

### EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA

Sut kt Pla

2490 TRACY PLACE N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008 Tele: (202) 255-5900 Fax: (202) 232-1297

August 25, 1994

His Excellency Dr. Cheddi Jagan President of Guyana Office of the President Georgetown, Guyana

Excellency,

It has been brought to my attention that the U.S. Government is on the verge of releasing documents on the role of the C.I.A. in Guyana during the Kennedy Administration. This information was also revealed to me by Mr. Tim Weiner, of the Washington Bureau of the New York Times.

Mr. Weiner, who met with me yesterday, told me that because of the embarrassing nature of the documents (to the U.S. Government) efforts are being made by influential forces in the U.S. Administration to block their release. However, the U.S. Committee of Historians has opposed such moves and is demanding their publication.

Mr. Weiner is currently working on a story which is related to the said documents and he wishes to come to Guyana during either the week beginning September 5 or the week beginning September 12 to interview persons with first hand information of the 1962-63 period. He has asked for an interview with you, and I have told him that I would convey his request to you.

I would appreciate if you can let me know, as soon as possible, when you would be in a position to meet Mr. Weiner, so that I can inform him of the appointment time even before he travels to Guyana.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Odeen Ishmael Ambassador



Tel: 71574 Fax: 69969 Office of the President

New Garden St., & South Rd.,

Georgetown,

Guyana.

September 22, 1994.

His Excellency Dr Odeen Ishmael Ambassador Embassy of the republic of Guyana 2490 Tracy Pl. NW Washington.

Dear Ambassador,

I wish to refer to your letter of August 25, which was referred to the HPS since President Jagan was out of Guyana on its arrival.

I have today brought the letter to the President's attention, and he has indicated his willingness to meet Mr Weiner. But I have noted that he has not contacted this office if he came to Guyana for the week beginning Septmber 5 nor week beginning September 12.

If it is still his intention to interview Dr Jagan, he should be asked to contact this ofice directly, so that an appointment can be arranged.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

## Labor Aide's Past Clouds His Future

By Al Kamen Waxhungton Post Scaff Writer

ooks like the White House has backed away from plans to nominate longtime AFL-CIO Latin America hand William C. Doherty Jr., head of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), to be ambassador to Guyana.

Administration types insist the change has nothing to do with allegations, widely reported in the news media here and there, that AIFLD funneled CIA money to Guyanese labor unions in a successful effort in the early 1960s to block the election of Marxist Cheddi Jagan to be prime minister. That's the same Cheddi Jagan who now runs the country and would have to agree to receive Doherty as the ambassador. Word is Doherty's still in line to get another ambassadorship.

The State Department candidate for Guyana several months ago had been career foreign service officer Charles H. Brayshaw, but he may be headed for an embassy in another part of the world by now.

### Guyana Revisited

Curiously enough, those old days in Guyana figure prominently in another dispute, this time over the release of documents needed to complete the official history of U.S. foreign policy.

A nine-member independent panel of distinguished historians, which is to vouch for the authenticity of the venerable series called the "Foreign Relations of the United States" [FRUS], is complaining that the Clinton administration is withholding important documents on specious national security claims.

The Historical Advisory Committee chairman, Warren F. Kimball of Rutgers University, said in a recent letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher that "The refusal of the State Department and other agencies, most often the Central Intelligence Agency, to declassify 30-year-old documents. . . remains the greatest barrier to meeting the Congressional mandate that the FRUS series be accurate and comprehensive."

In the letter, Kimball said the stance taken by State and the CIA will, "in our unanimous opinion, seriously distort the record of American foreign policy with at least two nations during the Kennedy presidency...

Sources say the nations are Japan and, yes, Guyana. Kimball said the panel has "concluded that the refusal to declassify material [in these cases] derives from fear of embarrassment rather than national security.

We are shocked, shocked at this conclusion. The historians are appealing and Christopher has delegated Undersecretary for Management Richard M. Moose to make the final call.

CIA/ Kenedy



Office of the President

Georgetown,

Guyana.

October 6, 1994.

Dr William F.Kimball Chairman Historical Advisory Committee Rutgers University New Jersy USA

Dear Dr Kimball,

A story in the Washington Post of September 19 was recently brought to my attention where it was reported that you had written Secretary of State Warren Christopher that "The refusal of the State Department and other agencies, most often the Central Intelligence Agency, to declassify 30 year old documents .... remains the greatest barrier to meeting the Congressional mandate that the FRUS series be accurate and comprehensive". The article further implies that the information about US involvement in the internal affairs of two countries of which Guyana is one, was not declassified for fear of embarrassment rather than on the grounds of national security.

That is why I am taking the liberty of sending you some material which we had collected to help to give you a clear picture of what really happened. This is not being done in any way to embarrass the Clinton Administration, as I have on many occasions thanked the US Government and, in particular President Jimmy Carter, for helping to restore democracy in Guyana and in contributing to the reconstruction of the country.

In the case of Doherty, mention has been made in my book 'The West on Trial' and I am sending you extracts from the book relating to him and the interference then by him as Inter-American Representative of PTTI and the AIFLD which he now heads.

The British Government has released Cabinet Papers some thirty years after the events and has admitted openly to collusion with the then US Administration. Disclosure of US involvement in Guyana was made by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (see attached editorial of The Nation of April 1990) in which he regretted what he had done thirty years ago and noted that a "great injustice was done to Cheddi Jagan". I have always publicly said that the 'injustice' which was done, was not to me personally but the Guyanese people as a whole. During the twenty-years of the previous PNC administration, Guyana had fallen into a quagmire of debt, a wrecked physical and social infrastructure and ruined lives.

We have only rejoined the community of democratic nations with the winning of the first free and fair elections on October 5, 1992, by the PPP/CIVIC alliance. However, we are now faced with the colossal task of rebuilding the country. We are doing so in a fair and democratic manner without recriminations. We have established a representative, consultative and participatory democracy and good governance with equity. We have set our face sternly against extravagance, bribery, corruption and all forms of discrimination.

Guyana is struggling with an external debt of over US\$2 billion which requires nearly 70% of our total current revenues just for debt service. We are among the most-highly indebted countries in the world on a per capita basis and also among the lowest per capita of Gross Domestic Product. These two basic economic indices summarise our difficulties.

We have advocated that, in the light of the parts which were played by the United States Government and the British Government, consideration should be given to the wiping-off of the debt and to grant aid to help with the development of the country. I am also attaching for your information a copy of an address which I have recently given to the Economic Committee of the European Parliament on this subject and for the adoption of a global strategy to alleviate poverty, hunger, unemployment and misery.

With warm regards.

Yours sincerely,

Cheddi Jagan

President Co-operative Republic of Guyana.

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## A Kennedy-C.I.A. Plot Returns to Haunt Clinton

### Guyana Episode Derails an Envoy

By TIM WEINER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — It was a small clandestine operation in a little South American country three decades ago. President Kennedy ordered the Central Intelligence Agency to subvert the country's leader. The leader fell, and the C.I.A.'s men quietly left town.

