

# CubaTimes

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- **Special: Housing**
- **Travel Ban Decision**
- **Cuban-American Community**
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## Lawlessness Made Lawful

by Franklin Siegel

An unprecedented blow was dealt to the freedom of Americans to travel, exchange ideas and view another society when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Regan v. Wald* on June 28. In a narrow victory of 5 to 4, the Court voted to reverse a U.S. Court of Appeals decision which found no legal basis for the currency control regulations by which the Reagan Administration curbed tourist and business travel to Cuba.

The restrictions do not explicitly ban travel to Cuba, rather they re-impose currency restrictions which make it illegal to spend money travelling to Cuba. The currency restrictions, which were part of the blockade of Cuba imposed by the United States in the early '60's, had been lifted in 1977 by President Jimmy Carter after the United States became a signatory to accords at Helsinki. By these accords, the U.S. pledged to uphold freedom of movement and travel. The restrictions were re-imposed in the spring of 1982.

Justice William H. Rehnquist's majority opinion found that the 1982 Reagan regulations were "justified by weighty concerns of foreign policy."

Although the opinion contained scant reference to the "weighty concerns", Administration spokespersons had characterized the travel restrictions, when they were imposed, as "an important part of this government's policy of tightening the current trade and financial embargo against Cuba." Referring to revolutionary struggles in Central America, John Walker of the Treasury Department explained, in 1982, that "Cuba will not be allowed to earn hard currency from American tourists at a time when Cuba is actively sponsoring armed violence against our friends and allies."

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## The New York Times

### Trivializing the Right to Travel

The Reagan Administration's Supreme Court victory in the Cuban travel case was narrow in every sense. The margin was 5 to 4. It turned on the most technical reading imaginable of a law meant to limit Presidential power and expand citizen rights. And the ruling, nominally in support of efforts to isolate Fidel Castro, isolates Americans instead.

Mincing legal language for such ends should be intolerable most of all in the United States, with its faith in freedom and its trust in an informed citizenry. The right of Americans, in peacetime, to travel anywhere ranks among the first values of liberty, alongside free speech, which it embodies every time the traveler spreads ideas and exchanges information. When have the temporary political needs of governing officials ever compared with the right to travel in expressing the ultimate national interest?



## TO OUR READERS

After production began on this issue of CUBATIMES, Jesse Jackson made his trip to Havana. Once again an opportunity for improving U.S.-Cuba relations has been offered. Once again, the Reagan Administration has brushed it aside, demonstrating that the last thing it wants is to improve relations with Cuba. Sec. of State Shultz immediately characterized Jackson's trip and Cuba's release of prisoners as "a propaganda trick." Presumably, he means the Cubans have no interest in improving relations. How does Shultz know this? The only way to know is to take the opportunity offered and explore the possibilities.

This is hardly the first time the Cubans have appeared eager to improve relations. But every time, the United States government has ignored them. Even Wayne Smith, head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana from 1979 to 1982, documented this after his resignation. He acknowledged the meetings held by Alexander Haig with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez in late 1981, and between Vernon Walters and Fidel Castro in March 1982. But these contacts, he explained, were "for the purpose of reiterating Washington's position—and apparently, of turning aside pressures for serious negotiations. . . . By late spring, it was clear that there was to be no follow-up. The Administration was intent upon increasing pressures against, not negotiating with the Castro regime."

The Cubans, on that occasion, had gone so far as to publicly acknowledge past arms aid to Nicaragua and the El Salvadoran guerrillas, stating that this aid had ceased. This was part of a

call for wide-ranging negotiations on "mutual restraint" with Washington. A year later, in June 1983, the Cubans again proposed talks on the whole subject of "normalization of migration" between the two countries. This was in response to a U.S. demand that Cuba take back "undesirables" from the Mariel exodus. The State Department said the Cuban proposal did not appear to be responsive to its request.

This year the story is the same. Even before Jesse Jackson's trip, Fidel Castro had given interviews to *Newsweek* and *Parade* magazines. The explicit purpose was to express a willingness to negotiate, although he made it clear that any negotiations must be conducted "on the basis of equality of the negotiators," which would require that the U.S. be disposed to eliminate the blockade of Cuba and to discuss withdrawal from its naval base in Guantánamo.

What does our government have to lose from such talks? Unfortunately, from its point of view, a great deal: the whole rationale for its war policy in Central America, which is based on Cuba as evil enemy.

In support of this view, the Supreme Court has just upheld an Executive decree that prohibits tourist travel to Cuba. An article on this decision by Franklin Siegel appears in this issue.

We also feature an article on housing in Cuba. In spite of the many problems still encountered in achieving adequate housing for everyone, no one lives in the abject hovels that used to exist and no one lives on the streets; and this for a population which has grown by from six to almost ten million people in the past 25 years.

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## Administration Victory

The decision was one of the Reagan Administration's most notable legal achievements before the Supreme Court and another example of its break with the trend of recent decades to defer to individual liberties and civil and constitutional rights, when they are in conflict with executive and bureaucratic considerations.

However, constitutional considerations of the right to travel were subordinated to the "weighty concerns of foreign policy" in finding that the currency restrictions were valid and analogous to passport restrictions on travel which the Supreme Court upheld in the 1965 ruling in *Zemel v. Rusk*.

The currency restrictions had been imposed against Cuba in 1963 pursuant to the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 (T.W.E.A.) which gave the President broad authority to impose comprehensive embargoes on foreign countries in both peacetime and war. The economic blockade of Cuba was declared by President Kennedy and remains in effect to date.

## Limit on President

In 1977, a narrow exception to the regulations was made permitting "persons who visit Cuba to pay for their transportation and maintenance expenditures (meals, hotel bills, taxis, etc.)."

After this exception had been carved, Congress amended T.W.E.A. to restrict the President's authority under the Act to time of war. A new peacetime act, the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (I.E.E.P.A.) was enacted for peacetime emergencies but required a specific Presidential declaration of national emergency.

One of the grounds of the Appeals Court's decision finding the Reagan restrictions invalid was its view that Congress had not wanted the President to be able to impose new restrictions, not in existence at the time, unless there were a declaration of emergency. There were no travel restrictions in effect at the time.

However, the Supreme Court, in overruling the Appeals Court, adopted the Reagan Administration view that in 1977 a grandfather clause of Public Law 95-223 preserved those "authorities . . . being exercised" pursuant to Section 5(b) of T.W.E.A. on July 1, 1977.

Although the travel restrictions themselves were not in effect on that date, Rehnquist stated the "authority" to regulate travel-related transactions with Cuba was being exercised, and so, authority to re-impose the travel restrictions had been reserved.

