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U.S. Election Results Reflect Vietnam, Black Liberation Fight



RICARDO GADEA, one of hundreds of political prisoners in Peru. [See page 926.]

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Special:

**Cuba's Economic
Situation**

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JAPANESE HOUSEWIVES START MOVING AGAINST SPIRALING PRICES

Surging price rises in Japan have touched off a movement that may signal a sharpening of the class struggle -- the housewives are not only becoming angry about the situation, they are beginning to do something about it.

On October 1 came the latest hike in prices. Rice went up 14.4 percent as of that date. Fares for streetcars and buses likewise went up. The same for medical fees. Prices of bean-mash and soy sauce followed the trend. Beauty parlor fees and maternity hospital charges hit a new level. Even the prices of kerosene and gasoline went up, businessmen alleging that it was due to the conflict in the Middle East although oil shipped to Japan from that area does not go through the Suez Canal. [Owing to the closing of the canal, tankers are claimed to be in short supply and so shipping interests are charging whatever the racket will bear.]

Housewives in Japan are engaging in various actions. These range from addressing petitions to the government to direct action at the point of purchase.

The most interesting development has been the pressure housewives have put on stores through consumers cooperative associations. The October 25 Asahi Evening News reports how this works:

"Mrs. Masami Kobayashi, age 33, is one of the price monitors who has been chosen by the association for streamlining of the consumers' living in Osaka.

"She examines the price of various commodities from meat, tofu (bean-curd), to medicines every day while shopping. She also checks the services given by shops and their sanitary condition.

"Going to market with a ¥1,000 [1,000 yen = US\$2.76] note, she buys ¥25 carrot, bean-mash priced at ¥56, ¥36 wakame seaweed and others. She draws a sigh without knowing because of the small quantity of the change.

"What she feels at that time are written down on a questionnaire consisting of 50 questions, while she hopes that the replies by 100 housewives of seven women's associations collected during two weeks would lead to control in price hikes."

Her husband works in a plant that manufactures machine parts. The couple have a six-year-old boy and a two-year-old girl.

About three years ago, to help eke out the family income, she set up a beauty salon. But no matter how hard she worked, the family income remained so low in relation to advancing prices that only ordinary rice could be afforded.

Last spring she learned how to buy eggs at a lower price through a women's association. She joined up.

She also joined the All-Osaka Housewives' Federation, an organization that played an active role, together with others, in abolishing an air-conditioning charge levied by taxis.

She has now advanced to the position of "price monitor."

On Wednesday price monitors hold a meeting at which they are briefed by the staff of a food office on the latest news concerning prices; and she participates in a study meeting on the quality of rice.

On Thursday she makes an inspection tour of shops in her neighborhood.

On Friday she arranges the results of her tour.

On Saturday, several housewives gather at her home to discuss what was uncovered during the inspection of the local shops.

The Asahi Evening News does not report what the housewives do next. The logic of their action is quite obvious, however, and experience in other countries in the past can be referred to.

The tendency is to form permanent neighborhood committees that visit the local shops, particularly those where prices are found to be unduly out of line.

If the shopowner does not bring prices into line at once, alleging that he would lose money, the housewives demand the right to check his books to see what his profits really are. This demand is often sufficient to bring about an adjustment.

PHOTO on opposite page. Members of a women's association in Osaka go into action against high prices. A price monitor carefully examines rice labeled "high

quality" and checks the price tag. Inflation is an acute problem for families with limited incomes in Japan. Angered housewives are responding in a direct way.

If he does open his books and they prove to be complicated or suspicious, the housewives association furnishes accountants to probe deeper.

Shopkeepers, of course, often band together against the consumers. This can lead to militant counteraction by the housewives, such as mass entry into stores. Often the demonstrations are quite imaginative and generally rather costly to the offending merchants.

A sufficiently powerful association of housewives can engage in mass demonstrations of a very effective nature, even directing them in the streets against the government authorities, who, of course, represent the interest of the merchants, particularly the large ones who set prices through monopoly practices.

In combination with strike struggles and other forms of mass action, the housewives can play a decisive role in bringing a country into a revolutionary situation.

In view of the fact that in many parts of the world today, inflation has

become chronic and often of raging proportions, such tendencies toward action as those displayed by the Japanese women at the moment will undoubtedly prove of considerable interest to revolutionists everywhere.

Housewives committees, organized on a mass scale, to check prices and the quality of commodities are much more revolutionary in nature than may appear at first sight.

Their interest in the secrets of the local shopkeeper and the distribution of commodities points directly to the secrets of capitalist society as a whole and the organization of its economy.

Such slogans as "Open the books," and "Power to the consumers to control prices" can pave the way for much more radical and sweeping slogans.

They can prove to be among the key slogans required to organize the masses in the cities throughout the "third world"; and not only there as can be seen in the case of Japan.

VIETNAM, BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, REFLECTED IN U.S. ELECTION RESULTS

By Joseph Hansen

The state and municipal elections in the United States November 7 are being assessed for possible indications on how the mood of the voters may affect the presidential elections in 1968.

National interest centered in particular on the referendum in San Francisco which read:

"Declaration of policy: Shall it be the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems?"

The final tally of votes from the city's 1,341 precincts was: Yes, 76,632. No, 132,406. The total vote cast in the election was 255,596 but only 209,038 were recorded for and against the Vietnam policy declaration. Of those who went to the polls, 46,558 abstained from voting on the proposition.

Thus out of the total vote, 52% were opposed, 30% in favor and 18% abstained on a proposal to immediately withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The first conclusion of bourgeois analysts was that the voters had repudi-

ated the demand. Thus New York Times columnist Tom Wicker said [November 9] that the vote "demonstrated that however American voters may feel about the war, they are by no means ready to take the extreme step of pulling out of it altogether."

Robert Coate, Northern California chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, took a less emphatic view. He expressed the belief that if the word "systematic" had been substituted for "immediate" in the proposition the "yes" vote would have been overwhelming.

Lawrence E. Davies, San Francisco correspondent of the New York Times indicated the class basis of the vote.

"Voters in exclusive residential districts of San Francisco, along with members of the economic middle class," he wrote November 8, "helped pile up a prevailing 'no' vote yesterday on a proposal to pull American troops out of Vietnam." There was no distinguishable difference, he added, on the way Republicans and Democrats voted on the issue.

"The heaviest 'yes' vote, the check of precincts chosen on the political, ethnic and economic bases indicated, came from areas such as Fillmore and Hunter's Point.

"These are districts in which the Negro population is heavy, to which poverty and redevelopment programs have been aimed and which were the scenes of violence in the summer of 1966."

The Haight-Ashbury precincts -- so-called "Hippieville" -- also returned "yes" majorities.

The heaviest "no" majorities were recorded in wealthy residential neighborhoods like St. Francis Wood and the Marina and in the Sunset, "with its middle- and upper-middle-class populations south of Golden Gate Park toward the Pacific Ocean."

As a reflection of the true sentiment in the population, it must be borne in mind that in the United States broad sectors of the lower-income brackets rarely go to the polls, often failing to register so as to be eligible to vote.

Most important of all, those most affected and most concerned about the war in Vietnam, the 18- to 21-year-old age bracket subject to the draft are excluded from voting.

Writing from San Francisco the day after the election, Fred Halstead, the 1968 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, reported in the November 13 issue of The Militant:

"An unofficial straw vote taken at 15 polling places throughout the city for youth over 18 but not yet 21 showed an overwhelming support for Proposition P. With returns in from 13 of the unofficial polls, the vote ran 2,912 'yes' and only 272 'no.'"

The vote in San Francisco in favor of the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, impressive as it was, must be considered to be but a faint reflection of the mounting opposition to the war among the working class, the black people and the youth.

Besides the indication of the strength of the antiwar sentiment in the United States and the varying attitude toward the war in Vietnam in the different social layers, which was provided by the vote on the sharply worded referendum in San Francisco, the election was of interest in what it revealed about the effect of the black liberation struggle.

The most obvious manifestation was in the victory of various black candidates, the two main ones being Carl B. Stokes, who won the post of mayor as the candidate of the Democratic party in Cleveland, and Richard D. Hatcher, who won similarly in Gary, Indiana.

Both victories were by thin major-

ities but they were historic firsts and thus of some significance.

The most important item in both cases was the size and solidity of the black vote. In Cleveland, Stokes received 94.5% of the black vote. The turnout was 84% of the estimated black registration. Besides this, Stokes cut rather substantially into the white vote. In Gary, Hatcher received 76% of the black vote. The city is listed as having a 55% Negro majority in a total population of 180,000. The black voters turned out more heavily than the whites and this proved decisive.

The bourgeois commentators point to a significant shift in the attitude of white voters in these two cities (although less so in Gary than in Cleveland) and in other parts of the country where the issue of skin color came to the fore. The "white backlash" which was blown up so heavily in previous election propaganda proved to be less formidable, at least on the electoral level, than those impressed by racist assertions had been led to expect.

Little has been said in the bourgeois press, however, about the most significant aspect of the victories -- the shift in tactics adopted in particular by the Democratic party.

The success of Stokes and Hatcher was made possible because in both instances they had received the blessing of the Democratic machine. The approval originated not so much from the local level as from the top command nationally and thus reflected a decision of the highest circles of the American ruling class. The decision is to permit a bit more color in the political façade.

The purpose is obvious. It is to divert the black people from struggling in the streets, to draw them into safe electoral channels where tight control can be maintained.

That the objective is well understood by the Negro candidates of the Democratic party is shown by their attacks against the concept of "black power." They are quite consciously assuming the role of presenting an "alternative" to black power.

