Guinea-Bissau

From Liberation Struggle to Independent Statehood

Carlos Lopes

Translated by Michael Wolfers





Contents

Preface

CABRAL

Introduction

Introduction

Cultural Resistance

Acknowledgements	1
PART 1: NATION OR NATION IN FORMATION	7
Introduction	9
1. Social Structures in Guinea-Bissau	12
Horizontal and Vertical Societies	14
Portuguese Colonialism	18
Power Relations	22
2. National Liberation Struggle	27
Political Mobilization and the Creation of PAIGC	29
Historical Foundations of the Unity of Guine and Cape	
Verde	31
New Social Structures Launched by the Armed Struggle	33
3 The National Question	40

Inter-ethnic Relations and the Shaping of National Identity

PART 2: THE MOBILIZING POWER OF AMILCAR

The Shaping of an Alternative Society

4. Culture and the Struggle for Independence

Petty Bourgeoisie, Revolutionary Force

The Two Political Roads after Independence

'Ideology is to know what you want'
5. The Petty Bourgeoisie and its Historic Role

Who is the Motor of History?

PAIGC's Unilateral Position

PART 3: STATE FORMATION

6. The Independence of Guinea-Bissau Birth of a State through Struggle

vii

42

43

47

49

52 55

57

60

62 64

67

68

70

72

75

77

The State Apparatus as the Tributary of Colonial Logic	83 85
m, o	
The Civil Service Mentality	
The Pact between Two Tendencies of the Petty Bourgeoisie	90
8. The Historical Transition	94
The Winning of Institutional Power	96
Attempts at Economic Transformation	98
The Capacity for Peasant Resistance	102
Amilcar Cabral's Hypothesis	105
9. New Social and Economic Structures	110
Bissau, Consumer of Resources	111
Bissau, Demobilizer of PAIGC	115
10. New Power Relations	120
Party-State Power Relations	124
Political Mechanisms to Transform Social Structures	129
11. The Coup of November 1980	132
Relations with the Cape Verdian Wing of PAIGC	134
Changes in the Behaviour of Militants	140
Definition of the New State by PAIGC	143
12. Ethnicity and State Formation	146
Social Antagonisms and National Integration	148
13. The Present Contradictions of Power	149
The Link between Forces of Production and Relations of	
Production	151
The State's Role in Development	154
Economic Dependence	159
PART 4: THE REGIONAL CONTEXT: AFRICA IN	
STRUGGLE	165
Introduction	167
14. Imperialism, Colonialism and Neocolonialism	171
The Struggle in Angola and Mozambique	175
15. The Political Turning	182

References