



PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDENCIA DA GUINE E CABO VERDE

AHS

Speech delivered by the Secretary  
General of PAIGC, Amilcar CABRAL  
at 1632th. session of Security  
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The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank Mr. El-Bidewy for the kind words he reserved for me.

I now invite Mr. Amilcar Cabral to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CABRAL: Mr. President, before I begin my statement, I have the honour to convey brotherly greetings to you, and to wish you the greatest success in your task as President of the Security Council. I offer these greetings on behalf of my organisation. I should like to assure you, Sir, that for us in our country it is as if for this month our people themselves were placed at the head of the Security Council in the President's chair, because you are our brothers; we are companions, and we dream of the day when we can express the same feelings whoever may be presiding over the Security Council.

We feel greatly honoured and also very encouraged by this opportunity to be heard by the Security Council of the United Nations, but we also realize how much this signifies -- how much more responsibility for each as an individual, as a human being and as a fighter for the freedom of our African peoples. But we are also aware that this occasion, this opportunity; this event will represent much more responsibility for the Security Council itself, for after this meeting, as the poet would say, no one can say that the truth did not out.

We shall not repeat here what many other speakers have already said -- that this meeting of the Security Council in Africa is an historic event. We would rather say that it is a disturbing event. In fact, we are all disturbed, both our friends and our enemies, at the progress of the African peoples.

We have already had honour to speak a number of times in this same room, but today we do so under very different circumstances. ~~So~~ I may be allowed a comparison, we feel as we do when in our country we hunt in the sacred forest to contact the great all-powerful Spirit who, according to our moral philosophy, decrees and decides upon good and ill for both the

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individual and the community. We wonder whether the Security Council will be at the level of this humanity -- the great Spirit that synthesizes good and evil; if it is, this meeting is already a brilliant victory of good over evil.

That is why we should like to congratulate the Organisation of African Unity for its decision to request this meeting in Africa. We also congratulate the Security Council itself and, most particularly, the permanent members, for having agreed to this meeting. This event is not only evidence of an acute awareness of the increasing importance of the problems confronting Africa in respect of the destinies of mankind; it is also, perhaps, the dawn of a new area in the life of the Organization in the service of mankind. It is certainly proof that if principles are respected you, the members of the Security Council, are our companions in our struggle. We are and until victory is won will remain anonymous soldiers in the cause of the United Nations despite the fact that we have not been present in the Congo, nor in Cyprus, nor in the Middle East, and we have never worn blue helmets. Those who have not understood this fact -- our being anonymous soldiers of the United Nations -- have understood neither the principles of the United Nations itself nor the objectives of national liberation.

We are not here before the Council to accuse anyone; not even the particularly backward Portuguese colonialists. In fact, who is there today who does not know that the Portuguese colonialists have been committing abominable crimes against the African peoples in the name of Christian and Western civilization? Who does not know that the so-called multiracial society and the so-called reforms of Portuguese colonialism are nothing more than gross attempts to perpetuate the colonial exploitation of our peoples while seeking to camouflage primitive racism, which has always characterized the Portuguese presence in Africa? Suffice it to know something about the history of Portuguese colonialism and go back to the sinister days of General Espinola to know that it is characterized by crimes and constant contempt for the African man. Suffice it to recall that Salazar confirmed quite clearly that Africa does not exist. Suffice it to read the lessons of colonial law professed by Dr. Marcelo Caetano at the University of Lisbon who, on the basis of the arguments of Gobineau and the Nazi-Levy-Bruhl, shows that the black man is inferior to the Portuguese. Suffice it to read recent lectures of General Kauza D'Arriaga, given at the High Portuguese Command, concerning Portuguese strategy, in which he affirms that "the African peoples are the least intelligent of all the peoples in the world". Finally, suffice it to know the daily crimes perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialist troops who occupy our country against Africans in the colonial war.

This year we invited the General Assembly of the United Nations to send a delegation to examine the realities of our country. We have just heard the president of the liberation

committee, and we should like before the Council to give full support to his proposal concerning a visit of a Security Council delegation to our country.

For us, for our African people, the time of verbal accusations is long past. The time of pleading has also gone forever. Precisely because our people have understood how useless it is to make accusations, how vain their pleadings are, they have taken up weapons to contest the criminal violence of the Portuguese colonialists, to reap freedom from the colonialists yoke, to regain their independence and to recover their inalienable right to have their own history. despite the efforts and sacrifices that implies, that is what we are doing, and we have met with encouraging success. We shall continue until the final victory is won -- in the service of our people, of course, but also in the service of Africa and mankind as a whole, in the defence of the principles of the United Nations.

Nor are we here to accuse the allies of the Portuguese Government or to recall that the United Nations and the Security Council, were it not for limitations imposed by international contradictions, could have done a great deal more to liberate our peoples. That would neither be polite on our part nor accord with African traditions, which would have us embarrass no one. Who does not know that Portugal -- an underdeveloped country and the most backward in Europe -- would not be in a position to devote about 50 per cent of its annual budget to the colonial war and for years to wage three wars against the African peoples were it not for the aid of those allies? Who does not know that? Who does not know that Portugal, which does not even manufacture toy aeroplanes for its children, uses against us warplanes, helicopters, and the most modern of weapons, furnished by its allies?

