

6 Memoryscapes of the liberation struggle in Cape Verde

Miguel Cardina and Inês Nascimento Rodrigues

Introduction¹

In June 2020, Gilson Varela Lopes, a young Cape Verdean living in Luxembourg, launched an online petition calling for the removal of the statue of the Portuguese navigator Diogo Gomes, the supposed discoverer of the islands, from the capital of his country. The text was intended to lead to a discussion of the subject in the National Assembly and would trigger some debate in the archipelago between the political elites and certain politicised sectors of young people. The petition was based on the argument that Diogo Gomes was “a navigator who was also involved in part-time slave trading” and made an explicit connection with recent events taking place internationally: the dismantling and/or appropriation of colonial statues and the anti-racist demonstrations that were intensifying and expanding throughout the world in the wake of the murder of the North American George Floyd. “In a period of racial protest in which the suffering caused by these traders of black human beings has reopened deep wounds caused by trauma, discrimination, and injustice, which we still suffer”, the text argued, it was fundamental to question the lingering presence of sculptures and memorials associated with the slave-trading past in the contemporary public space. The petition ended by proposing that the figure of Diogo Gomes should be replaced with the statue of Amílcar Cabral, the face of Cape Verdean independence.²

The petition led Abraão Vicente, the minister for Culture and Creative Industries, to intervene, stating that no statue would be removed since each had its own place in the history of Cape Verde. As an alternative to the removal of statues or the “destruction of memory”, the minister proposed an exercise in overall perspective as the antidote for what he considered would be a very incomplete view of history.³ This chapter, tracing the “post-colonial” trajectory of Cape Verde after the proclamation of national independence, aims to identify the contexts which led to the contemporary production of a composite memoryscape – combining colonial and anticolonial legacies – that contains elements which are contradictory, yet considered compatible. From a diachronic perspective, it explores the ways in which, from 1975 onwards, different memoryscapes of the liberation struggle have been produced in the archipelago, ranging from explicit celebration to implicit deprecation. It will analyse the way in which these memoryscapes were constituted, their

components and characteristics, and the practices used to implement them. As we have argued elsewhere, the concept of memoryscape is understood here not as referring to physical markers in public space, but to an amalgam of the material and the imaginary which, in this particular case, conveys a given representation of the heroicised values and figures of a nation.

The liberation struggle and the post-independence memoryscape

In the first 15 years of independence under the so-called First Republic a political legitimacy and symbolic recognition conferred by involvement in the liberation struggle prevailed in Cape Verde, also extending to the movement that had led the struggle, namely the PAIGC (the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde). For a number of reasons, its historic leader, Amílcar Cabral, was considered the leading figure in the country. Cabral was a constant presence throughout this period: he featured in the Cape Verdean songbook and on commemorative stamps; he was cited as an example to be followed in the 5 July celebrations; the *Voz di Povo* newspaper regularly published extracts from his writings, speeches, and interviews; the preamble to the 1980 Constitution refers to him as the “Founder of the Nation”; in 1983, the Amílcar Cabral Symposium was organised in his honour and on 12 September of the following year, the Amílcar Cabral Foundation was created. In 1987, the famous Brazilian architect Óscar Niemeyer presented a project for a Cultural Centre in memory of the anticolonial political leader, although it would never be built.

Those who fought alongside him – particularly those with direct experience of combat in Guinea, many of whom were members of the new Cape Verde governing body – would serve as the moral repository for the political legitimacy of the new country. Paradoxically, a significant part of the new political elite and the emerging bureaucracy were the product of investments in education by Portugal after it became a Republic in 1910, developed from the 1950s onwards by Catholic congregations and, more significantly, the expansion of the late colonial state.⁴ In allocating resources and expanding the public administration to curb the spread of anticolonial sympathies that were raging inside and outside the country, the late colonial state would pave the way for this new elite with ambitions to govern the nation, who had acquired legitimacy through the struggle.⁵ After 1975, its members would establish themselves as important agents in the construction of a mnemonic landscape for the country, deploying various memorial practices and products through which the independence process was incorporated into everyday life and given meaning. The armed struggle thus became the birth certificate for the post-colonial nation, at the same time establishing itself as a grand narrative symbolising the return of Cape Verde to “Africa”, which would materialise through a project for binational union with Guinea-Bissau.

