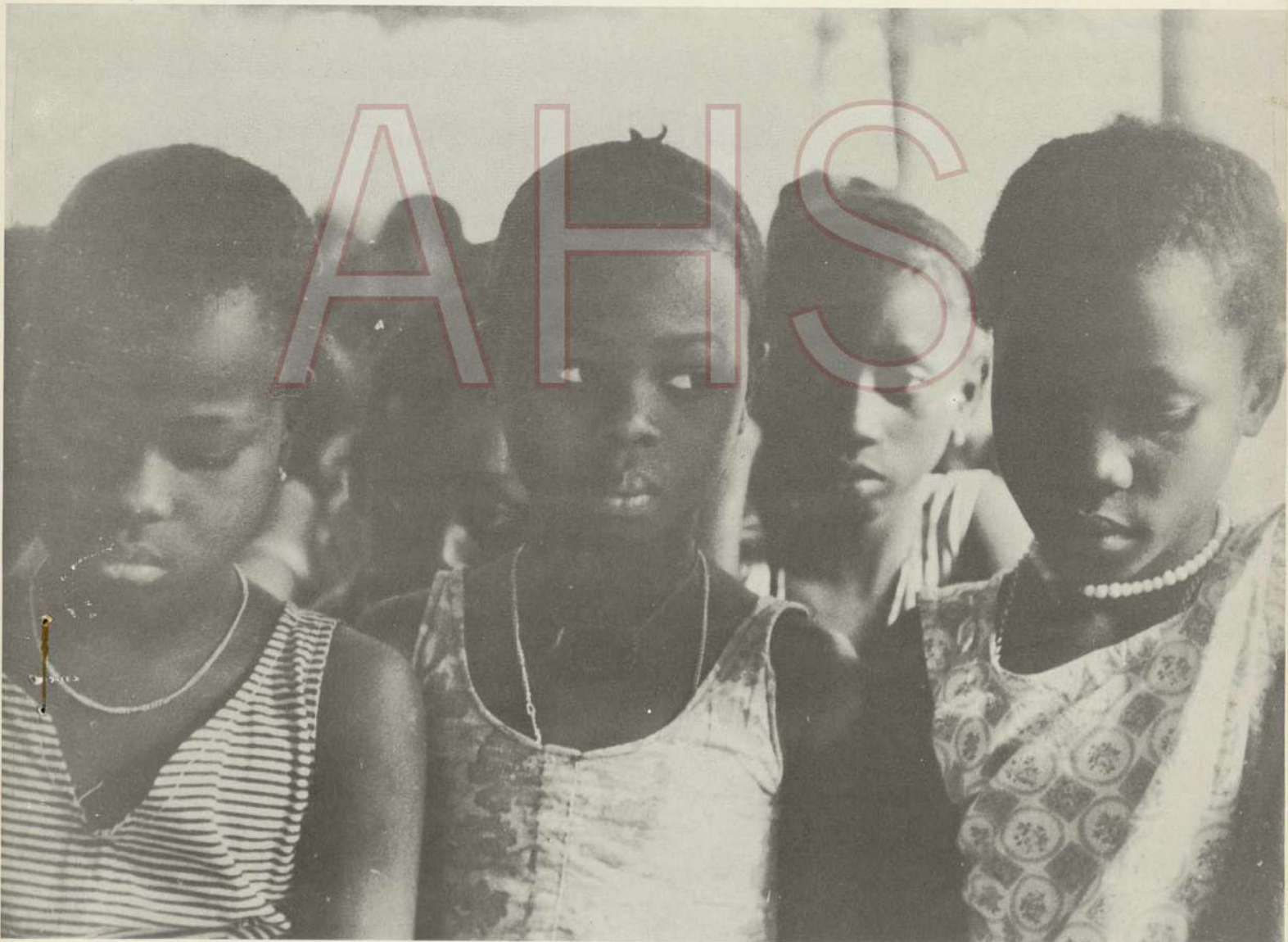




**AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE**  
**PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDÊNCIA DA GUINÉ E CABO VERDE**

Report on the struggle

**THE EIGHTH YEAR  
OF OUR ARMED STRUGGLE  
FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION**



January, 1971

Amilcar Cabral  
Secretary - General



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## INTRODUCTION

The year 1970, the eighth year of our struggle for liberty, was one marked with events of great importance for our fight and that of the African people in general against imperialist domination.

On the home front, the most important aspects concerned continuity itself and the steady development of our activities amidst the diverse and steadily growing complexity of our life and our struggle. This has been specially important as we are continually facing difficulties of every kind because of the precarious material conditions of our people; at the same time, the colonial enemy is being continually and efficiently aided by his allies, and has resorted to all the means at his disposal to destroy our liberation struggle.

While it is true that our determination is equalled by the historical and moral reasons which assist us, it is not less valid to say that we are confronted with a conflict -- an all-out war, in fact -- in which material, financial and economic factors play a primary role.

One cannot minimize either the extent of the sacrifices willingly undertaken by our people or the decisive character of the aid given us by our allies and friends all over the world. But we must admit that there is no common measure between the human and material resources at the disposal of the enemy and those of our own until now. The further our struggle progresses, the more the colonialists utilise not only stronger support and bigger resources of war in their attempt to destroy the foundations of our fight (population, crops, live-stock), but exploit, moreover, and in an underhanded manner, the weaknesses of our economy and financial situation. This is attempted by increasing their concessions to people still under their domination and by development of a "psycho-social" campaign intended to demobilise our people and undermine the fight.

The disparity of means between the oppressor and the oppressed is usual in confrontations between the people and imperialist domination, a general characteristic of colonial wars or fights for national liberation. Also, it is a common factor in the general fight of people against imperialist domination. However, it eliminates neither the serious difficulties we face materially and financially, nor the specific difficulties of our struggle.

Nevertheless, because the continuity of our struggle and the constant reinforcement of our action is already an important victory of our Party and of our people over the Portuguese colonialists, despite the help of their allies and the full resources of the State at their disposal, they have realised that only a miracle (1) can reverse the situation which they face in our country.



On the foreign front, the past year will remain in the history of our fight as a period of reinforcement of international solidarity for the benefit of our people and those in other African countries still occupied by Portugal. The most important factor was the crushing defeat inflicted against the Portuguese colonialists by the brothers of the Republic of Guinea during the odious imperialo-Portuguese aggression against Conakry and in the Koundara region.

The sinister General Spínola, (2) replacing General Arnaldo Schultz (3) transferred after four years of vain and criminal attempts to halt the progress of our struggle, came to our country with the intention of putting an end to our struggle in 1969. But our fight only developed and intensified on every front, the experience gained by our fighters and the improvement of our material resources permitting us to face the hardest onslaught of our enemies and to cause them the heaviest losses in the year 1970.

Having seen the bitter setback to the plan of operations, and with little doubt following the orders of the new head of the Portuguese Government, Marcelo Caetano, the new military Governor inaugurated the policy of "blood and smile", of concessions along with abominable crimes, and of manoeuvres of every kind aimed at feeding the war by war and demobilising the population and the combatants in order to destroy the foundations of our movement.

This policy has still not yielded the results envisaged. This is due mainly to the vigilance of our Party, the high level of political consciousness reached, in general, by the population, including those still in the occupied zones, and to the intensification of our armed action notably in attacks against urban centres.

In addition, there was the liquidation of three commanders of the General Staff and the death following a heart attack, of a military commandant, Brigadier Castro Nascimento. This deprived the governor of his principle collaborators who were specialists in the new policy of subversion aimed at the foundation of our fight -- specialists in psycho-social warfare. One can well understand the difficult situation in which the present head of the colonialists found himself in our country. According to information from Lisbon, he continues to occupy

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#### Footnotes

- (1) Speech by the head of the Portuguese government during an lightning visit to our country in April, 1969.
- (2) Former commandant of the National Republican Guard, the main instrument of fascist army repression in Portugal; former commandant of the Motorised Cavalry in Angola.
- (3) Former Minister of Interior under Salazar, former commandant of operations in Angola.



his post only because the Caetano government has no more possibility of choice in the matter.

In Guinea, our fight for independence and progress is developing with success. Our combattants, who in 1969 had put out of action about 1,500 enemy troops (killed and wounded) reinforced their action on all fronts during the past year. We have inflicted most important losses to the colonialists, both in quality and quantity, not only by liquidating some of the principle cadres in the dirty war directed against our people, but also some of the main African collaborators who served them in their policy of falsehoods and calomnies aimed at destroying our fight.

By facing with courage the criminal acts of the colonialists who have stepped up their napalm bombardments and terroristic assaults against the population, we have consolidated our state and the administration in the liberated regions and increased activity in the political field and in that of national reconstruction.

Having succeeded in producing sufficiently the basic foodstuffs (notably rice) needed to insure the continual elevation of the rhythm of the struggle, the population has benefited by a greater quantity of articles of primary necessity. New manuals and other school materials in much greater quantities than before were at the disposal of thousands of pupils in our schools. Supplies for hospitals and health posts have been stepped up, while at the same time the return to the country of several dozen university students who have completed their studies abroad has improved the working capacity of the party itself, its political and military branches and the function of national reconstruction.

Regarding the war, we have begun to use more powerful arms which has further aggravated the difficulties of the enemy in his posts and in the urban centres. In addition, several hundred young combattants have been trained in our politico-military school.

In the Cape Verde Islands, where the Portuguese have had to recognize the existence of our party, the growth of repression there has only reinforced the determination of patriots and militants in ways to develop the struggle. The progress made over the past year through the clandestine work of our party, reflects increasingly the contradictions and conflicts between the population (notably the workers) and the colonial authorities.

The colonialists, who know better than anyone the strategic importance of the Archipelago for their colonial wars have failed until now in their absurd efforts to convince their allies to include the islands and the Guinea mainland geographically in the North Atlantic Treaty.

Very significant is the growing interest of the Cape Verdian emigrant in our Party and our struggle. During 1970, they have shown increasing proof of a political and patriotic conscience which translates itself without doubt into an appreciable force for the development of the struggle in the Archipelago.



In Portugal the people, notably the workers, the students and the anti-colonial and anti-fascist intellectuals, have increased their action against the colonial war. In 1970, the number of desertions from the heart of the colonial army increased considerably.

These desertions reached a culminating point during the last months with the collective rejection of the colonial war by a number of important officers. These have publicly expressed their repulsion for the colonial war, both in Portugal and abroad. The manifestations of workers and students have shown the world that the Portuguese people have already understood that this war is a crime not only against the African people but against themselves.

The sabotage carried out against troop transport ships along with other concrete acts by Portuguese patriots against the colonial war machine, has shown that a new phase in the courageous war of the people of Portugal for liberation has begun.

In Africa and in the world, the prestige of our party and our fight, as well as the solidarity with our African peoples was considerably reinforced during 1970. Our neighbouring countries continue to accord us the necessary facilities for the growing development of our fight. The abominable aggression against the republic of Guinea, which became instead a shameful defeat for the Portuguese colonialists, has only drawn tighter the brotherly ties of combat between our Party and the Guinean state. And certain African states which had previously shown little direct interest in our fight, have indicated during the last year the desire to help us; and those who gave us their moral, political and material support have shown concrete proof of their decision to reinforce their solidarity with us in every aspect.

