

**T.C.
ERCIYES ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ ANABİLİM DALI**

**AMILCAR CABRAL’S POLITICAL IDEAS AND
THEIR INFLUENCE ON CAPE VERDEAN
INDEPENDENCE**

**Hazırlayan
Leondina SOARES**

**Danışman
Yrd. Doç. Dr. M. İnanç ÖZEKMEKÇİ**

Master Thesis

**May 2016
KAYSERİ**

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COMPLIANCE WITH SCIENTIFIC ETHICS

I hereby certify that this project is appropriately academic and followed the ethical rules. The analysis, ideas, results, conclusions in this work are my own effort, except those recognized as secondary data, which were fully transferred and given reference. At the same time, I hereby certify the originality of the work, which has not been previously submitted for any other academic award, excluding others with same titles recognized already.

Leondina Soares



YÖNERGEYE UYGUNLUK ONAYI

“Amilcar Cabral’s Political Ideas and their Influence on Cape Verdean Independence ” adlı Yüksek Lisans tezi, Erciyes Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Tez Önerisi ve Tez Yazma Yönergesi’ne uygun olarak hazırlanmıştır.

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..... / /

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**AMILCAR CABRAL'S POLITICAL IDEAS AND
THEIR INFLUENCE ON CAPE VERDEAN INDEPENDENCE**

Leondina SOARES

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ABSTRACT

When Cape Verde was been mistreated by the Portuguese administration during and after the colonization, some intellectual natives stood up against it. The manifestations were through poetry, articles and the last case, through military struggle support.

This work in particular presents the ideas, strategies and characteristics of a man that gave his life not only for Cape Verde freedom, but also for African countries union, the Revolutionary Amilcar Cabral. With his death his comrades realized his Project (s). Some close to what he thought of doing, others lost their ways, trying to fulfill a naive, selfish and ambitious, dazzled with the individual achievement rather than collective happiness. Amilcar Cabral's life and death remain a mystery to the researchers.

Relying in the methodology of mixed – method research of Creswell, the work present the idea of Cabral used throughout these years to maintain the freedom of the country.

Keywords: Colonization, Imperialism, Amilcar Cabral Political Thoughts, New State

“Amilcar Cabral bu morri sedu”

(Alberto Rui Machado)

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	: Associação Desportiva do Liceu de Cabo Verde
AIDS	: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARE	: Agencia de Regulação Economica
AUCC	: African Union created the Convention on Cyber-Security
AUO	: African Union Organization
BBC	: British Broadcasting Corporation
BCV	: Banco de Cabo Verde
CADA	: Companhia Agricola de Angola
CAR	: Central Africa Republic
CEI	: Casa dos Estudantes do Imperio
CEL	: Comité Executivo de Luta
CFA	: Communauté Financière Africaine
Conapemac	: Marine Fisheries National Cooperation of the Republic of China
CPCEL	: Comissão Permanente do Comité de Executivo de Luta
CSL	: Conselho Superior de Luta
DC	: Developed Countries
DENARP	: Documento de Estrategia Nacional para a Redução da Pobreza
ECOWAS	: Economic Community Of West African States
EEZ	: Exclusive Economic Zone
EU	: European Union
FARP	: Forças Armadas Revolucionarias do Povo
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
FLING	: Frente de Luta pela Independência Nacional da Guiné
FR	: Formal reality
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GDP /PPP	: Gross Domestic Product / Purchasing Power Parity

GII	: Gender Inequality Index
HDI	: Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	: Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IHDI	: Inequality Human Development Index
IMF	: International Monetary Funds
INE	: Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas
IPCC	: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
ISA	: Instituto Superior de Agronomia
ISCJS	: Instituto Superior de Ciências Jurídicas e Sociais
IUC / CUF	: Companhia União Fabril
JMPGB	: Junta Militar Patriotas de Guinea –Bissau
LDC	: Less Developed Countries
LOPE	: Organização Política do Estado
MAC	: Movimento Anti Colonialista
MDCs	: Middle Developed Countries
MDG	: Millennium Development Goals
MLG	: Movimento da Libertação da Guinea
MLICV	: Movimento de Libertação das Ilhas de Cabo Verde
MLNCP	: Movimento de Libertação Nacional das Colonias
MPD	: Movimento Para Democracia
MPI	: Multidimensional Poverty Index
MUD	: Movimento de Unidade Democrática
MUNAF	: Movimento de Unidade Nacional Antifascista
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	: Non-governmental Organization
NPAP	: Poverty Alleviation Plan

OR	: Objective reality
PAI	: Partido Africano da Independência
PAIGC	: Partido Africano de Independência de Guine e Cabo Verde
PALOP	: Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa
PCI	: Per Capita Income
PCP	: Partido Comunista Português
PIDE	: Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado
PLUAA	: Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola
PNLP	: National Poverty Reduction Program the National
PRPF	: Poverty Reduction and Poverty Facility
PRS	: Partido da Reforma Nacional
PUSD	: Partido Unido Social-Democrata
RCNEI	: Refrencial Curricular Nacional para a Educação Infantil
SIS	: Small Island States
UDC	: União Democrática de Cabo Verde
UK	: United of Kingdom
UN	: United Nations
UNICEF	: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPICV	: União dos Povos das Ilhas de Cabo Verde
USA	: United States of America
WAEMU	: West African Economic and Monetary Union
WWII	: Second World War

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INTRODUCTION

Colonialism, imperialism, poverty and foreign aid are the major factors that contributed to the retrogression of Africa from the beginning of history. After the abolition of slavery and the division of the world between the superpowers of that time, the domination system in the Continent upgraded, aimed to keep the occupation and extraction of natural resources, the aid, the education and “scientific and technologic development” replaced the strong unpleasant names cited in the first line of today’s globalization, meaning the equality between people or nations, including the development of the Third World countries. Unfortunately, some did not forget the Centuries of darkness, unintentionally they are still or started again “colonizing” the Less Developed Countries (LDCs), some call it “neo-colonization”. Thus, Africa is the main chain of economic development of the Western countries, in the process of neo-colonization or globalization, its natural resources are wrest from the Continent, transformed into products and sold back to the Continent.

Contrary to Centuries ago, now the governments have the power of decision – making, but still the evaluations are bringing huge troubles to the economy and social development of these countries. Shortly before we were “uncivilized”, unschooled and so on, now the Continent is considered civilized, it has diplomas but cannot manage its own resources, monopoly continues to be alive in the Continent. With the economic life of the Continent held, they are “monopolizing” the population’s mind and skills, the high schooled certificates have special seats by their side on their laws department, business strategies and consequently their own wealth (not for the Continent even with diploma) saved for their generations to come.

The process of neo-colonizing or globalization developed an infinite dependency from the African countries to their former colonizers. The supremacy of that time was almost impossible to struggle against or win due to deplorable dependence situation that the Continent was in, same is happening now, not with hostility but emphasized in international laws and human rights. In this Era, will it be defended and protected by modern intellectuals or by those same international laws that are designed to protect the countries?

In this context, this work presents the thoughts, the strategies and the good will that one of the combatants of that time tried and succeeded to free his people from the empire established in Guinea – Bissau and Cape Verde. Amilcar Cabral manipulated and got the best of his people to destroy the empire and intended to bring equity to Africa in general.

After the assassination of the Revolutionary, his pupils are the ones to consummate the elimination of the domination in their countries, through independence, which started to be achieved right after his death. Now, what was done with the freedom designed and achieved with Cabral's ideas? How are these countries after the independence and consequently, strictly inside of globalization? Are his ideas still being used to confront the new world order?

The mainstream objective of this work is to track the traces of Cabral's ideas, strategies or any other characteristics of his political thoughts inside of the decisions making taking place in Cape Verde in this Era that globalization reigns, to improve the freedom conquered.

With the changes observed after the independence, the so – called development, there are two hypotheses created in the thesis, according to the data found. Rather this development is a charade or Cape Verdean stakeholders forgot the purpose of Cabral when he fought for the independence, when unconsidering his thoughts while the decision – making are made. To clarify these hypotheses, the work will present the Cabralist ideas and strategies that helped to achieve the independence. Hypothetically, the country is ruled under an old party but with young thinkers and the principles of the party were changed to respond the modern struggles. The final hypothesis encompassed

in this thesis, it is concluded that focusing on the development of the country, to cope with the globalization demands, Cabral's main idea used in today's decision-making in Cape Verde, is the concept of self – sufficiency, but adapted to the realities that the country has today. This is the first work narrating Cabo Verde history and its development from the colonization period, throughout independence to the globalization, that's where the importance of this thesis lay. As Cape Verde and Guiné – Bissau was connected in many ways, as explained in this thesis, it would be impossible to discuss the independence without including both countries.

The first chapter presents the countries separately but in the same context. Cape Verde's discovering contributed to the Portuguese glory and economic strength through slavery commerce. The country presented vestiges of former visitors but lacked the capability of proving it. Portuguese claimed to be the discoverers of the archipelago. Guinea-Bissau was already a formed country which was destroyed by imposing the European culture, they had narrow influence in its culture but great economic profits from them. So the country was reshaped with slavery force and imperialists' administration.

The second chapter of the work discusses Amílcar Cabral political thoughts that freed his people from the supremacy of the imperialists, his revolutionary developments took the two countries to independence. Before that, the road traveled was Machiavellian, full of tests in which the philosopher had to be strong and focused to achieve his objectives. The background that he raised in helped him plan and execute some of his ideas and relish some of them, as the transformation in Bissau's agricultural emancipation. By the time he was supposed to be completely a successful man, politician and revolutionary, his life was taken and the future of the country left in his comrades' hands.

The third chapter dissects the situation of the countries after his physical absence, the disciples took the countries to independence and a new Era for both countries started. Integrated now in a new world, Cape Verde and Bissau waged a struggle against the Salazar regime, combined with the Revolution of 24 of Abril and took their country into their hands. Bissau became free in 1973 and Cape Verde two years later. The countries separated from each other and searched for their own ways of development. Bissau

opted for military support and Cape Verde from the first instant turned to a more open regime based on mono party. The ties with the former colony were kept but the relations between Cape Verde and Bissau, broke to never be bonded, when Nino Vieira applies coupe d'état against Luis Cabral, Amilcar Cabral's brother.

The fourth chapter brings the countries to the modernity. The globalization is the new world order and both countries try to cope with the new challenges, while Cape Verde searches for a better development through political stability, which impacts positively in all the other fields, especially the international politics, Bissau continued with the military regime creating instability and growing backward in all pillars that are based on to develop a nation. Also, the ethnicity favoritism instead of impartiality that blocks the growth of any other sector in the territory and they tarnished the country's international image.

The fifth chapter analyzes the "success story" of Cape Verde, regarding the ideas of the revolutionary inside of the Cape Verdean policies to develop the country and keep been a model to the African countries. Some principles or even advice are left out of their agenda. The unity, the reality of the own country, the real democracy which defends the true participation of the population in its political life. The ideas of Cabral drop to the ground when the characteristics of the culture in Cape Verde missed its specialty through tourism by decorating the country with imperialists taste. The young population is entirely free, they have the right to choose their identity, been a Cape Verdean is up to the person.

In the cause of this research, during the collection of data, the analysis, and writing I understood that choosing only one approach as a method to concretize all work would decline or exclude completely other approaches that could complement or indicate new results. In this case, I opted for mixed – methods research, which in our days is used especially in social and human science. According to Creswell (2003), the method is been used since 1959 whenever Campbell and Fiske utilized various strategies to study legitimacy of mental attributes, soon the qualitative and quantitative data mix spread to other areas of research. Here the approach gives doors to another conclusion, giving the researchers opportunities for more and deeper answers of the subject to be studied. The

strategy used is the sequential explanatory design, concurrent triangulation design and concurrent nested design. The sequential explanatory design approaches is based on accumulation of qualitative and quantitative data at the same time but analysed separately where the quantitative data are used to complement the qualitative data. The concurrent triangulation design differs from the previous one due to the time of the analysis of data, which happened in this work during the writing. The in the last approach, the data are collected simultaneously and analysed together during the analysis phase. In this work the instrument piloted, in which the arguments are supported on, are based on open or closed interviews, readings of books and essays, reports and other relevant data to the work.

As for limitations, the data collected are secondary especially reports and graphics, which sometimes presented some paradoxical readings, as discussed in this thesis. The interviews were limited due to the absence of some interviewers in the country. Some questionnaires sent, afterwards were never replied.

CHAPTER I

CABO VERDE AND GUINE BISSAU DURING SLAVERY (XV–XVII)

1.1. CABO VERDE SITUATION IN XV AND XVIII CENTURY



Fig. 1. Old map of Cabo Verde - Source: Amsterdam, Janssonius Jason in 1655 (www.bergbook.com/htdocs/Cache553.htm)

1.1.1. The road to Africa and the discovery of Cabo Verde

Portugal, a Western European country, in the XIV Century (precisely from 1380 to 1385), caught international attention with its conquests under King John I and of its ally England. The treaties were ratified in ways to keep the peace and development of the countries involved. Under his reign the agriculture and commerce were encouraged, and it resulted in securing nobreza's (nobility) loyalty and independence. In the next Century

(XV), Portugal started its explorations overseas, its first and most important victory was the conquest of Ceuta, Morocco city. This accomplishment arose curiosity to explore the Continent. In this later mission, the princes Edward, Peter and Henry were sent and seconded. In 1433, King John I died and Edward took the throne¹.

King Edward grants his brother Henry (Infante Dom Henrique 1391 – 1460)², already with discoveries footprints³, five per cent of all the discoveries profit, together with a letter allowing him to explore beyond Cabo Bojador, Western Africa. This letter enabled Henry to take the first steps that boosted Portuguese economy throughout exploration and trade of Western Africa and the Atlantic Ocean. The first to be explored was the Cabo Branco obtaining gold in dust and slaves in 1441 and four years later Cabo Verde was discovered, according to Eugenio Tavares⁴.

The discovery of Cabo Verde has many and different data as well as point of views. The discovery (when? How?) and their founders (whom?) still causing confusion until today due to groundless statements, pride, honor and ambitions of the travelers of that time. Simão Barros's work⁵ was a complete datum that I found to analyse better this enigma. According to him, XV Century (precisely in 1460) was adopted as the official date of the discovery islands. Luis Cadamosto was the first to claim the title of discoverer of Santiago Island on May 1st of 1446, later through geographical and means of travel of that time, it was proved that he was never in the island or the archipelago. Lopes de Lima showed that the date solicited by Cadamosto, the characteristics of the island, directions from and to the archipelago were wrong, his discovery was declared false.

Antonio da Noli is mentioned as the discoverer of Saint Christopher Island (today's Boavista) in May 3rd of 1460. Confusingly, in 1868, the book "Prince Henry, the Navigator", indicates Diogo Gomes as the discoverer. Barros said that Antonio da Noli announced the discoverer of Santiago Island by him and his nephews, without mentioning Diogo Gomes. Trusting his words, King Edward honored him as the only discoverer of the island. The "discoverer" cited the islands found, and was sorted by the

¹ Wikipedia, accessed on April 2015.

² Known as Henry the navigator or Henry the great.

³ Madeira and Açores.

⁴ A descoberta de Cabo Verde, in Cabo Verde é vida - <http://caboverdevida.blogspot.com.tr/> .

⁵ Barros Simão – Cadernos coloniais - origens das colônias de Cabo Verde.

first to be found and their dates of discovery as following: the Sotavento group (leeward) were the first islands discovered, it is composed by Santiago, Maio and Fogo on May 1st of 1460. The Barlavento group (windward): only Boavista on May 3rd of 1460, other islands discovery dates are not known but in 1462 all of them were already known, according to the author.

Inside of the discoverers enigma (whom?), the question of who were the first people to step on the islands is raised. Some writers defend that the Santiago island was firstly occupied by the Jalofof (Wlofof or Oulofes), but R. Carita⁶ discarded this hypothesis, by stating that it was impossible to live in the archipelago due to forestall field, which did not present any sustenance (food of any kind), also there was absence of data stating the occupation of the archipelago before the Portuguese discoverers. Barros says that Santiago and Fogo presented some “shelter ruins, caves, and terraces built in the mountains”, that São Nicolau and Santo Antão “presented rock paintings and inscriptions”, later the studies concluded that they were Mauritanian berberis traces.



Figure 1. Pedra Letreiro in Santo Antão (Published on 9th November 2013 by Eurídice Monteiro at <http://folha-de-rascunhos.blogspot.com.tr/2013/11/a-pedra-do-letreiro.html>)

With these pieces of evidence, Feijo, as cited by Maria Guedes⁷, is the author that raised this issue, but his statements were not taken into consideration, the Portuguese

⁶ R. Carita – Descobrimento e povoamento de Cabo Verde, pg 1 – 3.

⁷ Maria Estela Guedes – João da Silva Feijo, viagem filosófica a Cabo Verde, pg.8.

and their supporters did not give up on the idea that they were the first to step on those islands. Until today, Cape Verdeans historians, civilians, journalists, and foreigners alike, still discussing the matter, bringing up new speculations, considered vain to scientific researchers. Further Guedes stated that, the speculations were around runic characteristics (now considered ancient Germans and Scandinavians), Pierre Surgical, the Cape Verdean history teacher, saw it as a natural phenomenon, José Manuel Ramos defends the same theory. Arnaldo França identified the inscription as Hesperides (Atlantean) heritage, assuming that the islands were part of it. The civilians explained it that it had “demon’s actions”. Unfortunately, to the Rotcha Scribida (São Nicolau inscription) is not possible to discuss or search about its origin, with the time they disappeared. Although, Baltasar Lopes, a natural son of São Nicolau and one of our outstanding writer, wrote that they were pirates writings.

The shreds of evidence point that the Portuguese weren’t the first to step on those lands, someone or group were there, even if considered as a short stay, the truth is that their marks are too strong to be ignored. Besides, if the Portuguese were capable of capturing human beings, why wouldn’t they sacrifice some people for their economic interest or even honour? Taking this into consideration, I believe that the small community or individual died way before the Portuguese found the archipelago, but no traces of bodies or bones were cited by researchers. Another hypothesis was to enter in the sea and being taken by the waves, but all of them? Moreover, the inscriptions (at least the Pedra Letreiro), could not be Mauritian Berber due to the crux that is visible on the picture, the Berber had Islamic religion, the inscriptions are not even close to Arabic language or writings. This eliminates the statement that they (Portuguese) to be the first ones in the archipelague.

In sum, even the most naive hypothesis that I could present, would not explain the missing part of this puzzle, only Antonio da Noli and Diogo Gomes were able to answer but they preferred to take it to their graves.

1.1.2. The occupation of the land

As mentioned before, the archipelago was just a mantled cape, apparently with no sign of life, without plants that would sustain human nutrition. As soon as Dom Henrique

was aware of the discoveries he offered them to those who were responsible for their findings.

Carita and many other authors appoint 1462 as the first date of occupation of the island of Santiago. However, Barros defend that it was in 1461 that Henry the Navigator sent Da Noli as a “capitão – donatario” (donatary – captain), to occupy the Santiago (the South) island, accompanied by some servants and a couple from Algarve, these were officially considered the firsts to populate the archipelago. Diogo Afonso’s discovery was given to his nephew, the North side of the island, that was known as Alcatrazes⁸. The donatary – captain system was consisted on territorial and administrative division based specially on hereditary lordship to develop the countries, its was successfull in Madeira and Açores islands.

Half a decade later, the adventure started becoming a nightmare for the population. The drought condemned them to starvation, once the soil was not appropriated for agricultural cultivations as in Portugal. The solution was slavery, the Africans were captured in Africa and turned into slaves. They were considered pieces, not people and used as merchandise, they were used specially as workforce in the agriculture. In 1466 D. Afonso liberated the adventure into the African Coast sea, except Arguim⁹, this attitude aroused ambition of the settlers and Santiago quickly passed from hell to island of heaven.

The second island to be populated was Fogo, which turned to be Portuguese land dreams. They could cultivate vineyard and other Portuguese dietary. The others were populated later but no official or certain dates.

1.1.3. Economic development

The trade of slaves brought agriculture advancement and its diversification, the demande of manforce resulted in population growth and economic development. With these achievements Santiago (South) becomes the mandatory stop of navigators. The

⁸ Fernando Reis Pires - Da Cidade da Ribeira Grande à Cidade Velha em Cabo Verde Análise Histórico-Formal do Espaço Urbano Séc. XV – Séc. XVIII, pg.18.

⁹ An island in Mauritania that was where the Portuguese used to have Access to vassals that travels to Sahara.

port was used to reload sustenance and exchange products to be sold abroad. The Portuguese introduced some feeding plants in the archipelago as sugar cane and fruit plants. The other plant that improved the economy was the cotton (considered the heaviest work performed by the slaves at that time). Trade became the main economic activity in Santiago, where Ribeira Grande (Cidade Velha) main cooperators were from Guinea-Bissau and then Brazil would be supplied with the most variable products as animals skin and their derivatives, plants, seeds, slaves, gold (from other African countries) and so on.

Unluckily to other islands that hardly produced food for their substance (Maio, Boavista) their main economic activity was animal husbandry, which was sent to the Captain in Santiago to be traded.

1.1.4. The first attempt to form a society

The characteristics that define a society is beyond the occupation of same space and common customs, but the relationship between human being that results in a group, which is given the name of society. Various were the authors that discussed the matter, but this work, Aristoteles's meaning of society will be overviewed, once its closer to the definition of the construction of the society by the Portuguese in Cabo Verde.

Thus, Aristoteles assumed that "*man is a social animal*", for him man would interact with one another in ways to overcome the necessities, in his particular life or in the environment where he was inserted. Hence his definition of society directs him to assume that "*man is a political animal*", due to the fulfilment in the society, that takes him to build a social structure, in this structure he sees state as the final stage of the society. With his capability of speech, the next step is to create the law, an hierarchy inside the state, where the rules start from inside the house to be extended to the whole society, the relationship between parents and children, husband and wife as well as the master and the slave. For respecting the law, which means the hierarchy, the

relationship between these three parts (law – hierarchy – state), the society would be stable, just and profitable, particularly for the slave and his master¹⁰.

Society does not create itself, is the relationship between the components of it (people and its surroundings) that creates and constructs a society, also it might massify, throughout the gathering of an existed society with another, as wrote Lincoln¹¹. In this particular case, in Cabo Verde it happens with the letter¹² that gave the colonizers the rights to explore the African Coast. The trade of slaves increased the population and a society was created.

The society of the archipelago was mixed with whites and blacks from the four corners of the world, through the administrative strategies of Portugal, that forced the relationship between the various merchants, settlers and the slaves. The society had two distinctive classes at the beginning of the occupation, which later will give space to a new nation, calling themselves Cabo Verdianos (discussed further). Between XV and XVI, according to Iva Cabral¹³, the society was divided into:

- a) The **realm elites** (Europeans) – composed by nobles, cosmopolitan, landowning, stockman, the taskmasters, ombudsman and the missionaries. Also, the Genovians and mechanics were found in this group.
- b) And **the slaves** (Africans brought from Africa) – the black people brought from the African Coast, from various ethnicities as Manjacos, Balantas, Papel, Banhus, Buramos, Cassangas, Jabundos, Felupes and Ariantas.

1.1.5. Administration of the islands

The first administration type was the feudal system, which traded slaves to work the land and also the products. According to Cohen, the reign was creating strategies to

¹⁰Charles A. Ellwood - Aristoteles as a sociologist. Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Volume 19 (1902)

¹¹ Bruce Lincoln – Discourse and the construction of society - Comparative study of myth, ritual and classification, pg.11.

¹²The “Tratado de Tordesillas” between Portugal and Castelas in 7th of June of 1494.

¹³ As elites da Ribeira Grande (séculos XVI-XVIII) - (Inquirições de um doutoramento) by Iva Cabral, pg.4.

administrate the new country¹⁴ and extract whatever was left, once its new resource of richness was changed to Brazil¹⁵. The followings are the administrative types found by the colonizer to develop the land:

- **Almoxarife (stockman)** – the ones that were responsible to “control the traffic of the products in the transaction to Guinea and collection of bills”. These stockmen were accompanied by the register. These officials became wealthier, this community increased with it the increment of corruption.
- **Contador (accountant)** – These ones were an independent body with judicial responsibilities, which the stockman report to annually. The accountant starts to accumulate duties becoming counter – inspector and overseer.
- **Alfandega (Customhouse)** – replacing donatary systems, in this new position officials with longer periods of duties were given more privileges.

These administrations methods operated until the end of 1400's, at the very beginning of 1500 the “**arrendamento**” (land rent) was adopted. It was based on the rent of lands to those who could afford and explore it. At the same period the kingdom of Portugal creates the real jurisdiction, owing to the traders involvement in illicit trade to “Rios de Guinea” (Guinean River), transpassing the boundaries of the 1466 letter, going to Arguim. With this administration type the “ouvidor” (listener) was created first in Fogo that also took care of the cotton business. They were of a remarkable addition to the donee – capitan, without them the done - captain responsibilities were impossible to perform. The listeners also reported to the administrator of the lands, the reports were not satisfactory to the crown so they created the “corregedoria” (internal affairs). The corregedoria was composed by **writers** (their responsibilities were to draw, elaborate and write the letters,), the **chancellery** (register the judgments and write the records and certificates) and the **inspector**. Also, there were “**carceiro**” (turnkey) to inquire (to question the witnesses) and the **distributors** (to distribute the scripture or the wage to

¹⁴ Os filhos do vento (Cabo Verde seculos XV – XVIII) , by Zelina Cohen, pg 69 - 104.

¹⁵ As elites da Ribeira Grande (séculos XVI-XVIII) - (Inquietações de um doutoramento) by Iva Cabral, pg.6.

notaries in ways to prevent conflict of interest between them). This time is the population that is displeased with their presence and administration types.

Even with the new administration types the kingdom's economy was retroceding. The situation aggravated when the internal affair officials feared the population ruthlessness and they became easy on the collection of taxes. To solve the problem, the **notary** were created, they were suppose to be literated and be aware of the law in force. Another institution that was created was the “**orgão de curadoria**” (curatorships) which administered the heritage of the dead and absents, tutoring the orphans and their belongings, and to repatriate the bannerman prisoners from the war with muslims. The complaints about bad management of these “goods” get to the crown's knowledge and the **treasurer**, not only in Cabo Verde but in Brazil and São Tome and Principe as well. End of the XVI Century, the orphans **courts** were created to manage the orphans belongings, those were kept in a “special safe”, that they would have possession after completing thirty years of age.

An exclusive official was selected, the one who is going to be responsible for the creation of religious institutions. Another official was sent from Portugal, the **Embargador** (Chief of Judge), he accumulates the same responsibilities of the inspector, but travels to the Guinea River and reported directly to the crown. They were the governors and captains, they practice for three years after that they would be assigned to military and civilian management, focusing in the justice of the island. As well as being literate, the officials should be white and Christians, first they are submitted to the Evangelical oath, which was a passage from normal civilian to a royal official. The ones with other religion would never accepted to the position, shortly, the archipelago people had no choice upon religion¹⁶.

1.1.6. The “mestiço”(mestizo)

By the XVII Century, the Portuguese interest in Cabo Verde starts to decline. The population is left on their own. That's when the “Cabo Verdiano” (Cape Verdean)

¹⁶ Some slaves were evangelized in the vassals before getting to land.

expression is mentioned. A different group, with different culture and experience. The majority of the population is brown colored, light, dark or black skinned, majority is called mestizo. The term “*mestizo*” is referred to mixture of two different groups of people, where one is white colored and the other is darker or black colored. Wrote Professor Fobes¹⁷ that, it’s the result of the European imperialism, meaning, the mixture between Europeans and people with other “racial backgrounds”. Which perfectly suits Cabo Verde and Portugal. In his article he stressed many approaches to describe a mestizo, where three of the descriptions are suitable to recognize the miscegenation in Cabo Verde:

First: “as a kind permanent ethnic or caste categorization - a person, or a group, who is not only of mixed background but whose ethnic nature, or social status, is also mixed;

Second: as a strictly biological concept - referring only to mixture through sexual reproduction;

Third: as a cultural concept - referring to a mixture of customs, ways of behaving, and so on”.

The “*mestiço*” (mulatto; mestizo) in Cabo Verde was already formed by the fifties of XVII, wrote Iva Cabral¹⁸. João Filho highlighted¹⁹ two ethnic groups for the formation of the mestizo in Cabo Verde: “the white European and the Black slave from Coast of Guinea”. The absence of white women in the archipelago during the occupation of the land made the Portuguese and other Europeans (the Genovians that accompanied Antonio da Noli) satisfy their sexual necessities with the black women (forced or not). There were no more than four white women according to Barros (and some prostitutes that was not count as women, they were referred as pieces that time) that were married to the settlers or their relatives. Filho saw the birth by the slave mothers as an opportunity to achieve the freedom or expectation of being part of the nobreza²⁰. However, from this mixture the Caboverdiano was born, they were not Europeans nor

¹⁷ Jack D. Forbes - The Mestizo Concept: A Product of European Imperialism, pg.1.

¹⁸ As elites da Ribeira Grande (séculos XVI-XVIII) - (Inquietações de um doutoramento) by Iva Cabral, pg.7.

¹⁹ João Lopes Filho – Mestiçagem, emigração e mudança em Cabo Verde, pg.130.

²⁰ Idem.

pure Africans, they were “naturais da terra” (naturals from land) or “gente da ilha” (people of the island) and some called them “**brancos da terra**” (whites of the land), they were unique. These “whites of the land” were given a chance to work in their land (I mean their country). On the years before, more than a thousand of white men perished because of a plague, the archipelago needed man force and the Portuguese refused to work or live there, the country lost its magic when Brazil started to present better living conditions. Unfortunately very few were free Christians men. Besides, with the noble men (chief of judge, inspectors and other high positions) been heritage, the “whites of the land” would never occupy them, they would be reduced to “customhouse guards, auditorium prosecutors, prison guards, gatekeepers” or other low position. Another criterium of selection was the friendship or connections with the important people, those with high status in the society. In this Era some slaves started to scape and hide themselves in mountains of difficult access and be free on their own. They were considered political enemies, then baptized with the name of “**vadios**” (vandals). In Maria João words, they became the symbol of the cradle of the creoles²¹. Here the Cabo Verdiano is born (also refered to as kriolo), with its identity, language (kriolo) and wants to administrate his own country. The education was in Portuguese, which was forced throught the creation of the Seminar – Hight School, with the purpose of orienting the students to the religious life and forthcoming officers of Portugal²². The African background wasn’t easy to be deleted from their memories, Creol stood as the principal language of communication in the territory, the culture became mixed, European and African customs was identified very early in the daily life of the Cabo Verdiano.

The XVIII Century is marked by droughts and pirates attacks, with these events Ribeira Grande loses its status of Capital to Praia Santa Maria (known as Praia, the capital). Cidade Velha²³ gained reputation at the end of the Century again, because of whaling fishry. This activity improved the economy of the old city and the archipelago.

²¹ “Crioulos Indómitos” e Vadios: Identidade e Crioulização em Cabo Verde – Séculos XVII-XVIII, by Maria João Soares.

²² João Lopes Filho – Mestiçagem, emigração e mudança em Cabo Verde, pg.132.

²³ The name that Ribeira Grande received after losing its privileges as city of the country.

By that time, the Portuguese economy was menaced by the abolition of slavery, which started in England in 1807. To moderate the situation, the crown started the process by signing the Equatorial Guinea's abolition in 1815. In 1836 a “formal abolition” was signed for Cabo Verde, accomplished in 1842 and the slaves freed in 1869. There were various abolition signments, one of them (1853) stated that from that year after twenty years the total abolition was supposed to be achieved (meaning 1888 it would have an end). However, this was anticipated to 1869, obligating the slaves to work for their masters until 1879. After which they would be free, some of them were paid for their services, some did not have the same luck and stayed in the same slavery situation.

1.2. Guinea – Bissau in XV and XVIII Century

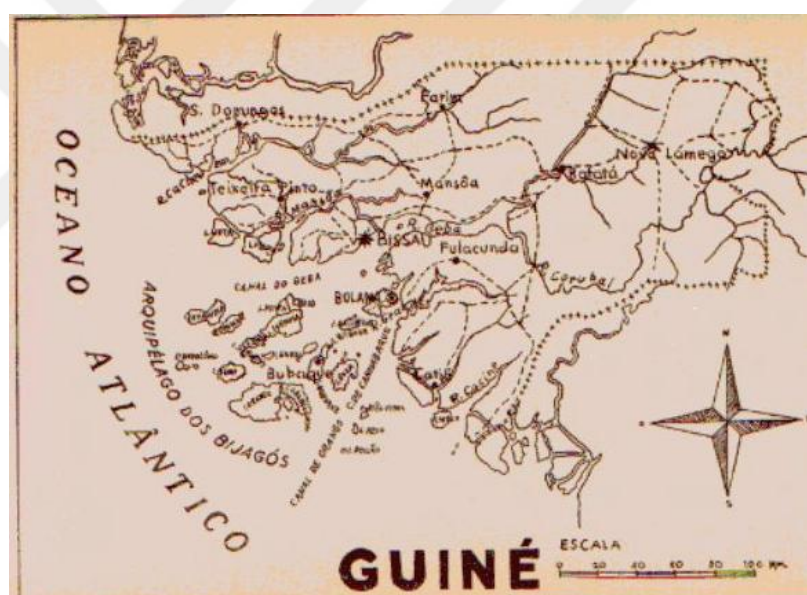


Figure 2. Guine – Portuguesa map – source

Published by Luís Graça on 03 of December of 2005 (http://blogueforanada.blogspot.com.tr/2005_11_27_archive.html)

Guinea – Bissau and Cape Verde are (considered) brothers, not only because they experienced the same oppression with the same colonizer, but also the blood ties that gave origin to the Cabo Verdiano, but Guinea Portuguesa²⁴ had a different type of colonization, for Bissau it was considered an occupation due to the existence of a population, a society and culture before the Portuguese presence in the country, contrary to Cape Verde the “*assimilação*” (will be discussed further), was partially.

²⁴ Name attributed to Guinea – Bissau during the Portuguese domination.

1.2.1. Origins of Guinea – Bissau

Guinea – Bissau was part of the *Senegâmbia* group, which from XV to XIX shared the same traditions, politics and economy. It was a big community until it started to be attacked by the neighborhood and foreign ambitions.

The first to approach Guinea – Bissau were the Sudanese that were fleeing from the war in their lands, crossing the desert of Sahel searching for better life conditions. Others as the Berbers just wanted to expand their religion, the Islam, and to conquer new lands.

