

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr. GENERAL

A/9196 15 October 1973 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

Twenty-eighth session

REQUEST FOR THE INCLUSION OF AN ADDITIONAL ITEM IN THE AGENDA OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION

ILLEGAL OCCUPATION BY FORTUGUESE MILITARY FORCES OF CERTAIN SECTORS OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION COMMITTED BY THEM AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC

Letter dated 12 October 1973 addressed to the President of the General Assembly by the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, China, the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, the Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia to the United Nations

Upon instructions of our Governments, we have the honour to propose the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, as an important and urgent question, of an item entitled "Illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic".

As outlined in a cabled message dated 27 September 1973 (A/C.4/760) from Mr. Aristides Pereira, the Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), the First Popular National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau, at its session held on 23 and 24 September, proclaimed the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and adopted a constitution. The text of the Proclamation of Independence (annex I) and a copy of the Constitution (annex II), together with the related statement made by Mr. Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of PAIGC (annex III), are attached herewith for the information of Member States. As of this date, 60 States have accorded recognition to the newly established Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

1

Despite the courageous efforts of the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to consolidate their independence, however, Portuguese military forces continue to occupy certain sectors of that country as well as the Cape Verde Islands and to engage in intensified acts of armed repression against its people. These acts of aggression, in the view of our Governments, constitute not only a gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the independent State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, but also a serious threat to the peace and security of the region.

In view of the foregoing, we deem it imperative that the General Assembly consider, as a matter of priority, the explosive situation prevailing in the region with a view to securing immediate cessation of the war of repression being waged by the Government of Portugal against the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and to restore the territorial integrity of that State.

We should be grateful if you would regard this letter as an explanatory memorandum within the meaning of rule 20 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and have it circulated as an official General Assembly document.

(Signed) Abdul Samad GHAUS (Afghanistan)

Ahmed OUCIF (Algeria)

Thebe David MOGAMI (Botswana)

Guero GROZEV (Bulgaria)

Joseph NDABANIWE (Burundi)

V. S. SMIRNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

Michel NJINE (Cameroon)

Michel ADAMA-TAMBOUX (Central African Republic)

Christin AHMED (Chad)

HUANG Hua (China)

Nicolas MONDJO (Congo)

Ricardo ALARCON QUESADA (Cuba)

Ladislaw SMID (Czechoslovakia)

Tiamiou ADJIBADE (Dahomey)

Abdalla Saleh ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen)

Ahmed OSMAN (Egypt)

Primo José ESONO MICA (Equatorial Guinea)

Zewde GABRE-SELLASSIE (Ethiopia)

Alexis OBAME (Gabon)

Horst GRUNERT (German Democratic Republic)

Frank Edmund BOATEN (Ghana)

Jeanne Martin CISSE (Guinea)

/...

Rashleigh Esmond JACKSON (Guyana)

Károly SZARKA (Hungary)

Samar SEN (India)

Amer Salih ARAIM (Iraq)

Koffi KOUAME (Ivory Coast)

Joseph ODERO-JOWI (Kenya)

Mooki V. MOLAPO (Lesotho)

Nathan BARNES (Liberia)

Abdelwahid Ali REFADI (Libyan Arab Republic)

Blaise RABETAFIKA (Madagascar)

Seydou TRAORE (Mali)

Samba KAMARA (Mauritania)

Radha Krishna RAMPHUL (Mauritius)

T. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia)

Mehdi Mrani ZENTAR (Morocco)

Abdoulage DIALLO (Niger)

Edwin Ogebe OGBU (Nigeria)

Hayat MEHDI (Pakistan)

Zdzislaw LUDWICZAK (Poland)

Ion DATCU (Romania)

Médoune FALL (Senegal)

Ismael Byne TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone)

Abdullahi FARAH (Somalia)

Yousif MUKHTAR (Sudan)

Jacques D. TOGBE (Togo)

Rachid DRISS (Tunisia)

Grace S. K. IBINGIRA (Uganda)

V. N. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

Yakov A. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Salim A. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania)

Hama Azba DIALLO (Upper Volta)

Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia)

IPOTO Eyebu-Bakand'Asi (Zaïre)

Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia)

ANNEX I

Proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau by the People's National Assembly

The current era of man's history is characterized by the struggle of peoples for their full emancipation from colonialism, imperialism, racism and all other forms of domination and oppression hampering human development and dignity, peace and progress.

