osvaldo Lopez Arellano, head of the junta, those present at the signing ceremony were Willauer, the then U.S. Ambassador in Honduras, and someone acting on behalf of the United Fruit Company. Under the Pact of Agua Azul, Morales promised to guarantee autonomy to the army as provided for in the 1954 "mutual security" treaty between the United States and Honduras. According to this treaty, the command of the Honduran armed forces undertook to "ask U.S. consent for any action contemplated", which was quite acceptable to the Central Intelligence Agency.

In contrast to this, in his pre-election speeches, Modesto Rodaz Alvarado spoke for the elimination of the armed forces' autonomy and for increasing the strength of the "civil guards", to which he wanted to transfer many of the functions of the armed forces.

Recent event in Brazil have not taken place without the participation of the Central Intelligence Agency. Some of the measures carried out by the Brazilian President, Goulart, did not suit U.S. intelligence. They were particularly alarmed by Goulart's flat refusal to agree to take "collective action" against Cuba, which the CIA had been pushing for within the Organisation of American States since the failure of intervention in the area of Playa Giron.

The CIA's relations to the coup in Brazil are also confirmed by the fact that the signal for the General's revolt was given by the Washington Evening Star, which, according to Stone's Weekly, has long since been the CIA's unofficial mouthpiece.

CIA'S ACTIVITIES

CIA involvement in every Latin-America military coup over the last two years is revealed even more clearly if one looks closely at their organisers who have eventually come to power. Edwin A. Lahey, Knight Newspapers stated as follows "The colonels with the machine-guns" who overthrow Latin-American leaders unacceptable to the CIA "are on our ball team". Many of them were "also educated in U.S. military schools in Fort Leavenworth, Fort Benning, and elsewhere".

Indeed, three of the four commanders of the Peruvian armed forces, who in 1962 organised a coup against President Prado, graduated from military schools in the United States. All the members of the Guatemalan junta have since 1954 been closely connected with the CIA. Vice-Admiral Ramon Castro Jijon, head of the Ecuadorian junta, graduated from a military school in the United States. All the members of the junta in the Dominican Republic also went through U.S. military schools. Colonel Osvaldo Lopez Arellano, leader of the Honduran junta, spent over three years in the U.S. Air Force.

According to Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, New York Herald Tribune correspondents, some of the participants in the military coups in Latin America also graduated from the CIA-organised school in Fort Gulick, the Panama Canal Zone.

The above-mentioned facts show that the CIA is responsible for pronunciamiento epidemics in Latin America. That this kind of CIA activity is fully in line with the intentions of U.S. ruling circles is confirmed by numerous statements in the American press and by U.S. Congressmen, particularly after the coups in the Dominican Republic and Honduras. The Washington Post, for instance, wrote on October 8, 1963, that at a press conference a State Department official was trying to prove the advantages of the military junta regimes over the young democracies which are "attempts at social and economic reforms", owing to which "tensions have been intensified, and the old order is fighting to retain its prerogatives."

At approximately the same time, Edwin Martin, the then Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, stated in public that one should not be opposed to the military juntas in Latin America, for not all of them were bad.

What is also of interest in this context is the statement made by Senator Morse in the U.S. Senate on October 9, 1963. While telling his colleagues about two conversations he had had with some of the State Department chiefs responsible for the activities of U.S. missions and embassies in Latin America, Morse said: "The impression that the State Department has left with me, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations... is that the Department is playing with the idea that it is more interested in military junta regimes and their front-men civilian stooges in Latin America than in free government."

Such an attitude taken by a certain group of State Department officials towards the constitutional Governments in Latin America, helps to free the hands of the Central Intelligence Agency which, while operating in this part of the world also look after the interests of the U.S. monopolies.

US EXPLOITATION

The decisive role in the direction and activities of the CIA has always been played by people closely connected with the U.S. monopolies exploiting Latin America. Let us take the CIA chiefs as an example. Allen Dulles, who was the first Director of the Agency, represented the interests of the Rockefellers. Its present Director, John A. McCone, represents the interests of the Rockefellers and the Morgans.

However, despite the active support of the CIA and the State Department, for some time now U.S. monopoly capital has been encountering difficulties in Latin America.

