



‘Caboverdianos na Holanda’

A study into the role of Cape Verdean music from Rotterdam in establishing a collective cultural identity among the Cape Verdean diaspora

MA Thesis Global History & International Relations - History of Cultural Differences

Name: Wessel Verkerk

Student number: 549599

Email: 549599wv@eur.nl

University: Erasmus University Rotterdam

Supervisor: Liesbeth Rosen Jacobson

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research background

“Cape Verdean music contains a sorrowful sentiment. Why? Because it is in our music that we express what the mouth does not say, what the hand does not write; a muted anger, a muted disgust, a muted desperation, the words of faith that have never been said, and the confessions that have died in the throat. All of this is delirium. [...] Our effort in the production of this album will be repaid if all listeners after hearing this album, feel the emotion of having lived with all the rhythms, arts, beauties, and splendour of the Cape Verdeans in Holland and all over the world.”¹

This quote is taken and translated from the liner notes of the album *Caboverdianos na Holanda*, the very first Cape Verdean vinyl album which was recorded in the spring of 1965 in Rotterdam, of which I included the photo of the back cover on this thesis’ cover.² The album was an initiative by two childhood friends and fellow seafarers from the Cape Verdean island of São Vicente who had settled in Rotterdam: Frank Cavaquim (far left in the picture featured on the title page) and João Silva (far right). It was João Silva who had written the liner notes on the back cover of the album. The reason why I chose this excerpt is because it resembles the spirit of the ideological direction João Silva would take with the record label that emanated from this first musical initiative. Silva assigned a great value to music as a medium to transcend feelings and emotions, not only through lyrics and images, but also through sounds and intonations. As will be set out in this thesis, the transcendence of feelings and emotions through music is something inherent in Cape Verdean culture.

The history of the people of Cape Verde is a history of enslavement and colonial oppression and through which they developed a way to express themselves not explicitly but rather implicitly. It was also this shared history of enslavement and colonial oppression upon which the Cape Verdean independence movement would find its notion of a national cultural identity among the Cape Verdean population. The PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) was founded in Guinea-Bissau in 1956 and spearheaded the Cape Verdean independence movement.³ Under Portuguese rule the two nations we know today as Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau were the joint colony of Portuguese Guinea. The PAIGC

¹ Words by João Silva. Liner notes taken from *Caboverdianos na Holanda*, *Caboverdianos na Holanda*, Casa Silva 110.557. L, 1965, vinyl LP. Translated by Wessel Verkerk.

² *Caboverdianos Na Holanda*, *Caboverdianos Na Holanda*, Edição de Casa Silva 110.557.L, 1965, vinyl LP.

³ Richard A. Lobban Jr. and Paul Khalil Saucier. *Historical dictionary of the Republic of Cape Verde*. Vol. 104. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 174.

