

FROM "INADAPTADO SUBLIME"
TO "LÍDER REVOLUCIONARIO":
Some Further Thoughts on the Presentation of José Martí¹

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The visitor to Cuba cannot help but be struck by the overpowering presence of José Martí. Indeed, from the moment one arrives at Havana's Aeropuerto 'José Martí,' references to Martí are constantly encountered: the drive from the airport to the city center passes by the Biblioteca Nacional 'José Martí,' situated in the Plaza de la Revolución, which itself is dominated by an enormous statue of Martí; commemorative monuments and plaques are widely scattered throughout all Cuban cities, while even the smallest rural communities possess at least a bust of Martí; finally, as an illustration of the importance of Martí for the revolutionary leadership, pertinent quotations are continually exhibited at official congresses, and in all major museums of the island. In short, as any tourist soon discovers, Martí's image is projected everywhere: "en alguna medida Cuba es un país en torno a un hombre," as one critic has correctly noted.²

It is thus not altogether surprising that throughout this century Martí has been presented as espousing an extraordinary variety of social, economic, and political philosophies. Indicative of this phenomenon is Martí's revered status both in revolutionary Cuba and in communities of Cuban exiles everywhere. It is also interesting to observe that Cuban leaders with beliefs as diverse as those of Carlos Prío, Grau, Batista, and Fidel Castro have all claimed to be inspired by Martí during their terms of office.³ Carlos Alberto Montaner throws an interesting light on this phenomenon: "para los cubanos todo es discutible, todo es parcelable en antagonismos, menos la figura del Apóstol. Esta subordinación total y absoluta se explica en el fenómeno mencionado: negar a Martí es tanto como renunciar un ingrediente—tal vez el básico—de la cubanía."⁴

Over the past four decades, several thousands of works have been published covering the whole gamut of beliefs purportedly fostered by him, and Martí in turn has been volunteered—to give but a few examples of conflicting testimony—both as a liberal and as a socialist, as

a defender and critic of Pan-Americanism, as a disciple and enemy of Marxism, as an admirer and foe of the United States. Yet despite this incredible variety of theses concerning Martí's ideological convictions, there have been remarkably few attempts to provide a systematic classification or analysis of the plethora of studies dealing with Martí as a political figure. This essay is intended as an approximation to such a project. It has been based on a careful reading of some fifteen hundred articles and studies on Martí, published from the turn of the century until the mid-1970s. While it does not cover every facet of the immense field of "estudios martianos," nevertheless it does trace some obvious—but hitherto unexplored—trends in the image-building process that has surrounded Martí since his death in 1895, and offers some general observations on the various "profiles" of Martí.

In recent years the most noteworthy analysis of this interesting presentation of José Martí was that made by Andrés Valdespino, who views the works written on Martí as belonging to three basic but distinct periods: "En las letras cubanas la figura de Martí ha pasado de la santificación—Martí mito—a la humanización—Martí hombre—a la falsificación—Martí cartel de propaganda."⁵ Political considerations unfortunately seem to play an undue part in Valdespino's otherwise informative article, and a more balanced examination of the bulk of material written on Martí suggests that, with minor adjustments in the latter periods (to be outlined below), in fact there have been only two, quite noticeably different, stages in the general presentation of Martí. It would also appear, for reasons that will become apparent when the present-day interpretation is discussed, that the watershed between these two basic interpretations was the successful revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959. In this paper we will refer to the prerevolutionary interpretation of Martí—and its present-day continuation in the writings of Cuban exiles—as the "traditional" one, while the new, post-1959, presentation will be termed the "revolutionary" view.

Concentrating first on the traditional approach to Martí, it appears that one of the most characteristic features was the constant reference to him in idealized, reverential, and semi-mystical terms. Writing in 1936, for instance, Salvador Agüero described Martí as a person "que tuvo en la frente brillo de genio, como en el pecho beatitud de apóstol."⁶ Of the many studies written in 1942 (to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding by Martí of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano), it is interesting to note Miguel L. de Landaluce's "Vía crucis de Martí," a quasi-religious oration, complete with a series of meditations accompanying each "station of the cross."⁷ Finally, Federico de Córdova's plastically lyrical tribute to Martí deserves quotation:

El día 28 de enero de 1853, los habitantes de la Habana, que miraron el cielo, creyeron descubrir en él un astro nuevo. Y, no se equivocaron; porque aquel día, nació José Martí . . . Venía, como el inspirado de Nazareth, a juntar a los hombres, a redimirlos del cautiverio, a inspirarles fe y confianza en las buenas obras. . . .⁸

Among the multitude of texts that appeared in 1953, the centenary of Martí's birth, there were many portrayals of Martí as a saintly, Christ-like figure. José Manuel Cortina referred to Martí as "un místico y un santo,"⁹ while Rufino Blanco Fombona was more adventurous, calling him "ese Jesús, ese predicador."¹⁰ Finally, Félix Matos Bernier, writing in 1952, informed his readers: "No busquéis el perfil moral de Martí en estos días. Su hermano vive en leyenda: su hermano es Jesucristo."¹¹ Also illustrative of this tendency in prerevolutionary times to sanctify Martí was the fact that the two most accomplished biographies from this period also suffered from the same reverential awe, as their titles indicate: Félix Lizaso's *Martí, místico del deber* and Jorge Mañach's *Martí el Apóstol*. This tendency has been well described by Luis Ortega in his interesting essay *El sueño y la distancia*:

Habrà que lamentar todo el tiempo que los estudios sobre Martí, en la mayor parte de los casos, hayan estado tarados de grandilocuencia y frondosidad. Podría decirse que los que se han adentrado en Martí han quedado tan sobrecogidos por la espesura de su obra y por la magia de su abnegación que no han podido por menos que tratar de imitarle en lo que de más exterior tenía. Aquella generación de la *Revista de Avance* (1927–30), de la que se pudo esperar un esfuerzo crítico más serio, se quedó a medio camino, varada en la idolatría.¹²

Speaking in general terms one can say that the majority of studies written from the 1920s to the mid-1940s presented an apolitical, uncontroversial, and essentially neutral image of Martí, frequently portrayed as "una especie de ente astral, químicamente puro, distanciado hasta lo inalcanzable de nuestra miserable condición humana."¹³ During this time remarkably little attention was paid to the sociopolitical thought of Martí. Among the limited number of studies that did consider this material, two very different approaches were evident. On the one side—and, it must be emphasized, in a distinct minority—were those writers who championed a radical and even revolutionary interpretation of Martí's political ideology. The leading proponents of this minority within a minority were Antonio Martínez Bello, Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, and Juan Marinello.¹⁴

On the other side were the more numerous authors who supported, although at times without much investigation of the evidence, the concept of Martí as a moderate in politics. Among this larger group were Guillermo de Blanck, Federico de Córdova, Ramón Infiesta, Rai-

mundo Lazo, Jorge Mañach, and Emeterio S. Santovenia.¹⁵ Their common attitude to Martí's political aspirations is perhaps best conveyed by Santovenia's interpretation of the basis of Martí's political program, which he terms the "Normas constitucionales":