The irony of the situation is that they could not have advanced into this position without the series of explosions in the ghettos that turned more and more in the direction of a militant struggle for "black power" or black liberation.

The concession granted by the ruling class in the electoral arena to the black people -- agreement of the white capitalist power structure to include some colored decorations -- thus illustrates once again the truth of the Marxist observation that concessions are won as a

by-product of the class struggle.

The Stokes and Hatchers will do their utmost to oppose, divert and dampen the black power struggle to which in the final analysis they owe their own present positions as public figures. What success

they will achieve in this remains to be seen. It is quite dubious, however, that they will achieve much.

The concession in all likelihood will prove to be too little and to have come too late.

THE CASE OF RICARDO GADEA

Hundreds of political opponents of the Belaúnde Terry regime in Peru are being held year after year in prison without being brought to trial.

Some of them are charged with acts of "rebellion" that carry the death penalty under legislation rushed through parliament in August, 1965. All of them are subject to brutal treatment and the possibility of being assassinated in prison.

A typical one is Ricardo Gadea Acosta. A journalist by profession, he became interested in the fate of the oppressed masses in Peru and decided to take up their cause. He soon became a member of the Central Committee of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [MIR].

In April, 1966, he was arrested on charges of having engaged in guerrilla activities. He was interrogated by the police for eighty consecutive hours without being given any food and without being permitted to sleep. Throughout the interrogation, the police threatened to kill him. The 26-year-old leader refused to talk.

Finally he was charged with breaching the security of the state, aiding foreign powers (the USSR, China and Cuba), and of giving aid and assistance to the

armed struggle of the peasants that broke out in June 1965.

He was made a special object of persecution because he happens to be the brother of Hilda Gadea, the former wife of Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

In prison he has conducted himself in exemplary fashion. When Hugo Blanco was threatened with death, Ricardo Gadea advocated a hunger strike by all the political prisoners in Peru and took the lead in it himself.

His wife, Carmen Gálvez de Gadea, was arrested immediately after the upsurge of guerrilla activities in 1965. She was held in prison for eight months, but was finally released after a prolonged hunger strike. The police keep her under surveillance and she can still be brought to trial.

Ricardo's father and mother are likewise subjected to pressure from the police, who keep their home under surveillance.

The case of Ricardo Gadea constitutes one example in many of the need for an effective and sustained campaign of solidarity with the political prisoners in Peru.

TUPAC AMARU PRISONERS RELEASED

Lima

The "Túpac Amaru" case can be considered closed although it will remain in the record as an example of the injustice prevailing in Peru under the rule of the oligarchy and their imperialist backers in the United States.

In July the revolutionists involved, who were charged with holding up a bank to get funds for the guerrilla movement, were tried and found guilty. A number of them were immediately released.

No leniency was involved in this. They had already been held in prison since 1962. Thus they had served five years before they were ever brought to court.

Others were given sentences of

seven years. Since they, too, had already served five years they were eligible for release.

In September the last of the prisoners associated only with "Túpac Amaru," the name of their organization, were freed, including Daniel Pereyra, the main leader. He has returned to his native land, Argentina.

Three figures brought into court last July, Adalberto Fonkén, Eduardo Juan Creus, and Pedro Candela, were also sentenced. Creus and Candela were already serving sentences imposed in relationship with the Hugo Blanco case. Fonkén was being held for still another alleged offense. The sentences were thus added to those already imposed on them.

TSOTSI FACED WITH DEPORTATION FROM ZAMBIA

The Unity Movement of South Africa has appealed for international solidarity in opposing the projected deportation from Zambia of W.M. Tsotsi, vice-president of the organization.

Tsotsi, a South African attorney long active in the defense of people accused of political offenses, was exiled in 1963.

In Basutoland, where he found refuge, he continued his activities. When Basutoland became the formally independent state of Lesotho in 1966, falling under the domination of South Africa, the police of Lesotho seized him and took him to the border to hand him over to the South African police.

At the border, he managed to escape. With the police in hot pursuit, Tsotsi made his way to Zambia where he has lived since.

Lately the government of Zambia seems to have altered its attitude concerning the right of political asylum for antiapartheid fighters. On October 29 Tsotsi was notified that he must get out of the country within two weeks.

When news arrived of the danger to Tsotsi, the Alexander Defense Committee in New York at once rallied to his defense. Robert H. Langston, executive sec-

retary of the Alexander Defense Committee, sent a cable to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia urging him to prevent the deportation.

The cable pointed out that Zambia is justifiably known throughout the world as a haven for exiles from the apartheid tyranny and that any such proceedings as those initiated against Tsotsi could only discredit the Zambian government in the eyes of world opinion.

Further, the cable said, such harassment of a leader of any South African liberation organization by the government of an independent African state could only injure the whole African liberation movement and aid all reactionary and racist forces in Africa.

The Alexander Defense Committee has sent out an appeal for similar cables asking President Kaunda to intervene in behalf of Tsotsi. These should be addressed as follows:

The Honorable Kenneth Kaunda
President, The Republic of Zambia
Lusaka, Zambia

For additional information, the address of the Alexander Defense Committee is 873 Broadway, 2nd floor south, New York, N.Y. 10003.

DEATH OF CHE TOUCHES OFF DEMONSTRATIONS IN CHILE

By José Valdés

Santiago, Chile

The workers, peasants, students, and trade-union and political organizations of the left in Chile have militantly indicated their sorrow over the death of Che Guevara and their determination to carry on under the red banner raised by the greatest Latin-American, revolutionary Marxist, guerrilla fighter of our time.

On October 17 a mass meeting and march was organized in Santiago.

The daily newspaper Las Noticias de Ultima Hora reported: "With incidents that resulted in the arrest of six university students and a worker, in addition to one injured, a meeting was held last night in tribute to Che Guevara. The speakers were the writer, Edesio Alvarado; the Communist, S. Muñoz; the Socialist, S. Aranciabia; Hugo Cancino of the Movimiento 'Camilo Torres' and Vallespir of the

MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria]. A huge banner dominated the meeting: 'Yankee, you will never kill Che.' The carabineros tried to dissolve the demonstration by the use of force. The workers and students stood up to them. A carabinero lost his regulation revolver. The weapon has not been found."

The progovernment daily, La Tarde, declared that in "the theft of a revolver belonging to a carabinero, members of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) appear to be implicated; they tried to assault a carabinero during last night's disorders."

The Nineteenth Convention of the Secondary Students of Chile, which ended October 17, passed a motion "To recognize Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara as the main leader of the struggle for the liberation of our people. To recognize Socialist Cuba as the first free and sovereign nation of our continent and as a

source of inspiration for the continental revolution."

This was reported in the October 17 issue of Las Noticias de Ultima Hora. In the same edition, a six-column headline declared: "2 Students Shot by Carabineros as They Wrote, 'Che Did Not Die.'" The incident occurred in Valparaíso. According to the report, H. Araya and A. Contrera were shot in the head from a distance of 15 centimeters [six inches]. Under the photo of the writing on the wall, "Che Did Not Die," appeared the letters, "MIR."

On October 18, students at the University of Concepción, led by the MIR, lowered the Chilean flag to half mast and raised the flag of Cuba. An official, who tried to block the action in honor of Che Guevara, was stoned by the students.

The bourgeois municipal authorities of Concepción tried to set up a chauvinistic clamor by accusing the MIR of having insulted the national flag and resorted to repressive measures that culminated with the expulsion from the university of Jorge Grez and Eduardo Barra.

The students repudiated this act and contended that the accusation was false since the Chilean colors were not struck but simply lowered to half mast as is always the custom when someone is mourned. (On October 19 the students at

the Pedagogical Institute in Santiago likewise raised the Cuban flag.)

On October 18 the Senate held a session in tribute to Che Guevara. In addition to speeches by Salvador Allende and others, Senator Jaime Barros of the "pro-Peking" group spoke. He said, among other things: "Ernesto Che Guevara is dead. Long live Che Guevara! Dr. Ernesto Guevara did not come from the proletariat, as my colleague Allende has affirmed. Neither did Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Fidel Castro nor Mao Tse-tung come from the proletariat. However, all of them fused themselves with the masses, learned from them and succeeded in forming a sweeping movement that toppled the bourgeois power from its foundations...Down with the Belaúnde Terrys to avenge the guerrilla fighter Hugo Blanco...Down with American imperialism. The blacks are digging its grave, from S. Carmichael, the hero Malcolm X, to Cassius Clay-Muhammad Ali, who deserves the Nobel Peace Prize. Down with the Khrushchevs and renegades like Podgorny, who visited the Pope, and the Yevtushenkos, who attended Fátima and were received by Bob Kennedy in the land of the oppressive dollar..." (From the report in El Mercurio of October 21.)

Although the words are only a pallid reflection of what the exploited in our saddened Americas feel, I should like to end this brief note with the following: "Listen, Yankee. Che will be avenged!"

TORONTO MEETING HAILS CHE GUEVARA

Toronto

More than 300 trade unionists, students, prominent university figures and writers paid tribute here November 3 to the memory of Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

The meeting was sponsored by the Latin-American Justice Clubs of York University and the University of Toronto, the African Students Association (University of Toronto), and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Individual sponsors included the world-renowned city planner Hans Blumenfeld, the West Indian novelist Austin Clarke, Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, and Prof. Donald Willmott. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Edith Guild of the Spanish Department, York University.

The first speaker, the Rev. John Morgan of the First Unitarian Congregation in Toronto, paid tribute to Che Guevara's "disinterest in wealth, power and glory," his "vision of intellectual and artistic life," his "sense of social purpose."

