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A BIBLIOGRAPHIC MEMORIAL TO AMILCAR CABRAL:

Selected Survey of  
Resources on the Struggle in Guinea-Bissau

by  
Francis A. Kornegay, Jr.

*As a memorial to Amilcar Cabral (1920-1973), what follows is intended as a selected survey of the literature on the liberation struggle being waged in Guinea-Bissau up to the tragic and untimely death of Cabral. Only an all-inclusive perspective on the struggle in Guinea-Bissau and its inevitable final victory can do just tribute to the memory of the man who led the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (P.A.I.G.C.) from its clandestine birth in 1956, through a decade of revolutionary armed struggle beginning in 1962. As such, this bibliographic survey includes sources antagonistic as well as sympathetic to the African liberation efforts for which Amilcar Cabral sacrificed his life for Guinea-Bissau in particular and African liberation in general.*

*There does exist a variety of periodical sources which provide up-to-date coverage of developments in Guinea-Bissau and "Portuguese" Africa in general. PAIGC Actualités (P.O. Box 298, Conakry, Guinea), the official organ of Cabral's party is an obvious source of information on PAIGC activities and the struggle in Guinea-Bissau. Publications devoted specifically to reporting on the liberation movements in the "Portuguese" territories include Guerrilheiro, a bi-monthly bulletin published by the London-based Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, and Facts & Reports: Press Cuttings on Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Portugal and Southern Africa, a bi-weekly published by the Angola Committee of Amsterdam, Holland. Other sources (English language) which merit consulting include: Africa: An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly, a sophisticated Paris/London-based, primarily African-produced journal of news and analysis, and Africa Confidential, published in London, both of which provide consistent coverage of liberation movement developments as they occur. More militant African opinion is offered by Liberation Struggle, published by the London-based Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Writers and Journalists (KNI). The Liberation Support Movement's Information Center in Richmond, Canada (British Columbia) and the recently established African Information Service in New York are also*

sources which concentrate specifically on the liberation movements of Southern and "Portuguese" Africa. Constant reportage of events relating to these movements and Southern Africa as a whole are also to be found in the Southern Africa Committee's "Monthly Survey of News and Opinion," Southern Africa, published in New York. Finally, continuing, up-to-date documentation on developments in "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, and Southern Africa is available in the African Bibliographic Center's quarterly Current Bibliography on African Affairs and in its Current Reading List Series under the running title, "Balance of Power in Southern Africa." This brief summary of selected periodical and information sources, and the bibliographic survey which follows are merely illustrative of the range of alternative sources available to specialists and laymen interested either in Guinea-Bissau specifically or in Southern and "Portuguese" Africa as a whole.

1. "African Nationalism in Portuguese Guiné, Sao Tome and Principe, and the Cape Verde Archipelago." In: *Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa*, edited by Ronald H. Chilcote, Stanford, Hoover Institution, 1972, pp. 297-381. Partial contents: "The Death Pangs of Imperialism," by Amilcar Cabral.-"The Rise of Nationalism," by Amilcar Cabral.-"Cabo Verde is African Too," by Henri Labéry.-"Independence for Guiné," by F. Mendy.-"The Situation in 'Portuguese' Guiné," by Manuel Lopes da Silva.-"Statutes of the PAIGC.-" "In Defense of the Land," by Amilcar Cabral.-"On the Contribution of the 'Peoples' of Guiné to Agricultural Production in Guiné," by Amilcar Cabral.-"Frente de Libertação da Guiné e Cabo Verde, Partido Africano da Independencia.-"Movimento de Libertacao da Guine e Cabo Verde-Proclamation," by Amilcar Cabral et. al.- "The PAIGC Minor Program.-"Memorandum to the Portuguese Government," by Amilcar Cabral et. al.- "Memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly," by Amilcar Cabral.-"Declaration on the Present Status of the Fight for Liberation in 'Portuguese' Guiné and in the Cape Verde Islands," by Amilcar Cabral.-"The National Fight for Liberation," by Amilcar Cabral.-"Developments in the Struggle for the National Liberation of 'Portuguese' Guiné and the Cape Verde Islands in 1964," by Amilcar Cabral.
2. "Africa's 'Freedom Fighters'." In: *Newsweek*, New York, February 5, 1973, pp. 44-49. Treats assassination of Amilcar Cabral within current context of escalating armed struggle in Southern and 'Portuguese' Africa.

