

Until his assassination early in 1973 by Portuguese agents Amilcar Cabral was Secretary-General of the PAIGC and led the people of Guinea-Bissau in the armed struggle which has now liberated over two-thirds of the country from colonial domination.

These texts show the reasons for the success of this struggle against Portugal and its NATO allies, and include the major contributions to revolutionary theory which clearly place Cabral among the foremost revolutionary thinkers of our time.

ISBN 0 85035 003 4

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AMILCAR
CABRAL

REVOLUTION
IN GUINEA

AN AFRICAN PEOPLE'S
STRUGGLE

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SELECTED TEXTS BY
**AMILCAR
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STAGE 1

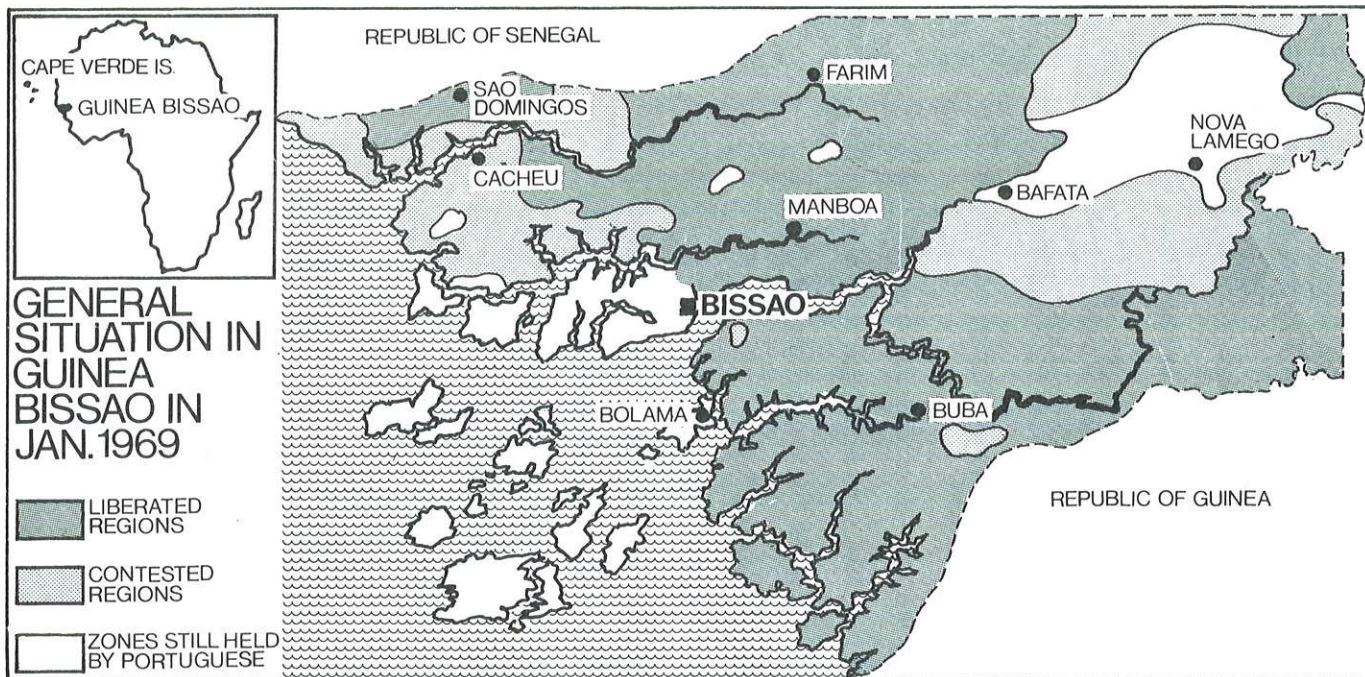
*First published in Great Britain 1969 by stage 1
21 Theobalds Road, London, WC1X 8SL*

Reprinted 1971, 1973

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Introduction

The people of 'Portuguese' Guinea took up arms to free their country from colonial domination in 1963, under the leadership of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC). Today, in spite of a Portuguese military presence even stronger, in proportion to the populations involved, than the United States forces in Vietnam, the PAIGC controls over two-thirds of Guinea and, while continuing and extending the armed struggle, is completely transforming the life of the people within the liberated areas.