"It was through Che Guevara's revolt against unnecessary shedding of blood that he came to revolution," the Rev. Morgan said. "Guevara has already become part of the consciousness of unnumbered millions of oppressed people throughout the world."

The Rev. Morgan concluded his remarks with the words: "Greater love hath no man than this -- that he lay down his life for his fellow man."

John Jamieson of the University of Toronto Latin-American Justice Club spoke of what Che Guevara meant to large numbers of university students in North America. Naison Mawande, president of the African Students Union at the University of Toronto, began and ended his speech with the cry, "Long live the revolution; long live the people!" This was warmly applauded by the audience.

"We African students say that our commitment to the principles of Che is absolutely unshakeable," he declared. It was Che who "warned us of the threat from colonialism in a new form -- neocolonialism, which first developed on a continen-

tal basis in South America."

Hans Modlich, national chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, said, "The most important aspect of Che was his internationalism. I am convinced that just as surely as Che's cause is flourishing in today's Cuba, with hundreds of thousands dedicating themselves to follow Che's example, so will his cause flourish and triumph in Latin America and elsewhere."

Jan Carew, former minister of culture in the British Guiana government of Dr. Cheddi Jagan, said, "Che Guevara walk-

ed the same trail as Simón Bolívar, in an age of more complete revolution, in an age when to hand the revolution to the bourgeoisie is to betray it."

The final speaker was Manuel Rodríguez, Cuban consul in Toronto. He said that "Che's ideas will continue to live" and that "more hands will reach out to take up arms throughout Latin America."

"Che will be remembered above all as a guerrilla fighter," he noted. "although dishonest vultures will no doubt try to misrepresent the historic significance of his struggle."

BARRIENTOS HUNTS FORTUNE IN GUEVARA'S DIARY

General Alfredo Ovando, commander in chief of the Bolivian army, on November 6 confirmed the report that the Barrientos regime is seeking to sell the Barrientos journal kept by Ernesto "Che" Guevara to the "highest bidder," according to the Paris daily Le Monde [November 8].

It had been rumored since the execution of the wounded guerrilla leader that the diary which he had kept since 1966 was the object of strenuous bidding. One publishing house was reported to have offered \$20,000.

The journal was involved in the trial of Régis Debray in Camiri. The head of the military tribunal had repeatedly stated that he was going to "prove" the "guilt" of the defendant from entries in the journal. He publicly stated that he expected that it would be made available by the heads of the army.

Régis Debray, for his part, stated that he hoped that the entire journal would be read into the court record, since this would decisively prove his innocence.

Only now after the final pleadings of the prosecution and the defense has it been admitted by the government that the journal would not be offered in court owing to its commercial value.

"It appears, moreover," continues "M.N." [Marcel Niedergang], the contributor of the dispatch to Le Monde, "according to certain indications that photocopies of various passages of this journal have already been sold by the Bolivian

authorities.

"In addition, we have learned that documents written by Régis Debray in prison and confiscated by the authorities are said to have been added to 'Che's' journal and 'offered' in this extravagant auctioneering."

According to the November 9 Le Monde, a French publisher, Jean-Jacques Pauvert, who was seeking to acquire the exclusive rights to Che Guevara's field journal and other documents on the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia has given up.

After announcing that he had made an offer of \$100,000 to the Bolivian government to obtain these rights, he said he learned that Guevara's family is completely opposed to publishing the writings of Che. Consequently he instructed his agent in La Paz to break off negotiations.

An American outfit, Magnum, is however pressing to get an exclusive from Barrientos on the captured documents.

One result of General Ovando's admission that the "gorillas" are auctioning off the documents written by the revolutionist they murdered, is to show with unusual clarity the true nature of their "anti-Communism."

It is a question of dollars and cents. And if they display a certain skill in pushing up the bids for what they have to offer, it's because of the patient schooling given them by their masters in the Pentagon, the State Department and the CIA.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT ARRESTS 2,000 IN NORTH SUMATRA

The Suharto dictatorship has arrested around 2,000 persons in the north part of Sumatra, according to an October 25 Reuters dispatch from Djakarta. They are accused of having attempted to organize an underground Communist party.

The regional military command alleged that the "Communists" had sought to infiltrate the army and student organizations in Sumatra.

In addition, the Indonesian news

agency Antara reported that troops are engaged in a "vast operation" against "Communist guerrillas" in the western part of Borneo. The guerrillas are reported to have been active in the district of Bengkajang close to the border

of Sarawak.

In a violent battle said to have lasted ten days, 25 guerrillas were listed by the government forces as "killed."

RUHR COAL MINERS PROTEST MASS LAYOFFS

Fifteen thousand workers marched into Dortmund, West Germany, in a recent demonstration, waving red flags and singing the "Internationale."

The workers were coal miners protesting the mid-October announcement by Gelsenkirchener Bergwerk AG that it was shutting down the "Pluto" pit at Wanne-Eickel and the "Hansa" pit at Huckarde. About 5,400 men are slated to lose their jobs.

Neal Ascherson, writing in the November 5 London Observer, says that the "inefficiency and high prices" of the privately owned coal companies have "infected the mighty Ruhr steel industry, whose soaring costs are beginning to make German steel uncompetitive."

Government subsidies to private coal companies have doubled in the last year from US\$112 million to US\$224 million.

The stockpile of coal which can't be sold now stands at 28.5 million tons and will continue to grow as cheaper American coal invades the German market.

If the mine owners cut back produc-

tion, as many as 70,000 jobs could be destroyed. It is this bleak prospect that has galvanized the miners into action.

At the end of their mid-October march they were met by the prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia. They greeted him with whistles and boos.

The union officialdom have not demanded that the mines be nationalized, but have thus far limited themselves to a demand that the various coal companies be compulsorily consolidated into a single, private monopoly which they imagine would be more efficient and easier for the unions to deal with.

According to the Observer, union officials have agreed to the closing of the pits, but want it to be done "slowly in the course of five or six years."

So far new industries have failed to absorb the thousands laid off in the pits and to a lesser extent in the steel industry. Neither the mine owners, the government nor the present union leadership can promise the miners anything but an increasingly desperate spiral of permanent unemployment.

END OF THE ROAD FOR GRIPPA?

The "Communist Party of Belgium," headed by Jacques Grippa, was recognized at the time of its foundation as the largest and most important Maoist organization in Europe outside of Albania.

Last June the Grippa group suffered a debilitating split when most of the Walloon members left, charging Grippa with being a partisan of Liu Shao-chi in China.

In October another blowup occurred. Five members of the Central Committee, including Henri Glineur, former senator and one of the 1921 founders of the Bel-

gian Communist party, adopted a document entitled, "Open Up Fire on the General Headquarters of the Pseudo Revolutionaries Hidden in the BCP." They expelled Grippa and two of his associates.

The rump remaining loyal to Grippa replied tit for tat, expelling their opponents.

This may well mean the end of the road for Grippa. His name and that of his party are no longer mentioned in the publications of the New China news agency, having vanished from the pages of the Maoist press in China several months ago.

PENTAGON COMPLAINS AT "EXPENSE" OF ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION

The Pentagon announced October 26 that it had spent \$1 million for military operations to "protect" the army brass during the massive antiwar demonstration

in Washington October 21-22. At \$500,000 a day it is still considerably cheaper than the \$82,000,000 spent every day in the year for U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

CUBA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION -- 1965-66

[At the twelfth meeting of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), an organ of the United Nations, which was held last April in Caracas, Venezuela, the Cuban delegation, headed by Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, presented an extensive report on Cuba's economic situation in 1965-66. This report constitutes a valuable source of statistical information about Cuba and drew considerable attention from the delegates at the first conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity held in Havana at the end of July and beginning of August.

[The English translation offered below is an official one and has been taken from issue No. 202 of Panorama Económico Latinoamericano published in Havana.]

* * *

Mr. President:
Distinguished Delegates:

Upon hearing the words of Mr. Carlos Quintana, and after having carefully read the excellent "Economic Study" on the situation of our economies in 1966 that ECLA has offered as a basis for our deliberations, we have come to the conclusion that there exists perhaps no less adequate climate in which to hold this plenary of the Economic Commission for Latin America than in this Yankee-Venezuelan half-breed called the Hotel Macuto-Sheraton.

Everything here invokes serenity and satisfaction, and inspires carefree happiness. How far removed are we, gentlemen, from the real Latin America, the Latin America that surges, with its dramatic outlines, from the official report that has been presented here as the cornerstone for the deliberations of our Commission! From the irrefutable neutrality of the figures and the objective commentaries on them, emerges an image that is not only a dismal -- but also a hopeless -- picture of the economic and social reality of our America.

The report admits that the continent's economy is at a standstill, but, at the same time, it repeats an even more serious warning: that the standstill is not transitory. Studies have confirmed what no one dares discuss: that the stagnation of our economies will persist and will grow worse, as long as the socio-economic structures that exist today in all Latin America are not destroyed, and, above all, as long as the relations of exploitation that subordinate one region to its imperialist center, the United States, continue.

