

NOTES

- (1) A. Cabral, Unity and Struggle (Eng. trans. M. Wolfero), Heinemann London, 1980, Monthly Review Press New York, 1979. Published somewhat more extensively in Unité et Lutte, Maspéro Paris, 1975, two vols.
- (2) This consistent absence of verbalism, bombast or pretence in Cabral's writings is in interesting contrast (and, no doubt, in sharp reaction from) the tone and temper^d contemporary Portuguese political writings.
- (3) "M.F.A. na Guiné", Boletim Informativo^o, 1 of 1 June 1974, Bissau. For background here, see B. Davidson, "The Politics of Armed Struggle", in B. Davidson, J. Slovo and R. Wilkinson, Southern Africa, Penguin London and Baltimore, 1976, pp 19-22.
- (4) In E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Essays in Social Anthropology, Faber & Faber London, 1962.
- (5) In T. Hodgkin, Vietnam: The Revolutionary Path, Macmillan London, 1981, pp 228-9.
- (6) A. Cabral, preface to B. Davidson, The Liberation of Guiné, Penguin London and Baltimore, 1969. ^{Republished with additional chapters} ~~Reprinted in 1982~~ in No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky, Zed London, ¹⁹⁸². Davidson,
- (7) A. Cabral, preface, see (6).
- (8) Private source. If the circumstances of this necessarily clandestine congress, in its bearing on Portugal's colonies, have found publication, this is unknown to me.
- (9) The Palavras Gerais are available in English in Unity and Struggle, supra.
- (10) This and following citation are from A. Cabral, Our People Are Our Mountains, London 1971 (available from M.A.G.I.C., 34 Percy Str., London W1P 9FG).
- (11) cf. development of practice and policy by E/P/L/F, Eritrea; Z/A/N/U, Zimbabwe; A/N/C, South Africa; and others.

A. G. Hyden,
Beyond
 Ujamaa
 in Tanzania,
 Heinemann
 1980,
 p. 8.

(NOTES : continued)

- (12) A. Cabral, Resistência Cultural, seminar paper at P|A|I|G|C| conference of cadres, 19-24 November 1969.
- (13) see B. Davidson, Africa in Modern History, Lane/Penguin London, 1978, ch. 30; U.S. edn. Let Freedom Come, Atlantic-Little, Brown Boston, 1978.
- (14) e.g. : G. Chaliand, Armed Struggle in Africa, Monthly Review Press New York, 1969 (Original French version, Lutte Armée en Afrique, Maspéro Paris, 1967); B. Davidson, The Liberation of Guiné, Penguin London and Baltimore, 1969 (republished with new chapters as No Fiat is Big Enough to Hide the Sky, Zed London, 1981) ; L. Rudebeck, Guinea-Bissau, Scandinavian Inst. of African Studies, Uppsala, 1974; S. Urdang, Fighting Two Colonialisms : Women in Guinea Bissau, Monthly Review Press New York, 1979.
- (15) So much was evident, in days immediately following the coup, from many statements of the coup-makers: from their rabid accusations of Cape Verdean domination; from their initial release and acceptance of the turncoat P|A|I|G|C| leader, Rafael Barbosa, who had made himself a leading tool of the colonial regime in its war against the P|A|I|G|C|; from the jubilation of anti-P|A|I|G|C| "circles" and groups in Lisbon and elsewhere outside the country; and from such else to the same effect. I can myself easily imagine Cabral's scalding contempt for these "new leaders" who then said, repeating the propaganda of the defeated colonial regime, that the people of Guinea-Bissau had been colonised by those of Cape Verde. I can as well picture his rage at seeing the institutions of democratic control, notably the national council of the P|A|I|G|C| in Guinea-Bissau (of which the principal coup-maker had long been the chairman), pushed aside and then abolished by militarist action. I can also think that Cabral would have taken, in 1978-79, certain steps that were not taken, and would have acted against other steps that were taken.

(NOTES : continued)

(16) see Cabral, Unity and Struggle : "Homage to Nkrumah". I can recall several conversations in which he insisted on the sincerity of that homage. It was all the more convinced because he had been well aware of Nkrumah's limitations while in power in Ghana, and admired Nkrumah's personal development during the last years of exile.

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