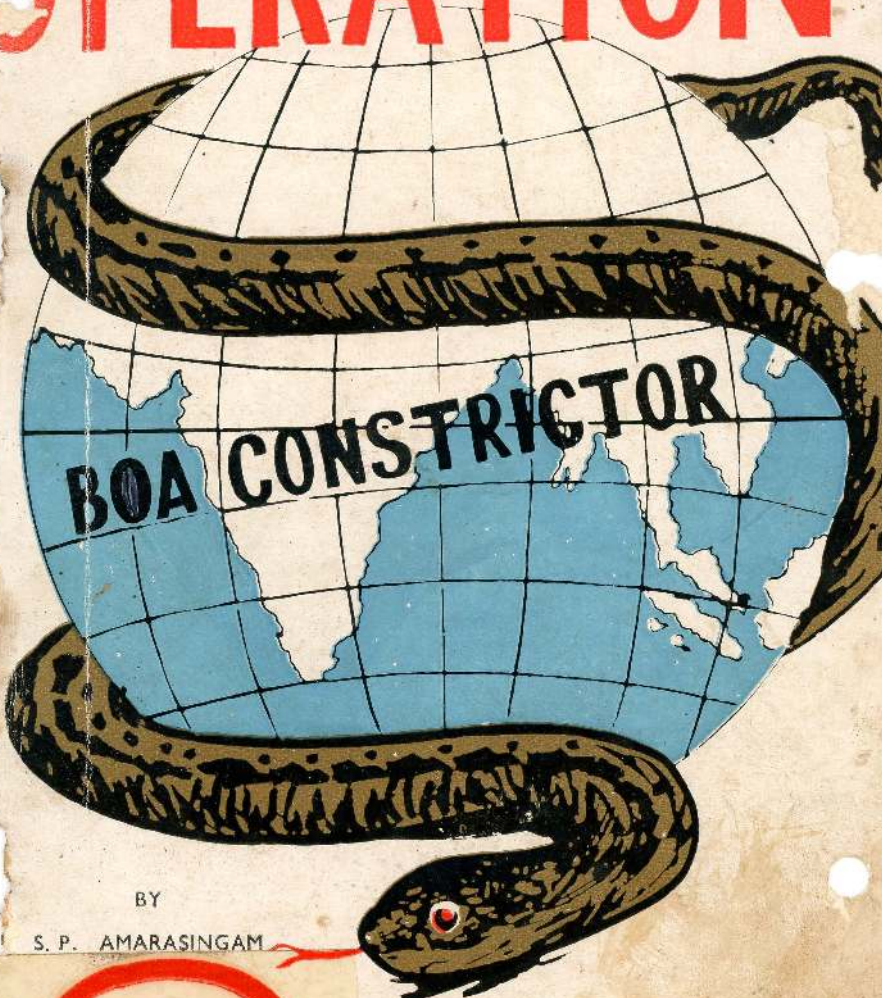


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# OPERATION



**BOA CONSTRICTOR**

BY

S. P. AMARASINGAM

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AME

# CONSPIRACY IN

# S. E. ASIA

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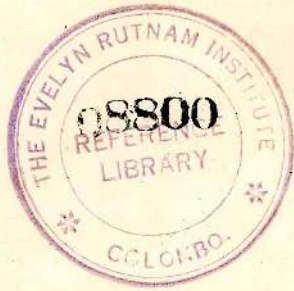
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# OPERATION BOA CONSTRICTOR

## U.S. CONSPIRACY IN S.E. ASIA

by

**S. P. AMARASINGAM**



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OPERATION

BOA CONSTRUCTION

U.S. CONSPIRACY IN S.E. ASIA

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# FOREWORD

In the first half of December 1963, when Ayub Khan was in Ceylon on a State Visit and when a highpowered team of US Army chiefs led by General Maxwell Taylor were in India discussing military aid, inspired news was "leaked" in a Washington paper that the Seventh Fleet was moving into the Indian Ocean in order to stabilise the defence of the "free world." Papers in all countries in Asia immediately flashed this news on their front pages. Though there was a spontaneous outcry in many Asian countries against this move of the United States, there is no doubt that many people, even in Ceylon, did not realise the dangers inherent in the Seventh Fleet patrolling the Indian Ocean. Naively, they argued that the United States was only moving in to "fill a power vacuum" in order to deter communist countries like China and the Soviet Union, or "poverty-stricken" countries like Indonesia, from committing "aggression" in this region. This line of argument was rooted in the firm belief that the United States was not an "imperialist" power, and that its actions should be judged differently from those of the Western Powers which had subjugated and ruled Asian countries for centuries.

It was clear that people who argued in this way did not know just what the present-day rulers of the United States had made of the country built by men like Jefferson and Lincoln. There was, therefore, an urgent need to analyse the contemporary role of the United States particularly in South East Asia region. Indeed, for nearly two years I had felt that a lucid and straight forward examination of Wall Street neo-colonialism was urgently necessary. This had been brought home to me very forcibly during a short stay in a well-known hotel in Trincomalee in July 1962.

One evening I found myself in the lounge with an old couple who were transparently British all over and a robust

middle-aged gentleman whose accent made it quite clear that he was from the land of the Almighty Dollar. They were enthusiastically discussing the tourist attractions of the island. The old British couple had been in Ceylon many years ago when they had owned a tea plantation and they had come over to pay "one last visit" to the land of "eternal sunshine". The American tourist was "doing the world" in easy stages. The evening would have passed uneventfully if the American had not switched on a powerful little transistor to hear "the latest world news" from a **Voice of America** station. The first announcement, was that "today", on July 23, 1962, a Declaration about the neutrality of Laos had been signed in Geneva. It was good news, they all agreed. But before they could discuss anything more, the **Voice of America** further announced that a "top secret conference" had taken place on that very same day at the US Naval Base in Hawaii convened by the US Defence Secretary McNamara. Besides McNamara, the Conference was attended by the US Ambassador in South Vietnam (Nolting), the US Ambassador in Thailand (Young), the US Supreme Commander in South Vietnam and Thailand (Harkins), and other senior officials and officers whom the **New York Times** later described as persons engaged in "elaborating American policy for South East Asia".

Discussion naturally arose about these important matters. The British couple felt that the Americans were most certainly "preparing something" at their "top level conference" in Pearl Harbour. The lady caustically remarked: "Here comes the American Empire!". The American millionaire — that is what he claimed to be — with a deep sense of injury and disappointment retorted that "people the world over know that the British had an Empire: that it is possible to speak of a French or a Portuguese Empire, or even a Dutch Empire, if you like", but that there was no such thing as an American Empire. "American Imperialism", he concluded, "is a communist fabrication."

Having made this categorical pronouncement, the American turned to me for support. He obviously expected me, a Ceylonese, to condemn British Imperialism which had plagued this country for so many decades. Or, it may be that he expected me to express approval of America and her policies in view of the dollar fortune which the US had spent in Ceylon as "aid." Eight months later, US cut its "aid" to Ceylon because the Government would not

knuckle down to the blackmail Washington resorted to in order save the foreign oil companies, especially Caltex and Esso, from losing their stranglehold on the island's economy, and this was an added reason why a fuller understanding about American policies in South East Asia was essential.

I did not want to get drawn into an argument with the tourists in the Trincomalee hotel at that time. In fact, I was not quite prepared to "prove" why American neo-colonialism—just a variant of classical imperialism — was even more dangerous than the aggressive imperialisms of the British, French, Portuguese and the Dutch put together. But, from that time onwards, I began to collect material for a careful study of the historical processes now taking place in South East Asia under the impact of the activities of American dollar imperialism.

I have gathered much material, but I have in this small booklet only included the most appropriate and the most relevant to illustrate what this analysis reveals. It is my hope that this modest contribution would prove to be both helpful and useful to all those who are interested in a study of American policies in South East Asia, particularly to those who are anxious to see that the new emergent countries continue to be independent and sovereign.

S. P. Amarasingam

Colombo,  
April, 1964.

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# OPERATION BOA CONSTRICTOR

## 1. THREE STAGES

Up to now no major analytical studies have been produced containing a thorough examination the stages and methods of the United States' post-war penetration into South-East Asia.

America has a whole armoury of methods and means at its disposal for this purpose, and many of them remain unknown to the public. It is possible, of course, to make a theoretical study of the official aid rendered by the U.S. government to the countries of South-East Asia. But no correct assessment can ever be made of the money spent in these countries by the U.S. State Department, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), United States Information Agency (USIA,) various Foundations, Missions and philanthropic organisations. Even the U.S. Congress is sometimes unable to keep a check on the activities of the CIA.

In other words, an investigator finds himself overwhelmed by a whole array of organisations and forces, some of which act in the open while others operate behind the scenes. These include commercial activities connected with oil, rubber or tin, as well as various other actions undertaken by the CIA, SEATO, State Department or the Pentagon which controls the movements of the U.S. Special Forces troops. All these elements are closely interwoven, and it is difficult to find a better common term for them than neo-colonialism.