Time passed, and the wheels of history turned. The cold war ended, and with its end the fallen leader was elected President of what is now independent Guyana. United States law says it is time to unseal the secret documents that detail Kennedy's plot against him.

But State Department and C.I.A. officials refuse to release them, saying it is not worth the embarrassment.

Keeping secrets can cause embarrassment too. In June the Clinton Administration prepared to send a new Ambassador to the little country — apparently unaware that the prospective nominee had helped to undermine the restored leader.

The events of 30 years ago may be filed and forgotten in Washington; they are fresh in the memory of those who lived through them.

The story begins in 1953, when British Guiana, an English-speaking colony peopled by the descendants of slaves and laborers from Africa and India, elected its first native-born Prime Minister: Cheddi Jagan, a son of the colonial plantations, an American-educated dentist and an admirer of the works of Karl Marx.

Four months later, Churchill suspended British Guiana's Constitution and ordered its Government dissolved. Dr. Jagan was too leftist for Churchill's taste, though the people of British Guiana liked him.

Dr. Jagan and his wife, the former



United Press International/Bettman Archive, 1961

President Kennedy met with Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana at the White House in October 1961. Dr. Jagan left the meeting saying he was hopeful about the prospect of aid from the United States, but Kennedy soon ordered a clandestine C.I.A. operation to bring down the leftist leader.



pended British Guiana's Constitution and ordered its Government dissolved. Dr. Jagan was too leftist for Churchill's taste, though the people of British Guiana liked him.

Dr. Jagan and his wife, the former Janet Rosenberg of Chicago, were freed from jail after the British restored constitutional government, and he was re-elected in 1957 and 1961.

The latter year saw Kennedy's disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, aimed at overthrowing Cuba's leader, Fidel Castro. A newspaper cartoon of the day depicted a double-barrel shotgun aimed at the United States. One barrel was labeled "Cuba," the other "British Guiana."

On Oct. 25, 1961, Prime Minister Jagan went to the White House, seeking financial aid and offering assurances.

"I went to see President Kennedy to seek the help of the United States, and to seek his support for our independence from the British," he said in a recent interview. "He was very charming and jovial. Now, the United States feared that I would give Guyana to the Russians. I said if this is your fear, fear not. We will not have a Soviet base. I raised the question of aid. They did not give a positive response. The meeting ended on this note."

The meeting was recorded by the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. in "A Thousand Days," his memoir of the Kennedy White House. "Jagan was unquestionably some sort of a Marxist," he wrote, but also "plainly the most popular leader in British Guiana," adding, "The question was whether he was recoverable for democracy." Another question was whether he and his nation of 600,000 represented a threat to the United States.

Kennedy told Dr. Jagan that United States policy toward his country was clear: "National independence. This is the basic thing. As long as you do that, we don't care whether you are socialist, capitalist, pragmatist or whatever. We regard ourselves as pragmatists." A joint statement was issued, committing Dr. Jagan "to uphold the political freedoms" that were his inheritance.

After Dr. Jagan left Washington, Kennedy met in secret with his top national security officers. A prag-



Labor agitation in British Guiana led to a fire that virtually destroyed the center of Georgetown, the capital, in February 1962. Dr. Jagan says the C.I.A. further undermined him, and he lost his post in elections in 1963.



Cheddi Jagan, once British Guiana's Prime Minister, is now independent Guyana's President.

In short order, things started going badly for British Guiana.

"It was after the meeting with Kennedy that the cold war heated up here," recalled Janet Jagan, then a minister in her husband's Govern-

Previously unheard-of radio stations went on the air in the capital, Georgetown. The papers printed false stories about approaching Cuban warships. Civil servants walked out. The labor unions revolted. Riots took the lives of more than 100 peo-

The key was the unions, whose rebellion crippled the Government and the economy. And the unions were taking advice and money from an interesting assortment of Ameri-

can organizations. Among them, say the Jagans and

historians familiar with the events, was the American Institute for Free Labor Development, headed by a labor official named William C. Do-

herty Jr.



in Science Times, he New York Times.

Hork Times

#### **KEEPING UP APPEARANCES**

Historians have already sketched the broad outlines of America's secret and unsavory cold-war policies, but bureaucrats reflexively refuse to declassify the details. It may be the truth, but it is apparently unseemly the Government to say so. The Week in Review. Section 4.

The institute, an international program run by the A.F.L.-C.I.O., long has aided anti-Communist abroad. In the 1950's and early abroad. In the 1950's and early 1960's, former United States intelligence officers say, the C.I.A. slipped money to the institute. The ties between the agency and the institute have long since been severed.

The agitation grew throughout 1962 and 1963. "A fire was set in the center of town," Dr. Jagan said. "The wind fanned the flames, and the center of the city burned. There are still scars. Then they changed their tactics. This is where the C.I.A. support came in full. They imposed a full blockade on shipping and air-lines. We were helpless. We had no power.

The British, at the suggestion of Administration, the Kennedy Administration, de-layed their colony's scheduled independence and changed its electoral system in October 1963. Now the electorate had to vote for parties instead of people, and a still popular but politically weakened Dr. Jagan fell from power. Once he fell, the British granted independence to the new republic of Guyana.

For the next 20 years the country was governed by Forbes Burnham

"as the British described him, an opportunist, racist and demagogue intent only on personal power," to quote from "A Thousand Days." He held power through force and fraud until his death in 1985.

He ran up a foreign debt of more than \$2 billion, a sum more than five times Guyana's gross domestic product. Interest on that debt now consumes 80 percent of the country's revenue and more than half of its foreign earnings.

"They made a mistake putting Burnham in," Janet Jagan said. "The regrettable part is that the country went backwards." One of the better-off countries in the region 30 years ago, Guyana today among the poorest. Its principal ex-

port is people. In 1992, in the country's first free elections in three decades, Dr. Jagan was elected President. In June of this year, unaware of the still-classified Kennedy-Jagan documents, the Clinton Administration prepared to nominate a new Ambassador to Guy-ana: William C. Doherty Jr., execu-tive director of the American Insti-tute for Free Labor Development.

"I was flabbergasted," President Jagan said. "We let it be known that we were not happy." His unhappiness derailed plans to nominate Mr. Doherty, who has declined several requests for an interview.

Dr. Jagan said the documents about the plot against him should be

published, and he laughed at the idea that they might anger him or embar-



Documents are said to describe C.I.A. agitation in Georgetown during the Kennedy years.

rass the United States

"Everybody in Guyana knows what happened," he said. "I don't understand why they should be kept secret. I'm not going to use these documents to blackmail the United States. Maybe President Clinton doesn't know our history, but the people who advise him should at least know their own history.

