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THE FIRST CONFERENCE

OF THE

LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION

JULY 28-AUGUST 5, 1967

A STAFF STUDY

PREPARED FOR THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

1 Congress 3
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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

81-0620

WASHINGTON : 1967

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RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the attached staff study entitled "The First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization, July 28-August 5, 1967," be printed and made public.

Approved July 18, 1967.

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**PRIMERA CONFERENCIA
DE SOLIDARIDAD DE
LOS PUEBLOS
LATINO AMERICANOS**

COMITE NACIONAL CUBANO JULIO 28 AGOSTO 5 1967 Habana, Cuba

FOREWORD

“Concurrently with the systematic preparation of Communist subversive agents, a series of meetings, conferences, congresses and so on are being held in Cuba, attended by Communist elements of America and by sympathizers, the real purpose of which is to discuss plans, fix objectives and issue directives that must be observed by the different groups, with respect to Communist subversive action of every form.”

This statement was contained in the report submitted to the Council of the Organization of American States by the Special Consultative Committee on Security on February 20, 1963.

There is no doubt that the almost steady procession of Communist conclaves in Havana stems from the fact that a totalitarian ideology, such as found in the Communist society, needs constant direction from its summit in order to function properly.

It is evident that this constant need for direction results in part from inadequate initiative on the part of the lower hierarchy and cadres, which, subjected to constant supervision and discipline by the Party, have learned to shun the responsibility of individual decisions for the more secure procedure of accepting directives emanating from above.

Although it may seem contradictory, Latin American Communists, especially the younger generation, have always posed a problem to the more sophisticated European Communist leadership because of their lackadaisical attitude and endemic flair for showmanship or “machismo” (manliness), which seem to survive despite massive doses of Marxist indoctrination.

Fidel Castro, exceptionally conscious of this fact because he himself is a prime example, is beset by a constant compulsion to assert his leadership over hemispheric communism which he has come to regard as his personal sphere of influence.

Emboldened by the real and imagined results of the Tricontinental Conference, the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party has stepped up its efforts to establish and consolidate its claim of ideological and tactical leadership in the Western Hemisphere.

This has become necessary because Castro’s leadership has been challenged in the very places where his influence appears strongest: Guatemala and Venezuela, two of the primary objectives of Cuban-directed subversion in the hemisphere.

The Cuban Communists make it no secret that their plans envision the conquest of the hemisphere in the next decade through a series of Vietnam-type wars.

Once their objective is reached—the Cuban leaders are already in the process of implementing their plans—thousands of Cuban technicians and advisers, anxious to follow the steps of their Soviet mentors, are poised to spread out from Cuba and occupy positions of leadership in Latin America.

It is no mere coincidence that Fidel Castro, in his December 18, 1966, speech at the University of Havana, stated that, "the mission of the universities is not to train just (sic) technicians, but revolutionary technicians."



Graduation of the first 67 technicians, *specialists in tobacco*. "Granma" Havana, Cuba, Feb. 14, 1967.

These "revolutionary technicians" are already graduating and, as this photograph indicates, they are indeed revolutionary in every aspect. They are the product of military training centers especially geared to prepare military technicians who can double as ordinary technical advisers if and when the regime sees the need for such a move.

In a speech delivered at the closing of the 4th Congress of Latin American Students (CLAE) on July 31, 1966, Major Pedro Miret Prieto, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, outlined the plans and objectives for the graduates of these schools.

"Our students have another task of capital importance: that of offering their experience in the revolutionary struggle and that of promoting the unity of all Latin American students in the struggle against the common enemy: Imperialism."

After stating that there already exist in Latin America the objective conditions for revolution, Major Miret added that the missing contingent factors would have to be created and a revolutionary conscience developed after the struggle has begun.

"These are not theories," Major Miret continued, "This is experience evidenced by reality and this reality has shown us that the peace-

ful avenues for the solution of the big problems in Latin America are closed in most countries.”

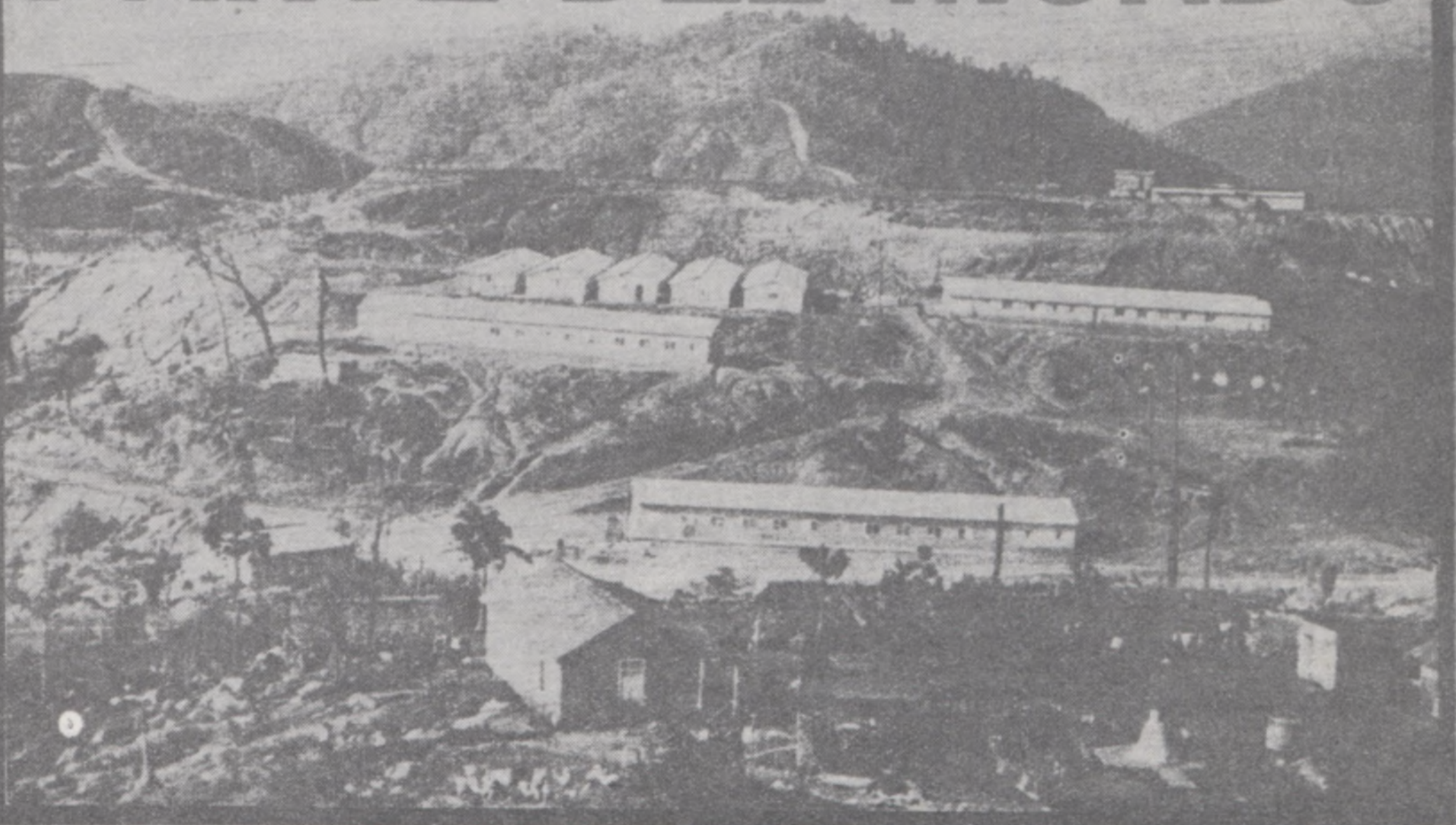
“It is the duty of the students,” he emphasized, “to take their place in the vanguard of combat within the ranks of the Revolution. The unity of criteria and of objectives in the struggle is absolutely necessary. We cannot afford to allow divisionary elements to weaken the growing thrust of the movements of national liberation.”

Gammma

EN LAS IDEAS 11

MINAS DE FRIO:

PREPARARSE PARA
SERVIR
EN CUALQUIER
PARTE DEL MUNDO



“Minas de Frio.” “Be prepared to serve in any part of the world.” The Minas de Frio (Sierra Maestra) training complex used for training of Marxist indoctrinators and/or Latin American “students” who actually are subversive agents.

As added emphasis to his words, Major Miret delivered his speech in the presence of the reserve troops of the University of Havana, massed in the "Juan Abrantes" Stadium.

Despite statements to the contrary, unity of action and ideology among Latin American Communists is far from being an accomplished fact. This is a source of apprehension for the Havana Communists.

The differences between Antonio Yon Sosa and the late Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, leaders of two guerrilla bands in Guatemala, reached such proportions that Fidel Castro saw fit to denounce them in his closing speech to the delegates of the Tricontinental Conference. As an object lesson, all material assistance to Yon Sosa was suspended with consequent near neutralization of Yon's dissident group.

More recently, in a speech delivered at the University of Havana on March 13, 1967, Fidel Castro bitterly denounced the Communist Party of Venezuela for not accepting his directives.

Actually the Venezuelan Communist Party had joined the other Venezuelan political organizations in condemning the political assassination by pro-Castro guerrillas of Julio Iribarren Borges, brother of Venezuela's Foreign Minister. (Elias Manuit Camero, Havana-based spokesman for the guerrillas, cynically claimed responsibility for the "execution" in a bulletin published March 6, 1967 in Granma, official organ of the Cuban Communist Party as follows:

STATEMENT OF COMMANDANTE ELIAS MANUIT ON THE EXECUTION OF
IRIBARREN IN CARACAS

The Government of Raul Leoni in a new show of its increasing weakness and frightened by the numerous attacks which the revolutionary forces have carried out against it, has just decreed a new suspension of the constitutional guarantees using as a pretext the recent execution of Julio Iribarren Borges.

Because of the disappearance of the revolutionary leaders Andres Pasquier and Felipe Malaver, assassinated by the Government, the national command of the FLN-FALN of Venezuela issued a communique to the effect that, for every fighter of the revolutionary movement assassinated by the Government, the patriotic forces would counteract by applying revolutionary justice to three representatives of the Government who are responsible for the oppression and poverty which our country, governed by traitors at the service of the Yankees, is suffering at this moment.

As in the cases of the different members of the revolutionary movement who have disappeared (it was proven later that they had been assassinated by the Government), the petitions before the ordinary tribunals of the country were of no avail. The same happened to the requests for information of the places of detention and the statements to the press by the mothers and wives of those victims. For these reasons, as the leaflets which were circulated in Caracas proclaimed, our movement decided to apply revolutionary justice to Julio Iribarren Borges. (He was) A high official of the Government and an accomplice in the deceit and outrages perpetrated on the Venezuelan workers through the Social Security system, which, until a few days ago, he directed. In addition, he was spying and reporting for the DIGEPOL. Many innocent workers and officials of the Social Security were incarcerated as a result of the reports of Julio Iribarren Borges, acting as an agent of the DIGEPOL.

With every execution, the assassins of the tyrannical government find an echo to their lamentations among their followers and also among those who pretend to be neutral or in the opposition. (Despite this) The people support and salute every one of these acts (executions). There is going to be a struggle to the death against the enemies of our people who, directly or indirectly, are involved in the predicament which Venezuela is now going through. The progressive measures of Leoni, the new suspension of constitutional guarantees, the arrest, tortures and assassinations will be of no avail. The Venezuelan people are no longer unarmed. They have an armed vanguard, firm, decided, and consistent that will protect it at any moment, will exact vengeance for each dead, and will lead it to the final victory which is total and final independence. **FIGHT UNTIL VICTORY OR DEATH.**

Commandante ELIAS MANUIT CAMERO,
*President of the National Command
of FLN-FALN of Venezuela.*

HAVANA, CUBA, *March 4, 1967.*



Former Venezuelan Army Captain Elias Manuit Camero, now chief of the Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation's "mission" in Havana. He signed the statement announcing the "execution" of Julio Iribarren Borges.

The body of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges, as it was found by the side of a seldom-used road. He was executed in the classic Communist method by a shot in the back of the head by pro-Castro guerrillas.



It was in this climate, and with the knowledge of the forthcoming summit meeting of the Organization of American States, that the Organizing Committee of the Latin American Solidarity Organization, (OLAS), as the assembly is called, met on February 15, 1967, to give its final approval to the agenda and the proclamation calling for a conclave of hemispheric Communists to convene in Havana from July 28 to August 5, 1967.

On February 22, 1967, Haydee Santamaria Cuadrado de Hart, secretary general of the organization and members of the central committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, made public the announcement at a conference attended by the other members of the Organizing Committee.

In an unprecedented move of direct intervention into the internal affairs of the United States, the agenda, under chapter 3 (Solidarity of the Latin American Peoples with the struggles of National Liberation), contains the following item:

Support of the Negro people of the United States in their struggle against racial discrimination and in defense of their civil rights and liberty.

[From Granma, Feb. 26, 1967]

i n t e r n a t i o n a l n e w s

The duty of every REVOLUTIONARY is to make REVOLUTION

(Call to the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Latin America)



"It is our duty to carry out the resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference, which proclaim the right of the peoples to oppose the violence of imperialism and reaction with revolutionary violence."

Full text of this agenda follows:

DRAFT AGENDA

1. *The Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Struggle in Latin America.*
 - (a) The experiences of the different forms of revolutionary struggle. Armed insurrection in the process of Latin American national liberation.
 - (b) Consideration of the specific struggles of the working class, peasants, students, intellectuals and all other progressive sectors of society as regards the process of national liberation.
 - (c) The eradication of all forms of colonialism in Latin America.

2. *Common Position and Action in the Face of Political-Military Intervention and the Economic and Ideological Penetration of Imperialism in Latin America.*

(a) The political-military intervention of Yankee imperialism in the internal affairs of Latin American countries. Imperialist policy of coordinated repression against the liberation movements: The Organization of American States (OAS), the Inter-American Peace Force, the Central American Defense Council, bases, missions and all other military pacts.

(b) The imperialist economic policy of penetration, subjugation and exploitation of the nations of Latin America. Its methods of control: financial resources and foreign commerce.

(c) Imperialism's policy of ideological penetration in the socio-cultural field as part of its continental strategy. The struggle against all forms of discrimination in Latin America.

(d) The policy of reformism as a means of curtailing social conflicts and diverting the peoples from their true objective: economic and political independence.

(e) The policy of open repression against national liberation movements, and the maintenance of exploitation of the peoples of Latin America pursued by the oligarchies and those who seek power through coups d'état.

(f) The need of all Latin American revolutionary movements to achieve a common strategy to defeat the continental strategy that imperialism has drawn for the purpose of maintaining its control over the peoples of Latin America.

3. *Solidarity of the Latin American Peoples with the National Liberation Struggles.*

(a) Anti-imperialist solidarity in Latin America.

(b) Most effective supports for the peoples who are waging the armed struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

(c) Support of the Negro people of the United States in their struggle against racial discrimination and in defense of their civil rights and liberty.

(d) Defense of the Cuban Revolution: the struggle against the economic blockade, isolation and other forms of Yankee imperialist aggression against the Cuban Revolution.

4. *The Statutes of the Latin American Organization of Solidarity (OLAS).*

The similar past history, common enemy and common destiny of the peoples of Latin America oblige them to join forces in an analysis of their current struggle to strengthen the bonds of militant solidarity and outline a global strategy that will make social redemption, on which the entire continent's hopes are poised, a reality.

The peoples of Latin America must study the experiences of their common struggle, the hopes that these experiences engender, and the organization of their inexorable battle against imperialism. Hunger, poverty, disease, unemployment and death by starvation are the common lot millions of Latin Americans who, when they refuse to resign themselves to this fate, must confront a monstrously implacable wave of terror, that leaves its wake of blood and death throughout our America.

The generator of this reality is U.S. imperialism, which is joined by its indefatigable and bloody henchmen, the native oligarchies. The enemy is united on all fronts—military, political, cultural, and financial. It elaborates joint programs, marshals the action of its mercenary armies, of its repressive forces, schooling them in crime and abuse in the new Washington-sponsored "scientific" academies, thus consolidating and making even more intolerable the chains that oppress our countries.

Despite widespread popular protest and the vacillation of its own irresolute allies, the U.S. government, in collaboration with the native oligarchies, attempts to enforce the Permanent Inter-American Force program, or plans new plunder of our riches and prepares broad "common" markets to facilitate new monopoly capital investments through the treacherous Alliance for Progress and Latin America Economic Integration Programs. Washington also plans to wield its complete control in the OAS in order to organize a conclave of Latin American governments that will permit it to carry out its policy of absolute domination, backed up by continent-wide repression.

We, the peoples of Latin America, are the heirs and standard-bearers of an heroic legacy. From the original natives, from Tupac Amaru, and later, Bolívar, Martí, Tiradentes, Artigas, Juárez, San Martín and Sandino, flow the combative spirit that spurs us on to struggle for the total independence of our countries. By their example, numerous martyrs such as Luis de la Puente Uceda, Camilo Torres, Fabricio Ojeda, Luis Augusto Turcio Lima, have shown us the way. The

recent history of Latin America is the life of its liberators. Always present, as a reminder of our duty to unite ourselves in struggle, is the persistent violation by imperialism of our sovereignty. Although imperialism is unable, in the end, to thwart our decision to fight for our rights, for the inevitable rich future that is ours, it will never give up the struggle—except in defeat—to impose upon us its program of supremacy and death. But it is necessary for the Latin American peoples' representatives to come together, not simply for a formal conclave where we verbally express our collective disagreement with the status quo, but this time to oppose the enemy's global strategy with the daring strategy of the peoples.

There are struggles today in many parts of our America, and much valuable experience for mutual interchange arises from these struggles. It is our duty to carry out the resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference, which proclaimed the peoples' right to oppose the violence of imperialism and reaction with revolutionary violence. It is necessary to unite, to coordinate and stimulate the battle of all the exploited peoples of Latin America.

Today, in Venezuela, Guatemala and Colombia, the peoples have taken up arms, and in other countries we see the awakening of great forces ready to win their liberty. The call to the hour of struggle against imperialism resounds throughout the world. The example of Cuba, a short distance from the monster, sustains the banners of dignity, inspiring all anti-imperialist men and women of this continent. The glorious people of Viet Nam, who are battling the Yankee imperialists, deserve our active, militant and material support. Solidarity with all the struggling peoples, brotherhood among all revolutionaries, a stimulus to that which unites and binds us, must be developed to defeat imperialism and its lackeys.

As the Second Declaration of Havana states, "each year that the Latin American revolution is hastened will mean the lives of millions of children saved, millions of minds will be saved for culture; the people will be saved from infinite suffering." It is therefore urgent to speed up this process. The Second Declaration of Havana, source of revolutionary teachings, speaks also of the importance of the present for us, the Latin Americans, stating: "The epic of Latin America's independence struggles was great, and that fight was an heroic one. But today's generation of Latin Americans is summoned to write a greater epic, one even more decisive for humanity."

To better fulfill this historic destiny, which falls to the present generation, the Latin American Organization of Solidarity (OLAS) resolves to call for the holding of the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Latin America to begin next July 28, under the slogan: "The Duty of all Revolutionaries is to Make Revolution."

This great assembly of our peoples will be the best response to the maneuvers of the enemy. This assembly will permit us to know each other better. This meeting will unite efforts and channel energies onto the path of revolutionary unity of all the peoples of Latin America.

We expect great battles in 1967. Yankee imperialism, savage enemy of all mankind, is growing fat on Latin America. Military dictatorships and reformist governments join to impoverish and massacre the people. In the face of all this, our anti-imperialist unity is a duty and an urgent need.

We call on all the national committees of OLAS, and on the Latin American revolutionary movement in general, to offer their broad and vigorous support to the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Latin America, to meet in Havana, Cuba, Free Territory of America, from July 28 to August 5.

"The duty of all revolutionaries is to make revolution."

THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF OLAS.

FEBRUARY 15, 1967.

HISTORY

The following was chosen as slogan of the Congress:

"The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution."

The Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) (abbreviated OLAS in Spanish) was founded in Havana on January 16, 1966, by the "anti-imperialist" delegates of the 27 Latin American countries attending the first Tricontinental Conference.

It was practically at the same moment that the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) was also founded, voted into existence by the same delegates together with those from Africa and Asia.

The two organizations were born with interlocking membership on the national committee level because the only delegates from Latin America were those attending the Tricontinental Conference. This is most notable in the Cuban National Committee of LASO which is composed of the same individuals (or of individuals who replaced them in their national offices) who formed the Cuban delegation at the Tricontinental Conference.

These facts substantially contradict the claim which Cuban propaganda media forcefully maintain, that the two organizations are completely different and autonomous with no functional or organizational subordination between them.

This can be true in the narrowest technical sense. It would be naive even to assume that the ideological and tactical objectives of the two organizations could be different and separate, especially when both are under the direct control of the Cuban Politburo.

Actually there is a remarkable parallel between the heads of the two organizations. Both Osmani Cienfuegos Gorriarán, executive secretary of AALAPSO, and Haydee Santamaria Cuadrado de Hart, secretary general of LASO, are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and were part of the Cuban delegation to the Tricontinental Conference.

Osmani Cienfuegos' brother, Camilo (by some reports a Castro victim) and Haydee Santamaria's brother, Abel, a young Marxist killed by Batista police after the abortive attack on the Moncada barracks July 26, 1953, are considered to be two of Cuba's greatest heroes.

Although Osmani Cienfuegos' official position in the Cuban Government is that of Minister of Public Works, he has had extensive contacts with African and Asian leftists, such as the late Moroccan Communist, Ben Barka, Egypt's Nasser, and Algeria's Ben Bella.

On the other hand, Haydee Santamaria, as director of the Casa de las Americas, has been responsible, together with her husband Armando Hart Davalos (until a year ago Minister of Education), for granting scholarships at Havana University to Latin Americans. She has also traveled widely as a member of the Cuban UNESCO delegation and had accompanied her husband on missions to the U.S.S.R., Eastern Europe, and China.

On April 16, 1967, Haydee Santamaria was at Osmani Cienfuegos' side when the latter made public an article allegedly written by Ernesto "Che" Guevara for the forthcoming first issue of AALAPSO's monthly publication "Tricontinental" scheduled to begin publication next July. The text of this document appears in appendix II, page 67. (Close scrutiny of the article reveals glaring chronological inconsistencies which cast grave doubts as to its authenticity. Also, the photographs accompanying the document do not permit close comparison with previous known Guevara photographs to afford a positive identification of the disappeared guerrilla leader.)

The press conference took place at the AALAPSO headquarters located on the fourth floor of the Habana Hilton now the Habana Libre Hotel.

The main difference between LASO and AALAPSO is that dictated by geographical necessity; the former directs the subversive efforts of Cuba in Latin America exclusively, while the latter coordinates similar efforts on all three continents. For this reason, the relations between the two organizations, according to the Communist propaganda, "will have to be, essentially, of support and fraternal cooperation."

As a token gesture of tricontinental cooperation, a few of the positions in the executive secretariat of AALAPSO are held by Latin Americans. Actually most of them are skilled organizers, long at the service of international communism, and for this reason more valuable for their experience than their nationality.

One of these is Nacciso Rabell Martinez, called by Castro "chief of the Puerto Rican mission to Cuba," who has spent long years in various offices of the Prague-based International Union of Students. Rabell Martinez is a frequent visitor to African countries and, at present, is again on a tour of several African countries as head of a three-man AALAPSO delegation.

Rabell, a member of the AALAPSO executive secretariat, left Havana on February 18, 1967, accompanied by Domingo Amuschastegui of Cuba and Hussein Ras Masud of Pakistan. The announced objective of their tour was to "give more impetus and to intensify the revolutionary struggle on that continent."

The Latin American Solidarity Organization's main objectives were outlined in a communique issued by the organizing committee on the fifth anniversary of the "II Declaration of Havana." (The Second Declaration of Havana is a manifesto of defiance against the United States and the other Latin American Republics, launched by Fidel Castro on February 4, 1962, shortly after Cuba was expelled from the Organization of American States.)

The communique, based on Castro's speech, calls for the "hungry Indians, the landless peasants, the exploited workers and students, the brilliant and honest intellectuals who abound in our suffering countries of Latin America, to rise to the call for the struggle of liberation against the world's most powerful imperialist parent-state."

"The peoples of our continent will strengthen their ties of militant and belligerent solidarity and will adopt a common strategy against a common enemy: North American imperialism."

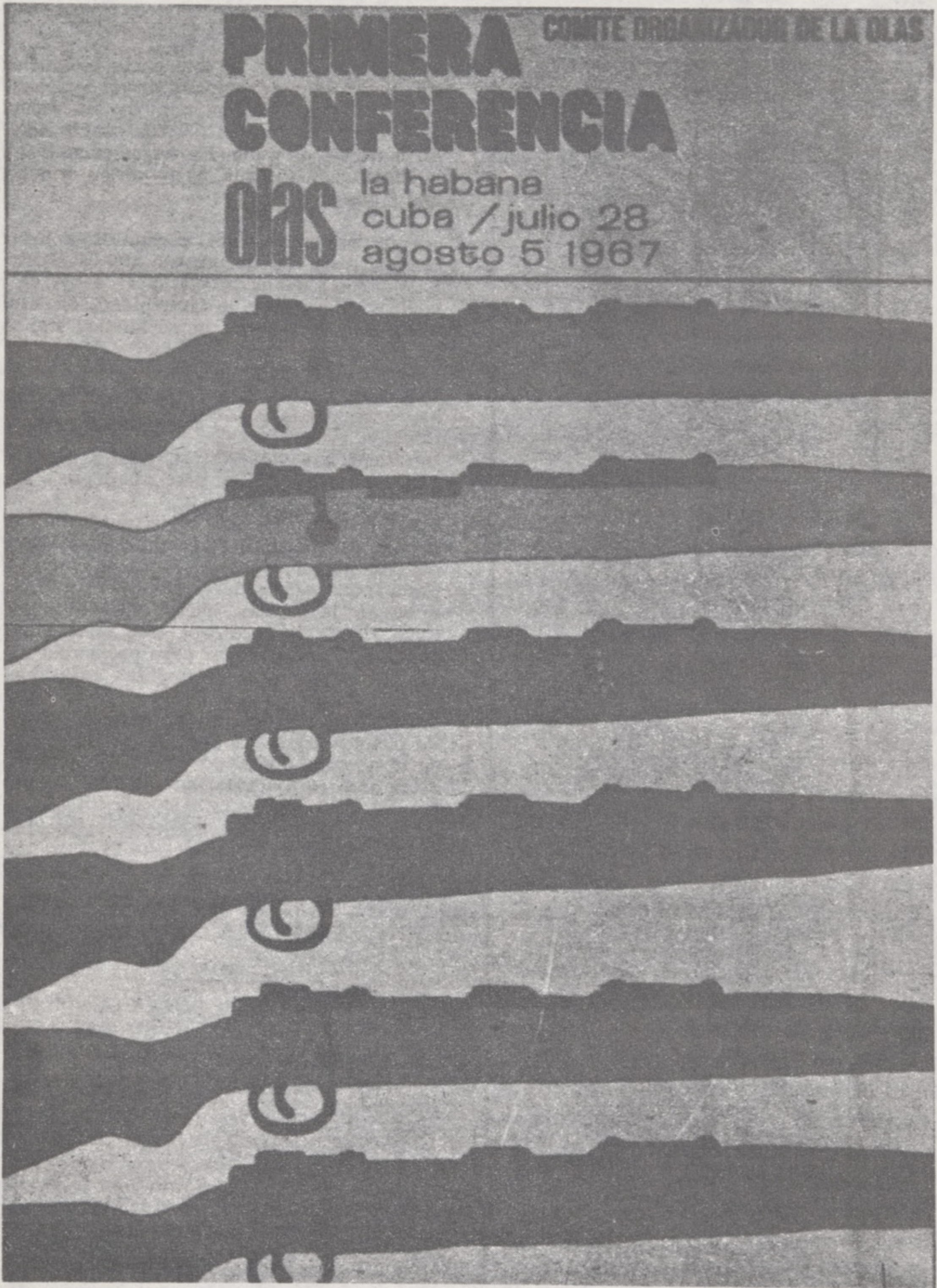
"For the liberation and progress of our Nations!"

"The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution."

The General Secretariat of LASO undertook in January 1967, a clever propaganda ploy in the guise of a gigantic task of conducting a political, economic, and sociological survey of the American continent.

This circulation of "loaded" questions for the ostensible purpose of gathering highly specialized intelligence data kept busy a task force of nearly 1,000 specialists for over 4 months. The data was compiled in a voluminous report which was submitted for final approval on May 4, 1967.

Due to the importance of the survey, more detailed information will be found in the questionnaire chapter beginning at page 21.



THE LASO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The LASO Organizing Committee came into being on the same day the organization was founded. It was assigned the basic task of orienting the process of organization in cooperation with the national committees of the member nations.

The committee, due to the extensive areas of research and review assigned to it by the parent organization, is composed by several study groups. Each group is assigned a specific task and, as its work is completed, is dissolved. New groups are created to study a different item each time the need arises. Its only permanent offices are those of the general secretariat and the editorial staff of the LASO bulletin.

Among the major tasks undertaken by the committee was that of examining and reviewing the constitution of the national committees. This was made necessary by the fact that the initial selection of those committees had been made by the organizers of the first Tricontinental Conference.

Although the criteria for selection of the national committees were the same as those used by the Tricontinental Conference, the Organizing Committee of LASO sought to avoid unpleasant surprises by weeding out any organization or individual whose unswerving allegiance to the Marxist tenets dictated by Havana was questionable.

Because of the emphasis on a united stand against "imperialism," the Organizing Committee has banned some groups or movements which had been admitted to the Tricontinental Conference. These groups were ostracized because of their reluctance to follow the party line or to give their support to Fidel Castro.

The Organizing Committee, in setting forth the criteria and prerequisites necessary for the constitution of the Hemispheric National Committees, dictated that the selection of a political organization or movement must be made on the basis of the following requirements:

- (a) be anti-imperialist,
- (b) support unity,
- (c) be representative,
- (d) accept the resolutions of the Tricontinental Conference,
- (e) accept the bases established for the constitution of LASO.

It is more than evident, from the prerequisites demanded for admission to and membership in the Conference, that Havana is actually ordering the delegates to surrender their identity beforehand and function only as a cheering background for the assembly.

Once the submissive delegations have been selected and approved, nothing will stand in the way of the Cubans to steamroll their resolutions, replete with high-sounding condemnations of the "imperialist monster," aimed at gaining stature as a major power in the struggle against "Yankee imperialism."

When the representatives of hemispheric communism subservient to Havana dictated that only through meeting these basic requirements could Latin American leftists be admitted to the LASO Con-

gress, they were fully aware of the "sectarian divisionism" rife among their ranks.

Because divisionism could weaken and even put in jeopardy the high expectations of the organizers of the Conference, the Organizing Committee came to the conclusion that the need for an intensive campaign to bring about the unity of all "anti-imperialist" movements in Latin America was of paramount importance.

In order to get quicker response to this appeal, the committee found it expedient to use once more the trite ruse of claiming that unity was needed to "counteract the continental strategy of imperialist domination."

"Only the mutual and united support of all Latin American countries to the peoples already engaged in armed struggle can lead to victory," stated Aluizio Palhano, Brazilian member of the committee.

"It is evident," he continued, "that we cannot conform with mere professions of solidarity at a time when our peoples are facing increasingly unbearable conditions of submission and oppression."

And, echoing his Cuban masters, Palhano left no doubts about the purpose of the LASO Conference, "The problem," he stated, "is not to debate whether there is need for a revolution. Of this we are convinced. Our problem is how to make it in order to accelerate the process of liberation of the peoples."

If the past performance of the Latin American members of the Organizing Committee is an indication, there is no doubt that the delegates of the national committees will perform with the same Pavlovian responses as did their chosen leaders who preceded them.

With that sense of bitter irony at which the Communists excel, Latin American members of the Organizing Committee are required to perform their act like trained seals before audiences of Cuban workers in order to stimulate them to work more, and without pay, for the privilege of living in "Cuba, free territory of the Americas."

In order to stimulate the nation's sagging economy, the Cuban Politburo has devised a cruel system of exacting "voluntary" work from undernourished and ill-paid workers.

Under the guise of a week, fortnight, or month of "solidarity" with a country or "liberation movement," Cuban workers are, for all practical purposes, ordered to work longer hours without pay to demonstrate their support of that cause. If a worker does not show sufficient enthusiasm, the local and all powerful Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, marks him as a "worm," a general term denoting pro-U.S. feelings. Once he is branded as such, life in a Communist regime can become unbearable.

A typical example of the use of LASO delegates to stimulate sugarcane cutting was given last February during the "Day of National Solidarity with the struggle of the Guatemalan People".

On February 7, 1967, the Cuban Politburo trooped, before groups of cane cutters at the "Guatemala" sugar mill in Mayari, all the Guatemalan members of the LASO Organizing Committee, now in Cuba. In addition, an assortment of male and female members of guerrilla bands, or "patriots," from Guatemala were brought up from Havana.

After a series of fiery speeches by Guatemalan guerrillas and Cuban party leaders, the supervisors of the cane cutters volunteered extra

work by their men who "promised" to cut more cane to honor the occasion.

Such performances are repeated constantly and the workers not only are forced to work longer, but have to attend the meetings as well.

Typical end result of these meetings is the following message, sent by the Party-controlled National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), to express support of the "Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America." This "solidarity week" was ordered to honor the forthcoming LASO Conference.

The National Association of Small Farmers, in saluting the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America which begins today (April 19) and will extend until the 25th, wishes to express that the Cuban peasants will double, on this occasion, their efforts in the tasks of production in order to offer the example of their accomplishments to the brother peasants and workers of Latin America, who today fight, arms in hand, to free themselves from the yoke imposed on them by North American Imperialism.

Again the puppets of the LASO Organizing Committee, at a signal from their masters, gave a command performance by expressing their glee for the alleged "reappearance" of Ernesto "Che" Guevara Serna.

One by one, they gave statements praising the revolutionary zeal of Guevara and predicted that his reappearance would be "an impassioned call to a struggle without quarter against imperialism," to quote the Uruguayan delegates.*

Based on information obtained from official Cuban sources, the members of the LASO Organizing Committee were identified as follows:

Brazil

Aluizio Palhano is the Brazilian representative on the executive committee of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) that has been meeting in Cuba to arrange the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Latin America. Reported to be the secretary general of the Brazilian National Confederation of Trust Company Workers (CONTEC) and the vice president of the General Command of Workers (CGT) in November 1965, Palhano is known to have attended the Sixth International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) Congress in East Germany, October 1966, and the Tri-Continent Conference in Havana, January 1966.

Colombia

Jorge Castillejo.

Manuel Cepeda Vargas was scheduled to be a Latin American delegate to the meeting of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) in Cuba in July 1967. In 1965 he was a member of the central committee of the Colombian Communist Party and in January 1965 he was reported to be secretary general for youth matters on the central committee.

Guatemala

Francisco Marroquin, member of the FAR (Rebel Armed Forces of Guatemala). Attended the Tricontinental Conference with Luis Augusto Turcios Lima. Featured speaker at "solidarity" meetings.

Oscar Edmundo Palma, a prominent Guatemalan Communist for almost two decades, he is the Guatemalan Labor Party's (PGT) representative in Cuba. Has been appearing in interviews on Radio Havana since early 1967. He has also been writing articles for *Granma*, the Havana morning paper and organ of the Cuban Communist Party, including one in February entitled "Guatemala: Five Years of Armed Struggle."

Luis Diaz, member of FAR.

Cristina Gonzalez, member of FAR.

Maria Gutierrez, member of FAR.

*The document appears on app. II, p. 67. (Close scrutiny of the article reveals glaring chronological inconsistencies which cast grave doubts as to its authenticity. Also, the photographs accompanying the document do not permit close comparison with previous known Guevara photographs to afford a positive identification of the disappeared guerrilla leader.)

Guyana

Lallbachan Lallbahadur (Aka Lall Bahadur), Peoples' Progressive Party Official. In December 1961, Lallbachan Lallbahadur, who was identified at that time as a civil servant and official in the pro-Communist Peoples' Progressive Party (PPP), was one of 10 members of the PPP's Youth Organization (PYO), who were awarded scholarships for study in Cuba. All 10 were minor PPP figures who had volunteered the previous summer to go anywhere when PPP was propagandizing its campaign for foreign scholarships. All expenses incurred were to be paid by the Cuban government, and the 10 reportedly were to study agriculture and educational methods.

In a September 1965 newspaper article, two PYO students who had originally been sent to Cuba on scholarships and claimed that they had been imprisoned after receiving permission to leave Cuba, revealed that students arriving in Cuba in 1961 and 1962 found that they had to do "military training." This included handling weapons and making bombs. Those objecting were pressured by Cuban officials at the insistence of the PPP's representatives in Cuba, one of whom they identified as Lallbahadur Lallbaichan (sic). The returning students charged that the PPP had plotted with Cuba for a revolution in British Guiana.

On May 4, 1966, the Havana daily *Granma* published an interview with Lallbahadur (sic), who was identified as the delegate from British Guiana to the preparatory committee of the Congress of Latin American Students and the representative of students of all the colonial countries of Latin America at the preparatory committee. He reportedly said, "We believe that the holding of this Congress in Cuba is not only a necessity for the struggle of the students of Latin America, but will also provide the necessary location and atmosphere to bring forth new positive forces in the anti-imperialist struggle of all the students."

In March 1967 Lallbahadur served as Guyana's delegate to the First Latin American Solidarity Organization Conference. During a press interview in Havana he stated that the national committees to the LASO First Conference (scheduled for July 1967, Havana) will be made up of more revolutionary organizations. "The different countries are represented through the national committees made up of the most revolutionary organizations that are really interested in the liberation of their countries."

Honduras

Douglas Rivero.

Mexico

Daniel Molina. In an April 1967 article in the Cuban periodical *Bohemia*, Daniel Molina was quoted as saying "the Comandante [Ernesto "Che" Guevaral] has reappeared to denounce the fictitious and seeming peace which immobilizes and postpones struggle, to note in the depths of the historic event the essential in our times: violence. His words set forth the epitaph of the pacifists and at the same time announce the birth, or rather the rebirth, of the true ethos of revolution and proletarian internationalism. Wisely interpreting the path and the action of the revolutionaries in my country, I can with emotion and sincerity say: we are with you, Comandante, until victory!" In May 1967 Molina was a signatory to a communique issued by the organizing committee of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) in support of a statement issued by the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party. Further information on Molina is not a matter of current record.

Peru

Jesus Maza Paredes, a member of the Peruvian Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), attended the Tri-Continent Conference held in Havana in January 1966. During an interview which was broadcast from Havana on January 9 Maza said: "The position of the Armed Forces of National Liberation of Peru is a radically revolutionary position and one of complete devotion to the liberation of the Peruvian people. In the process of the armed insurrection begun by the comrades of the Revolutionary Movement of the Left (MIR), the position of the Peruvian FALN is one of moral and material support, of developing and expanding the guerrilla fronts. It will be understood that we of the Peruvian FALN are seeking unity of all revolutionary forces (of) all parties interested and involved in the armed struggle and basically in liberation of the Peruvian people."

"The Armed Forces of National Liberation base their theory and practice on Marxism-Leninism, the scientific guide of their action. The Peruvian FALN considers that the objective conditions for the Peruvian revolution are present and the subjective conditions are in the full process of development. The position of the FALN on the armed insurrection started by the MIR is one of entire devotion to the battle for giving the land to the peasants. Our basic objectives are to defeat the fundamental enemy of the peoples of Latin America, the big landed estate system, the exploiting bourgeoisie, and imperialism. Our line is to fight until power is taken over and given to the worker-peasant alliance."

Uruguay

Leopoldo Bruera, is a longtime member of the Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU) and currently serves on its executive committee. He is or has been a member of the Montevideo Departmental Board (alderman); he was probably reelected in November 1966, but this cannot be confirmed at this time. Bruera is a representative of the Uruguayan Leftist Liberation Front (FIDEL—dominated by the PCU) to the organizing committee of the First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO). He is in Cuba at this time and has visited that country at least twice before, in 1965 and in 1959. He was born in 1923.

Oscar Cabrera. In mid-May 1967 Oscar Cabrera, was in North Korea.

Jos Jorge Martinez has been in Cuba for at least two months. He also visited that country in 1964 for celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the Cuban revolution. At that time he was a member of the executive committee of the Uruguayan Leftist Liberation Front (FIDEL). He was said to be a newspaperman.

Venezuela

Silvia Moreno, member of MIR (Leftist Revolutionary Movement). She was present at meetings of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) in July 1966 and May 1967, in Havana, Cuba. She is known to have addressed Cuban military personnel of Fidel Castro's special "guard" in the spring of 1966.

Atencio Manrique. In the Cuban publication *Granma* on November 23, 1965, Atencio Manrique was listed as a member of the Venezuelan National Liberation Front (FLN) and of heading a group of workers at the Santo Domingo farm in the Santa Clara region of Cuba.

Cuba is also represented in the Organizing Committee by Haydee Santamaria who holds the offices of secretary general of LASO, chairman of the Organizing Committee, and president of the Cuban National Committee.

On March 17, 1967, after a meeting at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, the Politburo appointed the members of the Cuban National Committee to the Congress of the Latin American Solidarity Organization.

Immediately it became evident that the selection of these members had been made for the express purpose of imparting to the Latin American delegates the intricacies of the craft of subversion.

Most of the Cuban committee members are Communists, skilled cadres of the Party who, in the early days of the Cuban revolution, worked in the shadows and in the end delivered the revolution to international communism.

Singly, the members of the Cuban National Committee hold some of the most important posts in the government or the Party. Together they control every field of endeavor and every facet of activity of the Cuban people. In the eyes of all Latin America they are the regime, the utmost expression of totalitarianism.

By sheer weight of authority, they are sure to dominate the Congress and exact a tribute of obedience from the carefully selected, docile Latin American delegates. They also have the training necessary to

prepare the most important element of Communist revolution: the cadre.

Undoubtedly this is the ultimate goal of the Congress: behind the smokescreen of denunciations of United States imperialist penetration, to prepare the ground for a Communist domination of the continent with Fidel Castro as the "maximum leader."

As president of the committee, the Politburo named Haydee Santamaria Cuadrado de Hart. She is one of the four most powerful women of Cuba. As director of the Casa de las Americas, she has had a direct hand in fomenting subversion in the hemisphere through a so-called cultural exchange. Students, artists and intellectuals were either invited to Cuba or financed by this institute.

As coordinator of the Ministry of Education, when her husband Armando Hart Davalos was Minister of Education, she accelerated the process of Marxist indoctrination in the schools of Cuba. She has traveled widely and has spent considerable time in the United States as a fund-raiser for the revolution. She is a member of the national council of the Federation of Cuban Women (a branch of the Communist Party) in addition to being a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, a distinction only four other women share. It was she who, in April of 1957, accompanied Robert Taber to Fidel Castro's hideout in the mountains.

Vilma Espin Guilloys de Castro is the wife of Raul Castro, No. 2 man of the regime. Born in 1931 into a family of French descent, she studied chemical engineering in Havana, graduated at Boston in 1953. She speaks French fluently and has traveled widely in Europe and Asia. She is the president of the Federation of Cuban Women and as such has played a leading role in many Communist-sponsored conclaves involving women around the world and particularly in Latin America. She is, undoubtedly, the most powerful woman in Cuba although her influence with Fidel Castro is not as great as that of Haydee Santamaria. She is a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

With the *nom de guerre* of Debora, Vilma Espin played one of the most important roles for the Party during the early days of the revolution: recruiter of cadres and liaison with the Party.

First Captain Antonio (Tony) Perez Herrero, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, is the Chief Political Commissar of the Cuban Armed Forces. Of limited intelligence, he has been a Party faithful since his early youth. He owes his position to close friendship with Vilma Espin and her husband, Raul Castro. He was instrumental, as a member of the Party, in the final takeover of the revolution by the Communist Party of Cuba while still in the mountains. He served under Raul Castro in the second front of Sierra del Cristal and is reported to have promoted actively, on orders of the Party, the relations between Vilma Espin and Raul Castro which ended in marriage *after* the triumph of the revolution. As a well-trained former cadre of the Party, he is experienced in the subtle craft of infiltration of revolutionary groups. His experience will be extremely valuable in the forthcoming Congress.

