

“Get It Right This Time: A Victims-Centered Trafficking in Persons Report”

Hearing of the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health,
Global Human Rights, and International Organizations
Committee on Foreign Affairs - U.S. House of Representatives
March 22, 2016

By Maria C. Werlau
President Free Society Project & Executive Director of Cuba Archive

The purpose of this hearing is to examine countries facing automatic tier downgrades in the 2016 Trafficking in Persons’ Report. I will speak about Cuba, as I head the Free Society Project, a non-profit think tank whose mission is to advance human rights through research and publications. Its leading project, Cuba Archive, documents loss of life and human exploitation. My testimony is based on considerable research over the course of six years on human trafficking and exploitation. My investigations have led to several academic and journalistic publications¹ and other research pieces that are in the works.

Let me briefly address some key issues the Committee is considering:

1. What is Cuba’s track record, particularly in the last year, in fighting human trafficking?

Contrary to fighting human trafficking, the Cuban government is likely one of the largest and most profitable trafficking promoters in the world. Perhaps it merits the number one spot, but I am not an expert on other countries, so I may only posit this as a question that merits diligent investigation. It is a business that for over the last ten years has been growing exponentially.

I consider four main sources of human trafficking by Cuba: i.) Export services of temporary workers; ii.) Forced labor and sex trafficking; iii.) “State-sponsored or forced migration;” and iv.) Export sales of human and body parts. Our State Department’s Trafficking in Persons Report addresses only two of these aspects and, in my view, quite poorly.

What makes the Cuban case unique, as well as astounding, is that trafficking is a huge operation run by the government through numerous state enterprises with, for most of the above categories, accomplices, participants, sponsors, and promoters all over the world, including from well known corporations, large foundations and non-profit organizations, key international agencies such as the World Health Organization and the Pan American Health Organization, and some of the leading world democracies, including the governments of Norway, France, Japan, Spain, Uruguay, Portugal, Brazil, and, as of late, even the United States.

Cuba derives its main source of revenues from two forms of human trafficking: export workers and migrants.

¹ See Annex 1: Maria Werlau’s publications on human trafficking by Cuba.

i.) Export services of temporary workers.

Cuba's export labor force of temporary workers consists of generally highly qualified and quite diverse and includes doctors and other health professionals (including even veterinarians and students of medicine posing as doctors), sports trainers, teachers, geologists, construction workers, entertainers, sailors, tobacco rollers, scientists, architects, engineers, agronomists, and technicians of all sorts, etc. They can be dispatched overseas at short notice—for months in the case of natural disasters—to work as temporary laborers and oftentimes in brigades.

Numerous and diversified services are sold through large state entities, such as ServiMed (Servicios Médicos Cubanos, S.A.) and the group BioFarma Cuba, or 84 smaller state entities under the auspices of the Center for the Promotion of Foreign Commerce and Investment (CEPEC).² It is a huge and expanding business. The latest official data, for the year 2011, indicates that Cuba's export services net of tourism grew by 891% from 2003 to 2011 (US\$1,520 million to US\$7,778).³ Last year, several Cuban government officials reported to different media outlets that these export services were generating Cuba around US\$8.2 billion a year.

While abroad, the Cuban health workers must agree to contribute the sizeable part of their wages to the Cuban state and issuance of their educational and professional credentials, such as for doctors,⁴ is blocked. They must leave their families behind; if they "defect" overseas, they will not be allowed to join them for years and their loved ones face reprisals and harassment.⁵

They face conditions that include: Living in unsafe, remote and even dangerous areas;⁶ Long work hours, arbitrary restrictions such as of movement and socializing, they are under surveillance, often their passports are retained. In some locations, living conditions are very poor, lacking privacy and hygiene or basic comforts, their stipends are insufficient to cover even basic needs. Together with the workers, the Cuban regime exports, even to strong democracies, the usual repression of their labor and other human rights and trained agents and spies of the Stalinist state to monitor and control them.

In my mind, there is no doubt the practice constitutes a form of slavery, which is generally understood as: "The status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised."⁷

² CEPEC has a very detailed guide online titled "Oferta Exportable Cubana." ("Cuban Export Offer")² of cultural, construction, engineering, management, quality-control, maintenance, transportation, tourism, telecommunications, real estate, agricultural, environmental, and many other services. See CEPEC – Centro para la Promoción del Comercio Exterior y la Inversión Extranjera en Cuba, <http://www.cepec.cu/es/perfil-informaci-empresas> (Accessed 03/21/2016.)

³ See Annex 2: "Table: Cuba's Export Services 2003-2011," Cuba Archive, 2016.

⁴ Michel Suárez, Bloqueada la legalización de títulos para médicos emigrantes, Diario de Cuba, 19 febrero 2010.

⁵ With the new Cuban migration law of January 2013, health professionals who defect may apparently travel back to Cuba after 8 years.

⁶ In Venezuela, for instance, over one hundred Cuban doctors have been killed and dozens have been robbed, raped, and injured.

⁷ League of Nations 1929 Slavery, Servitude, Forced Labour and Similar Institutions and Practices Convention.

The Cuban state's large and growing practice of entering into "cooperation agreements" to sell the services of its citizens as temporary workers—in health and other fields—to other governments or corporations typically trample on international standards concerning the prohibition of "servitude"⁸ and violate many international agreements to which Cuba and most countries where these workers serve are parties, reflected in most domestic legislations, including the Trafficking in Persons Protocol, the Palermo Protocol (to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking In Persons,), several ILO (International Labor Organization) Conventions, and Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁹

Cuba's business of exporting indentured workers, including its unique brand of "health diplomacy," is possible only in a totalitarian state in which a pool of guaranteed captive workers it can exploit as "exportable commodities." Most of the Cuban economy is in the state's hands and most workers, including professionals, may not practice privately. The state, their sole employer, pays what are perhaps the lowest hourly wages in the world. Doctors, for example, earn a monthly average salary of around US\$40 (after a raise from \$25 in June 2014). Because wages barely guarantee survival, they are often eager to serve overseas, as they are paid some compensation in hard currency, so they can save to fix their roof at home and ship back to their families consumer goods not available in Cuba; some defect to free countries, especially ours.

