

CARTON 2:5

THE GUARDIAN

HIJACKER INTERVIEW, CUBA JANUARY, 1973  
HAVANA, CUBA

2017/193  
c

Following is an interview with a black brother from the U. S. who is now living in Cuba. The brother has been here in Cuba for about three years. Before that time he was active in the struggle in the U. S. but for political reasons he was forced to leave.

BOB: What was your situation like when you first arrived here in Cuba?

H.J. Well, when I first got here I had to go through a period of investigation. I was treated with a certain amount of suspicion which is natural and understandable. But I was also treated very kindly, very warmly. I wasn't <sup>greeted</sup> ~~accepted~~ as one of the great black liberators or the great black revolutionary who came from the States with all the answers to the problems of the people. I was treated as someone who had come here without permission and who had to be investigated so that the authorities would know whether that person was someone trustworthy or someone willing and able to contribute to the revolution in some way or whether I was an agent or some nut or someone who might be dangerous or harmful. But after the period of investigation was over, I was given a place to live. All my basic needs were provided for - food, clothing, housing, money to spend - and I was free to travel in any part of the country that I wanted to travel in.

BOB: Were you able to get a job, to ~~integrate~~, to become a part of the society?

H.J. Yes, this was the whole idea. Once the investigation period was over, the revolutionary government <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ able to find a job for me that would be suitable to my needs and talents and skills. I requested personally to go to the cane harvest and I spent five months harvesting cane. After that period of time I went in construction and I was there for three or four months. At the end of that three or four months, I went into a factory, an industry. And I would like to explain ~~why~~ ~~this~~ reason this

progression went on was because I wanted to learn the socialist process from the ground up and I felt that although I did have some skills in electronics and in automotive mechanics, that in order to learn the process/<sup>better</sup>it would be much better to start in agriculture and go from that to light construction and then from there into basic industry and that's where I am now in basic industry. I work in a soap factory which manufactures soap, face soap, wash soap, perfumes~~t~~, cosmetics. They even make a form of margerine.

BOB: What's your living situation like now? Do you have an apartment, room or what?

H.J. Yes, I live in an apartment with a sister from the States and there are no restrictions as far as living arrangements are concerned. The problem is that there are not a hell of a lot of apartments available for the entire Cuban population. But as far as someone who is here as a guest <sup>of</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>of</sup> the revolutionary government, ~~or~~ whether that person is an invited guest or an uninvited guest, there is no restriction on where they live. If, for example, you can find someone who is willing to let you live in their home, then this is perfectly all right with the revolutionary government. However, they do provide places for you to live if you can't find someone to live with. But there are other people who are here who are living in hotels. The government provides rooms for them and their families who live here. They are provided for. Some of them have been given houses to live in or apartments as they become available. But it's a situation that everyone here faces - the problem of housing - the shortage of housing.

BOB: How would you describe your legal status here in Cuba?

H.J. Well, I never really checked with the revolution to find out what my legal status is in a strictly legal situation. I mean by legal as far as law and courts/are concerned. <sup>and things like that</sup> But I do know that I am treated just the same as any ~~other~~ Cuban citizen. I have the same basic rights that any ~~other~~ Cuban citizen has. For example, I am allowed to drive a car, to possess a driver's license. I am allowed to purchase whatever goods are available. There is no one directing me or advising me or telling me that I have to do this or I have to do the other. I participate in the work program on the same level that all the other workers participate on— that's in the general assemblies and in the \_\_\_\_\_ of the unions, in the decision making meetings in the factory in which I work. I have a voice in that.

BOB: Are you a member of the union?

