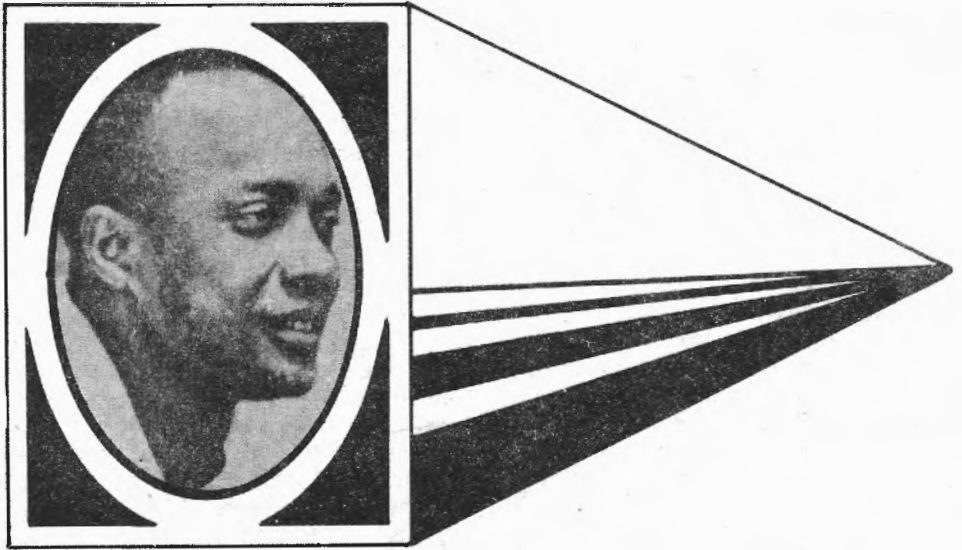


**Tricontinental
on the march**



PAIGC: Optimistic and Fighter

Amilcar Cabral

A delegation of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) recently visited OSPAAAL headquarters. The group was led by Amilcar Cabral and included comrades Chico Mendes, member of the Council of War of the PAIGC; Pascual Alves, member of the Higher Council of Struggle, and Alexandro Nunes, delegate of the PAIGC in Cuba.

In the presence of the members of the organization's Executive Secretariat, comrade Amilcar Cabral briefly reviewed the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the three continents, especially the struggle being waged by the people of so-called Portuguese Guinea. Considering its importance, **Tricontinental** presents Comrade Cabral's report in full.

WITH a few exceptions, efforts aimed at uniting the revolutionary forces throughout the world following the First Tricontinental Conference were unsuccessful. This is unfortunate, but should not lead to a feeling of hopelessness, because in Africa — as in Asia and Latin America — the peoples continue their struggle and it is precisely on the basis of that struggle that we can achieve unity. As far as we are concerned, the main thing is not to confuse the strategy of state... strategy and tactics. Every liberation movement, every organization that claims to be anti-imperialist, must be held fully responsible for its actions. Moreover, we must understand that every state constituted following a national liberation struggle must arise out of an anti-imperialist movement, out of a national liberation movement, or else it will be betrayed.

Within the general framework of the struggle for national liberation, another very important aspect is the capacity to establish priorities in the struggle. Struggles are being waged in the Asian, African and American continents, and it is imperative that we realize where conditions which take precedence exist as compared to other situations. And we must all decide together which party is to be given priority, since analysis will reveal where one solution might, in turn, bring about other solutions. We are not at all pessimistic. To the contrary, we are optimistic because we are fighters and, therefore, we are fighters because we are optimistic. In general, despite all the difficulties and despite all the contradictions, the liberation movement is going well.

Successes and Contradictions

Obviously, we cannot hide the contradictions that exist within the anti-imperialist forces, within the movements of national liberation themselves. Although the imperialists are on the lookout always for whatever advantage they can take of a situation it is nonetheless true that they realize the range of their action is decreasing while that of the liberation movements increases daily. In fact, even when it appears that the imperialists are carrying out their actions, they are accomplishing nothing but to go deeper into an abyss of destruction. We recall, principally, the position of the imperialists in Asia, where the extraordinary victories scored by the people of Viet Nam

— “North” or “South” is unimportant, since we only recognize one Viet Nam — have forced the imperialists to extend their radius of action. More important, these victories have led to the unification of the anti-imperialist front. Today, the peoples of Laos and Cambodia are united with the people of Viet Nam in their struggle against imperialism.