The suit before the Court had been originally brought in Boston by a group of citizens who wanted to travel to Cuba for various professional and personal reasons. The plaintiffs included Ruth Wald, a Boston biologist; Rev. Alice Hagerman, a Boston attorney; Rosario Moreno, and the Center for Cuban Studies, a non-profit educational organization in New York City.

## Effects of the Travel Ban

The travel restrictions had an immediate effect when they were imposed in 1982. The currency measures eliminated all general and business travel to Cuba by persons under U.S.

jurisdiction, allowing only travel by diplomats, journalists, persons engaged in very narrow areas of professional research, and persons visiting family members. Violation of the restrictions could lead to fines of \$10,000 as well as 10 years in prison.

At the time of the renewed restrictions, it was estimated that between 38,000 and 40,000 Americans travelled to Cuba the year before, about 40% of them for general, nonfamily reasons. Since then, travel by Americans has been drastically reduced.

Attorneys representing the plaintiffs included Leonard Boudin and Betty St. Clair for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Charles Sims of the American Civil Liberties Union and Jules Lobel of the University of Pittsburgh Law School; Hal Mayerson and Deborah Evenson of the National Lawyers Guild; Michael Ratner, Margaret Ratner and Sarah Wunsch of the Center for Constitutional Rights. ■

## HUMAN SERVICES

### Care for the Elderly

by Ken Schulmann

Sprouting out of a hilltop overlooking Santiago de Cuba, the modern, three-story building is striking both because of its location and its size. But, "Carretera del Moro," one of over 60 "Hogares de los Ancianos" (Homes for Old People) is in fact merely another testament to an increasing commitment to the care of Cuba's elderly.

This home, like the others throughout the country, is for the elderly people who lack families, whose family situation is unstable or in crisis, or who live with people who are not fully able to provide adequate attention and care. All the homes are part of the national network of Care for the Elderly Department of the Special Assistance Division of the Ministry of Public Health.

Women over the age of 55 and men over the age of 60 are eligible for these homes where, in addition to shelter, meals and clothing, they receive medical care without affecting their monthly pension, which is determined by guidelines set by the State Committee for Labor and Social Security.





"Carretera del Moro" has a capacity for 200 people—150 as permanent residents and 50 as participants in the daytime program. Two full-time physicians, one a generalist and the other an internist, work regular eight-hour shifts in the home. Specialists such as dermatologists, psychiatrists, and urologists visit the home about every two weeks. Those in need of services by other specialists are transported to the nearest hospital, and services between the homes and the hospital are closely coordinated. A dentist and periodontist also make regularly scheduled visits.

But "Carretera del Moro" is not only a health care facility. Patients are actively engaged in recreational activities, gardening, cultural and social events, field trips and vocational therapy. During this authors' visit to the facility, there was considerable excitement over the impending wedding of two patients, and many people were active in various preparations.

The wedding was being planned for the courtyard, a lovely area live with greenery, flowers and a fountain. In fact, the whole building was constructed to capitalize on Santiago's warm climate, utilizing considerable open space, verandas and the like. The facility was immaculately clean, and virtually free from an "institutional odor." Patients who were able to do so moved about freely, and were thrilled to have visitors. It was easy to be captured in conversation with one or another person.

### Self-Government by the Elderly

One patient boasted of her membership in the home's Residents' Council, which has responsibility for decision-making in the organization of the home, its internal functioning and choice of various activities. The council's president also participates in the administrative council of the home. A social worker serves as consultant to the council; in addition to this role, the social worker conducts pre-admission interviews, takes psycho-social histories of patients and acts as a liaison between the home and families. Barring extenuating circumstances, families are required to visit regularly.

The daytime center, which is also known as the "grandparents' home," provides an opportunity for families who can-

*Every old person can now expect good care.*



not shoulder the full responsibility for caring for an elder to take advantage of a daytime respite program. Elderly enrolled in the daytime center spend time in arts and crafts, gardening, reading or watching television, participating in cultural activities, and sharing meals with one another. In the evening, they return to their own homes.

The attention being paid to the elderly in Cuba, a country where the median age is 29.5, shows an increasing awareness of a population that is gradually aging. By planning today for tomorrow's demographic shifts, the government is wisely preparing to deal with an important issue that faces even the most developed countries—the housing and care of the elderly. As one 94-year-old patient in "Carretera del Moro" put it, "This is my home now, and I'm happy here. I know that there are people who care about me, even worry about me, and that makes me feel good. Our country has come a long way from the days when if you were old and had no money, there was nothing for you. But now that does not matter, because we are all struggling together to make Cuba a better place for old people, for all people. And I'm proud to have lived this long to see this happen." ■

## U.S.-CUBA

### State Department Bars Cuban Women

by Franklin Siegel

In a continuation of attacks on Americans' right to invite speakers from outside the United States, the State Department effectively vetoed a proposed visit by two Cuban historians by failing to decide on the issuance of visas. The two Cubans had been invited to the Sixth Berkshire Conference of Women Historians held at Smith College on the weekend of June 1-3, 1984. Their trip was sponsored by the Cuba Resource Center. Margy Delgado and Idalia Gonzalez applied for U.S. visas in Havana on April 12. But, in violation of even its own internal regulations, the State Department refused to make a decision until the conference was well underway.

An official of the State Department attributed the denial to the Visa Office which based it on Section 212 (a)(27) of the Immigration and Nationality Act. This section permits a visa denial when the Executive believes the presence of the visitors would be "prejudicial to the public interest" or "endangers the welfare, safety and security of the United States."

Speaking for the conference, Harriet Alonso, a research historian, stated that, "Despite nine months of careful planning, complying with all State Department regulations, the only answer we were able to get from them was, 'The visas are still being considered.' As the date of the conference approached, their game became evident, and despite intercession by Tip O'Neill and Ted Kennedy's offices, the State Department continued to play dumb."

Delgado and Gonzalez had been invited to participate in conference sessions on the history of Latin American women



and to give an evening session on women in Cuba. The State Department move denied the two thousand women and men gathered at Smith an opportunity to hear the views of the Cubans and to engage in professional discussions. This action is not new. Reagan Administration representatives have publicly stated their policy of denying visas to would-be entrants who come from countries which hold ideas contrary to Administration policies.

## Back to the Fifties

The incidents of political visa denials have increased dramatically over the past three years during which persons from many nations around the world have been denied the opportunity to visit the United States. Among these are Nino Pasti, a former Italian general and official of NATO, Gabriel García Márquez, the writer, and hundreds of Japanese who were to attend the June 12, 1982, disarmament demonstration. (Many were survivors of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki A-bomb attacks of 1945.)

The intent of the Reagan Administration is to narrow sources of information for Americans to those which are "officially approved"; to promote ignorance and quash dissent as a means of garnering support for its actions. Most particularly, the administration seems bent on preventing any form of direct interaction or dialogue between people in the United States and those of countries which are under the Administration's attack. The net result is the further isolation of people in the United States from political and cultural developments in the rest of the world, an isolation which the administration finds entirely in its interest.