How many Cuban workers are involved? It's impossible to tell. From a review of dozens of quotes from Cuban authorities, the only thing that's clear is that it's not clear. The numbers just don't match, which is typical of Cuban statistics. To cite a recent figure, the Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Investment reported July 2014 that 64,362 Cubans are serving the government in 91 countries and were expected to bring in US\$8.2 billion in revenues. 75%, or 48,271, were in the health sector (strictly proportionately, they would generate US\$6,150 million).

It should also be noted that, in Cuba, all local employees of embassies, international organizations, and foreign businesses are subjected to similar exploitation, as they may not be hired or paid directly, their wages are subject to confiscation by the state that is generally over 90% and they do not enjoy worker rights universally recognized.

ii.) State-sponsored or forced migration.

"State-sponsored" or "forced" migration is, I understand, not the typical form of human trafficking by states. I have not looked at this sufficiently to determine if it would meet those standards as per strict international law. However, it is, in my opinion, a form of human trafficking. It is taking place at a very large scale and results from the direct and indirect practices of the Cuban state forcing, pushing and/or enabling its desperate citizens to migrate in the tens of thousands each year.

⁸ Servitude," for example, is defined by the international community as "the status or condition of dependency of a person who is unlawfully compelled or coerced by another to render any service to the same person or to others and who has no reasonable alternative but to perform the service. (Combating Trafficking in Personas: A Handbook for Parliamentarians, United Nations, No. 16, 2009.)

⁹ See Annex 3: International Law Violations of Cuba's Government-to-Government or Government-to-Corporations Agreements to Sell Medical and Other Services, Cuba Archive, 2016.

The practice seeks to alleviate political and economic pressure on the government and generate billions in revenues. I have just anecdotal evidence of creative and elaborate criminal schemes run covertly by operatives or agents of the regime, particularly from Cuba's Ministry of the Interior. These individuals, usually posing as free agents, secure travel or immigrant documents to other countries and transport people through air, sea and land, often greatly endanger their lives, to the tune of \$10,000 per migrant. I understand that U.S. law enforcement agencies know of and have investigated some of these practices. Certainly, these reports merit further investigation by the appropriate authorities.

Once Cubans arrive overseas, particularly to the U.S., where they are far and large automatically admitted, they begin to send remittances, merchandise, and all sorts of assistance plus fund the flight of those left behind. To allow people to leave, such as those entering under a 20,000 annual quota, excessive fees are charged by the state, such as for special permits and required medical check-ups costing more than the annual average salary. Obtaining a passport, as of January 14, 2014, costs the equivalent of 5.3 months of the total wages of the average worker; in the U.S. comparable passport fees were, on that date, \$19,836.84, and \$4,000 more every two years.¹⁰

According to Professor Soren Triff, the "Cuban model" of forced migration consists of "exploiting capitalist partners to prop up the regime, as it continues to subject its people to a survival economy. Those who attempt to change acceptable public behavior, economic or social, become internal "enemies" of the State. The regime harasses them with inspections, fines, jail time, taxes, the confiscation of their goods, and low-paying jobs, or ones that do not match their professional qualifications. All this amounts to a state of persecution. Expulsion from the country is a consequence of the above."¹¹

The mass migration has been greatly fueled in recent years by the following: 1.) In 2008, Ecuador, a close ally of Cuba, stopped requiring entry visas, which fueled a mass flight by air from Cuba; once they reached Ecuador and with little chance to make a living there, thousands soon began making their way north by land through many countries to the U.S.; 2.) Changes to Cuba's migration law starting January 2013 permitting Cubans to travel without an exit permit; 3.) Beginning in 2009, the Obama Administration's comprehensive relaxation of travel and remittance regulations under the embargo.

According to my estimates, in 2015 alone, at least 92,000 Cubans were admitted into the United States, 43,159 in fiscal year 2015 by all points of entry without prior entry visas;¹² since 2008 at least 325,000 have been come, with the trend rising exponentially. According to colleagues who

¹⁰ Starting January 14, 2013, the cost of a Cuban passport, renewable every six years, rose to the equivalent of US\$100, representing 5.3 months of wages or 44% of the entire average annual peso salary. Extensions every two years will cost \$20, or over one month of salary (today around US\$20). (In January 2013, U.S. passports for adults were valid for ten years and cost \$165 the first time, \$110 for renewals.) See Maria C. Werlau, "Huge Costs Confront Cubans Who Seek To Travel Under New 'Migration Law' Going Into Effect Today," The New York Sun, Jan. 14, 2013.

<http://www.nysun.com/foreign/huge-costs-confront-cubans-who-seek-to-travel/88153/>

¹¹ Soren Triff, "Three clarifications on the forced migration of Cubans," Diario de Cuba, 20 Nov 2015.

¹² U.S. Customs & Border Patrol (CBP) (FY to Sept. 30, 2015, figures provided by a journalist, but widely cited in the media).

have done sound analysis of the different forms of assistance and revenues flowing to Cuba, it surpasses US\$5 billion a year.

iii. Forced labor and sex trafficking.

A journalistic investigation led to a documentary in 2008 featured in Spanish television.¹³ He proved with compellingly in film that prostitution of girls around 16 years old was taking place not only on the streets but also in schools, with the participation of teachers and even the complicity of the police. He also established that a large sex exploitation network was operating with the acquiescence of authorities.¹⁴

In 2012, a confidential report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) ratified that Cuba was one of the primary tourist destinations for sex tourism that includes minors of both genders. It appears that the child prostitution rings are maintained and promoted to increase Cuba's attraction as a tourism destination. Over a million Canadians visit Cuba each year.

In Cuban penal facilities, certain prisoners must work uncompensated, long hours in harsh conditions. The Swedish giant Ikea, for example, produced furniture in Cuba and East Germany in the 1980s.¹⁵

Finally, we must briefly mention child labor. In the streets of Havana and other cities, children are often seen doing diverse jobs and even begging, force by their parents to help support the family. Where this is most obvious is in the agricultural fields, where almost half a million minors are reportedly put to work directly by the state, which alleges it is voluntary, or by their parents and who, for lack of adequate transportation, cannot attend school.¹⁶

iv.) Export sales of blood and body parts (organs, tissues and others).

