

GUINEA-BISSAU:

Toward Final Victory!

**Selected Speeches and
Documents from PAIGC**

**(Partido Africano da
Independencia
da Guine e Cabo Verde)**

GUINEA-BISSAU: Toward Final Victory!

LSM Press

*The greatest success
of our struggle is not the fact
that we are able to successfully
fight the Portuguese colonialists;
it is the fact that we are in the
process of building a new social
and cultural life in our country
while we are fighting.*

Amílcar Cabral

Cabral



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...Contents

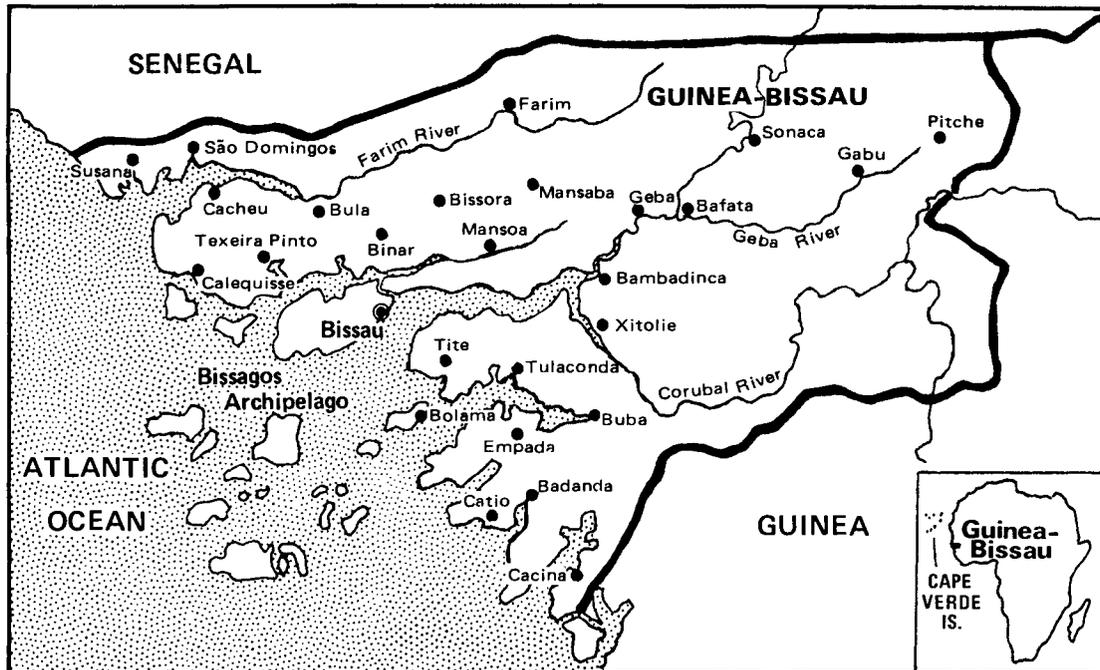
Introduction *by Ole Gjerstad* 5

PART I: Background Documents

PAIGC Program	10
Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea-Bissau	15
Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories...	32
The Role of Culture in the Liberation Struggle	36
The People of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands Before the UN	52
Our People's National Assembly	57

PART II: PAIGC 1973-1974

The Struggle and the People	61
The Changing Role of Women	67
The Road of a Woman Revolutionary: Carmen Pereira	69
His Work Will Live Beyond His Death	71
Guiledje: A Turning Point	74
Unity - Struggle - Vigilance	76
Who Are Our Leaders?	79
Proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau	81
Victories and Perspectives	85
1974: Consolidate the Progress of our Nation	89
Road to Independence	93



... Introduction

In many ways 1974 marks the beginning of a new phase in the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. With advances of the previous year reaching a new qualitative level, the "wall of silence" - carefully maintained by Portuguese colonialism to cover decades of inhuman enterprises in Africa - has been decisively shattered and world attention is rapidly focussing on the situation in Portugal's colonies.

This collection of documents attempts to convey the depth and current status of the revolution in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. An increasing flow of inquiries to LSM Information Center about these colonial territories and struggles is demonstrating the need for expository documentation...both on the part of the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC) in its efforts to reach an increasing number of actual and potential supporters throughout the world, and among those who feel that contemporary national liberation struggles are of global significance. PAIGC's cooperation has therefore been an essential element in compiling this booklet.

Approximately the size of Switzerland and with a population of less than one million, Guinea-Bissau is the smallest of Portugal's three African colonies. Though Portugal was granted possession of the territory by the other colonial powers at the 1884-85 Berlin Conference, African resistance was not crushed until the 1920's. Unlike Angola and Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau never attracted significant European settlement and colonial exploitation was based on forcing peasants to grow cash crops which, when traded at low fixed rates, assured Portuguese monopoly trading companies of a generous profit. The Cape Verde Islands, almost three hundred miles west into the Atlantic Ocean, are populated largely by Africans who were captured and brought from the mainland by the Portuguese to work on the many plantations which were being set up in the late nineteenth century.

As appendages of an underdeveloped, fascist "mother country" the Portuguese colonies have been forced into extreme backwardness. With only one doctor to every hundred thousand Africans

prior to the revolution, most Guineans suffered from sleeping sickness, malaria, hook worms or other tropical diseases; and by the mid-1950's infant mortality stood at 600 per thousand. In 1960 the illiteracy rate approached 99% and a total of only eleven Africans had acquired university degrees.¹ In Cape Verde the situation was not significantly different; intolerable working conditions and periodic drought took a heavy toll among the population.

In the early 1950's a nationalist movement developed out of these conditions in Guinea-Bissau; first within a small circle of relatively well-educated men, later spreading roots into broader strata of the urban population. Though the movement's objectives were initially quite limited, the Portuguese reacted by banning all opposition and taking measures to intimidate known nationalists. The result was an immediate setback, forcing the movement underground. Slowly and painstakingly a clandestine network was built up and when Amilcar Cabral, Aristides Pereira, Luis Cabral and a few others secretly founded PAIGC in August 1956 they were well aware that Portugal would not withdraw from Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and its other African colonies voluntarily.

The reason for the Portuguese regime's determination is obvious. As the poorest country in Europe, and for centuries virtually a colony of Britain, Portugal did not have the capacity to make the transition from a classical colonial to a neo-colonial power. Thus, from the point of view of its fascist oligarchy, it was imperative to retain political control. "By itself," said the dictator Salazar, "Portugal is a small nation. With the colonies, we make a great empire!"

From this position the regime was prepared to use every means to suppress any sign of opposition. In August 1959 some fifty striking Bissau dockworkers were killed by the police in a wave of brutal repression. One month later the PAIGC leadership, forced to seriously reconsider its strategy of urban strike and clandestine activities, met in secret and concluded "...that the only way to liberate the country is through struggle by all possible means, including war."² This meant that the urban focus of the Party had to be expanded. Experience showed that in a country like Guinea-Bissau the peasants, comprising almost ninety percent of the population, would necessarily have to become the main force in the liberation struggle.

The two years that followed were devoted to the difficult task of mobilizing the peasantry and training Party cadre, some of whom were sent abroad. External headquarters was set up in neighboring Republic of Guinea. With these preparations, the armed struggle was launched deep inside the country in January 1963. Within six months PAIGC controlled a large part of the national territory and could start the important task of national reconstruction - providing education and medical care for the people, growing more food and improving material condi-

tions in every possible way. A year later, at the First Party Congress held in liberated Guinea-Bissau, PAIGC consolidated its position among the population, reorganized its armed forces and set the direction and strategy for protracted struggle. Since then, the freedom fighters have gone on to gradually defeat the 40,000-man-strong colonialist army by liberating three-quarters of the country and building a strong and united nation in the process.

Part I of this selection will provide the reader with an understanding of the background and development of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The *PAIGC Program*, originally written in 1956 and later revised and amended, reflects the determination of the Party to resist the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism and build a genuine socialist democracy. The following speeches and articles by the late Amilcar Cabral, founder and first Secretary-General of PAIGC, make an invaluable contribution to revolutionaries far beyond the borders of his own country. *Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea-Bissau*, like certain writings by Lenin, Mao and Ho, is an excellent example of the necessity for sound theory as the basis for revolutionary practice.

PAIGC's spectacular successes are the irrevocable proof of Cabral's theoretical ability and organizational skills, as revealed in *Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories* - a remarkably honest and penetrating message to his comrades in the struggle. During the last few years of his life, Cabral devoted much thought to problems concerning the role of culture, the role of the petty-bourgeoisie and the relationship between the latter and the popular masses in the revolution. *The Role of Culture in the Liberation Struggle* is a synthesizing essay, drawing together several of his earlier contributions to form an essay of great value to everyone concerned with analyzing the processes of revolutionary change in the colonies and neo-colonies of the imperialist system.³

The selected background material will enable us to see the important events of 1973, dealt with in Part II, within a proper historical perspective. Constantly on the defensive for ten years, the Portuguese made a desperate last attempt early in the year to destroy PAIGC through infiltration and assassination. The murder of Amilcar Cabral on 20 January, first step in their plot, exposed their enormous underestimation of the Liberation Movement. PAIGC's strength has long since extended beyond the ranks of its top leadership. Therefore, despite the tremendous loss inflicted by the death of Cabral, PAIGC militants turned their initial shock and sorrow into firm determination and made 1973 a year of decisive political and military victories.

The accomplishments of the PAIGC are irreversible and the question of complete independence is now primarily one of *when*

and how. No one knows this better than the Portuguese. Significantly, the premature resignation of the "Governor" of Guinea-Bissau, General Spínola, in 1973 and his subsequent open advocacy of a compromise political solution in the country has provoked a crisis within Portugal itself, thus bringing closer the time when its oppressed people will rise to throw off the country's national and imperialist rulers. The Portuguese "Empire" is but a microcosm of the larger imperialist system, and the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde - the power basis of the national oligarchy - is a precondition for any fundamental change in the "mother country." The fate of Portugal's workers and peasants is inextricably linked to that of their counterparts in the colonies. Therefore, refusing any compromise, PAIGC is playing an increasingly important role in bringing about the collapse of the Portuguese fascist regime, ensuring the freedom and progress of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and hastening the destruction of the imperialist system.

Ole Gjerstad
LSM Information Center

Notes

¹ Basil Davidson, *The Liberation of Guiné*, Harmondsworth, Penguin African Library, 1969, pp. 27 - 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³ Other collections of Cabral's speeches and articles include: Amílcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea*, translated and edited by Richard Handyside, London, Stage 1, 1969; Amílcar Cabral, *Return to the Source*, New York, Africa Information Service, 1973; Amílcar Cabral, *Our People Are Our Mountains*, London, Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, n.d. A number of articles on Cabral and PAIGC appear in *Ufamahu*, Los Angeles, Vol. III, No. 3, Winter 1973, pp. 2 - 96; Comprehensive background information on the struggle in Guinea-Bissau is best available in Davidson, *op.cit.*; Gérard Chaliand, *Armed Struggle in Africa*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1969, and A.J. Venter, *Report on Portugal's War in Guiné-Bissau*, Cape Town, 1973.

PART I

Background Documents



PAIGC PROGRAM

I Immediate and Total Independence

1. To win immediately, by all necessary means, total and unconditional national independence of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands.
2. To take power, in Guinea by the Guinean people, and in the Cape Verde Islands by the people of Cape Verde.
3. Elimination of all relationships of a colonialist and imperialist nature; ending all Portuguese and foreign prerogatives over the popular masses; revision or revocation of all agreements, treaties, alliances, concessions made by the Portuguese colonialists affecting Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.
4. National and international sovereignty of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. Economic, political, diplomatic, military and cultural independence.
5. Permanent vigilance based on the will of the people to avoid or destroy all attempts of imperialism and colonialism to re-establish themselves in new forms in Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

II National Unity in Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands

1. Equal rights and duties, firm unity and fraternal collaboration between citizens, whether considered as individuals, social groups or ethnic groups. Prohibition and elimination of all attempts to divide the people.
2. Economic, political, social and cultural unity. In Guinea this unity will take into consideration the characteristics of the various ethnic groups at the social and cultural levels, regardless of the size of the population in each group. In the Cape Verde Islands, each island or group of identical and close islands will be able to have a certain autonomy at the administrative level, while remaining within the framework of national unity and solidarity.
3. The return to Guinea of all *émigrés* who wish to return to

their country. The return to the Cape Verde Islands of all *émigrés* or transported workers who wish to return to their country. Free circulation for citizens throughout the national territory.

III Unity of the Peoples of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands

1. After winning national independence in Guinea and Cape Verde, unity of the peoples of these countries for the construction of a strong and progressive African state, on the basis of suitably consulted popular will.
2. The form of unity between these two peoples to be established by legitimate and freely elected representatives.
3. Equal rights and duties, solid unity and fraternal collaboration between Guineans and Cape Verdeans. Prohibition of all attempts to divide these two peoples.

IV African Unity

1. After achieving national independence, and on the basis of freely manifested popular will, to struggle for the unity of the African peoples as a whole or by regions of the continent, always respecting the freedom, dignity and right to political, economic, social and cultural progress of these peoples.
2. To struggle against any attempts at annexation or pressure on the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde on the part of any country.
3. Defense of the political, economic, social and cultural rights and gains of the popular masses of Guinea and Cape Verde is the fundamental condition for the realization of unity with other African peoples.

V Democratic, Anti-colonialist and Anti-imperialist Government

1. Establishment of a republican, democratic, lay, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist government.
2. Establishment of fundamental freedoms, respect for the rights of man and guarantees for the exercise of these freedoms and rights.
3. Equality of citizens before the law, without distinction of nationality or ethnic group, sex, social origin, cultural level, profession, position, wealth, religious belief or philosophical conviction. Men and women will have the same status with regard to family, work and public activities.
4. All individuals or groups of individuals who by their action or behavior favor imperialism, colonialism or the destruction of the unity of the people will be deprived of their fundamental freedoms.
5. General and free elections of the organizations in power based on direct, secret and universal ballot.
6. Total elimination of the colonial administrative structure

and establishment of a national democratic structure for the internal administration of the country.

7. Personal protection of all foreigners living and working in Guinea and Cape Verde who respect the prevailing laws.

VI Economic Independence, Structuring the Economy and Developing Production

1. Elimination of all relationships of a colonial and imperialist nature. Achieving economic independence in Guinea and Cape Verde.

2. Planning and harmonious development of the economy. Economic activity will be governed by the principles of democratic socialism.

3. Four types of property: state, cooperative, private and personal. Natural resources, the principal means of production, of communication and social security, radio and other means of dissemination of information and culture will be considered as national property in Guinea and Cape Verde, and will be exploited according to the needs of rapid economic development. Cooperative exploitation on the basis of free consent will cover the land and agricultural production, the production of consumer goods and artisan articles. Private exploitation will be allowed to develop according to the needs of progress, on the condition that it is useful in the rapid development of the economy of Guinea and Cape Verde. Personal property - in particular individual consumption goods, family houses and savings resulting from work done - will be inviolable.

4. Development and modernization of agriculture. Transformation of the system of monocultivation and the obligatory nature of the cultivation of groundnuts in Guinea and of maize in Cape Verde. Struggle against agricultural crises, drought, and famine.

5. Agrarian reform in the Cape Verde Islands. Limitation of the extension of private rural property in order that all peasants have enough land to cultivate. In Guinea, taking advantage of the traditional agrarian structures and creating new structures, to guarantee that the exploitation of the land may benefit the maximum number of people.

6. Both in Guinea and Cape Verde, confiscation of the land and other goods belonging to proven enemies of the freedom of the people and of national independence.

7. Development of industry and commerce along modern lines. Progressive establishment of state commercial and industrial enterprises. Development of African crafts. State control of foreign commerce and coordination of internal trade. Adjustment and stabilization of prices. Elimination of speculation and unfair profits. Harmony between the economic activities of town and countryside.

8. Budgetary balance. Creation of a new fiscal system. Crea-

tion of a national currency, stabilized and free from inflation.

VII Justice and Progress for All

a) On the social level

1. Progressive elimination of exploitation of man by man, of all forms of subordination of the human individual to degrading interests, to the profit of individuals, groups or classes. Elimination of poverty, ignorance, fear, prostitution and alcoholism.
2. Protection of the rights of workers and guaranteed employment for everyone capable of work. Abolition of forced labor in Guinea and of the exporting of forced or "contract" labor from Cape Verde.
3. Fair salaries and appointments on the basis of equal pay for equal work. Positive emulation in work. Limitation of daily working hours according to the needs of progress and the interests of the workers. Progressive elimination of the differences existing between workers in the towns and countryside.
4. Trade union freedoms and guarantees for their effective exercise. Effective participation and creative initiative of the popular masses at every level of the nation's leadership. Encouragement and support for mass organizations in the countryside and in the towns, mainly those for women, young people and students.
5. Social assistance for all citizens who need it for reasons beyond their control such as unemployment, disability or sickness. All public health and hygiene organizations will be run or controlled by the state.
6. Creation of welfare organizations connected with productive activity. Protection of children and pregnant women. Protection of old people. Rest, recreation and culture for all workers - manual, intellectual and agricultural.
7. Assistance for victims of the national liberation struggle and their families.

b) On the level of education and culture

1. Teaching centers and technical institutes will be considered as national property and, as such, run or controlled by the state. Reform of teaching, development of secondary and technical education, creation of university education and scientific and technical institutes.
2. Rapid elimination of illiteracy. Obligatory and free primary education. Urgent training of technical and professional cadres.
3. Total elimination of the complexes created by colonialism and of the consequences of colonialist culture and exploitation.
4. In Guinea, development of indigenous languages and of the Creole dialect, creation of a written form for these lan-

guages. In Cape Verde, development of a written form for the Creole dialect. Development of the cultures of the various ethnic groups and of the Cape Verde people. Protection and development of national literature and arts.

5. Utilization of all the values and advances of human and universal culture in the service of the progress of the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde. Contribution by the culture of these peoples to the progress of humanity in general.

6. Support and development of physical education and sport for all citizens of Guinea and Cape Verde. Creation of institutions for physical education and sport.

7. Religious freedom: freedom to have or not have a religion. Protection of churches and mosques, of holy places and objects, of legal religious institutions.

VIII Effective National Defense Linked to the People

1. Creation of the necessary means of effective national defense: army, navy and air force, linked to the people and directed by citizens. Those fighting for independence will form the nucleus of national defense.

2. Democratic government within the armed forces. Discipline. Close collaboration between the armed forces and the political leadership.

3. The whole people will have to participate in vigilance and defense against colonialism, imperialism and the enemies of its unity and progress.

4. Complete ban on foreign military bases on the national territory.

IX Proper International Policy in the Interests of the Nation, of Africa and of the Peace and Progress of Humanity

1. Peaceful collaboration with all the peoples of the world, on the basis of principles of mutual respect, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in internal affairs, equality and reciprocity of advantages, and peaceful co-existence. Development of economic and cultural relations with all peoples whose governments accept and respect these principles.

2. Respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

3. Non-adhesion to military blocs.

4. Protection for Guinean and Cape Verdean nationals resident abroad.

Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea-Bissau

I should like to tell you something about the situation in our country, "Portuguese" Guinea, beginning with an analysis of the social situation, which has served as the basis for our struggle for national liberation. I shall make a distinction between the rural areas and the towns, or rather the urban centers, not that these are to be considered mutually opposed.