In the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, our people, guided by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) under the enlightened leadership of its founder and No. 1 militant, Amilcar Cabral, has, in the course of 17 years of political and armed struggle, constructed a new life and now possesses a constantly-evolving administrative organization, social and cultural services, a judicial system, a steadily developing economy and national armed forces.

The visit of a United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau from 2 to 8 April 1972 served to confirm to the international community what has been attested to by dozens of impartial, honest observers from every continent: the self-determination of our people and the de facto existence of an efficiently functioning State structure.

In flagrant violation of modern international law, the Portuguese colonialists are still encroaching upon some portions of our national territory. The United Nations has repeatedly recognized the illegality of the Portuguese presence, the inalienable right of our people to freedom and sovereignty, and the legitimacy of its struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

On the basis of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have reaffirmed the inalienable right of our people to self-determination and independence, particularly in General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972 and Security Council resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972. Furthermore, on the proposal of the Special Committee on Decolonization, the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session recognized PAIGC, the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, as the only and authentic representative of the people of that Territory.

The People's National Assembly, which is the result of PAIGC's successes in the fight against Portuguese colonialism, was constituted on the basis of the principle that power derives from the people and should serve the people. The Assembly is composed of representatives elected by universal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, being the expression of the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

At its meeting of 24 September 1973 in the Boé region, the People's National 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 whose primary objectives are the complete liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and the forging of a union between those two territories for the purpose of building a strong African homeland dedicated to progress. The arrangements for this union will be determined, after these two territories are liberated, in accordance with the will of the people.

The State of Guinea Bissau assumes the sacred duty of taking action to expedite, by every means, the expulsion of the forces of aggression of Portuguese colonialism from that part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau which they still occupy and to intensify the struggle in the Cape Verde Islands, which form an integral and inalienable part of the national territory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

In due course, the People's Assembly of Cape Verde will be established in the Cape Verde Islands, with a view to the creation of the supreme body having full sovereignty over the people of Guinea and Cape Verde: the People's National Assembly of Guinea and Cape Verde.

The State of Guinea-Bissau regards the strengthening of the links of solidarity and soldierly brotherhood between our people and all peoples of the Portuguese colonies as one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy; it stands in solidarity with the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America and with all Arab peoples fighting against zionism.

The State of Guinea Bissau is an integral part of Africa and strives for the unity of the African peoples, respecting the freedom of those peoples, their dignity and their right to political, economic, social and cultural progress.

As regards international relations, the State of Guinea-Bissau wishes to maintain and develop ties of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with its neighbours - the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal - with all independent African States and with all States throughout the world which recognize its sovereighty and support the national liberation struggle of our people. These relations shall be based on the principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect for national sovereighty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

The State of Guinea Bissau assumes responsibility for promoting the economic advancement of the country, thereby creating the material basis for the development of culture, science and technology, with a view to the continuing improvement of the social and economic living standards of our population and with the ultimate aim of achieving a life of peace, well-being and progress for all our country's children.

Having as a foundation our heroic People's National Liberation Army, the State of Guinea-Bissau will provide our national armed forces with all necessary means to accomplish the task of bringing about the complete liberation of our country, and defending the achievements of our people and the integrity of our national territory.

From the historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, authorities and organs of the Portuguese colonial State which exercise any political, military or administrative authority in our territory are illegal, and their acts are null and void. Consequently, from that moment on, the Portuguese State has no right to assume any obligations or commitments in relation to our country. All treaties, conventions, agreements, alliances and concessions involving our country which were entered into in the past by the Portuguese colonialists will be submitted to the People's National Assembly, the supreme embodiment of State power, which will proceed to review them in accordance with the interests of our peoples.

The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with which our people wishes to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship.

The State of Guinea-Bissau adheres to the principles of non-alignment. It supports the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and, to that effect and in accordance with the resolutions of the highest international organs, it declares its willingness to negotiate a solution which will put an end to the aggression of the Portuguese colonial Government that is illegally occupying part of our national territory and committing acts of genocide against our populations.

