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**CABRAL IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF HIS EPOCH:
THE IMPLICATIONS OF HIS THEORY OF CLASS AND CLASS STRUGGLE**

In this paper I examine the thought of Amílcar Cabral by briefly showing the relationship of his ideas in theory and practice as he applied them to different situations at the international and national levels. A synthesis of his writings reveals four essential concerns: colonialism and imperialism; nationalism and national liberation; classes and class struggle; and state and development. Here I look at his theory of class and class struggle which not only was particularly relevant to his revolutionary struggle but also has implications for struggle elsewhere.

The full biography of Cabral has yet to be written but the record is clear.[1] First and foremost, he stands out in history as a great revolutionary. Cabral, of course, emerged as a thinker in the tradition of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and others who left us a legacy of revolutionary experience, but while he certainly read from their works and indeed was influenced by them, he rarely referred to them and never cited them in his own writing. Cabral was a contemporary of such successful revolutionaries as Ho Chi Ming and Ernesto "Ché" Guevara and, while undoubtedly influenced by their ideas and experience, his own ideas were largely based on his particular experiences. In the decades following the Second World War and the breakup of empire in Africa, Cabral perhaps was overshadowed by other African revolutionaries such as Lumumba and Nkrumah, but history will demonstrate that Cabral was one of the significant figures of our times.

1. The references by Andrade, Chaliand, and Davidson, cited below, help with details about Cabral's life and thought. Biographical detail is in Oleg Ignatiev, AMÍLCAR CABRAL, FILHO DE AFRICA: NARRAÇÃO BIOGRÁFICA, Lisbon: Prelo, 1975. In addition, some useful information is in a memorial issue dedicated to Cabral, in UFAHAMU, III (Winter 1973), 1-168. See also Ronald H. Chilcote, "The Political Thought of Amílcar Cabral," THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES, VI,3 (1968), 373-388, and "Amílcar Cabral: a Bio-Bibliography of His Life and Thought, 1925-1973," AFRICANA JOURNAL, V, 4 (1974), 289-307.

Those scholars close to Cabral have already passed judgement on his stature in history. In linking Cabral to other outstanding Africans, Mário de Andrade referred to three in particular: "Kwame Nkrumah, the visionary; Patrice Lumumba, the martyr; Amílcar Cabral, the unifier. As a unifier and mobilizer, he was both a theoretician and a man of action indefatigably in pursuit of reality, by revealing the deep roots, fundamental causes, so often blurred in the tumult of revolutionary action." [2] Gérard Chaliand also identified three examples of revolutionary African leaders: "the martyr Patrice Lumumba, the visionary Kwame Nkrumah, and the revolutionary par excellence, Amílcar Cabral. Both his thought and his stature place Cabral beyond the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, and he must be regarded as one of the major figures of the Third World." [3] Basil Davidson has written: "A supreme educator in the wisest sense of the word, Cabral can be recognized even now as being among the great figures of our time. We need not wait for history's judgment to tell us that. The evidence is available." [4]

Cabral established himself in the history of Cabo Verde and Guiné-Bissau, early as a poet and one who appreciated and interpreted culture as a weapon in the struggle for independence, later as an agronomist whose agricultural surveys and analyses were to provide a basis for planning the future economy of his homeland, then as a revolutionary who confronted Portuguese colonialism through the building of a party and guiding it through a decade of struggle while building an infrastructure of social, economic, and political institutions among his people in liberated areas, and finally as a theorist whose Marxist analysis and original thinking contributed to the possibilities and limitations of class struggle and national liberation movements

2. Mário de Andrade, p. xviii in "Biographical Notes," to Amílcar Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE; SPEECHES AND WRITINGS, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979.

3. Gérard Chaliand, "Amílcar Cabral," INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF POLITICS, VII (Winter 1977-1978), 3.

4. Basil Davidson, "Cabral on the Revolution," MONTHLY REVIEW, XXXI (July-August 1979), 35; also p. x in his introduction to Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE.