Since the 1950's, the State Department has based its visa denials on Section 212 (a)(28) of the Immigration and Nationality Act which is part of the McCarran-Walter Act. Thus it prohibited entry into the United States of those who were identified as belonging to a long list of categories, including Communist Party members, anarchists, members of "to-

talitarian parties" or anyone who advocates or teaches these doctrines. This section permits issuance of a waiver by the Attorney General.

In the late 1970's, Congress passed the McGovern Amendment, which directed that waivers be issued unless the Executive specifically declared that entry of an applicant fitting one of these categories was harmful to the national interest. Congress' clear objective was to end the practice of exclusion of persons from the United States based upon ideology alone. Under this program, artists, performers, political figures and academics were able to enter the United States to perform and engage in dialogue with Americans unhampered by restrictions which had persisted for so many years. Such visits included performances by Soviet and Cuban ballet performers, filmmakers, Vietnamese academics, Chinese athletes, Cuban boxers, etc.

Shortly after the Reagan administration came into office, the State Department began to issue visa denials not based upon 212 (a)(28), but based upon 212 (a)(27) which gives the State Department and the Executive broad discretion to exclude persons whose entry is deemed "prejudicial to the public interest" or which "endangers the welfare, safety and security of the United States." The major practical difference between Sections 212 (a)(27) and (28) is that the determination of excludability under Section (28) is waivable by the Attorney General and is required in most cases by the McGovern Amendment, whereas excludability under Section (27) is not. Once a visa has been refused and a waiver of excludability (in the case of Section (28)) has been denied, the excluded alien has no further legal recourse.

The Women Historians Conference concluded with over four hundred women and men submitting a written protest to the State Department. It was delivered by Conference President, Mary Beth Norton, Professor of History at Cornell University. ■

## FEATURE

### Housing Now a Priority

by Jill Hamberg

Housing, long a neglected stepchild of Cuba's investment policy, is now receiving higher priority, both in the allocation of resources and in the search for more flexible and varied solutions to what is probably Cuba's number one consumer problem. For the first time since the Revolution, a far-reaching comprehensive analysis of housing policy has been undertaken on the national level by the National Assembly, Cuba's parliament. But as that reassessment progresses, changes have already been implemented. New attention is being paid to self-built housing, virtually ignored by the government from the early 1960's to the late 1970's. Maintenance and repair of existing buildings are being emphasized and deteriorated urban areas rehabilitated or redeveloped. Policies on rural housing and new towns have shifted in response to the growth of agricultural cooperatives and the needs of salaried agricultural workers.

Self-built housing has received official attention and encouragement since the late 1970's, first locally and more recently, nationally. This does not mean that no such housing was built before then. Indeed, the 1981 census revealed that only about a third of the houses and apartments constructed since the revolution were built by the central government agencies. The rest were erected privately on a self-help basis, usually by a combination of family labor, neighborhood help and some contracted work, usually for tasks requiring special skills. Local government agencies would occasionally assist as well.

Many of these new dwellings were substandard and poorly located as a result of the extreme scarcity of construction materials and haphazard government regulation. Attempts are now being made to upgrade and, where necessary, relocate existing self-built housing and to establish ways to regulate the quality and location of new construction. The architects' and engineers' professional association has instituted forms of providing low-cost architectural services, and model plans are available for a variety of building types, sizes and mate-



rials. There have been local initiatives to provide labor for maintenance and new construction, including licensing contractors, forming cooperatives of self-employed skilled craftsmen and even establishing government-run enterprises. Some construction materials can be purchased readily, but permission to buy the most scarce items is allocated on the basis of need by the block-level Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). Procedures have been changed to make it easier to legally purchase land — and even existing housing — from private owners at government-regulated prices.

The current five-year plan indicates that the government is still seen as having the primary responsibility for housing construction. But low-cost one and two-story self-built housing will be emphasized in rural communities, sugar mill towns, government farms, villages, small cities and outlying areas of larger cities. Government-sponsored prefabricated four and five-story walk-ups and high-rise elevator buildings will still continue to predominate in built up urban areas, in an effort to achieve moderate to high densities and avoid urban sprawl.

Government-sponsored housing has also undergone a series of changes in recent years. In the early 1970's, in the face of pent-up demand for housing, overall low productivity in the economy and an acute labor shortage, the microbrigade system was created to spur new housing construction. Instead of using regular construction labor, workers from other workplaces were tapped to form brigades. Each microbrigade works under the supervision of skilled craftsmen and technicians from the Ministry of Construction in building four and five-story buildings with 20-30 apartments each. Materials are provided and paid for by the government. When completed, these apartments are distributed to workers from the same workplace — although not necessarily to those who participated in the brigade—on the basis of performance and need. While brigade members are released from their normal jobs, the remaining workers agree to achieve the same or higher production levels.

The microbrigades grew rapidly until 1975, contributing to the mini-building boom of the first half of the decade. Their number then leveled off, and by 1978 it was decided to gradually deemphasize the program. This was based on a number of considerations. First, studies indicated that microbrigade housing was of lower quality and higher cost than equivalent buildings erected by regular government construction workers. Since microbrigade workers, who come from a variety of job classifications, continue to receive their regular wages at their normal jobs, their average wages are higher than those of regular construction workers, especially for unskilled work. Moreover, most microbrigade workers are assigned to work on labor-intensive traditional and semi-prefabricated buildings since they are not considered to have sufficient training or skills to work on the more complex industrialized systems, which have a lower per unit cost than equivalent microbrigade housing.

Second, the fact that most government-sponsored new housing in urban areas was distributed only through workplaces with microbrigades meant that many people with similar or greater need were left out. These included families housed in shelters due to natural disasters or dangerous conditions in their dwellings, people in severely overcrowded



*Renovation of historic sections can now be afforded.*

housing, and employees in workplaces not conducive to forming microbrigades.

Third, by the late 1970's the general labor situation had changed significantly. Overall economic productivity was increasing at a healthy rate, making it more difficult to remove workers without affecting production. In addition, the 1970's had seen a tremendous growth in the construction sector. This meant there were more state brigades of skilled workers able to build with new prefabricated construction systems.

Finally, renewed attention to different forms of self-built housing — organized both individually and collectively — offered other outlets for voluntary labor, often with more flexibility than the formal microbrigade system.

Microbrigades still exist, but they are producing a declining share of total government-sponsored construction as overall production and prefabrication capacity grows. This has meant that workplaces control the distribution of a smaller proportion of new housing than previously. In its recent February 1984 Congress, the Cuban Workers Confederation expressed concern over the different criteria used in each province for allocating government brigade-built housing and urged that the matter be studied further with the view toward standardizing the criteria nationally, where possible.