- (no. 2) Organización de la República sobre la base de 'la patria una, cordial y sagaz.'
- (no. 3) Articulación de los derechos inherentes a la libertad humana.
- (no. 4) Distribución equitativa de los productos de la asociación. Los hombres que trabajan han de vivir con decoro y descanso de su labor.
- (no. 5) Acomodación de los elementos peculiares de la patria al fin humano del bienestar en el decoro por métodos que convengan a su estado y puedan funcionar sin choque.
- (no. 6) Extinción del pasado nocivo y disposición del presente para un porvenir confuso al principio y seguro luego por la administración justiciera y total de la libertad culta y trabajadora. . . .
- (no. 12) Adopción de las medidas encaminadas de la solución de los conflictos políticos y sociales ya presentes.¹⁶

To present Martí as a moderate, it was necessary for these writers to ignore or brush aside the more militant of Martí's observations, to downplay drastically his role in the struggle to liberate Cuba, to tone down his at times outspoken attacks on U.S. policy in Latin America, and to pay little attention to his plans for the future republic. The general trend of these studies was, then, to present Martí "más como un animador poético exaltado que como juicioso instaurador de un programa."¹⁷

The best evidence of this "neutered" portrayal of his political thought is to be found in the traditionalists' handling of Martí's views on the United States, this being a facet of the traditional presentation encountered from the 1920s until the present decade. Without going so far as Aquiles Nazoa, who claimed that anthologies of Martí's writings on the United States were deliberately shorn of their offending critical references to North America,¹⁸ it can be stated that such anthologies—particularly those published in the United States—did indeed present a biased and essentially unrepresentative view of Martí's feelings about the United States.¹⁹ With the important exception of the late Manuel Pedro González's impressive and accurate work, *José Martí, Epic Chronicler of the United States in the Eighties*,²⁰ the same criticism can be made of almost all general studies written on the theme of Martí and North America.

Indicative of the general attitude of these works is a passage of Lizaso in which he disregards any criticism of the United States by Martí, in fact describing the famous "Escenas Norteamericanas" as "una pintura magistral de animación y colorido de una de las décadas funda-

mentales en el proceso de la creación del gran pueblo que pugnaba por salir a formas y realizaciones grandiosas."²¹ Also typical of this traditionalist approach was the constant comparison of Martí to famous American presidents: to Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt,²² and even to Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, "de tan grata recordación para el pueblo cubano," in the words of one critic, "porque vino a luchar frente a sus valerosos *rough riders* por la libertad de Cuba."²³ In short, José Martí was widely presented as having been totally enamored of the United States, extremely impressed by the many basic freedoms to be found there, an ardent admirer of the country's many noble institutions, indeed desirous of transferring many of these established institutions to his own country, and even—quite unbelievably—as an enthusiastic advocate of Pan-Americanism.

Writing in 1928, for example, José A. Giralt claimed, in the face of abundant evidence to the contrary, that "el panamericanismo, ese anhelo de asegurar por medio de la solidaridad espiritual y la cooperación política de todas las naciones del Nuevo Mundo, tuvo en Martí un apóstol eminentísimo."²⁴ Some twenty-five years later, at the congress of Martí specialists held in Havana to celebrate the Martí centenary, two American writers attempted to show how "con su profundo conocimiento de ese país [United States], pudo apreciar los ideales panamericanos de un Henry Clay y de un James G. Blaine."²⁵ Such disregard for Martí's rejection of Pan-Americanism in favor of Pan-Hispanism (most clearly seen in his pamphlet "Nuestra América") was not unique, and indeed the words quoted above were repeated in the preface of Richard Butler Gray's work, *José Martí, Cuban Patriot*, as late as 1962.²⁶ Clearly the conservative approach to Martí's thought was alive and well.

While, in the traditional interpretation, it is therefore true that considerably less attention was paid to the social, political, and economic thought of Martí than to such topics as details of his life, his character, his psychological traits,²⁷ and his religious and philosophical affiliations,²⁸ nonetheless a standard—if debatable—interpretation of Martí's thought did exist before 1959. The subject was thus not entirely neglected. The cumulative effect of the traditionalist studies of Martí was to portray him as a "místico del deber," "el inadaptado sublime," a "luchador sin odio."²⁹ He was thus viewed as a great and selfless Cuban, determined to do all in his power to help his country, and if necessary, to give his life for the *patria*; a noble—but somehow alienated—patriot; in short, a Cuban version of Don Quixote:

Durante todo el proceso republicano, hasta 1959, el inflamado ideario martiano se estuvo manejando en Cuba con una gozosa irresponsabilidad. Quizás nadie pensó nunca que saliera del marco retórico para incorporarse a la acción po-

lítica. . . . Lo más grave de todo esto es la indicación de que ni los martianos más devotos tomaban en serio a Martí. Lo disfrutaban, se embriagaban con él, y hasta vivían de su culto, pero no lo consideraban viable.³⁰

A graphic illustration of these diverse characteristics of the traditional interpretation of José Martí can be seen in an advertisement inserted by Simmons International Ltd. in the conservative *Havana Post* of 28 January 1953.³¹ The occasion was the Martí centennial, a time at which a concerted effort was made by government and business alike to show how Martí's aspirations for the patria had been generously accomplished. The advertisement in question, taking up almost a third of the page, displays a large sketch of Martí in a pensive mood, with a quill behind him and a book to the front, and is accompanied by an official statement from the company ("Honramos la memoria de nuestro Apóstol recordando sus pensamientos"). The actual "pensamiento" is extremely interesting, for it reveals the harmonious note being carefully cultivated at that time: "Lo que importa no es que triunfemos, sino que nuestra patria sea feliz."

It was one of history's ironies that in the very year that this traditional representation of Martí reached its peak in the centennial celebrations, a radically new interpretation of Martí and his thought should have been outlined in most dramatic fashion by a young revolutionary named Fidel Castro. In the defense speech (later published as *La historia me absolverá*) given by Fidel Castro following the abortive Moncada uprising in July 1953, he made many references to Martí as the "autor intelectual" of both the revolt and its political goals.³² From the outset of the Revolution, then, claim was being laid to a portrayal of José Martí that was diametrically opposed to the existing standard interpretation. This new presentation of Martí, both as a man with radical political opinions and as a committed revolutionary, was to lay fallow for some six years, after which time it would replace totally in Cuba the earlier traditional view of Martí.

