



FIRST REFUGEES TO FLORIDA
As many as 50,000 may follow.

CUBA

Farewell, Dear Hearts

"I feel that I have accomplished the part of my duty that bound me to the Cuban revolution. I bid farewell to you, to our comrades, to your people, who are now mine. I make formal renunciation of my duties in the leadership of the party, of my post as minister, of my rank as major, of my Cuban citizenship. Other lands of the world claim the aid of my modest efforts, and the time has come for us to separate."

The letter bore no date—only "Havana, Year of Agriculture."* It was signed by Argentine-born Ernesto ("Che") Guevara, Castro's longtime No. 2 man, who has been missing for seven months after a bitter doctrinal dispute with the dictator; Che preferred a hard-line, Peking-style Communism, Castro the softer, Moscow variety (TIME cover, Oct. 8). Two weeks ago, Castro promised a document that would explain Che's absence and his status. Now, before 5,000 Cubans in Havana's Chaplin Theater, Castro said that Che gave him the letter last April, asking him to read it publicly "when we considered it most advisable." Said Castro: "Those who think that revolutionaries are insensitive men have in this letter an example of all the sentiment, all the sensitivity, all the purity that a revolutionary can contain in his soul."

And then some. "My only fault of any gravity," Che's letter continued, "was in not having trusted more in you from the first moments of the Sierra Maestra, and not having understood your qualities as leader and revolutionary. I have lived magnificent days. I thank you for your lessons and your

* By the Castro-concocted calendar, 1959 was the Year of Liberation, 1960 the Year of Agrarian Reform, 1961 the Year of Education, 1962 the Year of Planning, 1963 the Year of Organization, and 1964 the Year of the Economy.

THE HEMISPHERE

example." As for Che's young wife Aleida and his three children, whom he left behind, "I ask nothing for them because the state will educate them and give them enough to live on." Out front in the audience, as Castro read the letter, was Aleida herself, dressed in black and verging on tears.

No End to Rumors. Was the letter genuine? Washington's Castrologists doubted it. It seemed like one of those familiar fictions that Communist regimes publish to paper over the cracks in the façade. It was too mawkish in its Fidelity for a tough guy like Che, too humble for a man who once snickered that Fidel joined in only one battle of the revolution, and that "proved a failure." Nor did it explain anything about Che's fate—except that he was out of power in Cuba.

Where he was and what he was doing were still intriguing questions. U.S. Intelligence professed to know nothing. One possibility was that Che was still in Cuba, either dead, or in prison. If not, the April date referred to by Castro revived the rumors of last spring that Che had been killed in the first days of the Dominican civil war.

If Che was alive and out of Cuba, he could be anywhere. Miami's anti-Castro exiles twanged with speculation that Che was with the guerrillas in Peru, in Colombia, in Guatemala, that he was in the Congo trying to salvage that badly fought rebellion, or (most farfetched of the rumors) maybe even in Viet Nam.

A great many Cubans were eager to follow Che in one respect—they wanted to bid farewell to the Communist island. Castro continued to repeat his promise of free exit for anyone, and President Johnson asked Congress for \$12.6 million to supplement the \$32 million already set aside for aid to Cubans in the U.S. "I declare to the people of Cuba," said Johnson, "that those who seek refuge here will find it."

Mark of Failure. Barring a sudden flip-flop by Castro, as many as 50,000 Cubans might pick up the offer. In Havana, there were reports that Cuba's Interior Ministry was flooded by telegrams from exiles in the U.S. seeking to get friends and relatives out. Hundreds of eager Cubans queued up outside Havana's Swiss embassy, which handles U.S. affairs in Cuba.

Jumping the gun last week, one Cuban refugee from Miami took a 25-ft. boat to Cuba and returned with 15 new refugees, including his 84-year-old mother, his wife, daughter, an uncle and two Castro militiamen.

Some U.S. reporters, who think that everything automatically goes wrong for the U.S. in Latin America, argued that Castro's ploy would embarrass the U.S. because it would allow Castro to



"ALL THOSE WISHING TO LEAVE MAY DO SO!"

get rid of potential revolutionaries. More pertinently, as President Johnson pointed out, there is "the mark of failure on a regime when many of its citizens voluntarily choose to leave the land of their birth. The future holds little hope for any government where the present holds no hope for the people."

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Odd Reconciliation

The Dominican government of reconciliation led by Héctor García-Godoy is now seven weeks old, and thus far it has reconciled no one. In the bullet-pocked capital of Santo Domingo, ex-President Juan Bosch, in whose name the original civil war was launched, returned home talking about "strikes, demonstrations and appeals" to "drive out" the 10,300 U.S. paratroopers and Latin American soldiers of the OAS peace-keeping force. Bosch's presence has inflamed the left and enraged the right—to the point where the only thing that stands between García-Godoy and renewed civil war is those same 10,300 foreign soldiers.