Cuba Archive, the project I direct, has a report on its website (See Annex 4), of very reliable international statistics of Cuba's blood exports from 1995 to 2012.¹⁷ These indicate that Cuba has been selling at least since 1995 blood products at an average \$30 million a year in the international markets, mostly to close allies, without consent from volunteer and coerced donors in Cuba tricked to believe their donations are for altruistic purposes, to save lives in Cuba or in

¹³ Sebastián Martínez Ferrate, producer, "La Prostitución Infantil en Cuba," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JO7d-YIe0DE>; Sunday Mirror de vela tráfico sexual con niñas de Cuba, martinoticias.com, octubre 16, 2013.

¹⁴ See "How Cuba became the newest hotbed for tourists craving sex with minors," The Miami Herald, March 16, 2013. (Joint investigation by Toronto Star reporters Robert Cribb, Jennifer Quinn and Julian Sher, and El Nuevo Herald reporter Juan O. Tamayo.)

¹⁵ Matthew Day, Ikea 'used Cuban prisoners to make furniture,' 3 May 2012. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/sweden/9243589/Ikea-used-Cuban-prisoners-to-make-furniture.html> (Accessed 3/22/2016.)

¹⁶ Ernesto Pérez Chang, "El trabajo infantil en Cuba: niños obligados por la pobreza a mendigar en las calles, detrás de los turistas," Cubanet.org, noviembre 12, 2014. and Adriel Reyes, "Los niños campesinos de Cuba," martinoticias.com, mayo 23, 2014.

¹⁷ The Observatory of Economic Complexity, open source platform of the Macro Connections group at the MIT Media Lab and the Center for International Development at Harvard University, sourced from the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database and other reliable international sources. (See <atlas.media.mit.edu>)

areas hit by natural disasters. In the past, Cuba drained the blood from prisoners awaiting execution and reportedly sold it to countries such as Vietnam.¹⁸ I have been unable to find any similar practice by a government, other than Nicaragua under the old Somoza dictatorship, much less in that scale. Perhaps China could compare, but I have not yet uncovered evidence that this has been or remains a systematic state practice.

We have also published reports on the sale by Cuba to Brazil of over \$80 million in human tissues and other body parts of unknown origin as well as on reported cases of suspected deaths for the harvesting of body parts and cadavers missing major organs and most body parts, both suggestive this is or might be sponsored by the Cuban state.¹⁹ We are seeking resources to continue our research and strongly encourage our government and that of other countries to investigate this.

The Committee also seeks to examine: 2) Are there glaring gaps in prosecuting traffickers, preventing trafficking, or protecting victims?

Because most Cuban workers, migrants, and prostitutes seemingly consent to the practice constituting trafficking, it's important to clarify that the Trafficking in Persons Protocol states: "The consent of the victim to the intended exploitation is irrelevant once it is demonstrated that deception, coercion, force or other prohibited means have been used." (Art. 3 subpara.(b.)) The definition of "trafficking in persons" includes "the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person, for the purpose of exploitation."²⁰

The vast majority of Cuban workers have no choice but to submit to the totalitarian state, they often work in poor, sometimes dangerous conditions, are paid an average of \$20 a month, must fulfill political tasks, such as volunteering to work or donating blood, and have no advocates or representatives outside the state. The only allowed union is the Central de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC), which is part of the government structure and its Secretary General is member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Because the main perpetrator of the trafficking is, in fact, the Cuban state—directly and indirectly—rather than "gaps," we could suggest there is a black hole into which the victims fall hopelessly and systematically.

In Cuba, there is no legal protection for the victims, as there is no independent judiciary and the Constitution (Art.5) stipulates that the Communist Party is the superior and commanding force of society and the state, existing for the construction of socialism and the path to the Communist society. There are no individual or collective rights per se, everything and everyone is subordinated to this. Judges, prosecutors and even defense lawyers all work for the state.²¹ The

¹⁸ See "Forcible blood extraction from political prisoners, section for Reports, www.CubaArchive.org.

¹⁹ See section on Reports at www.CubaArchive.org, "Is Cuba Harvesting Body Parts?"

²⁰ The Trafficking in Persons Protocol, which went into force in 2003: (Art. 3, subpara (a.)).

²¹ A Human Rights report of 1999 provides a useful and still relevant summary of how Cuba's laws restrict human rights. Cuba's Repressive Machinery: Human Rights Forty Years After the Revolution, Human Rights Watch, 1999. (See section on the laws at https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/cuba/Cuba996-03.htm#P576_78223).

individual is, thus, rendered totally unprotected, so much so that even after arriving in our open and free country, most defecting doctors I have interviewed refuse to denounce their victimization publicly, terrified of reprisals to their families, hoping to be allowed back to visit their loved ones, afraid of rocking the boat and of the Cuban regime's reach even into the U.S.

What's worse, that these victims serve a dictatorship all around the world is an open and accepted fact that most academics, journalists, and even human rights' organizations watch with ignorance, indifference, complacency, even encouragement. Many are themselves victims of the gigantic machinery of influence and propaganda at the service of the Cuban Communist regime or are part of their large army of covert agents, collaborators and agents of influence working embedded even in governments, the media. These have been systematically "indoctrinated" in the idea that Cuba is undertaking a humanitarian mission, particularly in fields such as education, health, and sports, and that, even if this "modern slavers" is in blatant violation of international law or the laws of their own country, it is acceptable.

Few mechanisms of protection and redress have been put in place. Some of the temporary workers escape and find safe harbor in the countries where they serve and especially health professionals to the U.S. By January 2016, the Cuban Medical Professional Parole program had approved since its start in 2006, 7,117 applications.²² The special program grants privileged entry visas into the U.S. to medical professionals serving the Cuban state in over 60 countries who apply at the corresponding U.S. embassy. It is reportedly run by the US Department of Homeland Security and administered jointly with the Department of State.

The program, which Cuba fiercely denounces, is under review by the White House as part of the "normalization" of bilateral relations with Cuba. Meanwhile, we have started to cooperate with Cuba's medical brigades in Haiti and, last year, in the West African countries of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea, to fight Ebola, details of which I am lacking.