On the other hand, the African tendency that we call "Malawism" or "Bandaism", of which the principle purpose consists in betraying Africa and in betraying the liberation movements by a repugnant alliance with the racists and colonialists, has been unmasked and severely isolated. This has taken from the Portuguese colonialists their vain hope that the African liberation movements, particularly our party, would be abandoned by the Africans themselves.

We have consolidated and developed our relations with Socialist countries which have always supported us, and we have opened new perspectives of cooperation with other anti-colonial forces of the world.

The Conference of Rome, and the audience with Pope Paul VI, has marked a new phase of our fight on the international plane. This has caused a disorientation within the enemy camp which could not be concealed. A great number of committees supporting our fight have been created in Europe, and we have succeeded in waking up and developing a solidarity toward our people even within the countries which are main allies of Portugal.

Sweden, which like the other Scandinavian countries, is prepared to grant us very useful humanitarian support, has augmented by 75 percent the help which she has given us in 1970. In all of the continents, the



interest and solidarity towards our fight and our party is being augmented daily.

In accord with the concrete reality of our country as seen by dozens of visitors of different nationalities, world opinion today knows that, in our country, our party is the real holder of power in nearly all of the national territory. The world today knows that our situation is comparable to that of an independent state which has part of its national territory, principally the urban centres, occupied by foreign military forces. In spite of all the manoeuvres and lies of the Portuguese colonialists, this is again an important victory for our Party and our people which we must draw upon.

As solid as is our certainty of victory, we must not permit it to create illusions regarding the criminal reasoning of Portuguese colonialists in pursuit of their colonial war against our people and against Africa.

Mr. Marcelo Caetano, in his speech of 27th September, 1970, reaffirmed the determination "to maintain to all costs" the position that the intended reforms of the constitution change nothing. Further, new financial and material resources are at the disposal of the government of Portugal from her NATO allies, notably the U.S., the Federal Republic of Germany, and France.

German arms and munitions, German and French small boats and gunboats, French and Dutch helicopters, American, German and Italian aircraft, and the most modern logistical means, are being used in our country. A new broadcasting station of 100 KW has been installed for the needs of colonial propaganda.

In other respects, mercenaries of various nationalities continue to train near Bissau certain nationals of the Republic of Guinea for acts of sabotage and aggression against that country. Frequent attacks have been mounted against the frontier villages in Senegal and Guinea. The government of Portugal frequently renews its offer for the establishment of NATO bases in our country. An admiral has been named for the post of Chief Commander of Colonial Troops in the islands of Cape Verde, a measure of the importance attached by the colonialists to the political progress of our struggle in the archipeligo.

So that the successes already won and the favourable perspectives before us are translated into new and decisive victories, we must develop and intensify military action, reinforce political work and international information, and increase our work on the international and African plane with a view to reinforcing concrete solidarity for our liberation struggle, one which for some years now, has been a real war.

To achieve these aims, we must be in a position to satisfy the essential needs of the population in the liberated regions concerning food and primary necessities, to continue the works of economic, social and cultural enlightenment begun in these regions, to improve war material and logistical means, and to meet the increasing costs of the fight in all aspects. We have, therefore, further need of articles of primary necessity, school and hospital materials and medicine, arms and munitions, and of money -- for war is very expensive and especially so if carried out by a poor nation who have been obliged to take up arms



to emancipate themselves from foreign domination.

The international character of the colonial war is not only juridical in aspect, but above all political and material. As one well knows, Portugal would have been already defeated if not for the efficient political and material support from her NATO allies and the racists of Southern Africa and others.

Our armed war of liberation, based on the inalienable right of our people and on the moral and international laws of our day, is that of all Africa, of all the states, nations, national and international organisations and individuals who love liberty, justice and progress. For this reason we are encouraged by the hope and the certitude that our allies in the world, notably the African states, the socialist countries and the anti-colonialist forces in general, will not spare any effort to reinforce the concrete help being accorded to our struggle. This hope and certainty has been reinforced by the indisputable success of the Rome Conference, the encouraging resolutions of which will surely not end as hopeful wishes.

To face the difficult material conditions which comprise the existence of our people, and to be conscious of the realities of our fight, is also to understand how much is dependent on the concrete solidarity of our allies to whom it will never be possible to show sufficiently our fraternal gratitude. In this context, it is well to recall the accrued responsibilities in the light of the development of our war which demands each day more efficient, adequate, regular and multiform help.

The Portuguese colonialists are also conscious of this. They know that if the necessary and adequate help were not missing, they would be driven from our country in a short time. They are making desperate efforts -- on an international scale and in the interior of our country -- to avoid this because a defeat here would mean the knell of Portuguese domination in Africa. But the situation confronting them and the success we have achieved in 1970 does not permit them many illusions.



2. -- Political Manoeuvres of the Portuguese Colonialists  
The Psycho-Social War

Having been forced to recognize, through the voice of their principal leaders, that our fight could not be stopped nor their dirty war won against our people and Africa, the criminal Portuguese colonialists adopted new tactics in their attempts to destroy our Party. They have used the lowest and most contemptable methods within the structure of a policy which leads one to see more clearly each day that the Portuguese colonialists are veritable bandits capable of committing without scruple the most barbarous crimes and employing the most shameless lies.

Having completely failed in their attempts to sow confusion in our struggle by offering freedom in exchange for treason to a certain number of our detained compatriots, the Portuguese colonialists have had to resort to other methods. They have invented lies about divisions within our Party; written letters to leaders promising them fortune, honours and ease; attempted to appeal to low sentiments of opportunism and ambition, convinced that the supporters and leaders of our Party are like those serving they themselves. They were deceived. Their attempts met no other response but contempt and repulsion on the part of our comrades, the criminal action of the enemy serving only to reinforce the unity and vigilance within our Party and within its national governing body.

Realising that it was impossible to divide the leadership of our Party or to lead some to treachery, the Portuguese colonialists then decided to mobilise opportunists living in the exterior, the idea being to involve some of the responsible members of our armed fight in treason, promising them a great deal of money.

Again they failed. Showing again their highly-developed political consciousness as real militants of our Party, the responsible people arrested the opportunists and traitors instead. They have been justly judged and condemned.

Then, on the Canchungo front (centre-west of the country) The Portuguese colonialists put into action some of their main military teams specializing in psychological warfare who attempted to buy certain responsible persons in that front. Having made some contacts, written some ridiculous letters, offered gifts and promises of every kind, the colonialists then underwent a disgraceful defeat. Our combattants liquidated the commandants and other officials and soldiers who had thought that they could buy us. This made clear, once again, that we know very well what we want, and that we are patriots: we are not for sale.

Disillusioned by their defeats and by the reinforcement of our organisation and our fight, the Portuguese colonialists then considered detailed plans for the physical liquidation of our leaders, notably the Secretary-General of our Party. It is in this criminal perspective



that the Portuguese colonialists invented that ridiculous and shameless lie called the "message of Conakry", in which, according to their invention, the combattants of our Party have asked for guarantees to return to our country. Convinced that they would manage to kill the Secretary-General of our Party in Dakar, they intended, through this lie, to cause a decisive blow to the moral of our combattants and supporters and prevent all possibilities of carrying on the war after the assassination.

Once again, the criminal plans of the Portuguese colonialists failed. The leaders of the Party stayed firmly in their post and the falsehood of the "message of Conakry" again made clearer the impudence and hopelessness of Portuguese colonialists and their military leaders in our country.

The Portuguese colonialists know very well that for our combattants, as well as for our leaders, the problem of returning to the country does not exist, precisely because we are in our country. It is for them, for the colonialists, that the problem exists and becomes keener every day; they must leave our country and return to theirs. They can go either after a disgraceful defeat, or after an agreement with us, with our Party, but they will be forced to leave because we shall complete the liberation of our country.

In their vain attempt to destroy our party and stop the war, the Portuguese colonialists have carried out their criminal aggression against the Republic of Guinea and have made deceitful promises to the government of Senegal. (1) But in vain.

The Republic of Guinea reinforces each day the unconditional and total support of our Party and of our country. The Republic of Senegal, having overcome certain hesitations, decided to lend us every possible support. Once again the criminal action of the enemy aimed at destroying our organisation and the fight ended in a defeat for the colonialists and an important victory for our Party.

Having failed in their plans to bribe the leadership, others in responsible positions, and the supporters of our Party, the Portuguese colonialists tested and experimented with attempts to demoralise the population in our liberated regions. Certain African agents of the enemy infiltrated into those regions with the purpose of creating confusion and demobilisation.

A great number of these agents, like Cuor Sano and others, have already been arrested and fairly tried and condemned. Others will suffer the same penalty because we have reinforced our vigilance and the security forces act more successfully every day to detect, arrest, judge and condemn enemy agents. These agents must be severely punished as in the case of one of the most miserable lackeys of the Portuguese colonialists -- Ioro Bamba -- who was eliminated by our combattants.

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(1) We consider this further in part 5, the aggression against the Republic of Guinea.



In an attempt to deceive Portuguese public opinion, the colonialists invented "visits" of Portuguese delegations to our country. After the propaganda carried out in respect of a "visit" by the Minister of Colonies who, in reality did not circulate except by helicopter, we liquidated three commanders from the General Staff, demonstrating in that way that if we had not liquidated the Minister it was because we had no interest in doing so.

More recently, of the eight deputies who came "to visit" what still remains of the colony, four lost their lives in a helicopter shot down by our combattants.

Amongst them was the well known African traitor, Jaime Pinto Bull who, despite our advice, ended up dead in the sad condition of a low servant of the colonialists and an enemy of our people and of Africa.

Recently, the Portuguese colonialists have resorted to another tactic in their attempt to stop our fight; to divide our people and put Africans against Africans. This is an old tactic and one often employed by colonialists and in colonial imperialistic wars. But we must denounce it and fight it with energy so that this new criminal initiative of the enemy is soundly defeated.

The colonialists have invented what they call the ethnic "Congress" in our country, their objective being to win our brothers by offering them high posts and honours. Above all, it is to destroy the consciousness and national unity which has been created by our Party and our fight.

By having an ethnic "Congress" and promising that each ethnic group will have its own leader, the colonialists intend to stir up again the tribal sentiments that we have already extinguished. Even now, they want to sabotage the possibilities of a harmonious national existence for our people after the independence which they well know we will attain.

Pretending that they wish to give political authority to the population still under their control through the use of some of the chiefs, the object is to prepare the ground for new conflicts between the tribes so that, for example, the Balante cannot agree with the Pepel, so that confusion will be sown in our country. This would make impossible the life of the African nation which we are in the process of building.

With their sham congress, as with all of their activities, the colonialists, it goes without saying, hope to injure our people. They will not succeed, however, because our Party exists, because our people are more conscious with each day of the right and duty of the African people, and because no manoeuvre can stand in the way of the victorious march of our army's fight for liberation. Those who, because of ambition or opportunism, permit themselves to be deceived by the falseness of the Congress, will waste their time and will be branded as traitors to our people and to Africa.



Always in the attempt to divide our people, the Portuguese colonialists develop, within a certain time, a large-scale campaign through the radio against the Capeverdians (the inhabitants of Cape Verde), mainly in the dialects of Guinea. In this campaign, as in certain letters which they wrote to those in responsible posts in our Party promising wealth and awards, they affirm that they will expell all Capeverdians in their service in Guinea, and that the respective posts previously occupied by them will be given to those whom they call "the true children of Guinea".