However, before examining the developments in the revolutionary portrayal of Martí, it is interesting to glance briefly at the extant traditional interpretation. For, while the new interpretation has understandably triumphed in Cuba since 1959, the earlier viewpoint still exists, particularly among the large Cuban exile community in Florida. Speaking in general terms, (with a few developments to be seen later), these writers appear to maintain in their studies the same thematic concerns as predominated before 1959. To give an obvious example, Martí is still widely regarded as a type of quasi-divinity, to be revered from afar as a sacred object. In Hernando D'Aquino's recent work, for instance, *Sinfonía martiana (Vida y pasión)*, the nine cantos revolve specifi-

cally around the “paralelo entre el Redentor de Nazaret y el humanísimo Apóstol de la independencia cubana.”³³ Typical of the work is his description of the birth of Martí (once again seen as the Cuban Christ-figure), complete with the presence of “unos magos guajiros” who had come “para ofrecer al Niño/tabaco y caña/y el café nectarino/de una colada.”³⁴

This group also has continued to proclaim Martí’s admiration for the United States. One finds in these works the same insistence upon highlighting *only* the praise for, while avoiding the criticisms of, the “monstruo,” as Martí described the United States in his famous letter to Manuel Mercado. Even in his moderate and balanced discussion of Martí’s view on the United States, Carlos Alberto Montaner also appears to have minimized these criticisms: “Martí, con toda su entereza, enronqueció alertando a los pueblos de América, a los cubanos y a los propios norteamericanos, de las maniobras imperialistas que algunos ambiciosos delirantes y algunos intereses financieros querían llevar adelante.”³⁵

As a result of this insistence upon Martí’s admiration for the United States, at times one receives the impression that some Cuban exiles prefer to utilize his most definite praise for the United States³⁶ as a means of discrediting Fidel Castro, whose criticism of U.S. foreign policy is well known. This development can be seen in the pamphlet *Martí y los norteamericanos en su propia palabra* published by the Directorio Magisterial Cubano (Exilio), in which the quotations are carefully selected to provide a favorable impression of the United States. Worthy of note, because of the very revealing comment that follows, is this reaction to Martí’s obituary of President Garfield:

Únicamente un gran devoto de esta tierra y de sus legítimos valores puede escribir con tanta emoción sobre el President Garfield.

Pinta Martí la grandeza del alma americana.

Pinta Martí la nobleza del espíritu americano. . . .

¿Qué podrán decir los comunistas—que sólo utilizan su nombre para profanarlo—frente a sus legítimas palabras de íntima vinculación a Norteamérica? . . . En Cuba libre, en la Cuba republicana de 1902 a 1958, jamás oímos situar a José Martí como un enemigo de los Estados Unidos de América. . . . Pero desde el primero de enero de 1959, en que la traición comunista destruyó la libertad de Cuba, pisoteó su soberanía plena y oscureció el horizonte de su legítima independencia, José Martí ha sido instrumento de la explotación de los marxistas-leninistas.³⁷

It appears moreover that, even when not presented as a supporter of the United States and an advocate of Pan-Americanism, Martí is often employed by many Cuban exiles as a vehicle for expressing their political frustration. Illustrative of this aspect are the works of Rafael

Esténger and Carlos Márquez Sterling, both published in the mid-1960s. Esténger even claims that Fidel Castro only pays “fingida reverencia” to Martí, for fear that the Cuban people might turn against him if he did not:

Por eso, ante las infelices muchedumbres de la Plaza Cívica, el omnipotente Fidel Castro pudo anunciar la abolición de la República liberal y democrática; pero jamás se hubiera atrevido a destrozar la imagen gigantesca de José Martí, que suele tener de fondo en sus peroratas demagógicas. Aunque profanándola con los hechos, sique rindiéndole fingida reverencia. Todavía Castro no ha sido suficiente [sic] loco para execrar públicamente el venerado recuerdo de Martí. Sabe que Martí es un líder al que no se puede encarcelar ni matar.³⁸

Having illustrated this rather partisan interpretation of Martí encountered in studies written by Cuban exiles, it is also necessary to indicate the existence of several laudable, less politicized works dealing with Martí-related topics. In comparison with the other more militant studies, these are rather scarce. They reveal, nevertheless, a sincere attempt to overcome their own prejudices concerning the *fidelist* government, and in general endeavor to present a more objective view of Martí’s work. Among this number should be considered studies by Carlos Alberto Montaner, Wifredo Fernández, José L. Mas, and Luis Ortega.³⁹

It appears that, with the few exceptions indicated above, the work produced by Cuban exiles on José Martí generally presents him in a manner remarkably similar to that in which he had been portrayed in prerevolutionary Cuba: he is still regarded with reverential awe, and little attention is paid to his political thought in general, much less his sociopolitical aspirations for an independent Cuba. In short, the majority of the exiles’ interpretations generally appears to represent a direct continuation of the major features of the earlier “traditional” approach, with the addition of an attempt to use Martí as a means of mobilizing opposition to the present Cuban regime.

Thus far it would appear that the development of José Martí’s image, both in prerevolutionary times and by Cuban exile groups, has been rather straightforward, since despite the sheer bulk of material written about Martí a rather limited number of topics and approaches have been followed. In revolutionary Cuba, meanwhile, some startling changes in the profile of Martí have emerged. That there should be a dramatically new interpretation of Martí’s work is quite understandable. The speed with which this radically different approach appeared, however, was truly amazing, with a new official attitude replacing the old and establishing itself within two years of the revolutionary triumph. We must bear in mind that in his assault on the Moncada barracks in

1953, Fidel Castro had claimed rather vehemently that Martí was the inspiration, the "autor intelectual," of his liberation movement. Thus, when he led his successful revolution against Batista in 1959, the continued evocation of Martí as the symbol of his own sociopolitical aspirations—particularly in view of the tremendous importance of Martí for Cubans of all political stripes—was to be expected.

This linking of Martí and the fidelista revolution thus led to a variety of studies dealing with this theme, all of which attempted to show the similar objectives of both men: *Trajectory and Actuality of Martí's Thought*, "El mentor directo de nuestra revolución," *Martí y la Revolución Cubana*, "El pensamiento de Martí y nuestra revolución socialista," "Raíces martianas de nuestra revolución."⁴⁰ Speaking in January 1960, Ernesto "Che" Guevara further underlined this close connection between Martí and the Revolution. The former, he noted, "había sufrido y había muerto en aras del ideal que estamos realizando," and for this reason "tratamos de honrarlo haciendo lo que él quiso hacer."⁴¹ Martí, he continued, had always been a direct inspiration for the revolutionary leaders: "Más aún, Martí fue el mentor directo de nuestra Revolución, el hombre a cuya palabra había que recurrir siempre para dar la interpretación justa de los fenómenos históricos que estábamos viviendo y el hombre cuya palabra había que recordar cada vez que se quisiera decir o hacer algo trascendente en esta Patria."⁴²

The new revolutionary portrayal of Martí took root in Cuba surprisingly quickly. To a large extent this was because the Castro government, having committed itself to a program of sweeping social reform (quite obviously influenced by Martí's ideas), needed to solidify its position by reeducating Cubans as to the radical nature of Martí, a topic understandably ignored by previous governments. Two other complementary factors responsible for this swift reshaping of Martí's political profile deserve mention: many of the "old guard," now finding their views unpopular and unable to publish their work, departed for life in exile; at the same time, many young, politicized critics, disenchanted with the mediocre quality of studies produced on Martí, now seized the opportunity to carve out a niche for themselves in the world of "estudios martianos."

As a final indicator of this dramatic and extremely abrupt change in Martí studies, it is worth noting the publication by the Cuban Embassy in "friendly" countries of brief position papers that further explained the inspiration provided by Martí to the Revolution. Such were the basic views expressed by the *Jornada Martiana* and by Juan Marienello in two articles, "Martí y la Revolución cubana" and "The Philosophy of José Martí and Our Socialist Revolution," both of which were

published in 1961 in Montevideo and Ottawa, respectively.⁴³ Thus, on an international as well as on a national level, a concerted effort was being made by the Castro government to promote this revolutionary image of Martí.

