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"DESERTIFIED LAND OF BARBARIAN MEN AND WITHOUT CIVILIZATION": EUROCENTRIC CLAIMS ABOUT AFRICA AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN GUINEA-BISSAU

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Abstract: This article aims to discuss the role of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (hereinafter PAIGC) in the process of building the Guinean nation-state. To this end, the conception of nation-states in the context of the new independence movements in Africa from the 1960s to the 1980s is analyzed, in order to understand the process of building an inclusive Guinean identity as opposed to the exclusionary identity proposed by the PAIGC. The central argument is that the influences of the Pan-Africanist movements, which the party received, led to the construction, contrasting it with other identities produced historically and culturally in the territory. In order to develop its argument, the article is structured in two sections. The first section will counter-criticize Eurocentric claims about the African continent, highlighting its influences on modernity. The second section will highlight how the birth of the nation-state by the African party PAIGC influenced the construction of the national identity of Guinea-Bissau. The choice of this theme is justified by the understanding that the construction of identities is part of historical processes that have been launched. The partial results show how collective memories have been subordinated, but continue to claim their place in the construction of national identity.
Keywords: Africa, national identity, Guinea-Bissau, PAIGC, Pan-Africanists.

INTRODUCTION

All sociocultural construction of identities, especially national identities, implies the imposition of a specific ideology of domination or symbolic violence on others. In the case of Guinea-Bissau, during the liberation struggle that took place between 1963 and 1973, the ideology of constructing a homogeneous national identity was prioritized, thus ignoring the diversity of peoples and cultures that

existed there. The latter were subordinated, fossilized, marginalized, and silenced, with the aim of creating a single, hegemonic identity, supported by the ideological principle of constructing the "new man." This was understood as someone who distanced himself from the old attire of "traditional" peoples and from the vestiges of the colonists. The mentor of the ideological project that aimed to create the "New Man" was Amílcar Lopes Cabral, who developed and engineered the short- and long-term goals, this was during the period of the liberation struggle from 1963 to 1973, which have been put into practice by his followers (Cabralists) within the PAIGC. Thus, the PAIGC conveyed its own past and image to define its place in this process of constructing national identity.

In this article, I sought to establish a historical analysis that aims to understand the construction of identities (collective and national), relying on the authors who discuss the topic in question to analyze the discussions about the place of the party in the aforementioned fabric, which is structured in two sections. The first section will counter-criticize how Eurocentric claims about the African continent negatively influenced the identity of its peoples in the modern context. The second section will highlight the creation of the nation-state, by the African party PAIGC, to form a new identity for Guinea-Bissau. Thus, understanding this process of constructing this identity involves valuing one (national memory) over the other (collective memory), and it is important to point out that the inclusion of representations of different Guinean peoples contributes to a certain homogeneity of customs and practices that emerge in the soil of the country under discussion. In this logic, it is important to appropriate new theories that point to other possible forms of constructing a nation-state, based on the valorization of diversity and identity plurality.

""BARBARIAN AND UNCIVILIZED MEN": CONTRASTING THE INVENTION OF AFRICA BY WESTERN EUROPE

Africa was represented by the West as a non-place, an empty land, emotionally and rationally deserted, moving between the animalistic, the savage, childishness and the absence of memory. When they judged the people of the continent by their skin color or race, they believed that all the populations that lived and live there are black, belonging to an inferior race (the black race), thus the image of black people is associated with darkness, the primitive, sensuality and the grotesque, highlights the aforementioned author (AZEVEDO, 2010). Souza (2003) also argues that such representation was also linked to nature, which referred to an image of everything that was exotic, wild and rustic.

In this path, Africans would be barbarians, without civilization and identified as troglodytes (SOUZA, 2003). In the space world, where each race is located according to its proximity to the celestial space, the abode of the angels and God, Jerusalem is inhabited by the son of God, it is the center and the bridge that gives access to the paradisiacal regions on Earth. Europe is inhabited by the descendants of Japheth, located to the west or south of Jerusalem, Asia is inhabited by the sons of Shem, and is located to the north or east. While the descendants of Ham, heirs of the curse, emerge on the black and monstrous continent, in this allusion Africa does not even have a connection with Jerusalem, as confirmed by the words of Oliva (2005).