The law demands the declassification of Government papers after 30 years, unless they compromise na-tional security secrets. Dozens of Kennedy Administration documents on British Guiana remain locked away, and the State Department and the C.I.A. say they should stay that

Another volume dealing with Japan is in limbo, because it details the Kennedy Administration's secret

### The story behind a Premier's fall is a secret only in Washington.

support for Japanese conservatives, Government officials said. If either set is blocked, it would a first. No full volume of the State Department's foreign policy documents has ever been withheld because of Government secrecy

Mr. Schlesinger, whose "Thousand Days" offers the best-known account of the Kennedy-Jagan en-- an account that he now acknowledges is incomplete - said the documents should be released, so

history can be revised. "We misunderstood the whole struggle down there," Mr. Schlesin-ger said. "He wasn't a Communist. The British thought we were overreacting, and indeed we were. The acting, and indeed we were. The C.I.A. decided this was some great menace, and they got the bit between their teeth. But even if British Guia-

na had gone Communist, it's hard to see how it would be a threat."

The full story, he said, proved the truth of Oscar Wilde's witticism: The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it.'

#### 2

### The Nation

# Keeping the Secrets That Everyone Knows

BY TIM WEINER

WASHINGTON

ORE than 30 years after his death, John F.

Kennedy has gone through several incarnations: martyred saint, manic satyr, Manichean statesman. Now history has to confront his legacy as a covert operator.

Locked away in secret Government archives on the Kennedy Administration are hair-raising tales from the cold war: how he trained thugs in Latin America, rigged foreign elections, sucker-punched prime ministers and potentates. What was the thinking behind his attempt to depose. "Papa Doc" Duvalier, the dictator of Hairi? What was the depth of his involvement in attempts to kill Fidel Castro? Though the broad outlines

Reflexively, bureaucrats hide any seamy details about Kennedy's foreign policy.

of these tales are known, the full story is still veiled.

The law places a 30-year seal of secrecy on classified Government documents. For the Kennedy papers, that time is up. But those who would unseal the archives are finding their struggle increasingly difficult.

The problem is the Government's secrecy bureaucracy — officials whose task it is to decide when a secret is no longer too delicate to reveal. It has no secret orders to skew history. But it does have a strong sense that the past has the power to embarrass the United States — and shookin't be allowed to.

But that power to embarrass is dehatable. Cheddi Jagan, now President of Guyana, says he knows perfectly well that President Kennedy cooked up a plot that overthrew him as Guyana's leader three decades ago. So why should the records stay sealed? The people who make American foreign policy "should at least know their own history." he said in a recent interview.

But sealed the records are, and they may stay that way. Historians had high hopes 18 months ago when the Clinton Administration promised a new executive order on government secrecy. The country would have the least secretive policy since the birth of the modern national security apparatus is 1947. It looked like documents 25 years old or older would be readily declassified, and the hidden Kennedy history revealed.

#### Going Nowhere

Nothing has happened. The policy remains a nice idea going nowhere. It is bogged down in endless squabbles at the C.L.A., the State Department, the Justice Department and the National Security Council, and was last seen heading for the memory hole.

Cold war historians are increasingly looking to the State Department's official record of American diplomacy, The Foreign Relations of the United States, published regularly since the 19th century. The State Department's Kennedy files are ripe for review and release under the current law that, in some cases, allows declassification of papers after 30 years.

But the process of releasing the Kennedy files for the Foreign Relations series is giving the Government fits. And the struggle may create a new precedent. A committee of historians with a legal mandate from Congress is reviewing the State Department files for the Foreign Relations series. The committee received new powers after its chairman resigned four years ago, protesting the Government's deletion from the official record of the C.I.A.'s 1953 coup in Iran, which put Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi in power. The historians have the power to speak out if they think Government secrecy was falsifying the public record, to call for the release of crucial documents, and to block publication of censored official histories that present inaccurate pictures of American policy.

The Kennedy files have created two crises for the historians. A new volume on Guyana may not be



President John F. Kennedy in the Oval Office in 1961.

published, due to Government reluctance to declassify the documents on the plot to mose at Mr. Jagan. Another volume dealing with Japan is in limbo, because it contains records on the Kennedy Administration's secret support for Japanese conservatives.

#### No Distortion, No History

The committee says it will not publish histories distorted by secrecy. Unless State Department officials release the disputed papers, the volumes will be withheld from publication, creating an unprecedented empty space on the shelves of American diplomatic history. Similar struggles are likely to happen over and over with the Johnson archives, the Nixon archives and on

down through the corridors of history, unless a policy that errs on the side of openness is created. But ouch hopeful advocates of the changes Mr. Clinton promised say they have lost their faith.

There is no grand conspiracy here, no cabal of censors looking to preserve Presidential images or deep-six stories that belong in history books. Instead, there is an almost Victorian sense that acknowledging a dirty secret in detail is somehow more shameful than letting others tell the story. So the Government's gears, long calibrated to conceal classified papers, grind-on in the clockwork movement of a cold-war bureaucracy that was supposed to have been swept away with the Berfin Wall and the rest of the rubble from Kennedy's "long twinght straggle."



Office of the President, Georgetown,
Guyana.

October 31, 1994.

Dear Mr Humphrey,

Thanks for sending us copy of the TimesFax referring to the article by Tim Weiner with the article headed "A Kennedy-C.I.A. Plot Haunts White House".

I agree with you that Guyana should now benefit from their guilty complex by the writeham continue off of our debts.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Cheddi Jagan President

Mr Richard Humphrey Managing Director Tower Hotel Main Street Georgetown.

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### State Department, CIA Accused Of Holding Back "Guyana Papers

by Earl Bousquet

The Clinton administration is receiving accolades from world capitals for its role in restoration of Haiti's democratically elected President Jean Bertrand Aristide. But at home, it's under pressure from historians for refusing to release documents necessary to complete documentation of the official history of US foreign policy - documents which are likely to shed a dim light on foreign policy relations with Guyana and Japan during the Keneddy presidency.

According to US media reports, a nine-member independent panel of distinguished historians was appointed to

#### (From front page)

to declassify 30-year-old documents...remains the greatest barrier to meeting the Congressional mandate that the FRUS series be accurate and comprehensive."

Kimball said the stance taken by the CIA and the State Department will, in his committee's unanimous opinion, "seriously distort the record of American foreign policy" with at least two nations during the Keneddy administration. The two: Guyana and Japan.

Chairman Kimball said his

vouch for the authenticity of a series called "Foreign relations of the United States" (FRUS). The group is now said to be complaining that the Clinton Administration is holding back on the documents because of claims by the US State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that their release would not be in the national security interests of the United States of America.

But in a recent letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Historical Advisory Committee Chairman Warren F. Kimball of Rutgers University said: "The refusal of the State Department and other agencies, most often the CIA,

(See back page)

panel has concluded that the refusal to declassify the documents "derives from fear of embarrassment rather than national security."

Mirror understands that in Guyana's case, the documents contain hitherto unpublicised statements and actions by the CIA and the US State Department in pursuance of the goal of removing the elected Cheddi Jagan administration from office in the six-

The British Government has declassified 30-year-old documents which shed much light

on the not-so-hidden alliance between Britain and the USA against the Jagan administrations of the sixties, in the name of anti-communism.