In 2005 three workers part of a 100 strong contingent sent by Cuba to work in a shipyard in Curacao won a lawsuit against the state-owed shipyard.²³

As we have seen above, it is hard to understand how any informed analysis of Cuban reality could lead to the conclusion that Cuba has improved its record of human trafficking.

²² US may end Medical Professional Parole Program, Jan. 8, 2006.
<http://cubajournal.co/us-may-end-cuban-medical-professional-parole-program/>
 (Accessed 03/21/2016.)

²³ "Caveat Emptor: Cuban Slave Labor Victims Collect \$67 Million Judgment," Capitol Hill Cubans, May 28, 2015.
<http://www.capitolhillcubans.com/2015/05/caveat-emptor-cuban-slave-labor-victims.html>

Annex I

Maria Werlau's publications on human trafficking by Cuba

"The Port of Mariel And Cuba-Brazil's Unusual 'Medical Cooperation'," 2014.
<http://www.ascecuba.org/c/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/v24-werlau.pdf>

"Are Cuba and Brazil partners in human trafficking?, published in Spanish: ¿Son Cuba y Brasil Socios en el Tráfico Humano?, *ABC*, 23/10/2014.
http://www.diariodecuba.com/cuba/1414134481_10942.html

"Cuba's Health-Care Diplomacy: The Business of Humanitarianism," *World Affairs Journal*, March-April 2013.
<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/cuba%E2%80%99s-health-care-diplomacy-business-humanitarianism>

"Cuba's partners in human exploitation," *The Miami Herald*, December 5, 2012.

"Cuba's Business of Humanitarianism: The Medical Mission in Haiti," 2011.
<http://www.ascecuba.org/c/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/v21-werlau.pdf>

"Cuba-Venezuela's Health Diplomacy: The Politics of Humanitarianism," 2010.
<http://www.ascecuba.org/c/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/v20-werlau.pdf>

"Cuba's Cash-for-Doctors Program," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 16, 2010.
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB128191295720227991.html>

In www.CubaArchive.org, see the following in "Reports":

- *Forcible blood extraction from political prisoners:*
- *Is Cuba Harvesting Body Parts?*
- *Cuba's Blood Exports.*
- *Statistics on Cuba's Blood Exports.*

Table
Cuba's Export Services
2003-2011

Millions of Cuban Pesos
Exchange to US dollars 1:1

Year	Exports of Services	Tourism	Exports of Services net of Tourism
2003	2,844.60	1,999.20	845.4
2004	3,634.40	2,113.60	1,520.80
2005	6,550.50	2,398.90	4,151.60
2006	6,667.40	2,234.90	4,432.50
2007	7,951.80	2,236.40	5,715.40
2008	8,566.40	2,346.90	6,219.50
2009	7,762.60	2,082.40	5,680.20
2010	9,660.00	2,218.40	7,441.60
2011	10,281.10	2,503.10	7,778.00

**891% growth from 2003 to 2011.*

Source: ONE (Oficina Nacional de Estadísticas) Anuario Estadístico de Cuba, 2011. Ed. 2012. Derived from 5.17 - Saldo externo de bienes y servicios, Anuario Estadístico de Cuba, 2011. Oficina Nacional de Estadísticas. Edición 2012.
http://www.one.cu/aec2011/esp/05_tabla_cuadro.htm.
(Accessed 03/21/2016.)

Cuba Archive

www.CubaArchive.org
Free Society Project, Inc.
Tel. 973.701-0520 / info@CubaArchive.org

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International Law Violations of Cuba's Government-to-Government or Government-to-Corporations Agreements to Sell Medical and Other Services

The Cuban state's large and growing practice of entering into "cooperation agreements" to sell the services of its citizens as temporary workers—in health and other fields—to other governments or corporations typically violate the following international agreements to which Cuba and most countries where these workers serve are parties. Generally, these norms are also reflected in the internal legislations of the host countries.

Trafficking in Persons

- The **Trafficking in Persons Protocol**, which went into force in 2003: "Trafficking in persons means "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, ...of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person, for the purpose of exploitation." (Art. 3, subpara (a.).
- "The consent of the victim to the intended exploitation is irrelevant once it is demonstrated that deception, coercion, force or other prohibited means have been used." (Art. 3 subpara.(b.)
- Exploitation may take the form of labour trafficking. "Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, ...forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude..." (Art. 3 subpara (a.)

ILO (International Labour Organization)

Convention on the Protection of Wages of 1949:

- Article 6 : "Employers shall be prohibited from limiting in any manner the freedom of the worker to dispose of his wages."
- Article 8: "Deductions from wages shall be permitted only under conditions and to the extent prescribed by national laws or regulations or fixed by collective agreement or arbitration award."
- Article 9: "Any deduction from wages with a view to ensuring a direct or indirect payment for the purpose of obtaining or retaining employment, made by a worker to an employer or his representative or to any intermediary (such as a labour contractor or recruiter), shall be prohibited."

Convention No. 29 of 1930 concerning forced or compulsory labor:

- *Forced labour* is defined as: "All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which said person has not offered himself voluntarily."

The Palermo Protocol (Protocol To Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking In Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing The United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000)

- Article 3: For the purposes of this Protocol:
"Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, ...forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;
The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used...

- Article 5: Criminalization. Each State Party shall adopt such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish as criminal offences the conduct set forth in article 3 of this Protocol, when committed intentionally.

Servitude

Early drafts of the Trafficking in Persons Protocol defined servitude as the status or condition of dependency of a person who is unlawfully compelled or coerced by another to render any service to the same person or to others and who has no reasonable alternative but to perform the service. (Combating Trafficking in Personas: A Handbook for Parliamentarians, United Nations, No. 16, 2009.)