Two weeks ago, a band of leftist students started demonstrating outside the National Palace, taunting loyalist Dominican army guards. With anger and bitterness all around, one soldier shot an 18-year-old in the back, killing him instantly. That led to a series of flash-fire fights between rebels and loyalists resulting in four dead, 14 wounded. Last week the city rumbled with bomb blasts, five in all, damaging a bar popular with U.S. troops, the plant of a noisily anti-military magazine, and a drive-in movie. Death toll: another two Dominicans.

Despite all appeals, the rebels have openly defied García-Godoy's order to surrender their stolen arms. In turn, the President is under increasing pressure from the loyalist military, which is talking coup and accuses him of loading his Cabinet with leftists. The President does not deny that he has leftists in his Cabinet—along with conservative bankers, engineers and landowners. "We

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have had a revolution," he says, "I must reintegrate the country, so I use so-and-so, and people cry, 'My God, he's a leftist.' Of course he's a leftist. I want him to do a job no one else can."

For the moment, García-Godoy is determined to do the job of "reconciliation" his way—with one hand on his hot line to the U.S. 82nd Airborne.

BRAZIL

Out of the Past

"Jusceli-no! Jusceli-no!" chanted a handkerchief-waving throng of 3,000 at Rio's Galeão international airport. Then from the doorway of an Air France 707 came the man, still trim and agile despite his 63 years, his face split in a toothful smile, his right arm swinging in a familiar jaunty wave. Brazil's former President Juscelino Kubitschek—still admired by the people but loathed as a symbol of corruption by the present revolutionary government—had returned home after 16 months of self-imposed exile. Said he: "I have come back at zero hour."

Almost Unbearable. The moment that Kubitschek chose to return was precisely when the government was engaged in its first test of popularity since Brazil's military seized power early last year. The day before he arrived, 9,000,000 Brazilians in eleven of the country's 22 states had gone to the polls to vote for new Governors. In those elections, the government discovered that it had failed to win substantial popular support in spite—or because—of all its tough efforts to root out Communism and corruption. The big winner was the P.S.D. Party of Kubitschek, who from 1956 to 1961 gave the country a strong surge of development accompanied by dizzying inflation, economic upheaval and graft.

His successors have not even given Brazil development. First, the erratic Jânio Quadros let Brazil's boom falter, then resigned in a fit of pique. Next came the leftist João Goulart, who only compounded the troubles until the military stepped in, grimly determined to sweep out all the old politicians.

The new regime stripped Kubitschek of his political rights for ten years, but his party was allowed to campaign, spurred on by his behind-the-scenes direction from Paris. Its victory constituted an almost unbearable provocation for Brazil's military. At one point last week, army units went on combat alert across the country, and in front of the War Ministry in Brasília appeared a quickly scrawled sign: THEY SHALL NOT RETURN!

Actually, in seven of the nine small states, candidates favorable to the military regime won. The upset came in two major states. In Minas Gerais, Kubitschek's home state, his P.S.D. man led the candidate identified with the revolution by 200,000, with 1,500,000 votes counted and another 1,000,000 to go. In Guanabara (Rio), the outcome



KUBITSCHKE ARRIVING IN RIO*
Still admired by the people.

was even more striking. The state has been considered a private fief of Governor Carlos Lacerda, the mercurial politician who has proved a gadfly to every Brazilian President since Getúlio Vargas in the 1950s. Lacerda now has presidential ambitions of his own in the elections scheduled for next year. But to have a chance, he first had to secure his base by installing a hand-picked successor as Governor of Guanabara. Lacerda chose a presentable crony, campaigned furiously for him. Nevertheless, Kubitschek's candidate defeated him at the polls—527,184 votes to 437,075.

Tightening the Grip. As the impact of the elections sank in, the military mutterings grew so loud that President Castello Branco was forced into a move that would only make his government even more unpopular. In return for not interfering with the results, the stern *linha dura* (hard line) officers won the promise that Castello Branco would send new proposals to Congress tightening the revolution's hold on the country through military courts and police. Most important, the military wants to change next year's presidential elections from direct balloting by the people to indirect balloting by Congress—which would almost certainly ensure the election of a pro-government candidate.

Whether Castello Branco will actually send such proposals to Congress, and whether Congress can be pressured into passing them, remains to be seen. What is clear is that Juscelino Kubitschek, the man who built the new inland capital of Brasília and thrilled the country with a thousand other dreams, has re-emerged as the major political force in Brazil.

* With Wife Sarah behind.