



man and
his word

Realities

Amilcar Cabral

The is not the hour for tears, but for action. . . there must be struggle to fulfill Amilcar Cabral's will claiming liberty not only for Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, but for the entire African continent," said Ahmed Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, in the symposium on the revolutionary life of Amilcar Cabral.

The assassination of Amilcar Cabral, political-military strategist and fighter, took place shortly after the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Island (PAIGC) was recognized by the United Nations Security Council Investigating Commission as the only representative of the people of Guinea Bissau.

The Portuguese government, political dwarf on the international stage, hoped to checkmate the liberation movements, but the African people will know how to use the experiences of the tragic event: they will reinforce their unity and multiply their combativity until they force the disappearance of the traces of abusive colonial exploitation from the African map.

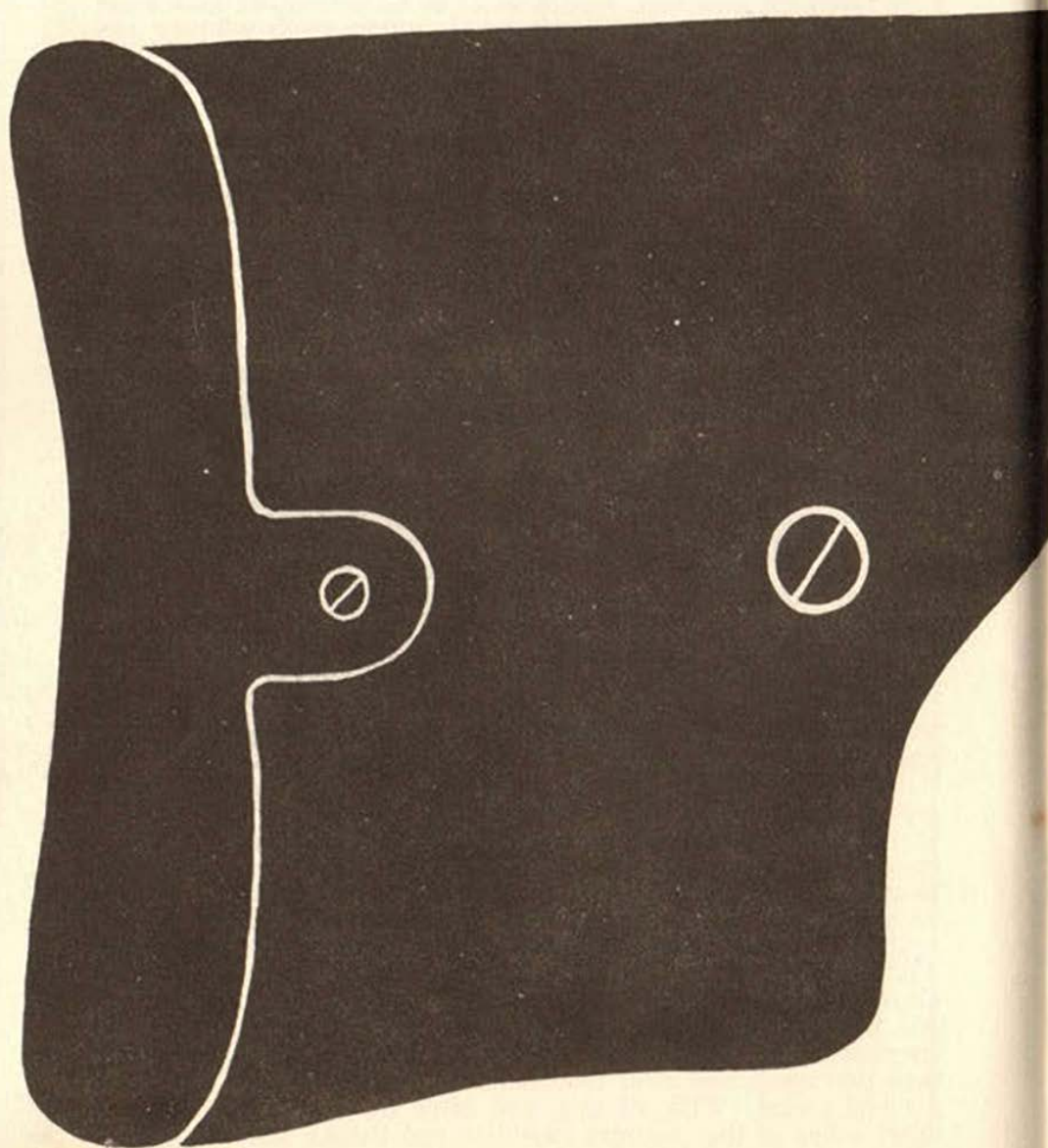
The magazine Tricontinental, which on many occasions has had the privilege of enriching its pages with interviews, speeches, conferences, declarations and articles by the revolutionary leader, reiterates its support and solidarity with the just and determined struggle headed by PAIGC.