From available official American sources, the history of the penetration of U.S. capital into South-East Asia can be divided into three stages.



*The First Stage:* After the defeat of Japan in World War II, America began building up its power in this area of the world. In the forties, the United States gained control over Japanese bases on the islands and took over the possessions of Britain and France, its military allies.

*The Second Stage:* This stage begins with the formation of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949. After gaining control over the island bases, the United States increased its air and naval forces in that area turned the Pacific into an "American lake" patrolled and by units of the U.S. Navy.

*The Third Stage:* Begins with the conclusion of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. These agreements hastened the elimination of the French sphere of influence in Indo-China by Washington.

During the first years after the surrender of Japan, the domination of Indo-China was but a secondary objective for the United States. The main aim was to penetrate into China. The American monopolies had counted on holding away in that country for at least 50 years. The Pentagon, in its turn, planned to set up air force and naval bases in China to complete the encirclement of Soviet Russia. This programme was disclosed in numerous documents, especially in the report of U.S. Lieutenant-General Wedemeyer which caused a sensation in its day.

After "losing China", Washington immediately launched a policy of encircling that country and, if possible, of segregating it economically and physically. With this aim in view, the United States took three measures in 1950: the Korean War; the "defence" of Formosa proclaimed by President Truman on July 27; and the Treaty with France, signed in December in Saigon, making Washington to bear the main expenses of the War in Indo-China. However, when these measures also failed to bring the desired results, the United States changed its tactics.

John Foster Dulles, then U.S. Secretary of State, had gone to Geneva for the 1954 conference on Indo-China. There, he had tried to make "allies" send troops to Indo-China and expand the war, this time

under American supervision. Dulles had brought with him a draft plan and schedule for carrying out a new intervention. This plan had envisaged the creation of SEATO, a treaty organization for South-East Asia. After the setting up of SEATO in September 1954, the United States declared that this organization "takes upon itself the defence" of Laos, Cambodia and South Viet-Nam, i.e. countries which the Geneva Agreements had proclaimed neutral.

In this way, Washington had opened the way towards interfering directly in the affairs of Laos, Cambodia and South Viet-Nam. Its primary task was to make these countries give up their neutrality to become U.S. military bases spearheaded against China, North Viet-Nam and the other neighbouring countries.

A careful study of official sources shows that American tactics in South-East Asia and the Far East were characterised by two main features.

*First*, U.S. diplomacy justified the seizing of the possessions of both its enemies and its allies by the necessity of and inevitability of war against a "common enemy." To start with the common enemies were Germany in Europe and Japan in the Far East. After the defeat of these countries, "international communism" became the common enemy. And so all the efforts of American propaganda were directed to advocating the necessity for consolidating the "free nations" for war against "communism." The United States used the pretext of anti-communism to gain control over the possessions of its allies, especially France.

*Second*, a characteristic feature of the activities of U.S. imperialism was that it adopted new methods. The international situation had undergone a major change. In the conditions of the growing demands for national freedom, it was no longer possible to use the old methods of the European colonial powers which had seized foreign territories and placed them under the supervision of their governors and civilian employees. The Americans took another road.

The main aim of the new policy of the United States was to establish its political, economic, financial and ideological influence in the underdeveloped countries without formally infringing their sovereignty.

## 2. SECRETS OF STRATEGY

NOT long after the "top secret conference" in Pearl Harbour, in July 1962, the American press began gradually to reveal the "secrets" discussed at this conference.

Speaking at Pearl Harbour, U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara had said that the participants of the secret meeting had analysed the activities of the United States in South East Asia in the light of the increasing U.S. aid to the Ngo Dinh Diem government. In its report from Pearl Harbour, the Associated Press had referred to the statement of an anonymous "spokesman" which showed that the participants of the meeting discussed the dangerous consequences which might possibly result from a peaceful settlement in Laos (dangerous for regimes of the Diem type). This "spokesman" (in all probability, McNamara himself) admitted that the main question under discussion was the direction in which the neutral Laotian government might influence the other countries of South East Asia.

Information then began to leak to the American Press about plans for the further expansion of U.S. military penetration into South-East Asia.

Today these plans have already been realised and have been further extended. The build-up of the American armed forces in South Viet-Nam has already reached 15,000 men and is steadily growing. The strength of U.S. troops in that country is soon to reach a figure which, in case of necessity, can "ensure the defence of American interests" over the entire area of South East Asia. Major attention is now being given to providing these forces with the latest types of planes, and helicopters, manned by crews specially trained for jungle warfare and equipped with chemical weapons. Pentagon spokesman have hinted quite unambiguously that these weapons can at any time be tried out on the peoples of India, Cambodia, Burma and other countries of South-East Asia.

As the to question of giving the American armed forces a "greater initiative", juridical formulae are now

being urgently sought which would permit the Pentagon to carry out the strategical and tactical transfer of its troops from one SouthEast Asian country to another without preliminary consultations with the U.S. government.

As this booklet goes to press, the State Department announced on April 11 that a sizable unit of the Seventh Fleet, carrying nuclear warheads, had moved into the Indian Ocean. This is only intended to make American military penetration into South Asia more complete.

Recently, one of the participants of the Pearl Harbour conference of July 1962 had divulged what McNamara had preferred to conceal from the public at large.

According to this American, Tyloon, "the experts on SouthEast Asia" gave great prominence to measures aimed at improving the forms, methods and means of carrying out the strategy of the so-called invisible economic, financial and ideological penetration into the economic and cultural life of the South-East Asian countries. The aim of these measures was to emasculate the independence gained by the emergent countries (i.e. the so-called "neutral" countries)

Herein, the Philippines were cited as an example of "invisible" U. S. penetration. The experts elaborated a whole range of measures which formed the basis of a plan called Operation Boa Constrictor.

### 3. THE PHILIPPINE "MODEL"

AT the beginning of the 20th century, when American troops were engaged in liberating the Philippines from Spanish colonialism, U. S. President William McKinley, in his instructions to Governor William Howard Taft, called for the "high and sacred obligation" of displaying "firm and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people." In conclusion McKinley "expressed the firm hope that.....all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back in gratitude to

the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila”.

In actual fact, the Philippines had already achieved their own liberation by then, and American actions were directed not against the Spaniards, but against the Philippine Republic which had already been set up.

In those days, nascent American imperialism was careful to conceal its strategic plans in respect of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. U. S. activities in the underdeveloped countries of those continents were regarded as “charitable” and “generous.” However, according to UNESCO, 40 million people annually die of hunger in those areas of the world.

The granting of independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1946, is usually regarded as a very “generous” act on the part of the United States and a logical completion of McKinley’s policy. However, the “generosity” expressed in the Tydings-McDuffie Act, adopted during the days of the Great Depression, was not motivated by any good intentions, but simply reflected the fears of the American monopolies. The latter were afraid that a duty-free admission of Philippine farm products into the United States would bring about a sharp drop in agricultural prices.

*The example of the Philippines serves as a vivid expression of so-called “invisible” colonialism. In this way, a mighty power can continue to control a formerly dependent country and at the same time boast about its liberation.*

The presence of American troops played a decisive role in the struggle of the pro-American landlords and the church (also a major landowner) against the reforms which the Philippine people, who participated in the “Hukbalahop” movement, strove to implement in practice. Washington, which by then had come out of the depression, began to strengthen its positions in the cold war, and completely ignored the demands of the “Huk” leaders to close down the U. S. military base in the Philippines.

The adoption of the Bell Trade Act made the Philippines economically dependent on the United States for the next 30 years at the least. And the Philippine

government, which was responsible for a country dependent on American aid, was forced to agree to the conditions envisaged in this act. Under the provisions of the Bell Trade Act, the Philippines had to throw wide the doors of the country to a limitless influx of American goods. And in a few years time these American imports completely undermined the country's economy. In addition, the "parity" conditions gave the Americans "equal rights" with the Philippines in the country's economic life, including the right to develop and exploit mineral resources.

The Americans deemed it expedient to consolidate this blow at the independence of the Philippines by an amendment to the Constitution. However, the "Nacionalistas" and new "Left Movement" opposed the adoption of such an amendment. The "Democratic Alliance" party, together with the "Nacionalistas", succeeded in voting down this amendment. But, under strong pressure from Washington, the Philippine government was compelled to oust the representatives of the "Democratic Alliance" from the Congress and passed the "parity" amendment. This was followed by repression against the Opposition. Several opposition groups managed to survive, but the "Huks", after a number of unsuccessful attempts to come to terms with the government, took refuge in the mountains and launched a more than 10-year-long struggle for the independence of their country.

Thus, the Philippines long ago became a U. S. occupied police state, differing but in small details from South Korea, South Viet Nam or Formosa. Today, even the American colony of Okinawa has greater freedom of the press and organisation than the Philippines.

Washington had complete control over the political machine in the Philippines and brought to power its henchmen. It may well be said that President Manuel Roxas was the most dependent of the pre-war politicians. He was married to the daughter of a wealthy landlord and was a close associate of Andres Soriano, a business tycoon.

