

the
struggle
has
taken
root



Tricontinental publishes the press conference which Amilcar Cabral, martyr of the African Independence, held in Conakry on September of 1972, after the conclusion of a Week of Information to divulge the life and the struggle in Guinea Bissau.

EVERYONE was aware of the famous call of the Portuguese government to the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese government offers "the peace of the generous" to fighters of the Portuguese colonies. This is nothing new at all since throughout the course of liberation wars, governments have offered fighters the peace of the generous.

Whoever has carefully followed the position of the Portuguese government will certainly have observed that a very short time ago the fighters of the Portuguese colonies and particularly those in our country were considered big bandits, criminal people whom it was necessary to punish as severely as possible. The Portuguese government has moved from this only because it finds itself cut off.

Today is not yesterday. Our situation is different since the UN, through the Committee on Decolonization, and after a special mission to our country, proclaimed that PAIGC is the only and legitimate representative of our people, and oriented all States, all organizations, all persons who wish to handle any problem relating to our people to go to PAIGC as their only representative. From that moment on Sr. Caetano or any other spokesman of the Portuguese government no longer had the right to speak in the name of our people.

Unfortunately international information and press are dominated by forces that are not favorable to the people's liberation struggle. Even in Africa information comes solely from imperialist sources. We have asked for greater publicity within the UN and we consider that the results are small compared to our desires. We know that the members of the mission have made a lot of noise in the UN about this but, with certain exceptions, the international press and radio have not given the necessary publicity to this event; what they have noted are the lying declaration of the Portuguese colonialists who pretend that PAIGC confused the members of the mission by taking them through cities of the Republic of Guinea under Portuguese bombs. The Portuguese have said repeatedly that the mission did not visit the south of my country, but the mission described in a very detailed manner its visit to a school in the south of my country. A few days ago, the Portuguese bombed that school; they assaulted it with 12 helicopters and they weren't satisfied until they had attacked that precise boarding school because it had been visited by the mission. We denounced this fact before the United Nations and have received a cable from the President of the Committee of Investigations which says that our communique



was considered an official document and that they are going to take all measures to denounce this crime by the Portuguese colonialists. This will not prevent us from continuing; we will make another boarding school and keep on educating the children.

As for the resolution, it depends on the activity of men whether resolutions have value, whether they are good or bad. Everywhere we have gone, and in different areas, we have confirmed that it has been taken very seriously, first of all by the Portuguese themselves. It opens new perspectives for our own action and we are determined to act, for to a certain extent it will depend on us to maintain its character. It will also depend on our African friends and on all our friends in the rest of the world.

The International Labor Organization took a firm position against Portuguese colonialism and in favor of our struggle and in its last meeting, agreed that we it. This is also a political victory of great importance. We will try to develop our relations with the FAO and WHO and we can move forward since there is good will toward our demands on the part of these organizations.