Nevertheless, the formation of the society crawls from the X Century with Ghanaian Empire. This empire covered a vast territory from the Atlantic Ocean to the Niger, where a very powerful animistic²⁵ king that ruled with justice and tolerance. He had no restrictions against religion, he was open to other believes and practices . This stability secured the commerce with the neighborhood. Supported by the Berbers Sambadjas (from Senegal), by forties of that Century, they triggered the “Guerra Santa” (Holly war or Jihad) against that empire. According to Al Zuhur, cited by Ki – Zerbo, by 1076 the population was converted into Muslims. From XIII to XIV Century, Sudan was dominated by Mali and Mandingas (an ethnic group) which spread into Guinea – Bissau. Mali was denoted by Songhai in XV Century whom lost his empire to Morroc in XVI Century.

1.2.2. “Discovery” of Guinea – Bissau by the Portuguese

Clearly we can not talk about “discovery”, or direct colonization, by the Portuguese in this country. Even before the empires, some historians defend that Bissau presented some human (Artcraft) presence that dates back to the homo Erectus periode (200.000 B.C).

In 1446 Nuno arrived at the Coast of Guinea – Bissau, while exploring the islands nearby, they were attacked by the vassals of war and assassinated. Ten years later, Diogo Gomes landed on the region, through Rio Geba, Bidjagos islands and spread the “Ordem de Cristo” (Order of Christ) in those regions. After all, the Portuguese

²⁵ The one that attributes life and soul to nature or objects.

exploration was based on Christianity, language and economic expansion. The religion expansion faced more resistance than the other fields explored before. Some adhere to the Portuguese culture but a significant part safeguarded the native culture.

The occupation of Portugal in Guinea – Bissau took place in the XVIII Century, but Mandinga had a relevant influence upon the population from XV Century. With the support of the “*lançados*”²⁶ and “*grumetes*”²⁷, that could speak Portuguese and Kriol (Creole)²⁸, softening the commercial environment between the settlers and the natives. This environment attracted other Europeans (Dutch, English, Swedish, French, Dinamarca), which brought instability to the “*pacífic*” business relation between the Senegambia countries. As a result, the “*lançados*” turned against the colonizers, due to the occupation of Cacheu that was menacing their commerce. From there, the instability in Bissau never vanished, the country’s instability last until our days.

1.2.3. The society

Bissau had a very complex ethnicity society, it was composed by various groups from West Africa. Is understood by *ethnic groups* the communities that identify with each other and are distinctive from the others (culture, religion, language), it's not a biological or even an inheritance. With this diversity of culture, the conflicts are inevitable, especially if a community is forced to adhere to other community’s culture. Barth²⁹ stated that the ethnicity resists to migration or even immigration aftermaths.

The ethnic groups in Bissau of that time were: Diolla, Banhus, Cassangas, Cobianas, Balantas, Manjacos (Brannes, Papeis), Beafadas, Bijagos, Nalus and Cocolis. These ethnicities spent their Centuries fighting, conquering and fusing with one another, giving origin to new ethnicities. The majority were Muslims, few remained Christians or animistic.

²⁶ Man that launched themselves to the sea to Guinea – Bissau, it was composed by the “*brancos da terra*” – Cabo Verdianos - and other native European – Spanish or Portuguese.

²⁷ Natives from Bissau that were mullattos, as Cabo Verdeans, with no strong tribe connections, they considered themselves “*civilized*” because they were baptized.

²⁸ Between the seven countries colonized by Portugal only Cabo Verde and Bissau speak Creol.

²⁹ Fredrik Barth - Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, pg.10.

In his work, Hawthorne³⁰ cited Barry's research, where he confirms the North's view of agglomeration or fusion between the ethnic groups in Bissau. Weber³¹ also defends that the ethnicities were the result of "political power and status", which perfectly fits Bissau.

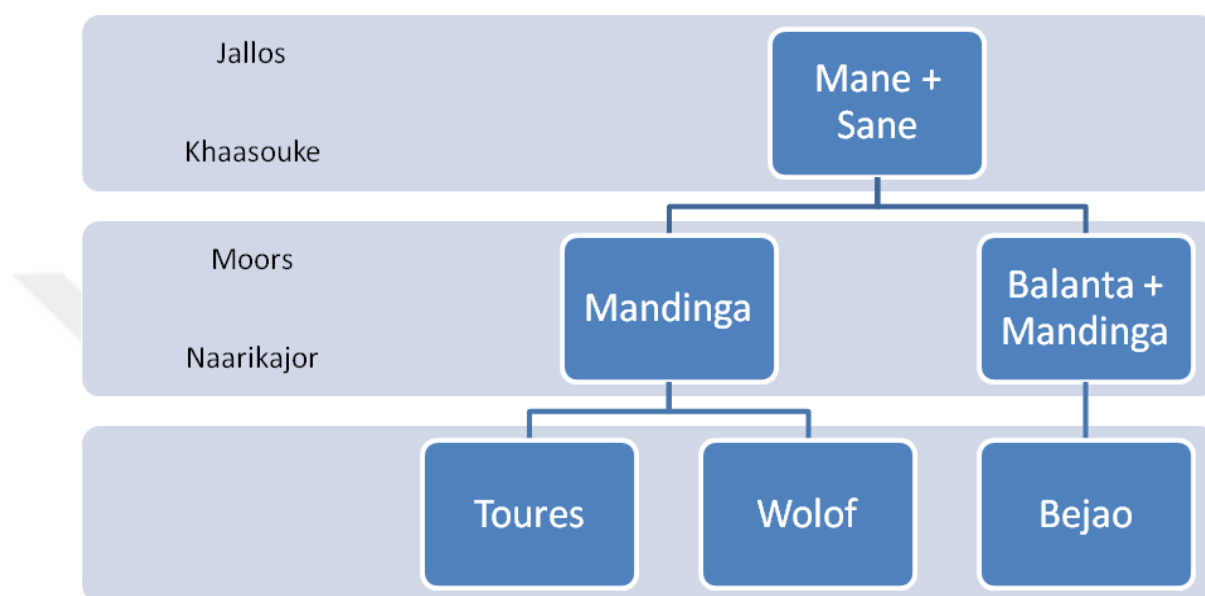


Figure 3. Agglomeration of ethnic groups according to Barry.

During their domination, the Portuguese exercised oppression on these groups destroying their religion (imposing Christianity), tried to create an artificial identity (mestiço or native were baptized to become someone but never a native Portuguese) and tried to extinct the ethnicities (Balantas, Felupes and Mandingas), through the control of their territory. Above all else, supported by the natives Fula, "mestiços" (Guineans) and "white of the land" (Cabo Verdeanos) involved on the Portuguese economic ambition, wrote Pelissier, according to Ribeiro Co³².

Moreover, the Portuguese influenced the social class that was composed by "Kriolos" (Portuguese components) and grumetes (Africans, natives), with an insignificant percentage of literate (1%) and assimilated (0.3%), a high school dominated by European students (60%) which were unrelated to religious targets, counting eleven (11)

³⁰ From Africa to Brazil: Culture, identity and an Atlantic slave trade, 1600 – 1830.

³¹ Race, ethnicity and the Weberian legacy, by John Stone (1995) , pg.5.

³² Co João Ribeiro Butiam - Representação e confinação de estruturas sociais na Guiné – Bissau: uma abordagem sobre conflitos e consensos, N. 11/2010, pg.11.

undergraduates, automatically called “assimilated Portuguese”, cited Co as Davidson’s statement³³.

1.2.4. Economic development

The population’s main economic activity was the agriculture, the subsistence agriculture, that was centered in Ghana and distributed to other Senegambia regions. With the Portuguese presence (half of XV Century), the agriculture started to be exported to Cabo Verde to save the population from the droughts and hunger. During the first years of forced occupation, Portugal dominated the economy while Kaabu³⁴ dominated the politics of the region. The economic situation of the Coast (composed by Banhus, Beja, Nalu, Kassanga and Biafada ethnic groups) became chaotic.

Portugal prospered and the struggle to share the lands and the profits arouse. After the conflict France took from Senegal River to South of Sudan river. England own Gambia and Portugal stayed with Guinea – Bissau. This provoked clashes between the ethnic groups, that were growing by each confront, putting into prejudice the economic and political interests of the whole country. By the end of XVII Century, more and different commerce routes unleashed a struggle between French aristocrats and the Berbers that declared Jihad against them. The Berber were defeated, as an aftermath, they turned against the aristocrats and became sympathetic with the slavery.

The XVIII Century was still affected by the clashes from last Century (XVII). The collision between the farmers and the aristocrats (their inheritance conflicts) enhanced the Marrabu’s movement³⁵ which created the *ceddo regime* (which granted more benefits to nobles). These same ones started the slavery, which detrimented the agriculture performance, in addition to the natural disasters, ending as a benefit to the European industrial revolution. The economy turns from subsistence agriculture to capitalism in all Senegambia region through exportation. The XVIII Century is characterized by successive outbreaks of political and socially violence, consequently a decadence of its economy until the abolition of slavery in the XIX Century. The illegal

³³Idem, pg.12.

³⁴ The Mandiga ethnic group.

³⁵ Muslims peerage.

slavery, the peanuts agriculture and the coffee production become profitable activities of the South River's economy in this Century. These three pillars of economy were attractive for the European commerce and native powers (Fouta Jalon), the clashes didn't stop, the economy was experiencing a retrocess, the society suffered successive structures transformation with the "freedom" of the "negro" that were seeing their economy dominated by the theocrats through exportation of their national products (leather, peanuts, cattle, coffee, palm oil) . This new economic achievement brought struggle between France and Alumaní after the struggle the South River, called "Goald Coast" (Fuuta Jalon commerce arena) was shared between the Europeans.

The peanuts agriculture became the most flowable economic activities of that time, it disrupted brutal violence between the Europeans and the natives, specially Ceddo and Marabu. The "pacification" was achieved between the Muslim community by the Europeans when confronting the Jihad jinnee. After the "pacification" the struggle now is between the Europeans. A military bloody fight took place, where the soldiers of the countries were composed by slaves, the natives of Senegambia. From this last confront Senegambia never became unified again, it gave origin to distinctive countries: Senegal, Gambia, Mauritania, Mali, Guinea – Conakry and Portuguese Guinea³⁶.

1.2.5. The Era of Imperialism in both countries

Throughout Centuries, the notion of imperialism is tried to be found, it's a labyrinth that until today the researchers don't have a verdict. It's sure that the imperialism originated from the word empire, although it's uncertain which one is first, colonialism or imperialism, according to some scholars.

The word empire is referred to the domination of territories, which after taking them by force from the other rulers, especially the ethnic chiefs abroad, the natives would be turned into slaves, identified as **colonization**. As Amadeu dos Santos cited, Silva Cunha identified three kind of domination: the *perfect colony*, which is politically dependent from another state. Here Lara understands that the colonized's sovereignty and people's freedom is endangered. In this context, the Portuguese colonizers possess the

³⁶Name attributed to Guinea – Bissau before its independence.

administrative sector and hold the power in both countries; the *imperfect colony*, where the population depend from an international organization. In this colonial situation, people are dominated by other dominated group from different ethnic groups. For instance, as cited by Antero Fernades³⁷, according to Alvaro Nobrega, the Cabo Verdianos dominated the Guinean people during the colonization. Sousa stated that Lara classified the colonies in geographical, racial and civilization categories, dismembering them into three types: the *leasing disposal*, where the territory is rented to a third country with government's approval (China to Macau from 1557 to 1885); *administration assignment*, where the territory is administrated by another country but the country's sovereignty is intact (Turkey let England administrate Chipre in 1878 but kept its sovereignty), the last type would be the *settlement*, where a country gives another country a part of its territory to administrate but the third country should live in accordance with the settlement country's law.

Some empires also were constructed under military enforcement, resulting in political unification. This system (of dominance) did not have an end, it just became more sophisticated, the necessities became greater and the strategies updated to respond to those necessities. This was give the name of *imperialism*.

However, during the Era that is considered Post – colonialism some researchers continued to describe imperialism as a stretch of the colonialism. The Western countries are to blame for the refinement of imperialism rules or preeminence, and the reshapment of the world map. The question that still difficult to be answered is: when did the imperialism start? I believe that it started with the colonization, without dominators, there would be no dominated and consequently no empire to be mentioned.

Answering my inquietations, Barbara Bush said that, imperialism “which inscribes social, cultural and political relations of power between the empire and its subordinated periphery”³⁸. It was born with the empires way before the Western colonization, stated Barbara Bush³⁹. For her the Spanish and Portuguese conquests of the sixteenth Century

³⁷ Antero da Conceição Monteiro Fernades- Guiné – Bissau e Cabo Verde: Da unidade a separação, pg.95.

³⁸ Bush Barbara – Imperialism and post colonialism, pg.6

³⁹ Idem, pg.2.

that gave place to a more sophisticated and twisted way of domination, are different from those of the ancient empires, that their interest was only accumulation of territories, which would result in economic development of their own people. Elsewhere in her book, she stated that Fowden reinforced the idea that, it was the discovery of the arms (military) that cursed this modern imperialism. The Western imperialism succeeded better than the ancient ones, once it relied its strength on expelling Islamists out from the Iberian Peninsula. Moreover they had navigation improvements that helped boost their economy, they spread their religion and culture which forced the world division. In this reorganization, Spain took the Latin America, Central America, Caribbean, Philippines and Spanish Netherlands⁴⁰. Portugal wasn't strong enough and it lost Japan to Denmark, running out of choices the Portuguese Empire stayed with Africa and South America (Brazil) after the Tordesillas Treaty.

Feuer⁴¹ said that there are two kinds of imperialism: the *progressive* and *regressive* imperialism. The first one would be the direct colonization, the intimidation of the oppressor upon the oppressed economically, culturally and politically. The formal or progressive imperialism was considered inhumane. The regressive or informal imperialism is the same in a fashionable way, where slavery would be replaced by “softer” domination. For instance, instead of referring to the countries as colonies, Portugal adopted the name “Ultramarine Countries”. The slaves were persuaded to work upon a (low) payment fee.

Leninism and Marxism scholars defend that imperialism aim was the monopolization of the economy, both scholars understood that monopoly is the apogee of the imperialism, where the international market is played mainly by Western empires.

Thomas Caswell⁴² says that imperialism is identified “when a strong nation takes over a weaker nation or region and dominates its economic, political or cultural life”, in other words, imperialism is Darwinism. He goes further, he claims that it was generated by

⁴⁰ The so-called Low Countries, controlled by Spain from 1556 – 1714, the modern Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands and part of Northern France.

⁴¹ Imperialism and Anti – imperialism mind, by L.S. Feuer (1989), pg 3 – 10.

⁴² <http://regentsprep.org/regents/global/themes/imperialism/index.cfm>.

the industrialization necessities, due to the lack of raw materials to respond to market demands and also influenced by European nationalism and glory achievement.

The empire, imperialism and colonialism are interconnected, all of them are aftermath of oppressions. However, it is with the post – colonialism that the matter started to gain more attention, where some defend that this system gained more territory and sophistication, baptized with the name of **globalization** in our days. The questions here now are: When will it finish? Will it have an end?

Concerning the imperialism in these “free” countries in context, the Feuer notion of imperialism is more suitable, the formal and informal imperialism was adopted in these “Portuguese Ultramarines”.

1.2.6. Economic repression in Guinea – Bissau

According to Peter Mendy, in the beginning of XIX Century, Portuguese Guinea saw its economy being swallowed by Europeans and the liberated population left to die of hunger in Cabo Verde. After the nationalization of the commerce (XX Century), *mancarra* (peanuts) became the main economic activity in Portuguese Guinea. Nonetheless, its cultivation became difficult because the natives (Beafadas) refused to work for the Cape Verdeans or any other oppressors. Here the Manjacos are contracted to perform the job, they were given the land, the seeds, the food and other primer necessities elements in exchange for their service. The commerce profit was calculated on the number of bushels that the worker had acquired from the owner (two times more than the bushels acquired). Unfortunately, the number of payment or exchange is chosen after the harvest, the rest of it (tiny part) of the profit was used to buy other materials as arms, tobacco and alcohol from French commerciants. During the fifties and sixties of that Century, the decrease of the peanuts exportation was observed, especially in the Rio Grande. The cause was the instabilities, between 1878 and 1890 the Manjacos were killed by the Beafadas and Fulas during their duties. During the struggles, some

Manjacos moved to other countries⁴³ that cultivated the same product and they started to take care of the exportation of peanuts themselves⁴⁴.

In 1915, the pacification was reached and now the natives were obligated to pay for the "palhota"s (land) tax in money, the aim was to increase the peanuts exportation. This strategy improved peanut commerce and the economy stabilized, but some natives used the black market with France for a better price. As a response, the Portuguese applied for the monopolization, in 1917 an enactment law was created, forbidding opening of establishments in areas out of its control, considering those areas unprotected.

During two world wars, Portugal did not suffer the economic crisis due to the strategies that Finance Minister Salazar planned and concretized attempting to keep the colonies as their special storage. Although, there were some Syrians and Lebanese establishments that were important for Portuguese taxes. Considered as "second class" establishments they graduated fast to "first class", by buying the products in the natives hands and selling them to the first class establishments. They dominated the importation and exportation of the country, to prevent them of prospering or creating other establishments the taxes and commercial licences become very unreachable for natives, making the commerce exclusively for foreigners. Aftereffects, foreigner commerciants branches booming.

Unsatisfied, the population asked for some changes in the rules concerning the sector, they asked that those who buy from the natives would sell to the companies of exportation directly. That was an advantage to the Companhia União Fabril (Industrial Union Company - IUC / CUF), the biggest Portuguese company with more than hundred branches in the territory. Their commerce was diverse, they were involved in mines, chemicals, transportations, construction and other segments. Moreover, in 1892, the Portuguese monopolization was covered by protectionist. They were exempt of tariffs for importations and the exportations. In 1920 the importations tariffs doubled, the exportation had a total of twenty per cent of tariffs increased, the natives would pay more fifteen (15) percent which would be refundable, but they were aware that the

⁴³ Senegal and Gambia.

⁴⁴ Boubacar Barry – Cadernos de Guiné- Bissau - A economia colonial da Guine – Bissau: nacionalização e exploração, 1915 – 1959, pg.23 – 30.

government was free to keep the foreign currencies. In this case, Portugal gained with its rules, France was the one that disliked their policies.

Unfortunately, nothing was changed to develop the agriculture, the peanut was treated the same way, traditionally (burning to clean the land and use of swollen to cultivate) and more manpower was used, including children. However some companies were incentivized to the plantation, employing “gentios” (natives) paying better than other foreign companies, but there was financial instability and they went bankrupt. The Cape Verdeans used to plant sugar cane and produce alcohol (brandy) from it, their commerce was prohibited in ways to decrease alcoholism (according to Portuguese excuse on that time), the Portuguese wine and beer, coincidently met a boom that time. By 1953, Bissau’s agricultural land was equally divided, with Mandingas, Manjacos, Fulas and Balantas occupying a great portion of the land and only Balanta and manjacos were responsible for more than half of total production of rice, Fulas and Mandingas would hold two per cent of peanut cultivation, according to Cabral’s study, cited by Swarz⁴⁵.

Human development (schools or micro enterprises) was not Portuguese priority in ways to preclude the colonized economic development and maintain the dependence.

1.2.7. Economic repression in Cabo Verde

In Cape Verde, from the XVIII to 40’s of XX Century, the country experienced rough cravings, each taking three years, from 1748 to 1866⁴⁶ and the government (Portuguese empire) did too little or nothing to save the unfortunates of their predestined destiny. The burden was attributed to the scars of rainfall, consequently the harvest was narrow, also, the government had ordered not to help the unfortunates of the droughts. The last calamity was from 1947 to 1949 victimating 30,000 souls⁴⁷.

The situation of the agriculture, after the colonization, was chaotic. The farmers were obligated to give more than three-quarters of their harvest to the owners of the land to be exported, and the profit sent to Portuguese crown.

⁴⁵ Carlos Schwarz – Amílcar Cabral um agrônomo antes do seu tempo, pg.4 - 7.

⁴⁶ Murray Stewart, et. al - Cape Verde, pg.19.

⁴⁷ <http://www.nosgenti.com/?p=188>.

With this unfair “*arrendamento*” system, the population started to fight for better treatments and payment equity. The Eugeneos (1822) and Ribeirão Manuel (1910) rebellion are the greatest arises known. The struggles were based on cultural, social and religious reasons, according to Pereira (2010)⁴⁸. Culturally it was expressed through dances (batuco and tabanca) that are part of religious festivals, also representing simultaneously the fraternity between people. He considers the atrocities of the “*morgados*” (the ones that rent the land), as an insulting to the words of God, when He promised and gave lands to Abraham, Isaak, and Jacob, as cited in the Bible. Besides the religion and politics were side by side, they were trying to create better rules for the lands for their communities. By standing against the threats of evicting some from the lands in case of late or non-payment of the rents. Socially, the festivals manifestations would represent the unification of the communities facing all kind of vulnerability. The “*rendeiros*” would suffer every kind of denigration from the “*morgado*” (verbally, physically, psychologically), including the risk of been incarcerated.

In XIX Century, the country survives with the salt extracted from Maio, Boa Vista, and Sal islands. In 1928 the dictatorship is adopted in Portugal, Cabo Verde is not left totally but lost its importance to Portugal. From the forties of this Century, various rebellions against Portuguese Catholicism and administration broke out, until someone stood up for the liberty of the population against any kind of oppression, by foreign or national regimes.

Badly to Portugal, the international power did not give them the chance to come out from their “periphery” conditions and it was obligated to give up on slavery as all the other great powers and stayed as poor as some African countries for a long time. Actually it still remaining the poorest country of Europe, the “African country of Europe” as it’s referred by some.

1.2.8. Lessons not learned from the slavery – Portugal a former colony⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Eduardo Pereira – Política e cultura: as revoltas dos Engenhos (1822) de Acahada Falcão (1841) e Ribeirão Manuel (1910), pg.148 – 150.

⁴⁹ Jameson, G.O.M – A short history of Portugal and Spain, pg.1 – 14.

Why did Portugal refuse to free the Africans? Why did it suffer the humiliation of seeing its enemies becoming modernized and they stayed skeptic?

Portugal, before being famous for its overseas conquests, it was nothing less than a colony itself⁵⁰. It is known that Lisbon have a strong tie with Spain. Their connection starts in the prehistoric periode when both shared the same geographic space, the so called Iberian Peninsula, that were occupied by Stone Age inhabitants. In 300 B.C.tribes from Africa started to live in the Peninsula, by 600.B.C. Celts were spread in the area. With the trade, the development brouk out a war between the tribes⁵¹ formed and help from African Cathaginians was needed. The new friendship and population growth, aroused concerns between Carthaginians and Rome, where Carthaginians were defeted. Rome took the land and separated it, the North was called Hispania Citeror and the South Hispania Ulterior, later Lusitania was created, which is known as Portugal today. Contrary to Spain Portugal resisted to depend on Rome, however in the 4th Century it accepted the Christianity from Rome. The Iberian Peninsula (Portugal and Spain) suffered many invasions, the most remarkable were Visigoths for three (3) Centuries and the Moors which lasted eight (8) Centuries. During these occupations, Portugal was never peaceful. The aim of those conflicts was the expansion of Christianity and conquere of territory. In these wars, Afonso of Castile defeated the Morris with the support of Rodrigo de Bivar. These last one in 1093 married Castile's daughter. From their union Afonso Henry was born, in 1112 he freed Portugal from Castile and in 1143 he brings independence to Portugal being the first king of a independent Portugal. For one Century Lisbon tried and achieved to safeguard its independence from Castile meanwhile expanding its boarders.

The conquers of Portugal overseas starts with the reign of King Diniz, an intellectual that strenghtened Portugal's economy throught foreign trade, developemnt of agriculture and an ambitious treaty with England with economic development aim. Unfortunately he did not have a legitimate blood line to the throne, for it not to be given to Castile, John that was a an illigitimated hier from a former king was chosen. This King married with Philipa Lancaster and they became allies. Portugal was ruled

⁵⁰ José Maltoso et. al. - Historia de Portugal – A formação da nacionalidade, pg.7.

⁵¹ Phoenicians, Celtiberians, Cathaginian.

pacifilly for two hundread years under this king's dynasty. From this line of kingdom that Henry the Navigator was born, whom changed the course of the history of Portugal.

As narrated above, Portugal was an instable territory from the beggining of its existence. Answering the question in the bbeegining of this topic, Portugal was afraid of not only losing a status that it never had (the one of a great European power) but also did not see a future after the freedom of their human resources. Valentim Alexandre⁵² identified the endangerment of some tradesman wealth, lack of political strategies, military and financial means and finally, the saddest reason, the death of mercy towards slavery, as reasons on delay of the end of slavery. For Macqueen, Portugal as a European "periphery", would see its "unified peri continental"⁵³ dream erased from history, its economic boosting hope, namely Mozambique and Angola would end up on South Africa's hands. Moreover, Portugal "could not neocolonize" the coutries after freeing them due its fragile economic situation⁵⁴.

⁵² Manuel Valentim Alexandre - A Descolonização Portuguesa em Perspectiva Comparada, pg. 28 – 29.

⁵³ Norrie Macqueen Colonialism (2007), pg 137.

⁵⁴ Idem, pg.149.

CHAPTER II

AMILCAR CABRAL'S LIFE

2.1. Cabral family's background

The social and personal formation of an individual has given various articles and books titles. This matter is been studied from the Greek and Roman civilizations, when they had the preoccupation of creating a civilization where men was suppose to be completely healthy mentally and spiritually. Today the personal and social formation is a discipline studied at schools with the same obejctive, to educate individual about himself and the society that the one is inserted in.

A person's formation depends on the environment in which the person is sourounded by. The family, the society and the culture are extremely important for the personal and social formation of a human being. That the family is the pillar of the society,its undoutably undeniable. Its known that from zero (0) to three (3) years old a child is already recognizing its environment, in this age he/she starts to cultivate the trust on the people around, the presence of the parents are essential in this periode. Cited by Cro and Pinho, Portugal assumes that this periode is crucial due to its influence in the adult life of the child⁵⁵. They reinforce that Zabalza understands that the personality created is responsible for its adaptation in the society. Furthermore, this experience in the society will help the child integrate in education⁵⁶. The Refrencial Curricular Nacional para a Educação Infantil - National curriculum framework for early childhood

⁵⁵ Maria de Lurde Cro e Ana M. Pinho - A primeira infância e a avaliação do desenvolvimento pessoal e social, pg.308.

⁵⁶ Idem, pg.311.

Education- (RCNEI)⁵⁷ stated that the educational institutions duty is to create mechanism that will reinforce the experience already acquired and integrate the child in a world of “confidence and self – esteem” for him/her to base on when taking decisions in the future life.

At the Dublin Oak Academy website is written that: “a person's character is based on virtues, formed by habit, and reflected in manners”, but in my point of view, some one's character is formed through families values. The reaction to those values transmitted differs from one person to another. Family, society and the person he/herself are responsible for personal development, is up to that person to enhance or change live.

The identity of each person is not only based in the experience stated above, but also in the financial situation, the customs and the occupation choosed for the future, this idea is shared by Karl Marx, Max Weber, Karl Mannheim and Claude Lévi-Strauss⁵⁸. Cited by Para,as Bosma and Kunnen stated, it is from adolescence that the personality is formed, when the individual starts to think about the future and try to solve the problems encountred in life, in the same context, Erikson understand that the aftermaths might be positive and negative as well, meaning, the individual might succed and discover him/herself or loose him/herself attempting to be an adult⁵⁹.

Antoher factor that influences the identity formation is the experience that the individual goes through abroad. According to Angulo, Berno and Ward opined that, the experience as foreign student brings confusion about one's identity and mental health issues⁶⁰. On his turn Grotevant indicates that the changes are related to the one's disponibility to accept and embrace those experience and turn them into its quotidian⁶¹.

The discussion above is nothing less than the right description of Amilcar Cabral personal formation. His background was influenced by his own culture and later by foreign culture, when interacting with the different nationalities exposed to in Portugal and later in other countries visited.

⁵⁷ Veronica D'arc Freire B. Barbosa – Formação Social.

⁵⁸ Hauskeller et. al - Genetics and the sociology of the identity.

⁵⁹ Elizabeth A. Para - The role of society support in identity formation – A literature rebview, pg.1.

⁶⁰ Sarah Kathryn Angulo - Identity change in student who study abroad,pg.8.

⁶¹ Idem,pg 15.

Therefore, the next topics introduce the real facts that prove the personal and social cognition of Amílcar Cabral, based on the theories above, starting from his childhood (family connections) to his adulthood (professional experiences). Some authors defended that Cabral was deeply influenced by his father and his work. Sousa says that he was too young to understand his father's work, that he came in contact with his father's work in the high school, when he already had some life experience⁶².

2.2. His father Juvenal Cabral (1889 – 1951)

The revolutionary's lineage was humble, his grandfather Antonio Lopes da Costa exercised the smaller orders of the church (sacristan), which position is unknown. The grandmother Rufina Lopes Cabral was the daughter of a farmer successor, according to Julião Sousa⁶³.

His father, Juvenal Cabral was a Cabo Verdiano, born in Santiago, precisely in São Nicolau Tolentino municipality (São Tiago), on the second day of January of 1889. Unfortunately, he hasn't had the pleasure to enjoy his father, he was murdered ten (10) months after his birth. In 1900, he started his primary school in Portugal (covered by his grandfather on his testimony before his death) where he was almost ordered to priesthood. In 1905, he returns to Cabo Verde, some say that it was because of the droughts in the archipelago that prevented his aunt from covering his academic expenses. However, he did not finish his school and enrolled himself in the high school in São Nicolau. It's in 1911 that he returns to Santiago and listed to the Voluntary Corps of Republicans, according to Sousa⁶⁴, one year after the foundation of Portugal Republic the progenitor of Cabral, for reasons not mentioned, leaves to Guinea Bissau seeking employment.

In Bissau, he started as a calligrapher at the City Hall of Bolama for a month and fifteen days, after that his designation for positions in public roles could not stop bursting out. Two years later he became a teacher, to a primary school situated in the small community of Bolama. As an educator, he created two more schools in different

⁶² Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral Vida e morte de Revolucionário Africano, Pg.83 – 84

⁶³ Julião Soares - Amílcar Cabral: Vida e obra de um Revolucionário Africano, 2011, pg.42.

⁶⁴ Idem, pg.43.

communities, Buna and Cacine. Also, he accumulated functions as Deputy Prosecutor of the Republic and Judicial Prosecutor⁶⁵.

Juvenal was a man proud of his roots, always respected the Portuguese people, but never accepted their administration system in Cabo Verde and Bissau. Even with his administrative and teacher position, he never stopped exposing his point of view about it. The teacher used to complain (through articles) about the conditions the schools were found and the treatment of the teachers and other workers.

Regarding to Cabo Verde, the teacher used to challenge the Portuguese negligence towards the agricultural management that was leading to hunger that deceased millions in both countries. Juvenal was not a man that limited himself to complaints, but also offered to solve the problems. In his work “Memorias e Reflexões” (Memories and reflexions), he suggests the cultivation of Guinea-Bissau fertile soil to save Cape Verdean nation from hunger and its dependence on Angola’s aid. He even integrated himself into native associations in an attempt to help Cabo Verde’s chaotic situation, when he was back home between 1920’s and 1940’s.

Juvenal’s works obviously was ignored by the Portuguese, once there were no profits for them, as a result the famine which massacred millions more, with the last one still haunting the Cabo Verdianos’ memory⁶⁶.

As an educator, he was always integrated in the education of his people, which made him gather many enemies in the government. As he was requesting recognition for the years of efforts as a teacher, he wanted to graduate from primary teacher to a Docente without a diploma (once he was the oldest and more experienced in the field), instead he gained his early retirement. The government suspended him, according to the regulation of that time he was breaking the law. He profited their answer and his fragile healthy (being hospitalized for 15 days), he opted to request for his retirement, after a month his incapability was officially confirmed. He returned to Cabo Verde retired from all the ancient duties in 1932. Another reason stated (more speculation than a statement) was

⁶⁵Idem,pg.46.

⁶⁶ The 1947’s famine gave lyrics to various songs in Cabo Verde, the most famous is the “fomi 47” of the group Finaçon sang by Zeca de Nha Reinalda.

the death of his aunt and he was chosen to take care of her belongings, making him her only heritage receiving the lands left from her, explained Sousa⁶⁷ as the reasons that made the educator return to his hometown.

2.3. His mother Iva Pinhel Evora (1893 – 1977)

All the books, interviews or websites consulted for references on information about this archetype of Cabo Verdean women and mother, present different narrations. They claim that there are no official documents, even her nationality and background are based on confusing sources.

According to Euridice Monteiro⁶⁸, with the certificate of baptism that Brito Almeida found in 2004, Iva Pinhel Evora was born in São Francisco in Praia, Santiago island, on 31 of December of 1893. Daughter of Antonio Pinhel Evora (a farmer that had the luck to go to school) and Maximiana Monteiro da Rocha,. Her mother was a laundry worker (washwoman) but, unfortunately, did not have the chance to learn how to write. The daughter did have a chance to complete her primary school, Sousa⁶⁹ confirm her gifted handwriting as her father's.

About her childhood very little is known, it was from 1922 that she started to gain attention, when she traveled to Guinea-Bissau with her first husband João Carvalho Silva and their first born Ivo Carvalho Silva, ending their relationship right after they got in that country. From the relation with Juvenal Cabral, four children were born, the last one was Amilcar Cabral.

Unfortunately what I could understand is that, all the author that wrote about Amilcar Cabral somehow gave more attention to the males of the family more than the females. Sousa claimed that, as she did not work in the public administration it was impossible to construct her bibliography, meaning that (at that time), if the person were not an officer or did not perform any other function in the public administration, no data would be found. As other mothers from our country, just to be born and moreover, to give birth to

⁶⁷ Julião Soares Sousa – Amilcar Cabral, vida e obra de um Revolucionario Africano,pg.62 – 63.

⁶⁸ Euridice Monteiro – Quem foi a mãe de Cabral?, in Buala.

⁶⁹ Soares Julião – Amilcar Cabral a morte de um Revolucionario Africano (2011),pg.44.

a legend like Cabral, she is a legend herself. Written documents may be short but the elderlies or even the descendants could contribute to creating her bibliography.