Attributes Cabral's assassination to outgrowth of internal feuding between "mulatto" Cape Verdeans and mainland Africans within PAIGC.

3. ANDELMAN, DAVID. A. "Profile: Amilcar Cabral; Pragmatic Revolutionary Shows How an African Guerilla War can be Won." In: *Africa Report*, Washington, D.C., May 1970, pp. 18-19. Focuses on Cabral as major theoretician and strategist behind PAIGC campaign to oust Portugal from Guinea-Bissau.
4. BERMAN, SANFORD. "African Liberation Movements: A Preliminary Bibliography." In: *Ufahamu*, Los Angeles, Spring 1972, pp. 107-128. General bibliographic survey on African liberation movements, representative primarily of resources at Makerere Institute of Social Research Library; included are twenty-three entries on Amilcar Cabral, the PAIGC and Guinea-Bissau.
5. BIGGS-DAVISON, JOHN. "The Current Situation in Portuguese Guinea." In: *African Affairs*, London, October 1971, pp. 385-394.
6. CABRAL, AMILCAR. *A Brief Report on the Situation of the Struggle (January - August 1971)*. Conakry, African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), 1971. 22 pp. Also reprinted in *Ufahamu*, Winter, 1972 issue.
7. ----. "Determined to Resist." In: *Tricontinental Magazine*, Havana, Sept./Oct. 1968, pp. 114-126. Interview with Cabral.
8. ----. "Guinée: le pouvoir des armes." In: *Ibid.*, May/June 1969, pp. 5-16.
9. ----. "Identity and Dignity in the National Liberation Struggle." In: *Africa Today*, Denver, Fall 1972, pp. 39-47. Reprinting of address delivered at Lincoln University, October 15, 1972.
10. ----. "National Liberation and Social Structure." In: *Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism: A Collection of Writings from Karl Marx to the Present on Armed Struggles for Liberation and Socialism*, edited by William J. Pomeroy, New York, International Publishers, 1968, pp. 261-269. Excerpt from address delivered at First Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, held in

Havana, Cuba, January 3 - 14, 1966.

11. ----. *Our People are our Mountains*. London, Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guinea, 1971. 40 pp. 18p. Reprinting of speech followed by questions and answers; Central Hall, London, October 1971, with introduction by Basil Davidson.
12. ----. "PAIGC: Optimistic and Fighter." In: *Tricontinental Magazine*, Havana, July/Oct. 1970, pp. 167-174. "General Declaration" issued from Rome Conference, June 27-29, 1970, is included.
13. ----. "Report on Portuguese Guinea and the Liberation Movement." In: *Ufahamu*, Los Angeles, Fall 1970, pp. 69-103. Full text of PAIGC Secretary-General before House Subcommittee on African Affairs chaired by Congressman Charles Diggs, February 26, 1970.
14. ----. *Revolution in Guinea*. New York, Monthly Review Press, 1970. 174 pp., \$4.95. Cabral's own practical and theoretical views are presented on struggle in Guinea-Bissau.
15. ----. *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle, Selected Texts*. London, Stage 1, 1969. 142 pp. Fifteen essays introduced, edited and translated by Richard Handyside.
16. ----. *The Struggle in Guinea*. Cambridge, Africa Research Group, 1969. 9 pp. 25¢. Reprint of article which originally appeared in *International Socialist Journal*.
17. "Cabral is Assassinated by Portuguese Agents." In: *The African World*, Greensboro, N.C., February 3, 1973, pp. 1-16. Report on assassination of Amilcar Cabral in bi-weekly publication of Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBUB).
18. CABRAL, LUIS. "'Portuguese' Guinea: United Front Against Imperialism." In: *Tricontinental Magazine*, Havana, Nov/Dec. 1969, pp. 141-146. Statement on PAIGC struggle by brother of late Amilcar Cabral.
19. CHALIAND, GERARD. *Armed Struggle in Africa: With the Guerrillas in "Portuguese" Guinea*. New York, Monthly Review Press, 1969. 142 pp., \$5.50. Case-study of revolutionary armed struggle within African context introduced by Basil Davidson; included are Portuguese

psychological warfare circulars and listing of foreign interests in Guinea-Bissau. This work is a result of author's travels with PAIGC through liberated zones.

