



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
LIMITED

A/AC.109/L.804

3 July 1972

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH/  
SPANISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH  
REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE  
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL MISSION ESTABLISHED BY THE SPECIAL  
COMMITTEE AT ITS 840TH MEETING ON 14 MARCH 1972

Chairman: Mr. Horacio SEVILLA-BORJA (Ecuador)

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## INTRODUCTION

1. In May 1971, the Special Committee dispatched an ad hoc group, composed of six of its members, to countries in Africa for the purpose, inter alia, of consulting with representatives of the national liberation movements of colonial Territories in that continent. During the course of these consultations, two of these movements, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) extended invitations to the Special Committee to visit the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique respectively.
2. The Special Committee, by endorsing the observations of the Ad Hoc Group at its 814th meeting on 11 August 1971, 1/ decided in principle to accept these invitations. Later, in a resolution which it adopted on 14 September, 2/ the Special Committee requested its Chairman, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the liberation movements concerned, to work out the necessary modalities for such visits.
3. Subsequently, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Amílcar Cabral, the Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), invited a United Nations mission to visit the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau).
4. Preliminary consultations between the Chairman of the Special Committee and the Assistant Secretary-General and the Executive Secretary of OAU concerning all three invitations took place in September 1971. On the basis of these consultations, the Special Committee, in its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, indicated its intention to dispatch during 1972 a group of its members to the liberated areas of certain colonial Territories in southern Africa. 3/ The Special Committee stated that the purpose of such a visit would be to secure first-hand information on conditions in those areas and to ascertain the views and aspirations of the people regarding their future. 4/ It should be noted in this connexion that Portugal has consistently disregarded repeated requests by the General Assembly and the Special Committee to receive United Nations visiting missions to the Territories under its administration. It should also be noted, in the same context, that the invitations to visit the liberated areas came from the national liberation movements of the Territories concerned, the legitimacy of whose struggle had long been recognized by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. II, para. 18.

2/ Ibid., chap. VIII, para. 32.

3/ Ibid., chap. I, para. 200.

4/ See also annex VII for a list of books, films and newspaper and magazine articles by other visitors to the area.

5. At its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2795 (XXVI) of 10 December 1971 (105 votes to 8, with 5 abstentions) concerning the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, noted with satisfaction the intention of the Special Committee to send a special mission to the liberated areas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Furthermore, in its resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 (96 votes to 5, with 18 abstentions), the General Assembly approved the report of the Special Committee, including the programme of work which it envisaged for 1972, which included a visit to liberated areas of the Territories under Portuguese administration.

6. On 14 March 1972, on the basis of further consultations with the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU and the liberation movements, the Chairman proposed to the Special Committee at its 840th meeting the creation of a special mission to visit the liberated areas in one of the Territories under Portuguese administration. The Mission would be composed of not more than three members accompanied by two members of the Secretariat (a secretary and a photographer). Following a statement by the Committee Secretary concerning the administrative and financial implications (A/AC.109/PV.840), the Committee decided without objection to approve the Chairman's proposal on the understanding that for security reasons no announcement would be made concerning the Mission's destination until after the visit had been completed. At the same meeting, the Special Committee, by endorsing nominations by the Chairman, decided that the Special Mission would be composed of the representatives of Ecuador, Sweden and Tunisia. Accordingly the Mission was constituted as follows:

Mr. Horacio Sevilla-Borja, Deputy Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations (Chairman)

Mr. Folke Löfgren, First Secretary of the Permanent Mission of Sweden to the United Nations

Mr. Kamel Belkhiria, First Secretary of the Permanent Mission of Tunisia to the United Nations

7. The Special Mission was accompanied by the following Secretariat staff: Mr. Cheikh Tidiane Gaye (Principal Secretary) and Mr. Yutaka Nagata (photographer).

8. Prior to the departure of the Special Mission, it was agreed that (a) on the basis of the consultations with OAU and the national liberation movements concerned, the Mission should, for the time being, visit only the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau); (b) the visit would commence from a point bordering the Republic of Guinea and would conclude within a maximum period of 10 days thereafter; all necessary arrangements for the visit would be made by PAIGC in close co-operation with the Government of Guinea.

9. Bearing in mind the earlier decision of the Special Committee to hold a series of meetings away from Headquarters in 1972, starting at Conakry, Guinea, in the first week of April, the Special Mission, after consultations with the parties concerned, departed one week in advance of the Committee and visited the



liberated area of Guinea (Bissau) from 2 to 8 April. An account of the visit, together with the Mission's observations, conclusions and recommendations, is set out below. Annexes to the present report contain supplementary information. 5/ In addition, it may be noted that the voluminous material collected by the Mission in the form of taped interviews, photos, films etc., is available at United Nations Headquarters.

10. At the 848th meeting of the Special Committee held at Conakry on 10 April, the members of the Special Mission, in their statements to the Committee (A/AC.109/SR.848), presented a preliminary oral report of the work of the Special Mission. In the light of the preliminary information furnished by the members of the Special Mission and the testimony given by Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, and other members of PAIGC, the Special Committee, at its 854th meeting held at Conakry on 13 April, adopted a resolution relating to the situation in Guinea (Bissau) (A/AC.109/400). In this resolution, the Special Committee, inter alia:

"2. Affirms its recognition of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, as the only and authentic representative of the people of the Territory, and requests all States and specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take this into consideration when dealing with matters pertaining to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde;

"...

"4. Expresses its appreciation to the members and the secretariat of the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) from 2 to 8 April 1972 and its deep gratitude to the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde for its assistance and co-operation which enabled the Special Mission to complete its task successfully;

"5. Expresses its conviction that the successful accomplishment by the Special Mission of its task - establishing beyond any doubt the fact that de facto control in these areas is exercised by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the national liberation movement of the Territory - constitutes a major contribution by the United Nations in the field of decolonization;

"6. Strongly condemns Portugal for resorting to the widespread and brutal use of military force in an attempt to prevent the Special Mission from completing its task and for the resultant loss of civilian life and the destruction of hospitals, schools and villages in direct contradiction of its obligations as a State Member of the United Nations, and expresses its deep sympathy to the people and the national liberation movement of the Territory for the loss and suffering thus incurred;"

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5/ A map of Guinea (Bissau), provided by PAIGC, appears in annex VIII.

11. The Special Mission wishes to place on record its appreciation to the leaders of PAIGC, in particular its Secretary-General, Mr. Amilcar Cabral, for their constant assistance and co-operation and for the facilities which they placed at the Mission's disposal during its visit to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). It also wishes to express its gratitude to the Government of the Republic of Guinea whose co-operation was indispensable to the completion of the task, the former Administrative Secretary-General of OAU and other officials of that organization for their generous co-operation and assistance. The Mission wishes furthermore to record its thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for making available the necessary supporting staff and facilities and, in that connexion, to acknowledge with appreciation the services and dedication of the staff as well as the assistance extended to the Mission by United Nations offices.

12. A particularly warm tribute is due to the officials and cadres of PAIGC who accompanied the Mission throughout its visit and to the people of Guinea (Bissau) who bore the brunt of Portugal's efforts to prevent the Special Mission from completing its task (see annex III below). The Mission deeply regrets the loss of life, especially among the civilian population, which resulted therefrom.

## 1. CHRONICLE OF THE SPECIAL MISSION

### Mission's activities

13. In view of the delicate nature of its assignment, the Special Mission endeavoured from the outset to maintain the utmost secrecy with regard to its movements. Neither the date of its departure from Headquarters nor its destination was made public. The purpose of such secrecy was to minimize the risks both to the local population and to the members of the Mission which might arise from the Mission's presence in the liberated areas. As a further precaution, it was decided, prior to departure from New York, that the precise timing and duration of the visit would have to be determined after the Mission arrived at the headquarters of PAIGC. Accordingly, when the Mission left New York on 28 March 1972, its immediate destination was Conakry, Republic of Guinea where the PAIGC headquarters is located.

14. The Mission arrived in Conakry on 31 March and accompanied by Mr. Roger Polgar, the Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) at Conakry, paid a courtesy visit on the same day to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Guinea where it was received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Camara Damantang. The latter assured the Mission of his Government's readiness to furnish it with every assistance and co-operation for the successful accomplishment of its task. The Mission also had a brief meeting with representatives of the local OAU Office at Conakry.

15. Immediately thereafter, the Mission paid a first official visit to the headquarters of PAIGC where it was received by Mr. Aristides Pereira, Deputy Secretary-General, and a member of the Permanent Commission of the Executive Committee. Also present were two other members of the Executive Committee,

Major Constantino Teixeira and Mr. Abilio Duarte. The Secretary-General, Amilcar Cabral, was away on an official trip abroad. Arrangements for the visit to Guinea (Bissau) were discussed at the meeting and it was decided that the Mission should schedule its departure for the following day.

16. The Mission left Conakry on the morning of 1 April, attired in military fatigues with United Nations insignia and accompanied by an armed escort under the command of Major Constantino Teixeira. The night of 1 April was spent at a PAIGC base, located on the Guinean side of the frontier. Here a meeting was held with Major Pedro Pires, the PAIGC commander of the frontier region, in the course of which the members of the Mission were briefed on the military situation inside Guinea (Bissau) and plans were made for crossing the frontier.

17. Describing the situation inside the Territory, Major Pires informed the Mission that during the five days preceding its arrival, Portuguese military activity in the frontier region of Guinea (Bissau) had attained a degree of intensity never before experienced. The whole region had been subjected to intensive bombardment both by artillery from adjacent Portuguese forts and from the air. He attributed it to the Mission's presence in the area and expressed his firm conviction that the Portuguese authorities had been aware of the Mission's movements since its departure from New York. Before the Mission's departure, the sector had been comparatively quiet for some time and a number of foreign observers and delegations had visited the liberated area in complete tranquillity.

18. Major Pires said that, generally, the war in Guinea (Bissau) had been increasing in intensity for some time. Portuguese army units were for the most part entrenched in the few remaining fortified camps in the liberated areas. These were besieged by the forces of PAIGC and were being supplied by air or by river craft. A new factor, however, had been the large-scale introduction by the Portuguese of troop-carrying helicopters, which gave the Portuguese troops a vastly greater freedom of movement and were also used as gunships for aerial attacks. Major Pires was convinced, however, that Portugal no longer had any prospect of winning the war and that the Portuguese Government was continuing its resistance only because to do otherwise would weaken its position in Angola and Mozambique.

19. In the morning of the following day, the members of the Special Mission woke up to the sound of artillery fire from the nearest Portuguese fort of Guilejé. Among other things, they talked with a young soldier of the PAIGC liberation army who had been severely wounded during fighting at Como in 1963. The soldier, Joaozinho da Costa Dozes, said that he had joined the liberation forces when he was 14 years old and had been twice wounded. He showed the Mission a part of his hips which were covered with deep scars and said that, as a consequence of his injuries, he suffered from paralysis of his genital organs. He had not asked the party to allow him to go to Europe for treatment because he wanted to participate in the struggle for the liberation of his people until the final victory.

20. During the night of 2 April, the Special Mission, accompanied by an escort of 60 PAIGC soldiers, was driven to the frontier at a point not far from Kandiafara, on the Gogon River, and entered Guinea (Bissau) in a jeep at 2325 GMT. After the crossing, Portuguese artillery in a nearby camp began again an intermittent bombardment of the frontier area.

21. After crossing the frontier, the Special Mission and its escort left the jeep and the truck. They travelled on foot throughout the remainder of their visit to the liberated areas. During the first night, the Mission soon entered forest cover where they were joined by additional PAIGC troops. There followed a long march in a north-westerly direction. The march was made mostly in darkness through forest, swamps and savannah. During the march, the Mission traversed three rivers by means of primitive and dangerous bridges made from tree trunks, waded across brooks and streams and crossed numerous rice paddies.

22. A few hours after sunrise on 3 April, the Special Mission arrived at its first destination deep in the forest of the Balana sector, a heavily guarded PAIGC army base camp composed of several tents, huts and barracks which is the headquarters of the Political Commissariat of the Southern Region. Here the Mission met, among others, the following PAIGC leaders and members of the Executive Committee: Mr. João Bernado Vieira, ("Nino"), the commander-in-chief of the liberation army; Mr. Vasco Cabral, in charge of party ideology; Mr. Carlos Correia, in charge of security and a member of the Permanent Commission of the National Committee of the Southern Region; Mr. José Araujo, in charge of production and a member of the Permanent Commission of the National Committee of the Southern Region; Mr. Fidelis Almada, in charge of justice; Mr. Bari Abdulai, Political Commissioner of the armed forces in the Southern Region; and Mrs. Teodora Gomes, a member of the Political Brigade in the Southern Region.

23. Shortly after the Special Mission's arrival at the base camp, Portuguese reconnaissance aircraft, fighter bombers and helicopters were clearly visible flying over the camp at frequent intervals. On a number of occasions, the members of the Mission, on the advice of the leaders of PAIGC, were obliged to take shelter. It was consequently decided, in the interest of security, to move the Mission to quarters deeper in the forest.

24. A few hours after nightfall on the same day, the Special Mission left the base camp and continued its march in the direction of the Cubacaré sector. In the course of this march, the Mission was escorted by a detachment of more than 400 soldiers, not counting units assigned from local village forces from time to time. During the march, which lasted 13 1/2 hours, the Mission passed through many rice paddies and traversed four rivers including the Balana River, and was able to see evidence of the devastation caused by the war. While still in the Balana sector, the Mission passed through several villages, among them Setche-Kul, Yem I, Yem II, Flack-N'Gol and Rotche Nbnle, which had been heavily destroyed by aerial bombing. The surrounding fields showed evidence of heavy artillery shelling, crops had been burned by napalm and there were many shattered huts and graneries. During its march, the Mission visited the village of Xen-Kuntui, which was totally destroyed on the following day by aerial bombardments, and passed within a distance of 2 kilometres of the Portuguese military encampment of Kadanda.

25. In the morning of 4 April, the Special Mission arrived at the Areolino Lopez Cruz school in the Cubucaré sector (Catio region) where it stayed for two nights. This school, which is named after a former teacher who was killed during a Portuguese attack, provides elementary education for 65 pupils between 10 and 15 years of age, most of whom are either orphans or children of PAIGC soldiers. Because of the danger of aerial bombardment, the school, like others existing in the liberated area, is housed in temporary quarters, hidden deep in the forest and is frequently transferred from one place to another. It is staffed by six teachers, including the director, Mr. Lucas Pereira, who was educated abroad, and is administered with the participation of a committee of students. During its stay, the Mission had an opportunity to inspect the school and other facilities, assist at a working class and discuss with the teachers the problems which they encountered in providing education to the children of the liberated areas. The Mission also witnessed an artistic performance of theatre, dances and poetic reading given by the children.

26. While in the Cubucaré sector, the Special Mission attended a mass public meeting held in the forest at a distance of approximately one and a half hours march from the Areolino Lopez Cruz school. The meeting, which lasted three hours, was attended by almost 200 people from 14 villages: Darsalam, Catésse, Calaque, Carfal, Santa Clara, Cadique, Cabante, Catchamba, Cassintcha, Sogubol, Farim, Camarempo, Flaque N'Bitha and Caiquene.

27. The atmosphere of the meeting was friendly and fraternal and members of the Special Mission, who mixed with the crowd, had an opportunity to hold numerous individual conversations and thereby gain an insight into the conditions of life of the villagers who live under constant threat of attack from the air. The Mission was introduced to the gathering by Mr. José Araujo, a member of the Executive Committee of PAIGC, who also introduced the other PAIGC leaders present, namely Mr. Abdoulaye Seck, who is in charge of security in the south; Mrs. Satu Djassi, who is responsible for the administration of public health in the Cubucaré sector; Mr. Fidelis Almada, the PAIGC Secretary in charge of justice affairs; and Mr. Vasco Cabral, the member of the Executive Committee in charge of ideology.

28. Introducing the Special Mission, Mr. Araujo said that more villagers from the Cubucaré sector would have attended the meeting had it not been for the fact that the Portuguese forces had intensified their bombing of the sector during the preceding few days. For the benefit of the assembly, he explained the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security and its action to promote the development of friendly relations among peoples and to bring about the liquidation of colonialism. PAIGC's objectives, he said, were the same as those of the United Nations for its struggle was also aimed at ending colonialism and racism and the exploitation of one people by another. The leaders of PAIGC had a profound faith in the United Nations and, for that reason, the presence of the Special Mission in the liberated area of Guinea (Bissau) was a very important event for PAIGC and the Guinean people. At the conclusion of his speech, the crowd gave the Mission an ovation.

29. The Chairman of the Special Mission, in his reply, paid tribute to the people of Guinea (Bissau) and the leaders of PAIGC who were building a new future filled with promise for their country. Recalling that the primary purpose of the United Nations was to maintain international peace and security, he pointed out that peace meant not only the absence of war but also the ending of injustice and exploitation. That was why the United Nations was doing its utmost to put an end to colonialism wherever it existed. Much progress had been made since the United Nations had been created in 1945 but a great deal still remained to be done. He explained that the purpose of the Special Mission was to bring the help of the United Nations to the people of Guinea (Bissau) in its struggle for national liberation. After the Chairman's speech, some of the villagers spoke of the atrocities and material damage inflicted upon the people of their village by the Portuguese army.

30. After the meeting, the Special Mission discussed, among other things, the administration of justice in the liberated area with the president of the Cubacaré sector court and also had a talk with Mrs. Satu Djassi concerning problems of public health (see section 2 below). The Mission also talked with the political officer in charge of women's brigades who drew attention to the significant change which the liberation struggle had brought about in the status of women. As the Mission was able to observe throughout its visit, women in the liberated areas have been successful in asserting their political, economic and social rights and are playing an important role within PAIGC as militants and in the fields of security, justice, health, education and production.