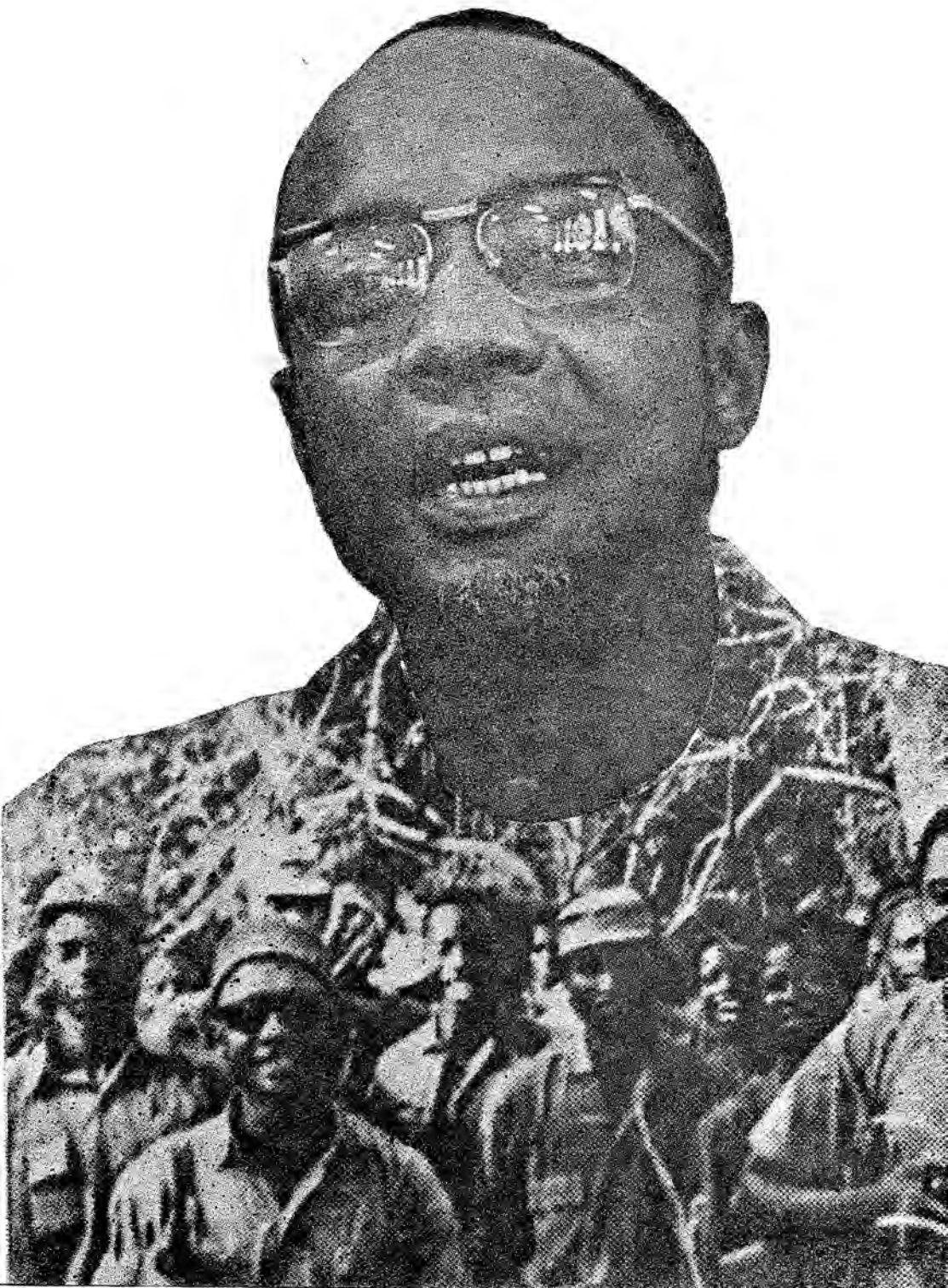
The voice of Portugal inside the United Nations is actually very weak. It is enough to follow the voting to see how Portugal was beaten in a most shameful way and how only the racists vote for Portugal. Portugal's allies abstain when the moment comes to take important decisions, as for example was the case during the Security Council meetings in Addis Ababa.

As far as the OAU is concerned, we have always said that we consider the

aid it provides us through the Council of African Liberation to be very useful, but we consider that it is far from matching the needs of our present struggle. We hope that after the Rabat Conference, with the 50% increase in the budget for the African liberation fund, and above all with other contributions that can increase those funds substantially, the OAU will be in a position to provide us with more effective aid. We also hope that OAU aid will not exclude bilateral aid from African countries directly to our party, as occurred with some international progressive organizations.

We also feel very elated by the aid that Sweden has decided to give us. In three years, its aid to our party and our people — not military but humanitarian — has multiplied in accelerated form, with articles of primary necessity for supply to the liberated region. This is very important for us, as is the position of other Scandinavian countries. We have just received a letter from the Norwegian Foreign Relations Minister who announced aid of a million crowns in articles of prime necessity, and Denmark is going to help us in public health and other fields. The Finnish friends have just sent a memorandum to their government in which they urge that it agree to aid our party and other liberation movements. Last year we visited Finland where our liberation movement was received by the President of the Republic.

Other organizations help us, including support committees created in countries allied with Portugal, such as England, France, Holland, Belgium, which issue a great deal of propaganda in favor of our struggle. Despite the fact that we are prohibited from going to France,



there are French who send us fresh blood every two weeks. There are organizations such as the World Council of Churches; the Ranken Trust Social Service of England; the Conference of African Churches and other organizations that provide aid to us. Naturally, we have the support of the mass international organizations but it is political above all and we appreciate it very much.

We have always affirmed that aid from the socialist states is an important factor in our struggle.

We have issued an appeal in Rabat to all the governments of the NATO countries, and Portugal's allies in general, begging them to halt their aid to Portugal in all fields, since all serve the war when one is at war. We have said frankly that we cannot confuse Portuguese colonialism and Portugal's allies. But it is also necessary that these governments should be capable of understanding that the African peoples are not obliged to believe that they can be friends of Africa when they provide aid in arms, money and all means to the worst enemy of Africa, Portuguese colonialism. We consequently want to see these countries separate themselves from the government of Portugal and stop providing it with aid which serves to carry out the war against the African countries.

The walking cadaver

The whole world is aware that the Portuguese government is not able to carry out three colonial wars on the African continent and engage in repeated aggressions against the African countries. This very serious aspect was demonstrated on November 22, 1970, against the Re-

public of Guinea. It would not be able to engage in its criminal policy against the African peoples if it did not have the strongest, most effective and constantly more developed aid of its NATO allies. The aid provided by NATO is no secret to anyone, nor that Portugal uses and abuses it. Señor Caetano has repeated on various occasions in his speeches that he didn't know how to find the money to meet the increasing expenses of the war. Only the disingenuous can believe that with a loan of \$500 000 000 — even if given under the guise of a loan for economic-social-cultural purposes — this bellicose government is not going to use it to unfold the war. If Portugal continues the war it is because its allies, especially those in NATO, provide it with substantial and increasingly developed aid.

