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DECLARATIONS
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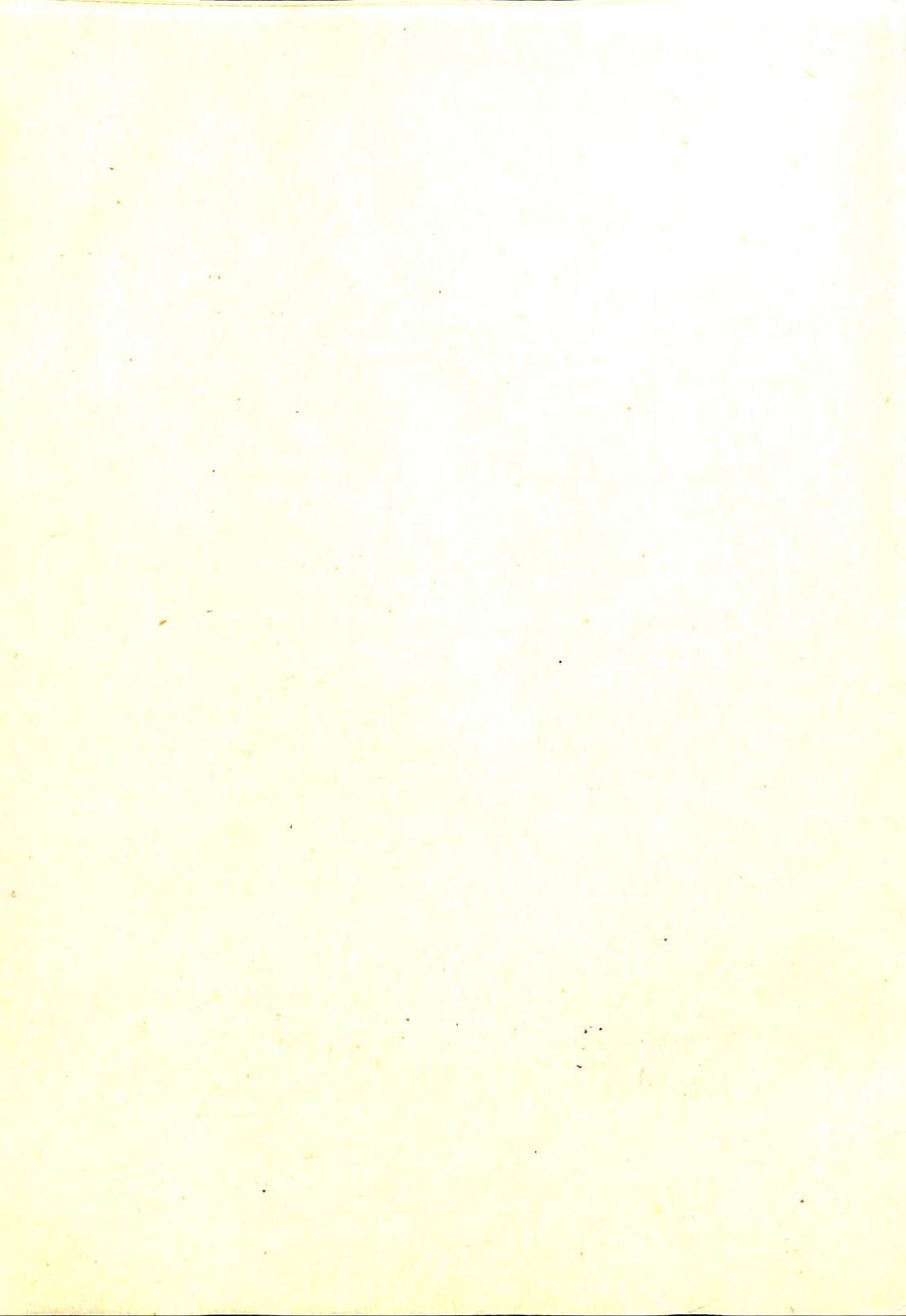
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DECLARATION OF HAVANA

The people of Cuba, free territory of America, acting with the inalienable powers that flow from an effective exercise of their sovereignty through direct, public and universal suffrage, have formed themselves in National General Assembly close to the monument and memory of José Martí.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba, as its own act and as an expression of the sense of the people of Our America:

1) Condemns in its entirety the so-called "Declaration of San José, Costa Rica", a document that offends, under dictation from the imperialism of North America, the sovereignty and dignity of the other peoples of the Continent and the right of each nation to self-determination.

2) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba strongly condemns the imperialism of North America for its gross and criminal domination, lasting for more than a century, of all the peoples of Latin America, who more than once have seen the soil of Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Cuba invaded; who have lost to a greedy imperialism such wide and rich lands as Texas, such vital strategic zones as the Panama Canal, and even, as in the case of Puerto Rico, entire countries converted into territories of occupation; who have suffered the insults of the Marines toward our wives and daughters and toward the most cherished memorials of the history of our lands, among them the figure of José Martí.

That domination, built upon superior military power, upon unfair treaties and upon the shameful collaboration of traitorous governments, has for more than a hundred years made

of Our America — the America that Bolívar, Hidalgo, Juárez, San Martín, O'Higgins, Sucre and Martí wished to see free — a zone of exploitation, a backyard in the financial and political empire of the United States, a reserve supply of votes in international organizations where we of the Latin American countries have always been regarded as beasts of burden to a "rough and brutal North that despises us".

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba declares that Latin American governments betray the ideal of independence, destroy the sovereignty of their peoples and obstruct a true solidarity among our countries when they accept this demonstrated and continued domination. For such reasons this Assembly in the name of the Cuban people rejects it, fulfilling thereby the hope and the will of the Latin American peoples with the same spirit of liberation that moved the immortal Fathers of our countries.

3) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba rejects as well the attempt to perpetuate the Monroe Doctrine, until now utilized "to extend the dominion in America" of greedy imperialists, as José Martí foresaw, and to inject more easily "the poison of loans, of canals and railroads", also denounced by José Martí long ago. Therefore, in defiance of that false Pan-Americanism which is merely prostration of spineless governments before Washington and rule over the interests of our peoples by the monopolies of the United States, the Assembly of the People of Cuba proclaims the liberating Latin-Americanism of Martí and Benito Juárez. Further, while extending the hand of friendship to the people of the United States of America — a people that includes persecuted intellectuals, Negroes threatened with lynchings, and workers subjected to the control of gangsters — the Assembly reaffirms its will to march "with the whole world and not just a part of it".

4) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba declares that the spontaneous offer of the Soviet Union to help

Cuba if our country is attacked by imperialist military forces cannot be considered an act of intervention, but rather an open act of solidarity. Such support, offered to Cuba in the face of an imminent attack by the Pentagon, honors the government of the Soviet Union as much as cowardly and criminal aggressions against Cuba dishonor the government of the United States. Therefore, the General Assembly of the People declares before America and the world that it accepts with gratitude the help of rockets from the Soviet Union should our territory be invaded by military forces of the United States.

5) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba denies absolutely that there has existed on the part of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China any aim "to make use of the economic, political and social situation in Cuba . . . in order to break continental unity and to endanger hemispheric unity". From the first to the last volley, from the first to the last of the twenty thousand martyrs who fell in the struggle to overthrow tyranny and win power for the Revolution, from the first to the last revolutionary law, from the first to the last act of the Revolution, the people of Cuba have moved of their own free will. Therefore, no grounds exist for blaming either the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China for the existence of a Revolution which is the just response of Cuba to crimes and injuries perpetrated by imperialism in America.

