

- were immediately dispersed after the landing. He made his way to Havana and continued fighting with the underground. After Castro's victory he remained in obscurity and, in the mid-1960s, totally disappeared from public view.
21. Agustín Díaz Cartaya, interview with author in Havana, September 1963.
  22. See Franqui, *Diario*, 70-71, 79.
  23. Thomas, *Cuba*, 1122.
  24. Díaz Cartaya, interview with author.
  25. Thomas, *Cuba*, 1122. Merle, *Moncada*, 264, 268.
  26. See Halperin, *Castro's Road to Power*, 88-91; Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro*, footnote, p. 83.
  27. Thomas, *Cuba*, 851.
  28. Charles P. Howard, Sr., "The Afro-Cubans," *Freedomways* 4, no. 3:380.
  29. Thomas, *Cuba*, 851. For a full account of Castro's capture, see Merle, *Moncada*, 268-269. Castro's own account appeared in *La Calle* (Havana), 30 May 1935.
  30. Merle, *Moncada*, 268.
  31. Howard, Sr., "The Afro-Cubans," 380.
  32. Information to author from private source inside Cuba.
  33. Howard, Sr., "The Afro-Cubans," 380. See also Thomas, *Cuba*, 1073.
  34. Information to author from private source inside Cuba.
  35. These included Blas Roca, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, and Lázaro Peña.
  36. See *Daily Worker* (New York), 5 August 1953, p. 3, and 10 August 1953, p. 1, in Scheer and Zeitlin, *Cuba, An American Tragedy*, 126, 127.
  37. The top Party leadership then included a good number of Blacks, among them, Blas Roca Calderío, Lázaro Peña, Oscar Pinos Santos, Severo Aguirre, Carlos Olivares and Salvador García Agüero.
  38. Walterio Carbonell, interview with author, Havana, September 1963.
  39. An opponent of the Frente at the university, Carbonell reported, was Hispanic Cuban writer Roberto Fernández Retamar, who regarded the organization as "black racist." Retamar became in 1969 the secretary-general of UNEAC, then president of Casa de las Américas in the 1980's.
  40. Carbonell, interview with author.
  41. Thomas, *Cuba*, 887-88.
  42. Carbonell, interview with author.
  43. Thomas, *Cuba*, 888.
  44. After being expelled from the Cuban Communist party and driven into exile by Batista's police, Carbonell represented the Movimiento 26 de Julio in Europe until 1959. In that year he was appointed by Castro as the first Cuban ambassador to an African country, Tunisia. In 1961 he was stripped of all official attribution after airing his views on the "Negro question" in a book, *Crítica: Cómo surgió la cultural nacional* (Havana: Ediciones Yaka, 1961), which was banned on Castro's orders. He was finally arrested and imprisoned without trial in a labor camp from 1969 to 1975.
  45. Scheer and Zeitlin, *Cuba, An American Tragedy*, 58.
  46. See Fidel Castro, *La Historia me Absolverá: Autodefensa del Dr. Fidel Castro Ruiz ante el Tribunal de Urgencia de Santiago de Cuba de Octubre de 1953* (Havana: Delegación del Gobierno, Capitolio Nacional, Sección de Impresos, 1960).
  47. See María Rojas, *La generación del centenario en el Moncada* (Havana: Ediciones R, 1965).
  48. Thomas, *Cuba*, 822, 851, 1121.
  49. Franqui, interviews with author, Italy.

50. Maurice Halperin, *The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 8. See also Bunachea and Valdes, *Revolutionary Struggle*, 4.

## CHAPTER 4

1. Fidel Castro, dialogue with the Bay of Pigs captives (*Playa girón*) (Havana: Comisión Nacional del Monumento a los Caídos en Playa Girón, 1961), 456-571.
2. Depestre, "Carta de Cuba," 98.
3. Franqui, interviews with author, Italy.
4. Manuela Semidei, *Les États-Unis et la révolution cubaine* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1968), 57-58. See also Maurice Zeitlin, *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 285-86.
5. Harold Cruse, *Rebellion or Revolution?* (New York: William Morrow, 1968), 154.
6. Nicolás Guillén, interview with Dennis Sardinha, *The Poetry of Nicolás Guillén* (London: New Beacon Books, 1976), 80.
7. Franco, *The Morning After*, 40, 42, 43.
8. *Revolución*, 13 April 1959, p. 6.
9. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), 112.
10. Franco, *The Morning After*, 68, 69, 70.
11. Calvin C. Hernton, *Sex and Racism* (London: Paladin, 1970), 76-77.
12. Fidel Castro, in Lockwood, *Castro's Cuba*, 172.
13. Nelson Amaro Victoria, "Mass and Class in the Origins of the Cuban Revolution," in *Cuban Communism*, ed. Horowitz, 173.
14. Irving Louis Horowitz, "Authenticity and Autonomy in Cuban Communism," in *Cuban Communism*, ed. Horowitz, 120.
15. Thomas, *Cuba*, 1119, 1120.
16. See Thomas, *Cuba*, 1109, 1119-1120; Robert Freeman Smith, ed., *Background to Revolution: The Development of Modern Cuba* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1966).
17. Thomas, *Cuba*, 1124-25.
18. José Elias Entralgo, *La liberación étnica cubana* (Havana: Imprenta de la Universidad de la Habana, 1953).
19. José Elias Entralgo, "La mulatización cubana," *CASA* (Havana) 36-37 (May-August 1966): 76-80.
20. See Salvador García Agüero, "Presencia africana en la música nacional," *Estudios Afrocubanos* (Havana) (1937): 114-127.
21. Entralgo was appointed dean of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Havana in 1960. His son, Armando Entralgo, was appointed Cuba's first ambassador to Ghana in 1963. García Agüero became Cuba's first ambassador to Guinea in 1961.
22. See "Campana contra la discriminación racial," *Revolución*, 8 April 1959, p. 2.
23. The Sociiedades split into "mulatto" and "Black" branches, adopting names that reflected the acculturating mood of Black Cuba's upper crust, "Atenas" (Athens) and "Amantes del Progreso" (Lovers of Progress), among them. Nonetheless, they enjoyed great adherence among the mass of black Cubans as the only recreational and political meeting places available to Blacks before the Revolution.
24. See Betancourt Bencomo, *Doctrina negra*; idem, *Preludios de la libertad: La tragedia del negro y la táctica del partido comunista* (Havana: P. Fernandez, 1950); idem, *El negro*.