Officially instituted in 1976, the national symbols of Cape Verde (the flag, coat of arms, and anthem) are a good illustration of this. The national flag adopted by the archipelago was based on the PAIGC flag and is also very similar to that of

Guinea-Bissau. Consisting of three rectangular bands in yellow, green, and red, colours symbolising pan-Africanist ideas still present today in countless other African countries, it displays images of two ears of corn, a shell, and a black star. The national anthem, “This is our beloved fatherland”, shared with Guinea-Bissau and with words by Amílcar Cabral, is a text in praise of ancestors and the nation but also a hymn that exalts the liberation struggle and urges the people to overthrow colonial rule.⁶

With regard to the official calendar, the following, among others, were proclaimed national holidays in 1976: 5 July, National Independence Day; 12 September, National Day, commemorating the birth of Amílcar Cabral; 20 January, the date of Cabral’s assassination, known as “National Heroes’ Day”. The currency in circulation after independence, namely the Cape Verdean *escudo*, displayed an image of Cabral on one side of all banknotes and the faces of African revolutionaries on coins. This tribute was in keeping with the “re-Africanisation of spirits” advocated by the PAIGC but, obviously, was not limited to these figures and also featured, for example, in music,⁷ political discourses, sports competitions, and toponyms. On the Island of Sal, the airport was renamed “Amílcar Cabral International Airport” and throughout the archipelago public buildings, monuments, streets, and squares were given names associated with the liberation struggle.

Nationalising memories of the struggle, particularly in a territory that had not experienced armed conflict, was a process considered essential to the building of the state in the post-independence period and acquired renewed significance after the project for binational unity with Guinea-Bissau came to an end, leading to the creation, in 1981, of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV).⁸ During the First Republic, a memoryscape of the struggle as the origin of the nation would be produced and disseminated, mainly focussing on the following strands: (a) condemnation of the colonial system and valorisation of the suffering associated with the history of the island, highlighting the famines which had periodically devastated Cape Verde; (b) the rhetoric of bringing the archipelago closer to the African continent; (c) the symbolic grammar structured around values such as heroism, sacrifice, and courage, which would ultimately elevate combatants of the armed struggle, now political actors, to the status of super-citizens in Cape Verdean society (see [Chapter 11](#) in this book).

The mnemonic transition and the anti-anticolonial memoryscape

The political transition that took place in Cape Verde in 1991 was preceded by a process of economic and political liberalisation that began in the mid-1980s.⁹ This latent period was followed by a strict cycle of political transition, following the sweeping victory of the Movement for Democracy (MpD) in the legislative elections on 13 January 1991, in addition to its victories in the presidential and local elections also held in the same year.¹⁰ According to Koudawo, “the PAICV, which had introduced the economic reforms, would have carried them out in any case”, the distinguishing factor now being the clear espousal of neoliberal philosophy

on the part of the new party-political elites. He also noted how liberalisation and politics had emerged as intertwined during the process.¹¹

In fact, from 1988 onwards a liberalising model based on “economic extroversion” would be proposed from within the PAICV itself and the first steps would also be taken towards pluralism, significantly accelerated by domestic social pressure. Silva refers to the contradiction facing the PAICV – “it neither liberalised the economy to the point that would enable a section of the petty bourgeoisie to convert their cultural capital into economic capital, nor did it maintain the welfare support required to continue providing peasants affected by drought with the aid they demanded” – which would partly explain this political opening up.¹² To this should be added what he calls the “Tocqueville paradox”: it was, to some extent, the success of the PAICV in government, from the outset in education and the training of new cadres, which generated social demands that could not be met.¹³ Koudawo also notes, as causes which explain the transition, external pressure, the erosion of power, the internal disputes facing the party, and the role of the well-established Catholic Church which functioned as a kind of accepted permanent semi-opposition and protest body at specific moments, such as during the agrarian reforms in 1981 or the decriminalisation of abortion in 1986.¹⁴

The political transition was followed by what we have already described as the “mnemonic transition”.¹⁵ This would involve replacing the prevailing memoriescape with a new memoriescape that erased the central focus of the anticolonial legacy and the link with Africa and proceeded to reclaim events and figures from the time before independence. Within the international context of the fall of the Berlin Wall, criticism of single-party regimes, and the global expansion of neoliberalism, these changes were an essential part of constructing an emerging “democratic legitimacy” to oppose the “revolutionary legitimacy”, which the state and the new government would then use to map out a new imaginary of the nation.