Jose (Pepe) Ramirez Cruz, president of the National Association of Small Farmers, an experienced Party organizer with excellent Marxist formation is credited with infiltrating and later delivering to the Party all the farm labor and small farmer groups sympathetic to the anti-Batista forces. Along with Capt. Perez Heurero, Raul

Castro, Vilma Espin, and other Party members, he converted the second front of the Sierra del Cristal into a testing ground for the eventual Communist takeover. He belongs to the group of Raul Castro's faithful and is a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

His appointment to the national committee is an indication that the Politburo intends to establish control over one of the most explosive elements in Latin America: the peasant and small farmer.

Miguel Martin Perez, as secretary general of the Cuban Confederation of Workers, is the functionary controlling labor in Cuba. He is an old Party cadre trained by Blas Roca and Joaquin Ordoqui. His work for the Party has been rewarded with high offices in the "mass" organizations. Only last year, he was secretary general of the Union of Young Communists. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. His experience as a militant cadre in the early days of the revolution and his leadership of the Party's most important organizations in recent years are the reasons for his appointment to the committee. It is to be expected that he will exert his influence in a field considered as essential for a socialist revolution: labor.

Luis Gonzalez Marturelos, as national coordinator of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, he is an integral member of the Ministry of Interior. This ministry, under the direction of Ramiro Valdes Menendez, is the organization that imposes the regime of terror now rampant in Cuba. The ministry coordinates all activities of state security including espionage and training and infiltration of agents. Specifically, the organization of Gonzalez Marturelos is charged with the recruiting of thousands of neighborhood spies who report every activity or utterance they see or hear. They are Cuba's most effective instrument of oppression.

Jaime Crombet, secretary general of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba is an adept hand at Party politics despite his youth. His allegiance to the Party is evidenced by the fact that his own mother is languishing in a Communist jail and his brother fled the country just ahead of the dreaded G-2 political police. He figured prominently in a political musical chairs game late last year when positions in the "mass" organizations were redistributed among Party hierarchy. He was president of the Federation of University Students. His predecessor in that post, Miguel Martin, is also a member of the national committee, as is his successor in the student federation, Enrique Velasco Lopez.

As president of F.E.U., Crombet was instrumental in organizing the OCLAE (Continental Organization of Latin American Students) which convened in Havana last July and August. Intensive efforts were made during that Congress to recruit cadres among the delegates for training, and eventual infiltration into their countries of origin.

Giraldo Mazola Collaco is director of ICAP, the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples, whose main purpose and function is to organize meetings and conferences of various kinds and to facilitate travel to Cuba with a view to giving subversive training to students, workers, and professional people.

Enrique Velasco Lopez is president of F.E.U., Federation of University Students. An experienced young Communist leader, he was the guiding light of the 4th OCLAE Congress. In his keynote address he stated:

We are ready to close the classrooms and to renounce our achievements and glories for the purpose of defending not only our revolution, but every people who fight against imperialism.

On April 18, 1967, Enrique Velasco was in North Vietnam heading a three-man delegation from the OCLAE Secretariat. While visiting Thanh Hoa, the group allegedly was caught by a U.S. bombing raid. Velasco escaped unscathed while a Puerto Rican, Jose Varona (member of pro-Castro M.P.I.), was seriously injured and a Dominican, Danilo Fernandez, suffered light injuries. The incident was exploited to its fullest and the United States was accused of attacking the Latin American youths *deliberately*.

Eugenio Rodriguez Balari is editorial director of the weekly Communist Youth magazine, "Mella." Rodriguez Balari, who lately has been using his mother's name instead of his own, is an old Party militant experienced in organizing industrial workers. In 1963, he was secretary general of the PURS, the Party Organization, of the Cotorro-San Miguel industrial district of Havana. He has very close contacts with the Puerto Rican agitators based in Havana and was a guest at a reception given by Narciso RABELL Martinez at the Puerto Rican "embassy." He is the secretary of the Cuban National Committee.

Irina Trapote, Mexican-born daughter of Victor Trapote, a Spaniard, who, after taking refuge in Mexico at the end of the Spanish Civil War, became one of Moscow's most important undercover agents.

It was Victor Trapote who engineered the infiltration and final takeover by the Communist Party of Fidel Castro's small band of guerrillas.

In 1957, Victor Trapote, accompanied by Candido Gonzalez Morales and Santiago Diaz Gonzalez, held secret meetings with Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra mountains. Trapote was able to surround himself with such secrecy that both the meeting and his presence in the mountains received no attention except by the Communists already infiltrated in the small group. One of those was Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

Irina Trapote was married to Ramiro Valdes Menendez, Cuba's minister of interior and head of the secret police and espionage apparatus operating both in Cuba and abroad. Valdes had met Irina Trapote in 1956 while training in preparation of the invasion of Cuba by Fidel Castro's group.

Irina Trapote obtained a divorce from Ramiro Valdes on the grounds that he was incapable of fathering a child and later married Julian Lopez Diaz.

Julian Lopez Diaz had been posted to the Cuban embassy of Mexico City, ostensibly as third secretary and cultural attaché. In reality, Lopez' functions were far more sensitive; he was directing the smuggling of arms and money from Mexico to the Communist guerrillas in Guatemala.

As a matter of fact, Irina's husband was expelled from Mexico City after the Mexican authorities arrested him at the residence of Victor Hugh Martinez, a Guatemalan Communist operating in Mexico City. Julian Lopez, at the moment of his arrest, had on his person \$6,000 in small bills.

Irina Trapote is also a member of the LASO Organizing Committee and has played an important role in the compilation of the "propaganda questionnaire" referred to earlier.



Silvia Moreno



Manuel Cepeda Vargas



Oscar E. Palma



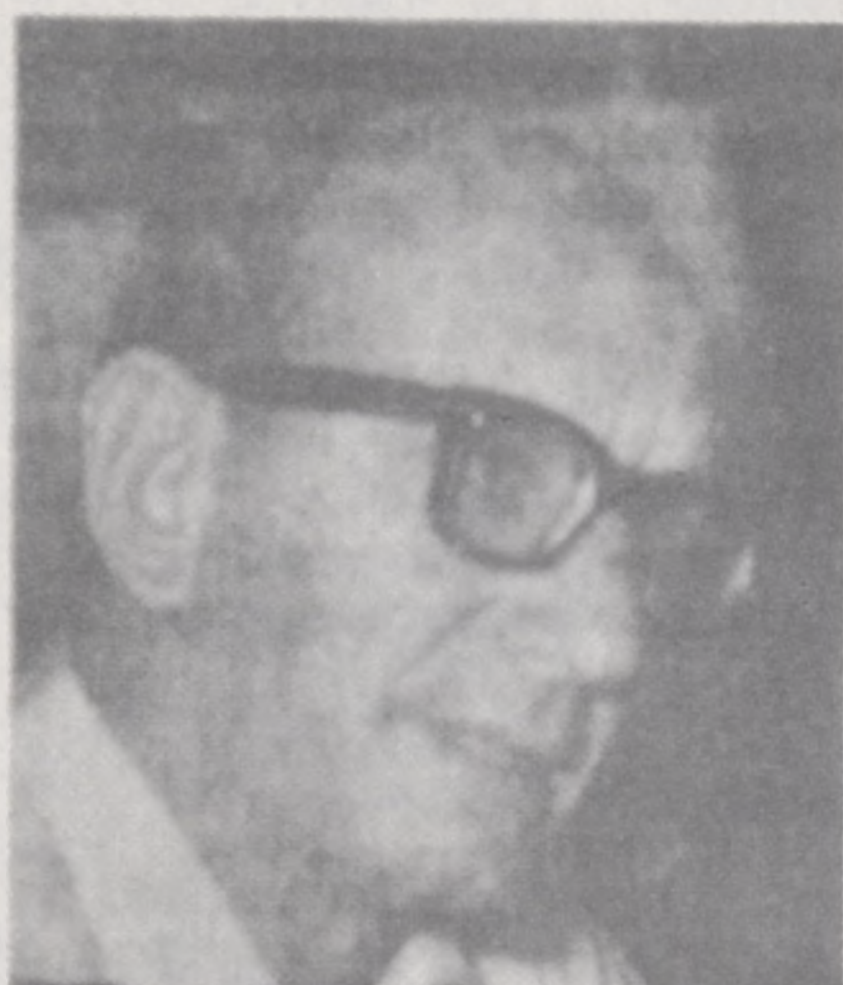
Aluizio Palhano



Jesús Maza



J. J. Martinez and O. Cabrera

[From *El Mundo*, March 10, 1967][From *Granma*, May 4, 1966]

Leopoldo Bruera of Uruguay.



Lallbachan Lallbahadur, a/k/a Lall Bahadur of British Guiana.



Luis Gonzalez Marturelos, General Coordinator of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (C.D.R.).

In turn, the Cuban National Committee has appointed nine commissions, already functioning at this time, which have been assigned to carry out the tasks relative to the technical and material organization of the conference. These are:

Technical Organization Commission; charged with the selection and organization of the interpreting staff, the transcript equipment, typists, stenos, recordings, distribution of printed matter, direction of order in the meeting rooms and protocol.

Courtesy to Guest Members Commission; will attend to the invited guests on a regional basis and will be in charge of the guides and the information department which will be installed in the lobby of the "Habana Libre" (formerly the "Havana Hilton") Hotel.

If past experience is an indication, this commission is composed in almost its entirety by carefully selected members of the Party, trained to spy and report on every activity of the participating delegates. The "guides," usually young girls, are under orders not only to steer the delegates to the sites where a most favorable impression of the revolution can be obtained, but also to establish intimate relations for future exploitation.

Another unpublicized duty of this commission is the keeping, under flimsy excuses, of the passports and foreign currency of the delegates, thus wielding an almost total control over their movements.

Administrative Services Commission; will act in a coordinating and directive capacity for the purpose of improving the hotel service for the occasion and also of attending to the material needs of the other commissions.

Programs and Shows Commission; another commission created for the sole purpose of keeping the delegates entertained, thus preventing them from having any time available for side excursions which can prove embarrassing to the regime.

Ornamentation and Beautification Commission; the Cuban Politburo has left nothing to chance in order to impress the already biased delegates. Orders have been imparted for "face-lifting" the streets surrounding the hotel where the conference will be held.

To that effect a special group is designing special effects to be erected in the following streets and avenues:

Calle 23, La Rampa, Linea, G and Paseo in addition to Independence Avenue and the airport.

Dissemination of Propaganda Commission; will coordinate the dissemination of propaganda by means of the press, radio, television and movies; will also select and disseminate, through party organizations, the material designed to "inform" the Cuban people of the purpose of the Conference.

Credentials Commission; as with the Tricontinental Conference this commission will exercise a strict control on the admission of delegates.

Immediately after deplaning at the Rancho Boyeros Airport, the delegates will be artfully detained by customs and immigration officials while their credentials and passports are rushed to the hotel where they will be scrutinized; only then will the delegates be allowed to leave the airport for the conference H.Q.

Personnel Commission; charged with the selection of the specialized personnel necessary for the functioning of the Conference. This commission will carefully screen every Cuban who will come in contact with the delegates. This will be necessary to prevent the recurrence of incidents such as occurred at previous conferences where waiters, serving food impossible to obtain by most Cubans, rudely told foreign delegates, "Enjoy it, you are taking it from the mouths of our children who are hungry."

Transportation Commission; charged with requisitioning the best vehicles still available in Havana for the transportation of the delegates to prearranged sites of interest.

The following item gives an interesting insight of the exploitation of Cuban workers perpetrated by the regime under the pretense of solidarity with LASO. Each year, the Communist Party of Cuba goes to great expense and effort to celebrate the 26th of July, marking the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

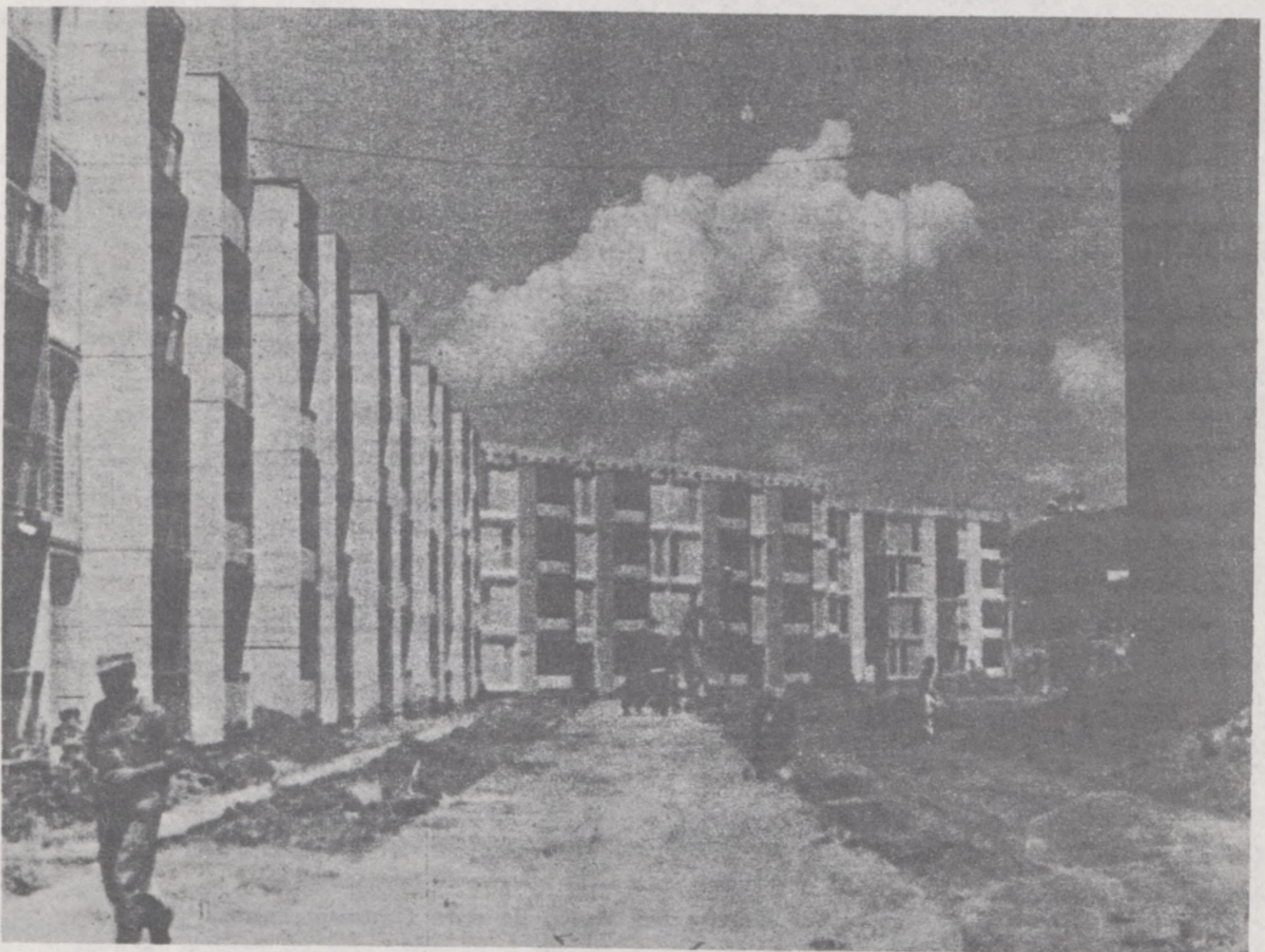
This year the celebration is going to take place in Santiago de Cuba, where on July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro and a group of followers assaulted the Moncada Army barracks. (It is significant to note that neither Fidel nor Raul Castro actually took direct part in the attack on the barracks. Fidel, very conveniently, claimed later, he had lost his way en route to the barracks while Raul limited himself to taking a few pot shots against a sentry box from the safety of a distant building.)

As is customary by now, the cadres of the Party in Santiago pledged that the construction workers would finish 432 housing units for the people by July 26 as a salute to the anniversary of the revolution.

This rush to completion does not respond, as it would be assumed, to the need of housing families now living in substandard dwellings, (of which there are hundreds of thousands).

The pledge made by the workers, who were forced to contribute hours of *unpaid* overtime work, actually responds to the need of the Cuban Politburo to impress the LASO delegates with the achievements made by the revolution.

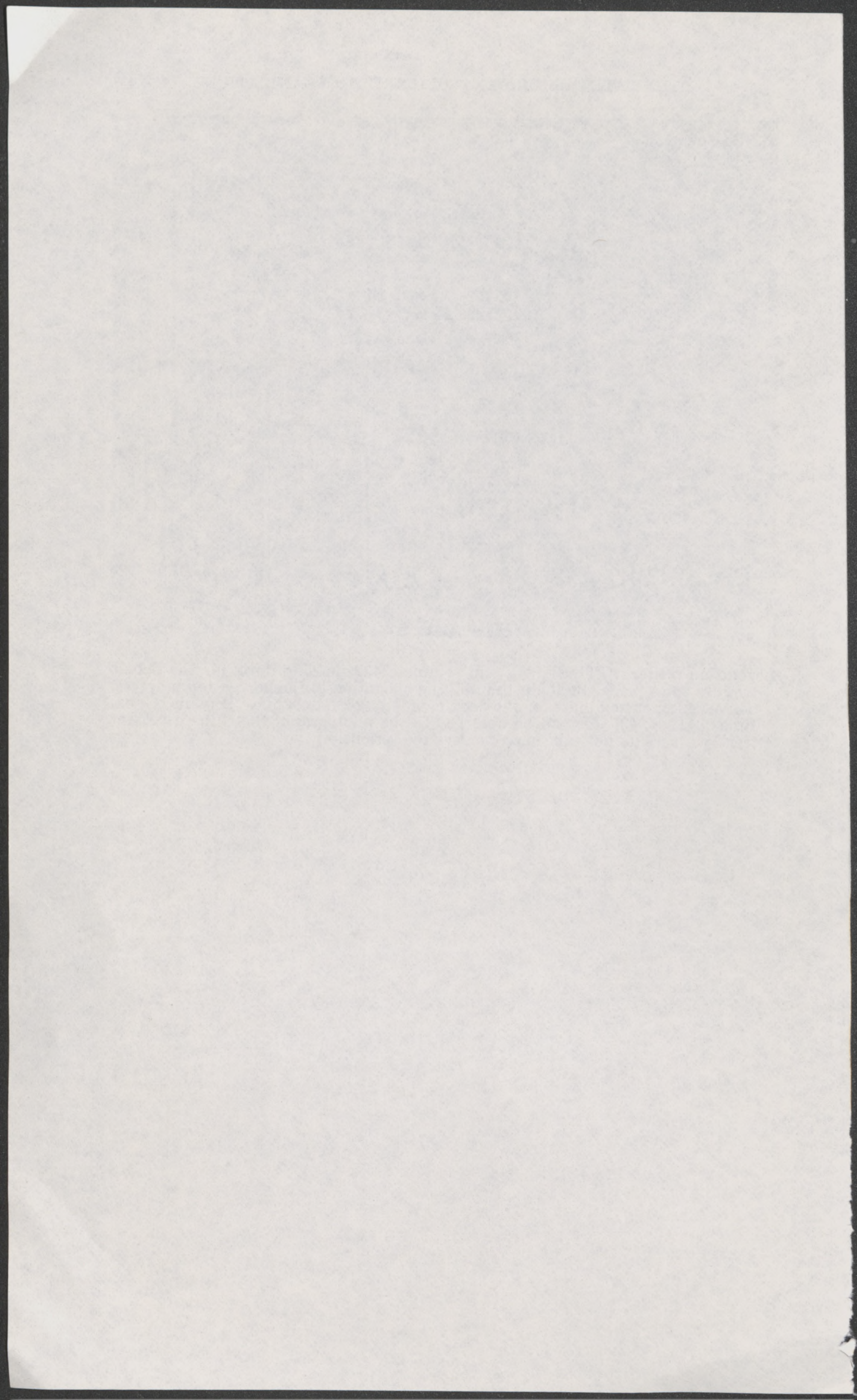
Ths housing units being rushed to completion in the Jose Marti section of Santiago de Cuba are going to be used as quarters for the delegates to the LASO Conference who will be transferred en masse to Santiago to attend the ceremonies of the 26th of July.



The delegates of the 1st Conference of Latin American Solidarity (LASO) will be guests in these housing units when completed and furnished. #25 "Bohemia" Havana, Cuba, June 23, 1967.



Legend on poster: "FIDEL, We will complete 432 housing units for the people by July 26. A pledge of honor to fulfill the obligation to the heroes and martyrs: deliver 432 housing units for the people on July 26. "Bohemia" Havana, Cuba, June 23, 1967, #25. (As can be observed in the photograph, the Cuban "volunteer" workers do not take such pledges too seriously.)



EL MUNDO, sábado 18 de marzo de 1967-5



Irina Trapote, Aluizio Palhano, and Jesus Maza of the LASO Organizing Committee reviewing the work of the various commissions on the questionnaire with Lazaro Perez Tapanes, General Coordinator, Regiono Boti of the Economic Commission and Max Figueroa of the Education Commission.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Because of the implicit trust usually accorded statistical studies and the relative ease with which adulterated and biased data can be used to mislead the uninformed, the Havana strategists were able to develop and implement a plan of mass deception, aptly disguised under the name of "sociopolitical survey of Latin America."

That the survey is to be used almost entirely for demagogic purposes is evidenced by the directive that the "scientific criteria on which this exhaustive sociological investigation is predicated, must be of anti-imperialist nature."

Objectivity and fact are of marginal importance, subordinated as they are to hatred of the United States, which is to be the guide for the survey.

The alleged purpose of this survey is to provide data on which to base the resolutions and conclusions of the conclave by projecting a "deep and real knowledge of the continent."

The data thus gathered, it is said, will provide the Cubans with the detailed and sensitive information they need to formulate and execute their strategy for terrorism and subversion in the Hemisphere.

In the words of Jesus Maza, Peruvian delegate to the Organizing Committee, the survey will be "an expression of maturity in the struggle of liberation of the peoples from imperialist domination.

"It will show that the revolutionaries have a scientific understanding of their own realities.

"It is necessary to know the enemy, his methods of penetration, and his political and military techniques."

Because of their determination to impress their Latin American sympathizers with their scientific sophistication, the Cubans have prepared a special 46-page questionnaire, covering a multitude of questions, designed for computer research. Each question is identified by a code number for the preparation of the punch cards necessary for the study.

The questionnaire consists of six main groups of questions, formulated and prepared almost exclusively by Cuban technicians and experts under the direction of Lazaro Perez Tapanes, the project's general coordinator. Obviously, some of these experts were semanticists.

The following general subjects are embraced in the questionnaire:

1. Demographic and geographic.
2. Economic.
3. Political and social.
4. Educational.
5. Ideological and cultural.
6. Public health.

As soon as the formulation and preparation of the questions were completed, the questionnaire was distributed to the National Committees of the 26 participating countries. Copies were sent to 25 international organizations such as the United Nations, UNESCO, and to 197 Latin American institutions. Included were research centers of Europe, Asia, and Africa, conducting studies on Latin America.

Additional copies of the questionnaire were sent to individuals and institutions in the educational and research field which, because of their "progressive" backgrounds, could be trusted to give answers consistent with the anti-American standard of the questions.

A force of more than 1,000 analysts, technicians, and research specialists were mobilized by the Cuban Politburo early in January to work on the project. In addition, every government and Party organization, even remotely considered useful to the effort, was ordered to cooperate. Directives were issued to the Federation of Cuban Women, to the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (neighborhood spy groups), the Cuban Confederation of Workers, the National Association of Small Farmers, and the Federation of University Students not only to furnish the information requested, but to order their members to attend lectures on the project. A total of 52 state agencies and organizations were reported actively engaged in this endeavor.

In order to gain an idea of the commitment of the Party in this project, it would be necessary to consider the fact that the manpower engaged in the survey had to be diverted from the sugarcane harvest at a time most critical to the economy of the country.

Great pressure was exerted on the workers because the survey, begun in January, had to be completed by April 30, 1967. A preliminary meeting to iron out the last obstacles took place on the 24th of April and a final meeting to evaluate the completed work was set for May 4, 1967.

Six commissions were created and each commission was assigned one of the general subjects of the questionnaire. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Prensa Latina News Agency, and the "Casa de las Americas" were designated as centers of information. This fact alone should be sufficient to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that the data resulting from the survey were grossly distorted solely for the purpose of blaming the United States for every ill, real or imaginary, presently afflicting Latin America.

Listed below are the six commissions, their composition, and their general assignments:

(1) DEMOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHIC

Selected as coordinating agency of this commission was the Geographic Institute of the Cuban Academy of Science. Other cooperating organizations are the School of Geography of the University of Havana; the Central Planning Board (Juceplan) Statistics Section; and the Association of Latin America Residents of Cuba.

Its basic work consists of collecting statistical data about every country in Latin America, a total of 44 geographical units.

Where it was difficult to obtain direct data, the United Nations and FAO yearbooks were used in addition to the De Agostini Atlas-Calendar, the Statistical Yearbook, the Little Soviet Encyclopedia and the Lander Handbuecher.

The data, after being uniformly compiled, are transferred to tables of 12 vertical columns and 20 horizontal indexes. A total of 406 tables have been prepared to cover such items as population of different countries by age, sex, etc.

According to the data already compiled by this unit, there is an alarming difference between the number of births and the degree of developments in many Latin American countries. As a result, it is claimed, the gross national product decreases.

An indication of the bias injected into the survey is given by the following article on the work of the Demographic and Geographic Commission, published in the March 25, 1967, issue of "El Mundo" of Havana, Cuba.

On the other hand, certain internationally used manuals show a marked tendency of deliberately distorting important indexes or an absence of information on class environment, an indication that this was done for definite political reasons by imperialism and the forces of reaction.

For instance, the information provided by the United Nations manual appears deliberately diluted for the purpose of covering abnormalities in population growth. Nevertheless, this organization has developed a valuable method (for determining this growth).

The Commission on Geography used the same "exponential" method, based on the formula $[Pt:Po(1+R)t]$ but with the application of different principles, to calculate the real rates of mortality and birth, obtaining thus, with a reasonable margin, the average span of life.

This proves that we can fight imperialism with its own methods, by using them for purposes the United States never meant them to be used: to determine the degree of capitalist exploitation.

(2) ECONOMIC

A team of 70 professors and students in the third and fourth years of the Economic Institute of the University of Havana, has been working

an average of 45 hours a week to compile data necessary for the completion of the survey on the economy of Latin America.

This personnel was divided into six groups which were to conduct research and compile data on the following items of the subject:

- (a) Investments.
- (b) Economic growth.
- (c) Foreign trade.
- (d) Agricultural situation and land distribution.
- (e) Labor.
- (f) Living standards.

The initial research compiled data gleaned from 12 central agencies such as the Central Planning Board (Juceplan), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Trade, the National Bank of Cuba, and the National Library.

The information obtained was transferred into 3,000 tables with an attached summary in the way of an analysis. This was followed by the computation and conversion by computers.

A pre-thesis for every country, based on economic, political, and other factors, consisting of three pages was prepared. In addition, a general index for Latin America as a whole was completed.

The final phase of the project will include the preparation of the thesis and the description of the process of elaboration including ample bibliographical references and methods used.

This commission is presided over by Regino Boti.

(3) POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

Under the direction of Carlos A. Neira, general coordinator of the Political and Social Commission, a group of research analysts has been working in a suite of offices on the seventh floor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to provide data for the subject covered by the questionnaire.

In addition to Neira, the following individuals were identified as members of the commission:

Miguel A. D'Estefano—in charge of the sub-group of Indigenous Population and Social Problems.

Francisco Astray—sub-group of Agrarian structure and Immigration and Tourism.

Arturo Barber—sub-group of Political Regimes and Imperialist Penetration, Church and Class Structure.

Rodolfo Sarracino

Fermin Rodriguez

Luisa Rodriguez Grillo

Marcelino Diaz Pinillo

Armando Chavez

} Foreign Affairs Ministry work team.

This group is assisted by technicians and research workers of different ministries and agencies such as the Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Foreign Trade and Ministry of Transportation.

Party organizations such as the Federation of Cuban Women, Cuban Confederation of Labor, the Federation of University Students and National Association of Small Farmers contributed data and personnel.

The Communist Politburo's directives for assistance to the program extended to groups and organizations entrusted with spreading

Havana's Party line abroad. The Organization of Latin American Students, the Institute of Friendship with Peoples, and the National Institute of Tourism fell in this category.

On the academic side, the School of Juridic and Political Science of the University of Havana and the Cuban Academy of Science provided guidance personnel.

The Committee, according to official Cuban sources, "Conducted an exhaustive analysis on the political and social structure of the peoples of Latin America by deeply probing into the problems of the population."

Special emphasis was placed on the indigenous population, and on the social structure of the American man in general, the status of the woman and the situation of minors.

The investigation was pointed at areas involving problems of delinquency and vice resulting from social environment, the development of labor unions in Latin America, and the migratory movement from the farms to the city.

Paramount rule of the investigation was the premise that the end results should prove the "presence and penetration of imperialism."

One of the most significant aspects of the study was the fact that a special activities group of the Commission constructed a mock-up of a guerrilla camp in the "Camilo Cienfuegos" Hall of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This incident by itself, and without danger of belaboring the point, indicates that the organizers of the Congress intend to exploit to the fullest not only the anti-U.S. propaganda value of the survey, but to avail themselves of another opportunity to sow terror and foment insurrection.

(4) EDUCATIONAL

The Educational Commission is headed by Max Figueroa, assisted by four associates who head the groups compiling data on Latin America and Cuba.

These were identified as:

Gaspar Jorge Gallo	} Latin America
Eduardo Lara	
Hermes Caballero	} Cuba
Alberto Abreu	

Government and Party organizations ordered to contribute information were listed as follows:

- (1) Cuban Academy of Science—data on native affairs.
- (2) National Center of Scientific Investigations—data on the formative process of university professors.
- (3) National Institute of Sports—data on sports.
- (4) Federation of University Students (FEU)—data on autonomy (sic) of universities.
- (5) Institute of Economy, Havana University—data on the Antilles.
- (6) Federation of Cuban Women—woman's education and pre-school centers.
- (7) Ministry of Labor—data on salaries of teaching personnel.
- (8) Cuban Confederation of Labor data on education of workers and technology.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (9) Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. | } National campaigns for Marxist indoctrination. |
| (10) National Association of Small Farmers. | |
| (11) Basic Schools for Revolutionary Education (Marxist indoctrination centers on the elementary level). | |
| (12) Ministry of Education. | } Documentation, investigation, coordination of Latin American education. |
| (13) Institute of Secondary Education. | |
| (14) Cuban Association for U.N. | |
| (15) UNESCO Regional Center. | |
| (16) Ministry of Foreign Affairs. | |

As previously revealed, the main objective of this, like that of the other commissions, was to produce data indicating that education in Communist Cuba has reached unprecedented levels while in Latin American it has remained stagnant, or has declined.

The decline is attributed to "imperialist penetration" in Latin America.

Scholarships and grants by U.S. foundations, in addition to the Peace Corps, are considered the enemies of education in the hemisphere. The efforts of religious educational institutions also drew fire from the Cubans because of their inherent aversion toward Marxism.

A completely different picture is presented by the data supplied by the Cubans on their own educational system.

According to these sources, education in Cuba has improved in quality and quantity, and new ways and types of instruction have been introduced. The participation of women in education and teaching institutions such as polytechnics are held as examples.

This demonstrates, according to the Cubans, the need for a change in the social structure to improve the education and economy of the country.

As evidence, the Cuban researchers gave the following data:

Primary education students.....	1, 232, 236
General secondary education students.....	148, 991
University students.....	26, 336
Technical and professional education.....	40, 540
Labor and farmer education.....	550, 837
Women's basic education.....	23, 796
Labor and agricultural institute.....	4, 204
"Lenin" secondary school for workers (scholarship).....	238
Diversified education.....	4, 378
Scholarships and boarding schools (free).....	103, 934
Elementary school teachers.....	41, 932
High school and university teachers.....	12, 616

Impressive as these figures may appear, they are highly misleading because educational standards in Cuba are the lowest in Latin America when measured by U.S. standards.

What the Cuban regime considers primary education is more than often rudimentary knowledge, stopping at the third grade level.

Most of the teachers in Cuba are high school students forced to spend their vacations teaching in rural schools while the regular teachers perform "voluntary" work in the fields to bolster the sagging economy.

The listed number of university students is grossly inflated because it includes military personnel trained to perform duties requiring universal higher education studies. These include, specifically, the personnel of the missile units of the Cuban Army.

(5) IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL

There are approximately 20 organizations and agencies participating in the compilation of data for this commission. Many of these organizations are also involved in the research efforts of the other commissions, but because of the difference in the subject, will be listed again along with those not previously mentioned. Those listed were:

- (1) Casa de las Americas.
- (2) National Council of Culture (CNC).
- (3) National Library.
- (4) Theatre Guild (Casa del Teatro).
- (5) Union of Cuban Journalists (UPEC).
- (6) Cuban Institute of Motion Pictures (ICAIC).
- (7) Cuban Institute of Broadcasting.
- (8) School of Revolutionary Education (Marxist Indoctrination).
- (9) Cuban Academy of Science.
- (10) Ministry of Education.
- (11) Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- (12) University of Havana.
- (13) University of Las Villas.
- (14) Book Institute (Instituto del Libro).
- (15) Cuban Center of ITI.
- (16) College of Architects.

The Cuban Politburo places special emphasis on the work of this commission because it deals with one of the most vital aspects of the struggle now taking place in Latin America: Propaganda.

There is no doubt that the Cubans are exceptionally conscious of the fact that, in order to increase the effectiveness of their already intensive propaganda, they must also destroy and discredit any source of information that interferes with their objectives.

As in every other field, the enemy to expose and attack is the United States; and it is as clear as a mathematical certainty that, as a result of this survey, the attacks on U.S. information centers and libraries are going to increase considerably.

With what they call "intuition," in the face of an admitted incapability to gather the necessary data, the Cubans level broad accusations of "covert control by the CIA" of every outlet in the communications and cultural field.

Predictably, Ramparts magazine receives considerable praise for its disclosure of official interference by U.S. Government agencies in the activities of student associations.

What is most disturbing to the Havana Communists is the fact that the United States has been able to wage a victorious psychological war in Latin America to the detriment of the Communist propaganda apparatus.

For this reason, the survey "will be a scandalous X-ray of the strategy of the United States in the continent, strategy aimed at neutralizing the movements of national liberation and oriented at breaking the fighting spirit of the masses."

While accusing the United States of covertly subverting Western hemisphere intellectuals, the Politburo writers take no account of their own machinations to prostitute Latin American literary talent.

The most recent example was given by the Second Congress of Latin American writers which took place in Mexico from March 10 to March 24, 1967.

On orders from Havana, 45 Communists and fellow travelers calling themselves writers, met on neutral ground for the sole purpose of denouncing the United States.

The Cuban delegation, composed by Nicolas Guillen, Lisandro Otero, Alejo Carpentier, and Roberto Fernandez Retamár, immediately converted the meeting into a tribune for its collective invectives against the United States. Disgusted, the vice president of the Congress, João Suimaraes Rosa of Brazil, resigned, as did the Mexican, Rodrigo Garcia Treviño, who gave the following reasons for his resignation:

"The Second Congress of Latin American Writers was used by a group of foreign philo-Communists to attack governments who maintain friendly relations with Mexico and to pay homage to Castro communism and the Vietcong terrorists."

"This Congress," he added, "was converted to a continuation of the Tricontinental Conference of Havana."

(6) PUBLIC HEALTH

No information has become available on the work of this commission.

Text of questionnaire

As previously stated, the Organizing Committee distributed the 46-page questionnaire to every national committee of the organization's members.

A brief explanatory note preceded the actual questions, and it is from that note that the following excerpt is taken. It is in itself the key to the whole scheme.

The information that the questionnaire seeks will evidently require the collaboration of experienced technicians and militant revolutionaries. We believe that among the specialists and technicians of Latin America, there are groups with the necessary revolutionary formation to become efficient advisers of every national committee.

Thus, the task of providing data and compiling the information will bring closer to the national committee the most determined and outstanding intellectuals and technicians. This in turn will bring closer in the process of national liberation the intellectuals and the forces represented by the workers, peasants, and students.

Each completed questionnaire was to be sent, not later than the end of April 1967, to:

OLAS, Organizacion Latino Americana de Solidaridad Apartado Postal 6683, Habana, Cuba.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The Conference convoked by the Latin American Organization for Solidarity to take place in Havana in July, 1967, will give the representatives of the people and the revolutionary movements in Latin America an opportunity to strengthen their solidarity and renew for the benefit of world public opinion the accusations against the growing American imperialist domination of Latin America and the complicity of the native oligarchies in this repression.

Therefore, the Organizing Committee points out the need for each National Committee to prepare a report on the real condition of its country.

Although Latin American revolutionaries already have experience that is made more complete every day and an increasingly accurate knowledge of those conditions, the Organizing Committee has thought it useful to help the National Committees by preparing the questionnaire that follows, which duly adjusted to the

real conditions of each country, can serve as a contribution to the preparation of the required national reports.

As will be noticed, the questionnaire has been organized with attention to fundamental aspects common to the Latin American complex of problems: social political problems, economics, education, health, culture, the position of the woman, etc. For each one of these aspects there is a set of questions based on statistics. The object of that part of the questionnaire is to obtain, for the National Committees as well as for the Organizing Committee, the factual basis that is indispensable for all analysis. Nevertheless, it is evident that numerical data cannot in itself express the real and dramatic situation in our countries. The figure for family incomes less than \$500, for example, or those for the number of illiterates or the number of children who drop out of school in the early grades are in themselves significant, but there is no doubt that they require very extensive analysis to reveal their meaning and put it into the picture of national life, comparing it with the way of life of the privileged minorities who have the means for luxuries and easy-spending which presupposes the outward flow of Latin American wealth for the representatives of imperialism.

Taking into account the difficulties (repression, secrecy, etc.) which face the movements in getting good answers to the questionnaire, some information asked for can be found through the indication of bibliographical and documental sources that are worthwhile in the judgment of the National Committees. We believe that on the basis of that information, the report should explain in the most direct, clear and objective way possible the situation of each country. Therefore, the questionnaire in addition to soliciting information that can be expressed quantitatively, contains questions of a more general character.

It becomes evident that the organization of the questionnaire departs from the class focus as well as from an anti-imperialist view. The Organizing Committee believes that all the National Committees will agree that a complete and accurate knowledge of the class structure of every one of our national societies is increasingly necessary. For that reason, the questionnaire attempts in each case to show the differences of the distinct classes and groups in respect to property, education, enjoyment of cultural opportunities and the means to combat illness, etc.

Here also, of course, it will be necessary that the quantitative expression of social differences be inserted within a sociological analysis that defines not only in what way those quantitative differences contribute to class differentiation but also at the same time makes clear the attitude that, motivated by the social economic basis, each one of the classes and class sectors has with respect to the process of the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation. In that description the relationship between the different social groups and component classes of the oligarchy and the imperialism that uses and supports them will become more evident.

As we have said, in preparing this questionnaire the Organizing Committee wanted to point out important problems to help in the perfection of the report concerning the real condition of each Latin American country, without trying to make an absolute model. There are considerable differences among Latin American countries, both in relation to the degree of economic underdevelopment and in the composition of the distinct classes and sectors. It is understood that each National Committee should emphasize in its report those particular aspects, adding to the questionnaire in the areas where it is remiss, according to the real condition of the country.

It will be possible to obtain the statistical data required in many cases by means of the official reports of competent national and international organisms. It is almost unnecessary to warn, nevertheless, that a good part of that information is distorted, sometimes deliberately and other times by the form in which the information is collected. One of the duties of the National Committees will consist of finding, and in this case, denouncing the falseness of the statistics provided by the governments.

It will also be advisable for the National Committees to find and point out the differences that exist between the rights of citizens as granted by law and in practice in their reports. As an example of those differences we point to the case of social security which is only enjoyed by a minimum portion of the citizens to whom the laws formally offer benefits.

The information that the questionnaire calls for will demand, evidently, the collaboration of experienced technicians and revolutionary militants. We believe that among the circles of specialists and technicians in Latin America, there already are groups with the necessary revolutionary conscience to be converted into efficient collaborators of each National Committee. In this way the task of supply-

ing data and working out the reports will serve to group the firmest and most outstanding representatives of the intellectuality and technology around the National Committee of each country, permitting those groups to be linked more and more with the process of national liberation and with the forces represented by the workers, peasants, and students.

In spite of how difficult it is to carry out that task, the Organizing Committee hopes that in the earlier reports of the National Committees, which should come in, in April '67, the fundamental aspects set forth in the questionnaire will be studied.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS

1.1. Population

- 1.1.1. National total.
- 1.1.2. Totals (urban and rural) by sex, age and geographic areas.
- 1.1.3. Distribution by regions, states, departments or provinces (totals).
- 1.1.4. Distribution of urban population, by number of inhabitants:
 - 1.1.4.1. Populations of more than 1,000,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.2. Populations between 1,000,000 and 500,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.3. Populations between 499,999 and 200,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.4. Populations between 199,999 and 100,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.5. Populations between 99,999 and 50,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.6. Populations between 49,999 and 20,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.7. Populations between 19,999 and 5,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.8. Populations between 4,999 and 1,000 inhabitants.
 - 1.1.4.9. Populations less than 1,000 inhabitants.
- 1.1.5. Population according to ethnic groups and nationalities:
 - 1.1.5.1. Indigenous (urban, rural and by regions, departments, states or provinces).
 - 1.1.5.2. Data on *mestizos* and their varying composition. (Urban and rural distribution and by departments, regions, states or provinces).
- 1.1.6. Number of families. Average number of members of family group, with figures at the national level, urban and rural, and by departments, regions, states or provinces.
- 1.1.7. *Birth rate and annual population growth.*
- 1.1.8. Life expectancy at birth.
 - 1.1.8.1. National average.
 - 1.1.8.2. By social classes.
 - 1.1.8.3. Urban and rural.

1.2. National Territory

- 1.2.1. Area and limits.

2. ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

1. Investments

- 2.1.1. Amount of investments made annually, (data for the last 15 years).
 - 2.1.1.1. Total:
 - 2.1.1.1.1. State.
 - 2.1.1.1.2. Private.
 - 2.1.1.1.2.1. National.
 - 2.1.1.1.2.2. Foreign (total).
 - 2.1.1.1.2.3. U.S.
 - 2.1.1.1.3. Mixed.
 - 2.1.1.1.3.1. State and national private.
 - 2.1.1.1.3.2. State and foreign private.
 - 2.1.1.1.3.2.1. Private state and U.S. [sic].
 - 2.1.1.1.3.4. Others.
- 2.1.2. Destination of the investments made annually, (data for the last 15 years).
 - 2.1.2.1. Agriculture.
 - 2.1.2.2. Mining.
 - 2.1.2.3. Basic Industry.
 - 2.1.2.4. Light Industry.
 - 2.1.2.5. Services.
 - 2.1.2.5.1. Electricity.
 - 2.1.2.5.2. Telephones.
 - 2.1.2.5.3. Transportation.
 - 2.1.2.5.4. Commerce.
 - 2.1.2.5.5. Others.

NOTE.—The investments in each sector should be classified in the form shown under heading 1.1., giving particular attention to the U.S. ones.

- 2.1.3. Amount of total investment by sectors (in 1965 or the most recent year).
 - 2.1.3.1. Agriculture.
 - 2.1.3.2. Mining.
 - 2.1.3.3. Basic Industry
 - 2.1.3.4. Light Industry.
 - 2.1.3.5. Services.
 - 2.1.3.5.1. Electricity.
 - 2.1.3.5.2. Telephones.
 - 2.1.3.5.3. Transportation.
 - 2.1.3.5.4. Commerce.
 - 2.1.3.5.5. Others.

NOTE.—The investments in each section should be classified in the form shown under heading 1.1., giving particular attention to the U.S. ones.

- 2.1.4. Branches in which U.S. investments predominate, with specification of percentage that they control.
- 2.1.5. Annual earnings of foreign investments (data from the last 15 years).
 - 2.1.5.1. Profits obtained.
 - 2.1.5.1.1. Total
 - 2.1.5.1.1.1. U.S.
 - 2.1.5.2. Profits taken out of the country.
 - 2.1.5.2.1. Total.
 - 2.1.5.2.1.1. U.S.
 - 2.1.5.3. Profits reinvested in the country.
 - 2.1.5.3.1. Total.
 - 2.1.5.3.1.1. U.S.
 - 2.1.5.4. Indicate if there is a special rate of exchange to make the remittances or if these are made through the free exchange market.