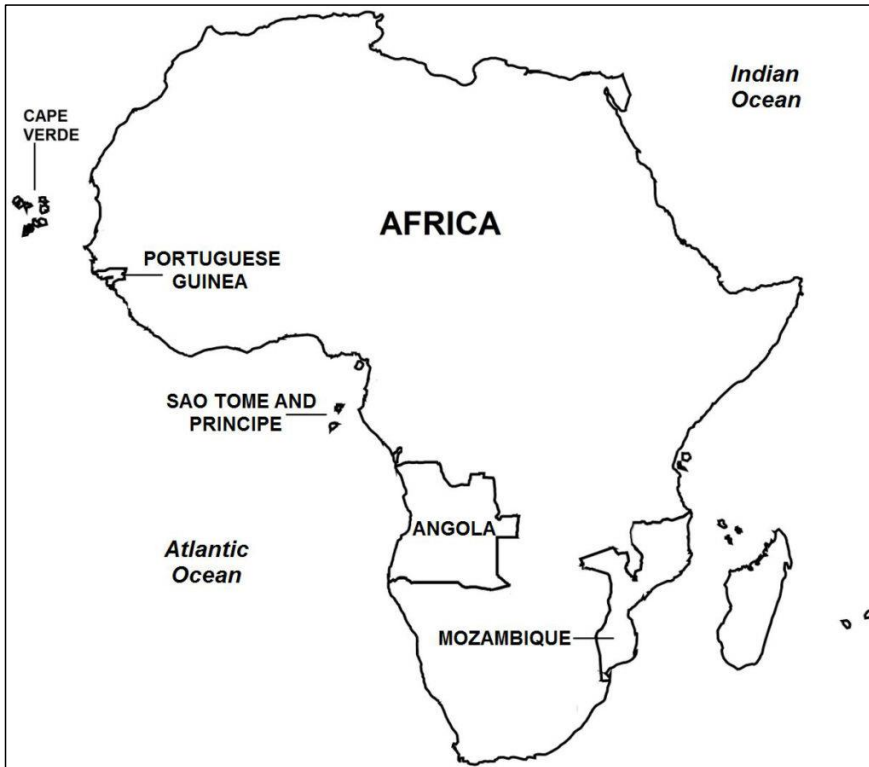


Image 1. Map Africa with the Portuguese colonies (1961-1973 Source: <https://20thcenturywars.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Portuguese-Colonial-War-1-1024x898.jpg>, consulted on 14-5-20.

demanded the joint independence of the Cape Verdean islands and the territory that was Guinea Bissau. What initially started as an ideological struggle for independence turned into an armed conflict after 1961 resulting in the Guinea-Bissau War of Independence which lasted until Guinea-Bissau's independence on April 25 1974. Cape Verde officially attained independence a year later on June 30 1975. While the jungles of Guinea-Bissau became the theatre of an armed guerrilla war between the PAIGC and the Portuguese military, the Cape Verdean archipelago remained detached from any physical conflict. That is not to say that the Cape Verdean path towards independence was one without any struggle.

Instead of an armed struggle, the PAIGC initiated a cultural struggle aimed at politicising the Cape Verdean diaspora and its resident population on the islands. Amílcar Cabral, the secretary general and brains behind the PAIGC, assigned great value to the role of culture in achieving national liberation successfully. In Cabral's opinion, Cape Verdean independence and decolonisation had to be accomplished both in the realm of formal politics

and in that of representation, subjectivity and cultural practice. The notion of a national cultural identity was a fundamental aspect fact in Cabral's political thought, on which I will elaborate further on in this research.

The Cape Verdean diaspora came to play a crucial role in the cultural struggle of Cape Verde. Cabral became aware of a certain João Silva, a Cape Verdean in Rotterdam, who had played a pivotal role in the establishment of Cape Verdean community of Rotterdam and who was not scared to speak out against the Portuguese colonial regime. In effect, Cabral sent a delegation to Rotterdam to give Silva the task to establish the first ever Cape Verdean record label: *Morabeza Records*.

1.2 Research questions

The focus of my research is on the development of *Morabeza Records* and its underlying cultural and socio-political significance for the Cape Verdean independence movement. This significance proved to be primarily related to the attempt to establish a national cultural identity among the Cape Verdean international community in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Hence, the main research question for this master thesis is: "How can the role of *Morabeza Records* in the Cape Verdean movement for independence between 1965 and 1976 be explained?".

Concerning the timeframe of my research I decided to restrict myself to the period in which the label *Morabeza Records* was active, since it is the label's discography that serves as my main primary source. From the first album *Caboverdianos na Holanda* published under the *Casa Silva* moniker in 1965 till the last album under the supervision of João Silva in 1976, the label had actively recorded and distributed music over a span of eleven years. To add, as the label allegedly functioned as a beacon of cultural and socio-political emancipation for the Cape Verdean independence movement, I am primarily interested into how it performed this function during the years of the Guinea-Bissau War of Independence when the Cape Verdean independence movement was active.

In order to formulate a comprehensive and correct answer to my main research question, I laid out some sub-questions which are as follows:

1. What was the socio-political context in which the Cape Verdean independence movement came about?
 - What kind of colony was Cape Verde within the Portuguese colonial empire?
 - When and how did Cape Verdean resistance against Portuguese colonialism emerge?