2.4.The birth of Amilcar Cabral

It was on September 12th of 1924, in the city of Bafata (Guiné – Bissau) that Amilcar Cabral was born (as referred he is a child to Cabo Verdianos parents that were living in Guinea Bissau) precisely in Nossa Senhora da Graça municipality, according to the birth certificate that Sousa found in the archives of the Nossa Senhora da Graça's church in Praia, Cabo Verde⁷⁰. As he stated during an interview with Expresso das Ilhas, that brought an end to the Revolutionary's nationality doubts⁷¹.

The Revolutionary did not have time to create ties with his country of birth. He spent eight years in Bafata in different localities, going and coming back to Cabo Verde and then finally taken to Cabo Verde to live there, with his father and sisters, in 1932. They lived one year in Achada Falcão (Santiago island) when his mother come to join them. When Juvenal Cabral went to Cabo Verde, Madam Iva remained but the marriage was over two years before, she did not accompany them at that time due to an unfortunate accident that prejudiced her economic freedom.

During his childhood, the world around him was confused and hard. The parents divorce effects affected the young man's future, although positively. Some authors stated that the struggle for the children custody was rough, others defend that there was no struggle at all. However, Martins confirms the first speculation, he affirms that Cabral was supportive and kind with the mother when she would break into tears because the father was resistant to the fact of her having the custody of the children, according to him the meetings were in his grandparents house, wrote Sousa⁷².

Amilcar Cabral's life from his young age to his death was always a mystery, full of speculations ,for instance the first years of his education also suffered some doubts and

⁷⁰Sousa, Soares Julião – Amilcar Cabral a morte de um Revolucionario Africano (2011), Chapter I, pg. 41 foot note 14 .

⁷¹ Expresso das Ilhas, 28 of January of 2012, 12:02:55, in Patrimonium.cv – www.patrimonium-cv.blogspot.com

⁷² Julião Soares Sousa – Amilcar Cabral, Vida e morte de um Revolucionario Africano, pg.66.

it still unrevealed, the data found left some gaps to be filled as the next topic will discuss.

2.5. Cabral's educational background

The mother, Iva Pinhel wanted the children to enroll in school, specially Cabral, but Achada Falcão was a locality very distant from Praia (the city, where they were supposed to be), a typical rural environment, surrounded by mountains, the infrastructure was not existent, which was indispensable for the mobility of the population.

The year and the place where the “Labrac”⁷³ attended his primary school is unknown, some state that he achieved it in Santiago, precisely in Praia city, when the mother finally got their custody. Making faith in Sousa's statement⁷⁴, Luis Cabral confirms that he studied in Praia, but the doubts are aroused because if there was a primary school in Achada Falcão why was he enrolled in Praia? Unfortunately, there are no registrations that can direct us to the right place, time and even the teachers of the student that unlock definitely this question. The only document found by Sousa was the registration for the high school (1937/1938), with no registrations about his primary school, I am declined to agree with Dhada⁷⁵ when he said that Cabral was educated at home, but, of course, this needs further investigation. Although, without the knowledge or any preparation it was impossible to enroll in the high school by that time. The system of post-colonial education regime would not allow such exception even if his father was an ex – educator or public employer, besides his relations with the government did not end harmonically. Moreover, this father as a teacher would not permit that his own son loses his first years of education or even compromise his future. The fact is that the law wouldn't permit it. As mentioned in Sousa's book, the father would give him some “explicações” (domestic education) during that period that he was supposed to be studying his primary school. But if there was a school in Achada Falcão by that time, why did the father taught him at home? Moreover, without a certificate of primary school accomplished its not possible to enroll in the high school, as his father was a

⁷³ Pseudonym that Cabral used to sign his poem with.

⁷⁴ Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral, *Vida e morte de um Revolucionário Africano*, pg.67.

⁷⁵ Idem,pg.70.

retired teacher, he wouldn't have (by law) the license to graduate any child, so how did Cabral get access to the high school? The mystery is still yet to be solved, the only one who could explain this situation was Cabral or his father, and maybe this one will never be solved. However, there was a soul (Manuel Lehmon) that declared that he was Cabral's classmate, and the teacher would be Hugo dos Reis Borges, in Praia, as Sousa underlined⁷⁶.

To the elective year 1937/38 Amilcar Cabral was starting his high school in the Gil Eanes High School in São Vicente island, the only one in the entire country that time.

In this new phase the mother and all the children moved to São Vicente in ways to support his new life. The school was not supportive in accommodations, the essential reason of the displacement of the family, once they did not have any relatives in that island. During this period, the father was never mentioned in Cabral's life. Therefore, the mother took care of his high school expenses. For that, the mother spent her life working two or three kinds of jobs to free their necessities. Iva Pinhel was a seamstress as a profession, in São Vicente, the women performed as a fabric of fish worker and used to wash Portuguese military clothes, according to Euridice Monteiro. Amilcar as a good student had good character, so he used to help other children with domestic teaching (explicações), which the money earned was to help at home.

At school, as any other colony regime, in post-colonization, the subjects studied were a way to consolidate the "assimilação". The classes attended were Portuguese (language), where he would read the classic Portuguese writers, here they would learn about morality and culture. The history was based in Portugal's history only, the culture through poems and the conferences were all about Portugal and its culture⁷⁷.

The interesting fact here is that the formation of the individual that was sprout thinking on that period and perhaps started to awaken him about the conditions that the countries were living in. The first three months of high school was turbulent, the parents together with their children were involved in a strike with the government at that time, that for undisclosed reasons closed the high school, after the expenses of the semester or even

⁷⁶ Julião Soares Sousa – Amilcar Cabral.....pg.72.

⁷⁷ Julião Soares Sousa: Amilcar Cabral: vida e morte de um revolucionario Africa ,pg.75 – 77.

the entire year were paid. After the situation was clear and the school opened, Cabral helped understand why it was important to keep the liceu's doors open, by being a very active student, the sport club "Associação Desportiva do Liceu de Cabo Verde (ADA)" was founded by him, in addition, the student had a very sensitive side, he wrote and recited his own poems as well as organized theaters at school. Cabral started to be a good talker with the conferences, expositions and other activities of same nature that were realized in the school. Moreover, as a pedagogue and a hardworking mother's son he did not disappoint his parents, Cabral finished the secondary school in 1944 as the best student of the liceu, possibly the best in the entire country. The interest around him aroused, inducing the dean to propose an internship to the student, as long as he would enroll himself in veterinary for his undergraduate, which he refused. Already following his father's steps, the recent graduate found himself a job at the National Press in Praia as amanuensis. Does it mean that Cabral was starting to understand his environment (the colonial regime) enough to be brave and contradict them? Or someone was behind his decisions?

While Cabral is ending with success his secondary school, in Lisbon his future coincidentally is being taken care of as well. At the end, of 1944 the Casa dos Estudantes do Imperio (CEI) – Home of the Students of the Empire was the mechanism that would for sure influence the Revolutionary with a more mature point of view about his countries situation. The CEI was founded precisely on July 1944, aiming to eliminate or bring under Portuguese control the many associations of each colonial country that was breaking out in Portugal. The main objective was to discourage the unity between them, to prevent the destruction of what was "Portuguese National unity" inside the Metropolis, their confidence incontestably awakened the colonial concern about their real objectives. The CEI first activities were in a direction to promote the African culture, helping in the superior education of its population, where the scholarships were sent to the secondary schools of the Ultramarines countries, as well as their social and material support to the fellow countrymen in the Metropolis⁷⁸. It was one year after its foundation that Cabral gives first steps to pursuit superior education, applying for a scholarship in that country through this association. The conditions to

⁷⁸ Claudia Orvalho Castelo – A casa dos estudantes contra o imperio, pg.66 – 68.

apply for that scholarship was suitable for him (being Cape Verdeans as nationality, high school average score of 14.0, proven financial needs, good moral and civil behaviour, having an impeccable behaviour at secondary school, did not have yet any Professional qualification, good health conditions) , the only problem that would be questioned was perhaps his nationality, but living in that country for some years, being Cabo Verdianos descendent and achieving his primary and high school with distinction there (in Cabo Verde) decreases the probability of the rejection for his application. This time, he chooses his own department, according to maybe his vocation, agronomy was the subject that he would be learning for four years.

Some authors defend that he was influenced by his father, once he used to write about the agricultural situation of the country (Cabo Verde) as a protest against the Portuguese regime and miss consideration towards the famines years after years. In his book Sousa⁷⁹ shows that, Cabral chose it on his own, with no influence from his father, that he already understood and stood up against the Portuguese exploitation, he did not need the father's works to understand his people were suffering, besides that, he was too young when his father had the same preoccupations, it would not be enough to clear him up about it. However, in November 1945 Cabral was in Portugal for his studies, generally, the classes started in September, but for bureaucratic reasons he was late two months for his first elective year.

It's in Portugal that Cabral's political skills are formed, according to Sousa. Here the combatant interact with the old students and from there his ideas and ideologies are solidified through literature, illegal anti – fascist struggles and all the experience from Portugal and the CEI⁸⁰.

But to understand how Cabral achieved most of his objectives (those known), we should get into the new environment that the young man was into, not only the country where he was but also the world.

⁷⁹ Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral.....pg.84, note 292.

⁸⁰ Idem, pg 125 – 144.

2.6.Lessons from the Second World War

The Second World War (WWII) was almost coming to an end when Cabral started his higher education, in fact, the man is a fragment of this terrible tragedy and its aftermaths.

The Second World War resulted from the high dudgeon from the First World War that destabilized Europe. After the WWI, the superpowers divided the world between them, but some were not at peace with their share, then in September 1939 the Second World War was started and lasted for seven years. It is considered the most bloody and destructive ever seen on earth, more than fifty million were killed, lands and houses destroyed in larger numbers than the First War⁸¹.

The aftermaths of these monstrous events were more dangerous than expected. The Communism saw its ideas realized. The global power moves from Europe to be divided between two enemies, United State and the Soviet Union, which will be settled down during the Cold War, that was based on espionage, political subversion and Proxy wars. Europe is dominated by both powers and the precautions of some countries through Non – Aligned Movement is opted to protect his people against the new episode of war that would break out at anytime (but never did). The superpowers feared the nuclear power of each other and the consequences that another conflict would bring. In these years the United Nations was created, based in international cooperation and diplomacy. Some organizations come out to prevent war in Europe resulting into huge international market players, the today's European Union. Decolonization becomes a reality, it starts from the Europeans great powers to set the example and it sprawled worldwide.

The Revolutionary witnessed the events that were changing the world right in front of his eyes, from the good perspective to worse ones, from North to South. In Africa, in his parents motherland, the situation was chaotic, the droughts and the bad administration and carelessness of the Metropolis, together with the misfortune that the WWII brought to Cabo Verde. He presenced the ruthlessness famine, forced immigration, and death of his people.

⁸¹ Henry Steele and Donald L. Niller – the story of WWI: Revised, expanded, and updated from the original text, pg.20.

Under the Estado Novo (Portuguese Fascism), Salazar governed for thirty years with economic and social stability, his effort were recognized, but the end of the WWII brought an end to that kind of regime, democracy was the new game on the table. Portugal was not an exception, oppositions started to break out and the change was inevitable. In 1940/41 the Communist Party created the Movimento de Unidade Nacional Antifascista – The National Anti – Fascist Unity Movement (MUNAF), the republicans founded the Movimento de Unidade Democrática – The Democratic Movement (MUD) in 1945. Sousa defended that Cabral participated through the “MUD / juvenil” (young MUD). This party’s members tried two coup d’etat, supported by the MUNAF members, followed by workers strikes supported by university students, arousing the PIDE’s anger, putting an end to their (the party and the youngsters support) independence in 1947. That year Salazar accepted to change the regime, after the “Abrilada’s” coup d’etat attempt. This attempt was orchestrated by the Minister of Defence, General Botelho Moniz, who wasn’t pleased by Salazar’s regime. The political stability and liberation took place but for a short period until they went back again to Salazar ideologies.

The speeches in the MUD/Juvenil made him understood that he could make a difference towards the decolonization of his people. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was changing sides only because of the events that were going around the world at that moment. The aim was to be in the same level with the other European countries, so Portugal started to re – think their position in the world’s eyes and gave a try to liberate the Ultramarine countries.

As always Cabral was an active student, once enrolled in Superior Institution of Agronomy (ISA), he also integrated himself in the students associations. On that time the CEI, introduced to him by Marcelino dos Santos⁸², the association was expanding its activities, for instance, the cultural and political debate were added to their agenda. Here the culture is deeply analyzed, according to Nobrega the students had this identity conflict, where they couldn’t decide if they were Portuguese or Africans. Medeiros goes further, he declares that to know their own country, people and culture, they were obligated to go to Portugal and have all concepts covered. This period of

⁸² The first Mozambican Primer Minister.

“descobrimento” (discovery) of their own culture, was called by Mario de Andrade of “reafricanização dos espíritos” (re-Africanization of spirits), a cultural movimento that was adopted in Angola by high school students, as a protest against the Portuguese domination through literature⁸³.

Within “Cabral’s generation”, (those that socialized, lived somehow with Cabral, went to the same school, had the same colonial experiences and same thoughts and somehow same interests), some authors use to say that Cabral was not so active in the political field in Portugal, Amadeu dos Santos says that according to Medeiros, Cabral was not integrated in PCP, only in MUD /Juvenil. Chabal saw his actions pending more to cultural than political arena⁸⁴. Sousa by the contrary understands that he was just precautious with his actions, not passive towards it⁸⁵. Slowly the students from the CEI and PCP or MUD/ Juvenil influenced millions to reject the assimilation and take the “Africanization of spirits” more seriously. It wasn’t difficult to persuade them once some started to experience arrests due their participations in PCP activities. During their studies, the generation was deeply influenced by French literature (Editions Sociale, which Engels and Marx were associated to; Georges Lefévre, Van Passen), Russians (Maxim Gorski, Chokolov) United States of America (Hughes, Cullen an Albridge) and as South American, the Brazilians and Chileans (Jorge Amado, Ramos and Freyre and Pablo Neruda). From the African Continent, they were influenced by authors from South Africa (Alan Paton) but not forgetting the classic Portuguese literature.

By 1950 Amilcar Cabral was the Vice - President of the CEI, when the PIDE started to not only incarcerate the sympatethics with the Communist Party but to illiminate them . They started to investigate the CEI, having access to the official list of its members through the Ministério das Colonias – Ministry of the Colonies. One year later, Amilcar Cabral protests against the NATO Pact, alleging that, too much money was about to be spent in war crafts, when the Portuguese people were having trouble to support their own families. From there he is the target of the PIDE, according to Sousa⁸⁶.

⁸³ Amadeu dos Santos – A questão colonial: O contributo de Amilcar Cabral, pg. 318

⁸⁴ Chabal Patrick – Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and people’s war.

⁸⁵ Sousa, Julião: Amilcar Cabral: vida e pg 126 – 129.

⁸⁶ Idem, pg 128.

The Policia Internacional e de Defesa de Estado – International Police and State Security (PIDE), was created in 1945, under the Estado Novo by Salazar with the aim of controlling or eliminate the oppositions. Their performances were from administrative department (immigration, frontiers, foreign people traffic and visas) to criminal area (crimes committed by foreigners in Portugal, illegal immigration, domestic or international state prejudices). The PIDE kept following Cabral until he returns to Guinea – Bissau.

At the end of the same year (December 20th of 1951) he gets married to Maria Helena Vilhena Rodrigues, which seems to be the first love of the revolutionary, the woman who kept his heart at the first sight and for her he wrote a poem, the “Soneto de nosso amor” (The sonnet of our love), poem that was a “masterpieces”, according to Aguinaldo Fonseca⁸⁷.

2.7. Amilcar Cabral the agronomist

In 1952, the student graduates as usual, the first of his class (scoring 18) , Amilcar Cabral is the new agronomist in the market, ready to give his contribution to the development of the agriculture and his people emancipation (at least in the agricultural field at that time) in his country, as stated on Mario de Andrade’s⁸⁸ work. As an intern in the Estação Agronomica Nacional in Alentejo – National Agronomic Station, he was responsible for the studies of Alentejo’s soil erosion, unfortunately, his work suffered some doubts, due to the citation of works of another educator (Botelho da Costa), who had empathy for “African agriculture” and was his supervisor⁸⁹.

After accomplishing his superior education, the agronomist needed to fulfill his professional life. Mario Andrade and Ario Azevedo give us the idea that after the studies the market was open to Amilcar Cabral. Sousa⁹⁰ by his turn pointed some difficulties that the head of the family had to be accepted in the colonial system labor for the “qualified trained Africans” not only in Portugal but also in other colonies. The

⁸⁷ Andrade Mario: AC Biografia, pg. 29 - Fundação Amilcar Cabral, 2011.

⁸⁸ Idem.

⁸⁹ Azevedo, Ario Lobo – Continuar Cabral, Simposio Internacional Amilcar Cabral ,Cabo Verde, 17 a 20 de Janeiro de 1983, pg.127.

⁹⁰ Julião Soares Sousa – Amilcar Cabral, vida e morte de um revolucionario Aficano,pg 161-164.

racism and discrimination were the causes of the unemployment of the fresh qualified young African. They did not have the rights to high positions in the public administration or even salaries as the Europeans, even when performing the same jobs.

Through difficulties, Cabral realized his dream, to serve his people in his Continent and maybe in his own country. Once more Azevedo shows how easy it was for him to find a job: “[...] And that’s how he had the opportunity to be informed on time about a job that would permit Amílcar Cabral of demonstrating what in fact he was capable of doing: the agricultural census of Guinea-Bissau”. Sousa used Luis Cabral’s declaration cited on Vicente Lopes’s book that Cabral was accepted when an agronomist engineer gave up on his position at that time, besides he was introduced on behalf of a friend of the family, moreover, the wife herself declared that the agronomist was applying for all the announcements posted for Africa but he could not succeed. Sousa agrees with Vicente Lopes, who does not see the obstacles find a job just as colonialism situation lived on that time, also, they resorted to the signature of Cabral on the petition lodged against the Pact of the Atlantic within that year, as factors of his professional unfortune.

Vanquished the barriers, in 24 of September of 1952 Amílcar Cabral was 28 years old, when he took his post at the Department of Agriculture and Forestry Services, in Bissau. Cabral started his remarkable work from this simple Professional position.

2.8.The achievements in Bissau’s census

For Schwarz, Cabral chose the right place to be an agronomist, the place need an engineer, it was a vast territory to be explored and constructed, in ways to contribute to the population’s need ⁹¹.

When Cabral arrived in Bissau, most particular in Passage where he was going to work at, the division and discrimination was crystal clear. On one side the explorer (the city), implied "acculturated". The city was consolidated by the port of Pindjiguiti, and the Avenue of the Republic⁹², connecting the milestone Esforço da Raça (Effort of the Race) and the Governor's Palace that was in construction. The area was occupied by

⁹¹ Carlos Schwarz: Amílcar Cabral um agronomo antes do seu tempo, pg.3.

⁹² Today’s Amílcar Cabral Avenue.

huge remote firms, Portuguese exchanging houses and Lebanese traders. The other part, incorporating the center, was claimed "natives" side, controlled by the Pepel ethnic group, where the commerce was dominated by Djilas and transportation of the products made "by bicycles and canoes"⁹³.

For thousands of years, the main agriculture production was rice and peanuts, Cabral found the same cultivations, where the exportation was made exclusively by the Europeans. The technical developments, employees training, and infrastructure mean to coop with the development of the few agricultural practices performed were not existent in the field. With the new agronomist there was betterment, the measurements he presented to emancipate the agriculture and economies of Bissau were as following:

- **Experiments:** in Passube he was living in a farm, with a vast unexplored soil and deprived of alimentation, he set himself as the model to be followed, by transforming his fruitless farm into an exploration field in agronomy. On that terrain the agronomist explored the new technics of agriculture according to their category, experimented new cultivations to be aware of their adaptation in the soil, introduced new crops and studied the protection against plagues. In this way, he started to treat the soil with organic products, the animal dung, registering all the changes and developments that he found during his experiments.
- **Taking other routes:** before Cabral has started his experiments in Pessube, the FAO had done the work five years ago, which the Portuguese colonial system did not use, in ways to encourage their monopolism. As an agronomist and worried about the population sustainability, he takes the report results and shares it with the natives, he put the advice into practice and help them improve their cultivations.
- **International knowledge exchange:** with his education background activities during his studies, he knew that sharing is a way of acquiring more information and experience. He opened the door of Bissau to foreign agricultural specialists to different types of cultivation that he had going on. Moreover, the results obtained with his new strategies and experiments, were exposed in Dakar, at Groundnut-Millet conference that

⁹³ Carlos Schwarz: Amilcar Cabral um agronomo antes do seu tempo, pg.5.

was realized two years later. He proved the capability of his country's specialists and showed that Bissau had other solution rather than domination and dependency.

- **Domestically:** training of staff and encouragement to develop further studies on the field and the continuity of formation of qualified people in that area was encouraged, through the creation of the core of specialized workforce in the region.

As Azevedo described, during his work⁹⁴ in Bissau, Cabral had time to measure Bissau “lés a lés” (in all its lengths and breaths). During his “pilgrimage” people of all sort were met and inquired, from young and innocent with no worrisome to adults, chiefs of communities and gatherers to better understand their needs and the necessary changes to emancipate their lives conditions, giving him a deeper knowledge of his surroundings and his people situation. Aware of the problems that the society was confronting, Cabral tries to help in the education field, (as used to work in that field from his childhood), through a traditional group that used to organize nationalist theaters. In what concerns sports, football was his passion, he took steps to create a club, unfortunately, the rules were severe and the idea could not be developed. The group could not be formed by Cabo Verdianos or Europeans only Guinean citizens, “natives” or even the “civilized” citizens⁹⁵.

All the data consulted pointed that Cabral left Bissau in 1955, but the reasons of the abandonment of his hometown have vast and different reasons. Carlos Schwarz was convinced that the motive of his expedition was the “conspiratorial activities for the independence of Guinea”⁹⁶. Sousa points the health condition of all family as the cause of his return to Lisbon, but before that he had a discussion with the Governor that advised him to stop his activities and sent a letter to the Metropole to inform them about his conduct in the territory⁹⁷. Cabral was given the rights to return but only to visit his family, his mother, stated Schwarz⁹⁸. Ario Azevedo sees the ancient problem with the PIDE and their continuous harassment as the cause of the dereliction of his own country

⁹⁴ Arido Azevedo – Continuar Cabral – Simposio Amilcar - Amilcar Cabral Agronomo, pg.128.

⁹⁵ Julião Soares Sousa – Amilcar Cabral – vida e obra de pg.174.

⁹⁶ Carlos Schwarz - Amilcar Cabral um agronomo antes do seu tempo,pg. 8.

⁹⁷ Julião Soares Sousa - Amilcar Cabral, Vida e obra.....pg.182.

⁹⁸ Carlos Schwarz - Amilcar Cabral um agronomo antes do seu tempo,pg. 8.

of birth⁹⁹. In a short clarification (questionnaire) that I sent to the daughter of Cabral, Iva Cabral, through email, she confirms Schwarz's statement.

Nevertheless, Cabral goes back to Portugal with his family, consisting of his wife and the first daughter Iva, named after the combatant's mother. His activities in the region that was causing a disturbance in the administration of Portuguese regime came to an end. At least, that was what they thought.

He was back to Lisbon as a colonial professional, under the eyes of the dominator. There he is a researcher in phytosanitary (the study of plants) in Largo Santos, according to Sousa he would live there for three years, between 1956 to 1960¹⁰⁰.

This position grants him opportunities to realize several trips to Angola, to compose several scientific research in his field. Between those researches Cabral had the chance to present his skills when solving the problem of salty cultivation and the coffee's terrain recuperation. Due to the results, his contribution was considered the best work performed in Angola those times, (ancient research could not find the real problem and solutions). Unfortunately, the holders of the territory and economy did not use the advice correctly, thus his strategies were repeated, all with excellent results.¹⁰¹

As always, Cabral was a man of multiple activities and multiple tasks solver. During his mission in that country for the Companhia Agrícola de Angola – Agricultural Company of Angola (CADA), he “visits” his ancient classmates, friends and CEI former members. These “camaradas” (fellows, comrade) were already integrated into movements, associations and creation of political parties. Once more he breaks the rules by participating in the formation of a political party in that country, the Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola – United Struggle of Africans of Angola Party (PLUAA)¹⁰².

Above is mentioned that Sousa gave the exact dates that Cabral would stay in Lisbon, from 1956 to 1960, this had a huge change in the history. Azevedo tells us that one year

⁹⁹Azevedo Ario Lobo: Continuar Cabral, Simposio Internacional Amilcar Cabral, Cabo Verde, 17 a 20 de Janeiro de 1983, pg. 129.

¹⁰⁰ Sousa, Julião: Amilcar Cabral: vida e...pg 182.

¹⁰¹ Ario L. De Azevedo – Simposio Amilcar Cabral, (1983),pg.131.

¹⁰²Sousa Soares, pg 182. The author disavow that he was one of the founders of MPLA.

before he honors his “contract” in that country (in 1959), Cabral told him that his life was going “to change the course” ¹⁰³, Sousa affirms that in that same year the revolutionary went underground.

The agronomist gives place to what his own mother was against, a combatant, a politician, the one who sacrifices his personal life to emancipate his brothers and sisters.



¹⁰³ Ario L. De Azevedo – Simposio Amílcar Cabral.... pg. 131 (1983).

CHAPTER III

AMILCAR CABRAL POLITICAL IDEAS

When suggesting the thesis title, I never had the preoccupation of discerning the meaning of idea and thoughts, as I started this topic my preoccupation raised, specially when it came to my mind that my supervisor insisted in suggesting idea instead of thoughts, at that time I did not argue, but now I feel the necessity to clarify myself before going forward.

It turns out that the idea and thought are different and confusing matters, to define them is just like to think of the egg and chicken problem, which one came first. In this regard, Descartes is the philosopher who came closer to the creation of the *Theory of idea*. Cited by Kurt, for Descartes, an idea “is a mode of thought”¹⁰⁴. Meaning, idea is the “last stage” of thinking, the idea is formed by the thoughts when given the development that is necessary to that thought, putting it in practice it becomes an idea. Whereas Plato understands idea as the result of thoughts, the existence of substances, Descartes does not consider an idea a real substance, for him the ideas are images, representations of what we believe that exist. The philosopher says that, there are more modes of thoughts, he separated them into feelings and judgements, those would be modes of thoughts called *object of mind* and not ideas for them not to be able to construct image, something palpable, those capable of forming images, he considers them *idea*. The author pointed three kinds of ideas according to Descartes: the *innate*, the *adventitious* and the *factitious idea*. In the **innate** idea, the idea is natural, it came to the mind but it can not be imagined, the end of the thinking can't construct the palpable image, turning it into **adventitious**, its only in the mind, it can't be reproduced in image, they are shaped only in the mind, for instance he cited pain. The **factitious** idea is the thinking itself

¹⁰⁴ Kurt Smith – Descartes' Theory of Ideas, in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

already formed, the thing it is contacted with. To prove or make distinction of idea and thought he presents the *formal reality (FR)* and the *objective reality (OR)*. In the FR refers to the existence of the thing thought of and or represents something, is the image that represents the thing thought of, which he considers **idea**. For instance he said: "I first examine the difference between imagination and pure intellection. So, for example, when I imagine a triangle, I not only understand that it is a figure bounded by three lines, but at the same time I also envisage with the mind's sees those lines as if they were present; and this is what I call "imagining."

Descartes suffered many criticism and contradictions from many philosopher of that time, specially when he tried to think of God in ways to explain his own existence, but his *quasi* theory still be appealed on to discuss similar issues. Once idea and thought was dissented, which one to use when talking about the politics? Which one should be used, political thoughts or ideas?

Well, the political thought, or political subjectivity, is the examination of solicitation concerning force, worth, rights, law, and assorted issues relating to governance. Whereas political science recognize and accept these terms without wondering what they are, political thought study their meaning and their influence in the society¹⁰⁵. Aggarwal says that political thought has this "political speculations of a whole community, over a certain period". However, his statement does not mean that the same thoughts would not be used in future¹⁰⁶. Therefore, political thought is the governance and ideas that grant the population their necessities, in ways to achieve Plato's notion of happiness.

However, it is impossible to talk about political thoughts without making a tour to the *Renaissance* and the authors that were remarkable during and after that period. The Renaissance periods counts from the 14th to 17 Century, which is between the Middle Age and the Modern history, born in Europe as a cultural movement, embedded in Latin literature and new technical expression of realities through painting, and also gave

¹⁰⁵ Internet Enciclopedia of Philosophy - A Peer – Reviewed Academic Resource - <http://www.iep.utm.edu/>

¹⁰⁶ Pravesh Aggarwal, RGNUL - Distinction between political theory and political thought.

wings to new educational methods. In the political arena, it marks the implementation of diplomacy in the political world stage.

In this Era Latin and Greek literature were the main areas studied, where Perach Salutati (1331 – 1406), Niccolo de Nicoli (1364 – 1437) and Poggio Bracciolini (1380 – 1459) were the scholars that were given great attention. Political philosophers as Quentin Skinner, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Leonardo Bruni, Coluccio Salutati and Matteo Palmieri start to change the political views of Italy and the world, justice, fairness and better organization were the main topics of the political agenda¹⁰⁷.

The mechanical changes or industrial revolution conveyed a parallel agitation in political thought. Urbanization and private endeavor phenomena reshaped the society. In the mid-19th century, Marxism was delivered, and socialism expanded by large from the urban normal specialists. By the late 19th century, socialism and trade unions were developed in the political stage. Additionally, the diverse branches of revolt and syndicalism similarly expanded some prominences, particularly in Spain and France. In the Anglo-American world, the pluralism is the one to give concrete profits at the beginning of the 20th century. In this period the philosopher that kept the political sayings were Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Hobbes, Miller, Rousseau, Locke and others.

It was after the Second World War that Africa entered into the world interest, where the countries were called “ Third World Countries”, with the mere objective of boosting the Western economy. As the aftermath of the WWII, Africa started to fight for its space in the world. From that time the philosopher and the Continent gained relevance in the world’s political stage. This refers to the political speculations and rationalities that came by as distinctive African scientists and statesmen, the individual histories, works, and method verbalizations, focusing on the “ideas” rather than on the person him/herself. In this period the political integration was supported by Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, while the unity of Africa as a whole, or Pan – Africanism

¹⁰⁷ Felipe Charbel Teixeira A República bem ordenada: Francesco Guicciardini e a arte do “bom governo”,pg.58.

was led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea Conakry, and Modibo Kéita of Mali¹⁰⁸.

It is in this environment of world transformation that the African countries recognition as nations and the sovereignty conquered that, Amilcar Cabral is known as one of the most or maybe the only African Revolutionary existed. In this sense, Cabral political thoughts, would be about managing and giving answers to the needs of people, and the idea through which to achieve it was the independence. The next topics will discuss the idea wider, the actions that made the “simple African man” to be given powerful cognomens.

3.1. Amilcar political ideas

“Think to better act, act to better think”

Amilcar Cabral

It was in 1952 that Amilcar Cabral, is recognized as a Revolutionary, when he studied the Guinean – Bissau soil, through the agricultural census, which he used to acquire knowledge about his own territory and people as Carl Swartz defended in his work. In 1959 that he contributed to political parties formation when he visited the former Africans colleagues during his missions in Angola to solve agricultural issues.

In the same year a political party is created, the PAI – Partido Africano da Independência – African Party of Independence - which set up three huge focuses, specifically: the brief achievement of national opportunity of the Portuguese - Guinea and Cape Verde; democratization and freedom of Guinean and Cape Verdean people; and the affirmation of a quick budgetary and an ensured social progress of the people of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde. Later the PAI gave place to the Partido Africano de Independência de Guine e Cabo Verde –African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). Before the foundation of the party, the Movimento de Libertação Nacional das Colonias Portuguesas – National Liberation of the Portuguese Colonies (MLNCP), turned into Movimento Anti Colonialista – Anti-Colonialist

¹⁰⁸ Sousa Soares Julião - Chapter 4 – Pan – Africanism and African Unity, from ideal to practice.

Movement (MAC), with the aim to liberate all the Portuguese colonies, to spread his ideas within the colonized countries and all the countries where the descendants of the dominated people were living at¹⁰⁹.

Domestically, he received a number of adherents from all social classes and oriented them, educated them politically, distributed tasks in ways to mobilize the rest of the country, arousing the hunger for freedom between them¹¹⁰. In 1959, Cabral was not in Bissau territory, when he went back the Movimento da Libertação da Guiné – Guinea Liberation Movement (MLG) was founded, which Cabral advised his neighbors (Senegal and Guinea Conakry) to create same movements, been accomplished in 1961.

Not long after its creation, the PAI built up resistance procedure to manage the Portuguese frontiers, under which they boycotted expenses, exchange and sorted out strikes. Cabral rejected ruthlessly because he believed from the beginning that, through political means, he could induce Salazar to orchestrate the autonomy of Cabo Verde and Guinea-Bissau. The party's arrangement attempts were thought along with the humbler open organization laborers and trade, nearby agents, little pros, sailors and lumpen-low class, made up of unemployed, other marginalized classes. During this period, the activities were responded with imprisonment and all the punishments considered suitable towards several contributors of Cabral's cause. In the anterior year the massacre of Pindjiguiti and other atrocities in the neighborhood (Angola), made Cabral go forward with his ideas of freedom of his people and Africa in general. In the international plan, the Portuguese colonies participated in a conference in Tunisia realized in 1960, where they asked for support in military training and accorded with China. According to Sousa, Morocco and Gana also had a huge importance, they were the first to support with arms and munitions. During a conference in that country, Cabral narrated the atrocities that Portugal committed during those years, demanded for self – determination and independence, which Cairo supported unconditionally¹¹¹. The few international organizations existed by that time were used for financial support, such as the Pan – African Conference, the Committee of African organizations, the Permanent

¹⁰⁹ Yves Bénot – Amílcar Cabral e o movimento operário internacional, in Continuar Cabral – Simposio Internacional Amílcar Cabral, Cabo Verde, 17 a 20 de Janeiro de 1984, pg. 476 -477.

¹¹⁰ Sousa Soares Julião – Amílcar Cabral, Vida e pg. 320.

¹¹¹ Sousa Soares Julião – Amílcar Cabral, Vida e obra.....pg. 328.

Committee of Afro – Asiatic Conference and the United Nations. The PAIGC was born in Guinea Conakry, where the radios were used to alert the population about the colony regime that was affecting negatively the growth of his people.