5. The few poems by Cabral include "Ilha," in A ILHA (Ponta Delgado), July 22, 1946; and "Regresso...", CABO VERDE: BOLETIM DE PROPAGANDA E INFORMAÇÃO, I (November 1, 1949), 11. A commentary on poetry is in his "Apontamentos sobre poesia caboverdiana," CABO VERDE: BOLETIM DE PROPAGANDA E INFORMAÇÃO, III (December 1, 1951),

in African societies. [5]

Cabral's place in the history of Africa and in world history was established by his concern with overcoming colonialism so that Africa could move in the path of its own development. His example was set by participation in armed warfare as an extension of political warfare. In the international arena he was able to win the support of numerous African and other governments, maintain a policy of nonalignment, obtain aid from a variety of sources, and proclaim independence for Guiné-Bissau, thereby precipitating the collapse of the Portuguese "empire" and the fall of the fascist regime in Portugal.

As poet, agronomist, fighter, theorist, and diplomat, Cabral approached the problems of life dialectically. On the one hand, he was intellectual and theoretician; on the other, he was organizer and unifier. At the same time, he successfully juxtaposed action at the national and international levels. On the one hand, his struggle was in the direction of eliminating the Portuguese presence in the colonies; on the other, his struggle aimed to undermine imperialism in the broader international context. Davidson has captured the essence of this struggle and how Cabral functioned at home and abroad: "What Cabral said at home was the same in content as what he said abroad, even if the form was often very different. His argument abroad, and he was often a brilliant publicist, was invariably the truth that he drew from his study of reality at home: the same truth, with the same conclusions, that he espoused in the forests of his homeland." [6] With dialectical method at the root of his analysis, Cabral suggested categories of class and an approach to the study of class struggle. [7]

5-8. His writings as an agronomist in Guiné-Bissau are cited in Chilcote, "Amílcar Cabral...", including a report on the agricultural production of different ethnic groups (cited as II: 1,42), another on mechanization of agriculture (II: 39), and several reports dealing with problems of the territory (I:1,8; II:13,36,48). However, his most important study of the period was the agriculture census in 1953 (II:44). His writings as revolutionary are also cited in Chilcote. Most of the above writings appear in Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE, and in the larger French and Portuguese editions of his collected works--see Cabral, OBRAS ESCOLHIDAS DE AMÍLCAR CABRAL, Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1976, 2 vols.

6. Davidson, p. xii

7. According to Cabral, "class and class struggle are themselves the result of the development of productive forces in conjunction with the system of ownership of the means of production," cited in UNITY AND STRUGGLE, p.125.

In his analysis of society Cabral looked for divisions and contradictions everywhere: races, religions, ethnic groups, and social classes were taken into account. White European colonialists supported a continued Portuguese presence and domination in the colonies, whereas black Africans tended to support the liberation struggle. Catholics and Protestants tended to back the colonial regime and were supported by some Muslim elements, whereas most Africans of animist persuasion turned to the liberation effort. Among the various tribes in Guiné-Bissau, the Fula and Manjaco were vertically organized in structure with chiefs and religious leaders, often imposed by the Portuguese, constituting a sort of ruling class at the top, whereas the Balanta were organized horizontally with autonomous families sharing collectively in the work; the rulers of the Fula and Manjaco were inclined to support the colonialists, while the Balanta could be counted on to support the liberation struggle.

Given these divisions, Cabral was particularly concerned about identifying various social classes and assessing their revolutionary potential. Marx had provided an in-depth analysis of social divisions in mid-nineteenth century France. In CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE and the EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE, Marx recognized many classes in an emerging society that had yet to mature into full blown capitalism; the class struggle was not limited to a clearly defined ruling bourgeoisie and an exploited proletariat, and other classes had to be considered in a class analysis of French society. For Cabral the situation in Guiné-Bissau and Cabo Verde was radically different. Colonialism and imperialism had left their mark, but capitalism was barely present, especially in Guiné-Bissau, and given this state of underdevelopment, the bourgeoisie was recognizable in the colonial administration and in small urban and rural bourgeois elements, while a small proletariat was found among disparate groups of semi-skilled and skilled workers, generally in Bissau.

A conception of class and class struggle emerges rather prominently in perhaps his most important speech, delivered to the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in Havana on January 6, 1966.[8] A somewhat similar analysis was included in his speech at Syracuse

8. See Amílcar Cabral, "The Weapon of Theory," pp. 119-137 in UNITY AND STRUGGLE.

9. Amílcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," pp. 39-56, in African Information Service (ed), RETURN TO THE SOURCE: SELECTED SPEECHES OF AMÍLCAR CABRAL, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973; This speech is included in Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE, pp. 138-154.

University on February 28, 1970.[9] His speech at Lincoln University on October 15, 1972, also was important.[10] These three pronouncements, all in an international setting, thus allow for a delineation of his theory of class and class struggle.