20. CHILCOTE, RONALD H. "Nationalist Documents on Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique." In: *African Studies Bulletin*, Boston, April 1967, pp. 22-42. Checklist of ephemera which are available on microfilm at Hoover Institution Library, subsequently published as part of *Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa*, a 144 pp. bibliography released in 1969.
21. ----. "The Political Thought of Amilcar Cabral." In: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, October 1968, pp. 373-388. "The political ideas of Cabral are analyzed against the background of the revolt in Portuguese Guinea."
22. CLAXTON, S.O. "Twentieth Century Warrior Battles for Freedom." In: *CORE Magazine*, New York, Winter 1972, pp. 48-50. Brief account of Amilcar Cabral's last visit to U.S. to receive honorary degree from Lincoln University in October 1972.
23. CORNWALL, BARBARA. *The Bush Rebels: A Personal Account of Black Revolt in Africa*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972. 252 pp., \$6.95. A popularly written personal account of three months spent with PAIGC and FRELIMO.
24. DAVIDSON, BASIL. *The Liberation of Guiné: Aspects of an African Revolution*. Baltimore, Penguin, 1969. 167 pp., \$1.45 (paperback). Examines PAIGC efforts in Guinea-Bissau based on on-the-spot observations; forward by Amilcar Cabral.
25. ----. "Revolt in Portuguese Guinea." In: *Tricontinental Magazine*, Havana, Sept./Oct. 1968, pp. 88-91.
26. DOBERT, MARGARITA. "Who Invaded Guinea?" In: *Africa Report*, Washington, D.C., March 1971, pp. 16-18, map. An account of Portuguese raid on PAIGC in Conakry, November 22, 1970: "available evidence supports the thesis that there were two plots: one by the Portuguese and the other by Guinean exiles."
27. FERNANDEZ, GIL. "Talk with A Guinean Revolutionary." In: *Ufahamu*, Los Angeles, Spring 1970, pp. 6-21. Inter-

view with PAIGC international representative transcribed from tape.

28. FIRST, RUTH. "Portugal's African Wars." In: *AFRICA: An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly*, Paris, January 1972, pp. 47-51, illus., map. Survey of African liberation movements in "Portuguese" territories, including special magazine interview with Amilcar Cabral.
29. "Guiné and the Cape Verde Islands." In: *African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles Against White Minority Rule*, by Richard Gibson, New York, Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 243-263. In what has been regarded a controversial and highly partisan work, the Black American author describes political history of struggle in Guinea-Bissau. Unlike most studies of this nature, Black-"mulatto" color/class factors and their relevance within liberation movements are given serious treatment by author.
30. "Guinea-Bissau's Liberation Struggle." In: *Race Today*, London, November 1971, pp. 377-378. Report on PAIGC activities in armed conflict and in the liberated zones; based on document prepared by World Council of Churches.
31. "Interview with Amilcar Cabral." In: *NLF: National Liberation Fronts, 1960/1970*, edited by Donald C. Hodges & Robert E.A. Shanab. New York, Morrow, 1972, pp. 156-170. Interview with Cabral on nature of PAIGC campaign against Portuguese colonialism; reprinted from *Tricontinental*, September 1968.
32. KORNEGAY, FRANCIS A. "Bibliographic Essay on Comparative Guerrilla Warfare and Social Change in Southern Africa." In: *Current Bibliography on African Affairs*, Washington, D.C., February 1970, pp. 5-20. Includes comparative focus on liberation movements in "Portuguese" territories with references to literature current at that time.
33. MAGUBANE, BERNARD. "Amilcar Cabral: Evolution of Revolutionary Thought." In: *Ufahamu*, Los Angeles, Fall 1971, pp. 71-87.
34. "Moving Toward Revolution in Guinea and Mozambique," In: *The Angolan Revolution: The Anatomy of an Explosion (1950-1962)*, by John Marcum, Cambridge, The M.I.T. Press, 1969, pp. 282-284. Describes beginnings of armed struggle.



gle in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique following Angolan nationalist insurgency of 1961.