Youth who represent the people of Portugal have carried out armed actions against the colonial government. Portuguese youth is increasingly opposed to the colonial war, deserts the ranks of the colonial army in masses. France now has the largest Portuguese colony because there are 600 000 Portuguese there, more than all the Portuguese colonists in the colonies. What is the reason? Lack of work in Portugal, the misery that Portugal has always suffered but suffers more today, especially the colonial war that forces families to mortgage their goods to send their children out of the country and avoid a useless and inglorious death on African soil.

We consider that an important reason for the Portuguese government's peace offer to the fighters for African freedom is the fact that they are deeply interested in becoming a part of the European Com-



mon Market. There have been very great obstacles to their attempt. One is that the countries of the ECM recognize that, with three colonial wars on the African continent, a population that is decreasing rather than increasing, it is not possible for Portugal to be a valid element in the ECM, much less when the whole world knows that it is an underdeveloped country and the most backward one in Europe. Meanwhile, Caetano believes in the magic of words and pretends that there is no war in our countries, in order to confuse the partisans of the ECM. Now he announces he is going to release 15 000 prisoners from the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies. As a Portuguese refrain says: "It's easier to discover a liar than a cripple".

Our internal advances. The frontier aid

We ardently hope that the members of the ICM respect the principles that serve as the basis of their organization and do not admit Portugal, aggressive country in Africa. We raise this problem on a basis of material interest, because it offers no value to the ECM as an associate.

While Sr. Caetano was making his speech trying to confuse his allies once more, our people in the liberated regions were holding elections for the regional councils and our first People's National Assembly. In the majority of sectors of the liberated zones these elections have been held and we even have the results from the majority of them and we will make them public at the opportune time,

when we have completed elections for the People's National Assembly.

The creation of our People's National Assembly represents the culmination of the development of an essential stage of our people's sovereignty, of which the special mission of the United Nations had proof during the visit made last April. It is called upon to make very important decisions concerning our struggle and we hope to be able to hold a meeting of this Assembly before the end of this year.

We have the total support of all the independent African states, which have understood the significance of these initiatives, especially the creation of the regional councils and the People's National Assembly. Because of this, we have emerged from Rabat stronger because of the position concerning our party and our struggle adopted by heads of state and of government who offer proof of their desire to strengthen aid to the liberation movements and to do everything possible so that Africa may free itself as quickly as possible from the remains of colonial and racist domination that still exist.

In the present phase of the struggle we must act throughout the country. We are developing the clandestine organization of our party in the urban centers, we are preparing our military for new actions. We are carrying out an action in the very interior of those centers against Portuguese military society, against the agents of the Portuguese colonial class, the military, the police.

The population of the urban centers, especially in Bissau, is increasingly favorable to the liberation struggle and to our party. The youth are abandoning these centers to join the ranks of the struggle. The military governor of Bissau has threatened the populations of the urban centers in a radio address, telling them that he will ferociously repress all those who disturb the peace. He was the hangman of the Portuguese, of the Portuguese workers, when he was the adjutant director of the republican national guard; he was the assassin of thousands of Angolans when he was the commander of the Portuguese cavalry in Angola. In the Republic of Guinea and Senegal he has already provided proof of killing, but his threats have not held back events, and the guerrilla organization is stronger in the urban centers, and conditions for carrying out action in them are more favorable.

Our party has always operated so that the neighboring countries would be logistics bases, but not bases for stationing troops. We have always said this in relation to Guinea and, having overcome certain difficulties which we also understand completely, we now have this arrangement with Senegal also. Naturally the base is much deeper in Guinea than in Senegal but we believe that our duty is to rely on what each of our African brothers can provide and not on all that we would like them to give us. We are very satisfied to be able to use Guinea and Senegal as transit points for certain materials that are essential to

our struggle. Naturally each African country can also carry out the function of logistics base. We would once more like to pay homage to the determined action by the PDG in favor of our liberation struggle, the unconditional support of the entire Guinean people for our liberation fight against the fascist, colonialist, Portuguese hordes, and especially to the leader of the PDG, our brother and comrade, President Ahmed Sekou Touré. We also thank Senegal very much.

Our struggle within the anti-imperialist framework

Imperialism is one, therefore the struggle against it is one, and our people are aware of this, even the children.

We do not speak only of the common struggle of the peoples of Guinea, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, but of all Africa in general against imperialism, that of the Latin American patriots, of the people of Viet Nam, of the other peoples of Indochina, of all African peoples against colonialism and neocolonialism, of the exploited classes and foremost, those of Portugal, all are part of our own struggle.

We want all the world to be aware of this, so that all fronts of the struggle become stronger every day and so we all work together for the active unity of the anti-imperialist forces, since the imperialist enemy knows how to maintain his unity in confronting all those who want to free themselves.