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Rec'd: July 15, 1959

JUL 16 NIP  
9:36 p.m.

FROM: Habana

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 128, July 15, 7 p.m.

PRIORITY

Lead editorial by Carlos Franqui today's REVOLUCION violently anti-American. Run under title "In Defense our Menaced Nation". Following are highlights:

From where does danger emanate now ? From United States. Cuba has made frequent over turns to United States, but United States has not reciprocated. Cause for hostile campaign against Cuba not Communism but agrarian reform. Some North American companies will lose 50,000 caballerias. Friendship of Cuba and United States does not seem to be worth 50,000 caballerias. Supposed Communist infiltration is only pretext to utilize McCarthy hysteria existing in US. If Communist infiltration were real preoccupation of United States, why did US not initiate hostile campaign when Lazaro Pena was secretary of CTC and when there were Communist Ministers in Cuban Government. Communist influence now less than in past. Editorial then lists series of aggressive acts against Cuba:

Senate economic reprisal proposal regarding US aid directed at Cuba. Votes in OAS of US, Dominican Republic and Haiti against Cuba. Diaz Lanz testifies before Senate sub-committee. Declarations of US Senators against Cuban revolution. Declarations of US Admirals against revolution. Attack on and detention of Cuban Consul in Miami. Protection by FBI and police of Batista and Trujillo elements in US plotting against Cuba. Proposal that Batista be granted asylum in United States. It is known that Pentagon maintains an aggressive attitude toward Cuba. Why is North American public opinion being prepared by presenting an image of Communist Cuba?

What type aggression

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-2- 128, July 15, 7 p.m., from Habana

What type aggression against Cuba is being prepared? The intention is clearly seen in Miami, New York, Washington, Santo Domingo, Mexico and other places. Batista war criminals are being armed but case of Guatemala will not be repeated here. Cubans united behind revolutionary government. Inspite of venomous propaganda to which being subjected, we do not think that North American public agrees this criteria or will permit stupid act. How can we defend nation against this campaign? Civic institutions, church, CTC, student organizations must mobilize in defense of the country. We must launch continental campaign in defense of the Cuban revolution including campaign in the United States to inform public of real situation in Cuba. All national organizations and citizens should send hundreds or thousands of letters to North American press. We will respond to cold war with serenity and firmness, relying on the truth and justice of our cause.

BONSAL

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AIR POUCH  
FRIGIDLY

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## FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM Amembassy HABANA

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TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

July 17, 1959

REF : Embassy's Telegram No. 128

JNL 21 1959

For Dept. **A&H-4** DEPT. **N**  
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SUBJECT: Inflammatory Anti-American Editorials Appear in Revolucion

In reaction to the public session of the Senate Sub-Committee on July 13 during which Major Pedro Luis DIAZ LANZ accused Fidel CASTRO and several other key figures of the Cuban Government of being members of the international Communist movement, several bitter and inflammatory anti-American articles and editorials appeared in the self-styled organ of the 26th of July, Revolucion. Typical of these were the two enclosed editorials, one by Carlos FRANQUI, the Director of Revolucion. Although other sections of the press featured editorial comments ranging from mildly critical to vituperative, both Revolucion and the Communist daily, Hoy, resorted to acid anti-Americanism and irresponsible criticism to a far greater extent than other dailies. Following President Eisenhower's statement of July 15 in which he made clear that the United States Government had not accused the Cuban Revolution of being of a Communist nature, most Habana dailies praised the statement as being timely and as clarifying the position of the United States vis-a-vis Cuba. Revolucion, on the other hand, while admitting that the statement would do much to calm tensions, took the attitude that the fact that a Senator whom Revolucion described as an agent of despots could cause such an incident was "proof of the moral weakness of a regime on which rest such gigantic responsibilities."