Because of democratic insistence in Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica and some other countries where U.S. private capital is highly concentrated, the property of some American monopolies has been nationalised. As a result, the U.S. policy to

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What the C.I.A. can do

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wards Latin America has not achieved the "miracle" expected in the United States from its Alliance for Progress promulgated to reinforce the positions of the U.S. monopolies under the cover of some social reforms. On the contrary, this policy has imperilled the traditional mainstay—the oligarchy and the military—which during many decades enabled the American monopolists to get ten dollars and more return on each invested dollar.

Frightened by the growing national liberation movement in Latin America, the U.S. monopolies have begun reducing their investment there. For instance, in the first half of 1961, U.S. direct investment reached only about \$143 million instead of the more usual sum of \$250-300 million. During the subsequent 15 months the American monopolists, far from investing any new dollars in that area, cut their investment by \$35 million.

Naturally, the CIA decided to take an active part in removing the obstacles in the way of U.S. monopoly capital. It gave the "green light" to its agents in Latin America, and one military coup followed another. While speaking in the Senate on December 9, 1963, Senator Humphrey stated unambiguously that during these coups the CIA and the State Department managed to get rid of those Latin American leaders who did not suit the U.S. imperialists.

FINANCIAL AID TO CIA.

Characteristically enough, long before the CIA had launched its campaign in Latin America, spokesmen of the U.S. monopolies began persistently advising the U.S. President to stop relying on the Betancourt-Morales-Ydigoras axis and resume co-operation with the "traditional circles" in Latin American countries. For instance, Fortune, mouthpiece of U.S. business circles, in January 1963, emphatically recommended the Government "not to bypass the elite of the underdeveloped nations but to enlist its support". Some time later, the U.S. Congressional Record published a few reports which justified the actions of the U.S. monopolies and Latin American oligarchies.

U.S. Big Business granted the CIA considerable sums for preparing military coups against any Latin American leaders they disliked. "The information we have been receiving", Senator Morse declared on October 1, 1963, "... indicates that there are American business concerns in the Dominican Republic which helped finance the coup; including American business concerns that financed largely the campaign of the opponent of President Bosch. There are American business concerns which had been very close to Colonel Wessin y Wessin, the fascist-minded state police-type of military leader who was the brains of the military coup in the Dominican Republic."

CIA's OPERATIONS

As a result one was faced with the following situation: in 1962, under the Alliance for Progress the United States spent about \$1,000 million under the pretext of changing the "unbearable status quo" in Latin America, whereas

simultaneously, on the advice of the Central Intelligence Agency, the U.S. Government and the Governments of some Latin American republics spent over \$1,500 million to finance the military who were opposed to such a change. Moreover, in 1962, U.S. military aid to Latin America was twice as great as in 1957.

Senator Humphrey was therefore absolutely right when he said in the Senate on October 9, 1963: "There has been far too much evidence recently that our military assistance programme in Latin America has in too many cases merely generated more military power to be used for domestic political purposes; to be used not for preserving internal security or defending the nation against external threats, but for consolidating and strengthening the position of the military in the society as a whole."

The following fact can serve to confirm the truth of these words. In the Dominican Republic, the money granted by the U.S. monopolies to engineer the plot against President Bosch was transferred to the military through CIA agent, Lorenzo Berry, a naturalised American operating a supermarket in a fashionable suburb of Santo Domingo. It should be noted by the way that some time before, Lorenzo Berry had taken an active part in the CIA operation of removing dictator Trujillo, who no longer suited the U.S. imperialists.

In Brazil, the role of go-between was played by Carlos Lacerda, Governor of Guanabara, and also by the Brazilian Institute of Democratic Action, a subversive organisation set up by the CIA several years before with branches in all the states and large towns of the country.

Help in financing or direct financing of conspirators is only one of the methods used by the CIA in Latin America. Even though it controls a large number of collaborators and secret agents, it employs all the other methods for which U.S. intelligence is so famous.

'BLACK PROPAGANDA'

Among the American diplomats accredited in Latin American countries there are employees of the special units in Helms's division, which are engaged in "black propaganda" and "moral operations", keep in touch with opposition parties and subversive organisations and give support to those local organisations which serve as front men for the CIA.

For instance, Colonel Roberts, employee of the American Embassy in San Jose (Costa Rica), regularly meets his clients in a cafe. He is entrusted with the financing of a certain organisation called the Free Costa Rica Movement, a gang of cut-throats supported by the owners of the country's coffee plantations. Colonel Roberts's colleagues constantly hand cheques over to a group of Cuban counter-revolutionaries in Costa Rica, with Cristobal Dieguez, a police-officer under the Batista dictatorship, at their head.

