

# BULLETIN

25¢

VOL. 1, No. 2 JUNE 1967

## PUERTO-RICO: STIRRINGS IN THE SHOWCASE

[Tom Hayden recently visited Puerto Rico on the invitation of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia (MPI) to the Tri-Continental Information Center. He went in an individual capacity. The following remarks are excerpts from his report.]

For most US travellers the beach at San Juan is where one gazes at the beautiful sea and sky. But US foreign policy is visible there as well. One day we watched no less than 20 helicopters leave the deck of a Navy carrier to practice an invasion of the island. Puerto Rico is the major US military base in the crucial Caribbean. Nearly fifteen per cent of the arable land is used by the Department of Defense. Planes carrying atomic bombs arrive and depart regularly from Ramey Field. Nuclear missiles reportedly are aimed from Puerto Rico at the "less stable" regions of Central and South America. Green Berets have been sighted in the beautiful Rain Forest, presumably acclimating themselves to tropical warfare conditions. The small offshore island of Vieques, once a cattle-raising and fishing area, is now almost entirely a military fortress.

Looking away from the helicopters in the sky, we viewed the opulent Condado section of San Juan, the pleasure strip of hotels, night clubs, casinos and brothels. Here the businessman takes his pleasure; here the proper Boston secretary comes to realize her sexual fantasy; here the Mafia is rumored to be invading the gambling industry; here the Cuban prostitute comes to continue what is forbidden at the Havana Hilton. In fact, over 40,000 Cubans now live in Puerto Rico--the white upper class and corrupt peddlers of the old order--and, along with the 50,000 North Americans, they daily warn the Puerto Ricans of the "misery" awaiting those who follow the direction of Fidel.

Across the freeways and canals bordering the Condado section lies the "invisible" poverty of San Juan. According to Oscar Lewis (author of *La Vida*), 90,000 slum-dwellers live in this city of half a million. Four of every five Puerto Rican families earn less than \$3,000 per year; one-half of them receive less than \$1,000 annually. Forty per cent of the people receive Federal surplus food. Lewis puts unemployment at 14 per cent; Puerto Ricans with whom we spoke insisted that a 30 per cent figure is more realistic. These figures take on greater meaning when one understands that for many items the Puerto Rican cost of living is virtually the same as that of the United States.

--continued on page 2

And Vice Versa?

**Success of Cosa Nostra Is Linked  
To Use of Big Business Methods**

- NYT March 8



## "THE FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA"

Excerpts from Remarks to the Cairo Seminar on African Revolution (October 24-29, 1966) by J. B. Marks, of the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa.

The liberation of Southern Africa remains the most important and urgent question on the agenda of the African revolution. As long as the most highly developed part of the continent with its enormous human and material resources is under the control of imperialism and local white minority governments it will not be possible to consummate our revolution.

\* \* \*

Britain, the United States, France, West Germany and Japan have huge investments here, exceeding those in the rest of the continent put together. The Republic of South Africa alone accounts for over \$2.8 billion of British investments and Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) for some \$560 million. Zambia similarly has millions of foreign capital invested particularly in its great copper mining industry. A partner of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, Britain has a variety of interests in Angola and Mozambique, too, in concerns ranging from railways, mining, sugar plantations to shipping and clearing agencies and banking.

The labor required in the enterprises belonging to imperialist capital is supplied by the under-developed countries of Africa to the Republic of Zambia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

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Outside the Condado, poverty is quite visible. Everywhere we went there were children with the sores and swollen bellies of malnutrition. Drug addiction is higher than in any part of the United States. In one slum we visited we were surprised to find police patrolling the swamp of garbage behind the houses. The reason: to prevent homeless squatters from putting up their shacks by the swamp at night since the authorities would then be forced to spend up to six months in legal proceedings evicting them. Such is the outcome of 68 years of development under North American auspices.

Brasmo in La Vida complains of the government building "roads and more roads, and the poor live as they always did." We learned that these "roads and more roads" are built primarily to connect US military bases, a fact symbolic of a larger truth: that Puerto Rico is being developed to serve North American military and business interests. US industries invest in Puerto Rico because of tax bonanzas, access to cheap raw materials, and a pliable labor market. Benefits from whatever welfare exists bear no comparison to the social costs of this military-industrial development. The Puerto Rican economy is a totally dependent one producing the sugar, rum and petro-chemical materials for North American consumption while consuming the Yankee imports. There is little native capitalism, no middle class really independent of US business. What middle class there is exists in a completely artificial world of extreme debt and inflation.