The development and continued success of this struggle is obviously not fortuitous. The conditions for popular armed struggle may exist independently of any movement and the struggle may even break out spontaneously; but it cannot grow and extend over six years without thorough organisation and clear political leadership. The development of the struggle in Guinea has been documented both in books and in films: two recent books in particular, Gérard Chaliand's *Armed Struggle in Africa*, and Basil Davidson's *The Liberation of Guiné*, indicate the importance of the political analysis and action underlying the military success.

Amílcar Cabral, the founder and present Secretary-General of the PAIGC, and the small group which formed the original core of the Party, saw the necessity of freeing their country from Portuguese colonial domination. The experiences of other liberation movements, the growth of neo-colonialism in newly 'independent' African countries, and above all the development of the movement within Guinea itself made clear the necessity of a true socialist revolution if any real change was to be made in Guinea. Finally, the savage Portuguese repression of the PAIGC's early peaceful actions quickly showed the inevitability of armed struggle. But Guinea had none of the elements on which revolution in Europe and Asia had been based. There was no large proletariat, no developed working class, no large peasant mass deprived of land (colonial exploitation in Guinea being carried out through the price mechanism rather than by land ownership). A successful revolutionary strategy for Guinea could not be based on any wholesale adoption of other revolutionary experiences—what was needed was a strategy based on African conditions, on the conditions within Guinea itself.

From 1952 to 1954, Amílcar Cabral had visited every corner of his country, preparing an agricultural census for the

colonial administration, and in the process acquiring a detailed knowledge of his own people and their situation. This knowledge provided the basis for the PAIGC's revolutionary strategy. Starting from a detailed analysis of the social structure of the different tribal groups section 5), Cabral weighed up the revolutionary potential of each group and the PAIGC's long, patient process of clandestine political preparation began on this basis in 1959. The details of this process emerge in Cabral's declaration to the United Nations (section 2) and in the *Tricontinental* interviews (sections 12 and 14): extracts from a general Party directive of 1965 (section 7) show the clear, down-to-earth terms in which the political aims are put into practice. This careful political preparation for the armed struggle is clearly paralleled by the similar process described in Wilfred Burchett's book *Vietnam will Win*3.

Cabral's political analysis does, however, go beyond the confines of Guinea itself. In his speech to the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in 1966 (section 8) he makes a contribution of major importance to revolutionary theory. While accepting the central role of class struggle at a given historical stage, he goes further to examine the determining elements of class struggle and concludes that the true motive force of history is the mode of production, thus "avoiding for some human groups in our countries . . . the sad position of being peoples without history". Proceeding with a clear analysis of imperialism in its various forms, he finally tackles the problem of the contradictory role of the revolutionary bourgeoisie in the liberation struggles of underdeveloped countries. This section, perhaps more than any other, clearly shows Cabral's importance as a revolutionary thinker.

The importance of the PAIGC's struggle to the revolutionary movement in Africa is out of all proportion to the physical size of Guinea (15,500 square miles, roughly the size of Switzerland or half the size of Maine; 800,000 inhabitants, the approximate population of Liverpool or San Francisco city). Militarily, politically and economically, the Portuguese are clearly losing the war, and indeed there can be little doubt that they would have abandoned Guinea long ago if it were not for the seriously adverse propaganda effect that such an admission of defeat would have in their other colonies of Angola and Mozambique, where the economic reasons for maintaining their domination are much stronger. The final victory of the PAIGC's struggle, which can only be a matter of time, will significantly influence the development of the struggle in Southern Africa, both in Portugal's other colonies of Angola and Mozambique and against the fascist, racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and the imperialist powers backing these regimes.

To revolutionary movements throughout the world, including, and perhaps particularly those in Europe, the struggle in Guinea is of prime importance as an outstanding illustration of the need to study one's own concrete conditions and to make the revolution according to these conditions, rather than relying on the experience of others, valuable as this may be.

This book has not been planned to give a detailed, factual account of the development of the struggle in Guinea—that has been done elsewhere, particularly in the two books mentioned above. While the development of the struggle inevitably emerges in the text, the purpose is to present the writings of an outstanding revolutionary thinker. Faced with the difficulty of choosing what to include, it was finally decided to present as full a range as possible of texts originally addressed to a wide variety of audiences. These have been cut only to avoid as much repetition as possible. To simplify the text, 'Portuguese' Guinea has been called simply Guinea throughout.

Thanks are due to Editions François Maspéro for permission to use the texts in *Partisans* numbers 7 and 26/27 which appear in sections 1 and 8; to *Pensamiento Critico*, Havana, for the text of section 5 and their fuller version of the text of section 8; to Basil Davidson for his help and advice; to many other friends who have helped in different ways in the preparation of this collection; and above all to the people of Guinea and the PAIGC, without whom this book would not have been possible.

