



#18, February 1973

Information is ammunition for your struggle. A fighter without ammunition is not a fighter. And for you, a fighter without information cannot speak.

Samora M. Machel, President of FRELIMO to CFM delegation, Dar es Salaam, 8/71.

#### AMILCAR CABRAL

##### INTRODUCTION

The assassination of Amilcar Cabral removed yet another leader of the African struggle for independence. This murder of Amilcar Cabral recalls the bomb slaying of Eduardo Mondlane four years ago. Just as FRELIMO was united and strengthened in Mondlane's death so will PAIGC continue to grow despite their leader's death. The Portuguese cannot kill a revolution by the murder of one person.

Although a deeply humanistic man Amilcar Cabral was not the "gentle revolutionary" the New York Times and other American press reports would have us believe. There are no gentle revolutionaries or revolutions. Cabral knew that armed struggle was the only answer to the "criminal violence of the agents of imperialism." Amilcar Cabral was the foremost spokesman for African independence. And he takes his place beside other great revolutionary theorists such as Mao Tse-Tung and Julius Nyerere. The weaving of Marxism with his own African heritage led Amilcar Cabral to useful and substantive theoretical writings that will profoundly affect the African struggle for independence long after his death.

We quote the following to introduce to you Amilcar Cabral's theoretical works which we think is the most significant legacy he has left to all of us -

We ... see that both in colonialism and in neo-colonialism the essential characteristic of imperialist domination remains the same: the negation of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of development of the national productive forces. This observation, which identifies the essence

**COMMITTEE for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE 616 W. 116 St. NY, NY. 10027**

of the two apparent forms of imperialist domination, seems to us to be of major importance for the thought and action of liberation movements, both in the course of struggle and after the winning of independence.

On the basis of this, we can state that national liberation is the phenomenon in which a given socio-economic whole rejects the negation of its historical process. In other words, the national liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people, its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it was subjected.\*

\*Cabral, Amilcar. Revolution in Guinea. Monthly Review Press: NY, 1969, page 102.

#### A REPORT TO OUR FRIENDS

On October 19, 1972, Amilcar Cabral met with a group of friends and supporters in a Manhattan apartment, and spoke informally of his people's struggle, and of his delegation's visit to the United Nations. The following text is an edited transcript of the meeting.

#### Amilcar Cabral:

I'd like to declare that I didn't agree to come here. I asked for this meeting with you. For me it is a pleasure to be here with you, friends of our people in the struggle, people that we view as our brothers and sisters. This meeting helps us better to know what constitutes our dream of America--all kinds of people, simply seated on the floor with the heart and the head, dedicated to the marvelous adventure of man in this controversial planet, very simply man and woman. Our hearts, maybe more than our heads, have the same rhythms of pulsation.

Since two years ago, when I last spoke to you, there have been many changes in my country. Not only because we have liberated more areas. When you have arrived at the step that you are going to liberate the towns, the fight develops more slowly.

#### THE URBAN CENTERS

But during these two years I can tell you that one of the principle aspects of the evolution of the situation is a big change in the urban centers. I told you last time that the Portuguese colonialists, through their famous governor Spínola, were implementing what we call the politics of blood and smiles. But now they are finishing with smiles. After all this time, the people of the urban centers, particularly the people of Bissau, Bafata, are each day devoted more to the fight and to the party. We can tell you that we now control the life of Bissau more than ever. We think this is a very great achievement in this fight, and we are now preparing to give the means to the people in the urban centers in order to defend our own lives and material riches there when the final battle will arrive.

#### FIRST GENERAL ELECTIONS

We think that in Guine also the political position is stronger. We achieved one of the most important realizations in the framework of our struggle-- the first general elections in our country, the creation of our regional councils, and of the first national popular assembly for

our country. I can tell you we didn't dream of doing this. It was not the result of the dream of Cabral. It was a need coming from the results of the struggle, a need also to impose on us in the party (PAIGC) some limits to our own action, some possibilities of control on us. Because, if in the framework of the development of the liberation struggle you don't create simultaneously something to help you always do good things, maybe you are creating the conditions for your own defeat. And the best way to stop yourself is to create conditions for the people to stop you.

In another way, we think we have to be quiet with our (party's) principles. We want our people to take, step by step, in their own hands the authority for their own lives, you see, their own lives. For that, the party is not enough, in our opinion. It is too dangerous, the fact that in our historical condition we have to have only one party. It is necessary to create some organ, some instrument in order to give to the people this real consciousness that they are the master of their own destiny. I can tell you that we never supposed that the people would respond with such enthusiasm.