Before the war Soriano, an American of Spanish extraction, represented Franco in the Philippines. Simultaneously, he was a close associate and friend of General Douglas MacArthur, under whose patronage he became a key figure in Philippine business. Soriano controlled San Miguel Beer, Coca-Cola, the bottle and

glass manufacturing industry, etc. He was also the major shareholder of the Philippine Airline Management. President Roxas was also a protege of General MacArthur and Paul V. McNutt, the U. S. High Commissioner.

The fact that Roxas was a fascist in no way hindered his career. However, growing dissatisfaction in the country with the corrupt Roxas and Quirino regimes made the Americans realise the necessity of forming a new government. Washington backed the candidature of Ramon Magsaysay, Defence Secretary in the Quirino cabinet.

It is interesting to recall how Ramon Magsaysay was helped to win the elections. Doctor Jose Laurel, who was the puppet President of the Philippines in the days of the Japanese occupation, decided to run for the presidency against Quirino. Despite his wartime activities, Laurel's popularity was so great that he could easily have won the elections. But Washington wanted Magsaysay in office because as Defence Secretary he had won the confidence of the U. S. Military Advisory Group. So all the likely candidates were invited to a conference at the American Embassy where Laurel was requested to withdraw his candidature. However, Laurel was determined to fight the elections. He was thereupon visited by an American official who showed him a dossier containing documents describing his wartime activities. The official threatened to publish these documents if Laurel did not withdraw his candidature. And so Laurel had to give in!

Today American capital investments in the Philippines exceed 500 million dollars not counting a still larger sum allocated for military purposes. Twenty-five million Philippines are engaged in the production of raw materials and food products, receiving only a scanty wage for their labour. The Americans have complete control over the foreign trade of the Philippines. And when both the market and the source of capital are controlled by foreigners, nobody can expect the latter to show concern for the country's industrialisation. As a result, the Philippines have to pay monopoly prices for imported goods and food products.

Today, American, capital, with the support of the current President Diosdado Macapagal, is amassing profits in the Philippines as easily as in any other "possession" and much easier than on the territory of the United States.

And, since this highly effective exploitation is carried out under local management, the main task is to conceal the enormous scope of U. S. exploitation from other nations.

It is, however, necessary to mention that the U. S. is fully alive to the possibility that a section of the "local managers" of American neo-colonialism in the Philippines would, like their counterparts in other under-developed countries, ask for more and more of the profits of capitalist exploitation. And recently this has indeed happened in the Philippines with a section of local business community headed by President Macapagal demanding "more Philippino" trade and industry. Further, these "local managers" of Wall Street neocolonialism have started light consumer industries and want export markets in the region. All this adds up, in American eyes, to the birth of a new trade rival, and in accord with the customary American solution for their problems in the Philippines, they are seeking to build up anti-Macapagal candidates to contest the 1965 elections. Washington has picked on Vice-President Emmanuel Pelaez and Senator Raul Manglapuz as its nominees for the elections next year. The Pelaez-Manglapuz combine is said to be the "most compact pro-Western ideological group and the most effective champion of American private investors." After the latest senatorial elections, where the Macapagal faction did not fare too well, the U. S. State Department openly showed their approval of Pelaez and Manglapuz by calling them for strategy Conferences and ignoring President Macapagal. There is no doubt that, at the moment, the State Department and American financiers regard President Macapagal as "disobedient", but this does not change the puppet-like character of the Philippine "model" which America is trying hard to sell to other countries in the region as an example worthy of being copied.

Apart from this, the United States has also sought to use the Philippines Government to penetrate and influence the neighbouring countries in the Malay-speaking region. At a time when President Macapagal was the willing nominee of the U. S., and when Washington's attitude to the British-backed Malayasian Federation was still indefinite, he made a baseless claim for North Borneo. Further, under U. S. inspiration and encouragement, President Macapagal pressurised Indonesia to sponsor a wider Maphilindo (Malaya-Philippines-Indonesia) Federation in which the Philippines would constitute a built-in



Trojan Horse for American neocolonialism to take over Malayasia and push the British completely out of region.

But now the United States seems content to support the British-organised Malayasia, and Macapagal and others have been left holding the Maphilindo baby.

Emanuel Pelaez, vice-president of the Philippines, and current U. S. favourite, stressed in a recent statement that the absence of any mention of North Borneo in the definition of Philippine national territory made under the 1934 Constitution reflected "the limits of American territorial interests acquired by the United States in our area as a result of the Spanish-American war".

Naturally, it is difficult to say exactly how the "limits of American territorial interests" will expand in the near future. However, in this instance, it is not the Philippines and Malaya who are engaged in a controversy over these "limits", but the United States and Britain. America is striving to expand the "limits" of its interests, while Britain wants to strengthen its positions in this area by creating the Malaysian Federation.

In actual fact, there are many more serious motives underlying the Anglo-American conflict than the mere desire to control North Borneo. The United States, which presents a greater power in the military sense, wants to expand its advance posts, moving them right up to borders of independent Indonesia.

If this takes place it may well be expected that the day will come when some other American stooge will voice Washington's desire to expand again the "limits of its territorial interests".

## 4. OUTPOSTS OF "FREEDOM"

THE Americans place great value on the advantages provided by the Philippine "model". This is seen, for example, from the fact that back in 1947 William Bullitt, the U. S. Ambassador to France, advised the French to use America's experience in the Indo-Chinese war.

In an article published in *Life* (December, 1947) he openly referred to the Philippines as an example to be followed. And it was partially on his advice that France decided to set up a "native" government in Indo-China, the "state of Viet-Nam," headed by Bao Dai, to counter the government of President Ho Chi Minh against whom France had gone to war. Similar "free" governments were created in Laos and Cambodia. All of them were characterised by the fact that they allowed French capital free access to the riches of those countries and granted the French militarists the right to maintain military bases on their territories.

However, Washington also displayed interest in the wealth of those countries. "Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin, tungsten, zinc, manganese, coal, lumber and rice, and in the South are rice, rubber, tea, pepper...", said the *New York Times* on February 12, 1950. Not wishing to share its monopoly "rights" on the Philippine "model", Washington immediately began sending "American aid" to those local governments which could not but arouse resentment on the part of France. On May 8, 1950, U. S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, announced the granting of Military aid to Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

We all know that the uprising against France and its puppet, Bao Dai, who ruled Viet-Nam from a roulette table in Monte Carlo, ended in the complete defeat and surrender of the French armies in 1954. And on July 20, 1954, the Geneva Agreements on a peaceful settlement were signed. After John Foster Dulles had failed in his attempts to turn the war in Indo-China into an international war waged under American supervision, Washington began to undermine the Geneva Agreements from within.

The three states which had been formed — Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos — solemnly promised to remain neutral and not to allow any foreign troops or bases on their territory. The United States had no legal rights in any of these countries, and it even refused to sign the treaties under which these states were set up. Washington's weapons were money, military aid and SEATO, a new treaty organisation set up specially for South East Asia.

The Geneva Agreements proclaimed Viet-Nam a single, independent and sovereign state. France had to

withdraw its troops. Nation-wide elections were to be held in Viet-Nam under the supervision of an International Commission, and, by July 20, 1956, both parts of the country were to be united.

However, Washington easily torpedoed the implementation of these agreements.

When, by the end of 1955, it became clear that Bao Dai was a political bankrupt and on his way out, Washington made its stooge, Ngo Dinh Diem, President. A former Bao Dai Prime Minister, Ngo Dinh Diem, had spent the few years prior to his new appointment in a monastery in the state of New Jersey (United States). During the very first year of Diem's Presidency, Washington gave Ngo Dinh Diem 300 million dollars as a gift.

O. Edmond Clubb, a senior State Department official who had spent 20 years in the diplomatic service in Asia, wrote that, long before the scheduled deadline for the national elections, Ngo Dinh Diem had rejected them, and proclaimed South Viet Nam a separate State.

From the very outset, writes Clubb, Diem established "an autocratic one-man rule"; all those who expressed even the slightest dissatisfaction with the puppet regime were thrown into prison.

"Our man", wrote the American journalist, Lippman, referring to Diem, "is extremely unpopular, being both reactionary and corrupt." And Thomas Phillips, a brigadier-general now retired, characterised the Diem regime in the following words: "Diem operates a police state with secret police harassment, arbitrary arrests, police brutality, political prisons and economic favouritism."

However, official Washington circles had their own opinion of this state of affairs in South Viet-Nam. Top-ranking American leaders visited Diem's South Viet-Nam much more frequently than any other country in South-East Asia. And each time their "mission" ended with solemn pledges "not to leave Diem in trouble" and "to expand economic and military aid to South Viet-Nam." More than 2 billion dollars, have already been spent on such "aid". However

despite American "aid", the economy of South Viet-Nam is in a state of yet greater decay now than in the days of French rule.

