

BULLETIN

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INTERVIEW WITH MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION LEADER

UNDERCURRENT WAR IN BRAZIL

An undercurrent war, marked at times by explosive outbursts, is now being waged in Brazil—the largest, most populated country in Latin America—between Marshal Costa e Silva's military regime and diverse Catholic sectors. The crisis, which has formed an unevenly acute part of the Brazilian political scene since the middle of last year, has recently worsened.

A series of events have precipitated the worsening: an intensification of the regime's campaigns against Catholic representatives—including Archbishop Helder Camara, the religious leader of Northern Brazil—who have voiced their opposition to social injustices; the suppression of all religious press and radio organs identified with this popular movement within ecclesiastic ranks; the opposition of the Organization of Young Catholic Workers to the government's social and wage policies; a manifesto issued by 300 priests pointing out to their bishops that the Church should not turn its back on the exploited people; the forced entry into and arrests made at the residence of Valdir Calheiros, Bishop of Volta Redonda, where a number of manifestos accusing the regime and Yankee imperialism of responsibility for the poverty of the people of Brazil have been circulated.

The conflict has by now spread from fundamentally rural regions, such as the vast, impoverished Northeast, to important industrial centers, such as Volta Redonda, the steel capital of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

Although the movement's aim is limited to seeking improvement in the living conditions of the people within a capitalist structure and within the framework of capitalist domination, and does not, as may be supposed, include social revolution,

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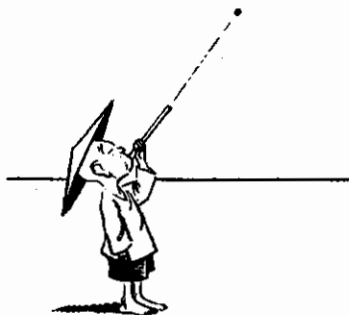
[The following are excerpts of an interview with FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane as published in *Africa Report*, November 1967. The interviewer's questions have been omitted or incorporated in Mondlane's answers for lack of space.]

... We [the several African revolutionary groups which were fighting in Mozambique] convened a meeting of the parties in Dar es Salaam in mid-1962 and formally established the Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique on June 25 of that year. The three existing parties were dissolved and FRELIMO was established on the basis of complete fusion into a single movement. The new liberation front had a unitary structure—that is, any Mozambican who wished to be associated with the movement had to commit himself as an individual, not as part of a sub-group. We called a first party congress for September 1962 and managed to bring many influential and representative Africans out of Mozambique to help draw up the policy guidelines of the new movement . . .

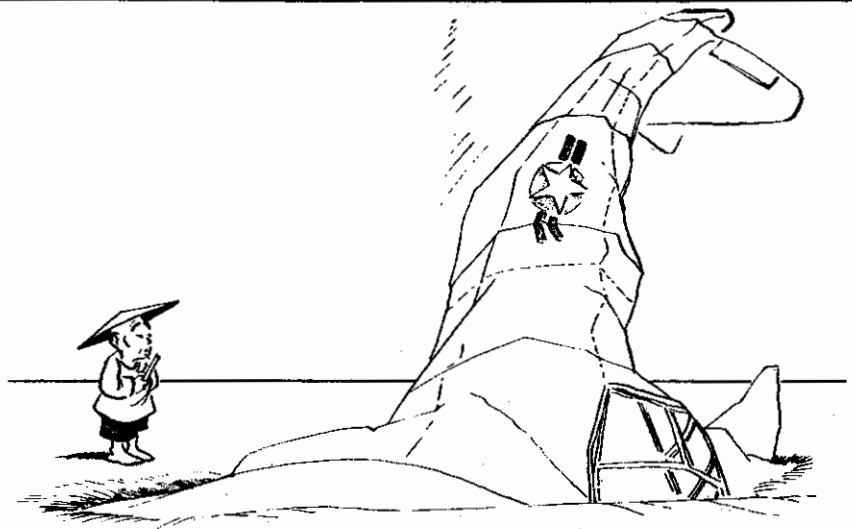
There were three [major policy lines agreed on]. First, we accepted it as a fact of life that Salazar's Portugal was unable to accept the idea of self-determination and that there was no prospect of negotiating political changes leading toward independence. We had to establish a clandestine political force within Mozambique to prepare the people for the very difficult task of liberating the country. Secondly, we decided to establish a clandestine military program. Thirdly, we agreed to establish an educational program that would emphasize leadership training . . .