For the Ambassador:

Daniel M. Braddock  
Minister-Counselor

Enclosures: *see reverse*

1. Clipping from Revolucion, dated July 15, 1959.
  2. Clipping from Revolucion, dated July 16, 1959.
  3. English translation of July 15 clipping.
  4. English translation of July 16 clipping.

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PAGE 1  
FILE NO. 2  
SERIAL NO. 89  
DRAFTED IN HABANA

Revolucion

July 15, 1959

REBEL ZONE - IN DEFENSE OF OUR THREATENED COUNTRY

When our country is threatened it is the duty of all Cubans to defend it.

From whence does the danger come now?

From abroad, concretely from the United States.

The Cuban Revolution has sought and wanted the best relations with our neighbors to the north.

Fidel, on his trip to that country last April, extended the friendly hand of Cuba merely to ask for understanding and sympathy.

He did not go there as others do to seek dollars, he went simply to seek friendship.

But the gesture of Cuba was not reciprocated there with sincerity.

The United States did not wish or did not know how to respond to the Cuban gesture of good will.

While Cuba ratified its international commitments, an intense campaign of hostility against our country began.

The only measure that has affected American interests in Cuba is the Agrarian Reform.

It has affected them to a lesser degree than even the Cuban interests.

While American companies will be affected in only 50,000 caballerias, the Cuban companies will be affected in 200,000.

The friendship of two countries should be worth more than 50,000 caballerias, but it seems things are not that way.

If we seek the cause of the campaign against Cuba on the part of the American authorities, it must be found there and not in Communism.

The resolution of the Senate of that nation adopted at a recent session providing that no assistance be given to countries that affected properties of American companies has shown this to be so.

Cuba is not carrying out its Agrarian Reform out of hatred against anyone. Simply for the reason that without Agrarian Reform the nation could not progress.

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Havana

If on some occasions the Cuban Revolution has energetically answered the slander against Cuba in the United States, it has been in acts of self defense.

The supposed Communist infiltration is merely a pretext to make use of the McCarthyist hysteria existing there.

The image of a Communist Cuba is being fabricated for very evil minded purposes.

The Cuban Revolution has very properly defined its ideological, economic and social directives. Its own characteristics are the consequence of the reality of Cuba and of its peculiar Latin American condition.

The methods of the insurrection were not communistic. Our struggle was directed mainly against the army and not against the bourgeois and landholders. The army is a very special caste on these lands of ours, a true corps of the Latin American tyrannies and the instrument of oppression of national and foreign obscurantism.

Our forms of mobilizing the people were the armed struggle, sabotage and revolutionary action. Against the criterion of oppositionist unity we maintained that the essential thing was the unity of the people with the 26-7 Movement which would give us victory in war and in peace.

That is to say, a great movement and a leader which would prevent ideological contest and the aspirations which contributed, in the words of Guiteras "to the failure of the Machado Revolution".

Now it is only the 26th of July Movement that has the responsibility of power, not out of selfishness or sectarianism, but simply out of the conviction that a shared power is a divided power, and by the democratic will backed up by 90 percent of the people who wish our movement to have that responsibility. Those who trust and believe in their ideas neither fear nor persecute the ideas of others. Ideas are neither killed nor persecuted.

Democracy is nothing other than respect for the rights of others, for the ideas of all men, admitting that the idea that has the majority behind it is the one that should govern.

We are democratic and for that reason in Cuba all creeds and all ideas may freely exist.

The influence of Communism in Cuban public opinion is now much less than in the past.

In the union elections the Communists have not won a single place of importance and it is well known that the labor field is a traditional source of Marxist power.

If it were really Communist infiltration that worries the United States, how can it be explained that in the past there was no campaign when the Communist Party

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July 26, 1960  
Havana

really had great influence in Cuba? When it had Ministers in the Government. When the Secretary of the CTC was Lazaro Peña. When the principal leaders of the Federations and the Unions were led by Communists. When there were Communist mayors, Communist members of Congress and Communist councilmen.