The representations of these people inform us that they are barbarians, that they make human sacrifices, that they are cannibals and that they are tribal in nature. Nowadays, we are convinced that European civilization was superior, guided by the Christian faith, which,

unlike it, Africa received as a reward the pagan and fetishistic cults. On the other hand, European states were organized, while Africa was made up of lawless groups or disorganized leaders and had to follow European models in order to modernize (OLIVA, 2005).

African cosmologies are practices of witchcraft, sorcery, and demonic and cannibalistic actions. And their land was called Guinea, referring to the color of their skin. They have powerful, bull-like bodies, strong, fast, large in running, very strong and extremely ugly, these are the descriptions made by the Portuguese traveler (OLIVA, 2005). Africans have no history, which is justified by their immobility, absence of written codes, like the societies under the Sahara guided by oral tradition, and they are traditional societies, without technological advances (OLIVA, 2005).

And based on the Christian religious assumption, Africans are devils, this was in the 18th century and in the 19th and 20th centuries, Africans were considered primitive and savage who must be civilized. And during the colonization period, much was based on the stigma of being savage, primitive, childish, lazy, incapable of sophisticated work. They must be disciplined and taught through manual or compulsory services, they were in the infancy of humanity (OLIVA, 2005).

Historians of the 19th and 20th centuries believed that the beginning of the History of Africa took place thanks to the presence of Europeans on the continent, which ranges from the notes, reports (made by travelers, administrators, missionaries and traders from the 15th to the 19th centuries) to the impacts caused by them (Europeans) on African social structures (OLIVA, 2005). However, the allegations described so far are understood as colonial history produced to validate European activities on the continent that dispenses with technological advances. Not only, but in every

sense of African societies, the richness and complexity of the social, historical, cultural, religious and political context (SOUZA, 2003; OLIVA, 2005).

The Europeans boasted of being missionaries, whose mission was to sacrifice in order to bring the light of civilization to the barbarian Africans. But overcoming the Africans' backwardness required accepting the European presence, assimilating their ways of living, dressing, architecture, formalized education structure, Christian religion, languages and work ideology (OLIVA, 2005). And in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, it was unnecessary to modernize African societies in view of new mentalities of work and production. The author goes further and says "Africans would only be of any use if they were colonized by Europeans" (OLIVA, 2005, p.109; SOUZA, 2010). Therefore, the persistence of the analogy between black people and the African continent corroborates the cultural homogeneity of the peoples of the continent in question. Thus, for Africanists, especially in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Africans had to turn the tree of oblivion around in order to break with their prehistory that relegates them to inferiority, the evolutionary link between monkeys and men, and the approximation with apes, and all the other descriptions mentioned above.

So, both Pan-Africanists and nationalists, in the context of the decolonization of the African continent, bet on the paradigm of thinking about the Modernity of independent African States based on the nation-state of the European model, emphasizes Azevedo. And when analyzing the film Ceddo, he claimed that its director followed a project guided by decolonization that aimed at the reconstruction of local society, trying to adjust based on the past of Africa's memory in contemporary times (AZEVEDO, 2010). "The rupture of this model means taking

into account that African memories and knowledge preceded, preserved and coexisted with more African cultures than the other way around" (AZEVEDO, 2010, p.365).

The care that the actors mentioned in the previous lines did not take to conduct readjustments after the independence of the new States. In the context of Guinea-Bissau, unlike Brazil with regard to Creole identity, the post-independence period was very much marked by the adoption of the ideology of formation of the nation-state along the lines of European states, in which Creole identity is ideal for the formation of a single people and a united nation, which values the memory of these above all in the mobilization for the act of political, social, economic and religious self-determination, and the drafting of the Constitution. In the aforementioned context, even with the primary ideology of Africanization, the nationalists were unable to distance themselves from Western practices, values, language and plagiarized the organizational model of Portugal, and increasingly sought "Europeanization", emphasized in the previous lines that European scientists propose to Africans who want to modernize. Therefore, the Africanists or nationalists feared the existence of differentiated collective plural identities, which the author illustrated in his work analyzed here, of separatism between the various peoples with the Creoles, the latter, in the Guinean case, were privileged by the former colonial regime. With the aim of extinguishing the plurality of peoples existing in the territory, who preserve their linguistic and cultural affinities, in the Brazilian context (PARÉS, 2005).