Slavery

"The status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised." (**League of Nations 1929 Slavery, Servitude, Forced Labour and Similar Institutions and Practices Convention**)

Additional international norms ignored or abused by or in Cuba, "exported" with its temporary workers:

- **Freedom of Association and Protection to Organize Convention** (No. 87) – Although it is guaranteed by Article 1(g) of Cuba's Labor Code, that grants workers "the right to associate themselves voluntarily and establish unions," it is not allowed in practice.
- **Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention** (No. 98)
- **Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention** (No. 111) – Workers are selected by the Cuban state especially for political considerations and ignoring equality of opportunity or treatment in employment and occupation.
- **Employment Policy Convention** (No. 122) – The will of the worker is generally ignored and workers are often selected regardless of skills or endowments.
- **The Universal Declaration of Human Rights** (Article 23) –
 1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
 2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
 3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
 4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Cuba Archive

www.CubaArchive.org
 Free Society Project, Inc.
 Tel. 973.701-0520
 info@CubaArchive.org

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Appendix A

Note: All charts include statistics for the most recent year available.

Cuba: Non-remunerated blood donations 2006-2011

	<i>Donations</i>	<i>Useful donations</i>
2006	506 191	475 959
2007	421 626	400 292
2008	411,984	393,937
2009	421,302	403,060
2010	420,372	402,422
2011	412,408	393,325

*Cuban population for 2006-11 was 11.2 million
 Source: Anuario Estadístico de Cuba 2011,
 Cuadro 19.15 – Blood donors per province
 <<http://www.one.cu/aec2011.htm>>.

Cuba: Exports of Human or Animal Blood Prepared for Therapeutic Uses \$US dollars

1995	30,119,389	2004	23,020,478
1996	35,313,753	2005	30,650,512
1997	42,242,114	2006	38,643,533
1998	21,252,174	2007	31,368,893
1999	23,723,632	2008	14,186,330
2000	24,790,762	2009	18,156,364
2001	28,789,477	2010	28,239,160
2002	37,349,003	2011	63,523,047
2003	32,386,632	2012	29,431,681

Source: The Observatory of Economic Complexity
 <<http://atlas.media.mit.edu/about/>>

Cuba: Exports of Human or Animal Blood Prepared for Therapeutic Uses to Select Countries: 1995-2012
 U.S. dollars

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Total	30,119,389	35,313,753	42,242,114	21,252,174	23,723,632	24,790,762	28,789,477	37,349,003	32,386,632
Brazil	13,078,934	20,009,487	13,516,442	503,672	721,023	3,849,109	932,078	570,493	36,633
Venezuela	0	0	0	0	1004862	2996357	3313607	3740192	6,355,541
Argentina	2,479,342	2,992,020	828,126	4,763,827	688,544	1,421,216	620,789	354,367	171,360
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total	23,020,478	30,650,512	38,643,533	31,368,893	14,186,330	18,156,364	28,239,160	63,523,047	29,431,681
Brazil	391,068	1,410,067	4,569,136	11,844,307	2,742,662	3,533,628	9,634,130	16,897,709	4,437,025
Venezuela	296,081	8,398,746	14,379,681	1,541,069	120,282	721,123	0	22,052,028	0
Argentina	277,196	192,200	241,809	1,009,497	1,253,856	1,957,529	7,666,832	6,112,307	5,738,795

Source: The Observatory of Economic Complexity <atlas.media.mit.edu>

Cuba: Exports of Human or Animal Blood
Prepared for Therapeutic Uses: By Country 1996-2012¹

U.S. dollars

2012	% of total	Value (USD)	2011	% of total	Value (USD)
Argentina	20.77%	6,112,307	Venezuela	34.72%	22,052,028
Brazil	15.08%	4,437,025	Brazil	26.60%	16,897,709
Ecuador	13.79%	4,059,440	Argentina	9.03%	5,738,795
Colombia	11.71%	3,446,672	Ecuador	6.00%	3,811,269
India	9.96%	2,931,918	Colombia	4.91%	3,121,605
South Africa	5.28%	1,554,312	South Africa	3.61%	2,290,007
Japan	5.10%	1,500,916	Algeria	2.65%	1,681,721
Nicaragua	3.07%	902,287	Uruguay	2.00%	1,273,195
Uruguay	2.99%	880,339	India	2.00%	1,269,306
Algeria	2.88%	848,503	Mexico	1.23%	781,624
China	1.83%	539,560	Pakistan	1.18%	751,781
Peru	1.56%	457,969	Tunisia	0.89%	566,960
Mexico	1.30%	383,437	Ukraine	0.76%	481,125
Ukraine	1.21%	354,855	Iran	0.63%	401,281
Russia	0.97%	285,040	Peru	0.59%	372,157
Pakistan	0.72%	212,943	Panama	0.50%	318,101
Austria	0.35%	103,730	Russia	0.47%	297,299
Thailand	0.32%	93,591	Japan	0.45%	283,234
Bolivia	0.27%	79,569	Nicaragua	0.39%	248,137
France	0.21%	62,855	Kazakhstan	0.31%	199,584
Italy	0.21%	60,789	Italy	0.22%	139,249
Czech Republic	0.11%	33,707	Chile	0.19%	117,978
Georgia	0.10%	28,000	Bolivia	0.11%	66,991
Guatemala	0.06%	16,780	France	0.11%	66,789
Ghana	0.04%	10,507	Dominican Republic	0.10%	66,453
United Kingdom	0.03%	9,861	Georgia	0.10%	64,783
Yemen	0.02%	7,277	Thailand	0.09%	59,396
Malaysia	0.02%	6,521	Germany	0.06%	36,325
Paraguay	0.02%	4,989	Malaysia	0.03%	21,750
Chile	0.01%	3,360	Paraguay	0.02%	14,525
Netherlands	0.01%	1,522	Guatemala	0.02%	10,637
Kazakhstan	0.00%	1,100	Portugal	0.01%	6,594
		29,431,681	Morocco	0.01%	6,297
			China	0.01%	5,593
			Belgium-Luxembourg	0.00%	2,769
					63,523,047

¹Source: The Observatory of Economic Complexity <<http://atlas.media.mit.edu/about/>>. Some figures have been rounded to the nearest decimal. Annual totals have been derived from the country listing and may not correspond precisely to the annual figures above, perhaps the lesser sales have not been listed.