Portugal is controlled by a government which does not even accept the idea of democracy and individual freedom for the people of metropolitan Portugal. Consequently it is inconceivable that it would voluntarily accept the idea that colonial

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Vadillo in SIEMPRE!, Mexico City



YANKEE 'AID' AND LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

[Reprinted from *Granma Weekly Review* (Havana), December 24, 1967. Source of data: OLAS Research Department.]

According to data culled from *Resources Survey for Latin American Countries*, published in 1965 by a division of the U. S. State Department, the financial "aid" allotted to scientific and cultural development in Latin America totaled, during the preceding ten years, \$116,000,000. Of the \$1,663,000,000 doled out by the imperialists in the guise of "aid" during that period, the figure dedicated to scientific and cultural development was thus only 6.98%. But what is the meaning of this and other measures with regard to imperialist penetration of our culture?

The imperialists have given \$37 million in "aid" to centers of higher learning. They speak openly of the importance to the United States of developing large numbers of professionals who have assimilated and will disseminate U. S. ideology: lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects, etc., who will be used to twist and give a conforming character to the outlook of the masses, or who will later emigrate to the U. S., providing a source of cheap professional labor, drained from Latin America.

These millions of dollars in "aid" are concentrated in schools for the sons and daughters of the privileged, of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, who monopolize the universities.

U. S. Protestant churches play an important role in the education "provided" for our people. Through their 547 organizations or agencies throughout Latin America, which include 5,724 U. S. missionaries, 9,578 Sunday schools, 1,324 primary schools, 98 secondary schools, 16 normal schools and 10 universities, these churches and religious sects, together with the so-called Peace Corps, form one of the most powerful instruments of penetration and influence in primary and higher education throughout Latin America.

These Peace Corpsmen, who number approximately 2,555, have invaded our continent. They take orders from the U. S. State Department. These "volunteers" are almost always U. S. university students; generally they become "instructors" at Latin American high schools and universities. Among the subjects they generally teach are farming, health, nutrition, community development, and teacher training.

Their avowed mission is "to meet the needs for qualified personnel and . . . to promote greater understanding of the people of the United States among those nations with which they are working and vice versa."

The Peace Corpsmen are permanent instruments for promoting imperialist ideas and policies, and they act as a permanent mission of espionage and sources of information for the CIA.

Imperialism is, without doubt, concentrating its greatest and most overt ideological penetration on the Andean countries—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. These are countries with semifeudal economies, characterized by backwardness and super exploitation, and with large Indian populations; countries where a revolutionary movement is taking shape.

The amounts devoted to subsidizing educational activities in Andean countries total \$15.5 million, almost 42% of the total allotted to education in Latin America. 57% of the Peace Corpsmen are concentrated in these four countries: 1,471 "volunteers". Protestant churches have, in these four countries, 21% of all their Latin American agencies and missions, 34% of their missionaries, 39% of their primary schools, 23% of their high schools, 43% of their normal schools and 60% of their universities.

This is not mere coincidence. Imperialism is concentrating its most subtle weapons in those places where the outbreak of revolution is most imminent or where the struggle is already under way.

We can conclude from this that all this "aid" to primary, secondary and higher education is the instrument par excellence of penetration and influence, the most subtle and disguised means for spreading imperialist ideology throughout the continent.

"All representatives of the United States government here [in Ecuador] have the same mission. The 300 Peace Corps Volunteers, 180 AID employes, 87 military men are all working for the same goal; to help Ecuador maintain its independence, to keep the country inside the free world . . .