In the following interview, published posthumously due to the abominable action of the reactionary forces, Amilcar Cabral exposes the Caetano government's policy of smiles and blood, and provides information on the personal ambitions that stimulate the criminal action of the Spínola government, as well as the political-ideological repercussions of the visit of Commandante Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, to the Republic of Guinea.

Certain segments of the Portuguese and European press state that "the pacifying work Governor Spínola is doing in Guinea-Bissau" has given him such prestige that he can aspire to the Presidency. Is there any truth in this?

You know that when one has to work to kill hunger, however small the results are, they seem very great. When the person who does the work is the same as the one who admires the results, controls and informs, it is still easier to amplify and exaggerate them, and if one aspires to the Presidency of a country with the results, they have to be exaggerated still further.

Spínola is not a new element in Portuguese politics; he was formed in the Nazi schools of Hitler's Germany along with other Portuguese officers such as, for example, General Schultz who was Salazar's Minister of the Interior and also Governor of our country. In Portugal, Spínola was the most important person in the National Republican Guard, the highest instrument of fascist repression that Salazar invented to use against the workers and particularly against the peasants; he has on his record the death of many workers in the cities and the countryside of Portugal. Later, he was named Commander of the motorized cavalry in Angola and became a hero of colonialism because of the crimes he committed against the Angolan people, especially in the north of the country where hundreds of villages were levelled by his tanks. When General Schultz failed in his attempt to liquidate our armed struggle, Spínola was named military governor and promised that in six months he would have it over with; then he said that it would take two years, and after four years of his rule, he said the struggle had ended. With all this, and after having attacked all the other cities of the country, we attacked Bissau, the capital, the



airport, and we laid ambushes that constantly increase in strength and in places where the Portuguese can still cross with their cars and coaches. We asked: "When Spínola's rule has ended, who can Marcelo Caetano put in his place?" There is no responsible Portuguese who wanted to inherit Spínola's command and he had to give him another term. Whether it's for two years, or four or one, nowhere in Portugal today is there a leader who wants to agree to come and fight against us. This is the reason for Spínola's continuation. His plans consist above all in physically liquidating the leaders of the party and particularly me, trying to sabotage the party from within; but we are vigilant and we aren't going to allow any maneuver to destroy the party.