The colonialists are aware that the political and moral unity between people in Guinea and those in the islands of Cape Verde is the main force of our Party and of our fight. So they dream of destroying it by attempting to create differences which never existed, to spread lies, to stir up covetousness and to awaken ambitions and opportunism amongst those who, even though not participating in the fight, are nationalists nevertheless and support the liberation of our country.

But again they have failed completely. To begin with, this is because the true nationalists of Guinea are not racists nor opportunists, and they realise, as do the fighters of our Party, who their leaders are and the value of unity between the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde.

Secondly, it is because the colonialists are in fact lying when they say that they will expel the Capeverdians. It would be impossible for them to do so, for they need the Capeverdians who serve them as much as they need the Guineans who do so. The colonialists are well aware of the great service they would have offered our Party and the fight if they were to actually expel the Capeverdians from Guinea.

They have already rendered a good service, however. With their propaganda fed through their radio against the Capeverdians, they have already indicated to the Capeverdian provincials who serve the colonialists in Guinea that we are right; the colonialists are served by them, but they are not given, for their part, the least consideration.

They must, then, like the best sons of our people of Guinea and Cape Verde, grasp their situation and lend every support to our Party and the fight with a view to the complete liberation of our African homeland.

Faced with great difficulties growing out of the progress of our struggle, and by the fact that young Portuguese soldiers do not want death without glory in our country, the Portuguese colonialists have decided to distribute stripes to half a dozen of their African servants, to call them officers and place them at the head of "African companies". In this way they prolong their dirty colonial war for as long as possible, nourish the war and drive our brothers to fight against us. But they will not succeed in carrying out their criminal aims.

Already a great number of the members of these companies have deserted to us and others will do so. They must do it now, while there



is still time. Our armed brothers who are with the colonialists must come to us with their arms, and better, they must be prepared to serve against the colonialists themselves in the defence of our people's interests.

On our part, we must all set to work in order to develop the contacts with the "African companies" under the colonialists so that agreements can be concluded about the best methods of desertion or collaboration with the armed forces of our Party. They are our brothers, and we must do the utmost to prevent their fighting against us. But we must liquidate without hesitation, on the other hand, all those who insist on being armed lackeys of the criminal Portuguese colonialists.

The manoeuvres which we are about to report will indicate the hopeless situation in which the colonialists find themselves, their failures confirming the high degree of the political consciousness of our militants and the irreversible progress made by the struggle. We must, in the meantime, reinforce and develop the defence of our gains and intensify our struggle, for the enemy is determined to use all the cheapest and most criminal methods to stop the advance of our people toward the total liberation of the country and toward independence.

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3. The Military Action of Portuguese Colonialists.  
An Appreciation of Their Analyses.

For the second time in the course of their colonial war of genocide fought against our African people, the Portuguese colonialists have published an analysis or balance sheet, of their activities, the last of which concerns the year 1970.

Naturally, the balance of a colonial war represents, for every healthy conscience, a confession of crime against humanity, whatever the object might be, whatever the figures which are included, and whatever the lies which fatten it. No comment is really necessary.

It seems to us, in the meantime, interesting from the conclusions to which they come, to examine more closely some facts and figures contained in the report, the principle purpose of which was to deceive Portuguese and world public opinion regarding the actual situation in our country.

Evidently they did not have the courage to include in the report the criminal acts which they carry out daily against our population, the number of villages they have bombarded with napalm, the terroristic assaults by helicopter-borne troops, the murders of old men and helpless women and children, their assaults and bombardments against hospitals and schools, the number of patriots in prison, tortured or murdered, nor the ignoble provocations and aggressions against people in neighbouring countries.

The colonialists have remained silent on the facts and results of what constitutes the main aspect of their action in our country; the napalm bombardments and the terroristic assaults by helicopter-borne troops against the civilian population. These facts have been largely certified by reliable observers such as journalists, cine-reporters, writers and other groups and individuals of different nationalities including, more recently, a Swedish delegation.

Although, in the report of 1969 the colonialists limited themselves to alluding to the losses that we had suffered and the material recaptured by them, the report of 1970 reflects the new policy adopted by Marcelo Caetano in the colonial war, reporting at length on the so-called "works of economic and social character" (regarding certain sanitary posts and schools) which they carried out in the course of the year.

The colonialists, in the meantime, have "forgotten" to refer to various mosques they have built, and to the millions spent on pilgrimages to Mecca, possibly to avoid offending the religious sentiments of the Portuguese people who are strongly Catholic. There would surely be questions asked about the five centuries of "crusade for Christian civilisation" ending in<sup>a</sup> campaign of "Islamisation" indicated by the fervent construction of mosques in a great number of urban centres and the official organisation of free trips to Mecca.



For those whom it may interest, above all those who are familiar with the reality of recent and current colonial wars in the world, the facts and the figures mentioned -- admitting that there is some truth in them -- do not mislead anyone. They are rather a confession of the grave difficulties in which the Portuguese colonialists find themselves in our country.

The construction of airports near urban centres indicates the anxiety to solve a problem of logistical nature, to assure the supply, reinforcement and evacuation of their troops who, in the urban centres still occupied, are finding themselves besieged and increasingly the object of attack by our armed forces. This activity also reveals the criminal intention of the colonialists to step up the action of their aircraft and helicopters against our people and also to prolong the war.

The tarring of certain sections of road in the zones still occupied but under dispute fall within the same objective and constitute, above all, an attempt to avoid the murderous action of mines and ambushes. But the Portuguese colonialists have passed over in silence in their report anything concerning the enormous losses they have already suffered in lives and in material during this attempt to tar some of the roads.

The hasty utilisation of so-called "works of social character" done to reinforce propaganda, is included in the policy structure of blood and smile, of baton and fraud, which the colonialists introduced after almost two years of vain attempts to demobilise our people. It is an attempt, as hopeless as it is vain, to put into practice some of the essential points of the social programme of our Party -- and which we have already begun to achieve in the liberated regions. The colonialists intend with that to deceive the populations in the urban centres and the few zones still under their occupation, the aim being to "prove" that independence is not necessary and that, as they say in their false propaganda, "these populations can benefit by improved social conditions under the Portuguese flag".

Evidently, the colonialists have not succeeded in convincing anyone except those already convinced. The population, moreover, has been the first to understand this truth -- that without our combat, without our Party, the Portuguese colonialists who lived for such a long time in our country without building either schools or sanitary posts or houses, would never have bothered to do so otherwise.

For Portuguese and world public opinion and particularly for those who, in some way, believed in the myth of the "civilising action" of Portuguese colonialism, the results presented in the colonialist balance-sheet in the social domain are revealing: during all the time that has passed of colonialist presence in our country, it is now that they have understood the necessity for building sanitary posts, schools and houses. And to do it, they had to bring some 40,000 soldiers and their arms into our country. Such a social action has proved to be one of the more evident results of the victorious development of our fight for liberation.



If the analysis, even brief, of the pretended social achievements of the Portuguese colonialists shows them in a bad light, they remain in a worse one from the moment one considers more closely the analyses of their military action.

They have themselves provided the following data concerning our losses for the past two years, which they present under the heading "amongst other losses".

1969	Dead	614	
	Wounded	259	
	Captured	165	Total 1,038
1970	Dead	895	
	Wounded	449	
	Captured	86	
	Deserters	132	Total 1,562

The general total is 2,600 losses, which we can round off to 3,000 (and even more) if we consider that the colonialists' analyses did not take into account that which they call "other losses".

In an interview given to Portuguese radio-television in February, 1970, the military governor of Bissau affirmed that "only about 5,000 men constitute the guerrilla force". He apparently refers to PAIGC guerrillas as there are no others in our country. That is to say, therefore, that a guerrilla army of which the maximum number is 5,000 has lost, in two years of war, about 3,000 fighters, without that fight being diminished in intensity in the meantime. On the contrary.

We proceed further. According to General Staff reports our forces would have suffered between 1963 and 1966 "amongst others", 10,927 in losses. Not having at our disposal secret data for 1967 and 1968, we shall consider for these years the average of previous years. For each year therefore, we would have had 2,681 losses or, for the two years 5,362. This brings us to a general total of 19,289 losses amongst our combattants during the eight years of fighting, including the 3,000 allegedly put out of action in 1969 and 1970. If we consider the "other losses" we can round off this total number to 20,000.

Now even the most absent-minded observer or one least favourable to our cause, will eventually conclude that these official figures from the Portuguese colonialists are in reality an excellent propaganda gain for our Party and our struggle. In a fight such as ours, and with the conditions of our country as they are, a liberation movement which had suffered 20,000 losses and which successfully continues the fight against such numerically and materially superior forces would have accomplished a singular feat, if not a miracle.

But there is more. In the above mentioned interview with the Bissau military governor on Portuguese radio-television, he affirmed:



"in the particular case of Guinea with its 550,000 inhabitants, not quite 80,000 have abandoned national territory or sought refuge in the bush".

According to U.N. figures, the number of nationals from our country who had sought refuge in Senegal only is estimated at about 60,000. Since 80,000 less 60,000 equals 20,000, we must conclude that, according to the official figures in the Portuguese report (secret and published) they must have killed, wounded or captured all those remaining in our country who had taken refuge in the bush. Moreover, by the force of number, these people would all have been members of our guerrilla force. Where can the dilerium of lies lead?

Let us now examine what the colonialists have to say on the subject of material seized from our forces over the past two years. In the analyses of both 1969 and 1970, they present a long list of arms, munitions and other material "seized from the enemy". They do not reveal that the greater part of material seized until now by the colonialists -- in every war there is a capture of arms by both sides -- has been arms or munitions finally abandoned in dumps by our combattants because age made them beyond use or repair. For our part, the material that we have seized from the colonialists was taken directly from the hands of their dead soldiers or captured from those who fled.

According to their figures, a total of 99 tons of arms and ammunitions was lost to them by our forces -- (50 tons in 1969 and 49 in 1970) --.

It must be admitted that war material is usually very heavy. We learned this very quickly, for we do not have military vehicles at our disposal and must transport it on our backs and heads. We can only be grateful to our colonialist opponent's propaganda which indirectly ascribes to us such phenomenal capacity. It seems that we are so gifted that we can transport, on foot, into the interior of our country, such a quantity of material that the seizure by the enemy of 50 tons of it in one year only has had no effect on our struggle. A struggle which is, on the contrary, reinforced and developed further every day.

In spite of evidence collected in our country by dozens of foreign visitors who are objective and unbiased, the Portuguese colonialists continue the pretence that we are acting only from neighbouring countries where we have dozens of bases. In their interviews and statements, they always deny the fact that our Party has liberated and controls a great part of our population.

Further to their analyses of 1970, the colonialists themselves report, for the first time, of "some elements of the population which returned (to the hands of Portuguese authorities) after finding themselves under the control of the enemy" (sic). They indicate also a total of 3,600 who returned in 1970 alone. This means that at the same time our combattants were undergoing losses reaching 20,000 (with



3,000 occurring during the past two years), we had begun to control elements of the population. According to statements so often repeated by them, this had never occurred.

This would only signify that our organisation is so solidly entrenched in our country and that we control such a numerous population, that in 1970 alone 3,000 of its members would have presented themselves to the colonial authorities. This is not only a unique confession: above all, it is a categorical contradiction of colonialist allegations concerning the actual condition in our country and a proof of the fact that they no longer know what they are doing, nor what they are saying.