2.2. Foreign Loans and External Debts

- 2.2.1. Loans from U.S. or U.S.-controlled banks and institutions (data of the last 15 years).
 - 2.2.1.1. Loans from the Inter-American Development Bank to:
 - 2.2.1.1.1. State institutions, enterprises or banks.
 - 2.2.1.1.2. Private enterprises.
 - 2.2.1.1.2.1. National.
 - 2.2.1.1.2.2. Foreign.
 - 2.2.1.1.2.2.1. U.S.
 - 2.2.1.1.3. Enterprises with mixed capital.
 - 2.2.1.1.3.1. State and national private.
 - 2.2.1.1.3.2. State and foreign private.
 - 2.2.1.1.3.2.1. State and U.S. private.
 - 2.2.1.1.3.3. National and foreign private.
 - 2.2.1.2. Loans from the U.S. Department of the Treasury.
 - 2.2.1.3. Loans from the Export and Import Bank (EXIMBANK).
 - 2.2.1.4. Loans from the International Reconstruction and Development Bank (IRDB).
 - 2.2.1.5. Loans from the International Monetary Fund.
 - 2.2.1.6. Loans from the International Development Agency.
- 2.2.2. Other foreign loans (classified in the form shown under heading 2.1.1.).
- 2.2.3. Amount of the foreign debt (1965 or the most recent year).
 - 2.2.3.1. With the U.S.
- 2.2.4. Amortization and payment of interests on the foreign debt (data from the last 15 years).
 - 2.2.4.1. Sum total for annual interest payments.
 - 2.2.4.1.1. Amount of payments to the U.S.
 - 2.2.4.2. Total amount of annual amortization payments.
 - 2.2.4.2.1. Sum of the payments to the U.S.
 - 2.2.4.3. Annual interest payments for the period 1966–1975.
 - 2.2.4.3.1. Total.
 - 2.2.4.3.1.1. To the U.S.
 - 2.2.4.4. Annual amortization payments for the Period 1966–1975.
 - 2.2.4.4.1. Total.
 - 2.2.4.4.1.1. To the U.S.

2.3. Economic Growth and Production Structure

2.3.1. Growth of the gross product and national income in the last 15 years, at constant prices.

2.3.2. Gross product by sections and branches at constant prices (data from the last 15 years).

2.3.2.1. Agriculture.

2.3.2.1.1. Agriculture.

2.3.2.1.2. Stock-raising.

2.3.2.1.3. Forestry.

2.3.2.2. Mining.

2.3.2.3. Industry.

2.3.2.3.1. Basic.

2.3.2.3.1.1. Metallurgical and Mechanical.

2.3.2.3.1.2. Chemical.

2.3.2.3.1.3. Others.

2.3.2.3.2. Light.

2.3.2.3.2.1. Food.

2.3.2.3.2.2. Others.

2.3.2.4. Construction.

2.3.3. Production of electrical energy (data from the last 15 years).

2.3.4. Production of crude oil (data for the last 15 years).

2.3.5. Coal production (data from the last 15 years).

NOTE.—Enumeration by branches should be made according to the characteristics of each country.

2.4. Distribution of the National Income

2.4.1. Annual national income.

2.4.1.1. Profits of enterprises.

2.4.1.2. Interests received by stockholders.

2.4.1.3. Incomes of industrial workers.

2.4.1.4. Incomes of agricultural workers.

2.4.1.5. Incomes for other non-peasant workers.

2.4.1.6. Incomes of peasants.

2.5. Distribution of National Income per Person

2.5.1. Incomes less than \$550 annually.

2.5.1.1. Number of persons.

2.5.1.2. Per cent of the total population.

2.5.2. Incomes less than \$1,000 annually.

2.5.2.1. Number of persons.

2.5.2.2. Per cent of the total population.

2.5.3. Incomes between \$1,000 and \$2,400 annually.

2.5.3.1. Number of persons.

2.5.3.2. Per cent of the total population.

2.5.4. Incomes between \$2,400 and \$5,000 annually.

2.5.4.1. Number of persons.

2.5.4.2. Per cent of the total population.

2.5.5. Incomes higher than \$5,000 annually.

NOTE.—If there are statistics for the distribution of income measured in amounts slightly different from those mentioned in the survey, they can be used.

2.6. Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments

2.6.1. Value of exports.

2.6.1.1. Total.

2.6.1.1.1. Minerals.

2.6.1.1.1.1. In raw form.

2.6.1.1.1.2. Semi-processed.

2.6.1.1.2. Agricultural.

2.6.1.1.3. Industrial.

2.6.2. Value and physical volume of the principal exports.

2.6.3. Value of exports to:

2.6.3.1. The United States.

2.6.3.2. Principal country (except the U.S.)

2.6.3.3. Latin America (except Cuba).

2.6.3.4. Socialist Countries (except Cuba).

2.6.3.5. Cuba.

2.6.3.6. Other countries.

- 2.6.4. Value of imports.
 - 2.6.4.1. Total.
 - 2.6.4.1.1. Food.
 - 2.6.4.1.2. Combustibles.
 - 2.6.4.1.3. Raw materials or intermediate goods.
 - 2.6.4.1.4. Finished consumer goods.
 - 2.6.4.1.4.1. Luxury consumer goods.
 - 2.6.4.1.5. Machinery and equipment.
- 2.6.5. Value of imports coming from:
 - 2.6.5.1. The U.S.
 - 2.6.5.2. Principal country (except the U.S.)
 - 2.6.5.3. Latin America (except Cuba).
 - 2.6.5.4. Socialist Countries (except Cuba).
 - 2.6.5.5. Cuba.
 - 2.6.5.6. Other countries.
- 2.6.6. Index of the rate of exchange.

NOTE.—The data referred to under this heading (Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments) should cover the last 15 years. The value of exports should be given in dollars. However, if it is not possible to obtain that information, it is all right to report in every case the prices of principal export products compared to the prices of principal import products.

2.6.7. For export products that compete with U.S. products, whose exportation is subsidized by the U.S. government, indicate for each product the value and physical volume exported in 1965 or the most recent year possible.

2.6.8. Products whose exportation is limited by some of the following restrictions on international trade imposed by the U.S. government:

- 2.6.8.1. Tariffs.
- 2.6.8.2. Import quotas.
- 2.6.8.3. Prohibition on sales to socialist countries because of dealing with so-called "strategic materials".
- 2.6.8.4. Unjustified sanitary regulations.
- 2.6.8.5. "Dumping" on the international market of materials of the so-called "strategic reserve" of the U.S. government.
- 2.6.8.6. Subsidized production for the domestic U.S. market.
- 2.6.8.7. Others.

NOTE.—Show the value and physical volume exported in 1965 for each product subject to the preceding restrictions as well as the specific restriction to which it is submitted.

2.7. *Balance of Payments*

- 2.7.1. Total balance of payments and that with the U.S. in the last 15 years.
- 2.7.2. Royalty, patent, or similar payments to foreign enterprises.
 - 2.7.2.1. Payments to U.S. enterprises.
- 2.7.3. Annual monetary donations by U.S. government and private entities. (foundations, organizations, CARITAS, CARE, etc.)
 - 2.7.3.1. Organizations or concerns benefited by the donations.
 - 2.7.3.1.1. Public.
 - 2.7.3.1.2. Private.
- 2.7.4. Value and quantity of foods (wheat, corn, milk, etc.), received from the U.S. under "special conditions".
 - 2.7.4.1. Destination of funds obtained under those conditions.
 - 2.7.4.2. Form of domestic distribution of those foods.
 - 2.7.4.3. Effect on domestic production of foods.
- 2.7.5. Freight prepaid on foreign ships for the exports and tons transported.
 - 2.7.5.1. To U.S. ships.
- 2.7.6. Freight prepaid on foreign ships for imports and tons transported.
 - 2.7.6.1. To U.S. ships.

2.8. *Agricultural Situation*

- 2.8.1. Total quantity of land (number of hectares)[one acre = 0.405 hectares].
 - 2.8.1.1. Forested lands.
 - 2.8.1.2. Agricultural lands.
 - 2.8.1.2.1. Natural pasturelands.
 - 2.8.1.2.2. Cultivated pasturelands.
- 2.8.2. Estimated number of tractors of about 15 HP.
- 2.8.3. Hectares under tractor cultivation.
- 2.8.4. Availability of fertilizers.

- 2.8.5. Quantity of fertilizers by cultivated hectare. Number of hectares.
- 2.8.6. Distribution of the land (I).
 - 2.8.6.1. Landholders.
 - 2.8.6.1.1. National.
 - 2.8.6.1.1.1. Individuals.
 - 2.8.6.1.1.2. Enterprises.
 - 2.8.6.1.2. Foreign.
 - 2.8.6.1.2.1. U.S. enterprises.
 - 2.8.6.1.2.2. Others.
 - 2.8.6.1.3. State lands.
 - 2.8.6.2. Tenants.
 - 2.8.6.3. Sharecroppers.
 - 2.8.6.4. Untitled occupants.
 - 2.8.6.5. Other forms of tenancy.
- 2.9. *Distribution of the Land (II).—Number of Farms: Total Number of Hectares*
 - 2.9.1. Up to 5 hectares.
 - 2.9.2. More than 5 up to 25 hectares.
 - 2.9.3. More than 25 up to 50 hectares.
 - 2.9.4. More than 50 up to 200 hectares.
 - 2.9.5. More than 200 up to 400 hectares.
 - 2.9.6. More than 400 up to 1,000 hectares.
 - 2.9.7. More than 1,000 up to 2,500 hectares.
 - 2.9.8. More than 2,500 up to 5,000 hectares.
 - 2.9.9. More than 5,000 up to 10,000 hectares.
 - 2.9.10. More than 10,000 hectares.
- 2.10. *Occupation*
 - 2.10.1 Working force available.

NOTE.—The available working force is composed of persons between 15 and 60 years of age, excepting disabled, students and housewives.
 - 2.10.2. Number of persons permanently employed (total).
 - 2.10.2.1. In agriculture.
 - 2.10.2.2. In industry.
 - 2.10.2.3. In the export section.
 - 2.10.2.3.1. Agricultural.
 - 2.10.2.3.2. Industrial.
 - 2.10.2.3.3. Mining.
 - 2.10.3. Number of persons temporarily employed.
 - 2.10.3.1. Time of unemployment.
 - 2.10.4. Number of persons permanently unemployed.
 - 2.10.4.1. In the exporter section.
- 2.11. *Workers Wages*
 - 2.11.1. Number of salaried employees.
 - 2.11.1.1. Wage earners receiving less than \$600 a year.
 - 2.11.1.2. Wage earners receiving between \$600 and \$1,200 a year.
 - 2.11.1.3. Wage earners receiving between \$1,200 and \$2,400 a year.
 - 2.11.1.4. Wage earners receiving more than \$2,400 a year.
 - 2.11.2. Average national salary.
 - 2.11.3. Average salary paid in the exporter section.
 - 2.11.4. Average salary paid by the principal U.S. companies.
- 2.12. *Social Security*
 - 2.12.1. Number of workers included in the Social Security System.
 - 2.12.1.1. Productive workers (distinguish between agricultural and non-agricultural).
 - 2.12.1.2. Non-productive workers.
 - 2.12.1.2.1. Public employees.
 - 2.12.1.2.2. Private employees.
 - 2.12.1.2.3. Domestic servants.
 - 2.12.1.2.4. Other services.
 - 2.12.2. Average amount per capita of Social Security benefits (not pensions).
 - 2.12.3. Number of persons who *really* receive benefits from Social Security during one year.
 - 2.12.4. Number of retired and pensioned.
 - 2.12.4.1. Workers.

- 2.12.4.2. Non-productive workers (employees, servants, etc.)
 - 2.12.4.3. Average monthly benefits paid to retired and pensioned.
 - 2.12.4.3.1. National average.
 - 2.12.4.3.2. Average to workers.
 - 2.12.4.3.3. Average to non-productive workers.
 - 2.12.5. Enumerate the benefits that workers receive, with specification of the amount.
- 2.13. Number of Existing Banks*
- 2.13.1. State (except for the Central Bank).
 - 2.13.2. Private.
 - 2.13.2.1. National.
 - 2.13.2.2. Foreign.
 - 2.13.2.2.1. U.S.
 - 2.13.3. Private deposits (total).
 - 2.13.3.1. In state banks.
 - 2.13.3.2. In private banks.
 - 2.13.3.2.1. National.
 - 2.13.3.2.2. Foreign.
 - 2.13.3.2.2.1. U.S.
 - 2.13.4. Loans from state banks (total).
 - 2.13.4.1. To private enterprises.
 - 2.13.4.1.1. National.
 - 2.13.4.1.2. Foreign.
 - 2.13.4.1.2.1. U.S.
 - 2.13.4.1.3. Mixed.
 - 2.13.4.1.3.1. From national and foreign private capital.
 - 2.13.4.1.3.1.1. National and U.S. private.
 - 2.13.4.1.3.2. State and foreign private.
 - 2.13.4.1.3.2.1. State and private U.S.
 - 2.13.5. Give the same information asked for in the previous paragraph (2.13.4.) for national private banks, private foreign banks, and private U.S. banks.
 - 2.13.6. Give the same information asked for under this heading (2.13. to 2.13.4.), for enterprises, corporations or finance companies, as well as for insurance companies, providing in the latter case, insurance payments instead of deposits.
- 2.14. Classification of the Work Force—Number of Workers*
- 2.14.1. Not classified.
 - 2.14.2. Classified workers.
 - 2.14.3. Technicians on a middle level.
 - 2.14.4. Technicians on a high level.
 - 2.14.5. Engineers and others.
- 2.15. Standard of Living*
- 2.15.1. Increase in the cost of living (for workers).
 - 2.15.1.1. Food price index for the last 10 years.
 - 2.15.1.2. Clothing price index for the last 10 years.
 - 2.15.1.3. Housing price index for the last years.
 - 2.15.2. Minimum family budget (in national currency and in buying power compared to the dollar).
 - 2.15.2.1. Number of families with incomes less than the family minimum.
 - 2.15.2.2. Food consumption. National index and composition of the popular diet in meat, tubers, milk, eggs, and cereals.
 - 2.15.2.3. Consumption of leather shoes (by pairs) and cloth (by sq. meter).
 - 2.15.2.4. Different indexes for the estimation of the housing situation and the habitational deficit.

3. QUESTIONS FOR THE SOCIAL POLITICAL SECTION

3.1. Political Regime and Imperialist Infiltration

3.1.1. Composition of the government, from the point of view of the class placement and ties of its members. This composition and these ties will be determined:

- 3.1.1.1. Enumerating the members of the following organizations of public power: Presidency of the Republic, Cabinet, or Ministers' Council, Legislative Power or Organization (without including local legislative bodies when they exist) and State, Provincial, or Departmental Governors.
- 3.1.1.2. Placing said members within the following categories: latifundista [large landholder], farmer (large, middle-size, or small), agricultural

- worker (man or woman), businessman (importer or exporter, big, middle-size, or small), industrial (big, middle-size, or small), stockholder, banker, professional lawyer (for national or foreign enterprise, large, medium, or small), union leader, worker (man or woman), military person (officer, class, soldier), public employee, housewife, ecclesiastic.
- 3.1.2. What guarantees and concrete facilities are offered to the majority classes of society (workers and peasants) for the effective exercise of the following fundamental rights?
- 3.1.2.1. Personal security and inviolability of domicile.
 - 3.1.2.2. Freedom of thought.
 - 3.1.2.3. Meeting.
 - 3.1.2.4. Demonstration.
 - 3.1.2.5. Association.
 - 3.1.2.6. Freedom of conscience.
 - 3.1.2.7. What restrictions oppose that exercise?
- 3.1.3. Are there safeguards for the exercise of universal, direct suffrage and if there are, for what office?
- 3.1.3.1. What percent of the population is represented by those excluded from the exercise of suffrage, to what social sections do they belong and what are the causes for their exclusion?
- 3.1.4. What is the woman's participation in the political life of the country?
- 3.1.4.1. How many women's organizations exist, what is their composition, international connection, and what are the tasks that they undertake?
- 3.1.5. What parties take part in the political life of the country and what interests do they represent?
- 3.1.5.1. It is particularly important to place the members of the national leadership of the parties within the social categories enumerated for part 3.1.1.
- 3.1.6. Are women integrated into the existing political parties?
- 3.1.6.1. What parties have woman sections?
 - 3.1.6.2. In what percentage of positions can women participate?
- 3.1.7. What are the sections of the bourgeoisie whose specific interests are related to imperialist infiltration and to what activities of production do those sectors belong?
- 3.1.7.1. What relative importance do the independent enterprisers not associated with imperialism have in the national economy?
 - 3.1.7.2. How many enterprises are included in this case and what is the volume of their production?
- 3.1.8. Is there legislation concerning foreign investments and how is it carried out?
- 3.1.8.1. What agreements exist with the United States to regulate U.S. investments in the country?
 - 3.1.8.2. What treatment do U.S. investments receive in the activities or branches related to the Central American Common Market and the LAFTA?
 - 3.1.8.3. What investments have the Americans made in those activities or branches during the last five years? (Break down the amount in each specific case).
- 3.1.9. How do the armed forces and other repressive instruments operate within the State power agencies and in relation to the social political process of the country?
- 3.1.10. Are there international, bilateral or multilateral agreements for military or police co-operation?
- 3.1.11. In what areas and through what organizations of the country does the so-called "peace corps" operate?
- 3.1.12. How do the following international organizations fit into the national scene?:
- 3.1.12.1. OAS.
 - 3.1.12.2. Inter-American Defense Council.
 - 3.1.12.3. Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress (ICAP).
 - 3.1.12.4. International Monetary Fund.
 - 3.1.12.5. Inter-American Development Bank.
 - 3.1.12.6. Pan American Sanitary Office.
 - 3.1.12.7. International Reconstruction and Development Bank (IRDB).
 - 3.1.12.8. Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA).

- 3.1.12.9. Central American Common Market.
- 3.1.12.10. Inter-American Press Society (IPS).
- 3.1.12.11. Inter-American Regional Workers Organization (IRWO).
- 3.1.12.12. Others belonging to the so-called "Inter-American System".
- 3.1.13. Border conflicts.
 - 3.1.13.1. Countries and regions.
 - 3.1.13.2. Origins.
- 3.1.14. Are those conflicts connected to certain national interests?
- 3.1.15. What intervention is there from the imperialist nations—and especially the U.S—in those conflicts?

3.2. *Class Organization*

- 3.2.1. Does the union movement have freedom, particularly in the election of its leaders?
 - 3.2.1.1. Are there controlled unions?
 - 3.2.1.2. Who are the divisionist agents in the union movement and how do they operate?
- 3.2.2. Can the organized labor movement participate in an effective form in the national political life and express itself freely in relation to the events of a continental and world order?
 - 3.2.2.1. What organized sectors of the labor class have won the right, both in relation to their effective participation in national politics and to their free expression relative to continental or world events?
 - 3.2.2.2. What effective social victories has the organized labor class won?
 - 3.2.2.2.1. What sectors of the organized labor movement have they benefited practically?
 - 3.2.2.2.2. What proportion of the national labor movement do they represent?
 - 3.2.2.3. How has the strike been developed, as an effective tool for action, in the last 10 years?
 - 3.2.2.3.1. What is the percentage of workers in the organized labor movement that have participated in those strikes?

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- 3.2.2.3.2. What have been the principal economic demands?
- 3.2.2.4. Has the organized labor movement carried out shutdowns of a political character?
 - 3.2.2.4.1. Have these been promoted by demands because of interest for the class or in solidarity with student and professional sectors?
 - 3.2.2.4.2. What sectors of the labor movement have taken part in those struggles?
 - 3.2.2.4.3. What have the character and objectives of those movements been?
- 3.2.2.5. What has the concrete position of the different political currents been—not the programmatic or declared one—concerning the actions of the organized labor movements?
- 3.2.3. What is the participation of the working woman in the unions?
 - 3.2.3.1. What are the principal demands of each sector?
 - 3.2.3.2. What percentage of workers hold positions of leadership?
 - 3.2.3.3. What are the unions with the greatest number of working women?
- 3.2.4. Are there peasant organizations and what are they like?
 - 3.2.4.1. Do the peasants receive, according to the law, the same rights as the urban labor class or not at all?

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- 3.2.4.2. Can it exercise them effectively?
- 3.2.5. In what measure do the agricultural workers participate in the social political movements of the country?
- 3.2.6. In what measure does the woman take part in the peasant organizations?
- 3.2.7. Is there salaried women's work in the country?
 - 3.2.7.1. What are the work conditions for the peasant woman?
 - 3.2.7.2. Does she receive wages as a worker or is her work added to that of the man?
 - 3.2.7.3. Does she participate in economic and political struggles and the national liberation movements?
- 3.2.8. What are the principal university and secondary school student organizations?

- 3.2.8.1. What part have they taken and do they take in the popular struggle and that for national liberation?
- 3.2.8.2. How have they been and how are the student movements repressed?
- 3.2.9. What part has the woman taken in the student organizations?
 - 3.2.9.1. What percentage of positions does she hold?
- 3.2.10. What are the class organizations, of a national character, that group the native industrial bourgeoisie together?
 - 3.2.10.1. Which are connected with the big and which with the small industries?
 - 3.2.10.2. What program do they have and what activities do they undertake?
 - 3.2.10.3. Do foreign enterprisers take part in the organizations of the big industrialists?
- 3.2.11. What are the class organizations, of a national character, that group the commercial importer bourgeoisie together?
 - 3.2.11.1. Which are connected to the big and which to the small commercial importers?
 - 3.2.11.2. What program do they have and what activities do they carry out?
 - 3.2.11.3. Do foreign enterprisers take part in the organizations of the big commercial importers?
- 3.2.12. Do national organizations of agricultural landholders, big or small, exist?
 - 3.2.12.1. What is their program?
 - 3.2.12.2. What part do they take in the social political movements of the country?
- 3.2.13. Are there class organizations of the non-Wage-earning social sectors of the country?

3.3. *Indigenous Population*

- 3.3.1. Is there an indigenous population and, in that case, in what proportion?
 - 3.3.1.1. What is its economic and cultural importance?
 - 3.3.1.2. Is it the object of special forms of discrimination and exploitation?
 - 3.3.1.3. What work does the indigenous woman do and how is that work used?
- 3.3.2. Is there some government policy in respect to the indigenous population?
 - 3.3.2.1. Does that policy contribute to liquidating the forms of exploitation of the indigenous population?
- 3.3.3. Is there an Indigenous Institute affiliated to the Inter-American Indigenous Institute?
 - 3.3.3.1. What are its contributions to liquidating the forms of exploitation of the indigenous population?
- 3.3.4. Do foreign institutions or foundations take part in plans for ethnographic, archeological, and other types of research?
- 3.3.5. What other means of infiltration and espionage does imperialism use under the guise of indigenous research?

3.4. *Agrarian Structure*

- 3.4.1. What is the relation between social property and land tenancy?
- 3.4.2. How much land do foreign enterprises and international congregations, orders, institutions, and other organizations hold?
- 3.4.3. What is the predominant system or systems for land development?
 - 3.4.3.1. Concretely, what are the non-capitalist forms of development?
- 3.4.4. What is the government policy in relation to the *latifundio* and the forms of land development, capitalist and non-capitalist?
- 3.4.5. Are there laws or a law about the agrarian structure?
 - 3.4.5.1. To what interests does the agrarian legislation correspond and whom does it favor?
 - 3.4.5.2. How much land has been expropriated from the big landholders, individual or enterprises, national or foreign?
 - 3.4.5.3. How much land has been redistributed and how many peasant families have benefited by that redistribution?
- 3.4.6. Has there been any unsuccessful attempt at agrarian reform?
 - 3.4.6.1. What were its economic and social goals?
 - 3.4.6.2. What interests and classes made it fail?

3.5. *Social Problems*

- 3.5.1. What is the civil condition of the woman?
 - 3.5.1.1. Does divorce exist?
 - 3.5.1.2. Who exercises parental authority over the children?

- 3.5.1.3. What is the condition of the unwed mother?
- 3.5.1.4. Is there full equality of civil rights between the woman and the man?
 - 3.5.1.4.1. In what aspects is the civil capacity of the woman limited?
- 3.5.2. What is the working condition of the woman?
 - 3.5.2.1. What opportunities does she have for access to work?
 - 3.5.2.2. Is there inequality in salaries for men and women?
- 3.5.3. What effective protection, not only written does the working woman receive as far as maternity, equal wages, special working hours for nursing children, retirement, etc?
- 3.5.4. Does the woman have access to technical and professional training?
- 3.5.5. What is the percentage of domestic workers?
 - 3.5.5.1. What are the conditions for meals, schedule, etc. under which that work is carried out?
 - 3.5.5.2. What wages do they receive?
- 3.5.6. What is the penitentiary system in force?
 - 3.5.6.1. Are there rehabilitation systems for common prisoners?
 - 3.5.6.2. Is there a penal policy?
 - 3.5.6.3. Are political prisoners tortured?
- 3.5.7. What are the living conditions for women prisoners?
 - 3.5.7.1. Are the common prisoners separated from the political prisoners?
 - 3.5.7.2. Are the political prisoners tortured?
- 3.5.8. What is the index for delinquency?
 - 3.5.8.1. What are the most frequent offenses?
 - 3.5.8.2. What are the economic social causes for those offenses?
- 3.5.9. What magnitude does juvenile delinquency have?
 - 3.5.9.1. What are the most frequent offenses among young people?
 - 3.5.9.2. What are the causes for juvenile delinquency?
- 3.5.10. What other sources contribute to intensifying juvenile delinquency besides the gangster films, radio and TV programs, comics, and other forms of propagation for perversion and violence, produced and diffused by U.S. imperialism?
- 3.5.11. What is the index for prostitution, alcoholism, homosexuality, toxicomania, gambling and other vices and similar phenomena resulting from the social structure?
- 3.5.12. Is prostitution legal or illegal?
 - 3.5.12.1. What is the social origin of the prostitute?
 - 3.5.12.2. In what parts of the country is there a greater concentration of prostitutes?
- 3.5.13. In what way are infants protected, morally and physically?
 - 3.5.13.1. What is the situation of the illegitimate child?
 - 3.5.13.2. Are there institutons for the care of children of working mothers?
 - 3.5.13.3. Do orphans, retarded children, disabled, and the children of prostitutes and delinquent women receive some special protection?
- 3.5.14. What system is applied in respect to delinquent minors?
- 3.5.15. What type of begging is there? How much?
 - 3.5.15.1. Are children used as beggars?
- 3.5.16. Is there public charity?
 - 3.5.16.1. In what sectors is it active?
 - 3.5.16.2. Under whose charge is it?
- 3.5.17. To what degree are scientific methods applied to intensify the development of humane work?
 - 3.5.17.1. What are the effects of those methods as far as the physical and moral degradation of the worker is concerned?
- 3.5.18. How is the work of minors exploited?

3.6. *Migration and Tourism*

- 3.6.1. Is there a heavy migration from the country to the city?
 - 3.6.1.1. For what reason?
 - 3.6.1.2. What are its economic social effects?
- 3.6.2. Is there an emigration of workers to other countries?
 - 3.6.2.1. For what reason?
 - 3.6.2.2. Do the emigrant workers enjoy the same status as the native workers of the country where they go?
- 3.6.3. Is there a heavy immigration movement?
 - 3.6.3.1. Of what origin? U.S.? Other?
 - 3.6.3.2. Where do they prefer to channel themselves?
- 3.6.4. In what measure does income from tourism signify, because of its volume, an indirect element of imperialist political pressure?

3.7. The Churches

- 3.7.1. Is the Church separated from the State?
- 3.7.2. What churches with a see in the United States are influential in the country?
- 3.7.3. What is the total of state subsidies received by the churches?
- 3.7.4. What societies, associations, establishments, enterprises, foundations, etc., have relations with, depend on, or are controlled by the churches?

4. QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION

4.1. Primary Education

- 4.1.1. Educational organization, objectives and purposes, number of grades and years that are covered, including pre-school education.
- 4.1.2. Population of 6 to 12 year-olds: total, by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.1.3. Matriculation for 6 to 12 year-olds: total, by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.1.4. Total matriculation: urban and rural, by sex.
 - 4.1.4.1. From 1st to sixth grade.
 - 4.1.4.2. Pre-school.
- 4.1.5. Number of classrooms functioning: total, urban and rural.
- 4.1.6. Number of schools functioning: total, urban and rural.
- 4.1.7. Number of active teachers: total, urban and rural and by sex.
- 4.1.8. Graduates from the sixth grade annually: total, by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.1.9. Data for absence, actual attendance, average attendance, by sex, urban and rural. (This can be estimated from data collected from at least 20 schools in each case).

4.2. Teacher Training

- 4.2.1. How are teachers trained? Educational organization.
- 4.2.2. Matriculation: total by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.2.3. Salary scale for primary school teachers.
- 4.2.4. Are they organized in unions, schools or other organizations and, in that case, do they have some type of international affiliation?
- 4.2.5. Number of schools: total urban and rural.
- 4.2.6. Number of graduates annually.
- 4.2.7. Number of professors: total and by sex.

4.3. Public and Private Teaching

- 4.3.1. Public teaching:
 - 4.3.1.1. Compulsory.
 - 4.3.1.2. Free. Range:
 - 4.3.1.2.1. Free matriculation.
 - 4.3.1.2.2. Free books.
- 4.3.2. Matriculation in the public schools: total, by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.3.3. Is there co-education or separation of the sexes?
- 4.3.4. Private Education. Registration for attendance at private schools: total, by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.3.5. National private schools (national proprietors not belonging to international or foreign organizations, religious or otherwise). Number of schools and students who attend.
- 4.3.6. Number of private schools that are the property of foreigners not belonging to international or foreign organizations, religious or otherwise. Number of students who attend. (A brief description of each one should be given, specifying countries of origin and principal influence that they exert.)
- 4.3.7. National organization private schools.
 - 4.3.7.1. Religious.
 - 4.3.7.1.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.3.7.1.2. Registered students.
 - 4.3.7.1.3. Number of teachers.
 - 4.3.7.2. Non-religious.
 - 4.3.7.2.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.3.7.2.2. Registered students.
 - 4.3.7.2.3. Number of teachers.
- 4.3.8. Private schools belonging to international or foreign organizations. (A brief description of each one should be given, specifying countries or origin and principal influence that they exert.)
 - 4.3.8.1. Religious.
 - 4.3.8.1.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.3.8.1.2. Registered students.
 - 4.3.8.1.3. Number of teachers.

- 4.3.8.2. Non-religious.
 - 4.3.8.2.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.3.8.2.2. Registered students.
 - 4.3.8.2.3. Number of teachers.

4.4. *Secondary Education*

- 4.4.1. Educational organization, objectives and purposes, number of years and length of school year.
- 4.4.2. Population aged 13 to 18: total, by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.4.3. Registered students aged 13 to 18: total, by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.4.4. Total students registered for secondary schools by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.4.5. Number of schools functioning: total, urban and rural.
- 4.4.6. Number of professors actively teaching: total, by urban and rural zones.
- 4.4.7. Number of graduates annually.
- 4.4.8. Teacher training for the secondary level. How are teachers trained, educational organization?
- 4.4.9. Registered students by sex, urban and rural.
- 4.4.10. Salary scale for secondary school teachers.
- 4.4.11. Are they organized into unions, schools, or other organizations, and, in that case, do they have some type of international affiliation?
- 4.4.12. Number of graduates a year.
- 4.4.13. Number of schools, classified as urban and rural.
- 4.4.14. Number of professors, by sex.

4.5. *Public Private Education*

- 4.5.1. Public Education
 - 4.5.1.1. Compulsory.
 - 4.5.1.2. Free. Range:
 - 4.5.1.2.1. Free matriculation.
 - 4.5.1.2.2. Free books.
 - 4.5.1.2.3. Free meals.
 - 4.5.2. Registered students in the public secondary schools, by sex, urban and rural.
 - 4.5.3. In there co-education or separation of the sexes?
 - 4.5.4. Registered students for private schools, by sex, urban and rural.
 - 4.5.5. National private secondary schools (national proprietors not belonging to international or foreign organizations, religious or otherwise). Number of schools and registered students who attend.
 - 4.5.6. Number of private secondary schools that belong to foreigners not belonging to international or foreign organizations, religious or otherwise. (A brief description should be given of each one, specifying the countries of origin and the main influence that they exert). Registered students in attendance.
 - 4.5.7. Private secondary schools of national organizations.
 - 4.5.7.1. Religious.
 - 4.5.7.1.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.5.7.1.2. Registered students.
 - 4.5.7.1.3. Number of teachers.
 - 4.5.7.2. Non-religious (although they may teach religion).
 - 4.5.7.2.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.5.7.2.2. Registered students.
 - 4.5.7.2.3. Number of teachers.
 - 4.5.8. Private secondary schools belonging to international or foreign organizations (a brief description of each one should be given, specifying the countries of origin and the main influence that they exert).
 - 4.5.8.1. Religious.
 - 4.5.8.1.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.5.8.1.2. Registered students.
 - 4.5.8.1.3. Number of teachers.
 - 4.5.8.2. Non-religious.
 - 4.5.8.2.1. Number of schools.
 - 4.5.8.2.2. Registered students.
 - 4.5.8.2.3. Number of teachers.
 - 4.5.9. Total number of graduates a year by sex, urban and rural.

4.6. *University Education*

- 4.6.1. Educational organization, objectives and purposes. Colleges, schools, and courses of study.
- 4.6.2. Population aged 19 to 25, by sex and social origin (bourgeoisie, middle class, workers, and peasants).

4.6.3. Total registration by sex and social origin (bourgeoisie, middle class, workers, and peasants).

4.6.4. Number of universities and centers for higher education functioning.

4.6.5. Number of graduates annually by courses of study or colleges and schools.

4.6.5.1. Number of graduates annually by social origin (bourgeoisie, middle class, workers, peasants).

4.6.6. Education of university professors. How are the professors educated?

4.6.7. Salary scale for university professors.

4.6.8. Are they organized in unions, schools, or other organizations, and, in that case, do they have some international affiliation?

4.6.9. Number of university professors.

4.6.10. Is there university autonomy and, in that case, is it respected by the government?

4.6.10.1. What class interests are opposed to university autonomy?

4.6.10.2. How do the university officials operate?

4.7. *Public and Private Education*

4.7.1. Public Education.

4.7.2. Registered students in the public universities, by sex.

4.7.3. Private education: organization and number of universities.

4.7.4. Registered students in the centers for private education, by sex and social (bourgeoisie, middle class, workers, and peasants).

4.7.5. National organization private universities.

4.7.5.1. Religious.

4.7.5.1.1. Number of universities.

4.7.5.1.2. Registered students.

4.7.5.1.3. Number of professors.

4.7.5.2. Non-religious (although they may teach religion).

4.7.5.2.1. Number of universities.

4.7.5.2.2. Registered students.

4.7.5.2.3. Number of professors.

4.7.6. Private universities belonging to international or foreign organizations. (A brief description of each one with specification of countries of origin and principal influence that they exert should be given).

4.7.6.1. Religious.

4.7.6.1.1. Number of universities.

4.7.6.1.2. Registered students.

4.7.6.1.3. Number of professors.

4.7.6.2. Non-religious (although they may teach religion).

4.7.6.2.1. Number of universities.

4.7.6.2.2. Registered students.

4.7.6.2.3. Number of professors.

4.7.6.3. Number of graduates a year by universities, public or private.

NOTE.—The agreements with all kinds of institutions, foundations, etc., (national or foreign, especially U.S.) both in the official universities and the private ones, through which teacher and student exchanges are carried out should be fully specified. One should also specify the subsidies, donations, and other direct or indirect forms of infiltration.

4.8. *Technical and Professional Training*

4.8.1. Different types of schools and institutes that exist.

4.8.2. Registered students aged 13 to 18, totals by sex and age.

4.8.3. Total matriculation by sex and age, urban and rural.

4.8.4. Number of schools functioning.

4.8.5. Number of active professors.

4.8.6. Total number of graduates annually, professions, and occupations.

4.8.7. Number of public schools and registered students.

4.8.8. Number of private schools and registered students.

4.8.8.1. National private schools: number and registered students.

4.8.8.2. Foreign private schools: number and registered students.

4.8.8.3. National organization private schools: number and registered students.

4.8.8.4. Foreign organization private schools: number and registered students.

4.9. Other Education

4.9.1. Are there special educational systems for indigenous groups?

4.9.1.1. Is this education in the official language of the country or in the indigenous languages?

4.9.1.2. Who are in charge of the education of indigenous groups, besides the State? religious organizations, imperialist enterprises, foreign organizations, Inter-American organizations, "peace corps", etc?

4.9.2. Education for small national groups and nuclei of foreigners. Do they have their own schools? Do they teach in the language of their country of origin? Do they attract native groups to that schooling? (Explain briefly and determine number of enrolled students).

4.9.3. Others (explain briefly and determine number of enrolled students).

4.10. Scholarships and Free Room and Board

4.10.1. Total enrolled students.

4.10.2. Types of studies and for what ages or levels (with data on enrollment in each case and forms for giving them).

4.10.3. Scholarships for study abroad. Who gives them, for what countries, how are the recipients chosen?

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4.11. What is the ideological orientation of the official text books or manuals?

4.11.1. Are those official texts or manuals used in the private and foreign schools?

NOTE.—If possible, please send the series of official texts, from primary school through the university, on the following subjects: (1) History (national, American, world), (2) Geography (national, American, and world), (3) Civic and social studies.

*4.12. Other information of general interest that can provide an appreciation of the characteristics of the educational system of the country**4.13. Illiteracy*

4.13.1. Number of illiterates 15 and older.

4.13.2. Percentage of the population 15 and older, classified as urban and rural and by sex.

4.13.3. Measures that are being taken to combat illiteracy. Follow a mass or selective criterion.

4.13.4. Number of persons who are being taught to read and write this year. Total and by sex, urban and rural.

4.13.5. Permanent education

4.13.5.1. Do they continue their studies after learning to read and write?

4.13.5.2. What grade of primary instruction do they reach?

4.13.5.3. How are those studies organized? Night schools, special schools, etc.?

4.13.5.4. What studies can adults carry out after primary education: secondary, university? The results should be given as a total and by sex, urban and rural.

4.13.6. In each case, how many adults are studying this year? (Total, urban and rural and by sex).

4.14. Physical Education and Sports

4.14.1. Number of students that participate in sports events, with figures for level of education, by sex, urban, and rural.

4.14.2. What U.S. organizations, under the pretext of sports and recreation, carry out efforts for ideological, political, and social infiltration?

4.15. Financing of Education

4.15.1. Relation between the educational budget, general income, and the total budget.

4.15.2. Budget for current expenses and operations, indicated by type of expenses:

4.15.2.1. Salary.

4.15.2.1.1. Teaching personnel.

4.15.2.1.2. Administrative and maintenance personnel.

4.15.2.2. Other running expenses.

4.15.2.2.1. Books and teaching materials.

4.15.2.2.2. Food.

4.15.2.2.3. Clothing.

4.15.2.2.4. Other materials.

4.15.3. Investment budget or capital costs given for:

4.14.3.1. Construction.

4.14.3.2. Equipment.

4.14.3.3. Other investments.

4.15.4. Sum of current expenses and investments (capital costs in sports-educational activities and installations.

NOTE.—If possible, data on financing should refer to the same school period as the costs for matriculation and number of teachers, so that they can be used to get different indexes and coefficients, such as cost per student, etc.

General Observations:

1. If official figures of doubtful accuracy are used, be critical of them, supporting them with data, research, or observations deduced from other sources.

2. In the case that complete statistical sources are not available, we suggest the following formula: twenty schools, chosen at random, of each kind, can form a sample, statistically trustworthy, of students and professors.

5. IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL QUESTIONS

5.1. *Official National Institutions of Culture*

5.1.1. Those that are part of Ministries. Percentage of the budget that the State assigns them. Private aid.

5.1.2. Autonomous. Percentage of the budget that the State assigns to them. Private aid.

NOTE.—In the case of private aid, classify it as to national or foreign specifying the name of persons or institutions that give it and whether it is a question of donations, subsidies, agreements, etc.

5.2. *National Private Institutions of Culture*

5.2.1. Budget that the State assigns them.

5.2.2. Private national donations.

5.2.3. Foreign direct aid, subsidies or donations. Agreements with U.S. foundations or other institutions.

NOTE.—Specify the same information as in question 5.1.

5.3. *Principal Cultural Establishments*

5.3.1. Libraries. Budget that the State assigns them. Private national donations. Foreign direct aid, subsidies, or donations. Agreements with U.S. foundations or other institutions.

5.3.2. Museums. Budget that the State assigns them. Private national donations. Foreign direct aid, subsidies, or donations. Agreements with U.S. foundations or other institutions.

5.3.3. Art galleries. Orientation and financing. Degree of dependency of artists on the market.

5.3.4. Others.

NOTE.—If the cultural establishments receive donations or aid, give the same specifications asked for in question 5.1.

5.4. *Theatrical Groups*

5.4.1. Orientation and Repertoire.

5.4.2. Financing.

5.4.3. Locations and prices.

5.4.4. Public.

5.5. *Literary and Artistic Publications*

5.5.1. Orientation.

5.5.2. Financing.

5.5.3. Issues.

5.5.4. Principal collaborators.

5.6. *Professional Organizations of Writers and Artists*

5.6.1. Orientation.

5.6.2. Financing.

5.6.3. Internal groups.

5.7. *Official National Prizes for Intellectual Production*

- 5.7.1. Artists.
- 5.7.2. Writers.
- 5.7.3. Scientists.
- 5.7.4. Others.

5.8. *Private National [Prizes] for Intellectual Production (Who Gives Them? Especially U.S. Institutions)*

- 5.8.1. Artists.
- 5.8.2. Writers.
- 5.8.3. Scientists.
- 5.8.4. Others.

5.9. *Congresses or Meetings of Artists and Writers*

- 5.9.1. Purposes of the same.
- 5.9.2. Who gives the invitations?
- 5.9.3. Who provides the funds?

5.10. *Publishing Houses*

- 5.10.1 Orientation.
- 5.10.2. Interests, financing.
- 5.10.3. Publications.
- 5.10.4. Assessors.
- 5.10.5. Place given to national authors.

5.11. *Mass Communication Media*

5.11.1. The Press. Principal newspapers and magazines edited in the country.

- 5.11.1.1. Orientation.
- 5.11.1.2. Owners.

NOTE.—The ideology, class composition, or interests with which the owner or owners are connected should be specified. In the case of corporations, those who are actually the owners.

5.11.1.3. Advertisers.

NOTE.—Specify: who are the major advertisers, through what agencies do they work, and the sum total of their annual advertisements.

- 5.11.1.4. Subsidies.
- 5.11.1.5. Issues
- 5.11.1.6. Publications affiliated with the SIP
- 5.11.1.7. Source of news (UPI, AP, etc.)
- 5.11.1.8. Newspapers sponsored by U.S. enterprises (NEE, Powers, etc.), that provide translations of articles by U.S. writers and other materials.
- 5.11.1.9. Circulation in the countries of newspapers and magazines published in Spanish in the U.S. (Life, Vision, Reader's Digest, etc.)
- 5.11.1.10. Circulation in the country of newspapers and magazines with comics from the U.S.

5.11.2. Radio and TV.

- 5.11.2.1. Radio and TV broadcasting stations and channels.
- 5.11.2.2. Connections (affiliated or associated) with RCA, CBS, NBC, etc.
- 5.11.2.3. Owners. To whom do they sell time.

NOTE.—Specify the same as in 5.11.1.2., and 5.11.1.3. 5.11.2.4. Deforming character of the programs, according to the tendency of films from the U.S., soap operas, serial programs, and other means of propaganda.

NOTE.—If possible, obtain a week's programming for the main TV and radio stations.

5.11.2.5. Video Tape, Kinescope and syndicated filmed programs. Importance of U.S. infiltration, direct or indirect, in this field.

NOTE.—One should find out only if they are used or not and how much.

- 5.11.2.6. Foreign organizations' distribution of radios that can only receive transmissions from a certain broadcasting station.
- 5.11.2.7. Number of TV sets. Rural and urban.
- 5.11.2.8. Number of radios. Rural and urban.

- 5.11.2.9. Population's preference for types of programs. Rural and urban. By social classes.