On the contrary, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba believes that the peace and security of the hemisphere and of the world are endangered by the policy of the government of the United States, which it forces the governments of Latin America to imitate, of isolating the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China with hostility, of engaging in aggressive and provocative acts, and of systematically excluding the People's Republic of China from the United

Nations, despite the fact that it represents nearly all the 600,000,000 inhabitants of China.

Therefore, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba confirms its policy of friendship with all the peoples of the world and reaffirms its intention of establishing diplomatic relations with, among others, the socialist countries of the world. From this moment the Assembly expresses its free and sovereign will to establish relations with the People's Republic of China, rescinding relations continued heretofore with the puppet regime maintained on Taiwan by the Seventh Fleet of the United States.

6) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba — confident that it is expressing the general opinion of the peoples of Latin America — affirms that democracy is not compatible with financial oligarchy; with discrimination against the Negro; with disturbances by a Ku Klux Klan; nor with the persecution that drove scientists like Oppenheimer from their posts, deprived the world for years of the marvelous voice of Paul Robeson, held prisoner in his own country, and sent the Rosenbergs to their death against the protests of a shocked world including the appeals of many governments and of Pope Pius XII.

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba expresses the Cuban conviction that democracy does not consist solely in elections that are nearly always managed by rich landowners and professional politicians to produce fictitious results, but rather in the right of citizens to determine, as this Assembly of the People is now doing, their own destiny. Furthermore, democracy will come to exist in Latin America only when people are really free to make choices, when the poor are not reduced — by hunger, social discrimination, illiteracy and the judicial system — to sinister desperation.

Therefore, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba:

Condemns the backward and inhuman latifundium system of large, poorly cultivated holdings of land, source of misery for the rural population;

Condemns the starvation wage and the heartless exploitation of human labor by illegitimate and privileged interests;

Condemns the illiteracy, the absence of teachers, schools, doctors and hospitals, the lack of care for the aged that prevail in the countries of America;

Condemns discrimination against the Negro and the Indian;

Condemns the inequality and exploitation of women;

Condemns military and political oligarchies that keep our peoples wretched, thwart the full exercise of their sovereignty and hinder their progress toward democracy;

Condemns the concession of the natural resources of our countries to foreign monopolies as a give-away that disregards the interest of the people;

Condemns governments that render homage to Washington while they ignore the sentiments of their own people;

Condemns the systematic deception of the peoples by the press and other media serving the interests of political oligarchies and the imperialist oppressor;

Condemns the monopoly of news by agencies that are the instruments of Washington and of trusts of the United States;

Condemns repressive laws that deter workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, who together form a majority in every country, from joining together to seek patriotic and social goals;

Condemns the monopolies and imperialist enterprises that plunder our resources, exploit our workers and peasants, bleed our economies and keep them backward while

subjecting politics in Latin America to their own designs and interests;

Finally, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba condemns:

The exploitation of man by man and the exploitation of underdeveloped countries by imperialist finance capital.

In consequence, the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba proclaims before America:

the right of peasants to land;

the right of the worker to the fruit of his labor;

the right of children to receive education;

the right of the sick to receive medical and hospital care;

the right of the young to work;

the right of students to receive free instruction, practical and scientific;

the right of Negroes and Indians to "a full measure of human dignity";

the right of woman to civil, social and political equality;

the right of the aged to a secure old age;

the right of intellectuals, artists and scientists to fight through their work for a better world;

the right of States to nationalize imperialist monopolies as a means of recovering national wealth and resources;

the right of countries to engage freely in trade with all other countries of the world;

the right of nations to full sovereignty;

the right of the people to convert their fortresses into schools and to arm their workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, Negroes, Indians, women, the young, the old, all the oppressed and exploited; that they may better defend, with their own hands, their rights and their future.

7) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba affirms:

the duty of workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, Negroes, Indians, youth, women, the aged, to fight for their economic, political and social rights;

the duty of oppressed and exploited nations to fight for their liberation;

the duty of every people to make common cause with all other oppressed, exploited, colonized and afflicted peoples wherever they are located, regardless of distance of geographical separation. All peoples of the world are brothers!

8) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba affirms its faith that Latin America, united and victorious, will soon be free of the bonds that now make its economies rich spoils for the imperialism of North America; that keep its true voice from being heard at conferences where cowed ministers form a sordid chorus to the despotic master. The Assembly confirms, therefore, its decision to work for this common Latin American destiny, which will allow our countries to build a true solidarity, founded in the free decision of each and the common goals of all. In this fight for a liberated Latin America there now arises with invincible power against the obedient voice of those who hold office as usurpers, the genuine voice of the people, a voice that breaks forth from the depths of coal and tin mines, from factories and sugar mills, from feudal lands where "rotos¹, cholos², gauchos³, jíbaros⁴", the heirs of Zapata and Sandino, take up the arms

¹ roto: A member of the exploited labor force of Peru.

² cholo: A member of the exploited labor force of Chile.

³ gaucho: The cowboy of Argentine, the exploited class which forms the backbone of the cattle industry of that country.

⁴ jíbaro: A member of the exploited agricultural labor force of Puerto Rico.

of liberty; a voice heard in poets and novelists, in students, in women and in children, in the old and helpless.

To this voice of our brothers the Assembly of the People of Cuba responds:

We are ready! Cuba will not fail. Cuba is here today to proclaim before Latin America and the world its historic and unchangeable resolve: Our country or death!

9) The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba resolves that this Declaration shall be known as the "Declaration of Havana". Havana, Cuba, Free Territory of America, 2 September 1960.

We certify that this Declaration of Havana was read and approved by the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba, held in the Martí Plaza, Havana, Cuba, Free Territory of America, on 2 September 1960.

Oswaldo Dorticós Torrado,
President.

Fidel Castro Ruz,
Prime Minister.

SECOND DECLARATION OF HAVANA

FROM THE PEOPLE OF CUBA TO THE PEOPLES OF AMERICA AND OF THE WORLD

On the eve of his death, in a letter he never finished because a Spanish bullet pierced his heart, José Martí, apostle of our independence, wrote his friend Manuel Mercado on May 18, 1895: "Now I can write. . . . Each day I am in danger of giving my life for my country and for my duty . . . to halt in due time, as Cuba acquires its independence, the spread of the United States over the Antilles so as to descend, with that added strength, upon our lands of the Americas. Whatever I did until today and will do in the future, is for that. . . . The same minor and public obligations of the nations most vitally interested in preventing the opening in Cuba, through its annexation by the imperialists, of the road that must be barred, and which we are barring with our blood, of annexation of all the nations of our America, by the violent and brutal North which despises us, the same obligations have prevented the clear support and definite help for the sacrifice that is being made for the immediate good and for them. I have lived in the monster and I know its entrails; and mine is the sling of David."

Martí, as far back as 1895, pointed to the danger hanging over America and called imperialism by its name: imperialism. He warned the peoples of America that they, more than anyone, were obligated that Cuba not yield to the greed of the Yankee who despised the peoples of Latin America. With his own blood, shed for Cuba and for America, he endorsed

the posthumous words which today the people of Cuba endorse at the beginning of this Declaration, as homage to his memory.

Sixty-seven years passed. Puerto Rico was converted into a colony and still is a colony filled with military bases. Cuba also fell into the clutches of imperialism, whose troops occupied our territory. It imposed the Platt Amendment on our first Constitution, a humiliating clause which gave it the odious "right" of outside interference. Our wealth passed into their hands; they falsified our history, our administration, and molded our politics to the interests of the intruders; the nation was subjected to 60 years of political, economic and cultural asphyxia.