Drawing upon his own experience Cabral affirmed that revolution cannot be practised without a revolutionary theory, that the motive force in history is the class struggle, and that the formation of classes and class struggle is dependent on the level of productive forces and ownership over the means of production. The development of the productive forces, he believed, occurred gradually and unevenly and, once a certain level of accumulation is attained, qualitative changes also appear with classes and class struggle. External factors, for example forms of imperialist domination, may speed up or deter this development. But history does not begin with the appearance of classes and class struggle, for that would place many peoples outside history. Therefore, class struggle as the motor force of history must operate in a specific historical period as determined by the mode of production, identifiable by the level of productive forces and the system of ownership. History, however, has continuity even after the disappearance of classes and class struggle. Thus history exists both before and after the class struggle: "Eternity is not of this world, but man will outlive classes and will continue to produce and to make history, since he can never free himself from the burden of his needs, of hand and brain, which are the basis of the development of productive forces." [11]

History is seen in at least three stages: a primitive form with a low level of productive forces, no means of private appropriation of means of production, and, consequently, no class struggle; a more progressive stage characterized by private appropriation of the means of production, conflicts of interest are evident, and the possibility of class struggle; and a higher stage in which a certain level of productive forces is accompanied by the elimination of private appropriation of the means of production, class and class struggle are eliminated, and new and unknown forces appear. Cabral labels these stages respectively communal agricultural and cattle raising societies in which the social structure is horizontal and without a state; agrarian feudal or assimilated and agro-industrial societies with vertical structure and the presence of a state; and socialist and communist societies in which the state tends to disappear and

10. See Amílcar Cabral, "Identity and Dignity in the Context of the National Liberation Struggle," pp. 57-69 in RETURN TO THE SOURCE.

11. Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE, p. 125.

social structure evolves horizontally. Given the uneven development of societies, these stages may be combined and thus history need not be viewed exclusively in terms of any single mode of production. Further, no particular sequence of stages is necessary; a leap in the historical process to the creation of socialist societies is possible, but such "progress depends on the specific possibilities for the development of the society's productive forces and is mainly conditional on the nature of the political power ruling that society, that is on the type of State or, if we like, on the nature of the dominant class or classes within society." [12]

While identification of classes does not ensure a successful class analysis, it does allow recognition of elements that must be combined in the class struggle, and Cabral did not hesitate to set forth categories of class so as to formulate appropriate strategies in the winning of revolution. These categories are shown in Figure 1, but to understand their significance it is necessary to examine their meaning in more detail.

A class analysis is possible once capitalism has permitted the development of the productive forces, the maturing of a bourgeoisie, and the intensification of the class struggle. Imperialism and the movement of capital in its last stage affect these conditions and stimulate the development of certain class forces. In most dominated countries, advanced capitalism operates to multiply surplus values. In some cases a local minority emerges with a privileged standard of living, while in other cases a local bourgeoisie is established.

Generally, in a colonial situation, according to Cabral, the introduction of money and urbanization can alter the composition of social classes. Native ruling classes lose prestige in the face of the increasing outside influence, part of peasant populations move from countryside to urban centers, and new classes such as salaried workers, state employees, and merchants and professionals evolve. In the countryside a class of small bourgeois farmers may arise. Finally, emerging from a small bourgeoisie of bureaucrats and compradores in the trading system is a native pseudo-bourgeoisie; in addition, private agricultural property is expanded along with the creation of an agricultural proletariat of wage-earning workers. Native elements may dominate the state power, thereby creating the illusion that a national bourgeoisie is fulfilling its anticipated progressive role of promoting capitalist development. But, argues Cabral, this national bourgeoisie cannot freely guide the development of the productive forces because it is subject to the ruling classes of the dominating

12. Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE, p. 126.

countries. A nationalist solution to development cannot be achieved without destruction of the structure of capitalism imposed upon the dependent nation by imperialism.