#### VISIT OF THE U.N. TEAM

Another very important achievement was the visit of the special mission of the United Nations to our country. We invited these people in order to give to the United Nations new concrete elements to facilitate their work against the Portuguese colonialism. Our people consented and sacrificed in order to allow this visit. People decided to do their best so that this visit would be a great success.

Naturally it was very difficult for these people of the United Nations-- you can imagine what difficulties there are searching for one week and less. And our good friends of the United Nations were not so accustomed to such a kind of diplomacy (laughter). But never have the Portuguese done such a great aggression. They moved about 15,000 men from the army and navy to reinforce the other 15,000 people they already had in the south. They bombed.\* They made many assaults with helicopters. And the (Portuguese) minister of "overseas provinces" was in Bissau waiting for the captured members of the United Nations team, or their bodies. But our people reacted very well to all this aggression. You can imagine the political and juridical consequences of this visit.\*\*

#### MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

Militarily and politically it was very important to attack Bissau. The attack was very efficient because the political work in Bissau has accelerated very much, after these rockets hit Bissau. Our fighters had to make seven attacks, simultaneously against the Portuguese camps in order to allow the artillery, protected by some of our units of fighters, to pass in order to localize the weapons in the place where it was necessary to put them in order to attack Bissau.

We attacked also Bafata, my own town. We attacked also Gabu, the important town in the eastern region. We attacked the airport of Bissau. It was very good because the Portuguese are always afraid. When they hear "Boom", you see (laughter).

\* Approximately three months after the U.N. visit, the Portuguese colonialists completely destroyed the Areolino Cruz Boarding School in the Cubucare sector of Guine. The U.N. team had visited this school, and witnessed the determination to educate the people even while the liberation struggle goes on.

\*\* In effect, the U.N. visit denied, for its part, Portugal's claim of sovereignty over Guine.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. - Will you tell us what happened at the U.N. over the question of whether or not a recommendation be made that you be permitted to appear before the General Assembly?\*

A. - Yes, yes, I forgot. Naturally, the national assembly of my country is not only to show the (U.N.) visitors around. (Laughter) The assembly will have, and is now, one-hundred twenty people. It's too much for a small country like ours. But we're not thinking of paying the salaries of our representatives, our "Congressmen" (laughter). Eighty of these people have been elected from the masses -- workers, peasants, the majority are peasants, and artisans and other people. And forty from the party cadres. The same is true in the framework of the regional councils. In the regional council meeting, these same elect one-third of their members for the national assembly. This is our democracy for elections in our country.

But to answer the question, we made concrete proposals to the U.N. First of all, we proposed that Portugal come and negotiate with us. We also proposed that the U.N. has to do its best in order that our representatives be present like observers or associate members in all the specialized agencies of the U.N. We ask also for the reinforcement of the material help from these specialized agencies, principally UNESCO. For instance, UNESCO did a book for us, during these past years -- mathematics for the Second Class. We are associate members of the Economic Commission for Africa. We are asking this status in other specialized agencies.

Q. - What do you think Portugal's tactics are for the political future of Portugal herself?

A. - There is some evolution in the Portuguese position. The "solution" for Angola and Mozambique is each day more Rhodesianization which follows what the Portuguese did about announcing those so-called states. When they speak about states, they never speak about Guine and Cape Verde, but principally about Angola and Mozambique. There were in the Portuguese government people fighting for the Europeanization of Portugal, claiming that Portugal is a European country. These people, called "liberal" people or technocrats, have very recently been expelled from the government -- some young people, very good people, colonialists like the others, but good people in any case. And now there are the racists, the ultras, who are leading all, and their way is to keep my country for some time more, and to try to impose this new situation for the perpetuation of the domination of white minorities on Angola and Mozambique. They are establishing agencies all over Western Europe to recruit people because their plan is to put one million people in Southern Africa. The program is to increase the white population and to do everything to not allow the black population to increase. In the words of Kaulza de Arriaga (Military Commander of the Portuguese Forces in Mozambique) "Naturally it is a very difficult problem for us because first of all we cannot give contraceptives to each black family..."

That is the strategy. Portugal is a country which is losing population. Today the biggest Portuguese colony is France (Laughter). There are 800,000 Portuguese in France. About 200,000 young people were ready (to be drafted) for the colonial war, but they have been escaping. But the people of Portugal now seem to be more active in trying to struggle against the colonial war. In the last two weeks they (blew up) a boat with Portuguese military material (on it) for my country. It was very symbolic because the boat's name is Cape Verde. The people coming from the colonial war have now created, in Portugal, an underground party of the veterans of the colonial war against the colonial war.

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\*Since only heads of state or their representatives may address the General Assembly, an invitation for Cabral would mean, in effect, that the U.N. had recognized the PAIGC as the legitimate government of Guine, not Portugal.