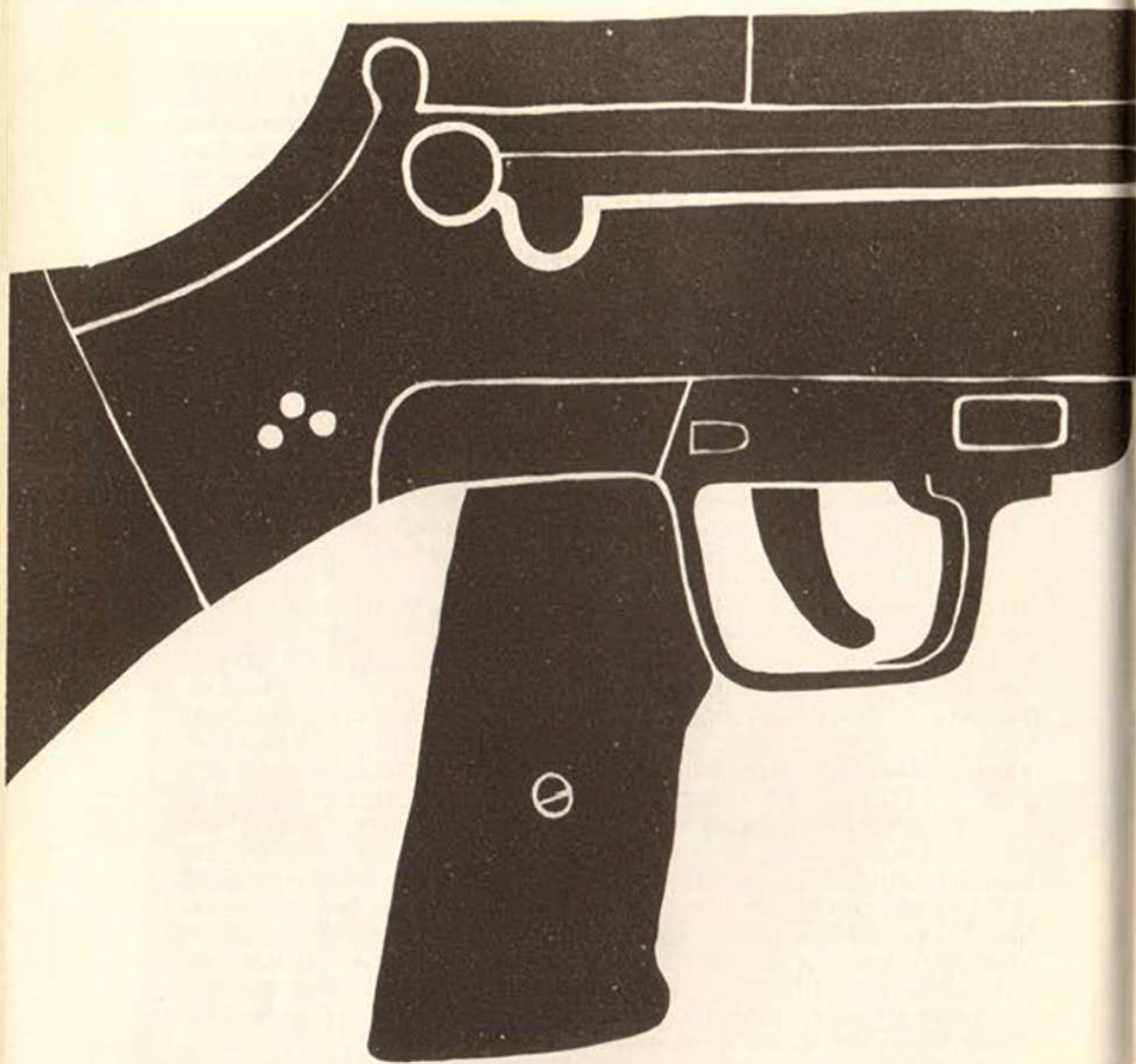
Spínola forms part of a group of Portuguese officers, extreme rightists like Kaulza de Arriaga, racists, fascists who seek to take leadership in Portugal. We know that Spínola as well as Kaulza de Arriaga wants to be President of the Republic or one President and the other chief of government, etc. They are the ultras of Portuguese colonialism but if Spínola hopes to win the position of President of Portugal or head of the Portuguese government with the destruction of the struggle in my country, he will never do it.

In my country Spínola has practiced a policy of what we call smiles and blood. Smiles, affection, demagogy for the Africans that he still controls. Bombing with napalm, the most barbarous crimes, terroristic assaults with helicopters, destruction of villages, burning of crops, the death of children and women, and measures to spray our crops with toxic products, this is the part we call bloody. But Spínola's policy of smiles and blood, the representative of Portugal who came to Africa to Christianize it and today is constructing mosques and sending the Moslems to Mecca, has had no results in our country. On the contrary, last July Spínola himself had to recognize in a radio speech that he no longer had security in the zones he controls and particularly in urban centers like Bissau, Bafata and others, and he threatened the populations of these areas that if something happened that could endanger security, he would repress them as violently as possible; he said that only those who don't know who is governor could doubt this. Those were his actual words.

Only Spínola has reason to be desperate; and no matter what his maneuvers may be — and there have been many without result — we can guarantee that we are going to develop the struggle more every day, give ever harder blows to the Portuguese colonialists, and expel them definitively from our country. Spínola will not obtain his objective of political hegemony in Portugal with the crimes he practices; on the contrary we are going to cause him increasing blame and, undoubtedly, military defeat.

What is the approximate percentage of the African population of Guinea-Bissau today that can be considered not yet fully committed to the idea of independence?

Comrade Sékou Touré has said several times and always repeats that the imperialists and colonialists don't know Africa and the



Africans. This is a great truth. Spínola is taken in by certain traditional chiefs, by some of the petit bourgeois in Bissau who pretend to be favorable to his policy, which we call Greater Guinea, or Portugal. Spínola has no influence over any considerable percentage of our people.

Almost the entire population is favorable to, inclined toward the idea of the country's independence and even those who go to meetings with Spínola and make declarations and speeches on radio sympathize with the idea of independence, but they want to get the most out of Spínola, the greatest material possibilities. These are the opportunists; tomorrow when the hour for Spínola to leave our country arrives, perhaps they will represent themselves as more revolutionary than we are.