31. In the evening of 6 April, the Mission set out on its return journey accompanied by a heavily armed escort of 200 PAIGC troops. En route, the Mission passed through and inspected three villages, Botche N'Bunhe, Botche Sansa and Botche Djate, which had been completely destroyed by Portuguese military action only a few days previously and bore evidence of extensive artillery and aerial bombardment, including an unexploded bomb, which was shown to the Mission in the village of Botche Djati. 6/ The Mission found the villagers living in the open among the ruins, from which there arose the smell of freshly burnt huts. The Mission also saw destroyed granaries with a large quantity of burnt rice.

32. Stopping for a few hours at the base camp of the Political Commissariat of the Southern Region where it arrived in the early hours of 7 April, the Mission held discussions with PAIGC leaders, including Mr. Vasco Cabral, concerning their plans for the holding of elections both to the regional councils and to a future territory-wide parliament (see section 2 below) and the measures being taken to re-establish commerce and trade in the liberated areas.

33. The Mission spent the night of 7 April at the main headquarters of the Central Command of PAIGC, a few hours march from the border of the Republic of Guinea. Here it was again welcomed by Mr. Joao Bernardo Vieira ("Nino"), the commander-in-chief

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6/ The bomb bore the following markings: MI-7, 61A; TNT; BPE-1-124; 8/69; 50-7KG-0.035-M3.

of the PAIGC armed forces of liberation, and discussed the health problems in the liberated areas with a Cuban doctor who was working in the area as a volunteer. Later on during the night, the Mission met a caravan of some 200 civilians returning from the Republic of Guinea to Guinea (Bissau) marching with, among other things, newly purchased cattle to replace those bombed out by the Portuguese.

34. In the early morning (0725 GMT) of 8 April, the Special Mission crossed the frontier into the Republic of Guinea. After a brief rest at the PAIGC military base, and following a ceremony during which the members of the Mission received from Major Pires the insignia and flag of PAIGC, it proceeded to the town of Boké in the Republic of Guinea where it encountered other members of the Special Committee who were visiting the region. Later that day, the Mission returned to Conakry where, it rejoined the Special Committee.

35. On 10 April 1972, the members of the Mission presented a preliminary report to the Special Committee (see annex II below).

36. During the five days and six nights which it spent in Guinea (Bissau), 7/ the Mission travelled on foot a distance of approximately 200 kilometres and visited nine localities:

Base du Commissariat politique de la région du sud  
Botche-Kul  
Yem I  
Yem II-Kumba  
Flack-N'Gol  
Internat Areolino Cruz  
Lieu du meeting avec les villages  
Botche Djate  
Base du Commissariat du Front

In the course of its visit in the south-western part of the country, it had an opportunity to see the devastation wrought by artillery, aerial bombardment and airborne troops on the villages and cultivated fields of the inhabitants, to visit a school and to meet with a large number of the non-combatant population of the liberated area as well as personnel of the administration, PAIGC authorities and local political leaders. The Mission was able to talk with villagers - students, children, teachers, judges, physicians and nurses. The Mission also had direct contact with the members of the liberation army, was able to visit their camps and installations and to see for itself the nature and extent of the liberation struggle. The Mission's stay in the liberated area, originally intended to last four days, was extended to one week.

37. The Mission's observations on the situation prevailing in Guinea (Bissau) are set out in section 2 below.

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7/ The itinerary of the Mission appears in annex I.

Portuguese reaction to the Mission

38. It will be recalled that, shortly prior to the Mission's departure from New York, the Permanent Representative of Portugal, in a letter dated 25 March 1972 (A/AC.109/398), communicated to the Secretary-General the views of the Government of Portugal. The Permanent Representative stated inter alia that entry into the territory of a State Member of the United Nations without the consent of the legally constituted Government, could not but be construed as an act calculated to violate all rules of international law. The Government of Portugal vehemently protested the proposed violation of its sovereignty and formally declined all responsibility for the consequences. In the same letter, the Permanent Representative said that the "decision to visit the 'liberated areas' of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces constitutes yet another act of sheer propaganda which can only serve to feed the illusion of certain interested political sectors which refuse to admit that the terrorist organizations do not control any part of Portuguese territory".

39. Subsequently, in press releases issued on 11 and 17 April, by the Foreign Ministry and the Permanent Mission respectively, an endeavour was made to deny that the Special Mission had, in fact, visited Guinea (Bissau).

40. Meanwhile, although the Portuguese authorities had no official information as to the precise destination or date of the proposed visit, every effort was made to deter the Mission from its task. According to information provided by PAIGC, a state of emergency was declared in Guinea (Bissau) at the time of the Mission's departure from New York and military activity on the part of Portuguese armed forces in the Territory attained the highest level of intensity since 1964. Between 28 March and 8 April, the date of the Mission's return to the Republic of Guinea, intensive aerial and artillery bombardments, accompanied by reconnaissance flights and helicopter-borne commando operations took place, especially in the Balana-Kitafine region and Cubacaré sector in the south and south-west where the Mission was present. In the Cubacaré sector, four villages were destroyed while the Mission was in the vicinity and, according to PAIGC, Portuguese forces, during the period, destroyed two hospitals, one health centre and three schools. In all, 25 persons including women and old persons (see annex IV, below) were reported to have been killed by Portuguese military action during the period. The Mission wishes to note that according to a press release subsequently issued by the Government of Portugal, the Portuguese "Overseas minister" was at Bissau during the Mission's visit to the liberated area.

41. Although the Mission did not itself come under fire, its members were able to hear the bombardments and to see the reconnaissance planes and helicopters flying overhead; in some cases, members were obliged to hide under shelter and seek protection in the bush. The Mission was also able to inspect the destruction caused to villages and crops.

42. The cessation of this activity on 8 April, the day following the Mission's exit from the Territory, is evidence that Portugal's purpose was to prevent the Mission from accomplishing its task and thereby uphold its contention that there are



no liberated areas under the control of PAIGC. The Mission notes in this connexion that during the last year many foreign observers, including parliamentarians, journalists and photographers, have visited the liberated areas, both in the northern and southern parts of the country, some of them remaining there for long periods, as the numerous reports, articles and films on the Territory bear witness. In most cases, these visits have met with considerably less difficulty than those inflicted upon the United Nations Special Mission.

## 2. OBSERVATIONS OF THE SPECIAL MISSION

43. This section of the report is based on the information obtained by the Special Mission during its visit to Guinea (Bissau), both from direct observation of the operation of economic and social conditions inside the liberated area, and from discussions with the inhabitants, local officials and leaders. The Mission has also made use of information supplied to it by the leaders of PAIGC both before and after its visit to the liberated area.

### Educational conditions

44. According to the leaders of PAIGC, the development of education is one of the highest priorities in the programme of reconstruction. Under Portuguese rule, it is said, nearly 99 per cent of the population was illiterate and very few Africans had access to education beyond the elementary level. In the whole of Guinea (Bissau) there were, according to PAIGC, only 14 Africans who had graduated from a university.

45. PAIGC's policy for the liberated area aims at the rapid elimination of illiteracy, the institution of free and compulsory education at the primary level and a crash programme for the training of technicians and professional personnel. From the outset of the liberation struggle, a mass literacy campaign has been in force in which all who are unable to read and write are required to participate.

46. PAIGC also takes credit for having established more than 200 schools, scattered throughout the liberated area, with an enrolment in excess of 20,000 pupils. <sup>8/</sup> These schools are organized and centrally administered by PAIGC which, among other things, has laid down regulations relating to their administration, teaching staff and curricula. The Areolino Lopez Cruz school in the Cubacaré sector, which the Special Mission visited, is located for security reasons in the forest, where it is safe from air attack. The school is housed in temporary structures, and contains 65 boys and girls ranging in age from 10 to 15 years, divided into four elementary classes. The children do not begin school until the age of 10 because of the hardship and risks involved. The curriculum includes the

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<sup>8/</sup> The two regions visited by the Mission, the regions of Balana-Kitafine and Catio, reportedly possess a total of 61 schools organized by PAIGC.

following subjects: history, geography, Portuguese, natural sciences, arithmetic, ideological training, PAIGC policy and, for the girls, home economics. There are six teachers, five men and one woman, including the director of the school. The school is administered by the director, Mr. Lucas Pereira, assisted by a Pioneer Committee of seven pupils elected by their schoolfellows. The school is active in cultural and artistic training which the Mission was able to appreciate when the pupils gave a performance in its honour. The Mission was impressed both by the artistic talents of the children and by the profound moral and political content of the programme, the theme of which was the mobilization of the masses and the guerilla war in Guinea (Bissau). The Mission is of the view that these performances presented to an international audience would greatly enhance the comprehension of the general situation in the liberated areas.

47. Although the Mission did not have an opportunity to visit them it was informed that PAIGC maintains secondary schools, such as the Sara boarding school, in the liberated area. These schools are at present reserved for particularly gifted pupils or for the children of freedom fighters killed in action. A number of students are pursuing university courses in other countries on fellowships offered to PAIGC.

48. Apart from such fellowships, PAIGC has received substantial assistance from several countries, including Sweden and the German Democratic Republic, which have published readers and arithmetic textbooks prepared by PAIGC for use in its schools. Assistance has also come from the United Nations Educational Scientific and Culture Organization (UNESCO), which has offered to publish 20,000 arithmetic textbooks and, according to PAIGC, has also offered to supply educational materials to a total value of \$US 64,000. As the Mission was able to observe, however, such assistance will satisfy only a small part of the need in the liberated areas for educational materials and assistance.

#### Health conditions

49. The basic principles governing the organization of health services in the liberated area are set out in PAIGC's Mots d'ordre general (General instructions). Essentially, the aim is to provide health services first to active freedom fighters and then to the population of the liberated areas in general. The medical services are under the direction of the PAIGC military command.

50. The facilities so far established consist of a central hospital in each of the three regions, smaller hospitals at the sector level and health centres located in the sectors, each of which consists of three or four villages. In addition, health teams visit the villages frequently to bring medical care to sick persons who cannot be moved, to evacuate others to the health centres or hospitals and to instruct the villagers in child-care and hygiene. 9/

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9/ The two regions visited by the Mission, Balana-Katafine and Catio, reportedly have a total of three hospitals and 20 health centres.

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51. The hospitals are directed by medical doctors, who are either Cuban volunteers or nationals of Guinea (Bissau). The health centres are run by medical assistants who are members of PAIGC, and each health team consists of two nurses, one male and the one female.

52. The hospitals located at military base camps give first priority to the treatment of wounded combatants and to the victims of Portuguese bombardments. Subject to this, treatment is given to sick persons generally.

53. In its discussions with medical personnel, the Special Mission was told that there was a widespread prevalence of malaria, malnutrition, beri-beri, tuberculosis and dropsy. The medical personnel were particularly concerned about malnutrition, especially among children, which they attributed largely to lack of protein due to the systematic slaughtering of livestock by the Portuguese military forces. For this reason, one of the many tasks of the medical teams was to encourage the population to raise livestock.

54. From time to time, PAIGC undertakes large-scale vaccination among the local population; in 1971, for example, a vaccination campaign succeeded in protecting the inhabitants of the liberated areas from an epidemic of cholera which was widespread in the neighbouring areas of the Republic of Guinea and Senegal. Efforts to vaccinate people, however, are hampered by the lack of cold storage facilities. There is no electricity in the liberated areas but portable refrigerators indispensable to the vaccination campaign are expected shortly.

55. The Mission was told, however, that the efforts of the health services were hampered by a serious lack of medical equipment and supplies, especially supplies of antibiotics, anti-parasitic drugs and vaccines. There was a similar shortage of vitamins and milk. Another difficulty is the transport situation. It is not easy to carry seriously wounded or sick people to the hospital at Boké or to hospitals in other areas.

56. The training of medical personnel was also a major concern. At present, some doctors are being trained abroad on fellowships made available to PAIGC. Nurses are first given accelerated basic training at one or other of the three main hospitals and are then sent abroad for specialized training or to undergo a one-year course to complete their general studies. In order to qualify as medical assistants, nurses receive a further two-month course at centres in the liberated areas, after which they are posted to health centres in the interior of the country. Mrs. Satu Djassi, for example, who was trained as a nurse and is now responsible for public health matters in Cubucaré explained to the Mission that her training had consisted of one year at a PAIGC hospital in the Republic of Guinea and a further one-year course at Kiev, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

#### Administration of justice

57. The judicial system in the liberated area is based on a text adopted in 1966 but only fully applied in 1969. Essentially, there are three tiers of courts.

In addition, there is a special temporary court. At the lowest level there are village courts, each consisting of three villagers chosen by their peers. The competence of a village court is restricted to the settlement of minor disputes and petty theft and the judgements are flexibly based on traditional customary law. The role of the village court, according to Mr. Fidelis Almada, PAIGC's Secretary for Justice, who has studied in Portugal and practised law in São Paulo, Brazil, is primarily to maintain harmony among the villagers. Fines may be imposed, and if the convicted person does not pay the fine he may be required by PAIGC to do some form of compulsory labour. The village courts do not have power to pass sentences of imprisonment. PAIGC leaders explained that the party does not maintain prisons, both for reasons of economy and because it considers rehabilitation preferable.

58. An appeal lies from the village courts to sectoral courts which are composed of five members as follows: the political commissioner of the sector, who is responsible for security; a representative of the Office of the Secretary for Justice; two representatives of the people; and a member of one of the village courts in the sector. Besides hearing appeals from the village courts in the sector, a sectoral court has jurisdiction to try more serious offences and to hand down sentences of up to five years' compulsory labour. Such compulsory labour may consist, for example, of transporting armaments or military equipment to the liberated areas.

59. Above the sectoral courts, there exists the military court, which is the highest permanent judicial body. The court is composed of five members: a representative of the PAIGC Council of War; a representative of the security authorities; a representative of the Office of the Secretary for Justice; and two representatives of the people. The court is competent to review judgements of the lower courts and to try, as a court of first instance, crimes of espionage, homicide and rape. The sentences handed down by the military court may include the death penalty in case of high treason.

60. Apart from these permanent judicial bodies, there is a special temporary court which is responsible for hearing serious cases of flagrante delicto. This special court is comprised of three members: the political commissioner of the region; the official responsible for security; and the commander of the armed forces.

61. Explaining the judicial system to the Mission, Mr. Fidelis Almada, in charge of justice, said that the courts were independent of PAIGC and the armed forces; for example, he cited a case in which a person who had been accused by the security service of being a spy had nevertheless been acquitted for lack of sufficient evidence. All court hearings are public and the accused may plead in his own defence or be represented by a person of his choice or otherwise the representative of the Secretary for Justice may defend an accused person or may appoint a competent villager for that purpose. In the event of judicial error, the Secretary for Justice may take initiative to ensure that the judgement is reviewed. Furthermore, except in cases of espionage, any convicted person may appeal to the Secretary-General of PAIGC.

62. Mr. Almada told the Members of the Special Mission that the problem which most concerned his department was the preparation of a civil and penal code for Guinea (Bissau). He said that the code would be popularly inspired and would be based on African customs and values. It would, however, be an instrument for combating certain undesirable practices, such as forced marriage.

#### Reconstruction of the economy

63. PAIGC's policy in the liberated areas is aimed at eliminating all vestiges of the economic organization and exploitation imposed by the Portuguese and replacing it with a new economic system appropriate to the needs of the country. As the economy of the liberated areas is essentially agriculture, this has involved the abandonment of the exclusive concentration on the cultivation of groundnuts as the country's principal cash crop, and the diversification of agriculture to meet local requirements. Crop diversification has reportedly progressed despite the constant aerial bombardments and the destruction of harvests. PAIGC has established demonstration centres to instruct the villagers in techniques of crop diversification, collective farming, etc., and an embryonic system of co-operative farming has already been created. The main products of Guinea (Bissau) today are groundnuts, rice, palm kernels and palm oil, cola nuts, rubber and wax.

64. Trade is transacted on a barter basis and Portuguese currency is no longer used. People's stores, organized by PAIGC, exist throughout the liberated areas where the villagers may exchange their produce under the barter system for basic necessities such as clothing, cooking utensils and other manufactured goods which consist largely of gifts received by PAIGC from foreign countries and international organizations. Local produce accumulated in the people's stores is used for the needs of the liberation army for distribution in regions where there is a shortage, and the surplus is exported to neighbouring countries. PAIGC exports quantities of rice, cola nuts, beeswax and crocodile skins.

#### Establishment of a national assembly

65. It will be recalled that in his statement to the Security Council during its meetings in Addis Ababa 10/ Mr. Amilcar Cabral said that the people of Guinea (Bissau) had already achieved self-determination through nine years of armed struggle and possessed all the component parts of a State in development. He said that the people would shortly elect regional councils and a People's National Assembly.

66. During its visit, the Special Mission discussed these plans with Mr. Vasco Cabral, the member of the Executive Committee who is responsible for ideology.

According to Mr. Cabral, the creation of an elected national assembly would represent, in the view of PAIGC, a major step forward towards de jure recognition of the independence of Guinea (Bissau) by foreign countries. It would also involve significant changes within Guinea (Bissau). PAIGC had been considering such a step since 1969 but had preferred to wait until all the conditions existed before entering upon what would be a new phase in the struggle for independence. Now, however, these conditions had been fulfilled because the people had already achieved self-determination by liberating more than two-thirds of the Territory and by creating a sovereign political, economic, social and cultural entity. He said that Guinea (Bissau) was in fact an independent State, part of whose territory was occupied by a foreign army.

67. He explained that the People's National Assembly would be composed of 120 deputies, of whom 40 would be representatives of PAIGC from the northern, southern and eastern regions and the Bijagos Islands, and 80 would be representatives of mass organizations, such as the Union des Travailleurs Guinéens, the Union de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants and the Union des Femmes Guinéennes.