We are absolutely convinced that this extension of the imperialist front in Indochina and the response of the Indochinese people united against imperialism make things increasingly difficult for the imperialists and will lead to a clearer definition of the position of Asian forces.

One of the great victories of the Vietnamese people is that despite all the crimes perpetrated against both the North and the South, the people of Viet Nam remain firm in their struggle and are forcing the imperialists to make more mistakes. Without doubt, the strong position taken by the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has contributed a great deal to the creation of this new situation.

In the Middle East, we see how each day further clarifies the situation as a result of the fierce struggle put up by the people of Palestine — we believe that this struggle is the essential element in the Middle East. And we must say that whatever the circumstances, whether in the near or distant future, it will be impossible to break through the Palestinian resistance and this resistance constitutes a fundamental element in the people's struggle against imperialism.

As for Latin America: since 1967 when I was here with you, we have lived through much, and it would be impossible for me, both as an individual and as a representative of my party, not to pay the greatest tribute to the man who is the best example of the anti-imperialist struggle — Comandante Che Guevara. In my country we were deeply grieved by the loss of Comandante Che Guevara, our comrade in struggle, our example and inspiration, but we must not ignore the series of circumstances that led to his death. The one thing that gives us added strength and encourages us in our struggle is to know that the most beloved friends of Che Guevara, our Cuban brothers, are the first to take such circumstances into consideration and come to their own conclusions.

Currently, an important phenomenon exists in Latin America. I am speaking of the development of guerrilla action in the cities. We have seen how the guerrilla struggle developed in the three continents, especially in the rural zones. In Viet Nam, we saw extraordinary actions carried out in the cities and we know how much effort and sacrifice was involved in these successes. But in terms of the concrete conditions that exist in Latin America and in the face of a sure success scored by the fighters in the cities, it is still worthwhile asking to what extent the unusual development of the struggle in the urban zones meets the needs of the struggle. I am simply asking, not making a statement. I begin by admitting the existence of enormous possibilities for urban struggle within the actual conditions of

each different country.

We are familiar with Marighella's viewpoint on this matter — that is, that the struggle extend from the cities to the countryside instead of the reverse. We think that each situation has its own solution and we don't intend to rely too much on solutions found for other particular situations. We must respect the highest principle in the struggle for national liberation — that is, we must take into account the experiences of others and then create according to our own conditions. We believe that many things can be done in Latin America to enrich the experiences of the struggle of the anti-imperialist peoples.

The Situation in Africa

With regard to Africa, it must be said that, in general, the struggle against imperialism has met defeats. Some countries have been able to wage an anti-imperialist resistance — for example, the Republic of Guinea — but clearly the great majority of African countries are, in one way or another, under imperialist domination.

We have the greatest respect for the African heads of State. We fully realize the efforts made by some of them to free their countries. However facts are facts, and the truth is that a large number of African countries are still under the yoke of imperialism to some extent.

We think that, in the general framework of Africa, the armed struggle of the people of the Portuguese colonies is essential. We appreciate very much the effort

made by our brothers in South Africa to develop their own struggle, but we believe that the situation already created in the Portuguese colonies demands special attention. Our comrades in Angola and Mozambique have encountered many difficulties but the armed struggle continues to develop. Large zones have been freed and the forces of liberation grow stronger every day despite the efforts of the Portuguese colonialists to destroy them.

Simultaneously with the armed struggle, the political struggle marches ahead in the Portuguese colonies and this, despite the ever-present support given to the colonialists by NATO member countries, particularly the US, the German Federal Republic and France.

In our country, as you all know, we continue our struggle against an enemy stubbornly bent on remaining on our soil not for economic exploitation — they are not taking a single thing from us now — but rather on principle and to avoid setting a contrary precedent.

In Guinea, nowadays, the Portuguese colonialists draw further away from the urban areas while our national forces and our armed forces come closer day by day. Our actions against urban centers are being carried out without interruption.

Struggle in Guinea-Bissau

I want to present a report to the Secretariat on our struggle, to sum up the key aspects. Portuguese action in the field is practically nonexistent. They are making des-

perate efforts to start combined operations, especially by means of helicopters, but so far we have defeated all of them. The main feature of the Portuguese operations is heavy bombing of the civilian population in the liberated areas. The Portuguese had counted on being able to destroy our bases with bombing attacks, but have found that there are no bases in our country. We have eliminated the permanent bases because our country is too small — a plane which takes off from Bissau can cover the whole country in an hour. Our country is not Angola or China. We must take precautionary measures in keeping with our situation. We have eliminated the bases; our fighters are always in motion. Under these conditions it is impossible for the Portuguese colonialists to strike military blows against us so they try to strike at the population of the liberated areas.

