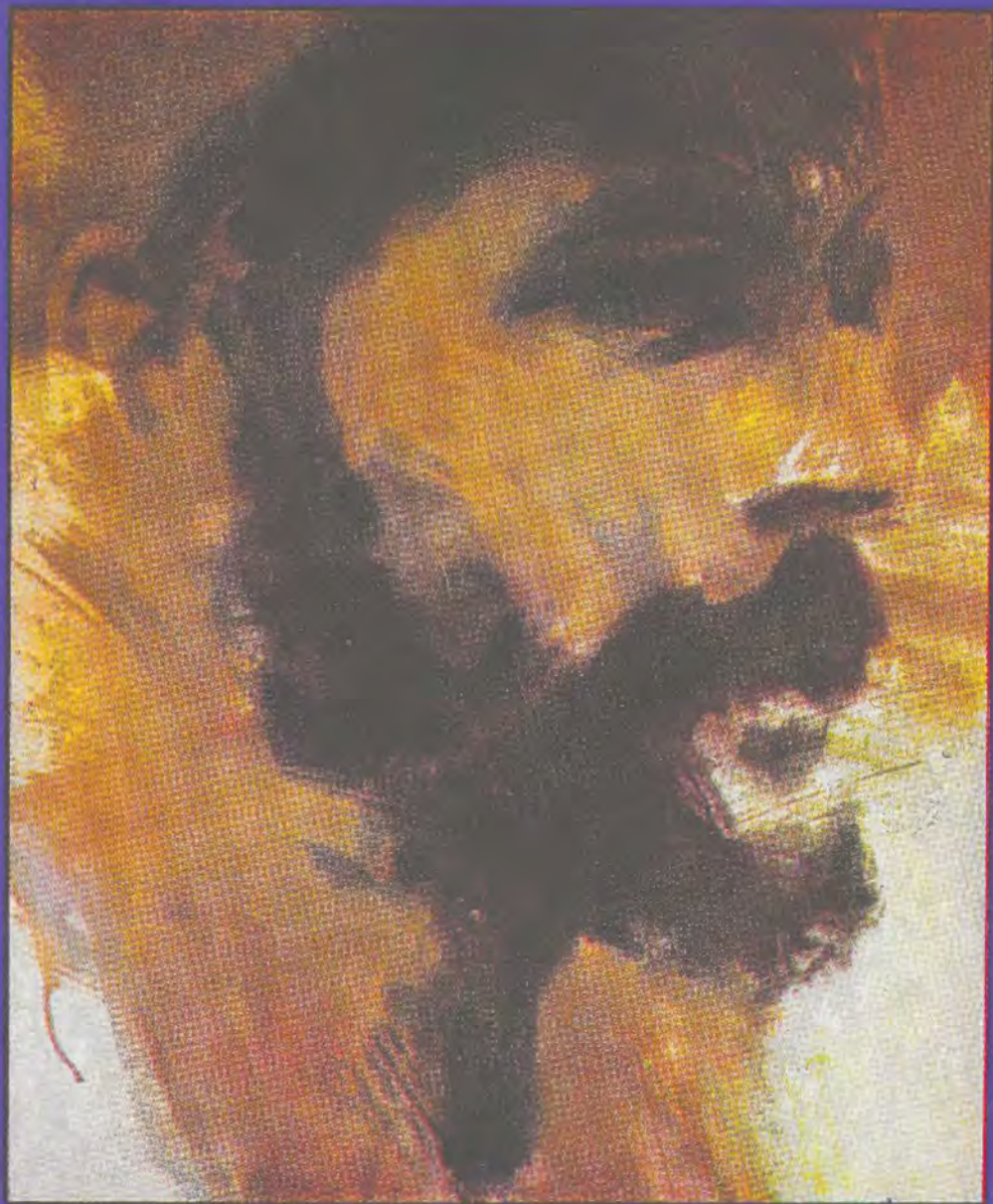




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The Road Che Indicated

FOUR years ago this October the internationalist combatant Ernesto Che Guevara fell while fighting in Bolivia. In his farewell letter to Comandante Fidel Castro he had written, "In a revolution one wins or one dies (if it is a true one)." In the farewell homage to him which took place in Havana, the leader of the Cuban Revolution, commenting on the victory chants of the imperialists and reactionaries of every type, would say:

The enemy believes it has destroyed his ideas, his guerrilla concept, believes it has destroyed his point of view concerning the armed revolutionary struggle. And what they succeeded in doing in one lucky blow was to eliminate his physical life; what they succeeded in doing was to achieve the accidental advantages an enemy may achieve in war.

And referring to Che's concepts of armed struggle, he added:

But the fact is that when he again took up arms, he was not thinking of an immediate victory; he was not thinking of a rapid triumph in the face of the force of the oligarchy and of imperialism. His attitude as an experienced combatant was one of preparation for a prolonged struggle of five, ten, 15, 20 years if necessary. And it is with that perspective in time that his death, his example—as we should say—will have a tremendous repercussion, will have an invincible force.

The years have simply confirmed what Comandante Fidel Castro said then. To an ever greater and more profound degree, the example and the thought of Che influence the people's liberation struggle, especially the revolutionary movement in Latin America and in the United States itself.

It is unimportant what momentary retreats affect that crisis, such as the recent fascist coup in Bolivia. In every case they prove that the class enemy is active, that imperialism is always maneuvering, and strikes without scruples when its interests are affected.

Che was not unaware of these setbacks:

The reaction knows how to manage its cannons, its division arms, its deterrent weapons, perhaps it can prevent the advent of socialism in a given country for many years; but also if the people know how to manage their ideology correctly, know how to establish the proper revolutionary strategy, know how to select the moment to execute the blow and do it fearlessly and profoundly, the advent of revolutionary power can occur in a very short time in any country of America.

Analyzing the situation in Bolivia after the fascist coup, Comandante Fidel Castro commented:

With what has just occurred in Bolivia, we—who have conversed with the Bolivians, who have exchanged impressions with workers, students, peasants—we know that in Bolivia there is not a single revolutionary today who thinks there is any way other than revolutionary armed struggle. There is no one who does not understand that the road is precisely the one that Che indicated.

For our part, on this anniversary of Che's death in Quebrada del Yuro, and as a contribution to the dissemination of his thinking, we dedicate the Tricontinental bulletin of October to a selection of his writings—articles, speeches, appearances, etc., referring to the central objective of his revolutionary aspirations: the liberation of the people. We want it to be understood that we do not pretend with this selection to summarize the thought of the Heroic Guerrilla on this aspect of the struggle. Nevertheless we publish this recapitulation because the simple fact of bringing these fragments together gives them a unity and a value as evidence of his ideas on such basic questions as the most correct strategy against imperialism; and we note in passing that to confront his thinking with reality is to see how correct and to the point Che is with respect to the problem of his times, and how pertinent his example and revolutionary thought, the road he pointed out.



AMERICA from the Afro-Asian Balcony

FOR Asians to speak of America (our own, unredeemed) is to speak of a clouded, obscure continent as little-known to them as to us is known that immense part of the world whose longing for freedom found its appropriate vehicle of expression in the Bandung Pact.

Nothing was known about America except, perhaps, that it was a gigantic sector of the world where there were dark-skinned natives with loin cloths and spears and where a certain Christopher Columbus had landed once upon a time, more or less in the same epoch in which another certain Vasco da Gama was rounding the "Cape of Storms" and inaugurating a terrible interlude of centuries in the cultural, economic and political life of those peoples.

Nothing concrete is added to this knowledge; there is only the almost abstract fact called the "Cuban Revolution." Cuba is actually an abstraction which signifies only an awakening; it is scarcely the necessary base from which the mythical being called Fidel Castro arises.