Today, American troops, whose number exceeds 15,000 are waging an undeclared war against the patriotic forces of South Viet-Nam. The Pentagon is trying out its latest chemical weapons on the local population. According to Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher, bacteriological weapons have already been used in South Viet-Nam. There have also been reports that Washington is again studying one of Dulles' old recommendations to use atomic weapons in Indo-China. Meanwhile the tide of U.S. soldiers and armaments has also brought in a steady stream of American civilians. These are the advisers of international oil monopolies. Esso and Shell have already completed prospecting work in the oil-bearing regions of South Viet-Nam, and are now stepping up their development and exploitation. The former American Ambassador, Nolting, had always assured Washington that the United States will hardly find a more honest and loyal friend than President Ngo Dinh Diem.

But this was not for very long. By the middle of 1963, Washington had realised that "loyalty" alone was not enough. President Diem and his family had become so unpopular in South Viet-Nam that they were more a liability than an asset. The U.S. had no alternative but to get rid of them. This was done on November 2, 1963 in a cold-blooded "double-cross" that has few parallels in history, and Diem and his brother Nhu were brutally done to death so that their mouths would be shut for all time. They knew too much about American methods and techniques for Washington to permit them to be alive to tell their tale. Ambassadors were changed. CIA Chiefs were changed. But suitable puppets were increasingly difficult to find. Big "Minh", who headed the military Junta that ousted President, was found wanting within a few months, and he had been replaced on January 29, 1964 by yet another puppet, Khanh. How long he will be acceptable is problematic!

Thailand is another outpost of American "freedom" in Asia. The late Thai Prime Minister, Sarit Thanarat, was another "honest and loyal friend" of the United States

in South East Asia. Thanarat, the former C-in-C of the Thai armed forces in the Philbun Songkharam government, was selected by the Americans on the Philippine "model."

Songkharam, the former Prime Minister of Thailand, was a stooge of the Japanese. After the end of World War II, he was sent to prison as a war criminal. He was released in 1946. This fact however, did not embarrass the U.S. State Department. In 1948, when the military clique headed by Philbun overthrew the post-war civilian government, the United States immediately recognised the new regime.

American dollars boosted the Thai war machine, and by 1960 the numerical strength of the Thai armed forces had already reached 100,00 men. In 1951, the U.S. Military Advisory Assistance Group took over the training of the Thai army. In the period between 1951 and 1960, the United States spent more than 500 million dollars on the perfection and modernisation of the Thai war machine.

According to Professor Frank C. Darling of Colorado University, American policy in Thailand after World War II "strengthened the forces of absolutism and enabled the military leaders to dominate the political life of the nation." By 1952, the military clique, financed and supported by Washington, completely deprived the National Assembly of the last vestiges of power, and reduced to nought the comparatively democratic constitution which the Thai people had had won, after a hard struggle, in 1932.

In 1957, Sarit Thanarat got rid of Philbun by exiling him from the country, and a ruthless military and fascist dictatorship was imposed on the 18 million population of Thailand. This is how Professor Darling characterises the situation in the country: "He (Sarit) promptly banned all political parties, dissolved the half-elected half-appointed legislature, and abolished the 1932 Constitution. Sweeping arrests were made of newspaper editors, writers, labour leaders, Assembly representatives, businessmen, students and teachers who were accused as "Communists." Twelve newspapers were closed and meetings of more than five persons for political purposes were forbidden. Persons arrested since Sarit's assumption of power have been held without recourse

to the civil courts, and the new regime has continued to rule the country under martial law."

Present day Thailand, financed, trained and supported with American money and arms, is, to quote Professor Darling, "one of the most archaic and backward in the entire region" of SouthEast Asia. "To a large extent", continues Darling, "the government of Thailand has become similar to that in such countries as Iran, Jordan, Turkey, South Viet-Nam, Formosa and South Korea."

In May 1962, when the American-backed Nosavan army left the front in Laos and crossed the Thai border, the Pentagon-dispatched 5000 troops had already arrived in the country. And so Sarit had no alternative but to give his consent. However, he forthwith asked the Americans not to station the U.S. soldiers near large Thai towns so that the residents would be spared the humiliating experience of a first-hand acquaintance with their "selfless protectors." Then the United States requested its allies to send at least token forces to Thailand to create a semblance of "collective action." Speaking in Parliament late in May, 1962 British Prime Minister Macmillian had the courage to admit that he had agreed to send several planes to Thailand at the request of President Kennedy and not Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat.

And it was only on July 4, 1962 that the Associated Press received permission to release a report to the effect that the troops "protecting Thailand against Communist attack" had been "secretly training in South Viet-Nam for two weeks in combat training they may have to use."

America, it will be seen, had dispatched its armed forces to a country which was not in a state of war and whose government had not asked for them. The presence of the U.S. troops was explained by a mythical "threat" on the part of Laos. Then the American soldiers were sent from Thailand to South Viet-Nam to fan the flames of civil war in that country. It would be interesting to attend a session of Congress to hear some American statesmen give a reasonable, or simply plausible, explanations to show that it was quite lawful for the United States to keep its troops

in Thailand and South Viet-Nam which the Americans themselves called "sovereign" states and "bulwarks of freedom."

It goes without saying that there is nothing "lawful" in the actions of the United States. Washington has turned Thailand and South Viet-Nam into bridge-heads for its penetration into other countries of South East Asia.

The experience gained in creating "strategic hamlets" in South Viet-Nam, which in actual fact differ little from the concentration camps in fascist Germany, has given the Pentagon new hopes. The American military advisers have stated time and again that the United States would like use this experience in other South East Asian countries as well.

If the Pentagon is given the opportunity, these countries would learn from their own bitter experience what was meant by the Philippine "model", which received its further development in Thailand and South Viet-Nam. Were this to happen, the non-aligned countries would also get a first-hand acquaintance with the "strategic hamlet" operations. In South Viet-Nam, these operations were given such euphonious names as Operation "Sunrise" or "Morning Star."

The peoples of these countries would also see the "work" of the U.S. Special Forces troops which carry out these operations. The American press claims that they can do anything from midwifery and teaching school to parachuting behind the enemy lines and killing sentries with the edge of their palm. The Special Forces are under the command of U.S. General Paul Harkins. They wear distinctive green berets with a badge depicting a crossed knife and arrow surrounded by the Latin inscription "De Oppresso Liber" which means "Liberate from Oppression."

## 5. THE MAIN PURPOSE OF AMERICAN AID.

However, Operation "Boa Constrictor" is not restricted only to measures undertaken by American imperialism to combat the local patriots and turn

the Philippines, Thailand and South Viet-Nam into bridgeheads of aggression which can at any moment be used for dispatching Pentagon troops to any country in South-East Asia.

At the Pearl Harbour conference, experts on South-East Asia held a detailed discussion aimed at perfecting other forms of penetration into South-East Asian countries which had proclaimed a policy of neutrality and non-alignment. American economic aid was one of the measures discussed by the experts.

In his message to Congress on questions of foreign aid (March 21, 1961) the late U.S. President John Kennedy was forced to admit that "existing Foreign aid programs and concepts are largely unsatisfactory." Dwelling on the organisational principles of foreign Aid, Kennedy stressed the following: "Bureaucratically fragmented, awkward and slow, its administration is diffused over a haphazard and irrational structure..... The program is based on a series of legislative measures and administrative procedures conceived at different times and for different purposes, many of them now obsolete, inconsistent and unduly rigid and thus unsuited for our present needs and purposes. Its weakness have begun to undermine confidence in our efforts both here and abroad."

To give American aid the necessary efficiency, the President had called for the adoption of "a whole new set of basic concepts and principles." These concepts and principles included:

(a) Country-wide plans — a carefully thought-out comprehensive programme.....instead of a series of individual, unrelated projects;

(b) Unified administration....in place of several competing and confusing aid units;

(c) Long-term planning and financing;

(d) Special emphasis on developments loans repayable in dollars;

(e) Special attention to those nations most willing and able to mobilise their own resources;

(f) "Multilateral approach", which implies that "other industrialised nations" should also be requested to render aid to the underdeveloped countries;



(g) "Separation from military assistance" taking into account the fact that U.S. economic aid makes a "distinctive contribution to our basic security needs."

Although the President claimed that the United States was "sincere in helping developing nations", he finally lifted the veil slightly, disclosing that one of the major purposes of American aid was to help, first and foremost, the American monopolies. "Cut-backs in the foreign aid program", President Kennedy said, "would be felt.....in loss of markets and income for business....."

After a five-months discussion of the President's message, Congress passed a law (August 31, 1961) providing for the merging of all bodies engaged in rendering aid into a single agency, the International Co-operation Administration (ICA), subordinated to the U.S. State Department. A united mission is set up in each country receiving American aid, and the head of this mission is subordinated to the U.S. Ambassador.

Can it be said, however, that the content of American aid has changed in connection with the adoption of "a whole new set of basic concepts and principles?"

An analysis of American economic aid policy in the countries of South-East Asia shows that today, as in the past, the ultimate aim of this policy is to make the governments of the non-aligned states give up the priority development of the state sector or their national economy and force them to make still greater concessions to private foreign and big local capital, thus turning these countries into a sphere of unreserved domination of the American monopolies.