NOTE.—If periodical research is made, surveys or checks, that reflect percentages and ratings of programs, hours, and broadcasting stations, a copy of the last one made should be sent.

5.11.3. Cinematography.

- 5.11.3.1. Official national center (if there is one) for regulation of production.

5.11.3.2. National production.

- 5.11.3.2.1. Composition of capital.

- 5.11.3.2.2. State credit.

- 5.11.3.2.3. Criteria for giving it.

- 5.11.3.2.4. Participation of U.S. enterprises.

5.11.3.3. Distribution.

- 5.11.3.3.1. Capital, origin, and affiliations of the distributing enterprises.

- 5.11.3.3.2. Statistics for attendance per capita: number of exhibition halls in urban zones. In rural zones. By social estates and classes.

- 5.11.3.4. Number of foreign films and percentage exhibited annually. From what countries do they come?

- 5.11.3.5. Preference for a certain type of films. Urban. Rural. What are these preferences?

5.12. *Ideological Influences on Scientific Activity*

- 5.12.1 Official and private organizations (National Council of Scientific Research, Academy of Science, etc.).

- 5.12.1.1. Contributions from the state budget and from national and foreign private institutions (especially U.S. ones).

- 5.12.2. Scientific research programs with donations, aid, subsidies, etc., from foundations and other organizations, especially U.S. ones.

NOTE.—The same should be specified as in 5.1.2.

- 5.12.2.1. Is said research done in the true national interest or are they directed toward the sponsoring interest?

- 5.12.3. University and Academic Centers, private or of another kind dedicated to documentary investigation, studies or research into the aspects of the country's true condition, particularly sociological investigation.

- 5.12.3.1. Character of their activities.

- 5.12.3.2. Connections with U.S. universities or other institutions.

5.13. *Cultural Exchange Agreements with the U.S.*

- 5.13.1. Bodies that participate in said agreements.

- 5.13.2. Character of said agreements.

5.14. *Emigration to the U.S. of Artists, Writers, Scientists, and Technicians*

- 5.14.1. Approximate percent of said emigration in the different types.

- 5.14.2. Institutions that support such emigration.

- 5.14.3. Means that support such emigration.

- 5.14.4. Requirements for the selection of those who emigrate or who are to be included.

5.15. *Forms of Pressure and Repression Against the Divulgence of Works of Progressive Artists and Writers.*

- 5.15.1. Open forms of repression: imprisonment, fines, etc.

- 5.15.2. Suspension of subsidies.

- 5.15.3. Suspension of exhibitions.

- 5.15.4. Editorial censure.

- 5.15.5. Seizure of works.

- 5.15.6. Subtle forms of neutralization, impounding and compromise.

- 5.15.7. Other forms.

5.16. *In What Measure Does Imperialist Infiltration Act Against Cultural Patrimony?*

- 5.16.1. Language.

- 5.16.2. Historical tradition.

- 5.16.3. Customs and Folklore.

- 5.16.4. Artistic treasures (archeological pieces, architecture, etc.)

- 5.16.5. Crafts.

6. QUESTIONS ABOUT PUBLIC HEALTH

6.1 *Indicators of the Level of Health*

6.1.1. Mortality.

6.1.1.1. Mortality rate of the country.

6.1.1.1.1. General mortality rate for the urban population.

6.1.1.1.2. General mortality rate for the rural population.

6.1.1.1.3. General mortality rate by regions.

6.1.1.2. Principal causes of general mortality.

6.1.1.2.1. At a national level.

6.1.1.2.2. Urban.

6.1.1.2.3. Rural.

6.1.1.3. Mortinatality [stillbirth] rate.

6.1.1.3.1. At a national level.

6.1.1.3.2. Urban.

6.1.1.3.3. Rural.

6.1.1.4. Principal causes of infant mortality.

6.1.1.5. Pre-school mortality rate.

6.1.1.6. Principal causes of pre-school mortality.

6.1.1.7. Maternal mortality rate.

6.1.1.8. Principal causes of maternal mortality.

6.1.1.9. Mortality for the following causes:

6.1.1.9.1. Gastroenteritis, enteritis, etc., (acute diarrhea).

6.1.1.9.2. Tuberculosis.

6.1.1.9.3. Poliomyelitis.

6.1.1.9.4. Malaria.

6.1.1.9.5. Measles.

6.1.1.10. Percentage of deaths from infectious and parasitic diseases over the total deaths.

6.1.2. Morbidity.

6.1.2.1. Principal causes of illness.

6.1.2.2. Rate of incidence per 100,000 inhabitants for the following illnesses: (if possible, give the rates for rural and urban population in each case).

6.1.2.2.1. Tuberculosis.

6.1.2.2.2. Syphilis.

6.1.2.2.3. Diphtheria.

6.1.2.2.4. Poliomyelitis.

6.1.2.2.5. Malaria.

6.1.2.2.6. Leprosy.

6.1.3. Births.

6.1.3.1. Birth rate.

6.1.3.1.1. Urban birth rate.

6.1.3.1.2. Rural birth rate.

6.2. *Indicators of Resources and Activities for Health Improvement.*

6.2.1. Medical and auxiliary personnel.

6.2.1.1. Number of doctors per 10,000 inhabitants (entire country).

6.2.1.1.1. Number of rural doctors per 10,000 inhabitants in rural areas.

6.2.1.1.2. Number of urban doctors per 10,000 inhabitants in urban areas.

6.2.1.2. Proportional distribution of doctors among cities:

6.2.1.2.1. from 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.

6.2.1.2.2. from more than 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.

6.2.1.2.3. from more than 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.

6.2.1.2.4. from more than 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants.

6.2.1.3. Relation of the number of rural doctors.

6.2.1.3.1. National total.

6.2.1.3.2. By regions, departments, provinces or states.

6.2.1.4. Number of registered nurses and nurses' aides per 10,000 inhabitants (in the entire country).

6.2.1.4.1. Number of registered nurses and nurses' aides who work in the urban area, per 10,000 inhabitants of the population of that area.

6.2.1.4.2. Number of registered nurses and nurses' aides who work in the rural area, per 10,000 inhabitants of the population of that area.

6.2.1.5. Number of dentists per 10,000 inhabitants.

6.2.1.5.1. Number of rural dentists per 10,000 inhabitants of population of that area.

6.2.1.5.2. Number of urban dentists per 10,000 inhabitants of population of that area.

- 6.2.2. Number of hospital beds per 1,000 inhabitants.
- 6.2.2.1. Number of state urban hospital beds per 1,000 inhabitants in that area.
- 6.2.2.2. Number of private urban hospital beds per 1,000 inhabitants in that area.
- 6.2.2.3. Number of state rural hospital beds per 1,000 inhabitants in that area.
- 6.2.2.4. Number of private rural hospital beds per 1,000 inhabitants in that area.
- 6.2.2.5. Doctor/hospital bed relationship in hospitals.
- 6.2.2.6. Doctor/hospital bed relationship in state urban hospitals.
- 6.2.2.7. Doctor/hospital bed relationship in private urban hospitals.
- 6.2.2.8. Doctor/hospital bed relationship in state rural hospitals.
- 6.2.2.9. Doctor/hospital bed relationship in state urban hospitals.
- 6.2.2.10. Cost of bed per diem.
- 6.2.2.11. Number of pediatric beds per 1,000 inhabitants under 14 years of age (or per 10,000 inhabitants).
- 6.2.2.12. Number of obstetric beds per 1,000 female inhabitants from 14 to 49 years of age (or per 10,000 inhabitants).
- 6.2.2.13. Number of beds for tuberculosis and mentally ill patients per 1,000 inhabitants.

NOTE.—Sections 6.2.2.11. to 6.2.2.13. should have figures given as in 6.2.2.1. to 6.2.2.10.

- 6.2.2.14. Is hospital care made easy for the sick?
- 6.2.2.14.1. In the urban state ones.
- 6.2.2.14.2. In the rural state ones.
- 6.2.2.14.3. In the urban private ones.
- 6.2.2.14.4. In the rural private ones.
- 6.2.2.15. Is the food provided in the hospitals considered of good quality?
- 6.2.2.16. Do the hospitals have the necessary equipment?
- 6.2.3. Social services.
- 6.2.3.1. Percentage of childbirths that took place in service institutions (or with the attention of professional personnel or trained helpers).
- 6.2.3.1.1. In urban state ones.
- 6.2.3.1.2. In rural state ones.
- 6.2.3.1.3. In urban private ones.
- 6.2.3.1.4. In rural private ones.
- 6.2.3.2. Number of visits per inhabitant (all kinds of institutions: official, mutual, etc.).
- 6.2.3.3. Percentage of deaths with medical attention (percent of deaths with medical certification).
- 6.2.4. Environmental sanitation.
- 6.2.4.1. Percent of the population with potable water (urban, rural, total).
- 6.2.4.2. Percent of the population served by drainage. (Sewerage. Urban, rural, total).
- 6.2.4.3. Housing conditions.
- 6.2.4.3.1. Percent of houses constructed from stone, masonry, blocks or tiles.
- 6.2.4.3.2. Percent of houses constructed from wood or other vegetable materials.
- 6.2.4.3.3. Percent of houses on a cement or tile base.
- 6.2.4.3.4. Percent of houses with a wood floor.
- 6.2.4.3.5. Percent of houses with a dirt floor.
- 6.2.4.3.6. Percent of houses provided with running water.
- 6.2.4.3.7. Percent of houses provided with well water.
- 6.2.4.3.8. Percent of houses without water.
- 6.2.4.3.9. Percent of houses with sanitary facilities or a latrine.
- 6.2.4.3.10. Average number of persons per room.
- NOTE.—All the information for section 6.2.4.3. should be given by national totals and for urban and rural categories.
- 6.2.5. National expenses for health sector.
- 6.2.5.1. Annual expenses per capita for health (by the government, ministries of health, or others).
- 6.2.5.2. Percent of the national budget to be spent for health.
- 6.2.5.3. Expenses per capita for the medical services of social security.
- 6.2.5.4. Percent of the population included in medical assistance programs or private health systems.

- 6.2.5.5. Percent of the population that receives medical or health assistance from the government (Ministry of Health).
- 6.2.5.6. Percent of the population that receives medical or health assistance through private systems.
- 6.2.5.7. Percent of the population without medical attention.

6.3. *Other Health Problems*

- 6.3.1. What are the principal health problems in the country? (Priorities for 1 to 5).
 - 6.3.1.1. What solutions have been proposed for these problems?
 - 6.3.1.2. What solutions are being applied to these problems?
 - 6.3.1.3. What is the perspective for solving them on a short or long range basis?
- 6.3.2. What is the system for medical and sanitary attention for the rural population?
 - 6.3.2.1. How much of the rural population is covered by the system (percent)?
 - 6.3.2.1.1. What kind of system?
 - 6.3.2.1.2. Is the service offered of acceptable quality?
 - 6.3.2.2. Does the service given cover all the population within its area of influence?
 - 6.3.2.3. What social position does the doctor take relative to the problems of rural medical attention?
 - 6.3.2.4. Do the economic and social conditions of the rural environment permit the doctor's residence there?
 - 6.3.2.5. Does the State encourage this residence and how?
- 6.3.3. Are there problems concerning the emigration of doctors in the country?
 - 6.3.3.1. To what country or countries do they prefer to emigrate?
 - 6.3.3.2. For what causes does the emigration happen?
 - 6.3.3.3. What are plans to correct emigration, if it exists?
 - 6.3.3.4. What percent of doctors emigrate from the country each year?
 - 6.3.3.5. Is the emigration formed by recent graduates or by doctors with years of experience? Give the proportions.
- 6.3.4. The child's position relative to health problems.
 - 6.3.4.1. What priority is there for the problems of attention for the child in the health plans of the country?
 - 6.3.4.2. What percent of the infant population is protected against contagious diseases?
 - 6.3.4.2.1. What percent of children born in institutions are vaccinated with B.C.G?
 - 6.3.4.2.1.1. Percent in the urban and rural zones.
 - 6.3.4.2.2. Percent of children under 6 years of age protected against diphtheria, whooping cough and tetanus.
 - 6.3.4.2.2.1. Percent in urban and rural zones.
 - 6.3.4.2.3. Percent of children under 10 years of age and older than 6 protected against diphtheria and tetanus.
 - 6.3.4.2.3.1. Percent in urban and rural zones.
 - 6.3.4.2.4. Percent of children protected against poliomyelitis (according to population that has been vaccinated).
 - 6.3.4.2.4.1. Percent in urban and rural zones.
 - 6.3.4.3. Are there school and pre-school programs for medical attention?
- 6.3.5. Has the government of the country set up a set demographic policy?
 - 6.3.5.1. Is there some type of birth control program?
 - 6.3.5.2. If there is this type of program: who finances it, who directs it, and who puts it into practice?
 - 6.3.5.3. What participation comes from private organizations in these programs? From foreign institutions (and which ones). Position of the churches (especially the Catholic Church).
- 6.3.6. What are the main problems for teaching medicine?
 - 6.3.6.1. Do the Medical Schools have resources for their adequate development?
 - 6.3.6.2. Do they receive help from private national or foreign institutions? What institutions?
 - 6.3.6.3. What influence do the government or private institutions have over the orientation of the teaching in the schools?
 - 6.3.6.4. Number of students enrolled at the beginning of the course of study.
 - 6.3.6.4.1. Number of students who drop out during the course of study and the reasons why they do that.

- 6.3.6.4.2. Number of students who on finishing their studies go on to work in social services for the State. Proportion of the total graduates.
- 6.3.6.5. Do the resident doctors systems help the new professional with economic aid for family support?
- 6.3.6.5.1. Is entrance into the resident system effected through academic evaluation?
- 6.3.6.5.2. Is the teaching at this level considered to be of good quality?
- 6.3.6.6. Is there regulation of a doctor's specialization?
- 6.3.6.6.1. On what body does it depend?
- Ministry of Health.
 - University.
 - Medical associations.
- 6.3.6.7. Proportion of specialists in urban and rural zones, separated by specialties (internal medicine, pediatrics, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, etc.).
- 6.3.7. To what extent is the giving of medical services institutionalized?
- 6.3.7.1. Position of the doctor in respect to institutionalization.
- 6.3.7.1.1. Position of unions or medical associations with respect to the problem.
- 6.3.7.2. Is there a medical oligarchy that dominates this sector in the country? Is there unemployment of doctors?
- 6.3.7.2.1. What percentage of the number of professional doctors are unemployed?
- 6.3.7.3. The position of the medical syndicates or other medical organizations in respect to these problems.
- 6.3.7.4. To what extent does the medical profession express itself in the struggle for national liberation?
- 6.3.7.5. To what extent do the professional medical organizations, syndicates, or medical schools fight for their sector's demands and to what extent are they linked with other syndical organizations, professional groups, etc.?
- 6.3.8. Work hygiene.
- 6.3.8.1. What is the situation of work hygiene?
- 6.3.8.2. Is there a department in the Ministry of Health that concerns itself with these problems?
- 6.3.8.3. Are there safety and hygiene committees composed of workers and administration in all the work centers?
- 6.3.8.4. Do the conditions of the labor centers avoid professional illnesses?
- 6.3.8.5. What percentage of professional illnesses occur within the different branches of work?
- 6.3.8.6. Is there a social aid system for the sick worker?
- 6.3.9. Aspects of the production, distribution, and cost of the pharmaceutical specialties (medicines).
- 6.3.9.1. Annual sales total of pharmaceutical products.
- 6.3.9.2. Number of pharmaceutical products laboratories and percent of national and foreign firms, emphasizing the U.S. ones especially.
- 6.3.9.3. What proportion of medicines are produced with national capital?
- 6.3.9.4. Price of medicines in relation to the buying power of the population.
- 6.3.9.5. Does the distribution of medicines reach rural areas? What is the size of the smallest towns that have pharmacies?
- 6.3.9.6. Are there laboratories to control the quality of medicines?
- 6.3.9.7. If such laboratories exist, on what bodies do they depend? State, medical unions, private, etc.
- 6.3.10. Presence of primitive medicine in the country (magic, witch doctors, curers, etc.), in urban and rural areas.
- 6.3.10.1. What is their proportion in urban and rural areas?
- 6.3.10.2. Attitude of the State and the medical unions in respect to the problem.
- 6.4. *Nutritional Conditions*
- 6.4.1. Average calories consumed daily per person.
- 6.4.1.1. By area of residence, urban and rural.
- 6.4.1.2. By age, in each case urban and rural.
- 6.4.1.2.1. Under 1 year.
 - 6.4.1.2.2. From one to six years.
 - 6.4.1.2.3. From 6 to 12 years.
 - 6.4.1.2.4. From 12 to 18 years.
 - 6.4.1.2.5. Older than 18.

6.4.2. Are there tendencies and customs of the people that create food and nutritional habits?

6.4.3. Is the State doing something to correct this deficiency?

6.4.4. Average consumption per person, by urban and rural areas of the following foods:

6.4.4.1. Fruits.

6.4.4.2. Fresh vegetables.

6.4.4.3. Fresh milk.

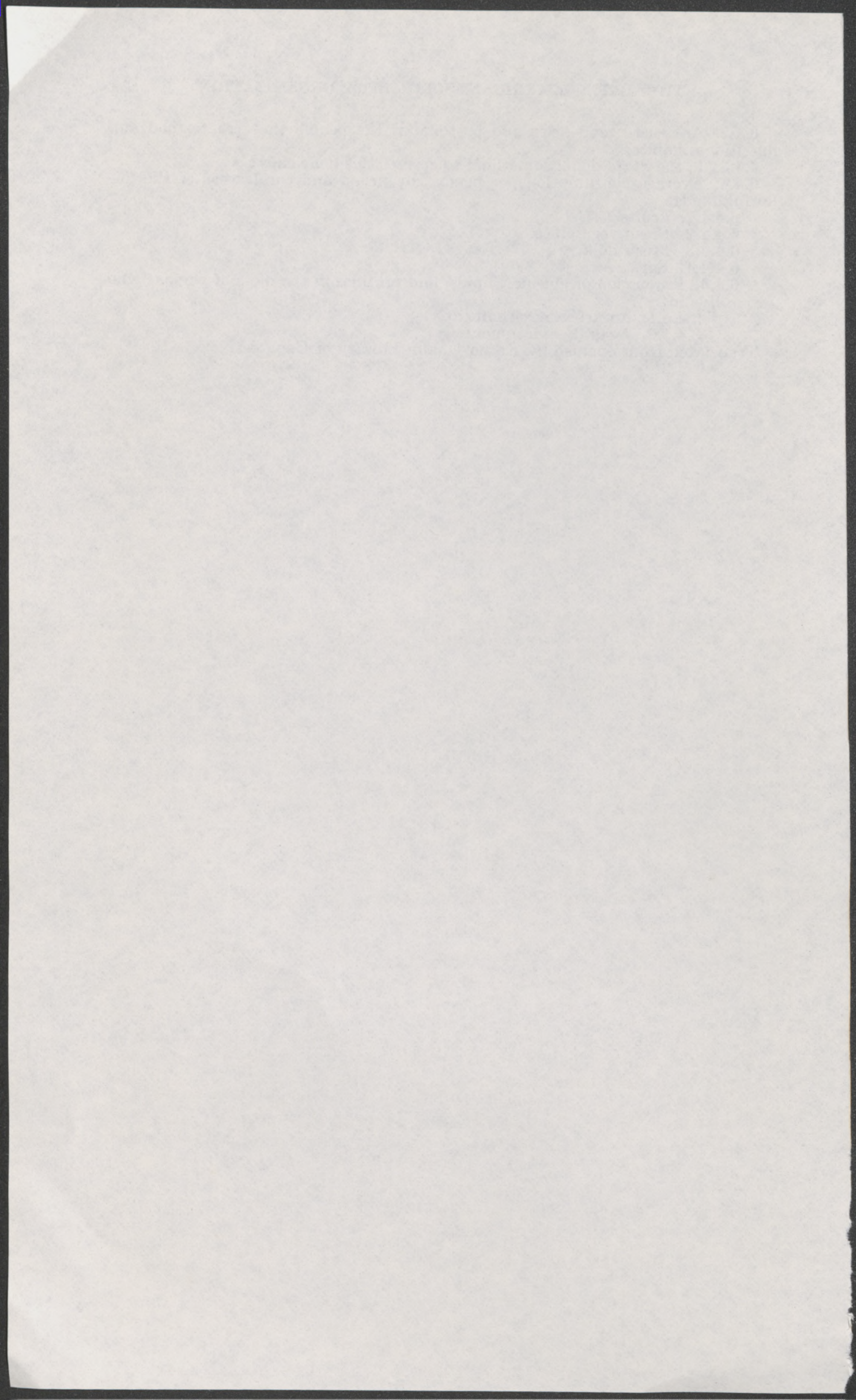
6.4.4.4. Eggs.

6.4.5. Proportion of glucides, lipids, and protides in the diets of persons who live in:

6.4.5.1. An urban environment.

6.4.5.2. A rural environment.

Translated from Spanish by Karen Dakin, Library of Congress.



PUERTO RICO

PACT OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND THE PRO-INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT OF PUERTO RICO

At 2:15 P.M., January 25, 1967, a group of approximately 250 demonstrators began a 10-mile march from the University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras to Ft. Brooke in San Juan proper.

The demonstrators were members of the three leading pro-Communist organizations of Puerto Rico, namely, the Pro-Independence Movement (M.P.I.), the Federation of University Students for Independence (F.U.P.I.), and the High School Federation of Students for Independence (F.E.P.I.).

In addition to banners proclaiming their affiliation to the Communist regime of Cuba (black and red flags of the 26th of July Movement), the demonstrators also carried a large streamer at the head of the column with the slogan "We support Black Power in the U.S."

Among the leaders of the protest march were Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of S.N.C.C., and Ivanhoe Donaldson, chairman of the New York Chapter of S.N.C.C. Also present were Juan Marí Bras, M.P.I. leader, and F.U.O.I. leaders, Norman Pietri Castellón and Lorenzo Piñero, Jr.

The alleged object of the march was to protest the drafting of Puerto Ricans into the U.S. Armed Forces and to denounce U.S. involvement in the "dirty war" in Viet Nam.

As the march progressed along Ponce de Leon Avenue, it became increasingly evident that the demonstrators were determined to create disorder by their provocative attitude.

As they approached the Inter-American University in Hato Rey, they shouted a new version of the Cuban Communist slogan "Cuba Sí, Yanqui No!" In order to adapt it to Puerto Rico, they substituted the word "Jíbaro" (a nickname for the Puerto Rican peasant) for Cuba.

Carmichael's influence on the marchers was evidenced by the chant of "L.B.J. ha, ha, ha! Ho Chi Minh was his dada," which was repeated by the demonstrators.

The first confrontation took place in the vicinity of the Inter-American University when a group of students at that institution, incensed by the offensive slogans, attacked the marchers with eggs, oranges, and beer cans. The police, escorting the marchers, avoided further violence by interposing themselves between the two groups.

When the marchers reached the intersection of Baldorioty Avenue, they were confronted by a large group of students from the Central High School. This time the incident almost degenerated into a riot when the demonstrators used the staffs of the flags they were carrying as lances to attack the counter-demonstrators. Several stones were thrown and three persons were injured, two of them being members of F.U.P.I. One of these latter, Lorenzo Piñero, and F.U.P.I. leader,

chose to continue the march despite the fact that he was bleeding from a head injury. His martyr's attitude apparently responded to a plan because later on the leadership of the march made it a point to stress the fact that violence would be met with violence.

The marchers reached their destination four hours after they began and were again met by a group of hostile youths, who had followed them, harassing the marchers.

Stokely Carmichael addressed the demonstrators, through an interpreter, as "brothers and sisters." This was the beginning of a long invective against the United States, which ranged from "Black Power" to Viet Nam.

Carmichael, after saluting the assembly in the name of S.N.C.C., stated that "there is a close relationship between our struggle for black power and your struggle for independence. Our people are a colony inside the United States, just as you Puerto Ricans are a colony outside Continental America. Brothers, we see our struggle related to the struggle for national liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, especially the struggle against North American oppression."

"The North-Afro-Americans support the just struggle of the Puerto Ricans for their independence. They want to rule and control their own lives and the riches of their country, today controlled by a foreign nation, the United States and its pro-Yankee lackeys."

With reference to Viet Nam, Carmichael stated that "we support the just struggle which Viet Nam is waging against Yankee imperialism" and added, "the Army of the United States is taking advantage of the Afro-American people by using them to fight against our own brothers. We are told to go fight in Viet Nam for a so-called democracy, but we know the hypocrisy of that statement. We have experienced with our bodies and our own blood what this so-called U.S. democracy means."

In closing, he stated that "no aggressions or provocations could stop the struggle of the Afro-American and Puerto Rican people."

Juan Mari Bras, for his part, stated that the Independence Movement is in a state of preparedness and soon will invade San Juan and added that "Yankee imperialism could not detain the spontaneous independence movement of Puerto Rico."

Mari Bras revealed that he had directed the M.P.I. members of the "Vito Marcantonio" Mission in New York to support in every possible way the Negro movement in the United States and had told Carmichael so.

At about 7:45 P.M., a heavy shower ended the demonstration which had been observed by an estimated 3,000 onlookers who took every opportunity to express their hostility towards the demonstrators.

On January 26, 1967, just prior to his departure for New York, Stokely Carmichael signed a protocol of agreement between S.N.C.C. and M.P.I., in which it was established that "the struggle for political and economic control, better housing, education, and a higher standard of living, waged by the people of Puerto Rico and the Negroes in the urban ghettos of the United States can be implemented on a common basis and by concerted actions."

"It is equally considered that the opposition to the draft and U.S. aggression in Viet Nam can be strengthened by concerted actions between the two organizations."

"The S.N.C.C. offers its support to M.P.I. in its struggle to win consideration of the "colonial status" of Puerto Rico by the United Nations in the immediate future."

It is most significant to note that the presence of Carmichael in Puerto Rico and the events which followed are very closely related to a meeting which took place the day prior to Carmichael's arrival in San Juan.

January 23, 1967, was the day on which the leadership of the militant pro-Communist organizations in Puerto Rico held a strategy meeting at the M.P.I. headquarters in San Juan.

The purpose of the meeting was the implementation of directives from the Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (O.S.P.A.A.L.A.), commonly known as the Tri-Continental Conference.

(Puerto Rico is a member of the permanent Secretariat and has a "mission" in Havana. The mission is located at 3404 Avenida 39 in the Miramar section of Havana. "Chief of Mission" is Narciso Rabéll Martínez, former secretary of the International Union of Students based in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Among those attending the meeting were Juan Marí Bras, Norman Pietri Castellón, and Ana Livia Cordero. Both Pietri and Ana Livia Cordero were members of the Puerto Rican delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference which took place in Havana from the 3rd to the 16th of January, 1966. Norman Pietri Castellon was the president of the Puerto Rican delegation.

On January 10, 1966, in his address to the Conference, Norman Pietri specifically referred to the military bases on the island and emphasized the "imperative need to win national independence in order to promote conditions conducive to the total eradication of Yankee military installations in Puerto Rico . . ."

In the same address he stated that "the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement resolutely supports the Vietnamese people in their struggle against Yankee aggression."

Following this statement, on January 19, 1966, Norman Pietri signed a joint Puerto Rican-Viet Cong declaration pledging support and solidarity. The following day, Radio Hanoi echoed Norman Pietri's statements and pledged its support of the "national liberation movement of Puerto Rico."

In subsequent statements, speeches, and interviews, Pietri not only denounced the United States as an aggressor, but he actually advocated armed insurrection against the Government of the United States.

The significance of Pietri's statements regarding the "national liberation movement" in Puerto Rico comes sharply into focus, especially when considered in the light of the following statement made by Juan Marí Bras at the closing of the strategy meeting held on January 23, 1967:

"Just as imperialism uses Puerto Rico as a bridgehead for its penetration into Latin America so will the Patriotic Vanguard of Puerto Rico (M.P.I.) offer itself as a bridge over which world revolution can penetrate into the United States."

Juan Marí Bras thus dissipated any doubts as to the future role of M.P.I. Not only would the movement organize and lead active subversion against the United States, but would act as the link between

Havana and the "Black Power" advocates. This would involve not only Puerto Rico, but the U.S. mainland as well.

No sooner had the pact between S.N.C.C. and M.P.I. been signed than Juan Marí Bras set out for New York to gather support for his Movement's campaign to include the case of Puerto Rico in the agenda of the next meeting of the U. N. Committee on De-Colonization.

Marí Bras arrived in New York with Stokely Carmichael on the evening of January 26, 1967. The following afternoon he called on delegates and members of the Committee to inform them about what he terms the "pseudo-plebiscite" which will determine Puerto Rico's status next July.

After the meeting Juan Marí Bras stated that he was in the process of mobilizing a large force, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States, for the purpose of pressing Puerto Rico's case in the U. N.

He added that he would take advantage of his brief stay in New York to hold strategy meetings with local M.P.I. leaders and with those of other allied organizations. "Among these," he stated, "is the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, led by Stokely Carmichael, who has offered his utmost cooperation in the campaign."

CUBA-FOMENTED SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN PUERTO RICO

On the afternoon of May 4, 1967, climaxing a long and concerted campaign, a group of an estimated 250 activists of the Communist Federation of University Students for Independence disrupted and forced the cancellation of a ceremony in observance of Air Force Day at the University of Puerto Rico.

The Communist activists had gathered outside the University theatre to picket a briefing by ROTC officers to the 1,000 cadets presently enrolled in the program.

This briefing was to precede a parade in honor of the Mayor of San Juan, Dona Felisa Rincon De Gautier.

While the briefing was in progress, a brief confrontation between the Communist activists and a group of 50 students from the Association of Students for Statehood, took place outside the theatre. Despite their numbers, the Communists were easily routed by their opponents.

Immediately after the briefing, the cadets proceeded to the University Athletic Field to participate in the scheduled parade while the invited guests and reviewing officers took their places on a reviewing stand.

No sooner had the parade begun than 250 FUPI activists invaded the parade grounds after forcing open the gates of the field and began pushing the officers and guests off the reviewing stand.

Part of the same group, evidently in a well rehearsed maneuver, interposed itself in the line of march of the band, resulting in the disruption of the formation. The Communist activists actually manhandled the members of the band to the extent that several of them lost their instruments and articles of their uniforms. One musician was observed having his shoe forcefully removed during the scuffle.

As a result of this disgraceful episode, the officer in charge cancelled the parade and ordered the cadets, numbering approximately 100 at that moment, to march to the ROTC building.

Again the demonstrators attempted to interrupt this march but were ignored by the cadets. The activists then began throwing dirt on the uniforms of the officers, and spat on several of the instructors.

The main target of this last attack was ROTC instructor, Captain Robert W. Hunter from Massachusetts, who despite the dirt and spittle covering his uniform, managed to maintain the dignity befitting his rank and uniform.

Reports from reliable sources within the student body disclosed that the incident involving Capt. Hunter was part of a prearranged plan. The FUPI activists intended to single out one U.S. officer and taunt him to the point of violent reaction. The ensuing altercation would have been used to bring discredit to the Air Force and the United States.

Almost simultaneously a U.S. flag was trampled on and then set afire by the FUPI agitators.

The incident lasted more than three and one half hours and the leaders of the demonstration had been identified as: Jose Antonio Irizarry Matias former President of FUPI and presently employed as a teacher by the Board of Education of Caguas; Miguel Angel Cabrera, a former member of the Executive Committee of FUPI and Farael Rodriguez Santiago also a former FUPI member who was found to have in his possession quantities of gasoline.

As a result of the demonstration, the Administration of the University of Puerto Rico announced that 42 students were being investigated for possible suspension because of their involvement in the incident.

Thirty names of students and nonstudents under investigation were made public in the May 9, 1967 issue of the "San Juan Star." They are as follows:

Belen Aurelio Alicea
 Ruben Alvarez Rodriguez
 Georgina Battista Miranda
 Carlos Carrera Rodriguez
 Gustavo Conde Cardona
 Jaime Del Valle Cruz
 Jose F. Diaz Olmo
 Roberto Fernandez Coll
 Lucardo Gonzalez
 Raul Gonzalez Cruz
 Manuel De Jesus Gonzalez Hernandez ¹
 Jose Antonio Irizarry Matias ¹
 Cesar Marques Quiles
 Evaristo Maldonado
 Pablo Martinez Archilla ¹
 Raul Mayo Santana
 Juan Mesta Alvarez ¹
 Rita M. Molinelli
 Jose Pandolfi Di Grimaldis
 Jose F. Oller Navarro
 Alberto Perez Perez ^{1 2}
 (Prague, Moscow, Ulan Bator)
 Ananais (sic) Piretti De Leon
 Hector Ramos Diaz
 Orestes Ramos Diaz
 Wilson Rivera Duran
 Edna Iris Rivera Santos
 Rafael Rodriguez Santiago ¹
 Marta Sanchez Martinez ^{1 2}
 (Red China, North Korea, North Vietnam)
 William Spickers Santiago
 Alfonso Texidor Rodriguez

Several University of Puerto Rico professors, one of whom soon after spoke in Havana, Cuba, were instrumental in creating the climate which led to the incidents although they were not directly involved.

¹ Active membership in FUPI.

² Trained in subversion in Communist countries.

On April 6, 1967, a group of 20 professors and students of the U. of P.R. staged a protest, in defiance of University regulations, against the presence of ROTC on campus.

Among the professors participating in the protest were:

Dr. Francisco Manrique Cabrera
Benjaming Ortin Belaval
George Fromm
Gervasio Garcia
Dr. Manuel Maldonado Denis

Dr. Manuel Maldonado Denis addressed the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba in the Amadeo Roldan Theatre in Havana on June 1, 1967. Dr. Maldonado lectured the Cuban Communist writers on the subject of Jose Marti and Pedro Albizu Campos.

Drs. Maldonado and Manrique were cosigners of a paid announcement, which appeared in the June 30, 1966, issue of "El Mundo" of San Juan, P.R., in which they denounced the draft. Among the signers was Manuel Colon who had traveled to Cuba in 1965 with a group of students.

It is also significant to note that the University administration not only tacitly encouraged the incident by failing to take appropriate action after the demonstration of April 6, 1967, but went as far as to accuse the ROTC leadership of deliberately provoking the incident.

Samuel E. Polanco, Dean of Men at the University flatly stated that the ROTC was to blame because it had invited controversy in a climate heated by demonstrations against it. Dean Polanco criticized ROTC for announcing the parade beforehand and for inviting guests of a "controversial" nature.

The attitude of Dean Polanco adds emphasis to an already dangerous situation created in Puerto Rico by the small but extremely militant faction known as the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI), the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico.

It is no secret that the most active members of this pro-Communist group, which receives its orders from Havana, are Commonwealth employees, receiving direct or indirect compensation from the local government. In some instances, such as the MPI members employed by the Board of Education, they also receive salaries paid, in part, by Federal funds.

And lastly, there is no doubt that they have managed to infiltrate high offices in the Island's administration as evidenced by the fact that in June of 1966 a large block of tickets for the Central American games was inexplicably obtained by MPI members.

These tickets, for the best sections of the stadium, were used by the pro-Castro group to provide a cheering section for the Communist Cuban delegation.

The illegal hoarding of tickets, evidently supplied by a sympathetic official was compounded by the fact that MPI agents obtained a copy of a letter by Col. Salvador T. Roig, Superintendent of Police to Gov. Roberto Sanchez Vilela. The contents of this letter and those of another, written by Julio E. Monagas, Administrator of Parks and Recreation, were divulged by Havana Radio and used to attack both officials for their criticism of the Cuban athletic delegation.

On that same occasion of the Central American games, both FUPI and MPI not only acted as official spokesmen for the Communist

Cuban delegation, but they deliberately sought to create incidents tending to embarrass both the Governments of Puerto Rico and that of the United States.

In the words of Juan Angel Silen, an elementary school teacher employed by the Puerto Rican Board of Education and a ranking officer of MPI—FUPI, on June 6, 1966:

The MPI youth will receive with fraternal jubilation the standard bearers of freedom in America and will defend them against any provocation on the part of Cuban exiles who, financed by imperialism, will attempt to create incidents during the games.

The youth of MPI, in condemning the aggressions perpetrated against the people of Cuba, reaffirms its solidarity with the Cuban revolution in these moments when she is again the object of attack.

Cuba will continue being the guiding light and hope of all the peoples struggling for freedom in America. Cuba has our anti-imperialist support in its fight against the United States.

To add emphasis to his words, on June 10, 1966, Silen chartered a boat and, accompanied by MPI Secretary Gen., Juan Mari Bras and Norman Pietri Castellon, sailed to meet and establish contact with the Communist Cuban delegation, cruising just outside territorial waters aboard the Cuban freighter, "CERRO PELADO".

One of the passengers of the launch which set out to meet and confer with the Cubans, Norman Pietri Castellon, had been the President of the Puerto Rican delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana.

The reasons and objectives of the incident of May 4, 1967, come into better perspective when viewed in light of the following statement made by Pietri in his address to the Conference: "From this stems the imperative need to win *national independence in order to promote conditions conducive to total eradication of Yankee military installations in Puerto Rico* and the threat they pose to the rest of Latin America." [Emphasis supplied.]

And the incidents, from which MPI leaders purportedly sought to protect the Communist athletes of Cuba, were not long in coming. Trained MPI agitators provoked them almost as soon as the athletes landed.

The most active among these agitators was Marta Sanchez Martinez (also extremely active during the May 4 incident as evidenced from the photographs).

Marta Sanchez Martinez was arrested on June 13, 1966 at 10:00 PM for disturbing the peace at the Olympic Villa.

Marta Sanchez, presently employed by the Psychiatric Hospital of Rio Piedras, spent several weeks in 1964 touring Red China, North Korea, and North Viet Nam.

The ease with which MPI and FUPI agit-props travel to and from countries of the Communist bloc is remarkable when the relatively small membership is taken into consideration.

In the last three years the following members have traveled to countries of the Communist bloc (MPI and/or FUPI) including Cuba and Ghana:

1. NARCISO RABELL MARTINEZ

"Ambassador" of Puerto Rico in Havana ("embassy" located at 3404 Avenida 39, Miramar section of Marianao, Havana) former secretary and Vice President of the Prague-based, Communist-

dominated, International Union of Students. Appointed "Ambassador" by Cuba on February 10, 1966. On May 31, 1966, he was appointed member of the Permanent Secretariat of AALAPSO (Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization). As such, he is directly involved in the formulation and execution of plans for fomenting subversion in the three continents with emphasis on areas of vital interest to the United States. Puerto Rico is one of these objectives.

Narciso Rabell Martinez is married to a Russian, Halinga Linger who takes an active part in the efforts of her husband in subversion. She attended the Tri-Continental Conference and acts as hostess for her husband at the "embassy."

With typical Communist irony, the first statement issued by Rabell on his appointment to the AALAPSO Permanent Secretariat called for Puerto Ricans to enlist as volunteers in the Cuban "combat battalions" and emphasized that "all means should be used to prevent the use of Puerto Rican soldiers in an aggression (by the U.S.) against Cuba."

As a member of the Permanent Secretariat, Rabell left Havana on February 18, 1967, for an extended tour of Africa "to carry out the agreements of the Conference and to augment and give impulse to the revolutionary struggle in the three continents."

2. NORMAN PIETRI CASTELLON

President of FUPI, Castellon acted as President of the Puerto Rican delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana. He has attended most student Congresses and conferences sponsored by Havana in the Western Hemisphere.

He was instrumental in arranging the details of the pact between FUPI-MPI and Stokely Carmichael.

He actively and militantly participated in the joint demonstrations which took place after the pact was signed.

3. ANA LIVIA CORDERO DE MAYFIELD

Another member of the Puerto Rican delegation to the Conference in Havana. Dr. Cordero is married to a Negro physician from the mainland reported to have been on very friendly terms with Quaison Sackey, Ghana's Ambassador to the U.N. As a result of this, Dr. Mayfield and his wife moved to Accra after the closing of the Tri-Continental Conference.

On June 14, 1966, Ana Livia Cordero de Mayfield, who had been given a position in the Ghanaian Academy of Science by the Nkrumah regime, was expelled from Ghana for subversive activities against the new regime.

4. JOSE LUIS GONZALEZ COISCU

Member of the Puerto Rican delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana.

5. ALBERTO PEREZ PEREZ

President of FUPI and ringleader of the May 4 incidents. Perez had just returned from an extensive tour begun early in June 1966 of Communist bloc countries.

Perez had requested a passport to travel to Spain for the alleged purpose of continuing his studies. Actually Perez flew to New York and then used the classic route to cross the Iron Curtain. He flew to Paris and then to Prague where on July 13 he issued a statement against the draft.

"This struggle," he stated, "has mobilized (students) to a fantastic degree and the students are against it (the draft) because it signified serving as cannon fodder (in the war) against the Vietnamese patriots (Viet Cong).

"The best contribution to the Vietnamese struggle," he stated, "is to prevent that even a single Puerto Rican becomes part of aggression against this heroic people. For this reason we are so emphatically opposed to military service."

In March 1967, Perez attended the International Union of Students Congress in Ulan Bator, Mongolia. Upon his arrival in Prague, March 23, 1967, he gave several interviews and statements to the Communist press.

6. FEDERICO CINTRON

Vice President of the Communist-dominated International Union of Students. In 1964, he attended the II Congress of Latin American Youth in Chile and at present resides in Prague.

7. JOSE R. VARONA DUARTE

Puerto Rican delegate to the Continental Latin American Organization of Students (OCLAE), the student counterpart of the Tri-Continental.

Jose Varona left Puerto Rico on July 9, 1966, for Cairo, Egypt, to attend a preparatory conference of I.U.S. From Cairo he travelled to Havana where, in August, he attended the first OCLAE Conference.

At 10:30 AM on April 18, 1967, Jose Varona was critically injured during an air raid in Thanh Hoa, North Vietnam. A Vietnamese student, a graduate of Havana University, Nguyen An Hao, was killed instantly, while a Dominican, Danilo Fernandez, escaped with minor injuries. Enrique Velazco, President of OCLAE and Secretary of the Federation of University Students of Cuba came through unscathed.

Late in May, Varona was transferred from Hanoi to a Moscow Hospital where his condition remains serious.

Varona, a third year student of political science at the University of Puerto Rico, actively participated in the demonstrations in support of the Communist athletes of Cuba. On May 28, 1967, Wilson Cortes Burgos, President of the Youth of MPI (he had attempted to accompany Perez Perez to Moscow, but was unable to obtain a passport. Two others, Hector Gelpi and Avelino Munoz Claudio, also failed in their attempt) issued a statement that his group would "double its efforts in the campaign against the draft in order to support the struggle of heroic Vietnam. This campaign would also be used to condemn "the bombing in which Varona was injured."

8. MARTA SANCHEZ MARTINEZ

As previously stated is an extremely militant agitator who figured in many incidents including the riots of May 4, 1967.

In April of 1964, she traveled to Red China, North Korea and North Vietnam.

9. ROBERTO TODD

Recently arrived in Havana as a replacement for Jose Rafael Varona Duarte.

On May 28, 1967, in his first statement after his arrival, Todd repeated the pledges against the draft and added that Puerto Rico "has become an enormous Yankee military base."

10. LOIDA FIGUEROA

History professor at Mayaguez College. Early in July 1966, she was in Prague after obtaining sabbatical leave. Dr. Figueroa requested permission to teach the history of Puerto Rico during the summer on the pretext that she had financial difficulties.

11. FILIBERTIO OJEDA

MPI representative in Havana during ceremonies of solidarity with North Korea.

12. DR. MANUEL MALDONADO DENIS

Professor at the University of Puerto Rico, spiritual instigator of the May 4, 1967 incidents, recently arrived in Havana to lecture on Jose Marti and Pedro Albizu Campos.

13. LAURA MENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS

Peruvian-born widow of Independence leader, Pedro Albizu Campos. Now a Cuban citizen and member of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. She was instrumental in bringing about a resolution at the Non-Aligned Nations Conference in Cairo calling for Puerto Rican independence. She has extensive contacts among the new African nations which comprise the bulk of votes on anti-colonialism resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

14. JUAN JUARBE Y JUARBE

Another Puerto Rican in the Cuban delegation to the United Nations.

15. PEDRO ALBIZU MENESES

Son of Laura Meneses and Pedro Albizu Campos; now a Cuban citizen, exploited because of his name.

16. JUAN MARI BRAS

Secretary General of MPI, travelled to Latin America for the purpose of mobilizing Communist leaders to support the case of Puerto Rico in the U.N. (att. 36 through 39).