The limitations that the identities of the Guinean peoples encounter due to the Creole (Portuguese) identity imposed by Guinean nationalists. In this sense, we recall that colonial society was structured and hierarchized by racial and ethnic criteria, in which different peoples were discriminated against due to their skin color and lack of appropriation of the Portuguese language and culture. Meanwhile, the Creoles/assimilated people occupied the most prestigious professions (PARÉS, 2005).

The identity claims of the different peoples in the Guinean space are found in a context characterized by fossilization, stereotyping, stigmatization, folklorization, marginalization, subordination, prejudiced, racist and exploitative biases, and condemned by a policy of invisibility to a process of disappearance over time. We take as an example the historical events and actions in the process of the formation of national history marked by the exclusion of the contributions of the peoples in the face of this process, from the colonial State to the new government. Firstly, the church played a very important role in classifying people and had a glorious and painful mission to bring light to people living in darkness, and secondly, to make people work in favor of their system. The ruptures and continuities of this event can be felt today, in the context of the new government, because as Anjos (2015) complained, we emerged from colonization without resolving the aforementioned problems; these problems were silenced in the context of the struggle for pacification and continue to be ignored by the new State (ANJOS, 2015). Since we are experiencing almost the same system that denied the right to identity to indigenous peoples, and their territories are almost at the mercy of the same people who controlled them, I say this because today's Guinea-Bissau, during the colony, experienced indirect administration by Portugal, being administered by Creoles/assimilated peoples. And the current State and its governance are deliberately neglected by the same class regarding the people and their territories (ANJOS, 2015).

Therefore, the aforementioned demands are associated with the same images that Europeans had of Africans in the last centuries before that. Often, when these people are mentioned by political society, it is merely an opportunistic way to fulfill their extravagances, seeking to elect or re-elect them through the votes of civil society (people). There has never been any concrete action aimed at the acceptance and articulation of identities in the process of building a plural, democratic and fair Guinean society. In this regard, Mbembe (2001) states that after slavery, there was concern about the belonging of Africans to the human race. Furthermore, the Enlightenment thinkers believed that Africans were different from the rest of the human race. What was unique about them was their black body, their lack of consciousness, reason and beauty, and their different conception of what society, the world and good are (MBEMBE, 2001). A distant curve from other peoples is their distance in relation to the lack of the notion of life, work, language and death. These issues are far beyond the knowledge of Africans, so they do not know how to justify them. Therefore, they have human citizenship and do not contribute to the development of the universe. Africans do not have civilization; on the contrary, they have tradition or cultural identity.

And this is their identity that they do not share with others. As we saw in the previous lines, they (Africans) will have human citizenship if they were converted or assimilated, ceasing to be traditional and entering civil society through the experience of Christianity and the colonial State (MBEMBE, 2001). He also said that the African was considered a castrated subject, and passive for the enjoyment of others, in the classification table of the circle of humanity the African gained the status of inferior.

In short, African history is the combination of the diabolical (the enemy or torturer) and the victim, this was the vision that Africanists clung to affirm the belonging of the black race and the black continent (Africa), all being brothers and sisters of the same African or black identity. The African is condemned to death and destruction. Therefore, he does not enjoy the same rights as the others. Eurocentric or imperialist and colonial vision. Mbembe (2001) criticizes the Africanists or nationalists who made the inversion speech, who initially opposed the issue of myth, and who later invented the African identity based on the difference between us and them, black and white, civilized and savage peoples, Christians and pagans. They (Africanists) claim that Africa must get rid of the history that was created by third parties, the one marked by iron and fire. (MBEMBE, 2001)

To demand, through national liberation struggles, developments of social movements. These two issues were not criticized, they were very passive about them. Followed by self-determination, installation of state powers, opposition to democracy, installation of authoritarianism and populism of mass society. And dismissal of tradition and belief. Implementation of the division of social classes (MBEMBE, 2001). Then, to affirm African identity, they gave visibility to the native, accompanied by the process of establishing a border between the native and the other, authentic and non-authentic, the principle of otherness. And another issue is the capacity of Africans to self-govern, questioned by Eurocentrism that Africanists will respond to (MBEMBE, 2001). They (African nationalists and Africanists) replaced the concept of "civilization" with that of "progress". And affirming the belonging of Africans to the human race, and, on the other hand, the originality of Africans accentuated by tradition and indigenous values. Furthermore, they

stated that Africans are part of the human race like everyone else, and have their own history. Claiming that their race, traditions and customs are unique, reaffirming the myth they had positioned themselves against.