## **Rural Housing and New Towns**

Cuba's rural housing strategies have been intimately linked to broader regional planning and agricultural policies. The

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## NEWS BRIEFS

### Book Fair Planned

The Havana Libre will be one of the sites for Cuba's 2nd Annual Book Fair. The Fair is being set up to promote publications on peace, international détente, friendship and world progress. The Fair's planners hope that participation will help reinforce relations between those who attend through talks, panel discussions and many other cultural activities. It will also offer a wide range of books including scientific and technical subjects, children's and young people's literature and school texts of countries and organizations involved in the Fair.

### W.H.O. Goals Met

Cuba has reached the health goals set by the World Health Organization (WHO) for its Health for All in the Year 2000 program. Cuban Minister of Public Health, Dr. Juan Manuel Diego Cobelo, reporting at the 3rd National Congress on Anesthesiology and Resuscitation, said that the infant mortality rate in 1983 was 16.8 per 1000 live births. The current mortality rate among preschool age children is 0.8, and 0.4 among school-children. Life expectancy has risen to 73.5 for men, and 75 for women. Malaria, whooping cough, diphtheria, polio and tetanus have all been eradicated in under one-year-olds.

### Shrimp Breeding Farm

In October of 1981, a group of biologists and technicians from the Ministry of the Fishing Industry set out to begin the artificial breeding of white and pink shrimp. A few months later, the first larvae were planted in a reservoir covering an area of one hectare. The first "harvest" took place five and a half months later, with successful results. Tunas de Zaza, a small fishing town in central Cuba, is now the home of Cuba's first shrimpbreeding farm.

### First Australian Brigade

The first Australian work contingent, called Eureka, participated in the harvesting of citrus fruit and in construction work in the Cuban municipality of Calmito. The 66 men and women had meetings with leaders of Cuban mass organizations, as well as state officials. While touring the island, from Matanzas to Santiago de Cuba, the Australians were also able to visit schools and factories.

### New Tobacco Technology

Although the processes of growing and harvesting tobacco are very delicate and intricate, Cuba is investigating possible ways of mechanizing at least a few of the many steps involved. So far, a combination of Cuban and Bulgarian machines are being tested. The Bulgarian equipment now in use includes tractors with special features enabling them to travel over the rows of tobacco with a clearance of almost two meters over the tallest plants. There are also growing, fumigating, and budding machines. A Cuban designed and built machine for cutting tobacco will soon be put through a series of tests in a selected area. A new system of flue-curing light tobacco with hot air, which would save on oil, will also be tested.

### Chef Competes in Tokyo

Cuban culinary arts were high-lighted by chef Gilberto Smith, who was one of the most popular participants at an international catering and food exhibit that was held in Tokyo recently. During the five-day event, Smith prepared a large variety of dishes featuring Cuban lobster in one of the stands that attracted the largest numbers of Japanese and foreign visitors. Smith prepared a variety of dishes including Senorita Pina, Mariposa, Cecilia, and Lobster a l'Orange.



## NEWS BRIEFS

### First Steel Band

Iron and steel workers of the Cubana de Acero steelworks recently formed the Taino Steel Band, the first of its kind in Cuba. Although the steel oil drum instruments are very popular in the Caribbean, they had never been introduced in Cuba. Guyanese musicians, in Cuba as the result of an agreement between the two governments, built and tuned the instruments and taught the Cubans how to play them. The band has 42 drums, and its members consist of lathe operators, tool and die workers, electricians, mechanics, carpenters, designers and engineers.

### Experiments in Green Medicine

Cuban specialists have been involved in experimentation with "green medicine" - the use of roots, leaves, stems, and flowers of selected plants in the treatment of disease and the control of blight and fungus. Based on research a plan has been recommended to extend cultivation of 30 medicinal plants which demand agro-technical conditions and another 20 which grow wild. More than 40 species have already been indexed, with drawings of the plant and details of the parts which are used medicinally.

### Woman Army Commander

Major Mirtha Garcia Llorca, the first woman to command regular troops in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, received her new command early this spring. Major Garcia Llorca will be in charge of the first anti-aircraft artillery regiment, which is made up of women in voluntary military service.

### Marielitos and Crime

According to the Associated Press, about 1/3, or more than 40,000 of the Cubans who arrived in the United States in 1980 via Mariel have been involved in crimes ranging from robbery to homicide.

### Troops Remain in Angola

Cuba is against beginning a withdrawal of its troops from Angola, according to most recent sources. The Cubans have reportedly said that they were concerned that a phased withdrawal of its 25,000 to 30,000 troops would appear to be a major diplomatic achievement for the Reagan administration and would encourage more pressure against Cuba. It has also been said that Cuba does not want to do anything that might help Reagan win re-election.

### Geology Students Trained

160 students are being trained as geologists at the National School of Geology. The school is high in the Escambray mountains and is accessible only by jeep, truck, or on horseback. The school has an all-male enrollment with ages between 22 and 23. It is hoped that women will become part of the student body in the near future.

### Ethiopian Pact Signed

As a step in strengthening their ties, Ethiopia and Cuba have signed a cooperation agreement. According to the agreement, Ethiopia will get experts in education, public health, agriculture, industry, construction and hydraulic development from Cuba.

### Book Industry Flourishes

First Deputy Minister of Culture Rafael Almelda said that in the 25 years of the Revolution, 19,600 titles have been published in Cuba for a total of 585 million copies, which makes the Cuban publishing business one of the strongest in Latin America.





*Renovation artists at work.*

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government's commitment to improving living standards in the countryside and overcoming differences between rural and urban areas led to a policy of "urbanizing" the countryside by creating new towns. These towns are able to provide modern services and facilities to rural areas by grouping residents together in settlements large enough to make such services feasible. A related goal has been to stem outmigration from rural areas and induce workers to move where their labor is needed most.

From the early 1960's to the late 1970's, new towns served as an inducement for small farmers to sell their land to the government, offering them fully furnished houses or apartments rent-free. By 1978, 347 new rural communities had been built, containing 32,679 housing units and 154,968 inhabitants. Despite the magnitude of this achievement, it represented only 5.1% of the rural population (based on the 1981 census). Thus, when policy shifted toward forming agricul-

tural cooperatives of small private farmers, housing and settlement policy changed as well.

The growth of cooperatives was slow at first, but mushroomed after 1981 when the advantages of cooperatives could be seen in higher yields and new housing, since one of the incentives for joining a cooperative is the availability of loans to purchase construction materials for housing. By 1983, more than 75,000 farmers (27% of whom are women) had formed 1,482 cooperatives representing 51% of privately owned agricultural land.