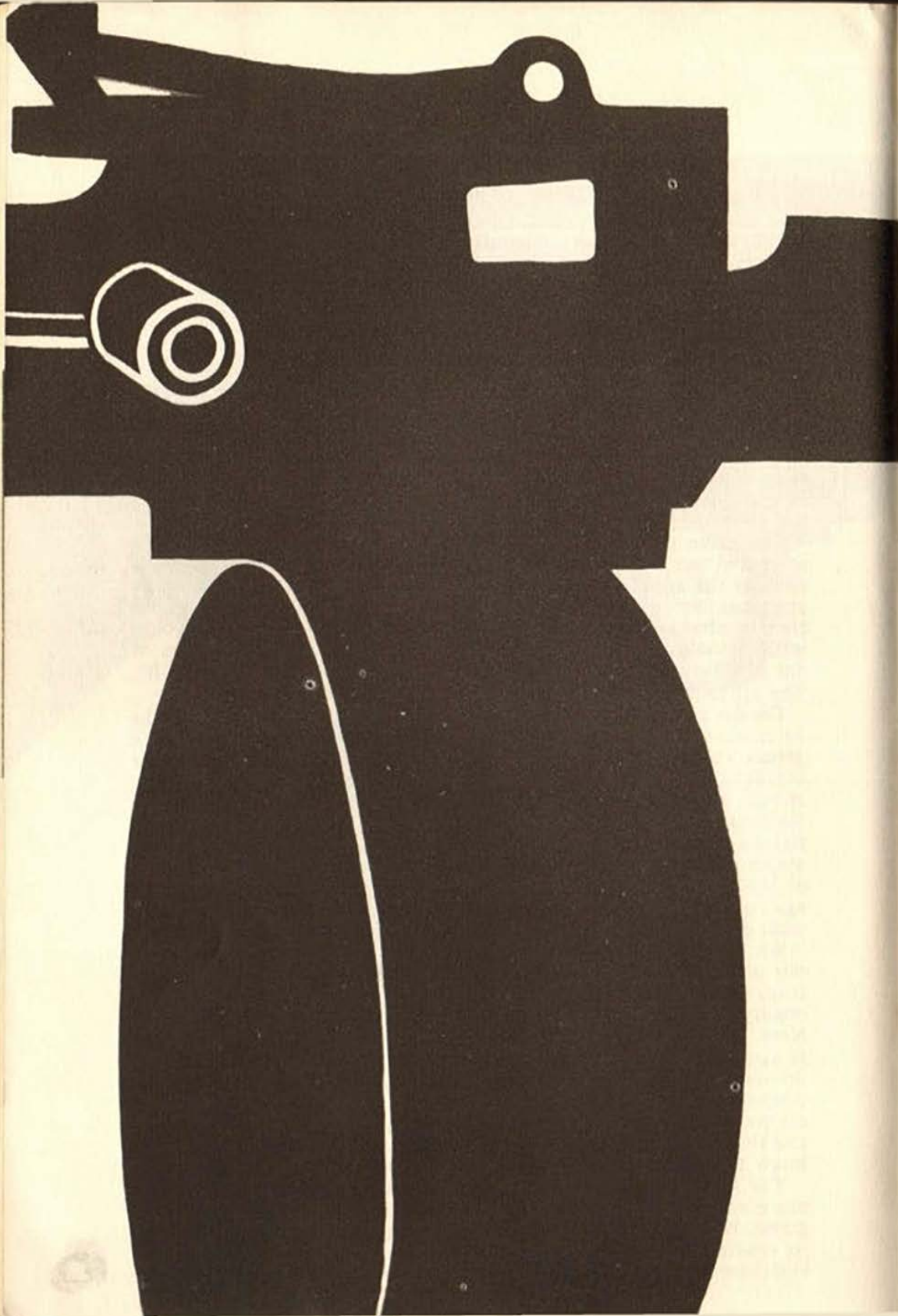
We have organized our party in areas that are still occupied by the enemy. We work clandestinely there and in the Cape Verde Islands, from which we receive concrete information on the situation.

The same people in whom Spínola confides today he wants to seize and put in jail tomorrow, but he can't do it because it would destroy the apparent aspect of his policy. Some of those who make speeches, write us saying that they cannot do otherwise because they're afraid. I can also say that the small minority that works with Spínola, including those who accept being representatives of our people, are opportunists who are deceiving Spínola because he, like all imperialists and colonialists, doesn't know the Africans.

On the military question, the situation is well known today; the colonialists are doing everything with planes and helicopters. We attack the urban centers occupied by the colonialists and their barracks, and as is known, we have now liberated more than two thirds, practically three quarters of our territory. The United Nations mission, the special mission that visited the country, confirmed its concrete stability; that our people are sovereign in the major part of their territory. Now we are working for the election of the Popular Assembly, and despite all the Portuguese crimes against the population, we are developing our military action more each day against Portuguese camps, positions and transport.

