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Continued African Nationalist Attacks on Portuguese Forces. - U.N. Resolutions against Portuguese Rule of Territory.

While during 1972 the military activities of the African nationalists organized in the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e do Cabo Verde* (PAIGC) had consisted mainly of sporadic guerrilla attacks on a minor scale, there was growing evidence that during the first half of 1973 the PAIGC guerrillas were being equipped with increasingly heavier armaments supplied via neighbouring countries—the Republic of Guinea and Senegal. Many of these arms were of Soviet origin and of a type used by the *Viet Cong* in Indo-China, the use of these weapons enabling the PAIGC's forces to undertake more massive attacks against Portuguese troop concentrations and aircraft, as a result of which casualty figures on both sides were significantly higher than before.

General Antonio Sebastiao Ribeiro de Spínola, the Governor of Portuguese Guinea and C.-in-C. of its armed forces, who commanded some 26,000 troops, nearly half of them Africans, fighting against about 7,000 rebels (in a territory inhabited by 600,000 people), was known to attach the greatest importance to winning the support of the population.

To this end General de Spínola favoured the “Africanization” of a structures in the territory, including the Army. Before the Legislative Council in Bissau (the territory's capital) he declares on Jan. 4, 1972, that development in accordance with a 14-point programme would include the construction of over 1,000 kilometres (600 miles) of roads, the modernization of agriculture, small-scale industrialization, the distribution of arms and ammunition to tribesmen for their self-defence, the building of a powerful new radio transmitter, and the publication of the territory's first daily newspaper.

General de Spínola's successor, appointed on Aug. 30, 1973, was General Jose Manuel Bettencourt Rodrigues (55), a former Minister of the Army under Dr. Salazar and previously Chief of Staff in Angola.

The Portuguese authorities regularly issued brief statements giving numbers of casualties inflicted or suffered, and the PAIGC made similar statements from time to time.

On Dec. 30, 1971, the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon claimed that, in the “biggest battle” ever fought in the territory, 215 rebels (out of 500 said to have infiltrated from Senegal) had been killed and 28 captured in seven days of fighting, Portuguese losses being given as eight dead and 53 wounded. The PAIGC claimed in Algiers that in this battle, in the Mores region (about 30 miles north of Bissau), 102 Portuguese soldiers had been killed.

On Feb. 17, 1972, the PAIGC claimed in Nairobi that its guerrillas had killed over 2,000 Portuguese soldiers during the whole of 1971, and that two-thirds of the territory had been “liberated”.

In the period up to Jan. 12, 1972, a further 250 guerrillas were killed, according to official sources in Bissau. Among further Portuguese statements on casualties during 1972 was one of May 30 announcing the death of Mario Mendes, described as one of the most influential PAIGC leaders. On Dec. 15, 1972, it was reported from Lisbon that Portuguese marines had intercepted 30 guerrillas crossing the border from the Republic of Guinea and had killed seven of them, capturing arms and equipment.

The total of African guerrillas killed by Portuguese forces during 1972 was given on Feb. 4, 1973, as 909.

Following further reports of armed clashes during January and February 1973, the PAIGC claimed on March 27 to have shot down, on March 23, two *Fiat G-91* fighter bombers (said to be among 40

aircraft supplied to Portugal by Western Germany). The Portuguese authorities confirmed that Lieut.-Colonel Almeida Brito, a well-known aviator, had been killed in a *Fiat G-91* near the border of the Republic of Guinea. On April 18 it was reported that at least four Portuguese aircraft had been shot down or had crashed.

A notable increase in casualties became apparent when on May 21 it was officially stated in Lisbon that 25 Portuguese soldiers had been killed within two weeks.

According to a Portuguese news agency report of May 25, 1973, quoting High Command sources in Bissau, Portuguese commandos had, in a five-day operation, destroyed the biggest PAIGC base in Senegal, killing 167 guerrillas and capturing or destroying arms "sufficient to equip a brigade", including 122 mm. rockets, anti-aircraft machine-guns, automatic rifles, recoilless cannons, and 60 mm. and 82 mm. mortars; Portuguese losses were given as 11 killed and 48 wounded.

