

# BULLETIN

## On Puerto Rican Independence

(Speech at teach-in on Puerto Rico, New York City, July 13, 1967, by Juan Angel Silen, President of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia (MPI) Youth in Puerto Rico. The manuscript has been slightly edited for style.)

First of all, I want to thank the Tri-Continental Center for making it possible for me to speak before this honorable audience in the name of the Puerto Rican people fighting for independence and national liberation from North American imperialism.

I come to speak to you as a member of the Movement Pro-Independence of Puerto Rico (MPI), which at this moment, is fighting against a false plebescite that the United States, with the collaboration of the colonialists, is imposing upon the people of Puerto Rico to confuse world opinion, especially the United Nations' anti-colonialist forces; and to make it seem that the people of Puerto Rico are exercising their right to free self-determination.

Puerto Rico is an island in the Caribbean. Geographically it belongs to the Great Antilles and together with Cuba and the Dominican Republic represented the first Spanish stronghold in America during the conquest and the colonization. Puerto Rico was the last part of the Spanish colonial empire to be lost in 1898 in the Spanish-American war, when North American imperialism began its expansion to Latin America.

Juan Angel Silen (r.) with H. Rapp Brown of SNCC



### THE PEOPLE'S REACTION

Why do they have the gold  
 Why do they have all the power  
 Why do they have friends at the top  
 Why do they have jobs at the top  
 We've got nothing always had nothing  
 Nothing but holes and millions of them  
 Living in holes  
 Dying in holes  
 Holes in our bellies  
 and holes in our clothes  
 Marat we're poor and the poor stay poor  
 Marat don't make us wait any more  
 We want our rights and we don't care how  
 We want our Revolution NOW

— from *Marat/Sade* by Peter Weiss

### Israeli Aggression: To the Victor belong the Oils

For those who doubt that Israel intends to stay in firm control of the territory it captured during the war, the *Wall Street Journal* (July 14) reports that "Israeli bank branches and post offices are sprouting in the occupied areas." and "crude oil is soon expected to flow to Israel's Haifa refinery from three former Egyptian oil fields in Sinai."

The new territory could make Israel an important exporter of crude oil. "These fields," says the *Journal*, "already produce about 4.7 million tons annually—more than Israel needs for herself."

There is also profit to be made from the pilgrimages made to these areas. "If our dreams come true," one tourist official commented. "Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho—they'll all be terrific."

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At the beginning of this year, Israel had an Arab population of 11.5 per cent. In a speech to the Israeli Parliament, Tawfik Toubi, Communist M. P., gave some statistics on the status of Arabs in Israel.

Arabs made up 3.7 per cent of professions, and 2.5 per cent of government employees. There was one Arab judge. Out of every 10,000 higher civil servants, 10 were Arabs. Less than three per cent of the students in grammar schools were Arab, and out of the country's 20,000 university students, 300 were Arabs. There were no Arabs in government and top Parliamentary positions.

Seventy of the 112 Arab villages have no local government, but are run by the military; only twenty of them have electricity, and 77 of them have no telephones. Only 2.5 per cent of the housing budget is allotted to house building in Arab villages. (*Unity Supplement*, Belfast, June 24)

# "THE FAR EAST IS NOW OUR FAR WEST"

*Look* magazine (May 30) has published perhaps the frankest exposition of U. S. policy yet seen in this country. Titled "USA in Asia," the following excerpts are most revealing:

As Pacific Commander in Chief, Adm. US Grant Sharp, Jr., "holds sway, from his war room above Pearl Harbor, over 43 per cent of the globe from pole to pole and from the U. S. West Coast to the Bay of Bengal. This is one of the great military domains of history.

"On Okinawa. . .there is even a small psychological-warfare group turning out a billion leaflets for Vietnam this year. As its colonel says, "You can't kill everyone in the world who doesn't agree with you. You have to change some of their minds.

"*The Far East is now our Far West.* The Western frontier of American power today stands on the far side of the Pacific Ocean—8,000 miles west of San Francisco. It stretches through the island chain off the Asian mainland, with three toeholds on the continent: Korea, Vietnam and Thailand. There, we have more than a half-million men, thousands of warplanes and a great naval armada. We are a Pacific power—the only Pacific power. *We are there to stay.*

"Says one top American in Saigon: 'If you don't believe it's in our interest to be here, I'd say get the hell out. We're not losing thousands of American lives a year to be nice to the Vietnamese.'