The imposition of prejudice by assigning the black race a status of inferiority is appreciated by negritude and pan-Africanism. And corroborating the affirmation of the existence of African science, African democracy and the universalizing African language. With this, nationalist historiography proposed to investigate the relics of ancient African kingdoms and empires, thus demonstrating that there is civilization or millennial African progress (MBEMBE, 2001).

In the mythology of pan-Africanism, it is affirmed between native and citizen, or black people. Blacks or Africans enjoy the status of citizen, simply because they belong to the black race. Excluding other forms of being African of European, Arab and Asian origin. In addition, the creation of collective memory based on the events of slavery, colonization and apartheid. Africanists failed to see that these memories are very fragmented, and experiences are lived and interpreted in different ways. Another point is the myth of African racial unity and cultural identity. Africanists believed that men and women on the continent could unite around a religion, a language, a culture, a history of their own and the only identity that permeates all others. This supported the myth of division that we will see below (MBEMBE, 2001).

The division between black Africa and white Africa is a form of vulgar racism caused by religious tension, especially between the Muslim and Catholic religions, said Fanon (1961). "It is said that white Africa has a thousand-year-old cultural tradition, that it is Mediterranean, extends Europe, and participates in Greco-Latin culture. Black Africa is conceived as an inert, brutal,

uncivilized… savage region" (FANON, 1961, p. 123). Discourse on the legacy of racism against black people, "in certain regions of Africa, the paternalistic bleating about black people, the obscene age taken from Western culture that black people are impervious to logic and science, reign in all their nakedness" (FANON, p. 124).

Lopes, analyzing the context of Guinea and Cape Verde, appealed to the victimization "we, Guinea and Cape Verde, are a people exploited by the Portuguese colonialists" (LOPES, 2012, p. 14). This phrase used with the objective of constructing collective memory with the intention of creating the national identity of the subjects of these two countries.

Therefore, Amílcar Cabral (1983) when analyzing African culture, took as examples dances, songs, tattoos, canoe and cloth making, he did not understand its value, and its capacity for development, as a historical, sociocultural object subject to constant change, invention and reinvention according to the context in which it finds itself, pointing out that the solution would be a radical rupture for the well-being of all. Thus, it is believed in cultural purity, and luck that for the advancement of the African people it is necessary to know how to choose what is their own, authentic, also for academic instruction to the detriment of belief.

THE BIRTH OF THE NATION-STATE BY THE AFRICAN PARTY OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE (PAIGC) AND THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL IDENTITY

There are divergent opinions on this topic. A group of researchers claims that the invention of the Guinean national identity was a product of the Felupe navigations and the movements of the peoples from both the coast and the interior that delimited the geopolitical space that corresponds to the territory of present-day Guinea-Bissau. The Mandinga people conquered the country between the 11th and 16th centuries. Some scholars believe that the genesis of the Guinean nation-state began with the arrival of the Portuguese. Later, it grew with the "peaceful" wars with the aim of subjugating all the indigenous peoples to the colonial state. Others claim that it originated with the liberation struggle. The struggle that allowed the awareness of nationalism to be raised and that served to unite the Guinean peoples is considered by this group as a great event, a collective memory. And the national history is narrated based on this episode. Therefore, the origin of the nation-state is the result of the Creole movement, that is, it was the Creoles who claimed, invented and constructed the national identity.

On September 24, 1973, the new nation-state led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde– PAIGC was born. The above statements are evident in a certain way, Soares (2016) emphasizes that "all states are founded on force" (SOARES, 2016, p. 82).

This allows us to affirm that the origin of the Guinean nation-state is explained by two biases, the first states that it was built from the navigations of the Felupes and movements of the native populations. While others believe that it originated with the arrival of the Portuguese, or even that the Creoles as mentors of the aforementioned issue agree that the state under discussion is also founded on force in which the relationship of the State is based on the exploitation of man by man (SOARES, 2016). According to Soares (2016), the State belongs to the most powerful, economically dominant class, formed by powerful classes formed by the Mandingas, Portuguese and Creoles, in different past decades, each one was the most powerful class, both economically and dominant (SOARES, 2016). In fact, there is still an attempt in the country to retake this power by the Mandingas, by legitimizing the Creole language as the national language. This is currently being much debated, since these attempts are more insistent, incessant and unbridled to place the Creole language as the national language, defending the exaggerated justification that it is the most spoken in Guinea-Bissau (LOPES, 2003). However, despite being a coherent defense in its sense of cultural rescue, it also excludes the concentration of peoples who live in the rural areas of the country, where Creole often does not even come in second place as the language of communication. This indicates, for example, that "linguistic construction is subject to power dynamics" (LOPES, 2003, p.5).