At the risk of belaboring the point, it is important to note that this new revolutionary approach to Martí was clearly visible almost from the outset of the Revolution, and was not—as is occasionally thought—mobilized after the noticeable tightening-up of cultural policy following the famous “caso Padilla” in 1971. The watershed between the traditional and revolutionary portrayals of Martí (subsequent developments in the latter presentation will be discussed below) can therefore be located shortly after the fidelista victory in 1959. From this time on, and in the wake of a high-powered campaign by the revolutionary leadership to emphasize the radical ideology of Martí, one cannot help noticing the striking lack of traditional Martí-related topics outlined above, while conversely the “inadaptado” is now linked with some very different subject matter. Clearly the *martianos* were now marching to a different drum-beat.

It is interesting to trace some of the stages in this image-building process in revolutionary Cuba, and in particular to illustrate some of the apparent ideological acrobatics that have resulted from the shifting sands of revolutionary politics. Perhaps the most intriguing development (and particularly so since its “traditional” counterpart has already been examined) is the presentation of Martí’s views on the United States.

There have been several noticeable phases in the portrayal of Martí’s interpretation of North America—even within the mainstream of the revolutionary overview. Indeed, one finds outright hostility toward the United States widely attributed to Martí, while, in more recent times (perhaps an illustration of the subordination of national emotion to the interests of *Realpolitik*), a distinctly moderate view has been the order of the day. In all cases, however, Martí is again used as a vehicle of political expediency and there are some definite issues that, when judged “relevant,” are frequently emphasized at the expense of others.

Turning to the early revolutionary view of Martí and the United States, it is natural that, after years of biased and unrepresentative interpretations, many *martianos* would move to the other extreme of the pendulum and show Martí’s criticisms of life in the “monstruo.” More influential in promoting this particular view, however, was the widespread national anger directed at a variety of external pressures placed upon Cuba: among these were the economic sanctions imposed by the

United States and the OAS, the Bay of Pigs invasion and the protection afforded militant exile groups, the Missile Crisis, and a variety of CIA activities (including several attempts to assassinate Castro). Even allowing for official encouragement of anti-U.S. sentiments, one could hardly expect the revolutionary martianos to continue producing a rose-colored view of this country.

For all of this initial period, then, heavy emphasis was placed by the revolutionary school on the (numerous) critical references made by Martí during his fifteen-year residence in the United States; given the national disposition at that time, little attention was paid to the (equally substantial) praise expressed for this country by Martí. Thus the critics, relishing the opportunity to present what may be termed the other side of the coin, concentrated on highlighting any of Martí's thoughts that could be construed as being "anti-American."⁴⁴ Typical of works produced at this stage was Juan Marinello's observation in January of 1962:

En efecto, nuestro libertador pudo observar desde las 'entrañas del monstruo,' no sólo su voracidad ilimitada sino los elementos que alimentaban sus depredaciones.

Una tercera parte de la obra de Martí, y quizá la mejor, está destinada a ofrecernos un panorama exacto y sorprendente del 'Norte revuelto y brutal que nos desprecia.'⁴⁵

However, as national confidence grew both in the Castro government and in the ability of Cuba to survive the external pressures to which she had been subjected, as the economy became comparatively stable, and as sweeping social changes were instituted in Cuba, so a considerable shift occurred in the revolutionary interpretation of Martí. The successful literacy program in 1961, christened "Year of Education," in which Martí's work was extensively employed, introduced José Martí to the Cuban people as a whole. The subsequent publication by the Editorial Nacional de Cuba (between 1963 and 1966, and again in the mid-1970s) of a new and extremely thorough edition of Martí's *Obras completas* also heralded a new phase of interest in his writings.

This feeling of national confidence has resulted in a noticeable reduction in the amount of studies dealing with Martí's position as the "autor intelectual," and in those emphasizing unduly his anti-American writings. In their place (and this is particularly true of studies produced after the mid-1960s) the new generation of martianos has sought to outline and explain what they see as the fundamental, if long ignored, issue of Martí's work—his political and social thought. (An example of this newly generated interest in such material is the appearance, virtually for the first time since Martí's death, of a variety of studies ex-

aming the composition and the role of what he clearly intended to be the microcosm of the liberated republic, the Partido Revolucionario Cubano.)⁴⁶

Although one can still find a number of works that detail Martí's aversion to what Olga Fernández recently termed "la naturaleza opresora del imperialismo estadounidense,"⁴⁷ there has been a decrease both in the number and in the tone of such studies. The early, highly critical references to the United States have been steadily replaced by a more reasonable, objective interpretation, although, for some exiles, even this modified view is still unacceptable: "El 'anti-yankismo' que se le atribuye a Martí nada tiene que ver con ese odio desmelenado y racista que hoy se predica."⁴⁸ Yet what is, perhaps, the most reasonable summary of Martí's attitude is to be found in a recent work of Roberto Fernández Retamar, director both of *Casa de las Américas* and of the newly founded Centro de Estudios Martianos:

Pero no se trata de rechazar mecánicamente, en bloque, a los Estados Unidos, se trata, tan sólo, de hacer ver lo negativo que llevan en su seno ('tal vez es ley que en la raíz de los árboles grandes aniden los gusanos'), y el inmenso peligro que representan para la América Latina. Por lo demás, en los Estados Unidos, como en Europa, mucho hay de útil para nuestras tierras. En prima lugar, el saber: la ciencia, la técnica, y el vasto caudal de las artes y las letras, que Martí divulgó ampliamente entre los lectores de lengua española.⁴⁹

An overview of the revolutionary presentation of Martí's ideology shows some interesting innovations. In general, all studies agree on presenting Martí as a committed radical, a man who all his life struggled for the independence both of Cuba and of "Nuestra América." In short, Martí is now seen as a determined revolutionary and anti-imperialist, a far cry indeed from the traditional portrayal of the quixotic liberal. The quality of the majority of these studies is generally high, as can be seen from the thorough and thought-provoking works of Ángel Augier, Isabel Monal, and Juan Marinello; there are a few articles (e.g., several by Ariel Hidalgo) that seem replete with revolutionary clichés and little else.⁵⁰

In the context of this massive campaign designed to underline the essentially radical nature of Martí's ideology, it is interesting to note that this presentation has also suffered some dramatic changes since it was first developed shortly after the fidelista victory. Indeed a detailed reading of works concerned with Martí's political thought reveals that, particularly after 1969, many martianos began regarding José Martí not solely as a fervent revolutionary, but also as a direct link between the thought of Karl Marx and the Marxist-Leninist nature of the Castro revolution. In January 1969, for instance, *El caimán barbudo* (cultural

supplement of the daily *Juventud rebelde*) published an article by Raúl Aparicio that examined the importance of a series of portraits of Marx, Darwin, and Bolívar in Martí's office.⁵¹