"We are now committed to fight for at least nine Asian countries east of India. This is the area where we see danger. This is where we have no strong allies to provide cartilage to cushion the shock of our confrontation with a Communist big power. *This is where we have markets and, except for Japan, no rival producers.* Says one Washington policy maker, 'We don't want to have this many millions of people organized in a way that is hostile to us.' Our reasons include security, evangelism and commerce."

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On our "allies," *Look* has this to say:

**South Korea:** "They are proud of their 45,000 men fighting in Vietnam. And they do not understand dissent, either in America or in their own land. No Korean may discuss communism or relations with China."

**Taiwan:** ". . .is also working hard and making economic progress under a tightly held regime that spends 75 per cent of its central budget on the military. The press is censored. Strikes are illegal. Criticism of the government is prohibited."

**Okinawa:** "Seiho Matsuo, chief executive of the Ryukyu Islands, wants the U. S. military base to stay on Okinawa. The islands' imports total \$240 million, and exports, only \$82 million; the difference is made up by income from the base. But Matsuo admits that if permitted direct elections, the Okinawans would vote to return to Japanese rule: 'That's the way they want it—whether they are hungry or not.'"

**South Vietnam:** "Our latest ploy has been to turn 'pacification' over to the South Vietnamese Army, the *Arvin*. We admit that, as Westerners, we can't do the job. Unfortunately, most of the *Arvin* is badly trained and led, shows little energy and is reputedly penetrated by the Vietcong. Too many of its men have a reputation for looting, raping and being 'chicken stealers,' living off the country-

side. Some have been fighting for years. Says one American, 'They get no leave. It's not like us—one year and home to momma.' (*In this war, U. S. morale depends on the fixed one-year tour of duty.*) Whether such an undisciplined army can move into villages and win over the people is dubious."

**Thailand:** "About 8,000 U. S. troops and 85 per cent of direct American economic aid to Thailand (\$42 million last year) are now channeled into 'counterinsurgency' to block the rebels in the poor northeast provinces, which are exposed to infection from the bloody open wound of war across the Mekong River in Laos and Cambodia. . .Thailand has a sense of nationhood. And it has a strong central government. Running it, with a heavy, sometimes corrupt hand, is a cabal of generals who seized power in 1958. (Of our four police-state allies, only Thailand's rulers do not own their existence to American power—yet.) The press is licensed, the junta can still declare martial law and has not granted the constitution promised to replace the one suspended in 1958. . .The Thai Government has no popular base. Villagers look on the police, whom we are now helping to train, with more suspicion than confidence. The insurgency has been nurtured on the government's neglect of the northeast. . .The American public has been refused information about our growing involvement in Thailand. Ambassador (Graham A.) Martin throws the blame at the Thais, saying they insist on secrecy about the American buildup. In reaction to this assertion, Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman told *Look*: 'It is not true. It is false. They prefer to pass the buck to us.'"

**Japan:** "Japan has ducked any responsibility to join our efforts to keep peace and order in Asia. Its excitable left-wingers protest against U. S. bases. They object to the absolute American rule over 900,000 people on Okinawa and nearby islands, most of whom want to 'revert' to Japan. . . (Okinawa is a vital base to us, especially since we cannot keep nuclear weapons in Japan itself.) Says a Japanese Socialist party spokesman, 'The military tie between the U. S. and Japan is provoking China. We oppose your military presence in Asia. The American policy in Asia is imperialistic.' The left-wingers want a neutral Japan, and in that, they have wide support."

**Philippines:** "The Philippines wallow in problems. The Filipinos are grateful to the U. S. for granting the Island's freedom in 1946 and \$1.7 billion in aid since then. But many resent being 'the United States' boy' in the Pacific. They want the Philippines-for-the-Filipinos; they object to the shipping of 2,000 Filipino soldiers to Vietnam and they want to slice the privileges for U. S. business and trade, which are to expire in seven years. The period of our control of U. S. military bases has already been cut. . .Wealth and power are held by a sugar-and-banking elite that eats off gold service, flies its own planes and keeps polo ponies in stables vastly superior to the shacks of the poor. . .The situation is so bad that the Philippines have to import rice and fish.

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"We are committed to stay. Our involvement is so deep; the push of history so strong. It will be a very long time before our military power is disengaged. Says General Wheeler, 'We'll be involved out there till the end of the century.'"

"Secretary Rusk. . .predicts; 'It's going to be useful for some time to come for American power to be able to control every wave of the Pacific, if necessary.'"