On February 16, 1968, Juan Mari Bras, accompanied by Carlos Padilla Perez, Editor of "Claridad" the MPI mouthpiece, left for Chile where they were to contact personalities in the government.

No sooner had they landed in Lima, Peru, than the Peruvian authorities expelled them and forced them to take the first flight back to Miami. Mari and Padilla took a different flight to Santiago, Chile, and continued their mission.

Representatives from Puerto Rico are sure to play an important part in the forthcoming Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization which will take place on July 28, 1967 in Havana.

APPENDIX I

[From Granma, Dec. 25, 1966]

SOLIDARITY WITH VIET NAM: OSPAALA URGES ACTIONS AGAINST YANKEE EMBASSIES AND BUSINESS INSTALLATIONS

A cable sent by the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to its member organizations, through its Executive Secretariat, states as follows; "The peoples of the world have received with indignation the news of the criminal Yankee bombing of Hanoi, capital of an independent and sovereign nation. It is necessary to carry out efficient actions of support for the Vietnamese people. We ask member organizations to conduct demonstrations against U.S. embassies and Yankee-owned interests; to hold public meetings condemning and demanding an immediate end to the criminal bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; the end of aggression against the people of South Viet Nam; and the effecting of concrete activities demonstrating support and an increase in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism."

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF OSPAALA.

[From Granma, Nov. 20, 1966]

OSPAALA AGREES TO SET UP TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR POLITICAL CADRES OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

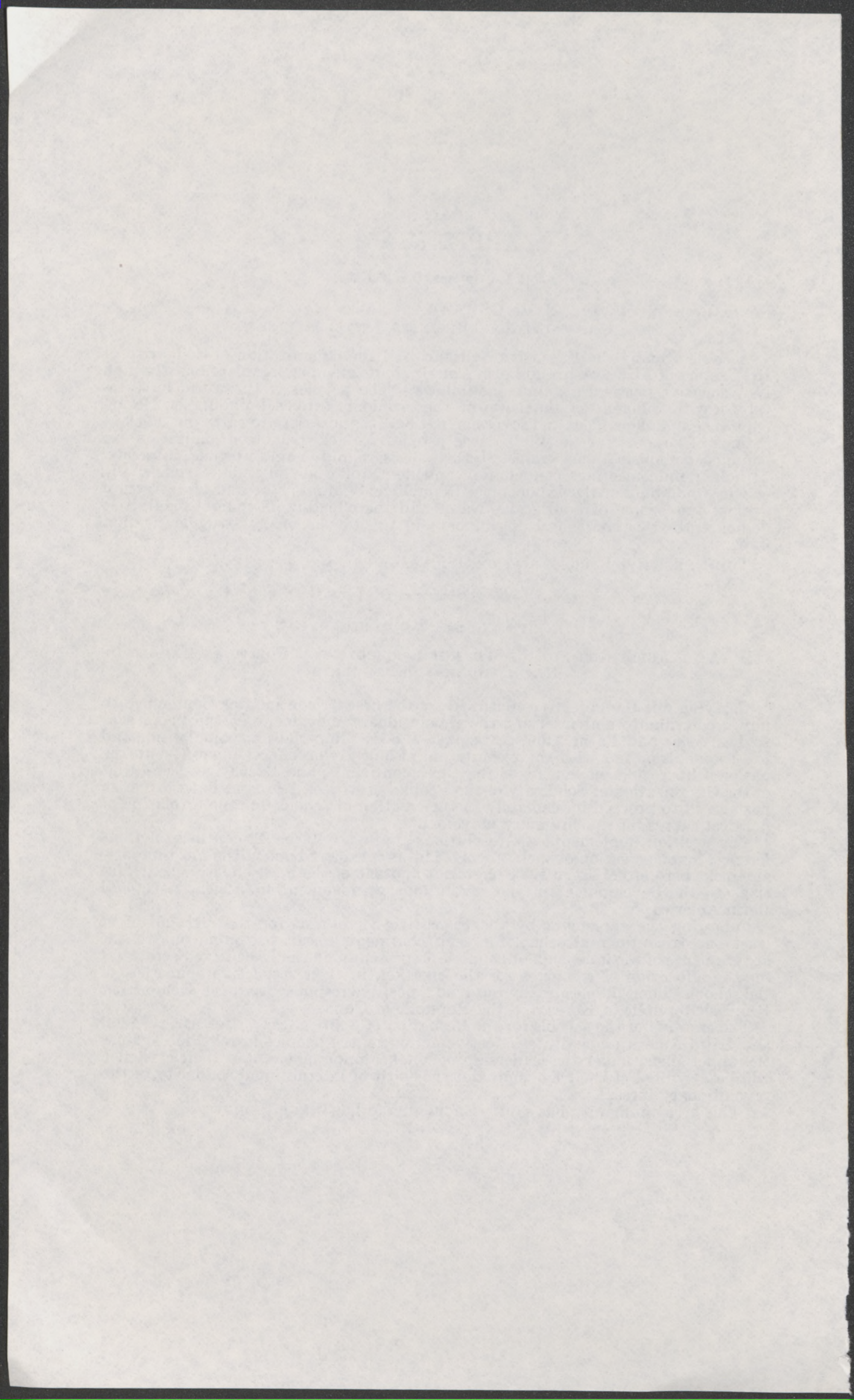
Carrying out the objectives outlined by the first Tricontinental Conference to unite, coordinate, and intensify the revolutionary movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America against U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, and with the resolute purpose of giving effective support to the national liberation movement of the three continents, the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America has agreed to proceed immediately to the creation of schools for the formation of political cadres for revolutionary movements.

The decision implements the resolution, approved at the Tricontinental Conference, for the creation of such schools. This is considered one of the most important tasks before the Executive Secretariat and one of the most effective contributions to the development of the revolutionary movement in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Following the agreement by the Executive Secretariat for the creation of at least one tricontinental school for each continent, a call has gone out to the governments of the independent countries represented in the Executive Secretariat for the allocation of resources for the creation, in their respective countries, of the schools. The call has already received a positive response from the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea and the Republic of Cuba.

The creation of the schools for the formation of political cadres for Africa, Asia, and Latin America constitutes effective action by the peoples in rebellion against the imperialists, under the leadership of Yankee imperialism, and their existence will be a symbol of the friendship and the spirit of international solidarity of the revolutionary forces.

"This great humanity has said: 'Enough!' and has begun to move."



APPENDIX II

MESSAGE FROM ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA

Havana Prensa Latina in Spanish 0021 GMT April 17, 1967—E

(Text of Ernesto Che Guevara's article to the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization)

Havana, April 16—Following is the text of the article which was sent by Maj. Ernesto Che Guevara to the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) and which will appear in the first issue of the magazine "Tricontinental" in June.

The battle cry is to create two, three . . . (Prensa Latina ellipsis) many Vietnams. This is the hour of the kilns, and only the light is to be seen. Jose Marti.

Twenty-one years have passed since the end of the last world war, and many publications in an infinite number of languages are hailing the event which was symbolized by Japan's defeat. There exists an atmosphere of apparent optimism in many sectors of the various camps into which the world is divided.

Twenty-one years without a world war in these days of harsh confrontations, of violent clashes, and sudden changes, looks like a large number. However, without analyzing the practical results of this peace, for which we are all prepared to fight (poverty, degradation, and growing exploitation over vast areas of the world—Prensa Latina), the question arises as to whether it is real.

It is not—repeat—not the intention of these notes to relate the various local conflicts which have succeeded one another since Japan's surrender. Nor is it our task to enumerate the growing number of civil wars which have erupted during these years of so-called peace. It will suffice to cite the Korean and Vietnam wars against such excessive optimism.

During the Korean war, after years of fierce struggle, the northern part of the country was engulfed in the worst devastation in the annals of modern warfare; it was riddled with bombs, and was left without factories, schools, or hospitals and without any kind of housing to shelter a population of 10 million.

Scores of countries led militarily by the United States took part in that war under the false flag of the United Nations, with the massive participation of U.S. soldiers and the use of an inducted South Korean population as cannon fodder. On the other side, the Korean Army and people and the volunteers from the Chinese People's Republic received supplies and advice from the Soviet military apparatus. The North American side employed all kinds of destructive weapons, excluding thermonuclear weapons, but including bacteriological and chemical arms on a limited scale.

In Vietnam there has been an almost uninterrupted chain of military action, supported by the patriotic forces of that country, against three imperialist powers: Japan, whose power dropped vertically after the bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; France, which recovered its Indochinese colonies from that vanquished nation and forgot the promises made during a difficult hour; and the United States in this latest phase of the struggle.

There have been limited confrontations on all continents, although for a long time, there only occurred sporadic liberation struggles and military coups on the American Continent until the Cuba revolution sounded the bugle of alert on the importance of this region and drew the anger of imperialism thus forcing the revolution to defend its shores at Palva Giron first, and later during the October crisis. The latter incident could have led to a war of incalculable proportions during the clash between the North Americans and the Soviets over Cuba. However, at present the differences are centered around the Indochinese Peninsula and the adjacent countries. Laos and Vietnam are shaken by civil wars which cease to be such with the appearance of U.S. imperialism and all its might, and the entire area has become a dangerous fuse ready to detonate.

In Vietnam the confrontation has taken an extremely acute turn. It is not—repeat—not our intention to give a history of this war either; we will only recall certain points of it.

In 1954, following the crushing defeat at Dien-Bien-Phu, (?the Geneva Agreement) was signed dividing the country into two zones and stipulating that elections should be held within 18 months to determine who should govern Vietnam and how the country would be reunified. The North Americans did not—repeat—not sign that document, and the maneuvering began to replace the French puppet Emperor Bao Dai with a man suitable to their purposes. He turned out to be Ngo Dinh Diem, whose tragic end—that of the orange squeezed dry by imperialism—is known to everybody.

In the months following the agreement optimism reigned among the popular forces. Redoubts used to fight the French in the south were dismantled, and fulfillment of the terms was awaited. But the patriots soon realized that there would be no elections unless the United States felt able to impose its will at the polls, something that it could not—repeat—not do even if it made use of all the methods of fraud known to it.

Fighting in the south resumed, and it kept gaining in intensity up to the present, when the U.S. Army contains almost half a million invaders, while the puppet forces are decreasing in number and above all, have completely lost any fighting spirit.

About 2 years ago the North Americans began systematically bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in another effort to curb the south's will to fight and force a conference from positions of strength. At first the bombing raids were more or less isolated and were cloaked in the guise of reprisals for alleged provocations from the north. Later their intensity and method were elevated until they became a gigantic drive carried out by U.S. air units day after day for the purpose of destroying every vestige of civilization in the northern zone of the country. It is an episode in the notorious escalation.

The material aims of the Yankee world have been satisfied in large part despite the stout defense put up by Vietnamese anti-aircraft units, the more than 1,700 planes downed, and the aid in war materiel from the Socialist camp.

A painful fact remains: Vietnam, that nation that represents the aspirations and hopes of victory of an entire neglected world, is tragically alone. That nation has to support the onslaught of U.S. technology, almost defenseless in the south and with some possibility of defense in the north, but always alone.

The progressive world's solidarity with the people of Vietnam is reminiscent of the bitter irony that the encouragement of the Hoi Polloi carried with it for the gladiator in the Roman circus. The thing is not—repeat—not to wish the victim success, but to share his lot, accompany him to death or victory.

When we analyze the Vietnamese isolation we are assailed by the anguish of this illogical moment in mankind's history. U.S. imperialism is guilty of aggression; its crimes are tremendous and are distributed all over the world. We know that, gentlemen! But the guilt is shared by those who, in the moment of truth, hesitated to make Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory—running the risk of a war worldwide in scope, to be sure, but at the same time forcing the North American imperialists to make a decision.

And the guilt is shared by those who keep up a war of insults and tricks, begun quite a while ago by the representatives of the two biggest powers in the socialist camp. Let us ask, in hope of obtaining an honorable answer: Is Vietnam isolated or not—repeat—not, balancing dangerously between the two warring powers?

What greatness, that of this nation! What stoicism and courage! And what a lesson this struggle contains for the world.

It will be a long time before we know whether President Johnson seriously intended to initiate some of the reforms necessary to a people—to file off some of the roughness from the class differences that are peeping through with explosive force, more and more frequently. What is certain is that the improvements announced under the pompous title of battle for the Great Society have gone down the drain in Vietnam.

The most powerful imperialist power is feeling the drain caused by a poor and backward nation, and its fabulous economy is weakened by the war effort. Killing is no longer the easiest job for the monopolies. Arms of strife, and not—repeat—not in sufficient number, is all these marvelous soldiers have in addition to love of their country and its society, as well as a tried and tested courage. However, imperialism is bogging down in Vietnam. It cannot find a way out and is desperately seeking someone who will allow it to emerge from this dangerous predicament with dignity. However, the "four points" of the North and "the five"

of the South are torturing it, and are making the confrontation even more decisive.

There is every indication that peace, that precarious peace which received that name only because there has been no world war, is once again in danger of breaking in the face of any irrevocable and unacceptable step on the part of the Americans.

And we, the exploited of the world, what is our role? The peoples of the three continents are observing and learning their lesson in Vietnam. With the threat of war, the imperialists are exerting blackmail on humanity. The just reply is not—repeat—not to fear war. The general tactics of the people must be to hit hard and incessantly at every point of confrontation. However, wherever this wretched peace of ours has been broken, what shall our task be? To free ourselves at all costs.

The world offers a very complex picture. The task of liberation is still awaiting countries in Old Europe which are sufficiently developed to feel all the contradictions of capitalism, but so weak that they can no longer follow along the path of imperialism or embark upon that path. During the next few years, the contradictions will acquire an explosive nature, but their problems, and, therefore, their solution is different from that of our dependent and economically backward nations.

Imperialism's basic field of exploitation takes in the three backward continents: America, Asia, and Africa. Each country has its own characteristics, but the continents, taken together, display them.

America constitutes a more or less homogenous entity, and the U.S. capitalist monopolies maintain absolute primacy almost throughout its entirety. The puppet governments, or, in the best of cases, the weak and fearful governments, cannot oppose the orders they receive from their yankee master. The North Americans have almost reached the peak of their political and economic domination. They cannot advance much further. Any change in the situation could bring about a reduction of their primacy. Their policy is to hold on to their gains. At the present time their line of action is reduced to the use of brute force to prevent liberation movements, regardless of their nature.

Under the slogan "We will not—repeat—not permit another Cuba," lies the possibility of attacks with impunity, such as the one against Santo Domingo or earlier, the Panama massacre, and the clear warning that the Yankee troops are prepared to intervene anywhere in America where the established order has been altered to the detriment of its interests. This policy makes for complete impunity. Discredited as it may be the OAS is a convenient disguise. The United Nations organization's inefficiency borders on the ridiculous or on the tragic. The armies of all American countries are prepared to intervene to crush their peoples. A de facto international organization for crime and betrayal has been created. Moreover, the autonomous bourgeois countries have lost all their ability to oppose imperialism—if they ever had it, and only constitute the caboose. There are no other changes to be made: Either socialist revolution or else a caricature of a revolution.

The Asian Continent presents different characteristics. The liberation struggle against a string of European colonial powers resulted in the establishment of more or less progressive governments, whose later evolution, in some cases, meant strengthening the primary goals of national liberation and, in others, a return to the pro-imperialist positions.

From the economic viewpoint, the United States had little to lose and much to gain in Asia. The changes favored it: There is a struggle to displace other neo-colonialist powers. To penetrate new spheres of action in the economic field, at times directly, and at others using Japan.

But there are special political conditions, particularly in the Indochinese Peninsula, that give Asia characteristics of major importance and plan an important role in U.S. imperialism's global military strategy. U.S. imperialism is encircling China by means of South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, South Vietnam, and Thailand, at least.

This double aspect—a strategic interest as important as a military ring around People's China, and the ambition of its capital to penetrate those great markets it still does not—repeat—not dominate—makes Asia one of the most explosive spots in the world of today despite the apparent stability that exists outside the Vietnamese area.

Geographically belonging to this continent, but with its own contradictions, the Middle East is in ferment. It is still impossible to foresee where the cold war will lead that is being waged between Israel, backed by the imperialists, and the progressive countries of the area. This is another of the threatening volcanos in the world.

Africa displays the characteristic of an almost untapped field for neocolonial invasion. Changes have occurred which to some extent forced the neocolonial powers to yield their old absolute prerogatives. But when the process goes forward uninterruptedly, colonialism is followed without violence by a neocolonialism of equal effects as far as economic domination is concerned.

The United States had no colonies in this region and is now striving to penetrate its partners' old private grounds. It may be said that Africa, in U.S. imperialism's strategic plans, constitutes a long-term reservoir. U.S. imperialism's current investments are of importance only in the Union of South Africa and have begun penetration of the Congo, Nigeria, and other countries, where violent competition is beginning—peacefully so far—with other imperialist powers.

It still does not—repeat—not have important interests to defend, except its presumed right to intervene anywhere on earth where its monopolies smell good profits or the existence of large reserves of raw materials.

All this background justifies the question as to possibilities for the short- or medium-term liberation of peoples.

If we analyze Africa we see that fighting is going on with some intensity in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola, with particular success in the first and varying success in the last two. A struggle still continues between Lumumba's successors and Tshombe's old accomplices in the Congo, a struggle that currently seems to be favoring the latter, the men who have "restored peace" to much of the country to their own benefit, although war remains latent.

In Rhodesia it is a different problem, British imperialism used every mechanism available to it to turn power over to the white minority that holds it at present. From England's viewpoint, the conflict is absolutely unofficial; but this power, with its customary diplomatic skill—also known as hypocrisy in plain language—feigns annoyance over the measures adopted by the Ian Smith government and is supported in its sly attitude by some commonwealth countries that follow its suit, while it is attacked by a good many countries of Black Africa, whether or not—repeat—not they are docile economic vassals of British imperialism.

The situation in Rhodesia could become extremely explosive, if the efforts of the black patriots to rise in arms crystallized and if this movement received effective support from neighboring African nations. But as of now all problems are aired in organizations as innocuous as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, or the Organization of African Unity.

Nevertheless, Africa's political and social evolution does not—repeat—not indicate a continental revolutionary situation. The struggles for liberation from the Portuguese should end victoriously, but Portugal means nothing on the imperialist list. Confrontations of revolutionary importance are those that place the entire imperialist machinery in check, although this should not—repeat—not make us stop fighting for the liberation of the three Portuguese colonies and a radicalization of their revolutions.

When the black masses in South Africa or Rhodesia begin their real revolutionary struggle, a new era will have started in Africa, or when the impoverished masses of some country rise to redeem their right to a decent life from the hands of the ruling oligarchy.

Up to now there has been a succession of coups in which one group of officers takes the place of another or of some ruler who no longer serves the interests of the caste or of the powers that manipulate him behind the scenes, but there are no popular upheavals. traces did appear in the Congo inspired by the memory of Lumumba, but they have been losing strength these past months.

In Asia, as we have seen, the situation is explosive, and the points of friction are not—repeat—not just Vietnam and Laos, where fighting is going on. Others are Cambodia—where direct U.S. aggression might begin any time—Thailand, Malaysia, and of course Indonesia, where we cannot believe the last word has been said in spite of the destruction of the Communist Party in that country when the reactionaries took power, and to be sure, the middle East.

In Latin America, an armed struggle is being waged in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia, and the first outcroppings are making their appearance in Brazil. There are other focal points of resistance that appear and are extinguished. But almost all countries of this continent are ripe for a struggle of such a nature that in order to succeed it cannot be content with anything less than establishment of a Socialist-type Government.

This is practically a one-language continent, except for Brazil, whose population and the Spanish-speaking peoples can understand one another because of the similarity in their languages.

There is so close an identity among the classes of these countries that they achieve a kind of "American international" identification, much more complete

than on other continents. They are linked by language, customs, religion, and the same master. The degree and the forms of exploitation are **similar** in their effect on exploiters and exploited in a good part of the countries of our America. And rebellion is ripening apace in it.

We might ask: This rebellion, how will it blossom? What kind will it be? For a long time we have argued that because of similar characteristics the struggle in America will, at the proper moment, acquire continental dimensions. America will be the scene for many big battles sought by mankind for its liberation.

In the framework of that struggle of continental scope, the struggles currently being waged in an active manner are mere episodes, but they have already provided martyrs who will figure in American history as having contributed their share of the blood needed in this final phase of the struggle for man's complete freedom. That history will feature the names of Maj. Turcios Lima, Father Camilo Torres, Maj. Fabricio Ojeda, Majors Lobaton and Luis de la Puente Uceda, central figures in the revolutionary movements of Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru.

But the active mobilization of the people creates new leaders. Cesar Montes and Yon Sosa have used the standard in Guatemala, Fabio Vazquez and Marulanda in Colombia, Douglas Bravo in the west and Americo Martin in the Bachiluer area command their respective fronts in Venezuela.

Fresh outbursts of war will arise in these and other American countries, as has already occurred in Bolivia, and they will continue to grow with all the vicissitudes involved in this dangerous business of a modern revolutionary. Many will die, the victims of their errors. Others will fall in the difficult combat that is approaching. New fighters and new leaders will emerge in the heat of the revolutionary struggle. The people will mould their fighters and their guides within the selective framework of the war itself, and the Yankee agents of repression will increase.

Today there are advisers in all the countries where the armed struggle is being waged, and apparently the Peruvian Army staged a successful drive against the revolutionaries of that country. That army is also advised and trained by the Yankees. However, with sufficient political and military dexterity, they will become practically invincible, and it will be necessary to send more Yankees. In Peru itself, with tenacity and firmness, new persons, not fully known, are reorganizing the guerrilla warfare. Little by little the obsolete weapons satisfactory for the repression of small armed groups will be converted into modern weapons and the groups of advisers into U.S. fighters, until, at a given moment, they will be obliged to send increasing numbers of regular troops to insure the relative stability of a power whose national puppet army is disintegrating before the guerrilla forces.

That is the path of Vietnam; that is the path which the peoples must pursue; it is the course which America will follow with the special characteristic that the armed groups may be able to create something like coordination boards to make Yankee imperialism's repressive task more difficult and to facilitate their own cause.

America, a continent which was forgotten by the recent political liberation struggles, but which is beginning to make itself felt through the tricontinental in the voice of the vanguard of its peoples, that is, the Cuban revolution, will have a much more important task: that of creating the second or third Vietnam, or the second and third Vietnam in the world.

In conclusion, it must be realized that imperialism is a world system, the last stage of capitalism, and that it must be beaten in a great international confrontation. The strategic goal of this struggle must be the destruction of imperialism. Our share of the task, that of the exploited and backward nations of the world, is to destroy imperialism. Supply bases: our oppressed nations from where it obtains capital, raw materials, technology, and cheap labor, and to where it exports fresh capital—the instruments of domination, weapons and all types of articles, plunging us into total dependency.

The basic element in this strategic goal will be, then, the true liberation of the peoples; a liberation that will take place, by means of an armed struggle in most cases, and that, in America, will almost unfailingly possess the property of becoming a socialist revolution. In considering the destruction of imperialism, its leader must be identified, which is none other than the United States of North America. We must wage a general type action whose tactical goal will be to draw the enemy out of its surroundings, forcing it to fight in places where its living habits clash with the actual situation. The adversary must not—repeat—not be underestimated; the U.S. soldier has technical know-how and is backed by means

of frightening magnitude. What it essentially lacks is the ideological motivation—that its bitterest rivals of today—the Vietnamese soldiers—possess to a maximum degree. We can only triumph over that army to the extent that we manage to reduce its morale. Its morale is undermined by inflicting defeats and repeated sufferings on it.

But this little outline of victories involves tremendous sacrifices by the peoples, sacrifices that must be demanded as of now, openly, and which may perhaps be less painful than the ones they would have to make if we were constantly to refuse battle in hopes that others would pull our chestnuts out of the fire.

Of course the last country to obtain freedom will probably do so without an armed struggle, and that people will be spared the suffering of a long war, as cruel as the imperialists wage it. But it may be impossible to avoid that struggle or its effects in a world conflict and the suffering might be just as bad or even worse. We cannot predict the future, but we must never yield to the cowardly temptation to be the standard bearers of a people that longs for freedom but shirks the struggle involved and awaits freedom like a crumb of victory.

It is absolutely correct to avoid all unnecessary sacrifice. That is why it is so important to clear up the actual possibilities that dependent Latin America has for freeing itself peacefully. For us, the answer to that question is clear. The present may or may not—repeat—not be the moment indicated for beginning the struggle. But we cannot harbor any illusions, nor have we any right to do so, about attaining freedom without fighting.

And the battles will not—repeat—not be mere street fighting with stones against tear gas, or peaceful general strikes; nor will it be the struggle of an enraged people that in 2 or 3 days destroys the repressive structure of the ruling oligarchies. It will be a long, fierce struggle, in which your fronts will be the guerrilla refuges, the cities, the fighters' homes—where easy victims from their families will be sought out—rural populations massacred, villages or towns destroyed by enemy bombing.

We are driven to that struggle; there is no recourse but to prepare it and resolve to undertake it. The beginnings will not—repeat—not be easy; they will be extremely hard. The oligarchies will place their full capacity for repression and brutality and demagoguery at the service of their cause. Our mission in the first hour is to survive. After that will come the eternal example of guerrilla warfare effecting armed propaganda as the Vietnamese understand the term, that is, the propaganda of bullets, of battles that are won or lost but are fought against the enemy; the great lesson of guerrilla warfare invincibility taking hold of the disinherited masses;

The galvanizing of the national spirit, the preparation for harder tasks, for resisting more violent repression; hatred as a factor in the struggle; intransigent hatred of the enemy that pushes a man beyond natural human limits and makes him an efficient, violent, selective, cold machine for killing. Our soldiers must be like that; a people without hate cannot defeat a brutal enemy.

The war must be taken to where the enemy takes it—to his home, to his places of recreation; make it all-out. He must be kept from having a minute's peace, a minute's rest outside of his barracks or even inside them; he must be attacked wherever he may be; he must be made to feel like a beast at bay everywhere he goes. Then his morale will drop. He will become still more bestial, but signs of wear will begin to appear.

And let real proletarian internationalism be developed, with international proletarian armies, where the banner under which the fight is waged is the sacred cause of mankind's redemption, so that dying under the flag of Vietnam, Venezuela, Guatemala, Laos, Guinea, Colombia, Bolivia, or Brazil—to mention only the current scenes of fighting—will be equally glorious and attractive for an American, an Asian, an African, or even a European.

Every drop of blood shed on a territory under whose flag one was not born is experience that is utilized by the survivor later in the struggle to liberate his land of origin. And each people that is freed represents a phase won in the battle for the liberation of one's own people.

Now is the time to reduce our differences and to make an all-out effort in the service of the struggle. We know that the world, which is struggling for freedom is stirred by great controversies, and we cannot hide that fact. We also know that they have acquired a nature and bitterness which makes a dialog and reconciliation appear difficult, if not—repeat—not impossible. It is useless to seek methods to begin a dialog which the contending parties reject, but the enemy is there. It strikes every day and threatens fresh blows, and those blows will unite us, today, tomorrow, or the day after. Those who realize this sooner and prepare for this necessary unity will have the gratitude of the people.

In view of the virulence and stubborn attitudes with which each cause is defended, we, the dispossessed, cannot advocate one way or the other of expressing differences, even though at times we agree with the arguments of one side or the other, or with those of one side more than with those of the other. In time of struggle, the manner in which the present differences become evident constitutes a weakness; however, in the condition in which these differences are, it is illusory to think that they can be settled with words. History will erase them or provide a true explanation.

In our world at war, anything that smacks of differences on tactics, a method of action to obtain limited goals, must be analyzed with the respect due to the views of others. As for the great strategic objective—the total destruction of imperialism by means of combat, there we must be intransigent.

Let us thus unite our wishes for victory: The destruction of imperialism by abolishing its strongest bulwark, which is the imperialist domination by the United States of America. We must adopt as our tactical function, the gradual liberation of the peoples, one by one or by groups, forcing the enemy into a difficult struggle away from its home ground, destroying its supply bases, which are its dependent territories.

That means a long war, and we repeat once again, a cruel war. Let no one deceive himself when he goes to start it and let nobody hesitate about starting it for fear of the consequences for his people. It is almost the sole hope for victory.

We cannot evade the call of the hour. We learn this from Vietnam, with its permanent lesson of heroism, its tragic daily lesson of battle and death in order to achieve final victory. There, imperialism's soldiers meet with the discomfort of those accustomed to the standard of living enjoyed in the United States and now obliged to face a hostile land, the insecurity of not—repeat—not being able to move without feeling that he is treading on enemy soil, the death that greets those who go beyond their fortified redoubts, the permanent hostility shown by the entire population.

All this is causing a reaction inside the United States. It is bringing out a factor that has been attenuated by imperialism, in its full strength—class warfare even inside its own territory.

How shining and near could we see the future if two, three, or many Vietnams flourished on the face of the earth, with their quota of death and their great tragedies, their daily heroism, their repeated blows dealt imperialism, the obligation for the latter to disperse its forces, under the blast of growing hatred from the peoples of the world. And if we were all capable of uniting so that our blows would be more solid and better delivered, so that every kind of aid to peoples engaged in fighting would be still more effective, how great the future would be, And how near!

If our lot—we who on a small point on the map of the earth are doing the duty we preach and are placing at the disposal of the struggle what little we are able to give: Our life, our sacrifice—is to give up the ghost one of these days in some land, now ours, watered with our blood, let it be known that we have considered the scope of our actions and that we consider ourselves only as elements in the great army of the proletariat; but we are proud of having learned from the Cuban revolution and its great supreme leader the great lesson that is derived from their stand in this part of the world: "What matter the dangers or sacrifices incurred by a man or a people when the destiny of mankind is at stake?"

All our action is a war cry against imperialism and a clamor for the unity of peoples against the great enemy of human kind: The United States of North America. Wherever we are surprised by death, it will be welcome provided this war cry of ours has reached a receptive ear and another hand reaches to take up our weapons and other men prepare to sound the funeral dirge with the rattle of machine gun fire and new shots of war and victory.

CHE.

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT, April 19, 1967—F

(Headline: "Latin American Leaders Hail Che Guevara's Victory Message"): The official organ of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC), Granma, has published a number of statements by revolutionary representatives of Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Guatemala, Uruguay, and Mexico, hailing Che Guevara's historic message and expressing unconditional support for the points enunciated in it.

Comrade Silvia Moreno of Venezuela said that Che's message sets forth important definitions for Latin America, particularly for honey revolutionaries who will be utterly unmasked.

Aluizio Palhana of Brazil said that the whole document is an invaluable contribution to the revolutionary movement in Latin America and the world.

Oscar Edmundo Palma of Guatemala highlighted the importance of Guevara's message not—repeat—not only because of the thorough study it makes of the essential problems of the revolutionary movement but also because of its vigorous accusation against the growing domination by Yankee imperialism in our countries.

Similar feelings are expressed by comrade leaders Jesus Maza of Peru, Manuel Cepeda of Colombia, Daniel Nolina of Mexico, J. Martinez and O. Cabrera of Uruguay. They said: Che Guevara's message has come as a herald of struggle and victory in the sake of the dying echoes of the Punta Del Este Conference.

LASO STATEMENTS CONCERNING GUEVARA MESSAGE

Havana Prensa Latina in Spanish 1745 GMT, April 19, 1967—E

HAVANA, APRIL 19—The members of the Organizing Committee of the First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) have issued a statement saluting the recent message from Maj. Ernesto Guevara, addressed to all the peoples of the World. "To create two, three, many Vietnams is the goal. This phrase, in our view, summarizes the problem posed by 'Che' in his article," said Venezuelan Silvia Moreno.

Jesus Maza, of Peru, said that "Major Guevara is neither dead nor a legend. His always real presence is today, after his message, felt everywhere in the contemporary scene of our liberation wars."

For his part, the Colombian delegate, Manuel Cepeda has declared that "the proposals contained in his message attract the attention of an awakening continent, contributing to the universal fence being raised around the enemy of mankind. U.S. imperialism.

Aluizio Palhano, of Brazil, has said that Ernesto Guevara's document constitutes "an incalculable contribution to the Latin American revolutionary movement."

Similarly J. Martinez and O. Cabrera, Uruguayan representatives, have declared that "his militant word is multiplying the hopes of the peoples and the fear of our oppressors. How could we not applaud the revolutionary intransigence 'Che' Guevara transmits to all of us?"

Finally, the Mexican delegate, Daniel Molina, has stated that "the appearance of the first document from Ernesto 'Che' Guevara has filled all the revolutionaries of the world with profound enthusiasm. Interpreting the feelings and the actions of the revolutionaries of my country, I say, with sincere and worthy emotion: 'We are always with you, Major, to victory.'"

APPENDIX III

STATEMENTS ON CONFERENCE BY LASO LEADERS

GUATEMALA—FRANCISCO MARROQUIN

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1600 GMT, February 7, 1967—E

(Excerpts) in Cuba, the campaign of solidarity with the Guatemalan people has included several functions in which Cubans have expressed their complete identification with the struggle being waged by their Guatemalan brothers for national liberation. (Passage omitted.)

Francisco Marroquin, representative in Cuba of the Guatemalan rebel armed forces, spoke at the main function held at the Guatemala Sugar Central, formerly owned by United Fruit, Marroquin said: "Our revolution does not—repeat—not involve the polls. Our decision is to fight with our weapons in our hands, with the firm intention of winning or dying for Guatemala." (Passage omitted.)

VENEZUELA—SILVIA MORENO

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1600 GMT, February 7, 1967—E

Silvia Moreno, a Venezuelan revolutionary leader, has declared, in Pinar Del Rio Province, "Just as imperialism brings its forces together, the revolutionaries must unite in a common front." Silvia Moreno is a representative of the revolutionary movements of Venezuela to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO). The young Venezuelan woman was speaking during a function in Pinar Del Rio held as part of the activities throughout Cuba with a view to the forthcoming LASO conference in Havana in June.

GUATEMALA—OSCAR PALMA

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 2020 GMT, February 6, 1967—E

HAVANA, FEBRUARY 6.—"Guatemala: 5 Years of Armed Struggle," is the headline of an article by Oscar Edmundo Palma, the representative in Cuba of the Guatemalan Workers Party (PGT) which appeared today in the Havana morning paper Granma, Organ of the Cuban Communist Party.

On the occasion of the world campaign in solidarity with the Guatemalan people which is being held today in response to an appeal by the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), Palma reviews the liberation struggle which began in Guatemala on February 6, 1962.

He said that the youths who took part in the army rebellion against the Ydigoras Fuentes' tyranny, on November 13, 1960 "Have the historical merit of having opened the real path of the Guatemalan revolution."

Palma adds: "Since then the armed struggle in Guatemala has been the essence of the revolution," and its main objective is the conquest of power for the people—by means of a profound and prolonged war combining all forms of struggle—"So as to abolish the burden of centuries of exploitation and oppression by the oligarchy and imperialism and to build a new society."

The article goes on to say that the Guatemalan guerrillas surmounted their initial setbacks. It reports that the Edgar Ibarra front, which was founded and led by the unforgettable Maj. Turcios Lima and is now under the leadership of Maj. Cesar Montes, is operating in the heart of the Sierra De Las Minas. This front is operating under the banners of the rebel armed forces (FAR), which is a "political-military organization whose role is to direct the people's revolutionary war."

Emphasizing that the guerrilla forces have established themselves firmly over a wide area in the mountains, and have dealt severe blows to the Guatemalan

puppet army upon which they have inflicted heavy losses, Palma adds that there is a simultaneous resistance movement in the cities under the FAR leadership.

The author goes on to say that this movement has executed some bold operations such as the recent seizure of a train belonging to the U.S.-owned international railways of Central America Co., during which a large amount of money was seized to continue the struggle. The fighting is spreading to other areas of the country such as Escuintla, Retalhuleu, and the west.

Palma adds that the revolutionary awareness of the masses has increased during the past 5 years—even among the most socially and politically backward, such as the Indians, and it is not—repeat—not necessary to the revolutionary fighting to await the creation of subjective conditions. He says that the guerrilla forces can be invincible if they establish contact with the people and espouse their greatest aspirations in keeping with a clear concept of the struggle.

In accordance with the working class party's historic role, the PGT has taken all this into account and has had to alter its structure, including its leadership without losing sight of the Leninist nature of its organization. It has had to "eradicate formalistic and bureaucratic methods and to attach the representatives of the young and powerful Marxist-Leninist generation to its central committee."

In conclusion, Palma emphasizes that the revolution in Guatemala, which will be long and difficult, is progressing along these foundations, "but this is the only course which will lead the people to a definitive victory." Knowing that the revolutionary forces are reaffirming their determination to continue and strengthen the armed struggle, imperialism is preparing a direct intervention in Guatemala. However, the people of Guatemala will be able to meet this contingency with determination and wage the battle until final victory.

URUGUAY—LEOPOLDO BRUHERAS

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1655 GMT, February 13, 1967—F

(Feature: "Today's Interview" with Uruguayan Leopoldo/Bruheras—recorded)

Question. Leopoldo (Bruheras), representative of Uruguay to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), headquartered in Havana, will talk to us about a few interesting matters. Bruheras would you tell us about existing conditions in Latin American nations to carry on the struggle for national liberation?

BRUHERAS. The Latin American peoples have various conditions for the struggle. In the first place, we Uruguayans pay homage to our Latin American brothers who have been shedding their blood, taking up arms in the struggle. This is the recommended way for peoples striving for national independence. We Uruguayans also know that the time for revolution is not—repeat—not identical for every Latin American nation. But we stress that all Latin American nations have a common enemy—American Imperialism—which, and we stress this also, has a common strategy against all the Latin American peoples. There is no better opportunity than the LASO conference in July to discuss the problem of plotting a common strategy for the Latin American peoples.

Of course there are bound to be some cynics, friends of the Americans and enemies of our peoples, who will bring up Havana's or Moscow's "shadowy hand" behind the scenes. But there are going to be many hands in Latin America, the fraternal handclasp of the Latin American peoples. We are delighted that the Americans are trembling. They have introduced torture, crime, and blackmail among the Latin American peoples. Yet this has resulted in one thing: that our revolution is filled with (? heroism).

The Uruguayan people, simple and modest, make up a small nation and we represent a modest revolutionary organization which, however, can tell our Latin American brothers that they will perform their duty and will earnestly contribute to the success of the Latin American Solidarity Conference.

Question. Since you have referred to the first Latin American Peoples Solidarity Conference to be held in Havana in July of this year and which will discuss the problems of the nations of our hemisphere, would you tell us something about the present situation in your country?

BRUHERAS. In brief, I would say that the Uruguayan situation for the past several years has been noted basically by the upswing of the revolutionary, patriotic, democratic, peoples labor movement. If we were to pick some factors to explain this I would say they are: The strengthening of the Leftist Liberation Front, in other words the front that includes the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces of our country; the strengthening of every one of the organizations that

make up the leftist front; and the the great expansion and strengthening of the Uruguayan labor movement. For many years in Uruguay, the Uruguayan hierarchy, which is very submissive, and American imperialism, have tried to break this tenacity of the Uruguayan people and particularly, that of the Uruguayan proletariat.

We should tell our radio listeners friends that Uruguay is a relatively industrially developed nation among the Latin American nations. We are very familiar with unemployment and underdevelopment. The Uruguayan proletariat is at the van of the revolution. I say this categorically and no one can question this in my country. Yet we assert that the reactionary forces of American imperialism, the American Embassy, and Mr. McNamara himself, are concerned about the Uruguayan revolutionary movement. They would like to sponsor, to carry out, in plain words, a guerrilla coup in our country. If they are unsuccessful in pulling it off, it is not—repeat—not as some Latin American “representative democrats” say, because of the “benevolence” of the American Embassy,” it is because of the vigor of the Uruguayan working class.

ANNOUNCER. You have heard Leopoldo (Bruheras), Uruguay’s representative to the Executive Committee of LASO in Havana.

COLOMBIA—MANUEL CEPEDA VARGAS

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1655 GMT, Feb. 6, 1967—F

(Interview with Colombian Delegate to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) in Cuba, Manuel Cepeda Vargas—Recorded)

(Summary with quotations) Question. Cepeda, could you explain to us the purpose of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO)?

CEPEDA. LASO was born of the great Tricontinental Conference. The conference revolved around the problem of anti-imperialist struggle. This problem is most acute in Latin America because Latin America is the backyard of North American imperialism. This problem links the people of Latin America in a close brotherhood and when the conference ended last year, the 27 delegations that represented Latin America met on January 16, 1966, and formed LASO. “Its objective is to unite, coordinate, and promote the struggle of solidarity with the countries of Latin America which today are fighting against Yankee imperialism. We can say the reason for the birth of LASO is the great anti-imperialist struggle being waged today in Latin America.”

Question. Could you tell us which countries make up the LASO Organizing Committee?

CEPEDA. The LASO Organizing Committee consists of the delegates of the following countries: Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, Guyana, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. This means that a third of the entire LASO organization is represented in the committee. We must say that the organizing committee has been deliberating and performing its work in an entirely fraternal manner and the tasks that we are performing in preparation for the first LASO conference that is going to be held next July are progressing satisfactorily.

Question. Since you have referred to the upcoming conference to be held in Havana in July, we would like for you to expand on that subject a little and give us some concrete examples of imperialist penetration in the countries of our America.

CEPEDA. We can say that North American imperialism at this very time is lining up its military, financial, and military systems in Latin America. Against this it is necessary to unite and strengthen the common struggle of the Latin American people. The economic, political, and military fence that North American imperialism is building around Cuba, the first country to construct socialism in America; this blockade by Yankee imperialism against Cuba, is a challenge to the conscience of the Latin American people and therefore is a problem that will receive the attention of the great conference of solidarity which will take place in July of this year.

GUATEMALA—EDMUNDO PALMA

Havana Prensa Latina in Spanish 1347 GMT, March 8, 1967—E

HAVANA, MARCH 8.—Edmundo Palma, the Guatemalan delegate to the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), has declared that the first LASO conference “is called upon to be a great historical event for our countries. For the first time in the history of the Latin American nations, the qualified representa-

tives of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic movements of our America—as Martí referred to our continent—are going to meet in Havana, first free territory of America, not—repeat—not simply to hold a meeting for speeches, but to examine, seriously and carefully, their common problems and establish a joint, practical, and combative strategy against the common enemy: U.S. Imperialism.” “We believe,” he added, “that the conference must, in the first place, strengthen the Revolutionary unity of our peoples and stress the development of the struggle itself as the most effective form of solidarity. That means that the conference should constitute a general push for the national liberation struggle against imperialism and the native oligarchies in all the Latin American countries, establishing precise forms of aid to the revolutionary movements and forming an organization that will combine all the efforts of the revolutionary movements, represent them properly, and promote that type of militant and combative solidarity among the Latin American peoples.”

A. PALHANO

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish, 1700 GMT, April 21, 1967—F

“We are convinced that in this conference to be held in Havana from July 28, to August 5, we will be able to achieve the conditions that can lead revolutionaries along the certain paths of Latin American revolution,” said Aluizio Palhano, member of the Executive Committee of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), in a mass ceremony held at the Amistad Con Los Pueblos Sugar Central in Guines.

In his speech, the LASO leader, who represents Brazil in the organization, said that the conference of the peoples of the Latin American continent will serve to establish a common strategy among the countries which fight for their liberation for the defeat of imperialism. He also referred to the concept of solidarity which must inspire this first conference of Latin American countries and on this he added: “The example of Vietnam is the most eloquent example of solidarity that can be found in our time. The people who face the North American aggressor day after day are fighting for all humanity.”

He then referred to the problems that are going to be discussed in the conference as follows (recording of Palhano’s speech): “We intend to discuss in this conference, not—repeat—not secondary problems in a spirit of reformist solutions for the problems of the working class, the peasants and students, but rather to find how, in what manner, those sectors of the Latin American populations can wage a specific struggle to contribute effectively to the achievement of national liberation for our peoples.”

The closing speech of the ceremony which was held in the Amistad Con Los Pueblos Central in Guines as part of the events of the week of solidarity with the people of Latin America, was made by Cesar Gomez, secretary of the party Provincial Bureau’s Committee of Revolutionary Orientation. In his speech he referred to the difference which exists between meetings such as that of Punta Del Este and the first Conference of the People of Latin America. He emphasized (recording): “When we—and when I say ‘we’ I refer to all the people of Latin America—wish to meet to bring up and discuss the problems of America, it would never occur to us to invite the government leaders of these countries. With whom are we going to meet? With whom are we going to carry out this meeting of solidarity? With the representatives of Latin American governments? No, we are going to carry out this meeting with the ones who truly know the needs. With the ones who truly know the problems of Latin America because they live with these problems day after day.”