In the rural areas we have found it necessary to distinguish between two distinct groups: on the one hand, the group which we consider semi-feudal, represented by the Fulas, and, on the other hand, the group which we consider, so to speak, without any defined form of state organization, represented by the Balantes. There are a number of intermediary positions between these two extreme ethnic groups (as regards the social situation). I should like to point out straight away that although in general the semi-feudal groups were Muslim and the groups without any form of state organizations were animist, there was one ethnic group among the animists, the Mandjacks, which had forms of social relations which could be considered feudal at the time the Portuguese came to Guinea-Bissau.

I should now like to give you a quick idea of social stratification among the Fulas. We consider that the chiefs, nobles and religious figures form one group; after them come the artisans and Dyulas, who are itinerant traders, and then after that come the peasants properly speaking. I don't want to give a very thorough analysis of the economic situation of each of these groups now, but I would like to say that although certain traditions concerning collective ownership of the land have been preserved, the chiefs and their entourages have retained considerable privileges as regards ownership of land and the utilization of other

Condensed text of Amilcar Cabral's speech to a seminar at the Franz Fanon Center in Milan, May 1 - 3, 1964. Originally published in Amilcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea*, translated and edited by Richard Handyside, London, Stage 1, 1969.

people's labor; this means that the peasants who depend on the chiefs are obliged to work for these chiefs for a certain period of each year. The artisans, whether blacksmiths (which is the lowest occupation) or leather-workers or whatever, play an extremely important role in the socio-economic life of the Fulas and represent what you might call the embryo of industry. The Dyulas, whom some people consider should be placed above the artisans, do not really have such importance among the Fulas, they are the people who have the potential - which they sometimes realize - of accumulating money. In general the peasants have no rights and they are the really exploited group in Fula society.

Apart from the question of ownership and property, there is another element which it is extremely interesting to compare and that is the position of women. Among the Fulas women have no rights; they take part in production but they do not own what they produce. Besides, polygamy is a highly respected institution and women are to a certain extent considered the property of their husbands.

Among the Balantes, which are at the opposite extreme, we find a society without any social stratification: there is just a council of elders in each village or group of villages who decide on day to day problems. In the Balante group property and land are considered to belong to the village with each family receiving the amount of land needed to ensure subsistence for itself. The means of production, or rather the instruments of production, are not collective but are owned by families or individuals.

The position of women must also be mentioned when talking about the Balantes. The Balantes still retain certain tendencies towards polygamy, although it is mainly a monogamous society. Among the Balantes, women participate in production but they own what they produce and this gives Balante women a position which we consider privileged, as they are fairly free; the only point on which they are not free is that children belong to the head of the family and the head of the family, the husband, always claims any children his wife may have: this is obviously to be explained by the actual economy of the group where a family's strength is ultimately represented by the number of hands there are to cultivate the land.

As I have said, there are a number of intermediate positions between these two extremes. In the rural areas I should mention the small African farm owners; this is a numerically small group but all the same it has a certain importance and has proved to be highly active in the national liberation struggle. In the towns (I shall not talk about the presence of Europeans in the rural areas as there are none in Guinea-Bissau) we must first distinguish between the Europeans and the Africans. The Europeans can easily be classified as they retain in Guinea-Bissau the social stratification of Portugal (obviously depending on the function they exercise in Guinea-Bissau). In

the first place, there are the high officials and the managers of enterprises who form a stratum with practically no contact with the other European strata. After that there are the medium officials, the small European traders, the people employed in commerce and the members of the liberal professions. After that come the workers, who are mainly skilled workers.

Among the Africans we find the higher officials, the middle officials and the members of the liberal professions forming a group; then come the petty officials, those employed in commerce without a contract, who can be fired at any moment. The small farm owners also fall into this group; by assimilation we call all these members of the African petty bourgeoisie (obviously, if we were to make a more thorough analysis the higher African officials as well as the middle officials and the members of the liberal professions should also be included in the petty bourgeoisie). Next come the wage-earners (who include those employed in commerce without any contract); among these there are certain important sub-groups such as the dockworkers, the people employed on the boats carrying goods and agricultural produce; there are also the domestic servants, who are mostly men in Guinea; there are the people working in repair shops and small factories and there are also the people who work in shops as porters and such - these all come under the heading of wage-earners. You will notice that we are careful not to call these groups the proletariat or working class.

There is another group of people whom we call the *déclassés*, in which there are two sub-groups to be distinguished: the first sub-group is easy to identify - it is what would be called the lumpenproletariat if there was a real proletariat: it consists of really *déclassé* people, such as beggars, prostitutes and so on. The other group is not really made up of *déclassé* people, but we have not yet found the exact term for it; it is a group to which we have paid a lot of attention and it has proved to be extremely important in the national liberation struggle. It is mostly made up of young people who are connected to petty bourgeois or workers' families, who have recently arrived from the rural areas and generally do not work; they thus have close relations with the rural areas, as well as with the towns (and even with the Europeans). They sometimes live off one kind of work or another, but they generally live at the expense of their families. Here I should just like to point out a difference between Europe and Africa; in Africa there is a tradition which requires that, for example, if I have an uncle living in the town, I can come in and live in his house without working and he will feed and house me. This creates a certain stratum of people who experience urban life and who can, as we shall see, play a very important role.

That is a very brief analysis of the general situation in Guinea-Bissau, but you will understand that this analysis has no value unless it is related to the actual struggle. In out-

line, the methodological approach we have used has been as follows: first, the position of each group must be defined - to what extent and in what way does each group depend on the colonial regime? Next we have to see what position they adopt towards the national liberation struggle. Then we have to study their nationalist capacity and lastly, envisaging the post-independence period, their revolutionary capacity.

Among the Fulas the first group - the chiefs and their entourages - are tied to colonialism; this is particularly the case with the Fulas as in Guinea-Bissau the Fulas were already conquerors (the Portuguese allied themselves with the Fulas in order to dominate Guinea-Bissau at the beginning of the conquest). Thus the chiefs (and their authority as chiefs) are very closely tied to the Portuguese authorities. The artisans are extremely dependent on the chiefs; they live off what they make for the chiefs who are the only ones that can acquire their products, so there are some artisans who are simply content to follow the chiefs; then there are other people who try to break away and are well-disposed toward opposition to Portuguese colonialism. The main point about the Dyulas is that their permanent preoccupation is to protect their own personal interests; at least in Guinea-Bissau, the Dyulas are not settled in any one place, they are itinerant traders without any real roots anywhere and their fundamental aim is to make bigger and bigger profits. It is precisely the fact that they are almost permanently on the move which provided us with a most valuable element in the struggle. It goes without saying that there are some who have not supported our struggle and there are some who have been used as agents against us by the Portuguese, but there are some whom we have been able to use to mobilize people, at least as far as spreading the initial ideas of the struggle was concerned - all we had to do was give them some reward, as they usually would not do anything without being paid.

Obviously, the group with the greatest interest in the struggle is the peasantry, given the nature of the various different societies in Guinea-Bissau (feudal, semi-feudal, etc.) and the various degrees of exploitation to which they are subjected; but the question is not simply one of objective interest.

Given the general context of our traditions, or rather the superstructure created by the economic conditions in Guinea-Bissau, the Fula peasants have a strong tendency to follow their chiefs. Thorough and intensive work was therefore needed to mobilize them. Among the Balantes and the groups without any defined form of state organization the first point to note is that there are still a lot of remnants of animist traditions even among the Muslims in Guinea-Bissau; the part of the population which follows Islam is not really Islamic but rather Islamized: they are animists who have adopted some Muslim practices, but are still thoroughly impregnated with animist conceptions. What is more, these groups without any defined organiza-

tion put up much more resistance against the Portuguese than the others and they have maintained intact their tradition of resistance to colonial penetration. This is the group that we found most ready to accept the idea of national liberation.

Here I should like to broach one key problem, which is of enormous importance for us, as we are a country of peasants, and that is the problem of whether or not the peasantry represents the main revolutionary force. I shall confine myself to my own country, Guinea-Bissau, where it must be said at once that the peasantry is not a spontaneous revolutionary force - which may seem strange, particularly as we have based the whole of our armed liberation struggle on the peasantry. A distinction must be drawn between a physical force and a revolutionary force; physically, the peasantry is a great force in Guinea-Bissau: it is almost the whole of the population, it controls the nation's wealth, it is the peasantry which produces; but we know from experience what trouble we had convincing the peasantry to fight. This is a problem I shall come back to later; here I should just like to refer to what the previous speaker said about China. The conditions of the peasantry in China were very different: the peasantry had a history of revolt, but this was not the case in Guinea-Bissau and so it was not possible for our party militants and propaganda workers to find the same kind of welcome among the peasantry in Guinea-Bissau for the idea of national liberation as the idea found in China. All the same, in certain parts of the country and among certain groups we found a very warm welcome, even right at the start. In other groups and in other areas all this had to be won.

Then there are the positions vis-à-vis the struggle of the various groups in the towns to be considered. The Europeans are, in general, hostile to the idea of national liberation; they are the human instruments of the colonial state in our country and they therefore reject *a priori* any idea of national liberation there. It has to be said that the Europeans most bitterly opposed to the idea of national liberation are the workers, while we have sometimes found considerable sympathy for our struggle among certain members of the European petty bourgeoisie.

As for the Africans, the petty bourgeoisie can be divided into three sub-groups as regards the national liberation struggle. First, there is the petty bourgeoisie which is heavily committed, and compromised with colonialism: this includes most of the higher officials and some members of the liberal professions. Second, there is the group which we perhaps incorrectly call the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie: this is the part of the petty bourgeoisie which is nationalist and which was the source of the idea of the national liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau. In between lies the part of the petty bourgeoisie which has never been able to make up its mind between the national liberation struggle and the Portuguese. Next come the wage-earners,

which you can compare roughly with the proletariat in European societies, although they are not exactly the same thing: here, too, there is a majority committed to the struggle, but, again, many members of this group were not easy to mobilize - wage-earners who had an extremely petty bourgeois mentality and whose only aim was to defend the little they had already acquired.

Next come the *déclassés*. The really *déclassé* people, the permanent layabouts, the prostitutes and so on have been a great help to the Portuguese police in giving them information; this group has been outrightly against our struggle, perhaps unconsciously so, but nonetheless against our struggle. On the other hand, the particular group I mentioned earlier, for which we have not yet found any precise classification (the group of mainly young people recently arrived from the rural areas with contacts in both the urban and the rural areas) gradually comes to make a comparison between the standard of living of their own families and that of the Portuguese; they begin to understand the sacrifices being borne by the Africans. They have proved extremely dynamic in the struggle. Many of these people joined the struggle right from the beginning and it is among this group that we found many of the cadres whom we have since trained.

The importance of this urban experience lies in the fact that it allows comparison: this is the key stimulant required for the awakening of consciousness. It is interesting to note that Algerian nationalism largely sprang up among the *émigré* workers in France. As far as Guinea-Bissau is concerned, the idea of the national liberation struggle was born not abroad but in our own country, in a milieu where people were subjected to close and incessant exploitation. Many people say that it is the peasants who carry the burden of exploitation: this may be true, but so far as the struggle is concerned it must be realized that it is not the degree of suffering and hardship involved as such that matters: even extreme suffering in itself does not necessarily produce the *prise de conscience* required for the national liberation struggle. In Guinea-Bissau the peasants are subjected to a kind of exploitation equivalent to slavery; but even if you try and explain to them that they are being exploited and robbed, it is difficult to convince them by means of an unexperienced explanation of a technico-economic kind that they are the most exploited people; whereas it is easier to convince the workers and the people employed in the towns who earn, say, 10 escudos a day for a job in which a European earns between 30 and 50 that they are being subjected to massive exploitation and injustice, because they can see. To take my own case as a member of the petty bourgeois group which launched the struggle in Guinea-Bissau, I was an agronomist working under a European who everybody knew was one of the biggest idiots in Guinea-Bissau; I could have taught him his job with my eyes shut but he was the boss: this is something which



counts a lot, this is the confrontation which really matters. This is of major importance when considering where the initial idea of the struggle came from.

Another major task was to examine the material interests and the aspirations of each group after the liberation, as well as their revolutionary capacities. As I have already said, we do not consider that the peasantry in Guinea-Bissau has a revolutionary capacity. First of all we had to make an analysis of all these groups and of the contradictions between them and within them so as to be able to locate them all vis-a-vis the struggle and the revolution.

The first point is to decide what is the major contradiction at the moment when the struggle begins. For us the main contradiction was that between, on the one hand, the Portuguese and international bourgeoisie which was exploiting our people and, on the other hand, the interests of our people. There are also major contradictions within the country itself, i.e. in the internal life of our country. It is our opinion that if we get rid of colonialism in Guinea-Bissau the main contradiction remaining, the one which will then become the principal contradiction, is that between the ruling classes, the semi-feudal groups, and the members of the groups without any defined form of organization. The first thing to note is that the conquest carried out first by the Mandingues and then by the Fulas was a struggle between two opposite poles which was blocked by the very strong structure of the animist groups. There are other contradictions, such as that between the various feudal groups and that between the upper groups and the lower. All this is extremely important for the future, and even while the struggle is still going on we must begin to exploit the contradiction between the Fula people and their chiefs, who are very close to the Portuguese. There is a further contradiction, particularly among the animists, between the collective ownership of the land and the private ownership of the means of production in agriculture. I am not trying to stretch alien concepts here, this is an observation that can be made on the spot: the land belongs to the village, but the tools of production and what is produced belong to the producer - usually the family or the head of the family.

There are other contradictions which we consider secondary: you may be surprised to know that we consider the contradictions between the tribes a secondary one; we could discuss this at length, but we consider that there are many more contradictions between what you might call the economic tribes in the capitalist countries than there are between the ethnic tribes in Guinea-Bissau. Our struggle for national liberation and the work done by our Party have shown that this contradiction is really not so important; the Portuguese counted on it a lot but as soon as we organized the liberation struggle properly the contradiction between the tribes proved to be a feeble, second-

dary contradiction. This does not mean that we do not need to pay attention to this contradiction; we reject both positions which are to be found in Africa - one which says: there are no tribes, we are all the same, we are all one people in one terrible unity, our party comprises everybody; the other saying: tribes exist, we must base parties on tribes. Our position lies between the two, but at the same time we are fully conscious that this is a problem which must constantly be kept in mind; structural, organizational and other measures must be taken to ensure that this contradiction does not explode and become a more important contradiction.

As for contradictions between the urban and rural areas; I would say that there is no conflict between the towns and the countryside, not least because we are only town dwellers who have just moved from the country; everybody in the towns in Guinea-Bissau has close relatives in the country and all town dwellers still engage in some peasant activity (growing crops, etc.); all the same, there is a potential contradiction between towns and countryside which colonialism tries to aggravate.

That, in brief, is the analysis we have made of the situation; this has led us to the following conclusion: we must try to unite everybody in the national liberation struggle against the Portuguese colonialists: this is where our main contradiction lies, but it is also imperative to organize things so that we always have an instrument available which can solve all the other contradictions. This is what convinced us of the absolute necessity of creating a party during the national liberation struggle. There are some people who interpret our Party as a front; perhaps our Party is a front at the moment, but within the framework of the front there is our Party which is directing the front, and there are no other parties in the front. For the circumstances of the struggle we maintain a general aspect, but within the framework of the struggle we know what our Party is, we know where the Party finishes and where the people who just rallied for the liberation struggle begin.

When we had made our analysis, there were still many theoretical and practical problems left in front of us. We had some knowledge of other experiences and we knew that a struggle of the kind we hoped to lead - and win - had to be led by the working class; we looked for the working class in Guinea-Bissau and did not find it. Other examples showed us that things were begun by some revolutionary intellectuals. What then were we to do? We were just a group of petty bourgeois who were driven by the reality of life in Guinea-Bissau, by the sufferings we had to endure, and also by the influence events in Africa and elsewhere had on us, in particular the experiences some of us acquired in Portugal and other countries in Europe, to try and do something.

And so this little group began. We first thought of a general movement of national liberation, but this immediately

proved unfeasible. We decided to extend our activity to the workers in the towns, and we had some success with this; we launched moves for higher wages, better working conditions and so on. I do not want to go into details here, the only point I want to make is that we obviously did not have a proletariat. We quite clearly lacked revolutionary intellectuals, so we had to start searching, given that we - rightly - did not believe in the revolutionary capacity of the peasantry.

One important group in the towns were the people working in the boats carrying merchandise, who mostly live in Bissau itself and travel up and down the rivers. These people proved highly conscious of their position and of their economic importance and they took the initiative of launching strikes without any trade union leadership at all. We therefore decided to concentrate all our work on this group. This gave excellent results and this group soon came to form a kind of nucleus which influenced the attitudes of other wage-earning groups in the towns - workers proper and drivers, who form two other important groups. Moreover, if I may put it this way, we thus found our little proletariat.

We also looked for intellectuals, but there were none, because the Portuguese did not educate people. In any case, what is an intellectual in our country? It could probably be someone who knew the general situation very well, who had some knowledge, not profound theoretical knowledge, but concrete knowledge of the country itself and of its life as well as of our enemy. We, the people I have talked about, the engineers, doctors, bank clerks and so on, joined together to form a group of *interlocuteurs valables*.

There was also this other group of people in the towns, which we have been unable to classify precisely, which was still closely connected to the rural areas and contained people who spoke almost all the languages that are used in Guinea-Bissau. They knew all the customs of the rural areas while at the same time possessing a solid knowledge of the European urban centers. They also had a certain degree of self-confidence, they knew how to read and write (which makes a person an intellectual in our country) and so we concentrated our work on these people and immediately started giving them some preparatory training.

We were faced with another difficult problem: we realized that we needed to have people with a mentality which could transcend the context of the national liberation struggle, and so we prepared a number of cadres from the group I have just mentioned, some from the people employed in commerce and other wage-earners, and even some peasants, so that they could acquire what you might call a working class mentality. You may think this is absurd - in any case it is very difficult; in order for there to be a working class mentality the material conditions of the working class should exist, a working class should exist. In fact we managed to inculcate these ideas into a large number

of people - the kind of ideas, that is, which there would be if there were a working class. We trained about 1,000 cadres at our party school in Conakry, in fact for about two years this was about all we did outside the country. When these cadres returned to the rural areas they inculcated a certain mentality into the peasants and it is among these cadres that we have chosen the people who are now leading the struggle; we are not a Communist party or a Marxist-Leninist party, but the people now leading the peasants in the struggle in Guinea-Bissau are mostly from the urban milieux and connected with the urban wage-earning group. When I hear that only the peasantry can "lead" the struggle, am I supposed to think we have made a mistake? All I can say is that at the moment our struggle is going well.

There are all sorts of other generalizations of a political nature, like this generalization about the peasantry which keep cropping up. There are a number of key words and concepts, there is a certain conditioning in the reasoning of our European friends: for example, when someone thinks, "revolution," he thinks of the bourgeoisie falling, etc.; when someone thinks "party," he forgets many things. Yesterday a friend asked me a number of questions about our Party and several times I had to say to him, "but it isn't a European party"; the concept of a party and the creation of parties did not occur spontaneously in Europe, they resulted from a long process of class struggle. When we in Africa think of creating a party now we find ourselves in very different conditions from those in which parties appeared as historico-social phenomena in Europe. This has a number of consequences, so when you think "party," "single party," etc. you must connect all these things up with the history and conditions of Africa.