Meanwhile, the Big Press in the USA is on to the story. The New York Times last week dispatched journalist Tim Weiner of its Washington Bureau to Guyana to follow-up on the story.

While here he conducted an dent Jagan and carried out other investigations that could help bring some of the hidden

extensive interview with Presi-

truths to light.

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Mirror 94/10/30 point)a

# Secrecy over C.I.A. Guyana 'smoking gun' papers

THE refusal by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A) and the State Department to release secret agency documents on the 1963 overthrow of the Cheddi Jagan Government, is creating waves in Washington.

The New York Times and the Washington Post have been digging behind the veil of secrecy thrown up over the destabilisation plot ordered by the administration of the late President John F. Kennedy.

New York Times correspondent, Tim Weiner, travelled here last month to interview President Cheddi Jagan on the issue and his dispatch was carried on Sunday.

According to Weiner:

"It was a small clandestine operation...President Kennedy ordered the Central Intelligence Agency to subvert the country's leader. The leader fell, and the CIA's men quietly left town.

"Time passed and the wheels of history turned. The cold war ended, and with its end the fallen leader was elected President of what is now independent Guyana. United States law says it s time to unseal the secret documents that detail Kennedy's plot against him."

But, Weiner said, State Department and CIA officials refuse to release the documents saying it is not worth the embarrassment.

He added: "Keeping secrets can cause embarrassment too. In June the Clinton Administration recalled.

On October 25, 1961, Prime Minister Jagan went to the White House seeking financial aid and offering assurances.

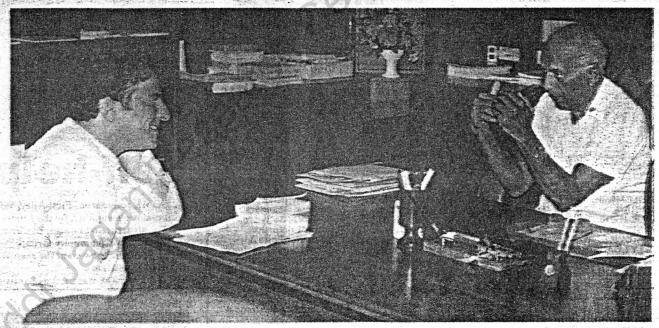
"I went to see President Kennedy to seek the help of the United States, and to seek his support for our independence from the British," President Jagan told Weiner.

"He was charming and jovial. Now, the United States feared that I would give Guyana to the Russians. I said if this is your fear, fear not. We will not have a Soviet base. I raised the question of aid. They did not give a positive response. The meeting ended on this note."

The meeting was recorded by the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in A THOU-SAND DAYS, his memoir of the Kennedy White House.

"Jagan was unquestionably some sort of Marxist," he wrote, but also "plainly the most popular leader in British Guiana," adding, "The question was whether he was recoverable for democracy." Another question was whether he and his nation of 600,000 represented a threat to the United States, the New York Times said.

Weiner reported: "Kennedy told Dr Jagan that United States policy toward his country was clear: 'National independence. This is the basic thing. As long as you do that, we don't care whether you are socialist, capitalist, pragmatist or whatever.' A joint statement was issued, com-



FILLING the gaps: New York Times correspondent Tim Weiner with President Jagan in Georgetown last month.

Weiner's account said that previously unheard of radio stations went on the air in Georgetown. The papers printed false stories about approaching Cuban warships. Civil servants walked out. The labour unions revolted. Riots took the lives of more than 100 persons.

The key was the unions, whose rebellion crippled the Government and the economy. And the unions were taking advice and money from an interesting assortment of American organisations, he said.

"Among them, say the

The British, at the suggestion of the Kennedy Administration, delayed their colony's scheduled independence and changed its electoral system in October 1963. Now the electorate had to vote for parties instead

of people, and a still popular but politically weakened Dr Jagan fell from power. Once he fell, the British granted independence...

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scribed him, an opportunist, racist and demagogue intent only on personal power", to quote from `A Thousand Days.' He held power through force and

(turn to same 12)

# over C.I.A Guyana 'smoking

(from centre pages) fraud until his death in

He ran up a foreign debt of

more than \$2 billion, a sum gross domestic product. Interest more than five times Guyana's on that debt now consumes 80. per cent of the country's revenue and more than half of its foreign earnings.

"They made a mistake putting Burnham in," Janet Jagan said. "The regrettable part is that the country went backwards." One of the better-off countries in the region 30 years ago, Guyana today is among the poor-

In 1992, the country's first free elections in three decades. Dr Jagan was elected President. In June of this year, unaware of the still-classified Kennedy-Jagan documents, the Clinton Administration prepared to nominate a new Ambassador to Guyana: William C Doherty Jr. executive director of the American Institute for Free Labour Development

"I was flabbergasted," President Jagan said. "We let it beknown that we were not happy." His unhappiness derailed plans to nominate Mr Doherty, who has declined several requests for an interview.

Dr Jagan said the documents about the plot against him should be published and he laughed at the idea that they might anger him or embarrass the United States.

"Everybody in Guyana knows what happened," he said. "I don't understand why they should be kept secret. I'm not going to use these documents to blackmail the United States. Maybe President Clinton doesn't know our history, but the people who advise him should at least know their own history."

The law demands the declassification of government

papers after 30 years, unless they compromise national security secrets.

Dozens of Kennedy Administration documents on British Guiana remain locked away, and the State Department and the C.I.A. say they should stay that way.

Another volume dealing with Japan is in limbo because it: details the Kennedy Administration's secret support for Japanese conservatives, Govemment officials said.

If either set is blocked, it would a first.

No full volume of the State Department's foreign policy documents has ever been withheld because of Government sccrecy.

Mr Schlesinger, whose 'Thousand Days' offers the bestknown account of the Kennedy-Jagan encounter - an account that he now acknowledges is incomplete - said the documents should be released, so history can be revised.

"We misunderstood the whole struggle down there," Mr Schlesinger said.

"He wasn't a Communist. The British thought we were overreacting and indeed we were. The CIA decided this was some great menace, and they got the bit between the teeth.

"But even if British Guiana had gone Communist, it's hard to see how it would be a threat."

. The full story, he said proved the truth of Oscar Wilde's criticism, "The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite

GUARCIAN WEEKLY

# TERNATIONAL NEWS 5

# CIA 'toppled Cheddi Jagan'

Cheggi Jagar

### Jonathan Freedland in Washington

CIA have refused to publish a set of 30 year-old documents which experts say reveal a frank order by President Kennedy to topple the democratically-elected leader of what is now Guyana.

The episode has embarrassed the Clinton administration, which inadvertently nominated a former agent involved in the operation as ambassador to the country.

sador to the country.

According to US officials, the still-classified papers show an order by Kennedy to remove Cheddi-Jagan, the first native-born prime minister of the then British Guiana.