H.J. YES, I am a member of the syndicate [trade union]. Each worker has an assembly and I am a member of that assembly. This gives me, as far as the \_\_\_\_\_ is concerned, I have never checked into court setup, etc., but I suspect that I come under the same jurisdiction in most areas that the Cubans come under. Now the one basic difference is that I am not required to work. I do not have to work. The revolutionary government provides all of my needs whether I work or not. But the situation there is that I am <sup>in</sup> a working class society and I am conscious of that fact. I am also conscious of the fact that there can be no development, no advancement without working and that working is as beneficial to the individual who performs it as it is to a society that demands or that needs the work to be done. So my working is not a mandatory thing. That's because of the fact that it is a purely voluntary thing. I get paid and my salary is equal to the

salary of people doing the same type job. There is a great deal of voluntary work that none of us get paid for but all of that contributes to the development of the economy of the society so we don't mind it. So ~~I would say~~ basically in answer to your question about my legality, ~~is~~ I am not a Cuban citizen. I ~~have~~ not applied for Cuban citizenship, but I am treated just the same as any ~~other~~ Cuban citizen. I am sure that I am subject to any Cuban laws here - revolutionary laws affecting the Cuban people.

BOB: What about political activity? ~~Are~~ you able to engage in any type of political activity that you may choose to?

H. J. Yes, for example, I am a member of the <sup>CDR</sup> ~~CDR~~ in my block. That's the Committee for <sup>Defense of the</sup> ~~the~~ Revolution. ~~I am also, like I~~ ~~said.~~ On my job I am a member of the syndicate and I participate in the ~~assemblies~~ <sup>(the assemblies)</sup> and the union <sup>meetings</sup> ~~leaders~~. The one thing is that <sup>Foreigners</sup> ~~farmers~~ are not allowed to create political organizations or parties that are foreign to the revolutionary government here. For example, <sup>there have been</sup> people who want <sup>to</sup> create their own party - their own organizations after they have got ~~there,~~ ~~see,~~ ~~the revolutionaries won't allow that.~~ <sup>However,</sup> All of your political activity has to be <sup>with</sup> in the framework or the orientation of the revolutionary government of Cuba, and this is understandable. None of us have any objections to that. As an example, I am also a member of the Union of North American <sup>Residents</sup> ~~Workers~~ here in Cuba. Now this is an organization and we do have a political orientation and that political orientation follows the orientation of the revolutionary government of Cuba. Our basic purpose is to group as many of the North American citizens who are residents here in

Cuba together and that way provide a more concrete means of making a contribution well within the framework of the needs of the revolutionary government of Cuba. Part of our work is to distribute information about the movement ~~wikkin~~ within the States and what's going on, also to distribute information about the movement here in Cuba — the revolution — and the x revolutionary movement in other parts of Latin America and try in some way to coordinate areas of the movement that do coincide in Latin America, here in Cuba, and in the United States.

BOB: Are you able then to keep in touch with the ~~Black~~ struggle in the U.S.?

H.J. Very definitely. We receive mail from various people in the States and from several organizations in the States. Our main contact, however, is through people who come here as visitors, ~~or with the brigade or through various means.~~ And, ~~no,~~ we do not have our finger exactly on the movement at any particular moment; we do have a very good idea x of the direction the movement has taken and where it's going and what the major issues are, and through reading and studying we manage to keep abreast of what is going on there. And as far as the black movement is concerned, this is naturally my special area of interest, ~~and~~ through letters from friends and family, I manage to keep fairly well informed.

BOB: As a black man living in Cuba which is a multi-racial society, what's your opinion or understanding of the racial situation here? Have you seen any problems or experienced any x discrimination or seen any manifestations of racism here?

H.J. x First of all, there has to be on the surface the racial situation here in Cuba and the racial situation in the U. S. is totally & completely ~~different~~. For example, the development — the social and eco-

