

THE MAKING OF A REVOLUTIONARY: A FIDEL CASTRO BIBLIOGRAPHY (1947–1958)

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TO UNDERSTAND THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IT IS NECESSARY TO comprehend the milieu in which Fidel Castro acquired his political ideas and the manner in which he led the revolutionary struggle against the Batista regime. Recognizing these factors, the authors have prepared this bibliography in order to offer a tool for the scholarly analysis of Fidel Castro over a twelve-year period, from 1947 to January 1959.

Prior to 1952, writings by Fidel Castro are sketchy and hard to find. For instance, in the early 1940's, Fidel was a university leader and participated in a political group called Unión Insurreccional Revolucionaria, but most of his speeches were not transcribed or recorded. Furthermore, in 1950–1951, he travelled throughout Cuba speaking on behalf of the Partido del Pueblo Cubano. Copies of the speeches were kept, but we have been unable to consult them because many were published in the Havana newspapers *Alerta* and *La Calle*, neither of which can be found in the United States.

The selections for 1952–1958 are comprehensive, although we cannot claim their definitive character. There are many documents written by Fidel Castro that the Cuban government has failed to publish. Also, there are several Cuban exiles who possess important letters from Castro but refuse to make them available to scholars.

The Bibliography has been arranged chronologically. All the magazines and newspapers were published in Cuba, with the following exceptions: *Coronet* (New York), *Look* (New York), *O Cruzeiro* (Rio de Janeiro), and *Revista Elite* (Caracas). The three well-known articles by Herbert L. Matthews which appeared in the *New York Times* on Feb. 24, 25, and 26, 1957, and are based upon his interviews with Fidel Castro, are incorporated into Mr. Matthew's books dealing with Fidel and hence are not listed in this bibliography.

1947

1. "Declaraciones del Directorio Universitario," *Diario de la Marina*, Jan. 21, 1947, 1.

A call to Cuba's youth to oppose the reelectoral ambitions of *Auténtico* leader Ramón Grau San Martín.

Latin American Research Review

1948

1. "Conferencia de prensa," *Diario de la Marina*, Feb. 26, 1948, 25.
Denial of participation in the assassination of student leader Manolo Castro.
2. "Primeros pasos del movimiento latinoamericano contra el coloniaje europeo en este continente," *Bohemia*, March 17, 1957, 62–63.
Position paper presented to the University Federation of Students at the University of Havana in 1948 on European colonialism in Latin America.

1949

3. "¡Ciudadano, esconde tu kilo!," *Bohemia*, Jan. 30, 1949, 51, 54–55.
Speech at a rally calling for militant opposition to any increases in bus fares.

1951

4. "Carta a Amador García," *Bohemia*, April 26, 1959, 149.
Letter written in Dec. 1951, as a Christmas greeting to an *Ortodoxo* senator.

1952

5. "¡Revolución no, zarpazo!," *El Acusador* (mimeographed leaflet), March 13, 1952, 1.
Denunciation of Batista's coup.
6. "Al Tribunal de Urgencia," *Granma*, July 26, 1966, 5.
Brief presented on March 24, 1952, to the Urgency Court calling for the punishment, through the use of the legal system, of those who participated in the military coup.
7. "Yo acuso," *El Acusador* (mimeographed leaflet), Aug. 16, 1952.
An indictment of the Batista administration.
8. "Recuento crítico del P.P.C.," *El Acusador* (mimeographed leaflet), Aug. 16, 1952, 1–2.
Summary of the history of the Partido del Pueblo Cubano and its weak stand toward Batista.

1953

9. "Asaltado y destruído el estudio del escultor Fidalgo," *Bohemia*, Feb. 8, 1953, 66, 81.
First article written by Castro in the national magazine *Bohemia*, exposing the destruction of the studio of an *Ortodoxo* militant by the police.
10. "Este movimiento triunfará," *Verde Olivo*, July 26, 1964, 5.
Speech delivered to the men who were to attack the Moncada Barracks on July 26, 1953.
11. "Carta al Tribunal de Urgencia," *Bohemia*, July 27, 1962, 67.
Letter to the Urgency Court written on Sept. 26, 1953, from prison, stating the maneuvers used in order not to allow Castro to defend himself.
12. *History Will Absolve Me* (New York: L. Stuart, 1961), 79p.
Well-known pamphlet which allegedly reproduces the defense plea made by Fidel Castro on Oct. 16, 1953. There are no transcripts of the trial in existence.