68. A five-member Special Commission had been established by PAIGC at the end of 1971 to supervise preparation for the elections. Of the five members, one or two were permanent representatives of PAIGC, while the others were representatives of the region where the Commission happened to be working.

69. It had already been established by PAIGC that, in order to be eligible for election, a candidate must accept the general PAIGC line, must be committed to the cause of liberation and must possess moral integrity. Candidates would be proposed by the villagers in collaboration with PAIGC. The election itself would be on two levels: in the first phase, the inhabitants of each region, divided into sectors, would elect the regional councillors by universal suffrage and secret ballot; in the second phase, the councillors of each region would elect one third of their members to represent the region as deputies in the People's National Assembly. Of the deputies elected from each region, three-fifths would represent mass organizations and two-fifths would be from the ranks of PAIGC.

70. The age qualification for voters would be 15 years. He added that the elections would take place before the commencement of the rainy season in July-August 1972.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

71. In its resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, the General Assembly determined that the Territories under Portuguese administration, including Guinea called Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde, were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. Thus, under the terms of Article 73 of the Charter, Portugal, as the administering Power, is under the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of the Territories concerned, and, to that end, among other things, to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples,

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and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement.

72. Since the adoption of resolution 1542 (XV), however, the Government of Portugal has continued to maintain the fiction that these Territories are overseas provinces of Portugal and has persistently refused to recognize the inalienable right of the people of the Territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant United Nations resolutions. Moreover, in a futile attempt to suppress the national liberation movements in the African Territories and to stifle the legitimate aspirations of their peoples to free themselves from colonial domination, the Government of Portugal has resorted to the extensive use of armed force, involving all the techniques of modern warfare, against the defenceless peoples of the Territories.

73. During its recent visit to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), the Special Mission had ample opportunity to witness the devastation and misery caused by Portugal's actions, particularly the widespread and indiscriminate bombing of villages and the use of napalm to destroy crops. At the same time, the Mission was profoundly impressed by the manifest will of the people, despite their incalculable hardships and suffering, to carry on the struggle until freedom and independence were won under the able leadership of the national liberation movement, PAIGC. The Mission lauds, on the one hand, the courage and determination of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and, on the other, the devotion and commitment on the part of PAIGC to guide and assist the people in their attainment of the goals set out in the Charter.

74. That the struggle for the liberation of the Territory continues to progress and that Portugal no longer exercises any effective administrative control in large areas of Guinea (Bissau) are irrefutable facts. According to PAIGC, the liberated areas now comprise either more than two-thirds or between two-thirds and three-fourths of the Territory. This has been verified by many foreign observers and journalists. It is also evident that the population of the liberated areas unreservedly supports the policies and activities of PAIGC, which after nine years of military struggle exercises free de facto administrative control in those areas, and is effectively protecting the interests of the inhabitants in spite of Portuguese activities.

75. The Special Mission was impressed by the enthusiastic and whole-hearted co-operation which PAIGC receives from the people in the liberated areas and the extent to which the latter are participating in the administrative machinery set up by PAIGC and in the various programmes of reconstruction. Accordingly, the Mission believes that the Special Committee's recognition of PAIGC, as being the de facto and the sole and authentic representative for the aspirations of the people of the Territory, should be taken fully into account by States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in dealing with matters relating to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.

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76. In an attempt to retain its colonialist domination over those areas of the Territory which it still controls and, more recently, in order to prevent the Special Mission from carrying out its task, the Government of Portugal has increasingly resorted to the indiscriminate use of military force and has continued other acts of harassment and aggression not only against the people of the Territory but also against Guinea and Senegal, the independent African States bordering the Territory. The Mission views with serious concern the resultant critical and explosive situation which seriously disturbs peace and security in that region of Africa.

77. Having observed at first-hand the conditions of terror and harassment under which the people of the liberated areas continue to live, the Special Mission is convinced of the urgent need for concerted action by the international community to exercise pressure on the Government of Portugal to induce it to discontinue forthwith all acts of repression against these people and to withdraw at once all its forces from the Territory. Humanitarian considerations alone call for such action. In this connexion, the Mission wishes to draw attention to the statement made by Mr. Amilcar Cabral before the Security Council meeting held at Addis Ababa on 1 February 1972. 11/ The Mission considers it imperative that the supply of arms to Portugal by some of its allies 12/ should cease immediately, for the Mission is convinced that without such support Portugal would be unable to pursue its colonial wars against the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola or Mozambique. The Mission suggests that the Special Committee might wish to pay particular attention to that aspect of the situation and consider requesting the Secretary-General to seek information from Member States as well as from other sources relating to the arms supplied by them to Portugal.

78. The Special Mission was able to observe the marked progress achieved by the people of the Territory through their national liberation movement, PAIGC, both in their struggle and in their work of reconstruction. In the liberated areas visited by the Mission, the colonial administrative machinery has been replaced by new administrative, political and judicial institutions representative of the people 13/ and educational and health services have been created, often where none previously existed. As the Mission has shown elsewhere in the present report, however, there is an acute and grave need to furnish material assistance to the people in their fight against hunger and sickness. Among their primary requirements are, in the first instance, staple foods, dietary supplements, medical care, particularly maternal and child care, and medicinal supplies as well as educational and training assistance. 14/ The Mission believes that all States,

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11/ Ibid.

12/ The PAIGC has provided a partial list of the arms being supplied to Portugal. See annex VI.

13/ Some of the forms being used by PAIGC in the liberated areas are reproduced in annex X.

14/ A list of priorities prepared by PAIGC appears in annex V.



the specialized agencies and other international organizations should do their utmost to provide, or to increase their supply of such assistance on an emergency basis. In that connexion, the Mission notes with regret that, while some of the specialized agencies of the United Nations system have recently dispatched special representatives to consult with OAU for the purpose of working out programmes of assistance to the colonial peoples and to their national liberation movements, very few concrete measures have so far been taken by the agencies to meet these needs. The Mission is of the firm view that in order to bring about the desired results, the efforts of these agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system must be effectively co-ordinated. In that regard, the Mission notes the recent decision of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC) to convene, with the participation of OAU, an ad hoc interagency meeting to consider arrangements for closer co-operation, on the basis of concrete proposals for multidisciplinary action. The Mission hopes that this interagency meeting will take place as soon as possible so that a steady flow of assistance to the people of the Territory can be assured at an early date. The Mission also attaches great importance to the need for States members of the governing bodies and deliberative organs of the specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system to take effective action along the lines indicated by the General Assembly in paragraph 10 of its resolution 2874 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971. It will be recalled that, in that paragraph, the General Assembly requested all Governments to intensify their efforts in the specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system of which they are members in order to ensure the full and effective implementation of the Declaration and other relevant United Nations resolutions.

79. The Special Mission hopes that the information gathered by it during its visit to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) will serve to focus the attention of the whole world on the serious problems which exist in Africa. Its findings reveal the heroic struggle in which the people of the Territory under the leadership of PAIGC are so fiercely engaged in their determination to free their Territory from the colonial war which Portugal is waging in its desperate attempt to stave off defeat. Unable to regain control over the liberated areas or to vanquish the national liberation movement, the Portuguese authorities have resorted to widespread and indiscriminate aerial bombardment with the resultant loss of civilian life and in particular the destruction of hospitals, schools and villages. The Mission believes that a co-operative effort should be made by all Governments and competent national and international organizations to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde to achieve self-determination and independence. The information and evidence which the Mission was able to obtain should be brought to the attention of the whole international community as a means of bringing about an intensification of diplomatic and political pressures on the Government of Portugal in order to obtain its compliance with the decisions of the United Nations.

80. Particular efforts should be made, in the view of the Mission, to publicize regularly the terrorist activities of the Portuguese military command against the civilian populations. The importance of the role to be played in that connexion by the United Nations Office of Public Information has to be underlined. The Mission

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expresses its hope that, in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to him by the General Assembly in its resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization, the Secretary-General will take into account the views expressed by the Mission in this report and will take concrete measures, utilizing all the media at his disposal, including special publications, radio and television, to disseminate the relevant information. The Mission also hopes that Member States will co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in carrying out the above-mentioned tasks.

81. Throughout its visit to the Territory, the Special Mission was profoundly impressed by the earnestness and dedication of the national liberation movement, PAIGC, and by its realistic and open-minded approach to the problems which it confronts in the ultimate liberation of the whole of the Territory. The Mission is strongly of the opinion that there is a need for the Special Committee to maintain direct and continuous contact not only with PAIGC but also with other national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in order to enhance the Committee's capacity for assisting the peoples of those Territories in their struggle for liberation. The results of the recent meetings of the Special Committee away from Headquarters, which enabled it to contact a number of national liberation movements in Africa, were both fruitful and encouraging. The Mission believes that such contacts should be maintained in a more systematic and co-ordinated manner. Mindful of the decision adopted by the Special Committee at its 825th meeting on 9 September 1971, in which the Committee requested its Working Group to study the possibility of associating representatives of the national liberation movements of colonial Territories more closely with the work of the Special Committee, the Mission expresses the hope that the Committee will be able to submit appropriate recommendations to that effect when it reports to the General Assembly at its forthcoming session.

82. Finally, the Special Mission believes that the experience gained by its visit to Guinea (Bissau) has demonstrated the value of such contacts in terms both of the first-hand information which it was able to obtain and the constructive role which it was able to play as a link between the international community and the peoples of the colonial Territories. The Mission considers that there is a vital need for the Special Committee to dispatch similar missions to visit other colonial Territories as a means of collecting adequate information on conditions in those Territories and on the wishes and aspirations of the people regarding their future status. In the light of the renewed invitations received from other national liberation movements, the Mission is of the opinion that the Special Committee should dispatch as appropriate visiting groups to the liberated areas of other Portuguese colonial Territories in southern Africa.

ANNEX I  
ITINERARY

28 March 1972		Left New York for Conakry via Paris and Nouadhi' Bou
31 March 1972	0630	Arrived at Conakry
	1030	Courtesy visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	1200	Meeting with leaders of PAIGC
1 April 1972	0900	Left Conakry for Boké
	1600	Arrived at Boké
	1800	Left Boké for the frontier
	2015	Arrived at Kandiafara
	2115	Left Kandiafara
	2130	Arrived at the base of Major Pires
2 April 1972	2245	Left the base for the frontier
	2315	Crossed the frontier
	2330	Left the two vehicles behind
	2335	Explosion heard
3 April 1972	0729	Arrived at the base of the political Commissariat of the Southern Region
3 April 1972	2130	Left the base for the Cubacaré sector
4 April 1972	1030	Arrived at the Areolino Lopez Cruz boarding school
	2030	Entertainment by pupils
5 April 1972	1400	left the boarding school for a village meeting
	1530	Arrived at the meeting place
	1800	Left for the boarding school
	1930	Returned to the boarding school
6 April 1972	0830	Visited the school's dining room
	0930	Attended history, geography and mathematics classes
	1030	Interview with Satu Djassi, in charge of health in the Cubacaré sector

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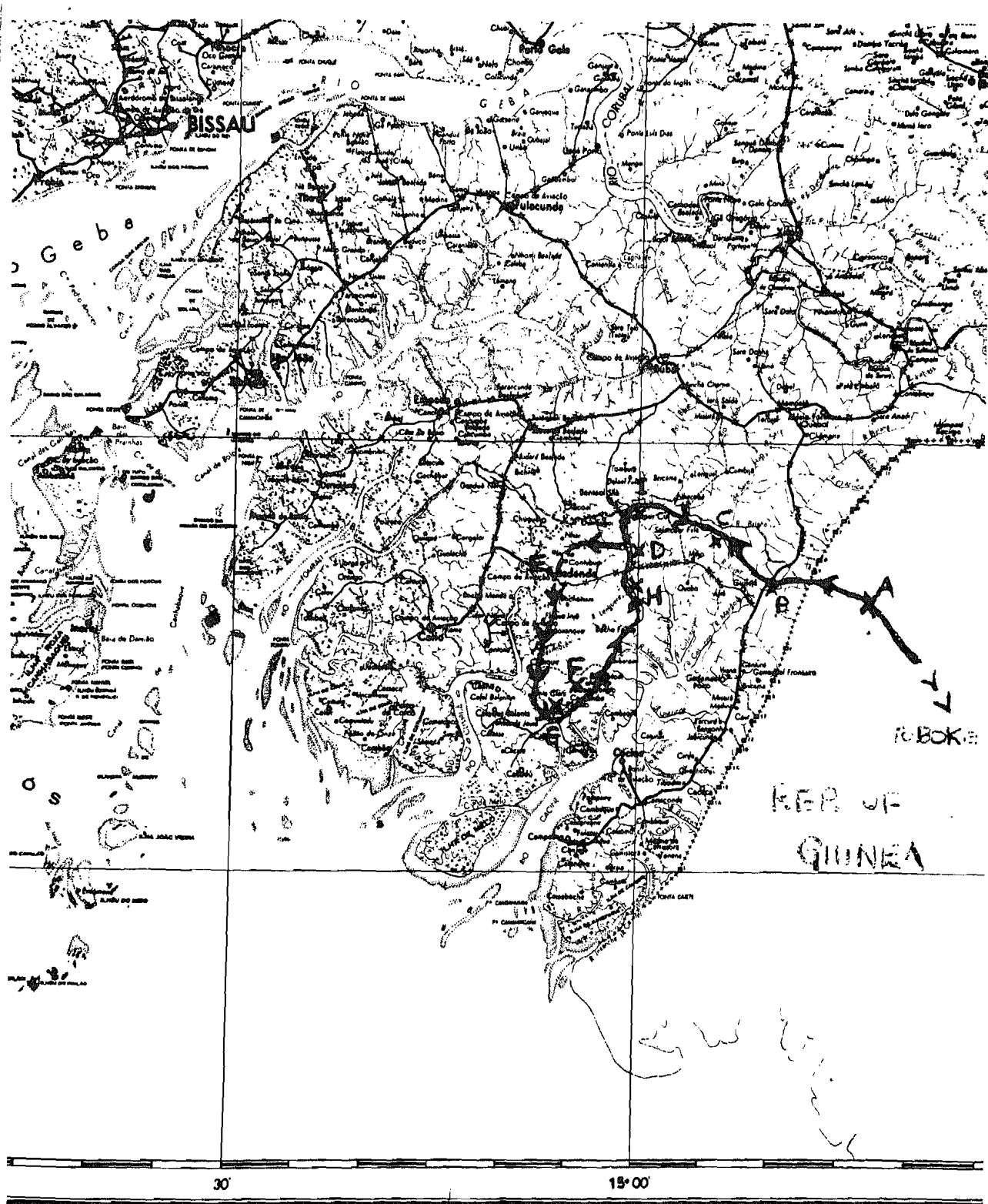
	1045	Interview with Mr. Fidelis Almada, member of the Executive Committee
	1200	Student parade
	1600	Visited a homecraft class
	1730	Left the Areolino Lopez Cruz boarding school
7 April 1972	0030	Passed through the destroyed village of Botche Djate, where there was an unexploded bomb
	0430	Arrived at the base of the Political Commissariat
	1630	Interview with Mr. Vasco Cabral and the person in charge of the People's Stores
	1800	Left the base of the Political Commissariat
	2200	Arrived at the headquarters of the Front Command ("Nino" Base)
8 April 1972	0005	Left the base for the frontier
	0725	Crossed the frontier
	0945	Arrived at the base of Major Pires

We left Conakry 1 April 1972 by Land Rover at 0900 GMT for Boké located about 170 kilometres (direct by air) "as the crow flies" north-west of Conakry. We continued our journey to Kandiafra on the Cogon River from Boké in a west-north-westerly direction (approximately  $290^{\circ}$  -  $300^{\circ}$ ) at an average speed of 50-55 kilometres per hour. The direction was confirmed by the fact that the late afternoon sun was almost constantly shining against the windshield of our car at an angle of about 11.30-12.30 o'clock (12.00 o'clock is dead ahead). We arrived at Kandiafra at 2000 GMT, on 1 April 1972, after two hours driving from Boké. We had travelled approximately 100-110 kilometres. We crossed the Cogon River by ferry at 2115 GMT, on 1 April 1972, reached the opposite bank five minutes later and immediately proceeded to the frontier camp of Commandant Pires a/ in the direction of about  $315^{\circ}$  or due north-west for 10 minutes at an average speed of 20 kilometres per hour. The direction of travel was established by celestial navigation. In other words, we were then approximately 103-113 kilometres away from Boké in the direction of about  $300^{\circ}$ .

We departed by jeep from the camp at 2245 GMT, on 2 April 1972, for the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) at an average speed of 20 kilometres per hour for the next 45 minutes going due west or approximately  $270^{\circ}$ . Again this was

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a/ See map on page 3 of this annex, position "A".



ESCALA 1:500.000

Projeção Mercator Transversal (U. T. M.)  
Elipsóide Internacional (Hayford)

Mapa  
Guiné  
Cala de Aguiar

established by celestial navigation. The distance covered during this period was about 15 kilometres. In the meantime, we crossed the frontier at 2315 GMT, on 2 April 1972.

We began our march at that point b/ at 2330 GMT, on 2 April 1972, in the direction of approximately 270° or due west (by a compass and by celestial navigation) until 0200 GMT, on 3 April 1972, to reach the point where we took our first rest. c/

Judging that an average distance travelled by foot is about 4 kilometres per hour, we walked approximately 10 kilometres. If we add the distance between Boké and Pires Camp (103-113 kilometres) from Pires Camp to the point where the march began (15 kilometres) and the 10 kilometres covered in the two-and-a-half-hour march, we would be 128-138 kilometres away from Boké in the direction of 300°-315°.