Beards, long hair, olive green uniforms and some mountains imprecisely located in a country whose name is scarcely known, and not everyone is aware that it is an island: this is the Cuban Revolution, this is Fidel Castro; and these bearded men are "Castro's men." And these men who come from this indistinguishable island on the map are motivated by the magic sound of the mythological name, America, the new America, the America that arouses its inhabitants benumbed from long years of kneeling.

The other is disappearing: that with unknown men who miserably work the tin, because of whom and in whose name the tin workers of Indonesia are exploited to martyrdom; that of the great rubber plantations of the Amazon where malarial men produce the rubber that makes the salary of the Indonesian, Celanese or Malayan rubber workers more miserable; that of the fabulous oil deposits which are the reason the workers of Iraq, Saudi Arabia or Iran are not paid more; that of cheap sugar so that India cannot receive more remuneration for the same bestial work under the same relentless tropical sun.



Different, but if surprised by their own audacity at desiring to be free, Africa or Asia begin to look far away across the sea, will not this other store of grain or any other material also have a culture inflated for the colony and millions of human beings with the same simple and profound longings as the Afro-Asian race? Will our brotherhood not defy the breadth of the seas, the difficulty of different languages and the absence of cultural ties to confound us in the embrace of the comrade in struggle? Should not one feel closer brotherhood with the Argentine peon, the Bolivian miner, the United Fruit Company worker or the Cuban machetero than with the proud descendent of a Japanese samurai, even if one is a Japanese worker?

The liberated peoples are beginning to understand the enormous fraud that has been committed against them, in convincing them of a supposed racial inferiority, and they now know that they can also be mistaken in evaluating the peoples of another continent.

Cuba has been invited to the new conference of the Afro-Asian peoples. An American country will expose the truth and the sorrow of America before the august assembly of



brother Afro-Asians. It will not be by accident; it comes as a result of the historic convergence of all oppressed peoples in this hour of liberation.

When it tells the story of all the obscure popular heroes, of all the nameless dead on the great battlefield of a continent; when it also speaks of the Colombian "bandits" who fought in their country against the alliance of the cross and shield; when it speaks of the Paraguayan *mensú* who killed themselves along with the Bolivian miners, representing intimately without knowing it the oil men of England and North America — the faces will express great shock; it is not the astonishment of hearing something for the first time but rather of hearing a new version, identical in its outcome and consequences with the old colonial version that they lived and suffered through centuries of ignomy.

America is taking form and shape... it is acquiring the truth of its existence. The continent is populated, in accordance with Afro-Asian imagination, with live men who suffer and fight for the same ideals.

From the new perspective of my balcony, I am also learning to value that in which I was a coparticipant — even from the sublime moment of the "twelve" — and I see how the small contradictions that magnify the perspective are being diluted to provide the true picture of popular American events. From this point of view I can value the infantile act for its ingenuosness and spontaneity, of caressing my beard and asking in a strange intonation, "Fidel Castro?" exclaiming without knowing, "Are you the members of the guerrilla army that is leading the struggle for the liberation of America? Are you then our allies across the sea?" And I have to answer him and all the hundreds of millions of Afro-Asians who, like him, march toward liberty in these new and uncertain atomic times, yes and more: that I am another brother, another among the multitude of brothers in that part of the world who await with infinite anguish the moment of consolidation of the block that will destroy for once and all the anachronistic presence of colonial domination.

(Extracts from the article published in *Humanismo*, September-October, 1959)

HUNGER OF THE PEOPLE: America's Common Denominator

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**W**E accept the fact that there were exceptions which give the Cuban Revolution its peculiar characteristics; it is a clearly established fact that each revolution has this type of specific factor, but it is nonetheless well-established that all revolutions will follow laws whose violation is not within the scope of the possibilities of the society.

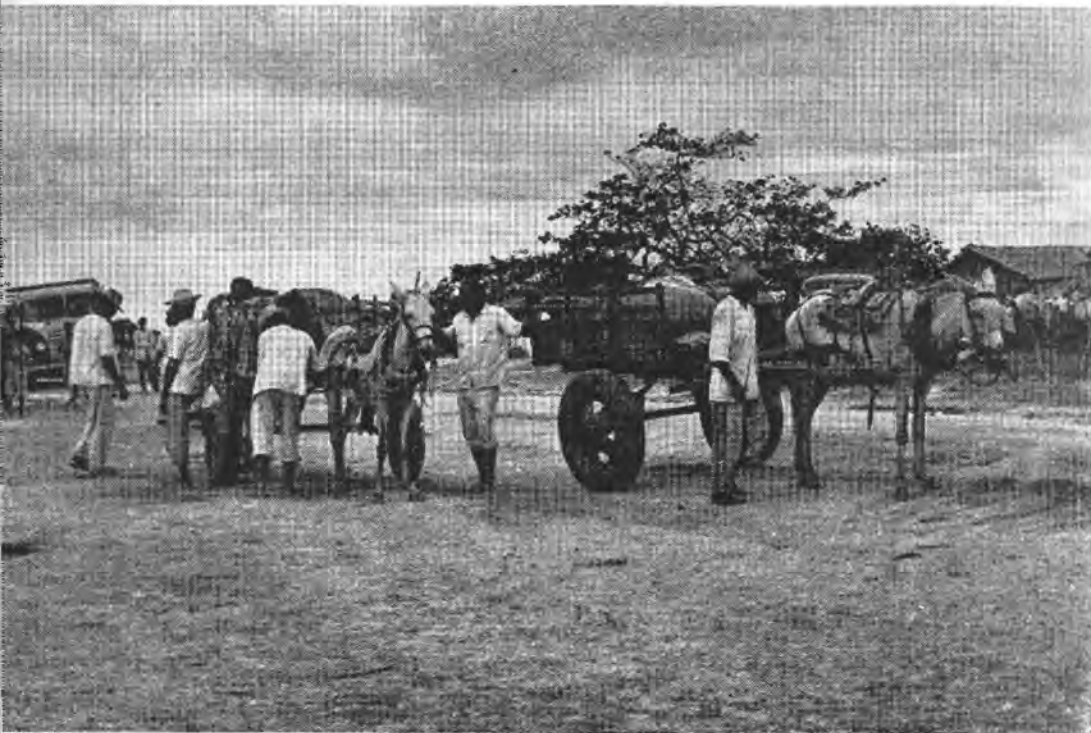
We now see the lasting roots of all the social phenomena of America, the contradictions which, maturing in the womb of present societies, provoke changes that can acquire the magnitude of a revolution like Cuba's.

America was the field for the interimperialist struggle and the "wars" between Costa Rica and Nicaragua; the segregation of Panama; the infamy committed against Ecuador in its dispute with Peru; the struggle between Paraguay and Bolivia; all are merely expressions of that gigantic battle between the big monopolist enterprises of the world, a battle decided almost completely in favor of the North American monopolies since the end of the Second World War. From that time on, the empire has dedicated itself to perfecting its colonial possession and to constructing in the best possible way an entire scaffolding designed to avoid the penetration of old or new competitors from



other imperialist countries. All this results in a monstrously distorted economy which has been described by the shamefaced economists of the imperial regime in an innocuous phrase demonstrating the profound pity they feel for us, inferior beings (they label "little Indians" our miserably exploited Indians — harrassed and reduced to ignomy; they label "colored" all men of the black or mulatto race — outside the law, discriminated against, instruments as persons and within the class concept, for dividing the working masses in their struggle for better economic destinies; we, the people of America, we are labeled with another modest and suave name: "underdeveloped").