To conclude, the 1970 analyses, the Portuguese colonialists affirm timidly, but without apparent shame, that among our dead were "some elements of the Guinean Republic army and four Cubans". Another lying provocation on the part of the Portuguese colonialists, whose criminal nature we are so aware of. We should not lose time, however, with oral or written provocations emanating from the Portuguese colonialists. As the popular Portuguese saying goes, and one which their leaders would do well to learn: "Mais depressa se apanha um mentiroso do que um coxo", which means "One catches a liar faster than a lame man".

Throughout 1970, the enemy continued to manifest his presence mainly with aerial bombardments and some terroristic assaults during which helicopter-borne troops were used against the civilian population. The bombardments occurred mainly in the regions of Kinara, Cubisseco, Cubucare and Kitafine (in the south), Sacra, Oio and Canchungo (in the north) and Eastern Boe (in the East).

The criminal action of the Portuguese air force was particularly evident in zones where our Party organisation is most solid and the population particularly devoted to the struggle; the helicopter assaults, combined with intensive bombardment occurred principally in rice-growing zones (with the intention of burning the crops and terrorising the population), as well as against hospitals and schools.

A great number of villages, notably in Kinara and Cubisseco, were destroyed or burnt by napalm toward the end of the year. But it did not significantly modify the productive activity of the people nor affect their morale. Amongst the criminal acts of the colonialists we must include the bombardment of schools in Iador and Tambico (in the north) which caused 15 deaths and 25 wounded amongst the children. The assault against a rural hospital in the Tombali zone (in the south) and the bombardment of a boarding school in Boe (in the East) where 30 napalm bombs were dropped by the Portuguese Air Force must also be mentioned.

In the Cape Verde islands, the enemy has stepped up the repression of patriots, committed crimes against workers in revolt in S. Antao, and tortured compatriots who were unjustly arrested. The enemy are preparing themselves to drown in blood the legitimate aspirations for independence held by the people of the island.



Almost paralysed and submitting to our attacks during the rainy season, the colonialists intensified their criminal bombardments in the dry season. We are facing them and hitting them even harder.

AHS



#### 4.- OUR ACTION

##### 4.1. On the Interior Plane

The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party held from the 12 to 15 of April, 1970, took important decisions concerning the development of our action on the political administrative, military and national reconstruction levels.

Responding to the new demands of the fight and the multiple activities of our organisation, the role of which each day becomes more that of a state whose territory is still partially occupied by foreign forces, a new structure for the directing bodies of the party and the war has been decided upon. A High Council for the Struggle (Un Conseil Supérieur de la lutte) (CSL) and an Executive Committee for the Struggle (Comite Executif de la Lutte) (CEL) has been created. The inter-regional committees have been replaced by the National Committees of the Liberated Regions which cover the activities of the regional committees. The functions of those responsible for national reconstruction have been more clearly defined, the question of production having been linked to the domain of political action.

In the sphere of the armed struggle, new fronts have been defined corresponding to each Regular Corps of the army. The forces of self-defence (militia, population and armed militants) have been reorganised into the structure of the Local Armed Forces (Forces Armees Locales) (FAL).

Political Action has been in general intensified, notably in the regions of Kinara, Cubucare, Tombali (South), O O (north) and Xitoli (east). In the Cape Verde islands, progress made in 1969 has been consolidated and developed. In the Gabu region in the east, which was the fief of certain chiefs traditionally favourable to the Portuguese colonialists, the development of armed action caused an important modification in the political situation which is at present very much favourable for the struggle.

In other respects, our political action in the liberated zones adjacent to those still occupied by the enemy, has been limited significantly, one reason being the precarious nature of supplying the population who are attracted by the possibility of obtaining basic necessities in the urban centres.

In the meantime, clandestine action in these urban centres has greatly improved.

During the present phase of the struggle, it has been seen that the development and intensification of armed action, notably against the urban centres and in some zones still under enemy control, exercises a positive influence on the political situation. All of us, in continuing to develop our political action and that of national reconstruction, must in the meantime intensify our



armed struggle and not permit ourselves to be drawn into the psychosocial war and economic rivalry.

On the social and cultural plane, our activities were carried on normally, in spite of bombardments and terroristic actions by the colonialists. The school year had, in general, some satisfactory results and teachers kept the schools open. Around 100 young boys and girls have left for foreign countries to study professional courses at colleges and universities. We have improved certain aspects of health assistance to the combattants and the population, but we continue to face some serious difficulties concerning medicaments, especially anti-helminthic treatments (intestinal tropical ailments), antibiotics and dressings.

In all the liberated regions, the population has proceeded with enthusiasm in agricultural works. However, the lack of water, especially in the months of August and September, created some disquieting perspectives particularly in zones nearest the ocean.

Many foreign delegations of many nationalities have lived temporarily in our country. They have made reports and films after having direct contact not only with the situation in our fight for liberation, but above all with the achievements of our Party in the social, economical and educational fields in the service of a better life for our people.

At the very time that the Portuguese colonialists were carrying out the criminal aggression against the Republic of Guinea, an official 4-member Swedish delegation headed by member of parliament, Mme. Birghita Dahl, was staying in our country for three weeks.

It would be interesting to mention portions of a letter from Mme. Dahl, which contains certain observations about our country.

"... This has been for me a great honour to have been invited to live amongst you as a friend. It has also been a very educational experience. In the liberated zones we found certain things which, I believe, do not exist elsewhere, or, at least, are not carried out elsewhere with the same consequence -- clear ideology and a consciousness which reaches into the every-day life of your men and your women.

"To see this was a great encouragement for us who are attempting to build socialism in a "mixed" society, with all the complications which this implies.

"For me, who has found myself confronted, practically, with the problems of constructing a new society (that is to say, concrete problems such as the organisation of schools and the well-being of children, and work for the unemployed) it has been particularly interesting and advantageous to study not only the theoretical aspects of your fight but also the hard realities of every day, the conditions



of life and the methods as well as the possibilities of improving these conditions. What I saw has reinforced my conviction and knowledge that our problems are common problems as are our aspirations, and in a certain measure our methods of working. The task of creating a society in which men and women can live in dignity, peace and equality is a universal problem.

"I shall never forget what I have seen in your struggle, nor the beauty of your country and the kindness of all the friends with whom we have had the pleasure to live during the long night marches or the stays in the tabancas (villages), hospitals and schools ...".

If such a testimony, like so many others we have received, makes us proud and encourages our action, it cannot but attract attention to the growing responsibilities which are ours in the general framework of the fight of African peoples against imperialist domination and the liberty and progress of our people.

On the military level, our combattants continue to attack enemy positions and cause increasing losses to the colonial troops. All the urban centres except Bissau and Bafata, have been attacked in 1970. The town of Gabu, capitol of the region of the same name, has been attacked three times in succession. In this region, the intensification of our action has completely upset enemy plans for a "regroupment of the population".

On many fronts, but particularly in Gabu (in the East) and at Nhacra (in the north, about 30 kilometers from Bissau) heavy ambushes have put several dozen enemy soldiers out of action and destroyed a significant number of vehicles. An important aspect of our military action in 1970 was the increasing liquidation of superior officers and others, which emphasizes the demoralisation of the colonial troops and their leaders.

Following is an analyses of our main actions for the past year.

--- Attacks against fortified camps	.... 625
--- Attacks against Portuguese aerodromes and installations	.... 18
--- Commando operations in urban centres	.... 26
--- Principal ambushes and other important engagements	.... 133

In the course of these actions and others less important, the colonial troops have lost 24 officers, 794 soldiers and other military men (the dead actually counted) while the number of wounded was 438. Information originating from reliable sources in Bissao and Lisbon indicate that the number of military men wounded during 1970 is estimated at about 900, making a total of 1,718 enemy dead and wounded.



It should be noted that following this same information from Bissau, the military governor during a meeting with businessmen in January revealed to them that only in the months of November and December the colonial troops have had 298 dead.

Our combattants, who have seized large quantities of enemy arms and materials, have also destroyed 85 military vehicles of several types, shot down or damaged four aircraft and seven helicopters, and sank or damaged 34 boats on the rivers. We have occupied nine fortified camps including the important posts of Morcunda (in the east), Ganture (in the south), and Ulencunda (in the north). Three Portuguese military men have been captured and eight others have deserted the colonial army.

#### 4.2. On the Exterior Plane

The African Plane -- in general, to reinforce relations of solidarity between our Party and the Parties and States which give great attention to our struggle and that of others in the Portuguese colonies (Algeria, Tanzania, UAR, Mauritania, Zambia, the Peoples Republic of the Congo and Nigeria), we must deploy the necessary efforts for the development of fraternal rapport with all the other independent African states who are against Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes in southern Africa.

We must express satisfaction with the profound transformations brought about in the politico-economic fields in Libya, Sudan and Somali, these states being truly anti-imperialist and which constitute a factor for reinforcing our struggle. We must make every effort to develop relations between our Party and these States in the service of the total liberation of our people and of Africa.

Concerning in particular our neighbouring countries -- Guinee and Senegal, we must make every effort in the framework of our principles to continually reinforce the links of fraternal friendship between our people and the brotherly people of these countries, and between our party and these states in the service of the highest interests of Africa.

It is evident that the imperialo-Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinee, in form and content, had thrown into particular relief -- and legitimately so -- the total and unconditional support at all times that the Republic of Guinee has given our party, reinforcing in that way the links which bind us. In other respects, the fact that the Republic of Senegal has decided to accord to our Party the help possible for the adequate development of our liberation struggle, particularly in the northern front, has been an encouraging sign for our people.

The reinforcement and development of relations of solidarity and collaboration with neighbouring states is an imperative of our struggle for which we must pay much attention in defence of the



interests of our people and of Africa. In this framework, we must, as in the past, strictly respect the sovereignty of these states and make every effort that their security is not harmed.

It is worthwhile to remember that the Liberation Committee of the OAU, which unanimously considers that our party is an authentic liberation movement and an exemplary one, has made considerable efforts with the object of improving its financial aid to our organisation. The character of this aid, always insufficient and irregular, is a result, in our opinion, of the serious contradictions within the OAU itself and does not destroy its usefulness. We hope, nevertheless, that through the venue of the committee, or directly, the African states will render more aid to the actual needs of our struggle.

On the international level -- our activities have been considerably increased during the first months of 1970 with strongly positive results. However, they were necessarily limited because of the higher fares, especially concerning travel and accommodation in the western countries. We are determined, nevertheless, to undergo the necessary sacrifices to develop these activities because in the present phase of our struggle the intensification of armed struggle must be carried outside by side with political action on an international level.

The target of this action should be on the one hand to strengthen the ties of friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries and other anti-colonialist forces which all along have accorded political, moral and material support without which it would have been enormously more difficult to wage our just struggle against the Portuguese colonialists who are efficiently helped by their NATO allies and others; and on the other hand to establish and develop the most amicable relations with the anti-colonialist forces, organisations, national and international, of the western countries, in order to secure their concrete solidarity towards our people and to inform public opinion properly about Portuguese colonialist crimes and the true scope of our struggle.

Our liberation struggle has increasingly given rise to the understanding and interest of the world. We must progressively develop our action in the States allied with Portugal in defence of the legitimate rights of our people and to isolate the Portuguese government.

Some Committees of support have been created or notably improved, in France, Sweden, Holland, Great Britain, and Federal Germany, their efforts to inform public opinion in their respective countries about our struggle and to find methods to help us.