One of the first measures involved reinstating monuments dating from colonial times. In March 1991, fulfilling an election promise made by the MpD, the statue of Diogo Gomes, the Portuguese navigator believed to be the first to have arrived on the Island of Santiago in the fifteenth century, was returned to the city of Praia, the capital of the country. Erected in 1958, the statue had been removed in the context of independence and its return, to a site next to the presidential palace on the eve of the inauguration of the new President of the Republic, was hailed on the front page of the newspaper *Voz di Povo* as a “release from clandestinity”. Between 1991 and 1992, the busts of Luís Vaz de Camões and Marquis Sá da Bandeira were returned to the centre of Mindelo, on the Island of S. Vicente, to their former positions in a square that had been named after Amílcar Cabral. In S. Filipe on the Island of Fogo, the bust of Alexandre Serpa Pinto – a commander who had played a role in the so-called “pacification” of uprisings against the Portuguese colonial presence in Africa and had been a former governor of Cape Verde – was also returned in 1991. In the same decade, the statue of another Portuguese explorer, Diogo Afonso, was restored to a prominent site in Mindelo.¹⁶



Figure 6.1 (a) Statue of Diogo Gomes (Praia). (Continued)

Photographs by Inês Nascimento Rodrigues and Miguel Cardina.



Figure 6.1 (Continued) (b) Diogo Afonso (Mindelo).

In addition to reinstating busts and statues, in some cases changes were also made to toponymy, replacing the names of African leaders which they had been given during the post-independence period with names formerly used in colonial times. Krzysztof Górny and Ada Górna have studied this process in detail with reference to Plateau, the institutional and symbolic centre of the city of Praia, where some of the streets and avenues that existed prior to 1974 were renamed after independence.¹⁷ After the 1990s, some names were changed back: nowadays 31 of the 35 main roads in Plateau refer directly to the colonial era, usually bearing the names of statesmen, soldiers, or governors. Still in the capital but outside the wealthier district, in 1993, Bairro Craveiro Lopes – built in 1954 and renamed Bairro Kwame Nkrumah after 1975 in homage to the Ghanaian who was one of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism – had its original name restored, a reference to the politician and military leader who was President of the Republic of Portugal between 1951 and 1958.

Attempts by the PAIGC/CV to nationalise Cabral through the media, political discourses, songs, and public ceremonies were followed, in the years of the mnemonic transition, by what we term a process of de-Cabralisation of the national symbols: his image disappeared from Cape Verdean *escudo* banknotes and coins, the anniversary of his birth was no longer celebrated as a national holiday, and the anthem with the words he had written was replaced. This process of de-Cabralisation coexisted with a series of measures against the “Guinea combatants”, who were described in the newspapers as corrupt oppressors.¹⁸ Changes to the award of the Order of Amílcar Cabral, instituted in 1987 as the highest honour granted by the Cape Verdean state, can also be considered within this context.¹⁹ The first president, Aristides Pereira, awarded the medal over a period of approximately one month (from 22 December 1990 to 19 January 1991) to 47 Cape Verdean combatants, most of whom were commanding officers from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the People, the armed wing of the PAIGC, for their services during the struggle. However, the same decoration was only awarded seven times during the ten years in which António Mascarenhas Monteiro was president, and only to foreign heads of state.

This mnemonic transition established a new paradigm for the memorialisation of the struggle and the nation, leading to the emergence of a new memoryscape reflecting the desire for a break with the legacies of the armed struggle and the icons created by the previous regime in this context. A process for replacing the national symbols was activated, via a committee created for this purpose which the PAICV refused to join, and the narrative of exception and particularity associated with Cape Verdean identity found a new impetus in the 1930s legacy of the *Claridosos*, emphasising the elements of this identity that supposedly derived from the Portuguese matrix.²⁰

The new flag, raised for the first time in September 1992 and chosen from among 64 proposals submitted in a contest, saw the disappearance of the visual resemblance to the flags of Guinea-Bissau and the PAIGC, together with the colours associated with Pan-Africanism.²¹ Incorporating a graphic design and colour scheme which many consider similar to that of the European Union flag, the transformation

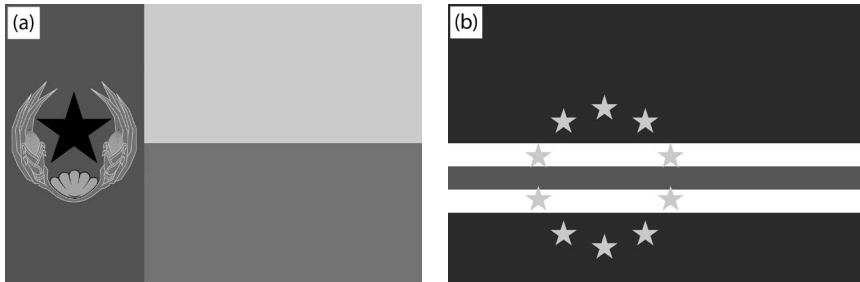


Figure 6.2 (a) The Cape Verdean flag until 1991. (b) The present-day flag.