And it is by no means accidental that American aid is granted primarily in the form of food deliveries and other farm products. There can be no doubt that such aid corresponds best of all to the aspirations of Washington: to increase the foreign financial debts and liabilities of the non-aligned countries and to prevent the strengthening of their economic independence.

Very characteristic in this respect is the American "aid" to India widely published by the American press as an "altruistic and humane undertaking."

The United States renders considerable aid to India in food supplies (its cost ran into 12.5 billion rupees in 1951—1961). However, the established system of supplies and payments guarantees the penetration of American capital into the private sector of India's economy. American food aid, which has become an instrument of U.S. penetration into India, pursues the aim of encouraging American capital already operating in India (out of the profit made from the sale of food products), financing the setting up of new branches of American firms in that country, and establishing close business ties between the major national Indian firms and the American corporations.

The American food aid, under PL 480 which provides temporary relief to the Indian grain market, is advantageous, first and foremost, to the United States and, in the final count, is extremely detrimental to the interests of strengthening India's national economy because it increases that country's economic dependence on the United States. "Through its aid", wrote the magazine *Eastern Economist*, "the United States ties India to its market".

It is quite obvious that this form of export of capital is both convenient and profitable for Washington. The United States invests the money from the equivalent fund only in those enterprises which facilitate the further sale of American goods and the export of private capital. And not a single rupee out of this fund may be spent for purposes which might contribute to India's economic independence. The mechanism of drawing money from the American equivalent fund serves the aims of increasing India's foreign economic dependence and enables the United States to exert pressure on it. The very fact that the United States has up to 1.5 billion rupees at its disposal, paid into the account of the equivalent fund in the Indian State Bank, and that India's dollar liabilities to America have grown from 168 million rupees in 1950 to 5,216 million rupees in 1961 shows that the American monopolies have captured key positions in the economy

of that country. And this is largely the result of the implementation of the American aid policy.

Thus, we see that American aid to India, as, incidentally, to other non-aligned countries in South-East Asia, creates an extremely complicated and controversial situation. Being primarily of a consumer nature, this aid cannot make any serious contribution to a rapid build-up of the industrial potential in those countries. In addition to being very expensive, American food and financial aid does not facilitate the creation of new productive forces which could become a major source of the country's wealth and a permanent condition for expanding their industrial and agricultural potentials.

The U.S. "aid" to Ceylon has followed the same pattern as in India but on a much more restricted level. But the hollowness of the "aid" became apparent when it was stopped in February 1963 for the simple reason that the Ceylon Government refused to submit to U.S. blackmail over oil. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation was taking over in stages the trading activities of the private oil companies, including the American Esso and Caltex, and this was something which Washington could not tolerate.

An analysis of the U.S. aid to Ceylon will show that under a number of agreements the total aid, up to the time of its cancellation in the first quarter of 1963, amounted to Rs. 300,000,000. This aid was mainly granted to improve the activities of existing institutions in Health, Education and Technical Training of the people as well as Scientific Research, Agricultural Research, Sanitation, Public Health, Malaria Eradication, *Salvinia* Eradication, Midday Meals, Labour Training Management and Management Training.

Mr. C. M. Edwin de Silva, a leading Ceylonese journalist, in an analytical article published in the Ceylon weekly "Tribune" on June 22, 1963 stated: "Of this Rs. 300 million, a sum of Rs. 111½ million has already been expended, under P.L. 480 purchases, in respect of milk powder and flour that have been supplied so far for distribution to school children and others from 1956 to 1961. This is an item of expenditure of an unproductive nature. Then out of the remaining Rs. 188½ million, Rs. 10 million has been granted in

all for the University Engineering, Agricultural and Medical faculties. In this connection, Texas A and M University, under contract with the U.S authorities are supplying material, and technical personnel etc. The new bridge to the Engineering faculty buildings recently collapsed."

In the same article, Silva made some interesting revelations about the Salvinia Campaign. "The campaign that was started under the American Aid Scheme in connection with the eradication of Salvinia during the last few years has been proved to be a hopeless failure, according to special articles on the subject which appeared in the Press recently, in which it was pointed out that only certain American Firms which supplied the necessary toxin had been benefited by this Scheme and that the Salvinia pest had now spread to other areas in the Island where it was un known before. The situation has now assumed such astounding proportions, that the Hon. C. P. de Silva, Minister of Agriculture and Lands in a recent declaration, has attributed the havoc caused by the recent floods in Colombo and other towns to the blocking of canals by Salvinia and has, therefore, ordered some of the technical departments under his Ministry to take immediate action to clear the canals of Salvinia to prevent floods and for this purpose moneys previously earmarked for improvement of Village Works are to be diverted. That bears eloquent testimony to the work carried on in the past for the eradication of Salvinia with American Aid!"

Mr. Edwin Silva went on to examine in his article other items of aid: "Another Rs. 1 million was given to the Technical Training Institute of the Gal-Oya Board for its running expenses. Altogether Rs. 9 million was allocated for highway development. It was for maintenance equipment, training personnel and building a model rural road from Alutnuwara to to Padiyatalawa. Rs. 2 million was loaned for the Grandpass Thermal Power Station (balance from the World Bank) for which Ceylon, with vast hydrel power resources, will have to spend millions yearly on fuel oil. Rs. 15 million was allocated, and a further Rs. 3½ million loan negotiated for the Railway for five diesel coaches and equipment for various purposes but not for construction.

“The largest allocation, Rs. 22 million, plus another Rs. 11 million was allocated for irrigation and development, mainly used for buying U.S. tractors and other equipment and repairs to five rural tanks.”

But the most significant disclosure was that out of the money provided under this Aid scheme “several millions of rupees are deposited in local Banks, to the credit of the American Embassy which were exclusively meant for the use of the personnel attached to it and other organisations like the Asia Foundation and the Peace Corps without having recourse to the expenditure of dollars”.

Summing up Mr. de Silva asserts that these are but a few of the many items of similar expenditure set apart for disbursement out of the American Aid Scheme. What is woefully lacking in the American Aid Scheme is the total absence of any projects for the development of the natural resources of the country as a means to increase its national wealth which is now virtually stagnant. That being the position, the benefits derived from American Aid are, ephemeral and confined only to a few and, therefore, such aid can be compared to deadweight expenditure as it has not contributed by any means to solve any of the pressing economic problems of the day. It is also relevant to emphasise that American “Aid”, as Kennedy once stressed, is “mostly loans, and high interest loans at that”.

It is necessary to recall that the late President John Kennedy addressing the Economic Club of New York in December, 1962, on American Aid to other countries said that it was a method by which the United States maintained a position of influence and control round the world, and sustained a good many countries which would have definitely collapsed or passed into the Communist bloc. It was the United States that had started the “aid” method of securing the penetration of its capital and influence into the rest of the world, beginning with Marshall Aid in Western Europe. Other imperialist nations, like Britain, West Germany, Japan, and France thereafter followed the U.S. example.

The impact of this “Aid” schemes sponsored by the U.S. and other imperialist countries can be seen in the actual penetration of foreign capital into Ceylon—of course, in partnership with local “national” capital. In answer to a question in the House of Representatives, the Minister

of Commerce and Industries stated that his Ministry in the years 1961-1963 had approved the influx of Rs. 7,988,000 by 19 foreign firms in new industrial ventures in the private sector approved by the Ministry. The investment were :

American	Rs.	2,488,000
Japanese	„	2,300,000
Swiss	„	750,000
British	„	740,000
Indian	„	600 000
West German	„	465,000
Hong Kong	„	400 000
New Zealand	„	245,000

Only in one case was the new project to be started to be owned entirely by foreign capital. In the other cases, foreign capital was to collaborate with Ceylonese private capital, but in most instances own the major share.

It will be noted that American capital took first place with Japanese, Swiss, West German and Hong Kong capital close behind. These countries are today allied to U.S. monopoly capital. By penetrating the economic structure of Ceylon through the private sector, the U.S. and its allies hoped that they would be able to subvert the growing trend towards public ownership in the Island.

American aid pursues far-reaching aims. And Washington regards local private capital, which is boosted up by dollar injections, as a major lever in the implementation of its plans. Local private capital has been allotted the role of a "fifth column" which is to use temporary difficulties to undermine actively the policy of the "socialist road of development" proclaimed by many non-aligned countries.

The State Department has allotted large sums of money to the so-called "special funds" placed at the disposal of American Ambassadors in South East Asia. This money is intended, primarily, for the financing of various groups which believe in unrestricted private initiative and private enterprise. Often the "special funds" exceed the sums annually granted by the United States to a number of countries under the official U.S. economic aid programmes.

"The special funds" are considerably smaller in those South-East Asian countries which are members of SEATO

or CENTO and receive both economic and military aid from the United States. The industry, agriculture, finances, home and foreign policies of these countries have become dependent on Washington to such a degree that the latter can control their political and economic life without having to expend any considerable sums from the "special funds."