# " THE FIRST PERIOD OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM "

Continued from Page 1—

With the treaty of Paris, the United States took over Puerto Rico as a war bounty from Spain. By that time, Puerto Rico had developed a nationality and had begun its fight for independence; the most important occurrence being the Lares revolution of 1868. When the Americans invaded Puerto Rico, we had already won as a concession from Spain, an Autonomous Charter. This was eliminated by the Congress of the U.S. which substituted a military government of three generals: General Brooke, General Henry, and General Davis. This military government lasted from 1898 to 1900 when the U.S. Congress passed the Foraker Act.

The Foraker Act ended the military government, and began the rule of the presidentially-named North American governors. From 1900 to 1917, six North Americans were governors of Puerto Rico. In 1917 the U.S. Congress, against the will of the Chamber of Delegates, the only elected body in Puerto Rico at that time, passed the Jones Act and imposed North American citizenship and compulsory military service upon Puerto Ricans. During the first 20 years of the United States colonial regime in Puerto Rico, North American economic forces established their supremacy in the sowing, plowing and manufacturing of sugar cane. Their banks controlled the credit all over the island. Coffee production was ruined. Coffee had been our main crop and main source of income in the second half of the 19th Century. At this period the proletarian working force began its growth with the development of the tobacco and sugar industry. The professional class began its growth as well and the so-called middle class continued its development. We can call this the first period of American colonialism.

The second period, 1920-1930, represents the control of the sugar economy and political life of the country. The rich land owner became dependent on the sugar mills, and the small farmer developed into an impoverished farmer. The economical ruin of our coffee industry was followed by the decadence of the tobacco production.

In the third period, from 1930 to 1940, the Puerto Rican people lived under the depression, economic ruin and crisis. The situation of the bourgeoisie was bad, the middle class impoverished; the proletariat lived on a subsistence level. Migration began to the cities, causing their rapid growth, especially in our capital, San Juan. During this time migration to the United States also began, especially to New York.

The next decade, from 1940 to 1950, was characterized by the militarization of the island, with the construction of large military installations and bases. Puerto Rico was turned into the seat of the Military Department of the Antilles and site of the 10th Naval District. The mass recruiting of the population into the armed forces and the development of a war economy began. The Puerto Rican bourgeoisie became the junior partner of the North American corporations. The sugar industry began to lose its political influence. A new invasion of North American capital came, and the monopolies now controlled the construction industry, commerce and every major aspect of the Puerto Rican economy. The middle class, composed of professionals and government bureaucrats, continued its growth. As the industrial proletariat grew, so too did their control by American international unions or by organizers on the payroll of the North American internationals.

In the next period, 1950-1960, the growth of the metropolitan area of San Juan was magnified by the fact that half of the population was rural and half urban. The mono-

polies, the absenteeism and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few are the main characteristics of this period. The investment in light industry is followed by the investment of North American capital in heavy industry, like petroleum, wheat mills and the chemical industry. Now they tried to gain control over the copper deposits of the island. During this period the construction of large hotels took place to develop the island as the center of American tourism in the Caribbean.

In the present decade—1960 to 1970—we find that the capital investment in Puerto Rico is 80% North American and 20% Puerto Rican. There are 50,000 North Americans and 30,000 Cuban exiles living in Puerto Rico while one million Puerto Ricans have left the island because of the economic situation. The equation is very important because North Americans and Cuban exiles come to Puerto Rico to assume the position of exploiters of our society, while Puerto Ricans go to the United States to join the lines of the proletarian workers.

In 1950, Congress approved Law 600, and in 1952 the Estado Libre Asociado (Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) was created. The real powers, both political and economic, rest in the hands of the U.S. Congress and the North American investor. In 69 years of American colonialism, Puerto Rico has been governed by 18 North American governors, one Puerto Rican governor named by the President of the United States, and two elected governors.

## *The fight for Independence*

The fight of my people for independence has taken different forms of expression. It can be found in the struggle of our people for national preservation against cultural aggression and plans of assimilating the Puerto Ricans into the "American" way. It has found expression in the defense of our Spanish language and of national affirmation against the imposition of English as an obligatory language in our public school system.

We can also see this fight for independence in the battle for more local autonomy as expressed in the struggle of many honest Puerto Ricans in the late 40's against North American corporations and sugar cane monopolies, and in the fight against the assimilation of our economy by North American capitalism. Our youth are active today in the fight against social and racial prejudice and against the draft and the war.