And, as we all know, stagnation in this case has an even more serious connotation than that which has so worried the economists of the developed countries since Stuart Mill formulated his theory more than one century ago. When an industrialized economy ceases to grow, the result is unemployment and lower living standards; the specter of misery hangs over the heads of a multitude of men. But this misery already exists in Latin America; in fact, it is the normal symptom of

Table No. 1

Cuba: Imports of Fertilizers

(In thousands of tons)

	1957	1962	1966
Potassium chloride	21.8	46.6	67.1
Ammonium nitrate	0.2	52.6	139.0
Ammonium sulphate	57.4	207.1	224.3
Simple superphosphate		134.5	114.4
	54.6		
Triple superphosphate		31.5	49.0
Phosphoric rock	0	0	37.0
Urea	0	0	37.4
Potassium sulphate	23.6	12.1	27.8
Complete formulas	0	0	30.4
Total	157.6	484.4	726.4

our societies and has been for many decades an intolerable plague. As the Report admits, 70 million inhabitants of rural regions, that is, nearly one-third of Latin America, live in misery and ignorance; they do not consume, it is reported, even half of the minimum required calories and proteins, and with an annual per capita income below 100 dollars, what they have left to spend on clothing, schools, and medicine for the year does not add up to 15 dollars.

However, we know very well -- and proof is offered in the studies of ECLA itself during the 19 years of its existence -- that these 70 million inhabitants of the Latin-American countryside who live in the grip of misery, disease, and ignorance, are not alone, another notorious fact of life is the infamous level of life of the majority of the economically active working class which engenders an increasing number of strikes and protests throughout the continent. Unemployment, which implies total starvation, is becoming chronic and is increasing. The Report itself reveals that the absorption of manpower that takes place every year as a result of the population increase, is each time smaller: it is declining in agriculture and also in industry. So that according to the data we have, open and hidden unemployment rose by 50 percent from 1960 to 1966.

On the other hand, as has been confirmed, inflation exists in nearly all our countries, high prices have reduced even more an already precarious living standard. It is more than well known, gentlemen, that in a large part of Latin America, the urban middle class must support a badly disguised pauperism.

All this, gentlemen, members of the Commission, as anguishing as it is, would be somewhat less overwhelming if the picture painted by the ECLA report would offer at least some hope for a favorable change. But we know only too well that this is not so and that, indeed, it cannot be any other way. At the core of this drama lies the present economic and social backwardness of Latin America as manifested in its own structure and the oppression derived from imperialist relations. The concept of economic growth is deceiving. The indices of the gross product may grow, as we know, without conferring any benefit at all on the enormous masses of the population, affecting no one save the unemployed who pass from an absolute to a relative misery. The Report emphasizes that the greatest obstacle to growth in this age must be found (and we quote from the text) in the "insufficient expansion of export income, the losses of

your attention to this part of the Report:

"The losses of purchasing power undergone by Latin-American countries because of the deterioration of foreign trade relations since the middle 1950's were so large that they equaled the total net financing given to the region as a whole."

What does this mean? We can deduce it easily. If Latin America had received for its primary products -- agricultural and mineral -- the remunerative price that the developing countries are asking and which would represent the beginning of an international division of labor in the true sense of the term, there would have been no need of any foreign financing to reach the point we are at now. In other words, Latin America would today be free of foreign debts. Financings -- in the fair conditions that we also ask for -- would have been used to stimulate true growth.

I would like to point out that in these trade relations the role of the United States is also evidenced in all clarity. Although in the years 1964, 1965, and 1966, for well-known reasons, the total value of Latin-America's exports exceeded that of imports, the favorable balance with the rest of the countries of the world contrasts with the unfavorable balance of Latin America with the United States. In these three years Latin-American countries, with the exception of Cuba, paid US\$700 million more to the imperialist metropolis for their imports than what they received for their exports.

The Report also reveals that when the countries of Latin America obtain favorable balances in their world trade, this fact cannot be interpreted as a positive sign for their economies, because these favorable balances do not originate in a relative increase of the value of their exports, but in a forced limitation of their imports, constrained as these countries are to obtaining foreign exchange to pay their foreign debts and hand over to the U.S. monopolies in foreign exchange the millions of dollars of earnings that the latter extract from the continent's resources and the Latin-American workers' efforts.

This reduction of imports is estimated at an annual average of US\$470 million, and as the Report states, the drain seriously affects the rate of economic development, lowering it considerably.

However, within this framework, the most important fact -- the one that most clearly reveals the dependent situation of Latin America, that expresses most profoundly its tragedy, as recently pointed out by the Prime Minister of my country -- is that when the financial resources for

Table No. 2

Cuba: Imports of Tractors

	Total	Up to 30 hp.	From 32 to 65 hp.	100 and more hp.
1960	4,178	800	3,303	75
1961	5,923	482	5,291	150
1962	1,452	-	1,252	200
1963	2,736	218	2,403	115
1964	6,148	981	5,158	9
1965	4,282	11	3,371	200
1966	4,759	822	3,927	10
Total	29,478	4,014	24,705	759

(a) The total appears in error. -- W.O.

purchasing power because of the deterioration of price relations, the heavy burden of servicings on the accumulated debt, and the rigidity of the foreign financial agencies..." We do not have to make any great effort to understand that all these factors can be summarized into one: The activities of economic colonialism that has its center in the imperialist United States.

The study undertaken in the Report, based on the last few years, confirms, once again, that all the efforts and sacrifices of Latin America to increase its exports within the framework of its present productive structure, will come to nothing as long as an end is not put to the unequal trade manifested in the constant deterioration of the prices of our primary products. Allow me to call

Table No. 3
Cuba: Some Industrial Products

<u>Product</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>
Leather shoes	Thousands of pairs	11,728.6	12,613.5
Detergents	Thousands of M.T.	12.9	14.3
Beer	Millions of liters	89.1	108.8
Refined vegetable oil	Thousands of M.T.	38.2	45.8
Canned milk(a)	Thousands of M.T.	49.3	61.0
Pasteurized milk	Thousands of M.T.	148.1	227.6
Fresh milk distribution	Thousands of M.T.	217.4	329.5
Bread and crackers(b)	Thousands of M.T.	153.5	195.6
Spaghetti, noodles, etc.	Thousands of M.T.	22.3	34.0
Cigars and cigarettes(c)	Millions of units	15,346.5	18,454.7
Cotton textiles(d)	Millions of sq. meters	60.4	92.0

(a) Includes evaporated and condensed milk.

(b) Bread and salt crackers.

(c) Negro and rubio tobacco.

(d) Textiles manufactured with Cuban-grown cotton.

the development of Latin America are most in need, then Latin America must send abroad -- that is, chiefly to the United States -- as a result of the direct exploitation of its resources and its peoples by the U.S. monopolies, no less than US\$1,567 million, plus another US\$573 million for interests on loans.

None of these factors is new, honorable delegates, although each year brings -- with more crudity -- an accentuation of what we have described. In the same way, neither is Cuba's criterion new in the sense that reforms will not provide the solution.

A little more than five years ago, in the tourist resort of Punta del Este, so far removed from the American drama we are living today, the officialdom of Latin America -- with Cuba as the only discordant voice -- jubilantly welcomed U.S. promises of a supposed "Alliance for Progress." There we heard the announcements of loans, offers to improve trade relations, and even condemnations of the plundering behavior of U.S. companies. With the Cuban Revolution, however, the old specter once again began to make its rounds -- this time in Latin America -- and after attempts to destroy the Revolution by military means had ignominiously failed, reformist programs were dragged out to exorcise the old ghost. It was then that the words of Major "Che" Guevara singled out the essence of the plot and predicted its inevitable failure. And we did not have to wait long to see the prophecy come true.

A few months ago, again in Punta del Este, when the regional meeting of the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] was held to discuss the agricultural and livestock situation of Latin America, the same picture of bankruptcy which surges from the pages of the documents we

are discussing now, was already clearly seen. Two official spokesmen -- Dr. José A. Mayobre and Dr. Felipe Herrera -- confirmed in their speeches that, as we are saying now, the victims can expect nothing from an alliance of their victimizers. Some of the defenders of this Alliance continued, nevertheless, to proclaim, although by this time not too convincingly, that a meeting of the heads of state would revitalize the program. And recently, in the same Punta del Este where the Alliance had been born with so much bombast, funeral services were quietly held. When Prime Minister Fidel Castro called the Alliance "a resounding failure," he was defining its real results.

Yesterday morning we heard the very lucid and explanatory words of Dr. Raul Prebisch -- full of recommendations for Latin America.

We cannot, however, share the optimism which Dr. Prebisch finds as a post-mortem result of the Punta del Este meeting. If we examine this meeting keeping in mind that the majority of Latin-American governments were participants, we could ask ourselves if it is reasonable to expect these governments to be willing, as they have declared, not even to undertake, but only to facilitate the structural changes that ECLA has been suggesting for many years as being indispensable and which have encountered the tenacious opposition of these same governments and the social forces that they represent.

And if we examine the so-called promises made in Punta del Este on the part of the U.S. Government, we would easily find that much clearer and defined promises had already been given more than five years ago in the same place as a basis for the supposed "Alliance for Progress," without any of them, as of this date, having been fulfilled.