We believe that we are now in a position to intensify and develop our action still further, whether from the position we occupy, or from the enemy's rear guard in the urban centers. There are many enemy planes; the North Americans are using many more in Viet Nam, but planes are not what win these wars. We are accustomed to airplanes that destroy the houses of the villages, but happily they do not destroy as many men as the Portuguese would like and our people reconstruct houses when they are destroyed. We ask, "Why do you do this if you know they're going to be destroyed again?" and they answer simply, "So that the Portuguese and the colonialists know that we are here, that this is our position."

The immediate perspective is to redouble the struggle each day more against the principal urban centers occupied by the Portuguese. We are doing that and we are going to do it more all the time to create total insecurity among the Portuguese where they are still based, and each day we are strengthening the capacity of our



local armed forces more to defend our liberated areas against Portuguese terrorist assaults.

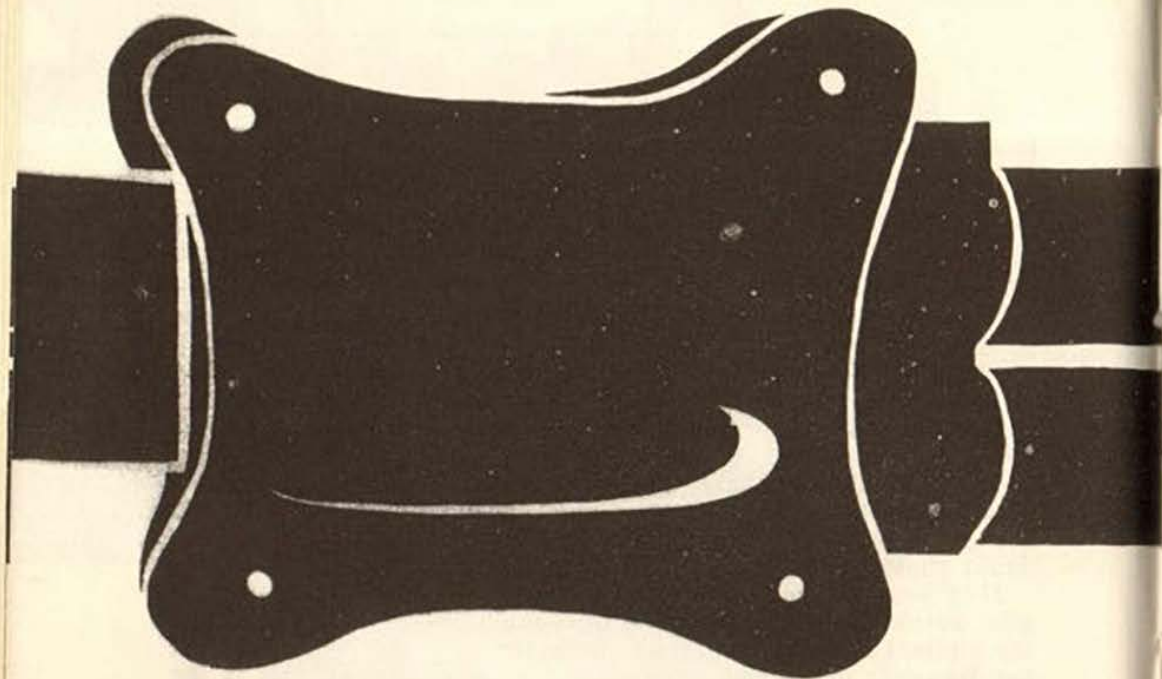
Can you wage the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau and at the same time prevent the preparation of new invasions against Guinea from Guinea-Bissau territory?

The Portuguese were and are cowards who did not have the guts to say that my country had served as a base for the preparation of the aggression. They didn't have the guts to say that they themselves were the direct aggressors in imperialism's service.

The fact that the preparations were made in my country could never indicate that our struggle lacks the real level it has, because we have always said that we do not control the cities. Precisely, the preparations were made in Bissau, in Bulema and in the Bisagos Islands, particularly on the island of Soga. There is no doubt that the Portuguese participated.

They were publicly taken prisoner and the names of the persons who participated in the operation were released. We know and are vigilant because the preparations for new aggressions against the Republic of Guinea are continuing. Even though this is the case almost every day, there has to be a distinction made between the small aggressions and the big ones on the style of the November 1970 aggression, because almost every day the Portuguese fire shells and cannon against the Republic of Guinea. Sometimes they bomb it; today with the complicity of certain African traitors they send people to plant mines on the Guinean highway just as they did in Senegal. We consider that all of this is proof of the desperation of the Portuguese in our country. The participation of the Portuguese as a bridgehead in the imperialist aggression against Guinea was motivated by the great hope of the Portuguese and of imperialism to liquidate the regime of Sékou Touré, and also Amílcar Cabral.