Any lack of clarity or inaccuracy in the text must be attributed to the translator and editor, but it is hoped that this collection will do justice to the thought of Amílcar Cabral and at the same time help to stimulate analysis of a similar clarity, and action of a similar strength, among revolutionaries wherever they may be.

Richard Handyside *editor and translator*

- 1) François Maspéro, Paris, 1967/Monthly Review Press 1969
- 2) Penguin Books, London, 1969
- 3) Guardian, New York/Monthly Review Press, 1968

Guinea and Cabo Verde against Portuguese Colonialism

Speech made at the 3rd Conference of the African Peoples held in Cairo, March 25-31, 1961

The absurdity of our situation

The situation of our peoples, like that of the other peoples dominated by Portugal, seems absurd. The fundamental rights of man, essential freedoms, respect for human dignity—all these are unknown in our country. While the colonial powers in general accept the principle of self-determination of peoples and seek, each in its own way, to resolve the conflicts which oppose them to the people they dominate, the Portuguese government obstinately maintains its domination and exploitation of 15 million human beings, of whom 12 million are African. While the overwhelming majority of the African peoples, in spite of the contradictions and difficulties which they face, are beginning the peaceful construction of progress, our peoples, because of the Portuguese colonialists, are obliged to go on living in the most extreme misery, ignorance and fear.

The Portuguese colonialists try, in vain, to convince the world that they have no colonies and that our African countries are 'provinces of Portugal'. The Portuguese are pursuing, arresting, torturing, killing, massacring, launching a colonial war in Angola and feverishly preparing for a new war in Guinea and Cabo Verde.

And yet the situation imposed on our peoples by the Portuguese colonialists is not as absurd as one might think. Obviously violence and lies have been, and still are, the main weapons of any colonialism. But when the colonising country has a fascist government, when the people of that country are largely illiterate, and neither know nor enjoy the fundamental human rights and have a very low standard of living in their own country; when furthermore the economy of the metropolis is under-developed, as is the case in Portugal, then violence and lies reach an unparalleled height, and lack of respect for the African people knows no limits.

In the last thirty-five years, this situation has become considerably worse. Caricatures of the Portuguese economic and political systems, new forms of oppression and repression have been brought into action, and our people have begun to live in a veritable state of siege. For a long time, the fascist-colonial government of Portugal succeeded, by combining silence, cynicism and hypocrisy, in preventing

world opinion from knowing the crimes of the Portuguese colonialists. It must not be forgotten that the temporary success of this policy of silence was largely due to the complicity and assistance of certain economic powers in other countries, which had and still have the strongest interest in 'conserving' the Portuguese colonies.

We are no longer concerned here with unmasking the Portuguese colonialists, whose monstrous behaviour is today evident to the whole world. We wish only to recall that the denunciation of the Portuguese colonial crime was the work of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies themselves, as the result of a systematic revolutionary plan carried out by African patriots in the international field. Faced with the strongest resistance, and even hostility, of some Western circles, these African patriots, aware of the strategic necessity of isolating the Portuguese colonialists even from their own allies, spared no efforts to accomplish this historic mission.

The certainty of our total victory against Portuguese colonialism, on an international level, is today evident. It was consecrated by the vote of the United Nations General Assembly on December 14th, 1960, which confirmed by an overwhelming majority the resolution of the Trusteeship Council demanding information from Portugal about the situation of the peoples which it dominated. Even taking into account the formal, moral character of this victory, it represents a great step forward in our liberation struggle, for we have managed to isolate our enemy.

No power can shake us from our determination, nor prevent the rapid and total elimination of Portuguese domination in our countries.

However, to free themselves from foreign domination is not the only desire of our peoples. They have learned by experience under colonial oppression that the exploitation of man by man is the biggest obstacle in the way of the development and progress of a people beyond national liberation. They are determined to take an active part in the building of a new Africa, truly independent and progressive, founded on work and justice, in which the creative power of our people which has been stifled for centuries will find its truest and most constructive expression.

We are conscious of the fact that our victory will not be easy. We have many centuries' experience of the nature of our enemy and of its particular characteristics in relation to the other colonial powers. Although it is isolated, we should not forget that it still has at its disposal forces of destruction far superior to our own and that, overtly or covertly, it is aided and supported by other forces hostile to the freedom and progress of the peoples of Africa.