Table No. 4
Development of Education
1964-1967

Type of Education	Beginning of Term					
	1964-1965		1965-1966		1966-1967	
	Day students	Scholarship students	Day students	Scholarship students	Day students	Scholarship students
Primary Education						
Primary schools	1,308,511	--	1,300,133	--	1,331,500	--
Primary boarding schools	---	16,414	---	21,635	---	43,615
Total	<u>1,308,511</u>	<u>16,414</u>	<u>1,300,133</u>	<u>21,635</u>	<u>1,331,500</u>	<u>43,615</u>
Secondary Education (General)						
Rural basic secondary schools	---	2,047	---	2,859	---	4,150
Urban basic secondary schools	106,531	9,234	113,379	8,631	128,000	8,590
Preuniversity institutes	12,707	5,910	15,986	8,136	19,900	8,770
Total	<u>119,238</u>	<u>17,191</u>	<u>129,365</u>	<u>19,626</u>	<u>147,900</u>	<u>21,510</u>
Secondary Education (Tech. and Prof.)						
Industrial Technology schools	1,729	6,530	937	5,118	390	7,310
Industrial Technology institutes	821	2,693	1,234	4,950	1,920	6,180
Administration institutes	12,060	378	5,938	333	6,300	700
Schools of administration	15,724	--	5,491	--	5,500	--
Language schools	7,685	543	7,540	700	9,100	750
Agricultural Technology institutes	---	1,594	---	2,416	---	2,680
Fishing school	---	1,758	---	3,005	---	4,900
National Art school	---	--	---	555	---	600
School of tabulating (machine)	1,152	--	764	--	800	--
Institute of Financial Studies	---	--	208	346	---	--
Total	<u>39,171</u>	<u>13,496</u>	<u>22,112</u>	<u>17,423</u>	<u>24,010</u>	<u>23,120</u>
Secondary Education (Teaching)						
Primary school teacher formation	---	13,737	---	17,759	---	22,700
Institute of Pedagogy	10,936	2,216	19,411 ^a	1,441	23,000	--
Preschool Institute	---	88	---	147	---	200
Introductory Course Pop. Teachers	---	--	---	--	---	2,250
School of Pedagogic Instruction	---	--	---	140	---	--
Total	<u>10,936</u>	<u>16,041</u>	<u>19,411</u>	<u>19,487</u>	<u>23,000</u>	<u>25,150</u>
Special Education						
Schools for retarded, emotionally disturbed children, etc.	1,283	1,581	2,509	1,578	2,830	2,890
Special trade schools	133	139	158	133	210	205
Total	<u>1,416</u>	<u>1,720</u>	<u>2,667</u>	<u>1,711</u>	<u>3,040</u>	<u>3,095</u>
Adult Education						
Specialization schools	136	474	348	981	250	950
Peasant schools	---	9,145	---	10,798	---	8,000
Workers' and Peasants' schools	817,998	--	413,033 ^b	--	560,500	--
Night schools	10,741	--	9,359	--	6,500	--
Schools for Workers on Scholarships	---	57	---	238	---	200
Total	<u>828,875</u>	<u>9,676</u>	<u>422,740</u>	<u>12,017</u>	<u>567,250</u>	<u>9,150</u>
Other Schools						
Special Scholarship Center	---	145	---	132	---	250
Institute of Education Continuation schools	5,709	85	1,846	562	9,600	--
Total	<u>5,709</u>	<u>230</u>	<u>1,846</u>	<u>694</u>	<u>9,600</u>	<u>250</u>
Higher Education						
University of Havana	10,385	5,074	12,877	7,813	---	11,000
University of Las Villas	2,877	1,183	2,848	1,270	---	1,700
University of Oriente	3,242	1,052	2,851	1,710	---	2,300
Total	<u>16,504</u>	<u>7,309</u>	<u>18,576</u>	<u>10,793</u>	<u>22,700</u>	<u>15,000</u>
TOTAL	<u>2,330,360^c</u>	<u>82,077</u>	<u>1,916,850^d</u>	<u>103,386</u>	<u>2,129,000</u>	<u>140,890</u>

(a) Includes 3,763 students.

(b) Does not include matriculation for the rural calendar year that had already begun the term.

(c) Includes 1,823 sleep-in students spread among the Primary Schools (467), Secondary Schools (582), and the University of Havana (774).

(d) Includes 3,763 students, plus another 769 who are sleep-in students of the School of Ath-

In his speech Mr. Johnson does not give a single guarantee for future U.S. and Latin-American relations.

No answer has as yet been given to Latin America's request for increasing its exports to the U.S. -- the market in which Latin-American participation is ever smaller; the request for special treatment in the U.S. market is considered -- and rightly so -- as a throwback to neocolonialism; the repeated complaints about prices of basic products and the unequal terms of trade received the same arrogant negative reply as it had on other occasions; the request for more frequent and increased financing remains to be decided by the U.S. Congress, and as an alternative, incentives to private investments are being presented, the same investments which, as we have seen, extract from Latin America US\$1,567 million yearly. Those who attended the Punta del Este meeting with some hope of receiving concessions must now feel, in view of Mr. Johnson's answers, like "Alice in Wonderland" who when she asked for some of the honey that was flowing about so abundantly, received the simple reply: "In this country, honey yesterday and honey tomorrow; but never honey today."

No. The honey of the metropolis will never materialize. It is impossible to expect it from those who raze the schools and hospitals of Vietnam, after having tried out their armies in Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Cuba and the Dominican Republic throughout a century. The somber and lacerating description presented before us in the ECLA report explains why Latin America has begun to move. Those who hope to find in Cuba the root of this guerrilla epidemic that is convulsing hundreds of Latin Americans and making them take the road of Bolívar, Páez, San Martín, and Sucre, refuse to look at the heart of the matter. Cuba is proud that its example is inspiring those who are looking for genuine radical solutions as understood by both Martí and Karl Marx, that is, those who go to the root of our problems. But the origin of these struggles must be sought not in the example of Cuba, but in the hard and unshakeable reality found in the figures and the problems we are examining today.

There is, gentlemen, a symbolic coincidence that serves to explain what is happening in Latin America today. Curious as to the meaning of the word Macuto which is perhaps Venezuela's only real

contribution to this hotel where we are meeting, I looked up the word in the dictionary of the Spanish Academy. It said: macuto: woven basket usually used by the poor in Venezuela to beg for alms. Perhaps there is no greater irony than to give this name, which evokes poverty, to a resort center for rich tourists. However, further on, the Spanish Academy dictionary gives another meaning for the word macuto: soldier's pack. And here is the place where we find the symbol. The poor of America are no longer resigning themselves to beg for alms. They have begun to change one macuto for another: to lay down the macuto of the beggar and take up the macuto of the people's soldier. When Fidel Castro predicted that one day the Andes would become the Sierra Maestra of an entire continent, and when today Ernesto Guevara continues in his latest message his words of Punta del Este as he lucidly and passionately explained how and why the Andes are becoming another Sierra, they base themselves precisely on the fact that the realities shown to us by the ECLA report engender this rebellion and fully justify it.

Mr. President and Distinguished Members of the Commission:

Permit me to explain that the recent processes of the Cuban economy offer a contrast with the rest of Latin America. I am not going to base my affirmation on growth indices which are more or less spectacular, but which, as I have often said, are deceiving. I would like in the first place only to refer to certain data which will explain how Cuba's economic growth has been translated into increased material and cultural standards for our people, subjected only eight years ago to the same tribulations now plaguing the rest of Latin America, an economy which today advances in spite of all obstacles, threats and attacks perpetrated by its former despoilers.

In our country there is no involuntary unemployment, nor does anyone go to sleep without eating because he has no money. More than 140,000 families in the cities no longer pay rent for their dwellings since the end of 1965 and rent will be completely abolished in 1970. Medical services have been extended to the most remote parts of our island; before the Revolution thousands of persons, mostly children, died because they could not be transported to a far-off and costly medical center. The ECLA report of 1963 gives

letics which should be considered in the total of scholarship students.

SOURCE: 1964-65 and 1965-66: Report to the XXI International Conference on Public Instruction called by the OIE and the UNESCO in Geneva, Switzerland. (Ministry of Education.)

1966-67: Plan of Activities approved for 1967.

us an idea of the growth in these two years and permits us to compare the present-day situation with that before the Revolution.

The number of hospitals in the past two years has increased from 144 to 162, with the largest rise found in the rural hospitals which increased from 34 to 46. It would be well to remember that before 1959 there was not a single rural hospital in Cuba...The number of hospital beds in the past two years has risen by nearly 4,000, making a total of 42,337 of which 1,288 are in rural areas. The increase of hospital beds after the Revolution has been more than 20,000, nearly doubling the 22,080 beds that existed before 1959. Moreover, Cuba has 202 polyclinics, open to anyone for free medical consultation and treatment. There are another 3,600 hospital beds in several other medical centers, making a grand total of 45,900 beds.

It is worthwhile mentioning the importance of the participation in public health tasks of our mass organizations, not only the trade unions, but also the Cuban Women's Federation and in particular the neighborhood Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, which include a large majority of our citizens. Through these organizations, Cuba has established a system of mass vaccination of children. Antipolio vaccine, which in 1964 was administered to 2,450,000 children under 14 years of age was in 1966 administered to 1,407,000 children under six years of age and has led to the total eradication of poliomyelitis in Cuba. In the same way, Cuba vaccinates half a million children annually against different diseases (see Table No. 7). All this explains why the infant mortality rate in Cuba is decreasing.

The work of the public health organizations and popular participation in educational activities among the culturally most backward population groups has also contributed to the decrease of general mortality rates.

The advances achieved in the field of child health are closely connected with the spread of the Circulos Infantiles (nursery schools) where preschool age children are cared for while their mothers work.

In 1964 Cuba had 157 nursery schools of this type, of which 13 were boarding schools, with a total of 12,059 children and a daily average attendance of 8,727. In 1965 the number of nursery schools rose to 166, with 16 boarding schools, caring for 14,934 children and with a daily average attendance of 10,600. In 1966 there were 194 nursery schools with 22,533 children and a daily average attendance of 15,500.