Colonels of this type can be encountered in the capitals and big towns of all Latin American republics. Their main line of business is to create a "situation"

and spread "ideas" intended to inspire the opponents of legitimate Governments to overthrow them. In February 1961, a CIA agent, an American Embassy official in Buenos Aires, held a meeting with General Montero's aides at which he unambiguously let them know that the CIA would wholeheartedly support a military coup against President Frondizi. And although a day before this meeting, President Kennedy had stated that his Administration would do everything "to wipe out dictatorship from Latin America", Argentine generals ignored this warning and overthrew the Frondizi Government, replacing it by a military dictatorship.

I.A. AND THE POLICE FORCE

In the Dominican Republic, the CIA spared no effort to turn the police, which supported President Bosch, into the army's ally. For this purpose it had in the first place to reconcile the two rival groups of its agents. The first included Luis Amiana Tio, Antonio Imbert Barreras, Felix Hermedia (Son-in-law of police chief Belisario Reguerero Guerrero) and army generals. Amiana and Imbert began to actively co-operate with U.S. intelligence late in 1960 when Plato Cox, the CIA representative, suggested them taking part in the operation to remove Trujillo. The former was at the time Mayor of Santo Domingo, the latter—Governor of Puerto Plata province. The other group included Brigadier-General Miguel Atila Luna, commander of the Air Force, and Brigadier-General Belisario Reguerero Guerrero, whose police force is in no way inferior to that of the army, secretly belonged to the first group and was at logger-heads with the Commander of the Air Force. He began to co-operate with the CIA when serving with Trujillo's police as a lieutenant. Only in mid-September last the CIA succeeded in reconciling the two rival groups of conspirators, as a result of which President Bosch was overthrown and the parliament, which supported him, dissolved late in September.

In order to carry out the plot in the Dominican Republic, Helms's division worked hard to ensure an alliance between the army and the police, whereas in Honduras and Guatemala, to attain the same aim it tried to weaken the police in every possible way, for the conspirators did not rely on its aid. CIA agents, in particular, prevented Morales, President of Honduras, from receiving the arms he had bought in the United States for his National Guards (the police).

MILITARY COUPS

In Brazil, the CIA first intended to murder the country's President. "The day before yesterday," the *Diario de Noticias* wrote on September 12, 1963, "the Rio de Janeiro police seized American-manufactured arms on the estate of the Portuguese millionaire, Alberto Pereira da Silva, in Jacarepagua, 500 metres from somewhere the President, Joao Goulart, was supposed to go towards the end of the week."

The failure of their plans made the CIA and its agents in Brazil resort to a military coup, a traditional method for Latin America.

Thus, military coups in a number of Latin American republics have become

possible due to U.S. interference in the domestic affairs of these countries. It was no accident that Senator Morse, when speaking of the military juntas which in 1962 and 1963 overthrew the constitutional Governments of some Latin American countries was compelled to admit as follows: "Of course, they were armed with American weapons under the military aid programme. That is known all over Latin America and elsewhere in the world. Therefore, it is said to us, when we go there as representatives of the United States, at various international conferences, 'your hands are dirty: they are not clean. The United States must assume its full share of responsibility for subjugating freedom in various parts of the world by use of American military weapons and by the training of military personnel through the American military training programme.' It is a pretty difficult argument to answer."

It is also evident that in their attempts to overthrow constitutional Governments the military juntas knew that their actions would not be counteracted by the United States. More than that, they had every reason to hope that a few days after their coups they would not only be recognised but would also continue to receive U.S. financial aid in still greater amounts.

And, indeed, their hopes have been realised. After the overthrow of Argentine President, Arturo Frondizi, the flow of American aid to the military junta has never ceased. Aid to Peru was resumed four weeks after the military junta had driv-

en President Manuel Prado out of the country. For tactical considerations, aid to Guatemala was suspended for 17 days only, while that to Ecuador has never been discontinued for a single moment.

After the coups in the Dominican Republic and Honduras, State Secretary, Dean Rusk, declared: "Under existing conditions" in these countries "there is no opportunity for effective collaboration by the United States under the Alliance for Progress or for normalisation of diplomatic relations." One month later, however, the State Department re-established diplomatic relations with these countries and resumed economic and military aid to them. As for Brazil, the United States only began to give it aid after the recent events there.