Everyone knows that now 90 percent of the Cuban people sympathize with the July 26 Movement and its leader Fidel Castro.

Since they cannot point to Communist influence in the mass organizations nor in the Government, they talk of Communist infiltration in the army to make it thus more dangerous.

The Rebel Army is united around Fidel, who is its natural leader, around Raul, one of the founders of the movement six years ago, for which he has risked his life as other comrades have done on numerous occasions.

Not even the children in Cuba believe that the principal chiefs of the armed forces are Communists.

Camilo, Ameijeiras, Castiñeiras, Guevara, Escalona, Del Valle, Monseni, Hubert, Calixto Garcia, Almeida: who does not know that they are sincere militants of the 26th of July Movement?

#### A CHAIN OF ACTS AGAINST CUBA

In the last few days a violent campaign against Cuba has appeared in the United States.

1. A Senate resolution regarding economic reprisals against Cuba.
2. Voting with the Dominican Republic and Haiti against Cuba.
3. The deserter and traitor Diaz Lanz being received three days by the American Senate with a great "show" which did not lack the attraction of the mystery films in which Hollywood is so well versed.
4. Statements by Senators against the Cuban Revolution.
5. Statements by Admirals against the Cuban Revolution.
6. The aggression and arrest of the Cuban Consul in Miami.
7. The protection of Batista followers and Trujillistas who conspire against Cuba in the United States provided by the FBI.
8. Steps to give asylum to ex-tyrant Fulgencio Batista.
9. It is known that at the Pentagon an aggressive attitude is maintained against Cuba.

The coincidence of this campaign with other similar campaigns in the history of the United States is a curious thing.

Remember Pearl Harbor!

Remember the Maine!

For what is American public opinion being prepared by presenting Cuba as Communistic?

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Habana

What type of aggression is being prepared against Cuba?

To arm Batista followers, Trujillistas and adventurers in Miami and the Dominican Republic so that together with the war criminals and other deserters they may invade the native soil?

The intention is clearly seen. In Miami, in New York, in Washington, in Santo Domingo, in Mexico and in other places the war criminals are being armed.

Attacks are being prepared against figures of the Revolution and bombing campaigns against Cuba are organized.

But the cowards who with all the resources of power, all the arms and an army of 50,000 men fled ignominiously, will end their adventure against Cuba in a very few days.

The case of Guatemala will not be repeated here.

There they had the treason of an army that was not the army of the people as is the Rebel Army.

There the matter began with a military coup and ended with another.

In Cuba military coups have ended forever.

That criminal maneuver may be a new blood bath for our country, but it will be quickly defeated.

#### ECONOMIC REPRISALS

It is possible that this also may be attempted. But it would be stupid. Cuba can produce in a short time the fundamental articles in order not to succumb. It would be a horse's cure for our country. But aside from the fact that we could trade with other nations after a few years, we would also continue to progress slowly and with difficulty.

Nations improve themselves and grow from great difficulties. Cuba would lose and so would the United States.

That may be a form of making aggression against Cuba, but not for vanquishing and annihilating it.

Neither is Cuba another Hungary.

In Hungary the people and the government did not struggle unitedly against the occupation forces. There the people, the Communists themselves started the rebellion, even though at the end imperialistic elements intervened.

In Cuba the people, the Rebel Army and all the social sectors are perfectly united. An aggression against Cuba would show that the so-called democracy is but a great untruth.

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It would provoke such a large universal reaction in all the countries of the world that its consequences would be incalculable to those who would make the attempt.

We do not believe that in spite of the poison that may be given it, the American people and numerous and influential sectors of that country share that opinion nor would permit such a stupidity.

#### HOW TO DEFEND THE NATION AGAINST THIS CAMPAIGN

We believe that there are many ways.

The civic institutions, the Catholic Church, the economic sectors, the Revolutionary CTC, the student federations would surely mobilize in defense of the nation.

We believe that a continental campaign must be waged in defense of the Cuban Revolution by mobilizing all the democratic forces of America.