A rigorous historical approach is similarly needed when examining another problem related to this - how can the underdeveloped countries evolve towards revolution, towards socialism? There is a preconception held by many people, even on the left, that imperialism made us enter history at the moment when it began its adventure in our countries. This preconception must be denounced: for theorists on the left, and for some Marxists in particular, history obviously means the history of class struggle. Our opinion is that when imperialism arrived in Guinea-Bissau it made us leave "history" - our history. We agree that history in our country is the result of class struggle, but we have our own class struggles in our own country; the moment imperialism arrived and colonialism arrived, it made us leave "our" history and enter "another" history. Obviously we agree that the class struggle has continued, but it has continued in a very different way: *our whole people is struggling against the ruling class of the imperialist countries*, and this gives a completely different aspect to the historical evolution of our country. Somebody has asked which class is the "agent" of history; here a distinction must be drawn between colonial

history and our history as human societies; as a *dominated people we only present an ensemble vis-à-vis the oppressor*. Each of our peoples or groups of peoples has been subjected to different influences by the colonizers. When there is a developed national consciousness, one may ask: which social stratum is the agent of history, of colonial history? Which is the stratum which will be able to take power into its hands when it emerges from colonial history? Our answer is that it is *all* the social strata, if the people who have carried out the national revolution (i.e. the struggle against colonialism) have worked well, since unity of all the social strata is a prerequisite for the success of the national liberation struggle. As we see it, in colonial conditions no one stratum can succeed in the struggle for national liberation on its own, and therefore it is all the strata of society which are the agents of history. This brings us to what should be a void - but in fact it is not. What commands history in colonial conditions is not the domestic class struggle. I do not mean that the class struggle in Guinea-Bissau stopped completely during the colonial period; it continued, but in a muted way. In the colonial period it is the colonial state which commands history.

Our problem is to see who is capable of taking control of the state apparatus when the colonial power is destroyed. In Guinea-Bissau the peasants cannot read or write, they have had almost no relations with the colonial forces during the colonial period except for paying taxes, which is done indirectly. The working class hardly exists as a defined class; it is just an embryo. There is no *economically viable* bourgeoisie because imperialism prevented it from being created. What there is, is a stratum of people in the service of imperialism who have learned how to manipulate the apparatus of the state - the African petty bourgeoisie: this is the only stratum capable of controlling or even utilizing the instruments which the colonial state used against our people. So we come to the conclusion that in colonial conditions it is the petty bourgeoisie which is the inheritor of state power (though I wish we could be wrong). The moment national liberation comes and the petty bourgeoisie takes power we enter, or rather return to, history - and thus the internal contradictions break out again.

When this happens, and particularly as things are now, there will be powerful external contradictions conditioning the internal situation, and not just internal contradictions as before. What attitude can the petty bourgeoisie adopt? Obviously people on the left will call for the revolution; the right will call for the "non-revolution," i.e. a capitalist road or something like that. The petty bourgeoisie can either ally itself with imperialism and the reactionary strata in its own country to try and preserve itself as a petty bourgeoisie or ally itself with the workers and peasants, who must themselves take power or control to make the revolution. We must be very clear

exactly what we are asking the petty bourgeoisie to do. Are we asking it to commit suicide? Because if there is a revolution, then the petty bourgeoisie will have to abandon power to the workers and the peasants and cease to exist qua petty bourgeoisie. For a revolution to take place depends on the nature of the party (and its size), the character of the struggle which led up to liberation, whether there was an armed struggle, what the nature of this armed struggle was and how it developed and, of course, on the nature of the state.

Here I would like to say something about the position of our friends on the left; if a petty bourgeoisie comes to power, they obviously demand of it that it carry out a revolution. But the important thing is whether they took the precaution of analyzing the position of the petty bourgeoisie during the struggle; did they examine its nature, see how it worked, see what instruments it used and see whether this bourgeoisie committed itself with the left to carrying out a revolution, before the liberation? As you can see, it is the struggle in the underdeveloped countries which endows the petty bourgeoisie with a function; in the capitalist countries the petty bourgeoisie is only a stratum which serves, it does not determine the historical orientation of the country; it merely allies itself with one group or another. So that to hope that the petty bourgeoisie will just carry out a revolution when it comes to power in an underdeveloped country is to hope for a miracle, although it is true that it *could* do this.

This connects with the problem of the true nature of the national liberation struggle. In Guinea-Bissau, as in other colonies, the implantation of imperialism by force and the presence of the colonial system considerably altered the historical conditions and aroused a response - the national liberation struggle - which is generally considered a revolutionary trend; but this is something which I think needs further examination. I should like to formulate this question: is the national liberation movement something which has simply emerged from within our country, is it a result of the internal contradictions created by the presence of colonialism, or are there external factors which have determined it? And here we have some reservations; in fact I would even go so far as to ask whether, given the advance of socialism in the world, the national liberation movement is not an imperialist initiative. Is the judicial institution which serves as a reference for the right of all peoples to struggle to free themselves a product of the peoples who are trying to liberate themselves? Was it created by the socialist countries who are our historical associates? It is signed by the imperialist countries, it is the imperialist countries who have recognized the right of all peoples to national independence, so I ask myself whether we may not be considering as an initiative of our people what is in fact an initiative of the enemy?

Even Portugal, which is using napalm bombs against our people in Guinea-Bissau, signed the declaration of the right of all peoples to independence. One may well ask oneself why they were so mad as to do something which goes against their own interests - and whether or not it was partly forced on them, the real point is that they signed it. This is where we think there is something wrong with the simple interpretation of the national liberation movement as a revolutionary trend. *The objective of the imperialist countries was to prevent the enlargement of the socialist camp, to liberate the reactionary forces in our countries which were being stifled by colonialism and to enable these forces to ally themselves with the international bourgeoisie.* The fundamental objective was to create a bourgeoisie where one did not exist, in order specifically to strengthen the imperialist and the capitalist camp. This rise of the bourgeoisie in the new countries, far from being at all surprising, should be considered absolutely normal, it is something that has to be faced by all those struggling against imperialism. We are therefore faced with the problem of deciding whether to engage in an out and out struggle against the bourgeoisie right from the start or whether to try and make an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, to try to deepen the absolutely necessary contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the international bourgeoisie which has promoted the national bourgeoisie to the position it holds.

To return to the question of the nature of the petty bourgeoisie and the role it can play after the liberation, I should like to put a question to you. What would you have thought if Fidel Castro had come to terms with the Americans? Is this possible or not? Is it possible or impossible that the Cuban petty bourgeoisie, which set the Cuban people marching towards revolution, might have come to terms with the Americans? I think this helps to clarify the character of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. If I may put it this way, I think one thing that can be said is this: the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie is honest; i.e. in spite of all the hostile conditions, it remains identified with the fundamental interests of the popular masses. To do this it may have to commit suicide, but it will not lose; by sacrificing itself it can reincarnate itself, but in the condition of workers or peasants. In speaking of honesty I am not trying to establish moral criteria for judging the role of the petty bourgeoisie when it is in power; what I mean by honesty, in a political context, is total commitment and total identification with the toiling masses.

Again, the role of the petty bourgeoisie links up with the possible social and political transformations that can be effected after liberation. We have heard a great deal about the state of national democracy, but although we have made every effort we have thus far been unable to understand what this means; even so, we should like to know what it is all about, as

we want to know what we are going to do when we have driven out the Portuguese. Likewise, we have to face the question whether or not socialism can be established immediately after liberation. This depends on the instruments used to effect the transition to socialism; the essential factor is the nature of the state, bearing in mind that after liberation there will be people controlling the police, prisons, army and so on, and a great deal depends on who they are and what they try to do with these instruments. Thus we return again to the problem of which class is the agent of history and who are the inheritors of the colonial state in our specific conditions.

I mentioned briefly earlier the question of the attitude of the European left towards the underdeveloped countries, in which there is a good deal of criticism and a good deal of optimism. The criticism reminds me of a story about some lions: there is a group of lions who are shown a picture of a lion lying on the ground and a man holding a gun with his foot on the lion (as everybody knows the lion is proud of being king of the jungle); one of the lions looks at the picture and says, "If only we lions could paint." If one of the leaders of one of the new African countries could only take time off from the terrible problems in his own country and become a critic of the European left and say all he had to say about the retreat of the revolution in Europe, of a certain apathy in some European countries and of the false hopes which we have all had in certain European groups...

What really interests us here is neocolonialism. After the Second World War, imperialism entered a new phase: on the one hand, it worked out the new policy of aid, i.e. granted independence to the occupied countries plus "aid" and, on the other hand, concentrated on preferential investment in the European countries; this was, above all, an attempt at rationalizing imperialism. Even if it has not yet provoked reactions of a nationalist kind in the European countries, we are convinced that it will soon do so. As we see it, neocolonialism (which we may call rationalized imperialism) is more a defeat for the international working class than for the colonized peoples. Neocolonialism is at work on two fronts - in Europe as well as in the underdeveloped countries. Its current framework in the underdeveloped countries is the policy of aid, and one of the essential aims of this policy is to create a false bourgeoisie to put a brake on the revolution and to enlarge the possibilities of the petty bourgeoisie as a neutralizer of the revolution; at the same time it invests capital in France, Italy, Belgium, England and so on. In our opinion the aim of this is *to stimulate the growth of a workers' aristocracy, and enlarge the field of action of the petty bourgeoisie so as to block the revolution.* In our opinion it is under this aspect that neocolonialism and the relations between the international working class movement and our movements must be analyzed.

If there have ever been any doubts about the close relations between our struggle and the struggle of the international working class movement, neocolonialism has proved that there need not be any. Obviously I don't think it is possible to forge closer relations between the peasantry in Guinea-Bissau and the working class movement in Europe; what we must do first is to try and forge closer links between the peasant movement and the wage-earners' movement in our own country. The example of Latin America gives you a good idea of the limits on closer relations; in Latin America you have an old neocolonial situation and a chance to see clearly the relations between the North American proletariat and the Latin American masses. Other examples could be found nearer home.

There is, however, another aspect I should like to raise and that is that the European left has an intellectual responsibility to study the concrete conditions in our country and help us in this way, as we have very little documentation, very few intellectuals, very little chance to do this kind of work ourselves, and yet it is of key importance: this is a major contribution you can make. Another thing you can do is to support the really revolutionary national liberation movements by all possible means. You must analyze and study these movements and combat in Europe, by all possible means, everything which can be used to further the repression against our peoples. I refer especially to the sale of arms. I should like to say to our Italian friends that we have captured a lot of Italian arms from the Portuguese, not to mention French arms, of course. Moreover, you must unmask courageously all the national liberation movements which are under the thumb of imperialism. People whisper that so-and-so is an American agent, but nobody in the European left has taken a violent and open attitude against these people; it is we ourselves who have to try and denounce these people, who are sometimes even those accepted by the rest of Africa, and this creates a lot of trouble for us.

I think that the left and the international working class movement should confront those states which claim to be socialist with their responsibilities; this does not of course mean cutting off all their possibilities of action, but it does mean denouncing all those states which are neocolonialist.

In conclusion, I should just like to make one last point about solidarity between the international working class movement and our national liberation struggle. There are two alternatives: either we admit that there really is a struggle against imperialism which interests everybody, or we deny it. If, as it would seem from all the evidence, imperialism exists and is trying simultaneously to dominate the working class in all the advanced countries and smother the national liberation movements in all the underdeveloped countries, then there is only one enemy against whom we are fighting. If we are fighting together, then I think the main aspect of our solidarity is extremely simple: it is to fight - I don't think there is any need to

discuss this very much. We are struggling in Guinea-Bissau with guns in our hands, you must struggle in your countries as well - I don't say with guns in your hands, I'm not going to tell you how to struggle, that's your business - but you must find the best means and the best forms of fighting against our common enemy: this is the best form of solidarity.

There are, of course, other secondary forms of solidarity: publishing material, sending medicine, etc.; I can guarantee you that if tomorrow we make a breakthrough and you are engaged in an armed struggle against imperialism in Europe we will send you some medicine too.

Tell No Lies Claim No Easy Victories...

Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children...

We should recognize as a matter of conscience that there have been many faults and errors in our action whether political or military: an important number of things we should have done we have not done at the right times, or not done at all.

In various regions - and indeed everywhere in a general sense - political work among the people and among our armed forces has not been done appropriately: responsible workers have not carried or have not been able to carry through the work of mobilization, formation and political organization defined by the party leadership. Here and there, even among responsible workers, there has been a marked tendency to let things slide ... and even a certain demobilization which has not been fought and eliminated.

On the military plane, many plans and objectives established by the Party leadership have not been achieved. With the means we have, we could do much more and better. Some responsible workers have misunderstood the functions of the army and guerrilla forces, have not made good coordination between these two and, in certain cases, have allowed themselves to be influenced by preoccupation with the defense of our positions, ignoring the fact that, for us, attack is the best means of defense...

And with all this as a proof of insufficient political work among our armed forces, there has appeared a certain attitude of "militarism" which has caused some fighters and even some leaders to forget the fact that we are *armed militants* and

Extracts from *Palavras de Ordem Gerais* (Party Directive), 1965. Previously published in Amílcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea*, translated and edited by Richard Handyside, Stage 1, London, 1969.



not *militarists*. This tendency must be urgently fought and eliminated within the army...

If ten men go to a ricefield and do the day's work of eight, there's no reason to be satisfied. It's the same in battle. Ten men fight like eight; that's not enough... One can always do more. Some people get used to the war, and once you get used to a thing it's the end: you get a bullet up the spout of your gun and you walk around. You hear the motor on the river and you don't use the bazooka that you have, so the Portuguese boats pass unharmed. Let me repeat: one can do more. We have to throw the Portuguese out...

...Create schools and spread education in all liberated areas. Select young people between 14 and 20, those who have at least completed their fourth year, for further training. Oppose without violence all prejudicial customs, the negative aspects of the beliefs and traditions of our people. Oblige every responsible and educated member of our Party to work daily for the improvement of their cultural formation...

Oppose among the young, especially those over 20, the mania for leaving the country so as to study elsewhere, the blind ambition to acquire a degree, the complex of inferiority and the mistaken idea which leads to the belief that those who study or take courses will thereby become privileged in our country tomorrow... But also oppose any ill will towards those who study or wish to study - the complex that students will be parasites or future saboteurs of the Party...

In the liberated areas, do everything possible to normalize the political life of the people. Section committees of the Party (*tabanca* committees), zonal committees, regional committees, must be consolidated and function normally. Frequent meetings must be held to explain to the population what is happening in the struggle, what the Party is endeavoring to do at any given moment, and what the criminal intentions of the enemy may be.

In regions still occupied by the enemy, reinforce clandestine work, the mobilization and organization of the populations, and the preparation of militants for action and support of our fighters...

Develop political work in our armed forces, whether regular or guerrilla, wherever they may be. Hold frequent meetings. Demand serious political work from political commissars. Start political committees, formed by the political commissar and commander of each unit in the regular army.

Oppose tendencies to militarism and make each fighter an exemplary militant of our Party.

Educate ourselves, educate other people, the population in general, to fight fear and ignorance, to eliminate little by little the subjection to nature and natural forces which our economy has not yet mastered. Convince little by little, in particular the militants of the Party, that we shall end by

conquering the fear of nature, and that man is the strongest force in nature.

Demand from responsible Party members that they dedicate themselves seriously to study, that they interest themselves in the things and problems of our daily life and struggle in their fundamental and essential aspect, and not simply in their appearance... Learn from life, learn from our people, learn from books, learn from the experience of others. Never stop learning.

Responsible members must take life seriously, conscious of their responsibilities, thoughtful about carrying them out, and with a comradeship based on work and duty done... Nothing of this is incompatible with the joy of living, or with love for life and its amusements, or with confidence in the future and in our work...

Reinforce political work and propaganda within the enemy's armed forces. Write posters, pamphlets, letters. Draw slogans on the roads. Establish cautious links with enemy personnel who want to contact us. Act audaciously and with great initiative in this way... Do everything possible to help enemy soldiers to desert. Assure them of security so as to encourage their desertion. Carry out political work among Africans who are still in enemy service, whether civilian or military. Persuade these brothers to change direction so as to serve the Party within enemy ranks or desert with arms and ammunition to our units.

We must practice revolutionary democracy in every aspect of our Party life. Every responsible member must have the courage of his responsibilities, exacting from others a proper respect for his work and properly respecting the work of others. Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories...

The Role of Culture in the Liberation Struggle

Introduction

The struggle of peoples against imperialist rule and for national liberation and independence, has become a tremendous force for human progress and is beyond doubt an essential feature of the history of our time.

Objective analysis of imperialism as a fact or historical *phenomenon* that is "natural," even "necessary," to the economic and political evolution typifying a great part of mankind, reveals that imperialist rule, with its train of misery, pillage, crime and destruction of human and cultural values, was not a purely negative reality. The huge accumulation of capital in a half dozen countries of the northern hemisphere as the result of piracy, sacking of other people's property and unbridled exploitation of their labor did more than engender colonial monopoly, the sharing-out of the world and imperialist dominion.

In the rich countries, imperialist capital, ever looking for higher profits, heightened man's creative capacity; profoundly transformed the means of production through the accelerated progress of science and technology; increased the socialization of work; and enabled vast strata of the population to rise. In the colonized areas, where colonization usually arrested the historical development of the people colonized - when it did not wipe them out altogether - imperialist capital imposed new types of relationship within the indigenous societies, whose structures thus became more complex. It instigated, fomented, sharpened and sometimes resolved social contradictions and conflicts. It introduced new elements into the economy, with the money cycle and development of domestic and foreign trade. It led to the birth of new nations out of human groups or peoples

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at varying stages of historical development.

It is not defending imperialist rule to recognize that, by reducing the world's dimensions, it gave it new worlds, revealed new phases in the development of human societies and, in spite of or because of the prejudices, discrimination and crimes it gave rise to, helped impart a deeper knowledge of mankind-as-a-whole in movement, as a *unit* in the complex, diverse characteristics of its development.

On the different continents imperialist rule fostered a multilateral, gradual (though at times abrupt) confrontation, not only between different men but between different societies. The practice of imperialist rule - its affirmation or its negation - required (and still requires) a relatively accurate knowledge of the *dominated object* and of the historical reality - economic, social and cultural - within which it moves, this knowledge necessarily being expressed in terms of comparison with the *dominating subject* and its historical reality. Such knowledge is imperative for the practice of imperialist rule, which results from the usually violent confrontation of two *identities* distinct in their historical content and antagonistic in their functions. The search for such knowledge contributed to a general enrichment of the human and social sciences despite its being unilateral, subjective and very often unjust.

Man never before took such an interest in knowing other men and societies as during this century of imperialist domination. Thus an unprecedented amount of information, hypotheses and theories accumulated - especially in the fields of history, ethnology, ethnography, sociology and culture - regarding the subjugated peoples or human groups. Concepts of race, caste, clanship, tribe, nation, culture, identity, dignity, etc., have received growing attention from those who study man and so-called "primitive" or "evolving" societies.

More recently, with the upsurge of liberation movements, it has become necessary to analyze the characteristics of these societies in terms of the struggle that is being waged in order to determine the factors that set it in motion or restrain it. Research workers generally agree that in this context culture takes on a particular significance. Thus any attempt to throw light on the true role of culture in the development of a liberation (pre-independence) movement can make an important contribution to the general struggle of peoples against imperialist rule.

Part I

Because independence movements are as a rule marked, even in their beginnings, by a succession of cultural manifestations, it is usually taken for granted that they are preceded by a "cultural renaissance" of the dominated people. More than that: it is assumed that culture is a method of group mobilization, even a *weapon* in the fight for independence.