Kennedy reportedly gave the order in 1961 after accepting CIA advice that Mr Jagan was a Marxist and that British Guiana might be

come a second Cuba. A campaign of subversion began. Strikes and riots claimed 100 lives.

The effort to undermine Mr Jagan culminated in a fire in 1962 which razed much of the capital, Georgetown. A US blockade further dented Mr Jagan's popularity, and in 1963 he was voted out.

Unreleased papers show that Guiancan unions — key players in the anti-Jagan effort — were funded by the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD), an anti-communist body which is alleged to have have been subsidised by the CIA

In June President Clinton nominated William Doherty, the former AIFLD head, ambassador to Guyana. "I was flabbergasted," said Mr Jagan, now president of Guyana. "We let it be known we were not happy."

# CIA Refuses To Release Guyana Documents

Special to India Monitor

WASHINGTON - There has been no secret about CIA and President John F. Kennedy overthrowing the democratically elected government of Cheddi Jagan because they did not agree with the leftwing policies of the government. But the small and secret operation in a little South American country three decades  $ago is\, creating\, problem for\, President\, Bill$  Prize winning historian and an adviser to Kennedy. Schlesinger is also a friend of the Kennedy family, and was very close to Robert Kennedy.

Keeping secret can cause embarrassment too, said a long article in The New York Times. In June the Clinton Administration prepared to send a new Ambassador to Guyana — apparently unaware that the prospective nominee had helped to undermine the restored leader.

Washington, suspended British Guiana's Constitution and ordered its Government dissolved. Dr. Jagan was too leftist for London and Washington's taste, though the people of British Guiana liked him.

an and his wife the former Jane Rosenberg of Chicago, were freed from jail after the British restored constitutional government, and he was re-elected in 1957 and 1961.

The latter year saw Kennedy's disas-



Cheddi Jagan with President Kennedy in Washington; soon after the 'cordial' meeting he was overthrown with American aid

Clinton, a self-confessed admirer of

With the end of the Cold War, Cheddi Jagan, was able to return to power -according to many observers, he never gave up his determination to return to politics. It is another story that he softened his Marxist postures, and accepted market economy.

Now, Guyana wants to get hold of the secret documents that led to the fall of Jagan. And though the United States law says it is time to unseal the secret documents that detail Kennedy's plot against him, the State Department and C.I.A. officials refuse to release them, saying it is not worth the embarrassment. But the demand for the release of the documents have come from many people including professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Pultizer

The events of 30 years ago may be filed and forgotten in Washington; they are fresh in the memory of those who lived through them, The Times said.

The story begins in 1953, when British Guiana, an English-speaking colony peopled by the descendants of slaves and indentured laborers from Africa and India respectively, elected its first nativeborn Prime Minister: Cheddi Jagan, a son of the colonial plantations, an Americaneducated dentist and an admirer of the works of Karl Marx and Lenin. But Jagan was also an admirer of Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian leader's policies of a middle path -- blending democratic socialism and private enterprise, with socialism getting a heavier hand in state planning and economy.

Four months later, London, prodded by

trous Bay of Pigs invasion, aimed at overthrowing Cuba's leader, Fidel Castro, which ended up with deep embarrassment to America. A newspaper cartoon of the day depicted a double-barrel shotgun aimed at the United States. One barrel was labeled "Cuba," the other "British Guiana.

On Oct. 25, 1961, Prime Minister Jagan went to the White House, seeking financial aid and offering assurances that his government was not against the West, and that he believed in non-alignment, a policy enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru, Nasser of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia..

"I went to see President Kennedy to seek the help of the United States, and to seek his support for our independence from the British," he said in a recent SUN 6 NOV 1994

ESTD 1905 YR 87 NR 43

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA

TEN DOLLARS (\$10)

# FURORE IN NY TIMES OVER MAN WHO TOPPLED JAGAN

President Kennedy ordered the CIA to subvert Guyana's leader Dr Cheddi Jagan. The Head of the American Institute For Free Labour Development William C Doherty Jr was assigned the task and Jagan fell. Thirty years later the Clinton Administration apparently unaware of his past involvement in Guyana prepared to appoint him ambassador.

This led to the story of the Kennedy-CIA plot to unseat Jagan to be splashed across the pages of the New York Times of October 30.

The account was shocking to the Americans, but as Dr Jagan was quoted as saying "Everybody in Guyana knows what happened," yet the documents about the plot still remain classified even though it is 30 years since the events occurred.

The NY Times claim that the law demands the declassification of government papers after 30 years unless they compromise national security secrets.

But Ambassador George Jones told the Catholic Standard that it is not automatic that documents are made accessible after 30 years. Very often their release is delayed when thought inappropriate for them to be published at that time. They must be published but when is left to the government's discretion.

The NY Times relates how Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan went to see President Kennedy at the White House to seek support for Guyana's independence.

"He was very charming and jovial," Jagan said. He assured Kennedy he would not give Guyana to the Russians.

"Dr Jagan left the meeting saying he was hopeful about the prospect of aid from the United States, but Kennedy soon ordered a clandestine operation to bring down the leftist leader", the paper reported.

"Things started going badly in British Guiana. Civil servants walked out. The labour unions revolted. Riots took the lives of more than 100 people. The key was the unions, whose rebellion crippled the Government and the economy.

"The agitation grew throughout 1962 and 1963. Fires were set and the centre of the city burned...

"Then they changed their tactics. This is where the CIA support came in full. They imposed a full blockade on shipping and airlines. We were helpless we had no power, Dr

Jagan explained. A still popular, but politically weakened Dr Jagan fell from power. Once he fell the British granted independence to the new republic of Guyana."

"For the next 20 years "the Times report continues, "the country was governed by Forbes Burnham—as the British described him, an opportunist, racist and demagogue, intent only on personal power" to quote from A Thousand Days by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

"He held power through force and fraud until his death in 1985.

"He ran up a foreign debt of more than \$2 billion, a sum more than five times Guyana's gross domestic product.

Interest on that debt now consumes 80 percent of the country's revenue and more than half of its foreign earnings."

#### Ambassador Jones to stay on

Contacted by the Catholic Standard Ambassador George Jones said that Mr Doherty's agreemnt was never requested of the Government.

His name had been put forward and he was being put through the usual internal government process where the person is vetted and checked. As so often happens his name was leaked to the press and that started a reaction and his nomination was held up.

Had he completed the first stage he would have been put forward to the Guyana Government with a request for an agreement.

If the Government response were favorable his name would go before Congress and await its turn. The process may be speeded up or delayed due to the work load of Congress or to a certain amount of in-fighting among Congressmen on various issues.

Now Congress is in recess for the rest of the year and is not due to meet till late January. It may be recalled for a short meeting on GATT.

The new nominee for his successor is not likely to come before Congress till about the middle of next year. It may happen sooner or later.

Mr Jones would normally remain on until his successor is on his way, but he has not yet decided if he will wait until his successor arrives if his coming is much delayed.

