

espionage operations. Ebon cites an East European document, which he calls the "'R' Memorandum," to establish that Guevara underwent psychiatric treatment in Cuba in the spring of 1965; the author then proceeds to diagnose Che's alleged illness as an "identity crisis." Ebon does not explain how he gained access to the "'R' Memorandum," nor does he give its location. His other sources are not so mysterious, and most are readily available in English. Of the forty-eight items in the bibliography, only one is in Spanish—a statement by René Barrientos published in a Bolivian newspaper. Among the many misspelled names are "Arevala" for "Arévalo," "Manual" for "Manuel," and "Alfredo Orlando" for "Alfredo Ovando Candia." Ebon's work is diletantism at its worse.

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*The Complete Bolivian Diaries of Ché Guevara and Other Captured Documents.* Edited and with an Introduction by DANIEL JAMES. New York, 1968. Stein and Day. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Pp. 330. \$6.95.

*Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara.* Edited and with an Introduction by JOHN GERASSI. New York, 1968. The Macmillan Company. Notes. Appendices. Pp. xiii, 442. \$7.95.

Most norteamericanos feared and hated the living Che Guevara. The few who referred kindly to his romanticism, his courage, his heroism, even his intelligence, were all too often condemned at best as fools and at worst as traitors. The dead Che Guevara, however, is already something of a legend, even in North America. Many norteamericanos now claim to have respected him. Some are even making, or plan to make money by invoking his name, his deeds, or both. Che's death brought not only a sigh of relief in North America but also a number of books and articles, a stage play, and a motion picture. Now that Guevara is no longer a threat to North America, many of its citizens are willing to admit his importance and, of course, to make a profit off his struggle.

Most of Che's speeches and writings have always been available in North America; nevertheless, those of us who searched publications like *Cuba Socialista* and *Progressive Labor* in order to follow Guevara's intellectual development now feel a little disappointed. Many of the books and articles on Che published in North America after his death could and should have been published earlier. This criticism,

however, does not apply to either of the books under review. For obvious reasons Daniel James could not have brought out Che's Bolivian diary any sooner; and in order to achieve maximum impact John Gerassi had to produce his collection of Che's speeches and writings when he did. Both volumes appeared in that period when Che's unsuccessful Bolivian struggle was still uppermost in the minds of many; as a result, both must be considered important whatever other merits they may possess. Both, however, do have other merits.

James' *Complete Bolivian Diaries* is valuable in spite of his Introduction. One would think that an introduction to Che's Bolivian diary should analyze in some detail the Bolivian political experience since Che's failure in Bolivia resulted as much from Bolivian political conditions as from shortcomings in himself or in his theories of guerilla warfare. Instead James chooses to concentrate primarily upon Che's activities and upon what he considers the insidious nature of the short-lived Bolivian insurgency. In addition much of the Introduction consists of material which any intelligent reader can glean from the diaries themselves. Finally James makes several factual errors; for example, he claims (p. 19) that the M.N.R. was formed in 1949. In spite of these criticisms James' work is of more value than the so-called authorized *Ramparts Magazine* edition of the diary—not so much because it contains the "missing days" as because it adds diaries by three of Che's fellow revolutionaries. While none of these is as complete as Che's, each sheds light on Che's experience in Bolivia and on the Bolivian insurgency itself. In addition one must note the usefulness to any reader of James' "Chronology of the Bolivian Campaign."

Like James' book *Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara* is valuable in spite of Gerassi's Introduction. Given the nature of the speeches and writings included, one would hope for some kind of analysis of Che's intellectual development and power, rather than the almost chatty life of Guevara which Gerassi provides. Nevertheless, Gerassi's book does contain many of Che's most important and relevant works. Included, for example, are "On Underdevelopment," "On Revolutionary Medicine," "On Growth and Imperialism," "Guerrilla Warfare: A Method," "On Value," and "Man and Socialism in Cuba." As a result, Gerassi's book is a must for individuals interested not only in Che Guevara as a historical personality, but also in the recent history of Cuba and in the nature of development and underdevelopment.

To conclude, both volumes under review are valuable additions

to the knowledge available on Che Guevara and of his struggle to overcome some of the wretchedness to be found on this so-called "good earth."

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*Cubans in Exile. Disaffection and the Revolution.* By RICHARD R. FAGEN *et al.* Stanford, 1968. Stanford University Press. Tables. Figures. Notes. Appendices. Index. Pp. xii, 161. \$5.95.

As the Castro regime begins its second decade in power and the great headline-making upheavals of 1959-1962 pass into history, the excited, emotional journalism of those years is giving way to sober, factual studies of the Cuban Revolution. Richard R. Fagen and his assistants, putting together and expanding previously printed articles on the Cuban refugees, have provided us with a useful survey of a great Latin American migration, the flight of some 500,000 people (7% of Cuba's population in 1960) from the menaces and privations of a Communist dictatorship. Using questionnaires filled in by 400 male heads of households registered with the Refugee Center in Miami, the authors give reliable information about a much praised, much maligned, and much misunderstood group of people.

As might be expected, the average refugee is neither the traitorous *gusano* of fidelista propaganda nor one of "the bravest men in the world" (Jacqueline Kennedy at the Orange Bowl rally, October 1962). Among the half-million who fled Cuba are Batista supporters and former guerrillas, doctors, lawyers, farmers, and fishermen, the rich and the poor, university professors and illiterates. In some significant respects the refugees studied do differ from the general population from which they came. Their average income (1958) was \$5900, four times that of the average Cuban worker. There were 8.8 times as many lawyers and 5.5 times as many professionals and semi-professionals among the refugees as one would get in a random sample of Cubans. Less than 6 percent of the refugees were Negroes or mulattoes, as against 27% listed as part Negro in the 1953 census.

Fagen examines the causes and implications of these and similar findings in a level-headed, sensible way, with extensive quotations from relevant material. In the end, the refugee exodus is seen to resemble similar outpourings from Soviet Russia, from Hitler's and Ulbricht's Germanies, from China, Hungary, and Palestine. The flight of so many enemies may have stabilized the Castro government by removing them to a place where they could no longer fight against