We believe that a campaign must also be waged in the United States to inform the public opinion of that country on the reality of Cuba.

We believe that all the national organizations and all the citizens should begin to send hundreds and thousands of letters to the American press.

We will respond to the cold war by the serenity and firmness that shows that we are right, the truth and the justice of our cause.

We are today, more than ever before, a united people with faith as our destiny, an invincible and brave people who seek friendship with all nations.

Let us right now put a stop to the threat that hovers over our country.

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Lat. Amer.

Revolucion

July 16, 1959

THE EISENHOWER STATEMENT

The timely statement given out by President Eisenhower putting a stop to the stupid campaign of discredit started against Cuba in the United States will have the virtue of quieting down the natural tension of the past few days.

No one does more harm to the continental position of the United States than the petty senatorial politicians at the service of such reproachable dictatorships as those of Somoza and Trujillo. The fact that the president of the Senatorial sub-committee who set up the very poor comedy of which the star was the hypocrite whose duplicity and inconsistencies we are still verifying is a Senator who is in touch with the worst of the despots of America is proof of the moral weakness of a regime on which rest such gigantic responsibilities.

To accuse a revolutionary movement and men who constitute the most beautiful reality that our continent has today, is the best propaganda that can be made for the doctrinaire position of the Soviet Union. This can make it an endless number of friends among the unredeemed American masses whose liberation is identified with the policy of that power.

To qualify as communistic the gigantic effort being made by our country to liberate itself from injustice, disease and poverty, besides showing a great ignorance regarding such matters, is to try to push our masses into the arms of those who preach that doctrine, even though it be merely due to the attractiveness that the word may have in the ears of those who are not aware of such questions.

To say to the Americans from the Rio Bravo to Patagonia that their greatest heroes of today, those who with hardly any resources nor adequate preparation overthrew a tyranny as powerful as that of Batista, at the same time destroying a modern army of more than 40,000 men, are Communists, is to admit, in a stupid and unjust manner, that the Communists are the best men of our continent.

Those who qualify the Revolution which is the hope of all of turbulent America that does not speak English as Communist, is the best propaganda that can be made today in favor of Soviet communism.

Dr. Raul de Velasco in his appearance last Thursday "Before the Press", stated that those most interested in presenting us as revolutionaries in the Soviet sense are the Communists themselves and the nationals and aliens directly or indirectly affected by the revolutionary laws. The former because that gives them prestige and it is convenient. Not being able to still lead any genuine American revolution they attempt to have ours appear as the product of its indoctrination and endowment with revolutionary efforts and go so far as to say that without their support no revolution is possible in America. The latter because they assume, not with bad reasoning, that they thereby make possible reprisals on the part of the United States that will permit them to recover the

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power and the riches that have been lost.

To prefer the testimony of a deserter above the opinion of 90 percent of an intelligent and friendly people is to alienate themselves from the sympathy of those who find themselves thus scorned.

"There are men who are traitors, countries never", said Fidel Castro a few nights ago at the Capitol.

Treason will be harvested by those who encourage, listen to and protect traitors.

Not by the people or by governments supported by the sympathy of their people.

We know that the military men at the Pentagon think in a simple minded way. To them the United States and its well known allies form a system of life and a privilege threatened by a bloc of enemy countries with such haughtiness that they are capable of destroying them at the slightest negligence.

The moral or politico-social arguments do not interest them. The fundamental thing is to keep the defenses absolutely invulnerable. It is the same to them whether they must ally themselves with tyrants or with the people. It is the same to them to disregard tyrants or the people.

Fortunately history shows that the militaristic mentality is not the best for governing human destinies. Humanity will not be able to support for long the material and spiritual mortgage of a permanent defensive attitude against terrible war situations.

The Cuban nation is preparing for that future. Since it is not counted in the equation of the forces that are disputing the hegemony of the world, it must place all its efforts on the construction of such a regime which will not have the contradictions that do not permit some to offer freedom to their people and others to tolerate having their bread reduced by the right to eat of the other peoples of the earth.