1955

13. "Declaraciones al salir de prisión," *El Mundo*, May 17, 1955, p. A8.
Statement made after leaving prison on May 15, 1955.

THE MAKING OF A REVOLUTIONARY: A FIDEL CASTRO BIBLIOGRAPHY

14. "Que se prueben en mi persona las garantías que ha prometido el gobierno," *Diario de la Marina*, May 17, 1955, 1.
Skeptical viewpoint on the existence of political rights made in an interview with Cuba's conservative daily.
 15. "You soy un combatiente sin odios ni resentimientos," *Bohemia*, May 22, 1955, 22, 73.
Press conference announcing his future political plans.
 16. "Declaraciones sobre el arresto de Pedro Miret," *El Mundo*, May 25, 1955, 1.
Press release denouncing the lack of freedom for the opposition.
 17. "¡Mientes Chaviano!," *Bohemia*, May 29, 1955, 57, 95–96.
Virulent article attacking the statements made by the officer who was in charge of the Moncada Barracks when the attack occurred in 1953.
 18. "Manos asesinas," *La Calle*, June 7, 1955, 3.
Comments on a speech made by Fulgencio Batista some days earlier.
 19. "Lo que iba a decir y me prohibieron," *La Calle*, June 8, 1955, 3.
Article asking the people to materially support the newspaper in which he writes.
 20. "Frente al terror, frente al crimen," *La Calle*, June 11, 1955, 3.
Article denouncing terrorist tactics.
 21. "Carta denuncia de la oposición pacífica a Batista," *Diario de la Marina*, Jan. 5, 1959, 1.
Letter addressed to opposition leaders on July 5, 1955, in which Castro states it is impossible to continue waging a peaceful struggle against the Batista dictatorship and announces his departure from the island.
 22. "Manifiesto No. 1 del 26 de Julio al pueblo de Cuba," *Pensamiento Crítico*, No. 21, 1968, 207–220.
Manifiesto issued on Aug. 8, 1955, from Mexico, outlining his revolutionary goals.
 23. "Discurso en New York," *Bohemia*, Nov. 6, 1955, 59, 82–83.
Speech to Cuban emigrés reasserting the need for radical change in the island.
 24. "Sirvo a Cuba," *Bohemia*, Nov. 20, 1955, 59, 81–83.
Reply to an article published in *Bohemia* which accused him of aiding the Batista dictatorship by espousing an insurreccional thesis to solve Cuba's problems.
 25. "Discurso en el Teatro Flager," *Bohemia*, Dec. 4, 1955, 78–80.
Speech analyzing the moves by the opposition to find a peaceful solution.
 26. "Manifiesto No. 2, del 26 de Julio al pueblo de Cuba," *Pensamiento Crítico*, No. 21, 1968, 221–227.
Manifiesto of Dec. 10, 1955, describing his activities among exile circles in the United States, and defining the 26th of July Movement.
- 1956
27. "¡Frente a todos!," *Bohemia*, Jan. 8, 1956, 81–82, 89.
Article written on Dec. 25, 1955, discussing the plots made against him in order to undermine his rebelliousness.
 28. "Carta a Celestino Rodríguez," *Revolución*, Feb. 2, 1959, 1.
Letter of Feb. 12, 1956, summarizing the procedures to be used to organize patriotic clubs in exile.
 29. "La condenación que se nos pide," *Bohemia*, March 11, 1956, 59–60.
Article commenting on political developments in Cuba.
 30. "El movimiento 26 de Julio," *Bohemia*, April 1, 1956, 54, 70–71.
Article announcing the creation of the 26th of July Movement in Mexico.