As I said, our attacks against the urban centers are constantly increasing. The only city which hasn't been attacked yet is Bissau but the Bissau airport, which is about seven miles from the capital, has already been attacked. The reason we don't attack Bissau more often is that Bissau is located on an island. After we attacked the airport the Portuguese took defensive measures on the island and placed barriers to keep us from approaching the capital. This presented a serious obstacle to actions in the capital, but we think we can overcome the problems — on the one hand, by improving and developing our activity in the city itself through the Party militants working there, and by looking for other ways to

break through with our outside forces

Cape Verde

We should say a few words about the situation of the Cape Verde islands. Since 1967 the political situation there has greatly improved, the organization of the Party has made great strides the situation in the countryside has improved and we can guarantee continuous activity on the part of our comrades who work among the farmers, the most important sector in the struggle there. Last year several countrymen were arrested by the Portuguese colonialists, tried and sentenced to long years in prison, but instead of weakening the struggle the incident resulted in a new burst of nationalism and party spirit.

We are preparing to unleash the struggle in all its forms on the islands of Cape Verde. We are aware of the difficulties we will have to face, but we are determined to advance and, necessarily, we must increase the scope of the battle.

The situation has improved in the last few months. We have increased our capability for attacking enemy bases. In the world and in Africa there are some independent states which aren't as free as we are. We have improved our methods of attack against the urban centers by using mortars, cannons and other even more developed weapons.

The Portuguese have no security anywhere. On the night of June 12-13 we attacked the urban center of Pirada, located in the northern part of the country. After the artil-

lery attack we advanced with our infantry. This resulted in a Portuguese complaint against us in the United Nations, in which they accused us of having attacked with Senegalese artillery. The comrade from Guinea who is here knows that the Senegalese have nothing to do with all this.

We must do our best to improve this situation even more. At this stage, the liberation struggle has freed a large portion of the country. The enemy holds the urban centers — if we don't do more, this situation could go on forever, which would be very dangerous. We need new ideas and initiative, and we must start acting in the very heart of the urban centers. We must harass, and strike ever stronger blows in order to create a totally insecure situation in the urban areas.

Surely you are aware of our position; we continue building a new life in the liberated areas; we have strengthened the political, administrative, social and cultural organization of the liberated areas; we have successfully withstood the enemy policy of smiles and blood which seeks to demobilize / immobilize our population. The outlook is for a continuation of the struggle in all necessary ways, without underestimating the importance of international political struggle.

The Rome Conference ¹

We were very successful at the Conference of Solidarity with the

¹ See General Declaration at end of this summary. (Ed. note)

struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, which was held in Rome. We are determined to continue making the greatest possible use of the others' experiences but at the same time doing everything possible to create our own conditions, with the absolute conviction that the day is not far off when we shall throw the Portuguese colonialists out of our country.

We have talked of our own sacrifices and efforts, but we have also received the aid of our comrades in struggle all over the world. The Rome Conference exemplifies the international scope of our struggle. One of the most important features of the event was that it was held in a capitalist country which belongs to NATO — in fact, the conference took place in the same hall where the NATO Council last met. This was a great political victory.

Our objective at the conference was to mobilize anticolonialist public opinion in Western Europe against Portuguese colonialism. One hundred seventy-seven organizations representing 74 countries took part in the event. All the nations of Western Europe, including Portugal, were present. All political tendencies were represented and we were able to establish the basis for a platform of support for the Portuguese colonies.

The conference was very important in the development of political action to isolate the Portuguese even more and to cut off the aid they receive from their allies. The subject of material aid for our

people was also discussed. The practical results of these decisions remain to be seen, but we are convinced that important progress has been made and that concrete action along these lines will be carried out. Europeans have already demonstrated against Portuguese colonialism, and in Portugal itself, the people are more determined than ever to act against the colonial war. I should point out that representatives of five Portuguese organizations attended the conference and we got them to speak as a single voice, which is very difficult.

The conference closed on a golden note with the papal audience, in spite of the fact that we aren't Catholics. This had a great impact on Portuguese Catholics, colonialists and anticolonialists alike, and was especially helpful in informing people throughout the world about our struggle.

One thing we are especially happy about is the fact that for the first time in an event of this kind the African states were well represented: Guinea had the largest delegation with two State Secretaries in attendance, but other countries also sent high-level delegations and we received messages from some of the most important African heads of State, not to mention leaders from all over the world who sent messages to the conference.