The essential characteristics of our time. The death-throes of imperialism. The case of Portugal.

Imperialism, or the monopolistic stage of capitalism, has been unable to escape from its own contradictions; by use of force the victorious powers of the first world war set about a new sharing-out of the world, characterised mainly by the reinforcement of the colonial position of England and France and by the exclusion of Germany from direct exploitation of so-called backward peoples and countries.

In the final phase of this conflict, the victory of the October Revolution and the definitive implantation of socialism on one sixth of the world's surface came as the first major blow to imperialism.

Deprived of sources of raw materials and surplus profits, German financial capital, in alliance with Italian and Japanese capital, tried to solve the problem by taking the shortest road—the colonisation of their own European neighbours. The second world war was the result of the antagonisms which characterise the development of imperialism, but it came to influence very decisively the destiny of the other peoples of the world, particularly those of Africa.

At the same time as the strengthening of the socialist camp, another essential characteristic of our time, came the awakening of the dependent peoples for the liberation struggle and the final phase of the elimination of imperialism had thus begun. While the final resolution of this new conflict may take a shorter or a longer time, there can be no doubt that, even more than the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the antagonism between these countries and the socialist world, the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples is the essential characteristic, and we would say the prime motive force, of the advance of history in our times: and it is to this struggle, to this conflict on three continents that our national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism is linked.

Faced with the power of the main imperialist nations, one is forced to wonder how it was possible for Portugal, an underdeveloped and backward country, to retain its colonies in spite of the redistribution to which the world was subjected. Portuguese colonialism managed to survive despite the sharing-out of Africa made by the imperialist powers at the end of the 19th century because England supported the ambitions of Portugal which, since the treaty of Metuen in 1703 had become a semi-colony of England. England had every interest in using the Portuguese colonies, not only to exploit their economic resources, but also to occupy them as support bases on the route to the Orient,

and thus to maintain absolute domination in the Indian Ocean. To counter the greed of the other colonialist powers and to defend its interests in the Portuguese colonies, England found the best solution: it defended the 'frights' of its semi-colony. That is why, for example, Portugal granted to a private enterprise controlled by English interests sovereign rights over an area covering 17% of the total territory of Mozambique.

In fact Portugal has been no more than the sometimes envious guardian of the human and material resources of our countries, at the service of world imperialism. That is the real reason for the survival of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, and for the possible prolonging of our struggle. Thus to a greater extent than the presence of other powers in Africa, the presence of Portugal has been, and still is dependent on the presence of other colonising powers, mainly England.

The African revolution. Victories and failures. The evolution of Africa.

It is sufficient to look at the political map of present-day Africa to recognise that the African peoples have already won some great victories. But it is also sufficient to have followed closely the main events in this struggle to recognise that numerous and great mistakes have been made. The year 1960—the year of Africa—is rich in examples of both the victories and the failures of the liberation struggle of the African peoples.

Once again, the heroic people of Algeria have accelerated the advance of history. Several peoples have seen their aspirations confounded by a nominal independence. The peoples of South Africa, like those of our own countries, of Angola, Mozambique and the other Portuguese colonies, continue to be subjected to the most violent exploitation and the most barbarous colonial repression. The practice of African solidarity reveals some hesitation and even improvisation which our enemies have been able to exploit in their favour. Perhaps the most important, and certainly the most dramatic of the failures (and also of the errors) is the case of the Congo, tragically crowned by the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. In reality these failures and errors have taught us many important things. One can say that the year 1960, and more particularly the Congo drama, has given back to the African his human dimensions.

Victories or failures, we must not forget that not one of our enemies has been really and totally conquered and driven out of Africa. The fascist-colonialist Portuguese are continuing to massacre our peoples in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique; the fascist-racists of South Africa are daily

strengthening their hateful apparatus of apartheid; the Belgian colonialists have returned to the Congo from which they had been driven out; the British imperialists and colonialists are using every twist of imagination and cynicism in an attempt to maintain their complete domination over East Africa and their economic domination of the West African colonies; the French imperialists and colonialists are killing defenceless people in Algeria, exploding atomic bombs on African soil, trying to create a new geographical, historical and technical absurdity—the 'French province' of the Sahara—and increasing their economic domination over some of our African peoples; the American imperialists are emerging from the shadows and, astonished by the weakness of their partners, are seeking to replace them everywhere, with varying degrees of subtlety.