But Cuba rose, Cuba was able to redeem itself from this bastard tutelage. Cuba broke the chains which tied its fortune to the oppressing empire; Cuba regained its riches, recovered its culture and raised its sovereign flag as the Free Territory and the Free People of America.

The United States will never again descend on America utilizing the strength it gained by oppressing Cuba; on the other hand, the United States is trying to descend on Cuba, using the strength gained by dominating most of the countries of Latin America.

What is Cuba's history but that of Latin America? What is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the cruelest exploitation of the world by imperialism?

At the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, a handful of economically developed nations had divided the world among themselves, subjecting two thirds of humanity to their economic and political domination. Humanity was forced to work for the dominating classes of the group of nations which had a developed capitalist economy.

The historic circumstances which permitted certain European countries and the United States of North America to attain a high industrial development level, put them in a position which enabled them to subject and exploit the rest of the world.

What motives lay behind this expansion of the industrial powers? Were they moral, "civilizing" reasons, as they claimed? No: their motives were economic.

The discovery of America sent the European conquerors across the seas to occupy and to exploit the lands and peoples of other continents; the lust for riches was the basic motivation for their conduct. America's discovery took place in the search for shorter ways to the Orient, whose products Europe valued highly.

A new social class, the merchants and the producers of articles manufactured for commerce, arose from the feudal society of lords and serfs in the latter part of the Middle Ages.

The lust for gold promoted the efforts of the new class. The lust for profit was the incentive of their behavior throughout its history. As industry and trade developed, the social influence of the new class grew. The new productive forces maturing in the midst of the feudal society increasingly clashed with feudalism and its serfdom, its laws, its institutions, its philosophy, its morals, its art and its political ideology.

New philosophical and political ideas, new concepts of law and State were advanced by the intellectual representatives of the bourgeois class. Little by little they became the consciousness of the exploited masses, for these ideas corresponded to the new necessities of social life. At that time they were revolutionary ideas in contrast to feudalism's outworn ideas. The peasants, the craftsmen and the manufacturing workers, headed by the bourgeoisie, destroyed the feudal order, its philosophy, its ideas, its institutions, its laws and the privileges of the dominating class, that is, the hereditary nobility.

The bourgeoisie then considered revolution a just and necessary thing. It did not believe the feudal order could and should be eternal, as it now believes its capitalist order to be. It encouraged the peasants to free themselves from serfdom, encouraged the craftsmen to break guild relations and claimed the right to political power. The absolute monarchs, the nobility and the high clergy tenaciously defended their class privileges, proclaiming royalty's divine right and the indestructibility of the social order. To be liberal, to proclaim the ideas of Voltaire, Diderot or Jean Jacques Rousseau, spokesmen for the bourgeois philosophy, was a crime as serious as it is today for the bourgeois to be a socialist and to proclaim the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

When the bourgeoisie got political power and established the capitalist means of production upon the ruins of feudal society, it built its State, its laws, its ideas and institutions based on its methods of production. These institutions, in the first place, rendered private property sacred: the essence of its class domination. The new society based on private ownership of the means of production and on free enterprise, thus divided people into two basic classes: one that owned the means of production, that became more modern and efficient with time; the other, deprived of all property, owning only its own labor power, was forced to sell that power in the market just as any other product in order to subsist.

Once the feudal ties were broken, the productive forces developed greatly. Big factories appeared, where the numbers of workers grew greater constantly.

More modern and technically efficient factories displaced less efficient competitors in the market. The cost of industrial equipment rose higher all the time; it was constantly necessary to accumulate greater amounts of capital. An important part of production accumulated in a smaller number of hands. This was the beginning of the great capitalist enterprises and later on, the association of the great enterprises through cartels,

syndicates, trusts and partnerships. These depended on the degree and character of the association and were controlled by the majority shareholders, that is, by the most powerful gentlemen in industry. Free competition, capitalism's characteristic in its first phase, gave way to the monopolies which arranged agreements among themselves and controlled the markets.

Whence came the colossal sums of resources that permitted a handful of monopolists to accumulate billions of dollars? From the exploitation of human labor, of course. The labors of millions of men forced to work for a subsistence salary produced the gigantic capital of the monopolies. The workers accumulated the fortunes of the privileged classes — wealthier all the time, more powerful all the time. Through the banking institutions they not only disposed of their own money, but also the money of all society. This brought about the merger of the banks with big industry, and thus finance capital was born. What then could be done with the large surplus of capital that accumulated in bigger amounts all the time? Invade the world! Always in search of profit, they began to take possession of the natural wealth of all the economically weak nations and to exploit the human labor of these peoples, paying salaries which were much more miserable than they had to pay the workers in the metropolitan country. Thus began the territorial and economic distribution of the world. By 1914, eight or ten imperialist countries had subjected to their economic and political domination territories outside their boundaries, with an area of 53 million square miles and a population of 970 million. They had simply divided the world among themselves.

But since the world was limited in size, and the last corner of the globe had already been seized, the clash arose between the different monopolist countries. Struggles began for new divisions, originating from the unequal distribution of the industrial and economic strength the different monopolist

countries had attained in their uneven development. The imperialist wars began, which cost humanity 50 million deaths, dozens of millions of crippled, and the loss of incalculable material and cultural riches. This had not yet occurred when already Marx wrote that "capitalism was born oozing blood and mud through every pore from head to foot".

The capitalist system of production, once it had reached the limits of its capacity, turned into an abysmal obstacle to the progress of humanity. But the bourgeoisie bore its opposite in itself from its beginning. Gigantic productive instruments developed in its bosom, but at the same time a new and powerful social force developed: the proletariat. This class was destined to replace the old and worn-out social system of capitalism by a higher economic-social form corresponding to the historic possibilities of human society, changing those gigantic means of production which the peoples, and only the peoples through their work, had created and accumulated into the property of all society. The productive forces, reaching such a degree of development, rendered anachronistic a regime which was based on private property, and with it, the subordination of the economy of millions and millions of human beings to the rule of a small social minority.

Humanity's interests demanded the end of anarchy in production, the waste, the economic crisis and the plundering wars inherent in the capitalist system. The growing requirements of the human being and the possibility of satisfying them, demanded the planned development of economy and the rational use of its means of production and its natural resources.

It was inevitable that imperialism and colonialism should enter into a deep and unescapable crisis. The general crisis began right after the First World War; the revolution of the workers and peasants overthrew the Czarist empire in Russia and, under the most difficult conditions of blockade and capitalist aggression, established the first socialist State in the world, thus beginning a new era in human history. Since

then and up to the present day, the crisis and corruption of the imperialist system have deepened incessantly.

The Second World War was unleashed by the imperialist powers. Criminally invaded, the Soviet Union and other nations of Europe and Asia were dragged into a bloody fight for freedom. The war ended with the defeat of fascism, the formation on a world scale of socialism, and the struggle for sovereignty by the colonial and dependent nations. Between 1945 and 1957, over 1 billion 200 million human beings attained independence in Asia and Africa. The people's blood was not shed in vain.

The movement of the dependent and colonized peoples is a universal phenomenon shaking the world. It marks the final crisis of imperialism.