conomic development here in Cuba is completely different here than in the States. The whole history and background was different. There are very definite signs of individuals here who still possess what could be interpreted as racist attitudes. The institutions that have been established here after the triumph of the revolution are effectively defeating these attitudes in various individuals. I have/experienced any organized or any institutionalized racism here in Cuba since I have been here. Now what I have run into is the same thing I guess you would run into in any other country or any situation - individuals who still have racists ideas and attitudes. The government has adopted a very realistic program to combat racism. This is one of the great unifying forces that the/Cuban people have with the revolutionary government led by Fidel Castro. When Fidel was in the Sierra, he promised that the revolution would be a revolution for all ~~g~~ the people. He emphasized that - Blacks, <sup>mestizos</sup> ~~Indians~~ - all the Cuban people. It didn't make any difference. And the difference there - say for example in the Civil War in the U. S. when ~~the~~ we black people were promised land, freedom, liberty, justice, equality, and so forth for our participation in that struggle on the side o f the North, and after the struggle was over for a brief period of time we did have some tokenism but as soon as our freedom, our liberty went against the interests of the system, they doublecrossed us and reverted back to out and out racism. This is the basic difference there. The revolution kept its word. It kept its word for the black people. It kept its word for the Indians, the people who are still here, it kept its word to the Chinese people. It kept its word to all of the minority groups or ethnic groups, whatever you want to call them, over here. And it is because of

this that the whole thing about racism takes a completely different - not solely because of this, but this is part of the reason that the whole thing about racism takes on a completely different aspect here in socialist Cuba. The other thing is that under socialism the conditions for destroying racism totally and completely exist to a much higher degree than they could ever possibly exist under capitalism. I remember a couple of brothers who came here once who asked me why did I support the revolutionary government of Cuba since I could never hold political power here, since I would always be an alien no matter how well I was treated, and the question struck me as being a little funny until --- a little wierd until I really stopped and thought about it and then I realized that that was ~~the~~ a question that needed to be answered and my answer to that is that I support the revolutionary government of Cuba and the revolution of Cuba because the people support the revolutionary government of Cuba and the revolution of Cuba. If the ~~people~~ people didn't support it, then I wouldn't support it. This is basically what I am trying to say - there are problems - not specific problems with racism but there are individuals who still have racist ideas and attitudes but they are being very effectively isolated and very effectively controlled. And it must be understood that in twelve or thirteen years in all the problems that deal with the social development and with the moral development of a country who has been the victim of the most immoral and \_\_\_\_\_ society in the world cannot be solved overnite, <sup>it takes time,</sup> but Cuba is doing it very effectively. The way they are doing it might be very interesting - several ways.

It might be interesting to note those. They are not going around with big signs. They are not going around condemning everybody, but they are incorporating everyone into the work force. There are no jobs that are restricted to anyone because of their color. There are the - for example, the bus drivers - the numbers of officials in the local committees, the CVR's, the mass organizations, etc., in all of the provinces you will find people of all streams and colors running those organizations -- leading those organizations. \_\_\_\_\_, for example, in my factory - I say my factory - but in the factory in which I work, this is a factory that before was owned by Proctor and Gamble and until the revolution, there was only one black person working in that factory and the overall number of people employed was over 300. And there was only one black person employed - and as you might well imagine, that black was employed as a janitor. <sup>Today</sup> ~~Now~~ a large number of the leaders of the various organizations in the factory are black. The number of blacks employed is high. It's noticeable. I don't have the exact figure but it's a hell of a long way from just one black, and they are not just employed as janitors. As a matter of fact, there are no black janitors in this particular factory. It is in ways like this that the revolution is effectively dealing with racism. They are not just <sup>mouth</sup> ~~modeling~~ phrases or telling people they shouldn't be racist or whatever the case might be, they are just setting the example. They are giving the jobs to people who are qualified. The housing that is available - it doesn't make any difference what color your skin is - if you qualify, if you have the necessary qualifications, then you get that house or that apartment, whatever

