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DEATH ON THE YARD
Behind the Killings at Soledad & San Quentin

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THE LEGACY OF AMILCAR CABRAL

by Gerard Chaliand

On January 20, 1973, Amilcar Cabral was shot to death in Conacry, capital of the Republic of Guinea. Leaders of the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau, Cuba was widely known as one of the most important figures in the Third World—comparable in stature to Ho Chi Minh or Fidel Castro. His assassination thus sent shock waves throughout Africa and around the world. Even so, the reasons for the conspiracy against his life remain obscure.


DEATH ON THE YARD

The Untold Killings at Soledad & San Quentin

A small country of 14,000 square miles and a population of about 800,000, Guinea-Bissau does not have the economic wealth of Angola and Mozambique with their subterranean riches. It is an agricultural country and its major crop is rice and peanuts is exported to Portugal. Unlike Angola and Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau's major international emigrants hold money, Guinea-Bissau is ruled otherwise exclusively by Portuguese interests. The country was split into three zones, each headed by a governor and his council. The central zone is the economic heartland of the country. The coastal area is the agricultural heartland, home to the majority of the country's population. The interior is the least developed and has the smallest population. The country is divided into three regions, each with its own administrative center. The capital, Bissau, is located in the central region. The country has a population of about 800,000 people, with about 70% of the population living in the coastal region. The country is divided into three regions, each with its own administrative center. The capital, Bissau, is located in the central region. The country has a population of about 800,000 people, with about 70% of the population living in the coastal region. The country is divided into three regions, each with its own administrative center. The capital, Bissau, is located in the central region. The country has a population of about 800,000 people, with about 70% of the population living in the coastal region. The country is divided into three regions, each with its own administrative center. The capital, Bissau, is located in the central region. The country has a population of about 800,000 people, with about 70% of the population living in the coastal region.
vided the legal basis for a policy of apartheid. They were forbidden to move freely in their own territory and were subjected to forced labor.

In the early 1930s, Cabral went to Lisbon to study at the university and graduated as an agricultural engineer. There he met other "asciutados"—men such as Mario de Andrade and Marcelino dos Santos, who were later to become leading figures in the Angolan and Mozambican nationalist movements. Together they organized a center for African studies to analyze their condition as a colonized people. Later Cabral returned to Africa and traveled for two years in Angola and Guinea-Bissau. The experience deepened his understanding of the effects of colonialism and awoken in him a strong desire to form a political party which would dedicate itself to the struggle for independence. After the publication of Céphas, his remarkable monograph on "Portuguese" Guineas, Cabral, along with other nationalists, founded the PAIGC in 1956, and thereby seized the struggle in "Portuguese" Guineas with the east in the Cape Verde Islands. (This stands, about 1000 kilometers from the Guinean coast, have a population of 200,000 inhabitants, all considered to be "asciutados").

The party worked underground. At first, its members came mainly from urban intellectual and semi-intellectual backgrounds, but their ranks were soon swelled by workers and unem-
ployed young people. During its first three years, the party concentrated on forming cells in the major towns. On August 3, 1959, a workers' strike broke out in the port of Bissau. Portuguese troops were used to suppress it, and 50 workers were killed. After the strike, the Portuguese Political Police (PIDE) succeeded in dismantling a part of the PAIGC organization. Cabral fled to the neighboring Republic of Guinea, which had won its independence from France the previous year. In the wake of the August strike, leaders of the PAIGC re-examined their strategy and decided that it was a mistake to limit their work to the cities. Conditions in rural areas appeared favorable for armed struggle. Thus the PAIGC set up a school for political studies in Conacry, Republic of Guinea, in order to train cadres to carry the fight for independence to the countryside. The results, a great number of whom were young peasants, were underway six to eight weeks of training. For the first time in 400 years of colonization, Guinean peasants had a chance to acquire some kind of education. They trained well and returned to Guinea-Bissau, often to their native villages. There they have constituted the backbone of the party inside the country. They understood and can communicate with the peasants, and have thus been able to find people who sympathize with the aims of national liberation and under-
cut the influence of Portuguese agents.

The task they faced in 1960-61 was not an easy one: Guinea-Bissau is a small but complex society. About 30 percent of the population is Muslim (Foulah and Mandingas) and the other 70 percent is nominally Christian (Balante, Mandingues, Portuguese). The Mande, and especially the Foulahs, have a society which functions under the traditional chieftain system. Social distinctions are well defined, as is the system of patrilineal kinship. The Foulahs were historically shepherds; today they own a significant amount of livestock. They have a sophisticated economy based on peanut farming, cattle raising and

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**An examination of the revolutionary concept of workers controlling what they produce**

Today's workers are beginning to demand a whole lot more for just good wages and working conditions; they are demanding a say in how the job should be done; they're demanding better holidays, better hours, better location, materials, and more. Many of them are making this move towards independence. It is significant to note that this development is the most significant development in the history of labor-the notion of workers controlling the workplace.

**WORKERS' CONTROL**

A Reader on Labor and Social Change 1945 to 1970

By Norman, C. J. (c. 1971)

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various forms of trade.

In the early days of colonization, the Fula and the Portuguese, and the latter, in exchange, granted the Fula certain economic privileges. Along with the Cape Verde islands, they became the beneficiaries of indirect rule over the Fula's states. The Fula, without any social stratification, the major social distinction being age (the elderly members have more prestige). They live by rice farming, own a few cattle and do not engage in commerce. As a result, the ancestors have been the best at rice farming. In addition, the Portuguese imposed modern chiefs on the Fula village, the chiefs then kept the community under strict control and collected taxes. This system of indirect rule enabled the Portuguese to maintain a low profile at the same time as they engineered the quick and easy subjugation of the indigenous population.

Cabo Verde's special genius was to discover and exploit this reality. Far from overlooking the peasants' splendid ability, as did the Guineans and Francs, he carefully based his military action on a strategic policy, which was the foundation of his political and military campaign. Cabo Verde succeeded in developing the idea of the Fula governance. To an attempt to create, the Portuguese launched an offensive with 300 troops in 1964, but failed to complete the liberation process. That same year, the PAIGC held its first congress inside the liberated territories. By 1966, it had succeeded in extending the struggle to the national territories, despite the presence of an increasing number of Portuguese soldiers (10,000 in 1962, 25,000 in 1966; 35,000 today), bolstered with substantial military assistance from the NATO countries.

The liberation of territory, Cabo Verde developed a new kind of political-administrative structure in the area controlled by the PAIGC. He formed committees in the village, consisting of three men and two women who were elected democratically and who could be dismissed by the village assembly. This structure was essential for the implementation of the Guinean-Bissau administrative organization. It managed production, solved communication problems (transportation of material and food), protected the people's interests, and maintained contact with the party. It has not allowed the villagers to make their voices heard, but has also noticeably altered the conditions of work to the point of creating an atmosphere of traditionalism.

The PAIGC succeeded in liberating the island of Corvo, much to the chagrin of the Lisbon government. In an attempt to create a new offensive with 300 troops in 1964, the Portuguese decided to invade the liberation front. That same year, the PAIGC held its first congress inside the liberated territories. By 1966, it had succeeded in extending the struggle to the national territories, despite the presence of an increasing number of Portuguese soldiers (10,000 in 1962, 25,000 in 1966; 35,000 today), bolstered with substantial military assistance from the NATO countries.

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