Cuba and Latin America form part of the world. Our problems form part of the problems which stem from the general crisis of imperialism and the struggle of the subjected peoples; the clash between the world being born and the dying world. The hateful and brutal campaign launched against our country expresses the desperate but useless efforts of the imperialists to prevent the liberation of the peoples. Cuba especially hurts the imperialists. What is behind Yankee hatred of the Cuban Revolution? What could rationally explain the plot which unites the wealthiest and most powerful imperialist power of the contemporary world, and the oligarchies of the entire Continent in the same aggressive purposes? Together they represent a population of 350 million human beings, against a small nation of only 7 million inhabitants, economically underdeveloped, without financial or military resources to threaten the security nor the economy of any nation. They are united and stirred up by fear. Fear explains it. Not the fear of the Cuban Revolution; the fear of the Latin American revolution. Not the fear of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle classes, who have assumed power in Cuba by revolution, but the fear that the

workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle classes take revolutionary power in the oppressed and hungry nations exploited by the Yankee monopolies and the reactionary oligarchy of America; fear that the looted peoples of the Continent will snatch the arms of their oppressors and declare themselves, like Cuba, free peoples of America.

They believe they will dispel the fear that torments them, lay the ghost of the revolution which threatens them, by smashing the Cuban Revolution. They believe this will crush the revolutionary spirit of the peoples by smashing the Cuban Revolution. They contend, in their frenzy, that Cuba exports revolutions. There is room for the idea in their commercial, sleepless and pawnbroker minds, that revolutions can be bought or sold, rented, loaned, exported or imported as one more commodity. Ignorant of the objective laws which rule the development of human society, they believe that their monopolist, capitalist and semi-feudal regimes are eternal. Educated in their own reactionary ideology — a mixture of superstition, ignorance, subjectivism, pragmatism and other aberrations of the mind — they hold an image of the world and of the march of history which accords with their exploiting class interests. They presume that revolutions are born or die in the brains of individuals or by virtue of divine laws, and that the gods are on their side. They have always believed that; from the devout pagan patricians in slave-owning Rome, who threw the early Christians to the lions at the circus, to the inquisitors of the Middle Ages who, as guardians of feudalism and absolute monarchy, burned at the stake the first representatives of the liberal mind of the rising bourgeoisie, to the bishops who today, in defense of the bourgeois and monopolist regime, pronounce a curse on the proletarian revolutions. All the reactionary classes, in all historic epochs, when the contradiction between the exploiters and the exploited reaches its maximum tension, forecasting the arrival of a new social

regime, have resorted to the fiercest means of repression and slander against their adversaries. Accused of setting Rome on fire and of sacrificing children at their altars, the early Christians were martyred. Accused of heresy, philosophers like Giordano Bruno, reformers like Huss and thousands of non-conformists to feudalism were burned at the stake by the inquisitors. Persecution and crime meet the proletarian fighters today, preceded by the worst calumnies in the monopolist and bourgeois press. Always, in each historic epoch, the dominating classes have resorted to assassination, invoking the "defense" of society, of order, of the homeland: the defense of their society of privileged minorities over the exploited majorities; their "class order" which they maintain by blood and iron over the dispossessed; the "defense" of their "homeland" which they alone enjoy, barring the rest of the people from that enjoyment. All this in order to repress the revolutionaries who wish a new society, a just order, a true homeland for all.

But history's development, the upward march of humanity, can never cease nor can it be stopped. The forces that move the people, the true creators of history, are determined by the material conditions of existence and the aspiration to achieve the highest goals of well-being and freedom. These forces arose and were made possible by man's progress in the scientific, technical and cultural fields; they prevailed over the terror unleashed by dominating oligarchies.

The subjective conditions in each country, the factors of consciousness, of organization, of leadership, can accelerate or delay revolution, depending on the state of their development. Sooner or later, in each historic epoch, as objective conditions ripen, consciousness is acquired, organization is achieved, leadership arises, and revolution is produced.

Whether this takes place peacefully or comes to the world after painful labor, does not depend on the revolutionaries; it

depends on the reactionary forces of the old society; it depends on their resistance against allowing the new society to be born, a society produced by the contradictions of the old society. Revolution, in history, is as the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life: it does not use forceps unless it is necessary, but it will unhesitatingly use them every time labor requires them. A labor that brings the hope of a better life to the enslaved and exploited masses. Revolution is inevitable in many countries of Latin America. Nobody's will determines this fact. It is determined by the frightful conditions of exploitation which afflict mankind in America. It is determined by the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, by the world crisis of imperialism and by the universal movement of struggle of the world's subjugated peoples.

The restlessness felt today is an unmistakable symptom of rebellion. The very entrails are shaking of a continent that has witnessed four centuries of slavery, semi-slavery and feudal exploitation of man, from its aboriginal dwellers and the slaves brought from Africa, to the national groups arising later: Whites, Negroes, Mulattoes, Mestizos and Indians who today are made brothers by Yankee scorn, united under the humiliation and the Yankee yoke, as they are united in the hope of a better tomorrow.

At the outset of the past century, the peoples of America freed themselves from Spanish colonialism, but they did not free themselves from exploitation. The feudal landlords assumed the authority of the governing Spaniards, the Indians continued in their painful serfdom, the Latin American man remained a slave one way or another, and the minimum hopes of the peoples died under the power of the oligarchies and the tyranny of foreign capital. This is the truth of America, to one or another degree of variation. Latin America today is under a more ferocious imperialism, more powerful and ruthless than the Spanish colonial empire.

What is Yankee imperialism's attitude confronting the objective and historically inexorable reality of the Latin American revolution? To prepare to fight a colonial war against the peoples of Latin America; to create an apparatus of force to establish the political pretexts and the pseudo-legal instruments underwritten by the representatives of the reactionary oligarchies, in order to curb, by blood and by iron, the struggle of the Latin American peoples.

United States intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries continues more openly and at an unbridled tempo. The Inter-American Defense Council, for example, was, and continues to be, the nest wherein the most reactionary and pro-Yankee officers of the Latin American armies are hatched, in order to be used later as repressive instruments at monopoly's behest. The U.S. military missions in Latin America are a permanent espionage force in every nation, linked closely to the Central Intelligence Agency. They teach the most reactionary concepts to the officer groups, seeking to subvert the armies into instruments of their political and economic interests.

Presently, the U.S. High Command has organized in the Panama Canal Zone special training courses for Latin American officers to fight the revolutionary guerrillas. The intention is to suppress the armed action of the peasant masses against the feudal exploitation to which they are subjected.

The Central Intelligence Agency has organized special schools in the United States to teach Latin American agents the most subtle ways to murder. The Yankee military services have agreed on a policy of physically eliminating anti-imperialist leaders.

It is well-known that Yankee embassies in various Latin American countries are organizing, instructing and equipping fascist groups, to spread terror and attack worker, student and intellectual organizations. Those fascist groups, consisting of

the sons of oligarchy, and denizens of the underworld, have already planned a series of aggressive acts against the mass movements.

Nothing is clearer and more unequivocal of the intentions of imperialism than its conduct during the recent developments in Santo Domingo. Without any justification whatsoever, without even maintaining diplomatic relations with that Republic, the United States, after lining up their battleships in front of the Dominican capital, declared, with customary insolence, that if Balaguer's government "requested" their military aid, they would land their troops in Santo Domingo against the Dominican people's rebellion. The fact that Balaguer's power was absolutely illegal, the fact that each sovereign nation of America has a right to solve its internal problems without foreign intervention, the fact that international rules and world opinion exist, the fact that even an OAS existed, all this made no difference in the calculations of the United States. What counted were their intentions to halt the Dominican revolution, their plans to renew the hateful landings of their Marines and with no basis for this new filibustering concept of law other than the simple request from a tyrannical, illegitimate government in crisis. The meaning of this must not escape the attention of the peoples. There are many rulers of this type in Latin America, willing to use Yankee troops against their respective peoples when they are in crisis.