"Russia is still the great threat to us here in Ecuador, especially now that they have disavowed violent revolution. The Chinese Communists are no problem. You can always detect their brand of subversion. But now the Russians are trying to "supervert" the country. They want to gain control by legitimate means." [From a speech given to Peace Corps Volunteers in Ecuador by the recently expelled U. S. Ambassador Wymberly DeRenne Coerr. Cited by Paul Cowan in *The Village Voice*, January 4, 1968.]

U.S. BUGS LATIN AMERICA

U. S. imperialism has assigned Puerto Rico a role of extraordinary importance in its plans for repressing liberation movements in Latin America. Not only is Puerto Rico an important military fortress in the gateway to Latin America, but now it is also a center for espionage in the area.

According to an article in *Claridad* (December 22, 1967), the weekly newspaper of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI), the U. S. has built a huge radio station in Cabo Rojo whose function will be to listen to foreign broadcasts, especially from Cuba and other Latin American countries, for anything that could be of interest to the U. S. government. The station is operated by a government agency called the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, which the *San Juan Star* said is definitely a subagency of the CIA. The station will be operating at full capacity by March, though it has been working to some degree for the past six months.

The paper said that about 70 persons will be employed at the spy station, half of whom will be Puerto Ricans. Outsiders are not allowed entry to the station. The town's Mayor said the station's facilities included a series of underground buildings that he had not been permitted to see.

"The construction of this center for espionage in our country," said the author of the article, "in conjunction with the other measures imperialism is undertaking here, such as the expansion of its already gigantic bases in Aguadilla and Ceiba, confirms MPI's assertion that Puerto Rico is a military stronghold, to be used as an anti-Cuban bridge for aggression. What yankee imperialism is trying to do is to assure its domination over our people and at the same time to use our territory as a base of penetration into the rest of our America."

MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION

people like ourselves should have these rights, much less independence. Portugal cannot be compared with such colonial powers as France or Britain. The Salazar regime does not believe in frank, logical and peaceful dialogue; it expects obedience. For this reason, we found it necessary to assume from the beginning that liberation would require the use of force . . .

At the September 1962 conference we discussed this problem [of outside assistance in training and equipping FRELIMO's military force] at considerable length. At that time, the only African state that had had a successful military experience against a determined and well-armed colonial power was Algeria. It was logical, then, that we should turn to Algeria. We arranged to meet with President Ahmed Ben Bella to propose a program of preparation for our people. The Algerian Government received our request favorably, and the first group of freedom fighters was sent to Algeria within less than six months. Their training served as a basis for further training of Mozambicans in East Africa and later in Mozambique itself.

By September 1964, when we launched our first military action, we had a force of 250 well-trained and equipped young men . . . In two years, we had more than 7,000. Now we have over 8,000 trained, well-equipped men and women . . . Our army is fighting in one-third of the country, and I would say that about one-fifth of the total area of Mozambique (with a population of almost a million out of the total population of 7 million) is under our virtual control.

[At our first congress we grappled with the question of whether military activity should be primarily directed against the Portuguese military or the entire colonial presence.] Given the imbalance of forces, we had to determine exactly whom to shoot in Mozambique. For reasons of morality, strategy and economy, we had to shoot the army first. So our men are trained in the techniques of fighting primarily the Portuguese Army, the police, the PIDE (the Portuguese political police), and all the bodies that are related to the military establishment, including spies. Secondly, we are concerned with certain administrative centers outside the army which support the army. Certain economic projects that support the Portuguese Army are also targets of our attack. But we do not regard economic projects as a primary target because the natural resources of Mozambique are our own, even though they may be controlled by the Portuguese today . . .

We do not encourage attacks on civilians of any kind, be they black, white, colored or Asian, so long as they are not armed to fight against us and are not cooperating with the Portuguese Army. The reason for our prohibition of attacks on civilians of all races is that we are not fighting against the Portuguese people as such. We are fighting the Portuguese Government and its colonial, exploitative, imperialist establishment in Mozambique. Any Portuguese whites or Asians or any people who are not traditional Mozambican people and who may wish to stay in Mozambique after we become free are welcome—even as members of FRELIMO . . .