## 6. THE TORCH OF IDEALISM

In his traditional Message to Congress on the State of the Union, issued on January 14, 1963, the late U.S. President Kennedy referred to American policy in South East Asia. He said, in part, that the countries of this area require "not only the fuel of finance but the torch of idealism. And nothing carries the spirit of American idealism more effectively to the far corners of the earth than the Peace Corps... A year from now they will number 9000 men and women, aged 18 to 79, willing to give two years of their lives to helping people in other lands...."

Who lighted the "torch of American idealism" and when? Who are the people that carry this "torch" to the underdeveloped countries? And, lastly, how are they carrying it? Since the U.S. President did not dwell on these questions in his Message to Congress, it is necessary to briefly dwell on this matter in some detail. The more so since next December will mark the fourth anniversary after the late President Kennedy signed the law setting up the Peace Corps.

It is not difficult to visualise the towering grey building in Lafayette Square in Washington which houses the "Peace Corps" headquarters. Here one can meet: William Douglas, member of the U.S. Supreme Court, former U.S. Vice-President; Lyndon Johnson, (now President), Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida; the niece of New York Governor Rockefeller-IV; chaplain William Coffin of Yale University and other personalities representing the major American monopolies. These are members of the Peace Corps' National Consultative Council responsible for recruiting and training the personnel, as well as for its activities in implementing the "development projects" in the underdeveloped countries.

Direct leadership of the Peace Corps has been entrusted to a Board of Directors headed by millionaire Sargent

Shriver, owner of a large real estate business in Chicago and a former professional U.S. intelligence officer who is married to President Kennedy's sister. His assistant is Sally Bowles, daughter of Kentucky millionaire Chester Bowles — the U.S. Ambassador to India. Rockefeller-IV has been assigned the role of special assistant to Shriver. And the financial potentialities of the Rockefeller family hardly call for any comment.

The financial estimates of the Peace Corps are revealing. The voluntary donors include the "American Business Association", Rockefeller, Ford, etc., while the official Peace Corps budget, running into scores of millions of dollars, is listed in the U.S. state budget under the significant heading of "Mutual Security".

The selection of personnel for the Peace Corps is carried out by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The conclusions and recommendation for each candidate are sent to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the State Department. Herein, the CIA has the final say in either approving or rejecting the prospective candidates.

After being cleared and approved by the CIA, the candidates have to take a training course. Some are sent to American colleges and universities, others to the West Point military academy, still others to the intelligence school in Monterey (California). After a 3-6 months "theoretical" course, the Peace Corps candidates are sent to Puerto Rico for "practical" training. There they are taught how to handle firearms, how to tackle rugged terrain, marshlands, wooded country, etc.

Having in this way drawn on the "valuable" experience of professional army and intelligence officers, the "men and women, aged 18 to 79" are dispatched to the underdeveloped countries, including South East Asia, which suffer from a serious "shortage" of teachers, doctors, agricultural specialists and builders. It turns out that the "specialists" trained by the CIA and the Pentagon are the very people as Washington claims, who can "render considerable assistance in the training of national personnel".

However, despite official Washington statements, the self-styled teachers, doctors, farming specialists and road builders do not go to the areas which experience a shortage



in schools, hospitals and bridges, but primarily to the so-called "critical" areas of South East Asia. They can be found in the Northern districts of Thailand where dissatisfaction against the puppet regime is brewing, in the districts of Nepal and Pakistan (bordering on India) where the troops of these countries are stationed. One might think that they had been sent there to open schools or maternity hospitals in the border districts!

Although the Peace Corps "teacher" sent to Ceylon in 1962 had become a joke in the schools to which they were attached, (because they were neither proficient in the local language which they were said to have "mastered" nor competent in the subject which was said to be their "speciality"), political circles were alarmed that the Government had permitted the Peace Corps to operate in the country without realising the danger they presented.

It was also pointed out that when the U.S. cancelled financial aid to Ceylon in February 1963, it persisted in keeping the Peace Corps in Ceylon. In Parliament and outside, there has been much agitation against the retention of these Peace Corps volunteers in Ceylon. The Ceylon paper *Forward* on September 7, 1962 warned the Government that in allowing the Peace Corps into Ceylon, it was "voluntarily encouraging the forces of imperialist subversion to operate in our newly free country. It is allowing neo-colonialism to establish another bridgehead in Ceylon."

Facts show that the Peace Corps is really a government organisation, a branch of the State Department, and of the CIA. And the lofty phrases used by the Peace Corps serve but as a "front for spies."

A correspondent of an Indian newspaper described the "Peace Corps volunteers" in the following way. "We are asked to believe that the sponsors of American imperialism cannot bear to see the suffering of the peoples in the underdeveloped countries of the world, that they are full of sympathy and shed tears of compassion. We are asked to believe that is precisely why they want to flood these countries with American dollars, American technicians, American cultural missions and 'volunteers' from the 'Peace Corps'. However, the whole world knows today what secrets are concealed behind the deep sympathy, dubious aid of the American "Peace Corps."

In his booklet, "Cold War Corps", an Indian journalist, Ashoka Kumar, describes his conversation with one of those volunteers in the State of Punjab. The American told him that among the subjects included in the training programme for the "volunteers" was a course in the "history of communism". When Kumar asked him why this subject had been included in the training programme, the "volunteer" told him quite frankly that it was the duty of "Peace Corps" to contribute to the achievement of America's foreign political aims and to explain the great dangers of communism. "It has been proved beyond all possible doubt, in the case of India", continues Kumar, "that these volunteers are establishing contacts with reactionary elements in the country. It has been established that in Punjab they are co-operating with the reactionary Akalidal party."

Tom Rosandish, an American "coach" who recently left Laos, described the work of Peace Corps volunteers, who were sent to Laos as trainers, in an article published by the American magazine *Amateur Athletics*. Before starting on the construction of a running track, the American "coach" taught his assistants — soldiers of the Laotian army — to sing an American naval march. When the first Laotian sports championship was opened, the Peace Corps "volunteers" hoisted the American national flag over the stadium in Vientiane and "diluted" the national anthem of Laos with the melody of their navy song.

Rosandish's cynical outpourings in the pages of *Amateur Athletics* are by no means accidental. In recent times, the American press has been giving ever greater prominence to the military aspects of the aims of the Peace Corps. The sometimes well-informed *New York Times* stated, for example, that the idea of creating the Peace Corps was one of the most secret proposals of the Pentagon. Divulging this Pentagon secret, the paper pointed out, that the widely publicised "humane" aims of the Peace Corps — to live among the native population and work together with it on the construction of schools, buildings, dams, bridges, etc. — will be carried out by American soldiers sent to the underdeveloped countries which are allegedly threatened by "communist aggression."

That is why there is every possibility that, in the near future, the Pentagon will take the "torch of freedom", to quote the lofty words of President Kennedy, out of the

hands of the State Department, and that American soldiers, using the experience accumulated during the war in Korea and South Viet-Nam, will carry "the spirit of American idealism" to the countries where the Peace Corps scouts are today engaged in preparatory work.

## 7. WHAT OFFICIAL WASHINGTON PASSES OVER IN SILENCE

Last year, another major scandal broke out in Pakistan: an American espionage organisation was uncovered in the Pakistani security organs. The organisation was engaged in gathering secret information for Washington. Not long before this scandal, the Pakistani Times wrote that, during the foreign political debates held last December, U. S. Embassy officials openly engaged in "brainwashing members of the Assembly", especially "opposition members known for the radical convictions".

Official Washington preferred to pass over these accusations in silence.

On August 31, 1962, the Cambodian newspaper, **Neutrality**, reported that the local authorities had arrested six spies recruited by the American military aid mission. Among the arrested was the private secretary of General Sherer, head of the mission.

According to the report, the spies claimed that Cambodia was a good place to set up an espionage base for South-East Asia. They had also planned actions aimed at undermining Cambodia's neutrality, as well as the murder of progressive intellectuals, both members of the People's Socialist Community, headed by Prince Sihanouk, and persons not affiliated to that Party.

In this case also official Washington circles preferred to remain silent. And there is a very simple explanation for their stand. The use of methods forbidden by generally accepted legal standards comes under the jurisdiction of an autonomous organisation which is only nominally subordinated to the U. S. President and sometimes even

acts without his knowledge. The aims of the organisation are carried into life not so much by the amateurish Peace Corps members as by professional intelligence agents who are flooding the countries of South-East Asia under the guise of diplomats, heads of various "aid" missions, businessmen, lecturers and tourists. They also are the bearers of American policy, but not the official policy. They are champions of the "cloak and dagger policy."

Spending tremendous sums of money earmarked primarily for the bribing of top-ranking officials in the underdeveloped countries, the cloak and dagger men have already carried out many important operations advantageous to Washington. Here is a brief enumeration of some of them.