Returning to the origin of the nation-state, Soares (2016) also emphasizes that the PAIGC forged the history and memory of the Guinean nation through its past, with the aim of building feelings of belonging of the Guinean nation and Cape Verdeans, a past that is related to Western culture to the detriment of the values of other people's existing on Guinean soil (SOARES, 2016). Since, "with the denial of historical identity (of plurality) by the people who constructed the discourses of unity" (SOARES, 2016, p. 97).

The adoption of a nation (national unity) in what concerns current Guinea-Bissau, in addition, regarding the process of national

unity in Guinea-Bissau is the same as that of Cape Verde, led to the decrease only in the middle of the "creolecentrism" of Guinean society, the most privileged, the so-called users of the Creole language of national unity. For this author, the national language is a term whose concept seeks hegemonic determination in other languages, through its practice of cultural violence (SOARES, 2016, p.111).

Amona (2020) emphasizes that it (national unity) is a myth of the origin of Guinean nationalism, which had its advance in the struggle for national liberation, and it is the national consciousness. The author also lists the symbols of the Guinean nation, which are related to the struggle for liberation, citing the birth and death of Amílcar Lopes Cabral, the founding of the PAIGC, the Armed Forces Day, the Pindjiguiti Massacre and the Proclamation of Independence Day (AMONA, 2020, p. 62).

Dingana, speaking of independent Guinea-Bissau, demonstrates that the identity under analysis is accentuated in the distinction between "the Guinean us and the Portuguese them", which was achieved with the union of the natives, guided by the narratives of emancipation and enlightenment told by intellectuals, followed by songs and oral literature, visual art and painting. The nationalist intellectuals were influenced by the movements: Pan-Africanism, the Black Renaissance and negritude. He emphasizes that national identity is the negation of colonial identity, that is, Portuguese, and the Guinean nation was built in the colonial context, it inherited important elements such as the language, Portuguese (SOARES, 2016; AMONA, 2020).

The Creole language is considered the language of national unity, for the author Soares (2016) "the Creole language plays the role of a vehicular language, solidifies the feeling of national belonging and undoubtedly

constitutes a unifying and identifying element" (SOARES, 2016, p. 80). On the other hand, "for some of my interlocutors, these cultural riches can serve as inspiration for a new model of nation that will be built without the social structures of the ethnic groups being changed" (SOARES, 2016, p. 79). Amona (2020) states that the Creole class appealed to historicity limited to colonial references, which leads "the connection between the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde to have a historical explanation based on the ties of common ancestry" (AMONA, 2020, p. 62). The author also considers that:

> "tribalism" is seen as an obstacle to national unity; it was created by the colonialists in order to succeed in the exploitation of human and natural resources; it must be abolished so that national unity can succeed. It will give rise to the birth of a new man and a new woman, human beings aware of their rights and duties on the soil of our African homeland" (AMONA, 2020, p. 66, our emphasis was performed in this stretch).

He also states that Cabral says that the new man and the new woman must overcome ethnic divisions. In short, they must distance themselves from the ethnic groups, Mandjaku, Papel, Mancanha, Fula, Mandinga among others and join the Creole ethnic group, that is, the Guinean people. And from the New Man, expectations were outlined for the new nation and an attempt was made to define the "Guinea" (AMONA, 2020). This man is based on the socialist societies of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, Lopes (2003) ensures that national identity is the result of miscegenation, which in the case of Guinea-Bissau is the identity and the Guinean "national identity" would have emerged in the colonial period from the opposition to the colonizer (LOPES, 2003; MENDY, 2012). Couto, quoted by Nhaga (2011), was very happy to state that "Guinea-Bissau would not be as it is today if it had not been for the

presence of European colonization with all its consequences" (NHAGA, 2011, p. 44). On the one hand, it is a lot of brown-nosing, it is unfortunate to give undeserved credit to the Portuguese, and on the other hand, it is a lack of historiographical knowledge of the region of the former Greater Senegambia, especially of present-day Guinea-Bissau. For Vambe and Zegeye (2011), the liberation struggle aimed to liberate the productive forces and all the cultural imagination of the colonized, with the aim of creating a just society, that is, to expel the colonizers with all their burden and create a new society, this is the best definition of the "new man" (VAMBE & ZEGEY, 2011).