This does not appear a particularly dramatic turning point (and indeed the dividing line might be slightly earlier); however, from this point on, we encounter a number of articles that begin to indicate the essential similarities of thought (as well as some rather debatable ties) between Martí and Marx. In the context of the revolutionary process itself, this is the period in which the Castro government initiated its process of "institutionalization," and its firmly Marxist-Leninist credo is clearly reflected in many studies examining Martí's sociopolitical thought. It is the time to stress the positive aspects of this relationship, and minimize the differences, as can be seen from Hidalgo's observation: [Martí] "concebía el necesario advenimiento de la Era del trabajador donde se realizara una distribución más justa de las riquezas. La radicalidad de sus ideas en este sentido coincidía, ciertamente, con las del marxismo."⁵²

A random sampling of other studies shows that they, too, hint (often rather bluntly) at similar links between Martí and Marx, as can be seen from the articles by María Ayón, Ariel Hidalgo, Leonardo Acosta, Luis Pavón, Juan Marinello, and Gaspar J. García Gallo.⁵³ The adherents of this perspective apparently base their views, as Mirta Rosa Rodríguez explained when she opened the third Seminario Juvenil Nacional de Estudios Martianos in 1974, upon the fact that Martí is to be studied "a partir de sus propios textos, a la luz de la teoría marxista-leninista y con la mente objetiva y desprejuiciada."⁵⁴ Once again it would appear that a different phase in the overall revolutionary process has led to a corresponding stage in the study of Martí's work.

It is again worth emphasizing that the general interpretation of José Martí by the new revolutionary school has not simply been altered or revamped—it has been utterly changed. As a result, studies concerned merely with biographic details (seemingly limitless before 1959) are now rarely, if ever, encountered. Gone, too, are the studies dealing with Martí's religious leanings, as well as psychological analysis of his character. In their place we see Martí as a convinced anti-imperialist, as a man with a profound interest in the situation of the working class,⁵⁵ and as a dedicated revolutionary.⁵⁶

Understandably, Martí is no longer compared with North American statesmen such as Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Instead, his contribution to the patria is frequently linked with that of other revolutionaries such as Petofi,⁵⁷ Lenin,⁵⁸ Fanon,⁵⁹ Ho Chi Minh,⁶⁰ and, of course, with Fidel Castro⁶¹ and "Che" Guevara.⁶² A further

interesting development is the way in which it is constantly emphasized that Martí was not fighting simply to overthrow the Spanish control of Cuba, but was also engaged in a struggle—as an international revolutionary—to secure the liberation of “Nuestra América,” and indeed of the world. Given this approach, and in the context of Martí’s own explicit criticisms of the British, French, and German colonial activities, it is not surprising that some martianos have attempted to make Martí’s observations seem more pertinent to the present world circumstances:

Quien habla de y sobre José Martí . . . ha de hablar, en 1972, de la Cuba revolucionaria, lógica consecuencia de su pensamiento y acción; del guerrillero alzado sobre los caminos de América, de Che-Martí de nuestros tiempos . . . del vietnamita que ejempliza al mundo en las razones de su lucha; del negro combatiente de Angola o el trabajador militante caído en Brasil, Sudáfrica, España, en lucha por la libertad.⁶³

In the last decade and, it was suggested, closely paralleling the process of institutionalization in Cuba, we have seen how a determined effort has been mounted to provide a Marxist framework within which to judge Martí. Luis Pavón has explained that this is necessary since, as other Cuban revolutionaries have noted, “la interpretación marxista de nuestra historia habría de tener raíces en José Martí.”⁶⁴ Thus far, such an objective would appear to have produced mixed results: while many studies by leading revolutionary martianos have been excellent, there are still articles, produced by less flexible critics and apparently intended mainly for domestic distribution, which tend to oversimplify Martí’s work.

In the middle of this debate on the exact affiliation of the (undoubtedly radical) nature of Martí’s ideology is the revolutionary leadership itself, which thus far has offered some interesting and insightful observations on Martí. There has been a shift away from the original tendency to “sell” the thought of Martí as a justification of the Revolution, an aspect common in the early days of the campaign to “radicalize” Martí. In its place we now find a rather well-reasoned interpretation of Martí, as can be seen from the recent observation of Deputy Prime Minister Carlos Rafael Rodríguez:

De modo que tenemos ya un Martí con todos los ingredientes para la batalla de hoy. No tenemos sin embargo un Martí socialista, es bueno recordarlo. En algunos momentos en el afán de llevar a Martí más lejos de lo que podía llegar él mismo, se habló de la corriente socialista en Martí. En realidad lo que encontramos es el respecto de Martí por el socialismo. . . . Todo eso le parece parte de lo admirable en Carlos Marx, pero no llega tan lejos en su concepción de la lucha de clases y de las fuerzas revolucionarias en la lucha de clases . . . la sociedad que Martí quería hacer era todavía una sociedad en que creía posible el equilibrio de las clases, la conciliación.⁶⁵

While there are quite clearly differences of opinion in regard to the exact nature of Martí's radicalism, it appears equally obvious that there is a most definite common denominator on which all agree, one which has evolved in a fascinating manner during the last twenty years, and which now offers a portrayal of Martí that just two decades ago would have been incomprehensible to most Cubans. Mention was made earlier of the "Beautyrest" advertisement in the *Havana Post* of 1953 which, it was suggested, constituted a fair representation of the way in which Martí was portrayed in prerevolutionary times. Perhaps a symbolic illustration of Martí as seen by the revolutionary school of thought can be found in a collage composed by the Cuban writer and artist Fayad Jamís, and included in a special edition of *La historia me absolverá*.⁶⁶ The collage contains a bold portrait of Martí in the center of the page with a photograph of Fidel Castro (taken in 1953 after his arrest) superimposed. On the forehead of Martí is a star bearing the words "autor intelectual," this implicit message being reinforced by the appearance on the facing page of a quotation from Fidel Castro's defense speech: "¿O será porque yo dije que Martí era el autor intelectual del 26 julio?" In this way, then, the mild mystic has been converted into a dedicated, radical revolutionary.

The very existence of such opposing testimony clearly suggests that either Martí's ideas were basically "disorganized and contradictory,"⁶⁷ and therefore all sides could rightfully lay claim to his work, or else that Martí's work—in reality quite coherent—has been distorted or taken out of context in order to "prove" the validity of a particular viewpoint. In either case the need would appear obvious for a fresh, constructive, and essentially unbiased study, not merely of carefully selected passages, but rather of the totality of his works, since only in this way will this thought be properly deciphered.

It appears fair to claim that, with a few reservations, a step in this direction has been taken in recent years in revolutionary Cuba, although for historians and critics here in North America there still remains much soul-searching and methodical investigation to be done before a thorough and objective overview of Martí's ideology can emerge. We can only hope that as Cuba and the United States continue along a path toward a normalization of relations, there will emerge a resulting desire to seek out the true "esencia martiana," and an attempt will be made to follow the guidelines explained by Luis Ortega:

Lo importante . . . no es determinar quién tiene más derechos para usufructuar al Apóstol ni quiénes están cumpliendo más literalmente sus prédicas. Lo más correcto sería, quizás, analizar el ideario en sí mismo para determinar la exacta naturaleza de éste y hasta qué punto pueda estar viciado de irrealidad. Nadie

hasta ahora ha intentado realizar una poda del ideario martiano hasta dejarlo en el puro huseo de los conceptos para saber si esa osamenta sirve para sostener el cuerpo de la nacionalidad.⁶⁸

This is, indeed, an arduous task, given the vast amount of material written by Martí. Nevertheless it is a goal that must be realized if we are to fully appreciate Martí, "el hombre más puro de la raza,"⁶⁹ and one of the most advanced political thinkers of our times.