Our enemies are determined to strike mortal blows against us and to turn our victories into defeats. To attain this goal, they use the most suitable instrument—African traitors. And here is a reality that is made more evident by our struggle: in spite of their armed forces, the imperialists cannot do without traitors; traditional chiefs and bandits in the times of slavery and of the wars of colonial conquest, gendarmes, various agents and mercenary soldiers during the golden age of colonialism, self-styled heads of state and ministers in the present time of neo-colonialism. The enemies of the African peoples are powerful and cunning and can always count on a few faithful lackeys in our country, since quislings are not a European privilege.

However, if we want to neutralise the delaying actions carried out by our enemies and their lackeys, we must strengthen the methods of action and the vigilance of the African revolution. Let us be precise: for us, African revolution means the transformation of our present life in the direction of progress. The prerequisite for this is the elimination of foreign economic domination, on which every other type of domination is dependent. Our vigilance means the rigorous selection of friends, a constant watch and struggle against enemies (both internal and external) and the neutralisation or elimination of all factors opposing progress.

At present the first difficulty—that of winning political autonomy—has already been overcome, despite the remnant of a few zones of classical colonialism whose days are numbered; the greatest difficulties concern the winning of economic independence, the struggle against neo-colonialism. The positive balance-sheet of the year 1960 cannot make us forget the reality of a crisis in the African revolution which, far from being a mere growing pain, is a crisis of knowledge. In several cases, the practice of the liberation struggle and its future perspectives not only lack

a theoretical basis, but are also to a greater or lesser degree remote from the concrete reality around them. Local experiences in the conquest of national independence, national unity and the bases for progress have been or are being forgotten.

Our fundamental problem now is to resolve the main contradictions between the interests of our peoples and the interests of the Portuguese colonialists. This means rapid and total elimination of Portuguese domination in Guinea and Cabo Verde, in a life-or-death struggle. We count on the support and concrete assistance of the African peoples, and especially of neighbouring countries.

While the struggle for national independence is our main concern, we should nevertheless envisage, beyond the liberation struggle, the problem of the future of our peoples, of their economic, social and cultural evolution on the road to progress.

In relation to Africa, we are for fraternal collaboration between the African peoples, against narrow nationalisms which do not serve the true interests of the people. A geographic, historical and even ethnic analysis of Africa shows that new forms of economic, political and social existence are developing on the continent. Through contradictions, and even through conflicts, these new and still embryonic forms will become progressively defined in their structure and perhaps in their originality.

We are for African unity, on a regional or continental scale, insofar as it is necessary for the progress of the African peoples, and in order to guarantee their security and the continuity of this progress.

Our enemy. Isolation and contradictions. The struggle of the people of Angola and of the other colonies.

Our peoples make a distinction between the fascist-colonial government and the people of Portugal: they are not fighting against the Portuguese people. However, the objective situation of the large popular masses in Portugal, oppressed and exploited by the ruling classes of their country, should make them understand the great advantages for them which will flow from the victory of the African peoples over Portuguese colonialism.

It is the educated circles in Portugal, and especially the progressive democrats, who have the task of helping the Portuguese people to destroy the virulent remains of the colonialist, enslaving ideology which in general determines their negative attitude towards the just struggles of the African peoples. To do this, however, these educated circles must also overcome their own imperialist mentality,

composed of prejudice and ill-founded disdain for the value and the real capacity of the African peoples. In fact, Portuguese democrats will remain unable to understand that just claims of our peoples until they become convinced that the theory of 'immaturity for self-government' is false and until they realise that oppression is not and will never be a school of virtue and aptitude.

We must reaffirm clearly that while being opposed to all fascism, our peoples are not fighting Portuguese fascism: we are fighting Portuguese colonialism. The destruction of fascism in Portugal must be the work of the Portuguese people themselves: the destruction of Portuguese colonialism will be the work of our peoples. While the fall of fascism in Portugal might not lead to the end of Portuguese colonialism—and this hypothesis has been put forward by some Portuguese opposition leaders—we are certain that the elimination of Portuguese colonialism will bring about the destruction of Portuguese fascism. Through our liberation struggle we are making an effective contribution towards the defeat of Portuguese fascism and giving the Portuguese people the best possible proof of our solidarity. This factor is a cause of pride to our peoples, who hope for the same solidarity from the Portuguese people, through the strengthening of the struggle against fascism.

