settlement. The only alternative left to us is to fight in the only language that our oppressors, the Portuguese, understand. We do not want to be made Portuguese citizens in our own land. We want to remain Africans and Mozambicans.

The fact that Portugal is a dictatorship is a matter for Portuguese to settle, but no decree passed by any body in Portugal will make Africa part of Europe. Portugal claims sovereignty over countries outside its boundaries through right of conquest, which is a violation, of the grossest kind, of international law.

Finally, the moral support that we receive from our brothers in Tanzania and Zambia and other freedom-loving people is welcomed, but we realize that no person, however sympathetic, can win our freedom for us. This we must do by our own hands and through our own sufferings. For this reason as much as any we do not believe that Chinese foreign aid to help Tanzania and Zambia build a railway will 'enable tens or hundreds of thousands of Chinese to come to Africa to strengthen their hold'. Similarly we do not believe that American aid now being given to build a highway from Dar es Salaam to Tunduru, will enable tens or hundreds of thousands of Americans to come to Africa to influence our thinking. We have been under Western colonial control for hundreds of years, and this had not turned us into capitalists. Certainly the five years of modest aid to Africa from China will not transform us into Communists.

'Communist influence in Southern Africa' does not exist. Jack Penn has a Communist phobia, just as we Mozambicans have a Portuguese colonialism phobia. No matter what labels are given to us, we will fight for our dignity.

Artur X.L. Vilankulu

The Relevance of Marxism-Leninism

Amilcar Cabral

"Response to a question after speech in Central Hall, London on 26 October 1971, and published in 'Our People Are Our Mountains'."

Question: Besides nationalism, is your struggle founded on any ideological basis? To what extent has the ideology of Marxism and Leninism been relevant to the prosecution of the war in Guine-Bissau? What practical peculiarities, if any, have necessitated the modification of Marxism-Leninism?

Cabral: We believe that a struggle like ours is impossible without ideology. But what kind of ideology? I will perhaps disappoint many people here when I say that we do not think ideology is a religion. A religion tells one, for example, that Christ was born in Nazareth and performed this miracle and
that and so on and so on, and one believes it or one doesn't believe it, and
one practises the religion or one doesn't. Moving from the realities of one's
own country towards the creation of an ideology for one's struggle doesn't
imply that one has pretensions to be a Marx or a Lenin or any other great
ideologist, but is simply a necessary part of the struggle. I confess that we
didn't know these great theorists terribly well when we began. We didn't
know them half as well as we do now! We needed to know them, as I've said,
in order to judge in what measure we could borrow from their experience to
help our situation — but not necessarily to apply the ideology blindly just
because it's a very good ideology. That is where we stand on this.

But ideology is important in Guinea. As I've said, never again do we want
our people to be exploited. Our desire to develop our country with social
justice and power in the hands of the people is our ideological basis. Never
again do we want to see a group or a class of people exploiting or dominating
the work of our people. That's our basis. If you want to call it Marxism, you
may call it Marxism. That's your responsibility. A journalist once asked me:
'Mr. Cabral, are you a Marxist?' Is Marxism a religion? I am a freedom fighter
in my country. You must judge from what I do in practice. If you decide
that it's Marxism, tell everyone that it is Marxism. If you decide it's not
Marxism, tell them it's not Marxism. But the labels are your affair; we don't
like those kind of labels. People here are very preoccupied with the questions:
are you Marxist or not Marxist? Are you Marxist-Leninist? Just ask me,
please, whether we are doing well in the field. Are we really liberating our
people, the human beings in our country from all forms of oppression? Ask
me simply this, and draw your own conclusions.

We cannot, from our experience, claim that Marxism-Leninism must be
modified — that would be presumptuous. What we must do is to modify, to
radically transform, the political, economic, social and cultural conditions of
our people. This doesn't mean that we have no respect for all that Marxism
and Leninism have contributed to the transformation of struggles throughout
the world and over the years. But we are absolutely sure that we have to
create and develop in our particular situation the solution for our country.
We believe that the laws governing the evolution of all human societies are the
same. Our society is developing in the same way as other societies in the
world, according to the historical process; but we must understand clearly
what stage our society has reached. Marx, when he created Marxism, was not
a member of a tribal society; I think there's no necessity for us to be more
Marxist than Marx or more Leninist than Lenin in the application of their
theories.