In no way do we intend to minimize the armed struggle and we will continue to learn as much as possible from the people of Viet Nam and their organizations. But our struggle is basically a political one and as such, the conference in Rome was a great political victory.

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE ROME CONFERENCE

ONE OF the essential characteristics of the history of our times is the vigorous development of national liberation struggles which have been transformed for many countries into independence and the regaining of dignity for hundreds of millions of men and women in Africa and elsewhere. Portuguese colonialism, which refuses decolonization and conducts genocidal wars against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, is manifestly a crime against humanity. To dominate and exploit the peoples and riches of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé, it has resorted above all to repressive actions. It has instituted forced labor, the compulsory export of workers, a system of obligatory cultivation of certain crops solely for its own profit and that of the companies.

Every time these peoples attempted to express, even by peaceful means, their rejection of the brutal exploitation which was enslaving them, the Portuguese colonialists in cold blood resorted to massacres.

That is why, in fully assuming their national and historic responsibilities, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC led their peoples along the only road which could bring them freedom and independence: armed national liberation struggle. In developing the popular fight towards victory, in identifying them-

selves with the interests of their peoples, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC are confirmed as the true representatives of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde. Their activities can be seen in the destruction of the structures of domination, new and traditional, and in the establishment of a new and popular social order.

In order to oppose this situation, the colonialists of Lisbon are facilitating penetration of powerful economic interests of imperialist powers to ensure that these interests should consider their fate as linked to that of Portuguese domination. They become defenders of the cause of Portugal's colonialism, expressing themselves through the policies of their governments, and thus create conditions for an increasing internationalization of the confrontation.

The direct and massive aid from NATO — not to speak of the military and economic support Lisbon receives from the governments of the United States, West Germany, Britain and France — is a decisive factor in Portugal's ability to continue her colonial wars. The governments of member states of NATO must dissociate themselves from this crime, isolating Portugal at both political and military levels and firmly condemning this colonial war. It must also be underlined that Portugal's grand design is strengthened by the racist and colonial alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

In spite of the assistance and the collaboration which she enjoys, Portugal cannot control the situation, so that her allies have been led to consider the use of South African troops and material in Angola and Mozambique. The struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies becomes in this

context a vital contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa, and to the cause that applies to all humanity — national independence and human dignity.

At the same time, the activities of democratic and progressive forces towards these objectives, and in particular the development of the anticolonialist movement in Portugal and the other liberation struggles in Africa, and throughout the world, are an important and necessary factor for the cause of the Portuguese colonies. On this we must state that the successes already won by the peoples of Angola, Guinea, the Cape Verde islands and Mozambique, while being the result of the efforts and sacrifices of these peoples in their fierce struggle, are also owed to the active solidarity of the independent countries of Africa, of the socialist countries, of the nonaligned countries, and of democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

For the first time delegates from 64 countries, representing 177 national and international organizations, have met in Europe to study and decide upon ways of developing political, moral and material solidarity with the struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

This solidarity must be translated into urgent and immediate actions, the nature of which will be decided by the evolution of the situation in each country and taking into consideration their specific conditions. They must first be concerned with forcing Portugal to grant immediate and total independence to these peoples, who already have sovereignty over large areas of territory administered in Angola by MPLA, in Guinea by PAIGC and in Mozambique by FRELIMO.

To achieve this, we must increase the isolation of the Portuguese colonialists by exposing the massive support they receive from the NATO alliance in general, and in particular from the United States, West Germany, Great Britain and France. This must also be undertaken with regard to all the national and international economic and financial institutions that provide Portugal with the necessary means for continuing her aggression.

We must also, especially through mass popular action, prevent the countries linked with colonialist Portugal from committing themselves to a new phase of armed intervention to replace the failure of their political and military strategies.

Finally, our activities must concretely support the efforts towards liberation and national reconstruction made by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, whom the Conference considers as holding effective power in their countries, on the basis of the law of their peoples. This new legal situation must be recognized internationally.

In this tenth anniversary year of the United Nations Declaration on the right to independence of the colonized peoples, and on the threshold of the tenth anniversary of the launching of the armed national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, the Rome Conference reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde islands, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe islands and calls on all countries, governments, national and international organizations and on all men of good will, to accomplish these inspiring tasks.

The people of the Portuguese colonies will win!

Portuguese colonialism will disappear!