From experience of the struggle of my own people and, it

might be said of all Africa, I feel that this is a too limited, if not erroneous, conception of the vital role of culture in development of the liberation movement. I think it comes of generalizing incorrectly from a real but restricted phenomenon that appears at a particular level in the vertical structure of colonized societies: the level of colonial *elites* or *diasporas*. Such generalizations ignore or neglect an essential aspect of the problem: the indestructibility of cultural resistance to foreign rule by the mass of the people.

To be sure, the exercise of imperialist domination demands cultural oppression and the attempt at direct or indirect liquidation of what is essential in the subject people's culture. But this people is able to create and develop a liberation movement only because it keeps its culture alive despite permanent and organized repression of its cultural life - only because its politico-military resistance being destroyed, it continues to resist culturally. And it is cultural resistance which, at a given moment, may take on new forms (political, economic, military) to counter foreign domination.

With few exceptions the *era of colonization* was not long enough, in Africa at least, to destroy or significantly depreciate the essential elements in the culture and traditions of the colonized people. Experience in Africa shows that (genocide, racial segregation, and "apartheid" excepted) the one allegedly "positive" way colonial powers have found for opposing cultural resistance is "*assimilation*." But the total failure of the policy of "gradual assimilation" of native populations is obvious proof both of the fallacy of the theory and of the people's capacity for resistance.¹

It can be seen that even in settlement colonies, where the overwhelming majority of the population is still indigenous, the area of colonial occupation, and particularly *cultural occupation*, is usually reduced to coastal strips and a few small zones in the interior. The influence of the colonial power's culture is almost nil beyond the capital and other urban centers. It is felt significantly only at the vertex of the social pyramid - the pyramid colonialism itself created - and especially affects what may be called the native lower middle class and a very limited number of workers in urban centers.

We find then that the great rural masses and a large percentage of the urban population - making up a total of over 99% of the indigenous population - remain apart, or almost so, from any cultural influence by the colonial power. This situation derives on the one hand from the necessarily obscurantist char-

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For the Portuguese colonies, the maximum percentage of assimilated persons is 0.3% of the total population (in Guinea-Bissau), after 500 years of civilizing presence and half a century of "colonial peace."

acter of imperialist rule which, while despising and repressing the culture of the dominated people, has no interest in promoting acculturation of the masses - the source of forced labor and the prime object of exploitation. On the other hand, it derives from the effective cultural resistance of those masses who, subjected to political rule and economic exploitation, find in their own culture the one bulwark strong enough to preserve their *identity*. Where the indigenous society has a vertical structure, this defense of the cultural heritage is further reinforced by the colonial power's interest in protecting and strengthening the cultural influence of the dominant classes, its allies.

What I have said implies that, not only for the mass of the people in the dominated territory but also for the dominant classes among the indigenous peoples (traditional chiefs, noble families, religious authorities) there is usually no destruction or significant undermining of culture and traditions. Repressed, persecuted, humiliated, betrayed by certain strata which have come to terms with the foreigner, taking refuge in villages, in forests and in the minds of the victims of domination, culture weathers all storms to recover through the struggle for liberation all its power of expansion and enrichment. That is why the problem of a "return to sources" or a "cultural renaissance" does not arise for the mass of the people. It could not, for the masses are the torch-bearers of culture; they are the source of culture and, at the same time, the one entity truly capable of preserving and creating it - of *making history*.

For a correct appreciation of the true role of culture in the development of the liberation movement a distinction must therefore be made, at least in Africa, between the situation of the masses, who preserve their culture, and that of social sectors which are more or less assimilated, uprooted and culturally alienated. Even though they are marked by certain cultural features of the native community, the native elites created by the colonizing process live materially and spiritually the culture of the colonialist foreigner, with whom they seek gradually to identify themselves in social behavior and even in their view of indigenous cultural values.

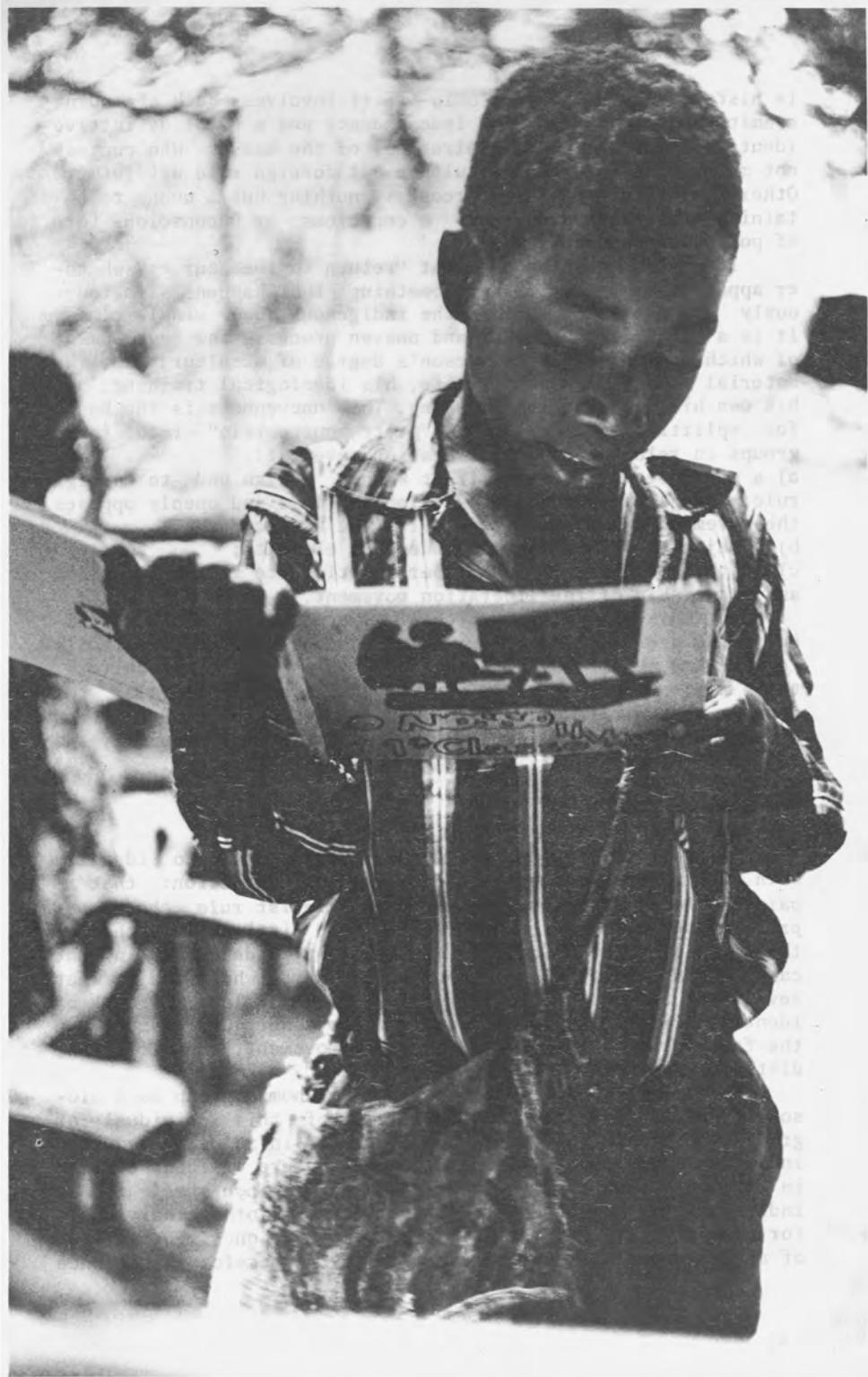
Over two or three colonized generations a social stratum is formed of government officials, business employees (especially in trade), members of the liberal professions and a few urban and agricultural landowners. This indigenous lower middle class, created by foreign rule and indispensable to the system of colonial exploitation, has its place between the mass of rural and urban workers and the few local representatives of the foreign ruling class. Although its members may have somewhat developed relations with the mass of people or traditional chiefs, they usually aspire to a way of life similar to, if not identical with, that of the foreign minority. They limit their intercourse with the masses while trying to become integrated

with that minority, often to the detriment of family or ethnic bonds and always at personal cost. But despite appearances and seeming exceptions, they do not succeed in crossing the barriers imposed by the system. They are prisoners of the contradictions within the social and cultural reality they live in. They cannot escape, under "colonial peace," their condition as a "marginal" class. Both *in loco* and within the *diasporas* implanted in the colonialist metropolis, this "marginality" constitutes the socio-cultural drama of the colonial elites or native "petty bourgeoisie," a drama lived more or less intensely according to material conditions and level of acculturation, but always on the individual rather than community level.

Within the framework of this daily drama and against the background of confrontation, usually violent, between the masses and the colonial ruling class, a feeling of bitterness, a *frustration complex*, develops and grows among the indigenous lower middle class. Along with this they gradually become conscious of an urgent need to contest their marginal status and to find an *identity*. So they turn towards the other pole of the socio-cultural conflict in which they are living - to the native masses. Hence the "return to the sources," which seems all the more imperative as the isolation of the petty bourgeoisie (or native elites) grows and as its sense of frustration becomes more acute - as among the African *diasporas* implanted in colonialist or racial capitals. It is not by chance, then, that theories or movements like *Pan-Africanism* and *Negritude* (two pertinent expressions based mainly on the postulate that all Black Africans are culturally identical) were conceived outside Black Africa. More recently, the Black American's claim to an African identity is another manifestation, perhaps desperate, of this need to "return to the sources," though clearly influenced by a new fact: the winning of political independence by the great majority of African peoples.

But "return to the sources" neither is nor can be, in itself, an *act of struggle* against foreign rule (colonialist and racial), nor does it necessarily mean a return to traditions. Needing to identify with the subject people, the indigenous "petty bourgeoisie" deny that the culture of the ruling power is superior to theirs, as claimed. "Return to the sources" then is not a voluntary step but rather the only viable response to the powerful pressure of concrete historical necessity, determined by an irreconcilable contradiction between colonized society and colonial power, exploited masses and foreign exploiting class. Every indigenous social stratum or class is obliged to define its position in relation to this contradiction.

When the "return to the sources" extends beyond the individual and expresses itself in "groups" or "movements," this contradiction becomes sharp (concealed or open conflict), the prelude of a pre-independence movement or struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke. But this "return to the sources"



is historically important *only* if it involves both a genuine commitment to the fight for independence and a total, definitive identification with the aspirations of the masses, who contest not merely the foreigner's culture but foreign rule altogether. Otherwise "return to the sources" is nothing but a means to obtaining temporary advantages, a conscious or unconscious form of political opportunism.

It must be pointed out that "return to the sources," whether apparent or real, is not something that happens simultaneously and uniformly within the indigenous lower middle class. It is a slow, discontinuous and uneven process, the development of which depends on each person's degree of acculturation, the material conditions of his life, his ideological training, and his own history as a social being. This unevenness is the basis for splitting the indigenous "petty bourgeoisie" into three groups in relation to the liberation movement:

- a) a minority which, even if it wishes for an end to foreign rule, hangs on to the ruling colonial class and openly opposes the movement in order to defend its social security;
- b) a majority of hesitant or undecided elements;
- c) another minority whose members participate in the formation and leadership of the liberation movement.

But this last group, which plays a decisive role in developing the pre-independence movement, can only succeed in really identifying itself with the mass of the people (their culture, their aspirations) through participation in the struggle: the degree of their identification depending on the form or forms of the struggle, the ideological content of the movement, and the level of each man's moral and political awareness.

Part II

For part of the "native" lower middle class to identify with the masses presupposes one essential condition: *that against the destructive action of imperialist rule the masses preserve their identity*, different and distinct from that of the colonial power. So it seems important to determine in what cases this preservation is possible: why, when and at what levels of the subject society the problem of loss or lack of identity arises, making it necessary to assert or reassert, in the framework of the pre-independence movement, a different, distinct identity.

The identity of a given individual or human group is a bio-social quality independent of the will of this individual or group and meaningful only when expressed in relation to other individuals or groups. The dialectical nature of identity lies in the fact that it both *identifies* and *distinguishes*; for an individual (or human group) is identical with other individuals (or groups) only if distinct from yet other ones. Definition of an individual or collective identity, therefore, is at once

the affirmation and negation of a certain number of characteristics defining individuals or communities in terms of *historical* (biological and sociological) coordinates at one moment in their evolution. Identity is not an immutable quality, for the very reason that the biological and sociological data that define it are in constant evolution. Biologically or sociologically there are, in time, no two beings (individual or collective) absolutely identical or absolutely distinct, for it is always possible to find distinguishing or identifying characteristics. So the identity of a being is always a relative and indeed a circumstantial quality, its definition requiring a fairly rigorous or restricted selection of the being's biological and sociological characteristics.

It must be observed that in the definition of identity the sociological aspect is more determining than the biological. While it is true that the biological element (the genetic heritage) is the indispensable material base for the existence and evolutionary continuity of identity, the fact remains that the sociological element is the factor which, by giving this genetic quality content and form, gives it objective significance and makes it possible to confront or compare individuals or groups. Indeed, to arrive at an integral definition of identity, characterization of the biological element is indispensable but does not imply identification on the sociological plane; whereas two sociologically identical beings necessarily have a similar identity on the biological plane.

This fact shows on the one hand the supremacy of social life over individual life, for society (human society, for example) is a higher form of life. On the other hand it suggests that in understanding identity we must not confuse *original identity*, in which the biological element is the chief determinant, with *present identity* in which the chief determinant is the sociological element. Obviously the identity to be reckoned with at any given moment in the evolution of a being (individual or collective) is present identity, and any appreciation based solely on original identity is incomplete, partial and fallacious, for it neglects or is ignorant of the decisive influence of social reality on the content and form of identity.

In the formation and development of individual or community identity, social reality is an objective agent resulting from the economic, political, social and cultural factors that characterize the society's evolution or history. When we consider that the economic factor is fundamental, we can say that identity is, in some manner, the expression of an economic fact. Whatever the society's geographic setting and line of development, this fact is defined by the level of development of productive forces (the relationship between man and nature) and the relations of production (relations between men or categories of men within any one society). However, if we grant that culture is the dynamic synthesis of the society's material and

spiritual reality and expresses both relations between man and nature and relations among different categories of men in one society, we may also say that identity, at an individual or community level, and apart from economic facts, is the expression of a culture. That is why to locate, recognize, or assert the identity of an individual or human group is, above all, to situate the individual or group within the framework of a culture. Now, as the chief support of culture in every society is the social fabric, it seems reasonable to conclude that, for a given human group, the possibility of preserving (or losing) its identity in the face of foreign rule depends on how far that rule has destroyed its social structure.

Here it is essential to consider the case of classical colonialism, which is what the pre-independence movement is contesting. In this case, no matter what may be the stage of historical development in the dominated society, its social fabric may suffer the following effects:

- a) *total destruction*, along with immediate or gradual liquidation of the indigenous population and its replacement by foreigners;
- b) *partial destruction*, with the establishment of a larger or smaller foreign population;
- c) *apparent conservation*, conditioned by confinement of the indigenous society to geographic zones or reserves, usually lacking means of subsistence, along with massive implantation of a settler population.

The essentially horizontal character of the African people's social fabric, due to the profusion of ethnic groups, means that cultural resistance and the degree of preservation of identity are not uniform. Thus, while it is true that in general ethnic groups have succeeded in keeping their identity, we find that the most *resistant* groups are those that had the most violent clashes with the colonial power during the phase of effective occupation¹ or the ones that, through geographical isolation, have had least contact with the foreign presence.²

The attitude of colonial powers toward ethnic groups is hopelessly contradictory. On the one hand this power has to divide, or maintain division, in order to reign, and therefore it encourages separation if not quarrels between ethnic groups. On the other hand, in trying to ensure perpetuation of its rule it has to destroy the social fabric, the culture and hence the identity of those groups. Moreover, it is forced to defend the governing classes of groups which (like the Peul people or nation in my country) gave it decisive support at the time of

¹In my country, the Mandjaques, the Pepels, the Oincas, the Balantes, and the Beafades.

²This is the case with the Pajadincas and other minorities of the interior.

colonial conquest - a policy which tends to preserve those groups' identity.

As I said, regarding culture there are usually no important modifications at the summit of the indigenous social pyramid or pyramids (groups with a hierarchical structure). Each stratum or class retains its identity, integrated within the larger group, but distinct from the identities of other social categories. By contrast, in urban centers and in certain zones of the interior where the colonial power's cultural influence is felt, the problem of identity is more complex. Whereas those at the base of the social pyramid - that is the majority of the masses of working people from different ethnic groups - and those at the top (the foreign ruling class) keep their identities, those in the middle range of this pyramid (the native lower middle class) - culturally rootless, alienated or more or less assimilated - flounder in a social and cultural conflict in quest of their identity. The foreign ruling class, though united by a new identity conferred on it by the colonial power, does not succeed in freeing itself from the contradictions of its own society, which it imports.

When the pre-independence movement gets under way on the initiative of a minority of the native lower middle class in alliance with the indigenous masses, these masses have no need to assert or reassert their identity. They could never possibly have confused it with that of the colonial power. This need is felt only by the native lower middle class, who are forced to take a stand in the conflict between the masses and the colonial power. But reassertion of an identity distinct from the colonial power's is not general among the petty bourgeoisie. It is achieved only by a minority. Another minority asserts - often noisily - its identity with the foreign ruling class. The silent majority dithers, indecisive.

Even when there is reassertion of an identity distinct from the colonial power's and therefore the same as that of the masses, it is not manifested in the same way everywhere. Part of the bourgeois minority engaged in the pre-independence movement make use of foreign culture, drawing especially on literature and the arts to express the discovery of their own identity rather than the people's aspirations and sufferings that serve as their artistic theme. And just because they use the language and speech of the colonial power, they can only rarely influence the masses, who are generally illiterate and familiar with different forms of artistic expression. Still, that does not diminish the value of their contribution to the development of the struggle, for they do succeed in influencing some of the indecisive or backward elements in their own class and also a large section of public opinion in the colonial metropolis, especially intellectuals.

The other part of the "petty bourgeoisie," those engaged in the pre-independence movement from the very beginning, find

immediate participation in the liberation struggle and integration with the masses the best way of expressing an identity distinct from that of the colonial power.

Thus identification with the masses and reassertion of identity may be temporary or definitive, apparent or real, when confronting the day-to-day efforts and sacrifices demanded by the struggle itself: a struggle which, even though it is the organized political expression of a culture, is also necessarily a proof not only of *identity* but also of *dignity*.

Throughout the process of colonialist rule, the mass of the people, whatever the social fabric of the group they belong to, continue to resist the colonial power. In the first phase of conquest, cynically called "pacification," they resist foreign occupation weapons in hand. In the second phase, the golden age of triumphant colonialism, they offer a passive, almost silent resistance, one characterized by many rebellions (usually individual, rarely collective), particularly in the areas of work, taxes and social contact with foreign or indigenous representatives of the colonial power. In the third phase, the struggle for liberation, it is they who furnish the main force for political or armed resistance, for contesting and liquidating foreign rule. Such resistance, protracted and multiform, is only possible because by preserving their culture and their identity the masses retain consciousness of their individual and collective dignity despite the vexations, humiliations and cruelties they are often exposed to.