Further on Cesar Gomez pointed out the example of a Latin American man who did not—repeat—not hesitate to leave an important post, his family, and comforts, to go somewhere in the world to fight for the freedom of another country. “Che Guevara is the example that Latin Americans follow because that is the real way to fight. A Communist has no fatherland, no boundaries.”

In conclusion, Gomez hailed the forthcoming first Conference of Solidarity of Latin American Peoples and he wished it every success.

APPENDIX IV

PRINCIPAL FIGURES OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA (PCC)

REPORT FROM MIAMI

[Prepared by USIA Special Projects Office, Federal Office Building, Miami, Fla.]

Herewith is a list of top ranking officials in the Cuban Government, the Communist Party Organization of Cuba, and the Cuban Diplomatic Service.

This list is based on the latest information available from exile sources and official Cuban publications as of May 1, 1967.

CARL E. DAVIS,
Officer in Charge, Special Projects Office.

Title and department	Name
President.....	Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado.
Secretary to the Presidency and of the Council of Ministers.	Celia Sánchez Manduley.
Prime Minister.....	Maj. Fidel Castro Ruz.
Deputy Prime Minister.....	Maj. Raúl Castro Ruz.
MINISTRIES	
Armed Forces (MINFAR).....	Maj. Raúl Castro Ruz.
("Acting" Minister).....	Maj. Juan Almeida Bosque.
Industry (MININD).....	Joel Domenech Benitez.
National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA).	Maj. Fidel Castro (Minister-President); Maj. Raúl Curbelo Morales (Executive deputy).
Justice (MINJUS).....	Dr. Alfredo Yabur Maluf.
Education (MINED).....	José Llanusa Gobel.
(a) National Council of Culture (CNC).....	Dr. Eduardo Muzio.
(b) National Institute of Sports, Physical Education, and Recreation (INDER).	Jorge García Bango.
Interior (MININ).....	Maj. Ramiro Valdés Menéndez.
Public Health (MINSAP).....	Dr. José R. Machado Ventura.
Foreign Relations (MINREX).....	Dr. Raúl Roa García.
Construction (MICONS).....	Ing. Ramón Darías Rodés.
National Bank.....	Orlando Pérez Rodríguez.
Sugar Industry (MINAZ).....	Lt. Orlando Borrego Díaz.
Transportation (MINTRANS).....	Maj. Faure Chomón Mediavilla.
Foreign Commerce (MINCEX).....	Marcelo Fernández Font.
Domestic Commerce (MINCIN).....	Manuel Luzardo García.
Communications (MINCOM).....	Maj. Jesús Montané Oropesa.
Labor.....	Capt. Jorge Risquet Valdés.
Economy.....	Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado.
Food Industry.....	José Alberto Naranjo Morales.
Without Portfolio.....	Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez.

Title and department	Name
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES	
Central Planning Board (JUCEPLAN)-----	Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado; Ing. Manuel Aguilera (Executive deputy). Pastora Núñez.
National Institute of Saving and Housing (INAV).	Dr. Alfredo Guevara.
National Institute of Cinematographic Art and Film Industry (ICAIC).	Armando Ribas Patterson.
National Institute of Tourist Industry (INIT). Cuban Institute of Friendship with the People (ICAP).	Giraldo Mazola.
Superior Council of Urban Reform-----	Dr. Alfredo Yabur Maluf.
National Council of Universities-----	Dr. Juan Mier Febles.
National Council of the Academy of Science--	Capt. Antonio Núñez Jiménez.
Cuban Broadcasting Institute (ICR)-----	Ramiro Puertas Quiroga.
National Institute of Hydraulic Resources (INRH).	Dr. Faustino Pérez Hernández.
National Fishery Institute (INP)-----	Capt. Emilio Aragonés.
"MASS ORGANIZATIONS"	
Federation of Cuban Women (FMC)-----	Vilma Espín de Castro.
Confederation of Cuban Labor (CTC-R)-----	Miguel Martín Pérez.
Committees of the Defense of the Revolution (CDR).	Luis González Marturelo.
Communist Youth League (UJC)-----	Jaime Crombet.
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS	
University of Havana-----	Dr. José R. Miyar Barrueco (Rector).
Cuban Newspapermen's Union (UPEC)-----	Ernesto Vera.
Cuban Pioneers' League (UPC)-----	Roberto Ogando.
Small Farmers' National Association (ANAP)---	José Ramírez.
University Students' Federation (FEU)-----	Enrique Velasco.
President of the Supreme Court-----	Dr. Enrique Hart.
Casa de las Américas-----	Haydée Santamaría.
Cuban National Writers' & Artists' Union (UNEAC).	Nicolás Guillén.
REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES (FAR)	
Commander in Chief-----	Maj. Fidel Castro Ruz.
Minister of Armed Forces-----	Maj. Raúl Castro Ruz.
First Deputy-Minister-----	Maj. Juan Almeida Bosque.
Deputy-Minister and Chief of General Staff--	Maj. Berarmino Castilla Mas.
Chief of Occidental Army Group-----	Maj. Raúl Menéndez Tomasevich.
Central Army-----	Maj. Rogelio Acevedo González.
Chief of Oriental Army Group-----	Maj. Abelardo Colomé Ibarra.
Chief of the Army-----	Maj. Juan Almeida Bosque.
Chief of the Navy-----	Maj. Aldo Santamaría Cuadrado.
Chief of the Air Forces-----	(Not announced.)
Chief of the AA Rocket Forces-----	Maj. Diocles Torralba González.

FOREIGN ENVOYS

Country	Name	Rank
Algeria	José A. Albesú	Chargé d'Affaires.
Bulgaria	Felipe Torres Trujillo	Ambassador.
Canada	Américo Cruz	Do.
China	Oscar Pino Santos	Do.
Czechoslovakia	Ernesto Meléndez Vázquez	Do.
Denmark	Enrique Finlay	Do.
France	Dr. Baudilio Castellanos	Do.
Holland	Dr. Carlos Maristany	Do.
Italy	Dr. Salvador Vilaseca	Do.
Hungary	José Matar Franye	Do.
Mali	José Carrillo García	Do.
Mexico	Hernández Armas	Do.
Morocco	Enrique Rodríguez Loeches	Do.
North Korea	Basilio Rodríguez Rodríguez	Do.
North Viet Nam	Maj. Julio García Olivera	Do.
Poland	Dr. Fernando Flores Ibarra	Do.
Rumania	Quintín Pino Machado	Do.
Spain	Francisco Calzadilla Núñez	Minister.
Sweden	Cecilio Martínez	Ambassador.
UAR	Luis García Guitart	Do.
Tansania	Alipio Zorrilla	Chargé d'Affaires.
U.K.	Dra. Aida Griñán	Ambassador.
United Nations	Ricardo Alarcón Quesada	Do.
U.S.S.R.	Dr. Carlos Olivares Sánchez	Do.
Vatican	Luis Amado Blanco	Do.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

(Partido Comunista de Cuba, PPC)

POLITICAL BUREAU

(Politburo)

Maj. Fidel Castro Ruz
 Maj. Raúl Castro Ruz
 Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado
 Maj. Juan Almeida Bosque

Maj. Ramiro Valdés Menéndez
 Dr. Armando Hart Dávalos
 Maj. Guillermo García Frías
 Maj. Sergio del Valle Jiménez

SECRETARIAT

Maj. Fidel Castro Ruz
 Maj. Raúl Castro Ruz
 Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado

Blas Roca Calderio
 Maj. Faure Chomón Mediavilla
 Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez

Organization	Name
Party's Organization Secretary-----	Dr. Armando Hart Dávalos.
"AUXILIARY COMMISSIONS"	
Armed Forces and State Security Commission.	Maj. Raúl Castro Ruz, President, Maj. Ramiro Valdés Menéndez, Maj. Sergio del Valle Jiménez.
Economic Commission-----	Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, President, Maj. Faure Chomón Mediavilla, Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, Maj. Raúl Curbelo Morales, Joel Domenech Benítez.
Constitutional Study Commission- Education Commission-----	Blas Roca Calderio, President. Dr. Armando Hart Dávalos, President, Leonel Soto Prieto, José Llanusa Gobel.
Foreign Relations Commission----	Capt. Osmani Cienfuegos, President, Dr. Raúl Roa García, Maj. Manuel Piñeiro Losada, José Matar Franye, Wilfredo Rodríguez.
Revolutionary Orientation Commission (COR) (Propaganda). PCC Labor Commission----- PCC Official Daily Granma-----	Raúl García Peláez, President. Lázaro Peña, Miguel Martín, Ursinio Rojas. Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, Editor.
PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARIES	
Havana-----	Jesús Betancourt Acosta.
Pinar del Rio-----	Nelson Pérez Marrero.
Matanzas-----	Luis Méndez Morejón.
Las Villas-----	Arnaldo Milián Castro.
Camaguey-----	Cpt. Julian Rizo.
Oriente-----	Maj. Armando Acosta Cordero.
Isla de Pinos-----	Manuel Cuervo.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

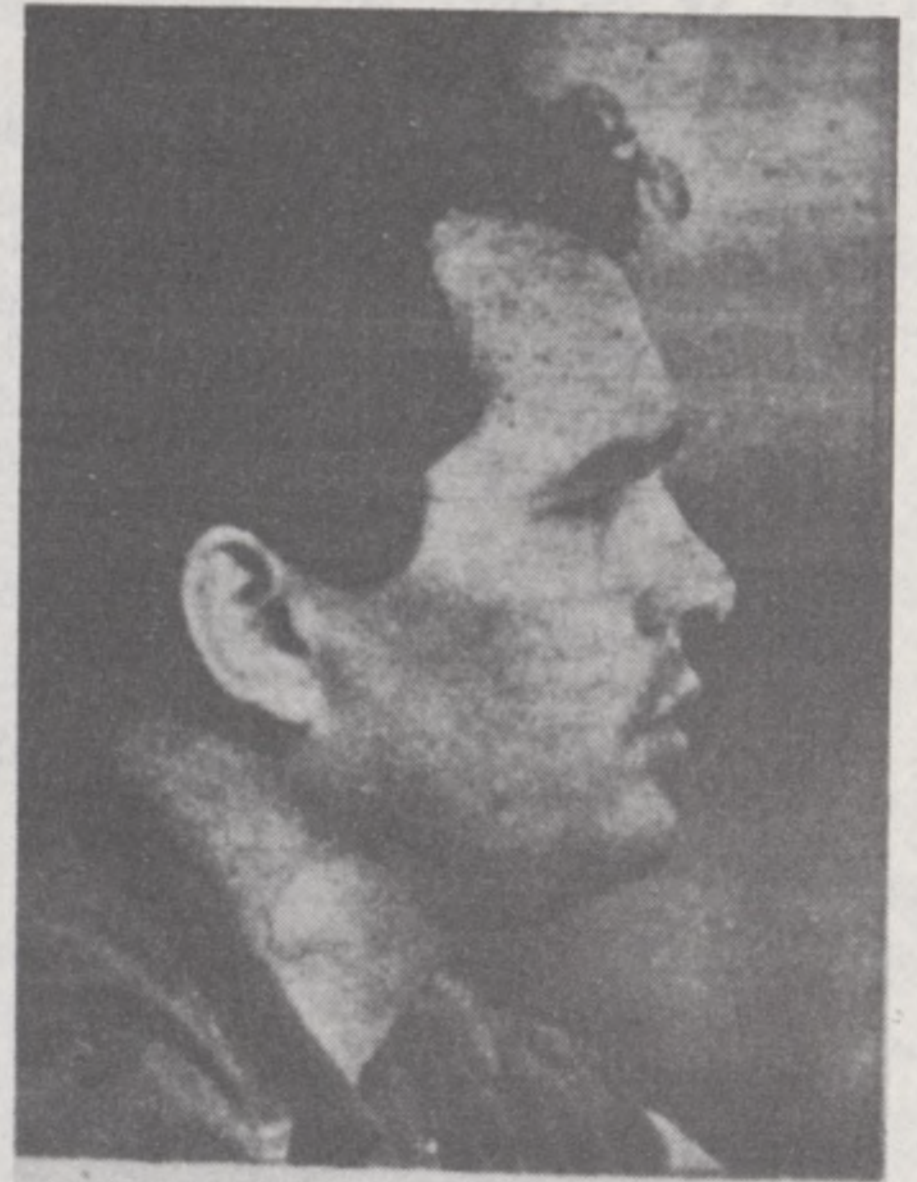
Capt. José Abrahantes Fernández	Maj. Harold Ferrer Martínez
Maj. Rogelio Acevedo González	Maj. Calixto Garcia Martínez
Maj. Armando Acosta Cordero	Maj. Julio A. García Olivera
Maj. Juan V. Acuña Núñez	Maj. Pedro M. García Pelaez
Severo Aguirre Cristo	Raúl García Peláez
Maj. José M. Alvarez Bravo	Elena Gil Izquierdo
Capt. Emilio Aragonés Navarro	Fabio Grobart
Capt. José Arteaga Hernández	Maj. Raúl Guerra Bermejo
Maj. Flavio Bravo Pardo	Maj. Orestes Guerra González
Ramón Calcines Gordillo	Secundino Guerra Hidalgo-Guerrero
Maj. Julio Camacho Aguilera	Joel Iglesias Leiva
Maj. Lino Carreras Rodríguez	Carol Miranda
Maj. Ernesto Casillas Valenzuela	Maj. Omar Iser Mojena
Maj. Belarmino Castilla Más	Maj. Reinerio Jiménez Lage
Capt. Osmani Cienfuegos Gorriarán	Maj. Rolando Kindelán Blez
Maj. Leopoldo Cintras Frias	Maj. Antonio E. Luzón Battle
Maj. Abelardo Cclomé Ibarra	Manuel Luzardo García
Maj. Raúl Curbelo Morales	José Llanusa Gobel
Maj. Angel Joel Chaveco Hernández	Maj. José R. Machado Ventura
Maj. Manuel Díaz González	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli
Joel Domenech Benítez	Juan Marinello Vidaurreta
Maj. Victor E. Dreke Cruz	Miguel Martín Pérez
Vilma Espin Villoy	José Matar Franye
Maj. Manuel E. Fajardo Sotomayor	Capt. Joaquín Méndez Cominches
Marcelo Fernández Font	Maj. Raúl Menéndez Tomassevich
Maj. Oscar Fernández Mel	Arnaldo Milián Castro

Carlos Mir Marrero
Maj. Pedro Miret Prieto
Maj. Jesús Montané Oropesa
José Alberto Naranjo Morales
Maj. Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez
Maj. Mario Oliva Pérez
Maj. Filiberto Olivera Moya
Maj. Ramón Pardo Guerra Guile
Lázaro Peña González
Maj. Faustino Pérez Hernández
First Capt. Antonio Pérez Herrero
Maj. Walfrido Pérez Rodríguez
Maj. Manuel Piñeiro Losada
Maj. Lizardo Proenza Sánchez
José Ramírez Cruz
Capt. Eliseo Reyes Rodríguez
Capt. Jorge Risquet Valdés
Raúl Roa García
Maj. Orlando Rodríguez Puertas

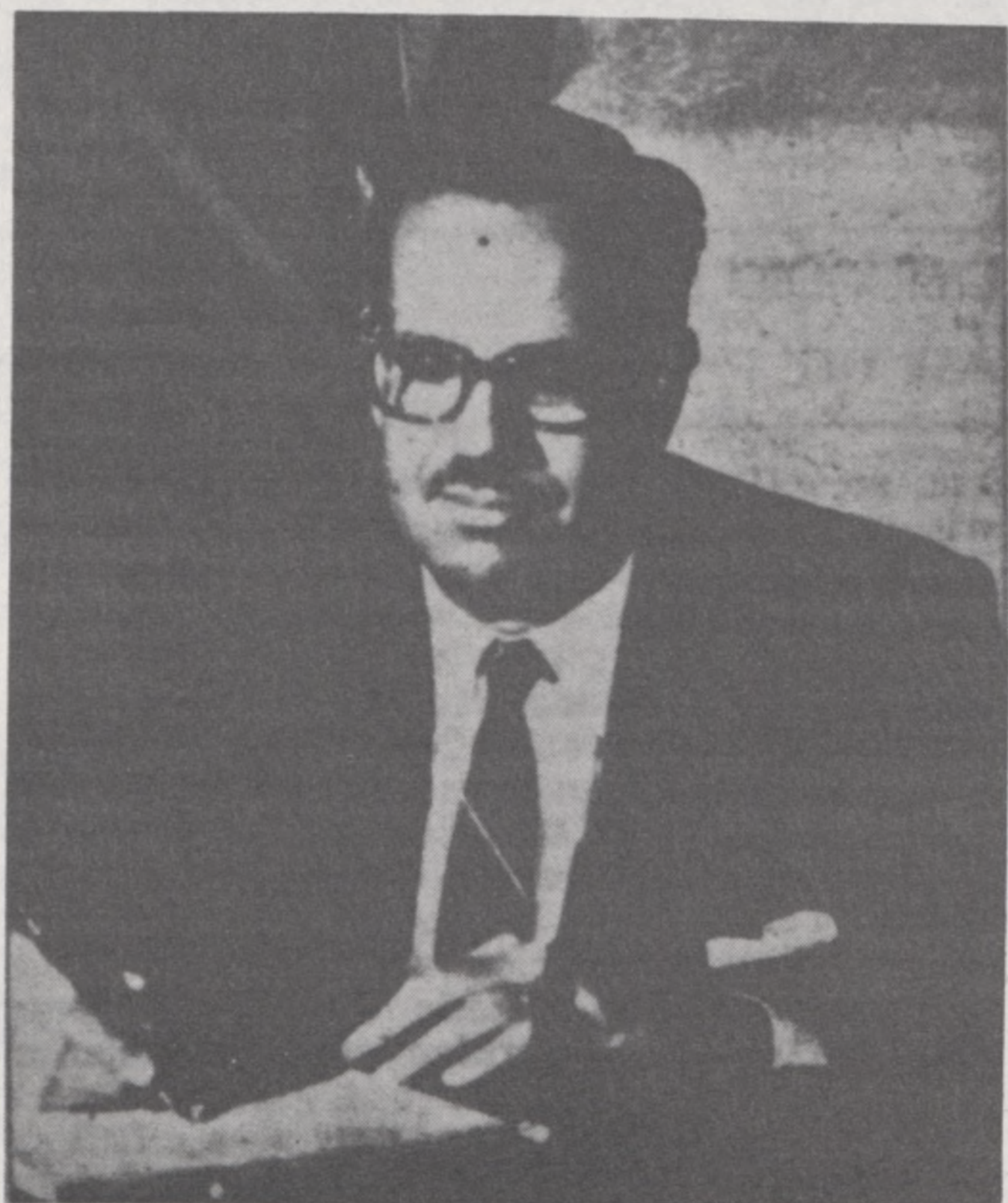
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Wilfredo Rodríguez
Ursinio Rojas Santiesteban
Maj. Antonio Sánchez Díaz
Celia Sánchez Manduley
Maj. Aldo Santamaria Cuadrado
Maj. René de los Santos Ponce
Haydée Santamaria Cuadrado
Clementina Serra Robledo
Maj. José R. Silva Berroa
Leonel Soto Prieto
Maj. Eddy Suñol Ricardo
Lt. Julio Tarrau Castillo
Maj. Diocles Torralba González
Felipe Torres Trujillo
Capt. Aníbal Valdés Suárez
Maj. Roberto Viera Estrada
Alfredo Yabur Maluf
Maj. Luis A. Zayas



Cmdte. Raúl Castro Ruz. Segundo Secretario y miembro del Buró Político y del Secretariado



Cap. José Abrantes Fernández



Comp. Osvaldo Derticós Torrado. Miembro del Buró Político y del Secretariado.



Comap. Ramón Calcines Gordillo.



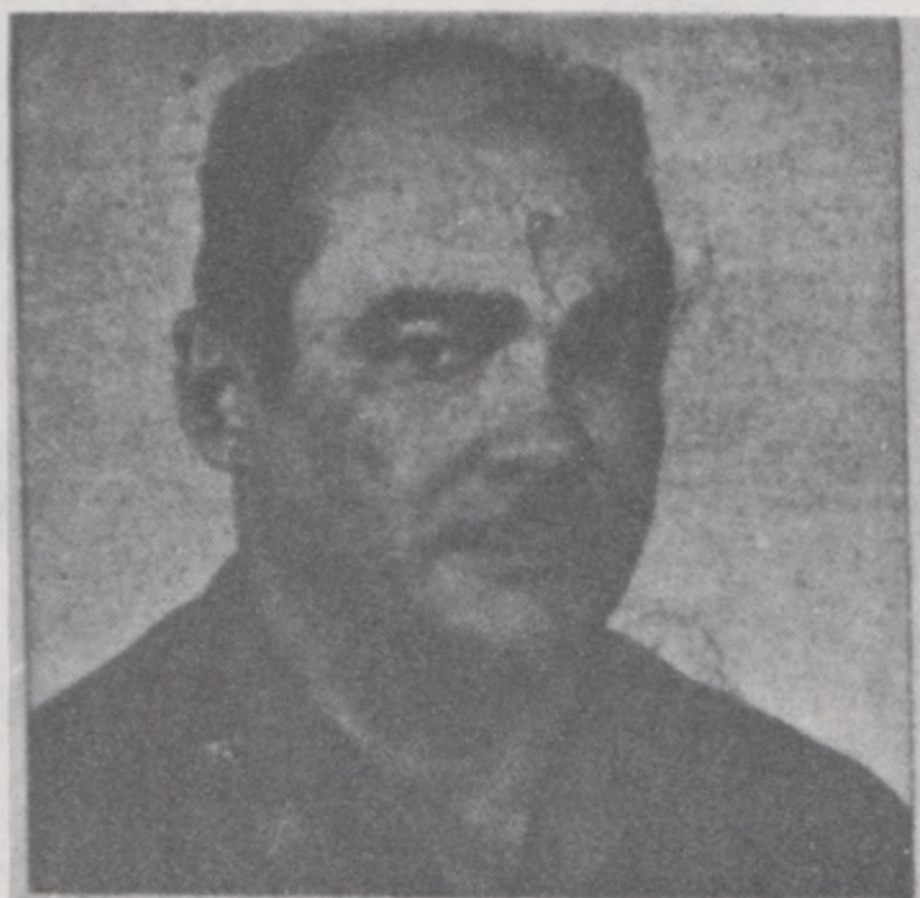
Comp. Alfredo Yabur Maluf.



Cmdte. Julio H. T. Camacho Aguilera.



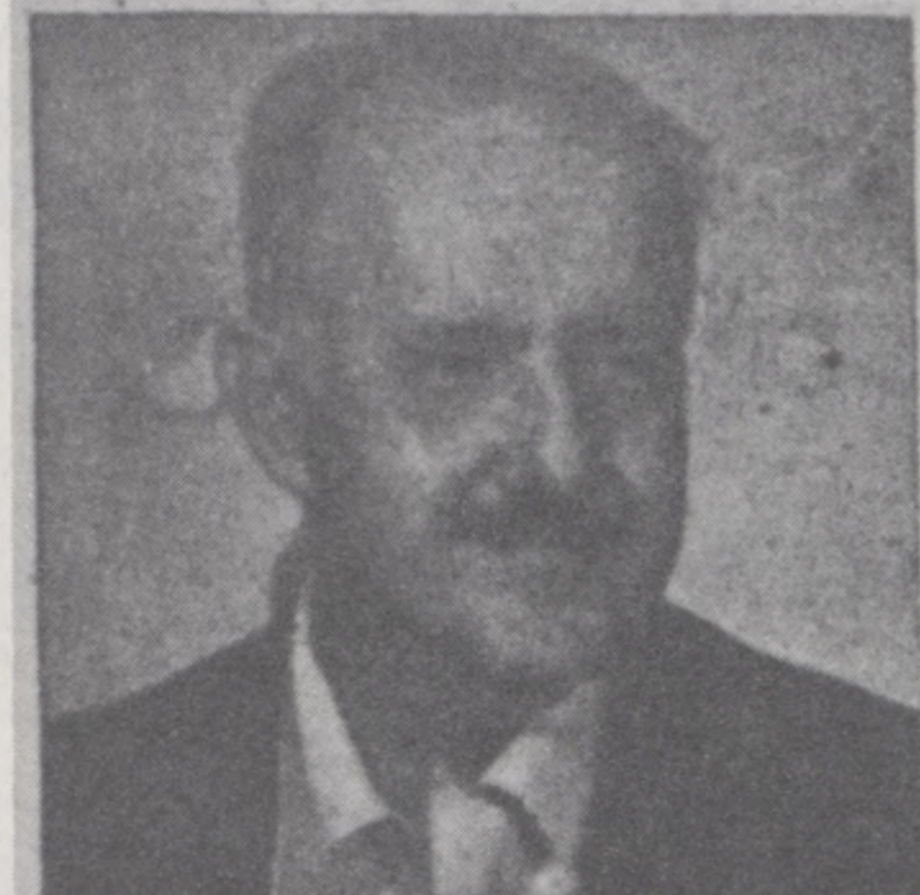
Tte. Julio Tarrau Castillo.



Cmdte. Eddy Sufiol Ricardo.



Cap. Anibal Velaz Suárez.



Comp. Felipe Torres Trujillo.



Cmdte. Luis A. Zayas Ochoa.



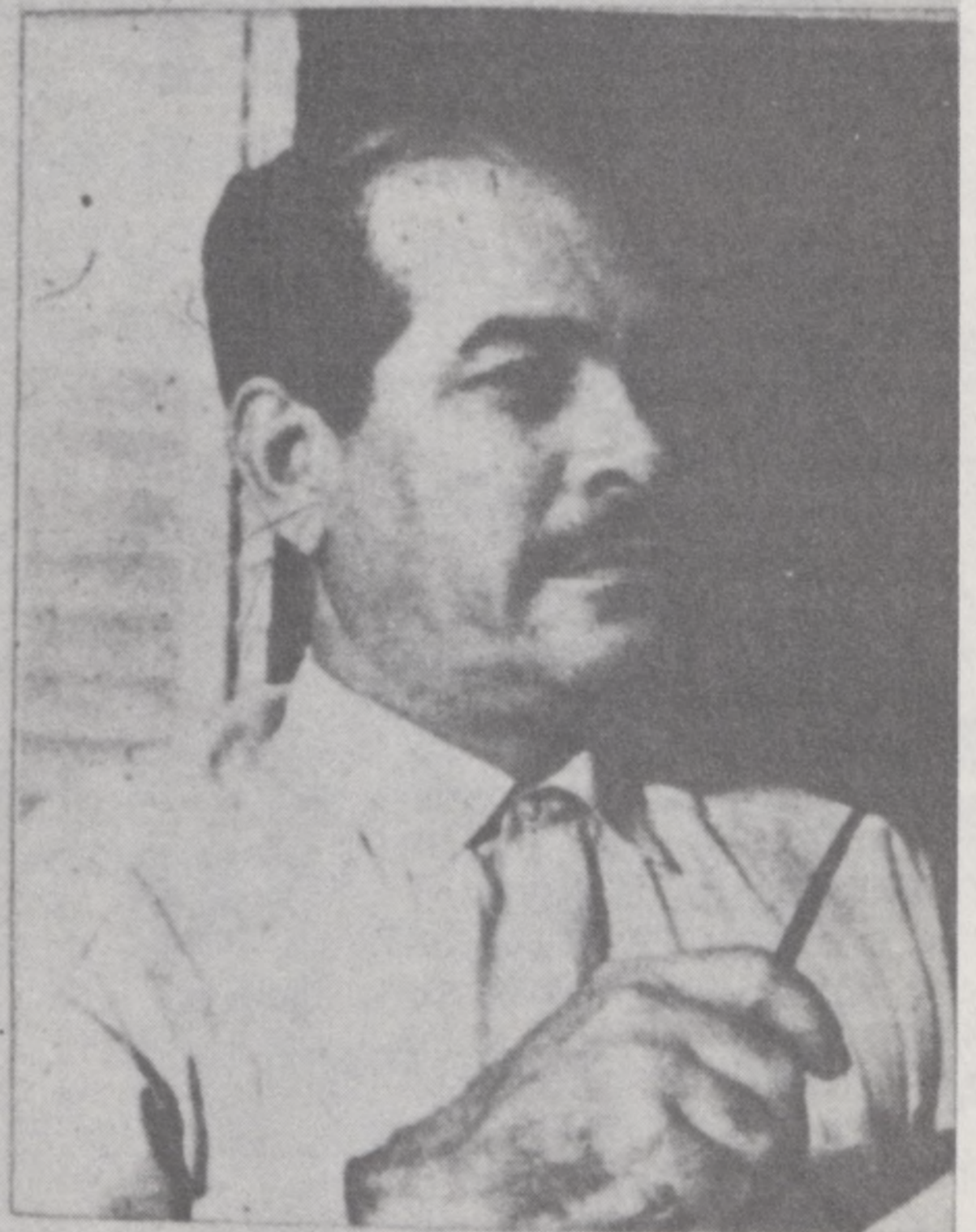
Cmdte. Juan Almeida Bosque.
Miembro del Buró Político.



Cmdte. Ramiro Valdés Menéndez.
Miembro del Buró Político.



Cmdte. Sergio del Valle Jiménez.
Miembro del Buró Político.



Comp. Blas Roca Calderto.
Miembro del Secretariado.



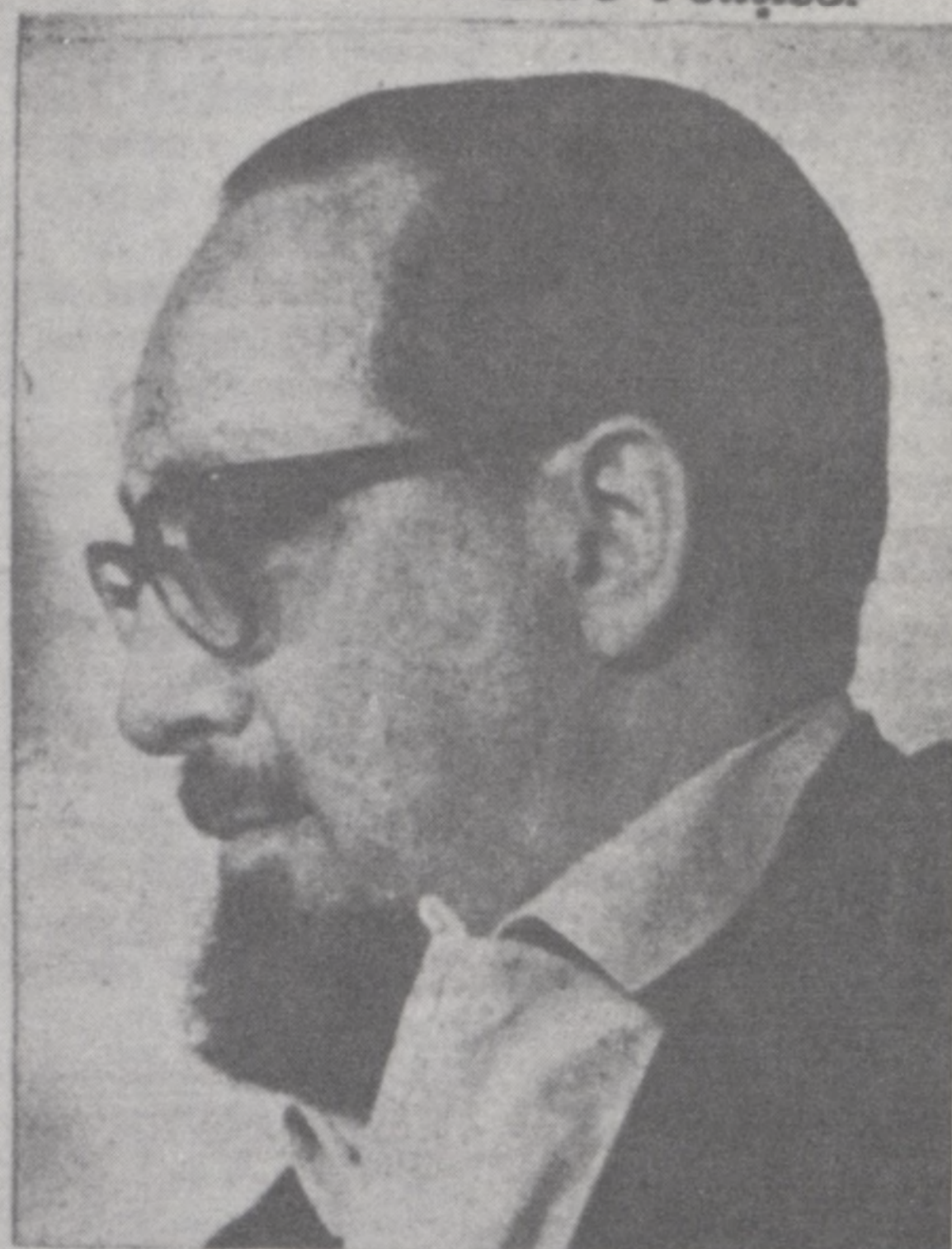
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Miembro del Buró Político.



Cmdte. Guillermo García Fria.
Miembro del Buró Político.



Cmdte. Faure Chomón Mediavilla.
Miembro del Secretariado.



Comp. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez
Rodríguez.
Miembro del Secretariado.



Cap. Jorge Risquet Valdés.



Comp. Raúl Roa García.



Comp. Basilio Rodríguez Rodríguez.



Comp. Ursinio Rojas Santiesteban.



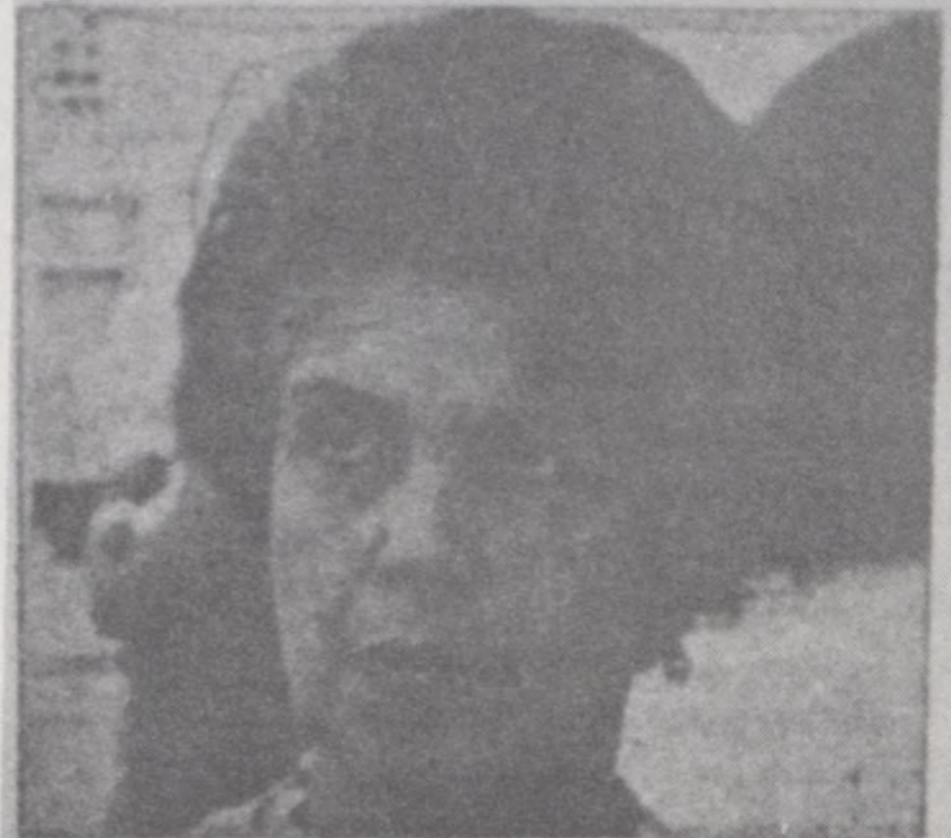
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Cmdte. Aldo Santamaría Cuadrado.



Cmdte. René de los Santos Ponce.



Comp. Clementina Serra Robledo.



Cmdte. Orlando Rodríguez Puerta.



Cmdte. Antonio Sánchez Díaz (Pinares)



Comp. Haydée Santamaria Cuadrado.



Cmdte. José B. Silva Barro.



Comp. Joel Domenech Benítez.



Cmdte. Manuel E. Fajardo Sotomayor



Cmdte. Harold Ferrer Martínez.



Cmdte. Pedro M. García Peláez.



Cmdte. Victor E. Dreke Cruz.



Comp. Vilma Espín Guilloys.



Comp. Marcelo Fernández Font.



Cmdte. Oscar Fernández Mell.



Cmdte. Calixto García Martínez.



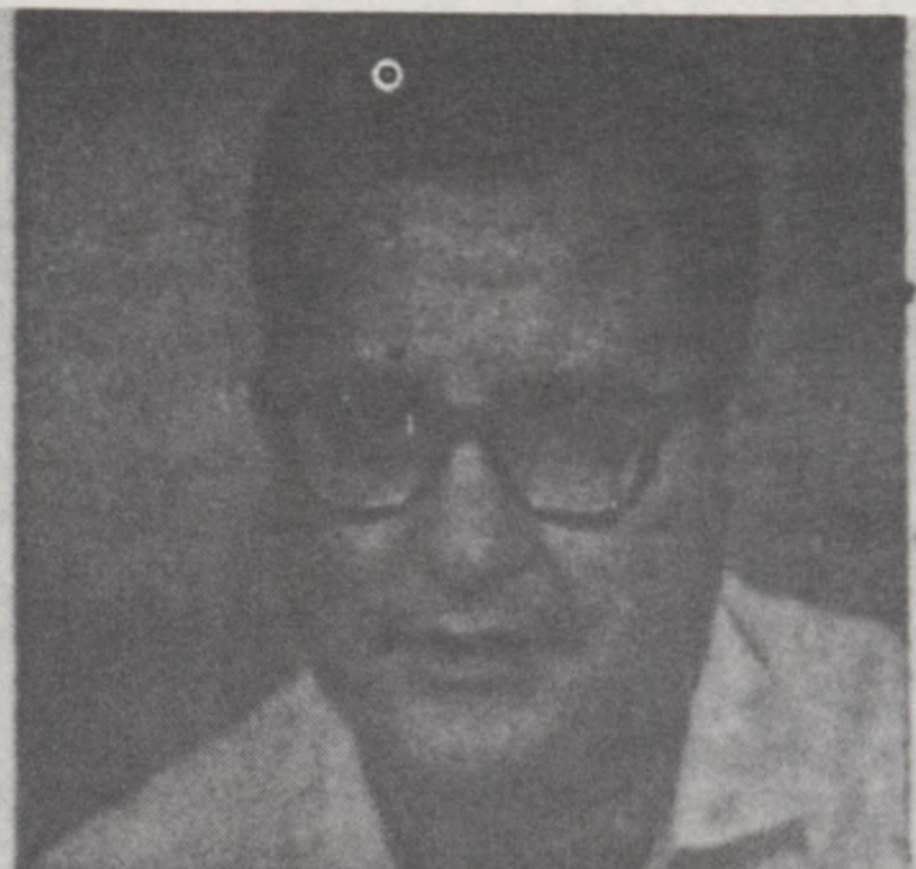
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Comp. Raúl García Peláez.



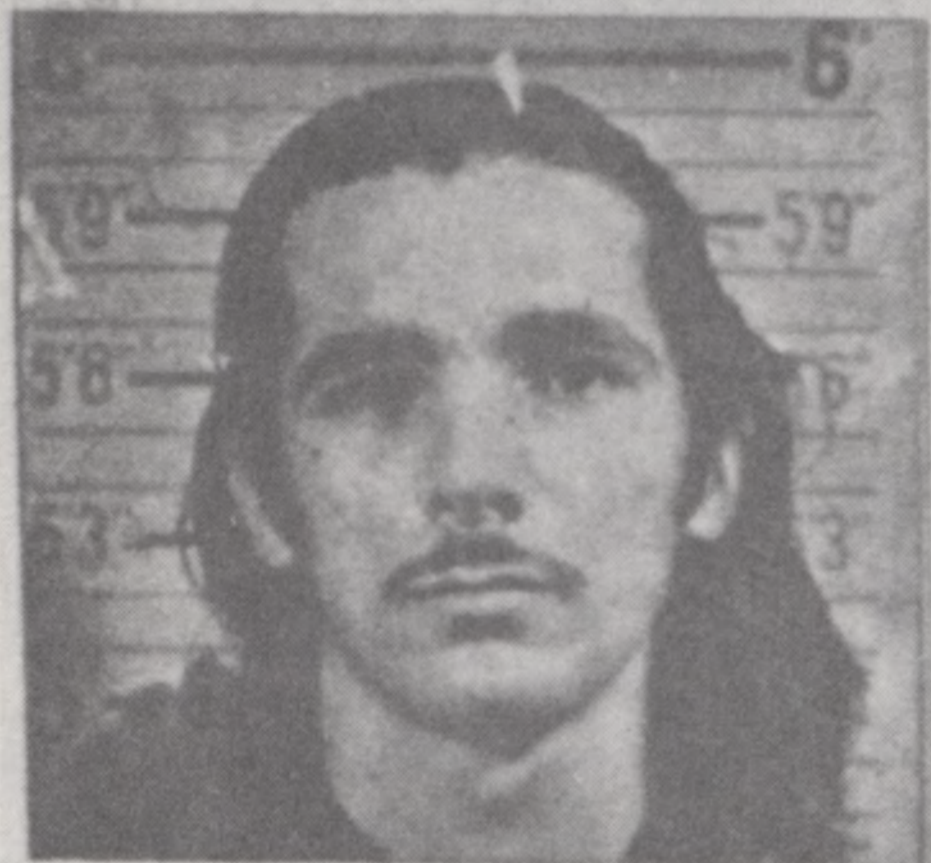
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Comp. Lionel Soto Prieto.



Cmdte. Diocles Torralba González.



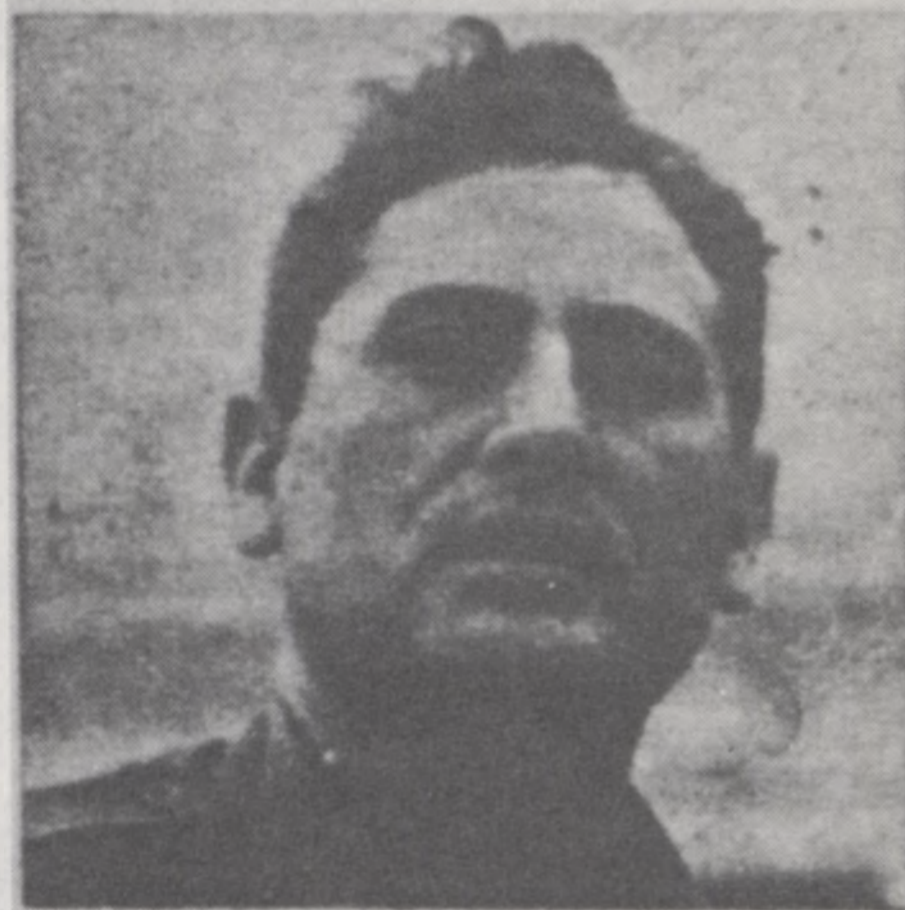
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Cmdte. Lino Carreras Rodríguez.