What is underdevelopment? A dwarf with an enormous head and hunched body — that is underdevelopment insofar as its weak legs and short arms don't move with the rest of its anatomy; it is the product of a teratological phenomenon that has distorted its development. That is what we, the suavely labeled "underdeveloped," really are — living in truly colonial, semicolonial or dependent countries. We are countries whose economy has been distorted by imperial action, which have abnormally developed the industrial or agricultural branches necessary to complement its complex economy. "Underdevelopment" or distorted development brings with it dangerous specializations in raw materials which keep all our people menaced by hunger. We, the underdeveloped, are also the people of monocultivation, of the monoproduct, of the monomarket. One single product



whose uncertain sale depends on the single market which imposes and determines the conditions, this is the great formula of imperial economic domination which practices the old and eternally young Roman motto: divide and rule.

The latifundist, then, through his connections with imperialism, completely accepts the so-called "underdevelopment" which has as its result low salaries and unemployment. This phenomenon of low salaries and unemployment is a vicious circle which brings increasingly lower salaries and greater unemployment as the great contradictions of the system sharpen and, constantly at the mercy of cyclical variations in the economy, create what is the common denominator of the peoples of America from the Rio Grande to the South Pole. This common denominator can be stated in capital letters and serves as the basis of analysis for all those who think about these social phenomena. It is called HUNGER OF THE PEOPLE — the weariness of being oppressed, harrassed, exploited to the maximum, the weariness of selling one's work force day by day at a miserable price (for fear of joining the enormous mass of unemployed), for which the maximum profits are extracted from each human body and then squandered in the orgies of the owners of capital.

Thus we see that there are big and unequivocal common denominators in Latin America, and none of us can say that we have been free of any of these linked entities that wind up in the most terrible and permanent: hunger of the people. The latifundist, now in a form of primitive exploitation, now as an expression of capitalist monopoly of the land, conforms to the new conditions and allies himself with imperialism — a form of





exploitation by financial and monopolist capital that goes beyond national frontiers, to create economic colonialism, euphemistically called "underdevelopment," which results in low salaries, underemployment, unemployment; the hunger of the people.

The objective conditions for the struggle are provided by the hunger of the people, the reaction to this hunger, the fear unleashed to smash the popular reaction, and the wave of hatred the repression creates. What was lacking in America were the subjective conditions, the most important of which is the consciousness of the possibility of victory through violence in the face of the imperial powers and their internal allies. These conditions are created during the armed struggle which makes the need for change clearer (and makes it possible to foresee it) and with the defeat of the army by the people's forces and its subsequent liquidation as an essential condition for any true revolution.

[Extracts from the article "Cuba: Historic Exception or Vanguard in the Anticolonialist Struggle," published in Verde Olivo, April 9, 1961]

## Who Will Carry out This Struggle?

THE countries which, although without being able to speak of an effective industrialization, have developed their medium and light industry, or, simply, have suffered a process of the concentration of their population in large centers, find it more difficult to prepare guerrillas. Moreover, the ideological influence of their populated centers inhibits the guerrilla struggle and gives preference to peaceful mass organizational struggles.

The latter breeds a certain "institutionalization" by which in more or less "normal" periods, conditions are less difficult than what is the habitual treatment given the people.

The point is even reached of conceiving of the idea of possible increases in revolutionary elements on Congressional benches to the extreme that would one day permit a qualitative change.

This hope, we believe, is very difficult to fulfill under the present conditions in any country of America. Although the possibility that the change in any country be initiated by the electoral path is not excluded, prevailing conditions in these countries make this possibility very remote.

Revolutionaries cannot foresee all the tactical variants that may present themselves in the course of the struggle for their liberation program. The real capacity of a revolutionary is measured by the knowledge of how to find revolutionary tactics appropriate



to each change in the situation, keeping in mind all tactics and exploiting them to the maximum. It would be an unpardonable error to underestimate the advantage a revolutionary program can obtain from a given electoral process; just as it would be unpardonable to limit ourselves only to the electoral and not see other means of struggle including armed struggle to obtain power, which is the indispensable instrument for applying and developing the revolutionary program since, if power is not achieved, all other conquests are unstable, insufficient, incapable of providing the necessary solutions, however advanced they may seem.

And when one speaks of power through the electoral process, our question is always the same: if a people's movement occupies the government of a country by a broad popular vote and resolves, as a consequence, to initiate the great social transformations that constitute the program through which it triumphed, will it not immediately enter into conflict with the reactionary classes of that country? Has not the army always been the instrument of oppression for that class? If that is the case, it is logical to reason that the army will take sides because of class and will enter into conflict with the constituted government. This government can be overthrown by a more or less bloodless coup and can go back and begin the game that never ends; on the other hand the oppressor army can be overthrown by armed people's action in support of its government; what appears to us to be difficult is that the Armed Forces should willingly accept profound social reforms and weakly resign themselves to their own liquidation as a caste.

As for what we earlier referred to as the great urban concentrations, our modest belief is that, even in these cases, under conditions of economic backwardness, it may be wise to develop the struggle outside the limits of the city, on a long-range basis.

More explicitly, the presence of the guerrilla center in any mountain in a country with heavily populated cities keeps alive the rebel focal point and makes it very difficult for repressive powers—even over the course of years—to rapidly liquidate guerrillas whose living bases are located on terrain favorable to the guerrilla struggle and where there are people who, as a consequence, use the tactics and strategy of this type of war.

What would happen in the cities is very different; there the armed struggle against the repressive army can be developed to unsuspected extremes, but that struggle will become a frontal one only when there is a powerful army fighting against another army; one cannot begin frontal warfare against a powerful and well-equipped army when one has only a small group. Thus the frontal battle will take place with many arms, and the question therefore arises, where are these arms? The arms do not exist in themselves, they have to be taken from the enemy; but to take them from that enemy there has to be a struggle and it cannot be a frontal struggle. Thus the struggle in the big cities must begin clandestinely in order to incorporate military groups or to seize arms, one by one, in successive attacks.



In the latter case, there can be a great advance and we would not dare exclude the possible success of a people's rebellion with a guerrilla base in the city. No one can object theoretically to this idea, and certainly that is not our intention, but we must note how easy it would be, through some betrayal or simply after successive searches, to eliminate the leaders of the revolution. On the other hand, even considering that all conceivable maneuvers take place in the city, that there is organized sabotage, and above all a particularly effective guerrilla formation, that of the suburban guerrilla, but



maintaining the nucleus on terrain favorable to the guerrilla struggle, if, under these conditions, the oppressor power were to destroy all the people's forces in the city and annihilate them, political revolutionary power would remain intact, because it is relatively safe from the contingencies of the war. Always considering that *it is relatively safe, but not far from war nor directed from another country or from distant locations: that it is within the people, fighting.*

Returning to the case of counting on military cells to help give the blow and provide the arms, there are two problems to analyze: first, if these militarists really join with the

people's forces to give the blow, considering themselves as an organized nucleus capable of making their own decisions, in this case it would be a blow by one part of the army against the other and very probably the caste structure of the army would remain intact. The other case, that in which the armies unite rapidly and spontaneously around the people's forces, can only happen, in our opinion, after they have been violently attacked by a powerful and persistent enemy—that is, under conditions of catastrophe for the constituted power. When an army is defeated and its morale is destroyed, this phenomenon



can occur but for it to occur struggle is necessary, and we always return to the first point, who will carry out this struggle? The answer brings us to the development of the guerrilla struggle on favorable terrain, supported by the struggle in the cities and always counting on the broadest possible participation of the working masses and, naturally, led by the ideology of this class.