In Pakistan the "cloak and dagger" men brought about the "mysterious" death of the popular Prime-Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan—the reason, Liaqat Ali Khan wanted to establish friendly relations with India which at the time did not fit in with the plans of Washington which preferred the "divide and rule" formula.

In Burma, the "cloak and dagger" agents have been supplying the remnants of the Chiang Kai-Shek bands and the local separatists with arms, ammunition, money and food from Thailand. The aim? To break up the territorial integrity of the Burmese Union and in the event of success to align the small states with SEATO — something Washington has long been striving to do.

In Indonesia, the "cloak and dagger" men have been increasingly active in organising various anti-government conspiracies giving large prominence, herein, to attempts to "remove" President Sukarno. As we know, a number of unsuccessful attempts have already been made to assassinate the President. Should they succeed, Ministers bribed by the American Intelligence Service will come to power, and, to quote an American diplomat, "will immediately harness Indonesia to the SEATO chariot".

In Laos, where official Washington had signed the declaration on that country's neutrality, the "cloak and dagger" men, acting through "Air America" and the United States Operation Mission (USOM), deliver arms, ammunition and food to bandit groups which they sent into Laos to organize provocations among the peaceful

population. The aim? To provoke a new civil war in Laos and then spread it to the neighbouring neutral states.

With this aim, the CIA bribed a corporal of the Laotian army, who assassinated Kinim Folsena, the Laotian Foreign Minister, in April 1963. Folsena had been a firm adherent of neutralism. The murderer had been promised an American passport, and a tidy sum no doubt awaited him in one of the Washington banks.

In India, one of the latest actions of the American "cloak and dagger" experts was the organisation of the 10th Congress of the "Jan Sangh" party. This Congress, aptly labelled a "rally of Indian ultras," was attended by Americans. Facts show that Craig Dexter, an official of the U. S. Embassy in Delhi, openly "advised" all the speakers who opposed the policy of Prime Minister Nehru. This "diplomat", it was reported, went even so far as to "reward" the most rabid of the Congress participants with large sums of money.

In Ceylon, vigilant political opinion has never hidden its belief that the CIA and SEATO subversion units were overtly present in Ceylon for many years: that they have been here in a big way from the days when Sir John Kotelawela was Prime Minister of Ceylon from 1953 to 1956. After the defeat of the reactionary pro-west United National Party, led by Sir John Kotelawela, in April 1956, the CIA undoubtedly adopted new tactics, and only the politically ignorant will believe that the assassination of the late Prime Minister in September 1959 was possible without the active assistance of the CIA. The question has often been asked as to who the head of the CIA really was in Ceylon. Suspicion at one stage had largely fallen on the heads of the United States Operation Mission, USOM — as the aid organisation was known.

On November 9, 1963, the *Ceylon Observer*, a daily belonging to the biggest monopoly group of newspapers in Ceylon reported that the Government had information from "unimpeachable sources" that foreign agents would soon start a campaign to undermine the Government and nullify the take-over of the import and distribution of petroleum products and the nationalisation of insurance. Everyone in the island was certain that the "foreign agents" referred to by the *Ceylon Observer* could come only from the CIA secretly operating in Ceylon.

In Ceylon, according to the **Tribune**, the US had everything that was needed to stage a subversive attack and even to instal a puppet government. Scholarships and Leadership Grants from 1948 had given them excellent contacts in high places and a nucleus for a puppet government.

**Asia Foundation** handouts had softened even critics, and spread the tentacles further to rope in stooges and satellites. The VOA and the USIS had prepared the ground and machinery for brainwashing and thought control. The Asia-Foundation-owned **Saman Press** is equipped to do all the printing urgently needed by a puppet government in three languages from daily papers to books and booklets. The USOM, CARE and their AID schemes had enabled penetration into the heartland of Ceylon's bureaucracy as well as its administrative institutions. For instance, the High-Way Development Aid had been used to know every culvert and bridge in Ceylon together with the exact traffic that moved along every road so that plans could easily be drawn up for a military putsch or coup. The Aerial Survey maps of Ceylon done by the pro-US (Canadian) Hunting Corporation were available to all who knew how to get them. The CIA knows the inside of the Ceylon Police Force not merely from the officers who worked in the CID from 1958 to 1960 (they were here during the assassination of the late Prime Minister). The CIA has contacts in the Armed Services, and the World Veteran Federation has now set up special headquarters for Ceylon in Bangkok with a Ceylon man in charge. The USOM had also penetrated the Trade Union field with scholarships for persons to go to Manila, Taiwan and other places for "training". More, recently, they have wanted to set up a Trade Union Training school.

It must also be mentioned that after the alleged **coup d'etat** by military and police officers to overthrow the Government of Ceylon on January 27, 1962, a high-ranking diplomat of the U. S. Embassy, Josif by name, left the island in a hurry no sooner it was known that he was wanted by the authorities for questioning in regard to the coup.

Official Washington has always deemed it expedient to remain silent, when the indignant public in the South-East Asian countries asked for an explanation of these shame-

ul actions fraught with danger to peace and tranquillity. It is quite possible that this silence was explained by the fact that the operations of the "cloak and dagger" men were supervised by a powerful organisation which had on numerous occasions placed official Washington in an extremely embarrassing situation.

Another likely explanation is that, in actual fact, the CIA is a "a state within a state", to quote many prominent members of the American press. However, facts show convincingly that the aims of the CIA fully coincide with the aims of official Washington policy.

## 8. WHEN THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS

In September, 1961, the American press reported that a special committee or headquarters for "psychological and political warfare" had been set up in Washington. The headquarters included: head of the Department of Justice, Robert Kennedy, the late President's brother; Labour Secretary, Arthur Goldberg; former personal military adviser to the President, General Maxwell Taylor, now Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Alexis Johnson.

Edward Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), was summoned to the "psychological and political warfare" headquarters. In March, 1961, he had replaced James Allen, Eisenhower's protege, at this post. Edward Murrow was ordered to work out a number of concrete measures to step up the efficiency of the USIA, and turn it into a powerful "cold war apparatus in the sphere of propaganda and subversive activities". Murrow was reminded once again that under the U. S. State Budget for 1962, USIA would be allotted 130 million dollars for this purpose. This was 45 million dollars more than USIA had received in 1953, when it was organised. Herein, Murrow was given to understand, that USIA would also receive additional non-budgetary allocations. This money was to be handled by Murrow's second assistant, Thomas Sorensen, a CIA official attached to USIA. Among other things Murrow was instructed to step up the efficiency of the Information Agency in the

countries of South-East Asia. The USIA Director had assured his superiors that his staff would spare no efforts to justify the expenditure of the large sums placed at his disposal.

Edward Murrow was good as his word. Formerly a comparatively weak propaganda organisation, the United States Information Agency has now become a powerful cold war propaganda and subversive machine, although the official facade of the agency has not undergone any noticeable changes. The USIA publications continue to insist that the task of the Agency is to show to the peoples of the world, by means of propaganda, that the aims and policy of the United States fully reflect their lawful aspiration for freedom, progress and peace.

And Murrow himself stresses in all his speeches that USIA is fulfilling this task, primarily, by explaining to the peoples of other countries the policy of the U. S. government which allegedly corresponds to their aspirations. This is done by exposing all hostile attempts to distort this policy, and through the glorification of the most important aspects of the life and culture of the American people.

But, facts show that the activities of USIA reach far beyond the framework of its publicised aims.

Today, there are more than 60 USIA branches and posts in South-East Asia known as the United States Information Service (USIS). The USIS activities are directed from Washington by William King, who is notorious on an international scale as a "past master" of espionage and sabotage operations which he carried out in France, Yugoslavia, India and Iraq. Today, King shares his experience both with American and local USIS officials employed at various American and Joint cultural centres, libraries, reading and lecture halls.

Recently, Doctor R. Holt, of Princeton University, and R. Vande Velde, a retired colonel, published a book entitled *Strategic Psychological Operations and U. S. Foreign Policy*. The book cites an interesting fact: it states that the naming of USIA reflected "the tendency existing in official Washington not to use more accurate terminology". In describing the activities of USIA and its affiliated organisations, the authors prefer to call these activities "strategic psychological operations". Holt and Van de



Velde hold that the main aim of these measures is "to exert influence on the political course of foreign states", especially on persons who determine and implement this course, as well as on wide sections of the population. In the opinion of the authors, the methods of carrying out these "psychological operations" can be most diverse: from the dissemination of biased information, deliberate lies and misinformation, to acts of sabotage and plots carried out mainly through CIA channels. USIS and its affiliated American organisations have taken complete control of the press, radio, television, cinema, education and even the musical life of these countries.

"Experts" of South-East Asia, who gathered at the top secret conference in Pearl Harbour, again analysed the activities of their ideological expansion apparatus, and drew up a number of recommendations for its "improvement and perfection", regarding it as a major cog in "Operation Boa Constrictor". Special stress, herein, was laid on the co-ordination and activation of anti-communist measures.

First of all, it is clear from available evidence that the USIS was instructed to step up control over the activities of various missionary organisations, as well as the Asia, Ford, Rockefeller, Fulbright and Smith-Mundt philanthropic "Foundations".