Draw a circle with 128-138 kilometres d/ radius from Boké on a map and pay particular attention to the portion of the circumference in the area of 300°-315° from Boké.

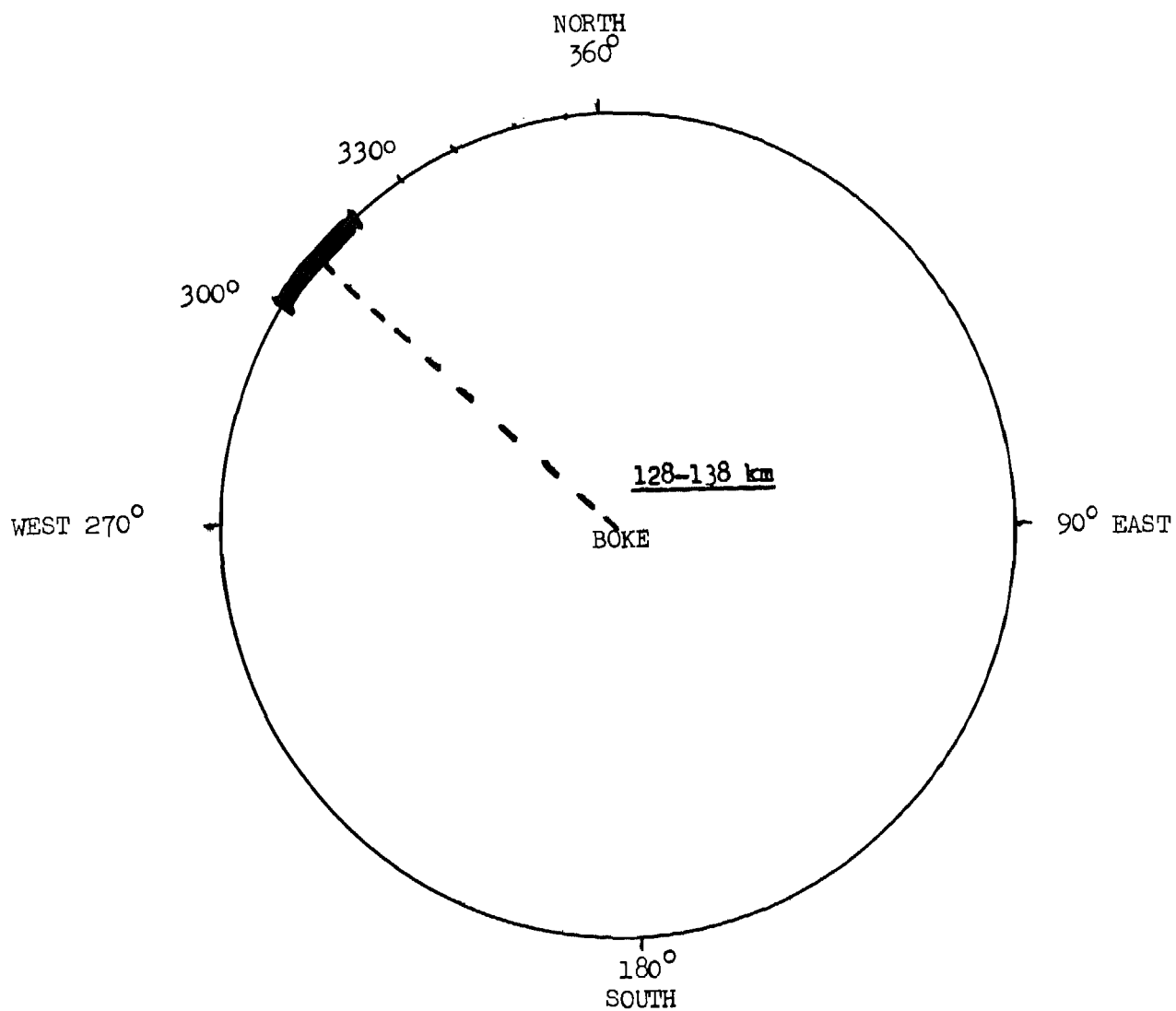
It is clearly beyond the frontier, thus proving we were in the Territory of Guinea (Bissau).

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b/ Ibid., position "B".

c/ Ibid., position "C".

d/ See page 5 of this annex.



## ANNEX II

### PRELIMINARY REPORTS BY THE MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL MISSION AT THE 848th MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON 10 APRIL 1972

#### A. Report by Mr. Horacio Sevilla-Borja, Chairman of the Special Mission

The United Nations has made its appearance in an area which, as part of a Territory that is still under colonial domination, has been liberated from the physical, administrative and political presence of the colonial Power by indigenous forces.

The Organization, represented by the Special Mission of this Committee, has just spent seven days - to be more exact 130 hours - in part of the Territory of Guinea (Bissau) that has been liberated by the military and political action of the indigenous nationalist forces, led by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC).

This is an unprecedented event in the very creditable campaign, carried out by the United Nations since its establishment, to wipe the system of colonial domination from the face of the earth. It is for the General Assembly and this Committee to determine the legal, political, constitutional and administrative implications of the fact that the blue flag - the symbol of peace - of the United Nations, has been raised and has flown proudly over villages, schools, roads, encampments, forests and farmlands of the Liberated Areas of Guinea (Bissau). We, the three members of your Special Mission, do not wish at this juncture to be the ones to draw attention to what those implications may be; we merely wish to suggest at this point that, after this visit, the situation can never be the same again.

We believe that we have carried out the difficult assignment you gave us. This was by no means a conventional Mission; it was very different from those normally carried out in the diplomatic field. We have some very difficult moments, as a result both of the primitive living and transport conditions - the product of over 100 years of reactionary colonial domination - and of the virtual state of war that exists, which was markedly intensified by the Portuguese forces during our visit. Added to all this is the fact that we lacked the training for long treks of up to 15 hours at a stretch at times, and of 8 and 13 hours at others, through forests, rivers and swamps. It should be pointed out that we found it difficult to adjust ourselves to different ways of life: sleeping in the open, irregular meals, unfamiliarity with the latent dangers of the forest. It was only the determination of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and their faith in ultimate victory which encouraged us and gave us strength; and it was the courage of my colleagues, their sense of responsibility and defiance in the face of injustice, which enabled us to complete the Mission as we had planned.

We have brought a great deal of information and evidence with us from our visit and we have gained invaluable personal experience in the field. We shall



provide the Committee with photographs, films, documentation and sound recordings later and we hope to formulate our observations and experiences in specific recommendations. However, the task of putting such material in order, classifying and preparing it, will obviously take some time. We intend to submit a full report, as detailed and comprehensive as possible, with charts, testimony and reproductions of documents. In the meantime, we can understand the natural desire of the members of this Committee to hear our first impressions. We shall be pleased to comply, although they are obviously still disjointed, incomplete and undigested as a result of the intense emotions we have experienced during the last seven days. We - the three members of the Mission - have not even had time to co-ordinate this preliminary oral report. I therefore request that these first impressions be considered as strictly preliminary and also that my colleagues on the Mission be allowed to speak after me so that they can enlarge upon, clarify or correct my ideas.

Our first and main impression was that the existence of the so-called "Liberated Areas" is an undeniable fact of life, despite the persistent denials of the Portuguese which have created doubts among their closest allies and in spite of the innumerable reports by journalists and non-governmental delegations from various quarters who have visited the Territory of Guinea (Bissau). The military forces and administrative officers of PAIGC are actually in control of the situation and they are the real masters of the extensive areas we visited. Using various means of transport, we were continually on the move throughout those seven days. We found the same situation everywhere: the established presence of admirably well-organized guerilla forces; overwhelming support among the people of the villages, hamlets and settlements for those who are fighting bravely to free them; comprehensive administrative organization covering every facet of community life.

It is a really admirable and commendable fact that, after only a few years of a struggle recognized as legitimate by the United Nations, PAIGC, although considerably inferior to the enemy in material and military potential, has been able to gain control over vast areas of the Territory of Guinea (Bissau) which are continually being wrested by force from the domination of their illegal occupiers.

Even more admirable is the work being done by PAIGC to organize the civil life of the community and, while in the throes of the struggle, to create a new society, with its own institutions suited to the characteristics of the Guinean people rather than foreign cultures forcibly imposed, a new society which dignifies its basic component, the human being, by providing equal opportunities, community work and social justice and by eliminating traditional antiquated customs and tribal differences fostered by the colonizer, a society which is emerging with great speed from the Dark Ages of inept and unjust colonial domination into the dawn of a future in which there will be dynamic progress free from exploitation.

We shall never forget our visit to day-schools and boarding-schools where, under the direction of PAIGC and with a team of teachers trained abroad, comprehensive education is given to children, many of whom were born in Liberated

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Areas and have never seen a Portuguese soldier or civilian. It is true that the smiles and gaiety typical of their age, which is a joy to behold, seem for the present to have departed from the faces of those children. But it must be remembered that, at the same time as they are being educated, they have to take part in defence and reconstruction work and they even have to bring their own school materials from the frontier on long and dangerous treks. The schoolchildren of Guinea (Bissau) live in constant fear of bombing, because, for reasons we cannot understand, the schools seem to be the favourite targets for the indiscriminate Portuguese bombardments which have already taken many young lives. While on the subject of education, I must mention the tremendous value of the bilateral international co-operation given by different countries. For example, we were gratified to see that the children learned their lessons from textbooks in Portuguese printed in Sweden and donated by the Swedish Government. PAIGC has set itself the goal of providing education for all children of school age and completing a literacy programme for adults in the Liberated Areas, which would never even have been dreamed of under the colonial system.

PAIGC has several hospitals and health posts scattered over the Liberated Areas; these not only care for people wounded in the war, the majority of whom are civilians, but also carry out curative and preventive campaigns against diseases endemic in those regions and give intermediate-level personnel medical training, thereby creating a new kind of soldier for peace working for his people. Here, I should also stress the value of existing international co-operation provided in the form of experts, drugs and equipment, which helps to meet the tremendous needs.

Throughout the areas under its control, PAIGC has also organized people's stores where goods are bartered, a system that helps the people to overcome the problems of over-production of traditional products such as rice and provides them with consumer goods and prime necessities which they could not afford under the colonial administration.

Much could be said about the reconstruction work being carried out, about the administration of justice based on people's courts, about the system of community administration, and particularly about the preparations being made throughout the Liberated Areas for the elections to the National Assembly, scheduled to be held next June, which will constitute the first formal manifestation of self-determination. However, we shall cover these points fully in our final report and I shall therefore omit them from this brief statement.

Thus the United Nations, through its specialized agencies, can do a great deal in the Liberated Areas of Guinea (Bissau) to meet the tremendous needs of its people who are doomed to suffering and even to starvation just because they committed the "crime" of insisting on their right to self-government, a right recognized as inalienable in the United Nations Charter.

It is particularly important to refer in this preliminary report to the attitude adopted by the Portuguese Government on the occasion of the visit of the

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Committee's Special Mission which was approved by an overwhelming majority in the General Assembly. Not only did Portugal try to prevent the visit at the diplomatic level (even going so far as to threaten the security of its members in a note to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to state that sending the Mission was a violation of international law. How ironical to hear Portugal speaking of respect for the principles of international law!) but, what is even more serious and fundamental, it also used all its military might to prevent the visit and destroy three delegates who were carrying out an official United Nations Mission.

This is an act which should be given all due consideration by this Committee and the Security Council. For some long time Portuguese military activity has not been as intense as in the last few days, since the membership of our Mission was announced in New York. The fact is that Portugal tried to prevent our visit by force, with no concern whatsoever for the lives of the official representatives of the Organization, of which it is also a Member. Moreover, the top-ranking Portuguese military authorities left Lisbon for the town of Bissau during our visit to take direct charge of the operations. Fortunately, thanks to the military strength of the nationalist guerillas and the system of defence against aerial bombardments, from which we had to take shelter on several occasions, and since the only major military action open to the Portuguese was in the air (bombing and troop movements by helicopters), we were able to carry out our mission, accomplish all that was planned and return safe and sound. The schoolchildren in the Liberated Areas sing a creole song: "Guerrilla na terra; Tugassinho na núven" (Guerilla on the ground; little Portuguese in the clouds), which describes the present military situation perfectly: the guerillas operate on the ground and are in control there and the Portuguese only operate in the sky and are unable to land.

It was, however, painful for us to see with our own eyes the atrocities committed by the Portuguese troops. Villages have been burned and their inhabitants are sleeping in the open with the stench of the recent fires in their nostrils. Crops have been destroyed by countless costly bombing raids. Cattle have been killed and there were constant reconnaissance flights. We also saw powerful unexploded bombs that had been dropped by modern planes in the fields of the Liberated Areas. It should be recalled in this connexion, that Portugal does not even produce toy planes or bombs because it is too under-developed. If the legally organized international community is incapable of preventing certain Powers from continuing to provide Portugal with aid and modern military equipment for pursuing this terrible and unjust war, we can do little to achieve our aims in this Committee.

The fact that we carried out our mission successfully, despite Portugal's military and special diplomatic efforts, constitutes further proof, for those who are still in doubt, of Portugal's weakness in Africa. It also serves to emphasize the significance of the United Nations presence in Guinea (Bissau) in company with the liberation movement of the Territory and under its protection.

I do not wish to weary the members of the Committee any further. In this report I have refrained from giving details of dates, names and locations of the places visited and names of the village leaders with whom we spoke, for fear that they may be subjected to Portuguese reprisals in the future. We shall discuss this matter in detail with the PAIGC leaders for our final report, in order to ascertain how much information we can make public.

I have left to the last a point which I consider highly important: I wish to thank my colleagues of the Mission for their co-operation and to express my gratitude and congratulations for the assistance, protection and help given to us by the members of PAIGC.

I was lucky to have the co-operation of Mr. Folke Löfgren of Sweden. Although he comes from a country whose environment and landscape are very different from those of the tropical lands we visited and although he represents a country which takes legitimate pride in having been free from war for a long period of its history, he stoically and bravely withstood the hardships of the jungle and the earth tremors caused by Portuguese bombardments. I noted that he was touched at the gratitude expressed to him so enthusiastically by the simple people of Guinea (Bissau) for the assistance provided by the Swedish Government in the struggle for liberation. The evils of colonialism and the inspiring example of the Tunisian people's struggle for independence are still fresh in the mind of Mr. Kamel Belkhiria of Tunisia, my other colleague on the Mission or adventure. His help was also invaluable. The co-operation and help afforded us by the two valuable members of the United Nations Secretariat who accompanied us deserve mention in a separate chapter. They were Mr. Cheikh Tidiane Gaye of Senegal, Secretary of the Mission, and Mr. Yugata Nagata of Japan, the photographer. Not only did they do their duty to the full, they were also loyal friends in difficult circumstances.

I would like to express our very particular gratitude to the PAIGC leaders who accompanied us on the mission. Special thanks are due to their worthy and capable Secretary-General, Mr. Amílcar Cabral, and through him to his entire efficient team of colleagues for their attitude. With the enthusiasm and perspicacity of modern statesmen, and in difficult circumstances they are building a country which sooner or later will be a member of the international community as an independent State. A special word of thanks is due to Major Constantino Teixeira and his troops, whose responsibility it was to ensure our safety; his skill as a military strategist and his constant protection gave us confidence and peace of mind even in the most difficult moments.

Finally, I should like to express the gratitude of my colleagues on the Mission and myself to the members of the Special Committee for having given us the opportunity to serve on this Mission and thereby to offer material and specific proof of the dedication and support of our countries and Governments for the cause that is closest to the hearts of the African people. This first experiment by the United Nations in its search for new ways of assisting peoples in their noble struggle to free themselves once and for all from the ignominious colonial yoke was an unforgettable personal experience for us.

B. Report by Mr. Folke Löfgren, member of the Special Mission

As the Chairman of our Special Mission, the distinguished representative of Ecuador, has said, at a future date we shall submit a complete report on our important Mission. Today therefore I can only offer you some preliminary comments, particularly since our Mission is not yet ended. We have to meet with the representatives of PAIGC for discussions and to obtain further information; we also need to reflect and confer a little among ourselves, the members of the Mission, and draw up a report from the voluminous material which we have collected.

Before making any further comment on the Mission itself, I should like to say a few words of appreciation.

I should like to begin by thanking the representatives of PAIGC and all the people of the Liberated Areas of Guinea (Bissau), whose hospitality impressed us all. Of course, their job was not always an easy one because, inter alia, our physical stamina did not facilitate their work. Nevertheless, I will cherish precious personal memories of the many occasions on which I received aid and encouragement from soldiers whose names I do not know. I hesitated a little as to whether or not I should mention the name of one particular PAIGC representative, but I finally decided that it is almost my duty to express my special thanks to Constantino dos Santos Teixeira, not only because he was the only person who accompanied us from beginning to end, but also because we were greatly assisted by the confidence he inspires. I now know why his courage has already become a legend and can be compared only with his kindness. I am convinced that an army under a military leader like Constantino Chu-Chu Teixeira is bound to be victorious. I wish to convey my special thanks to this comrade, who is great in every sense of the word, because I believe that he will transmit my expression of gratitude to all his comrades.

I also wish to thank the Government of the Republic of Guinea, whose warm and generous assistance and hospitality did much to help and encourage us, both morally and materially. Its assistance was in fact essential to the Mission's success.

Next I wish to thank my two colleagues on the Mission, Mr. Sevilla-Borja and Mr. Kamel Belkhiria. I believe that our Mission would have been much more difficult without the friendship and solidarity which united us. I should like to say a special word about the Chairman, my friend Horacio Sevilla-Borja. His task was not always easy for there were harrowing moments in our Mission when very important decisions had to be taken. At these moments, it was a great relief to be able to count unhesitatingly on his judgement, tact, discretion and great kindness.