Latin American Research Review

31. "Declaración desde México," *Bohemia*, July 1, 1956, 62.
Statement on the arrest of Cuban revolutionaries by Mexican authorities.
32. "¡Basta ya de mentiras!," *Bohemia*, July 15, 1956, 84.
Article denying links with communists.
33. "Pacto de México," *El País*, Sept. 3, 1956, 1.
Political pact signed by Castro and the leader of the Directorio Revolucionario in August 1956.
34. "Entrevista en México," *El Mundo*, Aug. 7, 1956, pp. 1, A10.
Interview outlining a change in tactics.
35. "Carta sobre Trujillo," *Bohemia*, Sept. 2, 1956, 35, 82–83.
Letter of Aug. 26, 1956, denying any connection with the dictator of the Dominican Republic.
36. "Entrevista con Benjamín de la Vega," *Alerta*, Nov. 19, 1956.
Interview given a few days before leaving Mexico for Cuba.
37. "An Expression of Gratitude," *Granma*, Jan. 6, 1969, 9.
Letter of Dec. 25, 1956, giving thanks to a peasant who helped Castro and his followers after landing on the island.

1957

38. "Al pueblo de Cuba," *Bohemia*, July 28, 1957, 69, 96–97.
Manifesto by Fidel Castro, Raúl Chibás, and Felipe Pazos released on July 12, 1957, calling on the people to fight against tyranny. A proposal is made on steps to be taken by the opposition.
39. "Carta a Frank País," *Granma*, July 7, 1968, 9.
Letter of July 21, stating the high morale of the guerrillas and commenting on the struggle waged in Santiago de Cuba.
40. "Palabras sobre Frank País," *Revolución*, July 30, 1962, 13.
Radio broadcast of Aug. 1, 1957, made after the assassination of Frank País, leader of the urban underground.
41. "Carta a la Junta Cubana de Liberación," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 5, 1964, 33–39.
Dec. 14, 1957, document opposing the agreements reached by the opposition groups in exile.

1958

42. "Carta a los rebeldes de Las Villas," *Bohemia*, March 6, 1960, 56.
Letter of Feb. 2, 1958, affirming the sincere solidarity the Sierra Maestra guerrillas have toward those who opened a new front in the center of the island.
43. "Why We Fight," *Coronet*, Feb. 1958, 80–86.
Article for American consumption playing down the radicalism of the 26th of July Movement.
44. "Interview with Andrew St. George," *Look*, Feb. 4, 1958.
Interview with an American reporter in which Castro answers numerous questions related to United States-Cuban relations.
45. "Carta al Che," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 12, 1964, 7–8.
Feb. 16, 1958, message advising Che to be careful in his military campaign.
46. "Orden militar ascendiendo a comandante a Juan Almeida," *Verde Olivo*, March 17, 1968, 7.
Document of Feb. 27, 1958, making Juan Almeida a major in the Rebel Army.