Who does not know who Portugal's allies are apart from the South African racists? Who in all honesty can believe that the Portuguese Government, which respects neither the rules nor the principles of NATO, would have been able to leave the arms and weapons received from that organization to go rusty when it needs to repress our aspirations to freedom? Who could believe that the Portuguese Government is not going to make use of the millions it receives in financial aid in the continuation of the colonial war against the peoples of Africa, when Dr. Marcelo Caetano himself said in this statement that he needs money to pursue the war?

An elementary rule of public security requires that weapons not be given to criminals and to madmen, and it seems to us that that rule is fully applicable criminals. In view of that attitude it is no longer of interest for us to ask why the Portuguese allies aid the Portuguese Government. We know why. What is of interest now is to ask why the countries which

claim that they are champions of freedom, democracy and the progress of people and boast of it do not help us in our struggle for freedom, democracy and progress.

If the reply is the same and the reasons are the same, then two aspects become clear to us. First, the so-called adherence to principles is false and is designed only to deceive naive politicians. Among those who proclaim themselves to be the friends of Africa are some who are not our friends, but quite the contrary. We believe that the result of this session will help in a decisive fashion to understand this matter even better, despite our long experience of the question. For as one of the sayings of our people goes: whatever be the size of your hand, it will never manage to reach the sky.

Nor are we here -- and this is certainly going to surprise some of our African brothers -- to ask that Portugal should be expelled from the United Nations. First of all, we do not confuse the Portuguese nation with the Portuguese Government which is now in power, although it has been in power for almost half a century. Secondly, it appears to us that the interests of some members of the Security Council with respect to Portugal itself and the colonies would not enable them to support such a measure, and we wish very much to be realistic. Thirdly, we believe that such a measure would not be effective. Frankly, our purpose is not to liberate the United Nations from Portugal, but rather to liberate our African country from Portuguese colonial domination and to win our national and international sovereignty.

Moreover -- and this is another issue -- who does not know that the Portuguese Government is a fascist Government, an enemy of democracy and fundamental freedoms? Who does not know that the people of Portugal themselves do not enjoy the most elementary human rights? Who is unaware of the fact that the Portuguese Government does not respect the United Nations Charter and the principles of the United Nations and that it does not even respect the principles proclaimed in the NATO charter? To expel Portugal from the United Nations is not the question. It is not Portugal that matters here. As far as we are concerned, it is the attitude of the Security Council, and in particular of the permanent members of the Council, that is important.

Churchill said that each people has the government it deserves. We could paraphrase this to say that every organization has the members it deserves. But for us the problem today is not the question of the expulsion of Portugal, but rather the matter of recognizing that the Portuguese Government no longer has the right, if it ever did have that right, to represent our people within the United Nations, any more than it has the right to represent our people in the Organization of African Unity. It is a question of recognizing that the only

true and legitimate representatives of our African people of Guinea and of the Cape Verde Islands is our party, the PAIGC. Finally, it is the problem of the admission of our African nation to the United Nations as a Member. That is the problem which is raised by the specific situation which prevails in our country. It is the problem which the OAU, the African States and all anti-colonialists forces of the world have already solved by recognizing our party as the only true and legitimate representatives of our people. That is the problem which the United Nations and the Security Council, and in particular its permanent members, must come to grips with in order to solve it courageously, if they really wish to do so and if they want to make an effective political contribution to the liberation of our people.

For our part, while intensifying the indispensable armed action that is needed to complete the liberation of our country, we are in the course of taking the necessary political steps for the development of such a situation.

What is the situation as it obtains now? In general, the situation is known because we have always reported on it to the United Nations. In Guinea, our people have already achieved self-determination through nine years of armed struggle imposed by Portuguese colonialism. Our people, as a result of that self-determination, already has sovereignty over more than two thirds of its national territory. Our situation is comparable to that of an independent State which has certain portions of its national territory occupied by foreign armed forces.

We have all the component parts of a State in development in our country. In the face of the criminal fascist bombs of Portugal, we are building a new life, justice, work and democracy in our liberated areas. We are at present in the course of making all the preparations for that and we shall shortly elect the regional councillors and the first popular assembly of our people in Guinea. We shall draw all the necessary consequences from these acts of sovereignty, and shall thus help the United Nations itself and all of our friends to help us even further.

The Portuguese colonialists, of course, are desperate and are day by day increasing their acts of terrorism against our people.

In the Cape Verde Islands, where again a situation of famine is raging, the political situation has developed very favourably and we are determined, if Portugal stubbornly persists in its crimes, to use every possible means to liberate our people on the Islands. The Portuguese use all sorts of tricks to try to persuade their allies that we intend to liberate the Cape Verde Islands in order to set up a communist power base. We declare before this Council that when we liberate ourselves from Portuguese colonialism we shall never subject ourselves

to the domination of anyone and that we shall always be ready to defend ourselves against any attempts at the domination of our people.