is a clear sign of the new political-strategic and economic alliances taking shape in the country, with Portugal and Europe in general heading the list of privileged partners of Cape Verde.²²

However, the architect responsible for the winning proposal, who was accused at the time of displaying a certain anti-Africanism, rejected the idea that it was inspired by the EU flag, explaining that the ten equidistant yellow stars represented the ten islands that comprise the archipelago, which were all equally important, and justified the use of blue to cover almost the entire flag by the fact that it was the colour of the sea and sky and therefore the colour most closely associated with the everyday life of the Cape Verdeans.²³ Thus, in the blink of an eye, the symbolism ascribed to the various elements of the current flag highlights the great Cape Verdean diaspora and potential for international cooperation, the Cape Verdean people's predisposition for migration, and the geostrategic position of the country within Macaronesia (comprising the Azores, Madeira, the Canary Islands, and Cape Verde).

The change of flag was greatly contested and debated in Cape Verde, leading to heated exchanges in parliamentary debates and in the media in 1991 and 1992. There were demonstrations in Santiago and S. Vicente, the two largest islands in the archipelago, and also in the diaspora, particularly in the USA. A petition in favour of keeping the original flag, signed by around 25,000 citizens, was presented to parliament and the PAICV submitted a proposal for a referendum, which was rejected by the ruling party who alleged, among other matters, that when the people had voted on 13 January they had rejected the PAICV and all its national symbols and that the flag introduced by the combatants and "imposed by force of arms" in no way reflected the reality of Cape Verde and its history.²⁴

The change of anthem, which had been the same as that of Guinea-Bissau, was a more unanimous decision in party-political terms, mainly due to issues of protocol given that the union with the latter had ended, but was more difficult to accomplish. For years it was considered that no proposal submitted to the contest was of a suitably high standard and it was therefore impossible to find an acceptable alternative. The new anthem, "Hymn to Liberty", was only approved in 1996, following a vote on a bill presented by the parliamentary benches of the MpD after the party had

once again won the elections with a qualified majority.²⁵ All references to the struggle were removed and replaced with the values of liberty, which now also meant democracy, conquests symbolically venerated by the MpD as the exclusive property of own its party and which gave their name to the national holiday of 13 January, introduced in 1999 and known as Liberty and Democracy Day in honour of the date on which the first multiparty elections were held.

Like other national symbols, the currency may also be said to have undergone a process of “de-Africanisation”.²⁶ The notes and coins bearing images of Cabral and other African revolutionaries were gradually withdrawn from circulation during the 1990s and replaced with designs featuring local fauna and flora and images of different individuals, all illustrious Cape Verdean figures from the time before the African nationalists, thus setting new standards for the award of honours to



Figure 6.3 (a) 500 escudos banknote, issued in 1989, with Amílcar Cabral’s image. (b) 500 escudos banknote, issued in 1992, with Baltasar Lopes da Silva’s image.

citizens which were more in keeping with the new values intended for the nation. The figures, all men from the Creole elite (the “*brancos da terra*”), despite having established themselves as critics of the subaltern status of the Cape Verdean in the archipelago, had not fought in general terms for the anticolonial cause, the defence of Africanism, or the independence of the islands. The new choice of iconography for the national currency demonstrates how the “dilution of Africa” movement, which Fernandes refers to, operated alongside the devaluation of the anticolonial legacies and the aforementioned de-Cabralisation of national symbols.²⁷

There are certain reasons which explain this process of mnemonic transition, which was particularly incisive in the 1990s. Firstly, there was the defeat of the PAICV within an international context in which liberation movements that became single-party regimes were widely criticised. Secondly, there was the broad party-political hegemony achieved by the MpD, enabling it to alter the Constitution and introduce changes to symbology and public space, benefitting from the legitimacy conferred on it by the elections. Thirdly, a diffuse social and political arena was reactivated in which political opponents of the PAIGC before and after independence, together with movements and institutions such as the Catholic Church, expressed an interest in revising the past, reprising the pre-existing tensions. Finally, these symbolic and political changes resonated with the sympathies of significant sectors of the population who were receptive to reinforcing the ambiguous identity that Cape Verde had established in its relations with Portugal and the colonial legacy. The social willingness to accept the mnemonic transition, therefore, suggests that, in addition to the loss of legitimacy affecting the PAIGC/CV and the regime, the lingering presence in Cape Verdean society of a colonial imaginary that was forging post-colonial representations of the nation was also an issue.

