

Amil Car Cabral Before United Nations :

PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES IN AFRICA EXPOSED (2)

THE resolution on decolonisation came right in time to furnish us with this legal ground and created consequently a new situation for our struggle.

The colonial system, of whose abolition and total liquidation the resolution calls, for has become an international crime and as I have said, this resolution has given us a legal ground whereby we can argue for the liquidation of colonial domination in our country.

We can now have recourse to all possible means to destroy this domination. We have now been the only beneficiaries of this resolution, because on the basis of this resolution adopted by the United Nations, together with other states and anti-colonialist organisations, and indeed with all movements for peace in the world, we should be able to take concrete measures against the Portuguese Government.

CRIME AGAINST CIVILISATION

The Portuguese government continues to carry on this crime against civilisation in our countries the crime of colonialism, and so, constituting a threat to international peace and security.

However the resolution on decolonisation has not engaged Portugal and our people alone. It has equally engaged the United Nations to do all its best to assist in the liquidation of colonial domination wherever this evil is practised, and in so doing to facilitate the accession of all colonised people to national independence.

We are convinced that the Portuguese government cannot impudently continue to baffle the world opinion in carrying on this sort of international crime. We are equally convinced that the United Nations has all possible means to conceive and to take appropriate, concrete and effective measures both to preserve its own prestige and the principles enacted in its Charter and to impose international legality in our country so as to defend the interest of peace and civilisation.

Similar to what is happening in the Congo, where in order to put into practice, its resolutions, the United Nations is taking action on the spot through the appropriate organs and channels, it can also adopt concrete measures to put into practice this resolution on decolonisation in our country.

NEW PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE

We are not only conscious of the legality and rightfulness of our struggle. We are conscious also of the fact that while struggling for liberation of our countries, we are equally struggling to preserve international legality for peace and to the service of progress in the world.

Our struggle has lost its strictly national character to climb to a new phase, that is, of an international status. In our countries today, our struggle is fought under various forms. We are struggling for progress against misery and sufferings. We are struggling

for freedom against an oppressor.

If it is true that the victims of such a struggle are no other people but sons and daughters of our land; it is equally true that each of our comrades who falls victims to tortures and bullets of the colonial forces, does so with the hopes and certainties and spirit which we have in our hearts, the hopes and certainties which we have as men dedicated to peace and freedom, men



Amil Car Cabral

dedicated to progress and happiness for humanity.

We are not struggling only for the realisation of our aspirations to freedom and national independence, we are struggling till victory is won in order that, resolutions passed by the United Nations and its Charter may be respected. In prisons, in towns and villages of our country the struggle continues.

We are the unknown warriors of the United Nations:

In fact who are we that are engaged in this struggle under such difficult conditions against Portuguese colonialists?

UN ACTION IS RIGHT.

When in Elisabethville or in the Congo forests an Indian or Ethiopian soldier or for that matter any soldier of any nationality falls under bullet of the enemy, it is indeed another hero who has given his life for the cause of the United Nations. He has died for an ideal cause, because he believes the United Nations resolutions on the Congo aim at the achievement of unity, peace and progress for the Congolese people.

In order that its resolutions are respected, the United Nations has mobilised soldiers, pilots, officials, technicians and experts in various branches on whom it spends daily a huge sum of money. We believe that the United Nations action is right and that the people of the Congo have the right to all assistance that this august international organisation can afford her for the solution of the serious problems of the Congo Republic.

When in our country, a comrade falls victim of tortures in the hands of the police, when he has been burnt alive or when he falls by the bullet of the Portuguese troops, what is indeed the cause for which he is struggling and for which he has given his life?

He has given his life for the liberation of our people from colonial yoke and also for the cause of the United Nations. When struggling and as he dies for the liberation of our country, he gives away life in the context of international legality and for the idea which

the United Nations has set in its Charter, for its resolution and particularly for her resolution on decolonisation.

To us, the only difference that exists between an Indian soldier and an Italian pilot or a Swedish functionary who dies in the Congo and our comrade who dies in Guinea or Cape Verde Islands is the fact that in our country such a comrade struggles for the same ideal but we are the unknown warriors to the United Nations.

PRESTIGE AND RESPECT

Comrades like Bernade Soares, Vitorino Costa and many others who fell victims in the hands of Portuguese colonialists did not have their names written in any document of this world organisation. We do not figure on any pay roll of the United Nations nor are we equipped by the United Nations.

We have no budget or grant to enable us to pay for the everyday needs of our struggle but in this struggle in which the forces are rather unequal, the struggle which we are compelled to engage in, we are no less at the service of the United Nations in defending her prestige and the respect that all nations and governments should have for its resolutions which take international character once adopted.

We are convinced that the time has come for the United Nations to take this fact into account. The United Nations must therefore consider us to be peoples at its service and in particular whilst fighting against Portuguese colonialists. This has been clearly revealed by the inequality of our strength as compared to that of the Portuguese colonialist especially and as far as material and human is concerned in this struggle.