- What were the main beliefs of Cabral and the PAIGC concerning national liberation and what role did culture play in this?
 - What was the role of the Cape Verdean diaspora in the struggle for Cape Verdean independence?
2. How and why was *Morabeza Records* established in Rotterdam?
- How was the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam established during the 1950's and 1960's?
 - Did Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam enjoy more political freedom than their fellow countrymen in Cape Verde? And if so, to what extent?
 - How did the Cape Verdean independence movement attain a foothold in Rotterdam? And what form did it take?
 - How did *Morabeza Records* come into existence and what were its initial aims?
3. In what ways can the relation between *Morabeza Records* and the Cape Verdean independence movement be traced back through the analysis of the label's music?
- What kind of music was recorded on the label with regards to style, language use and subject matter?
 - How was the sense of a national cultural identity among Cape Verdeans advocated through their music of *Morabeza Records*?
 - Are there any responses, explicit and/or implicit, to be traced back in the music on the developments of the armed conflict in Guinea-Bissau?
 - Apart from the music itself, is there a link to be found between the beliefs of the independence movement and the imagery or liner notes of the record sleeves? If so, how was this facilitated?

These three main sub questions will serve as the bases for chapters two to four of this thesis.

1.3 Theoretical concepts

There are several key concepts involved in my thesis that need some more explanation as to the way to interpret them. Each of these concepts are pertinent to my research and will help me uncover ambiguities that might otherwise arise as to how they relate to my research topic of the Cape Verdean independence movement and *Morabeza Records* in particular.

1.3.1 Diaspora

Concerning the definition of diaspora in my thesis I will take sociologist Robin Cohen's *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* as a starting point.⁴ Traditionally the term diaspora has strong biblical support with regard to Jewish history.⁵ The Jews considered their dispersion as arising from a catastrophic event that had traumatized the Jewish community as a whole (the destruction of the second Temple), thereby creating the central historical experience of being a victim at the hands of an oppressor. Hence the concept of diaspora grew out of this.⁶ Over time the application of the word diaspora grew beyond the Jewish community and extended to any nameable population category that is to some extent dispersed over space.⁷ The problem with this tolerant approach of incorporating more and more groups under the definition of diaspora is that the term will eventually be stretched to become an all-encompassing container term, therefore losing its self-contained meaning and significance.⁸ Sociologist Rogers Brubaker concludes that paradoxically, this universalisation of diaspora eventually means the disappearance of diaspora.⁹

To counter this possible disappearance, Cohen comes up with his own definition of a diaspora. For this he found a way to delineate a diaspora, formulated through the use of four tools of social science, including: Emit/etic relationship; the passage of time; a list of common features; and the use of Weberian 'ideal types'.¹⁰

With the emic/etic relationship Cohen refers to the two ways of field research within anthropologic studies, in which 'emic' is the viewpoint from within a social group and 'etic' the viewpoint from an outsider's perspective. When applied to the term diaspora, a group might claim to be a diaspora (emic) but social structures, historical experiences, prior conceptual understandings, and the opinions of other social actors determine whether that group can be regarded to be a diaspora (etic).¹¹

The passage of time refers to the convenient wisdom of hindsight, in other words time should pass before one can decide on whether a community simply migrated or can be considered a diaspora.¹²

⁴ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).

⁵ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 159.

⁶ *Ibid*, 1.

⁷ Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Diaspora, Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 3.

⁸ Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," 3.

⁹ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁰ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 15-16.

¹¹ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 15-16.

¹² *Ibid*, 16.

The list of common features that diasporas consists of are as follows, as stated by Cohen:

1. dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically;
2. alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit; of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
3. a collective memory and myth about the homeland;
4. an idealisation of the supposed ancestral home;
5. a return movement or at least a continuing connection;
6. a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time;
7. a troubled relationship with host societies;
8. a sense of co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries; and
9. the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries.¹³

Cohen links the nine common features to Wittgenstein's analogy of a rope, with each feature being a fibre of the same rope. He explains that diasporas can be compared along the length of each fibre, keeping in mind that each fibre adds to the strength of a diasporic 'rope'.¹⁴ In other words, the stronger presence of each fibre, the stronger the diaspora. For the fourth tool of ideal types Cohen uses five different qualifying adjectives: Victim, labour, imperial, trade and deterritorialisation.¹⁵

In turn, sociologist Rogers Brubaker comes with a more limited criterion for diaspora, consisting of three main elements that remain widely understood to be constitutive of diaspora, namely: Dispersion, homeland orientation and boundary maintenance.¹⁶ For the sake of overview and clear understanding concerning the definition of diaspora, I wish to stick to these three criteria listed by Brubaker, as I believe they rightfully bundle the nine features of Cohen which in turn gives a more organized and better understanding of what diaspora means, without losing its discriminating power.