Lastly, as far as expressions of gratitude are concerned, I wish to thank the United Nations Secretariat which provided us with Mr. Tidiane Gaye as Secretary and Mr. Yutaka Nagata as photographer. I cannot imagine that this choice was a pure coincidence and it was of inestimable importance. Not only did these two friends

perform their professional duties with the greatest efficiency, but above all their moral support and outstanding courage were quite indispensable to us.

I think we all realize that the Mission itself will prove to be highly important. However, on the political and legal levels, its results and implications are not yet clear. That is why I cannot make any specific recommendations. We shall need a lot more work and thought and consultations with the Secretariat and with our own Governments.

At this stage, however, I should like to make a few comments of a somewhat descriptive nature.

Firstly, the most impressive part of our Mission was, I think, the direct contact we had with the work done by PAIGC in the Liberated Areas. It is true that this phenomenon - and I use the word advisedly - was by no means unknown to the Swedish Government and people. I have here two books recently published in Sweden on Guinea (Bissau) and there are many more. Nevertheless it was extremely touching to see for ourselves what strong will and noble ambition can accomplish in extremely difficult conditions and with very limited means. I think that this combination of boundless energy and humanism is fairly unique in the contemporary world and deserves to be given general recognition and support. Heroic though the military struggle may be, however, the Swedish Government feels perhaps even greater admiration for the determination to build a new and just society in dignity. The following preliminary recommendation could therefore be made: we visited a boarding school where the children gave such a remarkable performance in an evening of acting and singing that in my opinion it deserves the widest possible audience. Would it be possible for the United Nations to invite a group of these young artists to New York? Such a project could have a great impact and make everyone realize what admirable work is being done in the Liberated Areas.

Secondly, it is my unhappy duty to tell you about the Mission's shocking experience of Portuguese repression. Using United Nations terminology we speak of the administering Power, but all that that Power administers in the Liberated Areas is terror and terror alone, especially bombing from the air, helicopter-borne detachments burning and destroying, bombardments from their isolated fortresses in the Liberated Areas and mine-laying. I think it is too early for definite ideas, but I think it might be a duty of the United Nations to be more active or to find ways and means of observing, verifying and exposing these dreadful activities regularly.

The Chairman of the Mission has already referred to the Portuguese activities directed against the Mission. I might add in all truth that before our departure in our naiveté we did not dream that it was possible to flout the will of a large majority of the Members of the United Nations in such a flagrant, aggressive and shocking manner, especially since we were not going as soldiers, but as peaceful envoys of the United Nations.

Thirdly, I should like to say a few words about the possibility of helping PAIGC in its admirable work. As you know, for three years my Government has been providing PAIGC with humanitarian assistance. This year Swedish assistance amounts to the equivalent of almost a million dollars. I did not go as an inspector and it was not possible to follow all that has been done with the Swedish aid, but I can frankly say that I was impressed by what I saw. And I am firmly convinced that PAIGC deserves to receive much more assistance from abroad, that it is quite capable of administering and using such assistance despite very difficult conditions and that this fact should be recognized and studied both by the United Nations and its specialized agencies and by Governments. International solidarity calls for such action.

Lastly, let me conclude by saying that my Government is proud to have participated in such a Mission and thus to have strengthened the bonds of friendship that link it to PAIGC, it also regards such participation as a further contribution to the urgent work of the United Nations: decolonization and the restoration of respect for the highest human values.

C. Report by Mr. Kamel Belkhiria, member of the Special Mission

It is perhaps superfluous to add anything to the preliminary statements which the Chairman, Mr. Sevilla-Borja, representative of Ecuador and the representative of Sweden made to this Committee on our Mission inside the Liberated Areas of Guinea (Bissau).

For a whole week, we lived with the freedom-fighters and the hard-working Guinean people. We shared their daily life, their food and their water. We shared their difficulties, their labour, their cares and their problems, but we also shared their enthusiasm, their hopes and their elation. In short, we were united with them for better and for worse. Our keen interest was equalled only by their determination to fight on and to wage the sacred struggle to the end, until the rest of their Territory is completely free.

During our whole stay in the Liberated Areas of Guinea (Bissau) with the valiant Guinean people and their brave army, jet aircraft, which are Portuguese only in name and markings, persisted in their harassment, reconnaissance flights and bombings wherever we were thought to be in the Territory.

The jets disappeared only to be replaced by giant helicopters recently delivered to the Portuguese troops to destroy whole villages of peaceful peasants. Two kilometres away from our camp on 3 April two helicopters destroyed a village in a vain attempt to intimidate us and sabotage the Mission. Despite all this, the Mission completed its assignment. Our faith was the same as that of the fighters and we therefore shared a common cause. It was this unswerving determination which enabled us to march for four whole nights, defying hostile nature and the danger of an enemy surprise attack. It enabled us to carry on to the remotest villages to establish contact with the inhabitants, listen to them

and learn about their living conditions. We were impressed by the villagers' maturity, their critical ability and their love of their country. We were also agreeably surprised by the large-scale campaign launched by PAIGC to improve the living conditions of the Guinean citizens in the economic, social, cultural and educational sectors. Squads of nurses are teaching the people the rules of hygiene and child care. There is a school in which 70 pupils are being given intensive instruction before entering the final classes at Conakry. PAIGC is thus providing the people with health and educational facilities and inculcating in them a civic sense. The military organization is admirable. An economy based on barter adapted to the realities of the country provides for the people's needs.

In short, political, administrative, judicial, social, health and educational institutions have thus been established. What more is needed to constitute a free and sovereign country that is master of its own destiny?

It seems clear to me that Guinea (Bissau) is a model pilot country for peoples fighting for their freedom to model themselves on. Guinea (Bissau) therefore deserves all forms of international moral and material assistance. When I returned to the Republic of Guinea (Conakry), a colleague asked me the following question: "All in all, what impressed you most during your stay in the Liberated Areas?". I replied: "What impressed me most was the insane and hysterical policy of the Portuguese fascists and their blind determination to cling desperately to a Territory which has long since ceased to belong to them."

These are the few comments which I wanted to add to those of our Chairman, Mr. Sevilla-Borja, who led the Mission with great wisdom, courage and self-sacrifice throughout the long march through the free territory of Guinea (Bissau). I would also pay a tribute to the courage and team spirit shown by my colleagues Folke Löfgren of Sweden, our Secretary Cheikh Gaye and Mr. Yutaka Nagata for all the services they organized. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a most sincere tribute to the leaders of PAIGC and especially to my friend its Secretary-General, Amilcar Cabral, for all the help they gave us during our stay among them and the risks they ran to protect us and ensure our safety. They were ready at all times to sacrifice their lives to save ours. The Tunisian delegation also wishes to salute the brave freedom-fighters on the battlefields.

Lastly, allow me to address a few words to the authorities of the Republic of Guinea and their supreme commander, Ahmed Sekou Touré, President of the Republic, in order to convey to them on behalf of my Government and my country, Tunisia, my deepest and most sincere gratitude for their fraternal welcome and the traditional hospitality of their beautiful country. We are really appreciative and we are profoundly grateful to them.



### ANNEX III

#### REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDENCIA DA GUINE E CABO VERDE (PAIGC), ON PORTUGUESE AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SPECIAL MISSION

##### I - FORWARD

Following UN General Assembly Resolution 2795 (XXIV) and at the official invitation of our Party, the Special Committee for Decolonisation (also called the Committee of 24), decided to send a Special Mission to the liberated regions of our country.

The members of the Special Mission were:

- Ambassador Horacio Sevilla-Borja, representative (councillor) of Equador at the United Nations, head of the Special Mission (chairman).
- Mr. Folke Lofgren, representative (councillor) of Sweden at the United Nations.
- Mr. Belkhiria Kamej, representative (councillor) of Tunisia at the United Nations.

They were accompanied by two officers of the UN General Secretariat, Mr. Cheikh Gaye, (Senegal), and Mr. Yutaka Nagata, a Japanese photographer.

As everybody knows, it was not possible to keep this mission secret within the UN, because of the war situation in our country, and due to the criminal nature of the colonialists. Indeed the Portuguese immediately launched a vast diplomatic campaign to kill the initiative from the start, with certain powers exerting pressure on the Decolonisation Committee. At the same time, the Government mobilised the Portuguese media, their representatives, spokesmen and writers, to start a major campaign of intimidation and threats against the Special Mission, and to discredit the Committee of 24 and the UN itself.

In a letter to the UN Secretary General dated March 25th 1972, circulated as an official document of the UN, no. A/AC. 109/398 of March 28th 1972, M. Antonio Patricio, permanent representative of Portugal, made a 'strong protest against this proposed violation of Portugal's sovereignty and the most elementary principles regulating relations among nations.....' He then threatened, echoed later by Portuguese media and by several Portuguese Government spokesmen: 'Moreover, an initiative of this nature (the Special Mission) can have consequences for which the Portuguese Government must decline any responsibility. Those who have agreed to participate in illegal activities must take responsibility for the outcome of these acts.' And so as not to leave any doubts, Portugal's representative 'draws the attention' of the Secretary General 'to the grave nature of the decision taken by the Special Committee of 24...'

For anyone familiar with the UN diplomatic language, the threat implied in the rhetoric of the Portuguese representative was very clear; the members of the Special Mission were running the risk of possible (even certain) physical liquidation if they dared to cross the borders of our country.

Less diplomatic than the UN language was the editorial in the official daily Portuguese paper, 'Diario de Noticias', of March 24 1972. After vilifying the Decolonisation Committee and the UN, which they consider capable of the worst lies, the editorial describes as a dream, an event cherished by all Portuguese colonialists; 'let us imagine that the three diplomats (of the Special Mission) suddenly find themselves in the middle of an exchange of fire between their terrorist escort and one of the Portuguese patrols which are constantly on the move around all the border areas. What a responsibility for the Secretary General of the United Nations, and what a responsibility for the Government of Ecuador if the eminent Sevilla-Borja were to be hit in an anonymous corner of the African jungle....'

Their diplomatic operation was a resounding failure - the colonialists did not succeed at all in their campaign of intimidation. Faced with the courage of the members of the Mission and the firm determination of our Party to proceed with the visit that we had promised, the Portuguese Government took the serious and criminal decision to make the UN Special Mission visit a failure by resorting to every possible means at their disposal, including the physical elimination of the members of the Mission.

These events even though outlined rather briefly show that for the first time, the colonialists have lived up to their own words. The barbaric aggression launched against the southern liberated areas, between March 18th and April 9th, was a desperate attempt by the Government of Lisbon to try and physically eliminate the members of the UN.

The Portuguese colonialists set loose all their technical and human resources to achieve their goal. Desperate, they had forgotten that living reality of our country; the existence of people in the liberated areas, proud of its sovereignty, with fighters who are aware of their rights and their role in history at the head.

## II - AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SPECIAL MISSION

### 1. Number of men deployed

Members of the Special Mission left New York on March 28th, without disclosing their destination. But the colonialists did not need that additional information. In any case, the Decolonisation Committee had previously revealed their schedule in Africa, in which the first leg of their visit was to Conakry. Therefore, it was not too difficult to guess that their first country to be visited would be ours.

The day after the Mission left for Africa, the Portuguese Chief of Staff declared a state of alert for the 45,000 colonial troops in our country, 15,000 of which are stationed in the South, mainly in the towns of Bolama (former capital), and Catio, in the important garrisons of Tite (Command Headquarters for the South), Buba, Kebo (near the border with the Republic of Guinea), Empada and in other military camps (Guiledje, Fulacunda, Bedanda, Cacine). Ten thousand special troops were transported in a few days from Bissau to the southern areas as reinforcements. If one adds in the airforce and the naval power in operation during the aggression the total number of troops deployed was around 30,000 men.

If it is true that only a part of these troops could operate during this aggression, nonetheless they were all ready to intervene whenever necessary, to capture or eliminate members of the Special Mission. In fact the majority of these troops must have had to act since, faced with stiff resistance by our fighters and the population, the units of the colonial army and the special troops were frequently forced to relieve each other during the operations.

One may wonder why the Portuguese, having at their disposal such powerful resources, did not opt for a general 'scraping' offensive using thousands of men in a single operation. They already have

experience enough - and bitter experience - which has taught them not to embark on such operations. It was in the South, in 1964, the year after the beginning of the colonial war and of our liberation struggle, that the Portuguese colonialists suffered one of their worst defeats. They deployed about 3,000 men to recapture the island of Komo - the first liberated area in the South of our country. We fought for seventy-five days and inflicted on the enemy about 900 casualties, finally expelling the invaders from the islands. Recently (December 1971) during an operation called 'Solitary Sapphire', against the liberated zone of Mores (in the North-Central area of the country, the colonial troops suffered a crushing defeat. In this operation 102 enemy troops were killed and a large number wounded; the Portuguese commanded heading the operation found it honourable to commit suicide.

## 2. War materials used

The colonialist army used mainly airplanes, helicopters and boats in their aggression. If members of the UN Mission had been chosen outside the Decolonisation Committee, there could well have been a representative of the US or Great Britain or France among them. It would then have been a tragic irony, for this representative to risk being killed on our African soil, by the very same war materials that his country gives to Portugal either under NATO or bilaterally. However it was others who, like us, were taking this chance.

Airplanes - Cessna T-37 C; North American Hargard T-6; Nord-Atlas 2502; Fiat G-91 Nato Type R-4; Sabre F-86-F and Sabre F-86-K (RFA); Lockheed P-2V Neptune (for night bombings).

Helicopters - Alouettes 2 and 3; Suro Skeeter and others.

Boats - Frigates, patrol-boats and corvettes (type 'Joao Coutinho') of French and West German origin, as well as high-speed boats adapted for river operation.

Other war materials utilised - with the exception of armoured cars, tanks and other heavy vehicles which they can no longer use in the southern areas of our country, the Portuguese army resorted to every available weapon in their arsenal, to thwart the UN Mission. It is worth noting here the continual use of 130 mm. canon, against the liberated areas and the routes that could be used in the UN Mission.

### 3 - Regions and zones that were subject to terrorist aggression

It was particularly the border region of Balana-Kitafine that suffered most. But, from April 2nd the aggression was extended to the Catio region in the zones of Cubucare and Tombali. In effect, unable to control the corridor of Guiledje, which they believed to be the approach route to the south of the country, they suspected (or knew) that the members of the Special Mission would be taken up to Catio region. For this reason, while still maintaining continual assaults and bombardments on Balana, they launched attacks against the zones of Cubucare and Tombali.

It was in fact precisely these zones of Balana (Balana-Kitafine) and Cubucare (Catio region) that were visited by the Special Mission during its week-long stay in the liberated areas of the south.

It should be pointed out that the first acts of aggression were directed against the zone of Kitafine (South-Western part of the country), which dozens of people of different nationalities have already visited and written about.

### 4 - Characteristics of the aggression

The aggression<sup>was</sup>/characterised chiefly by aerial bombings (night and day) of napalm and fragmentation bombs; terrorist assaults with helicopter troops; landing of special troops along the rivers; steady bombardment of the liberated areas and routes that could possibly

be used by the UN Special Mission.

The Portuguese Air Force attacked the most populated villages, and bombed indiscriminately the bush and forest zones suspected of sheltering the population or providing a support base for the UN Mission. The landing of helicopter-troops or river boats was aimed at the destruction of villages and crops as well as the occupation of certain positions important for control of approach routes and bar the way to the UN Mission and eventually to capture or kill its members.

Canon fire from Portuguese garrisons in Catio, Bedanda, Guiledje, Kebo and Gadamaal were aimed at creating insecurity everywhere, especially along the border areas and along the routes, which would possibly be followed by the UN Special Mission, as well as in the bush and forest areas.

Members of the UN Special Mission were able to come into direct contact with these varied aspects of Portuguese terrorist aggression. In fact they witnessed bombings for several days, photographed villages that had just been bombed and also bombs which had just fallen but not exploded; they saw groups of helicopters heading towards landing points for assaults, they visited villages and saw charred remains of crops just burnt by special helicopter-troops. On the return journey they were forced to take cover against canon fire to which they were by then accustomed.

The objectives of the aggression were:

- a) to terrorize the population so that they would refuse to collaborate with the UN Special Mission;
- b) to intimidate the members of the Special Mission so that they would cut short their work programme;
- c) to destroy as far as possible the social and cultural achievements of our Party in the areas near the border (mainly hospitals, clinics

and schools), so that the Special Mission could not confirm their existence.

d) to lure our fighters to a classical attack whereby the colonialists could use the tens of thousands of men stationed in the south and all the available weapons. That would have enabled them to destroy a large part of our armed forces and capture or kill members of the UN Special Mission.

The active participation of the population (men, women and young people) in the work of the Special Mission meetings, enquiries, conversations, public meetings etc. were the best evidence of what one of the people said during a meeting in Cubucare sector: 'Whatever the means and the crimes perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialists, and despite all the sacrifices that we have to bear, we would like to declare that we feel happy and proud at the presence of your Mission. No power in the world is able to break our determination to liberate our country from the heinous Portuguese colonialist domination.' (Excerpta and literal translation from a taperecording made during a meeting on April 5th, 1972).

Portuguese terrorist actions did not intimidate the members of the UN Special Mission, who were able to overcome all the difficulties. On the contrary, Portuguese aggression showed clearer than ever the importance of the Mission and strengthened their decision to continue to the end and complete the historic task entrusted to them by the UN.

The colonialists were able to destroy some villages, schools and hospitals and were able to burn large quantities of crops of two villages. Although they created some insecurity in the border area of Balana, and despite sacrifices we had to bear, the colonialists made a positive contribution to the work of the Mission. Because of intensive bombing and frequent terrorist assaults, we had to prolong their visit and take them further inland, up to the zones of



Cubacare in the region of Catio.