PARADOXICAL SITUATION

Everyone is wondering as to whether our intentions are peaceful or warlike. Movements and organisations interested to know more about our struggle, as well as the United Nations itself quite often wonder about this, and many a time we have been asked the following questions: Are you disposed to settle this problem by means of negotiations?

The whole world knows that the Portuguese government all along has not given the least sign of accepting a peaceful solution to the colonial problem through negotiation. That the Portuguese government has unleashed a colonial war in Angola, extended it to Guinea and that it has decided to undertake similar wars in all its colonies.

About this, Portugal makes no bones. But if we answer by saying that we are disposed to accept to use all possible means in order to liberate our country, it is usually considered as though we are a warlike people interested in waging wars and thus become a source of menace to the world peace.

On the other hand, the Portuguese government has the support of very

powerful nations with years of experience in war, assisting it in money and arms. But our friends who preach that there should be immediate abolition of the colonial system. I am sorry to say, with few exceptions have not been able to give anything concrete but resolutions and motions of solidarity.

It is known all over the world that the Portuguese government receives financial grants and huge sums of money from certain countries and armament from its NATO allies. It is no denying the fact that in Angola as well as in Guinea there are European soldiers of different nationality serving in the forces of the Portuguese colonialists against the nationalists. We do not want to say that these grants of money, the arms and soldiers supplied by other nations to the Portuguese government are given in order to enable Portugal to continue her domination over our country, but we are saying in definite and clear terms that such assistance is being used by the Portuguese government to that end.

FREQUENT TRANSPORTATION OF TROOPS

The Portuguese government does not fail in a single month to send to our land, troops and war armament with an aim that is all too evident. South expeditions are generally announced through information media in Portugal as well as in the world.

This clearly shows that the Portuguese government openly tries to reinforce its position by the accumulation of war material against the will of our people and against the United Nations as well.

The arrival and departure of ships, the number of soldiers that have disembarked on our soil are well-known to the world. It is also publicly announced the supply of arms to Portugal by its allies and the various military exercises these nations co-operate to combine.

But then on our side what of it? We, who are in the struggle against an international criminal, we, who are defending civilisation in our countries, why not those who claim to sympathise with us—who is prepared to give us openly and without reservation extend such assistance to us so as to enable us to defend our people?

What boats and through which sea and by which countries can we freely pass just in case we have such hypothetical assistance? Who are our allies disposed to give us the financial assistance necessary to our struggle? To give us soldiers, who will help us to struggle? Who, for instance, is decided to give us drugs, and food for the victims of our freedom fighters?

INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY

We, who want to preserve the prestige of the United Nations and the legitimate interests of our people, we who want to preserve the

international legality in our country must act in clandestinity. We are forced to solicit, to knock at doors here and there and beg for whatever mean assistance, we have to convince some others to be bold enough to help us directly or with ample precautions. Things being as they are, everyone is vigilant and suspiciously watching us.

Some people wish to know whether we are pro-Soviet, pro-American or Positive Neutralists but who then is really interested to know our concrete needs for the struggle and will give our cause the needed assistance?

That is the paradoxical situation in which we are living. At the United Nations for instance and at other governmental levels, the Portuguese government which is caught red-handed, committing an international crime, has more power of representation than our people who are struggling and who are decided to struggle until final victory is achieved, in the defence of their rights and their international legalities.

If we relegate to the background, the conditions of beggars for freedom which will be in contradiction with our dignity and our sacred right to be free and independent, we reaffirm here our determination that at whatever cost and sacrifice, we shall by hook or by crook liquidate colonial domination from our country and to secure for our people the opportunity to contribute peacefully to the progress and happiness of humanity.

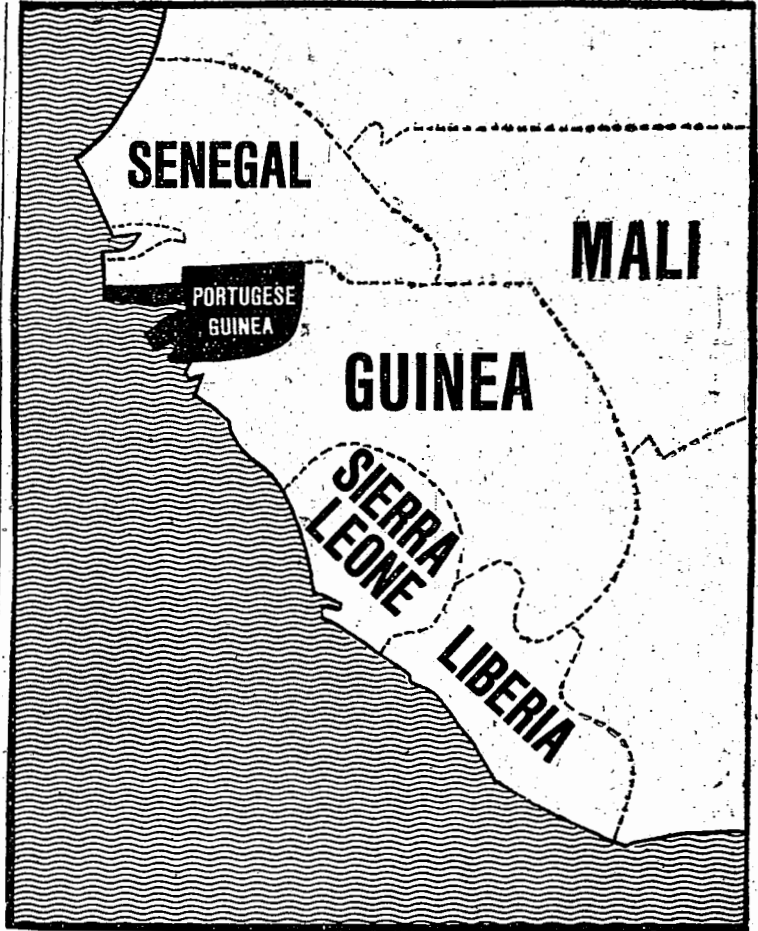
OUR ASPIRATION.