We have little opportunity to find out [if our forces meet suspicion or antipathy from Mozambicans when we seek to establish control in a given area] because the Portuguese authorities define all black people in the area as guerrillas as soon as the area is affected by guerrilla action. They bombard and attack civilians, and the civilians very promptly abandon whatever feelings of ambivalence they may have

had and want very much to be associated with the movement and live with our guerrillas. Our military actions are also becoming more and more effective in keeping the Portuguese administration completely out of contact with the masses of the African population.

We assume that our military control of these areas involves certain administrative responsibilities toward the population and we undertake to ensure the minimal requirements of normal life in the bush. These include drugs and medicines and bush clinics to distribute them. Schools for the children, especially in areas that already had missionaries, are also important in establishing confidence. Even in areas where the people had never had any formal education, schools are wanted; to these people "liberation" means having schools for their children. We also help the people in their agriculture and in marketing their products within the country . . .

FRELIMO's structure is dictated by the necessities of the revolution. The main organizational body is the central committee, which has both administrative and legislative responsibilities. It is composed of 22 members, most of them also directors or executive secretaries of operational departments of the organization. The central department is the president's office, which consists of the president, vice-president and a secretary for the presidency as the responsible officers. All actions—political, military, and educational—are coordinated here . . .

Certainly one of the most important departments is the one responsible for clandestine political work within Mozambique. The executive secretary in charge of this department is assisted by a committee of associate secretaries, one representing each province. They prepare for action everywhere—ahead of the army, with the army and after the army. They are responsible for formulating political lines and transmitting them to local leaders. They establish cells everywhere in Mozambique and make sure that each cell knows what it must do and how its function fits into the party's strategy for the liberation of the whole country. A department of organization within Mozambique has the related task of preparing the people psychologically and politically for the long struggle that we face. We do not make facile promises to people, for it is absolutely essential that they share with us the knowledge that liberation from Portuguese rule may take many years and many lives. Every area of Mozambique has a team working clandestinely to train leaders and to provide the kind of civic education that will enable each Mozambican to understand how he personally relates to FRELIMO's overall strategy. Where the people organize themselves ahead of FRELIMO's organizational team, the staff seeks to link the existing setup with FRELIMO, emphasizing orientation on the need for coordinating activities against an enemy as powerful as Portugal.

The department of defense, which reports directly to the president on a daily basis, trains, supplies, and provides political education for the youth who are the guerrillas. It also plans and directs military activities. The department of external affairs . . . is concerned with solidifying ties with all foreign countries and organizations that are friendly to the Mozambique liberation struggle. It formulates requests for help, circulates information, conveys all gifts from outside into the organization, represents FRELIMO in conferences abroad, and serves as the formal link between FRELIMO and CONCP, the organization that coordinates liberation movements in all the Portuguese colonies .

MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION

Portugal's education policy in its colonies has favored the education of the Portuguese, with the education of the black man left almost exclusively to the churches, especially the Catholic Church. This government-subsidized missionary education provides a very limited kind of instruction for Africans, and its primary aim is to convert us to Christianity and inculcate us with Portuguese culture. In preparing ourselves to be free, we had little difficulty in reaching agreement that we must give very high priority to the creation of opportunities for higher education for our young people . . .

Support for our program of liberation—and by this I mean the whole range of political, military and educational programs—now comes from every corner of the world. I can divide these sources of aid into three broad categories:

First, Africa. Most help for the political and military program comes from independent African states, either in the form of money or equipment obtained for us by the OAU's African Liberation Committee, or as individual offers of material and financial aid. The Liberation Committee designated FRELIMO as the only channel for OAU aid to Mozambique nationalism in 1963. African aid composes more than two-thirds of our total resources.

Second, we receive aid from Asian and socialist states, including India, the People's Republic of China, Indonesia, Japan and the USSR. This aid includes both funds and equipment useful in the struggle.

Third, we also get aid from Western countries, mostly from churches and humanitarian pro-African committees, and is designated for our educational, refugee and other humanitarian programs. The Mozambique Institute has received a great deal of financial support from Western countries and school equipment from Eastern Europe.