The frontiers of the State of Guinea-Bissau delimit the territory situated between latitudes 12° 20' and 10° 59' north and between longitudes 16° 43' and 13° 90' west, that is to say bounded by the Republic of Senegal to the north, the Republic of Guinea to the south and east and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The territory consists of a mainland part, a string of coastal islands and all the islands comprising the Bijagos archipelago and covers a land area of 36,125 square kilometres plus the respective territorial waters and corresponds to the area of the region formerly designated as the colony of Portuguese Guinea.

The State of Guinea-Bissau appeals to all the independent States of the world to accord it <u>de jure</u> recognition as a sovereign State in accordance with international law and practice. It expresses its determination to participate in international life, particularly the United Nations, where our people will be able to make its contribution to solving the fundamental problems of our times both in Africa and in the world.

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY Boé region, 24 September 1973

ANNEX II

Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau

CHAPTER I

Bases and Objectives

Article 1

Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist republic, fighting for complete liberation, the unity of Guinea and the Cape Verde archipelago and the social advancement of its people.

Article 2

The national flag of the State of Guinea shall consist of three stripes of equal size one of which shall be vertical and red with a black star. The two other stripes shall be horizontal, the upper one being yellow and the lower one green.

The national anthem of Guinea-Bissau shall be "Here is our beloved country".

The motto of Guinea-Bissau shall be "UNITY, STRUGGLE, PROGRESS".

Article 3

The State shall have as its objective the complete liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde from colonialism, their unification into one State in accordance with the will of the people and the building of a society that shall create the political, economic and cultural conditions needed to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and all forms of subordination of the human being to degrading interests for the benefit of any individual, group or class.

Article 4

Power in Guinea-Bissau shall be exercised by the working masses closely linked to the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), which shall be the leading political force in the society.

Article 5

The achievement of these objectives will require the complete mobilization of the masses and their broad participation in the elaboration of State policy. The Party shall encourage the creation and development of democratic mass organizations.

Article 6

PAIGC shall be the leading force in the society. It shall be the supreme expression of the sovereign will of the people. It shall determine the political orientation of State policy and guarantee the implementation thereof by appropriate means.

Article 7

The State shall devote particular attention to the people's revolutionary armed forces (FARP). It shall be the duty of all State organs to promote the development of these forces so that they may fully accomplish their great mission and be equal to their great responsibility in the armed struggle for national liberation and in the peaceful transformation of the country.

Article 8

The State shall play a decisive role in the planning and balanced development of the national economy. The property of the colonial State and that of traitors to the country shall become national property.

<u>Article 9</u>

The State of Guinea-Bissau is an integral part of Africa and is struggling for the liberation of the African continent from colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism and for the unity of African peoples, in their entirety or by region, on the basis of respect for the liberty, dignity and right to political, economic, social and cultural progress of these people.

Article 10

The State of Guinea-Bissau feels closely bound to all persons fighting for national liberation in Africa and throughout the world. It considers it its duty to develop its relations with African States and to establish relations of legal equality with all States on the basis of the principles of international law.

CHAPTER II

Fundamental Rights, Freedoms and Duties

Article 11

In accordance with the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the revolutionary democratic objectives of this Constitution, the State shall guarantee fundamental rights, whose aim is personal development and the progress of society. The State shall create the political, economic and cultural conditions necessary to enable citizens effectively to enjoy their rights and fulfil their obligations.

/...

Article 12

Participation in the struggle for the complete liberation of the country and in the defence of its sovereignty shall be an honour and supreme obligation for every citizen.

Article 13

Citizens shall be equal before the law, without distinction as to ethnic group, sex, social origin, cultural level, profession, property, religious belief or philosophical conviction.

Article 14

The State considers that work and education are fundamental rights and duties of all citizens. In developing a national economy it shall gradually create the conditions necessary for their realization.

Article 15

All citizens shall have the right to participate in the life of the State and of society. In order to achieve the objectives of the Constitution the State shall guarantee the right to co-management, including the right of all citizens to make suggestions or submit complaints to all organs of the State. It shall be the duty of the organs of the State to take such suggestions and complaints into consideration.