*(Extracts from the article "Cuba: Historic Exception or Vanguard in the Anticolonial Struggle," published in Verde Olivo, April 9, 1961)*

# You Can't Play with Imperialism

THE name of the man whom, each four years, the North American people believe they elect to direct their destinies is unimportant, because in reality this election is vitiated at its base; the North American people can only elect their jailer for four years and sometimes they are allowed the grace to reelect him. That is all. But the jailer of the United States, the jailer who imprisons the North American people and, moreover, divides them and prevents them from seeing clearly the nature of the exploitation to which they are subjected, is the assassin of one sector of his people, is the one who kills black citizens for the "terrible crime" of bathing at a beach for whites, of aspiring to the equality of all men, of looking at a white woman in the street. This is characteristic for blacks, for Puerto Ricans, for Latins who, like the Mexicans, cross the Rio Grande each year — and thereby become the "wetbacks," a people outside the North American law, a people miserably



exploited in the hardest jobs because they are going to earn a much bigger salary than what our impoverished American lands permit; but nevertheless it is a miserable salary in the great homeland of imperialism, in the homeland of the world's gold.

These governors who enslave their people, who divide them and assassinate a part of them, who assassinate a series of the inhabitants of Latin America who reach North America with the idea of finally achieving a modest but secure life, also devote themselves to being the watchdogs of all imperialism throughout the world.

And they set themselves up as the arbiter who determines when a government ought to be or ought not to exist in a country, and when that government represents its people, and the method of showing that the government represents its people.

And now we have the oratorical tournaments of the Latin-American foreign ministers. Obscure language, language that does not allow one to know what the final idea he enunciates will be; and in many cases, whether there are ideas. Because today Latin-American governors are prisoners of fear. Those who in one way or another, also cheating

the people's will, have been elected more or less democratically, think constantly of the fact that there is an army behind them, an army that does not respond to them, an army whose chiefs have studied the strategy of the anticommunist struggle in the Pentagon, whose chiefs speak English as well as their native tongue and whose hearts are always impregnated with the dollar sign.

These leaders of the military castes of Latin America are the brake that the North American Government puts on the Latin-American governments who want to be true to





the dignity of their people, who want to use their voice, who want to rise up against the supreme injustice which supposes that this "ministry of colonies" is assembled to determine the destiny of Cuba.

And thus the voices of the foreign ministers are voices which, like those of the ancient sorceresses of the Greek epoch, speak a language that can be interpreted in many ways; but those who know recent history know that you can't play with imperialism.

Goulart is out, exiled in Uruguay, just to show how you can't play with imperialism. And Trujillo is no more, demonstrating even better that you can't play with imperialism; because when Trujillo put his personal interests above the interests of the empire and decided to make his own policy — after having amassed a huge fortune with the help of the same

North Americans, with the blood and sweat of his people — when it came to that moment of rebellion, he was simply liquidated.

And the same thing happened to the Viet Nam puppet who thought for a moment that he could blackmail the North Americans. This is a dangerous game. The North Americans cannot be blackmailed; they go directly after what they want and they know what they want. In order to face up to the North Americans, it is necessary to speak in a very clear and straight way and to put aside any thought of placing life ahead of principle, just as our people have done on repeated occasions; and beyond the government there must be a whole people armed and prepared to defend it.

*(Extracts of the speech made at the opening of INPUD on July 24, 1964)*

# Men of America

**W**E were isolated peoples and when we lamented the markets we had lost, I forgot to mention the markets we never found close by, such as the markets of Latin America.

Why? Simply because they isolated us; because they always saw to it that we knew nothing about each other.

That is why Artigas was unknown in Cuba, Martí was unknown in Uruguay. That is why continental heroes failed to reach that real magnitude, the magnitude they have of being men of America, why they were circumscribed in specific countries.

That is why in America they still try to discuss who is greater or less great and to what country San Martín or Bolívar belongs, without agreeing that San Martín and Bolívar are men of America.

San Martín, who died exactly 111 years ago today, was a man of America; like Bolívar, we cannot say that he belonged to any one country, just as Martí does not belong to us. They are products of our civilization, of our cultural substrata, a product of all that has

matured over years, of what came out of the native Indian, the black man brought here, the Spaniard who came to colonize the races of other parts of the world, of our specific social conditions that created these men of America who speak practically the same tongue and who, in any case, understand each other always, any place they speak.

We today have learned the value of this. Now our workers know what it means to have an earthquake leave the workers of Chile without house, without job, without means of any kind, and our workers immediately mobilize, and they — not the government, the workers, our people — go in search of means to help their brothers.

Because now they understand, as one always learns in revolution, that there cannot be disunity, that we cannot fight against the big enemies when we are separated from each other; that there is just one common enemy at this time, who causes all the enmity he can to fall on our people; it is he who signifies idleness, it is he who signifies oppression of every kind: who signifies assassin, who signifies political oppression, economic oppression, the distortion of our development, lack of culture; imperialism signifies all this. Therefore, we cannot struggle disunited, we cannot struggle some here and others there; we in Cuba have learned this very well.

We have already learned that when there is a man hurt or harrassed in Chile, in Argentina, in any part of America, it affects our dignity, the dignity of all America.

*(Extracts from the speech given at the University of Montevideo, August 18, 1961)*



# The Struggle Is to Death

THE struggle of the Vietnamese people is already many years old because we cannot consider the Vietnamese people within the artificial division established by the Geneva Agreements. When all Viet-Nam belonged to the French colonial power and was known in our geography as Indochina, the people's forces embarked on a long struggle of liberation.

Precisely when in America we presided over the fall of the only authentic democracy which existed on our continent during this epoch — in mid-1954<sup>1</sup> — the news of the triumph of the people's forces in Dien Bien Phu arrived. It was like a call of attention to the imperialists to advise them that a partial victory in a specific part of the world did not in any way mean the victory of imperialism. And it was also a voice of hope for the oppressed peoples of the world, in the sense that a partial defeat of people's forces did not in any way constitute the definitive frustration of the people's longings for liberty.

We cannot tell how long this struggle is going to last. They are very long struggles, processes that are sometimes or almost always very slow, with very great sacrifices, but that continue the geometric accumulation of the people's forces, and whenever the correlation of forces offers a small margin to the people's side, solutions are rapidly made.

In a given moment the people's forces reach such power that they move immediately to a large-scale offensive, transform their guerrilla forces into regular or semi-regular armies, move from simple guerrilla action to the action of columns, operational tactics, and very quickly destroy the oppressor power.

We don't know when we will be able to salute the final victory of South Viet Nam. We can never say when the liberation of one or another people today engaged in armed struggle for their liberty will be established. But we do know that the result will unquestionably be the liberty of the peoples. And that when they carry on the struggle with greater energy, with greater enthusiasm and with greater faith, the period in which the population has to suffer the attacks of oppressor power will be shorter.

<sup>1</sup> Government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, overthrown in a US-supported golpe de estado headed by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas. (Ed. note)



When today we raise the flag of South Viet Nam with all enthusiasm, we do so not only for the international proletariat, for the hope of justice that the revolution has inculcated in all of us. We also do it because that front of the struggle is most important for the entire future of America.

Over there in Viet Nam, the forces are being trained that may one day repress our guerrillas... There they are testing all the new weapons of extermination and the most modern techniques of struggle against the liberty of the peoples. At this moment, South Viet Nam is the great laboratory where Yankee imperialism is preparing all its equipment with a view to a combat more impressive if it works and perhaps more important, which will have to take place in the backyard of its colonial ownership, on the entire American continent. We augere a long struggle and great suffering for the heroic people of South Viet Nam, and the same for all the peoples who struggle for their liberty.