Cap. Osmany Cienfuegos Gorriarán.



Cmdte. Raúl Curbelo Morales.



Cmdte. Ernesto Casillas Palenzuela.



Cmdte. Belarmino Castilla Maa.



Cmdte. Leopoldo Cintras Fria.



Cmdte. Abelardo Colomé Ibarra



Cmdte. Angel Joel Chaveco Hernández.



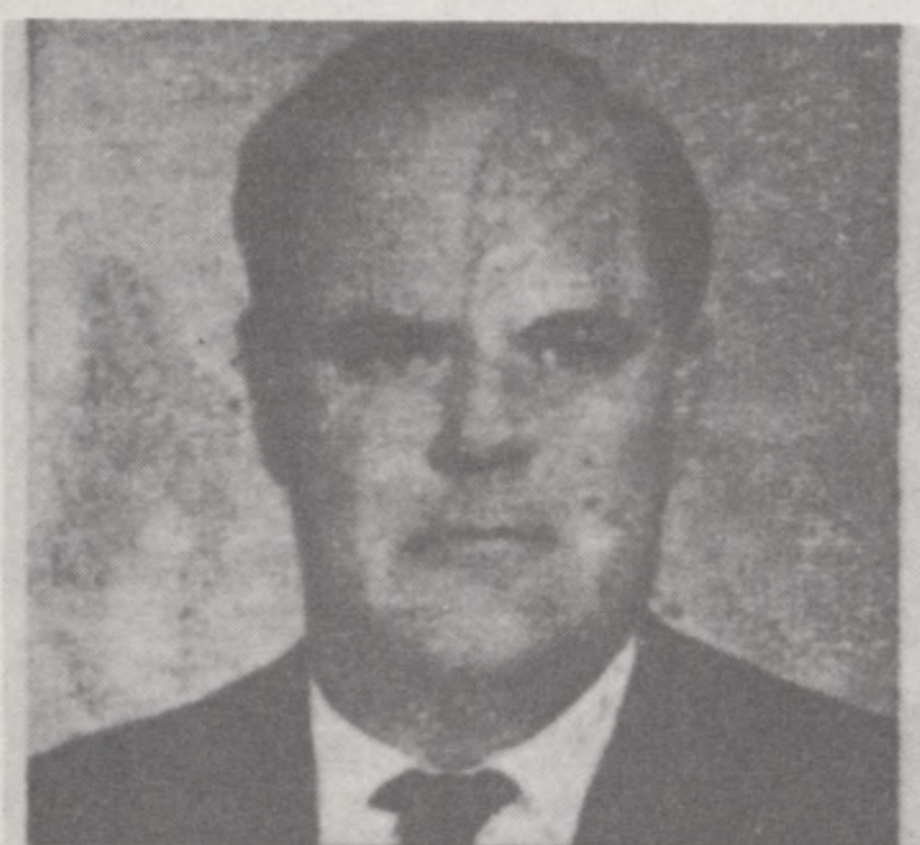
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Cmdte. José M. Alvarez Bravo.



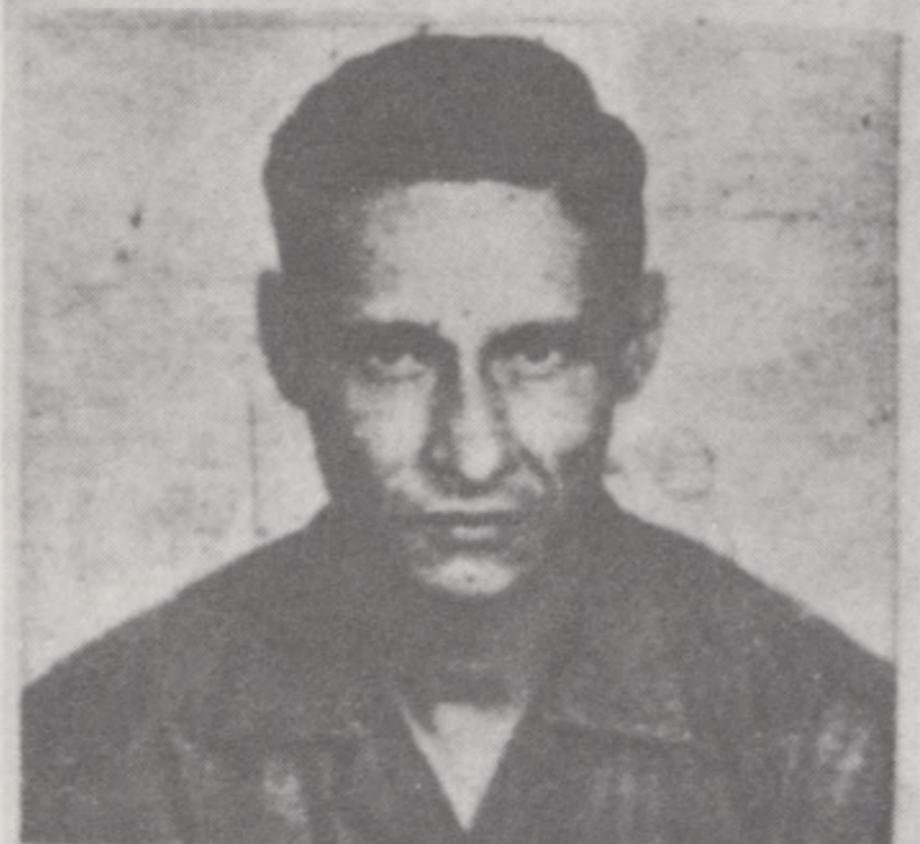
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Cap. Emilio Aragonés Navarro



Cmdte. Armando Acosta Cordero.



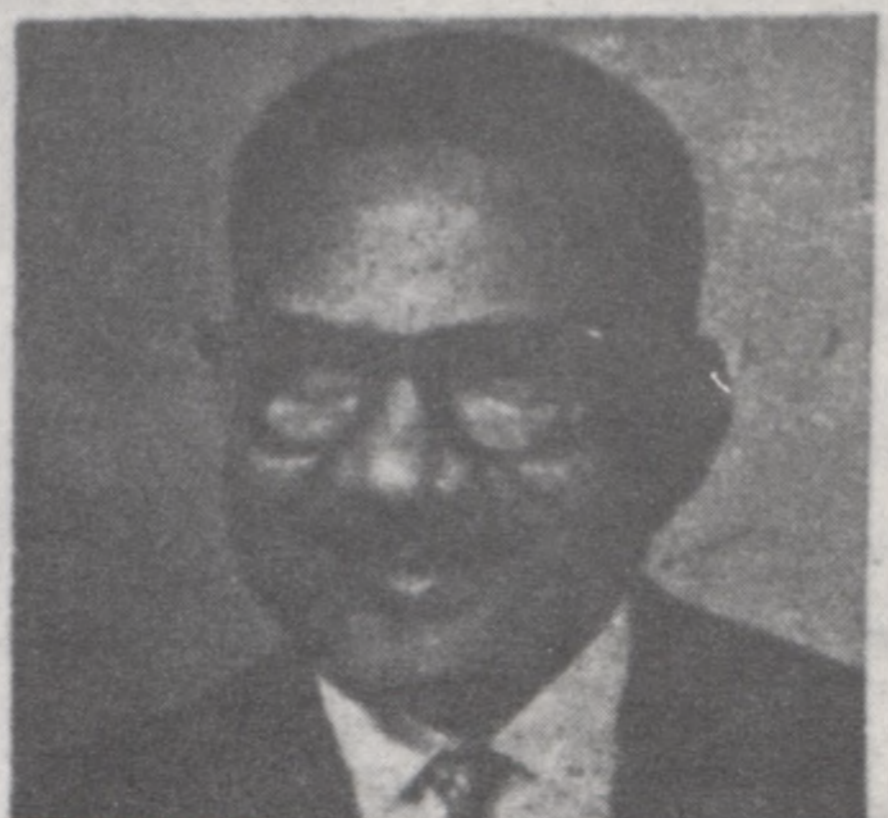
Cap. José Arteaga Hernández



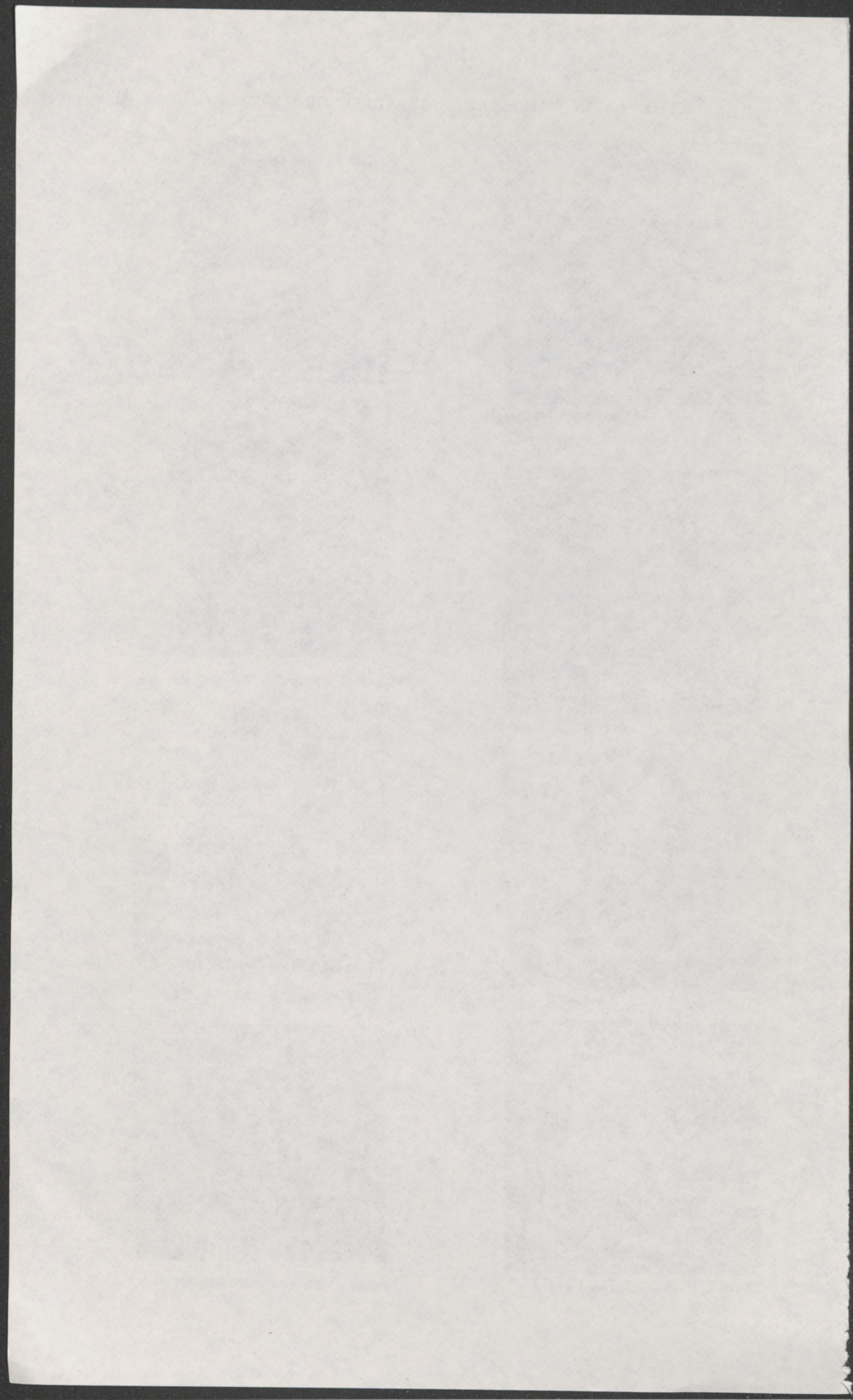
Cmdte. Juan V. Acuña Núñez.



Cmdte. Flavio Bravo Pardo.



Comp. Severo Aguirre Cristo.



APPENDIX V

VENEZUELA

Havana in Spanish to the Americas March 11, 1967—E

(Feature: "Havana Cuba radio comments.")

(Excerpts) The Venezuelan press and Yankee news agencies have unleashed a scandalous press campaign around the execution of Julio Iribarren Borges aimed at creating an atmosphere of hysteria throughout the American Continent and blaming it on the Cuban revolution. The campaign, replete with intrigue and slander against Cuba, has used as a point of departure the statements made in Havana by Venezuelan revolutionary leader Elias Manuit Camero, who is president of the national leadership of the Venezuelan National Liberation Front and its armed forces.

Manuit Camero, whose statements were published by Havana's Granma, the Cuban Communist Party organ, said that the Venezuelan Revolutionary Organization which he heads assumed all responsibility for Julio Iribarren Borges' execution. Manuit Camero also pointed to the link between Iribarren Borges and the Venezuelan dictatorship. Leoni's Press has been noisy, though neatly organized, in divulging the statements made by the Venezuelan dictatorship which is trying to link the Cuban revolutionary government with the events in Caracas.

The Venezuelan regime is trying to label Iribarren Borges' death a "political crime." The Venezuelan Regime's Press points out that Iribarren Borges had served as a technical official, scarcely involved in Venezuelan politics. However, it is true that Julio Iribarren Borges had close connections with the shady general police administration (digepol). Iribarren Borges' accounts and reports were useful to Leoni's repressive forces in murdering countless workers. As director of social security, Iribarren Borges was intimately linked with labor and was able to supply the government with data, making possible the Digepol's repressive action against them. (Passage omitted.)

Venezuela, its regime, and its press for a long time have been involved in the deplorable task of serving yankee imperialism and the American Continent's native obligarchies. Its main objective is to create difficulties for the Cuban revolution. If we look at the statements made by Venezuelan officials and the articles appearing in the subsidized press, we can see that every single incident occurring in Venezuela—which are really a product of the intensive revolutionary struggle which jolts the very foundation of the dominant obligarchy in the country—is being used to establish a close link with the Cuban revolution.

The failures of this sort of campaign are of public knowledge. The Cuban revolution is here, firm and vigorous, it has come to stay. The people are well acquainted with the background of farcical maneuvering. The people, whom we address, are aware of something that is much more important. They know that they carry within themselves the force which today gives thrust to the revolution in Latin America. For many years they have kept count of their martyrs murdered by the Digepol. Imperialism trains these murderers to operate throughout the continent. The people are only too well acquainted with the repressive forces' terror tactics practiced on them in some cases for over a generation. Day after day they have watched their wealth shipped out of the country while their children and they starve to death. Hence, they have decided to take up weapons to change the state of affairs and penalize those who up to now believe themselves to be all powerful.

[Prepared by USIA Special Projects Office, 1518 Federal Office Building, Miami, Fla. 33130]

MAY 25, 1967.

UPDATE ON CUBA No. 3—THE POLITICAL SCENE

Castro Defiant After Being Caught Red-Handed in Venezuela

The capture in Venezuela of Cuban army officers, while infiltrating the country, announced in Caracas on May 12, appeared to have jolted the Castro regime.

One of the Cubans, First Lieutenant Antonio Briones was killed by Venezuelan army units and Second Lieutenant Manuel Gil Castellanos and a militiaman, Pedro Cabrera, were captured. There was supposed to be a fourth man in the party, identified as Lieutenant Pico, who drowned during the landing that took place on a deserted beach some 130 miles east of Caracas. Shortly after their capture the two prisoners were presented at a news conference in Caracas and admitted they had left Santiago de Cuba with a small group of Venezuelan guerrillas.

Although the Havana radio and press reported news dispatches about the aborted landing, it was not until 6 days after the Caracas announcement that the Castro regime replied to charges that Cuba is actively intervening in the internal affairs of Venezuela. On May 18, a 5,000-word statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba admitted that Cuban "revolutionaries" have helped to infiltrate guerrillas into Venezuela. In the same statement, the committee not only expressed its "solidarity with that altruistic, revolutionary and heroic action," but also defiantly proclaimed as "morally right" and "of vital necessity" a policy designed to "stimulate and increase to the maximum the solidarity and assistance to revolutionaries, wherever they might be, who are fighting or willing to fight against imperialism."

The document denied that the three Cubans, mentioned by Caracas, were on the "active" list of its armed forces. It added, however, that they have been "engaged in other revolutionary activities." The statement said that Cuba was not only "disinterested in evading responsibility" for the actions of its officials, but also that "the Cuban Revolution does not need to ask permission or forgiveness to fulfill its duty of solidarity with all revolutionaries in the world, among them those of Venezuela."

After asserting that "our party and our people, therefore, do not shirk from their revolutionary responsibilities," the statement said: "we are being accused of wanting to subvert the established order in this continent and we, in effect, proclaim the historic necessity that the peoples subvert the order established by imperialism in Latin America and the rest of the world. We are being accused of preaching the revolutionary overthrow of the established Latin American governments and we, in effect, believe that all oligarchies and guerrilla governments should be swept away by revolutionary struggle. We are being accused of supporting revolutionary movements and we, in effect, are giving and shall give help every time it is being asked for, to every revolutionary movement that is fighting against imperialism in every part of the world."

The statement then added that Cuba would "redouble" her defense effort and said that "even a total blockade will be unable to destroy the revolution." The statement also criticized the United Nations which, according to the Central Committee, "has not served, absolutely, to provide small nations with the least security, since it has been, generally, an instrument for endorsing the crimes and villainy of imperialism." This was the reason, the statement added, why Cuba has not signed, "as a matter of principle," the nuclear test ban and the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

The Havana document was equally critical of the Moscow-sponsored principle of peaceful coexistence which, it stressed, can be applied only when peace is enjoyed by large and small countries alike. "European security, peaceful coexistence and such idyllic phrases are meaningless for the Vietnamese and others subject to U.S. aggression," the statement emphasized.

PARTY STATEMENT ON VENEZUELA

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT, May 18, 1967—F

(Summary of Cuban Communist Party Central Committee communique on "charges and maneuvers by puppet regime of Venezuela and its Washington masters")

"We will not—repeat—not refuse to fight. We will help and continue to help all those who fight against imperialism anywhere in the world," stresses part of a communique by the Cuban Communist Party in reply to the fallacious maneuver by the puppet regime of Leoni which has once again made Cuba the target of its scandalous lies by which it tries to deceive the world and thereby divert public opinion away from the tremendous problems it faces in the nation.

The communique of our party belies Lackey Leoni when he tries to involve the Cuban Army in alleged invasions of Venezuelan soil. On this point the statement says textually: "His statements also contain a number of lies. None of the three Cuban youths who are mentioned are members of the Cuban regular army."

"Antonio Briones Montoxto, 27, when he was almost a teenager took an active part in the clandestine struggle against Batista, later serving in various fields of the revolution, but he never belonged to Cuba's regular army.

"Manuel Gil Castellanos, 25, because of his age could not—repeat—not take part in the guerrilla war and hence was never in the Cuban regular army.

"Pedro Cabrera Torres, 29, once a peasant, was in the army somewhat over a year between 1961 and 1963 (as heard) when he ceased to belong to it."

Referring to this question, the party central committee statement says that if the report were true that Cuban Youth Antonio Briones Montoxto fell from two gunshots to his head has been buried in the Machurucuto Cemetery because he helped the Venezuelan revolutionaries, our party and our people are utterly in solidarity with his altruistic, revolutionary, internationalist, and heroic gesture.

The communique also goes on to deny the question of the alleged Soviet-made rifle supposedly confiscated and points out that such weapons supplied to Cuba by the Soviet Union are kept under perfect control by the armament section of the army and none of the weapons is missing.

The document emphasizes that in pointing out these truths, no pretension is made to evade responsibility because so far as the aims of imperialism and its policy of repression of the revolutionary movement pursued against Cuba are concerned it is neither necessary to invent any lie nor to herald any truth.

The party communique also underscores that the justification of the actions by the revolutionaries lies in the very existence of imperialism, further on it says that the question before the peoples is: Either capitulate before imperialism or resist and fight.

Elsewhere in the statement, the central committee of the party asserts that we are helping and we will continue to help all those who fight against imperialism anywhere in the world.

In another part of the statement the central committee of the party points out that the concept of peace can only be honored if it is universal and reminds the puppets further on that against the revolutionary struggle, the imperialists' conventional, chemical, bacteriological, or nuclear weapons will be of no avail.

The statement concludes by saying that between the peoples of Venezuela and Cuba there will never be war, no matter what the OAS and its master decide in Washington.

(Statement released by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.)

HAVANA, MAY 18.—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba released the following statement early this morning:

As our people have been able to learn from the cables released by all the international press agencies—cables that have been published in textual form by our newspapers—the lackey government in Venezuela, following the evident instructions of its masters in Washington, is trying to unleash a hysterical, violent, aggressive, and belligerent campaign against our country. They are using such really shameful terms as "naval and air blockade," "ultimatum," "collective armed attack," "economic boycott of the countries trading with Cuba," and so forth. This means that they are threatening and are trying to intimidate our country in the crudest fashion.

What has caused this fit of belligerent hysterics, these frightful threats, and these outrageous cries of war? Is it perhaps that the illustrious rulers of Latin America are getting excited about supporting the dominican people, who are still under the occupation of the Yankee soldiers? Are they demanding a halt in the occupation of the Panama Canal and punishment for the massacre committed not—repeat—not long ago against the people of that country by the U.S. soldiers?

Are they condemning the barbaric and brutal air raids on North Vietnam and the genocide being committed against the people of South Vietnam? Are they protesting against the United States for the insolent participation of its special forces in the repression of the revolutionary movements in Latin America and demanding the closing of the military schools that have been set up in Panama and the United States itself by imperialism in order to train thousands of butchers (matarifes) of the oligarchic armies in the technique of pursuing and exterminating the revolutionary fighters?

Are they demanding that the territory of the Guantanamo Naval Base be returned to Cuba—territory from which, from time to time, they fire on our soil and murder Cuban guards? Are they condemning, even though belatedly, the Giron invasion, which was organized by the Central Intelligence Agency with bases in Nicaragua and Guatemala, or the bombing of our cities by Yankee planes

bearing Cuban markings, or the pirate attacks coming from the bases established around Cuba, or the thousands of infiltrations, or the mass parachuting of arms to supply counterrevolutionary groups, or the other crimes of the type that the yankee imperialists have been carrying out uninterruptedly against Cuba for 8 years?

Are they demanding that imperialism cease the criminal and cowardly economic blockade of a Latin American country—a blockade that is being carried out in violation of all international and human laws and with the repugnant complicity of all the Latin American governments, with the honorable exception of Mexico?

No! These and many other deeds of the kind are not—repeat—not important. They are absolutely unworthy of being taken into consideration. What incites their fury and their hysterics is the report of the presence of three Cubans—one of whom was killed and two arrested—when, according to their statement, they were trying to help a group of eight Venezuelan revolutionaries return to their country. These are precisely some of the Venezuelan revolutionaries who have been fighting for years to liberate their country from the tutelage and exploitation of the Yankee monopolies and for that they are murdered *ipso facto* when they fall into the hands of the repressive police of the regime. That, indeed, is reason to urge them to demand an immediate, fulminating, and exterminating action against Cuba. This is the philosophy, the concept of right and international law, the ethics, and the rules that the imperialists want to impose on the world.

The fact is that when these blessed boys (Santos Varones) speak of war against Cuba, they speak of a war that must be fought by the Yankee Army, Navy, and Air Force. In other words, they think in cowardly fashion about what, in their opinion, would be a simple and easy genocide of our people by the imperialists. This is what lies, after all, behind the melodramatic boastings of Senor Leoni. His statements contain a series of lies. None of the three Cuban youths he mentions belongs to the Regular Cuban Army.

Antonio Briones Montoto: 27 years old. When almost an adolescent, he participated actively in the clandestine struggle against Batista. Afterward, he served in several fields of the Revolution, but he never belonged to the Regular Cuban Army.

Manuel Gil Castellanos: 25 years old. Because of his age, he could not—repeat—not participate in the guerrilla warfare, and he was never a member of the Regular Cuban Army. Like Briones, he engaged in other revolutionary activities.

Pedro Cabrera Torres: 29 years old. He comes from peasant stock. He was a member of the Army for a little over 1 year between 1961 and 1963, when he left it.

Moreover, they exercise all types of pressures over the rest of the national industries by threatening them with economic reprisals to make them participate in their criminal policy. They do the same thing with banking, trade, and shipping enterprises.

The United States does not—repeat—not even hide its objective of using economic relations to penetrate, weaken, demoralize, corrupt, and divide the Socialist countries of Europe. There is not—repeat—not a single act of Yankee international policy that is not—repeat—not based on this moral, this policy, on these strategic objectives.

The army coup promoted by the United States in Greece demonstrates that not—repeat—not even Europe is immune to the schemes used by Yankee imperialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is in the small and weak nations, the so-called third world, where imperialism's policy shows itself more savagely aggressive and belligerent. There is no system which can provide guarantees to these nations against imperialism's vandal acts. Even the United Nations has not—repeat—not provided nations the least security. Far from it, generally it has been an instrument to validate the crimes and misdeeds of Yankee imperialism. It cannot be any other way, since in this organization the same law which imperialism has imposed on the world represented there is in effect. This fact is overly clear, above all, for those regions of the world which have more directly felt the heavy hand of imperialism and which have been compelled to wage, under difficult conditions, a decided and determined struggle against imperialism. This fact determines our international policy.

Therefore, we, the Cuban revolutionaries have not—repeat—not signed and shall not—repeat—not sign any agreement on the cessation or ban on nuclear tests or against the proliferation of weapons of this kind, such as those agreed upon under the auspices of the United Nations, although at the present stage of

our technical development this means nothing but a position taken as a matter of principle.

The yankee imperialists are not—repeat—not only continuing to develop their nuclear weapons, they are also developing at full speed deadly instruments of chemical and bacteriological warfare. What result can the renunciation of the peoples of the development of their means of defense have other than to facilitate for the imperialists the ideal conditions under which they can subject the world to their terror and blackmail; until there exists for all of humanity a system which will give the peoples, without exception, equal, effective guarantees of security, without privileges for anyone, the right of the nations threatened by imperialism to develop their means of defense, whatever they may be, cannot be renounced.

This is why we refuse to accept any international U.N. force which would serve only as one more instrument of aggression in the hands of the yankee imperialists. This is why we refuse to accept the right of the United States to impose, as occurred in the October crisis, what kind of weapons our constantly threatened country shall possess. Even less would we consent to the inspection of our territory, because this would amount to endorsing the right of the aggressors to decide on what weapons its future victims are or are not—repeat—not to possess. This is why we consider that it is not—repeat—not only a moral, revolutionary duty, but a vital necessity for the peoples of the world of today, faced by the imperialist policy of repression and internationalization of punitive wars against the revolutionary movements, to encourage and to increase to the maximum solidarity with and help for the revolutionaries who, in any part of the world, are fighting or are ready to fight against imperialism.

Some people believe that the adoption of a consistent, resolute, revolutionary policy against imperialism would lead inexorably to a nuclear conflict. This is to suppose that the Yankee imperialists are suicidal. The Yankee imperialists are powerful, but they are not—repeat—not invincible nor suicidal. The road which, by the laws of history, will lead to the solution of the conflict between the interests of this imperialism and those of the rest of humanity is the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. In this struggle the imperialists' conventional, chemical, bacteriological, or nuclear weapons will do them no good.

To defeat imperialism is not—repeat—not to defeat the U.S. people or the U.S. nation. The small groups who control Yankee monopolistic capital are a tiny minority inside the United States. The people of the United States, in the immense majority, consist of thousands of workers in industry, farmers who cultivate the land, intellectuals, and students. Among these millions are considerable groups of the Negro population who are fighting arduously for their rights.

Very seldom is it taken into account that the people of the United States are one of the great victims of Yankee imperialism. It is the people who, to a great extent, pay with the sweat of their toil and the blood of their sons, for the unjust, repressive wars of the imperialists.

Recently, the Pentagon declared, perhaps trying to answer the revolutionary rallying cry of Maj. Ernesto Guevara, that it was in a position to wage simultaneously several wars similar to the war in Vietnam. This is what the Pentagon thinks, but it is not—repeat—not what U.S. mothers think. It is not—repeat—not what the U.S. Negro population, deprived of the most elementary rights, thinks. It is not—repeat—not what the workers who work for a living nor the immense majority of the students and U.S. young people can logically think.

This assertion by the Pentagon may be true as the quantitative expression of the sum total of its technical resources, but it is very far from being true in terms of human, moral, and political resources. These are not—repeat—not enough to win in even one country, Vietnam, far from being enough to wage several Vietnam-type wars. Such a road would lead to an awakening of unpredictable dimensions in the conscience of the people of the United States. Therefore, in this contemporary development of history, the peoples fighting for their liberation and the people of the United States will be coming increasingly close to one another and will be called upon one day to live in sincere peace and friendship on the ruins of an imperial policy which can only try to survive by resorting to crime and the genocide of entire peoples.

The question for the peoples presents itself as follows: Either they must surrender to imperialism or resist and fight. To resist and fight in all periods of history implies facing the risks which resistance and struggle involve just as to surrender means simply to surrender.

Fear of nuclear blackmail leads to an inexorable result which is surrender without resistance and without struggle against imperialism. So the fiction and

the lie that the imperialists are ready to commit suicide becomes for them a much more effective weapon than their atomic arsenal. If we want peace, this peace must be for all peoples equally. In the world today, lashed by an empire whose claws extend to all the continents, the concept of peace can be honest only if it is universal.

In the same way, the concept of peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems, if it does not—repeat—not guarantee equally the integrity, sovereignty, and independence of all countries, small and large, is essentially against the principles of proletarian internationalism. What peace do the Vietnamese enjoy? What kind of coexistence is that practiced by the U.S. Government with this country? The men, women, old people, young people, and children die there daily—victims of the most modern military technique. They see falling on their country so many bombs that they shortly will exceed the total weight of the bombs dropped on Europe during the second world War—they are of an accumulated destructive power greater than that of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

What (?do) the words “peace,” “European security,” “peaceful coexistence,” and other similar idyllic phrases mean?

Our party and our people, therefore, do not—repeat—not reject their revolutionary responsibility before the world, nor will they flee from combat, with its consequences and sacrifices, in whatever form and in whatever field imperialism may decide to initiate it against us.

They accuse us of wanting to subvert order on this continent. We do, indeed, proclaim the historic necessity that the peoples must subvert the order established by imperialism in Latin America and in the rest of the world.

They accuse us of preaching the revolutionary overthrow of established governments in Latin America and we do, indeed, believe that all the oligarchical governments of guerrillas, in uniform or out of uniform, servants of imperialism and accomplices in its crimes, must be swept away by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

They accuse us of helping the revolutionary movement and we, indeed, are giving help and we shall continue to give help as many times as we may be asked to do so to all the revolutionary movements fighting against imperialism in any part of the world.

We shall never accept the status quo which imperialism wants to impose on humanity, nor its draconian laws, not—repeat—not its unscrupulous mercantile morality.

Our right is the right of the peoples to emancipate themselves from exploitation and slavery. It is the right of humanity to rebel against the aggressions and crimes of imperialism, the principal bulwark of reaction in the world. Our laws are the laws of the inevitable revolutionary development of human society. Our morality is the morality of revolutionary fighters, one of whose most inescapable and sacred principles in the world of today is international solidarity.

Against the threats looming over our country today what we shall do is redouble our defensive effort without abandoning our arduous and increasingly successful work on the path of the cultural, technical, and economic development of our country under the present conditions of economic blockade and, if it should be necessary, even under conditions of total blockade, because at this stage no force in the world will be able to destroy our revolution.

The Yankee imperialists and all of their accomplices in the aggressions against Cuba will have to accept the consequences of their (?crimes)

It in no way surprises us that the corrupt, servile, clique of men who have sold out their country and who now rule in Venezuela should incite the imperialist war against our people. For several years they have been making war against the people of Venezuela, and their impotence to crush the revolutionary movement explains their desperation. Today they are asking for imperialist intervention against Cuba. Tomorrow they will ask for the intervention of the marines in Venezuela itself.

If the report that the young Cuban Antonio Briones Montoto was killed by two bullets in the head and lies buried 60 meters from the beach in the Machurucutu Cemetery because he wished to help the Venezuelan revolutionaries were true, our party and our people would deeply sympathize with his altruistic, revolutionary, internationalist, and heroic gesture. (Two lines garbled.) But it also fits in with the finest traditions of Bolivar and the Venezuelan nation, whose sons fought and died for the independence of many other sister-peoples of this continent.

Bolivar once wished to fight for the independence of Cuba. Let those who incite the imperialist war against our homeland cease to invoke his name. Between the peoples of Venezuela and Cuba there will never be war. It does not—repeat—not

matter what the OAS and its master decide in Washington. Fatherland or death! We shall win!

(Signed) CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA.

Gamma

EN LAS IDEAS 8

ANTONIO BRIONES MONTOTO

...EMPIEZA
UNA NUEVA
LUCHA Y ES
LA LUCHA
CONTRA EL
IMPERIALISMO,
FRONTALMENTE,
EN CAMPO
ABIERTO,
SIN
TREGUA
NI DESCANSO



1st. Lt. Antonio BRIONES Montoto, the Cuban Army Officer killed by a Venezuelan Army patrol while landing on the beach at Machurucuto (Miranda) the night of May 8, 1967. Briones Montoto, 27, had spent several months in New York and Miami as a pro-Castro exile. He left Miami for Havana in January of 1959. In April 1963 he accompanied the Cuban delegation to the Pan American games in São Paulo, Brazil. His duties were to prevent defections among the athletes and/or establish contacts among Latin American sympathizers. The caption in the photograph states: "* * * a new struggle begins and it is the struggle against imperialism, an open, frontal attack without quarter."

DECLARATIONS OF C.P. OF VENEZUELA

Montevideo prensa latina in Spanish to presa latina Havana, 1500 GMT, May 23, 1967—E

(Resolutions of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Venezuelan Communist Party PCV.)

VENEZUELA, May 23.—In its May 17, issue, the Caracas newspaper *Ultimas Noticias* published the "Resolutions of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the PCV," presumably as a paid advertisement. The document, which covers more than two pages of the Tabloid-size newspaper, is entitled: "Neither continuity nor caldron, change;" adding: "change favoring the democratic freedoms, national sovereignty, and independent development of Venezuela: depose the reactionary leadership of AD (Democratic Action Party—Ed.)" The document is datelined "in Venezuela, April—May 1967," signed by Guillermo Garcia Ponce, on behalf of the PCV political bureau, and illustrated with six photographs of Gustavo Machado, Teodoro Petkoff, Jesus Faria, Eduardo Machado, Guillermo Garcia Ponce, and Pompeyo Mraquez.

The resolutions are preceded by a note saying: "The Political Bureau of the PCV informs the membership and organizations of the party, the Communist youth, and the Venezuelan people, in general, of the resolutions adopted by the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee. (Signed—Ed.) The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PCV; Pompeyo Marquez, Guillermo Garcia Ponce, Alonso Ojeda Olachea, Pedro Ortega Diaz, Eduardo Gallegos Mancera, Teodoro Petkoff, and German Lairet." The following is the text of the aforementioned document. The subtitles are those of the publication:

1. Significance of the plenum: The central committee has met to reaffirm the Leninist principles of organization and leadership of the party; to defend internal unity; to initiate a process of criticism and self-criticism to analyze the process experienced since the third congress; and to formulate a policy of recovery and of unity of the people's forces in the struggle to defeat Betancourtism and prevent the continuity of the reactionary leadership of the AD along the road to a nationalist change that will restore complete respect for democratic freedoms, improve the living conditions of the popular masses, and establish the bases for the independent development of Venezuela.

2. Redouble the defense of unity: The party has successfully endured one of the hardest tests to which its unity and its very existence as an independent Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class has been subjected. Disguising itself with ultraradical language, acting as alleged defenders of the third congress, spreading slanderous statements to distort our policy and discredit the leading cadres, a splinter group has been organized—encouraged from abroad—which set itself the task of assaulting the organizations of leadership and imposing a policy of anarchy and terror and of liquidation of the party. For a time they lied, concealing their divisionist maneuvers and justifying themselves in the name of the "armed struggle." When their plans were revealed and the party tried to reestablish its discipline and authority, the splinter group rebelled openly and took the road of antiparty activity. The concepts contrary to Marxism-Leninism and the typically terrorist-type actions have made manifest the adventurist nature of the antiparty group. Its conduct serves, objectively, the reactionary and Betancourtist ruling clique of the government, not—repeat—not only against our party and the Venezuelan people, but also against the international Communist movement and, especially, against the Cuban revolution.

Playing the guerrillaist game has once again confirmed the Leninist truth that the path of the ultraleftist deviations coincides with the positions of the right. Unwitting or not—repeat—not, the action of the anarchy-terrorist group today serves guerrillism and the imperialist interest in extending reactionary hegemony and isolating and destroying the revolutionary movement.

Worthy of note is the loyalty of the members of the central committee and almost all of the cadres and members of the party, as well as the fidelity of the Communist youth.

The central committee approves the measures taken in order to defend the unity of the party and Marxist-Leninist principles.

3. For the faithful observation of principles: The exercise of the Leninist principles of party organization and leadership adopted during the first congress has been the Venezuelan Communists' patrimony. Democracy, the obedience of the minority and the lower organizations to the higher ones, the unity of action and will, which is incompatible with the existence of factions, equal discipline for all, the fraternal nature of the struggle of views, and the concept of the party as the

vanguard and high command of the working class and the revolution—all these have guaranteed an atmosphere of confidence in our internal lives and strengthened the party uninterruptedly. The errors committed in the recent period have caused a dangerous situation in which the Leninist principles of organization and leadership have been violated frequently. There have been violations of democratic centralism, disobedience to higher bodies, careerism, bad cadre policies, and there has been an attempt to harm mutual revolutionary confidence and Communist fraternity.

Under the present difficult conditions, in view of the complex national situations and the problems confronted within the international Communist movement, the faithful observance of the Leninist principles of organization is more necessary than ever, in order to harmoniously direct the activities of the party and guarantee the fulfillment of its historic mission as a party of the working class and leader of the Venezuelan revolution. The government measures of brutal repression necessarily require the strengthening of centralism and discipline in the party, of revolutionary vigilance, of the defense of unity, and of the preservation of the leadership organizations and cadres.

The central committee calls on all Communists to close ranks and reaffirm the the Leninist principles of organization, from top to bottom, and from bottom to top; to participate in the discussion process preparatory to the fourth congress; to rally around the central committee; and to defend and apply the policies adopted by the Eighth Plenum. All revolutionaries who share these principles will find the doors of the party open to them. As for the central committee, it has adopted a special regulation to safeguard our leadership functions under the present conditions.

4. The richest historical period in the life of the party the period between 1958 through 1966 has been the richest period of activities and experience in the history of the party and the Communist youth (JC). To the PCV and the JC, which performed with honor the mission of leading the popular insurrection of January 23, fell the role of vanguard in the great struggles waged in defense of democratic achievements and to win a nationalist and revolutionary policy. The rise to power of Romulo Betancourt and the reactionary clique of the AD leader was a harsh blow to the popular movement. The Betancourtist government adhered to the United States policy requiring anticommunist measures, the breakup of the unity of January 23, and the alinement of Venezuela against the Cuban revolution, thus opposing the democratic majority of our country.

The acute antagonism between Betancourtist policy and the sentiments and interests of the Venezuelan people, in addition to the grave economic problems faced by the masses, created an inevitable political and social conflict between the popular sectors of the government, a conflict which reached all national levels, especially the working class, the urban middle class, the youth, the patriotic sectors of the armed forces, and so forth, when this antagonism grew as a result of the provocative and repressive Betancourtist line, the conditions were created for the overthrow of Romulo Betancourt. These conditions manifested themselves, principally, in the degree of combativeness of the popular masses, the rejection of official leaders by the majority of the workers, the uninterrupted student actions, the breakup of the government coalition, the departure of the URD from the cabinet, the division in the ranks of the AD, the organization of the MIR and the opposition AD, the movement of important AFRED forces units to the nationalist camp, the increase support for the PCV and the JC among the workers and the middle classes, the loss of the government majority in the Chamber of Deputies, the spontaneous insurrectional actions in important cities, the national transportation strike, and other things.

5. It was just to take up weapons: In adopting as its principal task the overthrow of Romulo Betancourt, the PCV was interpreting the aspiration of the majority of the Venezuelan people and was acting in accordance with the correlation of forces, which favored that decision at that time. The violence unleashed by the government against the popular masses had closed the peaceful road toward achieving the changes demanded by the majority of the people. Betancourtism attacked the popular movement with every weapons, massacred demonstrators, murdered students and workers, closes press offices, raided and trample on entire districts, and imposed persecution and police terror. The decision to defend the achievements of January 23, by resorting all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, and to promote the overthrow of Romulo Betancourt was just.

The PCV and the JC fought with exemplary courage in the Carupano and Puerto Cabello rebellions, in the heroic guerrilla actions participated in by many contingents of the popular masses throughout Venezuela. During this period, the

party and the JC—independent of the errors and failures, which will receive special analysis—acted as true revolutionary organizations, took up weapons, and defied all dangers to resist the Betancourtist aggression and achieve a nationalist change.

6. We have committed errors in this struggle: without denying the great struggles waged, it is necessary, however, to make a sincere critical and self-critical analysis in order to root out the errors which led to the defeat of the insurrectional movement against the Romulo Betancourt government and the subsequent setbacks suffered by the revolutionary sectors.

Aware of the fact that there is no struggle without errors, the criticism and self-criticism should note the most important aspects, from the analysis of which the revolutionary movement can extract lessons. We must not—repeat—not permit the revolutionary forces to be confused by personal, petty, destructive, and unprincipled criticism, nor by criticisms that may impose on them a pessimistic or conservative vision which will fill the popular forces with distrust or demoralize them at a time in which it is necessary to raise their combat spirit in order to perform the great tasks pending.

At present, this examination cannot be complete, for the historic period being analyzed has not—repeat—not yet ended. However, the central committee feels it is correct to initiate the discussion concerning the actions of each and every one party organization, with the spirit of justice and the courage that must be the norm of Communists. The central committee calls on all the military men to contribute to the discussion process, review the most positive experiences, correct the errors in practice, draft a correct policy, and strengthen the party and the JC.

7. The principal errors: The following errors have been noted in this plenum:

(1) We did not—repeat—not understand the true nature of the insurrectional movement against Betancourtist hegemony. We attempted to immediately attribute the characteristics of “Revolutionary National Liberation War” to a movement which had not—repeat—not yet reached that point. The principal aim of which was to remove the Betancourt government and replace it with a broad-based government which would respect democratic rights. This confusion over the initial nature of the movement led us to a sectarian position in the drafting of slogans and the manner in which some of the methods of struggle were developed. In this phase, on repeated occasions, practice did not—repeat—not correspond to the general guidance of the united organizations and the thesis of the third congress, which were broad and flexible.

(2) When the conditions existed for the achievement of important changes by means of a correct combination of the forms of struggle, especially the use of armed struggle, the party did not—repeat—not act coherently, in depth, and with all its forces in the insurrectional action. This error prevented the sufficient exploitation of the favorable situations that presented themselves during the period we are analyzing.

(3) We committed serious errors of subjectivism in the application of the forms of struggle. These were expressed in the tendencies to adventurism and in the misadministration of our forces. Some of those errors affected the policy of alliances, the participation of the broad popular masses in the struggle, and they led, subsequently, especially after the December 1963 elections, to the isolation of the party and serious defeats. Owing to the situation created within the party by the work of the splinter group, sectarianism went deeper, provoking new reversals which could have been avoided.

(4) We did not—repeat—not know how to make maximum use of the 1963 election process and its incidents in making more acute the political crisis in the struggle against Betancourtism and the reactionary leadership of the AD. We should have participated in the elections, suspended the armed operations, and laid principle stress on a policy of broad alliances to regroup the opposition (words indistinct) this policy (word indistinct) the possibility of an electoral defeat of Betancourtism or, in any case, create a broad leftist movement, expanding the field of insurrectional support and establishing the bases for the prolongation of the struggle under better conditions after the elections. The party leadership did not—repeat—not realize in time that the political scene was being dominated by the electoral question, which was one of the most important factors in the political crisis. The party, in not—repeat—not drafting a correct tactic with regard to these problems, isolated itself and weakened popular unity, and the continuity plans of guerrillaism-Betancourtism were benefited.