U.S. imperialism's avowed policy of sending soldiers to fight the revolutionary movement in any Latin American country, to kill workers, students, peasants, to kill Latin American men and women, has no other purpose than to maintain its monopolistic interests and the privileges of the treacherous oligarchies which support the monopolies.

It can now be clearly seen that the military pacts underwritten by the United States and Latin American governments were pacts secretly arrived at behind the backs of the peoples. They invoked imaginary outside dangers that no-

body ever saw anywhere and had the sole and exclusive purpose of preventing the struggle of the peoples. They were pacts against the peoples, whom they regarded as the only danger; the danger, within, of a liberation movement which would imperil Yankee interests. Naturally, the peoples asked: Why such military pacts? For what purpose these arms shipments that are technically inadequate for modern war, but are, on the other hand, sufficient to smash strikes, repress popular demonstrations, and spread bloodshed through the land? For what purpose, the military missions, the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, the thousand and one international conferences?

Since the end of the Second World War, the Latin American nations are becoming pauperized constantly. The value of their exports keeps diminishing, costs of imports increase, the per capita income falls. The dreadful percentages of child death rate do not decrease, the number of illiterates grows higher, the peoples lack employment, land, adequate housing, schools, hospitals, communication systems and the means of subsistence. On the other hand, North American investments exceed 10 billion dollars. Latin America moreover supplies cheap raw materials and pays high prices for manufactured articles. Like the first Spanish conquerors, who exchanged mirrors and trinkets with the Indians for silver and gold, so United States trades with Latin America. To hold on to this torrent of wealth, to take greater possession of America's resources and to exploit its long-suffering peoples: this is what is hidden behind the military pacts, the military missions and Washington's diplomatic lobbying.

This policy of gradually strangling the sovereignty of the Latin American nations and of achieving a free hand to interfere in their internal affairs, reached its climax at the last Foreign Ministers meeting.

Yankee imperialism summoned the foreign ministers to Punta del Este in order to force them by political pressure and by unprecedented economic blackmail, to renounce the

national sovereignty of our peoples. And to achieve, with the complicity of notorious rulers of this Continent, the hateful right of Yankee intervention in the internal affairs of America. The purpose was also to force the peoples to submit completely to the will of the United States of North America, against which all the forefathers of our lands fought, from Bolívar to Sandino. Neither the U.S. Government, nor the representatives of the oligarchies, nor the big reactionary press that has sold out to the monopolies and to the feudal lords, even tried to conceal their demand for agreements that would mean the formal suppression of the right of self-determination of our peoples: the eradication of the right of self-determination by the stroke of a pen, in the most infamous conspiracy in the history of this continent.

Behind locked doors, in repugnant bargainings, the Yankee Minister of Colonies devoted entire days to crush the resistance and the scruples of some of the foreign ministers. He brought the millions of the Yankee treasury into play in the open buying and selling of votes. Behind these locked doors, a handful of representatives of the oligarchies from countries which together scarcely account for one third of the Continent's population, made agreements which hand the Yankee master on a silver platter a principle which cost all the blood of our people since the independence wars. The Pyrrhic character of such sad and fraudulent achievements of imperialism, its moral defeat, shattered unity and universal scandal, do not diminish the gravity it has for the Latin American peoples, these agreements which they imposed at such a price. In that immoral conclave, the titanic voice of Cuba arose without weakness and without fear, to expose, before all the peoples of America and of the world, the monstrous intent, and to vigorously defend not only Cuba's rights, but the forsaken rights of all the sister nations of the American Continent, with a dignity which will be recorded in the annals of history. Cuba's voice could find no echo in that obedient majority, but

neither could it have a reply. Only an impotent silence met its crushing arguments, the clarity and courage of its voice. But Cuba did not speak for the foreign ministers. Cuba spoke for the peoples and for history, where its voice will find an echo and a reply.

A great ideological battle was fought at Punta del Este, between the Cuban Revolution and Yankee imperialism. What did they represent there? In whose names did they speak? Cuba represented the peoples; United States represented the monopolies. Cuba spoke for the exploited masses of America; United States for oligarchical interests, exploiters and imperialists. Cuba for sovereignty; United States for intervention. Cuba for the nationalization of foreign enterprises; United States for new investments of foreign capital. Cuba for culture; United States for ignorance. Cuba for agrarian reform; United States for the big landowners. Cuba for the industrialization of America; United States for underdevelopment. Cuba for creative work; United States for sabotage and the criminal terror practiced by their agents, along with the destruction of cane fields and factories, their pirate planes bombing the labors of peaceful people. Cuba for the murdered crusaders against illiteracy; United States for the killers. Cuba for bread; United States for hunger. Cuba for equality; United States for privilege and discrimination. Cuba for truth; United States for lies. Cuba for freedom; United States for oppression. Cuba for the luminous future of humanity; United States for a past without hope. Cuba for the heroes who died at Playa Girón defending their country from foreign domination; United States for the mercenaries and traitors serving the foreigner against their country. Cuba for peace among nations; United States for aggression and war. Cuba for socialism; United States for capitalism.

The agreements obtained by the United States using the shameful methods that the whole world criticizes, do not lessen but on the contrary, add to Cuba's morality and reason. They

show the oligarchies' submission and betrayal of the national interests and teach the peoples the road to liberation. All this reveals the corruption of the exploiting classes in whose name their representatives in Punta del Este spoke. The OAS was unmasked for what it is — a Yankee Foreign Office for Colonies, a military alliance, a repressive apparatus to be used against the liberation movement of the Latin American peoples.

Cuba has lived three years of Revolution under the constant harassment of Yankee intervention in our internal affairs. Pirate planes coming from the United States throwing inflammable substances have burned thousands of tons of sugar cane; international sabotage perpetrated by Yankee agents, such as the explosion of the ship *La Coubre*, cost dozens of Cuban lives; thousands of North American weapons of every type were parachuted down by the United States military services into our territory to promote subversion; hundreds of tons of explosives and infernal machines have been secretly landed on our coasts by North American boats to promote sabotage and terrorism; a Cuban worker was tortured in the Guantánamo naval base and deprived of his life without prior trial or subsequent explanation; our sugar quota was abruptly cut off and an embargo was decreed on spare parts and raw materials for our factories and U.S.-made machinery, to ruin our economy; armed ships and bombers coming from bases prepared by the United States Government have attacked Cuban ports and installations by surprise; mercenary troops organized and trained in Central American countries by the U.S. Government invaded our territory: they were escorted by ships of the Yankee fleet and had air support from outside bases, causing the loss of many lives and the destruction of property; Cuban counter-revolutionaries are being trained by the United States army and new plans of aggression are being made against Cuba. All this has been taking place for three years, in full view of the whole Continent, and the OAS didn't even notice it. The foreign ministers meet at Punta del Este and make no criticism whatsoever of the U.S. Government or of those

governments which are its accomplices in aggression. They expel Cuba, the Latin American victim country, the country against which the aggression has been committed.

The United States has military pacts with nations of all continents; it has established military blocs with whatever fascist, militarist or reactionary governments exist in the world: NATO, SEATO, CENTO, to which the OAS must now be added. It has intervened in Laos, Vietnam, Korea, Taiwan, Berlin; it openly sends warships to Santo Domingo to impose its law, its will, and it announces its intention to utilize its NATO allies to prevent trade with Cuba. Still the OAS doesn't even notice it. . . . The foreign ministers meet in Punta del Este and expel Cuba, which has military pacts with no country. Thus the government which organizes subversion throughout the world and forms military alliances on four continents achieves the expulsion of Cuba on no less a charge than subversion and extra-continental ties.