Puerto Rico is a "possession" in the tax definition of the Internal Revenue Service. Thus US corporations are exempt from federal taxes. Moreover, US businessmen are exempt from Puerto Rican income and property taxes for ten years and sometimes 17 years, after which most depart unless continued concessions are forthcoming.

The uppermost issue during our visit was the upcoming July 23 plebescite (to decide the status of the colony. Ed.) which MPI opposes. Puerto Ricans are certain to vote, and their votes are certain to ratify the "commonwealth" status quo. MPI hopes to use the campaign for educational purposes, but also there may be a chance they will prevent [the government/ party from achieving a high turnout. The MPI insists that independence cannot be achieved by entering the established elections because their government is powerless. This has been proven over and over historically, they argue, as in 1917 when Puerto Ricans were made citizens and drafted for World War I despite the opposition of the Puerto Rican legislature. Protest against the plebescite was the main focus of the April 16th march which wound from the capitol through old San Juan to an open park. Though the 10,000 demonstrators surprised even the MPI organizers, the march received little coverage even in the local press.

The MPI is internationalist in outlook. Though conscious of the failure of the United Nations to deal squarely with the issue of anti-colonialism, the MPI is lobbying to have the issue of Puerto Rico placed on the agenda of the UN Commission studying colonialism. The surprise announcement of the plebescite in fact came only two weeks after the UN commission announced last fall that it would officially consider whether Puerto Rico should be placed on the agenda.

The MPI is linking up directly with radical anti-colonial movements in other parts of the world. A protocol has been signed with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, MPI is represented on the executive committee of the Tricontinental Conference founded last year in Havana, and maintains active relations with a variety of youth and political movements throughout Latin America.

## IN BRIEF:

A recent U.S. bombing attack on a North Vietnamese civilian area injured three members of a touring delegation from the Continental Organization of Latin American Students (OCLAE). The attack, which killed a leader of the Vietnamese Student Federation, gravely wounded Jose Varona of the Puerto Rican University Federation for Independence. The Dominican and Cuban delegates were also hurt. This is the first time that visitors to North Vietnam have been injured by U.S. bombings. The three were hit while visiting a collective farm in the rural province of Thanh Hoa.

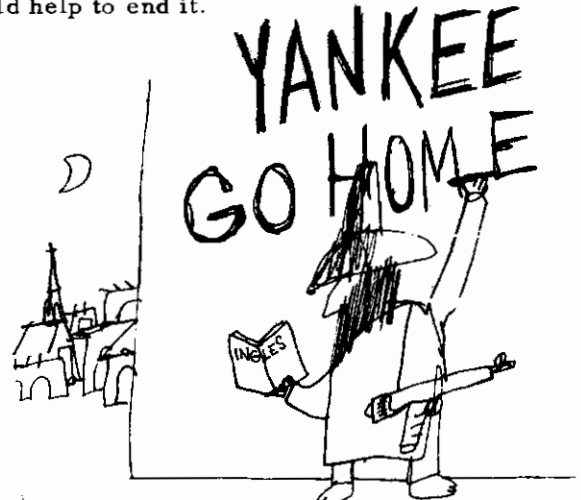
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The Times (May 7) reports that Richard Nixon "has drawn small but friendly crowds" on his recent trip to Lima, Peru. "However, the Peruvian Government has decreed strict security precautions. A troop carrier full of soldiers with submachine guns follows the former Vice President."

Vietnam is very much an issue of importance within Puerto Rico. There are perhaps 15,000 Puerto Ricans serving in the US armed forces, including over 1,000 in Vietnam. The MPI and EUPI protest the draft as a form of blood tax which forces them to fight against other anti-colonial movements. Their anti-draft program is another example of activity on the frontier of legitimacy. It centers around the case of Sixto Alvelo, a young worker who, in January 1965, refused to pledge his loyalty to the US at induction. He was arrested, brought to trial, but the case was quietly dropped. The US attorney so far has been unwilling to seek a five-year term for Alvelo. In the meantime, at least 1,000 other draft-age young men have signed a statement refusing to serve in the US army and stating their sympathy for the NLF in Vietnam.