Moreover, the nursery schools, which previously charged a fee based on family income, are now absolutely free for working mothers. As thousands of women, answering the call of the Revolution, participate more and more in agricultural activities, the need for nursery schools has become one of the Revolution's principal concerns today. In 1967 there will be 491 such schools caring for 65,000 children, and the plan for 1968 is to increase their number to 653 with a capacity for 82,000 preschool age children.

This social activity of the Revolution has already begun to be complemented by a new educational institution designed to solve the most difficult problem of children in rural areas today. We refer

Table No. 5

Distribution of Free Services in Terms of Persons Per Year

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>Estimated 1967</u>	<u>Planned 1968</u>
<u>Social Services</u>				
<u>Education</u>				
Children under 12 years of age	22,200	24,000	39,100	50,300
Persons over 12 years of age	98,300	105,020	118,410	164,980
In the mountainous zones	10,800	14,500	16,300	17,500
Full-time day students	25,000	30,000	47,000	80,000
<u>Public health and Social assistance</u>				
Children under 6 years of age (nursery schools)	15,100	15,900	29,900	57,400
Adults (in asylums or shelters)	90	90	290	800
Patients (hospitalized)	47,100	49,500	50,200	52,000
Employees	30,600	40,090	42,440	48,730
Athletics	900	2,150	7,710	12,630
Fishing fleets	4,100	4,630	4,900	4,910
Maritime crews (freight)	2,200	3,200	4,010	4,120
Harvests and Agricultural mobilizations	<u>228,010</u>	<u>202,540</u>	<u>329,730</u>	<u>397,000</u>
Total Social Services	<u>484,400</u>	<u>491,620</u>	<u>689,990</u>	<u>890,370</u>

to the mountain boarding schools. Here the primary school children who live in the countryside -- beginning with those in the mountain zones -- will be state scholarship students and sleep in the schools from Monday to Friday and will receive absolutely free food, clothing and school materials. Today Cuba has 12 such schools and another eight are in construction. The most interesting of these schools without a doubt is the one that is operating with 300 pupils in the small valley of San Andrés, in the province of Pinar del Rio, one of the most backward places in the country, chosen to demonstrate how much the small independent peasants and their families can be expected to contribute to society when they are liberated of the burden of caring for their small children.

The mountain boarding schools are, of course, only one part of the national scholarship program. In one of the tables accompanying the Report which will be distributed among the delegates, we can see in detail Cuba's general educational development, and in particular the growth of its scholarship program. Let me, nevertheless, refer briefly to this subject.

In 1966 there were 103,386 scholarship students who received everything they needed from the State. There are 21,635 such students in primary schools; 19,626 in secondary schools; 17,423 in intermediate technical and professional schools (not counting the students in the special plan to train agricultural and livestock technicians, which we shall mention later). In the schools of different levels, half of the students (that is, 19,487) are on scholarships. We should mention that a considerable part of these students are peasant girls who before the Revolution were semiliterate, whom the State has educated through its scholarship program up to an intermediate school level and in some cases up to superior levels. There were 1,711 scholarship students in the several specialized educational institutions (for retarded, emotionally disturbed children, etc.).

There are 12,800 adult scholarship students (nonuniversity) of whom 10,800 were in 1966 the peasant girls who will be the future teachers and technicians of Cuba. Finally, last year Cuba had 10,973 university scholarship students, the majority of whom -- almost 8,000 -- are in the University of Havana.

An important aspect of the scholarship program is that the number of students will increase by 40,000 this year, that is, by 40 percent. The most significant increases will take place on the primary school level (22,000 new scholarships); in the intermediate professional and technical schools (6,000 new scholarships); in teacher's colleges (another

6,000); and in the universities (5,000 new scholarships).

The growth of the scholarship program is a result of the rapid increase of the entire educational system. The enclosed table will show us how, comparing the figures given in the ECLA study for 1963, the number of persons studying increased to 2,129,000 in 1966, that is, 300,000 more than four years ago and several times more than in 1958. Primary school children numbered 1,370,000 last year. It should be pointed out that the half a million adults who were studying on primary school levels according to ECLA statistics in 1962 now appear as studying on secondary school levels, which once again shows the Revolution's educational efforts and the enthusiastic response of the workers and peasants who are its protagonists.

A single figure will show what role popular education plays in Revolutionary Cuba: The budget for public education expenditures in 1966 rose to 303 million pesos [1 peso = US\$1].

To finalize this report on the Revolution's social achievements, I would like to mention another significant fact. The detractors of the Cuban Revolution have attempted to misrepresent its effects on the living standards of the population by pointing to the existence of rationing in Cuba. Of course, rationing, as is known, indicates one thing: that consumption levels in Cuba are not determined by social or wealth differences, but that the establishment of equality in the distribution of the essential elements of life ensures that every Cuban has the right to receive an equal share of the products or articles available to society. On the other hand, what the detractors of the Revolution would never publish is a table of rationed consumption in our country, side by side, with the estimated consumption of workers and peasants in the rest of Latin America. This comparison would permit the peoples of America to know the great progress that the Revolution has made in Cuba.

We should mention in this respect what we call social consumption, or nutrition and other services that are supplied to the population free of charge. Low-cost meals are provided by the popular cafeterias to workers in agriculture, state farms, industry, construction, and to urban state employees, etc. Meals are also provided free of charge for some thousands of construction workers who must work far from their homes. The others pay a modest price of no more than fifty cents or one-seventh of the minimum daily wage of an agricultural worker.

In 1966 free social services were used by 491,000 persons including scholarship students, hospitalized patients and

the aged, as well as the volunteers in the popular mobilizations to cut cane and in other agricultural and industrial activities who numbered 202,000 persons per year. As a result of the increase of scholarship students, these services will be used by some 890,000 persons annually in 1968.

Workers' cafeterias this year catered to 297,000 persons and in 1968 will be extended to provide meals for up to 425,000 people daily.

Mr. President and Distinguished Delegates, these are some of the significant ways by which Cuban society is receiving the results of economic progress.

On this same point, we can report on the progress of the strategy initiated after rectifying those initial errors which our delegation spoke of during the tenth period of sessions of this commission.

However, it is worthwhile here to make some clarifications.

We often find that when commentators from other countries refer to the concept elaborated by Revolutionary Cuba of utilizing our natural possibilities (and even the old productive structure) to make agriculture the instrument of take-off towards full economic development, they seem to attribute to us the

aim of prolonging this agricultural stage of development and postponing industrialization.

We must make clear that the Cuban concept is very different. It is, on the contrary, a matter of utilizing all the resources of science and technology to achieve, in a short period of time, the full utilization of agricultural potential: the fulfillment of all the planting programs, the termination of basic installations and the chief irrigation projects, large-scale mechanization, and, with it, the elimination of the "considerable deficits in farm manpower," the massive and systematic use of fertilizers and -- the decisive point for all of these aspects -- the employment in agriculture of 70,000 middle-level technicians, which will mean a radical change compared with the present lack of technicians.

We can be sure that this entire process will be completed between 1973 and 1975. From then on, agricultural production will increase intensively, that is, in a process that will no longer require the concentration of so many external efforts and which will be the consequence of the very internal conditions that we will have created in these years of spadework.

At the same time the rapid growth of agriculture presupposes the growth, in certain cases accelerated, of the farm equipment and food processing industries.

Table No. 6
Number of Hospitals and Beds

	1965			1966*		
	Hospitals	Beds	Index (3)	Hospitals	Beds	Index (3)
<u>Hospitals</u>						
General	99	18,911	4.7	102	19,307	4.6
Rural	43	1,212	0.3	46	1,288 ^a	0.4
Total	142	20,123	2.6	148	21,550 ^a	2.8
Specialized hospitals	14	10,667	1.4	14	9,415	1.2
Mutualist clinics	65	11,372	9.4	65	11,372	9.4
Total hospitals and clinics	221	42,162	5.5	227	42,337	5.4
Industrial hospitals(1)	19	951	-	23	955	-
Polyclinics(2)	202	128	-	247	284	-
Rural Medical Posts	69	--	-	69	--	-

(1) Included in urban general hospitals. Refers to hospitals that give preferential attention to industrial workers (in Moa, Matahambre, Nicaro, etc.). But all of Cuba's hospitals attend workers from all sectors.

(2) Beds included in the urban general hospitals.

(3) Index per 1,000 inhabitants. In each case we refer to the population that has used the service in question.

*Provisional data.

SOURCE: Budget Department, Ministry of Public Health, Cuba.

Department of Statistics, Mutualist Clinics Enterprise Population Study No. 5, Central Planning Board.

(a) An error appears to have crept in the figures published by PEL -- W.O.

This determines, as we will have occasion to express succinctly, investments in basic as well as consumer goods industries, which are already being made.

But what we are interested in emphasizing now is that the decisive importance that we assign to the agricultural phase, as the initiator and motive force of development, as well as in its permanent function within the definitive structure of the Cuban economy in the coming period, does not signify an indefinite postponement of basic industrialization.

As Prime Minister Fidel Castro announced in a speech on February 20, preliminary work has already begun on what will be the center of the country's industrial development from 1970 on: the integral utilization of the laterites to be found at the extreme northeastern end of the island, with a substantial increase in the production of nickel and cobalt. This is the basis for Cuba's future steel industry and its specialty in steel-nickel and other alloys, as well as in the production of aluminum, chrome, ammonium sulphate, etc.

It will thus be seen that industrialization, far from being abandoned, is advancing in step with the agricultural process. The external resources stemming from the latter will allow us, in the near future, with the aid of external financing, to place industry in the center of our development plans.

Having made this explanation, we think it may be of interest for the Commission if we describe, in the briefest way possible, how the Cuban economy has been unfolding in the course of the past two years.