Nevertheless, the living presence of the liberation forces of Viet Nam, their constant successes, their constant advance toward the best defended enemy zones, are an example recognized by all peoples. Our mission here in Cuba is to "take up" this living example and make it the flesh of our peoples because of its justice and because of what it signifies as an integral part of the great fraternity of oppressed peoples of the world; and, moreover, to bring its example to oppressed America by all possible means in order to demonstrate how, on every continent, it is possible to struggle for the emancipation of the people. And to demonstrate to our peoples of America still one thing more, which is that when the peaceful conditions of the struggle are sharpened, when the reactionary powers deceive the public over and over again, not only can the revolutionary flag be unfurled; it must be.

We are not speaking of specific countries. We are speaking of concrete situations. The form, the means, and the day will be determined by the peoples' forces of each country. But the examples are already there, alive and demonstrating how despite chemical warfare, despite the new methods of destruction which the Yankees are testing day by day, the struggle can be waged.

Many peoples of America are ripe for revolution. Not only those who today have already begun their struggle. There are some who still have not begun and who are, nevertheless, patiently sharpening their machetes because they know the hour is near. They know that North American imperialism will intervene in America, but they also know that when more fronts are opened simultaneously, the struggle will be more difficult. Already today it is not a question of countries, just as Cuba is not a country in this region of the world but rather a part of one sole country, and moreover, a symbol for all America.

Thus each people that initiates its struggle begins also to dig imperialism's tomb and must merit our support and all our applause.

Today they are trying to liquidate Cuba in order to liquidate "the bad example," and certainly they believe they could triumph by annihilating all that this government has done, all its social conquests and all the representatives of this government. We all know this well. And this is why the struggle is to death. The people of South Viet Nam also know this. There is no alternative except victory or destruction with years and years of imperialist power imposing its projects on the oppressed countries.

For this reason we must meditate carefully, we must ripen the struggle fully, but once begun it must be continued to the end. We cannot make deals nor intermediate terms. We cannot have peace that guarantees the stability of a country by certain measures. The victory must be total.

For all these reasons, when we gather to salute the Vietnamese people, we are saluting a true brother, we stretch out our arms to men who, in a far-off part of the world, are struggling for our security, and are struggling for the common desires that today unite the peoples of the three oppressed continents: Asia, Africa and Our America.

*(Extracts from the speech given at the closing of the Week of Solidarity with Viet Nam, December 20, 1963)*

# All the Structures Must Be Broken

UNEMPLOYMENT means a drop in salaries; there begins an inflationary process which we all know, in order to fulfill the state budgets which are not being met because of a lack of funds. And at that point, in almost all the countries of America, the International Monetary Fund will enter to play a dominant role.

This is the point at which the true proposal for the countries of America is made. There are two roads, no more: to defy popular discontent with all its sequels, or take the road of liberating foreign trade, fundamental to our economies; of developing an independent economic policy and stimulating the development of all the internal forces of the country. And all this, naturally, within the framework of independent foreign policies, which will be the condition for this entire task of commercial development with the countries of other areas of the world.



Naturally not all countries can do this because, to do so, there must be special conditions present. In the first place, great courage is necessary. Within the regime in which they live, the rulers will have to confront a pronounced shift in their economic policy and in their foreign policy, and immediately enter into conflict with foreign monopolies. The masses will support governments that enter into conflict to defend the living standard of their citizens; but the masses, when they defend a position, also make demands. And this then presents a double menace for the governments which they won't always know how to control: on the one hand the pressure of the imperialist monopolies; on the other the pressure of the masses demanding more. In order to truly take one road, it will be necessary to break with all the structures, go over to the side of the masses, and initiate a complete revolution. But we are not talking about revolution; rather we are talking about the road that governments can follow without necessarily initiating the revolutionary process.

In the face of this divergency, the governments should know that if they have the necessary courage to face the problem, and to be able to satisfy a considerable part of the aspirations of the masses and not waver in the face of the foreign monopolies, they can come out ahead for a while.

What we sadly note is how historic example demonstrates that in the face of this divergency, governments fear the pressure of the masses, ally themselves with the monopolies and the importing sector of the national bourgeoisie and begin the stage of repression.

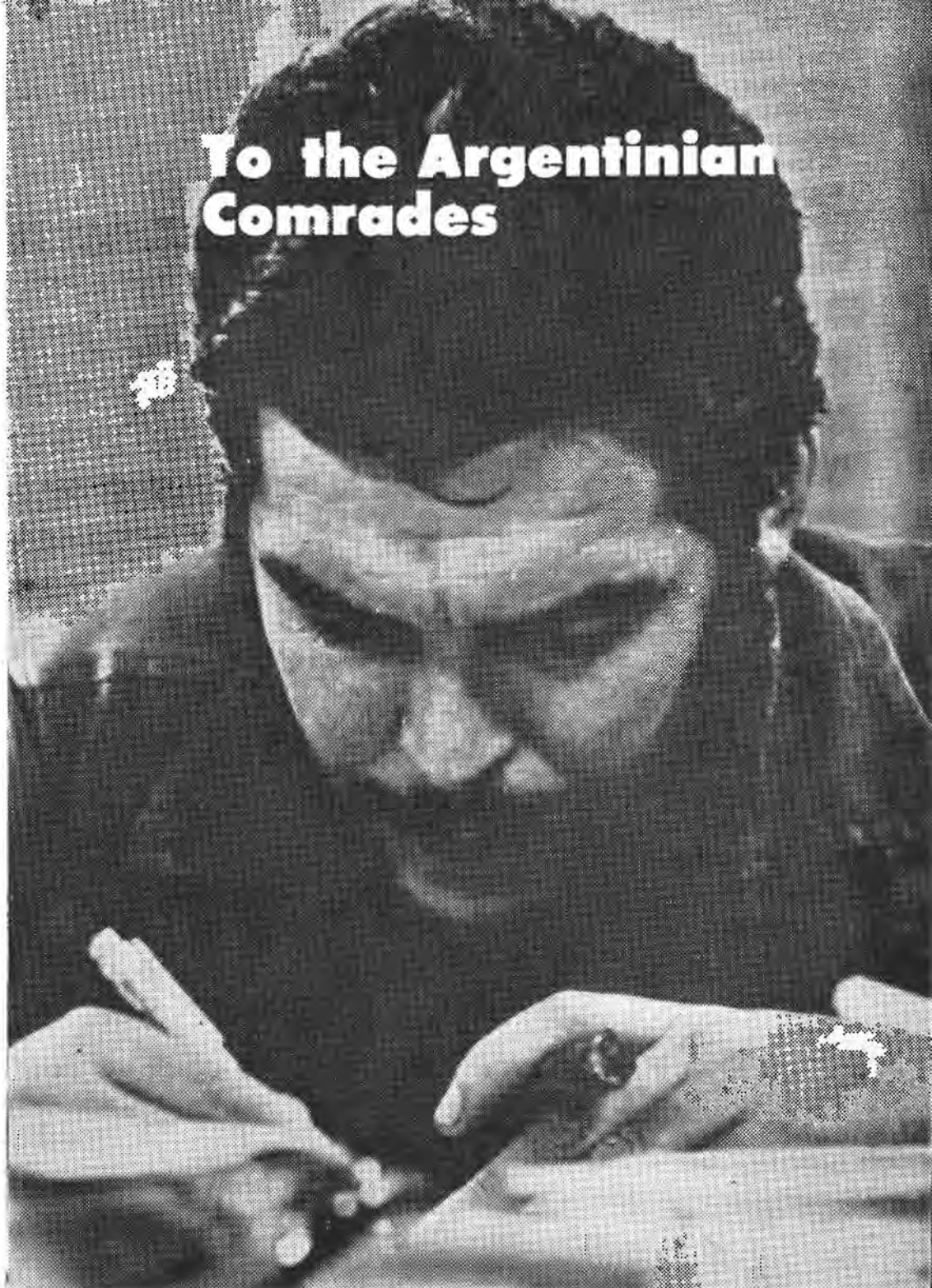
In order for a policy of this type to be successful, it would have to have the support not only of a strong, aggressive national bourgeoisie desirous of bettering itself and conscious of its ideals, but also, an army capable of understanding the present period of America and the world. Whether or not this will come about is a question we cannot answer.