. . . I think it is necessary to make it clear that the main source of support for our struggle is our own people. It is important to say this because there are many people in America and elsewhere who think our success will depend primarily on the kind of support we get from outside. We believe very strongly that it is the political determination of the people and the clarity with which they see the necessity for their line of action that will make possible the liberation of our people, of our country. Everything else is supportive. Without the political determination of the Mozambicans and without an organization such as FRELIMO to structure the action, outside help would be of no use at all . . .

There are several kinds of support that we very much need that we aren't getting. Above all, perhaps, we wish we had the outright political and diplomatic support of the Western powers for our struggle. We do not have that. The United States, France, West Germany, Great Britain, and most of the NATO powers tacitly support the status quo of Portuguese-governed Africa . . .

Every time I go to the United States, I'm asked again and again whether FRELIMO is "pro-East" or "pro-West," "pro-communist" or "pro-capitalist." My answer as president of FRELIMO is that FRELIMO is pro-Mozambican, principally, primarily, and finally. But when we are fighting as we are, and our people see the West helping through NATO to train the Portuguese Army, even special training in guerrilla warfare; when they see French, German and British weapons

being used by the Portuguese; when they see the Western countries vote with Portugal in the UN, establish military bases in Portugal as West Germany is doing, and allow millions of dollars of private capital to be invested in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, they can scarcely remain unaffected.

If the West has decided, for reasons of expediency, that it cannot part company with fascist Portugal, and to leave the Africans of southern Africa to fend for themselves, remember it's not our choice. It's yours. We will accept that. But don't be surprised later if we are not very friendly to you.

Let me make it clear that we do not believe that a change of attitude by the West in itself is going to help us win our struggle. We do think, however, that it may determine the length of time it may take for us to win. This is something the United States should consider very carefully. Portuguese colonial rule in Africa is an anachronism, and we will dispose of it—with or without outside help. The real issue is: What does the West expect of us when we win our victory if it continues its present policies? . . .

We can't tell exactly what form the governmental system is going to take, but we do know that we do not intend to be either a capitalist or communist, but rather a socialist state. This requires some explanation. First, it should be remembered that all our land and natural resources are now controlled by the Portuguese Government, which disposes of them as it wants, selling many of the concessions to private foreign companies. The African people are only instruments for production to benefit others. This must be corrected. The natural resources of the country—the land, the minerals, and everything that God has given this country—should belong to its people, not to foreigners . . .

There is, of course, another reason we must think in terms of a socialist economy. Private ownership means private capital. Private capital means native people, local citizens of the country, possessing that capital. We Mozambicans have no capital, none whatsoever. We have no chance to inherit anything from Portugal, or to accumulate wealth on our own. So what do we do? We have to start with whatever is available. And what is available is the state. The state will have control of all natural resources, and the people will invest their energies in the activities of the state. Any private interests from anywhere in the world that might wish to participate will have to deal with the state, and the terms and conditions will be determined by negotiation.

Now the third point about which we feel very strongly is the freedom of men, of individual men. Under Portuguese rule, Mozambicans are little more than tools of private companies and the Portuguese Government—or perhaps of foreign interests in South Africa and Rhodesia. This the people resent and want to change. As they become free, therefore, they will demand to be listened to by the new government of Mozambique and they will want to have a say in determining what they want to do with themselves. In cooperation with the people, we will form a new economic system that will make them wish to participate in the construction of a new Mozambique, a new life. They want freedom, which means, translated into material terms, a better economy, better use of natural resources, better use of themselves, better use of the distributive system within the country and with foreign countries. The average man wants to earn at least enough money to live decently . . .

SOUTH VIETNAMESE HERO'S WIDOW HAILS STRUGGLE

Phan Thi Quyen, widow of South Vietnamese hero Nguyen Van Troi, who had attempted to assassinate Defense Secretary McNamara in 1964, has sent a letter expressing affectionate feelings to the U. S. youth who demonstrated during the "Stop the Draft Week" held in N. Y. December 4-8. The letter said:

"I avail myself of this occasion— your 'stop the draft-end the war' week—to tell you of the feelings of a South Vietnamese woman who has lost her beloved husband in the current struggle against the loathsome war provoked in our country by the U. S. Government.