Assertion or reassertion by the native lower middle class of an identity distinct from that of the colonial power does not and cannot help restore a sense of dignity to this social stratum. At this level a sense of dignity depends on each person's objective behavior, moral and social, and on his consciousness and attitude toward the two poles of social conflict between which he lives out the day-to-day drama of colonization. This drama is all the more intense because in discharging their functions the petty bourgeoisie are forced into continual contact with both the ruling foreigners and the masses. On the one side they suffer frequent if not daily humiliation at the hands of the foreigner; on the other they become aware of the injustices inflicted upon the masses and also of their rebellious resistance. Hence the paradox apparent in the challenge to colonial rule: it is within this native lower middle class, a social sector that colonization itself created, that the first important initiatives appear aimed at mobilizing and organizing the masses for the struggle against the colonial power.

Through all vicissitudes and regardless of its forms, this struggle reflects the growing awareness of a special identity; it generalizes and consolidates the sense of dignity, reinforced by the development of political consciousness; and it draws from the culture or cultures of the rebellious masses one of its main sources of strength.

Part III

A correct appreciation of what culture means in the pre-independence movement requires that a clear distinction be made between *culture* and *cultural manifestations*. Culture is the dynamic synthesis, at the level of individual or community consciousness, of the material and spiritual historical reality of a society or a human group, of the relations existing between man and nature as well as among men and among social classes or sectors. Cultural manifestations are the various forms in which this synthesis is expressed, individually or collectively, at each stage in the evolution of the society or group.

Culture has proved to be the very foundation of the liberation movement. Mobilization, organization and carrying out the struggle against foreign rule have proved possible only for societies which preserve their culture. Whatever the ideological or idealistic characteristics of its expression may be, culture is an essential element in this historical process. It is culture that has the capacity for elaborating or fertilizing elements which ensure the historical continuity of the society - at the same time determining its possibilities of progress or regression. Thus, as imperialist rule is the negation of the historical process of the dominated society, it is necessarily the negation of its cultural process. And because a society that truly liberates itself from foreign rule returns to the upward path of its own culture, nourished by the living reality of the environment, and rejecting baneful influences and any kind of subjection to foreign cultures, the struggle for liberation is above all else an *act of culture*.

The fight for liberation is an essentially political fact. Consequently, as it develops, it can only use political methods - including violence in an effort to end violent, always armed, imperialist rule. Culture, then, is decidedly not simply a weapon or method of group mobilization against foreign domination. It is much more than that. Indeed, it is on concrete knowledge of the local reality, particularly the cultural reality, that the choice, structuring and development of the best methods of fighting are based. Therefore, the liberation struggle must accord permanent importance not only to the cultural characteristics of the subject society in general, but also to those of each social category. For, though it has a mass aspect, culture is not uniform; it does not develop evenly within all sectors, horizontal or vertical, of society.

The attitude and behavior of each social group, class or individual toward the struggle and its development are clearly dictated by economic interests; but they are also profoundly influenced by culture. It may even be said that differences in cultural level can often explain differences in behavior among individuals of the same social category toward the liberation movement. It is on this plane, then, that culture attains its

full significance for every person: comprehension of and integration in his social milieu, identification with the fundamental problems and aspirations of his society, acceptance or rejection of the possibility of progressive change.

Clearly a multiplicity of social categories, and particularly of ethnic groups, makes the role of culture in the liberation movement more difficult to determine. But this complexity does not lessen the decisive importance to the liberation movement of the *class character* of culture, more evident in the urban sectors and in rural societies with a hierarchical structure, but to be taken into consideration even when the phenomenon of class is embryonic. Experience shows that when revolt against foreign rule forces them to make a political choice, most members of the privileged categories put their immediate class interests above the interests of ethnic groups or the total society - hence against the aspirations of the masses.

Nor must we forget that culture, both as a cause and an effect of history, includes essential and secondary elements, strengths and weaknesses, merits and defects, positive and negative aspects, factors both for progress and stagnation or regression, contradictions, conflicts. However complex the cultural panorama, the liberation movement needs to recognize and define its contradictory aspects so as to retain the positive values and *channel* them in the direction of the struggle, together with the added *national dimension*. It must be observed, however, that only when the struggle is actually under way does the complexity and importance of these cultural problems become fully apparent. So there have to be successive adaptations of strategy and tactics to realities which the struggle alone can reveal. And only the struggle can reveal the inexhaustible source of courage which culture is for the masses of people - a source of physical and psychic energy on the one hand, but also of obstacles and difficulties, erroneous conceptions, indiscipline in the fulfilment of duties, and limitations upon the rhythm and efficacy of the struggle.

All this implies a permanent confrontation between the different elements within the culture as well as between the culture and the demands of the struggle. A reciprocal relationship between the culture and the struggle develops. Culture, as a foundation and source of inspiration, begins to be influenced by the struggle; and this influence is reflected, more or less clearly, in the changing behavior of social categories and individuals as well as in the development of the struggle itself. Both the leaders of the liberation movement - mostly from urban centers ("petty bourgeoisie" and wage-earners) - and the masses (overwhelmingly peasants) make cultural advances. They learn more about the realities of their country, rid themselves of class complexes and prejudices, burst the bounds of their limited universe, destroy ethnic barriers, acquire political consciousness, relate themselves more closely within their

country and toward the world, and so on.

Whatever its form, the struggle requires the mobilization and organization of a large majority of the population, the political and moral unity of the different social categories, the gradual elimination of vestiges of tribal or feudal mentality and the rejection of social and religious taboos incompatible with the *rational* and national character of the liberating movement. In addition, the struggle brings about many other profound modifications in the life of the people. This is all the more true because the dynamics of the struggle require the exercise of democracy, criticism and self-criticism, growing participation by the people in running their own lives, literacy, the creation of schools and health services, leadership training for persons with rural and urban laboring backgrounds, and many other developments which impel people to set forth upon the road of cultural progress. This shows that the liberation struggle is not simply a cultural fact; it is a *cultural factor*, a process giving new forms and content to culture.

Within the indigenous society the action of the liberation movement on the cultural plane entails the gradual creation of a solid cultural unity, symbiotic in nature, corresponding to the moral and political unity necessary to the dynamics of the struggle. With the opening up of hermetic or isolated groups, tribal or ethnic-racist aggressiveness tends gradually to disappear, giving way to understanding, solidarity and mutual respect among the various horizontal sectors of society, united in struggle and within a common destiny in the face of foreign rule. These are sentiments which the mass of people imbibe readily enough if the process is not hindered by the political opportunism peculiar to the middle classes. Group identity and, as a consequence, a sense of dignity are also reinforced. All this serves the movement of society as a whole toward harmonious progress in terms of new historical coordinates. Only intensive, effective political action, the essential element in the struggle, can define the trajectory and bounds of this movement and ensure its continuity.

Among representatives of the colonial power, as in metropolitan popular opinion, the first reaction to the liberation struggle is a general feeling of amazement and incredulity. Once this feeling - the fruit of prejudice or the planned distortion that typifies colonialist news - is surmounted, reactions vary with the interests, political options, and degree of crystallization of a colonialist or racist mentality among the different social sectors and even among individuals. The progress of the struggle and the sacrifices imposed by the need for colonialist repression cause a split in metropolitan opinion: divergent positions are taken up and new political and social contradictions emerge.

From the moment that the struggle has to be recognized as irreversible, no matter how much may be done to strangle it, a

qualitative change takes place in metropolitan opinion. On the whole, the possibility if not the inevitability of the colony's independence is gradually accepted. Such a change expresses conscious or unconscious admission of the fact that the struggling colonized people have an identity and a culture of their own; though throughout the conflict an active minority, clinging to its interest and prejudices, persists in refusing them their right to independence and rejecting the equality of cultures which that right implies. At a decisive stage in the conflict, this cultural equivalence is implicitly recognized or accepted even by the colonial power - in an effort to divert the struggle from its objectives. The colonizers apply a demagogic policy of "economic and social promotion," of "cultural development," cloaking its domination within new forms. Actually, if neo-colonialism is above all the continuation of imperialist economic rule in disguise, it is also the tacit recognition by the colonial power that the people it rules and exploits have an identity which requires its own political direction for the satisfaction of a cultural necessity.

Further, by accepting the existence of an identity and a culture among the colonized people, and therefore their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, metropolitan opinion itself (or at least an important part of it) makes significant cultural progress and sheds a negative element in its own culture: the prejudice that the colonizing nation is superior to the colonized one. This advance can have important - transcendent - consequences for the political evolution of the imperialist or colonial power, as is proved by certain facts of recent or current history.

Certain genetical-somatic and cultural affinities between various human groups on one or more continents plus more or less similar situations as regards colonial or racist domination have led to the formulation of theories and the creation of "movements" based on the hypothetical existence of racial or continental cultures. The significance of culture in the liberation movement, widely recognized or sensed, has helped give this hypothesis a certain following. While the importance of such theories or movements - as attempts, successful or not, at seeking an identity and as a means of contesting foreign rule - should not be minimized, an objective analysis of culture leads me to deny the existence of racial or continental cultures. First, culture, like history, is an expanding phenomenon closely linked with the economic and social reality of a given environment, with the level of the productive forces and with the production relations of the society that creates it. Second, culture develops unevenly at the level of a continent, a "race," even a community. In fact the coordinates of culture, like those of every other developing phenomenon, vary in space and time, whether they are material (physical) or human (biological and sociological). That is why culture - the creation of a

community, the synthesis of balances and solutions engendered to resolve the conflicts that characterize it at every phase of history - is a social reality independent of man's will, the color of his skin or shape of his eyes, and geographical boundaries.

A correct appreciation of the role of culture in the liberation movement requires that we consider its defining characteristics as a whole and with regard to their internal relations; that we avoid any confusion between what is the expression of an historical, material reality and what seems to be a creation of the mind detached from that reality; that we do not set up an absurd connection between artistic creations, valuable or not, and supposedly psychic and somatic characteristics of a "race"; and finally, that we avoid any non-scientific or a-scientific analysis of the cultural phenomenon.

For culture to play its due part, the liberation movement must establish precise objectives to be achieved on the way toward reconquering the right of the people it represents and whom it is helping to make its own history and obtain the free disposal of its own productive forces, with an end to the eventual development of a richer culture - popular, national, scientific and universal. What is important for the liberation movement is not to prove the specificity or non-specificity of the people's culture but to analyze it critically in the light of requirements of the struggle and of progress - to give it its place, with neither a superiority nor an inferiority complex, in universal civilization, as a part of the common heritage of mankind and with a view to harmonious integration in the present-day world.

The liberation struggle, which is the most complex expression of the people's cultural vigor, their identity, their dignity, enriches culture and opens up new prospects for its development. Cultural manifestations acquire a new content and find new forms of expression. Thus they become a powerful instrument for political information and training, not only in the struggle for independence but also in the great battle for human progress.

The People of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands Before the UN

I addressed the Fourth Committee for the first time on 12 December 1962. Ten years is a long and sometimes decisive period in the life of an individual person, but only a short space in the history of a people. During this decade sweeping, radical and irreversible changes have occurred in the life of our people in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde... Let me therefore briefly recapitulate events up to the present.

On 3 August 1959, at a crucial juncture in the development of our struggle, the Portuguese colonialists carried out the Pidgiguiti massacre against the striking dock and transport workers in Bissau, killing 50 and wounding over 100. This painful lesson taught our people that we had no choice between non-violence and armed struggle; the Portuguese had weapons and were prepared to kill.

On 19 September 1959, PAIGC leaders secretly met and decided to suspend all forms of peaceful protest in the towns and start preparing for armed struggle. This meant, first of all, building a solid political base in the countryside. After three years of intensive mobilization and organization of the peasants, we had succeeded in creating such a base despite increasing harassment by the colonial power.

Sensing the "winds of change," the colonialist police and military launched an extensive campaign of repression against our nationalist forces. In June 1962 more than 2,000 suspected patriots were arrested throughout the country. Several villages were burned down and their inhabitants massacred. Dozens of Africans were burned alive or drowned in rivers. Others were tortured in many different ways. But this repression galvanized the determination of our people to continue the struggle and several skirmishes took place between our armed patriots and the colonialist forces.

Excerpts from a speech by Amilcar Cabral to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations on 16 October, 1972.

In this situation we felt that only intervention by the UN in support of the inalienable rights of our people could induce the Portuguese Government to respect contemporary international morality and law. Considering subsequent events this may now seem naive, but we believed it to be our right and duty to take our case before this international organization... The representatives of our people did not come to New York to ask the UN to send troops to liberate our country from the Portuguese colonial yoke. Though you might have been able to do so, we did not think it necessary as we were confident of our own ability to liberate Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. We merely invoked our right to the concrete collaboration and support of the UN in order to accelerate the liberation of our country, thus reducing the human and material losses which a prolonged struggle entails...

Our struggle had ceased to be strictly national and had become international. Our fight for progress and freedom from poverty, suffering and oppression took various forms and while it is true that the victims of this struggle were the sons and daughters of our country, it is also true that the comrades who died from torture or fell under the bullets of Portuguese colonialists identified themselves - through the hope and conviction cherished in the hearts and minds of our people - with all peace- and freedom-loving people who wish to live a life of progress in the pursuit of happiness... Having refused to beg for freedom, an act contrary to our dignity and sacred right to independence, we in PAIGC reaffirmed our steadfast decision to end colonial domination in our country and seize the right of our people to take their destiny into their own hands... Since our proposals were not favorably received by the Portuguese or the UN, the patriotic forces of our country launched widespread actions against the colonialist forces in January 1963 in order to respond, by armed struggle for liberation, to the genocidal attacks on our people by the Government of Portugal.

Today, almost ten years later, PAIGC is again before the Fourth Committee. Our situation, however, is now very different - both within our country and at the international level. The Fourth Committee and the UN are now better informed than ever about our situation... People who have visited our country, including the members of the UN Special Mission, have witnessed the horrible consequences of the crimes of the Portuguese against the people and their possessions. Unfortunately the UN knows as well as we that condemnations and resolutions, no matter how great their moral and political value, will not persuade the colonialists to end their crimes against humanity. Thus I am not appearing here today to obtain new and more violent resolutions and condemnations. Nor am I urging you to appeal to the allies of Portugal to cease their political and material support, even if this support is of primary importance in the colonial war against Africa. This has already been done many

times with no results...

Experience has shown that in their role as real enemies of progress and liberation for the African peoples, the allies of the Portuguese Government - and in particular some of the major NATO powers - have not only increased their assistance to the colonialists but have also avoided and even boycotted any cooperation with the majority within the UN seeking to find steps which might induce the Portuguese to comply with the principles of this organization and the resolutions of the General Assembly. It was last year, not ten years ago, that the Portuguese received the largest quantities ever of military hardware; jet planes, helicopters, gun boats, launches, etc. It was in 1972, not 1962, that they got some \$500 million in financial assistance from one of their principal allies. If states which call themselves champions of freedom and democracy, defenders of the "free world" and self-determination for all peoples persist thus in actively supporting the most retrograde colonialism on earth they must have very good reason, at least in their own view. Maybe an effort should be made to understand them, because we must stop dreaming and asking the impossible; we must take a realistic approach for, as the Africans in our country say, "only in stories can you cross the river on the shoulders of the crocodile's friend."

We are here once more to try, as in the past, to obtain from the UN practical and direct assistance for our struggling people. During a decade of armed struggle and tremendous efforts and sacrifices, nearly three-quarters of the national territory has been liberated from Portuguese colonial domination and two-thirds brought under our effective control. This means that throughout most of the country our people have a solid political organization, the PAIGC, a developing administrative structure, a judicial structure, an economic system free from the exploitation of people's labor, a variety of social and cultural services and other means of affirming their personality and their ability to shape their destiny and direct their own lives. Our military organizations are fully integrated into this framework and led by the sons and daughters of our people. Both our National Armed Forces, whose task is to attack the colonialist troops wherever they might be, and our local militia, which is responsible for the defense and security of the liberated areas, are now stronger than ever, tempered by ten years of struggle. Therefore the colonialists are incapable of recovering any of the liberated regions and the people are able to strike at them harder blows all the time - now even in the towns like Bissau, the capital, and Bafata, the second largest town.

However, for PAIGC and the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde the greatest success of our struggle is not the fact that we are defeating the Portuguese troops under extremely difficult conditions. The main success is the fact that while

we have been fighting, we have begun to create all the aspects of a genuinely new life in the liberated areas. To be sure, it is still a hard life, calling for great effort and sacrifice in the face of a genocidal war machine. But at the same time it is a life of beauty, of productive and creative work, of freedom and democracy in which the people have regained their dignity. The decade of struggle has not only forged a new, strong African nation but has also created a new kind of man and woman, aware of their rights and duties in their fatherland. Indeed, the most important result of the struggle, and at the same time its greatest strength, is the new consciousness of our country's men, women and children.

It should come as no surprise that our people take no pride in the fact that every day an increasing number of young Portuguese die ingloriously before the fire of our militants. These circumstances have been imposed by the Portuguese Government, not by us. What fills us with pride is our increasing national awareness and unity - now indestructible - which has been forged in the armed struggle. We are proud of the harmonious development and coexistence of our many cultures and ethnic groups, of our schools, hospitals and clinics which operate openly despite colonialist bombings and terrorist attacks. We take pride in our people's stores which are increasingly able to supply the population, in the growth and better quality of our crops and in the pride and dignity of our women and children, previously the most exploited human beings in our country. We are proud of the thousands of people who have learned to read and write, and of the fact that the peasants now receive medicines which though hardly sufficient, have never before been available to them... This is the greatest victory of our people, for it is a victory over ignorance, fear and disease - evils imposed on Africans for centuries by Portuguese colonialism...

Confronted with our determination, what has been the attitude of the Portuguese Government? Before the death of Salazar, whose outmoded mind could not even conceive of fictitious concessions to the Africans, there was no other strategy than escalating the colonial war. Salazar, who would over and over tell anybody willing to listen that "Africa does not exist," was in the end unable to survive Africa's affirmation of its existence: the victorious armed struggles of the African peoples in Portugal's colonies. Salazar was a fanatic believer in the doctrine of European superiority and African inferiority. As everybody knows, Africa was the sickness which killed Salazar.

Caetano, his successor, who often claims he "knows the negroes," has initiated new policies in the colonies on the line of a master extending a hand of friendship to his "boy"... But the objective remains the same: the perpetuation of white domination of the black masses.

Caetano's tactics, which we call "the policy of smile and blood," is just another proof of the success of our liberation

struggle... People of the occupied areas accept the demagogic concessions of the colonialists with the words "Djarama, PAIGC," which means "Thank you, PAIGC." Despite the concessions and a vast propaganda campaign, Caetano's policy has failed. In fact, the people of the liberated regions are more united around the Party than ever and support for our struggle within the areas still occupied by the Portuguese is rapidly growing. Hundreds of young people are leaving the urban centers to join our Party in the struggle, and an increasing number of black mercenaries in the colonial forces are deserting.

Now desperate, the colonialists are increasing repression in the occupied areas and stepping up bombings and terrorist attacks against the liberated zones. Reluctantly recognizing that they are losing the war, they also know that nothing can demoralize the people of free Guinea-Bissau or halt our advance toward complete liberation and independence. They therefore use every available means to kill and destroy as much as they can; they use more and more napalm and are preparing to use poison, herbicides and defoliants. Their desperation is all the more understandable since our brother peoples in Angola and Mozambique are also advancing in their struggles and the people of Portugal itself are every day taking a stronger stand against the war. Portugal's economic, social and political position is steadily deteriorating and its population declining, mainly due to the colonial wars. Let me, therefore, reaffirm here our solidarity with the African peoples of Angola and Mozambique as well as with the people of Portugal, whom we have never confused with the system of colonialism. In fact, we are more convinced than ever that the complete liberation of our country will be in the best interests of the Portuguese people, with whom we wish to develop relations on the basis of cooperation, solidarity and friendship...