Obviously, we didn't fall into the trap of pitched battle so as to insure the Mission the necessary safety to complete their work. While deploying the bulk of our armed forces on the Balana and Catio fronts to protect the lines of communication and the members of the Mission, we used small groups specially armed local forces, to harass the terrorist aggressors. Other units of our armed forces launched artillery attacks against entrenched Portuguese camps. This tactic, which inflicted important losses on the enemy, made the search for the UN members impossible; like using planes and helicopters to find a needle in a haystack....

We were able to frustrate the essential objectives of the aggression, which were: the control of the lines of communication between the border and the liberated areas (military plan); demoralisation of the population (moral and political plan). The success of the work of the Special Mission was therefore guaranteed. Certainly the enemy was able to inflict on us some loss of human life, principally among civilian population, and able to destroy some of our social and cultural achievements. But at the same time the colonialists gave the UN Special Mission the most convincing proof of this new reality in our country: the fascist Portuguese colonialists are today nothing but terrorist aggressors against a free and sovereign people who have decided to put an end once and for all to foreign domination on the soil of the motherland.

#### 5 - The action of the aggressors

The terrorist act launched by the colonialists in the southern liberated area against the UN Special Mission was the largest and most intensive military operation ever undertaken by the enemy during its colonial war against our people. This fact shows clearly the importance that the Lisbon Government and the Portuguese staff attach to the UN Special Mission.

For 22 days ( from March 18th to April 9th) the colonial army resorted to all means at its disposal in the South, to stop the Special Mission from entering our country on its fact-finding mission as directed by the United Nations General Assembly. The aggression which was intensified from March 28th onwards ( after the Special Mission's departure from New York) was, with the exception of the battle of Komo which lasted 75 days, the longest continual confrontation between the colonial forces and our people's armed forces.

Air raids reached an unprecedented level, taking place day and night. We must point out that it was the first time for a year that the enemy resumed night bombings with P-2V bombers and even jet planes. Napalm was used widely. Daily air raids averaged about 15, with a maximum of 23 and a minimum of 5(in the first days ). Air operations were concentrated mainly on the villages, but random bombing of bush underbrush, forests and river ports were daily and frequent machine-gunning of houses and everything that moved was fierce.

During the aggression the enemy carried out 18 landings of helicopter troops. These were aimed at terrorising the population, destroying social and cultural achievements (in particular schools and hospitals), burning the harvest, placing anti-personnel mines on roads and paths, and occupying key positions on the roadways and waterways. The number of helicopters used, both overall and in each single operation, was larger than ever before. Sometimes 14 helicopters were used in a single operation, making several sorties between the landing points and the Portuguese camps (Catio, Bolama, Kebo, etc.). In some instances the enemy was able to remain on the ground for a few days without being discovered by our forces, (specially in Unal, Botche-Bunhe, and on the right bank of the river Balana near the villages of Nhacoba and Ntuane). But in general the enemy was forced back to their helicopters by our troops who harrassed them and caused serious losses.

There were six troop landings from boats in the area of Tombali and Cubacare, but after after suffering losses the enemy were forced back to their boats by our forces. Steady firing of canons (day and night) from every enemy camp still remaining in the zones under attack were aimed at blocking the route of the Special Mission, and to make as much noise as possible to cover the flight of helicopters to assault points. Thousands of shells were also fired on the territory of the Republic of Guinea near the border. Because of the safety measures that we had taken, this enemy shelling was shown, in the words of the Chairman of the Special Mission, to be 'ineffectual, ineffective'.

The enemy placed hundreds of anti-personnel mines on certain roads and paths in the bush, which they considered would at some time be used by the Special Mission. Two of our scouts, from the unit that was protecting the Mission, were killed by these mines.

#### 6 - Chronological account of the aggression

March 18 - Intensive bombardment of the zones of Balana and Kitafine. In the latter damage was not very great, with bombs landing mostly in bushes supposedly sheltering our fighters. In the zone of Balane, the village of Farabate was severely damaged. While the village was under intensive bombardment, helicopter-troops landed in the zone, trying to advance towards a clinic nearby, with the clear aim of destroying it. Located by the fighters of our local armed forces, the enemy hastily reboarded the helicopters, avoiding a confrontation.

March 19, 20, 21, and 22 - Reconnaissance aircraft frequently circled above Balana, Kitafine and Cubacare. The first two zones were bombed from 9 am until 2 pm.

Extensive machine-gunning by planes of bushes and forests.

March 23- Generalised bombing of the zones of Balana (near the border) and Kitafine. The village of Fabarate was again bombed, as well as the nearby bushes, where the enemy thought that the clinic, which it had been unable to destroy during the assault on March 18, was located.

March 24- Generalized bombing of the zone of Balane; the village of Fabarate was once again the main target. Intensive bombing of the village of Unal and the neighbouring zones. Machine-gunning of the village by planes and helicopters.

March 25- Intensive bombing of the border areas. Planes dropped their bombs and machine-gunned along the banks of the river Balane, aiming mostly at ports.

A group of 4 Fiats dived over the village of Ndalial and the surrounding areas, bombing and machine-gunning. They had discovered signs of human life: the air attack killed 18 and wounded 23. Among the dead were 3 children and 8 women (among them a young nurse, Mariama Sanha). Among the wounded, 10 were seriously hurt, including a 13 month old baby, son of the nurse who was killed and of Mamadu Cassama, head of educational affairs for the zone of Tombali. Members of the Committee of 24 were later able to see the seriously wounded in our 'Solidarity' hospital.

On the same day (March 25) several other raids were carried out against the village of Unal and the surrounding areas.

March 26- Intensive bombing of the border area, with cannon fire on the Balana river. The enemy tried to land helicopter-troops near Balane, but were turned back. A woman was killed by shrapnel.

The enemy landed helicopter-troops near Campeane, in the area of Kitafine, destroying a hospital and a boarding school. Anticipating the aggression, the buildings had been evacuated earlier. The enemy was thus unable to inflict any loss of life.

March 27 - Frequent raids, lasting the whole day, against border areas (air raids and cannon fire) particularly against villages in the area of Unal.

March 28 - From dawn onwards, steady and intensive bombing of Unal and surrounding areas, followed by intensive cannon fire from the entrenched camps of Bedanda and Buba. At about 9 am the enemy made several landings of helicopter-troops at Unal; 14 helicopters were used for the first landing. Planes bombed the area continuously. During the bombing we lost one fighter and three others were wounded.

N.B. Unal, in the liberated region of Balana-Kitafine, is the key to the South, giving access to all the liberated regions (Catio, Kinara, Cubisseco). The enemy were determined to occupy it, to frustrate the work of the Special Mission. Because of its importance, the enemy hoped to draw us into a fierce battle in this zone. They waited three days in the open before being harrassed by our fighters. It will be recalled that March 28 was the day that the Special Mission left New York.

March 29 - Intensive bombing of the border areas throughout the day. The villages of Botche Djati, Botche Sansa, Botche Bedau and Fabarate were the main targets.

A few days later, on the night of April 3rd to 4th, the members of the Special Mission were able to see the damage to the village of Botche Djati, when they passed through it.

On the same day, March 29th, the enemy tried several helicopter and boat landings in the area of Tombali and Cubucare. Faced with fierce resistance from our fighters they had to turn back.

The bombing killed one man and wounded three others.

March 30 - Intensive, meticulous bombing against border areas, specially around Balana. Uninterrupted shelling of the borders and the banks of the Balana river.

Reconnaissance planes and groups of helicopters circled the sky. Nord-Atlas planes made several trips between Bissau and entrenched camps on the border (Bedanda, Kebo, mainly).

March 31 - Bombing, strafing and shelling beginning at dawn. At about 11 am the enemy landed helicopter-troops near the village of Botche-NBunhe, previously bombed on 29 and 30 March. The landing was covered by an intensive artillery barrage fired from Bedanda and Guiledje, followed by more protective bombing from squadrons of Fiat G-91 jets. An old man was captured and tortured: he was meant to tell his captors where "DONKA" hospital was located (the name is after a hospital in the Republic of Guinea). Before the arrival of our forces, the enemy was landed by helicopter in the bush near the hospital. For security reasons the hospital had been evacuated earlier. Enemy troops systematically destroyed everything in sight at the hospital, but did not burn the huts so as not to indicate their presence. The enemy spent

the rest of the night in the zone.

Other landing attempts were later repulsed. It was on this date that the members of the Special Mission arrived in Conakry.

April 1 - Intensive and large scale bombing continued. Our fighters located enemy troops that had landed the previous day in the region of Botche NBunhe. An ambush was immediately arranged, and the enemy took up a defensive position. After suffering heavy losses from constant harassment, they were forced to leave the area by helicopter. This was the failure of the enemy plans to control the area and prevent the Special Mission from reaching the more distant regions: Cubucare, Tombali and Como (region of Catio) and Cubisseco.

Later, the Special Mission was able to visit and photograph houses destroyed during the bombing of Botche NBunhe.

In the afternoon, the areas of Balana and Cubucare were heavily bombed.

April 2 - Bombing continued throughout the day. Airborne troops tried again to land in Cubucare and Tombali but were repulsed. But they succeeded in landing near the village of Tchintchidari, which had previously been heavily bombed.

More helicopter landings were made on the Balana-Unal axis, where the enemy laid anti-personnel mines. Two scouts were killed by these mines, and two others wounded. They were from the advance party of the column marching with the Special Mission towards Balana. That evening the two

wounded scouts were seen by the members of the Special Mission, who had just entered our country. To allay any anxiety arising from the news that mines had been placed on the road they were to follow, they were told that the scouts had been wounded during a "bombing raid".

Harassed by our forces the enemy troops which had landed in Tchintchidari had to retreat with losses.

In the area of Cubucare, the villages of Catchamba and N'Tchangue were heavily bombed and then burned down by helicopter-troops, who also destroyed the crops. One person was killed by napalm and another seriously burned.

April 3 - The members of the Special Mission met some of the leaders from the Southern Front. They rested.

Intensive bombing of the area of Balana and Cubucare. The village of Botche NBunhe was again the main target of the Portuguese planes, an indication that enemy troops were again trying to make a landing. At about 2 pm helicopter-troops landed in the zone, about 2 km. from the base being visited by the Special Mission. In order not to put them at risk we avoided any engagement with the troops, but directed our fighters to follow their movements.

After burning the houses and some of the crops in Botche NBunhe (the population had already been evacuated to a safer place) the enemy camped in the area to prevent the Special Mission from moving towards the region of Catio. They stayed until 6 am when, harassed from several sides, they were forced to leave carrying their dead and wounded. (Later, the members of the Special Mission were able to see and photograph destroyed houses and burned crops, as well



as people who had lost both).

That night the decision was made to take the members of the Special Mission to the zone of Cubucare in the area of Catio where, despite the continued bombing, they would be able to do their work in better conditions.

The same evening the BBC in London announced that the Special Mission was in our country.

April 4 - The bombings continued and some attempts were made at landing on the left bank of Balana river. The planes were now concentrating on the Cubucare area. Intensive artillery was maintained in the area.

The Special Mission continued its work.

April 5 - After heavy bombing, helicopter-troops were launched against the village of Ien Kuntoi, from the Bedanda side. The village, which was totally destroyed, had been visited that morning by the Special Mission, which had been warmly greeted by the local people.

There were bombing, strafing and new landing attempts in Balana.

The Special Mission continued its work (meetings, enquiries, taking testimonies, watching social and cultural activities).

April 6 - Less intensive bombing. Enemy troops, harassed and suffering heavy casualties, withdrew from the zone of Botche NBunhe.

The enemy began to bomb the zone of Tombali.

That night the Mission, which had ended its work in the area of Cubucare, began the journey towards Balana.

April 7 - Sporadic bombing and strafing in the Cubucare area, but more intensive on the banks of Balana river. The enemy seemed to have lost all hope of capturing or killing the members of the Special Mission during their visit, but were now trying to do it during their return journey.

In fact, helicopter-troops landed near the villages of Nhacoba and Ntuane, on the right bank of Balana river. Their intention was to attack any small boats on the river during the night. They were sure that, being tired, the members of the Special Mission would be travelling by canoe. They waited there for two nights, after which they were expelled by our forces with heavy losses.

That evening, having finished their work and carried out their programme, the Special Mission started its journey back towards the border. For many hours on the way they could hear the explosion of shells fired by the enemy from the camp of Guiledje.

April 8 - Towards 8.30 am the members of the Special Mission crossed the border. Under the constant protection of our armed forces and accompanied by leaders of the Party they had spent one week in our country.

Enemy forces continued to bomb the region of Balana, Cubucare and Tombali, but only sporadically.

That evening, Radio Conakry broadcast to the world the return to the Republic of Guinea of the Special Mission,

after successfully accomplishing the task entrusted to it by the United Nations General Assembly.

April 9 - Two enemy air raids in the morning, in the area of Balana. In the afternoon a message from the Southern Front reached the General Secretariat of the Party: "Situation returned to normal".

We should point out that during the period of aggression, besides other operations carried out against enemy troops our armed forces made 28 attacks against entrenched camps, while engaged in many other activities on the various fronts.

From the above it is clear that the enemy resorted largely to its air superiority to plan and execute its aggression against the United Nations Special Mission, knowing that our anti-aircraft defence is still rudimentary. On the ground, however, it faced tremendous difficulties: it was therefore not able to implement its plan of using helicopter-troops to prevent the successful conclusion of the work of the Special Mission. Once again, facts have shown that the people of the liberated areas are right when they sing:

" The guerrilla rules the land  
The little Portuguese... in the clouds !"

### III - A VICTORY FOR HUMANITY

The Lisbon Government and the Portuguese General Staff, were certain that their colonial troops would be able to capture or kill the members of the United Nations Special Mission during the visit. But the Portuguese authorities know better than anyone else that we have liberated most of our national territory, and that we are able to take there any guest we invite. They resorted to every available means to eliminate the UN Mission, and the extent of their defeat can be measured by these means and the criminality of their intentions.

In inviting the UN to send a Special Mission to our country, our objective was not to prove the fact that is well-known all over the world: the sovereignty of our people over vast areas of our country. We made a deliberate challenge to the colonialists, while erecting a still more concrete basis for the development of UN action against Portuguese colonialism. We have also inflicted the bitterest politico-military defeat of their colonial war on the Lisbon government. We have succeeded in showing UN representatives the abominable crimes perpetrated by the colonialists against our people.

Sure of the failure of the UN Special Mission, the Portuguese Overseas Minister arrived in Bissau in April and the purpose of his visit was to receive personally, in the capital of "the province of Guine, with all their due honours", as the Portuguese official paper 'Diario de Noticias' suggested, "the illustrious UN delegates who have come illegally to Portugal"... or their corpses. Unable to do this, the Minister was compelled to inaugurate three sections of a tarred road in enemy-controlled areas, and a broadcasting station which had been in operation since January.

The head of the Portuguese government, Mr Marcello Caetano, on the other hand, did not succeed in hiding his hatred of the UN and of the Special Mission. On April 11 (three days after the success of the UN mission was known all over the world), he made a speech and, speaking about the trip that the President of the Portuguese Republic had made to Brazil he declared:

"... If the UN had existed in 1822 what would have become of Brazil? How ridiculous to count the number of Indians, negroes, and whites; to discriminate by race and colour and to reclaim back America for the Indians! To scheme against a minority government and demand one vote for every people, one vote for each man! If the UN had existed in 1822 and it had become involved in the problem, with all its decolonisation and self-determination prejudices, it would have taken into consideration the first phantom movement and demanded that the Portuguese should leave. A commission of delegates from ignorant nations would make its report, would probably visit the Amazon to find out if the natives agreed or not, and the votes of the savages would prevail over the will of civilized men".(sic) Further, the head of the Portuguese government stated: "There exists in the UN a false conception according to which each continent belongs to the races which are considered as indigenous. This is why the UN tries to enforce the principle that in Africa states should be governed by negroes". And further: "... The case of Rhodesia could be a good example. Despite all the constitutional guarantees given to the black population, the United Nations refuses to accept the independence (of Rhodesia), because the government, as of now, does not serve mainly the coloured people. The whites, according to this conception, do not have any right to orient and lead the people of Southern Africa".

These words from the head of the Portuguese government, revealing all the frustration felt by the government at the success of the

UN mission, do not need further comment. For all that they show the racist character, the intentions and the most secret plans of Portuguese policy in Africa.

On the other hand, on April 20th the commander of the colonial army in our country released a communique stating: "Concerning enemy activity, there is an attempt to create secure conditions for the infiltration into the national territory of a small group of foreigners who form the Special Mission of the Committee of 24... The positions taken up by the enemy for this purpose have been completely destroyed..."

The commander does not even bother to explain how it is possible to conceive and establish safety measures from outside a territory since, according to the Portuguese authorities, our fighters only operate from the outside. The communique however does not deny that a small group of foreigners was able to infiltrate "national territory".

It is the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs who shamelessly denied this truth in a United Nations press release on 11 April 1972. In this communique, the Minister slanders the distinguished representatives of the UN and therefore of the international community, as poor dupes, victims of breach of trust on the part of our fighters, who "made them go walking in the Republic of Guinea" for a week, under bombing and plane strafing, facing helicopter-troops and following paths sprinkled with land-mines.

Colonialism is a great evil. But as our people say: "The worst evil is having been colonised by Portugal" whose government can sink to such sordid depths.

The success of the United Nations Special Mission, despite the Portuguese aggression that hoped to destroy it, is certainly a major victory for our African people, under the leadership of our Party in defence of our inalienable rights. In view of the uniquely criminal nature of Portuguese colonialism and its contempt for African dignity and for the human being, this success is above all a victory for Africa and for Humanity.