## *Puerto Rico, 1967*

If you want to know the real meaning of being a colony exploited by North American imperialism we must analyze the socio-economic situation of the masses in Puerto Rico.

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Thomas C. Mann, a former State Department official who now heads the Automobile Manufacturers Association, told Congress that it is important to fight graft in Latin American countries "because it deprives the individual of his confidence and an incentive to save and invest in productive enterprise."

"But I'm no Puritan," he commented. "I didn't say it had to be eliminated entirely. But it must be kept within reasonable limits." (NYT, July 19).

Puerto Rico is a military and economic base of aggression of North American imperialism against the people of the Caribbean and of Latin America. As a colony it is exploited militarily, economically and politically. The colonial development rests on three main pillars, they are: colonial peace, foreign investment and unlimited extension of credit.

The United States militarily controls 13% of Puerto Rico's land, has five major atomic bases, including Ramey Air Base with its B-52s and U-2s, and with its atomic cargo. Ramey is considered one of the major bases of the Strategic Air Command in the whole world. There is also Roosevelt Road base with its guided missiles now in the process of amplification, that has endangered with its growth the town of Ceiba. One of our islands in the east, Vieques, has lost to the marines by expropriation three quarters of its land. Vieques has been turned from a productive sugar cane crop grower and a productive cattle raising environment into a military base for the navy and a training ground for the marines. The people of Vieques are condemned to migrate, and prostitution is the most important local business in that part of Puerto Rico. Besides these large military bases, the United States has in Puerto Rico about 100 medium and small military installations as training camps, radar stations, radio stations and naval installations. Hundreds of American troops, navy men and air men are stationed in Puerto Rico. All this huge military apparatus is a product of colonial rule established without the consent or approval of the Puerto Rican people. All this military apparatus has been used as a source of aggression against the Dominican people and the Cuban people; now Puerto Rico has been turned into a training camp for the Green Berets who later will go to Vietnam, Bolivia, Columbia, Venezuela or Peru, first as military advisors and later as special forces for the defense of American imperialism and against the people who are fighting for national liberation.

Politically the United States controls large segments of the lives of the people of Puerto Rico through the federal agencies. In this way it controls our foreign and international relations. It also controls customs, immigration, the post office system, communications, radio, television, external commerce, products transportation, maritime laws, military service, and has control of the Social Security funds, banks, currency and defense. Laws passed by Congress, such as the Taft-Hartley Act, control our labor movement; and federal laws relating to salaries are obligatory in Puerto Rico also. In this way, the North American government has control of the most important features of policy-making and places the native government under complete control of the metropolitan power. Also any amendment for more autonomous government must be approved by the Congress of the United States. Since 1952, the Congress of the U. S., with its conservative mentality, has not granted any kind of autonomous power to its puppet government even though continuous petitions have been made to this end.

Economically, Puerto Rico is characterized by the unlimited growth of the economic domination of North American capitalism. Concessions of the colonial government in relation to salaries, tax exemption, personal and capital gains have made Puerto Rico a paradise for the North American investor. For every dollar invested in the Puerto Rican economy, they have made a gain of 30 cents in the first year. For every dollar produced in the industrial system, they leave in the country 17 cents. Even with these gains in their pursuit for more riches, they have automated industry to such a large extent that unemployment has reached the figure of 200,000 workers. Cost of living has risen 35 per cent since 1948; we are having an annual rise in the cost of living of three per cent. In relation to food products

the rate is four per cent; in relation to food products produced on the island, the rise is seven per cent. Average Puerto Rican wages are one third those of North American workers doing the same job. While North American workers have to work five minutes to buy a pound of bread, the Puerto Rican worker has to work 11 minutes to obtain the same pound of bread. While an American worker has to work 7 minutes to obtain a quart of milk, the Puerto Rican worker has to work 15 minutes to obtain the same quart of milk. While the North American worker works 17 minutes to obtain the money for 10 pounds of potatoes, the Puerto Rican worker has to work 48 minutes to obtain the same ten pounds of potatoes. This happens with all the basic articles which are necessary for living. This thing has only one name: exploitation, colonial exploitation. I hope this North American audience will not feel proud of the colonial achievements of North American imperialism in Puerto Rico.