NOTES

1. This article is an amplification and development of a paper read at the annual conference of the Society for Latin American Studies of Great Britain, University of York, April 1977, a version of which will appear in *Norte/Sur* of the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies. The Spanish quotations in the title of this article are from Joaquín Martínez Sáenz, *Martí, el inadaptado sublime* (La Habana: Editorial Cenit, 1956), and Fernando G. Campoamor, "Martí, líder revolucionario" (*Bohemia*, 4 abr. 1969, pp. 12–19), and have been selected to illustrate the vast differences in the official interpretations of Martí.

I would like to take this opportunity to make the following acknowledgements: to Roderick and Jean Barman, University of British Columbia, for their advice and encouragement in the preparation of this article; to the reviewers of this article for their constructive criticism; and to the editorial board of the LARR for their perseverance during the various drafts of this article.

2. Carlos Alberto Montaner, *El pensamiento de José Martí* (Madrid: Plaza Mayor Ediciones, 1971), p. 4.
3. Fidel Castro's personal identification with Martí, stemming from his defense speech, *La historia me absolverá*, in 1953, is well known and will be commented upon later. Former Presidents Prío, Grau San Martín, and Batista all followed similar approaches when talking publicly about Martí. Perhaps the most florid style was that of Carlos Prío: "Yo también, José Martí, he sentido tu presencia y en los días más duros y más amargos de la lucha que por la Cuba soñaste libró nuestra generación, te he visto velando en mis sueños y acariciando lo poco bueno que había en mí. Comprendí a tiempo que no podía imitarte, porque no es posible parangonarse contigo. Pero aspiré a ganarme el silencio aprobatorio de tu augusta sombra." Carlos Prío Socarrás, "Martí, arquetipo de lo cubano," *Archivo José Martí* 6 (enero–dic. 1946):391.
4. Montaner, *El pensamiento*, p. 3.
5. Andrés Valdespino, "Imagen de Martí en las letras cubanas," *Revista Cubana* 1 (jul.–dic. 1968):307.
6. Salvador García Agüero, "Secuencias martianas," *Revista Bimestre Cubana* 37 (1936):207.
7. Miguel L. de Landaluce, "Vía crucis de Martí," *Archivo José Martí* 3 (enero–dic. 1942):143–58.
8. Federico de Córdova, "Martí, demócrata," *Universidad de La Habana* 43/45 (jul.–dic. 1942):178–96.
9. José Manuel Cortina, "Apología de José Martí," *Archivo José Martí* 6 (enero–dic. 1952):94.
10. Rufino Blanco Fombona, "José Martí," *Archivo José Martí* 6 (enero–dic. 1952):130.
11. Félix Matos Bernier, "José Martí," *Archivo José Martí* 6 (enero–dic. 1952):171. Gray also offers an interesting list of religious terms used to describe Martí: "Captain of Archangels," "Redeemer," "The Second Son of God," "The Evangel of Tenderness," "The American Christ," "Jesus Martí," and "Martí the Savior." Richard Butler Gray, *José Martí, Cuban Patriot* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962), p. 133.

12. Luis Ortega, *El sueño y la distancia: apuntes para un ensayo* (México: Ediciones Ganivet, 1968), p. 13.
13. Aquiles Nazoa, *Cuba: de Martí a Fidel Castro* (Caracas: Ediciones Populares del Pensamiento Vivo, 1961), p. 9. In regard to this last point raised by Nazoa, it is interesting to read the transcript of a speech delivered by Fulgencio Batista in 1954: "No nos falta la voluntad de emularlo, no obstante que en [sic] la realidad y el ideal hay siempre una distancia insalvable para la generosidad de los humanos. Todos luchamos por acercarnos al ideal de patria que Martí acarició; pero ese ideal es tan puro, tan elevado, tan distante de la [sic] miserias humanas, que siempre nos queda un largo trecho por recorrer." This speech appeared in *Mañana*, Año XVI, no. 25 (29 enero 1954), pp. 1, 5.
14. Of particular importance was Antonio Martínez Bello's work, *Ideas sociales y económicas de José Martí* (La Habana: Imprenta El Siglo XX, 1940). The many studies of Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring are also generally interesting and well planned. Among these are "Formación revolucionaria de Martí," *Carteles*, 24 enero 1954, pp. 68–70; *La república de Martí* (La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1953); and, perhaps his most famous work, *Martí, antiimperialista* (La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1953). The two most interesting works of Juan Marinello during this early period were his studies *Actualidad de José Martí: Martí, maestro de unidad* (La Habana: Editorial Páginas, 1943), and *José Martí, escritor americano* (México: Editorial Grijalbo, 1958).
15. See Guillermo de Blanck, "Política de Martí," *Revista de La Habana* 6 (agosto 1945):508–21; Ramón Infesta, *El pensamiento político de Martí* (La Habana: Universidad de La Habana, 1953); Raimundo Lazo, "Martí y la política," *Archivo José Martí* 5 (enero–jun. 1950):29–43; Jorge Mañach, *El pensamiento político y social de Martí* (La Habana: Edición oficial del Senado, 1941); and Emeterio S. Santovenia y Echaide, *Política de Martí* (La Habana: Seoane, Fernández y Cia., 1943).
16. Santovenia, *Política de Martí*, pp. 61–63.
17. Carlos González Palacios, "Valoración de Martí," *Archivo José Martí* 6 (enero–dic. 1952):28.
18. Nazoa, *Cuba*, p. 8.
19. See, for instance, *Martí on the U.S.A.*, ed. Luis A. Baralt (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), and *The America of José Martí: Selected Writings*, ed. Juan de Onís (New York: Noonday Press, 1953). An important exception to this trend is the recent anthology edited by Philip S. Foner, *Our America by José Martí: Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977).
20. Manuel Pedro González, *José Martí, Epic Chronicler of the United States in the Eighties* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).
21. Félix Lizaso, *Martí, espíritu de la guerra justa* (La Habana: Editorial Úcar, García y Cia., 1944), p. 46. Santovenia also tones down Martí's reactions to U.S. involvement in "Nuestra América," while even suggesting that Martí both praised and defended the United States before the delegates at the First Inter-American Conference: "The United States had become a country of admirable institutions and of men who were raising the world to new levels of advancement. Before a great assembly of delegates from nearly all parts of America, Martí spoke eloquently of the greatness of the country in which he lived, and which had given him the hope of freeing his own country." Emeterio S. Santovenia y Echaide, *Lincoln in Martí: A Cuban View of Abraham Lincoln* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 73.
22. See, for instance, Martínez Sáenz, *Martí*, p. 263.
23. Federico de Córdova, "Martí idealista," *Universidad de La Habana* 49 (enero–jun. 1945):23.
24. José A. Giralt, "Martí, apóstol del panamericanismo," *Bohemia*, 29 enero 1928, p. 29.
25. A. Curtis Wilgus and Karna S. Wilgus, "Las crónicas de José Martí sobre la Primera Conferencia Internacional Americana celebrada en Washington," *Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953)* (La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión

- Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento a Martí, 1953), p. 319.
26. See the "Foreword" by A. Curtis Wilgus, to Gray, *José Martí*, pp. vi–vii.
 27. See Alfonso Bernal del Riesgo, "Estampa psíquica de Martí," *Revista Bimestre Cubana* 41 (1938):233–42; Antonio Martínez Bello, *La adolescencia de Martí (Notas para un ensayo de interpretación psicológica)* (La Habana: P. Fernández y Cia., 1944); and Martínez Sáenz, *Martí*.
 28. See Raoul Alpizar Poyo, *Ideario filosófico de Martí* (La Habana: Imp. Ojeda, 1944); Raquel Catalá, "Martí y el espiritualismo," *Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892–1942* (La Habana: Colección histórica cubana y americana, 1942) 1:297–339; Andrés Iduarte, "Ideas religiosas, morales y filosóficas de Martí," *La Nueva Democracia* 25 (1944):3–7, 26–32; and Fernando Ortiz, "La religión de Martí," *La Nueva Democracia* 38 (1958):52–57.
 29. See Félix Lizaso, *Martí, místico del deber*, originally published in 1953 and subsequently translated as *Martí, Martyr of Cuban Independence* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974); Martínez Sáenz, *Martí*; and Luis Zulueta, "Martí, el luchador sin odio," *Revista Bimestre Cubana* 43 (1939):161–77.
 30. Ortega, *El sueño*, pp. 27–28.
 31. See *The Havana Post*, 28 Jan. 1953, p. 13.
 32. "De igual modo se prohibió que llegaran a mis manos los libros de Martí; parece que la censura de la prisión los consideró demasiado subversivos. ¿O será porque yo dije que Martí era el autor intelectual del 26 de julio? ¡No importa en absoluto! Traigo en el corazón las doctrinas del Maestro y en el pensamiento las nobles ideas de todos los hombres que han defendido la libertad de los pueblos." Fidel Castro, *La historia me absolverá* (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1973), p. 25.
 33. Hernando D'Aquino, *Sinfonía martiana (Vida y pasión)* (Miami, Fla.: Ediciones Universal, 1971), p. 9.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 19. The similarity between this presentation of Martí and that of Federico de Córdova (see note 8) is fairly obvious. In fact, one can hardly distinguish these works, written some thirty years apart, so similar is their approach and tone. It thus appears fair to claim that, in general, for the Cuban residents of Florida, there has been little change in the way that they perceive Martí and his work.
 35. Montaner, *El pensamiento*, p. 20.
 36. For a brief analysis of both sides of Martí's views, see my "José Martí and the United States: A Further Interpretation," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 9, no. 2 (Nov. 1977): 275–90.
 37. Directorio Magisterial Revolucionario (en el exilio), *Martí y los norteamericanos en su propia palabra* (Miami, Fla.: Its Ediciones, 1965), pp. 8–9.
 38. Rafael Esténger, *Martí frente al comunismo: glosas de contrapunteo entre el hombre libre y el autómatas marxista* (Miami, Fla.: Editorial AIP, 1966), p. 8. Márquez Sterling also uses Martí to attack Fidel Castro: "Hoy todo es distinto entre la guerra del 95 de Martí y la guerra del 59 de Castro. Hasta la colocación de los números nos muestra la terrible reacción contra el ideario del Apóstol. . . . Porque también hay guerras inútiles como la que se libró en Cuba, en favor de Fidel Castro, para que éste derogara la Constitución de 1940, confiscara a todo el mundo, montara el paredón de fusilamiento, y aboliera ferocemente toda la ideología martiana." Carlos Márquez Sterling, *Martí, ciudadano de América* (New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., 1965), p. 404.
 39. See Montaner, *El pensamiento*; Wifredo Fernández, *Martí y la filosofía* (Miami, Fla.: Ediciones Universal, 1974); José L. Mas, "Perspectiva ideológica de José Martí en sus crónicas sobre los Estados Unidos" (Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, 1974); "José Martí y el romanticismo social (F. R. Lamennais: una posible influencia en el joven José Martí)," *Cuadernos Americanos* 193, no. 2 (1974):160–81; and "En torno a la ideología de José Martí (su identificación con F. R. Lamennais y el Romanticismo Social)," *Cuadernos Americanos* 199, no. 2 (1975):82–114; Ortega, *El sueño*.

40. See, for instance, the following: Centro de Estudios Martianos, *Trajectory and Actuality of Martí's Thought* (La Habana: Centro de Estudios Martianos, 1961); Roberto Fernández Retamar, "El mentor directo de nuestra revolución," *Cuba* 8 (feb. 1969):20–21; Jornada Martiana, *Martí y la revolución cubana* (Montevideo: Embajada de Cuba, 1961); Martín A. Landa y Bacallao, *José Martí y Fidel Castro; sus pensamientos afines* (La Habana: Impresora Modelo, 1959); Juan Marinello, "El pensamiento de Martí y nuestra revolución socialista," *Cuba Socialista* 2 (enero 1962):16–37; Andrés Valdespino, "Raíces martianas de nuestra revolución," *Bohemia*, 7 feb. 1960, pp. 13, 104–5.
41. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Apología de Martí," *El caimán barbudo* 11 (feb. 1967):12.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Jornada Martiana, *Martí*, and Juan Marinello, *The Philosophy of José Martí and Our Socialist Revolution* (Ottawa: Embassy of Cuba, 1962).
44. In a special issue of *Lunes*, for instance, one found a variety of critical references to the United States in articles by Juan Marinello ("Actualidad americana de José Martí," p. 7), José Rodríguez Feo ("Martí en la revolución," p. 11), Heberto Padilla ("Martí y Nuestra América," p. 55), and Edmundo Desnoes ("Martí en Fidel Castro," p. 61). In addition, there is a brief selection of aphorisms and poetry of Martí, in both of which one detects an implied hostility (pp. 23 and 31, respectively). "Todo Martí," *Lunes* (número especial) 93 (31 enero 1961).
45. Marinello, "El pensamiento," p. 19.
46. See, for example, Carlos J. Díaz, "José Martí y el partido revolucionario," *Verde olivo*, 27 enero 1963, pp. 33–34; José Antonio Portuondo, "Teoría martiana del partido revolucionario," *Casa de las Americas* 15 (mayo–junio 1975):14–23; José Ignacio Rodríguez, "Martí y el partido revolucionario cubano," *Casa de las Americas* 13 (enero–feb. 1973):98–100; Eduardo Torres-Cuevas, "Función y concepto del Partido Revolucionario Cubano," *El caimán barbudo* 90 (mayo 1975):2–4.
47. Olga Fernández, "El americanismo en Martí," *Cuba Internacional*, no. 94 (junio 1977):16.
48. Montaner, *El pensamiento*, p. 20.
49. Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Introducción a Martí," *José Martí: Cuba, Nuestra América, Los Estados Unidos*, ed. Fernández Retamar (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1973), p. xlii.
50. See Angel Augier, "Martí: tesis antiimperialista en la cuna del panamericanismo," *Casa de las Americas* 14 (enero–feb. 1974):52–64; Armando O. Caballero, "El primer partido revolucionario-antiimperialista de la historia," *Anuario martiano* 2 (1970):425–31; Ariel Hidalgo, "Martí y el neocolonialismo imperialista," *Casa de las Americas* 14 (mayo–junio 1974):89–95; Juan Marinello, "Fuentes y raíces del pensamiento antiimperialista de José Martí," *Casa de las Americas* 15 (mayo–junio 1975):5–12; Antonio Melis, "Lucha antiimperialista y lucha de clases en José Martí," *Casa de las Americas* 9 (mayo–junio 1969):126–33; Isabel Monal, "José Martí: del liberalismo al democratismo antiimperialista," *Casa de las Americas* 13 (enero–feb. 1973):24–41; E. Vázquez Candela, "Martí anti-imperialista: hombre de su momento," *Verde olivo*, 27 enero 1963, pp. 35–37.
51. See Raúl Aparicio, "Retratos en el despacho," *El caimán barbudo* 27 (enero 1969):n.p. This article was subsequently reprinted in issue 64 (enero 1973):16–20.
52. Ariel Hidalgo, "Martí y las ideas socialistas," *El caimán barbudo* 61 (oct. 1972):25.
53. See María Ayón, "Martí y los trabajadores," *El caimán barbudo* 52 (enero 1972):9–11; Leonardo Acosta, "Antieurocentrismo y autoctonía americana: armas ideológicas de José Martí," *El caimán barbudo* 64 (enero 1973):4–8; Luis Pavón, "Contra la falsificación de nuestra historia y la adulteración del pensamiento martiano," *El caimán barbudo* 65 (feb.–mar. 1973):2–5; Juan Marinello, "Martí es el mejor ejemplo de su prédica," *El caimán barbudo* 76 (mar. 1974):2–7; Gaspar J. García Gallo, "Martí: la formación multilateral del hombre," *El caimán barbudo* 78 (mayo 1974):3–5.
54. Mirta Rosa Rodríguez in her opening speech at the "III Seminario Juvenil Nacional de Estudios Martianos," *El caimán barbudo* 85 (feb. 1974):7.