If the Portuguese opposition was capable of unity within itself, could accept openly the principle of self-determination and independence for our peoples—as certain sectors of it already have done—and could guide the Portuguese people into direct action against fascism, we would be prepared to envisage an alliance of our forces with the democratic and progressive forces of Portugal, with the aim of simultaneous elimination of Portuguese colonialism and fascism. This common struggle against the same enemy forces would create the basis for friendship and future collaboration to serve the interests of our peoples and those of the Portuguese people.

With regard to the United Nations, despite the resolutions favourable to our struggle which the progressive forces of peoples of Africa and Asia and of the progressive forces of the world have had adopted, that organisation has shown itself incapable of resolving disputes between colonised peoples and the colonial powers.

The hypothesis of a change of position or the decay of Portuguese colonialism is just an opportunistic dream, or the result of a false analysis of the nature of Portuguese colonialism. Thus only one way remains: to prepare ourselves as well as we can to destroy within our countries the main forces of Portuguese colonialism. Our peoples have

formed a united front for the struggle against Portuguese colonialism with the peoples of the other Portuguese colonies. The conference of the Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) held in Casablanca in April 1961 and the creation of a permanent organisation for the co-ordination of our common struggle have been the most recent manifestations of this unity.

The Portuguese government is conscious of one reality: no power in the world will be able to prevent the total elimination of Portuguese colonialism. The dialectic of colonial repression has proved that today no colonialist aggressor can overcome peoples who are determined to win their freedom.

Conscious of the fact that the liberation of our countries depends mainly on the action of our own peoples, on their unity, their capacity for organisation and preparation for the struggle, we are firmly determined to develop our fight.

The situation of our countries. Prospects for the struggle.

The resistance of the people of Guinea and Cabo Verde has never ceased to manifest itself, in revolts, passive resistance, mass emigration to neighbouring countries, and total refusal to pay the taxes of Portuguese domination. Since the days of slavery, innumerable revolts have expressed the people's hatred for Portuguese domination. Mainly at S.Tiago, S. Antão and S.Vicente, in demonstrations, strikes and revolts, the people have arisen several times against the masters of the land and against foreign domination. Our struggle is carrying on from there.

In Guinea, after the massacre of Pijiguiti Quay (Bissao, 3 August 1959), in the course of which Portuguese soldiers and civilians shot down dozens of striking Guinean workers, a wave of repression and terror organised and commanded by the PIDE (political police) made the life and the struggle of the Guinean people even harder. At the same time the colonial administration, by increasing the export of rice at the expense of the majority of the Guinean people, managed to create a new weapon of oppression—famine.

Very recently, apart from police and military repression, the colonial administration has been using non-violent tactics— presents, bribes, invitations to Portugal for the 'traditional chiefs', scholarships, special radio broadcasts for the 'natives', fostering dissidence and quarrels between the different ethnic groups—with the aim of winning over part of the population and 'dividing to rule'. The colonial administration has been disconcerted by the firm determination of the Guinean people, after the failure of a few preliminary 'meetings' to justify the Portuguese presence.

To ensure the support of certain powers, the Portuguese government grants extensive facilities to non-Portuguese capital for the colonial exploitation of the natural resources (oil, bauxite, etc.) and the manpower of Guinea. Furthermore, it wants to have NATO military bases installed in Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands in the hope of strengthening its means of repression.

The Portuguese government is still in the process of drawing up an urgent plan for sending thousands of families of Portuguese settlers to Guinea, in the belief that increasing the European population will slow down the development of our liberation struggle. This while in the Cabo Verde Islands the Portuguese government once again let about 10,000 people die of famine in 1958-1959. The Cabo Verdian population, which in only six years (1942-1947) lost 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants struck down by famine, is always at the mercy of the so-called 'agricultural crises' and subjected to the 'displacement' of thousands of its children as contracted workers for the Portuguese plantations in other colonies. Unemployment has reached catastrophic heights, particularly in S. Vicente, where hundreds of workers have been sacked by English companies.

The peasants, who constitute the majority of the population—and the totality in the agricultural islands (S. Tiago, S. Antão, S. Nicolau, Fogo)—live at the mercy of the rains, while the pseudo 'economic development plan' is nothing more than a mystification, a source of enrichment for the colonial authorities.

The massive clandestine emigration to Senegal is clear proof of the desperate situation in which the people of Cabo Verde are forced to live! This situation, which is comparable to that of Guinea, has become virtually insupportable with the accentuation of police repression.