the case might be. And to me this is one of the most effective ways of fighting the monster that we are fighting in the States --racism. And, as I said, I will repeat it. I have seen more out and out actual racism which to my mind would indicate that or which to my mind would indicate that Cuba is racist or that the government is racist or that supports racism in any way whatsoever. The few incidents that I have seen or that I do have <sup>Knowledge of</sup> information about - here's one example which is an isolated case and maybe I shouldn't even mention it but I will just for the hell of it. A brother took one of the white sisters to court because he accused her of practicing racism against him and his family in the building that they were living in. The revolutionary court investigator later found out that there was some ground for him to suspect that the woman was practicing this and he took action against her to forbid her from doing that. The good thing about it was that the rest of the community - the rest of the neighborhood took up the cause and they began to talk to the woman and to find out exactly what her problems were, etc.,. This happened last year some time and right now there is no problem. There just is no problem now. I can't say that this woman still doesn't have some racist attitudes or racist ideas but the big thing is that she is not allowed to express them either by the revolutionary government or by the people in the community. And some of them may have racist ideas. But ~~h~~ this <sup>is</sup> <sub>^</sub> one example of what I am saying about how the government is trying to go about defeating this problem and I am certain that it will be totally and completely defeated including this thing about ideas and attitudes.

BOB: I gather then ~~that you~~ from you are saying, I mean, this is <sup>just</sup> one aspect of the larger question of the struggle against the conditions, the struggle to overcome the conditions that existed before the revolution. Do you feel that the Cuban Revolution is being successful in carrying out this struggle for the new society, especially given the fact that the economic blockade imposed by the United States. I imagine this must have presented some particular kinds of problems for the revolutionary process here.

H. J. Well, this is true. I would say very definitely that the revolutionary government is dealing with those problems on a very realistic and very effective level and this can be proven in one sense by the fact that the economic blockade, although it is still very detrimental to the development of the revolution in certain areas, it has not been totally and completely successful. The conditions that exist here now \_\_\_\_\_ has described in \_\_\_\_\_, he said that the sacrifices we make today is the price that we pay for our freedom tomorrow - or words to that effect. It might not be an exact quote but I know what he meant and I think you understand. Not only \_\_\_\_\_ but the future of Cuba is much much better than the future of any capitalist country in the world no matter how highly developed it is at this moment and this is basically because the people in all of the capitalist countries are abandoning the building. They are abandoning the systems. They are questioning the systems. There is no confidence and trust between the people and the government, between the agencies and the government or the institutions, and in Cuba it is just the reverse. It is just like I said for my reason for sup-

porting the revolution. The people support it. They believe in it, they contribute to it and we all sacrifice.

BOB: Since you<sup>have</sup>/come from the U. S. and you have pointed out how Cuba is different from the U. S., has it been difficult for you personally to adjust to the life here?

H. J. Well, it has been difficult in certain areas, yes, because if you remember, Chairman Mao made a statement or has a saying that all types of thinking without exception are stamped with the brand of the class, and this is absolutely true. At least I have found it to be true in my experiences. My class background - a street background, cussing background - created certain problems for me when I came here and began to try to adjust to <sup>a socialist</sup> ~~the~~ society even though I had been active politically in the States. I had been actively specifically in my own class area. And when it came to having to live collectively - having to live under centralized leadership - a centralized government, having to make the necessary sacrifices for the future, not for myself but for the future, it was a little difficult. But personally it wasn't extremely difficult because of the fact that I had made up my mind that the capitalistic conditions wouldn't work and that there must be something to replace it with and that once I turn against that system, I have to reach out and find something to replace it with and the only thing visible was socialism and once I embraced socialism I was determined to stick with it to make it work. So it wasn't extremely difficult but there is a degree of difficulty mainly because as I said, the stamping of a brand, a class brand, of an individual - the previous

conditioning, etc. I think that's understandable. I don't think anyone has any real problems understanding that. Nevertheless, now, there's no real problem. I think that I would have much more problems now readjusting to a capitalist society now than I had adjusting to a socialist society. I really believe this.

BOB: Do you think you will stay here in Cuba?