To change the regime in Guinea meant stopping all possibility of aid to the struggle in my country, but the fact that the Portuguese took the sea road is the clearest proof that they lack adequate mobility on land; they only planned to send land troops through Kundara because they knew they couldn't get through any other way, but they didn't know that they couldn't go back through Kundara after taking Conakry. When they were defeated, they made the attack through Kundara as a desperate act, but the Portuguese know very well that it is most difficult to get into Guinea across our country's border since we are vigilant. When a column of tanks and armed trucks and mercenaries left the fortified camp of Picho for the frontier to cross over into the Republic of Guinea, we destroyed all of them and we even liquidated the Commander who was directing the Portuguese operation. Therefore, our conclusion is that if the struggle in my country represents a certain factor of insecurity for the neighboring countries and above all for the Republic of Guinea, it is also a security. We are ready for the Portuguese invasions if they didn't learn the lesson of November 22, 1970. For us it is more important to defend the sovereignty, the independence of Guinea



than to win our independence tomorrow. This is our position.

How does PAIGC view the visit of the official UN delegation?

The visit of the special mission of the United Nations, determined by the General Assembly and organized by the Decolonization Committee in answer to an invitation issued by our party, is a very important policy both on the national and international level. Our people appreciate and have been very enthusiastic about this visit because they know the importance it holds for the general situation, especially internationally.

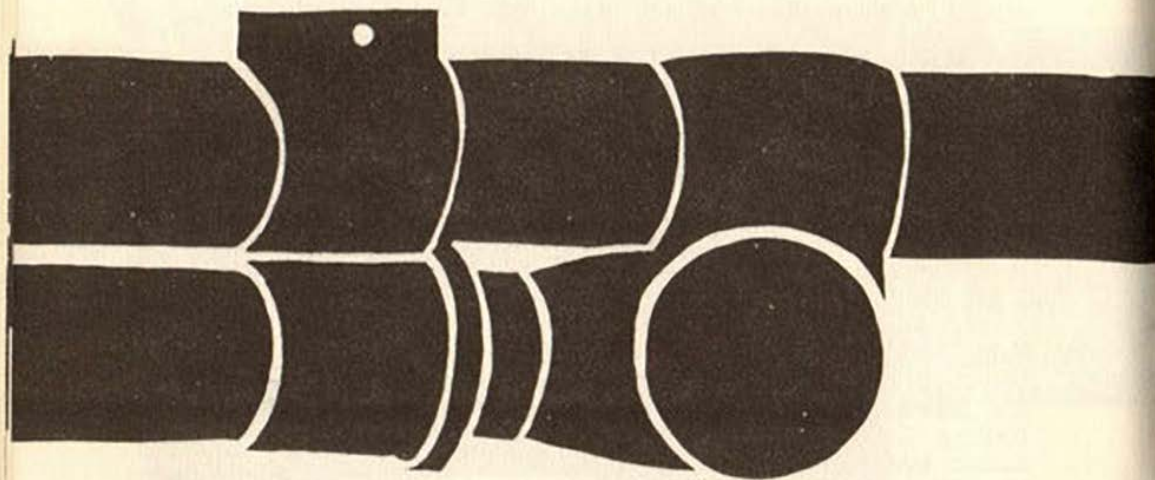
We consider that the great new and revolutionary aspect of the visit falls truly within the UN mark. Today, after this visit, the United Nations is something new.

We had received representatives of many countries in our country: Cubans, French, English, Soviets, North Americans, Swedish, Italians, Japanese, Chinese, other Latin Americans, people from almost every country. When we invited the UN to send a delegation to our country — an invitation repeated to the Security Council in Addis Ababa — we did not have as our intention proving the reality of our country, but rather basically, giving the UN one more action element against Portuguese imperialism and giving them the opportunity to see with their own eyes what the Portuguese do in our country against the African people, against our material bases and human lives; they saw this very clearly and at the same time, we hurled an open challenge against Portuguese colonialism.

The fact that the Portuguese knew all about the mission, which was no secret in the UN, represented a great danger for it but this was also a positive factor because the Portuguese did everything to prevent its success diplomatically and militarily.

About a month ago, the Portuguese Minister of Overseas Territories came to receive as prisoners or as cadavers the members of the United Nations who visited us, and inaugurated his radio station of support, that we destroyed on May 6. It was a success and today the UN contains new factors for understanding the situation in my country, and when one says UN one means the overall international community and, individually, each country representing Latin America (which headed the mission), Africa, Asia and Europe.