ANNEX IV

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY PAIGC ON 10 APRIL 1972

At the invitation of the national leadership of our Party and pursuant to a decision of the General Assembly, a Special Mission of the United Nations, composed of representatives of three Member countries (Ecuador, Sweden, Tunisia) and accompanied by two Secretariat officials (a Senegalese Secretary and a Japanese photographer) has just spent a week (1 to 8 April) in the Liberated Areas in the south of our country.

During its visit, the Special Mission, which was received by some of the top leaders of our Party and of the struggle, was able to see for itself the situation in the country, contact the population, take part in public meetings, visit schools and other social institutions and obtain detailed information on the organization and institutions of the new life which our people are building while coping with the terrorist bombings and attacks of the Portuguese colonialists.

Having learned of the United Nations decision and the timing of the Mission, the Portuguese colonialists unleashed widespread terrorist aggression from 28 March onwards against the liberated south, particularly in the frontier sectors, using most of their regular and special troops, all their aircraft, helicopters and other technical facilities to block the path of the United Nations Mission and sabotage the plan for the visit.

Defying the criminal barbarity of the Portuguese colonialists who burnt several villages with napalm, destroyed two hospitals, a health post, and three schools, and killed 25 people including four children, 13 women and two old people, our fighters inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and provided the security required for the successful accomplishment of the United Nations Mission.

This important victory for our people, the United Nations and all the anti-colonialist forces is a further irrefutable confirmation of the fact that, under the leadership of our Party, our people are sovereign and sole masters of their destiny in the Liberated Areas of our country.



ANNEX V

LIST OF PRIORITIES PRESENTED TO THE SPECIAL MISSION BY PAIGC

Fabrics

twill  
drill  
print  
khaki  
white percale  
mosquito netting  
other fabrics

Food-stuffs

concentrated milk  
powdered milk  
preserved meat, fish and peas  
dried beans

Cleaning materials

household soap in bars

Tobacco

matches  
cigarettes

Medicaments

alcohol  
mercurochrome  
bandages  
compresses  
absorbent cotton

Anti-malaria drugs

chloroquinol

Antibiotics

penicillin crystals

/...

A/AC.109/L.804

English

Annex V

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Solutions for intravenous injections

physiological solution

isotonic glucose solution

Vaccines and serums

anti-tetanus

anti-gangrene

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ANNEX VI

PARTIAL LIST OF ARMS SUPPLIED TO PORTUGAL PROVIDED BY PAIGC

1. AIR FORCE

Type of equipment and supplier country	Initial quantity	Observations
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
Republic F-84 G Thunderjet	50	Through AMAP (American Military Assistance Programme)
North American Sabre F-86 F	50	"
Cessna T-37 C	30	1963/1964
C-54 Skymasters	5	1965
Douglas B-26 bombers	20	1965/1966
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY		
Nord 2502	8	
F-86 K Sabre jets	60	Built in Canada 1965
Fiat G-91 Nato type R4.	40	1966
Dornier Fiat and Noratlas	140	1968
C-160 Bombers	?	1968
Dornier DO - 27	130	1969
Saro Skeeter Helicopters	10	1969
FRANCE		
Nord 2502	6	Through the Trans-Atlantic Aeronautical Union
Holste Broussard	4	
Junkers Ju-52	?	
Nord 2502	6	Through Nord Aviation
Alouette 2 helicopters	?	
" 2 "	21	1963
" 3 "	54	Nord Aviation - 1968

Type of equipment and supplier country	Initial quantity	Observations
UNITED KINGDOM		
North American Harvard T-3	Hundreds	Fifteen (15) provided by the Royal Navy
North American Harvard T-3	"	Through AMAP
Auster D 5/160	150	1962/1967
NETHERLANDS		
Lockheed PV-2 Harpoon	18	Through AMAP
Lockheed P-2V Neptune	12	"
CANADA		
Beech C-45 transport	19	

## 2. SHIPS

Type of equipment and supplier country	Initial quantity	Observations
UNITED KINGDOM		
Frigates <u>Alvares Cabral</u> and <u>Pacheco Pereira</u>	2	
Patrol boat <u>Antares</u>	1	
Frigates <u>D. Francisco de Almeida</u> and <u>Vasco da Gama</u>	2	
Frigates <u>Morocambe Bay</u> and <u>Mounts Bay</u>	2	
Patrol boat <u>Regulo</u>	1	
Frigate <u>Dalrymple</u>	1	1966

Type of equipment and supplier country	Initial quantity	Observations
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
Minesweepers	8	
Minesweepers (large)	4	
Frigates <u>Corte Real</u> and <u>Diogo Cão</u>	2	On loan
Frigates <u>Almirante Gago Coutinho</u> , <u>Almirante Magalhaes Correia</u> and <u>Almirante Pereira da Silva</u>	3	The United States paid half of the cost from 1966 to 1967
FRANCE		
Patrol boats	3	Paid by the United States
Frigates	4	1966/1969
Submarines	4	1967/1969
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY		
Patrol boats	8	Five were sent to Angola and three - <u>Canopus</u> , <u>Deneb</u> and <u>Belatrix</u> to Guinea
1,400 ton warships (the corvette <u>João Coutinho</u> and others)	3	Through Blohm Voss 1970
ITALY		
Frigate <u>Pero Escobar</u>	1	Paid by the United States
Patrol boats	5	Built in Portugal (paid by the United States)
Long boat LDP 214	1	Built in Portugal by NATO 1968

### 3. MILITARY VEHICLES AND EQUIPMENT

TYPE	ORIGIN	YEAR	OBSERVATIONS
Panhard AML H 607 armoured cars	France	1966	
Humber armoured cars	United Kingdom		
M-47 tanks	FRG	1967	
Austin Gipsy jeeps	United Kingdom	1965/1967	The first consignment of 200 jeeps was provided through the BMC (British Metal Corporation)
Willys jeeps	United States		
Unimog trucks	FRG		Through Mercedes Benz
Berliet trucks	France	1964/1966	
Tires for military vehicles	United States		Through MABOR (a subsidiary of the United States International Tire Rubber and Co.)
Electronic equipment	France	1966	Through BARBIER, BERNARD and TURENNE S.A.

### 4. WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION (NATO, countries members of NATO and Israel)

TYPE OF EQUIPMENT	ORIGIN
PISTOLS	
Walter P 38 9 mm	Germany (Federal Republic)
Beretta M-1951	Italy
MAS M-1950	France
Browning FN 9 mm HP	Belgium - NATO

TYPE OF EQUIPMENT	ORIGIN
SELF-LOADING RIFLES	
A.R. 7.62 FN (ARL)	Belgium, FRG, United Kingdom
A.R. G3 7.62 (CETME)	Spain - NATO
A.R. light Beretta Mod. 59-7.62	Italy
A.R. M-16 5.56 mm	
Grenade launching system for A.R. 7.62 FN (ARL) by ENERGA	United States of America
Infra-red system for G3 (CETME)	"
SUB-MACHINE GUNS	
UZI MP 2 A1 9 mm	Israel - NATO
FN type MAG (General use) MGX 15 B 1 7.62 mm	Belgium United Kingdom
MG 1 (MG 3) 7.62 mm	FRG-Denmark, Italy
BREN 7.62 mm	Holland, United Kingdom
Browning M 1918 A 2 30 M2	United States of America, NATO
CARBINES	
American Cal. 30 M-1 (Garand)	United States of America
Mauser Cal. 7.92	Federal Republic of Germany
MORTARS	
60 mm	United States of America
81 mm M-29	United States of America, NATO
120 mm Brandt	Federal Republic of Germany
ROCKET LAUNCHERS	
R.L. light PZ F 44-1	Federal Republic of Germany
Anti-tank R.L. M-20 B1 89 mm m/52	United States of America
Anti-tank R.L. M 9 A 1 M/55 60 mm	"
"TESTER" for anti-tank R.L. M 20 M 7142254	
"TESTER" 17 T 5518-100 for anti-tank R.L. M 9 A 1	

TYPE OF EQUIPMENT	ORIGIN
ANTI-AIRCRAFT DEFENCE	
12.7 AA US Mount, Rifle, Multiple M55 (M 45C)	United States of America
NON-RECOIL GUNS	
57 mm M 18 A 1	United States of America, NATO
75 mm M 20	"
105 mm	United States of America - NATO, FRG
LAND AND SURFACE MINES	
Anti-tank mines	United States of America, United Kingdom, France, Canada
Anti-personnel mines	United States of America, Italy, France
GRENADES	
Fragmentation hand grenades	United States of America
33/46 hand grenades	"
M/954 smoke hand grenades	Canada
DEMOLITION CHARGES ETC.	
Perforating hollow charge 1 Mark 3	United Kingdom
Benglore torpedo	
1 kg demolition blocks	
200 gm and 100 gm cartridges	
Detonators	
Fuses	
Galvanometers	
Electric wire	



TYPE OF EQUIPMENT	ORIGIN
<p>AMMUNITION</p> <p>9 mm</p> <p>7.62 mm</p> <p>60 mm mortar shells</p> <p>81 mm mortar shells</p> <p>120 mm mortar shells</p> <p>Rockets for PZF 44-1</p> <p>Rockets for M 20 89 mm rocket launchers</p> <p>Rockets for M 9 A1 60 mm rocket launchers</p> <p>12.7 for anti-aircraft US Mount</p> <p>High explosive shells for 57 mm 18 A1</p> <p>Armour-piercing shells for 75 mm M 20</p> <p>Small special anti-aircraft rocket launcher with ammunition</p> <p>Scheffler ABFV bursting charges</p> <p>Mine detectors</p> <p>Pneumatic boats</p>	<p>NATO</p> <p>United Kingdom, United States of America</p> <p>France</p> <p>Italy</p> <p>Israel</p> <p>United States of America</p> <p>France</p>

## ANNEX VII

### PARTIAL LIST OF BOOKS, FILMS AND ARTICLES CONCERNING THE LIBERATED AREAS OF GUINEA (BISSAU) a/

In Press Release No. 5/72 of 27 April 1972, the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations stated that "there are no 'liberated areas' that are under the control of the PAIGC".

For its part the Special Mission points out that it was not the first to visit the Liberated Areas of Guinea (Bissau). Dozens of people of different nationalities - members of parliament, historians, writers, journalists, film makers, students - have already visited the Liberated Areas. Some of them stayed there for months, others for weeks. These visitors have published reports, studies, newspaper articles, books, films and radio and television newscasts about the Liberated Areas.

The following are a few examples:

#### Books

The Liberation of Guinea, by Basil Davidson, the British historian  
Guinée portugaise et Cap Vert en lutte pour leur indépendance and Lutte armée en Afrique by Gérard Chaliand, the French writer  
Guinée Bissau, rapport sur un pays et un mouvement de libération, published in 1971, by Mrs. Birgitta Dahl, a member of the Swedish Parliament in collaboration with Mr. Andreassen  
In 1969 the Swedish writer Göran Palm wrote a preface for a selection of speeches by A. Cabral

#### Films

"Lala Quema" by Mario Marret, 1964  
"Nossa Terra" by Mario Marret, assisted by Izidro Romero, 1966  
"Lavante Negro" by Nelli, cameraman E. Bentivoglio, 1966  
"Madina-Boé" by Jose Massip, 1967  
Short films have been made by:  
A team from the German Democratic Republic in 1964  
Netherlands Television in 1966  
A team from Radio Diffusion et Télévision Française in 1966

V. Orsini, an Italian film maker, in 1967

A Soviet team in 1968

M. Honorin, a Frenchman, in 1968

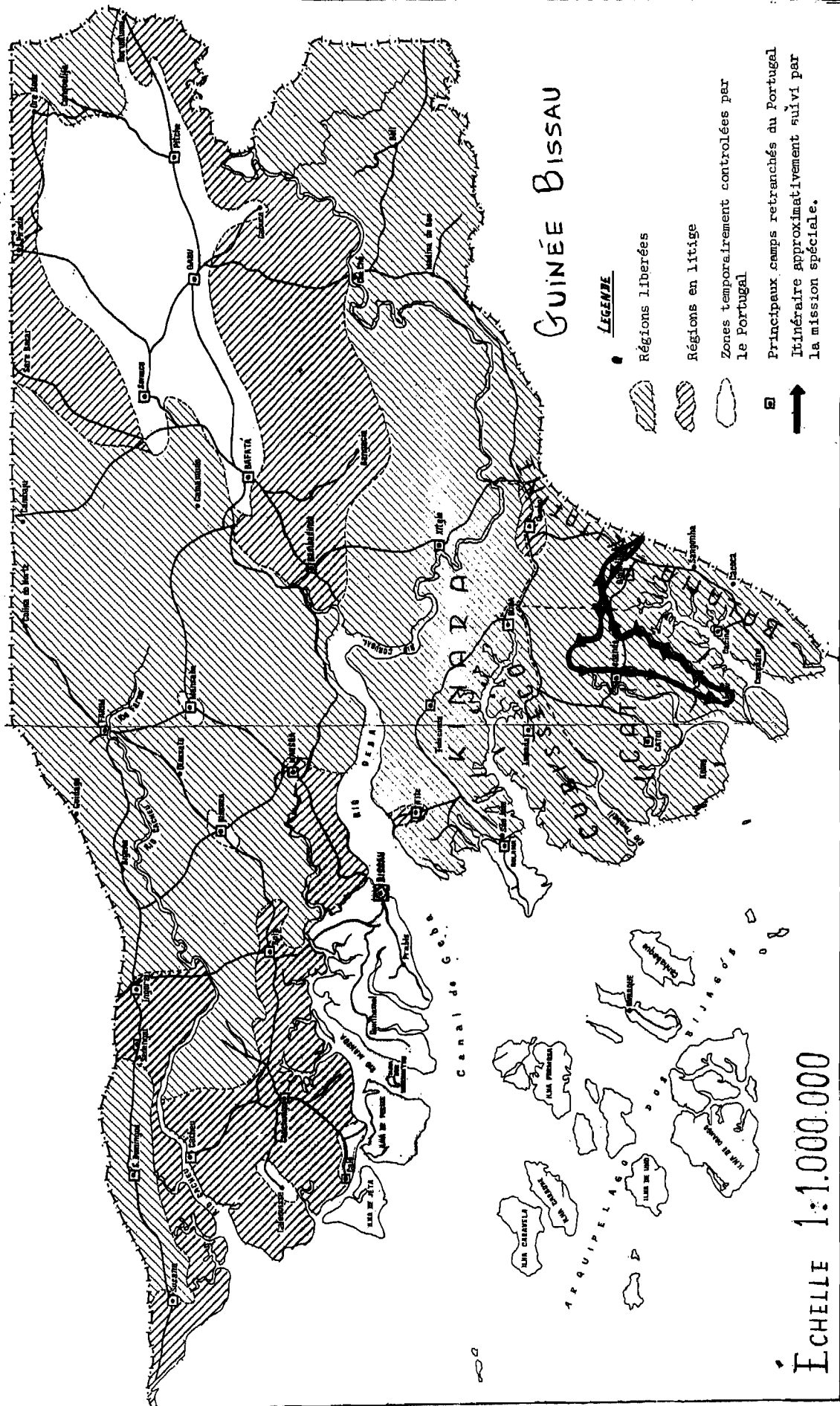
#### Articles

The New York Times of 8 November 1971, an article by William Borders

Tiden, Review of the Social Democrat Party of Sweden, article by  
Mr. Lars Rudebeck, April 1971

Expressen, a Stockholm newspaper, a series of articles by Mr. Anders Ehmark,  
in 1972

Long Island Press (New York) of 17 May 1972, an article by Larry Heinzerling.



ANNEX IX

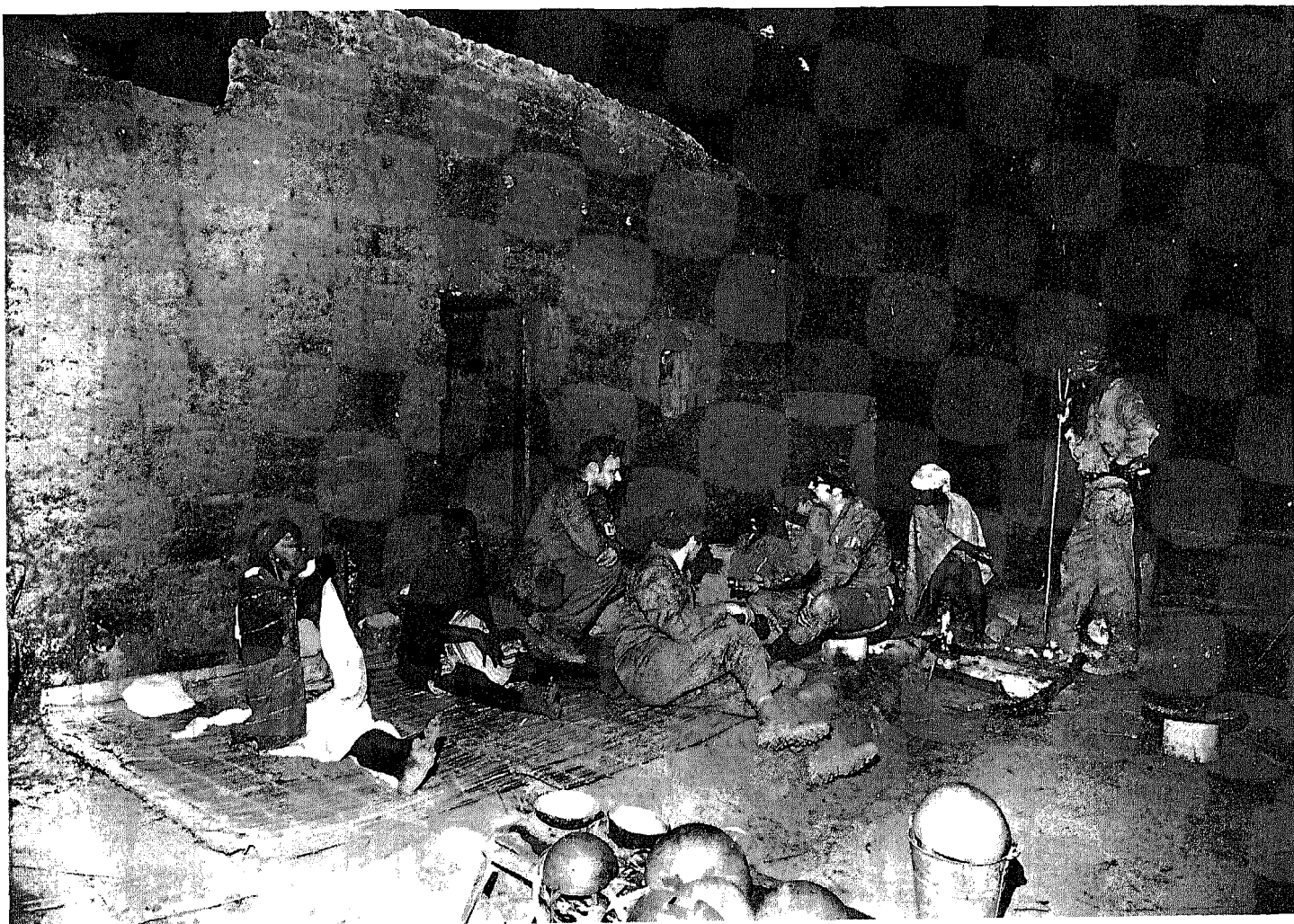
PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL MISSION



1. Members of the Mission, accompanied by PAIGC members crossing a river on a make-shift bridge in the Balana-Kitafine region, Southern Zone, Guinea (Bissau).