The visit of Stokely Carmichael two months ago was the first contact made between independentistas and mass movements in the US in many years. In the 30's and 40's, especially in New York City when Vito Marcantonio represented East Harlem, active ties were maintained between the Puerto Rican and North American movements.

With the war in Vietnam becoming the engulfing issue in American society, it might seem out of place to plead for the addition of Puerto Rico to the major concerns of American radicals. Yet here is a colonial problem for which our country has been responsible for 68 years; a problem located just off our shores and even within the US itself. If what is required is a movement to provoke and enthuse the conscience of concerned people in this country, then it should become known that such a movement exists. Americans are causing "la vida," and Americans should help to end it.



## U.S. "DEMOCACY" COMES TO GREECE

The junta that took power in Greece in April on the slogan "Stop Communism" has banned 279 left and center organizations, suspended civil liberties, imposed censorship of dress and press, imprisoned cultural and political leaders, and issued a call for increased military and economic aid from the US.

Although the coup took the US by "surprise," there is evidence that the coolness is calculated. "... Ever since the Truman Doctrine in 1947, and U.S. military men moved in to direct the war against the Communists in 1949, there has been the most intimate association between Greek and United States armed forces . . . . The guns, tanks and planes that were used to overthrow the constitutional government last week were supplied by the U.S." (Clayton Fritchey, N. Y. Post, April 28, 1967). Military aid to Greece has totaled more than \$70 million annually (N. Y. Times, May 6).

The three top leaders of the junta were all trained by the US military. Lt. General Gregorios Spandidakis, Vice Premier and Defense Minister, was trained in American and NATO schools, worked with the US in World War II and in the Greek "civil war", and from 1954 to 1959 ran the NATO staff bureau in Izmir, Turkey (Christian Science Monitor, May 2). Minister of State, Artillery Colonel George Papadopoulos, until 1964 worked in the KYP, the Greek central intelligence agency closely connected with the CIA. Until recently, he worked with the NATO command. Colonel Nikolas Makarezos, Minister of Coordination, was trained in the Greek Military Academy with Papadopoulos. Makarezos has called for an increase in US investment in Greece to help the fight against communism, promising to simplify the procedures to facilitate investment (NYT, May 6).

In the name of anti-communism, the coup leaders are committed to strengthening NATO in the Mediterranean. Their attention immediately turned to Cyprus, renewing the call for Enosis (union with Greece). Amid cries of protest from Cypriot leaders, General George Grivas, commander of the 15,000 Cypriot National Guard, sent the junta a message of support. The Soviet Union decried this act as an attempt to end Cypriot independence and establish the island as a NATO nuclear missile base (CSM, May 9).

Although all the official press expressed doubt that the US will increase aid to Greece, the Times (May 7) reports, "In the minds of most Greeks, who have always shared a predisposition to believe that no right-wing coup could occur in the country without the involvement of the King and the United States, the acceptance of the new regime by both lends credence to the suspicion . . . . The longer the new regime lasts . . . the more the King and the United States will become discredited in the eyes of the masses of Greeks."

American investment in Greece has already boomed. The Times (May 16) announced that Litton Industries, Inc. of Beverly Hills, California, has signed a contract to "develop Crete and the western Peloponnesus, with a goal of \$828-million investment in the next 12 years. The contract with Litton became bogged down in negotiations before the coup, largely because of parliamentary criticism that the terms were too favorable to foreign investors."

The Times was determined to find hope in the dictatorship. On May 8, the junta promised elections sometime in the future "assuming conditions permit them." In the meantime, the military would revise the constitution to "prevent the politicians from making mistakes." The Times (May 9) wel-

comed the announcement in an editorial "Greece Takes a Good Turn." Elections, any elections, being the sign of freedom for the Times, it was encouraged to write "It will be good to welcome back to the ranks of democracy the nation that invented the word." The editorial ignored a story in the paper's news section of the same day that "anyone writing slogans on walls . . . or distributing opposition leaflets . . . would be shot on sight."

### A LETTER FROM CYPRUS

Congratulations on your new forum--the Tri-Continental. And thank you for your interest in the tragedy that has struck our area.