Wick (2011), unlike the two authors previously cited, emphasizes that the nationalists' carelessness was their focus on expelling imperialism and the birth of the "new man", a citizen of a "new society", built on the principles idealized by the Enlightenment: justice, equality and love (WICK, 2011). Therefore, "however, instead of destroying Eurocentrism and colonialism (the foundation and ideological expression of imperialism), the access to independence of the former colonies seems to have confirmed it" (WICK, 2011, p. 69). They fell into the same rhetoric of transforming the "indigenous" into "civilized man", in other words, turning the man of the forest into a civilized man, a citizen of metropolises (BALÉE, 2008). On the other hand, the debate on hierarchy and classification of cultures, encouraged by the colonizers, would gain ground in the revolutions, since some leaders of the independence movements of African countries believed that national culture was more developed than regional cultures or other cultures existing in the same territory.

As stated by Wich, when analyzing the Algerian context: "national culture is the most elaborate form of culture" (WICK, 2011, p. 76). He believes that this idealization of the

State is linked to the inability to imagine the creation of a State without the nation, which had just been imported by new idealizers of the nation-State in the newly independent countries. Furthermore, during the activity of colonialism, the fight against it generated a single sense of identity belonging, and excluded local identities (MAMDANI, 1996). Wick stated that Amílcar Cabral believed that the only social class capable of taking power, in the context of emancipation, was the petite bourgeoisie, since due to its history, it was educated by the colonial administration and lived closely with the colonial administrators (WICK, 2011).

Amílcar Cabral agreed with this view "by characterizing the creation of the PAIGC as the most important event in the history of the people". In view of this, we will have the calendarization of Guinea-Bissau under the conviction of the great event, in this case, the founding of the aforementioned party and the rupture with the old system that culminated in the emergence of the "new man". He, the new man, is a citizen of a new society guided by Justice, Equality and Love (WICK, 2011). This confirms the story of the Guinean people before the Portuguese colonizers: backward, uneducated and obstacles to the construction of something new in all aspects, in this case, society, state, nation and man. The nationalists who had as a historical landmark in the collective memory the interventions of Europeans in the organizations of African societies, especially Guinean ones, stated that the "new man" they desire is the one that colonialism stole in the historical past, as well as their identities. In view of this, he is reborn from his ashes and must free himself from the capitalist burden. (WICK, 2011) In parallel to this, this man must distance himself from the tribal or ethnic past, as Amílcar Cabral pointed out in the seminar of cadres he participated in. He said the same thing that "here there

is no more paper, Fula, Mandinga, son of Cape Verdeans, none of that. What exists is the PAIGC" (WICK, 2011, p. 85). Next, we notice a contradiction in the same leader, as he intended to develop the culture of the various "ethnic groups" after the revolution, since he believed that they were the bearers of resistance against imperialism. He understood imperialism as the rejection of indigenous identity, and that, therefore, the revolution made possible the right to local singularity. Amílcar Cabral states that "the positive value of ethnicity is part of its importance, in the perseverance of the populations it respects" (WICK, 2011, p. 88).

Therefore, it is necessary for the population to engage against colonialism, based on popular culture, as Amílcar Cabral emphasizes, since the objective was for the petty bourgeois class to identify with the values of popular culture and distance itself from its imperialist heritage (WICK, 2011).

The author also emphasizes that after independence, a revolutionary management must be implemented, breaking with the entire structure of the colonial system. Structures that encompass everyone were set up, along this path, the basic structures were set up in the liberated zones, under joint responsibility. Ultimately, the State, like the nation, are constructions in constant renewal; they must not be understood as things ready to follow a pre-established pattern (WICK, 2011). In this sense, the construction of the State is very important, starting with the valorization of all memories for the production of national history (of the peoples in antiquity, of the Mandinga and Fula invaders, or even of the Portuguese, without forgetting the liberation movement, that is, of the Creoles), in which all the identities of the peoples existing in the country in question are taken into consideration (BALÉE, 2008). Having a place, deconstructing the historiographical vision

that marks the beginning of the history of present-day Guinea-Bissau from the presence of the Portuguese. Wick (2011) states that Amílcar Cabral emphasized that "our destiny was placed in their hands, our history was stopped to be linked to the history of Portugal, as if we were the carriage of their train. And they created a series of conditions in our country" (WICK, 2011, p. 98).