When a cooperative is first formed, individual farmers' landholdings are consolidated and the government often swaps land or leases it in perpetuity to the cooperative to ensure an unbroken expanse of land for cultivation. Dwellings and other buildings are also demolished or relocated to more appropriate areas. Small communities are created, usually first composed of relocated bohios and makeshift houses, which are then gradually replaced by permanent dwellings.



These new communities start relatively small, but since the trend is for cooperatives to get larger, it is likely the new communities will grow as well. Homes are usually single-family detached residences built with traditional methods or the light-weight semi-prefabricated systems. Labor is generally provided by cooperative members organized in informal mini-microbrigades.

In the first years of the cooperatives, houses were allocated to the most deserving farmers after they were built. By 1983, houses were assigned before construction so that individual farmers could choose a preferred design. They also commit themselves to pay any extra costs for more expensive designs above the standard credit assigned the cooperative. Based in part on the results of an architectural competition, the Ministry of Construction issued a series of model plans, offering 96 different design solutions for houses of varying sizes, layouts and materials. This new system combines collective labor and individual preferences and work. The cooperative as a whole also takes on the responsibility of building housing for elderly or disabled members, and paying off their loans if necessary.

The government is still building new rural communities, but rather than using them as inducements for small farmers to join state farms, most are oriented to providing housing for salaried workers in response to labor shortages in agriculture. So far the strategy seems to be effective in keeping and attracting population, especially in the underpopulated central provinces.

### Urban Development and Redevelopment

With the overwhelming emphasis during the first two decades of the Revolution on investments in rural areas and new construction in cities, it comes as no surprise to find that existing housing has been seriously neglected. Despite a dramatic increase since 1977 in resources allocated to maintenance and repair, occasional building collapses and not infrequent vacate orders for structurally dangerous buildings testify to the cumulative effect of neglect. Demolitions have become more common in older areas, most alarmingly in the historic parts of Old Havana. Thousands of families have been housed in temporary shelters that often become permanent.

In response to this situation, a number of measures were taken. Old Havana was declared a national landmark, thereby halting indiscriminate demolition. In 1980 a comprehensive plan was completed and resources allocated for rehabilitation of the main squares and their connecting streets. This direction was reinforced when UNESCO granted Old Havana "world cultural heritage" status in late 1982. The effect of all this has been to force architects, planners and other public officials to come up with a plan to save not only Old Havana's hundreds of landmark buildings, but also the other thousands of structures in the entire historic district.

Nurturing this concern for renovation has not been easy. Agencies oriented toward new construction prefer clearance to give the room necessary for building high-rise prefabricated buildings and have argued that such new construction is less expensive than rehabilitation. In addition, until recently there has been a widespread feeling in the general public that old, dilapidated buildings cannot or should not be saved.

Attitudes and policies, however, are changing as the result of a number of factors. First, enough buildings have been rehabilitated by now to show what can be done, which also helps with the task of public education. Workers have been receiving training in rehabilitation techniques, which, combined with the greater resources available, improves both the quality and quantity of renovation work. Finally, after some costly experiences with substantial rehabilitation, architects are now seeking ways to undertake moderate rehabilitation to keep the per unit cost below that of new construction. Those favoring rehabilitation hope these experiences will be extended to other older areas which are not landmark districts as more resources become available.

### Remaining Problems

Despite being assigned higher priority and vastly greater resources, and despite policies reflecting greater realism, diversity and flexibility, the housing sector still faces some serious problems. Foreign exchange earnings are needed to be able to import construction materials Cuba cannot produce, or only produces in limited quantities. These include metal fittings, electric wiring and fixtures, bathroom fixtures, plumbing supplies, and elevators. There has been considerable progress in import substitution, but there are limits, since Cuba simply lacks certain raw materials.

Heightened international tensions, particularly in the Caribbean and Central America, means a diversion of resources to defense needs, which, in turn, takes its toll on housing. For instance, the resources used to build an enormous bunker for a single airplane would be sufficient to construct a 24-unit apartment building.

And finally, government-sponsored housing is still plagued by problems of construction quality and bottlenecks in the construction process. The productivity benefits of prefabricated housing are often more than neutralized by problems in coordinating the use of specialized machinery in scarce supply and the late arrival of materials. Labor shortages in construction still persist, making the use of some microbrigades necessary to meet construction goals. ■

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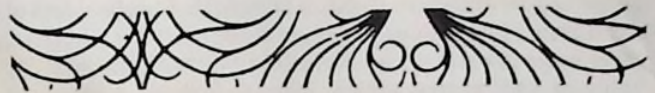
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## Number Crunching in Cuba

by Elaine Fuller

Earlier this year, the Cuban State Committee on Statistics published its *Statistical Yearbook for 1982*. It is a hefty 591 pages, including an index, and is printed on coated paper—expensive but necessary for a book that will be thumbed through often. The statistical information is the most comprehensive and consistent since the Committee on Statistics began publishing regularly in 1972.

The reliability of statistical data has improved gradually over the years. Before the Revolution it was extremely haphazard since there was no central statistical office. During the institutional changes early in the Revolution many records and accounts were destroyed or lost and a sense of the importance of reliable data was often lacking. Almost all of the few trained statisticians, who worked mainly in private business, emigrated during that time.

Since the early 1960's, the national accounting system known as *material product* accounting, based on methodology developed in the Soviet Union, has been in use. The

product for a given year is the gross value added from agriculture, mining, manufacturing, electricity and construction. To this total material production is added the gross value of that part of transport, communications and trade which serves material production. The result is the Global Social Product (GSP). This includes private production as well, which is mostly in agriculture. Unlike our own National Income and Product Accounts, the GSP does not include private transportation or communication; nor does it include finance and insurance, public administration, defense and internal security, education, health, private housing or private professional income.

The GSP minus intermediate inputs and depreciation yields the Net Material Product, which, with net imports taken into account, becomes the Disposable Product. The Disposable Product is divided into total consumption—both personal and social—and total accumulation which is gross investment and the variation of stocks.