US NEW TACTICS

The Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department do not only support military juntas but also constantly organise coalitions of the military, the oligarchy and business circles in Latin American countries against the constitutional Governments which dare to display the slightest symptoms of independence in questions of domestic and foreign policy. All this means that U.S. ruling circles are not going to drop their traditional policy towards Latin America, intended to prevent the peoples of this area from becoming the real masters of their destiny and their national wealth.

Moreover, in the past the United States tried somewhat to camouflage this po-

licy by depicting the activity of the CIA and the military coups inspired by it as contradictory to Washington's official policy, whereas today it is, according to press reports, increasingly abandoning these tactics. As the *New York Times* has recently noted, the U.S. Government has elaborated a new policy towards mili-

tary coups in Latin American countries. The essence of this policy is that Washington will no longer "punish rightest regimes" here, thus "opening the doors wide to other military juntas in their endeavours to seize power. It is this policy that enables CIA agents to carry on their intrigues in Latin America."



1 JULY, WEDNESDAY :

GHANA : Lighting a perpetual flame at the Independence Monument Arch, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Republic Day, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said, "The lighting of the perpetual flame will not only enshrine the spirit of the Republic of Ghana but will also keep the faith and courage of the freedom fighters of Africa."

2nd JULY, THURSDAY :

NIGERIA : Dr. Victor Allen, lecturer of Leeds University, has been discharged in a Lagos magistrate's court on a charge of managing an unlawful society for the purpose of overthrowing the Nigerian Government by military means.

He was immediately re-arrested to face fresh charges in a Western Regional court.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA :

Mr. Ian Smith, the white settler Premier of Southern Rhodesia, has flown to South Africa for talks with Hendrik Verwoerd, the arch-leader of the apartheid regime.

It was learnt that the purpose of Ian Smith's visit is to seek assurance that Verwoerd would assist a white dominated independent Southern Rhodesia economically if the British colony was unilaterally declared independent against the wishes of the African majority.

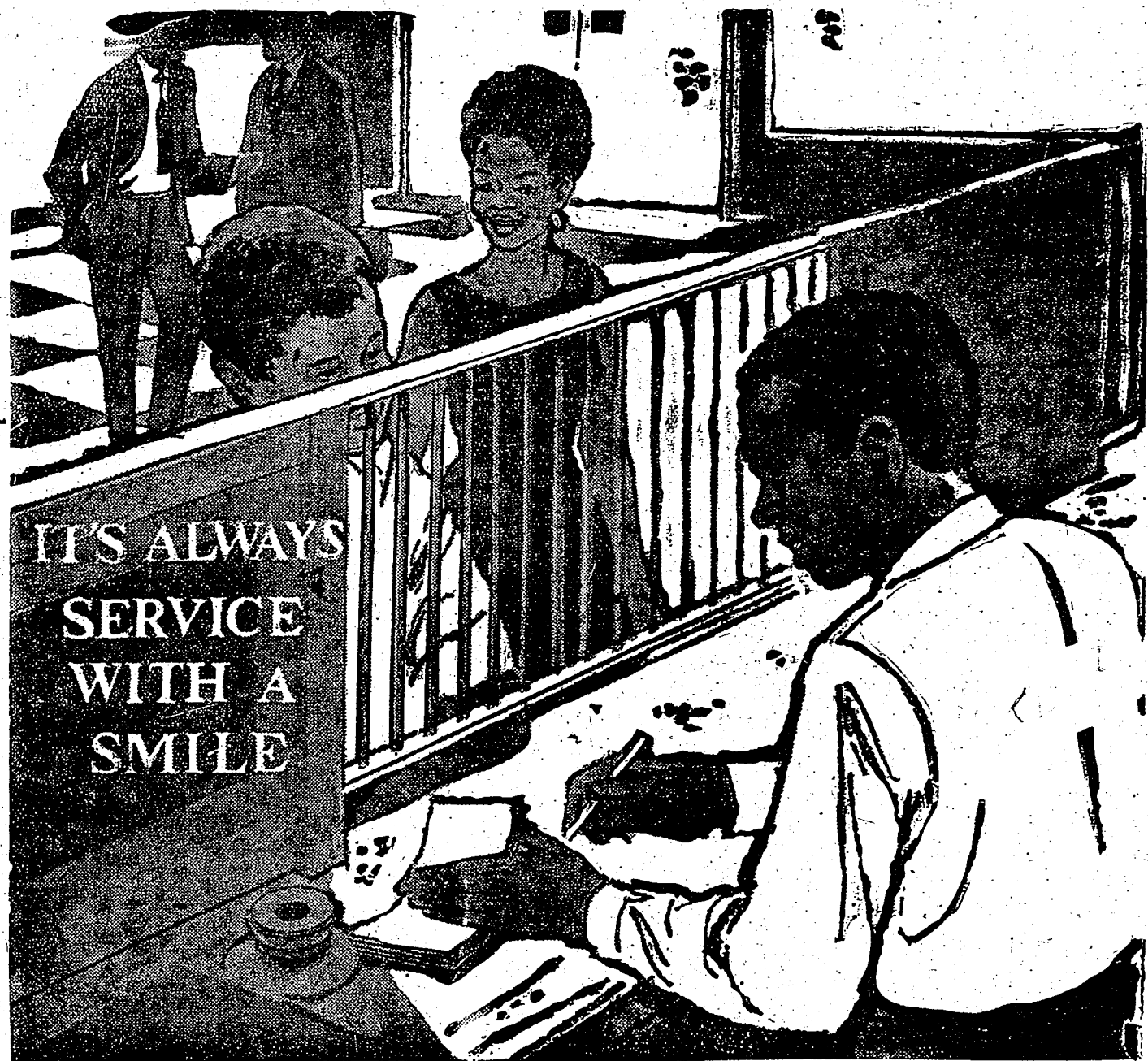
* The Reverend N. Sithole, President of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), who was acquitted yesterday on charges of making "subversive speeches" is still in custody and expected to appear in court again on July 7.