Article 16

Men and women shall have equal rights within the family, at work and in public life.

Article 17

Freedom of opinion, assembly, association and demonstration shall be guaranteed under the conditions prescribed by law, together with freedom of worship.

Article 18

Every citizen shall be guaranteed freedom from detention, arrest or sentencing otherwise than by virtue of the law in force at the time of the commission of the act of which he is accused. The right to a defence is recognized and shall be guaranteed to persons charged or about to be charged with offences.

Article 19

The State shall recognize the right of citizens to the inviolability of the domicile and the secrecy of correspondence.

Article 20

Persons from the Cape Verde Archipelago shall have the same rights and duties as citizens of the State of Guinea-Bissau and shall be assimilated to the latter for all legal purposes.

Article 21

Collaboration with the enemy shall constitute the crime of treason and shall be punished by law.

Article 22

Persons whose acts or conduct are detrimental to the unity of the people of Guinea-Bissau or Cape Verde, or who promote colonialism, imperialism, racism or tribalism shall be denied the political rights and fundamental freedoms of citizens.

CHAPTER III

The Organization of State Power

Article 23

State power shall be exercised by organs of State elected and controlled by the people and constituted in accordance with its wishes to achieve the purposes of the Constitution. The representatives of the peoples shall be the supreme organs of the State.

Article 24

The organs representing the people of the State of Guinea-Bissau shall be the People's National Assembly and the Regional Councils. The powers of other organs of State shall emanate from these organs.

Article 25

The right to elect organs representative of the people shall be universal and equal and shall be exercised by direct and secret suffrage. All citizens over the age of 15 who satisfy the other conditions prescribed in the electoral laws shall enjoy this right.

Article 26

Until the area of State territory still under occupation by foreign aggressors has been liberated, election to the People's National Assembly may take place by indirect suffrage exercised through the representatives elected to the Regional Councils under the conditions prescribed by law.

/...

Article 27

The conditions governing eligibility for election to the People's National Assembly and the Regional Councils shall be established by law, which shall fix the number of their membership, the method of election and rules regarding incompatibility of functions. The Party shall be responsible for the selection of candidates. Any citizen who has reached the age of 18 on the day of the election may be elected.

The People's National Assembly

Article 28

The People's National Assembly shall be the supreme organ of State power. It shall adopt legislation and resolutions.

Article 29

The People's National Assembly shall consider and decide fundamental questions of internal and external State policy and shall supervise the implementation of the political, economic, social and cultural policies laid down by the Party.

Article 30

The People's National Assembly shall have the power to change or revoke measures emanating from other organs of State. It may establish committees of enquiry. The Council of Commissioners of State shall be answerable to the People's National Assembly.

Article 31

The People's National Assembly may delegate legislative powers to the Council of Commissioners of State. Such delegation shall take place for a limited time and in respect of specific matters. Legislative decrees adopted by the Council of Commissioners of State shall be subject to ratification by the People's National Assembly at its first regular session following their adoption.

Article 32

Every Deputy of the People's National Assembly shall represent the national interests. He shall be required to maintain close contact with his constituents and to render an account of his activities to them regularly.

On the proposal of the Party, the People's National Assembly may discharge a Deputy who is seriously remiss in the performance of his duties.

Article 33

Except in a case of <u>flagrante delicto</u>, or without the consent of the People's National Assembly, no Deputy may be prosecuted for a criminal or disciplinary offence, whether before the courts or otherwise. In no event may he be prosecuted, detained, arrested, tried or sentenced because of his opinions or votes cast by him in the exercise of his mandate as a Deputy.

Article 34

Deputies to the People's National Assembly shall take the following oath of office:

"I swear that I shall do my utmost to achieve the principal purposes of the Constitution, the complete destruction of the colonial régime, the unity of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Archipelago, and social progress."

Article 35

The People's National Assembly shall be elected for a period of three years and shall meet in regular session at least once per year. It may also meet in extraordinary session upon the proposal of the Council of State, the Council of Commissioners of State or of two thirds of its members. All matters related to its functioning shall be regulated by law.