The other road is that of popular discontent. Popular discontent increases under these conditions to the point that two historic conditions are again created for resolution: either the governments are replaced by popular elections, and go on to something new, now with the direct participation of the masses in power, or a state of civil war is created. If there is a government with the participation of the masses, once more there are also great contradictions created between the people, who try to advance further each time along the road of their rights, and the national armies that defend different social sectors and still retain their arms. There lies the germ of another civil war.

If the governments succeed in liquidating the mass movement and maintain a strong hand in the state apparatus, they will have over them the constant danger of internecine wars for which Cuba maintains from this point on she will not be responsible. And these wars, developing first under very difficult conditions in the most rugged zones, will continue little by little to dominate the countryside, besieging the cities, and one day the conquest of political power by the popular masses will come about.

*(Extracts from the speech given before the Interamerican Economic and Social Council, IESC, in Punta del Este, August 8, 1961)*

## To the Argentinian Comrades



**D**EAR fellow patriots of all America, dear provincial neighbors with whom we celebrate today one of our national holidays: this moment, many times repeated during the course of our lives, has a special significance today, a special tone and shading. It is here in another American country, under new American conditions where we once more celebrate a May 25th, and on this occasion we are not listening to speeches already heard and there is no prearranged fanfare, the empty words with which government after government continuously tries to share in the glory of the ancient nobility. The 25th of May here in Cuba, therefore, has special meaning for us, so special that an Argentine with a foreign accent, in the name of the Cuban Government, salutes and welcomes all of you and transmits to you our government's congratulations. America's new conditions, conditions that have been maturing with time, are what have consolidated this new era in which we live, this new historic moment in which Cuba has the special glory to be the spark in America. . .

In no way do we imagine that this Cuban experience marks the only road to America's liberation, but simply an important one, the effective demonstration that repressive armies can be destroyed, that the people can arm its fighting vanguard, teaching it to combat and destroy the enemy army, to harass and finally pulverize it. We can also demonstrate here how the masses grow and develop — one of the most interesting phenomena that of the development of revolutionary consciousness.

We all know that, for a revolution to have the necessary objective and subjective conditions, the government which is the target of the revolution must be suffering heavy fighting and must have lost its capacity to react. The objective conditions exist in all of America, there is no country of America in which they have not reached the maximum point; but nevertheless the subjective conditions have not matured with equal intensity in all countries. We show that Cuba's special conditions, the subjective conditions, went on maturing with the heat of armed struggle, that the armed struggle was a catalyst that sharpened the fight, that it raised this fight to its paroxysm and that it went on to give birth to a consciousness. Our subjective conditions we lay to the awareness of the need for a change in a given social situation and to the certainty of the possibility of making that change. The need for change is well known to the masses in all of Latin America; the possibility of taking power is something that is not always known, the people do not always know their strength, and the armed struggle in Cuba developed the people's faith in their own power, to the point of converting it into a certainty of victory and into making this faith something that caused us to hurl ourselves against the enemy's weapons, destroy his numerical superiority in armed soldiers, his firing superiority, the superiority of his modern arms, attack him sometimes under conditions of one to ten, and destroy all his points of concentration until victory was won. After that comes the other stage, the one in which we are living, more difficult, more arduous perhaps than the war stage. Once more I repeat that this is what we have to show you, we have the obligation and the moral duty to show the situation as it is, not to copy it but yes to study and analyze it.



As time goes on and the Cuban Revolution also becomes an object of historic studies and some of those who participated in this Revolution are catalogued for generations to come as heroes of this moment, then the Revolution will have these virtues, which I have enumerated just now, the virtues of having demonstrated to America what a people in arms can do when its revolutionary strategy is well planned, and when its Revolutionary Army is well directed.

Naturally, there are different conditions in America, there are countries with excellent conditions for guerrilla struggle and countries with a highly developed peasantry where

war is a better choice; there are countries where the working class, the urban populations are much greater and where the conditions for a war are more difficult. We are not special technicians in subversion as there are special technicians against subversion, but nevertheless we know one thing and that is that an armed man is worth as much or more as another armed man, depending on the ideology he carries with his weapon, and that for a man to be armed, he must find a weapon, and arms are not spontaneously created nor are they handed out at every turn of the corner. Arms are in the power of the enemy army, the oppressor army. To achieve revolutionary liberation arms must be seized, however few, and with these new arms must be taken and the small army converted into a big people's army.

Pardon me, comrades, for my military insistence on arms, but it happens that we are celebrating a day on which the Argentine people manifested their decision to take their independence against Spanish power, and after having the opening meeting, and after those discussions which we recall in acts like this year after year, after hearing the statements of the Spanish bishops who denied independence and maintained the racial superiority of Spain, after all this, the people had to implement that political triumph at a certain time and then the Argentine people had to take up arms; but more than that, comrades, after having taken up arms and expelled the Spanish invader from all their frontiers, they had to insure the independence of Argentina, also insuring the independence of the brother nations of America. And the Argentine armies crossed the Andes to aid in the liberation of other peoples, and when liberation actions are recalled it is always our pride — more than having obtained the liberty of our territory and having known how to defend it against the intrusion of the royalist forces — to have cooperated in the liberation of Chile and the liberation of Peru with our forces, with our armies. That was more than an altruism of revolutionary forces, it was an imperative necessity, it was the dictate of military strategy to obtain a victory of continental proportions in which there could not be partial victories, in which there could not be any result other than the total triumph or the total defeat of revolutionary ideas — and this moment for America is being repeated today. Here on this small Caribbean island surrounded by sea, surrounded also by enemies, the history that Argentina once knew is being repeated.

Our Revolution is a revolution that needs to expand its ideas, that needs other people to embrace it, that needs other American people to find strength, seize arms or seize power — it's the same thing because in the end, in order to seize power one must take up arms — and then help us, help us in this task which is the task of all America and which is the task of humanity, the global task of fighting for the destruction of the monopolist, imperialist enemy who will only be defeated when the final magnate goes to jail, at least, if not to the gallows; which cannot end prior to that, which cannot end except in the total defeat of imperialism: and the total defeat of imperialism is being created each day that the people's forces fight and gain somewhere in America or the world. Such is our brotherhood, such is the brotherhood of the destiny of the peoples of



America at this moment, like the peoples of Asia or of Africa. Such is the brotherhood we feel today for the people of Venezuela, of Paraguay or of Peru, or for the people of Argentina, as for the people of Algeria who have won their independence, for the people of Viet Nam or of Laos who perish each day to win independence.