But let us not forget that the war is still raging and that our people will have to go on making heavy sacrifices to liberate their homeland. This we have in common with other peoples and nations that today have governments of their own. But it is true as well that, thanks to international solidarity, more and better means have become available to us and enabled us to strike ever harder blows at the colonialist forces. Also, the determination of our people is growing, along with the courage and experience of our combatants. The truth is that since the beginning of the armed struggle the colonialists never had a chance of victory. Therefore our policy has been and continues to be a search for peace, dialogue and negotiation to end our conflict with the Government of Portugal.

Our People's National Assembly

On the General Elections in the Liberated Areas of Guinea-Bissau, August - October 1972.

Since 1968, as a result of the national liberation struggle of our people under the leadership of PAIGC, Guinea-Bissau can best be compared to an independent state which has part of its national territory occupied by foreign military forces. Dozens of observers of many nationalities and professions have visited our country and testified through statements, articles, books, photographs and films to the actual situation prevailing there. In the large areas which have been liberated from colonial rule, new political, administrative, economic, social and cultural structures are developing while our patriotic forces, supported by the people, fight successfully against the colonialists to liberate the rest of the country.

In April 1972 a Special Mission of the United Nations, composed of representatives of three member states of the Organization and with a mandate from the General Assembly, visited the liberated areas in Guinea-Bissau for a week. Among its findings on this historical visit is the following: "...the struggle to liberate the territory continues to progress and it is evident that Portugal no longer exercises any effective control over vast areas of Guinea-Bissau... It is also evident that the people of these liberated regions unreservedly support the policies and activities of the liberation movement, PAIGC, which after nine years of armed struggle exercises free and *de facto* administrative control and effectively protects the interests of the population despite Portuguese harassment."

This situation implies a contradiction which, considering the criminal activities of a Lisbon Government, intensifying its genocidal war against the legitimate rights of our people to self-determination, independence and progress, hampers the

Part of a written statement by Amilcar Cabral, January 8, 1973.

struggle and full development of our African nation. Though our people for years have had their own political, judicial, military, social and cultural institutions - i.e. a State - and exercise sovereignty in more than two-thirds of the national territory, we have so far had no legal presence at the international level. Further, to manage such institutions in line with the new kind of life developing in our liberated areas demands greater participation by the people - not only in dealing with problems arising from the struggle but also in effectively supervising the Party which leads this struggle.

In order to resolve this contradiction and meet the need for increased popular participation, the National Executive of our Party decided after much discussion to create a *People's National Assembly* through free and democratic elections, the first of its kind in our history. The Assembly, which will be the supreme sovereign organ of the people, will later be called upon to proclaim the existence of a State in Guinea-Bissau, to endow it with an executive organ and to promulgate a Constitution for our African nation.

Against this background the Supreme Council of the Struggle (CSL) unanimously decided at meetings held August 9 - 17, 1971 that the Party immediately take all necessary steps to conduct general elections based on universal adult suffrage in the liberated areas. On the basis of this historic decision the procedures to be followed and the criteria for nominating candidates to the People's Assembly were worked out and approved by the Executive Committee of the Struggle (CEL) in December 1971. After eight months (January to August 1972) of extensive informational work, including discussions within the Party and public meetings, the elections were held between the end of August and October 14, 1972 throughout the liberated areas... These are the final results:

Ballots distributed/registered voters:	85,517
Number of Votes Cast:	82,032 (93.73%)
Yes-votes:*	79,680 (97.13%)
	(91.04% of registered voters)
No-votes:	2,352 (2.87%)
	(2.80% of registered voters)

Out of 99 representatives elected to the People's National Assembly, five were elected by the National Workers' Union (UNTG) and three by the National Youth and Students' Conference. Twenty-one representatives were provisionally appointed to represent those areas still occupied and effectively controlled by the

*Yes/No refers to support for or opposition to the slate of candidates nominated in each region. (LSM)

enemy; three for Bafata, four for the *Bijagos* Islands, nine for Bissau Island and the capital and five for Bolama Island including the town.

The elections in Guinea-Bissau and the establishment of the first National Assembly of our people are significant events in the life we are building and for the future of our people's heroic liberation struggle. They have been enthusiastically welcomed by the masses in the liberated areas and our people in zones still occupied by Portuguese colonial troops also responded very positively. New horizons have also been opened which will strengthen the struggle in Cape Verde, an integral and inalienable part of our national territory. There as well, when the time is right, a People's Assembly will be set up as a step on the road to a common organ for the entire national territory: The Supreme Assembly of the People of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

Prior to the decision of our Supreme Council of the Struggle to set up a People's Assembly in Guinea-Bissau, the UN Decolonization Committee recognized PAIGC as the only legitimate representative of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The 27th Session of the UN General Assembly endorsed its Committee's recognition. Though this only confirms the unshakable stand of our people, who have always considered our fighting Party the only true representative of their legitimate rights and aspirations for independence, peace and progress, it has nevertheless given a new dimension and international significance to the general elections and the People's National Assembly. This is certainly an advance in the people's struggle against imperialist domination and a step which is absolutely consistent with contemporary international law and morality and with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

The People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau shall convene within our country as soon as preparations have been made (some time in 1973) in order to carry out its first mission: the proclamation of our independent national State and the promulgation and establishment of its executive organs.

By publicizing the results of the general elections we intend to inform international public opinion and organizations of this major event in the history and struggle of our people. Also we wish to reaffirm our conviction in our victory against retrograde Portuguese colonialism. We are confident of the moral and political support of independent African states and all other anti-colonialist and anti-racist forces on the various continents for the work of our People's Assembly and for the just cause of independence and progress for our people.

PART II

PAIGC 1973~1974



A People's Store in Dalaba (Eastern Front)

The Struggle and the People

INTERVIEW WITH GIL FERNANDES PAIGC REPRESENTATIVE IN SWEDEN

Comrade Fernandes, can you briefly describe the current military situation in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands?

You can compare Guinea-Bissau today to a nation occupied by enemy forces; the Portuguese occupation forces control the towns while the nationalist forces, the PAIGC, control the countryside. During ten years of armed struggle the colonialists have been forced to retreat to the urban areas or their fortified camps, and the strategic initiative is ours. They find their present position very uncomfortable, especially in the isolated barracks away from the towns, since our forces are now strong enough to launch large-scale attacks and drive them out. Over the past eighteen months we have over-run more than thirty of these positions.

For the Portuguese troops, life in these fortified camps is hell. If a soldier is sent to the well for water and gets hit by a PAIGC sniper, he'll just lie there and bleed to death; nobody dares rescue him for the fear of our guerrillas. The Portuguese live with their heads low and are very demoralized and frustrated.

The struggle in the Cape Verde Islands is still at the level of political mobilization. The archipelago is two hundred miles out in the Atlantic Ocean and this obviously creates serious problems for the struggle. Further, the Portuguese have little to lose there - no big industries or substantial colonial settlements - so if they suspected the liberation movement to control an island, they would most likely bomb it right out of the ocean. Before we can launch the armed struggle there we

Gil Fernandes is a member of PAIGC's Superior Council of the Struggle and has been the Party's representative in a number of countries, including Egypt and the US. Following are excerpts from an interview conducted by LSM's Rick Sterling in Western Germany, January 1973.

have to make sure we can protect the people. But with PAIGC's political work on the islands and the growing strength of our forces this stage is getting rapidly closer. For example, just in the past year there have been several anti-Portuguese riots.

What are PAIGC's activities in the urban areas of Guinea-Bissau?

Every single town in the country has been attacked several times, either with rockets and bazookas or by infiltration of PAIGC units. In such actions we rely heavily on information from our members working underground within the towns. Since the Party was formed we have had clandestine activities in the urban areas and, as we are closing in on the enemy, these units become increasingly important. For some time now they have even carried out frequent bombings and sabotage actions on their own.

Yet we have to be careful; the towns form the stronghold of the enemy and you never know who may be working for PIDE.* Also the colonialists, having little to lose, are looking for a pretext to further terrorize the people. Some time ago the colonialist "Governor," Spínola, taunted the population over the radio: "I know that some of you are working for the PAIGC and are planning an uprising. Well, just go ahead and I'll show you who I really am." So the Party has told the people to wait till the time is right; to keep calm and do only what they are told, which is mainly to supply information on the enemy and carry out minor actions.

How do you integrate people who leave the towns to join PAIGC?

First, it is sometimes very difficult to escape the towns. The Portuguese keep a close eye on the people to keep them from working with the liberation movement. For instance Bissau, the capital, is on an island and the enemy controls all passages to the mainland. But despite the risk, people are leaving by the hundreds.

When the inflow of new recruits is heavy, as it has been recently, it may take the Party some time to fully absorb them all. We always do our best, however, to assign everyone a role in the revolution. The recruits first receive political training; they learn about the Party and our struggle. Then they are integrated into the movement according to their skills and previous experience. Those who have been to school may teach in the Party's schools in the liberated areas. Others may have worked as mechanics or clerks and they, too, will be able to use their skills in the struggle. Everybody receives military training and is assigned to a PAIGC unit; practically everyone in our country is fighting.

*The Portuguese secret police; now called DGS.

What changes has the war brought in the culture and traditions of your people and what problems have you encountered in this regard?

During five centuries of Portuguese colonialism our people lived in fear, ignorance and misery. Obviously, it has not always been easy for the Party to overcome these things. It takes time for an illiterate peasant to learn to handle a sophisticated rocket or mortar. Therefore education and instruction are very important.

However, the greatest source of progress has been the experience of the people themselves in the revolution. For example, many used to believe that the forest was ruled by evil spirits which made the place very dangerous. But when the Portuguese intensified their bombings of the liberated areas people were forced to flee into the forest and, as they found it the safest place to hide, they gradually lost their fear of evil spirits. With the power of medicine men it was much the same. In the beginning they would claim that their rituals made people immune to the bullets of the enemy. When it became obvious that this wasn't the case they would say, "I'll do my best, but meanwhile, keep your weapons handy." Eventually, the people learned to rely on their weapons only and now the medicine men have practically lost their power.

With the traditional chiefs it was much easier. Most chiefs were picked by the Portuguese and imposed on the people to facilitate exploitation; thus they were never very popular. Now we just ignore them; some have joined the revolution and are treated like everybody else. Those who tried to retain their privileges and cooperated with the enemy, have had to move to the towns or have - in the most serious cases - been punished by the people.

The traditional power of elders is also slowly disappearing and younger people, who can better adapt to the changing conditions of the struggle and who have demonstrated their ability to lead and administer, have taken over at every level. Local leaders are either elected by the people and approved by the Party, or appointed by the Party after consultation with the villagers.

PAIGC recently organized the election of a people's national assembly in Guinea-Bissau. What is the significance of this and how will it affect the current structure of the liberation movement?

In a protracted people's war like ours a strong liberation movement is an absolute necessity. Now, however, with the ultimate defeat of the Portuguese getting closer, we have to start looking ahead. We don't want the power in Guinea-Bissau forever

centered in the hands of a few leaders of the liberation struggle. Our People's National Assembly will control the Party - and the army. Of its 120 present members, only forty are PAIGC cadre, the rest having been elected directly from among the villagers.

Maybe you wonder how we can afford to do this at the present stage of our struggle. The fact is that this election was just another step in a process which started a long time ago. We have always stressed the political nature of our liberation war and therefore the people are highly politicized. They know, for example, that we are fighting colonialism and not the Portuguese people and, further, that the enemy is not only Portuguese colonialism but also international imperialism. Before the first shot was fired we explained why this struggle was necessary and since then the people's support and participation have been growing. So now we can afford to have a national assembly where the majority are not Party members. The people have the power; this is, in fact, what our revolution is all about. The tragedy of many African states is that political independence meant nothing but the substitution of Black rulers for White, while the life of the peasants remained essentially the same. We are trying to avoid this pitfall and we will not have succeeded until every man and woman has a real say in the building of our nation.

Reports from the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau have told of a new nation developing there. Could you briefly comment on PAIGC's accomplishments in education, health and economic development?

Since our Party opened the first school in the liberated regions, in 1964, we have educated more Africans than the Portuguese did in five centuries. Within our country we now have more than 150 schools with eight or nine thousand students attending "full-time." At least as many take part in literacy courses of various length. Our schools inside Guinea-Bissau work on a four-year program; for those who continue after that we have a secondary school in the Republic of Guinea where we also have a teachers' training school and facilities for vocational training. Beyond that, some go abroad to gain specialized skills. I know many young people who ten years ago could neither read nor write; today they participate in the struggle as professional agronomists, mechanics or doctors.

Of medical facilities we have a major hospital in Boké, (Republic of Guinea) and a couple of smaller hospitals in both Guinea and Senegal. Inside our country we have about ten small, mobile hospitals with some surgical facilities and a network of clinics and dispensaries to look after the health of our militants and the people ... and with each military unit there is

always at least one medical cadre. PAIGC now has eight qualified doctors who have studied in Europe and the USSR and more than two hundred nurses and trained medical aides, most of whom have been trained by our Party either in Boké or inside Guinea-Bissau. In addition, we have volunteer doctors and nurses from many countries - Cuba, France, Yugoslavia, etc. - working with us.

To organize daily life in the liberated areas a system of sector and village committees has been set up. These committees have gradually come to take on more and more responsibilities, like transportation, production and the establishments of courts to settle disputes and deal with criminals. Serious crimes are judged by a military tribunal, but most cases are handled at the village or sector level. Local committees also take part in operating the People's Stores, which have come to play a central role in the economy of the liberated regions. People bring to the stores whatever produce they don't need for their private consumption - rice, corn, peanuts, etc. - and exchange it for goods supplied by the Party like cloth, boots, cigarettes, lamps, tools, soap and even bicycles. We have no money and the exchange rate varies, though we make sure it is always fair. By providing people with these things in equal exchange we have now completely wrecked the Portuguese-controlled colonial economy.

Is the population in the liberated areas able to produce enough food to support the struggle?

Of course there may be occasional problems due to drought or excessive rains, but normally we have enough to meet our needs. In general it is not difficult to get things done in a war like this. People can see the results and they respond very well. When asked, "Can you produce this much rice?" they say, "We'll do our best because it will help us get rid of the Portuguese." The villagers know very well that when their sons and brothers are fighting it is their duty to produce what they can as part of our common effort. In fact, they see no alternative; if they don't produce enough our militants will starve and soon the Portuguese will return, worse than before. As we see it, everybody has a role in the struggle whether by fighting, teaching, carrying supplies or doing other necessary tasks.

PAIGC receives political and material support from a number of sources both in Europe and North America. What is the impact of this support on the direction of your struggle and the course of your nation after independence?

The support we receive, especially from socialist countries and our brother countries in Africa, is very important; without it the struggle would have been extremely difficult. That gov-

ernments like those in the Scandinavian countries, which are in many respects the partners of Portugal, openly and concretely support our struggle is a real victory for us. But however important, these factors are external and in a sense secondary. The essence of our struggle is in the support and participation of the people of Guinea-Bissau, and it is at this level that its direction is determined. Maybe some governments and corporations which may appear friendly to our struggle - now that Portuguese defeat is evident - would like to replace the Portuguese as exploiters, though perhaps in a more subtle way. But our struggle has been a long one; many have been killed and our people have suffered a lot. We have had ample opportunity to learn who our enemies are, and who are our friends, and I feel confident that the masses would not let one exploiter replace the other. By having the people, the peasants themselves, in control of our nation, it will be very difficult for neo-colonialism to take over where colonialism has lost its grip.

Since early in the struggle PAIGC has worked in close collaboration with MPLA of Angola and FRELIMO of Mozambique. As you move towards independence, what are the prospects for future cooperation?

Our cooperation with MPLA and FRELIMO has taken place largely within the framework of the CONCP* and is also very important. Our peoples have much in common, we have a common enemy, so we should work together. Through CONCP we coordinate support and information; we produce similar educational materials for the three movements and our leaders meet to discuss military and political developments and strategy. Guinea-Bissau is today closer to victory than Angola and Mozambique, but our victory will also be their victory. Our collaboration goes beyond the war and a free Guinea-Bissau will do whatever it can to support the continuing struggles of our comrades in the other colonies. The same applies to the other liberation movements in Africa - in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa - and to anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist peoples' movements in Asia and Latin America. Our war is just a small part of this international struggle and our commitment to comrades in other parts of the world will not cease with our victory over Portuguese colonialism.

*CONCP: The Conference of Nationalist Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies, formed in 1961 with headquarters in Algiers.

The Changing Role of Women

The many societies within our country have different traditions and rules with respect to the position of women. In Fula society, for instance, the woman is virtually the property of the man, the owner of the home. This is a typical patriarchal system. But even there women have some dignity; if you enter the house, you'll find that inside, the woman is boss. In Balante society, on the other hand, women have more freedom.

To understand these differences we must realize that in Fula society everything belongs to the father as the head of the family. In Balante society it belongs to everybody who works and since Balante women work very hard, it is theirs too. In our country there are also societies which used to be matriarchal, where women ruled. On the Bijago Islands, for example, they had queens. They were not queens because they were the daughters of kings; queens succeeded queens. Their religious leaders were women too, but now everything is changing.

We have to consider these things in order to better involve women in our struggle. The political role of women is important. Sure, we have made great progress, but not enough; we are still far from our goal. This problem, however, cannot be solved by Cabral signing a decree. It is part of a profound transformation, of a change both in the material conditions and in the minds of our people, not least with the women themselves. And it takes time. About three hundred of the nurses we have trained have married, got children and dropped their responsibilities to the struggle. This is very bad. But of course, the participation of some of our women is very encouraging. Carmen Pereira, for instance, is a nurse and also a member of

Cabral's reply to a question on the changing role of women in the liberation struggle during a discussion in New York, 20 October 1972. Edited from the original version as published in *Return to the Source*, Africa Information Service, N. Y. 1973.



Comrade Titina (Ernestina Sila), one of the cadre responsible for the Struggle and the Party in the North.

our Executive Committee. She is responsible for social and political work in the southern liberated areas. There are many others like her, but we still have a long way to go.

When we first launched the armed struggle, hundreds and hundreds of young women came asking for weapons to fight. But as we generalized the war and created a regular mobile army, women came to play a different role. Today they participate mainly in our militia and in the fields of health and education.

So there are still great problems to solve, including the attitude of some of the Party leaders. All of us, myself included, have to pay attention to this. But such cultural phenomena will remain until we can end the exploitation of women. And in this we have made great progress in the ten years since the armed struggle started.

The Road of a Woman Revolutionary:

CARMEN PEREIRA

Carmen told me her story on the evening of our visit to the source of her greatest pride, one of the primary boarding schools in the liberated areas of southern Guinea-Bissau. She comes from a relatively prosperous family; her father, a Bissau lawyer, was a man of considerable standing. Though their status as "assimilados" in principle gave them the right, her father refused to let any of his four daughters attend the high-school in the capital, "since he feared that after our education we would start working in some office, which would ruin our reputation." So they had to be happy with four years of primary school and then the typical women's occupations while waiting to get married. Carmen took up sewing and looked after her sick mother. Later she married the man who had been picked as her perfect match and gave birth to two sons and a daughter.