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July 11, 1959

# ZONA REBELDE EN DEFENSA DE LA PATRIA AMENAZADA

POR CARLOS FRANQUÍ

Cuando la patria está amenazada es deber de todos los cubanos defenderla.

¿De dónde viene el peligro ahora?

Del exterior, concretamente de Estados Unidos.

La Revolución Cubana ha buscado y querido las mejores relaciones con nuestros vecinos del norte.

Fidel, en su viaje a ese país el pasado mes de Abril, extendió la mano amiga de Cuba para pedir sólo comprensión y simpatía.

No fué allí como otros a buscar dólares, fue simplemente a buscar amistad.

Pero el gesto de Cuba no fue reciprocado allí con sinceridad.

Estados Unidos no quiso o no supo corresponder al gesto cubano de buena voluntad.

Mientras Cuba ratificaba sus compromisos internacionales comenzaba allí una campaña de intensa hostilidad hacia nuestro país.

La única medida que ha afectado intereses americanos en Cuba es la Reforma Agraria.

17 de julio de 1959

July 15 1959

Ahora sólo el 26-7 es quien lleva la responsabilidad del poder no por egoísmo o sectarismo, sencillamente por el convencimiento de que poder compartido es poder dividido y fraccionado, y por la voluntad democrática que respalda el 90% del pueblo que desea que nuestro movimiento tenga esa responsabilidad. Los que confían y creen en sus ideas ni temen ni persiguen las ideas de los demás. Las ideas ni se matan ni se persiguen.

La democracia no es otra cosa que el respeto por el derecho ajeno, por las ideas de todos los hombres, aceptando que aquella idea que tiene la mayoría es la que debe gobernar.

Somos demócratas y por esa razón en Cuba pueden pugnar libremente todos los credos y todas las ideas.

La influencia del Comunismo en la opinión pública cubana es ahora mucho menor que en el pasado.

En las elecciones sindicales los comunistas no han ganado ni un solo cargo importante y es conocido que el campo obrero es fuente tradicional de poderío marxista.

Si fuera la infiltración comunista lo que preocupa realmente a los EE. UU. ¿Cómo se explica que no hubo en el pasado una campaña como la actual y era entonces realmente cuando el partido Comunista gozó de gran influencia en Cuba?

Cuando tenían ministros en el gobierno.

Cuando el secretario de la CTC era Lázaro Peña. Cuando los principales dirigentes de las Fede-

*Los ha afectado en menor medida que a los propios intereses cubanos.*

*Mientras las compañías norteamericanas serán afectadas en sólo 50 mil caballerías, las cubanas lo serán en 200 mil.*

*"La amistad de dos países debería valer más que 50 mil caballerías de tierra", pero parece que no es así.*

*Si se busca la causa de la campaña contra Cuba de parte de las autoridades americanas hay que encontrarla ahí y no en el comunismo.*

*El acuerdo del Senado de ese país así lo demostró en reciente sesión al determinar que no se diera ayuda a países que afectaran propiedades de compañías norteamericanas.*

*Cuba no está realizando su Reforma Agraria por odio a nadie. Simplemente por la disyuntiva de que sin Reforma Agraria la nación no podría progresar.*

*Si en algunas ocasiones la Revolución Cubana ha ripostado con energía las calumnias contra Cuba en los Estados Unidos, ello ha sido en actos de legítima defensa.*

*La supuesta infiltración "comunista" no es más que un pretexto para utilizar la histeria McCarthyista existente allí.*

*La imagen de una Cuba Comunista está siendo fabricada con muy aviesos propósitos.*

*La Revolución Cubana ha definido muy bien sus directrices ideológicas, económicas y sociales. Sus características propias son consecuencia de la realidad de Cuba y de su peculiar condición latinoamericana.*

