

17. Franqui, interviews with author.
18. Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson Valdés, eds., *Revolutionary Struggle 1947-1958: The Selected Works of Fidel Castro*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1972), 270. See also *Pensamiento Crítico* 21 (1968): 207-220.
19. Carlos Franqui, *Diario de la revolución cubana* (Paris: Ruedo Ibérico, 1976), 150.
20. Franqui, interviews with author.
21. Lockwood, *Castro's Cuba*, 23.
22. Contrary to popular legend, Castro had intended a repeat performance of the Moncada assault upon landing in December, 1956. See Yves Lacoste, "Fidel Castro et la Sierra Maestra," *Hérodote* 1, no. 5 (1977): 7-33.
23. Franqui, *Diario*, 189.
24. Leslie Manigat, *Evolution et révolutions. L'Amérique latine au XXème siècle, 1889-1929* (Paris: Editions Richelieu, 1973), 136.
25. Franqui, *Diario*, 272-73.
26. Letter to Celia Sanchez, 5 June 1958, reprinted in Franqui, *Diario*, 473.
27. Bonachea and Valdés, *Revolutionary Struggle*, 98-99.
28. Franqui, interviews with author.
29. Carlos Nicot and Vicente Cubillas, "Relatos inéditos sobre la acción revolucionaria del líder Frank País," *Revolución*, 30 July 1963, p. 2. See also Bonachea and Valdés, *Revolutionary Struggle*, 99.
30. Franqui, *Diario*, 287, 288. The term Vilma Espín used, "negrito," translates either to "nigger" or "blackie," depending on the context in which it is employed. In any case, it is derogatory. White Cubans claim it's a term connoting affection! Afro-Cubans, much like black Americans, use "niche" (nigger) among themselves as a term of endearment and intimacy, but would react with violence if it were used by whites. The latter, in turn, do not use the Kalo term *niche* or *nichando* but "negrito" or "negro de mierda" (nigger shit), as a racial insult.
31. Bonachea and Valdés, *Revolutionary Struggle*, 98-99, 100-101.
32. The *foquista* conception found its most elaborate elucidation in Ché Guevara's *Reminiscences of the Revolutionary War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968) and Régis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution?* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).
33. Edward Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro: The Limits of Charisma* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974), 93-94.
34. As quoted in Thomas, *Cuba*, 952. "Nuestra razón" was actually drafted by Mario Llerena, MR-26-7 international representative.
35. Carlos Moore, "Le peuple noir a-t-il sa place dans la révolution cubaine?" *Présence africaine* 4, no. 52 (1964): 202.
36. "During the armed struggle . . . Batista began to propagate rumors that Castro was intending a 'revolution for whites' . . . with the intention of alienating the black masses from the armed struggle. The rebels were quick to point out that they had a Negro in their midst. The rebels lost no time in comparing Almeida to the black general Antonio Maceo and presenting him as the new Maceo" (Moore, "Le peuple noir," 211-12).
37. Thomas, *Cuba*, 1122.
38. *Revolución*, 5 February 1959, pp. 1, 2.
39. Castro's own accounts agree with Hugh Thomas's assessment that, "At the end of 1958 the rebel army was a heterogeneous group of about 3,000 at most, many of them civilian camp followers." (*Cuba*, 1042).

40. Ernesto Ché Guevara, speech to the *Nuestro Tiempo* cultural society, 27 January 1959, in Grignon-Dumoulin, *Fidel Castro parle*, 67.
41. Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro*, 48.
42. K. S. Karol, "Where Castro Went Wrong," *New Republic* 7 (August 1970).
43. Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro*, 52.
44. Extolling the "new men governing the destiny of the Cuban people," he remarked that the Cuban people now had
 [Leaders who are at their service, leaders who live modestly . . . who work. They see leaders who mingle with the people; who meet with the people, who give their hand to the poor Cuban and to the rich Cuban, to the black Cuban and to the white Cuban alike. Hence, there is created a complete identification between leaders and people, and for the first time there is a genuine democracy, for the first time the people can reach the leader and speak with him on equal terms.
 Statement published in *Revolución*, 10 April 1959, p. 2. Translated in Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro*, 52.
45. Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro*, 52, 93-94.
46. Karol, "Where Castro Went Wrong."
47. Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro*, 93.

CHAPTER 2

1. See Fidel Castro, *Bilan de la révolution cubaine* (Paris: Maspero, 1976), 171.
2. The question of how many Blacks there are in Cuba remains highly controversial. In his only public statement on this subject, however, Fidel Castro reported to foreign journalists in 1966 that half of Cuba's population was of African descent. (See *Le Monde* 30-31 January 1966, and *Al-Ahram*, Cairo, 29 January 1966.) For a full discussion of Cuban racial demographics, see Appendix 2.
3. Moore, "Le peuple noir," 199. This information is based on the author's conversations with two black Rebel Army soldiers in 1962, and with Agustín Díaz Curiel, one of the black *moncadistas*.
4. Fidel Castro, press conference on 23 January 1959, transcribed in *Revolución*, 23 January 1959, p. 14.
5. Interviews by J. Hernández Artigas, in "Negros no . . . ciudadanos!" *Revolución*, 20 February 1959, p. 16.
6. The insurrection of 1912 was an armed black uprising led by the Partido Independiente de Color. U.S. troops were landed, and the insurrection was crushed after three months of fighting. Thousands of Blacks were summarily executed as suspected sympathizers of the revolt. See Rafael Fermoselle-López, "Black Politics in Cuba: The Race War of 1912" (Ph.D. diss., The American University, 1972); Serafín Portuondo Linares, *Los independientes de color. Historia del Partido Independiente de Color* (Havana: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, 1950).
7. See Juan René Betancourt Bencomo, *El negro, ciudadano del futuro* (Havana: Cardenas y Cia., 1957); idem, *Doctrina negra. La única teoría certera contra la discriminación racial* (Havana: P. Fernández y Cia., 1955).
8. Juan René Betancourt Bencomo, "Fidel Castro y la integración nacional," in "Recuento de la gran mentira comunista," recopilación de la revista *Bohemia* 1, no. 236 (Hialeah, Fla.: Empresa Recuentos, 1959).