It is really something terrible. It is the first military coup of its kind in Europe since 1930! And it has struck that country which according to the American imperialist propaganda "first gave a lesson of democracy to the 'communist dictatorships!'"

You are asking about the political prisoners. Officially there are a little more than 5,000 already in detention. Unofficially there are many more. Nobody yet knows because no catalogues have been published. And the arrests continue.

We know for sure that the entire leadership of the United Democratic Left (EDA) is detained as well as many leaders of the Center Union and of other democratic organizations as well as of right groups.

Amongst the detainees are the famous writers Yiannis Ritsos (poet, national premie), Vasilis Vasilikos (novelist), Mikis Theodorakis (composer and MP), Vaso Katzaki (painter), Manos Katzakis (artist), Nicolaos Kitsikis (professor), etc., etc. And of course the famous resistance fighter Menolis Glezos, a leading journalist.

What one must know is that many of the arrested had been in concentration camps during the years of the Civil War which was imposed on Greece by the imperialists (1946-1949).

As for Cyprus there is much fear that the fascist onslaught on Greece may pass here as well. So we live in a state of expectation. And we are united in this. The entire people. If anything happens it will be a foreign interference --- cynical and provocative to the entire world.

So we need the solidarity of all the friends of freedom and democracy, like you. Though we know that the main problem for you is (and it must be) Vietnam!

### LYNDON OF ARABIA

Suspicion has been mounting that the US aid mission and embassy in Taiz, Yemen, have been used merely as bases for sabotage and espionage.

Last October, Michael Marris, a Lebanese-born US citizen employed at the Agency for International Development was expelled from Yemen for espionage.

On February 8, a new Russian school was open by Yemeni President Abdulla al-Salal in Taiz. Ten employees of the U.S. AID mission were arrested when a bazooka was fired at the building (NYT, March 16). On April 27th, Yemen announced it would unilaterally end her trade agreement with the US.

The announcement came after two U.S. AID officials were arrested on charges of firing a bazooka at an ammunition depot in Taiz in an attempt to destroy the city. -- continued on page 6

SCREAMS IN THE NIGHT  
(to the prisoners of apartheid)

Saliva drooling from their gums  
tearing into you  
like a pack of ravenous wolves  
they rip your naked flesh  
with wild beast fangs.

Brothers  
we hear your screams  
your tormented cries  
that split the night  
in half

Hold on brothers  
Hold on  
we hasten to your den of desolate hell

Your sun is hidden  
behind a cloud  
of locusts on the swarm  
we come brothers we come  
to rip their wings apart.

A. N. C. Kumalo

# 8500

*There are 8,500 political prisoners in Vorster's jails (one in every 2,000 of the total population of South Africa). In relation to respective populations, in any one day in South Africa there are as many political prisoners as there are total prisoners in Great Britain.*

Engelhard Industries, Inc., one of the major U.S. investors in South Africa "expects 1967 profits to rise 'at least 10%' from last year's \$8,810,868." The announcement was made by chairman Charles W. Engelhard, a big backer of the Democratic Party. (WSJ, May 4).

Southern Africa Liberation (continued from page 1)

An average of 100,000 Africans are recruited each year by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines from Mozambique. In exchange South Africa pays £2 (\$5.60) per laborer and allows the Portuguese authorities to collect taxes in South Africa. Apart from this annual quota another 200,000 Africans from Mozambique are working in the Republic of South Africa and in Zimbabwe. Thus, over 60 per cent of the labor in the mining industry of the Republic of South Africa comes from outside the country.

Apart from supplying labor, the Portuguese colonies, particularly Mozambique, handle a vast quantity of exports and imports to and from the Transvaal. 47.5 per cent of the seaborne import traffic to the area of Johannesburg as well as exports of 340,000 cases of citrus fruit must pass through Mozambique railways and be handled at the port of Lourence Marques. The vital importance of the ports of Lourence Marques, Beira, and Luanda to the economies of Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa explains much of the politics of the Southern Africa region.

\* \* \*

What is needed is greater commitment, coordination and planning in full consultation with the leadership of the national movements in each country. It was the isolated struggles of our peoples which caused our defeat by the imperialists in the last century.