The story picks up at the time she is pregnant with her third child. "It was on the radio I first heard talk of PAIGC. But like the whole town, I had known about Amilcar Cabral for a long time. This was in 1961. Then one day I noticed my husband and two of his friends doing something strange; they brought bundles of papers home and hid them in our house. I told myself that I had the right to know what my husband was up to, so I took a look at the hidden papers. They were PAIGC documents, a photo of Cabral and a sketch of a flag.

"When my husband found out that I knew, he got mad, but I told him that he should have talked to me about the Party, that it wasn't right to keep me out of it like that. For a time nothing much happened. Then, in 1962, came the repression in the towns. I had gone to Bolama to see some relatives and returned to Bissau just as the arrests began. My husband, who was in danger, decided to slip out of the country and join the Party abroad." At this time Cabral had already established

Translated from Basil Davidson: "Dans le maquis de Guinée-Bissau," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, 7 February, 1973.

small, semi-clandestine headquarters in Conakry from which he led the political mobilization inside the country.

Again, Carmen was on her own, but she had her plans ready. "I decided to go to Senegal and thanks to the help of my father and his relatives I managed to get out with my new-born baby and the other two children. I had decided to work for the Party and in Senegal I met Amilcar who encouraged me. But I had myself and the children to support so I went to Ziguinchor (a small Senegal town near the Guinea-Bissau border) where I worked as a seamstress. From my wages I supported the four of us and I also ran a 'home' for the Party."

She was twenty-five and courageous. Not only did the Party face a very uncertain future in this period; the Senegalese authorities were not at all cooperative and Carmen's own political understanding was only just starting to develop.

"This went on till late 1963; in December of that year the Party sent me to the USSR for six months. I left my children in good hands at our home."

Like for most other PAIGC members, the months in Russia was her first encounter with the outside world and an occasion for training. She learned rudimentary nursing skills and in 1965 she returned, heading the first large group of PAIGC apprentice nurses for one year's study. By this time PAIGC had already opened its pilot school near Conakry and, like the children of other militants away for training, Carmen's children lived there and started school.

Returning from her second trip Carmen started work inside Guinea-Bissau, where she came to know the tropical forest with its traps and dangers. She learned to adjust and has stayed ever since.

Carmen is a living lesson in how to engage people in the struggle, something on which PAIGC's existence entirely depends. Her participation in the affairs of the Party channeled her latent talents and turned her into a dynamic leader, confident and gifted with an undeniable magnetism. Even within this extraordinary movement Carmen is probably an exception - as she would have been in any society capable of developing her talents. Nevertheless, her road is characteristic of a large category of young men and women who have reached their positions of great responsibility through their dedication and increasing participation in the struggle.

His Work Will Live Beyond His Death

AMILCAR CABRAL IN MEMORIAM

Vasco Cabral, Member of the Executive Committee of the Struggle, at a Symposium in Memory of Cabral

The political and military victories of our Party during sixteen years of struggle, the liberation of two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau from colonial domination, the creation of a new kind of life in the liberated areas, the forthcoming proclamation of an independent state in Guinea-Bissau ... this is the root cause of the desperation of the Portuguese colonialists which led them to commit the foul assassination of our great leader, Amilcar Cabral. The masses of our country, for centuries exploited and exposed to misery, ignorance and fear, have now recovered their human dignity in building, under the leadership of PAIGC, the essential basis for economic, social and cultural progress in our country. In Amilcar Cabral they found their most dedicated leader...

Amilcar Cabral was a true revolutionary. A man of action, he was also a theoretician enriched by real knowledge and experience of the reality of our struggle. Thought and practice, in constant interaction, formed a totality demonstrated by his life and our struggle. Amilcar Cabral loved his people and as a revolutionary conscious of his time he shared this love with all peoples in the world, especially those still subjected to exploitation, misery and oppression...

He was an innovator and a constantly creative force within our Party, always adapting the structures of the Party to the circumstances of the struggle... Precisely because he succeeded in making the Party a living body, his work will live beyond his death. Soon we shall realize the dream of his life: a free and independent nation of men and women in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde committed to progress and peace, fully developing their creative potential to the benefit of mankind as a whole.

PAIGC's Executive Committee of the Struggle

...With every means at their disposal, the criminal Portuguese colonialists have tried to destroy the new nation which has developed in the liberated regions of our country. Their actions have been in vain. No force in the world can now stop the victorious advance of our struggle. The sacrifices of our people, laying the basis for the work of national reconstruction, have not been in vain...

Comrades, united as one person, like the fingers of a single hand, let us preserve our great Party as the tool for building liberty, peace and progress for the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde! Let us close ranks around our Party and its leadership, let us strengthen our unity and vigilance to carry through to the end the work of the great African, patriot and leader of our country, Amilcar Cabral!

Long Live PAIGC!

Death to Portuguese Colonialism!

A Loss and a Lesson*

The cowardly assassination of Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, by the agents of Portuguese colonialism has come as a profound shock to every one of us - not only to his comrades-in-arms in the struggle against Portugal's domination of our lands, but to all of the world's progressive forces which have come, over the years, to value and to honor his contribution to the cause of African and of world-wide liberation...

(Cabral's) record speaks for itself. Ably blending the roles of practitioner and theoretician, Cabral perceived clearly the nature of Portuguese colonialism and carefully forged the instruments needed to wage a people's revolutionary war. Characteristically, he also looked beyond the hard, grinding, day-to-day reality of guerrilla warfare and began to conceive of the future of an independent Guinea; as a result he was able to pinpoint the requirements of a true independence for his people, not merely the independence of flag and anthem. The impressive work of political education and social reconstruction undertaken by the PAIGC in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau flowed from such an understanding...

There is, then, inspiration for all of us in Cabral's life as a fighter and as a revolutionary at the service of his people. But there is a further, more immediate lesson in the manner of his passing which we should also carefully draw. For his assassination by the Portuguese, this heinous act of banditry

* From the editorial in *Mozambique Revolution*, FRELIMO's bulletin, No. 54. January-March 1973.

and crime, is but another manifestation of the desperate state in which Portuguese colonialism finds itself. There could be no more clear indication of the irresistible advance of the armed struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and of Portugal's inability to confront the PAIGC fighters in the battlefield...

It is ironic that this assassination may even have hastened the day of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism. For there is every reason to expect that the intensified spirit of hatred and determination which must inevitably spring from such a deed will give the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde even more of an impetus to avenge their leader and to drive the Portuguese from their territory. In a similar spirit, we in FRELIMO have pledged ourselves to intensify our own efforts against a tottering colonialism, in order both to support the struggle of our brothers and sisters in Guinea and to bring closer the day of our own freedom.

The struggle continues.

Guiledje: a turning point

Our Forces Capture Key Colonialist Position During "Operation Amilcar Cabral" on 25 May 1973

In honor of our mourned Secretary-General, Amilcar Cabral, founder of our People's Armed Revolutionary Forces, our fighters intensified their actions to an unprecedented level during the period following his cowardly assassination. They destroyed the entire enemy offensive structure, now lacking the support of the airforce which has been neutralized by the advance of our anti-aircraft units.

The GUILLEDJE fortified camp occupied a strategically important position at the junction of the road paralleling the southern border and Bedanda road. The base contained two infantry companies reinforced with cavalry units and its mission was to cut one of our major supply routes, described on Portuguese military maps as "the Guiledje Corridor." Even though the enemy command never achieved its objectives, the elimination of colonialist presence at Guiledje was important for the logistics of our liberation army. It also increases the security of the Balanca Sector where villages were bombarded by enemy artillery from the camp.

Our combatants recovered the following material from Guiledje:

<u>Weapons</u>	<u>Vehicles</u>
2 155mm cannons	3 armored cars
1 106mm heavy mortar	4 Berliet trucks
2 81mm mortars	1 Unimog truck
1 60mm mortar	1 Willys Jeep
5 Dreyser heavy machine-guns	(in good working condition)
3 88mm bazookas	
5 FBP submachine-guns	
47 G-3 bren-guns	
8 9mm Mauser rifles	
a large quantity of misc. ammunition.	



Guiledje: Captured armored car

The power plant and radio station were undamaged. Our fighters recovered maps and other documents of high military value, as well as food sufficient for several months. Demonstrating the indestructible unity and force of our Party, this victory resulted from the execution of our 1972-73 dry season operation plans, adopted by the PAIGC War Council under the leadership of our Militant Number One, comrade Amilcar Cabral.

Unity Struggle Vigilance

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF OUR PARTY

An important stage has been reached in our people's struggle to protect the victories already won and continue the fight until total liberation from Portugal's colonial yoke.

From 18 to 22 July 1973, the Second Congress of PAIGC was held in the liberated regions of eastern Guinea-Bissau. Comrade Aristides Pereira - one of the founders of the Party and assistant to Amilcar Cabral, our beloved leader, assassinated by the criminal Portuguese colonialists - was unanimously elected Secretary-General of the PAIGC. Proceeding with a review of the Party statutes, the Congress decided to create a Permanent Secretariat composed of four members, replacing the Permanent Commission of the Executive Committee of the Struggle (CEL). In addition to Secretary-General Aristides Pereira, the Permanent Secretariat is composed of Luis Cabral, Assistant Secretary-General, and two Secretaries: Francisco Mendes (Chico Té) and João Bernardo Vieira (Nino). The Congress also expanded the Superior Council of the Struggle (CSL) from 31 to 85 members. The Executive Committee of the Struggle, elected from within the Superior Council of the Struggle, maintains its former composition of 24 members.

138 delegates and 60 observers attended the Congress, representing all the regions, zones and sectors of the Party organization, the National Armed Forces as well as the National Reconstruction workers. Among the delegates and observers were Regional Counsellors and Deputies elected by the People's National Assembly.

After having appraised reports on political and military activities, national reconstruction in the liberated regions, and other activities of the Party, the Congress adopted resolutions with a view to strengthening our operations in Guinea-

From *PAIGC Actualités*, April-August 1973. (Translated by LSM)

Bissau and the acceleration of the struggle in Cape Verde. Proclaiming the Party's loyalty to the principles of the Charters of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Organization, the Second Congress:

-- Expressed the determination of PAIGC to contribute by all means to strengthening the bonds of friendship and fighting solidarity, uniting our people and Party with the fraternal peoples of the other Portuguese colonies and their liberation movements within CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies).

-- Emphasized the value of political and material support from the Organization of African Unity, as well as the bilateral aid given to our Party by numerous independent states of Africa, particularly by the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal, both neighboring countries whose fraternal support have been and remain a decisive factor for the victorious development of our national liberation struggle.

-- Expressed the recognition by our people and Party of the multifaceted aid of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and of the important humanitarian aid that the Swedish Government gives our Party. It equally expressed thanks to all anti-colonialist governments and organizations of Europe, Asia, and America; to the humanitarian institutions; and to national support committees throughout the world from which political, moral and material support has continually grown, gaining an increasingly important place in the ranks of international support for our struggle.

-- Proclaimed the solidarity of our Party with the anti-colonialist and anti-fascist forces of Portugal, whose concrete actions against the criminal war, contributing to the acceleration of the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, is a factor in preserving the ties of friendship between the Portuguese people and our people.

Having analyzed the circumstances surrounding the cowardly assassination of our mourned comrade, Amilcar Cabral, the Congress condemned vigorously and with indignation this monstrous crime. The Congress further proclaimed that none of the activities of our Party, particularly those of its Secretary-General, could justify such an ignoble crime, responsibility for which rests entirely with the colonialist Portuguese Government. The Congress unanimously approved the exemplary punishment by our people's justice of the traitors and criminals who carried out the crime at the service of the enemy of our people and Africa.

In homage to the immortal work of Amilcar Cabral, hero of our people, artisan of our national liberation, the Second Congress decided to give him the title of "Militant Number One" of PAIGC. His portrait will be placed in all quarters of our Party. The Congress also decided to create an Amilcar Cabral medal for



*Left to right: Chico Mendes, Chief Commissioner,
Luis Cabral, President and Lucio Soares, commander
of the Northern Front and member of the State Council.*

the decoration of the heroes of our armed national liberation struggle.

The Congress set the convocation of the People's National Assembly, which will meet in the course of this year to accomplish its historic mission: the proclamation of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau, the creation of an Executive for this State, and the adoption of the first Constitution in our history.

The Second Congress, under the triple motto of "UNITY - STRUGGLE - VIGILANCE" took place in an atmosphere of a high level of responsibility, criticism and self-criticism, patriotic ardor and partisan spirit.

Who Are Our Leaders?

Biographies of the Members of the Permanent Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Struggle

Aristides Maria Pereira Secretary-General of the Party. Forty-nine years old, radio technician, born in Boavista, Cape Verde Island. At a young age, after studies at the *Lycée du Cap Vert*, he came to Guinea-Bissau where he made his career, becoming Chief of Telecommunications in Bissau. Founder of our Party with Amilcar Cabral and, since its creation in 1956, member of the Party leadership (Political Bureau and Central Committee). One of the principal organizers of the Party during the period of clandestine activities in Bissau and other urban centers from the creation of the Party until the time of his escape to the Republic of Guinea (Conakry) for security reasons in 1960. Assistant Secretary General of the Party from 1964; member of the War Council since 1965; from 1970 a member of the Permanent Commission of the Executive Committee of the Struggle with Amilcar Cabral and Luis Cabral. His duties included responsibility for Security and Registration as well as Foreign Affairs.

Luis de Almeida Cabral Assistant Secretary-General of the Party. Forty-two years old, accountant, born in Bissau. Founder of the Party and since its creation a member of the leadership. One of the principal organizers of the Party during the period of clandestine activity in Bissau and other urban centers until the time of his escape to the Republic of Senegal at the moment PIDE (Portuguese political police) was preparing to arrest him. Secretary-General of the National Union of Workers of Guinea-Bissau (UNTG), since its formation (1961). Member of the War Council since 1965. Since 1970, member of the Permanent Commission of the Executive Committee of the Struggle with Amilcar Cabral and Aristides Pereira. His duties included responsibility for National Reconstruction in the liberated regions.

Francisco Mendes (Chico Té) Secretary. Thirty-four years old, born in Enxudé in southern Guinea-Bissau; a student who interrupted his studies. His duties since joining the Party in

1960 have included, in addition to military and political training:

- a) Political Commissar in the Hall of the Combatants of the Party in Conakry (1960-62).
- b) Political activist in the administrative region of Bafata in the eastern part of the country (1962-63).
- c) Political and Military Commissar of guerrilla units in the North (1963-64).
- d) Member of the Political Bureau of the Party since its First Congress (1964).
- e) Member of the War Council since 1965 in the position of Political Commissar.
- f) Responsible for Ideology in the Political Commission and for Ideological Education in the Central Committee (1967-70), and delegate of the Political Bureau for the Northern Front.
- g) Nationally responsible for Logistics in the War Council (1970-71).
- h) Member of the Executive Committee of the Struggle and the War Council (1971-73).

João Bernardo Vieira (*Nino*) Secretary. Thirty-four years old, electrician, born in Bissau. Since joining the Party (1960) and after having undergone suitable military and political training he was:

- a) Military-Political Commander of the Administrative Region of Catio in the South (1961-64).
- b) Military Commander of the Southern Front and member of the Political Bureau since the First Party Congress (1964).
- c) Vice President of the War Council since 1965.
- d) Delegate to the Political Bureau for the Southern Front (1967-70).
- e) National head of Military Operations in the War Council (1970-71).
- f) Member of the Executive Committee of the Struggle and the War Council (1971-73).

Proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau

The current era of man's history is characterized by the struggle of peoples for their full emancipation from colonialism, imperialism, racism and all other forms of domination and oppression hampering human development and dignity, peace and progress.

In the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau our people, guided by the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC), under the enlightened leadership of its founder and Number One Militant, Amilcar Cabral, has in the course of 17 years of political and armed struggle constructed a new life and now possesses a constantly-evolving administrative organization, social and cultural services, a judicial system, a steadily developing economy and national armed forces.

The visit of a United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau from 2 to 8 April 1972 confirmed to the international community what had been previously attested to by dozens of impartial, honest observers from every continent: the self-determination of our people and the *de facto* existence of an efficiently functioning State structure.

In flagrant violation of modern international law the Portuguese colonialists are still encroaching upon parts of our national territory. The United Nations has repeatedly recognized the illegality of the Portuguese presence, the inalienable right of our people to freedom and sovereignty, and the legitimacy of its struggle against Portuguese colonialism...

The People's National Assembly, which is the result of PAIGC's success in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, was constituted on the basis of the principle that power derives from the people and should serve the people. The Assembly is composed of representatives elected by universal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, expressing the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

At its meeting of 24 September 1973 in the Boé region, the People's National Assembly, expressing the sovereign will of the people:



Aristides Pereira, PAIGC Secretary-General

Solemnly Proclaims the State of Guinea-Bissau

The State of Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign, republican, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist State whose primary objectives are the complete liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and forging a union between the two territories for the purpose of building a strong African country dedicated to progress. The arrangements for this union will be determined, after both territories are liberated and in accordance with the will of the people.

The State of Guinea-Bissau assumes the sacred duty of taking action to expedite by every means the expulsion of the forces of aggression of Portuguese colonialism from that part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau which they still occupy and to intensify the struggle in the Cape Verde Islands which form an integral and inalienable part of the national territory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

In due course the People's Assembly of Cape Verde will be established in the Cape Verde Islands with a view to creating a supreme body having full sovereignty over the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde: the People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

The State of Guinea-Bissau regards the strengthening of the links of solidarity and soldierly brotherhood between our people and all peoples of the Portuguese colonies as one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy; it stands in solidarity with the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America and with all Arab peoples fighting against Zionism.

The State of Guinea-Bissau is an integral part of Africa and strives for the unity of the African peoples, respecting the freedom of those peoples, their dignity and their right to political, economic, social and cultural progress.

As regards international relations the State of Guinea-Bissau wishes to maintain and develop ties of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with its neighbors - the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal - with all independent African States and with all States throughout the world which recognize its sovereignty and support the national liberation struggle of our people. These relations shall be based on the principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect for national sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

The State of Guinea-Bissau assumes responsibility for promoting the economic advancement of the country, thereby creating the material basis for the development of culture, science, and technology, with a view to the continuing improvement of the social and economic living standards of the population and with the ultimate aim of achieving a life of peace, well-being and progress for all our country's children.

Having as its foundation our heroic People's National Liberation Army, the State of Guinea-Bissau will provide our national armed forces with all necessary means to accomplish the task of bringing about the complete liberation of our country, and defending the achievements of our people and the integrity of our national territory.

From the historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, authorities and organs of the Portuguese colonial State which exercise any political, military or administrative authority in our territory are illegal and their acts are null and void. Consequently, from that moment on, the Portuguese State has no right to assume any obligations or commitments in relation to our country. All treaties, conventions, agreements, alliances and concessions involving our country which were entered into in the past by the Portuguese colonialists will be submitted to the People's National Assembly, the supreme embodiment of State power, which will proceed to review them in accordance with the interests of our peoples.

The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with whom our people wish to maintain a friendly and cooperative relationship.

The State of Guinea-Bissau adheres to the principles of non-alignment. It supports the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and, to that effect and in accordance with the resolutions of the highest international organs, it declares its willingness to negotiate a solution which will put an end to the aggression of the Portuguese colonial Government that is illegally occupying part of our national territory and committing acts of genocide against our populations...

