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THE AFRICA DOS

As British influence in Africa declined, so did British secret serv sending hundreds of agents to African capitals like Accra, Lag to buttress "sensitive" states against communism and protect

E. H. Cookridge continues his exclusive series on the CIA

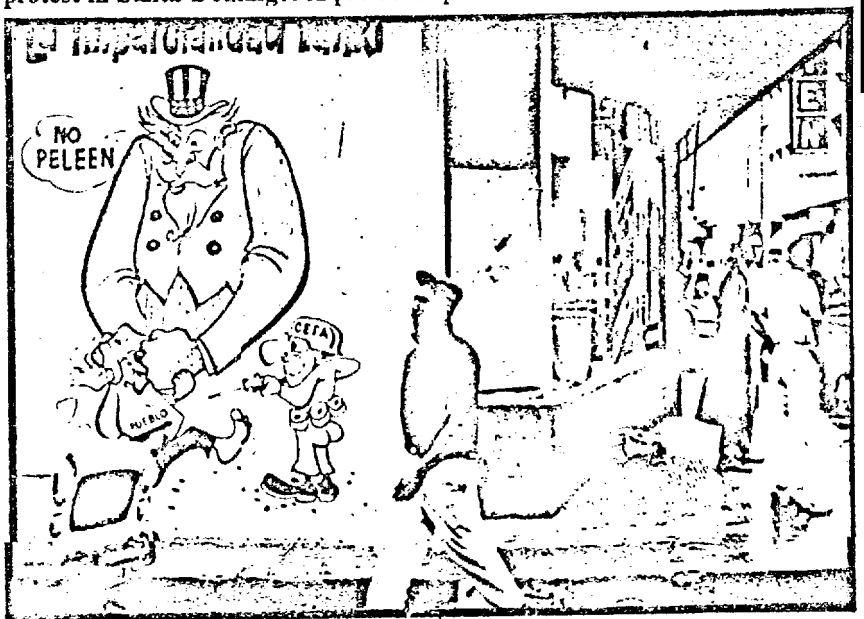
THE adventurous operations often bordering on the bizarre which the Central Intelligence Agency pursued in many parts of the world are usually ascribed to one man: Allen Dulles. They culminated in the abortive invasion of Cuba in 1961. When Dulles departed from the directorship of CIA after the Bay of Pigs debacle, he certainly left an indelible stamp of his influence as the architect of the mighty CIA edifice and its worldwide ramifications.

The policy of his successors has, however, been no less forceful. CIA activities under its present director, Richard McGarrah Helms, may appear less aggressive because they are being conducted with greater caution and less publicity, and because they have been adroitly adjusted to the changing climate in international politics. In the past CIA gained notoriety by promoting revolutions in Latin American banana republics, and supporting anti-communist regimes in South-East Asia. Its operations in Africa were more skilfully camouflaged. For many years they had been on a limited scale because the CIA had relied on the British secret service to provide intelligence from an area where the British had unsurpassed experience and long-established sources of information. But with the emergence of the many African independent countries, the wave of "anti-colonialist" emotions, and the growing infiltration of Africa by Soviet and Chinese "advisers", British influence declined. Washington forcefully stepped, through CIA, into the breach, with the avowed aim of containing communist expansion.

Financial investments in new industrial and mining enterprises, and lavish economic aid to the emerging governments of the "underdeveloped" countries, paved the road for the influx of hundreds of CIA agents. Some combined their intelligence assignments with genuine jobs as technical, agricultural and scientific advisers.

The British Government – particularly after the Labour Party had come to power in 1964 – withdrew most of their SIS and MI5 officials from African capitals, though some remained, at the request of the new rulers, to organise their own new intelligence and security services. CIA

A bloodless *coup* in Uganda in January last y and installed Major-General Idi Amin as mili a section of his troops). How far was the C protest in Santa Domingo. A pro-rebel poster attacks American intervention



men began hurriedly to establish their "stations" in Accra, Lagos, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka, the "sensitive areas" in danger of slipping under communist sway.

By the mid-1960s several senior CIA officials, such as Thomas J. Gunning and Edward Foy, both former U.S. Army Intelligence officers, were firmly established at Accra. They were later joined by William B. Edmondson, who had already gained his spurs in East Africa, and Mrs Stella Davis, an attractive, motherly woman, whom no one would have suspected of having served for many years as a skilful FBI agent before joining CIA and being employed at Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam, acquiring fluency in Swahili. By 1965 the Accra CIA Station had two-score active operators, distributing largesse among President Nkrumah's secret adversaries.