WASHINGTON (IPS) -While the United States will risks not scare away the culture of secrecy in its intelligence community simply by exposing Pike, director of skeletons, many agree that military Washington must unveil its work at the Federa-Cold War secrets involving Guyana and other nations so that it can learn from its history.

The United States being found guilty of "editing history," John says the analysis nettion of American Scientists here. referring to 30-year-old documents detailing

involvement hanky-panky overseas.

"While Joe Stalin may have edited history, the theory is that the United States does not." said Pike, arguing that the documents should be opened up to set the records straight.

Pike spoke to IPS following publication of reports last month that the CIA and the U.S. State Department remain opposed to detailing how President John F. Kennedy soiled his hands in Guyanese politics.

The story of Guyana took a bizarre turn in June when the administration of U.S. President Bill Clinton made a diplomatic faux pax. The man they picked to be Ambassador to Guyana had report-

helped the overthrow the very government 30 years ago on orders from Kennedy. chickens "Cold War home are coming

roost." Pike noted. Both the Washington Post and the New Times reported last weekend that there is opposition fierce declassifying the records. The documents

Kennedy's detail to the orders rect Intelligence Central topple to Agency Guyana's elected Prime Dr Cheddi Minister, Jagan, in the 1960s.

The Times quotes officials government familiar with the secret documents as saying that though many U.S. presidents have

# The CIA, Guyana and Cold War chickens

(from page one)

Kimball - is agitating for their release, the documents remain sealed.

"If the State Department or the Clinton Administration wanted to they could release the documents tomorrow," Tom Blanton, director of the National Security Archive, told IPS.

But Blanton, whose nonprofit group works to declassify government documents, said Washington was most concerned about what the CIA calls the 'slippery slope syndrome.'

FIf they relax their guard and let out data on covert action it will be difficult to withhold information on the next convert operation," he said.

·But reports are that State Department and CIA officials say the documents are not worth the embarrassment.

The problem is that Guvana's current President, whereturned to office in 1992 elections after 30 years in the polifical doldrums, was the man oused in the not-so-secret U.S.

agan's People's ProgresverParty (PPP) won a majorty of parliamentary seats in the 1953 general elections, and the self-proclaimed Marxist became the fist native Prime Minister of the territory then called British Guiana.

Just months later. Winston Churchill suspended the constitution and dissolved the government. But Jagan was reelected in 1957 and again in 1961, the year before Kennedy's failed Bay of Pigs invasion, which aimed to depose Cuban



PRESIDENT JAGAN

President Fidel Castro.

Kennedy told a newspaper then that "Mr, Jagan, who was recently elected Prime Minister in British Guiana, is a Marxist, but the U.S. doesn't object because that choice was made by an honest election which he won."

But U.S. labour leaders did

object to Jagan.

In his 1970 book, 'American Labour and United States Foreign Policy' Ronald Radosh cites the role of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations, which co-operated with Washington to counter leftist movements throughout the world.

"In working to defeat Cheddi Jagan, the AFL-CIO leaders revealed that they were pursuing a path that led them to espouse a cause totally removed from the interests of American or Guyanese workers," Rodash wrote.

"They were guiding nascent union movements in underdeveloped societies into becoming pawns of the anti-communist forces, and chiefly of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency," he said.

Jagan himself visited the White House seeking aid on October 25, 1961. According to accounts of the visit, Kennedy reassured him that Washington was only concerned with national independence.

"As long as you do that, we don't care whether you are socialist, capitalist, pragmatist, or whatever," he reportedly said.

But the classified docu-

ments in the government archives reportedly detail specific orders from Kennedy to depose Jagan.

To add insult to injury, the Clinton Government was preparing five months ago to nominate as envoy to Guyana, William Doherty, the executive director of the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD) who is accused of helping effect



PRESIDENT CLINTON

Jagan's downfall. "The only person who didn't have the information was Bill Clinton himself," said Pike. "It's a classic case of the U.S. government lying to itself."

Several U.S. officials from organised labour and the intelligence community have confirmed that the CIA used Doherty and other labour leaders to instigate a series of mass strikes in Guyana from 1962 to 1964 that eventually brought down Jagan.

Doherty has denied specific charges of his role: "I was there (in Guvana) many times and had dear friends there, but I had nothing to do with the CIA," he was quoted as saying in 'Endless Enemies', a book by Jonathan Kwitny.

Guyana's Ambassador to Washington, Dr Odeen Ishmael confirms that no official nomination has vet been made on a U.S. envoy.

And he repeated President Jagan's wish that the records be made public.

Steven Aftergood of the Federation of American Scientists agrees: "The lesson here is we need to undertake an agdeclassification gressive programme, so we can learn from our history."

For its part, the State Department declined to comment specifically on the Guyana documents, but cited national security concerns as a reason for keeping certain information classified.

Referring to its documentary series on U.S. foreign policy, a spokesperson told IPS:

"Declassification decisions attempt to balance the scholarly integrity of the series with national security concerns and the conduct of current diplomacy."

The Department "reaches decisions (to declassify) only after receiving the best possible advice," the official said.

But Blanton of the National



PRESIDENT CASTRO

Security Archive says an order by Clinton to make the documents public would not change the culture of secrecy in Washington's intelligence community.

"It's an oil super tanker. The pilot on the bridge can turn the wheels, but it's many miles before the ship starts turning."

Deas Irambut Jagan, Tis letter from Doherty affected in NY Time, dotal 6/11/94 - as a neply to Tim Wiener's astale on the CIA/6 myona/ AKFLD on 30/10/94. DOHERTY HAS NOT CHANGED. BETT PERSONAL REGIMOS

### Labor Development Institute Has Never Taken C.I.A. Money

To the Editor:

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Your Oct. 30 news article on United States involvement 30 years ago British Guiana mentions the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s American Institute for Free Labor Development. It says that "in the 1950's and early 1960's, former United States intelligence officers say, the C.I.A. slipped money to the institute."

Yet the institute did not begin operating until June 1962. It has never been offered, nor has it ever taken or distributed, any funds from the Central Intelligence Agency. It has always been financed from United States foreign aid funds appropriated by Congress and from union dues money, and its record of accountability, as detailed in numerous Government audits, including the General

Accounting Office, is exemplary.

Burling most of the 1901-02 period discussed in the article, I served as

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and tele-phone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge or return unpublished letters. Those published may be shortened for space reasons.

the Western Hemisphere director of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International. Like many international trade union secretariats, we responded to numerous calls for asfrom Guyanese trade sistance unions that were fearful that the Government was attempting to take over their organizations in the style of Fidel Castro's Cuba and the Soviet Union. In our case the assistance was mostly moral support, as the P.T.T.I. was not affluent.

When the American Institute for

### The New York Times Company

779 West 43d St , N Y 10036

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER. Chairman and Chler Executive Officer LANCE R. PRIMIS, President LAURA J. CURWIN, Secretary KATHARINE R DARROW, Sonior Vice President DAVID L. GORHAM, Senior Vice President and Chief Financial Officer RICHARD G. THOMAS, Treasurer,

Free Labor Development held its first Caribbean-wide training course in the United States in 1962, eight Guyanese unionists were among the trainees. After they returned to their country, these unionists, along with thousands of their compatriots, participated in an ongoing successful general strike to protest the Government's attempt to pass repressive new labor legislation they feared would undermine democracy.