2010	% of total	Value	2009	% of total	Value
Brazil	34.12%	9634130	Brazil	19.46%	3533628
Argentina	27.15%	7666832	Viet Nam	14.57%	2644840
Colombia	7.13%	2013213	Argentina	10.78%	1957529
Nicaragua	4.63%	1307096	Colombia	10.50%	1906092
Mexico	3.63%	1024821	Ukraine	6.28%	1139500
Ukraine	3.34%	943118	Algeria	4.85%	880682
Ecuador	3.21%	907033	Venezuela	3.97%	721123
Algeria	2.63%	742188	Pakistan	3.61%	654623
Peru	2.19%	617316	Tunisia	3.23%	586820
Pakistan	2.07%	585566	Belarus	1.93%	350900
Tunisia	1.79%	505038	Mexico	1.32%	240031
Russia	1.38%	389991	Nicaragua	1.30%	236792
Georgia	0.52%	148000	Peru	1.29%	233466
Thailand	0.38%	106284	Bolivia	0.96%	174024
Panama	0.31%	88830	Panama	0.68%	124214
Malaysia	0.31%	88460	Paraguay	0.66%	118970
Italy	0.31%	87320	India	0.63%	114778
Bolivia	0.27%	77116	Dominican Rep.	0.59%	106774
Paraguay	0.14%	39695	Japan	0.56%	101834
Austria	0.12%	33400	Thailand	0.46%	84391
Chile	0.11%	31800	Uruguay	0.39%	71562
Dominican Rep.	0.10%	29374	Russia	0.34%	61836
Guatemala	0.06%	15635	Malaysia	0.29%	52047
Ghana	0.05%	15062	Chile	0.15%	27600
Japan	0.04%	11136	Guatemala	0.11%	19667
India	0.03%	9695	Yemen	0.10%	18255
Costa Rica	0.02%	6756	France	0.03%	5552
		27,124,905	Costa Rica	0.01%	1832
			Germany	0.01%	1000
					16,170,362

2008

Brazil	19.33%	2742662
Colombia	11.99%	1701109
Ukraine	10.59%	1502950
Algeria	9.02%	1279722
Argentina	8.84%	1253856
Pakistan	6.81%	965715
Singapore	5.13%	727554
Russia	3.83%	543863
Japan	3.65%	517227
Kazakhstan	3.40%	482571
Belarus	1.79%	253700
Tunisia	1.52%	215454
Dominican Rep.	1.02%	144731
Venezuela	0.85%	120282
Bolivia	0.85%	120117
Uruguay	0.73%	104052
Chile	0.72%	101497
Peru	0.53%	75503
Nicaragua	0.38%	54352
Thailand	0.32%	45410
Paraguay	0.27%	38670
Guatemala	0.25%	35011
Malaysia	0.25%	34982
Mexico	0.19%	27000
Panama	0.11%	15900
Switzerland	0.02%	2572
Mozambique	0.02%	2572
El Salvador	0.02%	2187
Costa Rica	0.01%	1014

13,112,235**2007**

Brazil	37.76%	11844307
Russia	23.44%	7352586
Viet Nam	6.89%	2161163
Venezuela	4.91%	1541069
Colombia	4.49%	1408263
Argentina	3.22%	1009497
Pakistan	3.12%	979348
Algeria	2.93%	918151
Ukraine	2.84%	892410
Uruguay	2.09%	655889
Mali	1.72%	540245
Malaysia	1.09%	342868
Belarus	0.58%	180500
Japan	0.47%	146798
Nicaragua	0.46%	142857
Thailand	0.32%	100793
Peru	0.24%	74688
Mexico	0.24%	74500
Yemen	0.17%	52744
Paraguay	0.09%	26813
Chile	0.08%	26020
El Salvador	0.04%	12325
Guatemala	0.04%	11581
Georgia	0.01%	4025
Costa Rica	0.01%	2862
Switzerland	0.01%	2519
Germany	0.01%	2000
China	0.01%	1947

30,508,768

2006			2005		
Venezuela	37.21%	14379681	Venezuela	27.40%	8398746
Russia	16.26%	6282475	Russia	21.56%	6607051
Brazil	11.82%	4569136	Iran	7.75%	2374515
Iran	5.19%	2004273	Brazil	4.60%	1410067
Pakistan	5.12%	1980155	Colombia	4.25%	1302197
Viet Nam	4.53%	1750776	Turkey	3.49%	1068961
Colombia	4.24%	1637696	Pakistan	3.31%	1013330
Ukraine	2.08%	802233	United Kingdom	2.94%	900855
Malaysia	1.53%	590482	Canada	2.87%	878550
Algeria	0.98%	379135	Germany	2.64%	809874
India	0.63%	242305	Algeria	1.61%	492232
Argentina	0.63%	241809	Viet Nam	1.59%	487161
Panama	0.54%	210126	Malaysia	1.43%	439582
Tunisia	0.42%	161052	Ukraine	1.29%	396818
Bangladesh	0.37%	143306	Syrian Arab Rep.	1.11%	340761
Thailand	0.36%	140048	Panama	1.01%	308820
Syrian Arab Rep.	0.32%	124751	Argentina	0.63%	192200
Uruguay	0.26%	99708	Uruguay	0.49%	148669
Denmark	0.20%	75709	Netherlands	0.42%	129773
Belarus	0.19%	75122	Belarus	0.37%	114290
Sudan	0.18%	68887	Tunisia	0.35%	107155
Yemen	0.17%	64581	Gambia	0.28%	86844
Chile	0.14%	5222	Nicaragua	0.28%	85548
Nicaragua	0.13%	51305	Jordan	0.27%	84151
Peru	0.12%	45174	Guatemala	0.26%	78941
Dominican Rep.	0.11%	42403	Sudan	0.25%	77384
Mexico	0.10%	40045	Azerbaijan	0.23%	71191
China	0.10%	38357	Dominican Rep.	0.23%	68994
Guatemala	0.09%	36390	Ecuador	0.19%	57269
Czech Rep.	0.09%	34703	Equatorial Guinea	0.17%	52008
Paraguay	0.09%	33138	India	0.16%	49993
Netherlands	0.09%	32964	Angola	0.16%	49975
Turkmenistan	0.08%	29083	Denmark	0.12%	38101
Angola	0.07%	27001	Chile	0.11%	34142
Japan	0.03%	11117	Thailand	0.10%	29511
El Salvador	0.02%	7784	Peru	0.09%	27563
Germany	0.02%	6677	Albania	0.07%	22068
Sao Tome & Princ.	0.02%	6458	Mexico	0.07%	20227
United Kingdom	0.02%	6206	Yemen	0.05%	15302
Lao PDR	0.01%	3441	Saudi Arabia	0.03%	8756
Mongolia	0.01%	2928	Paraguay	0.03%	8116
Costa Rica	0.00%	1792	Spain	0.01%	4480
		36,532,637	Lao PDR	0.01%	4000
			Mongolia	0.01%	3969
			El Salvador	0.01%	3955
			Costa Rica	0.01%	2496
			Egypt	0.01%	2377
			Sao Tome & Princ.	0.01%	<u>2044</u>
					28,911,012