As we have already mentioned, Sweden has decided to augment by 75 percent the humanitarian aid accorded to our Party. The "Secours Populaire Francais" continues to send us medicaments. The World Council of Churches, the World Service of Churches and the International Defense and Aid Fund has decided to give us aid in varying degrees, but always very useful.



The socialist countries, the Soviet Union being in first place, continues to give us precious help, its decisive character for our struggle being of such importance that we can never say enough in gratitude. In this framework is included the donations of diverse nature sent to us, notably by Cuba, Rumania, Hungary, German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. These countries, as well as the USSR and Hungary, continue to grant us scholarships for the education of cadres and also the possibilities for treatment for wounded and sick combattants and militants.

The Conference for International Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, held in Rome from June 27 to 29, for the carrying out of which our party made tireless efforts, has been a political success of the first order and was recognized as such by the enemies of our people. It was again a moral victory against Portuguese colonialism which must be utilized practically for the adequate development of international solidarity with our people. Certain decisions already taken by the national and international organisations concerning the denunciation and condemnation of the Portuguese government and its friends have given us hope.

As it is well known, the Rome conference had a happy epilogue, a special audience which Pope Paul VI kindly granted to the three leaders of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies -- the legitimate representative of the people of Angola, Mozambique and of our country.

The great repercussions which this audience has had on the international level demonstrates the historical value of the struggle of our people and the prestige of the Catholic church in Africa and the world.

The audience caused confusion amongst many Portuguese governmental and ecclesiastical bodies, provoking a salutary impact on the consciences of catholics in Portugal and in the world, certain of whom claim to be "the defenders of Christian and Western civilisation," but seeking to choke in blood and napalm the legitimate aspirations of our people for liberty, justice and progress in independence.

The fact that this audience has been a great political and moral victory for our party and the other liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies needs no comment.

It is clear that we must not have illusions concerning either any radical political changes in the main states allied to Portugal in connection with the Portuguese colonial war against Africa, or their obtention of significant material aid (arms, munitions and other means for armed struggle) in the western countries. But on the other hand we must not diminish the importance of the moral and political aid of public opinion in the consequent search for an end to the conflict with the colonial government. This aid might include important material aspects in the humanitarian sphere, for the pursuit and development of the task so difficult, but exalant, which is being carried out in the liberated zones in the service of our people.



5. The Portuguese Imperialist Aggression Against the  
Republic of Guinea

We have had occasion to discuss this particular question in the New Year message addressed to our people and our combattants. It seems useful, nevertheless, to return to this event in our report for several reasons:

It was an occurrence of great importance, not only to the cadre of our armed liberation struggle, but also in relation to the history of Africa and of Portuguese colonialism when seen within the framework of the general fight of peoples against imperialism; secondly, it was a new experience and as such, lessons must be learned from it not only for the present but for the future of the battle by our people for progress, independence and dignity.

Finally, because it was a fruitful victory for Africa and for all anti-imperialist forces. It was a victory for our people and our party, and at the same time one of the most shameful, if not the most shameful defeat of colonial Portugal in all its history.

Certainly, for us, the combattants and militants of the PAIGC representing the legitimate rights of our people, the victorious battles of Conakry and Koundara in which we had the honour to participate alongside our brothers of the Guinea Republic, was one more episode in our national liberation war, which now enters its ninth year.

As a matter of fact, we have been accustomed for a long time to the desperate acts of the Portuguese colonialists in their vain attempts to stop our liberation struggle and destroy our party in order to perpetuate the colonial domination of our country. It will suffice to recall the battle of Como in 1964 when, for 75 days, some three thousand colonial soldiers attempted desperately to reconquer this island, only to be finally expelled by our combattants after having suffered losses estimated to be about one-third of their force.

The battles of Oio, Cubucare, Kitafine, the Southern Front (Balana-Gandembel) and, more recently, those at Canchungo, were one after another glorious pages of our struggle in which the colonialist enemy has been defeated, in spite of the "decisive plans" which they have elaborated in detail.

In the meantime, we must recognize that although we have become accustomed to their acts of desperation and banditry, to the most abominable crimes on the part of the Portuguese colonialists, we have not been the less surprised by the characteristic aggression which they have conceived, organised and carried out against the capital of the Republic of Guinea.



It is true that the Portuguese colonialists have already carried out many provocations and aggressions against our brothers of the Guinean Republic and in Senegal. They have committed innumerable crimes against the peaceful population living in the frontier zones of these countries, bombarded and burnt their villages, robbing and pillaging, on the false pretext that we have bases in neighbouring territories from which we attack Portuguese positions. But there is no doubt that they have gone beyond all in perpetrating the November 22 aggression against Conakry for which they used their own ships and aircraft, their officers and soldiers, also painted black and mixed with some dozens of African mercenaries in the colonial army as well as renegades and criminals originally from the Republic of Guinea.

They have shown, more clearly than ever, how far their scorn for international law and morals of our day will take them. They have shown, in no uncertain fashion, to Africa and the world, the insensitive and criminal nature of Portuguese colonialism.

With the prior authorisation of the government of Marcelo Caetano and certainly with the consent of the allies of colonial Portugal, the military governor of Bissau and commander in chief of the colonial troops occupying the urban centres and some entrenched camps in our country, has drawn up in detail, with the collaboration of his general staff, notably Commodore Luciano Bastos da Costa e Silva, commander of the navy, the plans of the aggression against the Republic of Guinea. These plans had been submitted by the military governor himself for approval of the head of the Portuguese colonial government to whom was given assurance of the success of the enterprise and who, two weeks before the operation had received in special audience, Commodore Luciano Bastos and Captain Guilherme Almor Alpeim Calvao, appointed commander of the attack against Conakry.

The colonialists, not placing sufficient confidence in the efficacy of the exiled renegades of the Guinean Republic, had reserved the major part of the mission to attack Koundara (with about two hundred men) for themselves. Only a minority (a few dozen) primarily to act as guides, have been used in the debarkment at Conakry.

During this action, the Portuguese colonialists have used the following men and transport.

- Two detachments of special troops, Numbers 21 and 22, of which the first was commanded by First Lieutenant Paul Eugenio Castro Silva, of the Special Service Unit, assisted by Second Lieutenant Eduardo Ladureira Veiga Pico and the second by Second Lieutenant Alberto Lebordao de Brito, assisted by Second Lieutenant Benjamin Lopes Abreu, both of the Naval Reserve.



- A special escort group of Captain Calvao, integrated with elite elements of detachments of Portuguese naval fusiliers.

- One called the "company of African Commandos, integrated by declassé elements and traitors to our people, led by the most faithful servants of the Portugal colonialists, including "Lieutenant" Joao Januario Lopes, who was captured by the Guinean militia.

- Some dozens of exiles from the Guinean Republic, whose treason to their people and Africa has never been more demonstrated than by the fact that they have accepted service as dogs of the Portuguese colonialists.

- In all, about 350 men, well equipped and armed with the most modern weapons.

- Six naval units, including two of the type LFG class "Alfange" which can each transport 150 to 180 men and are equipped with 20 mm cannons, and four others of the type LF class "Argos" which can carry 180 tons and are equipped with two guns of 40 mm. Each unit was commanded by two officers who were, as well as all the equipment, sent out from Portugal.

- Further, fighter-bombers of the type Fiat G-91; paratroop transport planes and a certain number of Alouette III helicopters ready to intervene if required in the operation. These men and this material would need to be utilised in the interior of the Guinean Republic for occupation of the main urban centres (Kindia, Labe, Kankan and Boke, notably) while the mercenaries of the country, brought from Bissau to Gbu would occupy the Koundara region, and consequently Buruntuma.

As everyone already knows, the aggression forces against Conakry left from the Ile of Soga in the Bissagos archipelago where renegades of the Republic of Guinea had been under training for some months. Before their departure, they received a visit from the military governor who reaffirmed the certitude of the success of the operation which in his own words "was the only way of ending the war" in our country, that is to say, to end our liberation struggle.

At dawn on Sunday, 22 November, the operation began. With it began the execution of one of the most ignoble and cowardly crimes perpetrated against Africa. The Portuguese colonial troops and their mercenaries debarqued at different places of the town of Conakry and the suburbs. Their plan was to attack and occupy 52 objectives, including the palace and the residence of the President of the Guinean Republic, the principal ministries, the military camps, the ports, the airport, the radio station and other official



organisations of the Guinean state; in addition the installations of our party secretariat which also comprises our pilot school and kindergarden where one hundred children and infants live. An abominable act which, although unable to be carried out, reveals the monstrous, cynical, anti-African and racist character of the Portuguese colonialists.

The whole world now knows the unfolding of the events in the course of the days following the debarkment. Responding promptly and courageously to the appeal of President Sekou Toure, the armed forces, the civilian militia and the Conakry population inflicted on the aggressors a defeat bigger than the crimes which they have committed. The colonialists and their lackeys were forced to retreat hurriedly, abandoning dozens of prisoners and more than a hundred dead. In the Koundara region, where some two hundred renegades penetrated into the republic led by elements of the Portuguese colonial army, the aggressors were completely overwhelmed.

The United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, and world anti-colonialist opinion in all continents, have condemned unanimously the shameful aggression of the Portuguese colonialists, of which the criminal responsibility has been amply proved by the facts and by the enquiry made by the Special Commission of the United Nations. The most faithful allies of the Portuguese colonialist themselves have not failed to condemn the aggression and manifest their sympathy in respect of the Guinean Republic.

The criminal figure of Portuguese colonialism, attacked and isolated before world public opinion, is thus revealed, more clearly than ever, like an historical aberration which must be urgently liquidated by all means necessary. The crime was transformed into an error, and the imperialists themselves, the allies of the Portuguese colonialists, will not forgive them for this error, precisely because it has failed.

It is very important for us to understand, as clearly as possible, why the colonialists have made such a grave mistake and why they have failed.

However insensensitive the Portuguese colonialists can be and however megalomaniac their representative in our country, they would not have engaged themselves in such an enterprise without being certain of two conditions: the tacit or explicit support of their imperialist allies and the success of the operation itself.



The Portuguese government is well aware of how much the colonial wars depend upon the political approval and material help of their allies. The latter, having no opposition to criminal aggression against the Republic of Guinea, nursed a hope and wished for the realisation of an old dream very dear to them: to destroy the popular regime, democratic and anti-neocolonialist free and independent in this free country and the independent countries of Africa, the example of which constitutes a permanent obstacle to the re-colonisation of the continent. Thus, they have accepted that the Portuguese colonialists, whose difficult situation they know, would serve as an instrument to carry out the criminal aggression against the Republic of Guinea.

On their part, the Portuguese colonialists, having, and having had reasons to participate in whatever opportunity is given them in the desperate circumstances under which they live in our country, hoped for the possibility of destroying our party, end our liberation struggle and entirely recolonise our people. The imperialist dream to destroy the Guinean regime and replace it by another one docile to neocolonial domination is equally the dream of colonialist Portugal.

In fact, having been forced for a long time, and knowing that, in spite of all their crimes, they could not stop our fight in the interior of the country, convinced themselves that the destruction of the Guinean regime - our principal support in the exterior, was, as affirmed by the military governor of Bissau - "the sole method of ending the war in Guinea". Again, the liquidation of our party and the end of the armed liberation war. For these reasons the Portuguese colonialists have served as desperate instruments, but fully aware, within the imperialist world, of their aggression against the Republic of Guinea.