We know that it is not the visit of the UN that is going to determine the question of my country, but rather the struggle of our people. But we also know consciously that these new factors in the hands of the UN can clarify our people's march toward their liberation, and we are convinced that today each country can judge the situation better and take a position. In the Committee on Decolonization, there has been total unity, the very acclamation of the resolution concerning the recognition of the fact that our party PAIGC is the only and legitimate representative of our people in Guinea and Cape Verde; for us this is the most important step and when the moment to proclaim a new situation arrives in our country, we will not lose the opportunity to recognize it because we asked no one's opinion to begin the struggle. But we



are convinced that the majority of the international community will know at the appropriate moment how to view the situation in the country correctly and take the proper position with respect to our struggle.

What is your opinion concerning the political and ideological results of Fidel Castro's visit to Guinea?

Comrade Fidel Castro's visit to Guinea with the Cuban delegation was a great victory for all the world revolutionary forces, and particularly for the people who fight imperialism.

For us it represents not only the reality of the Cuban Revolution and of the struggle of the Latin-American peoples against imperialism and for true national independence and progress, but also a symbol, because for us Cuba, despite the fact that it is in the Caribbean — for its history and blood, for its struggle and the common objectives we seek — is an island of Africa.

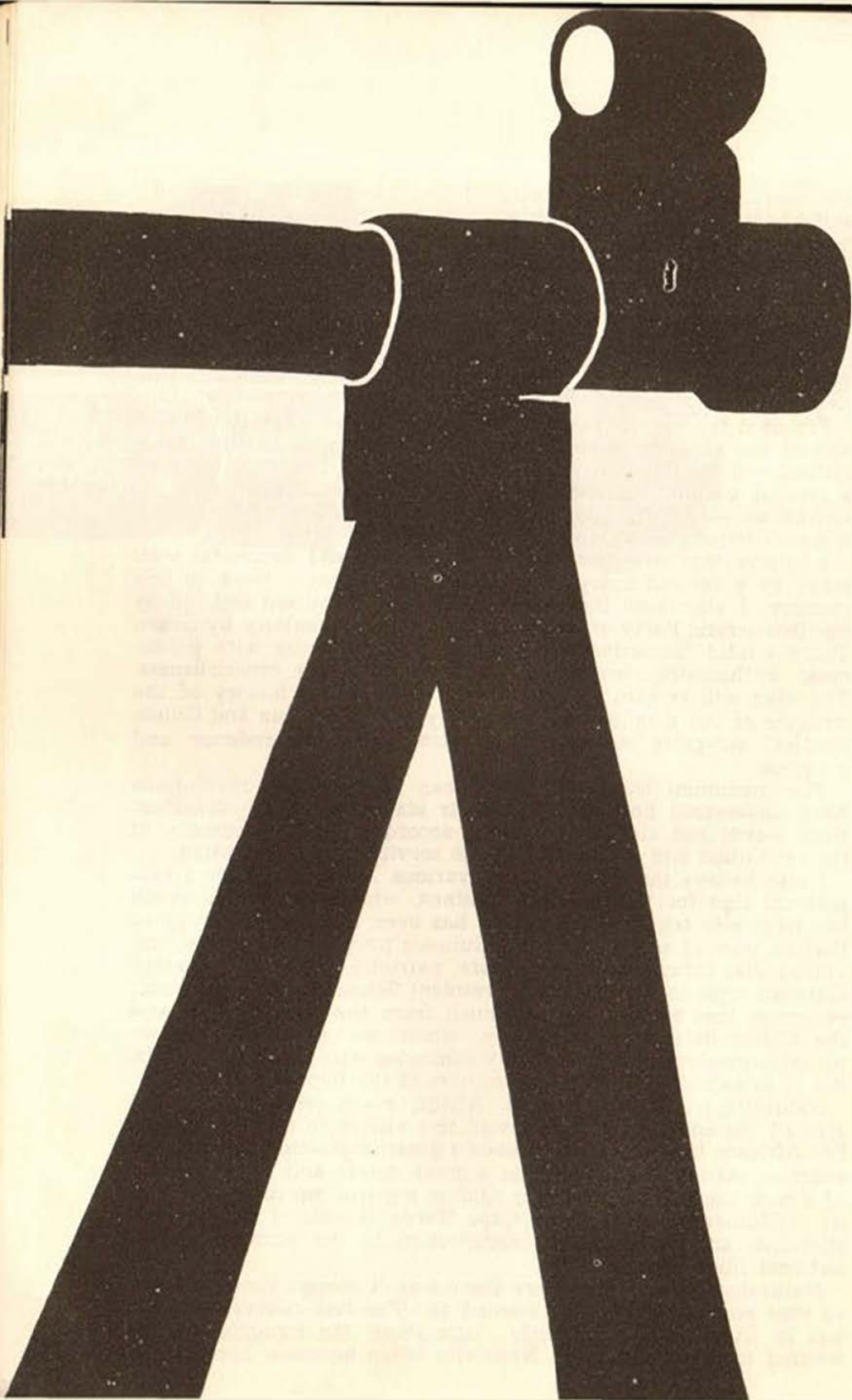
I believe that it is the most extraordinary and successful visit made by a revolutionary, a governmental or party head, to this country. I also think the people of Guinea, mobilized and led by the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) and particularly by Sékou Touré, outdid themselves to receive a visiting leader with politeness, enthusiasm, brotherhood and revolutionary consciousness. The visit will remain as an essential deed in the history of the struggle of our people and particularly of the African and Cuban peoples' struggles against imperialism, for independence and progress.