Portuguese casualties for the fortnight June 1–15 were given on June 21 as 24 soldiers killed, while 45 guerrillas were said to have been "put out of action".

A PAIGC congress, claimed to have been held in a "liberated area" on July 18–22, 1973, unanimously confirmed the appointment of Senhor Aristide Pereira as the party's secretary-general. On July 29 Senhor Pereira was reported as having said that the "five principal murderers" of the late PAIGC leader, Dr. Amilcar Cabral [see 25754 A], whose names he did not mention, had been "sentenced to death and executed by firing squad in Guinea-Bissau".

The situation in Portuguese Guinea was repeatedly considered at the United Nations.

As the result of the report by the mission sent to Conakry in August 1971, following the Republic of Guinea's complaint of an "imminent Portuguese invasion" [see 21940 A], the U.N. security Council decided on Nov. 24, 1971, by 14 votes to none, with the U.S.A. abstaining, to call upon Portugal "to respect fully the inalienable right of the people of Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and independence, and to take measures without further delay so that this right can be exercised". On Nov. 30, 1971, the Council approved a consensus statement reaffirming that "the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Guinea must be respected", and noting that "Portugal's failure to apply the principle of self-determination, including the right to independence in Guinea (Bissau)", had "an unsettling effect on conditions in the area".

The U.N. Committee on Decolonization (the "Committee of 24") adopted on Aug. 1, 1972, a report by a mission which it had instructed to visit a "liberated area" in Portuguese Guinea.

The mission—consisting of Senor Horacio Sevilla-Borja (Ecuador), Hr. Folke Lofgren (Sweden) and M. Kamel Belkhira (Tunisia)—had reported on April 13 that the liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau) "continued to progress" and that "Portugal no longer exercised effective administrative control over the greater portion of the territory". It stressed "the need for concerted international pressure against Portugal... to withdraw its forces from the territory", and appealed for "a co-operative effort to help the people achieve self-determination and independence".

Senor Sevilla-Borja stated on May 8, 1972, that the mission had been in the territory from April 2 to 8, travelling over 150 miles; he rejected the assertion, made by the Portuguese Government to the United Nations on April 11, that the mission had never set foot on Portuguese territory but had been "hoaxed" into believing that part of the Republic of Guinea was actually guerrilla-liberated Portuguese Guinea.

The committee had earlier, during April 1972, decided to recognize the PAIGC as "the only and authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau)".

The U.N. security Council subsequently adopted two further resolutions directed against Portugal.

On Oct. 23, 1972, the Council approved by 12 votes to none, with Belgium, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. abstaining, a resolution condemning “the recent Portuguese military intrusion from Guinea (Bissau) into Senegal”, and requesting Portugal to take prompt steps to “apply the principle of self-determination and independence” to the territory. [This was the first occasion on which France had endorsed a U.N. resolution against Portugal.]

The resolution, sponsored by Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, arose out of a complaint by Senegal following a frontier incident on Oct. 12, when three Portuguese armoured cars crossed into Senegal and a Senegalese officer and a Portuguese civilian were killed and a Senegalese soldier wounded; Portugal had apologized for the frontier violation on Oct. 12 and had offered to pay compensation, which, however, was refused by the Government of Senegal.

The latter had previously complained to the security Council of an attack on a Senegalese village on May 26, 1972, by “200 regulars and irregulars from Guinea (Bissau)”, who had “killed six Senegalese soldiers and wounded five others”. The Senegalese Government had added that it had completed a reprisal action during the night of May 30–31, this being “the first time that a Senegalese soldier had crossed the frontier”.

In a further resolution, passed unanimously by the security Council on Nov. 22, 1972, Portugal was called upon to “cease immediately its military operations and all acts of repression” in its African territories; to negotiate with “the parties concerned” for an end to fighting in the three territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea; and to permit their people to “achieve self-determination and independence”.

Portugal had previously rejected all U.N. action concerning her African territories and had on Nov. 21, 1972, invited the security Council to send a delegation to the so-called “liberated areas” in Portuguese Guinea so that they could convince themselves that the PAIGC's claims of control were unfounded. (Times - Daily Telegraph - Guardian - Le Monde - U.N. Information Centre, London)(Prev. rep. 25724 A; 24940 A.)

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