Adding, reconciling, contesting – a composite memoryscape

Despite the activation of the abovementioned measures for erasure and the repositioning of Amílcar Cabral as a key national figure, he was never totally removed from the public memoryscape in Cape Verde, mainly because he was recognised, both internally and externally, as greater than the PAIGC itself. The case of the Amílcar Cabral Memorial is an example of this. After the idea of creating a cultural centre in his memory was abandoned, a memorial was unveiled on 5 July 2000, marking the end of a process marred by various impasses and indecisiveness. The statue, a gift from China in the context of various investments in the country, is frequently questioned, mainly because of its style. Imitating statues of Asian political leaders, Cabral is presented in a rigid pose, wearing a heavy raincoat: “it looks like Mao Tsé Tung with Cabral’s head” was the description sometimes heard in interviews and informal conversations.

Although a certain anti-anticolonial memoryscape asserted itself hegemonically during the 1990s, in the past two decades this complex memorialisation has been accompanied by the relative re-emergence of the memoryscape of the immediate post-independence period. This is evident not only in the memorial constructed in honour of Amílcar Cabral, but also in specific re-evaluations of the figure of



Figure 6.4 Amílcar Cabral memorial in Praia.

Photography by Miguel Cardina.

the combatant. Equally, public recognition of actors involved in the struggle who had previously been attributed a relatively subaltern role has now diversified.²⁸ Moreover, from the first decade of the new century onwards, new political and artistic appropriations of the figure of Cabral have emerged, involving rappers and social activists, for example.²⁹ This process of mnemonic pluralisation has led to the re-emergence of debates on memory and the actual adjustments and accommodation of elements of previous – post-independence and anti-anticolonial – memoryscapes, resulting in the emergence of a composite memoryscape.

The public representations of Cape Verde, which we have called a composite memoryscape, are therefore constructed on the basis of a process of mnemonic accommodation or, in other words, a process of integrating the different legacies considered to constitute the broader trajectory of the nation. This memoryscape, which is very often depoliticised and removed from its historical context, emerges

with a veneer of supposed neutrality, at times in search of a national consensus – in conjunction with religious bodies, private enterprise, social movements, and academia, to give only a few examples – and at other times aiming to project self-representations of the country that are deemed more attractive, both domestically and abroad. They are very often the result of opportunities which, given the economic constraints facing the archipelago, are defined externally, via support from supranational entities (such as the EU, ECOWAS, or IMF), possibilities for funding, cooperation, and redevelopment projects promoted by private enterprise, foreign states, and international organisations or through the reproduction of the more global language of interculturality, heritage, and human rights.

Hence the definition of a composite memoryscape which combines apparently diverging or incompatible elements – ranging from a colonial past constructed from European and African presences to the struggle for independence and the construction of a post-colonial Cape Verde – is made up of both acts of evocation and acts of silencing, which are precisely what make it coherent as part of a national odyssey in which everything has its place, although in historical terms this is hardly the case. Rather than producing the dynamics of “agonistic memory”,³⁰ it tends to generate occasional specific clashes of memory or a more general search for consensus. Within this context, challenges have emerged, such as the voice of Gilson Varela Lopes defending the removal of the statue of Diogo Gomes and its replacement with the statue of Amílcar Cabral, cited at the beginning of this chapter.³¹ Considered together – standing only half a kilometre apart – these two statues are part of a composite and incongruous memoryscape of the country, composed of symbols, monuments, and self-referential discourses that tend to lend consistency to whatever emerges as conflictual or antagonistic through the notion of a Creole Cabo Verde.

Social protests involving the urban youth of Praia can also be viewed as part of this sequence. Challenges to the presence of this composite memoryscape (or some of its components) have emerged via sectors of young people who have been politicised or have connections abroad (in particular with Portugal, Holland, the United States, and Brazil) and are updating the current debates in Cape Verde on racism, slavery, colonialism, and their legacies. Redy Wilson Lima observes that they are led by young people influenced by what he defines as “counter-colonial discourses” that “call for a second liberation and re-Africanisation of spirit and minds”.³² Rap music, public petitions, cyberactivism, and the reappearance of Afrocentric and/or pan-Africanist cultural demonstrations, together with youth community activism, are some of the emerging forms of action identified by the author. It is also the case with the *Marxa Kabral* – a demonstration first held in 2010, which has taken place every year since 2013 on 20 January, the date of the assassination of Cabral – organised by the *Korrenti di Ativistas*³³ and sectors of the Praia youth.