Our struggle is a very difficult one and it has gone on for many long years, but it has not been useless. On the contrary, we have already made a great deal of progress. It will be of interest to this Council to know that, for example, we have already trained many cadres. More than 400 young men and women at present are following courses in various countries in order to become the cadres of tomorrow. But even now many cadres have already returned to the country and I can tell you that in 1960 I had the privilege of being the only agronomist in our country among the 14 university graduates that Portugal had trained during its 500 years of presence in our country. Today, there are already more than a dozen agronomists and more than 15 that are being trained.

We shall continue to wage our struggle until we have achieved victory. We are determined to do anything that is necessary. We have the necessary means to inflict even heavier blows day by day on the Portuguese colonialists. But we are not warriors. We love peace; we hate war. But we want to be free.

We are not opposed to Portugal. We have already stated that time and time again. We are against Portuguese colonialism. We want to have the best possible relations with Portugal after we have achieved independence. We are convinced that that is in the interest of our people. But we also have the right to have relations with all other countries of the world in order to enhance the progress of our people.

We want to build and construct on the basis of our own efforts and sacrifices, but also with aid from all possible sources, in order to achieve the progress of our people.

We should like to repeat here that we have never confused colonialism in Portugal and the people of Portugal. The people of Portugal is our ally. The people of Portugal is today aware of the fact that the colonial war is a crime not only against our people but also against the Portuguese people itself, and we are doing everything possible in the course of the struggle to strengthen our solidarity with the people of Portugal, which has already decided to use the same violent means against the Portuguese colonial war machine.

We should like to repeat once again that we are for dialogue, but heretofore the Portuguese Government wanted to have only the dialogue of arms. We repeat that we are ready to negotiate at any time. We should be very grateful to the Security Council if it could help us in that field.

What aid do we need? We need moral aid. We are asking the members of the Security Council and of all the United Nations not to be hostile to us and to allow us to circulate in their countries. We cannot understand that, for example, a country like France -- a country of freedom, fraternity and equality, and a country we admire very much -- would not allow us to go to France, who in our own country are doing what de Gaulle did for France when that country was occupied by the nazis.

We need material assistance. We have already begun to receive such assistance through the specialized agencies of the United Nations. UNESCO is helping us; we have the prospect of aid from UNICEF. We should like the Security Council to strengthen all these prospects and make them as realistic as possible because we have a great task of national reconstruction to develop in our country.

Before concluding I should like to thank the Security Council and each one of its members for everything they have done heretofore to help our struggle. We should like to thank, in particular, the members of this Council who are helping in a material fashion to advance our liberation struggle and our people to gain their freedom, and I am referring particularly to the Soviet Union, China and Yugoslavia, which are presente here.

Of course, I must not forget also to thank our African brothers who are helping us.

We hope that, through Argentina and Panama, all of Latin America will continue to develop the spirit of Bolivar and of the other great patriots and national heros of Latin America and will come to our aid. We hope also that through Japan, which sets an extraordinary example of the possibilities open to the coloured peoples to develop themselves and advance, Asia can help us more and more each day.

We should like to support all that has been said here by previous speakers, and in particular by the distinguished speakers such as His Imperial Majesty Hailé Selassié I, and the proposals made by our elder brother, President Ould Daddah and the proposal contained in the message of President Sékou Touré. We support all the statements made by the African representatives present here and the proposals made by the Chairman of the Committee for the Liberation of Africa.

We wish to offer the following concrete proposals: the permanent members of the Security Council should take in hand the problem of aid to the liberation movements. They can agree to demand that Portugal should proceed to decolonization. Portugal is a weak country, and as the saying goes in our country: As long as you have a canoe a dirty look from a croco



dile is not going to stop you getting through.

We ask that a time-limit should be set as the final date for the departure of Portuguese colonialism and we ask that a delegation of the Security Council should visit Mr. Cabral and make a concrete proposal to him to enter into negotiations -- at the Headquarters of the United Nations, for example -- with the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, the authentic movements that are the true representatives of these colonies. If there should be a negative reply, we propose that we should be given all assistance necessary to develop our struggle and liberate our country. For our part, we shall do our best to help you to help us, and we are sure that we shall attain independence.

Addis Ababa, the new flower of this bastion of African independence which is Ethiopia, is once again the site of a historic event -- namely, this session. It is up to you, gentlemen, the Security Council, to make of this occasion a historic event or relegate it to the annals of political tourism. We are very confident and encouraged by this session, and we should like to tell you here, like the Roman plebes when were addressing the great ones of Rome: You who have the capacity and the privilege of being judges in this land, do everything to ensure that justice is done. At this very moment when, despite the contradictions which prevail in the world -- contradictions of ideology and of social and political systems -- there are contacts between the most opposing poles, and these contacts are developing, at this very moment when certain nations are dreaming of conquering the cosmos, in a collective undertaking, to plant there the hopes of man, it is not really much to ask that before you leave for nebulous Andromeda or other far corners of the universe you should help us specifically and realistically to liberate our people from the scourge of Portuguese colonialism, because, like you we should like to participate in the great human adventure either on this earth or across the universe.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Cabral for this good wishes and fraternal salutations.