Starting with sugar production, the pivot of our development program, it is already known that as was predicted by Cuban delegate Garcia Valls in the eleventh period of sessions, the country's 1965 sugar production was more than six million tons. However, the 1966 harvest was considerably less because during 1965 the country suffered the worst drought of the century and one of the worst in all its history.

Thus this hard lesson strengthened our conviction that modern agriculture cannot be left at the mercy of nature; it served to give more impetus to the fertilization and irrigation programs of which we will speak later. Nevertheless, the consolidation of our agriculture is revealed by the fact that the recovery of the sugar sector has been immediate. The harvest which is now drawing to a close will once again top six million tons, and that of 1968 will, without any doubt, be the largest in Cuban history. The present

harvest has also served to show the improvement in both the agricultural and industrial processes of sugar production. The rate of development is considerably greater in comparison with any other harvest of the revolutionary period.

Progress towards the production of ten million tons is being assured by sizeable investments in industry and agriculture. The industrial modernization plan presupposes an investment of US\$220 million up to 1970. Of these investments, US\$25.5 million were made up to 1966, another 30 million will be made this year, and 60.4 million in 1968. Another US\$4.5 million have been invested to improve cane and sugar rail transportation, and the 1967 plan includes an additional investment of 24.5 million. Another 34.6 million will be invested in 1968.

Twelve million dollars have already been invested in the installations for the shipping of sugar in bulk, another 8.3 will be invested in 1967, with the total investment coming to 75 million.

The investments required to achieve a production of 7,200 million arrobas (one arroba = 25 pounds) of cane (about 85 million metric tons) -- and their harvest -- in 1970 are of a similar scope. This report would be too long if I were to detail the progress of the mechanization of the sugarcane harvest, and I refer those delegates who may be interested in this subject to our report to the recent FAO regional meeting in Punta del Este, which we have made available to all the delegations. (PEL note: For full text of this report see PEL No. 186.)

The second strategic branch of our agriculture is cattle raising.

During 1965 and 1966 Cuban cattle raising has justified the hopes formulated by our delegation at this Commission's 1965 meeting. Milk collection increased considerably, amounting to 234 million liters (that is, kilograms) in 1965 and 329.5 million in 1966, not counting the domestic consumption in the rural zones. Since we do not wish to take advantage of the figures, we must make clear that a part of the increase is not due to a production rise, but to improvement in collection thanks to a greater number of refrigerated trucks and other means of transportation. But the production increase is very great and is due to the fact that scientific methods of handling cattle are beginning to yield results. The figure for the first two months of 1967 is very much higher than that for the same period of 1966.

This achievement will come as no surprise when we explain that by mid-1966, 258,000 cows and 40,000 heifers were already included in the plan of rational

rotating pasturage. The installations already underway will shortly be able to house up to a million animals. At the same time, we can report that the artificial insemination program announced in previous Cuban reports has already arrived at the stage of mass application. There are already more than 2,000 trained inseminators and a good number of installations, while by the end of 1966 more than 1.2 million cows were included in the plan, with a 75 percent gestation index that is steadily increasing.

These facts also explain the increased meat supplies. Almost one million head of beef cattle were slaughtered in 1966, for a total tonnage of 315,000 metric tons, 60 percent higher than the 1962 figure and also higher than before the revolution,

The technical and economic details of this cattle plan likewise appear in the Report to the FAO which we have mentioned.

Regarding poultry production, we can say that the optimism expressed here in the previous meeting has been confirmed by the facts. The production of eggs collected on the state farms alone was 920,267,400 in 1965, while the 1966 figure was 1,019 million, for a per capita of 153.

Agricultural production other than cane increased considerably in 1966 compared with the preceding years. From 1965 to 1966 growth was 13 percent, and the production level of the first years of the revolution, the highest in the country's history is now being recovered. Of course, this is just the beginning of a steady and rapid growth as the result of all that has been done in revolutionary agriculture in these years.

The first months of 1967 allow us to expect that, as foreseen, this year's growth will be greater than in 1966.

A separate table shows a comparison of the main agricultural products marketed during both years. It will be seen that tobacco production rose (in thousands of tons) from 43 to 51, coffee from 23.9 to 33.4, rice from 49.9 to 68.4, root vegetables from 281.2 to 431.1. A notable advance, thanks to an intensive work program, was accomplished in citrus fruits, which rose from 116,000 to 159,000 tons. In 1962 the figure was only 89,000.

These agricultural advances are important because they are not due mainly to accidental climatic factors or cyclical evolution, so frequent in the field. They are, we repeat, the first signs of what Cuba's agricultural production will be in the immediate future, when the measures applied by the revolutionary government

to achieve the fullest transformation of our agriculture yield their final results.

These factors may be summed up as follows:

- (a) Use of more advanced agricultural techniques.
- (b) Fertilization on a large scale.
- (c) Increase in irrigation.
- (d) Mechanization.
- (e) Centering the attention of all the people on the countryside.

In order not to repeat here concepts and data appearing in our FAO report, we would like to take only a few indices of these factors, as a whole, since the ECLA 1963 report allows us to establish some comparisons.

Let us look at the use of fertilizers. The prerevolutionary year with the highest amount of fertilization was 1957. According to the ECLA report, less than 160,000 tons of mineral fertilizer were applied that year. In 1962 the figure rose to 484,000 tons, while in 1966 total imports came to 726,741 tons, with especially significant jumps, for example, in ammonium nitrate, which rose from 52,000 tons in 1962 (the highest yearly total) to 139,000 tons in 1966.

But the 1966 figures are being surpassed, and the 1967 plan contemplates the use of 1,150,000 tons of fertilizer. The breakdown of the nutrient content will be: NH_3 , 208,000 MT; P_2O_5 , 82,800 MT; and K_2O , 106,700.

Another index, the importance of which will be noticed by the delegates, is that of the import of tractors in the past two years (see Table No. 2).

In the four years before the revolution, fewer than 600 caterpillar tractors and 1,250 with tires were imported by the Cuban economy.

When speaking of mechanization and the application of technology in agriculture, it will be no secret to the delegates present here that the most important thing is to raise the technical level of the men and women in charge of putting into practice the radical change in agriculture to which we aspire.

In this line the most significant aspect is the task being carried out by the Plan for Technological Education in Soil, Fertilizer and Cattle, which by 1975 will have trained no less than 100,000 middle-level technicians, of which more than 15,000 preuniversity level techni-

Table No. 7
Cuba: Prophylactic Vaccinations in 1965
Date: December 1966

<u>Vaccination Against</u>	<u>Simple or Combination Vaccines</u>	<u>Population Groups or Population Vaccinated or Re-vaccinated by age</u>	<u>Complete, Incomplete or Booster Shots</u>	<u>No. of Persons Vaccinated or Revaccinated</u>
SMALLPOX	Simple	Under 1 year	CD	455
	Simple	1-14 years of age	CD and B	8,170
	Simple	15 and over	CD and B	75,818
TUBERCULOSIS	Simple	Under 45 days old	CD	175,488
	Simple	Over 45 days old	CD and B	192,879
DIPHTHERIA	Duplex	6-9 years old	CD and B	213,548
	Triplex	Under 1 year	CD	51,223
	Triplex	1-5 years	CD and B	233,147
WHOOPIING COUGH	Triplex	Under 1 year	CD	51,223
	Triplex	1-5 years	CD and B	233,147
TETANUS	Combination	6-9 years	CD and B	213,548
	Simple (TT)	10-14 years	CD and B	285,978
	Simple (TT)	Over 15 years	CD and B	1,267,988
	Triplex	Under 1 year	CD	51,223
	Triplex	1-5 years	CD and B	233,147
TYPHOID and PARA-TYPHOID FEVERS	Simple	Under 14 years	CD and B	122,875
	Simple	Over 15 years	CD and B	335,647

CD = Complete dose.
B = Booster shot.

cians will be graduated in 1970, plus another 5,000 elementary level artificial insemination technicians. At the end of 1966 there were already 16,358 students enrolled in the different schools and institutes that make up the Plan. This year's enrollment will come to 46,000 and that of 1968, to 63,000. The most important thing is that those students who will be graduated as preuniversity level technicians, and will later continue higher studies, are from the ranks of the agricultural and industrial workers, many of whom were illiterate at the beginning of the Revolution. The majority of them had not gone beyond the first three grades of primary school.

Irrigation works, at a cost of more than 80 million pesos, have already improved 147,000 hectares, and when they are completed, will benefit another 138,000.

The reservoirs of the eastern region will make available 570 million cubic meters of water.

In fishing, the purchase of 41 boats and the construction of four more for fishing in far-distant seas, and the fleet of medium size craft that operates in the Gulf of Mexico, with an investment

of more than 53 million pesos, have determined a jump in the total annual catch from 28,000 tons in 1959 to more than 43,000 in 1966.

However, as we have said, the agricultural and livestock production increases that have been achieved in the past two years are just a beginning. What characterizes the two-year period on which we are reporting here to ECLA is the fundamental concentration of the financial, material, and human resources in agriculture as the take-off for the development that embodies our economic goals.

A detailed picture of these activities appears in the report to the FAO.