This event has established a counter-ritualisation of Cabral, celebrating his words, image and public representation, with the *Marxa* passing by his statue and ascending noisily to Plateau, the political and symbolic centre of the city where the statue of Diogo Gomes stands, breaking down the imaginary borderline between the Creole property-owning elite and a substantial part of the population who have felt forbidden to occupy the area. At the same time, the *Marxa* is also a clear



Figure 6.5 (a–c) 8th Marxa Kabral, 20 January 2020. (Continued)

Photographs by Inês Nascimento Rodrigues and Miguel Cardina.



Figure 6.5 (Continued)

affirmation of Africanness, evident in the choice of clothing, hairstyles and music, the slogans, and the use of capoeira as a global symbol of black resistance. The *Marxa Kabral*, like other protests in the city of Praia in recent decades, therefore emerges as associated with a broader dispute over the memoryscapes that constituted the country – and continue to do so – suggesting that it is necessary to return to Amílcar Cabral and the legacy of the struggle to express present-day concerns.

The alternative imagery created in the city of Praia in recent years can also be understood within this context. Since 2017, new “itineraries” associated with the liberation struggle have helped design other symbolic geographies of the capital. Through the urban art produced as part of the *Xalabas di Kumunidade* community intervention programme – promoted by the Africa 70 NGO and the Associação Pilorinhu and funded by the European Union – it is nowadays possible to visit the Achada Grande Frente district outside the wealthier area of the city and observe arts projects in public space which evoke some of the great symbols of resistance and anticolonial struggle. They constitute ways of challenging the prevailing composite memoryscape, in which the visual and symbolic presence of the liberation struggle and the anticolonial matrix coexist with elements from the colonial period (such as statues, busts, and the names of explorers, governors, men of the Church, and other Portuguese figures), affirming a Cape Verdean Creoleness in which all these elements have a place and are connected.

Notes

- 1 Part of the argument of this chapter was developed in Miguel Cardina and Inês Nascimento Rodrigues, “The mnemonic transition: the rise of an anti-anticolonial memoryscape in Cape Verde,” *Memory Studies* 14, no. 2 (2021): 380–394, and in Miguel Cardina and Inês Nascimento Rodrigues, *Remembering the Liberation Struggles in Cape Verde. A Mnemohistory* (New York and London: Routledge, 2022).

- 2 “Remoção de monumentos pró-escravagistas e coloniais em Cabo Verde,” *Petição Pública*, 2021, accessed June 20, 2022, <https://peticaopublica.com/pview.aspx?pi=PT100526>.
- 3 Cf. “«Cabo Verde tem que conhecer a sua história de uma forma profunda», Abraão Vicente,” *Expresso das Ilhas*, 16 June 2020, accessed June 25, 2022, <https://expressodasilhas.cv/cultura/2020/06/16/cabo-verde-tem-que-conhecer-a-sua-historia-de-uma-forma-profunda-abraao-vicente/70013>.
- 4 Crisanto Barros, *As elites político-administrativas cabo-verdianas: 1975–2008* (PhD thesis, Universidade de Cabo Verde/Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve, 2012).
- 5 Cláudio Furtado, *Génese e (Re)Produção da Classe Dirigente em Cabo Verde* (Praia: ICL, 1997); António Correia e Silva, “O Nascimento do Leviatã Crioulo: esboços de sociologia política,” *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 1 (2001): 53–68; Barros, *As elites...*, and Odair Barros-Varela, *Crítica da Razão Estatal. O Estado Moderno em África nas Relações Internacionais e Ciência Política* (Praia: Pedro Cardoso Livraria, 2017), 261–89.
- 6 The words of the anthem: “Sun, sweat, the green and the sea, /Centuries of hope and pain; /This is the land of our ancestors! /The fruit of our hands, /The flower of our blood: /This is our beloved fatherland. /Long live the glorious fatherland! /The flag of struggle flying in the skies. /Onwards, against the foreign yoke! /We shall build/Peace and progress/In the immortal fatherland! /(x2)/Branches of the same trunk, /Eyes in the same light: /This is the force of our union! /Let the sea and the earth/The morning and the sun/ Sing that our struggle has borne fruit. [...].”
- 7 In the case of types of music considered more “African”, such as *funaná*, *batuque* and *tabanca*, which were banned under colonialism and scorned by the local elites. João Vasconcelos, “Espíritos Lusófonos numa ilha crioula: língua, poder e identidade em São Vicente de Cabo Verde,” in *A Persistência da História*, eds. Clara Carvalho and João Pina Cabral (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2004), 149–90 and Rui Cidra, “Cabral, popular music and the debate on Cape Verdean creoleness,” *Postcolonial Studies* 21, no. 4 (2018): 2–19.
- 8 The coup d’état in Guinea-Bissau led by Nino Vieira in 1980, which deposed Luís Cabral – brother of Amílcar Cabral – and intensified the political divisions between Guineans and Cape Verdeans inherited from the liberation struggle, did not result in any significant changes to the first memoryscape.
- 9 See Michel Cahen, “Arquipélagos da alternância; a vitória da oposição das ilhas de Cabo Verde e de São Tomé e Príncipe,” *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* no. 14/15 (1991): 113–54; António Correia e Silva, “O Processo Caboverdiano de Transição para a Democracia” (Master’s dissertation, ISCTE, 1997); Fafali Koudawo, *Cabo Verde e Guiné-Bissau. Da democracia revolucionária à democracia liberal* (Bissau: INEP, 2001); Roselma Évora, *Cabo Verde: A abertura política e a transição para a democracia* (Praia: Spleen Edições, 2004), and Edalina Sanches, *Party Systems in Young Democracies. Varieties of Institutionalization in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 73–95.
- 10 In the first of these elections, the MpD, which had emerged a few months earlier, won with a broad margin that would ensure it over two-thirds of the seats in the National Assembly, a necessary condition to enable it to proceed with alterations to the Constitution, which were implemented in 1992. On 17 February 1991, António Mascarenhas Monteiro won 72.6% of the vote, beating Aristides Pereira, the PAICV candidate and former president. The local elections in December would confirm the party-political hegemony of the MpD.
- 11 Koudawo, *Cabo Verde e Guiné-Bissau*, 156 and 216.
- 12 Silva, “O Nascimento do Leviatã Crioulo,” 67.
- 13 António Correia e Silva, “Cabo Verde: Desafios económicos e a estruturação do Estado. Do Estado-Providência (sem contribuintes) ao liberalismo sem empresários. O Ciclo da