Hard as it may be for some to accept, these Guyanese workers needed no sinister outside agitators to understand the threat against them and to mobilize themselves to defeat that threat.

The institute's role, which continues to this day, was to provide trade union education, funds for social development projects such as con-struction of homes for workers and vocational training, and minor neip for administrative overhead and office expenses. The notion that the institute has the power to overthrow governments is in some ways a flattering one, but not one supported by WILLIAM C. DOHERTY

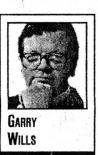
Executive Director, American Inst. for Free Labor Development Mashington, Nov. 1, 1994

NY PIMIES 6/11/94.

Preselect Jagan.

### A stain on the nation's honor

In 1963, the government of Cheddi Jagan was overthrown in Guyana, and Forbes Burnham became the ruler for the next 20 years. A racist demagogue, Burnham created a foreign debt of \$2 billion that, as Tim Weiner puts it in *The* New York Times, is "more than five times Guyana's gross domestic product — in-



terest on that debt now consumes 80 percent of the country's revenue," so that Guyana went from being one of the wealthier countries in Latin America to its present status as one of the poorest.

All this was done at the express com-

mand of President Kennedy, who issued a secret order to the CIA that it must topple Jagan, who was considered too leftist for our comfort. Jagan was the legitimately elected ruler; the country would clearly have been better off with him. But none of that mattered in our period of Cold War arrogance. Kennedy lied not only to Jagan, whom he had promised to support after his legitimate election, but to the American people, who were led to believe that we had nothing to do with the fall of Jagan.

It is 30 years later, and the time for publication of State Department and CIA records concerning this affair has arrived. Even the 30-year delay stretches the spirit of the Constitution, which calls for timely accounting of all government activities. But now officials in both the CIA and the State Department say the documents should not be included in the account of foreign affairs — asking that for the first time we publish incomplete (and, by omission, lying) official historical records.

The argument for secrecy is, as always, national security. Not that poor little Guyana can threaten us — or even that the Guyanese doubt the tale of Jagan's fall. They have reinstated Jagan, accepting his account of our activities.

No, the lie is to be upheld among our own people. The government thinks that any "embarrassment" must be stopped, even by lying, since that would weaken our prestige and self-confidence.

That has been our excuse for lying to ourselves for the last 30 years. If we accept the argument for suppression now, it will be used again and again as new periods of the Cold War come up for publication in the records.

The CIA has been at the center of all our lies, and it certainly did "embarrass" us, over and over, as we will be learning if we are allowed to see what was done in our name and with our money. The legacy of crimes the CIA has been building is so great that no reform is sufficient to redeem it. It should be abolished.

There are plenty of other security agencies, especially the National Security Agency, to collect information. The CIA was added to this array of intelligence units specifically to perform dirty operations. Its charter was drawn up in a misleading way to mask that empowerment, as Clark Clifford, who helped draw it up, has admitted.

The new Senate report on the Aldrich Ames affair concludes that the CIA has created "a system and a culture unwilling and unable to face, assess and investigate" its own errors, such as the Ames story. If it cannot collect intelligence on its own acts, why should we expect it to be better at finding out the truth about other governments? "Ecrasez l'infame." Remove the blot on our nation.

Wills is a nationally syndicated columnist, author and critic. His column appears on Wednesdays.

### PNC rejects 'hysterical' attacks

# President calls for release of CIA papers

PRESIDENT Cheddi Jagan has renewed calls for the United States to release secret documents relating to its Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) involvement in destabilising the government he headed in the 1960s.

At a press conference last week Friday, the Guyanese Head of State said he would like the documents to be released so that all the perpetrators here would be known.

The now Minority People's National Congress (PNC), trade unions and others linked with the covert US operation are being protected, the President concluded, referring to the refusal by the United States administration to make the documents public.

He claimed that PNC Leader, Mr Desmond Hoyte, was repeating what his predecessor, the late Mr Forbes Burnham did in 1962, by going abroad and taking an "anti patriotic...anti national" position and giving a "lot of half truths."

Describing this as "dangerous," President Jagan said that Hoyte will fail because this is not 1962.

The PNC was trying to destabilise the current government, he charged but cautioned: "today is a different day", because the United States and other governments have helped Guyana to restore democracy. He praised the Americans for

this and helping in reconstruction efforts to "clear the mess that the PNC created in this country."

try."
"I feel very strongly about this, because this country has suffered for 28 years under mismanagement and corruption and extravagance and all that's due to the role that the PNC played after we won the 1961 elections," he told reporters.

President Jagan called it a "tragedy" that Hoyte and the PNC were taking anti patriotic, anti national positions, "looking at their own personal and party self interest."

However, he added they will not succeed, referring to statements by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank that Guyana was doing extremely well.

The country's infrastructure has to be rehabilitated as quickly as possible, so that investors can come and get along with the job of helping to develop Guyana, he said.

But, in a statement this week, the PNC rejected what it called "hysterical attacks" on its leader, by President Jagan.

The party termed it "unfortunate" that the President and his "commissars" were caught in "a time warp and find it necessary to resort to communist interpretation and jargon which have no place in today's world."

Hoyte, as leader of the PNC had no obligation to "whitewash

and apologise for the disastrous policies being blindly pursued by the PPP (People's Progressive Party) regime," the party charged.

As a responsible leader, Hoyte remains committed to serving the genuine interests of the Guyanese people and will continue to expose any ineptitude, corruption and/or incompetence of the PPP regime, the PNC offered.

It suggested that President KOWLESS

Jagan will do well to bear in mind that Hoyte's assertions have been justified by an institution (Guyana Office for Investment) which this regime creat-

It said the President can more profitably use his time and resources to halt the decline in investment and consequent suffering caused to the majority of Guyanese. (NIVEDTA KOWLESSAR) Guyana Chronicle, Wednesday, November, 23, 1994

# Doherty denies AIFLD helped remove Jagan Government

EXECUTIVE Director of the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD), William 'Bill' Doherty is denying the organisation helped effect the downfall of the Cheddi Jagan government in the 1960s.

Jagan government in the 1960s.

"The notion that the Institute has the power to overthrow Governments is in some ways a flattering one, but not supported by reality," he declared in a November 1, 1994 letter to the New York Times newspaper.

Doherty also insisted the institute "has never been offered, nor has it ever taken any funds from the CIA."

His letter followed the newspaper's October 30, 1994 story on the United States involvement 30 years ago in then British Guiana.

That article reported that former United States intelligence officers had said the CIA slipped money to the institute, during the 1950s and early 1960s.

Some five months ago the Clinton Administration was preparing to nominate Doherty as the new US Ambassador to Guyana.

But protests, including from the Guyana Government caused the proposal to be scotched.