But only diplomatic move were not enough for the struggle of independence, the party felt the necessity of fortifying its actions, to define better the tasks, therefore, “principles of the party”, were created ¹¹²:

i. Unidade e luta (to unite and struggle) - *to transform a diversified group of people in one well-defined group, searching for the same road. It doesn't matter the differences between us, we are one, for a group to realize whatever the objective we have. This unity was about to see your neighbor as your brother, the religion, language and race should be forgotten in ways to strengthen our relationship and neutralize the dominators idea of separation, inferiority between us. To fight the oppression upon our people and raise our country against the chaotic economic, social and political situation of both our motherland. In sum, **unity to fight against colonialism and fight to concrete your unity to construct our country how it deserves to be.***

The unity also referred to the unity of the two countries, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, for Cabral the two countries “is one, by nature, by history, geographically, economic tendencies, by everything, even by blood”. According to Sousa, this idea was presented in Cairo’s conference in 1961 during which Cabral suggested the “unity to fight” together and later to create an “organic unity”. Meaning, the creation of an organization that would organize the struggle, without excluding the participation of the natives¹¹³.

ii. The reality – *we should know the reality of our country to fight, we should know our strength and weaknesses. The other country’s reality also should be known and not count on what we think that we know. We should think, plan and make the struggle in accordance to our reality, the reality of our lands. As Lubiano stated, “think globally*

¹¹² Alguns principios do partido - Cabral, Amilcar, 1965, at <http://casacomum.org/>.

¹¹³ Cheach Pheng – Spectral Nationality: Passage of Freedom from Kant to postcolonial, google book p.215

and act locally”¹¹⁴, Cabral was one of those that worked in the same system. As he said, don’t forget that our reality is influenced by the international acts. The experience of others should be taken into consideration when analyzing our own.

Locally the reality to be considered was the geographical position of the countries (Bissau and Praia), in particular, the land in ways to intercept the colonial troops penetration, their mobility should be neutralized, the communication cut. The financial situation was not supportive to the struggle to be held, therefore, the support from international forces weren’t much, without natural resources to be explored and technical developments there would be no benefits if they stood up for the freedom of the country. Socially the exploitation was among the “white natives”, the misery, bad nutrition resulting in short life expectancy was not compatible with the struggle. Culturally, Cabo Verde was an unknown country, with a living African culture and same beliefs, the only difference is that the culture was transported to the place, in Bissau there is the fusion of African culture itself. The fight would bring changes to the cultural beliefs, acts and practice in Bissau. Politically, the freedom of the population was in Portuguese hands, the decision – making was never about the two countries or their people, independence and self – determination were a taboo, those were the main reasons to unleash the struggle.

The party grew and the armed struggle against the Portuguese regime was called off in 1963, in Madine Boe, in Guinea – Bissau, obviously because of its strategic geographic position. As the struggle develops, new concepts, strategies and lessons are learned from it, like that other preoccupations and changes are made inside the party and the country to adapt to the new condition of the time. Cabral as a leader did not lie or pity his people or tolerate uncomfortable commentaries or inconvenient changes in ways to achieve the independence. So more changes and better knowledge of the party was met.

iii. Our party and the struggle – *the struggle is not orally but the act itself, not only by spreading good words through social communication and waiting in the future to run the country. The struggle is against us and the enemy until the oppressor lives our*

¹¹⁴ Wahneema Lubiano – Shuckin’ off the African – American Native other: What’s “Po – Mo” got to do with it?, pg 154.

lands. The struggle can be made indoors (diplomatically or military) and outdoors. It should develop in a normal development, not in a hurry, step by step according to the evolution and experience of the war. All should be responsible for the development of the war, fight for the population not for individual ideas.

The gender inequality was not a characteristic of the party, women also participate in the decision – making as long as she is responsible for her acts. Give opportunity to other to grow inside the party and create a generation for the future decisions in behalf of the people.

*“The best sons of our land
are the ones that should helm our party,
our people”*

Amilcar Cabral

iv. Improvement of our political work – *to organize the military departments, make them more active, to reinforce and consolidate the liberated zones, direct more and better the population in their activities, be more efficient, consciousness in the international field, not only in Africa but worldwide. The population is the organ of the party, the head of the bureau, the commissionaires, should live for the party and the people, they should be in contact with the population to help them analyse and solve their problems for them to have the power of decision – making themselves, above all direct them to economic development. There should be a collision between the military and the regional leaders, meeting to discuss the strengths, the weakness, the achievements and improve where necessary, also tolerance should exist between them.*

v. People’s struggle - *the struggle is against the European (Portuguese) capitalist class, meanwhile, it influences the imperialism itself. This fight is for the progress of the people, also is against natives that somehow desire the self-improvement, not national well-being. The struggle is to achieve the total happiness of our people. The local courts distributed in the regions are there to help the population achieve it.*

“Struggle of the people, by the people and for the people”

Amilcar Cabral

vi. Not everyone is party - *the fight is not about a particular group, but for all the groups inside the country, not for a certain ethnic group, not for flags, anthem, ministers of seats in the palace, but to free the people from any other exploitation. Emancipation for all, especially the children. Those that do not understand these principles or do not believe in the unity of the two countries, that lives in opportunist ideas, should abandon the party.*

The mentioned above, are the main principles of the party, other were cited in his work, but the most important (on my point of view and for this work) were chosen to be presented here.

During the planification of the strategies of the struggle, Cabral had in mind and shared with his comrades the weakness and the advantage of the struggle, it would be a disaster if the countries had natural resources, a sustainable economy and developed technologically, for their own good, being devoided was an advantage the war would be only against Portugal, not the world¹¹⁵.

3.2. Marxim and Leninism vs Cabralism

Also, the father of the independence of Cabo Verde and Guinea – Bissau, saw different ways of creating and developing its own society inside of the philosophers theories of that epoch, Marxism and Leninism. For him, the example could be taken but make it adaptable to the society not forgetting the reality in ways not to lose the objective, the general growth of the people. Thus, Cabral also divided the society into classes and analyzed them and discussed their role into the liberation struggle.

According to Sparkes the term “class” carries with it the differentiation between population, according to their financial situation¹¹⁶. Owen was the first person to

¹¹⁵ Alguns principios do partido - Cabral, Amilcar, 1965,pg.38.

¹¹⁶ Talking politics, by A.W. Sparkes, (2006) .

propose the “upper, middle and lower class” terms¹¹⁷. It was inside of this context that Marx and his companion Hegels called “class struggle” out, their hypothesis stood up until today and apparently it will be discussed through coming Centuries. Marxism point of view is that “class struggle” is the nature of the very beginning of the existence of man. Cabral never accepted this point of view, due to the exclusion of other people’s culture from history, he believed that every human being has its own existence, experience and cultural reality that is shared for generations.

Nevertheless, it was inside of French Revolution, that the government in the Marxian sense that class struggle is seen as a flooding of surplus quality changed over into capital, a framework that Marx proposed as capital gathering. This capital totalitarianism continues, given the expansionary method for capital occurring into an overflow to outside markets, transformed into the system for their own authority. With this capitalism system, two classes would surge, the bourgeois (the private enterprises class) and the proletariat or working class (the ones affected economically by the industry). Marxism theory stood for the transformation of socio – economic view and put political economy aside from its analysis¹¹⁸. Here Cabral revolutionizes the theory by connecting the three fields together: economy, society and politics, his first step was attacking the imperialist in their economy, starting with the Guinean census and spreading it during the struggle.

Leninism in its turn shows that the error of its denial (Marxism) lies on the totalitarianism in the agent states (bourgeois), which was a result of the shift of abusive use inside of the industrialist states to the under classes (proletariat). In his work “Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism”, Lenin sees the world ruled by the capitalists, where the economy becomes monopolized, hold by the government, giving huge importance for international trade, strengthening their domination in the world’s division, where the capitalists are the ones rewriting the world map. In other words, the low classes (proletariat) in the private business field is ravished¹¹⁹. Cabral sees the

¹¹⁷ Angela and M. Leonard - Political Poetry as Discourse: Rereading John Greenleaf Whittier, Ebenezer ...pg.54.

¹¹⁸ Cliff, Slaughter – VII Marxist theory and class consciousness – Marxism and the class struggle, 1975 - <https://www.marxists.org> .

¹¹⁹ Ntalaja: Simposio Amilcar Cabral.....pg.187, 1983.

capital gathering supported by the government, from colonialism to capitalism, that there was no good outcome to the colonized countries. The dominators negligent economic or any other development to their dominated countries¹²⁰.

Regarding the class discussion, Marx assumes that between the two classes, the bourgeois (from capitalism) and the proletariat (salaried class from industrial mechanism), the proletariat is the dominant class, leading to man exploitation. According to him, the classes are always in conflict, they search for their own group interest. Inside the capitalism the industry is the enemy of both sides, (the abused and the dominator, purchaser and dealers), partnership were nonexistent, they fight for the power, economic power.

In his turn Cabral uses all the socio – economic theories of that time to come up with the one that would be useful to the classification of his own society, particularly the Lenin's point of view of the subject. Cabral brought more factors to the ideology, he joined the class categories to the realities of his own country, the ethnicity, the religion and the race, so the theory would be suitable for the African countries and not be excluded from the history as Marxism supposed. Cabral might have used the Marx theory to analyze his own society, but says that “the class struggle as a driving force of the history has its specific period, determined production mode identified by its level of production forces and its proprietary regime” as wrote Chilcote¹²¹. In this context, Sousa assumes that he divided his point of view into three phases: the horizontal - agricultural livestock without State; the vertical - social assimilated feudal agrarian with State presence and; the socialist or communist society, where the State disappear and the evolution of the society is horizontal¹²².

In his revolution, he also presented classes categories, after identifying the capitalism. With the introduction of money and the urbanization, with the mobilization of people from the rural to the city increment, resulting in new classes, there would be a small farmer bourgeoisie in the rural, composed by the ones that emerged from small bureaucrats buyers bourgeois, the private agriculture expands are the proletariat, but the

¹²⁰ Ake, C. Social Science as imperialism. –A political Economy of Africa, (1981),pg.88 .

¹²¹ Ronald Chilcote – Cabral in the historical context of his epoch,in Continuar cabral.....pg.158.

¹²² Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral, vida e obra.....pg.452 – 453.

salaried workers and State also compose the colonial society. For him the bourgeoisie was still under the dominators, the reason that the population could not develop, that system should be destroyed.

Cabral was analyzing the two countries society that he was struggling for their liberation. Guinea – Bissau's society was dominated politically, economically and militarily by the colonial class. They were prohibited from practicing their own culture even would commit racism between indigenous and the mass population. This class, manipulated the urban population, through assimilation, they would form the bourgeois. It was composed by State employers, which worked in the commercial development indoors, liberal professionals, the houses workers and landholders.

Within the class Cabral divided it into three categories in both colonies, Guinea – Bissau and Cabo Verde¹²³:

- A majority that wanted the end of the domination but couldn't pronounce it;
- A small but powerful group that defends colonialism and;
- A small group that fought against the exploitation

Between them the salaried (that was the majority) supported the colonialism and the minority doing the contrast. According to Cabral, there was a group of “vadios” (no occupation) that supported the colonialism by becoming their spies, another that would work partially but connected to Portuguese, those would be humiliated, some turned to the revolution. Bissau had a complex society due to its ethnic groups (in the rural), for example Balanta (no State), Manjacos that were Balanta chefs for Portuguese services, the Fulas (semi – feudal, composed by traditional chiefs, noble families and religious chiefs, comerciants, religious leaders) and Mandingas (first Portuguese feudal in Bissau) . In Cabo Verde the classes were different, there were:

- Large and small landholders (majority lost the properties to the bank);
- The renters (dependent on banks, large holders and sharecroppers)

¹²³ Ronald Chilcote – Cabral in the historical context of his epoch.....Continuar Cabral.....pg. 159 – 163.

There was a small group of farmers but not enough to form a class. For him, the landholders supported the colonialism and the small farmers were divided between domination and freedom. However, in Cabo Verde literate population was larger than in Guinea – Bissau and they worked for the Portuguese in administration field in Bissau (called *capataz*) and both were exploited by the settlers.

Besides the exploitation duo (colonialism / imperialism), Cabral identified neo – colonialism and indirect domination of the governors. Inside of Lenin’s “Britannic protectorate”, which Cabral called decolonization, it involved a national revolution (to eliminate the foreign domination, to take the independence and sovereignty) and a social struggle (to destroy the capitalist, the exploitation of workers and farmers). In the decolonization, the struggle would be international, focusing more in mobilization of the people, through national organizations, popular, revolutionaries and anti – imperialists, including independent States. In the post – colonial it was necessary the alliance between populist and progressive forces for the success of the liberation.

As with his theories and diplomatic moves the Portuguese were resistant to free his people, he saw the necessity of being more severe about not only the Portuguese regime but also any kind of domination committed by international or national human being and bring the confidence and independence of his people to reality, that’s why he resorted to armed struggle.

3.3. Cabral the Pan – Africanist

The term Pan – Africanism was baptized by Henry Silvester Williams in 1900, with the aim of protecting the marginalized “colored” people from any kind of exploitation in the world. This idea gained the sympathy of great leaders in Africa, when Du Bois joined the law to the doctrine in 1919 and soon the Pan – Africanism gained corporation and respect worldwide. In 1945 it started to include the struggle for the independence of the African countries in the agenda and in 1963 the African Union Organization (AUO) was created. The Pan – Africanism was started by the end of the Second World War, the recognition of African countries independence and their culture was inevitable.

It was in Accra, in 1958 that the first African Countries Conferences were held¹²⁴, with the aim to support the countries that conquered their independence, the economic strengthening and to discuss the way of decolonizing the rest of the countries on settlers hands. In the same year, another conference was organized where the main objective was to unify the African Continent. Some attempts were made, the unification was extended to diplomacy, political and economic life of the countries that tried to be unified. In this line of accepting and caring about African roots, Cabral gives great attention to the race, the color of the skin, he underlined the African Continent as his reference to contribute to the “re – assimilation” of the culture, explained Carlos Lopes¹²⁵. Inside of this fever of union, Amilcar Cabral tried to unite Cape Verde and Guinea – Bissau. Unfortunately, the unification of Africa was unsuccessful, the motive that made the leaders unify the countries, was the same to separate them, the culture, the language and economic problems as colonization aftermaths. But Cape Verde and Bissau had all the conditions to be united, the culture, the language, the dependence economy, the cultural similarity, above all the blood ties. What went wrong? This question will be answered in a further topic.

Amilcar Cabral wanted this union because it would bring the chance of its people to think, act and govern for themselves, and it would have an impact in the African union idea, despite the differences between the countries. This is when Cabral is baptized with the name “utopian” and “humanist”, he wanted global well-being, not partially, not only for Cape Verde and Bissau but for Africa.

Craving for the world peace and humanity, Cabral appeal for international attention sending letters to the United Nations (UN), alerting them about the assault to the regulation number 73 of the charter by the Portuguese domination on the territories, twenty-three years after the article was adopted. Portugal by 1951 named the colonies as “provinces” therefore they could not be accused of having colonies. Pressured by the UN, the Resolution 1514 gave self-determination to the colonies, unsatisfied and afraid of the future of the resolution (that nothing would change) and with Portugal always having the truth twisted, Cabral understood that the independence would be achieved

¹²⁴ Sousa – Amilcar Cabral Vida e obra.....pg.204.

¹²⁵ Carlos Lopes Pereira – Socialismo e neocolonialismo,(2004), pg.8.

only through armed struggle. Through all the way, from the beginning, Cabral never wanted to fight, but always prepared for the worst, in 1959, he really started to alert his people about that unfortunate situation in the near future.

In 1963, his patience ran out, obligating him to appeal for arms struggle aiming to end the ruthlessness of the Portuguese regime in the territories.

3.4. Cabral's military strategies

During years of pacific appeals, asking for political and social modifications surprisingly, the oppression was increased, for example, the rebellion of São Tome and Principe, Pidjiguiti in Bissau and Baixa of Cassangue in Angola, where people were massacred. The struggle was in Guinea – Bissau rural, in Madina Boé, Cape Verde was excluded due to its geographic strategies. Years before the struggle, the African countries had a pact stating that they would never use arms to claim for peace, but for the Portuguese colonies the situation was totally different, they had to and the neighborhood supported the Guinean and Cape Verdean brothers on that troubled moment.

Regarding to the war itself, before getting into a corner with no exit, from 1961, some preparations were made. Cabral washed his people's mind against the hate or even the harm of Portuguese people themselves, but their ruthlessness, after he sent some of them to the rural areas of Bissau and Conakry to teach the lessons learned to the rest of the population and to take care of their daily life issues, then the last step was to get them armed, they were called *militias* and **not militaries**, between the militias male, the courageous women also trudged by the combatant side. Militias were the citizens trained by a particular leader but not a formed government or its system, they were trained given arms to protect themselves and the population¹²⁶. Militia contrasts the military, which performs under a government, with specific system, involving laws and duties between the state and the military officials. While the militaries serve the country as part of their duty, the militia is a body that support the country in an emergency. Before the globalization's ramification, militia were seen as a group of

¹²⁶ Dictionary.com, <http://www.dictionary.com/>, consulted on March 2016.

people that helps the communities, today it's seen more like "bandits or warlords", for instance, the Afghanistan re – emergence fighting against Taliban in Kabul.¹²⁷

Returning to the subject, regarding Cabral strategy, the first to be persuaded were the urban because it was there that the intellectuals encountered, not in the rural as Fanon thought, but also because the reality of his population were different from his icon. For better results, due to the resistance to join his cause, he tried to unify all the classes existent in Bissau as evidenced in Sousa's book¹²⁸.

Internationally the revolutionary searched for help in China, Czechoslovak and Guinea Conakry in financial, material and military aids. Russia refused to help due to its ties with Mao Ze Dong, the Moroccan and Asian brothers took care of munitions, guns and military training.

As the general director of PAIGC was articulating, visiting and granting help from outdoor, the indoor was in trouble. It was clear that Guinea had no preparation to start the struggle in military, economic or even human facilities, so they opted to "sabotage" in ways to gain time and support. During this time the members of MLG launched an attacked to the Portuguese at the North, obviously it was unsuccessful, an unwise decision without the other militias permission and it was hurting Senegal's interest. The general sent qualified forces to the region to try to equilibrate the situation, in ways not to tarnish the struggle objectives or the international image of the countries. At the same year, some qualified militias were arrested in Senegal, after that, the human deficit became minor and some attacks were planned and executed. While some were distracting the Portuguese soldiers at the frontier, a larger attack was going on inside of Bissau. Some places the sabotage was taking place, cutting phone lines, bridges and roadways were destroyed. After meeting in Mozambique, where materials for war were liberated, the next step was to study and destabilize the economy and human facilities of the Portuguese imperialism¹²⁹.

¹²⁷ Starts and stripes online newspaper - Military leaders worry about Afghan militias, by Carlo Monoz, published on August 2012.

¹²⁸ Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral, Vida e obra.....pg.415.

¹²⁹ Ibidem, pg.333.

Domestically, the Portuguese aware of the “sabotage”, started to terrorize the population, through arresting and killings. The commandant in front of the operation had to withdraw the actions and waited for second orders from the PAIGC’s leader. In a short time, they received arms and responded to the repression.

Meanwhile, Cabral received Russia’s aid but still trying to find a pacific solution and revoke the war. Two meetings were realized with the UN still no conclusion was met. Portugal was also in a clash with India, losing Goa, the royalty was weaker, so the victory was certain. Unfortunately, the armaments and the members of the party collecting them in Conakry were arrested under suspicion of attack against Sekou Toure’s government. In the territory of Bissau after an attack, the population of that country was evacuated, but the foreman of PAIGC assured them that they were safe, the attack was against those that were against his cause, not the civilians and at the same time clarified the situation with Conakry. After that the war was launched, the country was separated in two parts (North and South), they started with the destruction of the peanuts cultivation soil, closing the road of their transportation, forcing the commercial monopolies to close their doors. On another hand, Portugal was unstable due to the hunger of its own people to bring Salazarism down, where the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was using the colonies national struggle to gain support against the Portuguese fascism, according to what Sousa wrote. Yet according to the author, Lara believed that after supporting them, they would still be in the same situation or maybe start the fight again, under other unknown new regime¹³⁰.

Some coupe d’etat were attempted, assault to military department and strikes were taking places in Portugal. Also, the international arena was not stable, Portugal was supported by NATO, making the strategist reorganize his internal forces and his party’s cohesion, United States, Senegal and Guinea were the allies.

The struggle started by the PAIGC leader was the political guerrilla warfare. Meaning, the armed conflict was, according to Mao Ze Dong, performed by a country that, “with no military resources and technical development or difficult disclosure”, which was the situation that China was under Japanese oppression. Here he cited Lenin’s strategy

¹³⁰ Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral, vida e obra.....pg.350.

guerrilla that would be the neutralization of the enemy through manpower's limitations, by the real knowledge of your own territory¹³¹. During his warfare, Labrac seems to follow all the advice of Lenin, but this was not enough due to the political instability in Africa, particularly in Bissau by the commandants that were confused about the importance of the “povo” (population) in that course. Abuses were taking place all over the freed areas in the absence of Cabral. To control the situation, the commandants started to be supervised by political commissaries of the party, military was divided in three divisions: the *Popular militias* (supervised by the political administrative); the Popular Soldiers (militaries) which were group of military creating the *Revolutionary Armed Forces* (Forças Armadas Revolucionárias do Povo - FARP), dependent from the Conselho de Guerra (Council of War), dividing the regions occupied by the military as North and South, giving better organization and development to the strategy for military actions. With the division and their subdivision the utopian also put the education on his list, Cabral wanted his people to be literate, military and civilians were educated. The *Conselho Administrativo e Cívico* - (Administrative and Civil Council), was the mechanism created to develop and execute social life emancipation. The Project was going well when Spínola became the new Portuguese representative in Bissau (1968 – 73) that copied Cabral's social activities (infrastructure, health, education, agricultural, politics) to gain the population's attention, unfortunately, for the combatant he was well accepted by some citizens. Which meant, he conquered territories, as Cabral did. They relocated their basis from the camp to more centered villages, for example, they moved from Beli to Madina Boé. But these concentrate villages were given names, the “campos de concentração” (concentration camp), which were constantly attacked in ways to force the population to go back to their roots, the free areas of the country¹³². To control the situation, rules were applied stating the judicial and financial punishment for those who would dare to transpass the frontier and collaborate with the Portuguese militias, hindering the nationalist struggle.

There was nothing that would appoint to the measurement of land, or the number of people or any mechanism that would compare or declare which party had the real control of the country, both were doing propagandas, Cabral in a way to solve the

¹³¹ Mao Tse – Tung on guerrilla warfare - <https://www.marxists.org>.

¹³² Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral, vida e obra....pg.368 - 372.

situation near to UN and Portugal in twisting its international image. In this dispute, the social situation was supposed to be changed from capitalism to social development. Like that, Cabral gave great attention to agriculture, stimulating the economy, eliminating the use of coins and using the products as an exchange at the same time providing food for the militias. The country also had the allies support in this field, international aid was extremely important once the war was not a contributing factor of any economic activity development. Disastrously natural catastrophes were out of the strategist's control, the arid climate aggravated by the rain scarcity endangered the cultivation and consequently the production and economic life of the country. In the international plan, the AU also was not complying completely with the principles of the organization, when concerning the economic support of the countries under oppression, due to some countries that were lacking with their economic commitment to the foundation, weakening financial situation of the countries on a struggle.

Cabral defended that he was not doing propaganda for superfluous, recognition or heroship, but for he population basic needs, which he proved in 1972¹³³. By this year the PAIGC had his population (the liberated zones) well served, more schools were constructed (200 schools with 258 qualified teachers and academic materials), offered by the communist allies, the health sector was being developed, hospitals were constructed in and outdoors, equipped with convenient materials and manpower. Not to mention again that the population was politically educated by the disciples, they were taught the explanation of the real meaning of the guerrilla. By 1973, the internal instability grows, the main cause was the elimination of the leader of PAIGC.

3.5. The death of Amilcar Cabral

The achievements of the guerrilla were visible, therefore, the party's life was in danger, when they intended to take the leader's life . Some kind of discordance was planted in the political circle, it is unknown if it was the Portugal "spies" inside the party or the heart burning of some comrades of Cabral, that saw his strategies and thoughts as outplaced, injuring the so - glory days of independence disclosure. Some parties were trying to be created out of PAIGC, formed by those who did not agree with his ideas,

¹³³ Amilcar Cabral – Alguns principios do partido, pg 115, in Casa Comum - <http://casacomum.org/>.

one of those had a radical elimination, the head of the party was executed and the defenders behind the bars. The creation of the Junta Militar dos Patriotas de Guinea – Bissau (the JMPGB), the União Democrática de Cabo Verde – The Democratic Union of Cape Verde (UDC), the Movimento de Libertação das Ilhas de Cabo Verde – Movement to Liberation of the Islands of Cape Verde (MLICV), the União dos Povos das Ilhas de Cabo Verde (UPICV), Frente de Luta pela Independência Nacional da Guiné (FLING), followed by Guineans and Cape Verdeans, opposing the PAIGC, came to reinforce neatly that the union between the two countries were impossible. According to Graça, the Cabo Verdianos' parties had different views from the PAIGC about the future of the country, they never believed in the union between the countries¹³⁴.

Militarily, together with the attacks from the Metropole, tropical epidemics were decreasing the number of the militias in the camp. The leader traveled to find support for this incommode in Italy, which kindly supported the country with financial aid and medications. The disrespect to the orders of Cabral, the misunderstanding about his diplomatic moves, that demanded his frequent absence in the country and the difficulty to persuade the youngsters to join the military service were not helping to advance the projects of Cabral.

Some comrades also were unhappy because the armed struggle was in Guinea and not in the archipelago which was doing the political war. The brothers from Bissau understood that they were the only ones fighting and suffering more, forcing Cabral to launch an armed struggle in the islands, even clear about the geographic situation (not suitable for war) but canceled for the same reason, making them more upset than ever.

In ways to control the situation he took measures as: the strengthening of the connection between the bases, between the “nationalist” abroad (in Europe and Africa), especially between Cabo Verdianos spread in the world, as their activities in Guinea, searching the development of Cape Verde (economically, socially and culturally). The party also suffered some alterations, three main Committees were created, the Comissão Permanente do Comité de Executivo de Luta – Permanent Commission of the Executive

¹³⁴ Francisco Assis Gomes da Graça – Amílcar Cabral e o regime de partido unico em Cabo Verde, pg. 22.

Committee of the Struggle (CPCEL), the *Comite Executivo de Luta* – Executive Committee of the Struggle (CEL) and the *Conselho Superior de Luta* – Superior Council of the Struggle (CSL), the last two ones with their respective branches. With the new structure, the leader consolidated and monopolized the power, aggravating more the envy of the “opportunists”. Light of this situation, Nino Vieira, and Momo Toure were the ones encouraging the militants in the jungle to stand up against the leader’s mono power and create a new mechanism of achieving the independence, through a socialist party and the elimination of the mono-party and its leader. The last one did not go far in his ideas after a meeting in Dakar, he and his supporters were imprisoned, his supporters went the same way and forced to hard labor. Joao Bernardino Vieira was the commandant in the island of Comos, in 1973, he forced Spínola to abandon his position as Portuguese Comandante. Nino was invited by Luis Cabral to be Chief Commissioner in 1972, a wise but trick decision that leads to the total separation of the countries.

It was supposed to read between the lines and understand that the leader would not live to celebrate the independence victory. The circumstances of when, where and who interrupted violently the life of the Revolutionary was discussed in various books but never with an enclosure that would give us the real facts. Soares Sousa was the one that went closer but also left questions to be answered. According to this historian, Aquino Bragança was the journalist admitted to cover this tragedy, the reasons to that privilege is unknown. However, Bragança detailed that the African thinker was in a reception in the Embassy of Polony and was aborted near to his house, which was near to the Secretary of the party and there he was shot to death, one on the chest and the last one was on his front head, meaning execution. Before this bloodcurdling incident, the Revolutionary had extra activities, which diffculted the investigation, one of those as a visit to the Cuban diplomat Oscar Oramas, at that same night, which emphasized that he was the last person to see him alive. The diplomat after the turbulent night would write a letter reporting what happened before the attack to the leader of PAIGC. He said that he took a ride with the Russian Ambassador, Ratanov. Later as Soares observed, there were some contradictions on his declarations, first on his book he wrote that “*Cabral left the Polony residence on his own car*”, after in 2000 Aristides Perreira published the

letter he wrote on 1973, where he writes that “Cabral *preferred to go on the Russian diplomat’s car, Anatoli Petrovich Ratanov*”¹³⁵. Which one is the truth? These declarations made the diplomat the first suspect, but never considered as such during or after the investigations, at least, none of the data referred to him as such.

Analysing the contribution of the comrades and the African brothers in the assassination. Sousa continued, Aristides Pereira, the RIGHT HAND of Cabral was abducted and almost sent to Bissau, but saved by the Soviet marines after an “intensive” interrogation to those identified has the shooters of Cabral by the combatant’s wife. According to them Cabral also would be sent to meet his sentences there, but he resisted and “*refused to be tied up*”, that was the reason for the terrible ending. But Bragança assumed that he was eliminated in the attempt to draw the gun from his pocket, as declared the assassins. The one responsible for the security, Otto Schacht wasn't even aware of the displacement of the General Secretary of the party, was that possible? Which means that the Guinean was on his own, there was no security, personal or even for the residence. According to Bragança, the one deployed for the security that night for his house, killed himself in the prison right at the moment that he was about to be questioned¹³⁶.

3.6. But who assassinated Cabral?

Cabral was a target to be eliminated from the very beginning of his actions when he gave the wrong idea to the Portuguese that he was a national, by fighting for Portugal freedom from Portuguese nazism and when he decided to fight for his own people’s freedom. The Portuguese orchestrated his death during years, owing to his negative influence in the Portuguese “nationalism” spread in Africa, influencing the economic devastation of the Metropole. To achieve their goal, they induced some Guinean that were not in accordance with his strategies. Therefore, for years Portugal was the main suspect of this tragedy to the two countries and to Africa. According to Sousa, Fabião saw it as a way of intimidating the independence achievement and to prevent the armed struggle of arriving in Cape Verde, which would give URSS new bases, when the

¹³⁵ Julião Soares Sousa – Amílcar Cabral, vida e obra....pg.505 – 511.

¹³⁶ Ibidem, pg.514 – 520.

clashes would permit America and NATO's presence in Açores, moreover, South Africa would prejudice their connection to the other colonies that were more profitable economically (Mozambique and Angola) . All of it was just a matter of protection of their economy. Sousa does not believe that those were enough reasons to interrupt the achievement of independence, he also clearly couldn't give the real facts about his death:

"A propia analise dos acontecimentos do dia 20 de Janeiro parece não deixarem margens de duvidas de que o assassinato de Amilcar Caral foi obra de dissidentes do PAIGC, com uma grande possibilidade de ter sido tambem um complot em grande escala, que ultrapassa as fronteiras da Guine - Conakry". - "The very analysis of the events of January 20th does not seem to leave the shores of doubt that the assassination of Amilcar Caral was the work of PAIGC dissidents, with a high possibility of being also one plot on a large scale, which goes beyond the borders of Guinea – Conakry"¹³⁷.

Besides the Guinean (from Guinea – Bissau), the Guinean (Guinea Conakry) Sekou Touré was a suspect, once according to Sousa, Bernette found it strange that they were received by that President, in the same day. Castanheiras reinforced the speculation by claiming that the murders would have a reward from him, moreover, the exclusion of some African representatives from a meeting that he invited only Algeria and Cuba. Apart from an obscure relation with Portugal (where Crimi declared the leaking of confidential information from embassies to Portugal), the envy of Cabral's ideology (by Conakry's ministers), thoughts and humanity, as the unity of Africa were the main reasons underlined by Castanheira that took Touré to betray him, Touré wanted to be the one to be recognized as the brain behind the Continent unification¹³⁸.

Sousa, discretely make Cape Verdeans suspects, he asked:

*"What would be the reaction of the Cape Verdeans PAIGC noticing the disclosure of the Guinean independence, without Cape Verde?"*¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibidem, ,pg.516

¹³⁸ Ibidem, pg 516 – 520

¹³⁹ Ibidem, pg.520

I share the same concern, in my opinion, all those presents at the scene of the crime and of course the successors, being them Cape Verdeans or Guineans especially the committee that was created to disclose the mysterious crime, last but not the least important, families, close friends are suspects. What about the accuracy of registered documents results, which were never found during the various researches, made for this matter?

Curiously Norberto Tavares de Carvalho, in his work from 2009¹⁴⁰, presents a paragraph of a telegram wrote by Otelo de Saraiva Carvalho, saying the exact words: “O PAIGC é sobretudo e principalmente Amilcar Cabral. Mas Cabral não é um homem que se possa comprar. Para o neutralizar, existe um único meio: eliminá-lo.” Translating : “*The PAIGC is above all and mainly Cabral. But Cabral is not a man that can be bought. To neutralize him, there is only one way: to eliminate him.*” This telegram, according to him was never altered, the author goes on with some more interesting testimonials, one of them is that the PIDE’s former inspector, dismantles de accusations about PIDE participation, instead he gives a very interesting information: “ (...) And by 25 of April, there was already an agreement between Vieira and our government for him to come to Portugal, with the wife and daughter, who already had a place confirmed at the university (...)”. Between other interviews, he let us know that Onesimo Silveira suspected that Bragança did not write everything he knew about the assassination, which I entirely agree. Answering my preoccupations, Silveira said that he did it or not write it because Samora Machel¹⁴¹ asked him to do so. Carvalho wrote that both of them died in the same plane accident, moreover, the journalist shared the same bloodline with Siaka Touré, Sekou Touré’s nephew. That explains how he was the only journalist given permission to follow the disclosure of the most popular event of that time. Carvalho concluded that PIDE always wanted to eliminate the leader, that Spínola, other military and comrades of Cabral are entirely connected to his assassination.

¹⁴⁰Carvalho, Norberto Tavares de – Para que Amilcar Cabral pare de morrer, Genebra 17 – 20 Janeiro de 2009.

¹⁴¹ The first President of Mozambique after independence.

Personally, I believe that to find a better clue about the assassination or even the assassin (s), the combatants should lose the ethics and the fear to talk about it freely. This is the twenty-first Century, where freedom of expression is a reality in Africa or elsewhere. The documents registered must be found or given up, the story told as it happened, otherwise, this mystery will never be disclosed. But why do they still keeping the secret? Is it because of ethics? A vow? Fear? Or the ones who knew the truth are long gone?