3rd JULY, FRIDAY :

GHANA : Speaking during his visit to Tema, the Sierra Leone High Commissioner in Ghana, the Rev. C. E. Toboku-Metzger, congratulated the Ghana Government for the great progress the country has made.

The Envoy praised the daring spirit of the Government and people and urged other African countries to emulate this quality to develop their countries.

Continued on page 4



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Whither Southern Rhodesia?

BOOK REVIEW
By Our Special Correspondent

A NEW stage in the battle for the independence of the people of Southern Rhodesia will be marked this week by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and later by the Heads of State Meeting in Cairo.

The struggle is reaching crisis pitch as the white minority work to declare their 'independence' and establish a society based on that of South Africa's apartheid system.

Everybody knows that these men are frantically working against the forces of history, against the power of men's desire to be free and that they will be defeated. The question is how soon and what price will humanity have to pay? The fanatical blindness typical of all racists, the inability to understand what is really happening which is typical of all reactionary exploiters of the masses is vividly illustrated in "Welensky's 4,000 Days." This book by the Prime Minister of the now defunct Central African Federation exposes the mentality of these racist settlers, more by what it omits and by its misrepresentations than by what it actually says.

Reading this lament, one is tempted to dismiss Welensky as a poor 'blundering politician' unversed in the cunning and speciousness of the politicians of 'perfidious Albion' like MacMillan, Sandys and Butler. Certainly the crocodile tears are shed, self-pity oozes from every line, ingenious bewilderment is spread thick to try and convince the world that the advocates of Federation were innocent well-meaning men stabbed in the back by a line up of fanatical Communist-inspired African nationalists, and cunning opportunist British Tories who 'had lost the will to rule'.

If anybody accepts this view, or even the view that Welensky is just a fool, they will have fallen right into the trap.

RUTHLESS EXPLOITATION

What is remarkable about this book is that it is only rarely that the basic underlying reasons for Federation ever emerge. There is scarcely a mention of the ruthless drive of the European capitalists to exploit to the full the rich mineral resources of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and the labour of the African peasant and miner.

There is a brief mention of Oliver Lyttleton, who became Lord Chandos, a few passing references to Lord Salisbury, but no one would know from this that they are immensely rich men, leading shareholders, in mining companies exploiting the copperbelt and drawing colossal profits from it.

Only if the reader knows this, does he realise that Welensky was not alone but was supported by powerful imperialist interests in Britain whose fanaticism in fighting for the continued control of their tremendous sources of wealth almost split the British Tory Party. It was no coincidence that when the British Government refused to invite Welensky to London at a particularly embarrassing moment of the Federation Crisis, Welensky did in fact turn up as the guest of the Institute of Directors and addressed their annual conference of which my friend, Lord Chandos, was the chairman.