To attempt to hide their crime, the Portuguese colonialists were well served in their turn in the attack against Conakry and in the frontier region of Koundara by certain groups of former Guinean nations who for this reason exactly, in the service of imperialism, are the allies of the biggest enemies of Africa in order to attempt to satisfy their political ambitions, having given final proof of their character as renegades, criminals and enemies of the people of the Guinean republic and all of Africa.

Ourselves, knowing very well the desperate situation in which the Portuguese colonialists find themselves in our country, and who daily live their manoeuvres, falsehoods and crimes of all kinds, know that they have reasons for attempting the perpetration of crimes. It is a vain attempt to reverse the situation. But



the motivations, for the colonialists, are not found only in our country. They are found equally in Portugal in the midst of their own colonial troops, also in the courageous struggle of our brothers in Angola and Mozambique and the increasing isolation each day of Portuguese colonialism in the world, in the face of growing solidarity, African and international regarding our struggle.

It is necessary to stress that the pretended revision of the Constitution proposed by Marcelo Caetano and the aggression against the Guinean republic, organised and executed by the Portuguese general staff, are two faces of the same coin, a solution envisaging the finish to all their colonial wars in Africa and liquidating finally the wars of liberation of our people and those of Angola and Mozambique.

The plan, necessarily approved by the imperialists, was the following.

In the first phase, replace the real Guinean regime with another favourable to Portuguese domination of our country and the evolution, by stages (of which the limits would not be fixed) of a certain internal autonomy, but with no promise of independence. Once this pro-colonialist regime was installed in the Guinean Republic, liquidate our party, liquidating also our struggle, and after this it would be extremely easy to assassinate the main leaders of our organisation.

In the second phase, (which would follow the first closely, and in order to divert international attention from the crime against the Republic of Guinea) to announce the revision of the Portuguese constitution, establishing the "principal" of internal autonomy in the "overseas provinces", in reality unconnected with Angola and Mozambique. As it is known, these two territories have a large population of people of European origin. The number of these colons would be augmented in an accelerated fashion with about a million colons, either Portuguese or white nationals of other countries.

In the third phase, which would coincide with the development of a dialogue and diplomatic relations between certain African countries, colonialists and racists of Southern Africa, widespread military operations and a new and vast political campaign in Africa would be put into practice in order to liquidate possible traces of our true liberation movement, but above all those in Angola and Mozambique by now demoralised and undermined by the fall of Guinean regime and by the destruction of our party. In this final phase, the colonialists counted, with or without reason, on the support of certain African states.



Within the structure of the global plan, minutely detailed, one can understand the choice of Conakry (actually absurd) for the first attack, with the objectives of the operation against the Guinean capital. The occupation of Conakry, the first phase of the aggression, would permit the domination of all the Republic for, in the point of view of the colonialists, and this corresponds unhappily to the reality in a number of cases - those who dominate the capital of an African country dominate the entire country. It was therefore indispensable and urgent to begin with Conakry, which in their view, and in accordance with the information at the disposal of the aggressors, would be a very easy objective to conquer. The invasion of the Koundara region after the defeat of Conakry would be rather an act of desperation resulting from the inertia already acquired by the aggressors.

The principal objectives of the debarkment at Conakry were the following: assassinate President Sekou Toure, and assure, therefore, an irreparable loss of the main head of the Guinean revolution, destroy the Guinean regime and if necessary kill all the other leaders, replace them with renegades of the Republic of Guinea of whom some were already waiting in the ships round the capital and others in political prisons, assassinate the Secretary General of our party and eventually the other leaders who would be found in Conakry, destroy all the installations of the PAIGC, and then liberate Portuguese prisoners of war.

A comparative analyses which takes into account the imperialist strategy and politics is of interest for national liberation movements and Africa in general, showing that one of the objectives of the aggression underlies all the others: the liquidation of the Guinean revolution and the assassination of its leader, the President, Sekou Toure, which he incarnates. Once this action had occurred, all the rest would be easy; such is the logic of the Portuguese colonialists. It is this logic which explains the savagery with which the aggressors attacked the residence of the Guinean leader where, after information at their disposal, he was in the habit of spending Saturday night.

We are already accustomed to the manoeuvres and to the falsehoods of the Portuguese colonialists, in particular to those of their real representative in our country. But we must acknowledge that they have surpassed all that they have invented beforehand in impudent lying. Unhappy people, those of Portugal, who have leaders capable of such lies, who are so craven as to deny, in a most base fashion, their responsibility for an action which they have minutely prepared, organised and carried out. Concerning the subject of the prisoners, the only "positive" result of the operation, they have invented a whole story in the attempt to avoid their responsibility.



But they have been driven even further concerning their African servants captured or killed in the course of the operation. They have invented the question of political asylum on the part of the Guinean nationals (those who had the possibility of returning to their boats), hiding the real identity of the African troops which, only a short time before, had been offered promotions and decorations. And they went so far as to consider as a deserter and assassin one of the "Lieutenants" in their companies of African commandos, Joao Januario Lopes. The Portuguese colonialists proved also, for another time, that they are truly gangsters and bandits without the least scruple, capable of committing the most barbarous crimes and using the most impudent lies.

Certainly, history does not lie. It is important in our opinion to refer, however briefly, to the African nationals of our country and the Guinean republic who have taken part in the operation at the side of the Portuguese militarists in the service of the colonialists. They, who had done everything to avoid leaving behind them a single corpse, a single wounded Portuguese prisoner, abandoned their African servants to their fate when they realised their defeat. They also revealed these Africans in their true condition - miserable dogs whom the master abandoned quickly when he is discovered in the act and whom he runs out on. Why have the Portuguese failed in their aggression against the Republic of Guinea?

Certainly, the prompt and courageous response of the brotherly Guinean people and the armed forces who have inflicted on the Portuguese colonialists and on imperialism this far-reaching historical defeat. But one must also divulge, at the heart of the Portuguese mentality, the internal causes which motivated their adventure and consequently their sharp defeat. It resides, basically, in the scorn that the colonialist Portuguese have always had in regard to the African man.

This contempt, which is eloquently expressed in the famous phrase of Salazar - "Africa does not exist" is largely proved also by the history of the relations of Portugal with Africa by the facts of Portuguese colonialism and the behavior of the Portuguese toward the African man.

The time of the explorations or "achamentos" and the crimes of the slave trade, the colonial wars of conquest in the golden age of colonialism, the first overseas "reforms" to the colonial wars of genocide of our day, the Portuguese colonialists have always shown evidence of a superstitious mentality and a primitive racism in regard to the African man, which they considered and consider until now a natural inferior, incapable of organising his life and defending his interest, easy to deceive, without culture and lacking in civilisation.



It is within the general structure of this tradition of contempt for the African man and the belief in the congenital incapacity of this "big infant" (according to the Portuguese) that the Portuguese colonialists have planned and carried out the aggression against the Guinean Republic. They had thought they would be facing a feeble people, oblivious and disorganised.

Convinced of their natural superiority, they were certain that the African man of the Guinean Republic was incapable of understanding which were his true interests or to defend them effectively. They were also convinced that they could deceive our population with lies about their "Better Guinea".

The Portuguese colonialists (in truth the Portuguese in general) have never remembered that the African is a human being. This is to their heavy cost - and it will cost them more and more dearly - the realisation that we are men.

The heavy defeat suffered by the Portuguese colonialists during their contemptuous aggression against the Republic of Guinea was one of the most brilliant victories carried out by an African people during the struggle against imperialism.

The people of the Republic of Guinea, under the leadership of their great party, the PDG, and their leader, President Sekou Toure, have opened with the conquest of their sovereignty, the road of independence for the people of Africa. They have contributed also in an extraordinary way to the liquidation of the colonial and racial domination in our continent by repulsing the criminal aggression of the Portuguese colonialists.

Having had the honour to fight side by side with the armed forces and the people of the Republic of Guinea, our militants and fighters have acted with efficiency and have shown courage and determination, holding high the name of our people and our party. I hereby render homage to the comrades who have fallen in the struggle of honour and to the wounded and I greet with enthusiasm all the members of our Party, the militants and the responsible men and women who with arms in hand, or in the accomplishment of their duties of the moment, have supported with dignity the defence of the sacred interests of Africa.



In this way we should comport ourselves, and in this manner we have behaved. In fact it is already traditional for our combattants to fight with courage and determination, to strike strongly against the colonialist enemy and not to permit them to achieve their objectives. For we are all conscious of the fact that our cause is just and our victory is certain, independent of how high the sacrifices will be. With their actions, the Portuguese colonialists have clearly shown how desperate they are in our country. But also they have shown in a very clear way that the progress achieved by our fight is irreversible, and nothing will stop the march of our people towards independence. They have contributed in an efficient way toward reinforcing the conscience of Africa - of all the honest Africans - toward the necessity for solidarity between all the anti-colonialist forces in order to liquidate the Portuguese domination in our continent. The results of the OAU conference in Lagos (Nigeria) prove this appraisal of conscience and will surely give results.

With their aggression, the colonialists have augmented in an unprecedented way the interests of Africa and the entire world in our people, our struggle, and in our Party. They have opened new perspectives for the isolation of Portuguese colonialism on an international level, and have defined more clearly the increasing importance of our liberation struggle.

And what is not less important, they have reinforced in us the certitude of the victory of our struggle, our determination and even the efficiency of our combattants in the course of the last two months of the year. They have inflicted on the enemy great losses by multiplying their action on all fronts.

We have therefore enough reasons to begin with optimism one more year of struggle, determined to ameliorate our work on all levels, to inflict stronger blows every day on the Portuguese colonialists, and to defend the conquests of our people who are day by day taking their own destiny in their hands.

This will happen against the manoeuvres, the lies and the crimes of the Portuguese colonialists.



-6. Some Comments on the Revision of the Portuguese Constitution

A few days after the ignoble aggression against the Republic of Guinea, the head of the Portuguese government spoke to the National Assembly on the subject of the "revision of the Constitution," which concerned reforms in the Statute of African territories still under occupation by Portugal. These territories would begin, progressively and at a pace which neither the law nor Portuguese colonial leaders ventured to predict, to enjoy a certain autonomy "as autonomous regions in the whole of the unitary Portuguese state." (1).

It was Marcelo Caetano himself who stressed that these reforms not only represented nothing new, but were moreover intended to perpetuate the political racist dogma of "spiritual assimilation" in order to "homogenize" the metropolis and overseas; this cannot mean other than the oppressive negation of the rights of our African people to their own proper history and culture and to decide freely their destiny. We cite:

"I know that for many people who are affected by the intense propaganda concerning integration, the idea of autonomy of the provinces overseas is shocking. But without reason.

"In the actual text of the Constitution, faithful to this point established since 1930, the autonomy of the overseas provinces is recognized and it is determined that they must have a politico-administrative "organisation" adapted to the geographical situation and the conditions of the social milieu.

"It couldn't be otherwise. It is understandable that without faltering a policy of spiritual assimilation follows in such a way that the metropolis and overseas constitute a unity which becomes daily more homogenic."