The borders of the State of Guinea-Bissau delimit the territory between latitudes 12° 20' and 10° 59' north and between longitudes 16° 43' and 13° 90' west; bounded by the Republic of Senegal to the north, the Republic of Guinea to the south and east and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The territory consists of a mainland part, a string of coastal islands and all the islands comprising the Bijagos archipelago. It covers 36,125 square kilometres of land plus the respective territorial waters and corresponds to the area of the region formerly designated as the colony of Portuguese Guinea.

The State of Guinea-Bissau appeals to all the independent States of the world to accord it *de jure* recognition as a sovereign State in accordance with international law and practice. It expresses its determination to participate in international life, particularly the United Nations, where our people will be able to make their contribution to solving the fundamental problems of our times both in Africa and in the world.

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
Boé region, 24 September 1973.

Victories and Perspectives

The Evolution of the Armed Struggle in 1973

On 20 January 1973 Amilcar Cabral, beloved leader of our people and founder and Secretary-General of our Party, was assassinated in Conakry by agents in the pay of Portuguese colonialism. Our armed liberation struggle thus suffered the hardest blow in its history.

Artisan of our people's victories in the liberation struggle, Amilcar Cabral created our People's Revolutionary Armed Forces after having traced the lines of action of our guerrilla units.

By assassinating the founder and first leader of our Party, strategist of our national liberation struggle, at the moment we were preparing to convene the first People's General Assembly in our history, the Portuguese colonialists were convinced they would destroy our political organization and block our road to further victories in our fight for freedom.

The PAIGC leadership, which met on 7 - 9 February 1973 to decide on what immediate actions could be taken to prevent the enemy from gaining ground by this crime, sent out orders for generalized action on all fronts. The attempts of the Portuguese forces to recapture positions on various fronts ended in stinging defeat. After the first few moments of grief and emotion our fighters again seized control of the struggle, sustaining our offensive throughout the country. Thus the three months following the assassination of our leader were marked by an unprecedentedly high level of actions.

The War Council decided likewise to carry out a large-scale operation which would both create a basis for further military actions and raise still further the morale of our fighters and the people. We also wanted to show the enemy that their hopes had been unfounded; that the struggle of our people

Republic of Guinea-Bissau official statement, January 1974.

is irreversible despite the great loss we had suffered!

Thus on May 25, in operation "Amilcar Cabral," the fortified camp of Guiledje - one of the most important strategic points on the Southern Front - was liberated. On the Northern Front, in the course of operation "Nô Pintcha," our forces attacked and partly encircled the camps of Guidage, Begene and Binta, carrying out 80 actions in 23 days. The enemy suffered more than 200 dead and lost 5 aircraft, several vehicles and large quantities of arms, ammunition and other equipment. Guiledje, situated at the junction of the highway paralleling the southern border and Bedanda road, was one of the main Portuguese bases on the Southern Front. Our capture of this position opens great perspectives for the development of further actions throughout the South.

The enemy's superiority in the air used to constitute their greatest strength in actions against the liberated regions as well as in supporting colonial ground forces which cannot operate in most areas without air cover. The Portuguese air force was also used frequently against PAIGC forces carrying out ambushes and artillery attacks.

However, since March 1973 our Armed Forces have employed a number of highly efficient anti-aircraft weapons and this has resulted in a significant change in the situation. Our forces can now protect the population in regions formerly subject to continuous bombardment by the criminal Portuguese air force and are able to carry out frequent large-scale operations, holding their advanced positions long enough to successfully complete offensive actions.

In all, 34 Portuguese aircraft, including 24 Fiat G-91 jets, were shot down over Guinea-Bissau during 1973, reducing the activity of the colonial air force to sporadic, high altitude bombings yielding but meager results. The attacks were mainly against regions not yet protected by our anti-aircraft defense. Still, in parts of the liberated South and at Canchungo on the coast the enemy air force caused serious damage, inflicting dozens of casualties among the civilian population.

On the whole, the existence of an effective anti-aircraft defense is a source of great changes in the general situation of our struggle. To the extent that we can develop this defense throughout the country, we can advance to a new and decisive phase of struggle, developing further our offensive military actions and strengthening PAIGC activities in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

The year 1973 was also one of numerous important ambushes in which the enemy suffered immense losses both in men and equipment. 178 vehicles of different types were destroyed. The following summary of our operations during last year shows the scope of our actions and the losses inflicted upon the colonialist forces:

	Jan.- June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.to 10th	Total
Major actions in 1973	548	49	54	61	68	75	28	883
Attacks on ur- ban centers and camps	346	28	36	32	43	38	14	537
Ambushes	151	19	16	25	21	30	12	274
Enemy killed	1392	112	119	124	105	141	83	2076
Vehicles destroyed	105	12	9	15	13	17	7	178
Boats sunk	21	3	1	4	2	3	1	35
Aircraft shot down	18	1	2	7	5	--	1	34

On the other hand, our fighters have not yet had great success in river and sea actions. The existence of many rivers, sometimes navigable for more than 100 kilometers into the interior, allows the Portuguese fleet, though reduced in size, to supply bases and fortified camps which would have been doomed if we could have paralyzed the enemy's fleet.

The major urban centers have been shelled several times by our artillery in the past year. We are aware, however, that these actions, intended to harass the colonialists, will not be of a decisive nature until we possess heavy weapons of longer range and have more ammunition as well as the means of transporting both weapons and ammunition into the field of operation. Since our 1972 actions against Bissau and Bafata the colonialists have built lines of fortified camps and posts less than 10 kilometers apart to protect the towns. Bissau, the capital, has been completely encircled by two sets of barbed wire fencing, leaving access to the city only by a few gates strictly controlled by the Portuguese army and police.

Despite a few sabotage actions in Bissau and other urban centers, and despite the fact that several artillery actions have been carried out against the main enemy installations, we must recognize that we have not yet been able to effectively penetrate the Portuguese defense lines surrounding the towns. In the case of the capital these lines are placed some twenty kilometers beyond the outer barbed wire fence. The measures taken by the enemy, however, demonstrate the insecurity which now prevails inside the Portuguese lines.

The Portuguese colonial government receives increasing support from its allies. But despite the growing amount of men and equipment thrown into battle and the limited means at our disposal the enemy has been unable to prevent our steady ad-

vance. Our National Armed Forces have liberated and now guarantee the security of the major part of the national territory. After years of action our fighters now make up a highly developed army, both through their patriotic and political consciousness and through the experience and skills of our cadre. Its capacity, however, remains limited by the serious shortage of means required to carry on the struggle at its present and even higher levels.

UNITY! STRUGGLE! PROGRESS!

1974: Consolidate the Progress of our Nation

The year which has just come to an end has been dominated by two major events: the tragic loss of our beloved leader and our Proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau. These events, each significant in its own way, will forever dominate the history of our people and of Africa, struggling for liberation and progress.

Having recovered from the shock of the heinous assassination of Comrade Cabral, organized by the criminal Portuguese colonialists and executed by their contemptible agents, our Party has resolutely taken control of the situation and maintained solid unity around its leadership.

Our principal objective was for the Popular National Assembly in Guinea-Bissau to meet and accomplish its first historic mission: to proclaim our State, to create its Executive Branch and to lay down a fundamental law - the first Constitution in our history. We could not forget, however, that we are at war and that the Portuguese criminals had just put our struggle to a hard test and would use every opportunity to take advantage of their apparent if temporary victory. We have therefore given priority to our military action, though without neglecting intensive political work among the popular masses and Armed Forces, a task which also became absolutely indispensable.

The entire people as well as our regular and local armed forces have responded well to the call from the Party leadership, keenly and effectively carrying out the plans elaborated by Comrade Cabral...

We must also pay special homage to and reaffirm our unlimited confidence in the brave people of Lombali, *Chão dos Manjacos*, Balana, Cubucaré, Maque and other regions who were

Excerpts from the New Year's Message of the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Comrade Aristides Pereira. Issued by PAIGC in January 1974.

victims of barbarous bombings and helicopter attacks by the Portuguese colonialists but who have forcefully resisted these monstrous enemy crimes, clearly demonstrating our people's determination to become free and masters of their own destiny regardless of the sacrifices which must be made.

Today more than ever we place our confidence in PAIGC's Armed Forces, which will be equipped with increasingly efficient means to succeed in its sacred task: complete liberation of our country and the establishment of peace in order to achieve progress and happiness for our people in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde...

We have ... entered a new stage in the life of our people, foreseen in the political testament of Comrade Cabral: we have carried out his intention to convene, during 1973, the People's National Assembly to accomplish its first mission: the proclamation of our State.

This exceptional act in the history of Liberation Movements drew immediate and firm support from all African countries and governments. Anti-colonialist and anti-racist forces throughout the world also supported our action in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and resolutions adopted by this international organization, especially during its 27th Session. In record time, all African and scores of other countries ratified this decisive move by formally recognizing our State, in this way demonstrating its correctness and international legality.

In three months 75 countries from all continents recognized our sovereignty and Portugal's role as the aggressor. On 19 November 1973 we became the 42nd Member State of the OAU, securing final victory at the African level. At the United Nations, faced with the truth of our situation as confirmed by various reports - among them testimony of the United Nations Special Mission which visited our country in April 1972 - and in view of the considerably increased African representation within this international body, the colonial government in Lisbon reacted, as always, in a desperate and ridiculous manner, stubbornly refusing to hear the voice of reason.

Our activity within the world's highest body was crowned by an important resolution of the UN General Assembly on 22 November which, approved by an overwhelming majority of member states, constitutes our greatest international victory.

This resolution, which constitutes a valuable historic document in the life of our young State...

...condemns vigorously the policy of the Portuguese Government intended to perpetuate the occupation of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and its repeated acts of armed aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands;

...demands that the Portuguese Government immedi-

ately cease violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and committing acts of aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde by immediately withdrawing its armed forces from these territories.

Comrades, we shall pursue our objectives by continuing to develop our activities in all areas: military, political and diplomatic, economic, social and cultural.

We shall not allow ourselves to become intoxicated or blinded by victories won with the blood, sweat and sacrifice of the best sons of our people. We shall not for a single instant forget the heavy responsibility incumbent upon us. We shall never underestimate the threat of the enemy's desperation, which has already been proved by his criminal planning and execution of the barbarous assassination of 20 January.

We must always strengthen our vigilance, ... "await the best, but be prepared for the worst." (Amilcar Cabral)

In the Cape Verde Islands five years of drought and famine continue to ravage the population. The colonial authorities remain indifferent, hoping to deceive our people with talk of loans and subsidies - like drugs for a so-called "better Cape Verde." This, however, is already doomed to failure. The Portuguese colonial government continues to profit from the dramatic situation in the Islands, developing an effective export of cheap and super-exploited labor to Portugal and the other colonies.

And while draining the energy of our people the Portuguese colonial criminals have also increased their repression with the prisons becoming overcrowded.

Politico-administrative reforms have been hastily instituted, providing Cape Verde, as an "autonomous region" of the Portuguese Republic, with its own "internal judicial public authority." But of course everyone knows there has been no change in the colonial system; this is but a semantic exercise to convince the already convinced. As in Guinea-Bissau the colonialists are seriously mistaken if they think they can deceive our people or "turn back the powerful forces of history."

The proclamation of our State in Guinea-Bissau has substantially reinforced our work in the Cape Verde Islands. Our National Committee of Cape Verde is intensifying its activities on all fronts and will contribute effectively to carrying through our Party's duty to lead the people of the Islands forward to freedom, peace, progress and happiness.

On the basis of our common blood, history, interest and struggle, we are determined to make all the necessary sacrifices to liberate this part of our country from the hated Portuguese colonial domination.

Along with our military, political and diplomatic work - and always keeping in mind the new situation created by the

proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau - we continue to emphasize our activities in the economic, social, and cultural sphere. We are building a new life in the liberated and sovereign areas of our young Republic. For this reason we have assigned specialized cadres to study and work in the economic, medical, social, educational and cultural spheres so as to solve various problems and significantly improve our overall position. We will then be better able to resolve the great problems which still loom before us.

Thus we can confidently envisage advances in such important areas as our supply systems, the living conditions of the population, the economic structure we hope to establish, the creation of a monetary system, social assistance, etc. All this must be developed on the basis of past experience, and we must train new cadre for national reconstruction and to build the basis of progress for our people.

Comrades, the year 1973 which comes to an end today has been a year of utmost importance in the life and history of our people; the most decisive year of our long, hard but rewarding struggle.

To live up to our responsibility we must make 1974 a year of consolidation of our bases in Guinea-Bissau, of intensive development of our struggle in the Cape Verde Islands, and of total liquidation of the Portuguese colonial presence in our entire country.

In this order of priorities we must further improve our understanding of our situation, increase our vigilance, and never forget that we face a desperate and treacherous enemy without scruples. We must be prepared to make still greater sacrifices, overcome all difficulties, gradually rectify our errors and shortcomings, improve our individual and collective comportment, and strengthen our actions in the political, military and all other sectors of our new nation.

Above all, we must always keep in mind the noble example of our hero and martyr, Amilcar Cabral. Let us honor his memory by serious and fruitful work in the service of our people and of Africa. Let us faithfully continue his life's work, reinforcing our confidence in final victory so that our fighters and militants under the leadership of PAIGC will strengthen their actions at all levels of the struggle. Let us increase our efforts and courageously accept all necessary sacrifices to accelerate the liquidation of the Portuguese presence in our country and in Africa.

Forward, comrades and compatriots, to fully implement our Party's watchwords!

Let us carry out the political will of the immortal Comrade Cabral!

Long live the PAIGC, the strength and leading force of our people!

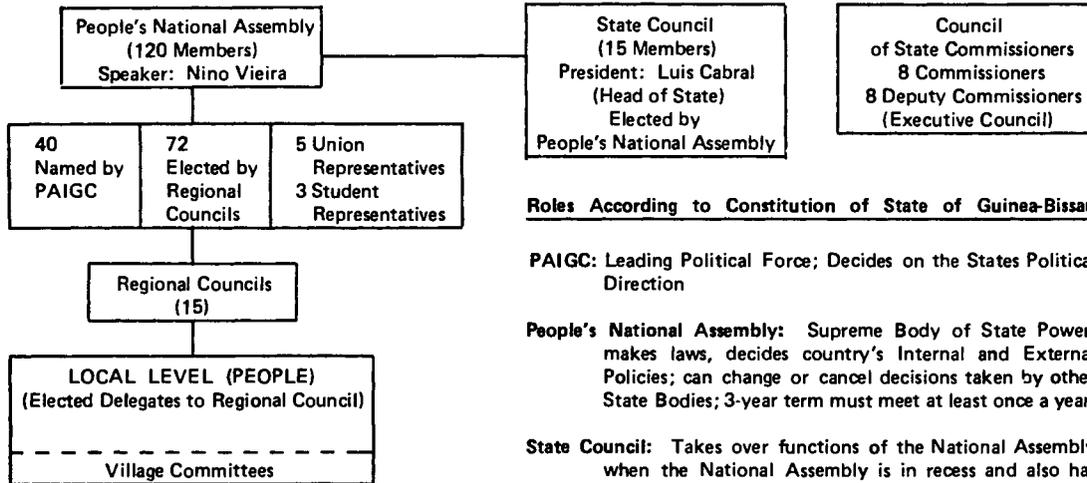
Road to Independence

CHRONOLOGY OF THE STRUGGLE

- 1956 PAIGC is founded on 9 September in Bissau.
- 1959 Some fifty striking dockworkers are killed and hundreds wounded by Portuguese forces at Pidjiguiti on 3 August. At the first conference of PAIGC cadre held secretly the following month it was resolved to prepare for struggle by all possible means, develop unity through and around the Party, prepare cadre for leadership and, above all, mobilize and organize the peasant masses. August 3rd has since been made Day of International Solidarity with the People of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands.
- 1961 The Conference of Nationalist Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) is founded in Casablanca on 18 April. Member organizations include PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO. An important internationalist structure uniting the three liberation movements.
- 1963 PAIGC launches its first attacks deep inside Guinea-Bissau on 1 January. The armed struggle spreads rapidly and by the end of June this year PAIGC extends its military activities into the northern region of the country.
- 1964 On 13 February the First Conference of PAIGC to be held in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau opens. The Conference resolved to create the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARP), integrating the operations of the existing Regular Army and Popular Militia. This same month the battle of Como starts when Portuguese forces attempt to expel PAIGC from this island which was liberated in February 1963. After 75 days of fierce fighting the Portuguese colonialist forces withdraw leaving behind more than 600 dead and large amounts of equipment. One of the most crushing defeats inflicted upon colonial troops anywhere in Africa.

- 1970 In a desperate attempt to overcome serious setbacks within Guinea-Bissau, a Portuguese mercenary force of 300 invades the Republic of Guinea bordering Guinea-Bissau. The objective is to overthrow the progressive government of President Sékou Touré which supports the PAIGC and intimidate African states bordering Angola and Mozambique which support the Liberation Movements. The invasion is decisively repulsed.
- 1971 PAIGC forces launch their first direct attack on Bissau, capital city of Guinea-Bissau on 9 June. On 26 June, Bafata, second largest town in the country, is also attacked, demonstrating the rapid deterioration of Portuguese control in the territory.
- 1972 A Special Mission of the UN Committee on Decolonization visits the liberated areas of southern Guinea-Bissau April 2 - 8. Following its visit the Committee recognized PAIGC as "the only authentic representative of the people of the Territory," a recognition which was later accepted by the UN General Assembly.
- 1972 For the first time in the history of the country general elections are carried out in the liberated regions of Guinea-Bissau between the end of August and 14 October, completing a major step in the establishment of the People's National Assembly. At the same time extensive rioting among the people of Cape Verde forces the colonial regime to declare a "State of Emergency" throughout the archipelago.
- 1973 On 20 January Amilcar Cabral, founder and Secretary General of PAIGC is treacherously assassinated by agents of Portuguese colonialism.
- 1973 A heavy PAIGC military offensive results in the capture of the key Portuguese fort of Guiledje on 25 May. At the same time the colonialist command is forced to ground its air force because of the large number of planes hit by PAIGC anti-aircraft fire during the preceding months.
- 1973 The Second National Congress of PAIGC meets in liberated Guinea-Bissau July 18 - 22. Comrade Aristides Pereira is unanimously elected Secretary-General.
- 1973 The People's National Assembly convenes in the Boé region, September 23 - 24, and proclaims the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

POLITICAL PROCESS IN THE STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU



Secretary-General of PAIGC: Aristides Pereira
 Assistant Secretary-General: Luis Cabral
 PAIGC: Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde
 (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde)

Roles According to Constitution of State of Guinea-Bissau

PAIGC: Leading Political Force; Decides on the States Political Direction

People's National Assembly: Supreme Body of State Power; makes laws, decides country's Internal and External Policies; can change or cancel decisions taken by other State Bodies; 3-year term must meet at least once a year.

State Council: Takes over functions of the National Assembly when the National Assembly is in recess and also has functions normally executed by a Head of State, e.g., Ratification of Treaties, Defense of the Constitution. President of State Council represents State in International Relations; he is also the Supreme Commander of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Council of State Commissioners: Draws up the Country's Political, Economic and Social Programs.

Sources:

- (1) Constitution of State of Guinea-Bissau
- (2) Working Paper prepared by the UN Secretariat on Guinea-Bissau (UN Document A/AC. 109/L.844)

Chart prepared by the Office of Congressman Charles C. Diggs.



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