It was Chandos who as Colonial Secretary in Churchill's Government in 1951 announced the British Government's support for Fe-

deration. Lord Salisbury, the power behind the Tory Party and leader of its most diehard imperialist interests, whose family for generations has sucked the life blood of the Africans in the three territories, was made a Privy Councillor. It was these two who later, when the Federation was about to break up, tried to blackmail the Government by threatening to reveal in the House of Lords their version of the negotiations.

The following is characteristic of the half truths of the book. "I was able to watch and work in daily close contact with two British statesmen of the highest calibre. Neither Lord Salisbury nor Lord Chandos ever wavered in faith in the Federation, nor in the staunchness of their friendship to us..."

Welensky omits to inform his readers that the companies of which these men are the main shareholders intensified the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Northern and Southern Rhodesia by some 30 per cent between 1950 and 1953, that 1954 was a boom year, when out of export totals of \$351 million, minerals accounted for \$287.3 million. One company alone has made between £40 and £50 million per annum profit in recent years. The Salisbury's and the Chandos's and all their friends have a lot to lose and will fight bitterly to defend their illegal and ill-gotten sources of wealth and super profits.

ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

Only occasionally does the basic question of the riches of the Federation find mention in the book but a comment such as this proves the point quite adequately: "whatever views you take about what I may call the moral side of the thing (i.e. Federation, author) there is an economic argument to which there can be no possible answer..."

The foreign capitalist interests of Western Europe and the United States through the political power of the European settlers, wanted Federation to ensure the safety of their increasing investment in the area. This was to be done through the political domination of the Federation by means of constitutions with built-in majorities for Europeans.

The patently undemocratic system had of course to be justified, not through crude economic arguments which reflected their self interest but through other theories. It is these theories which Welensky peddles. He presents himself as an ardent believer in the British Empire, as a follower of that imperialist super gangster, Cecil Rhodes, and as a believer in the mystique of white superiority and civilisation and of course, he asserts the inherent backwardness of Africans.

For good measure he throws in large helpings of vitriolic anti-Communist propaganda which must cheer the ghost of Senator MacArthur as it drifts around in some region of another world.

DISTORTIONS

There are men who have no respect for language, for the meaning of words. Roy Welensky is such a man. This enables him to use a word like 'majority' when he really means 'minority' or 'democracy' when he really means 'domination'. In the name of democracy and in the fight against Communist dictatorship the Federation referendum in Southern Rhodesia was approved by 25,570 votes from an electoral roll of 47,000; there were about 1,000 African voters out of an African population of 2,290,000.

At one election, Welensky was returned to a seat in the Federal Parliament by just over 700 votes but this modest number does not inhibit him from asserting his opposition to handing over the people of Rhodesia to the leadership of men like Dr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda, (Dr. Banda's party obtained 94 per cent of the total vote cast in the Nyasaland elections).

After revealing how tiny the electorate was in the Federation he has the temerity to assert the following: "To the one-man one-vote school of thought, such a system seems complicated; but since 1957 we have seen, all over Africa, that one-man-one-vote leads directly to the one-man one-party dictatorship". So Welensky really wants to save us from ourselves... so generous.

His real motives emerge on the next to the last page of his book when he says: "Any radical disturbance of the political institutions which the minority of European stock have planted here would stultify progress which our country can otherwise hope to make". For 'progress' read "Exploitation of the Labour of the people of Rhodesia" by foreign capitalist interests.

DOUBLE TALK

Again Welensky's capacity for double talk emerges when he says the following: "The third school of thought was the one to which I subscribed. It was the building of a partnership based on Rhodes' dictum 'equal rights for all civilised men'. I stress-

my belief that the European was bound to be the senior partner. This is among other declared aims which include 'justice, respect for the rights of individuals and above all continuous striving to improve the environment in which men are free to lead their own lives'. Don't think Welensky is getting soft, he has a simple mechanism, of excluding Africans from any of these categories like "civilisation", or "individuals".

ON THE RUN

Welensky has another interesting defence mechanism. It is to assume that his opponents are either tools of international Communism or ignorant. Consequently all the leaders of the African peoples have been misled, bribed or otherwise seduced by a sinister Soviet Union while members of the British Tory and Labour Parties who can scarcely be described as sympathetic to Communism even in Welensky's kind of political world of fantasy, are simply ignorant.

What emerges clearly from the book in spite of the half truths, the omissions and jaundiced misrepresentations is this. The African national movements in the three territories had the European imperialist minority on the run. Men like Banda, Kaunda, and Nkomo have the initiative and all these comings and goings, the letters, memoranda, the telegrams and phone calls, between London and Salisbury could not hold back the tempestuous pace of their people's advance.