(5) After the 1963 elections, the changes in the correlation of political forces became evident, and the insurrectional conditions, which had already been deteriorated by the aforementioned errors, became more precarious until they

reached the conditions with which we are now confronted. We did not—repeat—not realize the need to give priority to a policy that would permit the revolutionary movement to regroup its forces, recover from the defeats suffered, and achieve the creation of a situation favorable to a democratic and nationalist change. The party did not—repeat—not know how to retreat in time and modify and combine the forms of struggle in accordance with the correlation of forces. On the contrary, it adopted an ultraleftist position—as did the other leftist sectors—allowing the policy of the revolutionary movement to be dominated by dogmatism and secretarianism. As a result, new reversals have been added to previous ones and they, in turn, have generated harmful disputes and division within the leftist movement and fomented the appearance in our party of a splinter group which attempted to lead the party to adventure and failure.

(6) Guerrilla struggle as a form of popular struggle is, under certain political and military conditions, an unrenounceable resource of great tactical and strategic value. The experience gained by the party in this regard constitutes a wealth of knowledge we must conceive and enrich. However, to rely on the rural guerrillas as the fundamental force for struggle in the present situation in Venezuela constitutes the mechanical transplanting of an experience which has been successful in other countries, but which does not—repeat—not exactly match the peculiarities of Venezuelan reality, in which the principal forces of the revolution and the dominant social antagonisms are found in the cities and the urban areas.

The guerrilla struggle in our country, within the framework of the peculiarities of the Venezuelan revolution, is called upon to play a role which the party values in all its magnitude. The guerrillaist deviations, however, in assigning an exaggerated and decisive role to the guerrilla movement, are leading it to visible failure, as we are observing at present. The guerrillaist deviations under the adequate distribution of revolutionary resources and forces, and they have led to the harmful underestimation of the work in the cities and to the weakening of revolutionary activity in general.

In the period we are analyzing, we did not—repeat—not know how to draft a coherent military policy, responsibly based on the political requirements and the national reality and designed for the overthrow of Betancourtism and the removal of the reactionary leadership of the AD. The problems of the forms of struggle have been broached in a haphazard and fragmentary manner alien to Marxism-Leninism. This has led us to commit serious deviations in the application of Marxism-Leninism.

(7) The adaptation of the work of the masses to our general line was incorrect. We mistakenly underestimated the mass fronts. In the labor work, especially, we did not understand the requirement imposed by the changes in the political situation, and there was bureaucratism, passiveness, and the application of sectarian guidance by the party.

(8) Initially, the party leadership acted weakly against the maneuvers of the splinter group. The hesitation permitted the antiparty groups to take over certain positions, sow confusion through a campaign of intrigues and slander and to advance a pernicious divisionist work which has harmed the prestige and the authority of the party.

(9) The following is present in all the errors we have committed during this period: The influence of individualism, the vacillation typical of the petit bourgeois mentality, and poor knowledge of Marxist-Leninist ideology and of the national reality. The abandonment of the work of Communist ideology—the basis of the construction of the party—made possible the penetration of ideologies alien to the working class, of liberal and anarchic methods (phrase indistinct).

8. Ratification of the unpeaceful revolutionary road

The central committee ratifies the thesis of the third congress concerning the nonpeaceful nature of the Venezuelan road to national liberation and socialism. Owing to the domination of imperialist interests, especially North American interests, and to repressive procedures, owing to the characteristics of the military and political power of the ruling classes, the historic changes necessary for leading the country under the national liberation revolutionary program toward socialism will have to be achieved by overcoming the armed violence and terror of the ruling clique. The PCV and the JC must master, in theory and in practice, all the forms of struggle. They must know how to combine them flexibly and correctly and always be prepared for all contingencies in order to perform the revolutionary mission of winning power for the workers, which is the only reason for their existence. This is all the more necessary in the light of recent international events, the aggressiveness of the U.S. warmongers, the "Johnson Doctrine," the reactionary military coups in Latin America and Africa, and the imperialist and reactionary provocations against the national liberation movements.

The domination of the military-civilian guerrilla-Betancourtist clique in the political leadership of the country, the continuity plans of the reactionary AD leaders, the maintenance of the terrorist wave of repression, the constant violation of human rights and the U.S. pressure to increase Venezuela's dependence and colonial status—all these things force the PCV and the JC to increase their preparations in all fields in order to always be in a position to contribute to the popular and nationalist movement in the struggle for the complete operation of democracy, the defense of national sovereignty, and the independent development of Venezuela.

9. Characteristics of the present situation:

The present Venezuelan situation is characterized by the following fundamental facts:

(1) United States domination and penetration have increased, (words indistinct) strengthening of the domination of the groups drawn to the interests of U.S. imperialism and of the most reactionary sector of the Venezuelan bourgeoisie.

(2) The hegemony of the guerrilla-Betancourtist clique is being maintained, and it is today the principal political instrument of U.S. intervention and (? influence) in our country. Therefore, that clique is the principal enemy of our people at this moment.

(3) The conflict still exists between different ruling-class groups and cliques over control of the greatest amount of power in the Venezuelan Government and state. This conflict grows as the electoral process approaches, and it is expressed, among other things, by the anticontinuity movement, the pressures of guerrilla military groups for more reactionary solutions, and the struggles within the principal parties.

The guerrilla military groups are not—repeat—not discarding the possibility of a coup d'état in view of the government's lack of mass support, the weakening of the AD as a popular party, and the pressure of certain economic sectors, which do not—repeat—not conceal their ambition to replace the AD with a more reactionary formula which would better safeguard their interests. All these elements contribute, in a certain way, to the stability of the government and the complexity of the political situation.

There is an increase of military and police repression against the popular masses throughout the country. Executions, tortures, "missing persons," and the imprisonment of hundreds of citizens are the order of the day. The most reactionary leaders in the government are awaiting the right circumstances for the imposition of fascist laws. The antiguerrilla cordons, the big police roundups and abuses in the neighborhoods, and the special summary trials, of which those of the former parliamentarians of the PCV, the MIR, and so forth, are distinguished as juridical monstrosities, are evidence of the ever-growing dominance of the military groups and the U.S. military mission in the orientation of the government.

(5) General political activities are beginning to develop under the sign of election preparations. This is an event of singular importance which has direct influence on the political groupings and regroupings. It is possible to create a correlation of forces favorable to the overthrow of the continuity of the reactionary AD leadership.

(6) The economic and social problems of the popular masses have worsened. Popular discontent against the government is growing. It is expressed, principally, in the demands for change, for an end to the hegemony of the reactionary AD leadership, and for the defeat of the guerrilla-Betancourtist policy.

(7) The weakening of the democratic movement in general is a negative influence, especially the weakening of the organized force of the nationalist and the leftist sectors, which is the result of the blows received and the errors, division, and dispersals in its ranks. There is a process of weakening in the ranks of the MIR, and an anticommunist and adventurer group has taken form within it. The MIR faction agrees politically with the splinter group. Moreover, the anarchic-terrorist group, the actions of which confuse and disorganize the popular movement, serves the counter-revolutionary provocations and worsens the difficulties of the revolutionary sectors.

Erroneous sectarian and pseudo revolutionary concepts, which are causing so much harm by weakening the popular movement, have gone on to constitute the most dangerous of deviations, which threaten the immediate destiny of the Venezuelan revolution, exposing it to isolation and failure. The defeat of the erroneous ideas is indispensable in order to guarantee the development and victory of our party and the revolutionary movement.

Finally, at this moment the armed movement is not—repeat—not capable of playing a decisive role because of the deadlock being suffered by the guerrilla

fronts in the armed struggle in general, a situation made worse by the false political and operational concepts prevailing in the anarchic-adventurer and antiparty group.

(8) The political influence of the left, of our party, and of the JC is being maintained over broad popular sectors and their national goals. The persistence of a powerful student movement constitutes a permanent source of encouragement for the masses, as is the responsibility, combativeness, and invincible heroism demonstrated by the Communists in the struggle for the defense of popular, national, and democratic interests.

10. Party tactics: The central committee, on the basis of the current correlation forces and the characteristics of this political moment, agrees to focus the tactics of the party in the following direction: to promote the development of a broad national movement in favor of a progressive, nationalist, and democratic change. The points of the minimum program approved by the seventh plenum can serve for cooperation, agreement, and discussion with all the democratic forces in the country.

The central committee calls on all revolutionaries and patriots to develop a great mass movement for struggle against government terror and repression, for the release of political and military prisoners, in defense of human rights, for university autonomy, for the legality of the PCV and the MIR, and in defense of the interests of all the social sectors affected by the proimperialist and anti-national policy of the reactionary AD leadership. The central committee urges the organization of this great national movement in all spheres, giving impetus to the struggles and mobilizations of the masses, on large and small scale, for their political, social, and economic demands.

This national movement must have as its objective: to remove from power the reactionary leadership of the AD and to provoke a progressivist change in favor of democratic freedoms and national sovereignty with the support of the nationalist civilian and military sectors. This national movement must not—repeat—not make exclusions in advance. The PCV and the JC offer their cooperation in encouraging its growth among the popular masses. The alliance policy of the PCV will develop in accordance with the attitude the other political forces take toward the Betancourtist leadership and the dominance of the reactionary, leadership of the AD, human rights and democratic freedoms, police repression and terror, and the demands of the nationalist sectors.

In the course of the struggle for a progressive change in favor of democratic freedoms and national sovereignty, the most responsible revolutionary forces will be grouping and strengthening. The PCV declares it will comply with the agreements concerning the program of change and the struggle for its realization which may be adopted with the consensus of all interested sectors and that it will advance all the activities aimed at giving impetus to a great mass movement around that program. In the development of its alliance policy, the PCV will defend its political independence and its own views concerning the best road for the Venezuelan revolution.

With regard to the national movement, the central committee resolves to have the party participate actively in the coming electoral process under the slogan: "Ni continuismo ni cladera, cambio; Change in Favor of Democratic freedoms, National Sovereignty, and the Independent Development of Venezuela." The electoral process is being handled in a rigged and repressive manner. The party will struggle against that situation and to make of the elections a battle against the reactionary leadership of the AD and the government.

The central committee will adopt new tactical measures for the party in the immediate future, in the knowledge that the electoral process and the struggle to prevent the continuity of the reactionary AD leadership will become the great center of (word indistinct) of the real nationalist and democratic forces. This tactic will always be in the service of the general strategic objectives of the Venezuelan revolution.

The central committee, in raising, more vigorously than ever before, the slogan that the fundamental problem of Venezuela is to end its dependence on U.S. imperialism, overcome backwardness, and win complete political and economic independence, does not—repeat—not forget that this is impossible to achieve through elections, but it is no less true that one cannot scorn the importance of an electoral defeat of the reactionary AD leadership, particularly if it comes about as the result of a mass movement with the active participation of the left and the PCV. The removal of the ruling reactionary AD leadership would mean the creation of a new political picture, a change in the correlation of forces favorable

to the revolutionary movement, and the expansion of the possibilities for more profound changes in national life.

Eighth plenum of the central committee of the PCV; Venezuela, April-May 1967. Authentication: Guillermo Garcia PNCE, for the Political Bureau, PCV.

APPENDIX VI

COLOMBIA

[From Granma, July 2, 1967]

ATTACK!—A REPORT BY MARIO MENÉNDEZ IN COLOMBIA

MEXICO CITY, JUNE 21 (PL).—In the most recent issue of the magazine *Sucesos*, Editor-in-Chief Mario Menéndez Rodríguez published the first of his articles on the National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN). This extensive and sensational report on the activities of the ELN in northern Colombia includes a detailed eyewitness account of an attack on a military train made by the guerrillas.

Menéndez' article, "¡Al Ataque!" (Attack!) stresses that in the ELN there is a strict military discipline that "has 'hardened' all members in a way I had not observed in any other Latin American insurgent movement."

The Mexican journalist, who has interviewed the principal leaders of the guerrilla movements in Venezuela and Guatemala, details—in this 56-page report—his impressions during a month-long stay with ELN combatants. The article is profusely illustrated, with 75 photographs.

In addition to telling of the attack made by guerrillas of the José Antonio Galán Front, under the direct leadership of the ELN commander in chief, Fabio Vásquez Castaño, the article also tells of the successful attack on and taking of the town of Vijagual by guerrillas of the second, new front—named after Camilo Torres Restrepo, and commanded by Major Ricardo Lara Parada.

These two guerrilla fronts carry on their activities in the departments of Santander and North Santander in northern Colombia.

This article, which bears a heading taken from the words of Cuban patriot José Martí: "Words are not to conceal the truth, but to reveal it," reports that for the first time in the history of the Latin American liberation struggle a guerrilla action—the attack on a military train—has been filmed from beginning to end while it was actually happening. This exclusive documentary film is the work of *Sucesos* photographer Armando Salgado, who accompanied Menéndez to Colombia.

According to Menéndez, "This is the first time that an interview has been given by the extraordinary insurgent leader and ELN commander in chief, Fabio Vásquez Castaño."

"Al Ataque!" is written in three parts: a summary of the Colombian situation and the ideas of ELN martyr-priest Camilo Torres Restrepo; an account of the attack on a military train; and a discussion of the courage and heroism of the ELN combatants, described as "extraordinary apostles, men with an admirable sense of sacrifice and devotion—Quixotes of our times."

TWENTY-FOUR FAMILIES RUN COLOMBIA

This report, written during February, March and April of this year, begins by stressing the fact that "Twenty-four families run Colombia—at the point of a bayonet—today, dominating the political, economic and social destinies of more than sixteen million persons in Simon Bolívar's adopted homeland and leaving the people of Colombia abandoned, in desolation and misery."

He points up Colombia's high illiteracy and mortality rates and contrasts these with the fact that "Colombia's military budget is larger than the total sums allotted for education and public health." In dealing with the political machinery of Colombia's reactionary forces, and the prospects of opposition use of legal methods, he quotes the priest Camilo Torres Restrepo:

"Since it is impossible for the opposition groups who succeed in being elected to parliament to overcome those who control the electoral machine and all other levers of power, those opposition groups will never be able to make any revolutionary transformations."

THE ONLY ROAD: ARMED STRUGGLE

The Mexican journalist again quotes the words of the heroic martyred priest and revolutionary leader who stressed that "The people in general have believed and continue to believe that the only way to solve their political, social and economic problems and win complete independence is through armed struggle."

Menéndez stresses that it is in Colombia that "The best subjective and objective conditions exist for waging revolutionary warfare." And, specifically referring to the ELN, he points out that "One of the factors that enables one to predict victory for the ELN in Colombia is this: it is composed almost wholly of peasants."

He praises the determination of the founders of the ELN, who began by organizing a guerrilla movement—practically without funds—only a little over two years ago in Santander Department. "Nonetheless, to cover up their own lack of effectiveness and to get more money from their masters in the U.S., members of the Colombian oligarchy blamed Cuba, the nation which has become the major worry of the imperialists today."

Menéndez has high praise for the disciplined life led by the ELN guerrilla forces. Their daily schedule—which is only changed in the event of battle—includes: reveille at 5:30 a.m.; physical education classes; morning classes in Spanish, history, sociological problems and political science; disassembly and cleaning of rifles; and, in the evening, classes in military strategy based on the history of revolt in Colombia itself.

"The ELN is an admirable school that is brining the peasant forth from the shadows, that is concerned about his health, and that is waging revolutionary war that will lead him to the winning of power."

Menéndez also describes the personality of Fabio Vásquez Castaño. "This extraordinary leader and guerrilla commander possesses a correct concept of political-military strategy. He is a young man who deeply feels the problems of his oppressed country, problems that do not permit him to live in peace. He reminds us, not only because of a certain physical resemblance, but also because of his positive concept of what a revolution in Latin America is and should be, of Fidel Castro the insurgent and the 26th of July Movement—which has a twin in the National Liberation Army of Colombia."

Vásquez Castaño, who is thirty years of age, is of rural extraction. His father was assassinated during the years of reactionary violence.

FABIO VÁSQUEZ: ABSOLUTE SCORN FOR THE "LEADERS" OF THE VENEZUELAN CP

Reporting on his first conversation with the leader of the ELN, which touched upon various aspects of the revolutionary movement in Latin America, Menéndez pointed out Vásquez's "absolute scorn for the 'leaders' of the Communist Party of Venezuela." He quotes Fabio Vásquez as follows:

"The degree of decomposition that exists in the poorly terms 'revolutionary camp' is incredible. We feel respect and admiration only for Cuba and Fidel Castro, who is a berrquera (Colombian term used to describe a real man, in every sense of the word) of a revolutionary . . ."

Vásquez also expressed a high opinion of "the extraordinary other patriot leader, Major Ricardo Lara Parada, leader of the front bearing the name of the priest-martyr of the Colombian Revolution."

Menéndez speaks of the outstanding personal qualities of Lara Parada, "whose seizure of Vijagual was a source of inspiration for the men of the José Antonio Galán Front." He also includes a full account—published for the first time—of the Vijagual action as described by Major Lara Parada in a message to Fabio Vásquez.

CAMILO TORRES WAS A MAN WITH AN IRON WILL

Describing the battle of Patiocemento, where priest Camilo Torres was killed, Menéndez says: "He was killed in combat against two soldiers armed with automatic weapons. The only weapons the priest had were a .45-caliber pistol, an iron will and determination."

In another part of the article, Menéndez points out the changes that have taken place among the inhabitants of the zone where the ELN combatants operate; he gives the example of Barranca Bermeja, one of the country's important oil centers. "In Barranca Bermeja, in only two years it has become evident what a correct conception of armed propaganda can do to incorporate Latin America's weak working class into struggle. In this oil center par excellence the trade union was headed by so-called revolutionaries—'book' revolutionaries—dogmatists who only wanted to create martyrs, without perspectives; sectarians who, for

their own convenience, preferred to keep on mouthing the same clichés about an absurd democratic way . . .”

The reporter points out how the ELN's revolutionary armed action showed the workers that “Action will do almost everything, and the rest will follow.”

He then relates the episode of the assault on a military train guarded by a platoon of riflemen, an action carried out successfully at a point between the Carare and Opón Rivers.

FABIO VÁSQUEZ LED THE ATTACK ON THE MILITARY TRAIN

“The spot chosen for the attack is a narrow, rocky canyon with sides about three meters high. The railroad tracks run right down the middle of this canyon.”

Menéndez points out the perfect coordination throughout the operation, including synchronized radio contact between the guerrillas. He refutes the Colombian Government's charge that the attack had been planned in order to get newspaper coverage. He explains that this operation had been planned for execution one month earlier but that it was impossible to carry it out, due to unforeseeable circumstances. Then he tells of an attempt that turned out unsuccessfully, due to an unexpected change in the military train's schedule. Menéndez gives full details of the operations involved in placing explosives which would blow up the tracks and derail the train. He then goes into the 25-minute battle, which was led by Fabio Vásquez in person.

A detailed account of the battle is given. Menéndez dwells on the treatment given civilians by the guerrillas, which was in sharp contrast to the behavior of the soldiers, some of whom even used the women as shields.

The last moments of the operation are eloquently described by Menéndez:

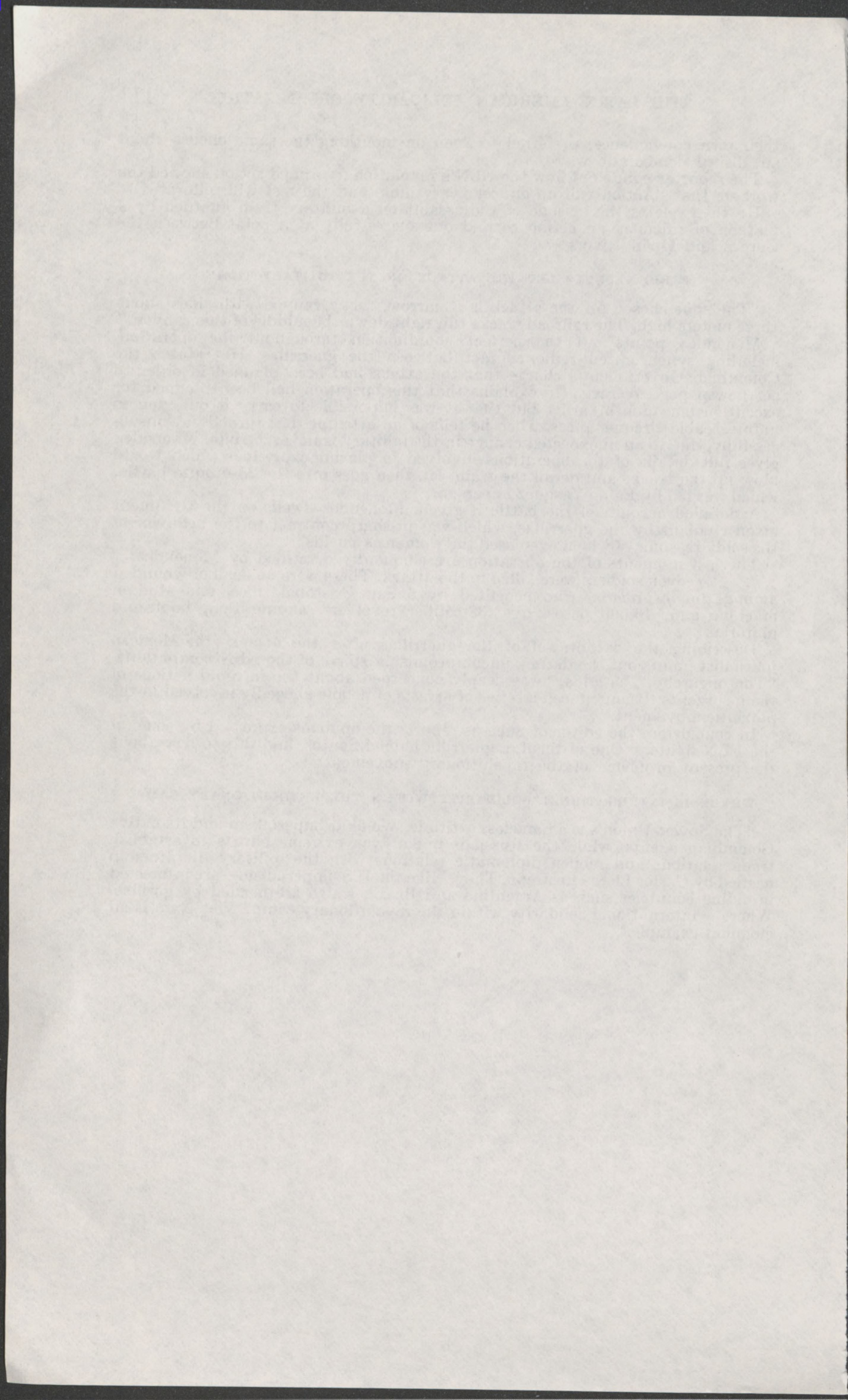
“. . . seven soldiers were killed in the attack. There were no dead or wounded among the insurgents, who benefited by 6 San Cristóbal rifles, one Madsen machine gun, 16,000 pesos, five .38-caliber revolvers, ammunition, boots and uniforms . . .”

Describing the withdrawal of the guerrillas after the attack, the Mexican journalist points out the daring, uncompromising spirit of the ELN combatants. “The oligarchy,” he adds, “was deeply concerned about the intrepid actions of the insurgents. It announced a series of arrests of people allegedly involved in the patriotic movement.”

In conclusion, the editor of *Sucesos* reports the opinions expressed by some of the ELN fighters. One of them, a guerrilla named Santos, had this to say about the present problems of the revolutionary movement:

WHERE IS INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMP?

“The Soviet Union's is a nameless attitude. We fight imperialism and its native Colombian agents, while the Russians make even extreme efforts to establish trade relations and reopen diplomatic relations with the military dictatorship headed by Carlos Lleras Restrepo. They—like the U.S. imperialists—are interested in aiding countries such as Argentina and Brazil, which are headed by gorillas. Where is international solidarity within the revolutionary camp? Viet Nam is an eloquent example.”



APPENDIX VII

[From a report by U.S. Information Agency, Miami, Fla.]

DEBRAY AND CASTRO

But Fidel Castro, in his endeavor to impose his guerrilla struggle line as obligatory for all Latin American leftist movements, was relying not only on propaganda, on personal contacts with Latin extremist leaders, on benedictions of supporters or condemnations of his political foes, or even on the creation in Havana of an apparently computerized Latin American information center. Castro, with the aid of a foreign friend, was creating a philosophical rationale for his ideas, a doctrinal base with which to justify his open intervention into the internal affairs of every Communist party in Latin America.

As a Marxist, Castro, ideologically, has never stood on firm ground. For years, he has been praising the virtues of Marxist polycentrism. He has rejected interference from outside on many occasions. He has repeatedly stated that as a Latin American he knew more about the Hemispheric matters, let alone about Cuba, than Soviet bloc officials and European Communists who have criticized his revolutionary measures in the island and his ideas about what he calls "the Latin American reality." But since 1965 things have changed. Now, inflating his position of the leader of the only Communist state in the Hemisphere, Castro has attempted to usurp the right to dictate policies of, say, the Communist Party of Chile, the country about which he knew probably less than the Russians knew about Cuba. Thus, denying the right of others to give opinions about the Cuban revolution, whose disastrous mistakes are for all to see, Castro instituted himself as the arbiter of the whole of Latin America.

Within the framework of polycentrism, this intromission amounted to a new Communist heresy. To turn the sin into a virtue, Castro employed a Frenchman to explain his "heretic" ideas and to elevate them to a level of a "new truth", a Latin American variation of Marxism-Leninism-Castroism. This document, whose publication in Cuba on January 16, 1967 was preceded by an intense press and radio publicity campaign, was a booklet by Regis Debray entitled "Revolution Within the Revolution."

The 35,000 word booklet was published by the Cuadernos Series of the Journal *Casa de las Americas* and has been subject of countless discussions in the Cuban press and radio since. The Mexico City weekly *Sucesos* and other Latin American leftist publications also carried the summaries of Debray's after its Havana publication.

A Spanish-speaking 26-year-old French writer, [his arrest in Bolivia was reported on April 25, 1967], Debray has shown for years keen interest in Latin American subversive activities. A philosophy graduate of Sorbonne, and member of the Union of French Communist Students, Debray had been a professor at the Nancy Lyceum. His first contact with Latin America was in 1961 when he travelled to Cuba and supposedly took part in Castro's literacy campaign. In 1963 he visited Venezuela during the time when the Cuban dictator, through a terrorist campaign in Caracas and other cities, tried to do his utmost to thwart the presidential elections in that country. From Venezuela Debray went to Colombia, the country from which he was expelled to Ecuador, where he was promptly jailed. Expelled again, he then went to Chile and Brazil. At the end of 1965, after a stay in France, where he published an essay "Latin American Revolutionary Strategy", Debray returned to Cuba.

"Revolution Within the Revolution" was written in the fall of 1966 after a number of interviews that Debray had had with Fidel Castro. The leitmotif of the essay, whose literary style is of high caliber, is that the Cuban experience—the conquest by Communist power using force of arms—can be repeated in Latin America contrary to the opinion of many Marxists, particularly the leaders of the regular "Old Guard" party establishments.

Debray asserts that Latin America, "after the end of an era of a relative equilibrium among the social classes", has entered a new situation, that of "the total

class warfare, an era in which there is no place for compromise or for the sharing of power." The advent of this new epoch, the Frenchman went on, has been brought about by the revolutionary polarization of Latin American society into the exploited and the exploiters.

After denouncing the Latin American Trotskyites and following the analysis of the tactics employed by Castro during his Sierra Maestra campaign (and theorizing a posteriori about disjointed happenstances and fortuitous occurrences of that period as though these events took place because of Castro's infallible wisdom and clairvoyance), Debray proceeded to explain why the guerrilla warfare and not the political organization is more important at the present moment in Latin America.

He quoted Castro: "Who will bring about the revolution in Latin America? The people, the revolutionaries, with or without the Party." According to Debray, Castro went on to say that "there can be no revolution without a vanguard, but this vanguard need not necessarily be the Marxist-Leninist party, and those who want revolution have the right and the duty to establish themselves as a vanguard, independent of these parties."

Eulogizing Castro's words, the Frenchman said that it took "courage to state things as they are, when these facts go against a tradition." And he commented that "the Cuban revolution and the military activities this had engendered throughout Latin America have seriously disturbed the old picture." [What Debray calls "the old picture" is the existence of generally pro-Soviet Communist establishments in the Hemisphere.] He went on to say that a "new style of leadership" should be introduced in Latin America beginning with a "rejuvenation" of the Central Committees of many Latin Communist parties, "replacing most of the old leaders with young men directly engaged in the war or the clandestine city struggle."

But the rejuvenation of communist cadres is not enough to bring about a revolution, Debray theorized. New organization methods and new ideological concepts must be brought into play, he said, following the example of the Cuban revolution, a process that has made a "decisive contribution to international revolutionary experience and to Marxism-Leninism."

After making an extensive analysis of the technique of guerrilla warfare and of the relations between the partisan army and the political party in the cities, Debray came to a conclusion which is today Castro's main idea and his advice to Latin American Reds: "It is necessary for the guerrilla force to take all the functions of command, both political and military." Underlining that the army comes first and the party second, that the mountains give orders and the cities carry them out, Debray went on: "Any guerrilla movement which wants to carry the people's war through to the end, to transform itself if necessary, into a regular army and to undertake a war of movement and to take a (firm) stand, will have, in Latin America, to become the undisputed political vanguard, and essential aspect being that its leadership must be incorporated in the military command."

Debray recognized that this conclusion might be considered a "heresy" by the Marxist traditionalists, but stated that at the present time in Latin America "there is an order of objectives which is historically substantiated. The people's army will be the nucleus of the party and not vice versa . . . Under the current circumstances the main emphasis must be placed on the development of the guerrilla warfare and not in the strengthening of existing parties or on the creation of new ones. To this effect, in those places, the insurrection work of today is political work number one."

The Frenchman made a brief reference to Guevara: "When comrade Guevara resumed insurrectional work, he assumed, on the international level, the consequences of this line of action, embodied by the leader of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro. Should Ché Guevara reappear, it would not be too venturesome to assert that he will be at the head of a guerrilla movement as its indisputable political and military chief." Debray concluded his essay by saying: "In a given historical situation, there may be one thousand different ways of speaking about the revolution but a single necessary agreement among all those who have decided to make it."

APPENDIX VIII

[From Granma, Feb. 12, 1967]

OLAS POINTS UP SIGNIFICANCE OF SECOND DECLARATION OF HAVANA FOR LATIN AMERICAN STRUGGLE

The Organizing Committee of the Latin American Organization for Solidarity (OLAS) has issued the following statement:

The Second Declaration of Havana, was approved by the people of Cuba in a national general assembly on February 4, 1962. It was the direct, vibrant reply of more than a million patriots assembled in the José Martí Plaza de la Revolución to the submissive conclave of Punta del Este. Within the framework of the imperialist strategy for continental domination, that meeting of foreign ministers constituted a new step in the preparatory maneuvers for an attack against Cuba, employing the forces of the Latin American puppet governments, under the cloak of the OAS.

The historic document approved by the Cuban people five years ago, opens with a reference to José Martí, national hero of the struggles against Spanish colonialism in the XIX century, and precursor of today's continental anti-imperialist position. The document analyzes the Latin American revolution, its conditions and perspectives, and affirms that revolution in our time is the inevitable answer to the exploitation that the peoples south of the Rio Grande have suffered for centuries and still suffer.

The Second Declaration of Havana, like the First, is of historic importance of the national struggle of the Latin American peoples.

"The duty of all revolutionaries is to make revolution," it states. "It is known that the revolution will come to Latin America and to the world, but it is not the role of a revolutionary to sit at the door of his house waiting for the corpse of imperialism to pass by.

"There where the path of progress is closed to the peoples, where repression of the workers and peasants is fierce, where domination by Yankee monopolies is strongest, the first and most important task is to understand that it is neither just nor correct to divert the people with the vain and comfortable illusion that the dominant classes can be uprooted by legal means which do not and will not exist. The ruling classes are entrenched in all positions of state power. They monopolize instruction. They dominate all means of mass communication. They possess infinite financial resources and power which the monopolies and the oligarchies will defend through blood and fire with the strength of their police and their armies."

The Second Declaration of Havana graphically summed up the desolate picture, the terrible situation of some 200 million Latin Americans. Each minute, four persons in Latin America die of hunger, curable disease or premature old age; and each minute a thousand dollars flows from Latin America to the United States, the product of imperialist exploitation. "A thousand dollars a life, four times a minute."

The Latin American peoples have risen in rebellion against that situation, demanding national and social liberation. Confronted by the peoples' insurrection, imperialism applies a policy of intervention. Thus, the anti-Cuban resolutions adopted at the Punta del Este Foreign Ministers Conference and in later meetings of the OAS, achieved by the United States through the subservience of native oligarchies and through the use of interventionist instruments, are directed not only against Cuba, but against all the Latin American peoples for the purpose of maintaining imperialist domination throughout our continent. But the moment has arrived to decisively break the chains of imperialism in Latin America, to open to the oppressed nations the doors to genuine progress and happiness. The Second Declaration of Havana stresses that, if yesterday a generation of Latin Americans fought against Spanish colonial power, "today's generation must confront the most powerful imperialist nation in the world."

"The epic that lies before us will be written by the hungry masses of Indians, of landless peasants, of exploited workers, and students; it will be written by the progressive masses, by the honest and brilliant intellectuals who so abound in our suffering lands of Latin America . . ." The Declaration adds that the exploited and villified masses of the continent "have resolved to undertake the writing of their own history, once and for all."

Inspired in the lofty principles of the struggle for the true and definitive independence of Latin America expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana, the peoples of Latin America will hold the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Latin America, in Havana next July.

The peoples of our continent will tighten their combative and militant bonds of solidarity still more in this assembly, and will establish a common strategy to be employed against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, in behalf of the liberation and progress of all our nations, in the conviction that the duty of all revolutionaries is to make revolution.

*Organizing Committee of the Latin American for Solidarity Organization
(OLAS)*

APPENDIX IX

[From Granma, Jan. 15, 1967]

LATIN AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS SPEAK OUT IN DEFENSE OF PEOPLES FACING POVERTY AND ILLITERACY

The Editorial Council of the Casa de las Americas magazine, meeting in Havana from the 5th to the 8th of January to discuss the policies of the magazine, agreed to release the following declaration:

Every responsible Latin American writer is aware today that he is facing a new situation. One aspect of this new reality is the realignment of forces in the socialist as well as in the capitalist world, but above all stands the recent U.S. offensive in the field of culture, which is specifically designed to neutralize and divide our intellectuals or win them over to the U.S. cause. This offensive has revealed itself through such programs as the Camelot, Simpatico and Numismatico Plans; the financing of sociological research through the CIA; the commissioning of academic studies by the U.S. Defense Department through foundations and universities; the purchase of publishing houses and magazines in Latin America; the activities of the Peace Corps . . .

This new situation and, above all, the newness of the tactics employed, necessarily provoked a certain confusion in regard to the attitudes to be assumed and defended by us. Therefore, and in spite of the legitimate differences of opinion that may exist among our writers of the left, we are convinced that all feel the need for open discussion on the broadest possible basis with the aim of agreeing upon the principles that will enable us to face this new threat and establish a common denominator of action.

It is obvious that Latin America, like the Third World as a whole, is in need of an urgent transformation of its socioeconomic structures that, by favoring a full development of all its potentialities, will bring about that liberty in the sphere of creative activity without which no intellectual can fulfill his role. It falls to the peoples of our continent to carry out this revolution according to their traditions, their social concepts and their specific historic circumstances, even to exercising the legitimate right to armed insurrection as Cuba has done and other peoples are doing.

Militarism, with its habitual methods, and the Alliance for Progress, with far greater subtlety, are attempting to frustrate this revolution or turn it to their own purposes. In the field of culture the Alliance, like the OAS, both instruments of the new U.S. policy, have been attempting for some time now to place our intellectuals at a crossroads, by tempting them with possibilities and perspectives concerning whose true nature it behooves us to alert all writers and artists.

If the intellectual is, under any circumstances, bound to the deep aspirations of his community, and these are expressed, directly or indirectly, in his work, this tie is much more binding in underdeveloped countries like our own, subjected to the actions of U.S. imperialism, native oligarchies and the economic extortions of the highly industrialized countries. This exploitation results in misery and illiteracy for the great masses of our population, making it the responsibility of our writers to become the voice, in the field of culture, of these dispossessed. It can therefore surprise no one if, under the existing circumstances, many of our intellectuals have awakened to a responsibility that they frequently avoided in the past, while others have assumed increasingly more militant attitudes, even to the extent of entering combat, undergoing incarceration and exile, or being silenced in their own countries, at the same time that attempts are made to isolate our countries one from another by means of open or veiled cultural blockades. No one ignores that the population of Latin America is being submitted to a daily campaign that distorts truth, deforms values and muddles conscience, through the mass media of certain films, television and radio programs and publications that are tragically efficacious and, at the same time, destroy or adulterate authentically original work and sink our people into moral apathy, triviality or tacit consent.

It is our duty to fight this degraded art because it is this, and no authentic art or literature, that separates our people from the deepest sources of their existence and makes them vulnerable to that cultural penetration that precedes the measures that will attempt to put an end to their freedom and sovereignty.

Now, more than ever, is the moment to affirm how convinced we are that the most absolute and unrestricted creative freedom is an essential attribute of the revolution to which we aspire, and, for that reason, we will never reject any technique, method or form of approaching and expressing the different areas of reality. We believe that the most difficult and the most extreme quality of intellectual and artistic endeavor are always revolutionary because they constitute the nourishment of our future and give the cause of man its rigorous beauty. All genuine art serves this cause and must be stimulated and defended, often independently of the intentions of its author. But at the same time we postulate the equally imperious need for our intellectuals to assume their social responsibilities and participate, with their work or with whatever activity circumstances demand, in the fight for the liberation of the peoples of Latin America.

This is a struggle that our writers can fight on many fronts, and one of these is the indispensable exchange among the diverse cultures of Latin America or of other regions of the world and, as an immediate step, through direct contact by means of translations, meetings and other forms of cultural reciprocity and liaison. But this dialogue which, as such presupposes the recognition and expression of different and even contradictory conceptions can only develop under very precise conditions, particularly when the forces are very unequal. No dialogue is possible with those who try to use our writers in favor of unacceptable interests, neutralizing our freedom and our full solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of our Continent. Only within a situation of true equality and respect can this cultural exchange take place.

For these reasons, we consider that the unity of all Latin American writers of the left is necessary today more than ever before. Now when the danger of armed intervention of the kind carried out in Santo Domingo hangs over our heads, when Viet Nam is being savagely bombed every day, it has become more urgent to coordinate our struggle against the common enemy of our America. The situation demands an exchange of experiences among Latin American writers in a great assembly. We also believe that writers from Africa and Asia should meet with us as well because, above the differences of language and culture, we all face today a very similar predicament. For this reason, we make this call to all intellectuals in underdeveloped countries to participate in a debate concerning our mutual problems of this hour, which is the hour of our America, and of the entire Third World.

HAVANA, *January 8th, 1967.*

EMMANUEL CARBALLO (Mexico), JULIO CORTAZAR (Argentina), ROQUE DALTON (El Salvador), RENÉ DEPESTRE (Haiti), EDMUNDO DESNOE (Cuba), ROBERTO FERNÁNDEZ RETAMAR (Cuba), AMBROSIO FORNET (Cuba), MANUEL GALICH (Guatemala), LISANDRO OTERO (Cuba), GRAZIELLA POGOLOTTI (Cuba), ANGEL RAMA (Uruguay), MARIO VARGAS LLOSA (Peru), DAVID VIÑAS (Argentina).

JORGE ZALAMEA (Colombia), his signature does not yet appear in this document as he is en route to Cuba.

APPENDIX X

[From the Miami Herald, Apr. 20, 1967]

HAVANA TOUTS PARIS 'EXPERT' ON REVOLUTION

(By Don Bohning, Herald Latin America editor)

A young French Communist, headquartered in Cuba and captured in Bolivia, has been getting top billing from Havana in recent months as a leading revolutionary theoretician.

Jules Regis Debray, a 26-year-old, Paris-born revolutionary activist, was captured by Bolivian government forces in an encounter with guerrillas April 20.

Debray's role with the guerrillas remains hazy although he ostensibly was there as a journalist.

Less uncertain are his activities in Havana and his close association with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Castro, apparently, was smitten by Debray's theories on revolution in much the same fashion he was attracted by the unorthodox agricultural theories of another Frenchman, Andres Voisin.

Voisin died in Cuba of a heart attack two years ago but his untested agricultural concepts are still being applied.

Debray first visited Cuba in 1961 to study the Castro regime's literacy campaign.

He returned to make Havana his permanent residence in December, 1965, a month before the Tri-Continental Conference of Asian, African and Latin American Revolutionaries was held in the Cuban capital.

Debray was given a professorship at the University of Havana, apparently as a revolutionary theoretician.

He published, in 1965, two works on Cuba and Latin America—one in Spanish and one in French—but it was his book "Revolution Within the Revolution?" appearing in January of this year which attracted the most attention.

The book was first published in Havana by the Casa de las Americas, the Cuban cultural and intellectual center, and has since been published in France.

Castro is reported to have read proofs for the Spanish edition.

The book was widely circulated by the Cubans and in early February was reprinted in Mexico by *Politica*, a leftist periodical. Extensive summaries in Creole directed at Haiti have been broadcast by Cuban radio.

Central theme of the book is that repeated by Castro so frequently of late—the duty of all revolutionaries is to make revolution. And the only way to do it is by armed struggle, i.e., guerrilla warfare.

It reflects again the divergence of opinion between Havana and Moscow on how the revolution should be carried out.

"Today, in Latin America," Debray writes, "any political line which cannot be expressed in terms of results, in terms of a clear and precise military line, cannot be considered as revolutionary."

"If one wants to conquer," says Debray, "it is necessary to accept as a principle the fact that life is not the most important thing to the revolutionary."

A basic Debray concept is that guerrilla warfare should never be subordinated to the urban revolutionary political leadership. A single military and political command must be maintained, says Debray, and it should rest with the guerrillas.

He speaks with contempt of the urban based revolutionary political parties who attempt to maintain control over, but instead obstruct, the rural guerrilla movement.

Debray, by his writings, would appear to be a revolutionary first and a Communist incidentally.

He quotes Castro as asking "Who will bring about the revolution in Latin America? Who?" and answering, "The people, the revolutionaries, with or without the party."

Debray draws heavily upon the Cuban experience in supporting his thesis that the revolution begins with guerrilla warfare.

Roberto Fernandez Retamar, Cuban poet and director of the Casa de las Americas, notes in an introduction to Debray's book that the author "talked with many persons directly involved in our revolutionary exploits among them the conceiver and leader of the struggle, Fidel Castro with whom he spent much time."

Debray, says Fernandez, "had access to numerous unpublished documents" from Castro's anti-Batista guerrilla campaign. "No other person who has written about the Cuban Revolution has had such a wealth of facts and figures for historic investigation."

Fernandez also notes that Debray "toured various Latin American countries" and was "in close contact with revolutionaries, sharing on occasion guerrilla life." He was sharing it again when captured in Bolivia.

OAS COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE LASO NOT NEEDED

Havana in Spanish to the Americas 1340 GMT 12 July 1967—E
(Feature: "Our America")

Another OAS commission, or special committee, as the Yankees call it, has just been formed in Washington. This committee, which is sponsored by the U.S. ministry of colonies, in other words, the OAS, will have among its functions that of reporting on the activities on the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO). According to international news agency reports, this machine of continental reaction will investigate what the OAS and the U.S. Government describe as LASO's subversive activities in the hemisphere since October of last year.

So what is this new OAS committee going to investigate concerning LASO? Have the sponsors of this revolutionary organization concealed anything about why it was created? LASO speaks a firm language, without equivocations of any kind, a revolutionary language with a single intention: to make revolution. The OAS has no need to investigate the activities and objectives of LASO. They are well known. That the peoples should subvert the order established by imperialism is a historic necessity for our continent. This conviction is one of the premises of LASO.

Therefore, the LASO conference proclaims that the duty of all revolutionaries is to make revolution. Under this fervent slogan it will debate in Havana from 28 July to 5 August the most urgent problems of the hemisphere, but mainly the drawing up of a global combat strategy against Yankee imperialism on this continent.

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