35. OUDES, BRUCE. "The Not So Much Fable of Bissau Desh." In: *Africa Today*, Denver, Fall 1972, pp. 48-53. Satirical take-off on Bangla Desh weaved into scenario describing how Guinea-Bissau might achieve liberation by PAIGC declaration of independence, gaining diplomatic recognition and international legitimacy, and ultimately military assistance in ousting Portuguese from rest of territory.
36. "Rhodesia and Portugal: More Confidence." In: *Africa Confidential*, London, October 20, 1972, pp. 5-6. Includes assessment of what are viewed as PAIGC "set-backs" from counterinsurgency program of Governor Antonio Spínola.
37. RUDEBECK, LARS. "Political Mobilisation in Guinea-Bissau." In: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, London, May 1972, pp. 1-18. Analytical examination of PAIGC party structure (including detailed diagram) and political education program.
38. "Senegal and Portugal: More Trouble." In: *Africa Confidential*, London, October 20, 1972, pp. 6-7. Examines October 12, 1972 clash between Senegalese and Portuguese resulting from latter's 'hot-pursuit' of PAIGC.
39. SPÍNOLA, ANTÓNIO DE. *The Problem of Portuguese Guinea: Exposition Made by the Governor of the Province to a Group of Visiting Members of the National Assembly on 20 July 1970*. Lisbon, Agencia-Geral Do Ultramar, 1970. 29 pp. General Spínola articulates his view of meeting PAIGC challenge by accepting existence of revolutionary conditions which in his theory can and must be channeled to reinforce Portugal's position in Africa by executing a "social counter-revolution."
40. "The Impact of Rebellion on Portuguese Guinea." In: *The Angolan Revolution: The Anatomy of an Explosion (1950-1962)*, by John Marcum, Cambridge, The M.I.T. Press, 1969, pp. 193-194. Brief description of impact of 1961 Angolan nationalist revolt on movement towards liberation in "Portuguese" Guinea.
41. "Tussle Among Guerrillas in Guinea." In: *The Star Johannesburg*, Johannesburg, February 3, 1973, p. 13. Report emphasizing "mulatto" versus African feud within PAIGC



as cause of Cabral's assassination.

42. UNITED NATIONS. *Report to the United Nations, Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau)*. New York, 1972. 14pp. Report of the three-member mission conducted by Special Committee on Decolonization to liberated areas of "Portuguese" Guinea, April 2 - 8, 1972; reprinted from *Objective Justice*, September 1972.
43. WALLERSTEIN, IMMANUEL. "The Lessons of the PAIGC." In: *Africa Today*, Denver, July 1971, pp. 62-68. Book review essay on *Revolution in Guinea*, by Amilcar Cabral and *Armed Struggle in Africa*, by Gerard Chaliand.
44. WILLIAMS, OLU. "The Test of Pan-Africanism: The Invasion of Guinea and Aftermath." In: *Mazunguzao*, East Lansing, Mich., Winter 1972, pp. 27-51. African viewpoint on Portuguese raid into Guinea-Conakry in November 1972 and overall implications for ultimate African liberation.
45. WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. *Programme to Combat Racism (Profile of PAIGC)*. Geneva, 1972. 10 pp., map. Factual survey of the PAIGC and its operations as one of the African liberation movements receiving financial assistance from World Council of Churches.
46. ZARTMAN, I. WILLIAM. "Guinea: The Quiet War Goes On." In: *Africa Report*, Washington, D.C., November 1967, pp. 67-72, illus., map. Report on war being waged by PAIGC in special issue devoted to "Portuguese" Africa.

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