"Three years ago, on October 15, 1964, the so-called administration in Saigon, rigged up and wire-pulled by the White House, murdered my husband, Nguyen Van Troi, whose only crime was to be a patriot and to have resisted the warmongers.

"Now, the more bitter I feel about his death and the death of many of my compatriots, the more I am moved by the fact that an increasing number of American youths are refusing to go to South Vietnam to massacre people who have done them no harm. Many of these youths have burned their draft cards or returned them to the authorities. Many of them have gone on hunger strikes for a whole week. Not a few have immolated themselves out of indignation. I know perfectly well how you felt before you took your energetic acts.

"The goals of your struggle, an end to the U. S. war in Vietnam and peace and freedom for the whole of mankind, are the very goals which my husband fought and died for. That is why I wish to send to all the youth in the United States the affectionate feelings from a friend in South Vietnam, and wish you many more successes in your struggle to keep the happiness of the youth in South Vietnam and in the U. S. from being shattered as in my case by this ruthless war.

"Especially I would like to send my respect and love to those friends of mine now being detained in various prisons in the U. S. for having refused to serve in the U. S. army in South Vietnam. They remind me of my husband and my prison mates, and all those South Vietnamese youths imprisoned in South Vietnam who, though deprived of their freedom, are not shaken in their optimism, their love for life and their faith in the bright future of their homeland."

After recalling that the youth of South Vietnam and in the United States are always in the van of their patriotic struggle, the letter said:

"The U. S. warmongers have killed my husband. No force on earth can defeat truth. Young people who cherish freedom and democracy are rising up in ever greater numbers to fight for the genuine independence and freedom of their respective countries. I am very glad and proud, because right in the United States I have friends who are struggling unflinchingly against injustice and oppression in South Vietnam, and strongly demanding the withdrawal of all U. S. troops from this area. To those who have expressed their sorrow at my husband's death I especially send my sincerest thanks.

"For my part I promise to do my level best to contribute to the struggle to win genuine freedom and independence for my people, which is also the common struggle for the happiness and future of our generation and for the peace and friendship between the people of South Vietnam and the United States." [Cited in *Vietnam Information Bulletin*, December 22, 1967.]

REVOLUTIONARIES ALSO DEMONSTRATE

[The following is from the *Vietnam Information Bulletin*, December 12, 1967. For those with doubts as to who organized the demonstrations, and how the most revolutionary people in the world carry on their political struggle, read: Wilfred Burchett's *Vietnam, The Inside Story*.]

While redoubling armed activities to destroy more live forces of the enemy, the people in South Vietnam continue promoting their political struggle against the U. S. puppet terrorist policy, according to Giai Phong Press Agency. Meetings and demonstrations have been held in ever greater numbers to demand an end to "mopping up" and looting operations and forcible conscription. Other activities have been carried out in various towns or cities still controlled by the enemy.

In the five days ending Nov. 14, people in Vinh Long province totaling over 55,000, among them over 20,000 from the enemy controlled area, streamed through the district town of Vung Liem. Many carried aloft flags of the South Vietnam NLF, banderols and slogans demanding a halt to massacre, toxic chemical sprays, compensation for the people's losses caused by raids, withdrawal of U. S. troops and abolition of the returns of the recent "elections farce." Despite puppet police repression, the demonstrators converged on the office of the puppet district government and shouted "down with U. S. imperialist!", "down with Thieu-Ky!", "yankee go home!" Under the people's pressure, the district chief had to appear before the public and accept the people's petitions.

Within three days (Nov. 11, 17, and 19) nearly 200 people in the capital of Can Tho province confronted the puppet authorities, U. S. "advisors" and puppet field policeman to protest against press-ganging. They succeeded in keeping 54 youths from being conscripted . . .