In Guinea, agricultural production, the sole base of the economy, founded on mono-cultivation of ground-nuts, is sinking progressively lower. Thousands of peasants are abandoning their homes and seeking peace and the indispensable necessities of life in neighbouring countries. Thus, thousands of Balantes are entering the Republic of Guinea, while ground-nut growers are settling in the Republic of Senegal.

In the urban areas, where repression is greatest, the work of state and private enterprises has been suspended. Hundreds of workers have been dismissed without justification. Numerous enterprises, above all in the rural areas, have given up their activities altogether, strangled by the monopoly of the CUF (Companhia Uniao Fabril)—the true master of Guinea—or pushed by fear of the consequences of our liberation struggle.

Thus the political situation is becoming more tense each day. Guinea is living today in a state of siege, with all the settlers armed and the indigenous population subject to frequent provocations by the army and the colonial police. To fight the rising tide of our liberation struggle, the Portuguese colonialists are constantly reinforcing their army. Almost every week boats arrive from Portugal to unload soldiers and war material.

About 350 African patriots are in PIDE prisons, and several hundred have been deported to the concentration camp on the island of Galinhas; in Bissao they are beginning to say that the postal service will soon stop working, since a large proportion of the employees are either in prison or have fled to neighbouring countries. The same applies to the National Overseas Bank, for the economic crisis has, and can have, no solution. In Cabo Verde, where misery reaches the limits of despair, particularly in the less favoured islands, more than a hundred young people have been arrested in Mindêlo and Praia and deported to the concentration camp of Tarrafal. Repressive security measures have been decreed against intellectuals enjoying great popularity.

But our struggle has won a victory of even greater importance, in the unity of Guinean and Cabo Verdian patriots resident in Guinea, within the PAIGC and the front which the PAIGC has created. The Portuguese colonialists, who have always tried to separate the Guineans from the Cabo Verdians, have been thrown into confusion by the solid unity of all the Africans. Today the prisons are full of Guineans and Cabo Verdians, and the struggle for the complete elimination of Portuguese colonialism has strengthened the ties of history and of blood which unite our two peoples.

Whatever the forces of the enemy, our victory over Portuguese colonialism depends mainly on ourselves, on our own militants. We must be conscious of the real forces at our disposal and base our revolutionary work on the popular masses.

However, it is obvious that the concrete aid and support of our neighbouring countries can play an important and decisive role if their leaders so wish. We are sure of the solidarity of all the African peoples in our struggle. We are conscious of the fact that our struggle for national liberation does not only serve our own peoples: it also serves the fundamental interests and the progress of all the peoples of Africa and of the world.

Tell no lies Claim no easy victories . . .

Extracts from Party directive 1965

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 recognise 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 organisation 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 demobilisation 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 co-ordination between these two and, in certain cases, have allowed themselves to be influenced by preoccupation with the defence of our positions, ignoring the fact that, for us, attack is the best means of defence

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 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 normalise 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 endeavouring 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 mobilisation and organisation 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 weapon of theory

Address delivered to the first Tricontinental Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana in January 1966

If any of us came to Cuba with doubts in our mind about the solidity, strength, maturity and vitality of the Cuban Revolution, these doubts have been removed by what we have been able to see. Our hearts are now warmed by an unshakable certainty which gives us courage in the difficult but glorious struggle against the common enemy: no power in the world will be able to destroy this Cuban Revolution, which is creating in the countryside and in the towns not only a new life but also—and even more important—a New Man, fully conscious of his national, continental and international rights and duties. In every field of activity the Cuban people have made major progress during the last seven years, particularly in 1965, Year of Agriculture.

We believe that this constitutes a particular lesson for the national liberation movements, especially for those who want their national revolution to be a true revolution. Some people have not failed to note that a certain number of Cubans, albeit an insignificant minority, have not shared the joys and hopes of the celebrations for the seventh anniversary because they are against the Revolution. It is possible that others will not be present at the celebrations of the eighth anniversary, but we would like to state that we consider the 'open door' policy for enemies of the Revolution to be a lesson in courage, determination, humanity and confidence in the people, another political and moral victory over the enemy; and to those who are worried, in a spirit of friendship, about the dangers which may be involved in this exodus, we guarantee that we, the peoples of the countries of Africa, still completely dominated by Portuguese colonialism, are prepared to send to Cuba as many men and women as may be needed to compensate for the departure of those who for reasons of class or of inability to adapt have interests or attitudes which are incompatible with the interests of the Cuban people. Taking once again the formerly hard and tragic path of our ancestors (mainly from Guinea and Angola) who were taken to Cuba as slaves, we would come now as free men, as willing workers and Cuban patriots, to fulfil a productive function in this new, just and multi-racial society, and to help and defend with our own lives the victories of the Cuban people. Thus we would strengthen both all the bonds of history, blood and culture which unite our peoples