2004			2003		
Russia	27.57%	6346212	Iran	21.58%	6988791
Iran	14.24%	3277548	Venezuela	19.62%	6355541
Venezuela	12.86%	2960810	Russia	13.93%	4510744
Algeria	11.40%	2624210	Algeria	11.01%	3564584
Colombia	8.78%	2021593	Mexico	9.43%	3055231
Ukraine	3.94%	906251	Colombia	6.33%	2049712
Belarus	2.14%	492440	Kazakhstan	5.26%	1702853
Pakistan	2.09%	481831	Pakistan	2.78%	899680
Brazil	1.70%	391068	Ukraine	2.16%	699451
Argentina	1.20%	277196	India	1.08%	348582
Viet Nam	1.00%	231188	Belarus	0.97%	312600
Tajikistan	0.89%	204960	Uruguay	0.73%	237887
Ecuador	0.67%	153212	Argentina	0.53%	171360
Uruguay	0.56%	129094	Tunisia	0.45%	146755
Syrian Arab Rep.	0.49%	113764	Viet Nam	0.44%	143000
Denmark	0.43%	100031	Syrian Arab Rep.	0.31%	98974
China	0.39%	89250	Peru	0.28%	90271
Guatemala	0.38%	86882	Dominican Rep.	0.21%	68085
Nicaragua	0.28%	65308	Ecuador	0.19%	60722
Peru	0.27%	62551	China	0.18%	59500
Thailand	0.24%	54893	Czech Rep.	0.16%	50945
India	0.23%	54009	New Zealand	0.15%	48360
Czech Rep.	0.23%	53884	Nicaragua	0.13%	40893
Azerbaijan	0.20%	45984	Angola	0.12%	40330
Germany	0.20%	45254	Brazil	0.11%	36633
Panama	0.17%	40140	Thailand	0.10%	32850
Angola	0.17%	40132	Denmark	0.09%	28665
Dominican Rep.	0.15%	34101	Yemen	0.05%	17765
Jordan	0.14%	32534	Paraguay	0.05%	17382
New Zealand	0.12%	26480	Panama	0.05%	15922
Yemen	0.10%	22654	Chile	0.04%	14274
Chile	0.09%	21129	Jordan	0.04%	12900
Albania	0.08%	19344	Spain	0.03%	8645
Sudan	0.07%	16459	Costa Rica	0.02%	8000
Equatorial Guinea	0.06%	12734	Uzbekistan	0.02%	7062
Sao Tome and Principe	0.04%	8064	Lao PDR	0.02%	5200
Switzerland	0.03%	7432	El Salvador	0.01%	3200
Kazakhstan	0.03%	5905	Mongolia	0.01%	3140
El Salvador	0.02%	5747	Trinidad and Tobago	0.01%	2074
Lao PDR	0.02%	5200	Jamaica	0.01%	1700
Mexico	0.02%	5087			
Costa Rica	0.02%	4095			
		21,576,660			31,960,262

2002			2001		
Iran	28.84%	10771775	Iran	28.71%	8266625
Russia	16.79%	6271868	Russia	15.97%	4596491
Uruguay	13.03%	4867970	Colombia	12.32%	3547929
Venezuela	10.01%	3740192	Venezuela	11.51%	3313607
Algeria	8.94%	3338768	Algeria	5.00%	1438753
India	3.66%	1367766	India	4.75%	1367306
Colombia	3.35%	1252398	France	3.69%	1062068
Ireland	2.27%	849300	Brazil	3.24%	932078
Pakistan	2.18%	815465	Mexico	2.49%	715829
Brazil	1.53%	570493	Argentina	2.16%	620789
Mexico	1.13%	421132	Syrian Arab Rep.	1.30%	374608
Tunisia	1.10%	409153	Dominican Rep.	1.27%	365339
Dominican Rep.	1.04%	389811	Ecuador	1.11%	319718
Guatemala	0.98%	367884	Pakistan	1.07%	307529
Argentina	0.95%	354367	Ukraine	1.05%	302454
Ecuador	0.56%	209753	Guatemala	0.67%	193599
Syrian Arab Rep.	0.55%	206661	Ghana	0.53%	153000
Yemen	0.49%	183322	China	0.46%	133590
France	0.45%	167754	Panama	0.46%	131462
Viet Nam	0.41%	153000	Uruguay	0.37%	106410
Panama	0.33%	125117	Peru	0.29%	82329
Peru	0.32%	121231	Denmark	0.28%	79297
China	0.22%	83909	Sudan	0.26%	75001
Sudan	0.18%	66728	Czech Rep.	0.24%	67742
Chile	0.12%	45268	Nicaragua	0.15%	42857
Jordan	0.12%	43057	Chile	0.13%	38778
Nicaragua	0.08%	30764	Yemen	0.13%	38199
Ukraine	0.07%	27000	Jordan	0.08%	24250
El Salvador	0.06%	21265	El Salvador	0.08%	21626
Paraguay	0.04%	16583	Bolivia	0.05%	15764
Lao PDR	0.03%	10800	Germany	0.04%	12541
Denmark	0.03%	10247	Lao PDR	0.04%	11892
Italy	0.02%	8298	Paraguay	0.04%	10912
Honduras	0.01%	5170	Mongolia	0.01%	3757
Mongolia	0.01%	4620	Indonesia	0.01%	2330
Costa Rica	0.01%	4000	Macedonia	0.01%	2315
Bolivia	0.01%	3311	Trinidad and Tobago	0.01%	1969
Ghana	0.00%	<u>1671</u>	Honduras	0.00%	<u>1163</u>
		37,337,872			28,781,903