All are part of a simple struggle and it is true when imperialism labels it with a common name, even when ideologies change, even when one recognizes oneself as communist or socialist, Peronist or any other political ideology in a particular country. There are only two positions in history: either one is in favor of the monopolies or one is against the monopolies. And to all those who are against the monopolies, to all of them, a common denominator can be applied; in this the North Americans are correct. All those who fight for the liberation of our countries fight at the same time — although we sometimes don't know it — for the liquidation of imperialism, and all are allies — although sometimes we don't know that either — although sometimes our own forces are divided by internal quarrels, sometimes by sterile discussions, and we fail to establish the front necessary for fighting imperialism; but all, all who fight honestly for the liberation of our respective homelands, are direct enemies of imperialism. At this moment there is room for no position other than that of direct struggle or collaboration, and I know that none of you are collaborators with the enemy, that none of you are even remotely in favor of imperialism and that all of you are committed to the liberation of Argentina; liberation, because Argentina is once more in chains, chains that are sometimes hard to see, chains that are not always visible to all the people, but which bind it more and more each day. Oil flows out on one side, North American companies enter at every point in the country, former victories fall by the wayside and all this slowly produces a subtle poison that continues its penetration of Argentina just as in many other countries of America. Nevertheless, the people react, they react with vehemence in the face of this penetration which in general terms is subtle but which always falls on the shoulders of the people, and when the governments try to wash their hands in an election, there are failures such as that in the last one, followed by the shameless intervention of imperialism, its puppets, and all their toadies. Things then return to an already well-known state and there again occur the struggles of the people. If the heads of reaction are clever, perhaps they channel things toward new forms, in which one more fraud can be perpetrated. If the heads of reaction are not sufficiently clever or if the people are sharper than they, it may be that the stimulus of the masses goes farther than it did before, it may be that the necessary step is taken so that the working class takes power, it may be that the masses of workers and peasants in our country learn some new way or follow along roads already known and destroy a power that now vacillates, basing itself on our fear of the bayonet, on the disunity of our forces, on the lack of consciousness of the possibility of change, of the possibility of struggle, of the immense forces of the people, of the comparatively enormous weakness of the repressive force.

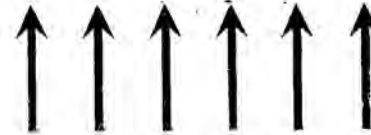


If our people learn their lessons well, if they don't allow themselves to be deceived again, if there are no small, new squirmishes to detour them from the central objective which must be the seizure of power — nothing more and nothing less than the seizure of power — they can bring new conditions to Argentina, conditions which May 25th represented in its epoch, conditions of a total change, except that in this moment of colonialism and of imperialism, the total change means the step we have taken, the step toward the Declaration of the Socialist Revolution and the establishment of a power dedicated to the construction of socialism. When we come down to it, socialism is an economic stage of humanity; we cannot escape passing through this stage whether we want to or not, though we can of course delay it and we can also advance it. This is the part of the struggle for which the leaders of the two great forces in struggle are responsible: if the reaction knows how to manage its cannons, its division arms, its deterrent weapons, perhaps it can prevent the advent of socialism in a given country for many years; but also if the people know how to manage their ideology correctly, know how to establish the proper revolutionary strategy, know how to select the moment to execute the blow, and do it fearlessly and profoundly, the advent of revolutionary power can occur in a very short time in any country of America, and concretely in Argentina.

This, comrades, the repetition of the historic experience of May 25 under these new conditions, depends on nothing more than the Argentine people and their leaders — that is, it depends on you as far as the people are concerned and as far as leadership is concerned. Thus you also have a great responsibility, the responsibility of knowing how to fight and knowing how to lead a people who for a long time now have been expressing in every conceivable manner their determination to destroy the old chains and to free themselves from the new chains with which imperialism menaces them. Let us then take the high example of May, the so-often distorted example of May, let us take the example of the liberation revolution which went out from its frontiers, filled with a new ideology which belonged not to it alone but which it embodied to carry to the rest of America; and let us think of those moments in America, those very moments in which a kind of May 25 took place in the Caribbean zone, in a place from which revolutionary proclamations are hurled to all the peoples of America and in which the Second Declaration of Havana appears as something of a declaration of the rights of man for the peoples of this epoch. Let us think of the indestructible unity of our whole continent, of all that binds us together and unites us and not of what divides us; let us think of all our similar qualities, of our equally distorted economy, every country equally shackled by the same imperialism, let us think of ourselves as part of an army that fights for its liberation in each part of the world where it has still not achieved victory, and let us prepare for the celebration of another May 25, no longer on this generous soil, but on our own soil and under new symbols, under the symbol of victory, under the symbol of the construction of socialism, under the symbol of the future.

*(Extracts from the speech given at a meeting with Argentine comrades on May 25, 1962)*

## Unity Around the R I F L E



It would be reproachable of us if we should think of explaining to each of the comrades who came here from different parts of the world, that this is one revolution and if we should think of inciting them to follow this example as if it were the only one in the world. This is nothing more, but also nothing less than a people who have begun their revolution, and are firmly in it. Many young people throughout the world already know what it is to enter into revolution, as the Cubans know, and they also know the magnificent results the people achieve when they have been able to throw off the bonds that hold back their development.

All of us have a common denominator: we are monoproducer countries and we also have the common denominator of being monomarket countries.

We already know then that, along the road of liberation it is necessary to struggle against the monomarket first, and then against the monoproducer, and to diversify foreign trade and diversify internal production. And up to this point all is simple. The problem is how to do it. You're going to do it by the parliamentary process? Or with guns? Or with a mixture of parliamentarianism and guns? I don't know nor can I answer this question precisely. What I can tell you is that the Cuban conditions under imperialist oppression and under the oppression of its internal puppets, left the Cuban people no solution other than the voice of guns.

And to those who, full of technicalities, ask, for example, how much capital is necessary to initiate an agrarian reform, I would say no capital is necessary. The only capital is that of an armed people, aware of their rights. With this capital alone we in Cuba were able to achieve our agrarian reform and to deepen it, to move forward with it, and start down the road to industrialization.

Naturally, it is not possible to summarize in such a simple formula all the effort of the people, because it is a struggle that has cost blood and suffering, and which has to do with the rulers of the world who continue creating more blood and suffering. For this reason it is necessary to turn firmly to those guns, to the only voice that can guide the entire people toward their clear goals, to join oneself to them intransigently, not to permit anything to sow division, because if brothers fight — as Martín Fierro said — outsiders devour them. And the empire knows this maxim well, which the poet simply

picked up from the people, the empire knows it has to divide in order to conquer. Thus, it divided us into coffee-producing, copper-producing, oil-, tin- or sugar-producing, and it also divided us into countries that competed for a market in just one country, constantly lowering prices in order to more easily be able to destroy one after another of these countries.

That is to say that the maxim that can apply to one country must also apply to all countries whose development is not complete. We must all unite, all the peoples of the world must unite in pursuit of what is most sacred, which is liberty, which is economic well-being, which is the feeling of having absolutely no insoluble problem ahead, and of knowing that with daily, enthusiastic and creative work, we can reach our goals without anything crossing our path. But empires exist, as all of you know, as we know because we have been exploited. Even comrades born in those countries know the





empire because they have lived inside the monster and know how terrible it is to live under those conditions when one has faith in human essence, and so do all the peace-loving countries of the world know it because they find themselves surrounded today by a circle of atomic bases, without being able to fulfill totally their desires for development.

We all know the empires and that is why it is our common duty to try to unite even in spite of the governments that want to separate us, to join hands, not only the young people, as we did here, but also grown men, old people and children, in one sole bundle of will, to avoid today the most terrible of wars that threatens humanity, and to secure, as well, those hopes so longed-for by the entire world. But when the people, who know all this, for the people are not ignorant, want to accomplish these unions, as would occur to many of you, the pressure of all the countries that have sell-out governments starts in order to put them in jail, oppress them in every way, in order to make them forget what they learned in a free country, or to provide you yourselves with the example that will make the timorous refrain from following the road of dignity. It has already happened various times among those who visit us from countries of America and, unfortunately, it will continue to occur. Many of you will have difficulties, many of you will be apostrophized as men of the vilest human type, allied with foreign oppressors, allied with the most nefarious to destroy what they call democracy, to destroy the western way of life.