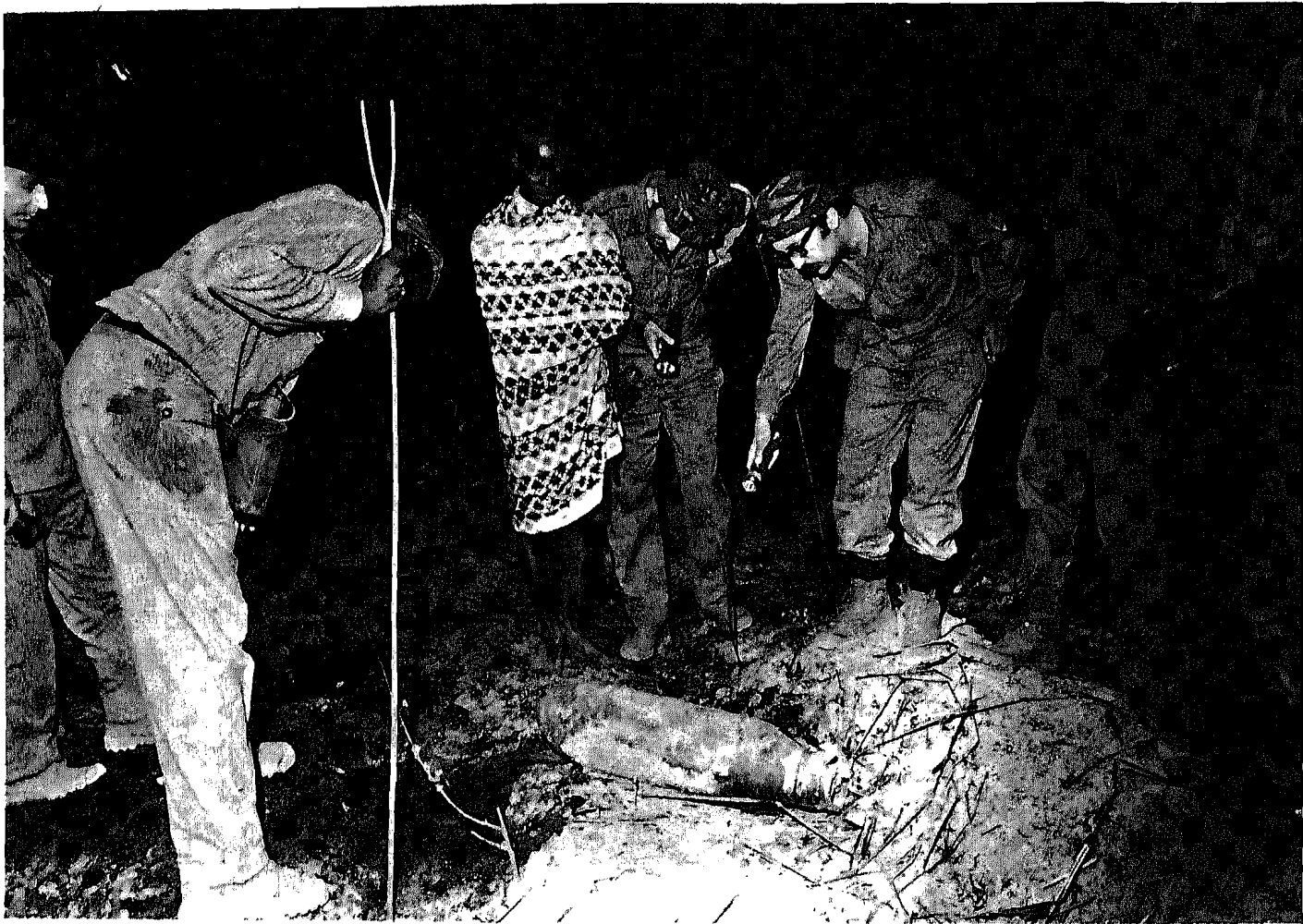


2. Mrs. Satú Djassi, in charge of health programmes, in the Cubacaré sector, Southern Zone, addresses members of the Special Mission and the people in the area. Standing with his arms crossed, at left, is Mr. José Araujo, Political Commissar PAIGC. Seated to his left are the members of the Mission: Mr. Kamel Belkhiria of Tunisia, Mr. Horacio Sevilla-Borja of Ecuador (Chairman) and Mr. Folke Löfgren of Sweden.



3. Members of the Mission holding a discussion in a house destroyed by fire as a result of a Portuguese airborne commando attack on 3 April 1972. The house is located at Botche-Djate in the Balana-Kitafine region, Southern Zone, Guinea (Bissau). Seated at centre (left to right): Messrs. Löfgren, Belkhiria and Sevilla-Borja. Standing at right is Mr. Cheikh Tidiane Gaye of the United Nations Secretariat.





4. Members of the Mission are seen inspecting an unexploded (50.7 kg T.N.T.) bomb which had been dropped during a Portuguese air raid on Botche Djate in October 1971. Left to right: Mr. Belkhiria, Mr. Gaye, the village Chief, Mr. Löfgren and Mr. Sevilla-Borja.





5. Members of the Mission during their visit to the Cubacaré sector, Southern Zone, Guinea (Bissau). Left to right: Messrs. Belkhiria, Löfgren, Gaye and Sevilla-Borja. At the right is Mr. Yutaka Nagata of the United Nations Secretariat.



6. Members of the Mission visiting the Areolina Lopez Cruz boarding school located in the Cubacaré sector, Southern Zone, Guinea (Bissau). Left to right: Messrs. Belkhiria, Sevilla-Borja and Löfgren.

ANNEX X

FORMS USED BY PAIGC IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE  
LIBERATED AREAS OF GUINEA (BISSAU)

- A. School attendance cards in each sector
- B. Hospital statistics
- C. Court records
- D. Birth certificates
- E. Laissez-passer
- F. Invoice
- G. Certificate of purchase

Região de \_\_\_\_\_ Nº de alunos em idade escolar no Sector M. \_\_\_\_\_ Total dos matriculados  
F. \_\_\_\_\_

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[illegible]

## O Responsável

B

P. A. I. G. C.

DEPARTAMENTO DA RECONSTRUÇÃO NACIONAL  
SERVIÇOS DE SAÚDE

Movimento do (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Trimestre de \_\_\_\_\_ a \_\_\_\_\_ 197 \_\_\_\_\_

MOVIMENTO DE DOENTES

CONSULTAS

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" crianças \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

HOSPITALIZAÇÕES

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" crianças \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

FERIDOS GRAVES (2)

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" crianças \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

FERIDOS LIGEIROS (3)

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" crianças \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

GRANDE CIRURGIA

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" crianças \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

PEQUENA CIRURGIA

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" crianças \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

CURATIVOS

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" crianças \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

EVACUAÇÕES A FRONTEIRA

Feridos militares \_\_\_\_\_  
" população \_\_\_\_\_  
Doentes militares \_\_\_\_\_  
" população \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

EXTRAÇÃO DE DENTES

militares \_\_\_\_\_  
população \_\_\_\_\_  
TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

PARTOS

FALECIDOS

Feridos militares \_\_\_\_\_  
" pop. homens \_\_\_\_\_  
" " mulheres \_\_\_\_\_  
" " crianças \_\_\_\_\_  
Doentes militares \_\_\_\_\_  
" população \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

OBSERVAÇÕES

DOENÇAS MAIS FREQUENTES

Paludismo \_\_\_\_\_  
Filariose e elefantíase (Cantimbon) \_\_\_\_\_  
Bilharziose (Esquentamento com sangue) \_\_\_\_\_  
Tripanosomiase (Doença de sono) \_\_\_\_\_  
Anemia (Língua e conjuntivas pálidas) \_\_\_\_\_  
Eufema (Inflamação das pernas, etc) \_\_\_\_\_  
Desnutrição e Kwashiorkor (crianças magras) \_\_\_\_\_  
Conjuntivite (Dôr de olho) \_\_\_\_\_  
Ceratite (Dôr do coco de olho) \_\_\_\_\_  
Sarna \_\_\_\_\_  
Impingem \_\_\_\_\_  
Lepra (Impingem burmedjo) \_\_\_\_\_  
Rino-faringite (Catarro) \_\_\_\_\_  
Bronquite \_\_\_\_\_  
Pneumonia \_\_\_\_\_  
Tuberculose Pulmonar — provável \_\_\_\_\_

Gastrite (Dôr de estomago) \_\_\_\_\_  
Colite fermentativa (Dôr de barriga) \_\_\_\_\_  
Gastro-Enterite (Vômitos e Diarreia) \_\_\_\_\_  
Dis. Amibiana (Diarreia com sangue) \_\_\_\_\_  
Blenorragia (Esquentamento com pus) \_\_\_\_\_  
Amenorreia (Ca olha Lua) \_\_\_\_\_  
Impotência Sexual (Ca ta reta) \_\_\_\_\_  
Feridos de Guerra em Geral \_\_\_\_\_  
Hérnias Inguinais e Escrotais \_\_\_\_\_  
Hérnias Umbilicais \_\_\_\_\_  
Hidrocelo \_\_\_\_\_  
Apendicitis \_\_\_\_\_  
Outras Doenças \_\_\_\_\_

## SERVIÇOS DA POPULAÇÃO E JUSTIÇA

TRIBUNAL POPULAR DE \_\_\_\_\_

**TÉRMO DE AUDIÊNCIA**

Aos \_\_\_\_\_ dias do mês de \_\_\_\_\_ de 19\_\_\_\_ nesta tabanca, na sala das audiências do **Tribunal Popular** de \_\_\_\_\_ onde se achava o Presidente, camarada \_\_\_\_\_ comigo assessor, no final declarado, aí às \_\_\_\_\_ horas, presentes os juizes \_\_\_\_\_, foi aberta a sessão da audiência de **Instrução e julgamento**. Submetido a julgamento o acusado \_\_\_\_\_ na causa Nº \_\_\_\_\_/19\_\_\_\_ no qual responde como incurso na lei dos costumes desta região ou no Nº \_\_\_\_\_ da **Lei de Justiça Militar**, à chamada compareceu o mesmo. Inicialmente o camarada \_\_\_\_\_ fez a apresentação do caso. Em seguida foi inquirido o queixoso, o réu e as testemunhas que, em resumo, disseram o seguinte:

Queixoso: \_\_\_\_\_

0 réu: \_\_\_\_\_

1ª Testemunha: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

2ª Testemunha: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3ª Testemunha: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Finalmente o camarada \_\_\_\_\_ fez a conclusão para a sentença. Suspensa a sessão, os juizes retiraram-se para a elaboração da sentença que, uma vez reaberta a sessão, foi lida em voz alta estando o réu de pé.

Nada mais havendo a tratar-se foi encerrada a sessão da audiência. E para constar lavrei este lermo que lido e conferido vai ser assinado. Eu \_\_\_\_\_ o escrevi e subscrevi.

\_\_\_\_\_ de \_\_\_\_\_ de 19\_\_

O assessor,  
\_\_\_\_\_

REGISTO CIVIL

Assento de nascimento Nº \_\_\_\_\_

Nome completo da criança \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ sexo \_\_\_\_\_

hora do nascimento \_\_\_\_\_, dia \_\_\_\_\_, mês \_\_\_\_\_

e ano \_\_\_\_\_ lugar: \_\_\_\_\_

sector de \_\_\_\_\_ frente \_\_\_\_\_

(Filiação nome completo): \_\_\_\_\_

Pai \_\_\_\_\_

estado civil \_\_\_\_\_, natural de \_\_\_\_\_

sector de \_\_\_\_\_, residência habitual \_\_\_\_\_

Mãe \_\_\_\_\_

estado civil \_\_\_\_\_, natural de \_\_\_\_\_

sector de \_\_\_\_\_, residência habitual \_\_\_\_\_

Avô paterno \_\_\_\_\_

Avô materno \_\_\_\_\_

Declarante \_\_\_\_\_

Testemunhas \_\_\_\_\_

e \_\_\_\_\_

Feito em \_\_\_\_\_ no dia \_\_\_\_\_ de 197 \_\_\_\_\_

O Encarregado do registo civil \_\_\_\_\_

Testemunhas \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



D

A/AC.109/L.304

Annex 6

REGIÕES DE LIBERTADAS DA GUINE

SERVIÇOS DA POPULAÇÃO E JUSTIÇA

REGISTO CIVIL

ASSENTO DE NASCIMENTO Nº \_\_\_\_\_

Nome completo da criança \_\_\_\_\_ sexo \_\_\_\_\_

Hora do nascimento \_\_\_\_\_, dia \_\_\_\_\_, mês \_\_\_\_\_ e ano \_\_\_\_\_

Lugar: \_\_\_\_\_, sector de \_\_\_\_\_, frente \_\_\_\_\_

Filiação (nome completo): \_\_\_\_\_

Pai \_\_\_\_\_, estado civil \_\_\_\_\_, natural de \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ , sector de \_\_\_\_\_, residência habitual \_\_\_\_\_

Mãe \_\_\_\_\_, estado civil \_\_\_\_\_, natural de \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ , sector de \_\_\_\_\_, residência habitual \_\_\_\_\_

Avô paterno \_\_\_\_\_ e avô materno \_\_\_\_\_

Declarante \_\_\_\_\_

Testemunhas \_\_\_\_\_ e \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Feito em \_\_\_\_\_ no dia \_\_\_\_\_ de 197 \_\_\_\_\_

O Encarregado do Registo Civil, \_\_\_\_\_

Testemunhas \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDENCIA  
DA GUINÉ E CABO VERDE (P.A.I.G.C.)

E

N° \_\_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_

## LAISSEZ-PASSER

Dans le cadre de la collaboration fraternelle des pays africains indépendants à notre lutte de libération nationale, nous prions aux autorités frontalières de la République de Guinée et de la République du Sénégal, de bien vouloir accorder les facilités nécessaires au transit de notre véhicule N° \_\_\_\_\_ qui doit se déplacer de \_\_\_\_\_ à \_\_\_\_\_, conduit par notre camarade \_\_\_\_\_.

Nous certifions que toutes les personnes transportées par ce véhicule sont membres de notre organisation et que les marchandises ou bagages y chargés se destinent à l'usage exclusif de nos combattants.

### Personnes transportées:

1		11	
2		12	
3		13	
4		14	
5		15	
6		16	
7		17	
8		18	
9		19	
10		20	

### Chargement:


Pour la libération totale de l'Afrique!

Fait à \_\_\_\_\_, le \_\_\_\_\_ 19\_\_\_\_

Le responsable,

F

## ARMAZÉNS DO POVO

Empresa de Comércio Geral

Guiné — Regiões Libertadas

Duplicado

Secção Comercial  
do C. C. do P. A. I. G. C.

DEPÓSITO Nº \_\_\_\_\_

Nota de Remessa de Produtos Nº \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_ de \_\_\_\_\_ de 19\_\_\_\_

Remetemos nesta data, pelo nosso \_\_\_\_\_ Nº \_\_\_\_\_, conduzido pelo \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ com destino a \_\_\_\_\_ os produtos abaixo designados:

Volumes	Natureza de Produtos	P. Bruto	Tara	P. Líquido	Estado do Produto

O Responsável dos A. P.

O \_\_\_\_\_

Recebido conforme em \_\_\_\_\_ de \_\_\_\_\_ de 19\_\_\_\_

G

P. A. I. G. C. \_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/19\_\_\_\_\_  
 Empresa do Comércio Geral  
 GUINÉ — Regiões Libertadas  
 ARMAZENS DO POVO  
 Depósito Nº \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nota de Compra de Produtos  
 Nome \_\_\_\_\_ Povoação \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tem a receber a quantia de \_\_\_\_\_  
 O Responsável \_\_\_\_\_

Designação	Deve	Haver
Total		