In Guiné-Bissau, a small colonial capitalist class dominated through political, economic, and military power and cooptation of fractions of certain classes. In particular, Cabral emphasized how this colonial class perpetuated exploitation and repressed the cultural life of Africans through policies of assimilation and division between the indigenous elites and popular masses. The continuing rule of this class was partially dependent on the actions of the urban petty bourgeoisie, a class that assimilates the colonizing mentality and considers itself superior. According to Cabral, this class consisted of "civil servants, people who are employed in various branches of the economy, especially commerce, professional people, and a few urban and agricultural landowners" and "stands midway between the masses of the working class in town and country and the small number of local representatives of the foreign ruling class." [13] This petty bourgeoisie is torn between continued subjection to imperialist capital and the possibility of evolving into a pseudo national bourgeoisie, thereby denying the goal of national liberation, or rejecting bourgeois inclinations, raise revolutionary consciousness, and follow the revolutionary struggle. This choice, according to Cabral, is decisive: "This alternative--to betray the revolution or to commit suicide as a class--constitutes the dilemma of the petty bourgeoisie in the general framework of the national liberation struggle." [14] However, this class is essentially "marginal" and once isolated from the African masses, there is the possibility of their "returning to the source." This return to the source is an awakening and a rejection by the petty bourgeoisie of the dominant culture and authority to which it has subjected itself. This return to the source only benefits the struggle once it extends beyond the individual to groups and movements: "the 'return to the source' is of no historical importance unless it brings not only real involvement in the struggle for independence, but also complete and absolute identification with the hopes of the mass of the people, who contest not only the foreign culture but also the foreign domination as a whole." [15]

This conception of class was elaborated in a series of

13. Cabral, "Identity and Dignity," pp.61-62.

14. Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE, p136.

15. Cabral, "Identity and Dignity," p.63.

16. See Cabral, "Party Principles and Political Practice," pp. 28-113 in UNITY AND STRUGGLE; my discussion draws primarily from the first of these lectures, pp. 28-44.

lectures delivered by Cabral to party cadres in Guiné-Bissau.[16] Here he stressed the PAIGC motto, "Unity and Struggle", unity in order to attain strength and confront internal contradictions and struggle to overcome colonial domination. Cabral then explained this motto in terms of class contradictions. On one side was the white colonial class of Portuguese who politically are unable to oppose any regime and persist in their defense of colonialism. On the other side were the Africans, led by the petty bourgeoisie, itself divided into three categories, whether they resided in Guiné-Bissau or Cabo Verde: including a small powerful group that defended the colonialists; a majority of undecided who wanted the colonialists to leave but were afraid to express their sentiments through action; and a smaller group that struggled against colonialism. There were also the salaried workers, a majority of whom sympathized with the struggle and a minority who sympathized with colonialism; these workers were carpenters, masons, mechanics, drivers, and sailors. In Guiné-Bissau, between the petty bourgeoisie and workers was a sort of lumpen class or declassé group (Cabral said it would be a lumpenproletariat if there were a real proletariat) of persons with nothing to do, some of whom served as agents of the Portuguese secret police. In addition, there was a class (Cabral gave them no name) of part-time or idle workers who come in contact with the Portuguese; they may have been prestigious football players, impressed by material possessions but humiliated by their relations with the colonialists, and thus many of them turned to the revolution. In the rural areas there were the Balanta, horizontally structured without a state; the Manjaco who had been imposed upon the Balanta as chiefs in the service of the Portuguese; and the Fula ("semi-feudal") and Mandinga (feudal when the Portuguese first reached Guiné), organized vertically and hierarchically into classes from top to bottom. Within the Fula, Cabral referred to the ruling class of traditional chiefs, noble families, and religious leaders whose political authority was tied to the colonial administration. These classes included the peasants (obliged to work for chiefs part of the year) at the bottom; artisans (blacksmiths, leatherworkers, etc.) above them; itinerent traders (dyulas); and finally the religious leaders and chiefs at the top.

The class structure differed in Cabo Verde, according to Cabral. There were large and small landowners, although the former lost most of their land through drought and poor colonial administration. These lands fell to the control of the banks. There was a class of tenant farmers, dependent on the large landowners and the banks, and sharecroppers. There also were a small number of agricultural workers, unfortunately not enough to form a class. Cabral assumed that the large landowners would support the colonialists, while small landowners would divide their support between the colonialists and those struggling for

change; they were similar to the rural small bourgeoisie in Guiné-Bissau.