Cuba is the one country in all Latin America which has provided land for over 100,000 small farmers, which has assured year-round employment on farms and in cooperatives for all agricultural workers. It is the one which has transformed barracks into schools, provided 60,000 scholarships in universities, secondary and technical schools, built classrooms for the entire juvenile population, liquidated illiteracy altogether. It is Cuba which has increased its medical services fourfold, nationalized monopoly enterprises, done away with extortionate rents which had become a means of exploiting the people, virtually eliminated unemployment, suppressed racial and sex discrimination, swept away gambling, vice and administrative corruption. This is the country which has armed the people, which has made into living reality the enjoyment of human rights by liberating men and women from exploitation, from ignorance, from social inequality, which has freed itself of all foreign domination, acquired full sovereignty and established the bases for development of its economy in

order to no longer be a single-crop country and exporter of raw materials. And this is the country which is expelled from the Organization of American States by governments which have achieved for their peoples not a single one of these demands.

How can they justify their conduct before the peoples of America and of the world? How can they deny that they consider a policy of land, bread, work, health, freedom, equality, culture, rapid economic development, national dignity, full self-determination and sovereignty to be incompatible with the Hemisphere?

The peoples think differently. The peoples regard as incompatible with Latin America's destiny only poverty, feudal exploitation, illiteracy, starvation wages, unemployment, the policy of repression exercised against the masses of workers, peasants and students. Unacceptable to the peoples are the discrimination against women, Negroes, Indians, Mestizos, the oppression by the dominant few, the pillage of their wealth by Yankee monopolies, the moral strangulation of their intellectuals and artists, the ruin of small producers by foreign competition. The incompatibility resides in economic underdevelopment, in towns which have no roads, no hospitals, no housing projects, no schools, no industries; it stems from submission to imperialism, from the renunciation of national sovereignty and from treason to the nation.

How can the imperialists explain their conduct, their condemnation of Cuba? What words, what sentiments will they address to those whom they have ignored for so long, even while exploiting them?

Whoever studies the problems of the Americas must ask what country, what people have pinpointed the means to improve the conditions of the jobless, the poor, the Indians, the Negroes, the destitute children — all the children, of whom there were 30 million in 1950 and will be 50 million eight years from now? Yes, who? What country?

Like the Andes Range itself, 32 million Indians form the backbone of the whole American Continent. Obviously, for those who have considered them more as things than as persons, these human beings don't matter, haven't mattered and are never expected to matter. They have been regarded, nevertheless, as a blind work force that can be used like a yoke of oxen or a tractor.

How can one believe in any benefit, in any Alliance for Progress, with imperialism, under whose promises, yes, under whose "saintly" protection, murders, persecutions, natives of the South still live — like those in Patagonia, in makeshift lean-tos just like their ancestors did when the discoverers arrived almost 500 years ago? Who will believe in it? The great races which populated northern Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia, like the Guaranies, and who were exterminated ferociously, hunted down like wild animals, buried in the depths of the forests? Or the remnants of those who were once able to provide the basis of a great American civilization? Even now their extinction is being hastened. They have been hounded into the depths of America across the Paraguayan plains and the Bolivian plateaus, sad, primitive, melancholy races resorting to alcohol and narcotics in order to manage to survive under the sub-human conditions in which they live. Where we see a sea of outstretched hands, still pleading almost helplessly, as they have for centuries? The hands are linked across the mountain tops and ridges, along the great rivers, in the deep forests. They are joined in misery with all who perish slowly, with the Brazilian tribes, and those to the north, along the coasts, reaching the hundred thousand Motilones Indians of Venezuela, who exist under the most incredibly backward conditions, and are savagely confined in the Amazonian forests of the Perijá mountains; reaching the lonely Vapichanas who await their end on the steaming earth of the Guianas, virtually deprived of the opportunity to be human.

Yes, what indeed can imperialism offer these 32 million Indians who extend from the United States borders to the southernmost point of the Hemisphere? What can it offer the 45 million Mestizos, whose conditions generally differ but little from those of the Indians? What can imperialism offer all these indigenous peoples, this great reservoir of labor, of trampled rights? How can these forgotten men believe in any gift tendered by such bloody hands?

There are entire tribes still living in nakedness; others are believed to practice cannibalism; others died like flies upon their first contact with the conquering civilization; others have been dispossessed, their lands stolen. They have been driven to exhaustion into the forests or the mountain or the vastness of the plains where no particle of culture or light or bread or anything can penetrate.

In what kind of "alliance" — other than one destined to achieve their speedier death — can these indigenous peoples believe, beaten as they have been for centuries, shot down for occupying their own lands, clubbed to death by the thousands for not having worked rapidly enough at the tasks imposed by imperialism?

And what of the Negro? Into what kind of "alliance" can he be invited by the U.S. system of lynching and brutal discrimination? Latin America's 15 million Negroes and 14 million Mulattoes know to their horror and anger that their brothers to the north cannot ride the same buses as their white compatriots, or attend the same schools, or even die in the same hospitals.

How are these forsaken ethnical groups to believe in this imperialism, in its benefits, in its "alliances" (lest they be alliances to lynch them or exploit them like slaves)?

These masses have been able to enjoy no iota of any cultural, social or professional benefit, even where they make up the majority or where there are millions of them. They are

maltreated by imperialists in Ku Klux Klan disguise. They are confined to the most unhealthy neighborhoods, to the most miserable dwellings, built for them. They are forced into the most menial services, the heaviest work, the least lucrative professions which presuppose no contact with universities, centers of higher learning or special schools.

What Alliance for Progress can serve as stimulant for these 107 million men and women of our America who comprise the major working force in cities and fields, and whose dusky skin — Negro, Mestizo, Mulatto, Indian — is held in contempt by the new colonizers? How is the so-called Alliance to be trusted by those in Panama who have seen with ill-repressed impotence that there is one wage for the Yankee and another for the Panamanian who is considered racially inferior?

What expectations can be held by the workers with their hunger wages, the hardest work, the most miserable conditions, malnutrition, disease and all the ills born of poverty?

What words, what promises can the imperialists offer the miners of copper, tin, iron, coal who bequeath their lungs to distant and cruel owners? What can they tell the fathers and sons in the lumber camps, the rubber plantations, the pastures, the fruit plantations, the coffee and sugar mills? What can they say to the peons in the pampas and the fields who spend their health and their lives to amass fortunes for the exploiters?

What can be hoped for by these vast masses who produce the wealth, who create the value, who help bring forth a new world everywhere? What can they expect from imperialism — that insatiable mouth, that insatiable grasp — what immediate horizons are there for them other than misery, more absolute destitution, cold death, unrecorded, unsung?

What can be hoped for by that class which has changed the course of history in other parts of the world, which has revolutionized the world, which stands in the vanguard of all the humble and exploited? What can it hope for from imperialism, its most irreconcilable enemy?

As to the teachers, professors, professionals, intellectuals, poets, artists — what can imperialism offer them? What benefits, what more just and better fate, what goals, what attraction, what interests in improving themselves in order to rise above the simplest and most elementary levels? What can imperialism offer to those who zealously nurture the generations of children and youth so that imperialism may fatten on them? What has it for those who live on humiliating wages in most of the countries? For those whose freedom of expression on political and social matters is limited almost everywhere? For those whose economic potential never exceeds more than the most precarious earnings and who are buried in a gray existence which has no horizons and which ends in a pension covering not even half their expenses? What “benefits” or “alliances” can they be offered by imperialism other than those reserved to its own total profit? When financial assistance is provided for professionals, artists, publications, it is always on the understanding that the products must reflect imperialism’s interests, objectives, hollowness. Imperialism’s most vicious attacks are launched on those novels which attempt to reflect reality in the world of its rapacious adventures, and on the poems which cry out against enslavement, against interference in the lives, thoughts and very entrails of nations and peoples. Barricades are erected against the embattled arts which attempt to expose the character of imperialism’s aggression and constant pressure on all that lives and breathes progressively, all that is revolutionary. Their condemnation, their McCarthyite persecution is concentrated on everything that brings knowledge, on everything filled with light and understanding, clarity and beauty, that seeks to guide men and peoples toward a better destiny, toward higher pinnacles of thought, of life and of justice.

