CHRISTIAN "LIBERATION" MOVEMENT

PROCLAMATION

- 1. We, the Cuban people, proclaim to the world that we are determined to achieve our freedom and our full dignity as human beings, restore our national sovereignty, and build a new nation for all Cubans, in which the essential bond between individuals and the foundation of social relationships will be love and not coercion, prosperity and not fear.
- 2. We are reclaiming the freedom that God endowed us, the freedom that now, amid the darkness, breaks forth from the depths of our hearts and erupts into the most authentic rebellion of all: a rebellion of the soul, through which we reclaim our identity as Cubans, as human beings, and as God's children.
- 3. Let us gather all those labors of love that have been handed down to us over the course of history and join together with them, not to defend an ideology, a party, or a system, but rather to defend our Nation, its future, the sovereignty of the Cuban people, and our right to freely and democratically choose the path to achieving justice and happiness for all.
- 4. Marxism is alien to our common roots. It has no connection to the birth of our nation. It is neither morally nor spiritually linked to our culture or our struggles for liberation. At its essence, Marxism is a denial of the most genuine elements of Cuban thought and the Cuban spirit. Our nation cannot be forced to choose between Marxism and death, because there is an alternative: return to our roots and ground our actions in our history and our faith so that we can embark on our future. We find inspiration in Varela, Cespedes, and Marti, as well as in the creative spirit of the Cuban people.
- 5. Driven by this outdated ideology and acting against our national character, a system has been imposed upon our society, making us regress. It has damaged Cuban society culturally, economically, and morally and erased the foundations of the respect for human dignity.
- 6. That system—whether we call it socialism, communism, or the Revolution—has sown distrust among the Cuban people and destroyed the spirit of brotherhood that was once the hallmark of our nation. It has crushed the Cuban people's ability to work and their unique initiative. Imprisonment and estrangement have struck every household.
- 7. Yet that system has served to establish a lifelong, absolutist autocracy that has latched on to the communist party, ignoring the will of the people and usurping their sovereignty. The authorities have attacked all of our nation's values and traditions, they have repressed our religious beliefs, and they are trying to dechristianize society and destroy the family, inflicting grave spiritual harm upon the nation.
- 8. Relying on terror as its official language, that system has established an institutionalized, privileged class, who live in a tyrannical opulence, in contrast with the vast majority who suffer from scarcity, want, and countless hardships, with many living in squalid shanties or truly overcrowded conditions. In other words, a poor nation stands in stark contrast with a group that has everything because they have power.
- 9. Due to the lack of unions, authentic student organizations, free press, independent courts, and legitimate legislative bodies, coupled with the repression that targets those brave groups and