The Americans had every intention of helping Ghana's economy by building, in co-operation with a British consortium, the Volta Dam, thus providing hydro-electric power for the

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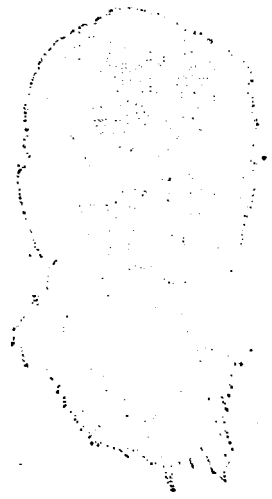
Editor's Report:

Still a Free, Critical Press

By WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST JR.
Editor-in-Chief, The Hearst Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Of all the balls, picnics and banquets newspapermen go to or have to go to throughout each year, by far the most interesting is the spring gathering of the ASNE. This translates into the American Society of Newspaper Editors and results in their meeting and discussing the future of our business and listening to panel discussions and speeches by high government officials.



W. R. HEARST JR.

The get-together is held four out of every five years in Washington. On the fifth year, the editors journey to some other city as they did last year to San Francisco and a few years ago to Montreal.

I always find the ASNE get-together fun and productive—and this year's meeting was no exception. In fact it was one of the best because the president of the ASNE was Newbold Noyes, editor of The Washington Star, which has for many years been owned by his family and been regarded as the family newspaper of the Washington area.

Since Newbold is a Washingtonian through and through, he knew exactly the kind of program to put together to enlighten and entertain the editors and their wives. For example, instead of following the traditional custom of getting the Secretary of State or Secretary of Defense for a luncheon session, he pulled a real coup and got CIA Director Richard Helms to deliver his first public speech.

The next day he produced Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson of Washington, who, in my book, is one of the most responsible and dedicated public servants we have in government today.

In fact, I regard Scoop Jackson as the most qualified of all the possible Democratic contenders for next year's presidential nomination. He is a warm human being and has been a friend of mine for years. More to the point and the subject of his speech is a staunch advocacy of the kind of nuclear defense policy that would keep us ahead of the Soviets and prevent us ever having to bow to their blackmail.

Should next year's election develop into a contest between Scoop Jackson and Dick Nixon, I think the American people would not make a mistake whichever way they turned.

This theory was confirmed not only by hearing Scoop at the luncheon but also by President Nixon's appearance at the final ASNE banquet, where he was interrogated by a panel of tough, perceptive editors.

It was a special treat to hear and meet Dick Helms. I had known most of his predecessors at the CIA—Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, Allen W. Dulles and John McCone. But I had never had the chance to even talk with Helms. He is just not the kind of fellow who circulates on the banquet circuit or gets into the public eye.

Helms advanced the very sound view that he and his agency should be anonymous, because they deal in highly secret security matters that should come to the attention only of the President and the National Security Council.

ILLEGIB

Anyone with an ounce of patriotism and concern for this nation should realize that men like Helms and his CIA associates are performing a vital service to the United States. So he took the opportunity to talk to America's editors about the place of an intelligence service in a democratic government, saying:

"In doing so, I recognize that there is a paradox which I hope can be dispelled.

"On the one hand, I can assure you that the quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States government in 1971 is better than it ever has been before.

"On the other hand, at a time when it seems to me to be self-evident that our government must be kept fully informed on foreign developments, there is a persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency."

Helms dispelled the thought some editors might have had that the CIA was some sort of "big brother" police operation. It is wrong for liberal critics of our government to make such assertions—including the recent attempt to smear the aging J. Edgar Hoover as some sort of mean, senile Gestapo chieftain. I don't think the American people are about to turn their back on men like Hoover, who has served more than 40 years as chief of the FBI, or Helms, who has been with the CIA for more than 20 years. Both are Americans of whom we should be proud.

As the richest, most influential and most benevolent country in the world, we cannot afford to let our defenses down. We need every ounce of evidence we can lay our hands on about internal developments in various countries—both friends and foes—around this globe.

In a sense, the CIA does for the federal government what newspapers are supposed to do for the general public: Gather information and lay it out honestly and objectively for others to study.

The ASNE had on its agenda the question of whether reporting should be subjective or objective. In other words, the editors felt they had to debate the issue of whether reporters should fill the news columns with propaganda born of their own advocacy or whether they should report only the news, honestly and fairly—and as it happened.

To me, this is not a question worth debating. I learned from my father years ago there is no place in the news columns for subjective reporting. The place for newsmen to express their own prejudices is on the editorial page or in signed columns.

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