The maximum leaders of the Cuban and Guinean revolutions have understood how to orient their statements, their speeches, their words and also their actions according to the necessity of the revolution and exclusively in the service of the revolution.

I also believe that this visit, on various levels, has been a real political sign for the people of Guinea, who have learned much but have also taught much. Fidel has been the first to recognize that he learned much from the Guinean people and we are convinced that today there is no aware, patriotic, truly revolutionary Guinean loyal to the PDG and President Sékou Touré who doesn't recognize that he also learned much from the visit of Fidel and the Cuban delegation. Naturally, when we say Guinean, we include ourselves also because my comrades who attended the acts, did so in solidarity with their brothers of the Republic of Guinea.

Naturally we believe that all Africa, every revolutionary, but also all the enemies, have followed this visit with much attention. For Africans in general, it has been a great inspiration; for Africa's enemies, African or not, it was a great defeat and the beginning of a new stage in the struggle against imperialism in Africa. For us in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, it was a great stimulus, an extraordinary contribution to the advance of our national liberation struggle.

Naturally, we are very sorry there wasn't enough time for Fidel to visit our country as he wanted to. The last conversation we had in Cuba, he was so enthusiastic about the struggle that he wanted to come and visit. Naturally when he came here to the



Republic of Guinea, one of his desires was to go there, but on the one hand, the short time he had and, on the other, the responsibility this implied, made it impossible. But it is as if he had come, for our combatants followed the visit carefully by radio and from the communications we ourselves supplied, and we are convinced that it represented an important contribution to our struggle. The Portuguese are not pleased about it, it would be absurd if they were; but our people are content and when the enemy isn't it's a good sign.

It is particularly important that our party was mentioned in the final communiqué. We interpret this as one more proof of the combative solidarity of comrades Fidel Castro and Sékou Touré with our people, our struggle and our party, and also proof of the confidence in the leaders of the party. But it is also testimony that this confidence means increasingly greater responsibilities for us.

From the ideological point of view, Fidel's visit to Guinea brought something new, because if Fidel has known how to orient his people ideologically to the victory of the Cuban revolution, and if Sékou Touré in Guinea has known how to orient his people to the victory of the Guinean revolution, the two together represent a much greater force, much more ideological power; and whoever has followed their speeches, their declarations, etc., has been able to comprehend how much this ideological reinforcement has really meant for both. I believe and hope, in the name of all the fighting comrades of our party, that this visit marks a new stage in relations between Guinea and Cuba, between Cuba and Africa in general; that relations between Cuba and Guinea, the fighting solidarity, the disposition to serve each other mutually, will become stronger as the days go by, which will contribute to the acceleration of the victory of the African liberation movements against colonialism and to that of the African peoples against neocolonialism.

We consider that the final communiqué published after the visit will go down in the annals of international relations between peoples, states, parties, revolutions, as a unique, historic and singular document. Never have we had the opportunity to see a document that so purely reflects the character, the sincerity, the commitment to the revolution of all revolutionaries; never have I seen expressed in a document such identification of points of view in the sense of really serving the interests of the people, and never have I seen a document so free of protocol. It is a document of two true fighters in which the essential problems of the moment in their countries and the world in general, the struggle against imperialism, have been touched upon and have served to inspire all those who are truly interested in the fight without truce against imperialism.

This visit was made at a very opportune and very important and decisive moment in the history of the Guinean revolution and also the Cuban revolution. We will follow with the greatest possible attention what happens in Cuba and in Guinea because the struggle is a common one.