The differences between the British Government and the Welensky gang was not about the desirability of independence for these territories, the differences was about the best way of preserving British influence and investments. Mr. MacMillan condescendingly explained to Welensky: "It is too simple a reading of history to think that you can exercise control simply by the use of power". He meant 'force'. Welensky thought his class could control the Rhodesias and Nyasaland by sticking fast and maintaining an inflexible position by armed force, the Tories believed that concessions would have to be made and it was necessary to make them in form rather than in essence, to concede in such a way that British imperialist links could be maintained and preserved but through new different means.

LOGIC OF HISTORY

Both are doomed to failure because both are trying to resist the logic of history. Welensky has presented this specious, dishonest book to the world in an effort to win back the confidence of the extreme racialists of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. He suggests they might have to join South Africa in a union. He is making a desperate bid for a political come back. The people of Southern Rhodesia will give him the same dusty answer as did the people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and Welensky will be thrown onto the garbage heap of history.

AFRICAN DIARY

Continued from page 3

NORTHERN RHODESIA: The Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, has announced that after the attainment of independence on October 24, his country would establish diplomatic missions in Accra, Cairo, Dar-es-Salaam, Leopoldville, Moscow, Washington and the United Nations in New York.

GHANA: The United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, has expressed his appreciation to the Ghana Government for the generous contributions of troops and civilian personnel to the U.N. operations in the Congo.

The Congo operations came to an end on June 30. **NIGERIA:** It has been announced that the seat of Action Group leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, has been declared vacant in the House of Representatives.

The announcement came less than 24 hours after Chief Awolowo had lost his appeal against his 10-year sentence for plotting to overthrow the Federal Nigerian Government.

4th JULY, SATURDAY: **GHANA:** President Modibo Keita of Mali will arrive in Accra this morning by air on a short visit at the invitation of Osagyefo the President.

NIGERIA: The Foreign Minister of Nigeria, Mr. Jaja Wachuku, has announced that Nigeria is to establish diplomatic relations with the

People's Republic of China as soon as funds and personnel are available.

5th JULY, SUNDAY: **GHANA:** President Modibo Keita of Mali has left Accra by air for his country after a one day visit at the invitation of Osagyefo the President.

6th JULY, MONDAY: **NYASALAND:** Nyasaland became an independent state at midnight under the new name of Malawi after 73 years of British rule.

Ghana is being represented at the independence celebrations by an 84-member delegation led by Mr. Krobo Edusei, Minister of Agriculture.

GHANA: Osagyefo the President, leaves Ghana today by air for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference which takes place on Wednesday.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: The Northern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, in a broadcast speech to the nation to mark the Heroes Day and Unity Day, called on the people to fight for the defeat of man's "three greatest enemies"—poverty, disease and ignorance.

MALAWI: A personal gift of Kente cloth and Sandals from Osagyefo the President has been presented to Premier Dr. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi.

The presentation was made by Mr. Krobo Edusei, Minister of Agriculture and leader of the Ghana Government delegation to the Malawi independence celebrations.

7th JULY, TUESDAY: **GHANA:** The Central Bureau of Statistics has announced a trade surplus of £4.4 million in May this year.

Ghana imported goods valued at £7 million as against total exports of £11.4 million during the month.

NIGERIA: Nine people were killed and several others seriously injured in fresh violence in the Tiv area of Northern Nigeria.

The riots developed from minor clashes between supporters of the Government party, the Northern People's Congress and the opposition, the United Middle Belt Congress.

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. Frank Ashley, president of the 50,000-strong British National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Coppersmiths has urged his union to boycott South Africa "by every possible means" as a protest against her apartheid policy.

Mr. Ashley was speaking at the Union's bi-annual Conference at Hove, Sussex.

MALAWI: Mr. T. K. Owusu, Ghana's first High Commissioner to Malawi, has presented his credentials to the Governor-General, Sir Glyn Jones in Blantyre.

Mr. Owusu is the first African diplomat in independent Malawi.

ALGERIA: In his opening address at the inaugural meeting of a three-day conference called by the Algerian Peace Committee, President Bella said: "All nuclear danger should be forestalled and eliminated from the Mediterranean region".

He said the Mediterranean was sensitive to international disputes, and also the crossroads of all political, ideological and social creeds.



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