In the opinion of these experts, it would appear, that the representatives of the International Co-operation Administration are not active enough in recruiting agents in government bodies, parliaments and parties, and that they should exert greater efforts in splitting the major trade unions.

The religious missions, it was thought, were not active enough in converting the native population to Christianity, or in the dissemination of information about the advantages of capitalism over socialism. The philanthropic foundations were criticised for "a too hasty selection" of young people and technically minded intellectuals for training in the United States; they were also criticised for sending persons to these countries "without vividly expressed talents" in the field of brainwashing the local population.

To rectify this deplorable state of affairs, the USIS was directed by these "experts" to co-ordinate the work of

all these missions and foundations, and to direct the efforts of all Americans in the countries of South-Asia to seeking out persons loyal to the United States who, after the necessary brainwashing, could at any moment be included in the ranks of a "fifth column". With this aim in view, USIS places special funds, it is reported, at the disposal of employees of American missions and foundations, to be used for the organisation of cultural functions and talks with the prospective candidates over a friendly cup of tea. Then the new friends of America are listed in special card indexes which USIS no doubt send to the CIA for screening and examination.

USIS was also directed to pay special attention to young people whose abilities gave grounds to believe that in the future they might move into key positions in their respective countries. USIS was instructed to organise for such persons educational and tourist trips to the United States, to render them financial assistance, invite them to all USIS functions, and supply them with all kinds of publications on the United States and anti-communism.

Secondly, USIS was ordered to step up anti-communist propaganda by making extensive use of the services of "experts on the Soviet Union and international communism" from such pro-American or anti-Communist organisations as the "Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League", "Congress for the Freedom of Culture", "Moral Re-Armament", "Free Enterprise Forum", "Association of South-East Asia" and the "Young Mens Christian Association." USIS was permitted to spend all the money it deemed necessary to convene various anti-communist forums and meetings with the participation of these organisations. It was also recommended that USIS step up the financing of U. S. tours for newspaper and magazine publishers and editors, who on returning home, could actively join in the anti-communist propaganda campaign.

Thirdly, USIS was directed to make its press, radio and lecture propaganda more flexible. The former practice of head-on attacks against communism was pronounced inexpedient and was to be replaced by more subtle, indirect methods, misinformation and fabrications. The experts came to the conclusion that "a head-on assault against communism" does not bring the desired results.

Ceylon can serve as a good example of how the recommendations of the "Operation Boa Constrictor" experts are being carried into effect.

Ceylon towns and countryside have been overrun by numerous specialists, experts and lecturers. They tour the country, accompanied by U. S. embassy officials or alone delivering lectures and organising various meetings and functions. They invite local trade union leaders to visit the United States and study the American system. American cultural emissaries have begun to frequent Ceylon universities and colleges. Speaking before lecture audiences, the "Kremlinologists" of various kinds hold forth on the "ideological crisis" in the world communist movement; they bring up the moth-eaten theory about the potential disposition of the communist countries towards aggression; and to avert such an aggression they say, the free world must build up its military and economic potential and consolidate its ranks.

And, more recently, the USIS in Ceylon has taken upon itself to pretend that Washington is the "saviour" of Buddhism and all other religions, and on this basis to organise a "holy crusade" against "communism", meaning everything which is hostile to the neo-colonialist aims of the United States. High priests are specially woo-ed, their vanity pandered to and thereby drawn into the clutches of the USIS. Other priests are sent on world trips.

Meanwhile, Washington is itself building up its military and economic potential, mobilising its manpower resources and experimenting with new forms and methods of furthering its expansion in South East Asia. The main aim of this expansion is to impede the independent development of the young independent states, to turn them into raw materials appendages of American imperialism, and to create in them "new frontiers" for the offensive strategy of the United States throughout the whole of Asia. And that, precisely, is the main purpose of "Operation Boa Constrictor" of which USIS is an effective mechanism. To quote Chester Bowles, USIS is the third instrument of American foreign policy rated on a par with the build-up of U.S. military might and the foreign aid program.

The importance which Washington attaches to the work of USIA in South East Asia, (and also in coloured Africa) can be seen in the fact that on February 28, 1964, Mr. Carl Rowan was made "head" of the organisation by President Johnson replacing Mr. Murrow, the Kennedy appointee, who had earlier replaced Eisenhower's James Allen. The main significance of Mr. Carl Rowan's appointment is that he is a "Negro" — as Reuter describes him "the highest ranking Negro in the Government". It was also said that he was "the first Negro in history to sit with the President's Cabinet and with the National Security Council". Apart from the domestic implications of Rowan's appointment in so far as the colour problem in the USA is concerned, the choice of a coloured man as head of the USIA is no doubt intended to make the USIA more acceptable to the coloured peoples in South East Asia and elsewhere. This appointment also coincides with a new drive the USA has started in South East Asia — in South Vietnam, in Cambodia, in Malaysia and in the entire Indian Ocean region — to establish American hegemony as part of its global plans.

## 9. CONCLUDING

Events move fast today, and even before this booklet appears in print many new developments would have taken place. But, it is clear that for sometime at least, events of significance in South East Asia will revolve around **Operation Boa Constrictor**: that is, the plans of the US Government to bring all countries in the region into a network dominated by US Capital under the aegis of the American Way of Life, on the one hand; and, on the other, the opposition this **Operation Boa Constrictor** will arouse among freedom-loving democratic and patriotic peoples in each of the countries, and the struggles they will wage to defeat the plans of Washington and the Pentagon. This major conflict can be fully understood only if attention is paid to the increasingly open clashes between the different imperialist powers which have operated and still operate in this area, — Britain, France, Holland and the USA: and also the disputes mainly centering on boundary and territorial

questions which have been created between different independent countries in South East Asia. Whilst **Operation Boa Constrictor** is intended to minimise inter-imperialist rivalries in the new situation where CENTO and SEATO have proved inadequate to maintain the unity of imperialist countries, it is no doubt designed to promote the border and other disputes between the newly emergent countries of the area.

Pakistan, with its tie-up with China and France (which is now stepping up with its anti-American intervention in Indo - China), has virtually taken the sting out of the NATO-CENTO-SEATO framework in the area, and the USA has now to intensify its **Operation Boa Constrictor** programme not only to push ahead with its plans but also to "save its face" in South Vietnam. That is why the US is anxious to rush the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean and spread an Air Umbrella over India. That is why Washington wants to resolve the Malaysian confrontation between Indonesia and Britain in a way in which the US alone will benefit.

But in this quest for power, the US has had to perform many somersaults. Not so very long ago, Kennedy had sent a message to Ngo Dinh Diem in which he had said: "By your valour and selflessness you have opened yet another chapter in your age-old history." On November 2, 1963, Ngo Dinh Diem was done to death by American agents because he was not able to fulfil his role in **Operation Boa Constrictor** adequately, and within three weeks thereafter Kennedy himself fell a victim to the dark forces of US capitalism intent on plunging the world into war in a mad gamble for supremacy.

Robert Kennedy, the US Attorney-General, recently went to Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines in a bid to out-manoeuvre Britain in the Malaysian conflict with Indonesia. The US has no doubt cast avaricious eyes on Malaya and Singapore, which its senile partner, Britain, is hanging on to with great difficulty, and also on Northern Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei, which are in actual fact ancient Indonesian territories.

And, finally, the objectives and mechanics of US Aid, on the basis of the report drawn up by the Committee headed by General Lucius Clay, betray the sinister aims of **Operation Boa Constrictor**. The Clay Commission

recommended a reconsideration of the expediency of granting American aid to certain countries. "It should be clear to us," the report pointed out, "what economic system we are trying to help..... We believe that the United States should not render aid to foreign states which create state-owned industrial and commercial enterprises competing with the existing private enterprises". The Commission held that aid should be stopped to countries pursuing an independent foreign policy and "sometimes criticising the United States". In other words, the Commission proposed to bring pressure to bear on countries which are striving to build up an independent state industry. The question of rendering aid, continued the Commission, should always be examined from the point of view of "our selfish interests", unless it is connected with some specific security interests. It was on the basis of the Clay report that US aid to Ceylon was cut in February, 1963, and more recently to countries trading with Cuba.

It is not unlikely that some people may argue that this analysis of US aims in South East Asia is "unfair" and "ungenerous" because US Aid had certain "positive, altruistic, beneficial results" in the under-developed countries. In regard to this, Gunvar Myrdal, the well-known Swedish economist, in an address at the World Food Congress in Washington in June 1963 stated in no uncertain terms that the income gap between the rich and poor countries had become more pronounced in the last few years (no doubt since US aid was stepped up!). Myrdal blamed the rich countries for making their "aid" to others sound "important—even when it cost nothing or "happens to be a very profitable business."

What the immediate future has in store for the countries of the South East Asia is difficult to forecast, but there is no doubt that unless Operation Boa Constrictor and all other imperialist designs are ended, there can be no peace and no happiness for the peoples of this region.



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