In the context of this decision we can mention three alternatives for the achievement of our aspirations which, we must repeat, are equally those of the United Nations.

We are convinced that in spite of all the wounds inflicted to our people by the Portuguese colonial oppressors, it is still time for the Portuguese government to revise its position and to stop its obstinacy which, as a matter of fact, may bring us more pains but which at the same time goes to the detriment and against the interest of the Portuguese people themselves.

Here, therefore, we are appealing to the Portuguese government through its representatives at the United Nations to accept forthwith and consequently respect the principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and to seek co-operation with us in loyalty and indeed an effective co-operation, that is, a peaceful solution for the liquidation of the colonial system in our country.

Should the Portuguese government continue its obstinacy and refuse to



revise its position for a fair play, we are convinced the United Nations has the right on the basis of international laws to take effective measures in order to compel the Portuguese government to respect the Charter and the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly or to impose in our country the international legality and lawfulness.

PROOF OF DETERMINATION

Thousands of our comrades asked us to present to the UN their cards of individual identity in order to show to the representatives there that they did not want any more of Portuguese rule. However, we did not take many there, only a few dozens we took with us as a proof of determination to abolish by all means, colonial domination in our land. We are sure that sooner or later but rather sooner than later, the Portuguese government will be compelled to negotiate with us.

THE BEST STEPS

We believe that the best step would be for the world organisation to grant a concrete moral, political, financial and material assistance to our liberation struggle. We are ready to study with the various agencies, the procedures and modalities which condition such assistance and on the basis of this principle we shall reiterate that whilst struggling for the liberation of our countries from colonial yoke, we are equally struggling for the cause of the United Nations.

Should the two earlier mentioned alternatives be not feasible, there remains only one way which indeed would not be a new avenue for us, that is, to increase at each possible material time, our own forces, to rely primarily on these forces and to have recourse to any means that will help us to liquidate colonial domination from our countries.

If up to this moment we have done our best to

safeguard not only the possibility of collaborations with the Portuguese peoples but also those for a United Nations timely intervention to prevent great human losses in our countries nothing guarantees that we can convince our people to keep this attitude, should this last alternative become the only one we can have at our disposal.

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On account of the confidence we have in this Organisation and relying on the influence some members of this Organisation are likely to have on the Portuguese government, we want to believe that the two first alternatives are feasible and so we wish, for all intents and purposes, to give the following propositions:—

(a) arrangement for immediate contact between the Portuguese delegation and our delegation should be made by U.N.

—consultation with the Portuguese government so as to have a date fixed for the beginning of negotiations between its representatives and the legitimate representatives of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands should be made by U.N.

Up to the time these negotiations are through, we propose that a stop be put to acts of violence by the Portuguese colonial forces and all actions on

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the part of the nationalists.

As far as we are concerned we are ready for such contacts and exchange of information with or without intermediaries. We affirm that we are ready to negotiate in any country and even in Portugal. We hope this contact shall be established within the United Nations so that we could proceed to analyse and study the general lines as regards our demand for immediate self-determination for our people and accession of our countries to national independence.

(b) the acknowledgement of the fact that United Nations assistance could yield positive results only if it is given simultaneously in all fields, namely; moral, political, financial and material.

—immediate creation

by the United Nations of a special committee to study ways and means of achieving self-determination and national independence for all territories administered by Portugal.

—that this committee should start immediately its work and before the end of the present session of the General Assembly, so as to make it possible to study procedures and modalities which shall condition the assistance to be given both to the people of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands as well as to other peoples struggling against Portuguese colonialism.

As far as we are concerned we are ready to give the best of co-operation to the proposed committee or to any other agency of the United Nations having the task to assist seriously our people to liberate themselves from colonial yoke.