*Los métodos de la insurrección no fueron comunistas. Nuestra lucha se dirigió principalmente contra el ejército y no contra la burguesía y los terratenientes. El ejército es una casta muy especial en estas tierras nuestras, verdadero cuerpo de las tiranías latinoamericanas e instrumento opresor del oscurantismo nacional y extranjero.*

*Nuestras formas de movilizar al pueblo fueron la lucha armada, el sabotaje y la acción revolucionaria. Frente al criterio de la unidad oposiciónista mantuvimos que lo esencial era la unidad del pueblo alrededor del 26-7 que nos daría la victoria en la guerra y en la paz.*

*Es decir un gran movimiento y un líder que evitaron las pugnas ideológicas y las aspiraciones que contribuyeron al decir de Gutiérrez, "al fracaso de la Revolución Machadista".*

*raciones y de los Sindicatos estaban dirigidos por Comunistas. Cuando había alcaldes comunistas, representantes comunistas, concejales comunistas.*

*Todo el mundo sabe ahora que el 90% de la población cubana simpatiza con el 26-7 y su líder Fidel Castro.*

*Como no pueden señalar la influencia comunista en las organizaciones de masas ni en el Gobierno, hablan de infiltración comunista en el Ejército para hacerla así más peligrosa.*

*El Ejército Rebelde está unido alrededor de Fidel que es su líder natural, de Raúl, uno de los fundadores del M-26-7 hace seis años, por el que ha expuesto su vida como otros compañeros en numerosas ocasiones.*

*Ni los niños creen en Cuba que los principales jefes de las fuerzas armadas sean comunistas.*

*Camilo, Ameijeiras, Castañeiras, Guevara, Escalona, Del Valle, Monseni, Hubert, Calixto García, Almeida quién no sabe que son sinceros militantes del M-26-7.*

#### **UNA CADENA DE ACTOS CONTRA CUBA**

*En los últimos días se ha incrementado una violenta campaña contra Cuba en los EE. UU.*

*Acuerdo del Senado sobre represalias económicas contra Cuba.*

*Votaciones con Santo Domingo y Haití contra Cuba.*

*Acogida por tres días en el Senado Norteamericano al desertor y traidor Díaz Lanz, con un gran "show" montado en el que no faltaron los alicientes de las películas de misterio de las que es tan ducho Hollywood.*

*Declaraciones de senadores contra la Revolución Cubana.*

*Declaraciones de admirantes contra la Revolución Cubana.*

*Agresión y detención del Cónsul cubano en Miami.*

*Protección de la policía del FBI a Batistianos y Trujillistas que conspiran contra Cuba en EE. UU.*

*Gestiones para asilar a ex Tirano Fulgencio Batista.*

*Se sabe que en el Pentágono (Jefatura Militar de EE. UU.) se mantiene una actitud agresiva contra Cuba.*

*Es curiosa la coincidencia de esta campaña con otras similares en la historia de EE. UU.*

*¡Remember Pearl Harbor!*

*¡Remember el Maine!*

*¿Para qué se prepara la opinión pública norteamericana presentando la imagen de una Cuba comunista?*

*¿Qué tipo de agresión contra Cuba se prepara?*

*Armar a Batistianos, Trujillistas y aventureros en Miami y Santo Domingo para que junto con criminales de guerra y otros desertores invadan al suelo de la patria?*

*Esa intención se ve clara. En Miami, en Nueva York, en Washington, en Santo Domingo, en México y en otros lugares se arman los criminales de guerra.*

*Se preparan atentados a figuras de la Revolución y se organizan campañas de bombas contra Cuba.*

*Pero los cobardes que con todos los recursos del poder, todas las armas y un ejército de 50 mil hombres huyeron ignominiosamente, terminarán su aventura contra Cuba en muy pocos días.*

*Aquí no se repetirá el caso de Guatemala.*

*Allí contaron con la traición de un ejército que no era el ejército del pueblo como es nuestro Ejército Rebelde.*