H. J. I will stay here but I don't know how long. My ultimate ambition is to be able to <sup>contribute</sup> ~~contribute~~ on a much more realistic level <sup>much</sup> or ~~a~~/more physically to the development of the socialist revolution in the United States of America, and whether I will ever be able to that or not, I don't know. But I intend to stay prepared and if the occasion or if the opportunity should arise, I will definitely avail myself and return. I have no romantic illusions about returning as the great liberator or anything like that, and I know that to return it is going to be a very difficult thing. And it might just be that I will not be able to return until the revolution has been successfully completed. But at any rate, I look upon the U. S. of America as being the land of my birth and although I have great respect and a great desire to participate in the Liberation of the land of my ancestral birth, Africa, I feel that my first love is with the land of my birth because that's where all of my roots really are - my family. I grew up there, I was born there and I grew up there. Everything I know is there and if I should get a chance to return on a realistic level - I don't mean on a sellout level or on a level of making some kind of deal, or whatever the case might be, but on a realistic level for the further development of the revolution,

or after the revolution has been completed, to return there and contribute in some way. I will very definitely do that.

BOB: Since I have been here, I have noticed that the Cuban Revolution has a very internationalist orientation. I've seen many expressions of Solidarity with <sup>various</sup> ~~very~~ oppressed nations of people, especially the Vietnamese. I was wondering what do you think the significance of the Cuban Revolution from the prospective of black people in the U. S.

H. J. IF I understand the question correctly, I think it has a great deal of significance. For one thing, the Cuban Revolution has a history of struggle. This is one of the first countries in Latin America to have organized slave rebellion<sup>s</sup>—black slave rebellion<sup>s</sup>. The slaves were brought here - they have a history, a long history of struggle against slavery, against their oppression as slaves, a history of organized large groups of slave rebel~~x~~ing & taking to mountains and living, setting up communities, etc. in the mountains to such an extent that they were given specific names. They were named different things because of their rebellion, because of the fact that they set up their own communities, etc. And this never happened in the U. S. Now one of the basic significancies of the Cuban Revolution is the fact that when the rebel forces took power, they changed the entire system. They cxhanged it from a capitalist system to a social<sup>ist</sup> system. And within the framework of the socialist system, the conditions for relieving the problems of all the people are much, much greater than they could ever be under capitalism.

Now, I think this is significant for the people who are struggling - -- black people who are struggling in the U.S. to begin to realize that the system itself is the greatest <sup>oppression</sup> ~~oppression~~.

that there does not exist under capitalism the same degree or possibilities of changing the situation -- the black situation -- as there exists under socialism. The examples that Cuba is setting in dealing with racism - not just giving it mouth service or lip service, but in actually dealing with it by setting up programs, by establishing systems where no one is discriminated against because of the color of their skin. I think this is significant because it could only happen under socialism. It could not, it has not, and will not happen under capitalism, as far as I can see. Now in the other area where I think the Cuban Revolution is significant as far as international politics is that the Cuban Revolution has always supported the black liberation struggle in the U. S. of America. It has always supported the black liberation struggle in Africa, and the black liberation struggle in the world in general. The thing is that with the <sup>triumph</sup> ~~trials~~ of the revolution, the revolutionary <sup>groups</sup> ~~and organizations~~ organizers from all over the world came to Cuba seeking financial aid, material aid, seeking any assistance ----- and the revolutionary government gave them that aid. A lot of these people were ~~not~~ for real. They were just playing their regular normal game. A few years later, the revolutionary government found out that actually what was ~~x~~ happening was that they were being played on. The same thing happened with some of the black leaders -- so called black leaders who came in to Cuba, presented a revolutionary front and asked for aid and assistance and were given aid and assistance and as soon as they got back home, they turned against the revolution, and the reason they did that was because ~~x~~ they could not live up to the promises, they could not live up to the face they had presented to the Cuban Revolutionary Government and the only way they could get out of it was by trying to turn people against the Cuban Revolution.