Value data in the *1982 Statistical Yearbook* is given in current pesos but there is nothing on pricing. The key to understanding what the value data really means is knowing how prices are determined and on this there is almost no informa-

**CUBA—NATIONAL ECONOMIC INDICATORS**

Indicator	Measure	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 <sup>a</sup>	1981
Global Social Product	Million Pesos	14,063.4	14,458.2	14,772.8	16,457.6	16,989.8	17,483.2	22,258.1
GSP per capita	Pesos	1507	1526	1540	1698	1738	1799	2,290
National Income <sup>a</sup>	Million Pesos	8122.6	8355.5	8412.9	9446.6	9588.9	9710.7	11,700.4
Goods Exports	Million Pesos	2952.2	2692.3	2918.4	3440.1	3499.2	3966.7	4223.8
Goods Imports	Million Pesos	3113.1	3179.1	3461.6	3573.8	3687.5	4627.0	5114.0
Trade Balance	Million Pesos	-160.9	-487.4	-543.2	-113.7	-186.3	-660.3	-890.2
Disposable Income <sup>b</sup>	Million Pesos	8291.3	8859.7	8937.9	9573.0	9787.0	10,347.4	12,543.3
DI per capita	Pesos	888	935	932	988	1001	1065	1291
Personal Consumption	Million Pesos	5412.3	5558.4	5652.3	6105.9	6429.8	6645.7	7473.5
PC per Capita	Pesos	580	587	589	630	658	684	769
Investment	Million Pesos	2304.2	2588.2	2765.9	2623.6	2605.8	2739.1	3205.7
Median Salary Monthly—State Sector	Pesos	134.7	137.6	138.0	140.0	143.4	147.8	169.6
Avg. # Workers State Sector	thousands	2479.9	2525.6	2621.7	2733.1	2768.2	2733.8	2824.3
Population of Working Age <sup>c</sup>	thousands	4489.0	4567.7	4693.8	4742.9	4907.8	5007.9	5120.8
Economically Active Population <sup>d</sup>	thousands	3082.7	3208.0	3286.1	3391.2	3520.2	3422.6	3617.6

<sup>a</sup> GSP minus intermediate inputs (to eliminate double-counting) and depreciation.

<sup>b</sup> National Income plus imports

<sup>c</sup> For men 17 to 59 years; for women 17 to 54 years

<sup>d</sup> All employed people plus unemployed looking for work. Does not include students, housekeepers, retired persons or others living on a pension.



tion easily available in Cuba. It is possible to collect lists of retail prices but factory prices are not made public. In 1981, there was a general price reform. The *Yearbook* thus gives the value of 1980 production according to both the old and new systems.

Most of the data cover the years 1975-1982 and are grouped in the following categories:

- Territory and Climate
- Population
- Economic Indicators
- Work and Salaries
- Investment
- Industry
- Construction
- Agriculture/Meat/Dairy/Forestry
- Transport and Communications
- External Commerce
- Science and Technology
- Education
- Culture and Art
- Public Health
- Sports and Physical Culture
- Tourism and Leisure
- International Statistics

CUBA—GLOBAL SOCIAL PRODUCT BY SECTORS

Sector	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1980*	1981	1982
Total GSP	14,063	14,458	14,773	16,458	16,987	17,483	19,257	22,258	23,137
Industry	6724	7016	6996	7563	7907	8104	8149	9563	10,078
Construction	1250	1320	1450	1557	1569	1569	1498	1788	1801
Agriculture	1597	1674	1748	1850	1962	2046	3097	3499	3400
Forestry	69	70	70	77	71	78	69	80	84
Transport	1006	1036	1096	1169	1225	1425	1377	1623	1618
Communications	78	82	90	108	135	152	158	172	192
Commerce	3310	3229	3289	4081	4047	4029	4831	5433	5859
Other	28	31	34	54	70	80	80	100	111

\* at 1981 prices

## CUBAN-AMERICANS

### Seminar on Cuban American Studies

by Geoffrey Fox

During the weekend of May 26-27, some 40 scholars from across the United States and Puerto Rico met at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge for a seminar on "Cuban American Studies: Status and Future," the first of its kind ever held. Sponsored by the Centro de Estudios de la Comunidad Cubana with a grant from the Ford Foundation, the event marks a new stage in the self-awareness of the Cuban expatriate population.

All but a half-dozen of the participants were of Cuban origin, mostly young émigrés of the sixties trained in the United States. The two scholars invited from Cuba had the by-now familiar visa problems and did not attend. The papers presented touched on grand political theory, the history of Cuban workers in 19th century Florida, and the recent anti-Castro film "Improper Conduct," among other topics, but it was the sociologists and psychologists who dominated the proceedings and provided their dramatic tension. Cries of "macro" versus "micro" rang through the MIT Student Union.

### The Macro View

Alejandro Portes of Johns Hopkins University, an eminent sociologist in Cuban American and other studies, delivered the opening remarks, and several of his research collaborators and fellow students were among the panelists. Portes believes that the exceptional isolation and perceived self-sufficiency of U.S. Cubans are beginning to break down, and that there are "faint signs" of convergence between their political behavior and that of the other Hispanic groups here. The main causes, he thinks, are the long duration of the Communist government in Havana and the 1980 Mariel exodus. The latter, which included conspicuous proportions of blacks and unskilled, reminded everyone of Cuba's "Third Worldness" and made many of the older exiles anxious to stress their similarity to Americans and their distance from the new arrivals.

The "faint signs" of political change include a high rate of naturalization and political participation in the U.S., the registration of 47% of the Cuban voters in Miami as Democrats, votes on certain referenda which Portes construes as "liberal" (for example, in favor of bilingualism), and an increase in the numbers who said they perceived anti-Cuban discrimination in the U.S. and who said they expected to remain permanently in this country.

Portes' rather creative interpretation of these findings is that Cubans are becoming less of a "political exile group" and more of an "ethnic minority," concerned with improving their status in the new country. One could argue just as plausibly that Cubans are getting naturalized and participating in U.S. politics and trying to counter their bad press as terrorist loonies precisely in order to become more effective as political exiles, so that they can see to it that the U.S. does not grow soft on Communism in Cuba, Nicaragua or anywhere else in Latin America. That represents a change, at least in tactics, but hardly a convergence with the more liberal and Democratic-voting Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics.

Robert Bach, a SUNY-Binghamton sociologist and one of the few non-Cubans present, argues that the 1980 exodus was the explosion of pressures building in Cuba as a result of intensified socialist construction, especially increased labor discipline and use of material incentives. These, together with ostentatious displays of wealth by Cuban visitors from the U.S., increased the attractiveness of the U.S. to many who thought more could be had here for less.

The great strengths of sociological research of such broad ("macro") scope are its abilities to spot trends and to suggest relationships among such widely separated phenomena as, say, COMECON trading agreements and riots of Cuban detainees in Louisiana. An important weakness is the inability to discover what people's actions in one or another situation mean to them, so that it is impossible to predict how they will act when the situation changes. Lisandro Pérez of Louisiana State University sternly criticized early studies of Cuban emigration for their scant attention to the motivations of the émigrés, which is just this kind of problem. Thus, émigrés, of the 1960s would usually say they left for "libertad," and most researchers accepted that as an explanation. However "libertad" is not a specific motive, but merely a conventional expression that would have to be broken down or "de-



coded" to find out if the émigré were talking about civil liberties or the shortage of shoes.