*Aquello comenzó con un golpe militar y terminó con otro.*

*En Cuba terminaron para siempre los golpes militares.*

*Esa maniobra criminal podrá ensangrentar de*

*nuevo a la patria, pero será prontamente vencida.*

#### *REPRESALIAS ECONOMICAS*

*Es posible que esto también se intente. Pero será estúpido. Cuba puede producir en muy poco tiempo los artículos fundamentales para no sucumbir. Sería una cura de caballo para nuestra nación. Pero aparte de que podríamos comerciar con otras naciones al cabo de unos años, lenta y duramente desde luego también seguiríamos progresando.*

*Las naciones se superan y crecen en las grandes dificultades. Cuba perdería y EE. UU. también.*

*Esa puede ser una forma de agredir a Cuba pero no de vencerla, ni de aniquilarla.*

Cuba tampoco es Hungría.

En Hungría pueblo y gobierno no lucharon unidos frente a las fuerzas de ocupación. Allí el pueblo, los propios comunistas comenzaron la rebelión, aunque al final interviniéran elementos imperialistas.

En Cuba el pueblo, el ejército rebelde y todos los sectores sociales estamos perfectamente unidos. Una agresión a Cuba demostraría que la llamada democracia no es más que una gran mentira.

Provocaría una reacción universal tan grande en todos los pueblos del mundo que sus consecuencias serían incalculables para quienes la intentaran.

No creemos que a pesar del veneno que le suministran, el pueblo norteamericano y numerosos e influyentes sectores de aquel país compartan ese criterio ni permitan una estupidez semejante.

#### COMO DEFENDER A LA NACION DE ESTA CAMPAÑA

Creemos que hay muchas formas.

Las instituciones cívicas, la iglesia católica, los sectores económicos, la CTC Revolucionaria, las Federaciones Estudiantiles, se movilizarán seguramente en defensa de la patria.

Creemos que hay que hacer una campaña continental en defensa de la Revolución Cubana, movilizando a todas las fuerzas democráticas de América.

Creemos que hay que hacer también una campaña en los EE.UU. para informar a la opinión pública de ese país de la realidad de Cuba.

Creemos que todas las Organizaciones nacionales y todos los ciudadanos debemos comenzar a enviar cientos y miles de cartas a la prensa norteamericana.

Respondamos a la guerra fría con la serenidad y la firmeza que nos dan la razón, la verdad y la justicia de nuestra causa.

Somos hoy más que nunca un pueblo unido con fe en su destino, un pueblo invencible y valiente que aspira a la amistad con todas las naciones.

Paremos en seco ahora rústico la amenaza que se cierne sobre nuestra patria.

# LA CRISIS DEL CARIBE Y LA CRISIS DEL COLONIALISMO

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July 16, 1959

Revolution

July 16-1959

La diplomacia tradicional —por cobarde hipocresía o por ignorancia— suele usar una terminología que no se adapta a las realidades. En el caso de lo que ha llamado "la crisis del Caribe", no hay tal crisis, sino la revelación del estado de cosas permanente en la región, —la "zona" del Caribe como dicen los colonialistas. Para esos señores, "la crisis del Caribe" surge como un producto de un rito mágico operativo; no quieren comprender que "la crisis del Caribe" es una variante de la crisis general del colonialismo, y del despertar de los pueblos semi-coloniales, fatigados de tanta explotación, tanto desprecio y tanto crimen.

El momento cumbre del desarrollo del colonialismo se produjo a fines del siglo diecinueve, cuando las naciones europeas y los Estados Unidos vistieron el ropaje de los piratas para sembrar el desorden, la explotación, y la corrupción de las culturas nacionales. Mientras zonas enteras del planeta eran sometidas, explotadas en lo económico y degradadas en lo moral, Europa y los Estados Unidos conocían el momento supremo del poderío y la riqueza imperial.