Notwithstanding during our conversations, Sousa informed me that, he has no more doubts, that Portugal was the one to authorize the elimination of Amilcar Cabral, as he will publish on the fifth chapter of the book *Amilcar Cabral Vida e Obra de um Revolucionario Africano*. Samba Djalo¹⁴², a Guinean combatant has the same opinion, but he goes further and stated that it was the Portuguese troops and the PAIGC militants who organized the plot that resulted in his assassination.

¹⁴² Interview with Samba Djalo on September 2014.

CHAPTER IV

THE COUNTRIES AFTER CABRAL'S DEATH

When the sun rose on 21st of January, Cape Verde and Bissau recieved the most terrible announcement, the loss of Cabral.

The media had different direction to the assination of the “simple African man” who was giving issues to Portugal regime in both countries. Tiago Francisco Monteiro¹⁴³ wrote about the reaction of the Brazilian. He stated that a Brazilian newspaper, published the death of the leader in a small corner, together with the terrorism announcements in New York by an Islamic group. He advanced that the newspaper did not characterize the leader as a terrorist, but wondered the coincidence of it to be published in the same page as the “terrorist event”. Contrary, the newspaper International gave more than half of a page (pg 9) to inform the world about the incident. Furthermore, the Folha de São Paulo gave two pages about the matter, while recognizing the combabant's work and addressing complements concerning the contribution he gave to the African history.

Indoors, (Guinea – Bissau and Cape Verde), not only did the population encounter disability, the party also started to have bigger problems, more than when Cabral was alive, especially related to his successor. Some names were mentioned to take the seat, some of them were not and would never influence Africa in the same way he did as Sousa emphasized in his book. According to his researches, the first to be enunciated through the media was Victor Freire Monteiro, who he considered unknown personality to the population and had almost no knowledge about the party. He introduces Monteiro as a man who came from Portugal, as a fugitive one year before the tragedy, in January

¹⁴³ Tiago Francisco Monteiro - Descolonização e imprensa brasileira: o caso do assassinato de Amílcar Cabral nos jornais *Folha de São Paulo* e *Jornal do Brasil* (1973), pg 6 – 9.

1972, but a literate man, with a degree in economy from Portugal, the only skill that would make him acceptable to the role. This one was rejected, he had no qualifications for the role, decided Luis Cabral and Lourenço Gomes, indicating Aristides Pereira the “provisional successor” in February 1973. Nino Vieira was on the list after him, but renounced, justifying the lack of “preparation” for the role¹⁴⁴.

It was in Madina do Boé that the war started and where it was ended. During the third and fourth of the twenty days of September (23 and 24), the most important meetings took place, the proclamation of the independence of the countries. Guinea – Bissau independence was achieved on 23 of September, backed up by foreign powers and recognized by UN. The Constitution was created and the leadership of the country was held by Luis Cabral with more than 14 seats in the Popular National Assembly. However, Portugal officially recognized it almost one year later, on 10 of September of 1974, owing to the Revolução de Cravos’s (Carnation Revolution) break out¹⁴⁵, in April 1974 that brought Salazar’s regime down, been replaced by a democracy in the territory. The most dreaded man of Portugal, Salazar, suffered a brain hemorrhage in 1968 and Caetano was chosen as his successor. The leader proved his incapability to rule the country and obviously was not as radical as his previous leader, awakening the strength of the people to request liberty and equity for all as the song “Grândula, Vila Morena” sang by Afonso during the day of the Revolution.

The “Revolução de Cravos” brought light to all the African colonies, Cape Verde was not an exception, some campaigns and political movements took place, prisoners were liberated from Tarrafal campus and formation of other political parties (apart from PAIGC) emerged. After two years, on 5 of July of 1975, Cape Verde was taking its independence, Aristides Pereira is the first President. For the first time the country is ruled by a son of the motherland.

Now, what happens with the countries that, at long last, are celebrating their freedom? Are they celebrating the new times of total freedom or is just a dream? How are the new

¹⁴⁴ Julião Soares Sousa – amílcar Cabral, vida e obra.....pg 520 – 523.

¹⁴⁵ The day that the army shoot roses instead of bullets to the population that presenciated the end of the colonization .

leaders going to rule the countries? Are they going to honor Cabral's legacy or they have their own agenda? These are the worries that the next topics will debate.

4.1. The independence and post independence of both countries

The dictionary online defines independence as the “freedom from the control, influence, support, aid, or the likes of others”¹⁴⁶. The postindependence website, consider as postindependence as the right first day after the freedom of those countries, where polices, management and other issues concerning them which are going to be solved¹⁴⁷. Mwakikagile understand that in this period the indirect domination of the former colonies was still be found in the African countries throught control of economy and politics of the same countries that claimed for total independence¹⁴⁸. As Marxist scholars assumed, the African economic freedom was not achieved, it was separatated from political freedom, but continued internationalized. Cited by kidane, Waterson understands that the economic stragies and plans were depending exclusively from importation, aid and human resource training by foreign bodies¹⁴⁹.

Postindependence meaning is described by the Pan – Africanist, as the total independence or the total autonomy of individual countries, not partial, because the political and economic indepedence were necessary to completely liberate Africa from colonization, instead, it turned into neocolonization.

In this Pan – Africanism sense, the glorious days came after Cabral's death, the independence of both countries was achieved, just as he had planned. First it was Guinea – Bissau and then Cape Verde. But these countries had different developments and took different positions in the world. The next topics will showcase the discussion of the situation on independence and the post-independence in each of them.

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/postindependence>, accessed on April 2016.

¹⁴⁷ <http://www.postindependence.org/>, accessed on April 2016.

¹⁴⁸ Godfrey Mwakikagile Africa After Independence: Realities of Nationhood, pg.88.

¹⁴⁹ Samuel Kidane - The Economics of Pre and Post-Independence African Economy and the Possibilities of Mainstreaming Meles's Developmental State Ideologies, pg.6 -7.

4.1.1. Independence in Guiné - Bissau

With the first President, Luis Cabral, is time for Guiné - Bissau¹⁵⁰, the [now] free and new state to meet the development that Cabral draw to his two countries, Cabral is dead but his legacy, “prevails”.

Nevertheless, the Guinea – Bissau now is a Republic, the Republica de Guiné – Bissau – Republic of Guinea – Bissau. But what is the meaning of Republic?

The Wikipedia defines it as a form of government or country in which power resides in elected individuals representing the citizen body and government leaders exercise power according to the rule of law.

Plato’s work is the best reference for any debate about the topic. For him Republic wasn't a mere rule of law to manage countries, it was the pursuit for the complete happiness through those rules. To the theory, he added justice and virtue as the essential elements to grant the total happiness to the ones represented. However, the philosopher also analyzes the will to accomplish the goals through them, where he concluded that men are weak, the illusion and ambition can betray them into taking wrong decisions in ways to fulfill that “happiness” to all. With the individual happiness, the justice disappear and the inequality reigns¹⁵¹.

Thus, the Republic of Guinea – Bissau, as a State (it refers to an organized political community living under a single system of government) the political system adopted was the semi – presidential, in what respect there is a President and the Prime Minister, elected by the universal suffrage, where the President has the full power to unseat the Prime Minister in case of political encounters. The mainstream responsibilities were divided to judicial, legislative and executive power, which carried by the President and the government, depending in the parliament trust, the Prime Minister, based on Popular National Assembly and judicial functions of the courts, through its various divisions and Public Ministry. Now is time to work hard and develop the country.

¹⁵⁰ Name given to Guine – Portuguesa after the independence.

¹⁵¹ Plato Republic, revised by C.D.C. Reeve, pg.viii – xviii.

On 21 of November of 1973, when Luis Cabral steps up and take his post as the President, the country was to be considered a lost case. The new ruler had to deal with issues that were beyond his power, as the administration chaos due to the abandonment of the literature and skilled officials (the Cabo Verdianos) after the independence of Bissau. Their prowess left the administration in a bad situation, some decisions – making made took the country to a deadlock, as the recognition of some Portuguese commercials, when Bissau had no human labour skills (the illiteracy was more than 90% after the independence) or economic means to take care of the business (the economy was based entirely in subsistence farming).

Willing to develop the economy, technological developments were started, industrial enterprise took place, even with skilled human power scarcity and a weakened economy, moreover, with no benefits to agriculture. The agriculture did not pass from indoors, the exportation had no investment, which would increase dramatically the economy due to its fertile soil and vast crops. Internationally, as an “alternative order which they hope will better satisfy their social, economic, cultural and political aspiration”¹⁵², the relations between Guinea-Bissau and Portugal were strengthened, cooperations in all levels are signed and accomplished by the former colony towards its former financial source. According to Gouveia, between these corporations, inside of the “Special Friendship ribbons between the two people”¹⁵³, various accords were met on economic, cultural, scientific, technological and political fields. In the scientific and technological field, the deals were achieved with the disposition of materials and manpower qualified to support Guinean citizens framework qualification as well as the development of educational and Professional qualification centers, not limited to education but scientific and technical training of the population. Culturally, a Center was created (in 1979) to better help strengthen the relations in this area. To reinforce the international good image, the President followed his brother’s steps, in which the cooperation with the world (especially Europe, Portugal) was given strong attention in 1978, in this year he visited Portugal, where the mainstream aim was to show the acceptance of the independence of Bissau by Portugal and clear the idea of its [Portugal]

¹⁵² Gouveia – Independência de Guiné – Bissau,pg 3.

¹⁵³ Idem,pg 5.

“not – colonial” interest in the territory¹⁵⁴. The visit had in its agenda the strength of ties in fisheries, transport, communication, health and military areas, all under the “ten principles of peaceful coexistence”, intended to finish in mutual benefits, which Portugal would be helped to spread the Portuguese language in the world. Its benefits to European countries does not stop here, Bissau also tighten the relation between Portugal and Angola, the meeting was in Bissau, which the President had honoured his presence during five days and took the opportunity to visit other areas of that country, recognizing in Madina Boé the arduous work of Cabral to free his people. Another European country visited by Luis Cabral was France, intending to reinforce the relations with that country as well. Bissau under Luis Cabral’s regime was visited by various African Presidents, showing the support of the African brothers on political ties.

The following table shows the number of professionals in Bissau, as the ties were tightened between the two countries, according to Gouveia¹⁵⁵:

Table 1. Professionals in Bissau during Luis Cabral’s regime

Professionals	Numbers
Air transportation Technicals	4
Economists	3
Journalist	3
Doctors	2
Accountant	2
Pedagogical Coordinators	2
Judge	1
Juri	1
Technicians (Project)	1
Director (Technician)	1
Agrarian technician (Engineer)	1
Metereologist	1
Nurse (Male)	1
Architect	1
Technician Engineer	1
Machine Technician	1
Technician (off – set)	1
Press (Chief)	1
Laboratory (bacterias and alimentation)	1
Total	130

¹⁵⁴ Gouveia – Independência de Guiné – Bissau, pg. 3 – 9.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, pg.6.

The economy of the country was still in stagnation, nothing went forward and the population was starting to request their prime necessities especially nutrition. The agriculture development attempted wasn't bringing satisfactory results.

Socially, some massacres took place, the former combatants understood that it was the desire of Amílcar Cabral, when he mentioned the "cleaning" of the "Judas" that betrayed the party during the guerrilla. This is the sentence they misinterpreted from Cabral: " (...) We eliminate the colonial impostors in vast stretches of the country and punish justly African servants of colonialists"¹⁵⁶.

From 1973 to 1980 is a short time to govern a country, to make remarkable changes in the eyes of the international stage or even in a domestic perspective, in a country that is coming from colonial regimes, especially Guinea – Bissau that was and is a country replete of ethnic groups with different points of view. However, the party became an elite that took their (short) time to create their own sources of income, forgetting the purpose of their fight and Cabral's death, the elimination of any kind of oppression, domination or discrimination of the African people, especially Guinea – Bissau and Cape Verde. That's how Luís Cabral loses his throne to Nino Vieira, the massacre, the economic deficiencies and the social (bad) conditions were not approved by him, the rest of the population or supporters, so in 1980 Nino applies his coup d'état, but unfortunately, he could not explain well his decision and played a bad image to the international superpowers for several years, explained Sousa¹⁵⁷. The relations between the two countries came to an end.

João Bernardino Vieira was a commandant during the guerrilla as referred before, with his vast experience in the field, educated out of the country as Cabral insisted, during eleven years he proved strange to the political party (PAIGC) principles.

Contrary to Luís Cabral that ruled the country under nepotism and political patronage Nino was different, he understood that good governance would be better consolidated with the military power, favoritism and brotherhood. As the trust and loyalty are mere imaginary reality between them, the President appeals for international aid to

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem, pg.12 -15.

¹⁵⁷ Conversations with Julião Soares Sousa through skype.

administrate the territory, a step which some elements of the army saw as an affront to the holders of power, the army. During the changes made into the army, Vieira eliminated the essential organs of the government, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, putting himself at the head of the country as the head of Revolutionary Council founded by him, he became an authoritarian President.

This attempt of leading the country under military wings, brought inequality on positions occupied inside the military organs, raised unfairness between the soldiers and brought unemployment. Worst was the food shortage, soldiers started to ask for their rights. To avoid a rebellion they were rewarded with new equipment and priorities on the nutrition acquirement before any others. Next step was protecting himself rather than the country by founding the National Security Council, revoking the Head of the PAIGC party, giving it to a man of his trust, the Vice of the young Revolutionary Council, he dismissed some ministries and took control of the territory by employing his own people as the internal affairs responsible for Bissau. Unhappy with this situation, Paulo Correia that was a recognized military from its contribution to the guerrilla and independence war also attempted a coup d'état against Nino, the failure resulted in his and more five Balanta ethnic group execution¹⁵⁸. Now the matter graduates from military survival struggle to ethnic struggle, Vieira's act was seen as a case of tribe favoritism. Next topics will show the results of his management in a globalized world.

4.1.2. Independence of Cape Verde

Two years after Guinea – Bissau took their country into their hands, Cape Verde was the next, as Cabral was forced to leave the torch to the disciples, on 4 of July of 1975, the first legislative session took place, where the head of the state and the Prime Minister was chosen, Aristides Pereira and Pedro Pires, respectively. After constituting the National Assembly and with the creation of Lei sobre a Organização Política do Estado - Law on Organization of State Policy (LOPE), (which was used as a provisional mode of the constitution), with twenty-three articles, stating crucially the human rights stipulated by the UN charter. Unfortunately, the deputies failed to present

¹⁵⁸ Carta aberta a Sua Exa. o Senhor General João Bernardo "Nino" Vieira <http://didinho.no.sapo.pt/>.

the Constitution after three months, it was achieved after five years. Next morning at the camp of Varzea the flag was hoisted and the independence proclaimed. The country was proclaimed as “an independent and sovereign nation”¹⁵⁹.

The first steps to construct the nation were forehead, the PAIGC continued the representative party of the country, although, according to Almada it was not the only party on the stage, there was União do Povo das Ilhas de Cabo Verde (UPICV) and the União Democrática Cabo – Verdiana (UDC), these parties had different approach about the independence and the future of the Cabo Verdianos, as the author stated. The first party (PAIGC) was still fighting for the independence of both countries, the second one (UPICV) had the same view but rejected the union of the two countries, the third (UDC) defended a federation with the former colony¹⁶⁰.

Aristides Pereira now has the chance to put into practice what Cabral taught them. When he started ruling, the country was not as lost as Bissau, it did not suffer the guerrilla losses but there was a lot to do in ways to emancipate the population. The struggle now was to stand strong and consolidate the independence, meaning not depending in international support in political affairs, or Portugal would keep ruling the country. The struggles were: to come out with new solutions to develop economically, where the aid of international players were essential (other than Portugal); try to adapt to the natural resource scarcity and the tropical arid climate of the country, endangering the agriculture weakening dramatically the development of the economy. In the agricultural arena, the scarcity of rain and consequently an infertile soil for agriculture, accompanied by the lack of skilled farmers and not – existence of technological development the aftermath is low productivity, consequently the food shortage. The fish fabric held by the Portuguese (40%) and Cabo Verdianos (60%), with the main port of exportation Portugal. The infrastructure was narrow and weak, in a case of natural catastrophes the country would be in great danger. The islands with airport or airfields were the International Airport in Sal and the first discovered islands, São Vicente, Santiago, Fogo and São Nicolau. Between these islands, only São Vicente and Fogo had

¹⁵⁹ João O.R.Nasciemnto – Nação e Estado na Constituição da Republica de Cabo Verde, pg.6.

¹⁶⁰ Jose Luis Hoffer Almada – Das tragedias do povo caboverdiano e da sua constituição e da sua consolidação como nação crioula soberana, in <http://www.buala.org/>.

ports, the one in Santiago is as old as the independence. The communication means way narrow, only between Sal, Santiago and São Vicente through radio (Hertzian wire) connections. The ships were not enough to correspond to the necessities of the population, isolating some islands.

In adding to the constraints pointed above, the society became insecure. According to various authors, the same “clean the impostors” in Bissau was experienced in Cabo Verde. Baltazar Lopes da Silva, the poet of São Nicolau was one of the celebrities of that time to be incarcerated for him to be against or to have his own opinion about the future of the islands after the independence¹⁶¹. Manuel Veiga¹⁶² wrote that the political parties created close to the independence of the country, were sent to the concentration camp in Tarrafal and later sent to Portugal in warships,(as part of cooperation between Portugal and PAIGC) , and that during the 15 years that they ruled the country under one party, 15 years of torture and oppression, with rights to be “nicknamed of "reactionary" and "catchor di do pé (dog of two feet) , beating, chasing, frightened, threatened and insulted their families”. (...) there “Were 15 years of political persecution, physical and psychological torture, electric shock, beatings, and murders of political opponents (...)”. They would immigrate to Lisbon in ways to protect their families. According to this author, all kinds of social connections (associations, political parties, strikes and so on), even the mobility in and out of the country was supervised by the secret police. These years were the contrast to Cabral’s ideas, the neo – colonization, the oppression by your own people inside of ones own territory after the liberation from European supremacy.

Instead of increasing the farmer’s skills and technological machinery, the agricultural field, related to human forces became poorer. When the population stroke against the agrarian situation of that time, in response the orders were to eliminate whoever was in front of the military guns distributed to put order in the island of Santo Antão (end of August of 1981). These abuses were happening under the Constitution that was

¹⁶¹Lopes Fortes José - Quando um filho de São Nicolau, Baltazar Lopes da Silva... in São Nicolau Newspaper, October 2013.

¹⁶² Jose Manuel Veiga – Marcas lamentaveis da luta pela democracia em Cabo Verde, in www.democraciaemcaboverde.blogspot.com, Domingo, 29 de Agosto de 2010.

presented one year before. The Constitution stated that the party was the one to “rule the society and the country”¹⁶³, meaning they were the power in the small archipelago.

With the Vieira’s coupe d’etat, the union between the countries was forgotten forever, there was no condition to accomplish Cabral’s Pan – Africanism idea of African countries unification, using them as an example that Africa could be united. Cape Verde presented the Constitution and changed the slogan to PAICV – Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde – African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde. The vote now was through suffrage, not between the political elite. The party “for the people, by the people” started in 1980. The fundamental rights were stipulated but the state holders did not change and kept ruling the state in the same monopolistic and totalitarian way. As in Bissau the Chief of State (the President) had the full power, Cape Verde kept the mono-party going on. Cited by Silva¹⁶⁴, Lima identified the “democratic” nation with the structure that the party presented, for him it was a democratic regime (judicial – constitution), appreciated domestically and internationally. But this Constitution was more open with the preambles and human rights. In addition, now the population could accept or reject the candidates presented to them, of course, the final decision would be the one of PAICV. In the same year, Bissau was suffering another coup d’etat attempt against Vieira by the natives, resulting to death of many, from former members of the party to the new leaders and members.

At the right beginning of the independence the colonized countries were baptized with a different name, the - Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa – Portuguese Speaking African Countries (PALOP), involving Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea – Bissau, Mozambique, São Tome and Prince¹⁶⁵. Now the countries economic and social development are a “preoccupation” to the former colonizer. Aid and cooperation between the countries gained a deep attention from both sides.

It is not necessary to revoke the economic chaos that the country encountered when the end of the oppression. In Cape Verde for instance, according to a study that the Instituto

¹⁶³ Maria E.L.Barros – Aspectos da construção do “estado – social” de Cabo Verde, pg.26.

¹⁶⁴ Maria E.M.Silva - Da “Democracia Revolucionária” À Democracia Liberal “A Cidadania no contexto cabo-verdiano”,pg.48.

¹⁶⁵ East Timor joined in 2002 and last year Equatorial Guinea joined the group.

Nacional de Estatísticas – National Institute of the Statistics (INE) deed, from 1975 to mid of 80's, after granted the independence, Portugal did not help to develop its economy. The importation was extremely high and the exportation disastrously low, simultaneously the Metropole exportation from the country was enormous and covered by protectionism, wrote Martins¹⁶⁶.

However, a perfect independence as the dictionary defined, is impossible to achieve, not only for the countries that came out from slavery but today the world moves through cooperations. Regarding the matter particularly in Africa, Tony Killick¹⁶⁷ consider the independence a failure in the Continent. Until 1900's (years of his research), the author constatcted only economic stagnation, inexistence of technological development, macroeconomic “imbalance and pressure”, the social welfare was unachievable, there was a high and fast AIDS spread, the education gained narrow attention and the gender inequality had a strong presence in the independent countries.

It's inside of this economic disaster and poverty that Cape Verde is going to find a way to develop and gain the reputation that it has today. The following chapter will be discussing Cape Verde in this globalized world.

¹⁶⁶ Martins Barbosa Amarilis – Relações entre Portugal e Cabo Verde antes e depois da independencia, pg 66.

¹⁶⁷ Tony Killick – Explaining Africa's post – independence development experiences (1992), pg.1 - 8.

CHAPTER V

THE TWO COUNTRIES IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

"globalization: the most abused word of the 21st century."

Economists of the Century

5.1. Globalization and the world

In this chapter, the globalization per say will not be discussed, just an overview of the phenomena in the world will be presented and then, inside of this phenomena place the two countries.

With the decolonization, the world needed to be reshaped and new ways of bringing wealth to the countries were extremely necessary, that's what gave birth to "globalization". Many researchers believe that the expression was recognized Centuries ago, but only in late 20 Century that it started to be studied profoundly. The BBC website¹⁶⁸ defines it as a fast development of relations between countries, especially in commerce and knowledge sharing. New World Encyclopedia¹⁶⁹ assumed that it is a development "process" that is bringing wealth to the countries through technological development, implicating "dramatically" on their economy. Based in this definition, William I. Robinson¹⁷⁰ could not find its absolute meaning due to its vast campus of studies and their own branches and the contradiction of the notion attributed to it until now.

¹⁶⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/globalisation/>, accessed in November 2015.

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Globalization>, accessed in November 2015.

¹⁷⁰ William I. Robinson – Theory and the rise of globalization, Chapter 6 - Theories of Globalization, pg.126-128.

Naya Chanda remounts it to the time that the world was being discovered, when for the first time they started to travel the unknown seas of the Continents, and he baptize it as “proto – globalization”. For him, globalization is the gathering of communities, (international communities) with the aim to bring more **equality** (provide individuals the same opportunities to improve life condition) and **fairness** (absence of prejudice to the equality, or give people the same chance not regarding their status in the society) in the world, a “global human community”¹⁷¹.

In my understanding the knitting of all older forms of territories control (imperialism, socialism, neocolonialism, liberalism, neoliberalism) were grouped and on the course of their evolution, in response to the necessities of the new challenges, a new expression was created, **globalization**. I also go along with Mr. Robinson, the failures to define the phenomenon are clear and too paradoxical, and its definition beyond any doubt is connected to economic developments, the trade roads and the cultural exchange, where technological progress is on the top of the agenda. The shortness of roads through transportation development, the famous “laissez – faire, laissez – passer”, bringing significant progress to trade, the booming in the means of communication, bringing people closer, the exaggeration on spreading network connections worldwide, helping to gather people and cultures across globe, the cooperation in education, reinforcing the cultural sharing meaning and exchange in studies in professional fields, particularly experiences exchanged in multinational and transnational companies, are actions that directly influence this new world order **economically**.

As any other phenomena in the world, it has its two faces of the coin. Some claim and fight for its flourishing, some tried to show the world how this new world order is unequal. The ones that defend this “world transformation process” are given the name of *globalists*. They are the ones that keep this process going on, they are the “think tank”, the “know –how” and at the same time the financial body of the transformation, a group of “private international financiers and the royal, hereditary land owning families of Britain, Europe and America” that are contaminating the world with their ideas and the profits that they are gathering from it, stated the Globalist agenda website. This

¹⁷¹Naya Chanda - Coming Together - Globalization means reconnecting the human community, in YaleGlobal, 19 November 2002.

website accuses the “elite” of applying to Darwinism, insinuating the eradication of the population rather than poverty, in ways to continue with their enrichment. In the anti – globalist and anti – capitalists view, the emancipation can be achieved in all fields, not only to “organizations” economic achievements but also “individuals” should experience the same bright side of this world opening. They defend that globalization is unfriendly to equality and territories development. Right now, as the Soviet Union was once, the United States is the model of globalization, it is the one that the world follow its progress and its “democratic” way of leaving. The Washington Census - which seeks for economic development through trade - is conquering the world in all domains, it's technological development and its culture is known by heart by foreigners that had even never been there but clearly imitated their style, not to say assimilated their culture in the last decades. This “assimilation” is bringing huge concerns to the world, particularly in the human development arena, especially the Third World affronts.

A work developed by Narayanan and Gulati, debating the phenomena in the agricultural domain, concluded that the globalization faces away from agriculture development, the “losers” (small farmers) are fighting for a space in this new world order, especially in the developing countries, where some had a brighter journey than others, they gathered the main factors (the know – how) to relish the globalization outlooks¹⁷². The authors suggested the transformation in this field (a utopia), where instead of the “big sharks” they should put all their efforts to transform the “smallholders” subsistence into foreign trade, in short, the Stalin trade balance method when he suggested the reinforcement of exportation to boost industrialization, but this time, supporting the agriculture to boost the economy of the population, in ways to include those spaced out from globalization, hoping that this method will bring positive changes to poverty crisis.

Yet inside of the impacts of globalization, Alhaji Ahmadu stated the aftermaths of this process on the African Continent. The author accuses the Cold War of being the father of globalization, where the African countries were the most prejudice by the decisions - making and the policies made to better develop the ex – colonies economy. However, the policies touched the political and the administration of the countries, which

¹⁷² Sudha Narayanan and Ashok Gulati – Globalization and the smallholders: a review of issues, approaches, and implications, pg.55 -76.

obviously put the Continent “a mercê” of the ex – colonies risking their sovereignty¹⁷³. This is when Africa is given a chance to [re] born, already cursed to never get along with the Twenty-First Century’s transformations. The Continent attempting to put a stop to the [notable] negative aftermaths of the wars, they accepted the policies of the International Monetary Funds, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, in which they should be open to a group of conditions in order to receive aids (especially monetary) to accomplish some challenges, which took them straight to the a dark and deep pit. Aftermath, the countries became the “marionette” of their (monetary institutions) will, giving them a hard time when developing any kind of economic sustainability.

The continues, assuming that, with the citizens focused in surviving the post-war, economic sustainability becomes crucial, attaching them from the policies and decisions – making performed by the “trustworthy” stakeholders chosen to help them develop. The great powers that finished the wars in better position made themselves useful expanding their product, protected by the institutions and laws used on the physiocracy¹⁷⁴ and “laissez faire laissez passer”(liberty of labor and trade). As a consequence, the technology development in Africa become a myth, turning the population to importation benefits (especially electronics) available in the market. Thus, assimilation / acculturation takes places. Taking Eaton definition, cited by Teske¹⁷⁵, the “controlled acculturation” (when one extinct culture interact with another but still not giving up on its own origins) is verified in Africa. Regarding to assimilation he cited Woolston, this one stated that assimilation happens, when the one looses cultural origins custom to acquire new customs, moreover the one export the learned customs to others¹⁷⁶. Another factor that does not empower the technological development is the immigration, the youngsters are offered scholarships, for which you should meet a couple of skills beforehand, after accomplishing the studies some of the skilled individuals are recruited out borders, it might be spontaneous as well, the native country becomes poor in human capabilities, the remittances are not well profited and a

¹⁷³ Alhaji Ahmadu – The impact of globalization on Africa, pg.2 - 9.

¹⁷⁴ A theory created by French economist, that believed that wealth was based solenly in agricultural or land development.

¹⁷⁵ Raymond H.C.Teske,Jr and Bardin H.Nelson - Acculturation and assimilation: a clarification,pg.8.

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem, pg.11.

dependence from the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) towards the Developed Countries (DC) emerge . This loss of skilled natives, Ahmadu Ibrahim called it “brain drain”¹⁷⁷, it's having a dramatic increase in the Continent in the last decades. The immigration destinations are related with the roots of colonization as most natives search to refuge under the “grandparents” roof. The main countries immigrated to are France, United State of America (USA) and United of Kingdom (UK) or other developed countries of other Continents. However, some search for better life inside of the Continent, where the marginalization is verified between Africans and they struggle to accept , assimilate or acculturate other culture from the ones own Continent.

Referring to this “knowledge sharing” the Continent’s young generation is bombarded with scholarships and training abroad, giving them opportunities to meet other people and culture, above all to share knowledge. These opportunities are born from corporations policies signed between countries (the World Bank is the major manager of the contracts), for example, the Nairobi Declaration on the African University in the Third Millenium, the Dakar Declaration and Action Plan on Higher Education in Africa¹⁷⁸. The aim is to impact on the economic growth of the countries, through knowledge based in new technological developments. Only in 2010, near to 400 thousand African students were abroad, in France (29,2%), South Africa (15%), United Kingdom and United States (9,7%)¹⁷⁹. The international universities are chosen due to the insufficient conditions that the land’s educational institutions lake as disciplines, technological development, educators (weak) qualification or the mere curiosity about the other side. Sometimes the pride of having an international diploma is the cause of immigration.

The immigration even between the African countries is bringing some preoccupations as well. In 2013 in the Central Africa Republic (CAR), the ethnic and religious groups had an almost “genocide” or “ethnic cleansing”, leading to a loss of more than one million lives, after one year (died or abandoned their properties), resulting in \$613

¹⁷⁷ Alhaji Ahmadu Ibrahim - The Impact of Globalization on Africa, pg.6.

¹⁷⁸ Ali Abdi et al – African education and globalization: critical perspective,pg.23 – 27.

¹⁷⁹ La Mobilité des Étudiants d’Afrique Sub-Saharienne et du Maghreb, in Les Hors-série n° 7 - Juin 2013 notes de Campus France.

million in humanitarian aid and assistance for refugees¹⁸⁰. According to BBC News online, at the beginning of 2015 in South Africa Xenophobia took place, the natives from that country believed that the foreigners were the cause of their poor health conditions and unemployment in the country. In Nigeria the Boko Haram murdered more than seventeen thousand people in April 2014, however, they were the ones menacing to restore the order in South Africa in case the government was unable to hold it¹⁸¹.

Globalization has everything to do with information and communication at their full understanding. The social life domination, the communication in the society, (which shows the evidence of power) where media plays a huge role, (television, internet, radio) are the ways to show the weakness and strength in a global view. For example, the marginalization of countries through media is considered normal in this Century. It was through them that the terrorism, poverty, power and other social concerns were introduced to the world. Castells thinks that in our Era it is the main way that power is exhibited worldwide, the one that conquered the world in all areas through television particularly, is the model to be followed¹⁸². Some countries are marginalized, the images exposed make the societies choose which ways to go, without the real knowledge of the facts. Is not from our days that the media is used to wash people's brain to cover bigger pictures behind the strikes and terrorism in the world. Asian minorities and Africa are always marginalized in the media. The images transmitted talk for themselves, Africa is always the Continent of strikes, famine, the most distant cultures and ethnics are all the bad characteristics that tarnish the Continent's image. After Bush's mandate East countries' images are only terrorism and religious crisis.

Other negative points are the freedom of media (movies), where they are easy to be accessed, especially adult movies. The sex industry is terribly high, the human trafficking (particularly female of all ages) is a preoccupying (if not the most worrying) issue of 21th Century. Only in 2011, 2,040 human trafficking cases were registered¹⁸³.

¹⁸⁰ Alexis Arieff and Tomas F. Husted - Crisis in the Central African Republic, August 2015, pg.4.

¹⁸¹ <http://www.bbc.com/news>, accessed on May 2015.

¹⁸² Manuel Castells - Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society, pg.3 – 5.

¹⁸³ IOM reports child trafficking and labor trafficking cases are rising, April 10,2012, in <http://www.humantrafficking.org/>, accessed on May 2015.

Climate change also is its repercussion, the fabrics are considered the major culprits of the environment's death. As demonstrated by Schneider¹⁸⁴, Africa is subject to be the landmass most vulnerable against climate change. With high conviction, also foreseen that in various African countries and regions, rustic era, food security and water tension would likely be genuinely exchanged off by natural change and climate variability. The Sub – Saharan countries seems to be the ones to face a harder time during the changes. According to the World Bank's report in 2010, by 2030, those countries environmental situation, health issues and agriculture problems will drastically increase, influencing negatively in the economic life of the Continent, due to the restoration or reconstruction of infrastructures, the decreasing of tourism and other side effects of the disasters.

Despite the negative sides, some researchers see some positive impacts from the globalization. For instance, they believe that the Third World, economically increased foreign trade and diversified the commerce in the African Continent. The accountability became more strict and supervised. Politically the betterment or obliteration of power abuse in Africa is almost a reality, Cameroon, Zimbabwe and Equatorial Guinea, unfortunately, could not be included, democracy is too relative to their "tyrants" as Wallechinsky stated as the worst Presidents in West Africa¹⁸⁵. The presidents of those countries have been ruling for more than two terms, as for Biya, he is been ruling for almost thirty-four years and Mugabe for approximately thirty-five years.

In the IT department, the measure of web clients in Africa made at seven times the general customary, timing more than 3,600% change some spot around 2000 and 2012, to 167 million clients, as appeared by information from Internet World Statistics, a site that tracks web and web sorting out utilization. Before the Continent had to depend on satellite transmission and pay for the connectivity, with the introduction of undersea fibre – optics the Continent pays less for good connectivity to the world, for example, there are now 16 undersea cables connecting Africa to the rest of the Continents¹⁸⁶. In the actuality, the connection in the Continent, together with North America is 9.6% of usage of the internet worldwide for 2015, the lowest of the table is Oceania, Australia

¹⁸⁴ Schneider, S.H., S. Et al: Assessing key vulnerabilities and the risk from climate change. Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability.