Responding to the CIA money claims, Doherty said that the AFL-CIO's (American Federation of Labor-Congress of International Organisations) AIFLD did not begin operating until June 1962.

He added that the institute has always been financed from the United States foreign aid funds, appropriated by Congress, and from union dues money.

The institute's "record of accountability as detailed in nu-

merous Government audits, including the General Accounting Office, is exemplary," he argued.

During the 1961-62 period, Doherty served as the Western Hemisphere Director of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI).

"Like many international trade union secretariats, we responded to numerous calls for assistance from Guyanese trade unions that were fearful that the Government was attempting to take over their organisations in the style of Fidel Castro's Cuba and the Soviet Union," he asserted.

But Doherty claimed, "in our case the assistance was mostly moral support, as the PTTI was not affluent."

He added that when the AIFLD held its first Caribbean-wide training course in the United states in 1962, eight Guyanese unionists were among the trainees.

"After they returned to their country, these unionists, along with thousands of their compatriots, participated in an ongoing successful general strike to protest the Government's attempt to pass repressive new labour legislation they feared would undermine democracy," the Executive Director claimed.

Doherty asserted: "Hard as it may be for some to accept, these Guyanese workers needed no sinister outside agitators to understand the threat against them and to mobilise themselves to defeat the threat."

In the letter carried in the NY Times November 6 edition, he said that the AIFLD's role to this day is "to provide trade union education, funds for social development projects such as construction of homes for workers and vocational training, and minor help for administrative overhead and office expenses."

There have been calls in Washington for the State Department and the CIA to release documents which record the involvement of the AIFLD in the orchestrated overthrow of the government led by then Premier Cheddi Jagan.

The secret documents, which should be made public now that the statutory 30 years have passed, are believed to detail written instructions from the late President John F. Kennedy to oust the Jagan Government.

# The CIA story - history is history

The Stabroek News is up-in-arms about the report featured in a recent New York Times article about the American government refusing to release its 1964 documents on the CIA in Guyana, under an official secrecy act that ends after 30 years. For some unknown reason, Stabroek News keeps featuring its editorials and letters on a strange position, that the President should not be concerned about the release of this information. He is constantly maligned and accused of being caught in a time fix

I wonder why. Is it that some Guyanese still living, or some already dead, will be featured in the exposure of who got CIA money to carry out the terrible mayhem of the sixties? Maybe some names will be named and some faces will show embarrassment, but in the final analysis, history is history and everyone should know the truth. Those afraid of the truth will have to hide under some silly excuses or mask, but when we remember all that happened then and all the harmit did to all Guyanese, it seems to me to be anti-patriotic to hide our history away. On top of that, it seems a sham to blame the President for demanding that the truth come out and the infamous CIA documents be delivered.

Cheddi Jagar

A Member of the PPP who suffered in the sixties.



Office of the President New Carto St., & South Ship Computers, Lagrana

December 5, 1994.

Mr Tim Weiner
Journalist
The New York Times
New York
USA.

Dear Mr Weiner,

My office has been flooded with clippings of your story of October 30 'Kennedy/CIA Plot returns to haunt Clinton", and I wish to congratulate you on a fine piece of journalism and to thank you for bringing the fact of the present situation about the release of documents on this subject to light.

It is my hope that the US administration will be persuaded to release the documents in good faith so that the true history of the events which took place then could be recorded.

I am enclosing for your perusal an extract from my book The Caribbean: Whose Backyard? entitled "Aid with Strings".

Over this past weekend the PPP has held its 25th Congress and I have enclosed also a copy of my Opening Speech and the Report of the PPP Central Committee to the Congress.

With kind regards and best wishes for a Happy Holiday.

Yours sincerely,

Cheddi Jagar President

Co-operative Republic of Guyana.

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### PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

CABLE ADDRESS: "PPP"

FREEDOM HOUSE

Dial 72095-6

41. ROBB STREET, LACYTOWN, GEORGETOWN, GUYANA, SOUTH AMERICA.

General Secretary - CHEDDI JAGAN

DECEMBER 28, 1994.

The Editor
Guyana Chronicle
Lama Avenue
Bel Air Park
Georgetown.

Dear Editor,

A Reuter story stated: "Former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, a chief defender of America's involvement in Vietnam under Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, died Tuesday Night at his home here. He

What was not mentioned was his role in the overthrow of the PPP Government in the early 1960's. That role is now hidden, as the US administration is refusing to declassify documents of that period.

In his <u>West</u> on <u>Trial</u>, Dr Cheddi Jagan disclosed Rusk's role. He stated: 'On March 12, 1963, William R. Tyler, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, gave evidence before a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Appropriations, House of Representatives. When asked whether the United States government favoured my continuing as head of the government, he replied: "No, the U.S. Government does not." ... When pressed further that British Guiana would soon achieve independence under the PPP government, Tyler was most revealing.

Mr Tyler: "May I remind you, Mr Congressman, as of now, this country is under the control of the parent government."

Mr Cederberg: "But they can let it go any time desired. Is that right?" Mr Tyler: They can, butif may go off the record on this?'

No doubt, Tyler was requesting permission to rela5te in private the the sinister plot at the level of the Presidency and the US State Department. During Kennedy's visit to London in May 1963 a similar point of view was expressed by the President's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, on BBC television. And Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretry of State, was reported by the London Times on June 29, 1963, to have urged Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary, to suspend our constitutuon or hold a referendum on a new system of voting. The Times and the Guardian. cp,,emtomg pm tje ta;ls om ,au;063

commenting on the talks in May 1963 between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan, indicated that Guiana was one of the issues discussed by the two leaders.

Pinpointing U.S. interfence inour domestic affairs, even the Tory

M.P. and Colonial Secretary Iain Macloed said in a debtate on British Guiana in June 1964, in the House of Commons: "There is an irony we all re recognise in the fact of America urging us all over the world towards colonial freedom except where it approaches their own doorstep. was last inAmerica ... I discussed with may people, including President Kennedy , this particular question which weighs anxiously on their minds. I myself think their fears (about Dr Jagan) are exaggerated. The American attitude seems dangerous because in my experience if you put off independence because you fear you may get left-wing government, the most likely thing to happen is that you will get a government even further to the left.

Iain Macleod, who chaired the 1960 Constitutional Conference, knew that the denial of independence and the imposition of the electoral system of proportional representation in October 1963, was a breach of the formula meddi Jagan Research Centif agreed upon in 1960 for indpendence.

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Editor, Placor A Benter story indicated that former US Scretary of State, Dean Part Rusk, & who was a chief defender of the Victure America's involvement en Vietnam under Bresidents John F. Kennedy and Fyndon Johnson, died at age ss. to The story did not mention Rusk's involvement in the removal of the PPP from government in 1964. In De Cheddi Jugan Kas documented Rusk's role in his look, the The west to On Trial. He wrote: On October 31 [1964], the New Jork Times ... ( \$ 320 ) \$5 21 a) ... Castro-type state.