Hoy el panorama ha cambiado. La gran masa negra de África comienza a despertar. Los pueblos árabes dan un duro combate por su independencia nacional. El Asia es un hervidero de conflictos políticos y sociales de toda índole de los que se desprenden conquistas evidentes para los pueblos. América Latina, tierra de democracia y de rebeldía desde antes de la conquista; tierra dada a las ideas racionales y liberales desde el impacto de la Enciclopedia hasta el levantamiento de los Bolívares, los San Martín y los Martí; tierra

de Zapata, de Villa, de Sandino y de Gutiéras también despierta, con mayor fuerza aún, para consolidar los estados nacionales, para fortalecer la gran unidad latinoamericana, para echar a sangre y fuego si es necesario a los colonialistas, y a sus servidores nativos.

Dentro de ese complejo universal se encuentra esta región del Caribe. Por aquí pasó la cultura occidental en su viaje al Continente; aquí se produjeron los primeros horrores, y los primeros instantes de cultura y riqueza de América devendida latina. Aquí se unieron múltiples corrientes del pensamiento para emigrar y fecundar otras tierras. Este mar Caribe, más hermoso que el griego como entreveía Martí; este mar latino y por lo tanto cuna de derecho, coraje y libertades ha sido el eslabón entre dos mundos, el punto de reunión entre fuerzas creadoras, el eje histórico y geográfico de América.

Una región con nuestra historia, con nuestra cultura, con nuestra capacidad creadora merece algo más que ser una tierra vendida, corrompida, esclavizada y humillada por la barbarie patente del colonialismo. Ese es el espíritu que rigió en la Sierra Maestra, que guió las armas del pueblo cubano hasta su destino, y que terminará por extenderse como un reguero de pólvora por todo el mundo latinoamericano. Esa es la única verdad del Caribe.

"La crisis del Caribe", que una diplomacia finisecular trata de evocar con un espíritu de corredor y antecámara, no es tal crisis. Es el combate de la justicia social, la democracia y la independencia nacional contra el esclavismo y la tiranía. Aquí los únicos que están en crisis son los colonialistas, los latifundistas y explotadores: en crisis total y definitiva.

Una reunión de conciliadores americanos, por lo tanto

Una reunión de cancilleres americanos, por lo tanto, tiene temas de profundo valor para someter a su consideración. El subdesarrollo, la tiranía, el genocidio, las estructuras coloniales sobrevivientes en sus pueblos; la ingobernabilidad de las potencias imperialistas, el analfabetismo, la piratería internacional, el gangsterismo administrativo, el espionaje al servicio de alguna poderosa nación, el régimen policial internacional, los comités del congreso americano: esos son los temas, las piedras angulares que deben ser removidas para llegar a cualquier solución americana. Y desde luego, se debe discutir la legitimidad de regímenes como los de Trujillo y Somoza, y la intervención de los mismos en la revuelta de Honduras.

Por nuestra parte sabemos que en estos momentos se concitan fuerzas internacionales de consideración contra la conciencia revolucionaria del pueblo cubano; a decir verdad, no nos asustan. Cuando un pueblo toma conciencia de su destino y rol histórico como lo ha hecho el cubano, es muy difícil que ninguna conjura, por poderosa que sea, logre vulnerarlo.

Ahora bien, recomendáramos a la reacción en movimiento contra nuestro pueblo que no supere sus límites actuales, porque encontrará una nación en armas en extremo susceptible a responder sin vacilaciones a cualquier ataque.

Nuestra opinión sobre la reunión de cancilleres americanos, es que los excelentes representantes de las hermanas repúblicas de América, deben dirigir su atención a los profundos problemas que aquejan a nuestros pueblos, sin desviárla hacia puntos señalados por intereses inconfesables.

Lo demás queda para la diplomacia de salón y correderas, para los que no comprenden que se trata de la muerte del colonialismo, y no de otra cosa. El colonialismo está para que lo entierren.