The Council of State

Article 36

Between the sessions of the People's National Assembly, the Council of State shall exercise the functions assigned to it by the acts and resolutions of the Assembly itself. It shall be answerable to the People's National Assembly.

Article 37

The Council of State shall be composed of 15 members elected for a three-year term from among the Deputies by the People's National Assembly at its first legislative session.

Article 38

The Council of State shall elect its President, a Vice-President and a Secretary.

Article 39

The President of the Council of State shall represent the State in international relations. He shall be the Supreme Commander of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces, $(F_{\bullet}A_{\bullet}R_{\bullet}P)_{\bullet}$

Article 40

The functions of the Council of State shall be:

- 1. To defend the Constitution of the State;
- To organize popular referendums;
- 3. To ratify international treaties and conventions;
- 4. To declare war and make peace;
- 5. To determine the interpretation of constitutional and ordinary laws;
- 6. To set the date for the elections of deputies to the People's National Assembly;
- 7. To convene the People's National Assembly and to open and close its ordinary sessions;
- 8. To promulgate the laws and resolutions of the People's National Assembly;
- To appoint and remove from office the State Commissioners, on the proposal of its President;
- 10. To receive the credentials of foreign diplomatic agents;
- 11. To appoint and remove from office representatives of the State abroad;
- 12. To award State decorations;
- 13. To amnesty, pardon and commute sentences.

Article 41

In the performance of its functions, the Council of State shall adopt decisions having the force of law.

Article 42

It shall be the responsibility of the President of the Council of State to address messages to the People's National Assembly on the situation of the State and on important political matters.

Article 43

The President of the Council of State shall be entitled to preside over meetings of the Council of State Commissioners, to require its members to submit reports and to discuss with them all matters relating to their functions and powers.

The Council of State Commissioners

Article 44

The Council of State Commissioners shall be responsible to the People's National Assembly and, between its sessions, to the Council of State.

Article 45

The Council of State Commissioners shall be a collective body and its activity shall be regulated by the laws and resolutions of the People's National Assembly and the decisions of the Council of State.

Article 46

The Council of State Commissioners shall be empowered to draw up the political, economic, social and cultural programme of the State, and to provide for its defence and security. It shall direct, co-ordinate and supervise the activity of the various State Commissioner's Offices, the other Government services, the State regional committees and the public sector committees. It shall appoint and remove from office State officials.

Article 47

In the performance of its functions, the Council of State Commissioners shall promulgate decrees and issue orders, within the limits established by law.

Article 48

On entering upon their duties, the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners shall take the oath mentioned in article 34.

The Regional Councils

Article 49

The Regional Council shall be the representative organ of the State, composed of representatives elected in the sectors of the region concerned.

Article 50

The functions of the Regional Councils shall be:

- 1. To improve the civic and political awareness of the citizens;
- 2. To ensure respect for public order;
- To protect the rights of the citizens;
- 4. To effect constant improvement in the living and working conditions of the citizens;
- 5. To promote, develop and supervise the political, economic, social and cultural activity of the citizens and of their collective associations;
- 6. To promote the strengthening of the defence capacity and security of the country;
- 7. To develop local resources with a view to the economic development of their constituencies and in order to satisfy to an increasing extent the needs of the population with regard to goods and services;
- 8. To establish, direct and develop educational, cultural, health and sports institutions and other public services;
- 9. To appoint the necessary bodies for the administration of their constituencies.

Article 51

In the performance of their functions and within the limits established by law, the Regional Councils shall adopt resolutions.

The resolutions of the Regional Councils shall be binding on all institutions, collective associations and citizens of the respective regions. They may be revoked by the Council of State.

Article 52

For the implementation of its resolutions, the Regional Council shall elect a State regional committee and public sector committees, the composition, powers and functions of which shall be established by law.

These local executing agencies shall implement not only the resolutions of the Regional Councils but also the decisions taken by the organs of the central administration.

Article 53

The People's National Assembly may dissolve a Regional Council and call for elections.

The Judiciary

Article 54

Justice shall be administered on behalf of the people of Guinea-Bissau under the conditions and in the manner established by the law, which shall also establish the organization of the courts.

Article 55

The system of justice shall serve the fundamental objectives of the Constitution.