They in turn started spreading lies and rumors and so forth that the Cuban Revolution was racist - that the Cuban Revolution had no significance for black people. This served a two-fold purpose because the enemy took this up and started to use this. They felt that if they could convince black people that the Cuban Revolution was no good, that it was racist, that it was not beneficial to black people or not significant to black people, then they would effectively kill two birds ~~at~~ with one stone. Cuba is socialist. Rather than making an out and out campaign among black people against socialism, they made an out and out campaign against black people in the area in which they themselves were consciously constructing racism. Convince them that Cuba is racist and the automatic conclusion is that ~~the~~ socialism is also racism. So they ~~came to~~ killed two birds with one stone.

x

I think it's significant that some of our brothers and sisters understand that this is why a lot of real fucked up or bad bullshit propoganda is going back to the states, through the mouths of some black revolutionaries and I still consider them to be revolutionaries, I just think that they are mistaken and need to correct their position. But another area that I also think is significant for black people in relationship to the Cuban Revolution is how the revolution came about and that is through <sup>armed</sup> ~~hard~~ struggle. They used every possible means ~~that~~ but the basic thing that gave the revolutionary government -- Fidel Castro and the rebel army --- the necessary power to take over the running of the country was the fact that they ~~at~~ always maintained the x rebel army which is still in existence, which is now being fortified by the people in the militia, and to me this is very significant and it is important. I say this because I think it is important to deal in the political arenas, I think it is important to ~~s~~ deal in all areas of democratic change, but I do think that while we

are doing this, we should remember that sooner or later after all the words have been spoken, after we have gotten up from the conference tables, after ~~x~~ we have exhausted all the ideological, all the theoretical schemes, then we're gonna have to get out there and do it. We're gonna have to get out there and fight and we should be prepared for that. The Cuban Revolution has proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that unless the ~~people~~ people are willing to put everything they have on the line and take a chance on being wasted, the chances of them getting our freedom are ~~a~~ very, very small. Now there have been other examples in recent times of organizations who have taken control of their government through electoral means, <sup>but</sup> these very same people will admit that as of now, they still do not have <sup>power</sup> ~~problems~~. They have taken control of their government, but they do not have <sup>power</sup> ~~problems~~. But what we need, or what we are trying for as <sup>I</sup> our understanding, ~~it is to~~ it's gonna take some power so that we will be able to control our <sup>own destiny</sup> ~~business~~. And, so far, in all the studies and conversations and discussions, and so forth, that I have had, the only way I've seen to be effective in that effort is <sup>armed</sup> ~~hard~~ struggle. Now this doesn't mean that I'm advocating that we should get out and start boogalooing in the streets with machine guns, etc. I merely think that we should be prepared for that because that's what it's gonna boil down to sooner or later. And the Cuban Revolution is significant in that it very clearly without any doubts whatsoever -- it very clearly emphasizes that. The other area, I think, is as we were speaking -- in the area of solidarity <sup>is</sup> the degree of unity that I am sure you have noticed here in Cuba amongst the people themselves --- people of various skin colors and so forth.

Also ~~the fact that~~ <sup>the farmers have united</sup> ~~would be~~  
~~worthless or the~~ <sup>with the factory workers, this</sup>  
did not happen before the revolution; it was  
~~the last system that existed here, and this did not happen before~~  
<sup>always a competitive thing.</sup>  
~~with all of the~~ . The fact that ~~such~~ people  
who have various political differences have been able to adjust  
themselves to the socialist ideology and contribute and sacrifice.  
The fact that the intellectuals go to the cane fields, they go to  
agricultural work, they work in the factory. The fact that  
everyone is being proletarianized --- everyone is being proletarian-  
ized, I think that this is very significant to the movement,  
especially to the area of the movement that you and I are really  
concerned with at this particular ~~xxx~~ level --- the black movement.  
These are things that we must do. We must go into the factories.  
we must go to the farms. We must go into all the areas where the  
          actually      really  
people/are. We are/the ones to suffer and to make real worthwhile  
sacrifices \_\_\_\_\_ if the revolution is a  
success in the States, I'm sure that's going to happen. And we  
have to be prepared for it so that the reactionary elements do  
not take over. We have to be prepared for <sup>it on</sup> /all fronts and all  
levels. And again, the Cuban Revolution is an example \_\_\_\_\_  
no matter how well it is done just to use it as an/example