Often people who are not prepared to think carefully about such matters expect the freedom fighters to engage the enemy without proper organization, planning, equipment or bases in friendly neighboring states. Too often liberation movements are lectured and instructed by some ultra-revolutionaries to "go and fight!"

Our people everywhere in Southern Africa have fought and will continue to fight for their liberation but on one condition, namely, that we fight with modern arms in hand. We are no longer prepared to call on our people to fight with sticks and stones as they have done for decades at the cost of thousands of lives. Surely it is not too much to expect that our friends in Africa and all over the world will at least ensure that the peoples of Southern Africa are trained by the thousands and fully armed to fight the enemies of progress on our continent. Armed counter-revolution must be faced with armed revolution.

The break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the emergence of independent states in Malawi and Zambia was a big reverse for imperialism and white reaction in Southern Africa. Similarly the emergence of such states as the Republic of Botswana and Lesotho is an acute embarrassment for the protagonists of white supremacy.

The main revolutionary force, however, is not so much independent states as the masses of laboring people in Southern Africa who know what white supremacy and racialism means. These are the millions who toil in the mines and plantations of Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Angola, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho. They are the vanguard of the struggle for the elimination of racialism and the foreign economic interests which profit by the present set-up.

In all the countries now remaining under white minority rule armed struggle is the only perspective left for the people. It is important that independent political and military leadership must be developed in each separate country. But in order to prevent the enemies from concentrating their forces against each liberation movement ways have to be found to build up and strengthen the struggles in all countries in cooperation.

One theory that must be combatted is that, according to which, the fight can be conducted in each country in complete isolation from the others. Nor can we accept the idea that the problem can be tackled in one country at a time. Nobody can tell where the revolutionary breakthrough may occur next. Therefore the fight must be intensified in all countries of Southern Africa where imperialism rules. Imperialist occupation of Africa began in the South. Let it now end in the South.

Dow Chemical, chief manufacturer of napalm, reported profits of \$30,805,737 for the first quarter of 1967, up 11% from the net income in 1966 of \$27,886,430. Sales rose 8% to \$331,263,299 from \$306,880,639. Carl A. Gerstacker, chairman, said this was "representative of what the year as a whole will be like." (Wall Street Journal, May 4).

\* \* \*

"Laos has become the center of the world's gold-smuggling traffic. It has the official sanction of the Government of Laos. And apparently the tacit approval of the Government of the United States. South Vietnam is the main market, but much is supposed to go to Thailand and India, too. . . . One American official says that the traffic is an important contribution to the economy of Laos, which the United States is anxious to support." (CSM, May 2).

\* \* \*

One week after the euphoria in State Department and U.S. press stories acclaiming the new popularity of the South Korean dictatorship as shown by the recent "elections" in that country, police authorities "arrested three opposition leaders, including two unsuccessful candidates in last week's Presidential election, as a consequence of remarks they made during the campaign." (NYT, May 8). The remarks included the suggestion that North Korea should be officially recognized, and that the military forces should be reduced.

\* \* \*

Two days earlier, the Times reported that "everyone in North Korea has a job--an uncomfortable contrast with the south, where unemployment in non-agricultural households was reported at about 13 percent last year. . . . The annual per-capita income in North Korea has been calculated at \$210, about double the figure for the south, and the economic growth rate is described as 'significant.'"

\* \* \*

American officials are unhappy about Britain's plans to withdraw her troops from the Far East, the Times (May 2) writes. "The American feeling is that Britain can still play a stabilizing role in some areas, such as Singapore, where American forces would not be welcome. The eagerness for continued presence of British forces is considered as directly connected to the Vietnam war. The US 'understandably wants company out there', one observer said."

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General William Westmore announced, on his recent visit to New York that in Vietnam, "the military picture is favorable. I do not see any end of the war in sight." (NYT).

## N. A. C. L. A.

The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) has been formed to explore the role of US intervention in the Western Hemisphere. Cooperating in the effort are individuals in American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, the University Christian Movement, Students for a Democratic Society, Peace Corps returnees, the Committee for Independent Political Action, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, religious groups and peace groups. John Gerassi, Fred Goff, Proctor Lippincott and other students of Latin American affairs make up NACLA's executive committee. If you wish to receive their important and informative newsletter, their address is: Room 924, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. A minimum contribution of \$3 is requested. The newsletter is published 10 times annually.