To make it clear that nothing will change the essence, and that the Portuguese will continue to decide about the destiny and the affairs of our people, and refusing us any proper personality, the head of the Portuguese government has made clear the essence by which a certain autonomy will be accorded to the "Portuguese regions" of Africa. We cite:

"The overseas provinces must maintain a politico-administrative organisation such as is accorded them by the constitution: with laws voted by each one through their own legislative organisations, with a proper government which will assure the normal process of public administration, with their own finances which will permit them to cover local expenses, with incomes taken by the place according to the budget elaborated and approved by their elective assembly.

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(1). heading VII, Part 2



"The sovereignty of the one and indivisible state will not take leave for all that, to affirm itself over the whole territory of the nation by limiting the supremacy of the constitution and the laws emanating from central organs (where the provinces will have their own representation). Also that the nomination of the governors delegated by the central government whose rights of inspection and superintendance (stewardship) remain integral."

In this perspective, Mr. Caetano has created illusions concerning Angola and Mozambique, but regarding our country (Guinea and the islands of Cape Verde) he has kept silent and for good reason. Conscious of the realities in our country he knows that we are not only autonomous but sovereign in more than two-thirds of the national territory, and on the other hand there isn't sufficient population of European origin in our country capable of guaranteeing the "Rhodesiation" which the Portuguese colonists wish to see established in Angola and Mozambique as the only solution acceptable to end their colonial war.

Such a perspective - for the creation of new Rhodiasias in West Africa and to perpetuate the domination of the white minority in Angola and Mozambique are not applicable in our case. This, therefore, concerns these other African territories and in spite of the long discourse of Marcelo Caetano on the subject of the autonomy and "Multi-racial societies", the only novelty contained in the new Constitution.

The alleged revision of the Portuguese constitution ignores and scorns once again the inalienable rights of our people to liberty and independence. The so-called "reforms" concerning the African territories occupied by the armed colonialist forces are not only an obvious effort to masquerade the progress of the liberation struggle of the African people, but an attempt to deceive Portuguese and international opinion, demobilise certain African states concerning their respective support from the present or future aid to our struggle, and above all to obtain moral support, political and material, from the allies of the Portuguese colonialists in the colonial war of genocide which they are carrying out against Africa.

We must, therefore, make clear that the reforms introduced into the Portuguese constitution by Mr. Caetano are the result of a great effort to change face and to immobilise the hostility of the "ultras". The mountain has, therefore, yielded nothing but a mouse. And this is not what the people of Mozambique and Angola are fighting for.

Mr. Caetano knows it too well.



-7. Perspectives

The perspectives in the fight for the liberty of our people are very favourable in spite of the difficulties that we meet and which are characteristic of specific conditions in our country: historical; economic, social and cultural.

Regarding the interior, the successes achieved during the past year and the elements which we have already created and consolidated permit us to look ahead with confidence. We must nevertheless reinforce and consolidate realistically the positive factors and eliminate radically the negative factors which have developed within the framework of the struggle. In our capacity of analyses, of decision and initiative, the efforts and sacrifices that we are determined to carry out decide fundamentally the progress of our struggle.

Everything done in regard to the development and intensification of armed action must be counted, at each moment and in all our activities, as a political function of our struggle. We must consolidate and reinforce the organic structures of the Party and of the struggle, making each separate organ play its role fully, each militant feel more responsible and necessary each day to the progress of the struggle. We must develop democracy further, encourage the spirit of criticism and self criticism from the bottom to the top of our organisation, carry out and cause to be carried out the orders and directives of the Party, improve the production of work of each militant and each organisation, reinforce the battle against idleness, off-handedness or opportunism and all the deviations, moral or political, from the line set down by the Party. We must remove progressively the obstacles to the success of the major aims of our struggle so that our people can take completely in their hands the political power that our struggle has already won in more than two-thirds of the national territory. These constitute the fundamental tasks of the war, permitting us to guarantee and transform subsequently the favourable perspectives of our struggle for liberation.

Carrying the heavy weight of their colonial war after the defeats which we have inflicted upon them in 1970 and after the crushing defeat suffered by them in their criminal aggression against the Republic of Guinea, the Portuguese colonialists are not only disenchanted in our country, they know that they have lost.

Although they are capable of carrying out new manoeuvres, to perpetuate new and more abominable crimes, to attempt new adventures - they will seem the more absurd in their attempts to extricate themselves from the situation in which they find themselves. Also, and this is a lesson of the aggression against the Republic of Guinea and against the installations of our Secretariat in Conkry, we must reinforce our vigilance in all fields and take each day new and vigorous initiatives to be ready to fight victoriously against the colonialist enemy wherever we may find ourselves.



To make the struggle progress according to the favourable perspectives that it holds, we must reap the highest profit from the defeats and failures of the enemy, make our actions stronger, specially the armed struggle in all fronts; establish limited and precise objectives, which we must carry out until the end, and advance the struggle every day with more vigour.

In view of the current situation of our people, the development of our liberation struggle does not only rely on internal factors to condition the struggle; it depends equally on external factors, namely the moral, political and material support which can be accorded within the framework of African and international solidarity.

Under the plan, the perspectives resulting from our action, especially in 1970, are also favourable.

Those African countries which have accorded us direct aid have decided to reinforce their support. The Committee of Liberation of the OAU has made, and is still making, considerable efforts in the sense of developing their aid to our party. The extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU (Lagos, 9 - 12 December, 1970) has adopted unanimously a resolution regarding the increase of material aid to our organisation.

We hope that, faithful to the charter of the OAU, and in the interests of the African people, independent Africa will spare no effort or sacrifice to develop the concrete support of our fighting people, either directly or through the OAU. In this perspective, we must develop relations with all the independent African states which stand against colonialism Portuguese and racial domination in our continent. We are expecting that African countries which have never helped us, until now, may decide to do so in the service of the total Liberation of Africa.

It goes without saying that the progress of our struggle depends also on the struggles of the heroic people of Angola and Mozambique. Their perspectives are also favourable, given that these people, under the direction of their respective fighting organisations, the MPLA and Frelimo, have managed important successes in the past year.

According to reliable and impartial sources, the struggle of the Angolan people through the intensification and broadening of the action of the fighters of the MPLA has achieved important successes, especially in the Eastern, South-east and Central regions of the country.

On the other hand, it is the Portuguese authorities themselves who have admitted the failure of their general offensive aimed at liquidating the struggle of the people of Mozambique, where the fighters of FRELIMO have inflicted heavy human and material losses on the enemy.



We must continue to reinforce the ties of fraternity and struggle which unite our party with MPLA and FRELIMO, to intensify our struggle and to support the intensification of ties for the urgent liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

We are equally encouraged by the fact that the Socialist countries have decided to develop their aid to our party. We hope that they will spare no effort and sacrifice in this sense, and that those who are not aiding us or have suspended their concrete aid might also decide to give proof of their international spirit by developing their solidarity to our party in the service of the common struggle against colonial, imperialist domination.

Concerning the mobilisation of anti-colonialist opinion in the Western countries, the Conference of Rome has opened new perspectives of action on an international level.

Such action which we are urgently hoping to develop is now considerably limited by financial considerations due to the fact that air fares and accommodation are usually on our own account.

We must therefore do our best, with the help of our friends, to develop and manage in these countries a vigorous campaign in favour of our struggle, especially in those countries which are allies of Portuguese colonialism.

Concerning Sweden, whose exemplary position towards our struggle should inspire the countries which maintain important relations with Portugal - we must make every possible effort to develop and consolidate the existing relations within the framework of an active solidarity between our people and the social democratic party and all the Swedish anti-colonialist organisations.

As in the past, we must continue to participate actively in the activities of the peace movement, the Afro-Asian solidarity the tri-continental and to develop our relations with other international democratic and anticolonialist organisations (workers, youth, students and women).

In conclusion, we can affirm that, in view of the perspectives of our struggle and the criminal obstinacy of the Portuguese ultra-colonialists, the main immediate tasks of our party are the following:

#### On the Internal Plane

- To ameliorate the organisation and reinforce the efficiency of our armed forces (regular army and local army forces).
- Intensify and multiply the attacks against colonial troops, especially against the urban centres still occupied by the enemy in order to inflict heavier blows against him and to cause him more human and material losses.



- To do everything possible to develop the struggle in the Cape Verde Islands.
- To preserve and develop the political, administrative, economic social and cultural foundations of the new life which we are building in the liberated zones.
- To improve the food supplies of the population of these regions and articles of primary necessity.
- Reinforce vigilance and security against the enemies of our party and our people.

#### The External Plane

- To reinforce the relations with the independent states of Africa, whatever are their politico-economic options, especially with neighbouring countries whose security is also connected with our struggle.
- Enlarge and develop the friendly relations of solidarity and co-operation with the socialist states and Sweden.
- Develop and consolidate relations with the democratic and anti-colonialist organisations of the capitalist countries.
- Develop the activities of information and mobilisation of anti-colonialist opinion in the western countries and in the world, with the aim of isolating the government of Portugal from her allies and neutralising or eliminating the help of these countries to the Portuguese colonial war.

While reinforcing our vigilance against the obvious manoevers to deviate our struggle from its true aims, at the same time we must always stay open to every initiative which might favour the solution of the conflict between us and the government of Portugal and accelerate the approach of our people to independence.

Carrying high the glorious flag of our party and defending the principles of liberty, justice and true independence which are the principles of our organisation, let us develop and intensify our struggle against the Portuguese colonial hordes, reinforce political action and the work of national reconstruction, and improve daily the political consciousness of our population and also the individual contributions of our militants. Let us lead equally the armed struggle of liberation with vigorous political action in the interior of our country and on the African and international spheres in the service of our people.



COMMUNIQUE

In carrying out their criminal aggression of the 22 and 23 November against the Republic of Guinea whose aim has been proved to be to unseat the regime of Guinea and to assassinate the principle leaders of this country and of our party, the Portuguese colonialists have only proved the irreversible progress made by our struggle and their own despair. By proper action and the resolution of the people of Guinea, the Portuguese colonialist aggressors have suffered the most infamous defeat, political and military, of their colonial history. More than ever before they realise now that we are right: no manoeuvres, menace or aggression will stop the victorious march of our struggle.

Our action develops and intensifies daily in all fronts, our combattants inflicting on the enemy heavier and heavier human and material losses. As a proof here are the facts which concern some of the main actions carried out by our armed forces in the course of the month of November.

In the first fortnight of November, apart from the operations reported in our last communique, we carried out 26 attacks against retrenched camps of the enemy, among them the towns of Catio and Gabu and the three important garrisons of Pitche and Pirada (in the east of the country), Cufar and Bedanda (in the south) and Ngore and S. Domingos (in the north). Among these attacks which provoked fire in the enemy camps and destruction varying from 20 to 80 percent of the military installations, we cite that against the town of Gabu in the centre east of the country which on the 15th November caused a dozen deaths and various dozens of wounded among the colonial troops.

In the second fortnight of November, we have carried out 18 attacks against enemy positions, notably against the towns of Bolama (the old capital, 22 November) Farim and Catio and the fortified camps of Buba, Guiledge and Cufar (in the north) Canquelifa (in the east) and S. Domingo (in the north). Among other actions carried out, we want to mention an ambush on the road to Xime (in the east of the country) which caused ten deaths and various wounded among the military enemies, whereas our combattants captured a quantity of important material among which were six machineguns (G-3) and two American bazookas. One T-6 plane was destroyed with its occupants on the airfield of Cabedu (in the south) where it landed.