Then presses are barred, names are smeared in newspaper columns, the dead weight of silence descends . . . and — one more contradiction of capitalism — that is when the writer,

the poet, the painter, the sculptor, the scientist, each creative artist, begins truly to live, to live in the language of the people, in the hearts of millions of men the world over. Imperialism turns everything upside down; it deforms everything, it channels everything toward its profit, toward the multiplication of its dollar — whether it buys words or pictures or silence, or stifles the expression of revolutionaries, of progressives, of those who fight for the people and for a solution to their problems.

In this sad picture we cannot forget the helpless, uncared-for children, America's children who have no future. While America has a high birth rate, its death rate too is high. The death rate among children under one year of age reached 125 per thousand a few years ago in 11 countries; in other 17 countries it was 90 per thousand who died. By contrast, the average death rate among infants in 102 countries of the world was 51 per thousand. In America, then, 74 children in each thousand die sadly, forsakenly during the first year of life. There are Latin American countries in which this figure mounts in certain sections to 300 per thousand. Thousands upon thousands of children under seven die of unbelievable ailments — diarrhea, inflammation of the lungs, malnutrition, hunger; thousands upon thousands die of other diseases without hospital care or medicine; thousands upon thousands are walking about, crippled by endemic cretinism, malaria, trachoma and other ills brought about by contamination, lack of water and other necessities.

Ills of this type enchain the nations of America where thousands upon thousands of children are dying. They are the children of pariahs, children of the poor and of the petty bourgeoisie whose life is hard and whose resources are few. The statistics, which would be redundant, are horrifying. Any official publication of international bodies lists the data by the hundreds.

As to educational matters, it is infuriating to think of the depths of ignorance from which America suffers. While in the United States persons over 15 have had an average of eight or nine years' schooling, in the Latin America which they have plundered and harvested, this same age group averages less than one year's instruction. It is even more infuriating to learn that in some countries only 20 percent of children between 5 and 14 are in school, while 60 percent are in school in those countries where the standard is higher. That is to say that more than half of Latin America's children are not going to school. But the grief mounts as we discover that those in the first three grades comprise more than 80 percent of all who are enrolled, and that in the 6th grade the student body varies between 6 and 22 pupils of each hundred who had started out in the first. Even in those countries which believe that they take good care of their children there is an average 73 percent loss between 1st and 6th grades. In Cuba, before the Revolution, it was 74 percent. In Colombia, with its "representative democracy" it is 78 percent. And if we regard the countryside, only one percent of the children under the best of circumstances gets as far as the 5th grade in schooling.

Upon investigating the causes of this disastrous absence from school, one reason explains it: the economy of misery. Lack of schools, lack of teachers, lack of family resources, child labor. . . . It all boils down to imperialism and its work of repression and retrogression.

The summary of this nightmare which torments America from one end to the other is that in this continent of almost 200 million human beings, two thirds of whom are Indians, Mestizos, Negroes, those who are discriminated against . . . in this continent of semi-colonies, there die of hunger, of curable diseases or of premature old age some four persons per minute, some 5,500 per day, 2 million per year, some 10 million each five years. These deaths could easily be averted, but neverthe-

less they continue. Two thirds of Latin America's population lives briefly, and lives under the constant threat of death. In 15 years this holocaust has brought about twice as many deaths as the First World War . . . and it still rages. Meanwhile there flows from Latin America to the United States a constant torrent of money: some \$4,000 per minute, \$5 million per day, \$2 billion per year, \$10 billion each five years. For each thousand dollars which leaves us, one dead body remains. \$1,000 per death! that is the price of what is called imperialism. \$1,000 PER DEATH, FOUR DEATHS EVERY MINUTE!

In spite of this truth about America, why did they meet at Punta del Este? Perhaps to alleviate these ills to some slight degree? No!

The peoples know that at Punta del Este the foreign ministers who expelled Cuba met to give up their national sovereignty. They know that there the government of the United States laid down the bases not only for aggression against Cuba, but also for intervention in any American country whatsoever against the people's liberation movement. They know that the United States is preparing a bloody drama for Latin America; that the exploiting few who hold power, just as now they renounce sovereignty, will not hesitate to seek the intervention of Yankee troops against their own peoples. That is why the U.S. delegation proposed the establishment within the Inter-American Defense Council of a Committee of Vigilance with executive powers and the adoption of collective measures. Subversion to the Yankee imperialists means the fight of those who hunger for bread, the fight of the peasants for land, the fight of the peoples against imperialist exploitation. A Committee of Vigilance in the Inter-American Defense Council with executive power means establishment of a continental repressive force aimed at the people, commanded by the Pentagon. Collective measures mean the landing of Yankee Marines in any American country.

As to the accusation that Cuba wishes to export its revolution, we reply: Revolutions are not exported; they are made by the peoples.

What Cuba can give and has already given to the peoples is its example.

And what does the Cuban Revolution teach? That revolution is possible, that the peoples can make it, that in today's world there is no force strong enough to impede the peoples' liberation movements.

Our victory would never have been possible if the revolution itself had not been inexorably destined to arise from the conditions which existed in our economic-social reality, a reality which pertains even to a greater degree in a goodly number of Latin American countries.

It happens inevitably that in those countries where Yankee monopolist control is strongest, where exploitation by the reigning few is most unrestrained and where the conditions of the masses of workers and peasants are most unbearable, the political power becomes more vicious, states of siege become habitual, all expression of mass discontent is suppressed by force, and the democratic channels are closed off, thereby revealing more plainly than ever the kind of brutal dictatorship assumed by the dominating classes. That is when the people's revolutionary break-through becomes inevitable.

And while it is true that in America's underdeveloped countries the working class is in general relatively small, there is a social class which because of the sub-human conditions under which it lives constitutes a potential force which — led by the workers and the revolutionary intellectuals — has a decisive importance in the struggle for national liberation: the peasantry.

In our countries two circumstances are joined: underdeveloped industry, and an agrarian regime of a feudal character. That is why no matter how hard the living conditions of the

urban workers are, the rural population lives under even more horrible conditions of oppression and exploitation. But, with few exceptions, it also constitutes the absolute majority, sometimes more than 70 percent of Latin American populations.

Not counting the landlords who often live in the cities, the rest of this great mass earns its livelihood by working as peons on the plantations for the most miserable wages, or they work the soil under conditions of exploitation indistinguishable from those of the Middle Ages.

These are the circumstances which determine that the poor population of the countryside constitutes a tremendous potential revolutionary force.

The armies are set up and equipped for conventional warfare. They are the force whereby the power of the exploiting classes is maintained. When they are confronted with the irregular warfare of peasants based on their own home-grounds, they become absolutely powerless; they lose 10 men for every revolutionary fighter who falls. Demoralization among them mounts rapidly when they are beset by an invisible and invincible army which provides them no chance to display their military academy tactics and their fanfare of war, of which they boast so much to repress the city workers and students.