Q. - I wonder if you could tell us something about the increasing role that South Africa is beginning to play.

A. - Dos Santos (Marcelino Dos Santos of FRELIMO) spoke today (at the U.N.) about this problem, not only about South Africa and Mr. Vorster, but also about this Smith (of Rhodesia). After the beginning of the struggle in Manica e Sofala province in Mozambique, Smith made a statement saying that the Rhodesians are ready if Portugal asks them to send troops in to help Portugal. But (already) they are collaborating effectively with Portugal in the field, in the air, and so on. The planes that bomb some parts of Mozambique come from Rhodesia and the patrol of the Zambezi (River) is made by South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese planes. Following the information from Marcelino Dos Santos, they (the Mozambicans) have killed South Africans and Rhodesians in Mozambique.

It is an effective cooperation. You see that some days ago Smith came to Lisbon and spent his holiday in Madeira, the Portuguese island in the Atlantic. He went to Lisbon to meet Caetano. Now it's perfectly clear that there is a co-operation between them. It's the same thing, you see, only one struggle on three fronts.

Now South Africa knows very well that if Mozambique and Angola are free, they will be in a very bad position. What do they have to do: their best in order to avoid the liberation of Mozambique and Angola. And Portugal wants the same. They have to collaborate. Now it is for us to collaborate also with the African forces in general and with other forces that want the real liberation of Africa.

Q. - In the past we have discussed campaigns in the U.S. against American companies investing in Portuguese colonies, specifically against Gulf Oil in Angola. What is your present analysis of this problem?

A. You see, fortunately or unfortunately, I repeat, we are not Angola or Mozambique, eh? Our country is -- we don't admit or call it a poor country, but it is a country with limited resources. And the development of our fight does not allow people to come and invest there.

But to convince these companies not to invest is to attack them because they want money, ha, ha, you see, and it is very easy to gain much money. At another time (the company thinks) maybe these people (liberation movements) will be in control, but let me take as much as possible in the ten years before they arrive. And they are right, you see. The only way is to attack them, in my opinion. If the guerilla forces haven't arrived in the zone where the companies are operating, it is necessary to create an underground force in order to put down bombs to kill people and so on in order to convince them. All the time that there is quiet and security it is not possible to stop them. It is necessary to create conditions of insecurity for them.

You remember, I think, I told you I spoke with the secretary of the American Embassy in Conakry. He came to my office for other things, and we discussed this problem of the presence of Continental and Esso in the sea of my country. And I told him that we considered this an unfriendly attitude from the United States toward our people. (And he said) "Oh, no, we can do nothing at all through our government, because it is a private company, and you see, Mr. Cabral, this company would like very much to be the first, because when you'll be independent, it will be the first there." (laughter) I told him, "You are a Christian. You must remember that Christ said that maybe the first will be last."

# committee for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE



616 WEST 116TH STREET #1A

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

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Dear Friend of Mozambique:

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Virginia Dike  
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(partial list)

With deep sorrow and anger, we devote this month's newsletter to Amilcar Cabral, the great revolutionary leader and theorist who led the struggle for independence in Guine-Bissau. Cabral was brutally assassinated by Portuguese agents on January 20, 1973, just as the people of Guine-Bissau, led by the PAIGC, were about to declare their independence from Portugal. CFM co-sponsored a demonstration on January 22 at the Casa de Portugal demanding an immediate end to Portuguese colonialism and to American complicity with Portugal.

Members of CFM's New York working committee were fortunate to meet this great man on October 19, 1972 at a small informal meeting with friends and supporters of PAIGC. Cabral spoke of his people's struggle and of his delegation's visit to the United Nations. In News and Notes we share with you an edited transcript of that meeting.

Cabral's assassination was a desperate attempt by the Portuguese to stop the courageous efforts of the Guinean people to win their independence. This was, of course, what they hoped to achieve in Mozambique when they murdered Eduardo Mondlane, first president of FRELIMO, in February, 1969. But as FRELIMO's growing successes prove, killing one man cannot stop the determination of a people's movement. The unity of the Guinean people and the co-operation between FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC will continue to grow.

Our support of the African struggles must also continue to grow. The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) has initiated a campaign to raise \$100,000 for PAIGC. Lucius Walker, Jr., IFCO's Executive Director, has said of Cabral's death, "I am sure you share the anger and hurt I feel. But anger is not effective if it does not motivate us to positive action. We will not mourn the fallen warrior. We will honor him by redoubling our efforts." In this spirit, CFM has decided to participate in IFCO's campaign. We are strongly urging you to send a contribution for PAIGC to CFM by March 1, 1973, when we will turn the contributions over to IFCO. Support the Guinean struggle for liberation.

Venceremos,

Committee for a Free Mozambique

It costs us about \$2.00 per year to send this to you. Can you help?