¹³ Ibid, 161-162.

¹⁴ Ibid, 162.

¹⁵ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 16.

¹⁶ Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," 5.

As came to the fore above, dispersion in diaspora is the most widely accepted criterion. In the case of the Cape Verdean diaspora I address in my research, it concerns the dispersion among the Cape Verdean resident population that happened in the form of immigration, from the times of enslavement until nowadays.

Brubaker's second constitutive criterion is the orientation to a real or imagined 'homeland' as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty. In addition, I would like to highlight the point stressed in Palmer's "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora," that regardless of their location, members of a diaspora share an emotional attachment to their shared motherland, are conscious of their dispersal and, if applicable, their oppression and alienation in the countries in which they live.¹⁷ In many respects, diasporas are not actual but imaginary and symbolic communities and political constructs.¹⁸ This falls in line with the concept of imagined communities, first coined by political scientist Benedict Anderson.¹⁹

The third and last criterion as formulated by Brubaker is boundary maintenance. This involves the preservation of a distinctive identity vis-à-vis a host society. I believe what is fundamental in this last criterion is, as Khalid Koser sets out in *New African Diasporas*, that diaspora is a way of being 'other' among the established.²⁰ Rather than seeking full assimilation within the host society as a goal, the desire to keep alive sense of otherness in a world that seeks homogeneity is at the basis of a diaspora.²¹

These three criteria will come to the fore in my research in relation to the Cape Verdean diaspora. First, Cape Verde has a rich history of dispersion and migration, from its founding as a Portuguese slave colony until the twentieth century in which multiple migration waves are to be detected on which I will come back in the second chapter of this thesis. Second, homeland orientation is of significant importance in the case of my research as *Morabeza Records* was initiated by Amílcar Cabral in order to establish a sense of consciousness of a Cape Verdean homeland, constructed through representation, subjectivity and cultural practice. In other words, through the distribution and consumption of Cape Verdean music, not only the diaspora but also the Cape Verdean resident population was reminded of its alleged Cape Verdean roots. Third, boundary maintenance is something that was already addressed in this thesis' opening quote by Silva. The recording of Cape Verdean music was not only an emotional outlet but also

¹⁷ Colin A. Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora," *The Journal of Negro History* 85, no. 1-2 (2000): 29.

¹⁸ Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora," 29.

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso books, 1983).

²⁰ Khalid Koser, ed. *New African Diasporas* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), x.

²¹ Koser, ed. *New African Diasporas* x.

a way of showing a distinctive Cape Verdean identity not only in contrast with the Portuguese society but with any other society in general. In the case of my research, I will show how this boundary maintenance was further developed along *Morabeza Records*' existence in its musical manifestations. Furthermore, I will show how Cabral made excellent use of these diasporic traits in promoting his political thought with concern to national liberation and establishing a national cultural identity.

1.3.2 Creolisation

In addition to his work on diasporas, Robin Cohen has also done extensive research into the concept of creolisation.²² When creolisation occurs “participants select particular elements from incoming or inherited cultures, endow these with meanings different from those they possessed in the original culture, and then creatively merge these to create totally new varieties that supersede the prior forms.”²³ In turn, creolisation recognizes “parent” cultures as fluid since elements of these cultures are selectively appropriated and rejected, creating new possibilities for creolized cultures that transgress and supersede “parent cultures”.²⁴ Creolisation is expressed in popular cultural practices such as food, carnivals, music and dancing, syncretic religions and Creole languages.²⁵

With regard to diaspora, creolisation tends to move in the opposite direction; whereas diaspora aims to recover a past identity in reconstituting already existing transnational links, creolisation can be considered as a disjunction of past identities in the interests of establishing a new cultural and social identity.²⁶ Apart from this tangible difference, Cohen also points to a similarity between the two concepts on a more ideological basis; namely, that both probably believe that global justice requires that people’s languages, religions, attitudes, behaviour and social conventions are respected and given space to develop but without excluding others.²⁷

Within Cape Verdean history and culture, creolisation plays a crucial role. As a matter of fact, creolisation was first embodied in the fifteenth century when Portuguese and African cultures interacted on Santiago, one of the islands of Cape Verde, as a result of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.²⁸ A communication language was developed for commanding labour

²² Robin Cohen, “Social Identities and Creolization,” in Knott & McLoughlin, *Diasporas: Concepts, Intersections, Identities* (London: Zed Books, 2010), 73.