The initial struggle of small fighting units is constantly nurtured by new forces; the mass movement begins to grow bold, the old order bit by bit breaks up into a thousand pieces and that is when the working class and the urban masses decide the battle.

What is it that from the very beginning of the fight makes those units invincible, regardless of the number, strength and resources of their enemies? It is the people's support, and they can count on an ever-increasing mass support.

But the peasantry is a class which, because of the ignorance in which it has been kept and the isolation in which it lives,

requires the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals. Without that it cannot alone launch the struggle and achieve the victory.

In the present historical conditions of Latin America the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience demonstrates that, in our nations this class — even when its interests clash with those of Yankee imperialism — has been incapable of confronting imperialism, paralyzed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the clamor of the exploited masses.

Paced by the dilemma of imperialism or revolution, only their most progressive sections will stand with the people.

The present world relationship of forces and the universal movement to free colonial and dependent peoples establishes the real task of Latin America's working class and revolutionary intellectuals. It is to place themselves determinedly in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

Imperialism, utilizing the great motion picture monopolies, the wire services, newspapers, books, reactionary magazines, has recourse to the most subtle of lies to sow divisionism and, among the more ignorant, to spread fear and superstition regarding revolutionary ideas. These ideas can and must bring fear only to the interests of the powerful exploiters and their traditional privileges.

Divisionism, produced by all kinds of prejudice, false ideas and lies, sectarianism, dogmatism, lack of breadth in analyzing the role of each social group, parties, organizations and leaders — all these make more difficult the imperative unity of action among the democratic and progressive forces of our peoples. These are weaknesses of growth, childhood ailments of the revolutionary movements which must be left behind.

It is possible to organize the immense majority of the people in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle for the goals of liberation which unite the efforts of the working class,

the peasants, the intellectual workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie. Together these sectors include the immense majority of the people and command great social forces which are capable of sweeping away imperialist domination and feudal reaction.

From the old militant Marxist to the sincere Catholic who has no love for the Yankee monopolies and the feudal landowners, all can and must fight side by side in this broad movement for the welfare of their nations, for the welfare of their peoples, for the welfare of America.

This movement can carry with it the progressive elements within the armed forces who are also humiliated by Yankee military missions, by the treason to national interests perpetrated by the feudal rulers and by the subjugation of national sovereignty to Washington's dictates.

Wherever roads are closed to the peoples, where repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the domination of Yankee monopolies is strongest, the first and most important lesson is to understand that it is neither just nor correct to divert the people with the vain and fanciful illusion that the dominant classes can be uprooted by legal means which do not and will not exist. The ruling classes are entrenched in all positions of state power. They monopolize the teaching field. They dominate all means of mass communication. They have infinite financial resources. Theirs is a power which the monopolies and the ruling few will defend by blood and fire with the strength of their police and their armies.

The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution. We know that in America and throughout the world the revolution will be victorious. But revolutionaries cannot sit in the doorways of their homes to watch the corpse of imperialism pass by. The role of Job does not behoove a revolutionary. Each year by which America's liberation may be hastened will mean millions of children rescued from death, millions of minds

freed for learning, infinitudes of sorrow spared the peoples. Even though the Yankee imperialists are preparing a bloodbath for America they will not succeed in drowning the peoples' struggles. They will evoke universal hatred against themselves. This will be the last act of their rapacious and cave-man system.

No one people of Latin America is weak, because all are part of a family of 200 million brothers who suffer the same miseries, harbor the same sentiments, face the same enemy. All dream alike of a happier fate and all can count on the solidarity of all honorable men and women throughout the world.

The epic of Latin America's independence struggles was great, and that fight was a heroic one. But today's generation of Latin Americans is summoned to write a greater epic, one even more decisive for humanity. The earlier fight was to free ourselves from Spanish colonial power, from a decadent Spain which had been invaded by Napoleon's armies. Today the liberation struggle confronts the strongest imperial land in all the world, the most significant power of the world imperialist system. Thus we perform an even greater service for humanity than did our ancestors.

This struggle, more than the first, will be conducted by the masses, by the peoples. The people will play a far more important role than they did then. Individual leaders matter less in this fight than in that.

This epic we have before us will be written by the hungry masses of Indians, of landless peasants, of exploited workers. It will be written by the progressive masses, the honest and brilliant intellectuals of whom we have so many in these suffering lands of Latin America. A battle of masses and of ideas, an epic borne onward by our peoples who have been ignored until today and who now are beginning to make imperialism lose its sleep. They thought us to be an impotent, submissive herd, but now they are beginning to fear that herd.

It is a thundering herd of 200 million Latin Americans among whom Yankee monopoly capital already spies its gravediggers.

They reckoned little if at all with that laboring humanity, subjected to inhuman exploitation, pauperized, driven by the whip and the herdsman. Since the dawn of independence there has been no change in the destiny of Indians, Gauchos, Mestizos, Zambos, Quadroons, Whites with neither property nor rents. This is the great human mass who served the "homeland" they never enjoyed. It was they who died by millions, who were slaughtered, who won independence of their countries for the bourgeoisie. It is they who were robbed of their lands, who remained on the lowest rung of social benefits, who continued to die of hunger, of curable diseases, of neglect, because they never received what they needed to live — bread itself, a hospital bed, medicine, a helping hand. . . .

But the hour of their vindication is striking, the hour they themselves have chosen. The signal sounds clearly from one end of the Continent to the other. Now the anonymous masses, the America of color, somber, taciturn, whose singing throughout the Continent echoes grief and reproach, these masses are beginning to inscribe the pages of history with their own blood, to suffer and die. For now they are beginning to shake that world full of reasons, fists hot with determination to die for what is theirs, to seize those rights of which they have been deprived by one group or another for almost 500 years. They are rising from the fields and mountains of America, from the slopes of the sierras, from the plains and the forests, from isolation and from the city's traffic, from the seashore and the river-bank. Yes, now history must reckon with the poor of America, with the exploited and despised of Latin America who have decided to begin writing their own history for themselves, and forever. They can be seen on the roads on any day marching endlessly for hundreds of miles to storm the governing "heavens" in order to obtain their rights. They

can be seen, armed with stones, sticks, machetes, now here, now there, daily occupying lands, digging their hooks into the soil which is theirs, and defending it with their lives. They can be seen carrying banners, flags, placards, unfurling them in the winds among the mountains or across the plains. And this wave of battering fury, of justice demanded, of trampled rights — this wave engulfing the lands of Latin America will never stop again. This wave will mount with each passing day. For this wave is formed by the most, the majority in all things, the people whose work piles up the riches, who create the values, turn the wheels of history and are now awakening from the long brutalizing slumber to which they were subjected.

For that great humanity has cried, "Enough!" and has begun to move. Marching with giant strides they will not be detained until they have conquered true independence, to which they have died more than once to no avail. Now at least those who die will die as the Cubans did at Playa Girón, they will die for their single, true, inalienable independence.

¡Patria o Muerte! ¡Venceremos!

Our Country or Death! We Will Win!

THE PEOPLE OF CUBA

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba hereby resolves, that this Declaration be known as the Second Declaration of Havana and be translated into the principal languages and distributed throughout the world. It also agrees to request from all the friends of the Cuban Revolution in Latin America that it be widely spread among the working, peasant, student and intellectual masses of the fraternal lands of this continent.

We certify that the Second Declaration of Havana was read and approved by the National General Assembly of the People of Cuba, held in the Martí Plaza, Havana, Cuba, Free Territory of America, on 4 February 1962.

Oswaldo Dorticós Torrado,
President.

Fidel Castro Ruz,
Prime Minister.

哈瓦那宣言

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