---

---

Another thing, \_\_\_\_\_ with the Inter-  
national aspect or the international reality of Cuba because it  
is a reality. Cuba is Cuba. But the international flavor of  
Cuba, which is noticeable to anyone who comes here --- the fact

that Cuba has assigned Vietnam a radio station over which Cuba has no control. It does not attempt to control or direct it whatsoever. The Vietnamese --- it's their radio station but it's located here in Cuba. This is one aspect of the depth of the solidarity that Cuba feels for other struggling countries of the world. Fanon says in one of his books, \* as a matter of fact in THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH in the chapter on national consciousness that there comes a time when national consciousness has to be <sup>turned into</sup> ~~termed~~ social consciousness, and in Cuba one sees and understands exactly what he meant by that. For example, the fact that Cuba was one of the first countries to send aid and equipment to Nicaragua, completely disregarding the political differences between the government of Nicaragua and the socialist government of Cuba but dealing on the level of understanding and feeling real empathy for the people of Nicaragua and understanding that they have a revolutionary commitment, an international commitment to help people who really need help anywhere in the world. Another example is in Cuba giving to elite a part of ~~sugar~~ their sugar quota. Now it's very important because sugar in Cuba to the Cuban people means a great deal. They use sugar in almost everything. The people in the U. S. basically could not understand how important sugar really is to Cuban people. They use it in their coffee, they use it in their desserts, they just drink regular sweet water, which I know all black people from the South know what sweet water is.

BOB: In other words then <sup>Also it is</sup> the main export, <sup>and</sup> ~~then~~ has <sup>great</sup> ~~that~~ international <sup>trade?</sup> face value.

H. J. It very definitely is. But they did not \_\_\_\_\_ the example of the solidarity and the way the solidarity is felt by the revolution/~~ix~~ <sup>and</sup> how they go about educating the people to what real solidarity with their brothers and sisters means. is that they did not interfere with ~~any~~ the export sugar. They did not interfere with that at all. They asked the people --- they proposed to the people that they donate a part of ~~ix~~ their own personal ration to their brothers and sisters and children and the people accepted this. They accepted it, they understand it and they are willing to make that sacrifice. This is an area of solidarity. This is an example of the type of solidarity that Cubans feel. This is an example of what Fanon meant when he said that there comes a time when national consciousness has to be turned into social consciousness. & Social consciousness is, in my opinion, ~~w~~ international consciousness.

BOB: Now following is an insert that deals with the statement about bus drivers.

H. J. The question might be asked by a lot of brothers and sisters why is Cuba using bus drivers? You know that's not a very high profession, as the case might be. But my reason for using it is that in our struggle, especially in our struggle against racism, the buses were a very ~~xxx~~ big issue. For a long period of time, we black people were not allowed to ride in the front of the buses. We had to ride in the back. It was in 19<sup>5</sup>5 when with Mrs. Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama that we finally won our victory in that area and we very definitely won the right to ride in the front of the buses. There were no black bus drivers. But now, after years of struggle and years of fighting and sacrificing, we do have a great Number of black bus drivers and we do have the right to ride on buses, local

and interstate bus drivers. And this is why I use this because  
in that  
I am sure that/context, people will be able to understand what  
I meant when I say that the revolution here in Cuba kept its  
promise to black people and other minority groups.

BOB: End of interview.

and interstate bus drivers. And this is why I use this because  
in that  
I am sure that context, people will be able to understand what  
I meant when I wrote this. I mean here in Cuba we have the  
promise to black people and other minority groups.

5320 words  
= 9 pages

BOB:

$$\begin{array}{r} 21/2 \\ 25 \\ \hline 5320 \end{array}$$
$$\begin{array}{r} 21/2 \\ 25 \\ \hline 5320 \end{array}$$

52% COTTON