On the 3 and 4 December, after annihilating Portuguese mercenaries and militarists in the region of Koundara (Republic of Guinea) our combattants attacked in the east front the enemy camps of Burumtuma, Pirada and Bajocunda, causing heavy losses to the colonial troops and great damage to the installations.

The total of these operations was 76 dead and more than 100 wounded among the Portuguese troops. Eight military vehicles were destroyed.

11th December, 1970

Amilcar Cabral  
Secretary-General



COMMUNIQUE

Reinforced in their determination by the great African victory achieved by the people of the Republic of Guinea against the colonial Portuguese aggressors and their mercenaries, our combattants have intensified their action on all fronts. Here are certain data concerning the principle actions carried out in the course of the month of December.

Attacks against Entrenched Camps: We have carried out 47 attacks against enemy positions still occupied which include Catio, Bedanda, Buba, Cufar, Empada and Gadamael (in the south) Mansoa, Mansaba, S. Domingos, Suzana and Sedengal (in the north) Pirada, Bajocunda, Copa and Omolu (in the east).

In the course of these attacks very important destruction was inflicted on military installations of the enemy during which the troops suffered considerable losses. At Mansaba (16th December) the enemy had 10 dead and many wounded. At Gadamael, attacked the 16, 20, 24 and 30 of December, our combattants have put out of action 26 soldiers and destroyed three vehicles including an armoured car. At Sedengal (21st December) our combattants have temporarily occupied the enemy camp, causing 11 dead and more than 20 wounded and destroyed several barracks and fortifications. The post of Umolu in the region of Bafata, has been razed by our forces, the enemy having taken refuge in another camp after having suffered heavy losses.

AMBUSHES AND OTHER OPERATIONS ON THE ROADS: Among the most important operations of this type, we cite the ambushes undertaken on the Cabedu-Cabante road (in the south, 10th December) which caused 7 dead among the enemy troops; the Mansaba-Farim and Farim-Jumbembem roads (in the north, 14th and 16th December) with 12 dead and the destruction of two lorries and various construction material; the Omolu-Anambe, Dara-Gabu and Xime-Bambadinca routes (in the east, the 17, 21 and 30 December respectively) causing a total of 33 dead to the enemy and the destruction of three lorries.

ACTIONS AGAINST RIVER TRANSPORT: Our special commandos have destroyed two enemy boats on the Cumbidga river, having heavily damaged another, and on the Geba river four transport boats. At least 28 enemy dead resulted from this action.

In the last days of November and in December we have destroyed seven boats, eleven military vehicles, many barracks and other military installations, during which the troops registered 138 dead and a great many wounded.



The Portuguese colonialists, desperate in the face of the defeat inflicted in our country and in the course of the aggression against the Republic of Guinea, have intensified their napalm bombardments. They have bombarded and are bombarding almost daily the liberated zones of Saara, Mores, Cubucare, Unal and Kinara - the most populated - having burned 12 villages and causing 15 dead and 13 wounded among the civilian population, especially women and children. They have also carried out a terrorist assault against a forest hospital on the 1st December and dropped 30 napalm bombs in the area of a boarding school in the east of the country, but with no casualties.

11 January, 1971

Amilcar Cabral  
Secretary-General

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COMMUNIQUE

We want to bring to the knowledge of international public opinion some complementary information concerning the irrefutable responsibility of the Portuguese government for the aggression which occurred on the 22nd and 23rd November, 1970, against the Republic of Guinea. We are doing this for the benefit of the friends of our cause of African liberation, and particularly our people. We hope in the meantime that these new elements might serve as a subject for meditation by those who for reasons more or less clear, have tried to nullify or diminish the responsibility of the Portuguese colonialists for the aggression mentioned.

Who has prepared the aggression? - The General, Antonio De Spínola, commander in chief of the Portuguese colonialists in our country, with the collaboration of his general staff, especially Commodore Luciano Bastos Da Costa E Silva, Commandant of the Marines, who completed his services and was proposed for decoration by Governor Spínola.

Who has commanded the operation against Conakry? - The Captain-Lieutenant (capitão-tenente) of the Portuguese Marines, Guilherme Almor Alpoim Calvao, member of the general staff of the naval command in Bissau, born in Portugal 1st March, 1937, decorated with the "Croix de guerre" and the "Tour et Epee", the highest Portuguese decoration. Captain Calvao has acquired a sinister reputation in our country for his savage criminal action against the patriots and the elements of the population suspected of supporting our party.

Which forces have been utilised in the aggression:

1. Two detachments (special) of marines (numbers 21 and 22).
2. The special escort group of Captain Calvao, integrated with elite elements of Portuguese marine detachments.
3. One company of African commandos.
4. A group of nationals of the Republic of Guinea (about 70).

Apart from these forces which total around 350 persons, Fiat G-91 aircraft, Alouette III helicopters and paratroop transport planes were ready to interfere in case the operation against Conakry was successful, and to occupy some principle towns in the interior of the Republic of Guinea (notably Boke, Kindia, Labe and Kankan). The main forces integrated with Guinean nationals were to occupy Koundara and the areas round, which they did attempt, but without success.



WHO WAS THE COMMANDER OF THE DETACHMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE MARINES?

Detachment number 21 was commanded by the naval lieutenant Raul Eugenio Da Cunha Silva, from the unit of special service officers, born in Portugal 22nd January, 1943. He had as adjutant 2nd lieutenant (navy) Eduardo Madureira Da Veiga Rico, of the Navy reserve, born in Portugal 30th June, 1946.

Detachment number 22 was commanded by 2nd lieutenant of the Navy, Alberto Rebordao De Brito, aided by 2nd lieutenant Benjamin Lopes De Abreu, both of the naval reserve.

Which means of SEA TRANSPORT WERE UTILISED? - Two units of type LFG class "Alfange" each capable of carrying 150 to 180 men, 187 feet long and 500 tons, armed with two cannons of 20 mm. The crew consists of two officers and 20 men for each vessel, maximum speed ten knots, range 2,000 miles. Four units of the type LF class "Argos" of 180 tons, 131 feet long and with two cannons of 40 mm. Crew of two officers and 20 men, all Portuguese. Maximum speed, 17 knots, range 1,500 miles.

The plans concerning the aggression against the republic of Guinea were submitted for approval to the Portuguese government two months ahead by General Spínola in Lisbon (7/8 to 18/10/70) during which period he had several meetings with the President of the Cabinet Marcelo Caetano, the Minister of Overseas Affairs and the General Headquarters. Two weeks before the aggression, Commodore Luciano Bastos Da Costa E Silva Commandant of the Navy in our country, and Captain Lieutenant Guilherme Calvao, who commanded the operations, met in Lisbon after having been received in special audience by the Head of the Portuguese Government. We want to thank our anti-colonialist Portuguese friends, specially those in Portugal itself, who have acted courageously against the colonial war machine and for their precious contribution in obtaining this information.

18 January, 1971.

Amílcar Cabral

Secretary-General



PARTIAL LIST OF IDENTIFIED ENEMY DEAD1. Deputies (killed in a helicopter shot down on July 25)

Dr. Jose Pedro Pinto Leite - Director of an important commercial enterprise, president of the Portuguese German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Dr. Leonardo Auguste Coimbra - Doctor, age 56, former assistant professor of the Faculty of Medicine of Porto and head doctor of the Caisse Syndicale de Prevoyance of the Textile Industry; Director of the clinic of the Sanatorium of Comedo da Serra.

Jose Vincente de Abreu - Agricultural Engineer, age 58, President of the Municipal Council of Aguas (Portalegre).

Dr. Jaime Pinto Bull - Graduate of the Overseas Institute of Social Science and Politics, age 57, Inspector superior of the Colonial Administration, member of the Portuguese delegation to the United Nations.  
African Traitor.

2 - OfficersCommandants

-Raúl Ernesto Mesquita da Costa Passos Ramos  
-Joaquin Pereira da Silva  
-Alberto Fernao de Magalhaes Osorio  
-Luis Maria Coelho de Cid

Captains

-Jose Carvalho Andradd  
-Elisio Fernando Rodrigues da Cruz Calheiros  
-Jaime Anselmo Alvin Faria Afonso  
-Luis Felipe Rei Vilar  
- Francisco Vasco Goncalves de Moura Borges

Sub-Lieutenants

-Jose Manuel Brandao Queirez  
Joaquim Joao Pelmeiro Mosea  
-Jose Pedro da Silva Moreira de Sousa  
-Francisco Lopes Manso  
-Jose Manuel Godinho Pinto  
-Jose Armando Santos de Couto  
-Luis Mario da Silva e Sa  
-Antonio da Fonseca Ambrosio  
-Abilio Rodrigues Ferreira



## Sergeants

-Julio Manuel Simoes Neto.....No 161921/69  
 -Albano Simplicio Mendes Marques  
 -Fernando Fonseca de Paiva  
 -Dinis Cesar de Castro  
 -Alberto Soares Moutinho  
 -Joao Purrinhas Martins Cerilio  
 -Jose Luis Goncalves Rancoo  
 -Ildeberto Sao Pedro Leal Soares  
 -Agostinho Lourenco Marreiros  
 -Manuel Henriques Lopes Lourenco  
 -Joaquin de Araujo Cunha.....No 141380/68

## Corporals

-Abel Felix Robelo.....No 045214/68  
 -Antonio Jesus Henrique  
 -Duarte Manuel Borges de Sousa.....No 190915/68  
 -Valentin da Silva Freiras.....No 012528/69  
 -Agostinho de Vale Almeida.....No 089736/69  
 -Anibal Alves Correia.....No 043505/68  
 -Carlos Alberto Leitao Dinis.....No 092275/69  
 -Antonio de Sousa Alves.....No 020869/70  
 -Mario Antonio Nave da Costa Neves No 085081/70  
 -Joao Goncalves Antunes.....No 038906/68  
 Jose Antonio Oliveira Bagio.....No 018014/68  
 -Jose Gabriel Conceicao Leandro....No 041369/69  
 -Antonio Jose da Costa Pereira.....No 139/68  
 -Fernando Pacheco Santos.....No 081736/69  
 Manuel Guerreiro Luz.....No 084794/67  
 -Gabriel Pereira Campilho.....No 17/68  
 -Julio Albano Cabral.....No 820762/68  
 -Jose da Cruz Mamode.....No 117621/69  
 -Abilio Pereira.....No 185845/68  
 -Antonio Camilo Ribeiro.....No 1016886/69  
 -Manuel Guerreiro Luz.....No 084794/67  
 -Manuel Joaquim Palma Fredrico....No 118757/69  
 -Jose Manuel Ribeiro.....No 108490/69  
 -Abel de Sa Goncalves Baptista.....No 014758/69

## Soldiers

-Manuel Maria Rosario.....No 113659/68  
 -Joao Alexandre Capela Silva Maneta 100/68  
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 -Adelio Pinto Sousa.....No 51/69-A  
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     Nascimento  
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 -Silverio Rodrigues Fernandes...No 192139/69  
 -Joao Marques da Eira.....No 027572/69  
 -Manuel da Costa Soares.....No 148539/68  
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 -Lourenco Pedro Dias.....No 820017/70  
 -Francisco Manuel Neves Tomas...No 076469/69

Marine Telegraphist -Ulisses Pereira Correia.....No 1681/67

Ship's Boy -Antonio Manuel Ruivo Vieira....No 425/67DFE-7

DE S E R T E R S

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