And so the road is not easy; it is not even easy for those who, like us, have been able to cross the first barrier and establish the people in government. There is still a very hard stage to come, a stage in which these false democracies are going to continue punishing the people still more, and the people are going to feel indignation more each time until hatred rises through their entire bodies, until they convert themselves into a human wave that takes up arms, that fights and wins power. We are in a situation, then, in which the present conditions of humanity, the colonial and semicolonial countries, those who wear the yoke of puppet governments of other empires, will almost certainly, in the long or the short of it, have to shoulder arms to be able to establish people's representatives in government and thus unite all America, all Africa, all Asia, all together America, Asia, Europe, in one happy world.

But you will see many things, you will see how true it is that imperialism was asleep in Cuba, but that it has also awakened because the cries of the people have awakened it; you will see how the so-called international police are formed, in which they give the leadership to those who have more experience in the anticommunist struggle — that is, in our American example, to the United States — in order to shoulder arms or, better, to provide the arms that our brothers of America will shoulder or to go fight under the shelter of that banner of infamy which is the Organization of American States today, against a people in rebellion. This will be the case in America and you will see it in a short time. You will see why the peoples rebel and you will see why the empire forms those armies. But world history continues moving on, and we in this generation, we — or



our comrades if we fall in the struggle — we will see how these people win in battle even against those armies armed by the most barbarous power on earth, and how they completely destroy imperialism.

We of this generation will see the world definitively liberated, even though we have to pass through the greatest sufferings, the most extraordinary privations, and even when in their madness they try to unleash a war that would do nothing more than precipitate their end. But if certain peoples achieve their independence without passing through this struggle, or cut short the stages of this struggle and simply request the recipe for self-development in such a manner as to unite the people, organize with the capital of guns and of the people the most profound economic and social reforms, they must also be told that it is very important to educate the people, and that the people educate themselves with marvelous rapidity.

Those of us who have had the opportunity to live through this experience, so rich in events, which is the Cuban Revolution, are moved to see how day by day our people are acquiring greater knowledge, greater revolutionary faith, greater revolutionary consciousness. And if you don't believe it, you see today a simple example of this in the fact that delegations of the brother countries have been warmly applauded here, but three delegations won our warmest applause because they are in special situations: the delegation of the people of the United States of America, the delegation that must never be confused with the Government of the United States of America, a people's delegation that knows no racial hatred and knows no differences between one individual and another because of the color of his skin or because of his religion or because of his economic position. And also applauded warmly were those who today represent, as does no one else, the antithetic pole, that is the delegation of the People's Republic of China. And at the same time that two peoples were applauded whose governments are in rancorous struggle — one with all its people backing it; the other defrauding its people or opposing its people — the Algerian delegation was also fervently applauded, the Algerian delegation, which is writing another marvelous page in history, fighting also as we had to fight in the mountains but suffering not an invasion of its soil by those native to its soil (who however barbarous always respect something) but rather an invasion of troops from a foreign country educated for slaughter, educated in racial hatred, educated in the philosophy

But nevertheless, our people could also applaud, generously, the delegation of the people of France, which doesn't represent its government either.

But we ask ourselves: a people that knows how to select its centers of applause so well, that knows how to find the political root, and that knows how to differentiate precisely between governments and peoples even in moments such as this in which, for example, a ferocious hatred, a brutal repression has been launched against the Cuban delegation to the United Nations Organization, reaching the point of physical violence not to mention verbal violence; did these people make a revolution because they were this way? Not at all. These people are this way because they are in revolution. These people have learned in the exercise of revolutionary rights during these short 20 months of the life of the Cuban Revolution everything that they express here and all that you, delegates from the entire world, have been able to see and feel on our island.

The first recipe for educating the people, then changing the terms, is to make them enter into revolution. Don't ever try to educate the people so that through education alone,



and with a despotic government on top of that, they learn to conquer their rights. Teach them, before anything else, to conquer their rights, and these people, when they are represented in the government, will learn everything taught them and much more: they will be masters of all without any effort.

Along with this are the things that we, the Revolutionary Government, part of the people, have also learned from those positions of leadership, always asking the people, never separating ourselves from them, because the government that isolates itself in an ivory tower and tries to direct the people with formulas, is ruined and is going down the road of despotism. People and government must be one thing always, and for all of you, comrades of America and of colonial countries that have not won their independence, and who are visiting us, you also know that to lead the people you don't have to know letters; it is better if you do know letters, yes; if you know philosophy and mathematics, that's good. But to lead the people one must interpret, and it is much easier to interpret the people when one is a part of the people, when neither by education or any other barrier that separates us today has one lived isolated from the people.

That is why we have a government of workers, of peasants, and also of people who knew how to read before though there were few of these and they learned more in this struggle. And you have the example here, in the Young Rebels. When on Sunday you hear the words of Comandante Joel Iglesias you should know that he is a Comandante of the Rebel Army who came to the Sierra when he was 15 years old, that he scarcely knew how to read and couldn't write at all, and that today he can address himself to all youth, not because he has become a philosopher in a year and a half, but rather because he can speak to the people as a part of the people himself and because he feels what all

of you feel every day, and knows how to express it, knows how to convey it to you. If governments are formed of men like this, so much the better.

And so we congratulate here the governments of the world whose governors have suffered in the bosom of the people, have learned their letters in the course of struggle and are today, as always, identified with their people.

You have come here, comrades of the world, to know us and to work with us; but also despite all the learning you bring with you, you can always learn something new; and again, all the comrades from countries that have not lived through this experience and who are preparing themselves for it, because it is a part of history and history cannot change.

It is clear that there are always, always certain numbers who watch the bulls from the barricades, those who are isolated from the daily effort and work, who are insulted when they hear these things, who make terrible exclamations and who then speak of sacrosanct private property. And what has this private property been, in terms of the big monopolies — we won't speak of the small industrialists or businessmen, but in terms of the big monopolies — if not precisely the destroyer not only of our strength but even of our nationality and our culture? This monopoly, which is the archetype of private property, the archetype of the struggle of man against man, is the imperial arm that divides, that exploits and that degenerates the people. This is what produces the cheapest products but those that are of base quality and unnecessary; this is what sells culture in films, novels or tales for children, with every intention of continuing to create in us a different mentality. For they have their strategy; the strategy of letting things go, the strategy of individual force facing collective force; the call to that particle of egotism which exists in man so that it surpasses all the rest. And beyond this, they call as well to that particle, that small complex of superiority that all men have, that makes them believe they are better than other men. And then the monopoly inculcates from childhood that he who is better and harder-working has the right to struggle individually against all others, to gain all and convert himself into an exploiter too.

They are very much concerned with demonstrating that the collective force is enslaving and does not permit the most intelligent and most apt to improve themselves; as if the people were not made up of the most intelligent, the most apt, as if the people were not really a great mass of wills and hearts, all having approximately the same work capacity, the same spirit of sacrifice and the same intelligence.

They reach out to where the indifferenced mass is and try to divide it; into blacks and whites, into more and less capable, into literate and nonliterate; and continue to subdivide them until they reach the individual and make the individual the center of society.

Naturally, above those individuals they single out are the monopolies which are also collectives, but are the collectives of exploitation. And we have to demonstrate to the people that their force lies in not believing themselves to be more nor better than the rest, in knowing their own limitations and in knowing also the strength of unity; in knowing that two always push more than one and ten more than two, and 100 more than ten, and 6 000 000 more than 100.

*(Extracts from the farewell speech to the International Brigades of Voluntary Work, on September 30, 1960)*