The defenders of the colonial regime have spoken of a free commerce between the people of Puerto Rico and the United States. This is another lie. The United States benefits from having a captive monopolist commerce with Puerto Rico. Because of our colonial subordination and control, we are forced to do our commerce in North American ships. For being a colony we are forced to buy and sell all products in the United States. Puerto Rico buys more from the United States than Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway together.

In relation to the social conditions of the population, we still find 13 per cent illiteracy among the people, and the school average of the population is fifth grade. Forty-four per cent of the young people between the ages of 14 and 17 are not in school, 47 per cent of the students between the ages of 16 and 18 drop out before finishing high school, and 73 per cent of the students who have completed high school education do not go to universities. This is the picture of the educational situation. Sixty-nine years of colonialism have left this discredit to all who have a role in the North American colonial experience.

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Panamanian president Marco A. Robles recently issued a joint statement with President Johnson that agreement on a new Canal Zone treaty had been reached. Although many Panamanian politicians do not wish to close off discussions just yet, and the treaty has not yet been signed, "it is understood that as far as the United States is concerned, the negotiation is finished for important matters of substance. . .

"Although Panamanian sovereignty is being recognized over the present Canal Zone, *the Canal itself will be run by a nine-man authority, of whose members five will be American and four Panamanian.*"

While there is a provision requiring a two-thirds majority in certain cases, "*important decisions will be taken by a simple majority.*"

United States military bases in the Canal Zone will continue under a separate treaty which is "understood to envisage a case where United States forces would have to leave their bases and enter Panamanian territory for defense purposes. . .

"Army and Air Force schools in the Canal Zone and military assistance programs. . . are all designed to advance the Western Hemisphere's defense and help Latin America defend itself particularly against guerilla movements." (NYT, July 12.)

## COALS-TO-NEWCASTLE DEPT.

### Apartheid Is Urged on U. S.

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, July 19 (UPI)—The pro-government newspaper Die Vaderland said today that the United States was on the "brink of racial civil war" and suggested that the American Government try apartheid—strict racial separation—as a solution. "America's obsession with integration only causes chaos, strife and destruction," the paper said.

Silen: continued from page 4—

Regarding health, infant mortality is twice that of the United States, with 44 dead in every one thousand born. There are 209 sick persons for every bed in the hospitals. We have only 3,000 doctors, one third in the San Juan metropolitan area. Housing is still a great problem; the slum growth is 1220 houses per year. Forty-six per cent of the houses in Puerto Rico are considered inadequate by the government agencies. Agriculture continues in crisis. Since 1959 we have lost 28,000 jobs in agriculture; for every job created in industry, 10 in agriculture are destroyed. Last year we lost 14 million dollars in agriculture in our three main crops—sugar, coffee, and tobacco. Regarding family income and extreme poverty, we found that 44 per cent of Puerto Rican families have an income of less than \$2,000 a year; that 62 per cent of the Puerto Rican families have an income of less than \$3,000 a year. In one third of the municipalities, family income is less than \$800 a year, or \$2.20 a day. And 800,000 persons live in our country on public charity, by Federal surplus foods (comestario).

With the Vietnam war we are now exploited as cannon fodder. In relation to our population of two million and a half, and the population of the United States, the military draft imposed upon us reflects this picture: for every North American boy called to the Army, they call three Puerto Ricans. Eight hundred Puerto Ricans were killed in Korea, 254 in Vietnam. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," you said to the British. Well, you have imposed upon us the blood tax of colonial oppression; I think this is tyranny also.

Since 1959, when the Pro-Independence Movement was organized, we have held a constant struggle against colonial domination and exploitation. We have disrupted the colonial peace and gained international support for our struggle. We are winning to our side large segments of the people, especially the young people, in the fight against North American imperialism. This fight is against imperialist absorption as it manifests itself in the cultural, economic, political and military subordination.

The United States, trying to escape world condemnation, has imposed upon my people a false plebescite, in which the popular feeling will not be expressed; a plebescite imposed with the intention of falsifying the right of the people of Puerto Rico to independence and self-determination; a colonial plebescite that moves in with the persecution of independence fighters by the FBI, CIA agents, the internal security division and police all over the island; a plebescite to be held with the manipulation of all the local apparatus, federal agencies, military installations, control of the radio,

The Guatemalan government, disturbed over the influence the guerrilla movement has had on the peasant population, has recognized the need for new programs of social reform. The "problem of acquiring financial resources for economic programs" is a great one, however. Thus, "the central Government, which is seeking loyalty and respect from the population, has... under pressure from business and land-owning interests... accepted a one-year postponement of a much-needed tax reform." (NYT, July 17, 1967.)