- individuals who have sought to defend human rights, there is no room for appeals to justice within the structures of this regime, especially when fear has become so widespread that it touches even those who are the most committed to the established power.
- 10. Brothers and sisters: This system is a failure in Cuba. It has failed because it is incapable of winning over the Cuban people's hearts and consciences. It has failed within man. This regime is certainly headed toward extinction, but the longer it continues to exist, the more damage it does to the Cuban nation and the Cuban people. Let us avoid violence and further fragmentation. Our society runs the risk of collapse if we do not bring this process to an end. It could destroy everything that the Cuban people have achieved with hard work, sacrifice, and heroism over the course of history.
- 11. No one can ask the Cuban people to wait 30 more years to allow a system to become more just and more efficient when that system has already consumed the lives and youth of an entire generation. Now, it is the people's turn, and the people will give freedom and democracy a try.
- 12. Who is more capable of shaping a nation's destiny than its own people? No man and no party can claim to be the conscience of the nation or the steward of society. No system can place itself above the people. The Nation is an altar, not a pedestal!
- 13. The argument that some rights must be suppressed to attain others is unacceptable because it is abhorrent. Rights are the source of progress. We also cannot get tied up by the argument that other people are suffering from injustices worse than our own, so it is better to accept our lot. No one can make us choose between two types of oppression. We can achieve justice. The benefits the Cuban people have in areas like public health are the fruit of their own efforts, yet the State politically manipulates such services, under the notion that citizens should pay for those benefits with their freedom and their unconditional support for the government.
- 14. Faced with the awful choice of "socialism or death," we proclaim that there is an alternative: "liberty and life." That is the truth that we lift high today: "You will know the truth, and the truth will set you free."
- 15. We will fight for our freedom, even if we stand alone, as we did in 1868 and in 1895, and even if the world is against us. We do not need permission from anyone in this world to reclaim the freedom that God gifted humankind.
- 16. We acknowledge the slogans that different nations have used in their pursuit of justice: "but in Cuba, spring is called freedom." Not perestroika, not reform, not a course correction, but liberation. This is history's challenge for Cuba at this moment, given the country's circumstances, and it is consistent with the Cuban vocation for freedom.
- 17. The State has not met many of its people's basic needs, nor does it allow its citizens to meet them. Any sort of economic activity or private enterprise can be punished, from securing adequate food for a child to repairing the roof of a humble dwelling. The State considers itself under attack if an individual sells something, buys something, travels, owns something, or creates something outside of the small, controlled settings to which such activities are confined. Restrictions are even imposed on artistic creation, which has bankrupted cultural activity in Cuba.
- 18. All problems are fixed with makeshift solutions, giving the country the feel of an encampment where all aspects of the life of the nation have a tinge of militarization. Employment and education are both a means of dominating the individual and controlling lives and relationships. Young people are used or repressed, even just for dreaming. Deep down, the authorities fear them because of the liberating potential they carry within. Given their lack of prospects, many young people believe that anything foreign is superior.

- 19. We believe that treating the idea of free enterprise as an absolute results in injustices that our nation has already experienced and will not go back to again. No company should have more freedoms than the people. The same can be said of the State, for we also know that, in our country, State-owned does not necessarily mean owned by the people, and that the people and the individual lose their freedoms when the state is the only enterprise and the only economic agent. That is why we are fighting, because individuals, shielded from those alienating extremes, should have the ability and the power to sovereignly make decisions at each stage to arrive at the right balance between these coexisting types of economic and other relationships, which must always be driven by the people's needs and their progress, in pursuit of justice for all while safeguarding all freedoms in a democratic, plural society.
- 20. We will not return to the 1950s or even the 1960s, but we also will not remain trapped in the present. Now is the time for the birth of a new era for Cuba.
- 21. Our objective is liberation: a process of liberation in which the Cuban people take on the leading role instead of being mere spectators at the moment their destiny is decided.
 - Let us not set ourselves against each other. Instead, let us invite everyone to build a new Cuba. Let us cast aside violence, wrongdoing, lies, and destruction as methods of our struggle. We do not believe that the end justifies the means. Our end goal is to achieve freedom and justice, which can only be reached by acting out of love. The only true freedom is freedom born out of love. We will build a new civilization, a civilization of love.
- 22. Cubans, all of us. Brothers and sisters, all of us. Now, freedom!
- 23. We must rebuild our spirit of brotherhood. We must recognize each other as brothers and sisters and band together with the people in this, their great movement for liberation. Unity for Freedom!
 - This is a liberation movement by the people and for the people, which aims not to put one group into power but rather to restore sovereignty to the people.
 - We urge all Cubans to adopt a liberational stance and join this peaceful, pluralist, open, and radical movement. Since it is a movement by the entire nation, it cannot be torn asunder.
- 24. The time for watching, for passive resistance, for failing to act, and for hollow, alienating circumspection has passed. Now is the time for us to make our desire for freedom known and seize that freedom.
 - We must overcome the myth that terror is insurmountable and that the state is all-powerful. We must overcome cynicism and meet our brothers and sisters face to face. Then we will discover that even those who are the most committed to the regime want change. We do not believe the flawed, awful cliché that our only recourse is to live a phony, undignified life.
- 25. Those who, speaking of our destiny, put our fate in the hands of a single man or claim it hangs in the balance between world powers are disregarding the cornerstone of our destiny: the Cuban people. We ourselves will fix our problems, among Cubans, as brothers and sisters.
- 26. We must reach out ourselves to grab our freedoms, not wait for the regime to grant them or for foreigners to bring them.
 - We must seize our freedom of expression, our freedom of assembly, our freedom of association, our right to strike, our freedom of artistic expression, and our right to protest.