### The Micro View

There were no linguists present, but the psychologists with their "micro" methodologies (for individuals or small groups) are good at probing meanings. Sometimes they get in over their heads, as with the young Cuban scholar who tried to explain cultural differences between the Puerto Rican and Cuban youth populations on the basis of a sample of seven; you can't solve a macro problem with a micro method. For many psychologists, the top priority is therapy for the emotionally afflicted—an eminently useful function that is of little interest to sociologists—and their theoretical generalizations are built from the inside out, that is, from individual behaviors and inner life to the conduct of larger groups.

Two of the most provocative presentations were those by psychologists Guillermo Bernal of the University of California, San Francisco, and Fernando González Reigosa of Florida International University—both of whom have extensive clinical experience on which to draw. Bernal's patients in California include many Mexicans and Central Americans, so he is well-placed to examine what are common Hispanic traits and which are specifically Cuban. He finds that social class and the migration experience have more to do with emotional stress than does culture. He is also trying to understand "decubanization" and "recubanization" among the younger generation, that is, their withdrawal from or conscious renewal of identification with Cuban values. Here is thematic

territory where sociologists and psychologists need to meet; the encounter might help clarify Portes' "ethnic minority" vs. "political exile" dichotomy.

González Reigosa has been exploring the relationship between language and emotional problems of immigrants. Even people who appear to be completely bilingual, he says, or who speak the second-learned language more clearly and correctly than the first, continue to have much stronger feelings attached to the first language. In his "dirty word test," González's subjects are shown written obscenities first in one language, then the other. The anxiety levels, judged by delays in reaction time and other physical measurements, make clear that a dirty word isn't really dirty unless it's the one the subject learned as a child. This, thinks González, is why so many people find foreign obscenities amusing whereas their own are embarrassing. This work has numerous implications for bilingual education, assimilation and intergenerational conflict.

Several scholars maintained that there really is no conflict between "micro" and "macro" research, which amounted to a kind of agreement based on mutual misunderstanding. In practice, the two perspectives are rarely integrated; rather, sociologists and psychologists alike rely on unexamined assumptions about the others' field. But it is a very healthy sign for Cuban American studies, and for knowledge of our species generally, that the two sides are attempting to talk to one another.

These Cuban American scholars are working on the cultural frontier, smuggling insights into the community past

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ferocious ideological guardians and smuggling data out. Although more at home in the measured diction of academia than the *choteo* of Miami's *Sauguesera*, they are inevitably part of the process they are trying to document. The struggle for rationality in such a context is a lonely one, and meetings such as this seminar are needed confirmation that the enterprise is worthwhile.

Finally, since we mentioned dirty words, here's how to get an exceptionally loquacious Cuban scholar to surrender the microphone. First, hold up a sign to the speaker saying "5 minutes." Eight or nine minutes later, hold up one saying "1 minute." When nothing happens, hold up one saying "¡Ya, coño!" It works—another demonstration of González Reigosa's thesis. ■

## CUBAN-AMERICANS

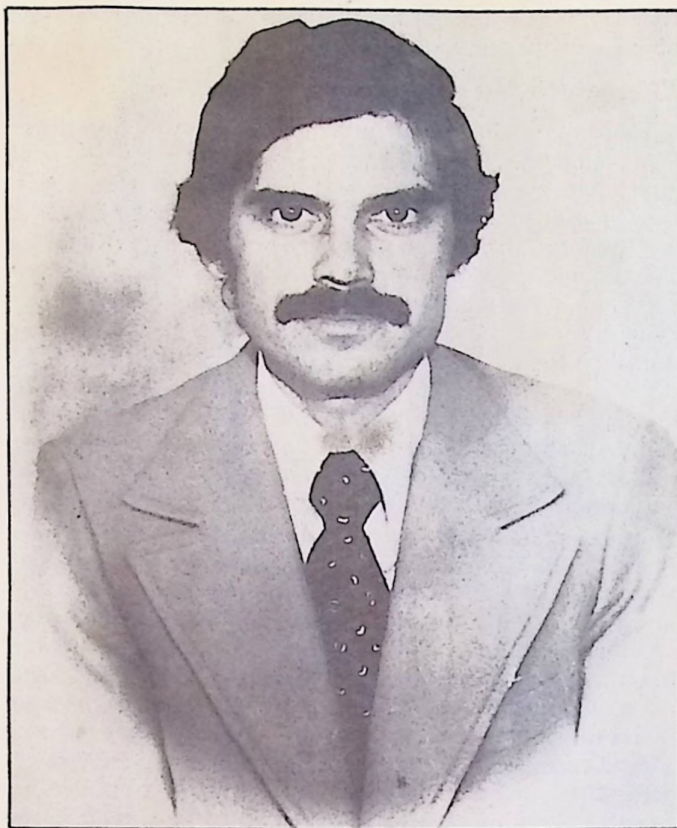
### Carlos Muniz: Assassination Update

by Bob Greenberg

A prominent Cuban-exile businessman and a former high ranking police officer in Puerto Rico have been linked to the assassination of Carlos Muñoz Varela, a member of the National Committee of the Antonio Maceo Brigade. The Brigade is an organization of younger Cubans, living in the United States and Puerto Rico. It favors the resumption of diplomatic and economic ties between the United States and Cuba, and reconciliation between Cubans living in other countries and those living in Cuba. The murder took place almost five years ago, on April 28, 1979, in San Juan. Muñoz was gunned down from another car while driving to his mother's house. At the time, the 26 year old father of two was president of Viajes Varadero, a travel agency in San Juan and the first to offer trips to Cuba for Cuban emigrés.

Tomás Stella, a well-known Puerto Rican journalist made the recent charge in the April issue of the *San Juan Star*, from information supplied to him by three people being questioned by the F.B.I. The three are Raul Alzaga and Ricardo Fraga, also members of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and Pilar Pérez, Muñoz's widow. They named Julio Labatud as the prominent Cuban-exile businessman and Alejo Maldonado as the high ranking police officer. According to information in the hands of the F.B.I., they said, these two men arranged the assassination. In September 1982, Labatud posted \$215,000 of the \$250,000 of Maldonado's bond, when the latter was arrested in connection with a smuggling ring. At that time, Alzaga and Fraga informed authorities of suspicions about the link between Cuban exile terrorists and right-wing officials in the Puerto Rican police force. Nothing came of it.

Neither the federal government nor the Puerto Rican authorities have made any arrests to date in connection with the Muñoz murder. Along with the information on the Muñoz case, the *Star* reported that the F.B.I. has received leads about other activities of clandestine right-wing groups, both Cuban exile and Puerto Rican. These groups were said to



have been involved in plots to assassinate prominent pro-independence political figures, and in the bombing of the Bar Association Building in San Juan several years ago.