Given these different class structures, Cabral attempted to show that the apparent contradictions between life in Cabo Verde and Guiné-Bissau were minimal. Cape Verdeans were more educated and had served the colonial administration in Guiné. However, the people in both countries were similarly exploited, and class behavior did not much differ: "But if we study the question closely, we see that the general tendency of this Guinean petty bourgeoisie is to coexist easily with the Cape Verdean petty bourgeoisie. The general tendency is for them to understand each other, alongside the Portuguese. And we have never seen in the bush, for example, any contradiction between Cape Verdeans and Guineans." [17]

My synthesis has revealed the categories of class, the approach to a class analysis, and the implications of class struggle found in the writings of Cabral. Essentially, few differences are recognizable between his exposition before international audiences and the seminar of cadres in his homeland. It may be argued that the discussion at the international level was more abstract, intellectually appealing, or that it was more detailed. Likewise, in his lectures with party cadres Cabral placed more emphasis on the similarity and compatibility of the struggle in Guiné and Cabo Verde. But these differences seem more apparent than real, and one must be impressed with the clarity and concreteness with which he was able to communicate his ideas at both levels.

Since many persons who have written about Cabral have not overlooked his class analysis, my concluding discussion will attempt to incorporate their interpretations and assess the significance of his theoretical contribution. Several points can be emphasized.

First, the writers who have succeeded in popularizing the revolution in Guiné and in graphically portraying the leadership role of Cabral tended to stress organizational rather than theoretical aspects of the revolution. In his very early account, Chaliand devoted a few useful pages to the question of social classes in the towns and countryside; these are identified but not explicitly integrated with the account of his personal

17. Cabral, UNITY AND STRUGGLE, p.41.

18. Gérard Chaliand, ARMED STRUGGLE IN AFRICA: WITH THE GUERRILLAS IN "PORTUGUESE" GUINEA, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969, especially pp. 12-21; originally published by Maspero in 1967.

experience and impressions in Guiné.[13] Likewise, Basil Davidson in his pioneering study concentrated on first-hand impressions, although he did summarize the points in Cabral's 1966 address to the Tricontinental Conference.[19] Lars Rudebeck devoted a chapter to the ideology and goals of the PAIGC by concentrating on Cabral's thought, including the emphasis on class and class struggle.[20] The great value in all three works, however, is in their personal impressions of the revolutionary struggle. In particular, the three observers emphasized the organization of party and revolution. What they at least implicitly remind us is that the organizational success of the revolution was tied to the thinking of Cabral and the revolutionary leadership, and Davidson stressed the relationship of theory and the experience of the evolving struggle.

Second, some writers are concerned with the degree to which Cabral departed from classical Marxism. Cabral's references to productive forces, relations of production, and modes of production and his emphasis on combined and uneven development through history clearly place his analysis within a dialectical and historically materialist framework. Rudebeck quarrelled with Cabral's interpretation of history and questioned whether he is true to dialectics, but affirmed that Cabral derived his theory from the concrete struggle against colonialism and imperialism[21] Opoku reminded us that Cabral really is not contending with orthodox Marxist interpretations in his rejection of the thesis that history begins with classes; further, he showed that Cabral would likely accept the thesis, set forth by Engels, that the State becomes necessary as an instrument of a ruling class as class struggle evolves through history.[22] Such observations suggest that Cabral was both faithful to Marxist method and the proposition that good theory may be based not only on the ideas of others but must be subject to concrete and historical conditions of real experiences in which theory is being tested. Praxis, or the dialectical interaction between theory and practice, most certainly guided Cabral in his thinking and action.

19. Basil Davidson, THE LIBERATION OF GUINÉ: ASPECTS OF AN AFRICAN REVOLUTION, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969, especially pp. 73-77.

20. Lars Rudebeck, GUINEA-BISSAU: A STUDY OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974.

21. Rudebeck, pp. 76-78.

22. K. Opoku, "Cabral and the African Revolution," PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE, 105-106 (First and Second Quarters, 1978), p.48.

Third, there is interest in Cabral's unique contribution to a theory of the petty bourgeoisie within an African situation. Chaliand has asserted that "Cabral made an original theoretical contribution on the scope and limits of class struggle in African societies, on the role and ambivalence of the petite bourgeoisie at the head of the national liberation movement..."[23] Opoku argued that the bourgeoisie and proletariat are missing in Cabral's analysis, unlike the attention given to those classes in modern thought.[24] But this is more a reflection of the low level of productive forces within Guiné than some radical modification of class analysis. Cabral referred to wage-earning workers rather than proletariat, but in discussing the dockworkers and people who transport merchandise up and down the rivers, he noted their class consciousness and initiative in launching strikes and how, without any trade union leadership, they formed a nucleus with other wage-earning groups in the towns. Thus, he exclaimed, "we found our little proletariat." [25]