Regarding this subject, Lopes (2011) asserts that the origins of the national movements took place within the literate elite, but only gained visibility when they incorporated the urbanized and rural popular classes. Therefore, the petite bourgeoisie had no intention of merging with the populations, as its goal was to become the national bourgeois class in the future (LOPES, 2011). On the other hand, Lopes states that there was a distancing of ethnic values by those who continued the development project of the nations that Amílcar Cabral always defended, in this case, the Guinean and Cape Verdean nations. Thus, they were unable to maintain the debate on multiculturalism and diversity. And they did not pay attention to the principle that "the world lives in a diverse and plural human civilization.

Understanding this world requires an openness to diversity and cultural freedom" (LOPES, 2011, p. 2003). Therefore, there are no identities that are so finely defined and classified.

That said, we can see that the disregard for ethnic and regional specificities, under the heading of "democracy", imposed by political society with the hope of resolving the misfortunes installed in Guinean society, did not suffer a break in continuity. The misfortunes continued, and if they were previously caused by the colonial system, and later by the single-party or party-state regime, they became the hardships of an artificial democracy (TEIXEIRA, 2010). Another

mechanism was the abolition of traditional forms of exercising power (regulated) in the villages with the creation of local committees by the party. This way, the government created the conditions for an alliance between the State and traditional communities, creating a bridge between the State and civil society. The Committees would prove to be decisive in transforming the PAIGC from a liberation movement into a State party (TEIXEIRA, 2010, p. 89).

Therefore, in order to solve the problems that the previous regimes left behind, which were inherited by the nation-state and those of the present, the government must be very flexible in its political agendas, implementing programs that aim to build an inclusive and representative society that is true and not just a record, and working to achieve the objective of improving the lives of the majority of the population (TEIXEIRA, 2010). So far, the demands of the "minorities" have been ignored or excluded by the Guinean State (TEIXEIRA, 2010). In this sense, we have seen the existence of many civil society movements concerned with the situation in which the country finds itself, which ranges from "democratic participation, human development, appreciation of local culture, improvement of living conditions, increase in employment and political engagement in the construction of a more just, plural and inclusive society." These movements fight tirelessly to reverse the aforementioned situation. Currently, the economic factor has been seen to be an obstacle to the inclusion of peoples (so-called ethnic groups) in the exercise of their citizenship rights, as members of the Guinean homeland.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Understanding the construction of identities as a complex process that has been the subject of debate for decades, in addition to involving representations, power games and political ideologies, this must not be taken by the meanings (symbols, language, culture, founding heroes, among others, invented by society itself, for its better coexistence, reading of the world that surrounds it...), but rather, in convergence with other social nuances both within the society under study and by the external factors that influence it. The extent to which the construction of identities is discussed in newly independent states is taken as the main debate by Africanists or nationalists, especially in countries on the African continent and in the diaspora. This debate has often influenced, in both positive and negative ways, the claims of multiple identities of different peoples, such as the more than 20 peoples that inhabit Guinean soil. After all, these representations are not far from the subjectivities inherent to each individual who identifies first with a specific people and as a Guinean as well. They are permeated by struggles of civil societies, be they mandjuandades, social organizations, associations, youth groups, among others.

Therefore, analyzing the claims of Eurocentrism and comparing them with the ideologies of Africanists or nationalists was a work that sought to measure how the creation of the nation-state that would house the "New Man" was guided. Thus, we can affirm that the analysis made by the authors mentioned above in defense of reformulating the construction of nation-states, which escape the European mold and which are based more on the cultural diversity and plurality of peoples, which are in each African country. They take into consideration, the peculiarities and singularities of each people with the aim of making a fairer representation. This

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will undoubtedly be a viable path to solving several problems that the different countries of the continent have been immersed in for decades, especially Guinea-Bissau. Finally, despite the limitations in all social sectors that we see in Guinea-Bissau, especially in the issue of representation, we can build a different Guinea, where all people feel they belong. Construction is definitely a never-ending process that must be worked on and reworked, with continuous maintenance.

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