In the four days ending Nov. 27, armed propaganda teams in Ben Tre infiltrated four times into the town and its outskirts and distributed over 30,000 leaflets explaining the content of the NLF political program and calling for protests against forcible conscription. They also hoisted flags of the NLF in many busy streets of the provincial capital . . .

According to Giai Phong Press Agency, face to face struggles with the puppet authorities, drawing a total of more than 200,000 country and urban people, took place last October [in five provinces].

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BRAZIL continued from page one

despite increasing clamor among rank-and-file Catholic workers and peasants, nevertheless, for Brazil's regime, the objectives of the movement are subversive.

A document published last week by the country's high ecclesiastical hierarchy affirmed that no conflict existed with the regime and proclaimed its recognition of the regime's authority. Nevertheless, the extreme seriousness of social problems in Brazil makes the attempts at conciliation mentioned in the document extremely difficult to carry out, and the text of the document was notably ambiguous, leaving ample room for varying interpretations.

The high Catholic hierarchy is aware that, should the Church turn a deaf ear to the people's misery and side with their enemies—the oligarchy and imperialism—it would risk losing its influence over this enormous country of 84,800,000 inhabitants, some 75% of whom are officially counted as Catholics.

This consideration, essential to an understanding of the present conflict, was eloquently expressed in a message directed by Archbishop Helder Camara to the ultrareactionary *usineiros* (sugar mill and cane plantation owners), who would like to see him crucified for his defense of the poor: "Don't commit suicide. Do not oppose social progress, because once the people break loose even the army will be unable to stop them."

It is, in a nutshell, a many-faceted conflict that, far from having reached an end, is most probably just beginning. Its immediate effect has been to paralyze, at least momentarily, imperialist plans to give the Costa e Silva regime a less "gorillesque" and more democratic appearance.

No prediction can be valid as to future developments in this conflict, since these will depend not only on the will of the regime and the high ecclesiastical hierarchy but also on the sentiments of the humble rank-and-file Catholics. [Reprinted from *Granma Weekly Review* (Havana), December 17.]

MOZAMBIQUE continued from page four

These are facts, these are realities. But we must not shrink, we must not waiver, in the presence of all these obstacles. We have faith that we can move the people of Mozambique to involve themselves so completely in the military and political struggle that Portugal cannot hold out against our

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FROM THE EDITOR

Just in case you didn't realize it, we'd like to call your attention to the fact that in the past few issues of the *Bulletin* we've been publishing important material which had previously not been printed in the U.S. (In the trade it's called "scooping.") In the September-October issue we were the first to reprint the political program of the South Vietnam NLF. The message by Regis Debray, which was in the December *Bulletin*, was also a scoop.

Forgive us for tooting our own horn, but somebody has to. These two important documents have been ignored by the major news media. The NLF program has since been printed in some left publications (without reference to the *Bulletin*), and according to the *NY Times* (December 24), *Evergreen Review* is going to reprint the Debray statement.

The main reason why the *Bulletin* has not received its due recognition, and why these documents have not received greater publicity, is due to the fact that the *Bulletin* (and the Center) is new, poor and has too few subscribers. Time will take care of the first situation. Only you, our readers, can help correct the latter two problems. This can be done by sending us your contributions (money) and additional subscriptions (also money).

We have many exciting plans for the Center. Among these are: a weekly *Bulletin* with expanded coverage; fact-finding contingents abroad (such as a recent one to Panama); the publishing of pamphlets; educational events throughout the U.S.; and others. All these things require money, of which we have precious little. If you feel, as we do, that the Center has great potential and can play an important educational role in providing information about revolutionary developments abroad, for which there is a crying need in the U.S., then please send us whatever contribution you can afford. Any amount will be greatly appreciated and put to good use. Thank you for your support.

vastly greater numbers. If the Portuguese want a Dien Bien Phu, we are prepared to give it to them. We know that there will be suffering, and that there are no easy solutions for our people. Once we have established this fact, and this sense of purpose, in every man, woman and child in Mozambique, we will have passed the most important test of a liberation movement.

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