- 1ª República,” paper presented at the VIII Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais – A Questão Social no Novo Milénio, Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra, September 16–18, 2004, 3, <https://www.ces.uc.pt/lab2004/inscricao/pdfs/grupodiscussao5/AntonioLeaoSilva.pdf>.
- 14 Koudawo, *Cabo Verde e Guiné-Bissau*, 118–27.
 - 15 Cardina and Rodrigues, “The mnemonic transition.”
 - 16 From 1985 onwards, still under the First Republic, certain busts that had been removed during the post-independence period were already being reinstated.
 - 17 Krzysztof Górny and Ada Górna, “After Decolonization: Changes in the Urban Landscape of Platô in Praia, Cape Verde,” *Journal of Urban History* 45, no. 6 (2019): 1103–30.
 - 18 During this phase a decree was issued obliging the PAICV to provide proof of how it had acquired its assets. During his presidential election campaign, Mascarenhas Monteiro stated in an interview with Daniel Santos that there was “widespread corruption” within the PAIGC in Guinea, insinuating that the involvement of Cape Verdeans in the armed struggle was hardly representative and far removed from the situation in the islands, adding that this meant that the PAICV had been punished in the elections: “if [the people] had ascribed any importance to this struggle, the PAICV would still be in power”. “Sou um desertor especial,” *Voz di Povo*, no. 1055, February 16, 1991.
 - 19 Law 19/III/87 of 15 August.
 - 20 *Claridosos* is the name for the leaders of the literary movement associated with the journal *Claridade*, which affirmed the exceptionality and superiority of the Cape Verdean, due to his “Creole” nature and the Portuguese contribution to the formation of society. See José Carlos Gomes dos Anjos, *Intelectuais, literatura e poder em Cabo Verde: lutas de definição da identidade nacional* (Praia: Instituto Nacional do Património Cultural, 2002); Vasconcelos, “Espíritos Lusófonos,” 149–190 and Victor Barros, “As sombras da Claridade. Entre o discurso de integração regional e a retórica nacionalista,” in *Comunidades Imaginadas. Nação e Nacionalismos em África*, eds. Luís Reis Torgal, Fernando Tavares Pimenta and Julião Soares Sousa. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008), 193–214. The active recovery of this cultural and intellectual heritage, beginning with Mascarenhas Monteiro’s announcement in May 1991 that a foundation would be created in honour of Baltasar Lopes da Silva, a writer, teacher and one of the most distinguished founding members of the journal, underpins a theory that was very popular in the 1990s, namely that in Cape Verde the idea of nation predated the anticolonial struggle and liberation. Once again, it was during the First Republic that the re-evaluation of the *Claridosos* had emerged, with a symposium organised to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the movement, the founding of a literary prize dedicated to Baltasar Lopes da Silva, and other measures. For a critical review of *Claridade*, including the 9 issues of the magazine in facsimile edition see *Claridosidade. Edição Crítica*, eds. Filinto Elísio and Márcia Souto (Lisboa: Rosa de Porcelana, 2017).
 - 21 Minutes of the 1992 Second Extraordinary Legislative Session, IV Legislature, Plenary Meeting of 21 July. See also, Vasconcelos, “Espíritos Lusófonos,” 184.
 - 22 Márcia Rego, *The Dialogic Nation of Cape Verde. Slavery, Language and Ideology* (New York and London: Lexington Books, 2015), 72.
 - 23 Pedro Gregório Lopes, interview by the authors, Praia, 17 January 2019.
 - 24 Minutes of the Third Legislative Session, IV Legislature, Meeting of 8 June 1992, 482–483. See also Rego, *The Dialogic Nation of Cape Verde*, 71–72 and, on symbols in general, its Chapter 3.
 - 25 Words of the anthem: “Sing, brother/sing, my brother/that Liberty is a hymn/and Man is certainty. /With dignity, bury the seed/in the dust of the bare island; /on the cliff of life/hope is the size of the sea/that embraces us. /Sentinel of seas and winds/persevering/ between stars of the Atlantic/sing the song of liberty (...).” Words by Amílcar Spencer