¹⁸⁵ David Wallechinsky – Top 10 worst dictatorship in Africa, in <http://answersafrica.com/>.

¹⁸⁶ Africa Renewal online.

and the Middle East with 0.8% and 3.5%, respectively¹⁸⁷. To prevent the population from the crimes online, the African Union created the Convention on Cyber-Security (AUCC) in 2011 with laws applying sanctions to the crimes committed and enlighten the population on the relationship of electronic trades, confirmation of individual data, headway of advanced security, e-organization and combating cybercrime.

In the climate change field, the World Bank and other institutions are working together to help the countries overcome the disasters effect. To strengthen African nations as they manage the difficulties of change, the World Bank has laid out a course of action of activity for adjustment to biological change in Africa, seizing alleviation opportunities on the land mass, building information and cutoff, and offering the additional financing need¹⁸⁸.

In a nutshell, any approach or even the attempt to define the globalization, leads directly to economic developments, the trade footprints and the cultural exchange, unfortunately, the individual development does not seem to be worth of this phenomenon's consideration, as all researchers consulted defended directly or indirectly. The impacts in the world are relative to the profits that the country is having from it and the way they apply these profits in the countries management. Africa is the most affect by it, negatively or positively, depending on the vision of each stakeholder's application of the benefits or betterment of the disadvantages of it. In this globalized world, Africa plays a great role.

How is Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau proving themselves to the new challenges? Are Cabral ideas used to achieve the developments of this Century? Is culture that was very important to the maneuver of his legacy, saved or spreading in the globalization Era? This is what the next topic is trying to find out.

¹⁸⁷ Internet Live Stats , June 2015.

¹⁸⁸ World Bank online - www.worldbank.org/, accessed on May 2015.

5.2. Cape Verde in the globalization Era



Figure 4. Map of the Republic of Cape Verde - Source: CIA 2013 (<http://en.actualitix.com/>)

Cape Verde as the majority of the countries in Africa was born in the globalization epoch, meaning, during the 1970s when the freedom was granted to those dominated by slavery or any other kind of supremacy. The real transformations in the archipelago came with the new Constitution and multiple parties acceptance in the territory, in 1991 Cape Verde road is changed forever.

Seeking for the country's emancipation in 1991 Cape Verde enters in a "transition" period, where a new Constitution is created. With the first multipartisan regime, democracy and development were the motto of the new stakeholders. With the first election of the new Era, the socialist PAICV "gives" space to Movimento para Democracia – Movement to Democracy (MPD) commanded by Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro as President and Carlos Veiga as Primer Minister. The new representatives of the country apply different strategies to develop the country, contrary to the former

leaders, they free the people from the “neocolonialism” that Cabral already anticipated and neo – liberalism is given a chance. Let’s understand these two concepts first.

Liberalism gained stage when John Locke released his work about new transformations in the politics and the society after the Enlightenment Era. In his work he separates political matters from religious authorities, the elimination of Darwinism by stating the human rights and the social contracts¹⁸⁹. Making good fate to Locke’s developments in the field, Mill extends the philosophies to all human beings, the Enlightenment would be shared between individuals when he includes economy into liberalism¹⁹⁰ and Roosevelt opens a new door inside of it for environment concerning, at that time infrastructure were giving good attention. But liberalism strengthened its ties within economic policies more than political philosophies¹⁹¹. Thus, the **neo-liberalism** is born, with the free market capitalism. Adam Smith sees the management of the economy by unknown individuals, rather than government leaders themselves. He also is a sympathizer with deregulation of markets and privation of public establishments¹⁹².

With these theories, significant changes are seen in the interstate relations worldwide. The Eastern coalition, the alliance of political socialist and financial frameworks of arranged economy, offer ascent to economies, experiencing a significant change to private enterprises and the political administrations that have the tendency to coordinate multi-party majority rules system as an idea of mainstream representative. As a consequence, the commerce routes is changed and the public aid decreases and Europe become the major player in this liberal (economic) democracy, on the other hand is held by New York for it to be considered the model of political democracy worldwide.

It is inside of this new order that the party’s agenda of the new leader of Cape Verde urges to instantly acknowledge huge changes in the economic field: monetary related change programs that took place after facing macroeconomic security, privatization of state-controlled affiliations, exchange liberalization, and concentration in the creation of

¹⁸⁹ Locke’s Political Philosophy, in <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/locke-political/>, accessed on June 2015.

¹⁹⁰ On liberty - <http://www.philosophypages.com/hy/5q.htm>, accessed on June 2015.

¹⁹¹ Ted Steinberg - Can capitalism save the planet?, posted on March 2012, in <http://climateandcapitalism.com/>.

¹⁹² Dr Andrew Walter - Adam Smith and the Liberal Tradition in International Relations, pg.2 – 5.

motors of economic growth. The accomplishments of the MDP are presently large recognized by the incorporation of decentralization by forming 16 provinces in the small country. Privatization (telecommunications, water, energy, and banking) was also given good attention. Unfortunately, the party actions were seen by some as hurtful to the domestic customary agriculture, which grew less than 1% of the GDP (per year), dramatically prejudicing negatively the countryside, the below – par income brought poverty to them. The tourism sector (hotel services) transport, infrastructure, finance and telecommunication grew faster, representing 23% of the GDP, increased to more than 1/3 of GDP in the year 2000, together with public service. The business field was attractive to the foreigners with the change of policies. For instance, the incentives came from the¹⁹³:

- Five initial years free taxes;
- Exemption when importing construction materials
- 100% of benefits return
- A more tolerant international labor recruitment

The Foreign Direct Investment stability gave born to private companies in the territory, helping the country gross product to grow almost 6% per year from 1994. The education of the population was not forgotten, together with it, they strengthened the market of labor, adding small technology development growing the productivity. In 1996, MPD was elected again and they searched for new ways of bringing wealth into the territory. When the party stepped down, a plan to combat the poverty was already formed. The plan would function from 2002 to 2005, the main goals were: development of tourism, foreign direct investment, commerce and inclusion of the country in the global economy.

What was the balance of this governance? According to International Monetary Funds (IMF), their performance was not that bright as they showed. The euro currency was in danger due to the poor management of the budgetary existed, the income of the country was strong but with loopholes, the fiscal deficit was not compatible with the

¹⁹³African Development Bank / Africa Development Fund – Cape Verde a success story, 2012.

privatization of trader banks, which contributed to only 7% of the GDP, the petroleum cost 4% and superior education abroad contributed to only 1% of the GDP. This situation increased the international (5% of GDP) and domestic debts (2% of GDP), relying on domestic debt, not considering the decreased of the foreign aid.

January 2001 people give a new chance to the opposition, the party is replaced by PAICV again, and the elections were under a harmonious environment, where MPD stepped down calmly and let the country in the hands of Pedro Pires, the elected President and Jose Maria Neves, the Primer Minister.

5.3. After the transition period

On February 2001, the transition of power follows peacefully, after have counted two rounds and PAICV still the winner, with 51.79% in the first round and 59,0% in the second round, Pedro Pires is the third President of Cape Verde. Now Cape Verde is on their hands, let's see what were the results for the first mandate¹⁹⁴.

The first wise step was not to change the policies of economic growth used by the previous party (which happens frequently in African countries), the ancient policies were updated, strengthened and further steps were taken. Cape Verde is stepping (in the full sense) into globalization a deep transformation that the Prime Minister, Jose Maria Neves, introduced to the parliament and gained the approbation of the Assembly to develop it.

According to the Prime Minister in an interview in “Nos Genti” (Our People) newspaper, he said that Cape Verde gained the independence and directed itself to the democracy, and the first step was the achievement of independence. After fifteen years of monopolitics, it conquered the main factors of a democratic country: the free, fair and transparent elections, the freedom of speech (individuals and the means of communications alike), and a participative citizenship in the social situation of the country. Next step was the economical development of Cape Verde¹⁹⁵. As the head administrator, Neves has promised to create employments, battle for the neediness and

¹⁹⁴ Article 125: each President chosen serves for five (5) years, the maximum rounds to serve the country is two (2) mandates. In case of two consecutive mandates he is approved to start the third one.

¹⁹⁵ Jose Maria Neves, in “Nos Gentié, on 2013, by Pedro Matos, accessed on 12.12.2015.

restore respect to his West African archipelago. For this, a “Reform” plan was launched, a reform that really transformed Cape Verde into what it is now. Then, were the policies and the strategies well applied? Further, the achievements were positive to the society? What exactly that the country achieved with this reform? These are the questions to be answered in this topic.

The **first** reform launched was related to structural measures, the one implemented by MPD (based mostly on privatization) which joined improvement, but also macroeconomic gained more appreciation, by developing policies and strategies that advanced the domestic enterprises but did not abandon the private sectors; reinforcing property rights in the farming field; the elimination of values control, by creating bureaucratic institutions to do it so such as Economic Regulatory Agency (ARE). Other institutions were created to regulate the various areas of activities in the territory, food security, transportation; labor trade and commerce upgrading, including restrictions and liberation laws.

The **second** measure is the one responsible for the recognition of Cape Verde worldwide in our days, the struggle to put the country inside of the world economy. Here the task is to attract the international markets interest on the country’s economy and the growth of exportation of the territory. In this field the Portugal Exchange Rate Agreement signed in 1998 for the use of escudos of Portugal and renewed in 2000 for Euro use, was considered by expert as the best way for it to be accomplished, by doing so, they protected the country from exchange rate risks and improve the financial integration in the world economy.

The next reform (**third**) task was the monetary field – with an economy based on local business and income distribution, they saw the necessity to create banks to supervise the monetary activities, and specific banks and institutions to control the trade. The fiscal was made more accessible to workers, unification of charges on compensation and costs on advantages and improvement of taxes base¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹⁶ International Monetary Fund - Cape Verde: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper-Progress Report,2003.

The stakeholders worked hard on the poverty reduction, aiming to honor their obligation, they relied on the fiscal policy reinforcement and macroeconomic development, before the new program was created, other plans were brought up: the National Poverty Reduction Program in 1987 (PNLP); the National Poverty Alleviation Plan in 1997 (NPAP) which had in its agenda the creation of response to food shortness and countryside poverty through public works program, base on a massive labor force; capacity building for the poor; and creating a social emergency fund. The last plan created, the Poverty Reduction and Poverty Facility (PRPF) that improving the last programs (NLP) policies (cooperation, decentralization, and coordination) as their idea of inclusion of people, had a commitment to the society, the improvement of the financial field; enhancement of living condition; reinforcement of education (qualification) of the poor.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) granted the government US\$1,5 million for the development of this program, Portugal contributed with US\$40 million to the economic issues and the debt was alleviated with the offer. Paradoxically the GDP dropped 3% on that year. The agriculture, fishing, health and education were given better attention but still these fields experienced some constraints. Regarding agriculture, due to the ungrateful soil, the government fearing the food shortage, signed an agreement with USA where food aid package worthing US\$ 14,5 million was offered to the country. Yet inside the social arena, the party in power presented a program that would create 20.000 job positions, the opposition rejected it under the allegation that greater struggles would be meet in the coming days with those policies (this topic will be discussed further).

In the infrastructure field impacting tourism, a dynamic and wealthy growth was observed: ports were reconstructed or expanded, bringing betterment of communication and sea traffic and airways also were on the agenda, agreements with neighbouring countries to expand the air traffic were signed. This growth were “protégé” by European Union (EU), World Bank and other sponsors.

Considering that the country has practically no natural resources, the energy sector also gained good attention. The World Bank provided US\$70 million to be applied to this

section's cause. Power stations increasements, alternative resources for the wind and solar power research took place. The PRPF was reviewed three times and the implementation was out in 2003. During its process, a domestic paper was created with same aims, the First Poverty Reduction Facility. This plan was showing better results as GDP growth, the decrease of inflation and stable fiscal and external deficits, presenting an attractive commerce term.

Table 2. GDP growth for the first three years of the poverty reduction program

Key indicators	Years		
	2002	2003	2004
Real growth	4.9	5.3	5.5
Inflation	1.9	1.2	1.0
M2 growth	14.3	8.6	7.9
Private credit growth	12.0	15.2	10.1
Met credit to government/GDP	3.6	1.1	0.3
Revenue /GDP	22.4	21.6	22.5
Expenditure/GDP	33.4	30.3	32.3
Fiscal deficit/GDP	-2.6	-3.3	-4.3
Current account /GDP	-12.0	-8.9	-9.0
Reserves/ Imports	2.0	1.8	2.0

Source: Stuff Country reports, by International Monetary Fund.

It is based on these plans and their reviews, with new tasks requesting new strategies and that PAICV improves the citizenships live conditions and develops the country's economy. For instance, in 2004 the VAT was introduced, the tax for householders according to their financial expenses. This method ought to beat every single other commitment, getting to some degree over $\frac{1}{4}$ of cash related income, trailed by individuals remuneration charges and import responsibilities, both with 20% of the aggregate. As all transformations process, restraints were met in the economical field. The government was abusive of banks grants, then the budgetary and monetary management became short, a dependency from the banks resulting in huge domestic debt. To solve the issue international cooperators, bank grants and loans were offered but they were not sufficient to cover the country's debts. Although from the independence to 2000's, the GDP grew 10%, the advantage was due to the increment of capital coming from increment on production and accumulation of capital of those years. Also, the inflation was accompanied closer. From these years the unemployment

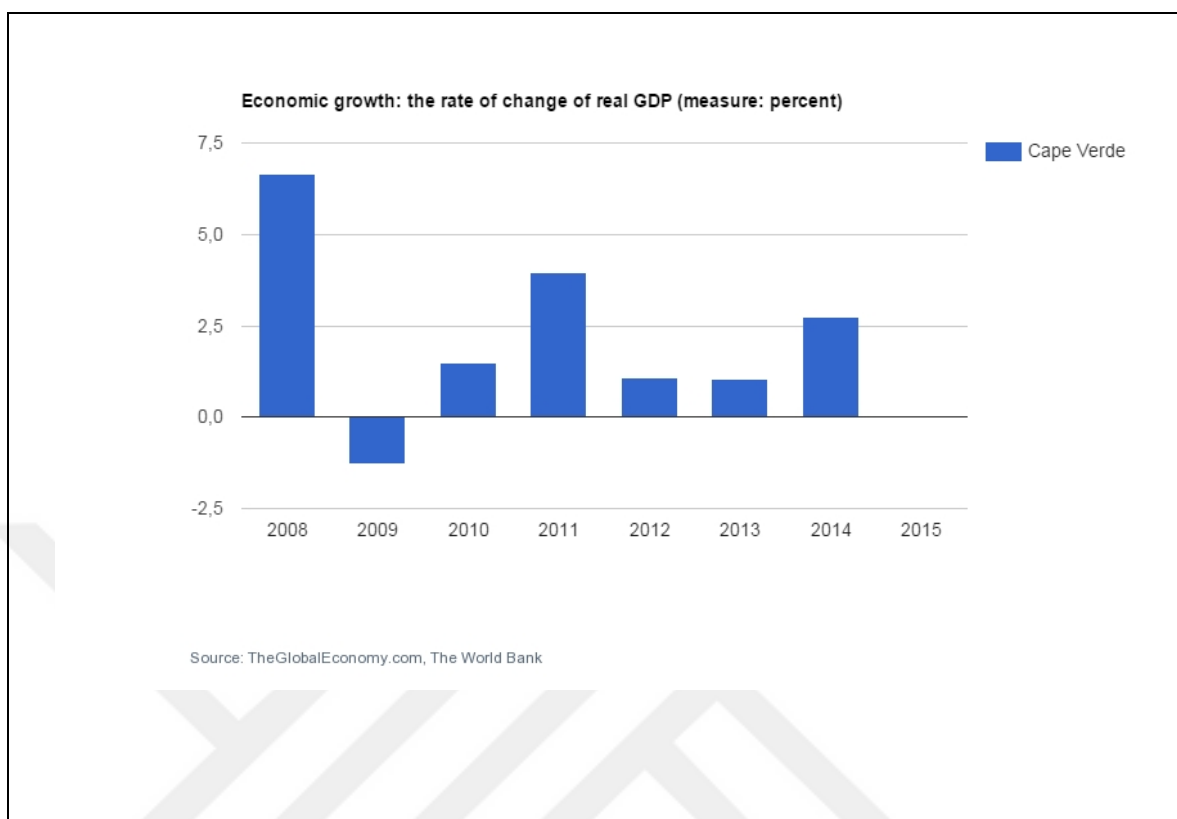
together with its distribution starts to be a visible problem in the society, this unfortunately is related to low literacy and the insufficient skills encountered in the archipelago that time. In 2004 the last plan was been reviewed and finalized, in the same year, a GDP growth of 5% was observed, promising to increase the GDP and to keep fighting for the poverty reduction, according to IMF report on that year¹⁹⁷.

In 2005, the archipelago was already well known by its efforts to combat the poverty, adhering to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). This corporation supports countries that already accomplished some steps towards development. The MDG has the following targets: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV / AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; develop a global partnership for development¹⁹⁸.

In 2006, the election were realized and PAICV once again gained the trust of it's people and continued its work. In a year of economic crisis, with stable political activities, economic growth, stable society and considerable development index, the country graduated from Less Developed Countries (LDCs) to Middle Developed Countries (MDCs) in 2008. The MDG gives the country the chance to accomplish a second PRPF. Personally, I believe that the country was not ready for it, it directly lost the foreign aids and became more vulnerable in this globalized world. Later in the same year, the country joined the "One" Program of the United Nations, which their programs and aims are similar to Cape Verde's commitment, the poverty reduction and economic growth of countries.

¹⁹⁷ International Monetary Fund - Cape Verde: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Preparation Status Report, June 2004.

¹⁹⁸ The Republic of Cape Verde Second Poverty Reduction Support Credit, Document of World Bank, May 2006.



Graphic 1. Cape Verde GDP growth from 2008 economic's ressetion

In 2010, articles, newspapers and other means of communication were publishing that Cape Verde was the first African country to achieve the MDGs, five years before the stipulated date. In this respect, the objectives to be accomplished were eight (8) from 2005 to 2015¹⁹⁹:

- MDG first goal - Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger: reduction of poverty from 31% in 2005 to 26,6% in 2007, with provision to drop to 24,5 in 2015; the second goal halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger represented 14% in 2005, 13% in 2007 with provision to drop more 2% by 2015;
- MDG II - Achieve Universal Primary Education (gender equity) – the enrolment for primary school was 95,8%, 91.7% for 2005 and 2007 respectively and expecting 98% by 2015; the secondary school gained a slide increase from 95% to 95.8% between 200 and 2005, no available provisions for 2015; the Human Development Index increased

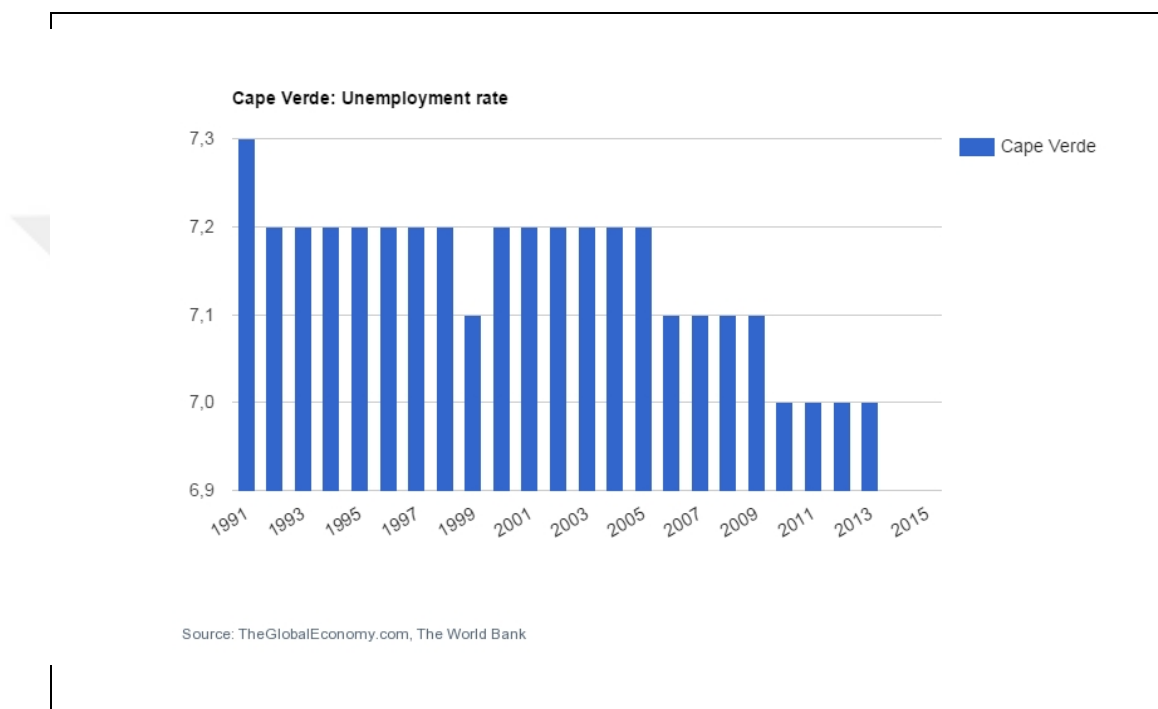
¹⁹⁹ The One Program of United Nations: Cape Verde 2010, by United Nations.

annually from 0.583 to 0.708, occupying the 121 position between the 182 countries position;

- MDG III - Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women - in 2005 almost 72% (71,9%) enrolled at the school and 20,8% took seats at the parliament;
- MDG IV - Reduce Child Mortality – infant mortality dropped from 24,1 to 21,7% between 2005 and 2007 expecting 13,7 % in 2015; the vaccinations are taking place, an increase from 2% was verified (7,6/ 74,2% from 2005 to 2007);
- MDG V: Improve Maternal Health– a decrease from 17,3 and 16,7 % (2005 – 2007); also there was a betterment concerning skilled Professional, 74,4/ 75,9 for 2005 and 2007 (per 100 thousand);
- MDG VI - Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases – the HIV, tuberculous and malaria are the mainstream preoccupations, the first one as 0,7% for 2007, the second an increment of almost 9% from 2000 to 2007 (51 – 59,8%, respectively) but malaria decreased 10%, from 13,6% to 3,7% between 2005 and 2007;
- MDG VII - Ensure Environmental Sustainability – sustainability policies for environment - the GHG, between 12 years (1995 – 2007), managed to save only nearly 33% of its environmental resources; drinking water proportion improved nearly 20% in 7 years (from 70 to 89,5%, 2000 – 2007 respectively);
- MDG VIII - Crear a Global Partnership for Development – the unemployment for young people (15-24) shrunk from 41% to 31.8% between five (5) years (2000 -2005) were women were to be more impacted; in the IT field, the data for 2007 shows that internet access is the lowest between the means of communications with 14% for telephone communication and mobiles suffered an increment of 51.7 and 54.7% respectively, laptops still a luxurious material to the population, with 10.8% for that year (per 100 population) .

Unemployment is the most preoccupying field seen in the country from the 1990s, the situation started to gain international attention, domestically the discontentment from the affected population is clear, last semester the population (young and old) started a

protest, asking for better policies to solve the problem. The country counted 700 secondary school graduation in 1991, 12000 in 2011, with an annual 2000 undergraduates in and outdoors. With the economic recession, last year the country counted 6000 graduated unemployed youngsters, which returned home hoping to have a position in the country's labor market²⁰⁰.



Graphic 2. Unemployment in Cape Verde from 90's to 2015

Janira Hopffer Almada, the Minister of Youth, Labor and Human Resources Development made it clear that the answer is with the new generation, information, initiative and motivation are the keys integrating them in the labor market. According to her, they should wonder, search and acquire knowledge about the possibilities created into those policies for them to create, to innovate and integrate themselves in the labor market and help to develop the economy of the country²⁰¹.

As we could see during the topic, Cape Verde is moving towards development, by empowering its people and developing the economy, unfortunately, there are more to be

²⁰⁰Documentary - Vida Suspensa in RTC, May 2014.

²⁰¹ Janira Hoffer Almada – speech for the 2016 elections, April 2014.

made and fast, in ways to combat the vulnerabilities encountered after adopting some measures searching for the happiness and well-being of the people.

The next topic will present the dynamic of the situation of Bissau in the same context.

5.4. Guinea – Bissau in the globalization



Figure 5. Map of Guinea – Bissau - Source: CIA 2013 (<http://en.actualitix.com/>)

After the coup d'état concretized by Nino Vieira, the country never experienced a stable Republic, a considerable democracy, the political life as no organization and the economic growth became a “mirage” in the country.

As Cape Verde, Guinea – Bissau opted to the political liberalization at the same year (1991). Here Vieira shows that the country is getting mature by considering the democratization, the prove was the abolishment of the article in the Constitutions stating the one party rule, now the one party is open for adversaries, the multi – party political system is adopted. In 1994 the first peaceful and transparent multi – party election is held, still Vieira is the head of state. What changes now? What is in agenda to develop

the country and show the world that it is fit for the globalization Era? Nothing, Vieira continued with his favoritism and friendship based administration. Although, the Constitution also altered some articles, one of them was the relation between Assembly and the President. The Assembly could be fired by the President under political crisis, but the contrast could never happen; the Prime Minister was to be chosen by the President but balancing the power. The seats in the Assembly were varied, but PAIGC was the majority²⁰².

Economically, in 1983 Bissau received an aid of \$46.4 million as an adjustment for the economic stabilization program by international donors²⁰³. Three years later the IMF supported the structural adjustment program. In 1997 the country joined the Franc Zone, through the Communauté Financière Africaine - African Financial Community- (CFA), leading him easily into West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), which is composed by French-speaking countries and consequently using the same currency, the Franc CFA. In this attempt for more financial support, Senegal asks the country to put an end to the arms trafficking and rebellion in Casame, Vieira accuses and dismisses General Assumane Mané, who has been his companion from the independence war. One year later the rebellions enter the city and a civil war was started on June as the President did not answer to their appeal for negotiations. In this war Nino was supported by Guinea – Conakry with transportation and human force, Senegal with human force and the domestic military (Junta Militar) rebellion was reinforced with former military forces. The war lasted for eleven months, an agreement was signed in Praia in August 1998, broken after two months. A final understanding between Assumane Mane and Vieira was achieved by early November. To seal the conflicts and continue with the country's development, in the beginning of 1999 the elections were made, Mané is the new President through coupe d'état Nino refused to leave the throne. This situation brought Portugal burglary against France that was working with Senegal to bring peace to the territory, a last attempt to embarrass Vieira in direct on TV to see if he could give up, Vieira fearless and shameless did not step down. As an answer (as always) the Junta attacked Nino and he saw himself forced to asylees in Lisbon's Embassy.

²⁰² Celisa dos Santos Pires de Carvalho - Guiné-Bissau: A Instabilidade Como Regra, pg.77 – 79.

²⁰³ West Africa, lonely planet by Anthony Ham, et. al, (2009), pg 435.

Guinea – Bissau now has an unskilled President, a former teacher that had no preparation to rule a country. This one was protected by Balanta ethnic group, in exchange, he granted them official positions, promotions and accepted some Junta soldiers into his administration. Giving his face to his own causes, not accepting Yala's friendship and positions, he was eliminated when he refused to participate in the appointments but promoted himself straight to Chief of Staff. Kumba Yala is the President in 2000.

As a result of the last governor's strategies, the economy was deeply penalized, it lost the IMF's support, and the population runs out of money when the salaries stopped appearing in their accounts. To solve the problem, they dismissed several ministries, called elections without funds to realize it, fired judicial department and the country was free of any kind of government for several months. Three years later, Verissimo applies his coupe d'état and remove Yala. Verissimo is assassinated one year later. With the suffrage of 2005, Nino is back to the throne²⁰⁴.

In 2007, the democracy was held strongly and he couldn't elect who he wanted to be the Prime Minister, a balance was made when the Assembly empowered Ndafo Cabi. The situations continued really tense between them during the year, even with the pact of stability signed at the beginning of the year, just because the chosen one was not Vieira's "protégé". The pact mainstream article was the "national unity", the unification of the three major parties: Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde - African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the Partido da Reforma Nacional - Party of National Renovation (PRS) and the Partido Unido Social-Democrata - Social Democratic United Party (PUSD)²⁰⁵ to solve the crisis of the country, moreover, the pact stated that the one to secure the power would secure the stability of the country. Guinea – Bissau now has real hope, the balance of power was well distributed, PAIGC with nine ministries, PRS six and PUSD three, the others were distributed to the nine opposition parties and the independents parties as well²⁰⁶.

²⁰⁴ Guinea – Bissau: independence to present, by Simon Massey - <http://www.worldhistory.biz/> - 26-05-2015.

²⁰⁵ Centro de Estudos Africanos - Mudança governamental e intentona na Guiné-Bissau (Agosto de 2008) <http://www.africanos.eu/>.

²⁰⁶ Guinea – Bissau: In need of a State – Crisis Group Africa Report N 42, 2 July 2008, pg 18.

After four years, the military applied one more *coupe d'état* and Nino is assassinated, after Portugal's aid in more than €1million²⁰⁷ for the possible reconstructions of Bissau.

Still, last year the President José Mario Vaz dismissed ***the government and all its organic body***, commanded by Simões Pereira, under the allegation that "The Government has shown worrying signs intended to obstruct the realization of justice, likely to jeopardize the autonomy and independence of the judiciary ", after the appointed Prime Minister who by his turn asked to be dismissed days later, for his "appointment as Prime Minister been unconstitutional", a new government was appointed²⁰⁸. From September of this year, Guinean people are hoping the best from this new government.

In the military arena, the reforms were impossible to be made due to the constant investigation towards graduated militaries for suspicion of trafficking of arms and drugs. With these three main "democratic state" areas unstable, the financial aid was quasi-absent in the country. The main donors to Bissau are EU, the UN, which Bissau was accepted to the UN's Peace – building Commission, to help them boost the main areas of capabilities: political, security and economic, (here Brazil is the main supporter). The Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS) would be a great donor if the country was stable, influencing positively the interaction with the neighborhood.

Obviously, the economic growth is a myth in Bissau, each *coupe d'état* or even its attempt, scares the foreign investors, for example, for this last crisis the former Timor – Leste representative advised his government to freeze all the cooperations fields with Bissau²⁰⁹.

The World Bank considers the country as the "poorest in the world"²¹⁰ due to its instability, which is the main obstacle for the emancipation of the country, the incidents

²⁰⁷Publico Comunicação Social SA – Presidente da Guine Bissau demite governo – 13.08.2015 - <http://www.publico.pt/> .

²⁰⁸RFI Português – PAIGC propõe orgânica para novo governo - <http://pt.rfi.fr/> .

²⁰⁹Idem.

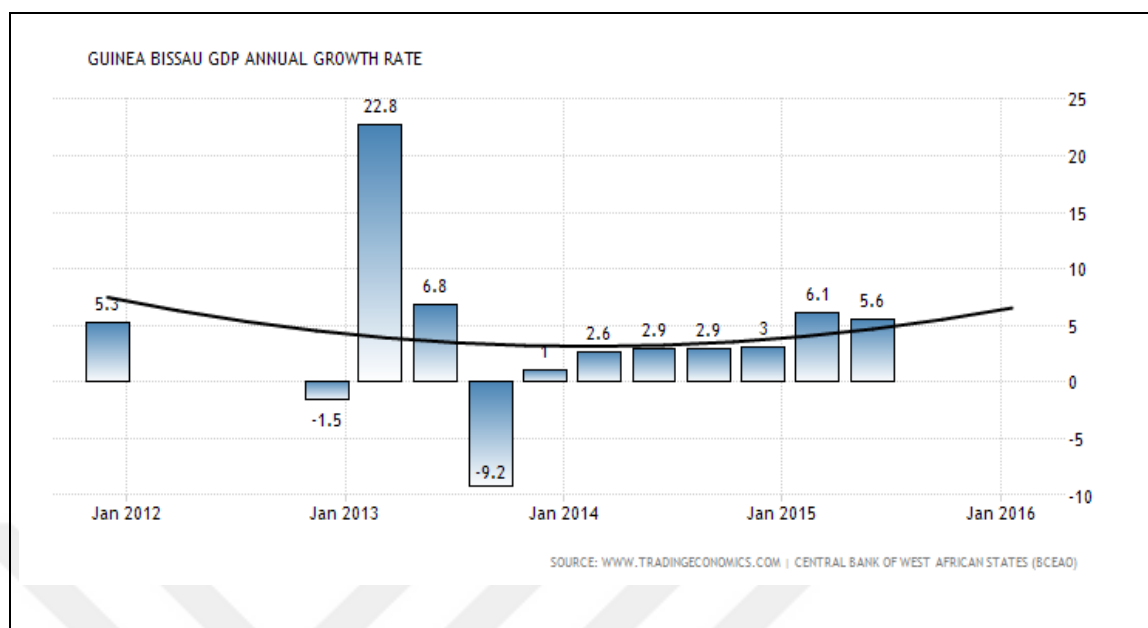
²¹⁰World Bank - <http://www.worldbank.org/> , accessed 03.12.2015.

raise the poverty aggravation, and if this situation is not contained, the prosperity will never be achieved.

After the independence, the economic growth doesn't show any interesting facts. In 2010, it had a narrow growth (from 3,0% in 2009 to 3,6% in 2010) together with financial support for economic programs worthing \$22,4 million. Despite its troublesome situation, it had a detectable grow of almost 2% (1,7%) in 2012, this due to the cajew exportation (that is now the mainstream economic activity), the agricultural diversification production, the support from international aids (Europe particularly) and the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in mining and infrastructure²¹¹. This development is owing to the Threat of Unity that was seen as a long term possible stability. According to a study made in May 2015 by the IMF, the cajew continued been a great contributor to the GDP growth, it growing more 2.5%, together with concentration on construction and telecommunication, with no inflation. Considering that the stability reigns during the year, the growth is estimated to rise steadily, 2% each year, 2015 and 2016²¹².

²¹¹ Africa details - <http://www.africadetails.com/>, accessed on November 2015 .

²¹²IMF - Guinea Bissau: IMF Mission Concludes Article IV Consultation and Reaches Staff Level Agreement on Financial Assistance under the ECF, Press Release No. 15/190 - May 5, 2015.