55. See José Cantón Navarro, *Algunas ideas de José Martí en relación con la clase obrera y el socialismo* (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1970); Paul Estrade, "Un 'socialista' mexicano: José Martí," *Casa de las Americas* 14 (enero–feb. 1974):40–50; the reprint of Julio Antonio Mella's "Martí y el proletariado," *Verde olivo*, 13 enero 1963, pp. 38–39; María Ayón, "Martí y los trabajadores"; Ariel Hidalgo, "El movimiento obrero cubano y el primer partido antiimperialista de la historia," *El caimán barbudo* 74 (enero 1974):2–8.
56. See Fernando G. Campoamor, "Martí"; Edmundo Desnoes, "José Martí, intelectual revolucionario y hombre nuevo," *Casa de las Americas* 9 (mayo–junio 1969):115–21; Julio Le Riverend, "Martí, ética y acción revolucionaria," *Casa de las Americas* 10 (nov.–dic. 1969):38–48; Manuel Maldonado-Denis, "Martí y su concepto de la revolución," *Casa de las Americas* 11 (julio–agosto 1971):3–11; Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, *Martí, el héroe y su acción revolucionaria* (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editors, 1966) and *Martí, revolucionario* (La Habana: Casa de las Americas, 1967); Blas Roca, "José Martí, revolucionario radical de su tiempo," *Casa de las Americas* 13 (enero–feb. 1973):10–21; Félix Sautié Mederos, "Campaña de Martí contra el autonomismo, el anexionismo y la discriminación del negro," *El caimán barbudo* 52 (enero 1972):3–8; Andrés Sorel, "Carácter específico de la militancia revolucionaria en la vida y obra de José Martí," *El caimán barbudo* 58 (julio 1972):3–6; Salvador Morales, "La política monetaria norteamericana y la estrategia revolucionaria de José Martí," *El caimán barbudo* 64 (enero 1973):9–13.
57. See Salvador Bueno, "Martí y Petofi," *Casa de las Americas* 13 (enero–feb. 1973):80–87.
58. See Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Notas sobre Martí, Lenin y la revolución anticolonial," *Casa de las Americas* 10 (mar.–abr. 1970):116–30; Julio Le Riverend, "Martí y Lenin," *Política Internacional* 8 (1970):57–71; Ariel Hidalgo, "¿Literatura o partido?" *El caimán barbudo* 88 (mar. 1975):2–5; Raúl Aparicio, "Los hombres de enero," *Juventud rebelde*, 28 enero 1969, p. 2.
59. See Manuel Maldonado-Denis, "Martí y Fanon," *Casa de las Americas* 13 (julio–agosto 1972):17–27.
60. See Miguel A. D'Estefano del Día, "Ho Chi Minh y José Martí, revolucionarios anticolonialistas," *Casa de las Americas* 15 (mayo–junio 1975):59–67; Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Sobre Martí y Ho Chi Minh, dirigentes coloniales," *Casa de las Americas* 10 (nov.–dic. 1970):48–53; Eduardo López Morales, "Apuntes para un estudio de la lucha armada en Ho Chi Minh y José Martí," *Casa de las Americas* 11 (nov.–dic. 1970):54–63.
61. Edmundo Desnoes, "Martí en Fidel Castro," *Lunes*, 30 enero 1961, pp. 61–62; Martin A. Landa y Bacallao, *José Martí y Fidel Castro: sus pensamientos afines* (La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1959).
62. See Jesús Sabourín, "Martí en el Che," *Casa de las Americas* 13 (julio–agosto 1972):5–15. It is interesting to note that in volume 18 (sep.–oct. 1977) of *Casa de las Americas*, an edition subtitled "Con el Che," there are several references to this link between "Che" Guevara and Martí. The article by Vera Kuteischikova and Lev Ospovat, entitled "La literatura en la vida de un revolucionario. (Para un retrato de Ernesto Che Guevara)," is exceptionally clear in explaining this influence of Martí: "Entre los poetas allegados a Guevara, hay que mencionar ante todo a José Martí. Apóstol de la Revolución Cubana y poeta que trazó los nuevos caminos de la poesía latinoamericana, él era para el Che el más alto modelo de la fusión del revolucionario y del artista. Guevara incesantemente difundía la tesis de José Martí: 'Hacer es la mejor manera de decir' (p. 27).
63. Sorel, "Carácter específico," p. 3.
64. Pavón, "Contra la falsificación," p. 4.
65. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, "José Martí, contemporáneo y compañero," *Universidad de la Habana* 196–97 (1972):15.
66. Fidel Castro, *La historia me absolverá* (La Habana: Casa de las Americas, 1974), n.p.
67. Gray, *José Martí*, p. 35.

68. Ortega, *El sueño*, p. 24.
69. This apt description of Martí by the Chilean poetess Gabriela Mistral was taken from the autograph album of a young Cuban girl. The actual inscription was: "No te olvides, si tienes un hermano o un hijo, de que vivió en tu tierra el hombre más puro de la raza, José Martí, y procura formarlo a su semejanza, batallador y limpio como un arcángel." Cited by Gaspar Mortillaro in his article, "José Martí, el hombre más puro de la raza," *Archivo José Martí* 1 (julio-agosto 1940):57.