2000

Colombia	23.40%	5801950
Iran	18.21%	4514307
Brazil	15.53%	3849109
Venezuela	12.09%	2996357
Argentina	5.73%	1421216
Mexico	5.50%	1364345
Russia	4.02%	997081
Dominican Rep.	2.61%	646040
India	2.37%	587320
Germany	2.09%	517449
Kazakhstan	1.09%	270500
Pakistan	1.01%	251586
Syrian Arab Rep.	0.92%	227615
China	0.84%	207812
Uruguay	0.74%	182548
Panama	0.67%	166137
Guatemala	0.56%	138449
Algeria	0.46%	113255
Paraguay	0.39%	97029
Sudan	0.37%	92779
Peru	0.29%	72851
Chile	0.27%	68174
Nicaragua	0.15%	37470
Uzbekistan	0.11%	26399
Ecuador	0.10%	24902
Yemen	0.10%	23759
Jordan	0.09%	23327
El Salvador	0.06%	15954
France	0.05%	12666
Cyprus	0.05%	12000
Bolivia	0.04%	9829
Costa Rica	0.02%	5000
Honduras	0.02%	4695
Lao PDR	0.01%	<u>3199</u>

24,783,106**1999**

Iran	42.40%	10057656
Colombia	12.28%	2912692.43
India	10.97%	2602265
Venezuela	4.24%	1004862
Russia	3.90%	925915
Mexico	3.55%	842936
Dominican Rep.	3.53%	837332
Brazil	3.04%	721022.75
Argentina	2.90%	688544
Uruguay	2.08%	493255
Syrian Arab Rep.	1.99%	472604
Algeria	1.11%	263234
Ukraine	1.04%	247271
Paraguay	0.73%	174127
Jordan	0.73%	173424
Ecuador	0.64%	151740
Bolivia	0.54%	129140
El Salvador	0.51%	122019
Nicaragua	0.41%	97538
Antigua and Barbuda	0.41%	96600
Czech Rep.	0.37%	87139
Yemen	0.33%	79300
Guatemala	0.32%	76024
China	0.31%	74648
Chile	0.31%	74597
Korea, Dem. Rep.	0.29%	69000
Pakistan	0.25%	60012
Peru	0.22%	51993
Sudan	0.18%	43250
Turkey	0.08%	17884
Panama	0.06%	13728
Finland	0.05%	11879
Sri Lanka	0.03%	7070
Canada	0.02%	5622
Honduras	0.02%	5120
Costa Rica	0.02%	5080
Romania	0.02%	4451
Viet Nam	0.02%	4449
Germany	0.01%	3266
Saudi Arabia	0.01%	2040
Guyana	0.01%	<u>1802</u>

23,712,532

1998			1997		
Iran	39.21%	8333184	Brazil	32.00%	13516442
Colombia	25.75%	5472640	Iran	21.26%	8982179
Argentina	22.42%	4763827	Colombia	21.09%	8908908
Algeria	3.28%	697119	Mexico	20.23%	8546241
Brazil	2.37%	503672	Argentina	1.96%	828126
Ukraine	2.01%	427159	Ukraine	1.52%	643850
Russia	1.22%	259014	India	0.49%	206892
Paraguay	0.74%	157114	Paraguay	0.45%	191238
Uruguay	0.54%	115032	Uruguay	0.25%	106984
Bolivia	0.53%	113679	Bolivia	0.18%	75099
Turkey	0.42%	88199	El Salvador	0.12%	52591
Ecuador	0.41%	86230	Czech Rep.	0.11%	46546
India	0.33%	70894	Venezuela	0.10%	42376
Switzerland	0.17%	36204	Italy	0.08%	33263
El Salvador	0.17%	35482	Nicaragua	0.05%	19936
Nicaragua	0.09%	19395	Peru	0.03%	12948
Czech Rep.	0.08%	16062	Chile	0.02%	9802
Jordan	0.07%	14245	China	0.02%	8520
Costa Rica	0.07%	14000	United Kingdom	0.02%	7083
Peru	0.05%	11024	Turkey	0.00%	1936
Hungary	0.05%	11000	Germany	0.00%	<u>1154</u>
Germany	0.02%	4000			42,242,114
Chile	0.01%	<u>2999</u>			
		21,252,174			

1996			1995		
Brazil	56.66%	20009487	Brazil	43.42%	13078934
Colombia	22.69%	8012727	Colombia	39.80%	11988244
Argentina	8.47%	2992020	Argentina	8.23%	2479342
Mexico	7.25%	2561661	Mexico	5.45%	1643000
Uruguay	2.72%	961621	Tunisia	2.69%	810781
Peru	1.95%	688327	Chile	0.30%	91199
Paraguay	0.05%	17507	Peru	0.04%	13384
Guatemala	0.05%	16000	Uruguay	0.04%	12000
El Salvador	0.04%	14674	Nicaragua	0.01%	<u>2505</u>
Czech Rep.	0.04%	14332			30,119,389
Uganda	0.03%	11918			
Chile	0.03%	9000			
Slovak Rep.	0.01%	2407			
Bolivia	0.01%	<u>2072</u>			
		35,313,753			

*The Observatory of Economic Complexity (<<http://atlas.media.mit.edu/about/>>), from which the information for most of the above tables was obtained, is an open source platform built as part of a multidisciplinary effort between the Macro Connections group at the MIT Media Lab and the Center for International Development at Harvard University. It allows users to quickly compose a visual narrative about countries and the products they exchange. The observatory provides access to bilateral trade data for roughly 200 countries, 50 years and 1000 different products of the SITC4 revision 2 classification. The source of the data is: for 1962 – 2000, The Center for International Data directed by Robert Feenstra and housed at the Department of Economics at the University of California, Davis, and for 2001 – 2009, the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database (UN COMTRADE) <http://comtrade.un.org/db/>.



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P.O. Box 529 - Summit, NJ 07902

Tel. 973.701-0520 - info@CubaArchive.org

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