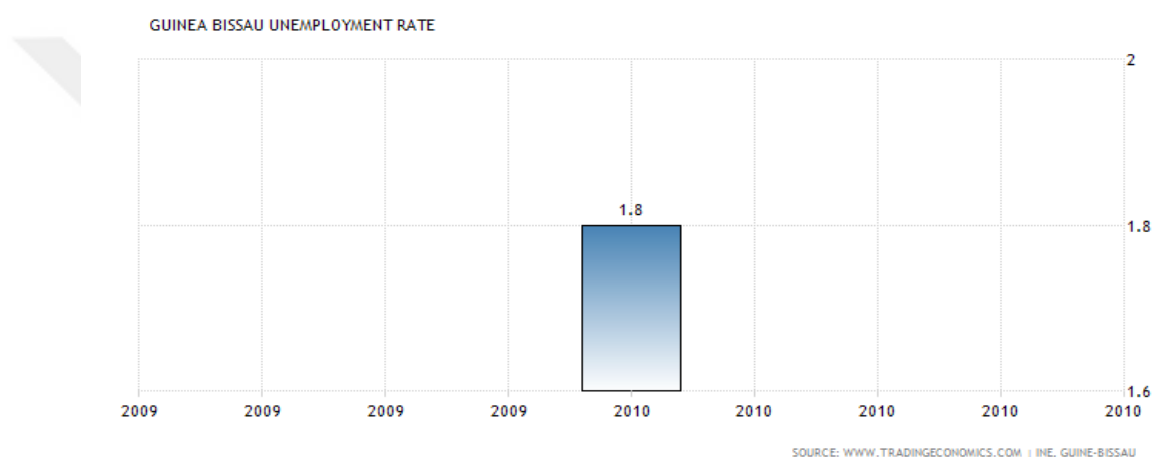


Graphic 3. Guinea – Bissau GDP annual growth from 2012 to 2015

As other countries Bissau is struggling against poverty, and it also has its program, the Documento de Estrategia Nacional para a Redução da Pobreza – Strategic Document for Poverty Reduction (DENARP). This of course was constantly postponed due to the instability of the country, finally, in 2004 a program was completed, revised one year later and put into practice in 2006. They aimed to re - established the connections between the territory and the international supporters; the development of the public and private sector; interaction with leaders all over the country. To achieve these objectives by 2015: increase the per capita income (PCI); reduce the poverty above 50%; incentive more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population to enroll at primer school; reduction of infant mortality. In this perspective, the fields to be improved were: macroeconomics stability; economic growth that supports job creation; improvement on the health sector and infrastructure. Unfortunately, the IMF found the strategies not adequate to the programs, the organization made it clear that the goals couldn't be achieved by 2015 and that the human development was in danger, the main vulnerable points to be focused at were the administration, the health and education sectors.²¹³

²¹³Guinea – Bissau Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper – Joint Staff Advisory Note, by Internationally Monetary Fund – google book - <https://books.google.com.tr> – accessed 04.12.2015.

The second PRP was launched in 2011 to answer the international institution recommendations, still some situations are hard to get into place. Although, a narrow improvement was seen in the economic field, the infrastructure (construction of a bridge to facilitate the trade between Bissau and Dakar), job creation and business environment (lower transaction price and less bureaucracy; supporting foreign companies to invest in telecommunication). The population was granted new health services (as vaccinations), elimination of school fees, equal opportunities for genders, more open debates about violence against women as well as reproductive information, including HIV/AIDS²¹⁴.



Graphic 4. Guinea – Bissau unemployment rate in 2010²¹⁵

However, the Human Development Index (HDI), meaning the advance of the population, (taking into consideration the life expectancy and health, the educational development and the level of their prosperity), in 2013 the HDI rank, Bissau situated in 177th out of 187 countries, moreover, according to the report, the score was below (0.396) the average (0.493), the worst between Sub – Saharan countries. As informed new groups were introduced, the inequality - adjusted HDI (IHDI) - declared as the visible accomplishments in people's life; the gender inequality index (GII) - studying the opportunities given between man and women, unfortunately, there was no data available for these groups. To prove their prosperity, the multidimensional poverty index (MPI) was launched in 2010, in which it was showed that Bissau had 61,6 percent

²¹⁴ Joint Staff Advisory Note on the Second Annual Progress Report on the Implementation of the National Poverty Reduction Strategy (NPRS), by International Monetary Fund (IMF), November 2010.

²¹⁵ Other data are not available.

of MPI in 2006. Finally, the country's unemployment rate still one of the main concerns of the actual government. Five years ago the country had 1.80 percent, until today, there is no other data showing progress in this sector. Unemployment, as defined by Trading Economics, is the number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of a labor force. The above graphic shows the percentage of unemployment in the country²¹⁶.

Unfortunately, the population knowledge achievement also could not be achieved. The literacy (the capability of people to read and write a simple statement of their daily life) rate also shows some constraints, between 2008 and 2012 only 55, 3% was literate according to UNICEF, having a slide growth in 2013 to 57, 8%²¹⁷.

The MDGs were not achieved in 2015, under instability our uncertain stability period that the country encounters, it's impossible to preview the accomplishment of the program or understand the development of the country *per se* as showed the IMF report²¹⁸.

²¹⁶ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/>, accesed on September 2015.

²¹⁷ http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/guineabissau_statistics.html, accessed on September 2015.

²¹⁸ International Monitary Fund - Guinea – Bissau Selected Issues, July 2015,pg.9.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSING THE SUCESS OF THE CAPE VERDE

5.1. Comparison between the countries – Cape Verde and Guinea - Bissau

This section will stretch out the similarities and antagonisms between the two countries. Why did Guinea – Bissau had a very different development from Cape Verde? What went wrong if the policies and aims are the same?

As referred before the two countries share a long and unbearable history of intimidation by the same settlers and had the same hunger for the freedom, which made them share the same warriors for independence after sharing the blood during the slavery, when the Africans were brought from the Coast of the Continent, apart from those, they share a geographic position (West Africa) that was very profitable for the dominators. They are separated by only 982 kilometers or 573 miles, according to Distance Calculator online²¹⁹. The population (the slaves traded from West Africa to Cape Verde, was composed also by Guinean – Bissau) that were brought to work in the agriculture and vice – Versa, the language (Crioulo) that is spoken only between the two ex-colonies, the rest speak Portuguese or their own local language, with no similarities with these two countries' crioulo. Culture imported during the colonization, molded into Cape Verdean culture. Actually, both countries share the same vulnerabilities, as a matter of fact, they both are part of the Small Island States, meaning, the countries with scar natural resources, little superficies and really exposed to the climate change catastrophe and their outcomes.

In what concerns the administration of the countries, they are extremely different, when concerning their political regime and the visible consequences or profits that they are

²¹⁹ Distancecalculator.net, accessed on January 2015.

having. After the independence both opted for democracy, shown through multi – party system, giving the population the power to rule their country through the elite elected as their representatives. But was democracy the best choice for the countries? And what is the democracy and what are the advantages of such regime for the Newborn countries?

The philosopher of law and political science Norbert Bobbio is the historian of political thoughts that discussed the democracy in a more expanded way, the modern democracy, its progress and placement into our lives according to the type chosen by each stakeholder. Democracy is defined as the political system where people are the governors, in total absence of any supremacy presence, cited Mendes²²⁰. However, he believes that the democracy doesn't bring social justice to the world. In this context, Dahl defended that from the beginning of this so-called “democracy”, the Romans and Athenians were the ones creating the system, but Roman opted for Republic (affair of people) and Athen for democracy (popular participation) which the participation was restricted, only the elites could participate on the elections. After this clear inequality example, Dahl analysis the democracy development and he understands that even with the institutions created in ways to bring equality, unfortunately the problem persisted, the differences were clear as the society developed (from slavery to capitalism) and new answers were needed, inequality is recognized from the dark times, but with the new rules of law and human rights it started to be given greater attention, becoming the most vulnerable characteristic of democracy of our days²²¹. For the instabilities that are encountered inside of democracy, he proposed the name “polyarchies” instead of democracy for the participation of people was not absolute²²².

In his turn, John Keane brings up the doubts about the origin of the system, he doesn't believe that it came from Greece directly, for him it was imported from the ancient Phoenix and Mesopotamians thinkers and later transported to India by 1500 B.C, he even relates the origin of the world democracy with the Arab world, Siria, Iran and Iraq, afterwards exported to Greece. Also, the author observed that the Athenian democracy was based on violence, favoritism, and opportunism, characteristics that automatically

²²⁰ Mendes Livonildo Francisco - democracia na Guine – Bissau: para uma mudança de mentalidades, pg.40

²²¹ Felix Jognh – Robert A. Dahl on democracy, 1998 - <http://tr.scribd.com/> accessed on 08/12/2015

²²²The Theory of Robert Dahl by Richard W. Crouse, pg 442 - 458.

transform the system into tyranny. The author although did not define the system alleging its variations according to the course of histories²²³. The author received many critics due to his assumption about the origins of the system and his negativity about the chaos that the democracy would cause in the world.

Keane has the same opinion as Plato, he thinks that democracy is ruled by the elite and chosen by the people, which share the benefits between them, without thinking of those that chose them to be their representatives. However, Plato considered the equality an affront to the humanity, it “collapses the social structure”. Intriguing, Plato differs from his galvanize Aristoteles, who believes in democracy, but that should be ruled by the best people of the city, those that combine financial power and rule of law, meaning it should be composed by the minority (elite) and the aristocrats (the morality)²²⁴.

The democracy had a long way until introduced to the new world. From **aristocracy** (govern of minority based on oligarchy), **monarchy** (govern is ruled by the reigns, based on tyranny), the **Popular Government** (government would be by all creatures, which is based on demagogy) also called *isonomy*, translated to **equality** in our days²²⁵. The isonomy was started with the aristocrat Cleisthenes in 510 B.C, who gave the people a chance to participate actively in the decisions – making, they were members of the government, he included those considered the low class of the society (farmers, servants, etc). The father of Athenian democracy made deep changes which were considered a real democracy, total participation of the people, creation of constitution, integration of rural citizens by creating administrative forces around them, military forces without any connection with the elite, a government composed with an organ known as “The Council of Five Hundred, where all the tribes were represented by fifty members for one year mandate each and all had a chance of voting, while normal citizens could serve two mandates. After him only Pericles continued with his vision, later the chaos possessed the city and democracy was death, the tyranny was ruling again.

²²³ John Keane: The life and death of democracy, a review, by Nicole Green.

²²⁴ Livonildo Francisco Mendes – Democracia em Guine – Bissau: por uma mudança de mentalidades, pg. 48-50.

²²⁵ Idem, pg 45 – 50.

Democracy flourished again with George Grote (November 17, 1794 – June 18, 1871) in the XIX Century, can be considered the father of the renascence of democracy. He gave continuity to Cleisthenes and Pericles ideologies, but in a modern world. Grote's point of view was set up in the liberal estimations of English Utilitarianism and in a social improvement that saw Greece constantly supplant Rome as the out of date model for European culture, in the contrast William Mitford believed deeply in Rome's government system and doubted the well-being of a democratic government. Despite critics, Grote took Greece as an example, analyzed the modern forms of democracy, and understood that inequality was an obstacle to the total development of democracy, so he suggested educating the people in ways to help them break free from the selfishness of others²²⁶.

This problem of inequality, says Mendes is due for the three pillars in which a “society bases its political system”: the **monarchy** (passed by throne to the families) applied to our modern days, their power are restricted due to the constitutional laws and the republicanism spread in the world, **authoritarianism** (here the power to the ruler is absolute, constitutions or laws are not applied) and **democracy** (develops means of achieving better life to all, respecting the constitutions and laws). What we should have in mind is that the perfection is still an enigma, so does democracy, as a regime that is based on *utopia*, it has too many vulnerabilities: inequality, poverty, women and children's right violated, racism, economic crisis, poor participation of population, unemployment, rivalry between Western, the world affirmation of the unilateralism of North America (USA).

After this short review, we should go back to the question that gave space to this overview, was the democracy the best regime for the two countries?

After the Cold War, the countries were left with small gaps of choices, democracy was the best road to cope with the new world, the problem was not the type of regime, the question is how the democracy was applied in each country. The problems that Athens

²²⁶William M. Calder, III and Stephen Trzaskoma, *George Grote Reconsidered: A 200th Birthday Celebration with a First Edition of his Essay "Of the Athenian Government."* Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1996. Pp. x, 97. DM 29,80. ISBN 3-615-00180-X. Reviewed by Lee T. Percy, The Episcopal Academy, LTPearcy@aol.com (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/1997/97.04.21.html>) accessed on 09/12/2015.

went through during the implementation of the system are the same experienced today. Utopia is hard to be maintained and some leaders just are deluded by the days of glory individual choices are made upon national well-being. For instance, the democracy in Cape Verde and Guinea – Bissau were implemented at the same period, the transition period, Bissau could have achieved better development if it was not for the political destabilization from the pos - independence. Here starts the obstacle of its implementation in Bissau, which was basically the lack of trust, revenge, also the various ethnic groups spread in the territory. All of them expressing in different languages, which made uneasy the communication also, turning into a serious problem in the territory. The culture as a whole is another issue that influences negatively the democracy. Some authors connected the culture with the intangible success of the system, they see the cultural practices and marriage a huge issue, when the tribes chiefs believe that they can marry simultaneously different women, contributing to the rise of the population, and the poverty rate as well, when the demands rose with them (school, health, future of the children) are impossible to take care of, contributing to the rate of illiteracy, aiming to cover the responsibilities, resorting to the easy money is the answer, they increased the corruption and illegal practice in the territory²²⁷. Also, health is a sensitive topic, culturally the practice of female mutilation, circumcision is still alive, prejudicing the population health. The religion is another factor that depletes the society, each of them believes in their practices, for example, the Catholics still condemn the use of preservatives, contributing for unplanned pregnancies and family formation. The women are obligated to get married at an earlier age than the law permits aggravating more the illiteracy between gender. Also, the rivalry between ethnicities is dated from the years of war to conquer the Mandiga Empire, where they slaughtered themselves (Mandiga and Fula) and Fula won the war²²⁸.

The military is considered the main factor that inhibits the progress of stability and consequently the homologation of democracy in Bissau. According to Carvalho, the military force use the excuse of been former combatants to privatize the appurtenances

²²⁷ Livonildo Francisco Mendes – Democracia em Guine – Bissau: por uma mudança de mentalidades, pg.64

²²⁸ Ibidem, pg 63 – 69.

to themselves, as their actions are condemned by the society, their strategy is based on coupe d'état to intimidate the authorities and the population²²⁹.

Some authors believe that the rivalry between the Cape Verdeans and Guinean – Bissau that comes from the colonialism strategies to separate them, still alive and it prevents these two countries to contribute to each others development, aggravated by the coupe d'état against Luis Cabral, as various authors stated. Also, the Casamansa problem puts Bissau in a pessimistic view towards democracy in the international stage. Mendes accuses the colonialists, the PAIGC in power, the military, the oppositions, international communities, French diplomacy (by supporting Senegal in Casamansa problem), of doing less or nothing to improve the situation of Bissau.

Cape Verde in contrast to Guinea – Bissau, is not composed by ethnic groups, the country is separated geographically by two groups, the windward (Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, São Nicolau, Sal e Boa Vista) and the islets (Branco, Razo, Passaros, Rabo de Junco, Sal Rei and Baluarte) and leeward composed by the remaining islands (Maio, Santiago, Fogo and Brava), but only Santiago and near Brava the islets are found, the Grande islet, the Cima islet, the Rei, the Luis Carneiro and the islets Sapado are encountered in Praia, while Areia islet is closer to Brava. Cape Verde never distributed its people according to the language or cultural practices, the inexistence of ethnicities made the country one united nation. I don't exclude the small clashes within people during the emigration, its shown but in a moderated way. For example, when you move from Barlavento (windward) to Sotavento (leeward) you are called "sampadjudo", if it's the contrary, you are called "badiu", there was never observed civil or ethnic war due this nominations or even formation of subgroups within sampadjo or badiu. The local language spoken is the "kriolo" (Crioulo: PT; Creol: Eng), which shares great similarities with Guinean – Bissau's Creol, as a matter of fact, we are the only countries that speak this language, the Creole that with Portuguese roots. The creol from Sotavento is different due to the heritage of African language during the slavery, the Barlavento is mixed with the white elite colonies and a smaller presence of Africans in the periode but with a small pronunciation differentiation. Anyway, the two groups speak and understand each other with no hardness.

²²⁹ Celina dos Santos Pires de Carvalho – Guine – Bissau a instabilidade como regra – pg 79.

Politically the country never experienced coup d'état or any political radical trouble. In the case of suspicion of the lack of transparency during the elections, a new round takes place, killings or any attempt against politicians are or were never made. The geographic position until now brought only climate change events, sited at the North East of the Atlantic Ocean, surrounded by water not countries, we never disturbed the neighborhood or committed any act that would hurt us or them. The religion is another positive asset, there over 77 % of the population are nominally Roman Catholics. Protestant churches account for a small percentage with the largest denomination being the Church of the Nazarene (10%). Other denominations include the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Assemblies of God, and various Pentecostal and evangelical groups. There are also small groups of Muslims (2%) and Baha'i, although 11% of the population are atheists, declared the 2012 International Religious Report²³⁰. The strain between these religious groups is undetectable in the country, the beliefs are shared under a harmonical environment.

In the country's defense arena, military force was never used uncontrollably, is only for territorial protection, their duty is to protect the country and not to harm it. The law is clear, as the article 243 and 244 stated respectively: "the military forces can not be affiliated to any syndicate, party or political association or practice in any political – partisan activities. (...) Their duty is exclusively a component of the military defense of the country when under external menace. Here shows the disability of the military in the country, when the issue is political power.

I don't want to affirm that Cape Verde is a success in the implementation of democracy, but that it had and has components that helped its implementation. By the same token, we can never consider Guinea – Bissau a "***democratic failure state***", due to the course of the history, as long as a country has its population, there is still hope for their development. The democracy is a system that when adopted it implicates changes in societies and these changes need time to be consolidated. As a matter of fact, the real democracy is a utopia and all those that attempted against the capitalism death are extinguished, for example, Cabral to start with, M.L. King, Kenned President, Indira Gandhi, between others.

²³⁰ United State Department of States, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Report 2012.

Economically speaking, the two countries have a very fragile economy, the dependence on international aid is very high. Cape Verde is the smallest country (in size and population, 4,033 km² and 503,637 respectively) with no natural resources, however, the electricity gained some improvements, but still under development. According to the World Bank in 2012 almost 80% of the population had electricity, the petroleum are refined and imported. Due to its arid soil the agriculture is not profitable, also the rainfalls are so short that only 11,2% of the soil is fruitful, the crops are for domestic use only, it's not enough to be exported, with exception to banana, which was considered the main export crop in 2003. In the same year, the agriculture contributed to 15% of the GDP decreasing to 7.63% in 2014, causing a distress employment in this field. The field is supported through programs that are financed by international bodies, impossible to fight the nature the country imports more than 80% of its nutrition, only in 2004, it cost almost \$113 million and last year the country's import merchandise was valued in \$654.000.000 USD. The animal husbandry is prejudiced as well, the life pasturing is narrow. The country is poor in this field, it counts only 22,752 (Head) of cattle and buffaloes, 201,478 (head) of sheep and goats and 1,117 (1000 head) of poultry birds. According to the Foreign Trade Center, referring to the second quarter of the year 2010, organized by National Statistics Institute (INE), the fishery sector contributed to 82,2 percent of the total export of the country, fishing itself represented 45% of the total exportation. The tourism is a sector that contributes to the economic development, mindful of the tourism area's potential the Cape Verdean powers laid out a Tourism Policy and made an arrangement of enactment exceptionally ideal for Foreign Investment (charge impetuses, traditions offices and rewards). Its direct contribution to GDP last year was 15,2% estimated to contribute to 18,6% of total GDP by 2025, supporting 30.000 jobs, a total of 13,6% of employment. In the same year, the sector attracted 23,1% investment, converted in CVE 15,4 billion. The GDP in this year (in a scale of -0.35 – 0.50) the country scored -9.57%, equivalent to \$ -0.17 billion, according to IMF. In the Human Development Index, the country stands in position 123 in the world, according to UNDP report in 2014. The accomplishment of the eight (8) tasks of MDGs is the prove of the emancipation of the population.

The total area of Guinea-Bissau is 36,125 km², the natural catastrophes (heavy rains, inundation, sea level rise) diminish its size. Its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) is measured above 70000km, industrial ships in the deep water where most diverse fish types are found. In contrast, to Cape Verde Bissau's climate is favorable and has a fruitful soil, the agriculture is very profitable and it has a healthy flora. The cultivation division uses 83% to employs citizens and contributes to 64% of the GDP. Only 12% of the total space compass is under progressive or periodic progress. Unfortunately, the benefits of these advantages are not respected or given greater attention, for instance, the flora section is suffering immense attacks from natives and foreigners. Deforestation is a motive of news and NGOs preoccupations in the territory. The fishery in the country also is abundant, catching the attention of several international and private investors, but according to Celisa Carvalho the policies concerning this sector is misused by the same investors, the Coast always suffer pilferage as much as the agreements in the fishery. Guinea-Bissau signed agreements with the European Economic Community (EU), Senegal, Marine Fisheries National Cooperation of the Republic of China (Conapemac), Ivory Coast and with the Fisheries Sub-regional Commission.

As we could see, the fishing contributes immensely to these two countries economy, through foreign Exchange and sustainable development, unfortunately, these agreements have the negative sides as well: the overfishing, contribution for risk of shortage food in the countries, and depletion of local fishing, at the same token, the contraband protection in the area are forgotten by the international bodies is a serious problem.

Still in this area, Guinea – Bissau exports to the neighborhood and far seas: Brazil, Togo, Ghana, India, Vietnam and China, while it imports (petroleum and refined, rice, cement, palm oil, beer) from Portugal, India, Spain and China. Last year the value of import and export of the country had the same amount: \$162.211.907, meaning there is no gap of benefits to the country. According to IMF, the GDP of the country in 2015 was estimated in US\$ 1 Billion.

Finally, the most worrisome issue, the cultural field. Culturally Guinea – Bissau is more attached to the roots than Cape Verde. Due to its various ethnics groups, the country still lives its culture as it was even before the independence. While Cape Verde, has never had ethnicity experience, with its peculiar culture, not too much African neither too close to Portuguese culture, the country is more open to aliens culture, being too exposed to acculturation. However, this contact never created a social discomfort, different to Bissau that lives constant distress during cultural contacts. The instability is not only political, the instability started with the ethnicity divisions, before, during and after independence.

Guinea – Bissau characteristics still been considered unstable, underdeveloped, even worse, is considered one of the poorest countries in the world²³¹. Taking into consideration the Global Finance's classification of a poor country, measured by the GDP purchasing power parity (GDP /PPP), which evaluates the cost of living and inflation rates to determine countries richness. Those under \$765 per capita were considered poor and Bissau is positioned at 11th with a GDP per capita of \$1.491.19, Cape Verde the 64th with \$6.569.82, and curiously Mozambique is holding the 7th position with a per capita of \$1.208.61, for the year 2015. Another factor that gives Cape Verde a better look from Bissau, is the security that the stakeholders exhibit internationally, Guinea – Bissau never had a chance to do the same.

In sum, is the constant political organization absence, the lack of commitment to the necessities of the people, richness or other personal goals together with ethnicities issues that condemned and still condemning Bissau to this chaotic situation. The democracy in the country included all the antagonism of its meaning, the administration of the country still to be achieved. If the democracy were implemented according to the reality of the country and the basic characteristics of the system respected, Bissau would be between the richest countries of Africa not to say, the world.

²³¹Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO) at Trading Economics online - <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/>.

5.2. Cape Verde democracy and its vulnerabilities

. "Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried."

Winston Churchill

Cape Verde is considered the African country with the best governance in the Continent, how good is this governance? What are the benefits of this exception bringing to the population? Can we consider Cape Verde a successful democratic country? These questions will be answered within this section.

In the international eyes, Cape Verde is the most organized African country, politically, with a constant growth of its economy and a stable society, given the idea that the country successfully adopted, implemented and the system is compatible with its human development as well. Actually, domestically the country struggles against various vulnerabilities (once again from its identity to the real development and happiness of its people) that if not solved in time will make the country just one more democracy implementation failure in the African Continent.

First of all, what does it mean **democracy failure**? This is a tricky and complex question with a paradoxical answer. Whenever the question is the democracy, the answer is always the economy, John Keane explains better this democracy failure worldwide. The Professor in his work: *Democracy failure, The root of global political crisis is political*, he connects the “*market failure*” to the performance of the political policies to bring wealth to the countries, where all the countries in the world, even the most blended ones were somehow touched by the Economic crisis phenomena of 21th Century, especially the one of 2009, that until today is difficult to be contained. With the recession, the “*laissez faire laissez passez*”, based on credits liberation to the investors, which was the main cause of the crisis, showed its true face to the world. The one that goes against all principles of a democracy, the **inequality**, and not all the countries were prepared for it, all were disappointed, underdeveloped and developed countries as well. The raising of taxes and spending cuts were the response to the recession, here the government fails to protect the own citizens, considered the real democracy failure to the author. The author

continues with a new form of democracy, the *monitory democracy*, which involves the “human rights organizations, summits, forums, integrity commissions, participatory budgeting and citizens’ assemblies”, reshaping the meaning of democracy, increasing the struggle to hold the power between state and the various NGOs spread worldwide. Another question that the author makes us aware is the maintenance of this democracy style, how long it will stand before collapsing and the way it will impact the world. What is clear is that it’s a new and unknown road, with too many speculations and narrow effective answers. His conclusion was that, as the cause of the new financial crisis had political roots, so the answer should come from the same field, in ways to make democracy an accomplished system²³². Which I believe to be impossible due to the individualism that today surrounds the so-called “democracy” worldwide.

Thus, if worldwide, the democracy can hardly be accomplished, how would the African Continent achieve it? A Continent that is always described as poor, unstable, dependent of international aid. Some researchers accused the political leaders of poor performance of democracy in the countries, others blame the colonialism and the influence of the former colonizers still have upon the countries until now.

It is from the end of the Cold War that Africa is trying to be successful in the democracy implementation. The [i] responsibility goes to the inequality, injustice, lack of transparency and accountability due to the one – party establishment, resulting into ethnicities clashes breaking out the several civil wars in the Continent, according to Murhula. This author, share opinion has Keane, he believes that for Africa to have a democracy, it should incorporate the monitory democracy, go beyond the votes and a separation from military supremacy in ways to strengthen the peace in the territories and real equality stabilization. But democracy is related to liberalization and the last one is based on protection of individuals and this protection doesn't come from the authority (government) but from individual institutions, meaning that the majority is already excluded to command their own goods. This liberation together with democratization, imbalance the power of the state towards the sovereignty, putting the local economic profits in the hands of the multinationals rather than the local authorities, shortening

²³²John Keane - Democracy failure The root of the global economic crisis is political, WZB-Mitteilungen Heft 124 Juni 2009 - <https://www.wzb.eu>, accessed on 14.12.2015.

their power inside of their own countries. Moreover, the foreign companies are protected by the local authorities. Thus, protectionism is an enemy to the implementation of democracy as well as the Continent. The authors see the democracy principles achievement crashing the real needs of the people and discard the liberal democracy as a good system to bring wealth and equality to Africa²³³.

William accepts the theory that Africa's democracy has failed its people, he argues that democracy did not fail the Continent but the contrary happened. The writer believes that with the independence the Continent had fabricated its own democracy, describing it with diminutives and defined as an ***“adaptation of the worst kind of colonial methods and systems combined with the worst kind of African traditions, behaviors, laws, and practices”***²³⁴. Also does not agree to call a country dependent based only on elections free mode. He sees the Continent discriminating its own people when the government is ruled under ethnic, religious and regional representative. The participation of citizens is little during the vote, the rest come after, and that is if it does. For him the only way that citizens have protection, security and wealth are when they manage to create a party and seat at the parliament, so that is the democracy in Africa. The author closed the article, by quoting the countries that are really a difference between this “African democracy style”: Cape Verde, Mauritius and Botswana, in ways to respond to the theory that democracy is beyond Africa's capabilities.

As mentioned million times by different authors and international institutions, Cape Verde is an exception. An exception that in my understanding is too close to other countries where democracy is seen as a “charade”. The governors want to be distinguished without a template for such.

The domestic situation is as vulnerable as the other African countries, been an exception doesn't mean that the loopholes left by the system are not found in the country. For instance, the mainstream outcome of the democracy is the crash of people's necessities upon the multinationals, private (international) economy which is the minority and

²³³by Toussaint Kafarhire Murhula, SJ - Democracy in Africa: An experiment in progress, Social Justice and ecology secretariat - <http://www.sjweb.info/>, accessed on 14.12.2015.

²³⁴By William Gumedé - African style democracy? February 2, 2015 - <http://www.publicseminar.org/> . Accessed on 14.12.2015.

forget about the need of the majority. The political and social life of the country is really very stable, peaceful and transparent elections, and a pacific and tolerant society, compared the other African countries or other countries from other Continents that the society is instable. In the Cape Verdean society the fusion with the other African immigrants and tourists alike is still in a good place. The culture of nonaggression and warm welcoming, the called “Morabeza” is the base of that much stability. However, in the political arena, the policies created to develop the country economically are opening doors to domestical economic deficiencies and especially to unemployment between the young population. The economists and Ministers of finances in the country discussed the matter deeply.

This was the year that the ones that “know – how” the activities are held behind the “think – tank” doors of the Cape Verde started to ask for better solutions for economic salvation. Mr. Monteiro Junior, a private university teacher, at the University of Institute of Social and Legal Science (ICSJ), a former Senior Economist at the Bank of Cape Verde and the current European Union Advisor, lets us through the real situation of the couuntry’s economic “growth”. According to the Institute of National Statistics (INE), the PIB growth of the current year was only 0.1% bigger than the one detected for the last three years (0.9%), adding to this more six public financial instabilities, that extremely raised the unemployment: “the public debt, the competitiveness crisis (Cape Verde is between the thirty worse countries), the commercial balance crisis, the economic policies, funding crisis of the economic agents in general and the Mundial economic recession”. He argues that the country doesn’t have inner to boost the enterprises and its impacting negatively the families income, starting inequality within them. The solutions adopted last year was to promote the private sector, by reducing their taxes, reduction of compulsory reserve ratios, it turned out that the credits became difficult due to the lake of commitment to return the payment of the loans, the solution affected the economic agents. The conception of credit was made unavailable to the private and families, resulting in the political monetary crisis. The budgetary policy was attempted to be boosted through public investments, but with those also dependant on debts it resulted into budgetary deficit and extremely public debt rate, due to their narrow impact in the economy, together with the raise of taxes, causing less

consumption of private and helping to grow more inequality not only between family but spreading it to the regions. The narrow consumption generates narrow yields and consequently, no jobs can be created. This diminishes the credibility in the international investors eye and the external investment crisis is verified²³⁵.

In response, the former Minister of Bank of Cape Verde (BCV) Carlos Burgo, justified the budgetary policy inefficiency with the need to restore the infrastructure of the country while it could profit from the loans before graduating to a Medium Developed Country (MDC). According to him, the public debt was to support the public finance and the macroeconomic equilibrium. He stated that if the country was really in deep crisis, it wouldn't be able to secure the population, that the results should be considered in long-term. Moreover, that the growth of the economy from 2008 to present the efficiency of the decisions – meaning. For him the laws of the budgetary should be known before making such analysis and admitted that in fact this section needs more cautious updates, emphasising that this sector will flourish according to the laws implemented by the government²³⁶.

With the employment crisis, the population requested the support of the government through meetings proposal and last instance the protests. For Janira Almada, the youngsters should be informed about the possibilities of macroeconomic in the field that the person pretends to work with. For Miguel Monteiro, the policies of Almada did not generate good impact in the field, instead of diminishing it, the phenomena increased, from a rate of 10,7% in 2011 to 62,2 % in 2014²³⁷. In his turn, Rui Costa sees the government as the answer to the problem, but meanwhile, he tries to wake up his generation to the crisis, calling them the “generation of waiting”, owing to the passive characteristics of the young society in the last decade, waiting with the hope that things

²³⁵ Sete crises conexas colocam Cabo Verde num impasse, by Paulo Monteiro Junior, on 12 of October of 2015, in Expresso das Ilhas newspaper - <http://www.expressodasilhas.sapo.cv/>, accessed on 15.12.2015.

²³⁶ Dívida pública, sustentabilidade das finanças públicas e crescimento económico, by Carlos Burgo, in Expresso das Ilhas newspaper, on 09 of December of 2015, <http://www.expressodasilhas.sapo.cv/> accessed on 15.12.2015.

²³⁷ Miguel Monteiro: Emprego: o que os dados do INE dizem? On 21 of May of 2015, in Jornal de São Nicolau (JSN) - <http://www.jsn.com.cv/>, accessed on 15.12.2015.

will get better, but doing too little to see them happen²³⁸. At the other hand, the National Institute of Statistics (INE) is accused of not presenting the real growth of the catastrophic unemployment data to the citizens, for example, the graphic presented for the unemployment rate in this work, shows a stagnation on its growth for four consecutive years (graphic:2), this attitude made the newspaper “Expresso das Ilhas” question the accuracy of the information. The means of communication did their own analysis of the unemployment in Cape Verde and promised to update the information in ways to alert the population about the real situation of this issue in the territory²³⁹.

The necessities of the economic growth obligate the government to incentivize foreign investments in the country, here tourism and the immigration are bringing negative results in the cultural arena as a result, the old issues upon the identity of the Cape Verdeans comes up.

According to Cabral, the nation was constructed before the independence, meaning that Cape Verde had already a valid, recognized identity and values that was confirmed with the proclamation of independence. After this period the discussion about which Continent to integrate into, considering the cultural and identity questions, ending to be divided between the two Continents, Africa and Europe. Thus, Cape Verde interacts with both sides' organizations, some even before the independence (ECOWAS) and years after independence (the special partnership with the European Union/EU)²⁴⁰ between others.

The discussion emerges again in this Century when evaluating the effects of the tourism in the culture field. The culture has a vast camp of discussion, here is referred as to that one that Cabral fought to be shown to the world, the African culture, beliefs, practices. From the opening of the parties that MPD risked completely in tourism, the PAICV did not change the policies and infrastructure are directed to territory organization, preparing the best panoramas and larger plan terrain for touristic investments. These

²³⁸ Nilton Correia - A geração que hipotecou o espírito crítico e reivindicativo à espera de esmola dos dinossauros políticos, in Expresso das Ilhas, on 24 of May of 2015.