[Ed. note: these are excerpts from the message sent by Che Guevara to the Tri-Continental Organization in Havana. The complete text is available from the Tri-Continental Information Center, 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C. 10010. The cost is 25¢.]

The slogan "we will not allow another Cuba" (by the US. Ed.) hides the possibility of perpetrating aggressions without fear of reprisal, such as the one carried out against the Dominican Republic or before that the massacre in Panama--and the clear warning stating that Yankee troops are ready to intervene anywhere in America where the ruling regime may be altered, thus endangering their interests. This policy enjoys an almost absolute impunity: the OAS is a suitable mask, in spite of its unpopularity; the inefficiency of the UN is ridiculous as well as tragic; the armies of all American countries are ready to intervene in order to smash their peoples. The International of Crime and Treason has in fact been organized. On the other hand, the . . . bourgeoisies have lost all their capacity to oppose imperialism--if they ever had it--and they have become the last card in the pack. There are no other alternatives; either a socialist revolution or a make-believe revolution.

It is absolutely just to avoid all useless sacrifices. Therefore, it is so important to clear up the real possibilities that dependent America may have of liberating itself through pacific means. For us, the solution to this question is quite clear: the present moment may or may not be the proper one for starting the struggle, but we cannot harbour any illusions, and we have no right to do so, that freedom can be obtained without fighting. And these battles shall not be mere street fights with stones against tear-gas bombs, nor of pacific general strikes: neither shall it be the battle of a furious people destroying in two or three days the repressive scaffolds of the ruling oligarchies; the struggle shall be long, harsh, and its front shall be in the guerrillas' refuge, in the cities, in the homes of the fighters--where the repressive forces shall go seeking easy victims among their families--in the massacred rural population, in the villages or cities destroyed by the bombardments of the enemy.

They are pushing us into this struggle; there is no alternative: we must prepare it and we must decide to undertake it.

\* \* \*

And let us develop a true proletarian internationalism; with international proletarian armies; the flag under which we fight would be the sacred cause of redeeming humanity. To die under the flag of Vietnam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Bolivia, of Brazil--to name only a few scenes of today's armed struggle--would be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, even a European.

Each spilt drop of blood, in any country under whose flag one has not been born, is an experience passed on to those who survive, to be added later to the liberation struggle of his own country. And each nation liberated is a phase won in the battle for the liberation of one's own country.

The time has come to settle our discrepancies and place everything at the service of our struggle. . .

The money administered by the AID has totaled approximately \$47 million since 1960. It has been used to finance the Kennedy water supply, 195 other fresh-water projects and about 300 miles of new roads between the strategic towns of Taiz and Moccha and the South Arabian border (Christian Science Monitor, May 8). "Why are you so surprised at the ouster of the aid mission," claimed President Al-Salal. "We do not want people who shoot me with a bazooka (referring to an assassination attempt on his life) and take eight years to build a road and spend money for their own benefit."

The Times (April 17) had earlier reported that the military buildup of anti-Republican counter-revolutionaries "is evidenced by stores of arms in caves, by British pilots under contract to the Saudis to fly combat missions and by American technicians of the Raytheon corporation, who will maintain and operate missiles." (our emphasis).

**LEBANON**

An anti-US demonstration greeted visiting US Ambassador Dwight J. Porter on May 7. Placards read, "Leave our beautiful Lebanon alone," "Visit your graves in Vietnam," and "the Ambassador of the Sixth Fleet plus Camille Chamoun (former pro-US Lebanese president) plus Kazem el-Khalil (who was meeting Porter for lunch) equal Imperialism plus Israel plus Arab reaction." (NYT, May 8).

**SOUTH ARABIA**

Arabian American Oil Co.(Aramco) sold the equivalent of 8,797,086 barrels of refined products and natural gas in Saudi Arabia itself in 1966. Its exports, however, totaled 873,349,148 barrels of crude oil and 112,870,180 barrels of refined products.(WSJ, May 9).

**SYRIA**

The UN representative of Syria warned the Security Council on May 15 that a "Suez type" crisis was developing the Middle East. George J. Tomeh charged "direct provocation" in the context of a large conspiracy directed by the Central Intelligence Agency. He suggested that the United States Sixth Fleet was involved. (NYT, May 16).

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