Alzaga and Fraga last met with the F.B.I. on March 14 of this year. At that time, Steven K. Brown, in charge of monitoring organized anti-Castro activities in Puerto Rico, told them the F.B.I. had no new information related to the assassination. This lack of action by the federal authorities, "seems incomprehensible to us," said Fraga, "especially with substantial new information that has been available for at least eight weeks and with the statute of limitation's deadline being so close." The five year federal statute of limitation runs out next April 28, less than a year from now. From then on, the investigation will be the responsibility of the Puerto Rican Dept. of Justice and police. The problem is that both these institutions are in a state of disarray as investigations around the Cerro Maravilla crimes brings serious corruption to light. At Cerro Maravilla, the bodies of two young Puerto Ricans who supported independence for the island were found. High police officials have been implicated in this crime as a result of investigations by the legislature.

#### Police Corruption

At a press conference in April, Alzaga wondered if the federal authorities' lack of action arose from their reluctance to bring out in the open, "the complex, illegal relationships between certain Cuban-exile businessmen and right-wing political figures based in Miami and Puerto Rico. These relationships might also include Puerto Rican businessmen and right wing political figures."



Alzaga named four police officers and one Justice Department official, who have been involved in the Muñiz murder case, and the results of the legislature's investigation of them:

- Luis Ramos Gratacolli, a police officer, searched the car in which Muñiz was assassinated, and investigated all evidence found in it. A short time later, he resigned from the force and is now an executive of a Cuban exile-owned business presently under investigation. Ramos, himself, is under investigation for corruption while serving in the police.
  - Emerterio Ortiz, another high ranking police officer, was in charge of all evidence in the Muñiz case. He is now under investigation for his alleged participation in the assassination of a state witness in a corruption case.
  - Jorge Muñiz, formerly in charge of homicide cases, is now under investigation in the above-mentioned corruption case.
  - Police Colonel Miguel Rivera, director of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation, was demoted several weeks ago while he is being investigated for possible participation in a major smuggling ring.
  - Pedro Colton, a high ranking Justice Department official in charge of the Muñiz investigation, was forced to resign recently after being charged with destroying evidence and obstructing justice in the Cerro Maravilla case.
- Named too, was New Progressive Party Senator Nicolás Nogueras, Jr., former spokesperson for the statehood party in the Puerto Rican Senate. Senator Nogueras, under investigation for his alleged participation in a series of crimes, has had a long, intimate and lucrative relationship with prominent Cuban exile terrorist organizations. The Antonio Maceo Brigade previously charged Nogueras with collecting \$50,000 from certain Cuban exiles in New Jersey and Miami in 1978 to pay the contract for Muñiz's murder. ■

## WEST INDIANS

### Notes From a Visit

by Jean Fraser

On my first trip to Cuba a few years ago, I met many students from different Caribbean islands who were studying at

Cuban universities. Many expressed a desire to live in Cuba, or to return at a future time. Still others said they knew other West Indians living there. This prompted my curiosity about the West Indian population in Cuba and, on my most recent visit, I went looking for West Indians—actually, English and French speaking West Indians. There are historical cultural links between Cuba and other Caribbean island nations which are often overlooked since Cuba is thought of in terms of Latin America.

Historically, people from the English speaking islands traveled to Cuba for economic purposes. Jobs were available in the sugar cane fields and they could travel back to their country of origin at will. They settled in farm areas, in the Oriente in Camaguey, Guantánamo, Holguín and Santiago de Cuba. Many never returned to their native lands. Some married Cubans and continued to work on the farms.

In contrast, the tendency for Haitians to emigrate to Cuba was almost nonexistent. When they did, it was for political reasons. Between the years 1902-1930, there were about 3,000 Haitians living in Cuba. Today the population has swelled to between 15-20,000. Many Haitians today are attempting to leave Haiti, fleeing political repression and harsh economic times. Often they are forced to stop in Cuba to repair leaky boats and stock up on food and water before continuing to Miami. According to the Cubans, very few remain after stopping.

The Haitians came with a distinct culture and language. According to Armando Hernandez of Casa de las Americas, who has studied the culture of the Caribbean and of the Caribbean people in Cuba, the first generation of Haitians still live on farms, have maintained their language and continue to practice voodoo, shango and other religious and cultural forms peculiar to them. They have not integrated into Cuban culture.

Haitians and other West Indians are entitled to all the Social Security and other benefits enjoyed by every Cuban. The Cuban government makes no distinction. Many children of first generation Haitians fought against the Batista forces during the Revolution. They have studied in Havana, as well as Moscow. But it should be noted that there is resistance on the part of many first generation Haitians to have their children leave the farms. They want their sons to continue in the farm tradition, and to maintain their language and culture. Many of



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them do remain in the countryside. One can still feel the real presence of Haiti among those who arrived in the 1930's and 40's.

As the second and third generations have become more integrated into Cuban society, it is difficult to tell who is Cuban and who is Haitian. But within their communities Haitians keep their own language and traditional culture. Cuba does not keep a census according to origin of nationality.

### Government Support

In 1932 a group of people from Barbados, Jamaica and St. Kitts living and working in Cuba founded the British West Indian Association. It was a way for those who worked in the fields to come together in order to maintain their culture and ties to their homeland. In 1978, a younger group formed the Caribbean Association with government funds for the purpose of unifying all West Indians and preserving their authentic culture and language.

The Cuban government also showed its interest in the history and culture of the Caribbean region with the creation of the Center for Caribbean Studies. Additionally, the Academy of Sciences has a linguistics department which studies Creole—the language of Haitians.

The Caribbean Association has grown over the years and is now known as the National Association of Caribbean Resi-

dents, representing 20 different West Indian islands. Its national headquarters is in Havana and there are six provincial offices. Donald Colimore Reyes, president of the association, told me of plans to open a restaurant in Havana specializing in Caribbean dishes.

In addition, Santiago de Cuba is the headquarters of Casa del Caribe which does studies and research into the history, culture, economy and society of the Caribbean area. It carries out interdisciplinary research on many different cultural aspects, establishes programs of cultural exchanges including lectures, meetings and symposiums with national and international specialists, and promotes contact and exchanges among historical researchers and scholars.

Periodic meetings of music and theater groups also take place at the Casa del Caribe. It also sponsors the annual Festival of Caribbean culture in Santiago. Important Cuban and foreign groups that foster traditional dances, theater, plastic arts and musicals of Caribbean origin gather at the festival. The Casa publishes a quarterly journal, *Del Caribe*, as well as collections of essays in booklet form.

If I were looking for divisions between Cubans and other Caribbean people living in Cuba, I didn't find it. Although there are differences in culture, all Caribbean people in Cuba belong to the same family. Many West Indians living in Cuba are totally integrated into the society, while some others, by choice, are not. ■

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