These extracts were first published in English in Basil Davidson's *The Liberation of Guinea, aspects of an African revolution* (Penguin 1969)

Appendix

The PAIGC Programme

I Immediate and total independence

- 1.Immediate winning, by all necessary means, of the total and unconditional national independence of the people of Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands.
- 2.Taking over of power, in Guinea by the Guinean people, and in the Cabo Verde Islands by the people of Cabo 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 Cabo Verde Islands.
- 4.National and international sovereignty of Guinea and the Cabo 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 Cabo Verde Islands.

II Unity of the nation in Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands

- 1.Equal rights and duties, firm unity and fraternal collaboration between citizens, whether considered as individuals, as social groups or as 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 population in these groups. In the Cabo Verde Islands, each island or group of identical and close islands will be able to have 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 Cabo 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 Cabo Verde Islands

- 1.After the winning of national independence in Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands, unity of the peoples of these countries for the construction of a strong and progressive African nation, on the basis of suitably consulted popular will.

- 2.The form of unity between these two peoples to be established by their legitimate and freely elected representatives.
- 3.Equal rights and duties, solid unity and fraternal collaboration between Guineans and Cabo Verdians. Prohibition of all attempts to divide these two peoples.

IV African unity

- 1.After the winning of 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 the Cabo Verde Islands, on the part of any country.
- 3.Defence of the political, economic, social and cultural rights and gains of the popular masses of Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands is the fundamental condition for the realisation of unity with other African peoples.

V Democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist government

- 1.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 behaviour favour imperialism, colonialism or the destruction of the unity of the people will be deprived by every available means of fundamental freedoms.
- 5.General and free elections of the organisations in power, based on direct, secret and universal voting.
- 6.Total elimination of the colonial administrative structure and establishment of a national and democratic structure for the internal administration of the country.
- 7.Personal protection of all foreigners living and working in Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands who respect the prevailing laws.

VI Economic independence, structuring the economy and developing production

- 1.Elimination of all relationships of a colonialist and

imperialist nature. Winning of economic independence in Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands.

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, co-operative, 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 the Cabo Verde Islands, and will be exploited according to the needs of rapid economic development. Co-operative 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 the Cabo Verde Islands. Personal property—in particular individual consumption goods, family houses and savings resulting from work done—will be inviolable.

4.Development and modernisation of agriculture. Transformation of the system of cultivating the soil to put an end to monocultivation and the obligatory nature of the cultivation of groundnuts in Guinea, and of maize in the Cabo Verde Islands. Struggle against agricultural crises, drought, glut and famine.

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

6.Both in Guinea and in the Cabo Verde Islands, confiscation of the land and other goods belonging to proven enemies of the freedom of the people and of national independence. /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 co-ordination of internal trade. Adjustment and stabilisation 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. Creation of a national currency, stabilised 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 all those capable of work. Abolition of forced labour in Guinea and of the exporting of forced or 'contract' labour from the Cabo Verde Islands.

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 those in the 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 organisations 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, because of unemployment, disability or sickness. All public health and hygiene organisations will be run or controlled by the state.

6.Creation of welfare organisations connected with productive activity. Protection of pregnant women and children. 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 centres 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 and perfection 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 autochthonous languages and of the Creole dialect, creation of a written form for these languages. In Cabo Verde development of a written form for the Creole dialect. Development of the cultures of the various ethnic groups and of the Cabo Verde people. Protection and development of national literature and arts.

5.Utilisation of all the values and advances of human and universal culture in the service of the progress of the peoples

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of Guinea and Cabo 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 the Cabo Verde Islands. Creation of institutions for physical education and sport.
7. Religious freedom: freedom to have or not to have a religion. Protection of churches and mosques, of holy places and objects, of legal religious institutions. National independence for religious professionals.

VIII Effective national defence linked to the people

1. Creation of the necessary means of effective national defence: army, navy and air force, linked to the people and directed by national citizens. Those fighting for independence will form the nucleus of national defence.
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 defence 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 of the principles of the United Nations Charter.
3. Non-adhesion to military blocs.
4. Protection for Guinean and Cabo Verdian nationals resident abroad.

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