- Lopes – president of the National Assembly at the time – and music by Adalberto Higino Tavares da Silva, both MpD members.
- 26 Rego, *The Dialogic Nation of Cape Verde*, 77.
- 27 Gabriel Fernandes, *A diluição de África: uma interpretação da saga identitária cabo-verdiana no panorama (pós)colonial* (Florianópolis: UFSC, 2002).
- 28 E.g. José Vicente Lopes, *Tarrafal: Chão Bom: memórias e verdades*, 2 vol (Praia: IIPC, 2010); Celeste Fortes and Rita Rainho, “Início das emissões da Rádio Libertação, do PAIGC (1967),” in *As Voltas do Passado*, eds. Miguel Cardina and Bruno Sena Martins (Lisboa: Edições Tinta-da-china), 178–183, and Euclides Fontes, *Uma história inacabada* (Praia: Pedro Cardoso Livraria, 2018).
- 29 Miguel de Barros and Redy Wilson Lima, “Rap Kriol(u): o pan-africanismo de Cabral na música de intervenção juvenil na Guiné-Bissau e em Cabo Verde,” *Realis – Revista de Estudos Antiutilitaristas e Pós-coloniais* 2, no. 2 (2012): 88–116.
- 30 Anna Cento Bull and Hans Lauge Hansen, “On agonistic memory,” *Memory Studies* 9, no. 4 (2016): 390–404.
- 31 See also the contribution by Redy Wilson Lima in June 2018, during the period of uncertainty over whether the figure of Cabral would remain in its current site. Advocating an “insurgent citizens” movement, he proposed that the centrality Cabral merited should include installing his statue at the top of Plateau where the statue of Diogo Gomes stood: Redy Wilson Lima, “E que tal um movimento de cidadania,” *Ku Frontalidadi*, June 2018, <http://ku-frontalidadi.blogspot.com/2018/06/e-que-tal-um-movimento-de-cidadania.html>. This comparison has emerged in music, drawing attention to the symbolic asymmetry in the positioning of the two statues: on the one hand the prime site provided for Diogo Gomes, in front of the presidential palace and overlooking the vast ocean; on the other hand, Amílcar Cabral, in a less visible spot in the capital, overlooking the cemetery. See “Odja Oby Ntedy Dypoz” by Nax Beat: “N’ka kre odja statua di Cabral rostu para simiteriu / Di Diogo Gomi rostu para palasiu di governu”. “I don’t want to see Cabral’s statue looking at the cemetery and Diogo Gomes looking at the government palace”, cited in Barros and Lima, “Rap Kriol(u),” 101. The singer, songwriter and former Minister for Culture, Mário Lúcio also voiced this issue in *Diogo e Cabral*.
- 32 Redy Wilson Lima, “Di kamaradas a irmons: o rap cabo-verdiano e a (re)construção de uma identidade de resistência,” *Tomo* 37 (2020): 47–88.
- 33 On the *Korrenti di Ativiztas*, see Silvia Stefani, “Resistência Urbana e Ativismo social na Praia: o caso da ‘Korrenti di Ativiztas’,” *Caderno de Estudos Africanos* 31 (2016): 69–94.

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