²³⁹ Por onde andam o emprego e o desemprego em Cabo Verde? By Expresso das Ilhas, in 03 of May of 2014.

²⁴⁰ O processo de construção da identidade e do estado-nação em Cabo Verde João Paulo Madeira, 10/2014 - <http://site.ufvjm.edu.br/>, accessed on 15.12.2015.

investments are not only internationals (transactional) which environment implication is the last of their preoccupations. The companies and the tourism sector are assaulted by Europeans and of course, the structural design is European, putting in cause the Africanization of the country. By integrating the foreign corporations into the territory, the inequality gains narrow or no attention. Cape Verde will figure just as an international economic gathering “incubator” while it still have resources to be profited from (at least in tourism sector).

The cultural perspective (the folklore) is affected so badly, that the differentiation from inside and outside culture characteristics leave great doubts creating a tendency to assimilate what is from outdoors. In this identity issue, Ellery beliefs that the society gives preference to the Europeans rather than Africans in their so-called “Morabeza” (warm welcome), when it comes to culture²⁴¹. In his turn, Barros analyzes the beginning of the country’s history, when Cape Verdeans under the Portuguese colonial regime, were more powerful than the Guinean – Bissau to justify this approach to the European Continent²⁴². For Augé the country is losing its identity, becoming empty when tracing its specialties, typical characteristics²⁴³. Slavoj calls this new identity of “racism with distance” by identifying the multiculturalism in the society, where the capitalism shows the power of the colonizer in the territory. He assumed that the former colony identity surpass the native identity, weaning them from their roots showing superiority feeling for the colonizers. Thus, in the most touristic islands (Sal and Boa Vista), the identity suffers a decline, the necessity (economics particularly) makes the population assume a hemogenic position and eliminates the willing of belonging to an identified, clarified identity²⁴⁴.

Koolhaas share the same opinion as Augé, he calls it “generic cities” where without a default identity (the reshape of the economic, political and cultural field through

²⁴¹ Daniele ELLERY (2009). *Identidades em Trânsito: África “na passagem”, identidades e nacionalidades guineenses e cabo-verdianas*.

²⁴² Victor BARROS (2009). ‘Sob o Signo da Celebração do Império: o Discurso Colonial e o Mito da Especificidade Caboverdiana’.

²⁴³ Marc AUGÉ (1994). *Não-Lugares: Introdução a uma Antropologia da Sobremodernidade*. Lisboa: Bertrand Editora.

²⁴⁴ Psicologia social: Paradoxes do contemporâneo by Suleina (2012), reviewed by Aluisio Ferreira Lima.

architecture) bring strangers together difficulting, even more, the identity problem of a region²⁴⁵.

Yet inside of this economic development with touristic structure, the society is going through deep changes, positively when talking about infrastructure, health, education (literacy) but the domestic security is in danger, as the inequality absorbs the regions, that would tarnish the tourism and unbalance more than the economic environment. The question here is the development of small violent groups called “tugs” that is creating considerable disturbance in the Cape Verdean society, these groups are composed by boys and girls.

As Allan Marcio quoted, according to the study bolstered by the Probation Service of the Ministry of Justice on the condition of youths in strife with the law in Cape Verde, the subculture of harshness, parental hardship, family lack of protection, social disallowance, the inward clash of references of conduct and social simultaneousness, and character qualities are segments that engage the wonder of juvenile wrongdoing in Cape Verde²⁴⁶. As these groups are formed by youngsters under 30 years old, according to the Cape Verdean National Police, 37,2% of the crimes committed in the capital in 2011, were engaged by these groups. Contrary to the Probation Service of the Ministry of Justice analysis, the National Police Corporation attributes the engagement in the delinquency, the unemployment rate that is verified in the society today, followed by alcoholism consumption and poverty. The Prime Minister Jose Maria Neves disagree with their analysis, appealing for the support from the society to combat the scourge. In response to the Prime Minister’s preoccupations, Tavares wrote the main ways of combating the flagellum are: the establishment and improvement of information programs, guidance and training for parents; supporting the creation of alternative projects that contribute to the change in attitude and behavior of young offenders; integrating young people into the labor market; reform the laws that fight against drugs trafficking by improving and strengthening the community policing policies²⁴⁷. In the

²⁴⁵ Rem KOOLHAAS (1995). *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large*. New York: The Monacelli Press.

²⁴⁶ Delinquência juvenil e exclusão social, by Allam Marcio, on 24 of January of 2015 - <http://controlesocialdesarandi.com.br/>, accessed on 16.12.2015.

²⁴⁷ Rutyleneia Pereira Tavares : *Prevenção da Delinquência Juvenil em Cabo Verde Contributo para o Desenho de um Instrumento de Política Pública*, pg.71.

legal framework, from 2006 some measures were taken: instructive tutelary mediation and implementation of the verdict; intercession in detainment facilities; checking of parole, and, in addition, the usage and execution of different options for detainment; creation of a center (Orlando Pantera) to abrogate the underages in conflict with the law²⁴⁸. What can be verified in the society, is that these methods are not solving the problem completely, besides its increasing the enmity between the young violent population and the local authorities. Also, we can not forget the young community that are deported from other countries that are participating in the public disturbance. The social instability is a reality in the country. This situation needs to be taken care of, the “Morabeza” of the Cape Verdean and the security of the tourists are in danger.

Another factor that affects the identity is the immigration which started with the education of the Cabralists to Portugal and later became the colons employees. At the end of XIX Century, the destination was the United States of America, where the community today surpass the number of population in the country. In the examination of the reasons that could frame the premise for boosting the Cape Verdean migration, we can appoint the high unemployment influencing youngsters, the execution of an economy not able to retain the hand work existence and unfavorable regular states of the determined dry season. These drove in the past to hunger that directed the takeoff of a large number of Cape Verdeans. On the other hand, it appears that the profound basis of migration as a task of individual, family and social accomplishment, is one of the variables that has most added to the Cape Verdean yield. The main countries of destination were the United States (51%), Portugal (15%), Angola (9%), France (5%) and Senegal (5%), Cape Verde is considered the African country with the highest remittance rate, representing 8% of the PIB in 2013, however, the culture suffers from the hegemony presented by its people. In the USA the Cape Verdeans are struggling with the identity issues, the before and after independence generation couldn't be classified as Africans, Portuguese or Cape Verdeans, at the same token, the new generation now struggles with the recognition as Cape Verdeans. This discussion is still a huge matter for the society eradicated in that country and other countries where the new generation are born. For now the citizens are free to choose the closest they can identify

²⁴⁸ Delinquência juvenil colectiva na Cidade da Praia: uma aborgadem diacronica, by Reydi Wilson Lima, in Academia 2012 - www.academia.edu, accessed on 16.12.2015.

themselves with, however, the citizens possess the Cape Verdean and the country they were born at or acquired citizenship from, this double nationality also creates confusion to those that even “kriol” is a new language to be learned.

In these countries, the Cape Verdean culture is represented through music as Cesaria Evora became the “Embassador of Cape Verde” in the international stage. Also, the Cape Verdeans always celebrate the Independence Day at wherever they are. For instance, in Patacutek at India Point Park is annually replete of Cape Verdeans to celebrate the liberty day²⁴⁹. Portugal also welcomes a huge community from the country. Today funana (music and dance) are the mainstream expression of the culture from the people of the archipelago. Also as a patriotic and the homesickness that visits the Cape Verdean abroad, the exhibition of the beautiful panoramas of the country is catching eyes of the international individuals. The youngsters in ways to wake up the authorities about the vulnerabilities, they express themselves through hip – hop using Amílcar Cabral’s ideas.

In the environment field, the country’s geographic position is bringing considerable concerns about the climate change. This phenomenon is a worldwide challenged and Cape Verde can not be an exclusion. As mentioned before, the touristic architecture does not consider the implications of the climate change with their modern constructions. As a SIS, devoided of natural resources, Cape Verde economy does not support the reconstruction of the environment in case of catastrophic phenomena. In his article, Correia wonders who is going to cover the monetary funds to accomplish the various programs (national, regional and global) created to remediate the aftermaths of the climate change that are already verified in the country, through inundations and droughts²⁵⁰.

Cape Verde begins to feel to some degree the impacts of ecological change, with results on the economy and families. The elevation in the level of seawater, lost cultivating area, the case changes of precipitation and augmentation of temperature are some of

²⁴⁹ Nos ku Nos: A Comunidade Transnacional Caboverdiana, by Raymond A. Almeida – at <http://www1.umassd.edu/>.

²⁵⁰ Nilton Correia - Quem deve pagar o custo de adaptação às mudanças climáticas nos países em desenvolvimento, como Cabo Verde? In *Expresso das Ilhas*, published on 23 of March of 2015.

these impacts starting now to be observed in the islands. For an arid country with the scarcity of rain, this year it was different, not only the months of rain changed (from August and September to October and November) and in scary velocity, devastating subsistence agriculture affirmed a specialist of the Meteorology and Geophysics Institute.

The government is being active in ways to mitigate and adapt to the climate changes, for example, twenty hectares of forest received new plants; up to 2030 the electric energy should be 100% renewable, by transforming the gas that goes to the atmosphere; the construction of dams to conserve rainwater; increasing the solar panels and generators in electric sector²⁵¹.

The coastline is the key role in the monetary and social improvement of the Cape Verdean and other island people since ever. The coast has constantly supported an expanded economy taking into account horticulture, fisheries, exchange, and tourism. Climate projections for Cape Verde is said to be more blasting and drier in the future. The models of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) anticipate an addition in temperatures of up to 2,5 ° C for the eastern tropical Atlantic area, and a lessening in moisture the precipitation of 5-10% per year, different sources estimated that the level of the sea will vary from 0,13 to 1,4 until the end of the Century²⁵². End of August of the current year, a hurricane named Fred visited Cape Verde, causing panic in the population of Sal and Boa Vista and leaving almost hundreds homeless, in addition, the Fogo Vulcan entered in activity weeks before, devastating the economy of Chã das Caldeiras and cultural vestiges of the locality. A severe climate change, aggressive enough will put the country into great challenges, not to say in danger of extinction where the fragile economic situation of the country would be forced to draw a new strategy of sustainability.

Above are the descriptions of the “success” of a country considered an example for other African countries. It is in this panorama of the occultation of data and the fear of

²⁵¹Voz da América newspaper - Cabo Verde quer ser "exemplo" no combate às mudanças climáticas - <http://www.voaportugues.com/>, accessed on 16.12.2015.

²⁵²Integração das Mudanças Climáticas em Cabo Verde Avaliação de Riscos e Oportunidades Climáticas, elaborated by PNUD.

revealing the reality of the country that Cape Verde graduated to an MDC. An economy that is fragile, a society that is insecure, a culture that is forgotten, moreover, that makes people wonder their identity.



CONCLUSION

After describing the ideas of Cabral and the situation of the countries after his death, particularly the panorama of the country that is “an example in the African Continent” - Cape Verde - from its independence until now, we shall go back to the reasons and preoccupation that this thesis was created on, the ideas of Cabral in the Cape Verdean society, particularly in the decisions – making to develop the country.

Using the primary data (interviews) and secondary data (reading of documents), I have shown that Amilcar Cabral’s political ideas are rather misinterpreted or misimplemented and others are totally ignored when the policies are adopted. For instance, during an interview with “Nos Guentis” newspaper, Janira Almada based on the idea of Amilcar Cabral “think with our own head”, regarding to the development of Cape Verde (in 2013), she asked the population to contribute for better quality of our society, she believes that we can outrun the difficulties and achieve the wealth, social equality and equity. Talking about the social problems, she encourages the professional qualification before professional experience, betting on the sea cluster. Further, she stated that the government does not generate employment but create facilities for the private sectors to do so. The entrepreneurship is the new discipline introduced in the establishments; the aim is to create financial conditions to support the future business man choices, through centers to orient them through the process; to create professional internship programs supporting all the fields of work search. For her, the combination of human force and these qualifications are the answer to the economic growth of the country and the people. Thus, this idea of Cabral is recognized but implemented in accordance to the reality of the country, at this moment due to crisis experienced. Here we can understand that his idea was called in, however this idea was clearly violated by the authorities, instead of creating the mechanism by opening ways that help people grow through private sectors, they are creating and applying policies that are compromising the

participation of private companies in ways to generate works in the society, moreover, the national companies don't see mechanisms for them to grow, to develop the business or even think of cooperating with international companies, **patroctionism** towards European firms is verified.

The idea of development ignores the **reality** of the country, not mentioning taking examples of that reality that Cabral approached. When Cabral solicited it, it was to know the own ground and background of your enemy. In our days, it can be taken into consideration when adopting policies that wouldn't bring benefits to the society. If these strategies (Janira's strategies) did not work until now, what would make them work five years later, where the situation would be more chaotic? Will the economic fragility discussed earlier be solved in ways that it will guarantee the integration of the young people in the market labor? According to the former President, Pedro Pires, we should be realistic, the study of the aftermaths of the decisions – making should be studied deeply before taking further steps. Where will all the qualified professionals work after the internships and other training if the private sectors can't and don't want to invest without return and the government is not responsible for creating job opportunities? The population is dominated by qualified youngsters in a saturated market, in a worst scenario, which is the actual conditions of the society, there are qualified people but inexistence of employment. Helping the national companies grow through alleviation of taxes (specially for the beginners) and betterment in the policies protecting national companies, would boost the domestic and the foreign credibility to invest more in the country and consequently generate more jobs for the society. The “protectionism” should start inside the country, not the contrary.

The **cultural** field is confusing, Cabral fought for the ramification, reaffirmation of the African culture, specially for Bissau and Praia, not for the “neo-colonization” that is observed in the country, by transnational companies, privatization, distortion of the cultural roots, driving to the death of Cape Verdean culture. The history is been reshaped, molded in beliefs that are unreal and superficial and that has nothing to do with beliefs that Cabral had for the countries he lead to independence. Not only the urbanization but also the culture is mixed with Western and all other Continents that the country is exposed to. The Cape Verdean culture will soon disappear with the

assimilation. The commerce is now reserved to the international commercials in the territory, between other European, African natives and particularly Chinese citizens, due to the cooperations and aids from that country. National flags, bags, small revenue and vast products are produced and sold by Chinese commercials.

The **unity** soon will be transformed into groups with the intention of regionalization that is on the table to be decided. Actually, some islands long asked for decentralization of power from Praia, due to the regional inequality observed. In case the regionalization takes place, Cape Verde will be just a normal African country for it to be creating groups, bringing hate and civil concerns into the society. As some researcher believe the union between Cape Verde and Bissau also is not yet achieved due to the disinterest of parties to do so. Unity with Bissau was out from the table from 1980. Regionally, as described before, the country has economic ties with Africa but very little cultural relations and the resemblance is fading slowly. For instance, Mr. Hoffer Almada, who studied in the same country as Cabral, but years later, lived in an “epoch” not far from the struggle for the independence, believes that its “useless” to think how the countries would be if they were united, once it did not work²⁵³. He is not the only one who has similar thinking, some Guinean combatants also expressed some discontentment from the struggle epoch until our days²⁵⁴. Meaning that, the resistance to accomplish this view of Cabral is rejected from both sides. In this unity context, even inside the country, the unity is menaced by the regionalization, which Mr. Almada thinks that it is necessary to dispart the sense of “identity” in the country. According to him, the administrative control would be separated, but Praia would always control the economy of the country, meanwhile defending the consciousness of “domination” from others nationals upon the other.

The globalization is shaking all the pillars of culture worldwide, bringing back some ideas that the modern world pretend to forget, the racism. Here racism is refered as the discrimination of other people’s race, skin color, and languages, which are the main compositions of one’s culture. Cape Verde as a product of globalization is not an exclusion, the difference is the toleration that the Cape Verdean women and man have

²⁵³ Interview with David Hoffer Almada on August 2014.

²⁵⁴ For this matter consult Buala and Didinho website.

to deal with the subject. The African, European or Asian immigrants confront it in the society, there isn't a way of denying it, the way they are treated is the way every single immigrant would be treated, with resistance to other people's culture, at the same time with respect to their practices and beliefs, and never with hostility. In this particular topic, Cape Verde is an "example to be followed".

It would be an atrocity not to accept the progress made when comparing the actuality with the independence period. But comparing the evolutions of those weak years with the modernity of the country, every time we are requested to adopt other policies or implement those policies in a different direction, for better development results, we strongly take independence as a reference, doing so further steps to achieve more and better goals are compromised. Between the society we have today and the one from independence there is a huge gap, this society has its own characteristics, own necessities and ways of answering them, and it is this society that is going to influence the near future, not the one verified before the independence. This does not mean that the principles of the party should be forgotten. The party achieved the first steps to a globalized world, this principles must not only been included in the Constitution, but to better serve the safety, emancipation and justice between the people, it should be reminded to people through the real practice of the them.

Cape Verde and Guinea – Bissau in particular, are not combining the principles of the party left by Cabral. In this modern world, they are desperate to leave the developing country status, more attention is given to the economic field than the others, creating vulnerabilities that present a great preoccupation, in short coming years they will be impossible to control and the chaos will reign. The main advice from Cabral that is neglected is the development of the countries in accordance to their reality. Having a real understanding of ones own country, culture, people and above all, knowledge of the economic reality of the own country to meet the compatible policies, which will better respond to the affirmation of the countries in the world. The former President during the Arab - African summit in October 2010 said: ***“who is poor does not adopt rich policies”***²⁵⁵. This motto is violated in Africa, the production is narrow and the

²⁵⁵Presidente de Cabo Verde exige responsabilidades para a crise na Europa on 20 of October of 2015 - <http://noticias.sapo.ao/>, accessed on 17.12.2015.

consumption is abundant, especially international product, condemning the national production traffic to an end, as he assumed during an interview with “O Pais a Verdade como noticia” newspaper²⁵⁶. He realized that the reality is misunderstood with the “immediacy with the ideas of medium and long term”. This is the new reality that the Cape Verdean stakeholders should have in mind, the knowledge of what should and should not be done in ways not to compromise the sustainability and keep the sovereignty, economic freedom and consequently accomplishes the real sense of independence. The idea of development that Cabral developed, that Agbude named “*Humanistic conception of Development*”²⁵⁷, who made him the people the foremost of his preoccupations, today is replaced by vanities, inequality, and misery while posing as a model to others. Amilcar Cabral influenced many historians and writers such as Gramsci, Paulo Freire, between others, but in his own territory, for his own people, his thoughts are undoubtedly misconsidered.

Other reaction that reaffirmed my suspicions, was the silence about some interviews sent to former combatants and politicians of Cabo Verde about the matter, some the agenda was full, others never replied. The internet is the fastest mean of communication created, still people are too busy to answer five short questions about a national matter, national pride. If the information are not passed to the new generation, Cabral ideas and the real causes of independence in both countries will be forgotten in a very short time. Others believed and fought for the independence and today are proud of their contribution, which is the case of Samba Djalo²⁵⁸.

Cabral is distinguished from other African philosophers due to his different way of thinking and strategy to implement them, respecting the societies’ reality and planning the next transformations that those implementations would bring. For example, the economy of a country should be turned to the national production; the foreign action in the economy would be a mere exchange; the creation of an international commerce and the inflation should be supervised constantly. This is what is lacking in Cape Verde

²⁵⁶ “Em África, há uma tendência para se encontrar o culpado das nossas insuficiências” - O Pais a noticia como verdade, on 26 of November of 2012 - <http://opais.sapo.mz/>, accessed on 17.12.2015.

²⁵⁷ Revolution and development in Cabral’s Political Thoughts, by AGBUDE, Godwyns Ade’ CUGP100224.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Samba Djalo, a former combatant that had direct contact with Amilcar cabral during the struggle, on September 2014.

policies, the strength to go forward without looking behind. However, the lessons should be learned and be advanced.

Finally, it's been concluded that the Utopian ideas are crucial to solving not only Cape Verdean issues but also some of the crisis that the African countries are going through (race, religion, and so on). Amílcar Cabral political thoughts were not well profited by his own pupils as he did during his life, when he profited all his background experience (from family to work experience) to liberate his people not only from colonialism but also from neo – colonialism, which is the situation of both countries at the moment. The prove of this statement, is the domination of economic sector, particularly in the nationwide resource. For Cabo Verde to be the real African country as a “model to be followed”, the ideas of Cabral should be re- read and re- thought and applied to the reality of the country, starting by the re – education of the population in all fields as Cabral did.

Unfortunately, the countries returned the favor by neglecting his contribution to the history and the freedom of his people. As many authors wrote, he is remembered only to celebrate his death, which is repleat of speeches about him, once per year, on the 20th of January.

ANNEX

ANNEX I – Interviews

Questionnaire sent to Iva Cabral, Amilcar Cabral's daughter, sent and received in July 2015.

Questionario sobre Amilcar Cabral

1. Em 1955 Amilcar Cabral foi “banido” de Guiné – Bissau, sabes qual foi o real motivo dessa “expulsão”? (In 1955 Cabral was “banned” from Guinea – Bissau, what was the real reason for him to be “expelled” ?)

R: Trabalho de mobilização dos jovens principalmente através do clube desportivo (ver biografia) (R: Mobilization of youngsters mainly through sport clubs (consult bibliography).)

2. Quando o “Pai” da independência de Cabo Verde foi assassinado, ele estava acompanhado da sua esposa, segundo alguns dados encontrados. Ela reconheceu os atiradores? Fez denúncias? Quais as providências que ela tomou para que a justiça fosse feita? (When the father of the independence of Cabo Verde was assassinated, he was in the company of his wife, according to data found. Did she recognize the shooters? Did she denounce them? What were the measures used to claim for justice?)

R: reconheceu! Claro que denunciou. Há escritos sobre este momento em entrevistas dadas pela Ana Maria. (A: she recognized them! Ofcourse she denounced them. There are data on interviews by Ana Maria.)

3. A Senhora acusou o Professor Daniel Santos de “denigrar” a imagem de Amilcar Cabral, na vossa opinião não devemos investigar mais a fundo a vida do vosso pai ou a vida do herói nacional? Afinal trata-se de uma pessoa ilustre (mesmo sem querer ter essa percursoria durante ou após a sua morte), que deixou algumas perguntas sem respostas. (Ms. accused Professor Daniel Santos of “denigrating” the image of Amilcar Cabral, in your opinion we should not investigate deeper into the life of your father or the life of national hero? After all he is a distinguished person (even when refusing to be treated as that, during or after his death), who left some unanswered questions.).

R: Eu não acusei o autor do livro de nada, nem falei sobre o que ele disse sobre o meu pai. Apenas disse (numa pequena entrevista de duas perguntas) que não ia falar sobre o livro porque quando o autor afirma que não existia colonialismo em Cabo Verde não há nada para dizer sobre Cabral, já que ele e a luta pela independência estão ligados. (A: I did not accuse the author of anything or talked about what he said about my father. I just said (in a small interview two questions) that would not talk about the book because when the author states that there was no colonialism in Cape Verde there is nothing to say about Cabral, as he and the struggle for independence are linked.)

4. Então para a Senhora quem foi e quem é Amílcar Cabral? (So for the lady who was and who is Amílcar Cabral?)

R: é impossível responder a esta pergunta neste pequeno questionário. (A: it is impossible to answer this question in this short questionnaire.)

5. Como vê os dois países de Cabral em relação ao seu legado? Qual será o futuro da história, da ideologia de Cabral nesses países para a nova geração? (How do you see the two Cabral of countries in relation to their legacy? What will be the future of history, of Cabral's ideology in these countries for the next generation?)

R: depende do que a nova geração fará com esse legado! (It depends on what the new generation will make of this legacy!)

6. Quanto a estatua do herói nacional a algures sem nenhuma referência plausível ou cuidado propício do mesmo, sem contar com a construção do mercado no mesmo espaço, no que deixastes bem claro o vosso desagrado, tens algo a acrescentar? Para a Sra qual seria a melhor solução para o problema? (As for the statue of national hero, put in to somewhere without any plausible reference or conducive care of it, not mentioning the construction of a market in the same space, in that forsaken clear your displeasure, have you got something to add?)

R: não tenho nada a acrescentar o que tinha para dizer escrevi no facebook. Não vou entrar em polémicas inúteis: Os cabo-verdianos fazem com as suas figuras históricas o que querem! (A: I have nothing to add WHAT had to say wrote on Facebook. I will not get into useless polemics: Cape Verdeans do what they want with their historical figures!)

7. Qual o vosso contributo para dar continuidade ao legado do vosso pai? (What is your contribution to continue the legacy of your father?)

R: Faço o que posso! Estudo a história era o que ele queria que eu fizesse. (A: I do what I can! Studying history was what he wanted me to do.)

Muito obrigada pela vossa colaboração. Se de alguma forma essas modestas perguntas vos trouxe algum desconforto, deixo claro que não é a minha intenção de vos incomodar ou de alguma forma desrespeitar a memória do vosso pai. (Thank you for your collaboration. If somehow these modest questions brought some discomfort, it was not my intention to disturb or disrespecting your father's memory.)

Interview with Samba Djalo: only few questions that were found necessary for this work.

1. **Leondina Soares:** Where did the struggle started?

Samba Djalo: It started in Madine Boé, a distant village of Guinea – Bissau, kind of frontier between Bissau and Conacry. The place was isolated and occupied by the militars.

2. **L.S:** Was Cabral a perfect man? How was the man himself?

S.D: what do you mean?

L.S: Was he a man that liked children, the man who fought for equality, and so on, he never showed any kind of wickedness, an evil side?

S.D: Cabral was an agronomic engineer, employed six hundred men, he was the one introducing the villages through antennas, he mounted his own troops headquarters, it still there in Bissau. My answer did not satisfy you, isn't it?

3. **L.S:** The combatants weren't only the ones mentioned in the books, do you remember anyone else that gave a great contribution to the struggle?

S.D: Rafael Barbosa, a Guinean who was a correspondent which would trade informations from the camp to the city; Domingos Ramos that was responsible for economic field of the liberated zones, and others that were fighting with Nino.

4. **L.S:** How did Nino come to apply the coup d'état?

S.D: Nino was a prestigious military officer, a Cabral's military..... (The voice changed, too much disappointment expressions).

5. **L.S:** In your opinion who killed Cabral?

S.D: Militaries of "Tuga" (Portuguese militaries), and the militaries of **PAIGC** that assassinated Cabral, in Conakry. (.....) all those that were suspected of the action (more than seventy people) were taken to a troop barracks and executed.

6. **L.S:** But those were suspects of the crime, not the killers.

S.D: No they weren't, but who killed was never found, he never declared himself.

7. **L.S:** After Cabral's death and independence, Luis Cabral was the President of Bissau....

S.D: And turned down by Nino Vieira, sent him to exile and lead Bissau himself....
 (...) during the colonization the Cabo Verdiano was in Bissau as a Portuguese. They would say: you are Cabo Verdiano? You are black how can you be a Cabo Verdiano? (...) the Cabo Verdianos were sent abroad to school and the Guinean to the war zone, so the best positions were for the Cabo Verdianos.

8. **L.S:** But did Cabral showed somehow this distinction between Cabo Verdiano and Guinean?

S.D: Never, Cabral was a different person, a different human being, he never made difference between people. After his death Bissau became separated by tribes, individual territory's production, and language.

9. **L.S:** Did the new Presidents after the coup d'état somehow tried or gave any importance to Cabral and his ideas?

S.D: Luis Cabral was trying to develop each local economy, after him no one else. The regime was strictly monopoly and Guinea never developed. To have an idea, Madine Boé never gained any attention, even to clean or construct better infrastructure there. The soil are fertile but never worked.

L.S: Thank you so much for your time.

S.D: If you still have more question please feel free to come back.

Interview with Mr. Hoffer Almada, on August 2014.

1. **Leondina Soares:** How close were you to Amílcar Cabral?

Hoffer Almada: We weren't close, I met him through people, readings. When I went to Portugal he was already engaged in the struggle. I didn't have the chance to contact him in person.

2. **L.S:** In your book you doubted your contribution to the struggle. How?

H.A: when I went to Coimbra, I didn't know the real meaning of the struggle, the deepness of its concern, it was through the colleagues and the activities we performed,

the academical struggle that I started to be aware of my political and ideological formation. (...) To help achieve the independence the work was never enough, we needed to work better. If you fight with your heart, you performe well and under patriotism, you are satisfied because you fought, but deep down you know it wasn't enough.

3. L.S: Isn't that called "utopia"?

H.A: Utopia is when you are those who make politics with heart, but the aim of the struggle was the same, to give better life to people. That was what the struggle was about. And whoever is into politics is to work with your heart to achieve better things, if not is not necessary to be there.

4. L.S: When you were engaged with PAICV, was there this utopia within the party?

H.A: Utopia is everywhere. Some had the intention of doing better, others just wanted individual achievements.

5. L.S: The principles of the PAICV continue as the ones of the PAIGC in that epoch or with the globalization and the new necessities, they were changed? But the ideals continued the same?

H.A: The world is different now, people also are different, the time of struggle were different from the ones from postindependence, and they had other preparation in life. Today we have other preparation, relations, not only domestic but also internationally. We can't make unfair comparisions, each one lives his/her epoch, according to that, they find a way to fight for better conditions for the people. What we did those years are not suitable for today.

6.L.S: As you said time change and people as well. During the struggle people were united, how do you see the unity today between the Cabo Verdianos?

H.A: We can see the union when is the football national team playing, when is a national celebration. (...) We could be more united, but is a society that is too partisan, and when we consider politics we are never united because of different parties support.

But I believe that in what is essential to the country, the “povo” (people) is always united.

7. L.S: This new generation (under 30 y.o.), do you see the unity between them? Do you think that the old generation transmitted well the ideas of Cabral to them?

H.A: Even in that epoch there was not absolute unity, some were not in accordance with the independence. The majority had the consciousness about the independence. When Cabo Verde separated from Guinea – Bissau because its dignity was in danger, there was the unity of the people. However, when talking about parties, that’s when there is a separation, due to the support of one’s favorite party, that’s when the separation is observed but between Cabo Verdianos and not others.

8. L.S: If the unity with Bissau had been realized, how would the country be today?

H.A: It did not work, it did not work. It’s useless to think what it would be like if it did not work.

9. L.S: What do you understand by the “culture” used inside of the struggle by Cabral?

H.A: That was about having an idea what you are. Value what is yours, respect yourself and what you are, because if you think that others are better than you, if you don’t defend it you will never develop.

10. L.S: what are the real reasons that made renunciate your position in PAICV?

H.A: I explained and proved officially in my book. I did not enter in the party just to be there, and I did not quit only just to quit. I have a manner of being and acting that I couldn’t cope with certain attitudes. As we say “incomodados que se retirem” (the one who is bothered leaves), so that’s what I did. But I still respect and believe in the values of the party. (...) As I said several times and in public, there is no one that defend the values of PAICV as I do. No one, even the president of the party. However, to defend it I don’t have to be incerted in the organization. I help from outside, maybe better than some of those that are inside the party.

11. L.S: Pedro Pires managed the country from postindependence until today. How do you see his performance?

H.A: He was strong and it was a difficult task. Not only him, but all the staff of that time. They were the ones that made Cabo Verde what it is today. If from the beginning they have started with bad performance, today we wouldn't be considered the African country that is talked about everywhere. And the others that came after gave their contribution for a better Cabo Verde.

12. L.S: The transformations that Jose Maria Neves did in the country, how do you see them?

H.A: They are good, Cabo Verde is living things that it never did, the standard of democracy for instance. He gave well contribute to Cabo Verde and the people.

13. L.S: There is a paradox which concerns the image of Cabo Verde internationally, do you believe that the country is developing in accordance to its reality?

H.A: Cabo Verde doesn't have natural resources, when comparing to other countries, I believe we are doing well. Independently from the measures taken, with or without mistakes, globally, in my opinion, I am proud of this development. Us that lived the independence epoch that know the reality we had. I am not saying that the development is complete, never. There still lot to be done, there are some mistakes been committed, but nothing is comparable to the epoch of independence.

14. What is the regionalization about? And how is it done?

H.A: Each region needs its autonomy. For example São Vicente said they don't want São Nicolau to control them. (.....) each island have its identity consciousness. They are geographically separated, they want to be recognized as such, and they didn't say that they aren't Cabo Verdiano, but they identify themselves with the name of the island they came from. If we don't recognize it, it will open a misunderstanding between the islands. Each one should have its status, the government should answer to this issue.

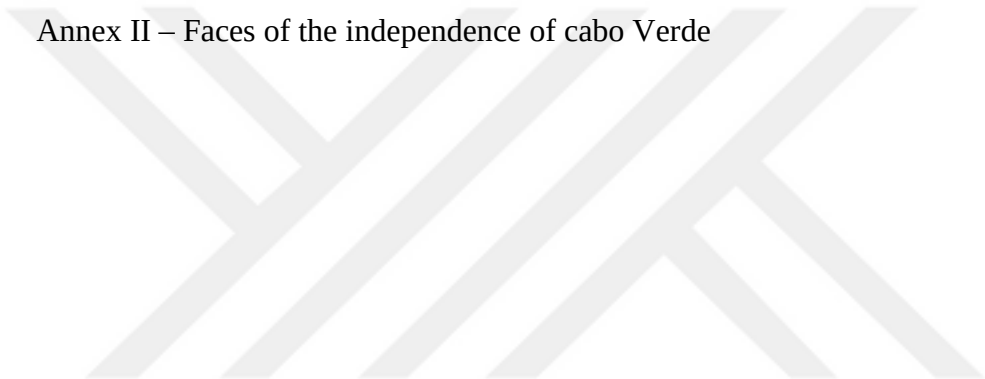
15.L.S: what about the economy of each country if regionalization take place?

H.A: I am not talking about that, I am talking about management, administration not economy. It's like creating municipalities, but all under one government. They need independent organization, regional administration. Each one treats its preoccupation with a regional government, and the regional brings it to the central government.

L.S: Thank you for your time, and your collaboration. Have a nice day.

H.A: You are welcome, best luck for your studies.

Annex II – Faces of the independence of Cabo Verde



ANNEX 2. THE FACES OF CAPE VERDEAN INDEPENDENCE

1975 – 1991



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1991 – 2001



Pedro Pires – Former prseident 2001 - 2011



José Maria Neves – Former Primer Minister–2011



Jorge Carlos Fonseca – Actual President 2011 - 2016



Ulisses Correia e Silva – Actual Primer Minister–2016 -

https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bandeira_de_Cabo_Verde

https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_presidentes_de_Cabo_Verde

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