The Zapaca region had been known for some time as a center of strength for the guerrilla movement, until the recent establishment of a reinforced army garrison there. "In the effort to rid the area of one military problem, the army has created another in the form of vigilante groups of small landowners, armed by the local garrisons. These groups have been accused of indiscriminate killings of persons only vaguely suspected of Communist sympathies." (NYT, July 17.)

"President Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro made Zapaca a 'pilot project'. . . The United States aid program decided to help with \$500,000." (Ibid)

television and press by North American interests who support the colonial status quo.

The Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico is going to boycott that fraud that is the colonial plebescite. The aim of the United States of falsifying the will of the Puerto Rican people is going to be defeated. North American imperialism will not be able to present the results of the plebescite to the United Nations as the expression of self-determination of the Puerto Rican people.

The three main purposes of North American imperialism will be frustrated. The three purposes are: to cheat the United Nations and world opinion; to isolate the MPI from the people and repress the independence forces in Puerto Rico; and to return to the colonial peace maintaining Puerto Rico as a military base, a land for profits and economic exploitation.

You as North Americans are guilty of the crimes your government and the corporations that rule this country are committing. You are guilty of the oppression my people is suffering. I hope you can wake up before this world begins to explode in many Vietnams. Now is Vietnam and Bolivia, but tomorrow is going to be Venezuela, Colombia, Peru or any place where you are exploiting the people. We know we are the base, the stronghold of North American imperialism in the Caribbean. But the people when they are fighting for their national liberation and independence have always defeated their enemy; that's history. Remember that the colonial peoples of the world have said, "Enough," and have begun their march for liberation. We belong to that world, the world of the future. Remember that when the people of Puerto Rico are fighting for their independence, they are fighting against the same government that has oppressed the American Negro. As brother Stokely Carmichael said in his visit to Puerto Rico last February, the Negroes are a colony inside the United States; we are a colony outside the United States. That's what makes brotherhood—the oppression and the fight against oppression. I would like to finish with a quotation one friend gave me some years ago and I think can summarize our position here: "Man's dearest possession is life. It is given to live but once. He must live it so as to feel no torturing regrets for years without purpose. So live as not to be seared by the shame of a cowardly and trivial past. So live that dying he can say: all my life and all my strength were given to the finest cause in all the world; the fight for the liberation of mankind."

## SOUTH VIETNAM "CONSTITUTION": WASHINGTON SQUARE TO SAIGON

*Publisher's Weekly*, the book industry journal, announced (July 17) a new book on "The Vietnamese Constitution of 1967" by Albert P. Blaustein and Gisbert Franz, to be published next year by Rutgers U. Press. Writes PW: "The Vietnamese Constitution will be presented to the voters of that country in a series of elections in October." Rutgers U. Press is apparently confident of its passage. Co-author Gisbert Franz, a professor political science at NYU, "was one of the draftsmen of the Korea Constitution and played a major role in the drafting of the Vietnamese Constitution."

In other "electoral" activity in Saigon, "Brigadier Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, chief of the civilian and military police and a close associate of the Premier (Ky), is reported to have told provincial police chiefs at a recent gathering that he expected them each to produce 20,000 votes for the Ky ticket. There are 45 provinces in South Vietnam." (*NYT*, June 15). This of course was before Ky was forced to step down to second position in the military clique by U. S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker (Drew Pearson, N. Y. *Post*, July 6).

Being number two, Ky now tries harder to remove any opposition, no matter how mild. The *NYT* (July 20) reports the elimination of seven slates in the presidential race, including that of Ky's own former Economic Minister, Au Truong Thanh, "because he is a Communist." The *Washington Post* (July 1) writes, "U. S. officials here are solidly behind the junta. They regard the army, with its 700,000 men, as the only effective political force in South Vietnamese life and as the only social institution able to give South Vietnam a measure of stability. They expect that the new ticket of Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu and Ky will win the presidential election in September. But, should they lose, the universal assumption is that the army will remain in command."

"Philco-Ford, in short, believes it is in Southeast Asia to stay. 'All you have to do,' says (General Manager) Morton Long, 'is go over there and see all the activity to know that the United States will be there for many years to come. We just can't win the war and then walk off. A lot of the follow-up effort will be done by contractors—and Philco-Ford's approach is to go anywhere the money is being spent.'" (*Newsweek*, July 10.)

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