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## ISSUES

[The following is the full text of the Guinea-Bissau Proclamation of Independence, translated from French by UFAHAMJ. We are honored to record the historic document in the pages of our journal.  
Ed. note.]

TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATION  
OF THE STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU  
BY THE NATIONAL POPULAR ASSEMBLY

The present era of human history is characterized by people's struggle for their total emancipation from colonialism, imperialism, racism, and all other forms of domination and oppression which impede the development and dignity of man, peace and progress.

In the liberated regions of Guinea-Bissau, our people, guided by the African Party for the Independence of Guiné and the Cape Verde (PAIGC), under the able leadership of its founder and number one Militant, Amilcar Cabral, have, in the past seventeen years, built a new life through political and military struggle. They have at their disposal a progressively evolving administration of social and cultural services, a judiciary organization, a fully developing economy, and national armed forces.

The visit paid by a special mission of the United Nations into the liberated regions of Guinea-Bissau from the 2nd to the 8th of April, 1972, has brought to the international community the testimony of impartial and honest observers drawn from all the continents: the self-determination of our people and the *de facto* existence of a well-functioning and efficient statutory structure.

In flagrant violation of the international Rights of our times, Portuguese colonialists still encroach upon some portions of our national territory. The United Nations organization has repeatedly admitted the illegality of this occupation, the inalienable right of our people to be free and sovereign, and the legitimacy of their struggle against colonialism.

Indeed, on the basis of the historic Resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960, on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the General Assembly of the U.N.O., particularly in its Resolution 2918 (XXVII) of November 14, 1972, and the Security Council, in its Resolution 322 of November 22, 1972, reaffirm the inalienable right of our people to independence and self-government. In addition, the IVth Commission of the General Assembly of the U.N.O., on the proposal of the Special Committee for Decolonization, in its XXVII session, has recognized the PAIGC, the Liberation Movement of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, as the only qualified and lawful representative of this territory.

The National Popular Assembly, as a result of the successes achieved by the PAIGC in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, has been constituted on the basis of the principle that power comes from the people and must serve the people. It consists of representatives appointed through universal suffrage, both directly and indirectly, as the expression of the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau. At a meeting on the 24th September, 1973, in the Boe Region, the National Popular Assembly, expressing the sovereign will of the people,

#### SOLEMNLY PROCLAIMS THE STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU

The State of Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign, republican, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist State. Her principal objectives are the total liberation of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde and the union of these two territories for the creation of a strong African fatherland on the march to progress. The nature of this union will become established after the total liberation of the two territories, in accordance with the popular will.

The State of Guinea-Bissau accepts as its sacred duty the expulsion, by all possible means, of the Portuguese colonialist forces of aggression from that portion of the land they still occupy in Guinea-Bissau, and the ultimate aim that the struggle be reinforced in the Cape Verde Islands, an integral and inalienable portion of the national territory of the

peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde.

At the opportune moment, the Popular Assembly of Cape Verde will be established in the Cape Verde Islands, with the aim of forming a supreme organ of the total sovereignty of the People of Guinea and Cape Verde: The National Popular Assembly of Guinea and Cape Verde.

The State of Guinea-Bissau considers as one of the principal bases of its foreign policy, the reinforcement of solidarity and combative fraternity between our people and all the peoples in 'Portuguese' colonies. She joins hands with the peoples struggling for their freedom and Independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and with all the Arab peoples who are struggling against Zionism.

The State of Guinea-Bissau is an integral part of Africa and struggles for the unity of African peoples with regard to liberty, dignity, and the right to the political, economic, social and cultural progress of these peoples.

Concerning the policy on international relations, the State of Guinea-Bissau desires to maintain and develop friendly cooperative and strong relations with neighboring countries (the Republics of Guinea and Senegal), with all the independent African countries, and with all nations of the world which recognize its sovereignty and uphold the national liberation struggle of our people. These relations have as a foundation the principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect for national sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs and the reciprocity of benefits.

The State of Guinea-Bissau assumes the responsibility to promote the nation's economic progress, thus laying the material foundations for the development of its culture, science and technology, with a view to the constant increase in the social and economic standard of living for our populations and for the final realization of a life of peace, well-being, and progress for all the children of our nation.

With our heroic Popular Army of National Liberation backing us, the State of Guinea-Bissau will endow our National Armed Forces with all the necessary means for accomplishing the mission to totally liberate our country and to defend the achievement of our people and the integrity of our national boundary.

The State of Guinea-Bissau appeals to all the independent states of the world to grant it *de jure* recognition as a sovereign State, in accordance with international law and practice. It expresses its decision to participate in international deliberations, particularly within the United Nations Organization, where our people will be able to make their contribution towards the solution of the fundamental problems of our times, in Africa and in the world.

Boe Region, September 24, 1973

THE NATIONAL POPULAR ASSEMBLY

#### INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU

This summer I was fortunate enough to be able to go inside Guinea-Bissau with the PAIGC (the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), the movement which has led the struggle for freedom. I was struck by the strength and efficiency of the movement which for some time has been operating effectively as a government for the majority of the people in that country.

The new government is not in exile. The P.A.I.G.C. has had external headquarters in both its southern and northern neighbors. But the real movement is in the country. It was the first meeting of the popularly elected People's National Assembly which, on Monday the 24th of September, 1973 at a place called Madina Boe, in the eastern region of Guinea-Bissau, proclaimed the new Republic of Guinea Bissau. The P.A.I.G.C. has established a network of administrative institutions inside the borders of their country - schools, hospitals, teaching centers, a court system, etc. which are serving the needs of the people.

1973 has been a tragic and testing year for the PAIGC. On January 20, Amilcar Cabral, who was founder and the inspired leader of the PAIGC was cruelly assassinated in a Portuguese plot to split the party and destroy the liberation struggle. My visit confirmed my conviction that the Portuguese plan had misfired badly and had in fact led to an intensification of the