- 27. Young people of Cuba: organize yourselves in "liberation" groups in your neighborhoods. Neighbors and homemakers: do the same.
 - Teachers, tradespeople, workers of all types, laborers, and farmers: create your own unions of liberation in each field, at each workplace.
 - Students: form your own liberation organizations, take back the Cuban Federation of University Students (FEU) for the Nation as well. Soldiers, police officers, and sailors: join your compatriots by creating your own groups of liberation.
- 28. We must act swiftly and responsibly, with bravery and generosity, so that our transition to sovereignty does not break down into the chaos of a sudden collapse of the regime, sidetracking the people. Let us all make it our mission to take the reins of our nation on all fronts. That way, we will be able to avoid suffering, retaliations, vengeance, violence, and confusion. If the people ready themselves for liberation now, later it will be easy for them to build their own institutions, achieve justice and democracy, and embark down the path of rebuilding our nation.
- 29. Certainly, over time everyone will join this movement of a people united. No one will feel excluded or attacked, and everyone will soon understand that they have a dignified place in this heroic endeavor. Victory will belong to all of us!
 - Cubans, all of us. Brothers and sisters, all of us. Now, freedom!
- 30. Cubans in exile, our beloved diaspora, your children, and your children's children: you are part and parcel of us as a people and Cuba is your nation and your home. We call upon you to join this movement as well, for it is a movement for all Cubans. The tragedy of estrangement and exile will not be resolved until Cuba is free.
- 31. We call upon Fidel Castro Ruz and all men in power to accept the transition program that we are proposing and recognize that the restoration of sovereignty to the Cuban people is both correct and necessary, thereby joyfully collaborating and providing a dignified, generous response to history's challenge.
- 32. Those who have worked and struggled during these years, who have acted in good faith, who have selflessly sacrificed themselves out of a belief that this system would benefit the people, deserve respect. Their labors of love will not be in vain. The positive aspects of the system will always be preserved. We know that these individuals also recognize how absurd mechanisms and privileges prevent the people from seeing the fruits of their labor. Although they wish to remain faithful to their principles, they too are frustrated by the arbitrary nature of the system, and they, as honest people, also suffer from the most basic lack of freedom, a situation eluded by no one.
 - We call upon those individuals to channel all of the love they feel for their people and join this movement to build a new nation for all, where all human beings are truly respected in their freedom and their rights.
- 33. Let us, eschewing resentments and the arrogance of power, begin a broad national dialogue, a dialogue involving all Cubans, which will be the instrument of our liberation. This open, respectful, and sincere dialogue through which all fear and all prohibitions can be overcome must begin today. It is the backdrop against which we can best carry out the transition, and it is the most appropriate method, as we are among brothers and sisters.
- 34. Cubans: our joy, our entrepreneurial spirit, our industriousness, our creativity, and our poetry are national treasures!

Once our people are free, what won't we be capable of?

The soul of the Cuban nation survives. It was forged out of love and out of struggle, and the Gospel lit its way into existence.

35. Let us destroy the molds and shackles that nearly made us believe that we are an incompetent, inferior nation, that life could not be different, and that we had no other options.

In a free, independent, and democratic Cuba, we, the Cuban people, will be able to build a new, prosperous, modernized society. We will be able to build a Civilization of Love.

Our children will not grow old without seeing this new society, nor will our elders die before seeing it.

Cubans, all of us. Brothers and sisters, all of us. Now: freedom!

Cubans, rise! Lift up your heads! Our liberation is drawing near!

Osvaldo José Payá Sardiñas

Coordinator of the "Liberation" Movement

Translated by Ashley Caja.