THE MAKING OF A REVOLUTIONARY: A FIDEL CASTRO BIBLIOGRAPHY

47. "Fidel rechaza la componenda del Episcopado con Batista," *Revolución*, July 26, 1962, 9. March 9, 1958, statement dismissing the proposals for a peaceful solution to Cuba's problem made by the Cuban church.
48. "Entrevista con Jorge Massetti," *Revista Elite*, April 12, 1958. Interview with an Argentine journalist in which the general goals of the revolutionary movement are outlined.
49. "Mensaje a Camilo Cienfuegos," *Verde Olivo*, Oct. 29, 1960, 22. Letter of April 16, 1958, appointing Camilo Cienfuegos as major of the Rebel Army and outlining the military strategy to be followed.
50. "Con Fidel Castro na 'zona da morte,'" *O Cruzeiro*, May 3, 1958, 40–45. Interview with Carlos María Gutiérrez in which the political and social goals of the 26th of July Movement are stated.
51. "Ataque y toma del Cuartel de Uvero," *Revolución*, Aug. 1, 1962, 10. Radio broadcast of May 28, 1958, describing the battle of Uvero and the revolutionary strategy of the Rebel Army.
52. "Letter to Celia Sánchez," *Granma*, Aug. 27, 1967, 8. Letter written on June 5, 1958, in which Castro attests his desire to fight against the United States after Batista is overthrown.
53. "Carta a Camilo Cienfuegos," *Verde Olivo*, Oct. 25, 1964, 9–12. Letter written on June 12, 1958, giving military orders to one of Castro's rebel majors.
54. "Carta al Comandante Camilo Cienfuegos," *Verde Olivo*, Oct. 29, 1960, 24. Written on June 27, 1958, this letter describes the difficulties faced by the guerrillas during the military offensive of the Batista troops.
55. "The First Battle of Santo Domingo," *Granma*, July 7, 1968, 9. Communiqué of June 29, 1958, reporting the defeat suffered by government troops.
56. "Carta al Comandante José Quevedo," *Bohemia*, Jan. 18, 1959, 43. Letter written to his old friend, Major Quevedo, on July 15, 1958, in which Castro ponders the possibility of facing him on the battle field.
57. "La batalla de Jigüe," in Edmundo Desnoes, ed., *La sierra y el llano* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1961), 189–194. Communiqué released on July 24, 1958, describing a major battle in which the government forces suffered a great defeat.
58. "Carta al Comandante Camilo Cienfuegos," *Verde Olivo*, Oct. 29, 1960, 24–25. Letter written on Aug. 5, 1958, asking for more military information in order to plan further action.
59. "Carta al Comandante Camilo Cienfuegos," *Verde Olivo*, Oct. 29, 1960, 25. Letter written on Aug. 6, 1958, ordering an ambush.
60. "Las órdenes de Fidel Castro," *El Mundo*, Oct. 28, 1965, 8. Message written on Aug. 18, 1958, ordering Major Camilo Cienfuegos to invade Pinar del Río province.
61. "Interview with Enrique Meneses," Unpublished, Research Institute for Cuba and the Caribbean, University of Miami, 2 pp. Interview held on Sept. 1, 1958, by a Spanish journalist.
62. "Proclama a los soldados de Batista," *Verde Olivo*, April 12, 1964, 77. Proclamation issued on Sept. 15, 1958, to Batista's soldiers.
63. "La Batalla de El Cerro," in René Ray Rivero, ed., *Libertad y Revolución* (Havana: n.p., 1959), 81–84.

Latin American Research Review

- Communiqué written on Sept. 27, 1958, analyzing the military defeat of enemy forces in Oriente province.
64. "Carta al Comandante Camilo Cienfuegos," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 17, 1965, 4–7.
Message written on Oct. 14, 1958, to the invading force marching towards Pinar del Río province.
65. "Palabras sobre Angel Ameijeiras," *Revolución*, Nov. 9, 1959, 1, 4.
Radio broadcast of Nov. 8, 1958, announcing the death of a Cuban revolutionary.
66. "Comunicado de Noviembre 9, 1958," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 9, 1969, 6–11.
Communiqué describing the political and military situation on the island.
67. "El enemigo pierde terreno," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 5, 1969, 8.
Radio broadcast of Nov. 10, 1958, detailing the various victories of the Rebel Army.
68. "Este es un minuto extraordinario," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 5, 1969, 8.
Radio broadcast of Nov. 11, 1958, ordering the last rebel offensive against the Batista regime.
69. "El ataque al Cuartel de Imias," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 5, 1969, 8.
Communiqué of Nov. 14, 1958, outlining the battle of Imias.
70. "La batalla de Guisa," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 22, 1967, 8–11.
Thorough account broadcast on Dec. 7, 1958, of one of the most important battles fought against Batista's forces.
71. "La toma de Baire," *Verde Olivo*, Jan. 5, 1969, 11.
Communiqué of Dec. 10, 1958, announcing the fall of a town in the center of Oriente's sugar producing area.
72. "Proclama al pueblo de Santiago," *Bohemia*, Jan. 2, 1969, 47.
Proclamation issued on Dec. 31, 1958, announcing the surrounding of Santiago de Cuba, Cuba's second most important city.
73. "Se cursan órdenes militares a los mandos de Camagüey y de las gloriosas columnas 2 y 8 de Las Villas," *Revolución*, July 26, 1962, 8.
Orders issued on the night of December 31, telling rebel commanders to continue their struggle until the Armed Forces surrender.
74. "Fidel ordena el avance rebelde sobre Santiago y La Habana y proclama la huelga general," *Revolución*, July 26, 1962, 8.
Document issued on Jan. 1, 1959, ordering the military takeover of Santiago de Cuba and a general strike in order to stop any counterrevolutionary plan.