If we consider the projection of the sugar industry to 10 million tons and the work to multiply cattle production, going from nonirrigated and unfertilized natural pasture to the formation of more than four million hectares of artificial pasture to be fertilized in 1970 with 300 kilograms per hectare and with a good part of them irrigated; if it is remembered that the citrus production figure we mentioned is only the result of improved care of the groves already existing before the revolution (less than 25,000 hectares); that the 10,300 hectares planted between

1961 and 1966 will shortly be producing, and that the planting program now underway, with the participation of thousands of young students is for more than 80,000 hectares; if we note that the revolution has already planted more than 300 million timber yielding trees and that more than 1,000 million will be planted by 1970; if we consider that from 1967 to 1970 the state sector will plant 4,800 caballerías (one caballería = 13.4 hectares) of new coffee trees and the private sector 1,000, with the aim of arriving at an annual production of 100,000 tons, the extent of the upsurge in our agriculture will be understood.

Mr. President and Distinguished Delegates, we have given preference in our report to farm and animal production, because it is the starting point of our economy.

We insert a table that shows the changes in some branches of industrial production between 1963 and 1966. It will be seen that the industrial sector is not static, and important increase will be observed especially in the food processing industry.

However, that sector is not the only that is being improved. It will be seen also that nickel production has considerably increased, including, very significantly, that which comes from the Moa plant, which the technicians of our country have been able to operate at full capacity, in spite of the prediction and hopes of its former exploiters.

The production of electric energy, which increased 13 percent during the two-year period in question, indicates that the program for increased energy capacity to which Comrade García Valls referred two years ago, is being put into practice. In effect, two 50,000 Kw. units have begun to operate in the eastern network and another two units in the western, making another 100,000 Kw. The latter circuit will receive the addition of a third unit and before the year is out, a fourth will also be added to complete its initial capacity of 200,000 Kw. Work continues on three other power stations, which will add another 180,000 Kw. to generating capacity in 1969 and the first quarter of 1970. A fourth plant will begin in 1967, with a capacity of 66,000 Kw. Investments will rise to more than 75 million pesos.

The importance given to the food industry and its programmed growth determined the creation of the Ministry that now runs it.

In this sphere of industry also, although we can feel satisfied with the progress that has been made, the most important aspect is what is being done with an eye to the future.

In the sphere of industrialization, work is already in progress on the first of the meat combines which will have a daily slaughtering capacity of 1,000 head of cattle. Although in recent years the daily milk pasteurization capacity has risen by half a million kilograms and that of milk cooling by a quarter of a million, five new pasteurization plants are planned for the near future with capacities of 100,000, 50,000 and 30,000 kilos a day.

In accord with the development of citrus plantations, two combines for processing will be built, one in the westernmost part of the island, in Guane, which was previously completely abandoned, and the other on the Isle of Pines -- today the Isle of Youth -- where thousands of young people are showing their revolutionary enthusiasm and responsibility and where the old National Penitentiary will be transformed into an agricultural technological institute.

Work has already been started to enlarge flour-milling capacity and to build a new mill in the central part of the country. In addition, the first of four modern noodle and spaghetti factories is already being built in Havana. The four will have a total production capacity of 100,000 MT.

As has been reported before, industries serving agriculture are being organized around the country's basic economic activity. Because of its importance and because of the need to replace imports that represent a considerable weight in our trade balance, priority has been given to the fertilizer industry. A contract has already been signed with the Soviet Union for a combine which will produce 135,000 tons of nitrate, 35,000 of urea and 200,000 of complete fertilizers, in addition to its own phosphate needs. Negotiations are also being completed for a combine that will produce 285,000 MT of ammonium nitrate and 180,000 of urea. Three combines of similar capacities will be purchased in the near future. Total investment will be more than 300 million pesos.

The cement needs arising from industrial construction, road necessities and the housing plan which will increase annual production to 100,000 dwelling units in 1970, have required a rapid enlargement of installed capacity. A new plant is being built with a total investment of US\$28 million and which will produce 600,000 MT a year beginning in 1969.

In 1965 the Siguaney plant was begun and will go into operation in 1969 with a production capacity of 650,000 metric tons. This represents an investment of forty million pesos. The Santiago plant is being enlarged to increase its capacity to 216,000 MT with an investment of 12.5 million. Thus, by 1970 cement production will

come to more than 2,200,000 MT, that is, two and a half times as much as in 1959.

In metallurgy investments are being made to raise capacity to 350,000 MT of common steel. The first phase will be completed in 1968, when production will be 230,000 MT.

Although Cuba's dependence on the export of farm-based primary products for the greater part of its foreign trade makes it without doubt vulnerable to all the elements of market instability and price deterioration that the ECLA pinpoints as one of the origins of Latin America's stagnation, the long-range agreements which, as was reported by the Cuban delegation in 1965, were signed with the socialist countries, and especially the one signed by the Prime Minister with the Soviet leaders, have given our sugar exports not only the necessary market security, but also the guarantee of a remunerative and stable price. Contracts signed with Spain, the United Arab Republic, and Syria had a similar effect, although the volume and prices were lower.

In this way, the sharp drop in sugar prices during the two-year period under study -- which had repercussions in sensitive sectors of the Cuban economy -- affected our dollar supply, while leaving mainly unaffected our import capacity from the socialist and capitalist trade areas, which supply over 80 percent of our total imports.

The decrease in the 1966 sugarcane harvest had a negative influence on our payment capacity with the Soviet Union, although these effects were mitigated by commercial credits granted to Cuba by the USSR to balance the current exchange deficit.

This proves how right the developing countries are, particularly those of Latin America, to demand from capitalist industrial metropolitan centers remunerative and stable prices for basic products and the elimination of competition with imports from the developing areas.

And the enumeration of Cuba's investment process shows that, as we maintain, the end of Latin America's trade inequality with the industrial centers that constitute its markets would become a decisive source for the financing of its development.

In the spheres of international trade and financing, it seems important to inform this meeting that efforts to isolate Cuba were intensified during the past two years, although unsuccessfully.

The insistence of the U.S. State Department with the British Foreign Office on this point is well known, as well

as the no less notorious attempts in the same direction in regard to Spain, France and other countries.

We may take as a favorable symptom in international life the fact that the governments against which such pressure has been exerted have upheld the principle of independent international economic relations. Thus, during 1966 important negotiations with the French firm "Richard et Frères" for a US\$36 million credit were brought to a successful close.

The credit is for the purchase of 700 bulldozers and other equipment for agricultural and road work. The first equipment began to arrive in Cuba at the end of last year. The contract with the British firm Leyland for the supply of buses has already been completed. Negotiations with British firms for the above-mentioned fertilizer plant are progressing satisfactorily.

Mr. President and Distinguished Delegates, these are the experiences that Cuba can offer the commission in its twelfth period of sessions.

As we anticipated, they contrast with the present situation and future prospects of Latin America as a whole, as deduced from the ECLA report on the continental economy in 1966.

We are not unaware of the fact that some countries of the region can present figures on the growth rate of their gross product that place them above the whole and which may be misleading as to their future possibilities. But all the causes that are pointed out to explain stagnation act on the deepest level, even in those economies that apparently are progressing, although the enjoyment of the benefits resulting from such growth go mainly to foreign investors and to very conspicuous minorities.

A favorable conjuncture in the price of a specific item can change appearances, but only fleetingly. As long as what are euphemistically called "institutional obstacles to development" prevail, which are none other than the structural deformations that keep the masses of Latin-American workers and peasants in misery and increasingly impoverish the national economies, the continental situation will worsen.

This is why Cuba, without arrogance but with certainty based on its own experience, repeats that the only definitive way out for Latin America is revolutionary change.

Throughout this report we have expressed what we expect of science and technology. On examining the problem, we stated what we have achieved with planning and what it promises us. We enumerated the

investments with which we intend to guarantee the correct course of development. We mentioned what foreign trade based on the elimination of exchange inequality means to us. But all of that would not be enough to explain how our small country has been able to resist the economic siege with which the power that considers itself master of this region, which it considers its continental backyard, has tried to complement its armed aggressions in order to wipe out the Cuban example from America.

All of these important technical, scientific and economic factors would not have been sufficient if the most important factors had been lacking. These factors are: the profound revolutionary process, the backing of the people, growing in conscious intensity every day.

Our confidence in the future derives, more than from the economic information we have just offered and which backs up our optimism, from the spectacle which may now be seen in Cuba of tens of thousands of men and women of all ages who have gone out from Havana and other urban centers to devote themselves to agricultural work. With their enthusiasm and their adherence, our people are making possible many plans which otherwise would have been unattainable.

We are well aware that this cannot be a permanent solution to our productive tasks, but we do aspire to the permanence of the enthusiasm and conviction expressed in that attitude by the revolutionary people. They are the seeds of the society of

Communist men and women to which we aspire.

We do not hide the fact that we are proud of what the people of Cuba have created and are continuing to create in these years of total transformation. We know, however, that the enemy means to destroy it and that we are not safe from new attempts. The merciless and systematic devastation of Vietnam is only too present a reality reminding us that we cannot neglect the defense of our country, although this can retard our economic growth. But Cuba is prepared, and above all, its people are determined and ready.

Doubtless, we could buy our security by trading it, like a mess of pottage, for Cuba's militant solidarity with Vietnam and with the revolutionary movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Offers have not been lacking. But nearly one hundred years have passed since José Martí said, coinciding once again with Karl Marx, "Country is mankind." And, following the road of Martí and Marx, Fidel Castro has reiterated Cuba's unshakeable stand: "Our country is important to us, but mankind is even more important."

Gentlemen, the future lies that way. And those who upon hearing the echo that reaches their ears of men marching with knapsacks on their backs along the guerrilla routes of Bolivar, assert, like Louis XVI on July 14, 1789, "It is a revolt," should recall the French peoples' reply, "No, Sire, it is a Revolution!"

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