Article 56

In the performance of his functions, a judge shall obey only the law and his conscience. Only those persons who have proved that they will carry out their functions in faithful observance of the principles and purposes of this Constitution may be judges. The right to a defence is recognized and guaranteed to persons charged and about to be charged.

Revision of the Constitution

Article 57

This Constitution may be revised only by the People's National Assembly, on the initiative of the Council of State or one third of the deputies.

Article 58

Any amendment to the Constitution must be approved by a two-thirds majority of deputies. The People's National Assembly may decide on the submission of draft constitutional amendments to a popular referendum.

ANNEX III

PAIGC

Communiqué

The People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau, meeting on 23 and 24 September 1973,

Has heard the inaugural address by the General Secretary of the Party, the main points of which are as follows:

The beginning of a new phase of our struggle, with greater responsibility for every child of our people;

The absence of AMILCAR CABRAL, chief architect of all our achievements and victories in the past, who conceived the idea of this meeting, which is of such transcendent importance in the life of our people, and personally made the preparations for it;

The prospect of further and greater victories for the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands;

The situation of our people under colonial domination - exploitation, famine, taxes, absence of all rights;

The successes gained by the Party during the years of struggle (in the armed struggle, politics and national reconstruction);

The reasons which led the enemy in desperation to commit the criminal murder of AMILCAR CABRAL;

The external support given to our people and our Party by a number of countries and international organizations;

The recognition of the legitimacy of our struggle by international organizations, including the United Nations, which acknowledge our Party as the sole representative of our people in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands;

Analysis of the policy of the Portuguese colonialists;

The successes gained in 1973, particularly the Second Congress of our Party;

The unity of our people and our Party, in Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, a decisive factor in the achievement and continuance of our victories;

Has elected its Bureau and a Council of State, with the following membership:

1. Bureau of the People's National Assembly (9 members)

President

JOAO BERNARDO VIEIRA (Nino)

First Vice-President

PAULO CORREIA

Second Vice-President

CARMEN PEREIRA

First Secretary

PASCOAL ALVES

Second Secretary

JUVENCIO GOMES

Advisers

MUSNA SAMBU

IRENIO LOPES

QUEBA SANE

SORI DJALLO

2. Council of State (15 members)

Chairman

LUIZ CABRAL

Vice-Chairman

UMARU DJALLO

Secretary

LUCIO SOARES

Members:

PASCOAL ALVES

PAULO CORREIA

OTTO SCHACHT

FODE MAI TURE

CARMEN PEREIRA

CHICA VAZ

CONSTANTINO TEIXEIRA

LAMINE CISSE

LOURENÇO GOMES

VAGNA TCHUDA

BAKAR CASSAMA

FODE NA NOI;

Has approved the following membership for the Council of State Commissioners:

3. Council of State Commissioners (8 members)

Chief Commissioner

FRANCISCO MENDES (Chico Té)

Commissioner for the

Armed Forces

JOAO BERNARDO VIEIRA (Nino)

Deputy Commissioner for

the Armed Forces

PEDRO PIRES

Commissioner for Economy

and Finance

Dr. VASCO CABRAL, economist

Commissioner for the

General State Secretariat

JOSE ARAUJO, attorney

Commissioner for Foreign

Affairs

VITOR SAUDE MARIA

Commissioner for the

Interior

BARI ABDULAI

Commissioner for Justice

and Population

FIDELIS ALMADA, attorney

Sub-Commissariats: (a) Commissariat for Economy and Finance

Development of Natural

Resources

JULIO SEMEDO, mining engineer

Economic and Financial

Supervision

MARIO CABRAL, agronomical engineer

Agriculture and

Stock-raising

SAMBA LAMINE MANE, agronomical engineer

Statistics and Planning

Dr. LUIS SANCA, economist

Commerce

ARMANDO RAMOS

(b) Central Commissariat

Education and Cultural

Affairs

MANUEL SATURNINO

Health

JOAO DA COSTA

Youth and Sports

ADELINO NUNES CORREIA, mechanical engineer

Communiqués giving other details relating to the meeting of the People's National Assembly will be issued later.

Aristides PEREIRA General Secretary

Done on 28 September 1973