Fourth, there is the attention to Cabral's concern with culture and his attempt to combine an analysis of materialist modes of production with the idea of culture. Jinadu focused on this theme in an effort to confront the erroneous thesis that African political thought is without substance and significance. Jinadu explained Cabral's contribution: "it is that the material modes of production are best viewed in the larger context of culture as a way of life, to which reference can then be made with regard to institutional design. For, in the final analysis, political systems are also cultural artifacts." [26] Jinadi suggested that with his observation that an increase in expression of culture generally precedes national liberation struggles, Cabral denied "the alleged antithesis between revolutionary struggle and cultural nationalism." [27] This is a sensitive theoretical area, one which Cabral dealt with in some detail, inspired in part by the thought of his Mozambican

23. Chaliand, "Amílcar Cabral," p.4.

24. Opoku, p.47.

25. Cabral, "Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea," p.66 in his REVOLUTION IN GUINEA.

26. L. Adele Jinadu, "Some African Theorists of Culture and Modernization: Fanon, Cabral and Some Others," AFRICAN STUDIES REVIEW, XXI (April 1978), 135.

27. Jinadi, p. 125.

comrade, Eduardo Mondlane.[28] And, of course, it is a theme that has interested Mário de Andrade.

Finally, there is interest in the role of the peasantry. How can national liberation and independence be achieved without a developed working class and how can the peasantry be utilized in the struggle? O'Brien reminds us that the peasants of Guiné were not wage laborers nor did they enter into:

... unmediated relations of production with capital....The determination of what was to be produced, of the size of output and of the division of labour was left to the peasants...The surplus value obtained from the peasantry by the Portuguese was extracted by indirect mechanisms...Once this surplus product or surplus labour had been extracted from the peasant system, it entered the hands of capitalists, for whom it became abstract surplus value which behaved as capital in the capitalist economy....Specifically, it re-entered the colonial economy, most importantly for the peasantry, in the forms of commodities they required and the physical and organizational apparatus necessary to maintain and reproduce the conditions of their subjection to the capitalist system. The peasant production process was therefore integrated into and participated in the expanded reproduction of capital.

[29] O'Brien goes on to suggest that this proletarian character does not make the peasantry a proletariat because of its contradictory class determination. While this explains the necessity of focusing on the petty bourgeoisie in a class explanation of potential revolutionary conditions in Guine, O'Brien initiated a provocative inquiry into the potential revolutionary role of the peasantry, and his analysis was inspired by Cabral's thinking and the successful revolution in Guiné. McCollester and most other writers have acknowledged the weakness of the peasantry as a revolutionary force, given that its basic structure remained intact, but its role in cultural resistance was tied to its defense of indigenous culture in the face of the colonizer's "civilizing mission." It was this aspect 28. Cabral focused on "dependent and reciprocal relations between the national liberation struggle and culture" in his Syracuse speech--see "National Liberation and Culture," in UNITY AND STRUGGLE.

29. Jay O'Brien, "Tribe, Class and Nation: Revolution and the Weapon of Theory in Guinea-Bissau," RACE AND CLASS, XIX (Summer 1977), 4-5.

30. Charles McCollester, "The African Revolution: Theory and Practice," MONTHLY REVIEW, XXIV (March 1973), p.16.

that interested Cabral and should be studied in more depth.[30]

My discussion has synthesized Cabral's thinking on class and class struggle and has explored some of the implications of his ideas. Among the themes of interest in this discussion were Cabral's preoccupation with organization and its significance in the revolution; his theoretical orientation within the Marxist tradition and the extent to which he pursued traditional or new conceptions, derived from his revolutionary experience; his emphasis on the revolutionary potential of the petty bourgeoisie, given the weaknesses of the bourgeoisie and proletariat; and his attention to the peasantry and its cultural resistance as a prelude to the revolution. All these themes may be relevant in the study of other questions such as strategies to be employed in the armed struggle, the possible revolutionary alliances and united fronts, and the forming of the revolutionary vanguard. Issues of how to institutionalize the revolution, once in power, how to provide for the needs and demands of the people, and how to ensure participatory democracy also may be significant. In any event, my inquiry hopefully will stimulate others to probe more deeply into these important themes, questions, and issues. The thought and experience of Cabral thus serve as a foundation and springboard for such an endeavor.