²³ Cohen, “Social Identities,” 71.

²⁴ Cohen, “Social Identities and Creolization,” 72.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

²⁷ Cohen, “Social Identities and Creolization,” 73.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

power by the plantation owners, but also for the communication between the slaves, who often did not share one common language.²⁹ Because of this background with its connection to the slave trade, Creole languages are found on both sides of the Atlantic.

In general terms, Cape Verdean Creole (*Kriolu*) is considered to have originated from the convergence of two opposing movements.³⁰ The first toward collaboration – between coloniser and colonised, between master and slave. The second movement, in contrast, was geared toward differentiation, whether in the form of exclusion or resistance and primarily used by Cape Verdean nationalists over the course of the twentieth century. Thus from its very origins, *Kriolu* was located, paradoxically, both within and outside of the Portuguese language.³¹ This second movement will prove to be at the base of the political motives behind the music of *Morabeza Records*, which I will further discuss in chapter 3 under the subheading of the record label.

1.3.3 Cultural identity

Underlying the two earlier stated theoretical concepts is the notion of cultural identity. In the wake of developing diasporas, transcultural networks and creolisation, the urge for the pursuit and establishment of a cultural identity among communities dealing with these processes is enhanced. So how exactly can cultural identity be defined?

In his influential essay “Cultural Identity and Diaspora” sociologist Stuart Hall sets out his theory on the two ways in which the concept of cultural identity can be examined.³² On the one hand, cultural identity can be thought of in terms of one, shared culture, based on common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, transcending place, history and time.³³

On the other hand, cultural identity can be regarded as something that undergoes constant transformation, being “subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power.”³⁴ Hall furthers that perhaps instead of viewing identity as an already accomplished and anchored

²⁹ Mai Palmberg, “Expressing Cape Verde,” in *Playing with Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa*, ed. Mai Palmberg and Annette Kirkegaard (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002), 28.

³⁰ Márcia Rego, “Cape Verdean Tongues: Speaking of ‘Nation’ at Home and Abroad,” in *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Luís Batalha and Jørgen Carling (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 147

³¹ Rego, “Cape Verdean Tongues,” 147.

³² Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” *Framework: The journal of cinema and media* 36 (1989): 222-237.

³³ Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” *Framework: The journal of cinema and media* 36 (1989): 223.

³⁴ Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity,” 225.

fact, we should rather view identity as a 'production', which is never completely 'done' but always in process and constituted within representation.³⁵

Concerning cultural identities for diaspora's, Hall employs the second way of the conceptualizing cultural identity. Caribbean diasporic communities are mixtures of different presences: The African, the European, and the American.³⁶ The African presence is repressed by slavery and colonialism but undeniably present in language, religion, music, etc. In other words, Africa is the 'imagined community' to which the Caribbean peoples feel they belong but can never return to.³⁷ Whereas the African presence has always been repressed, the European presence was always outspoken through colonial rule. The European presence placed the black subject in its position of being 'the Other,' therefore it is only through the second way of conceptualizing cultural identity that we can properly understand the traumatic character of 'the colonial experience.'³⁸ Although the European presence is about exclusion, imposition and expropriation it is not something external but rather a constitutive element of the diasporic identity; the African presence gains its position through the European presence.³⁹ Lastly, the American presence is the stage where different cultures collided, therefore it can be considered the beginning of diaspora, of diversity, of hybridity and difference.⁴⁰ In effect, the diasporic cultural identity is a mixture of these three presences and is defined by the recognition of heterogeneity, diversity and hybridity.⁴¹ Hall concludes that "diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference."

In turn, Amílcar Cabral's interpretation on identity in general seems to fit perfectly within Stuart Hall's cultural identity with regards to diaspora; Cabral sees identity as being "always arbitrary and circumstantial", never constant.⁴² Cabral further elaborates on this as he states that the identity of an individual or of a particular group of people is a bio-sociological factor outside the will of that individual or group, which is only meaningful when expressed in relation with other individuals or other groups.⁴³ However, in the case of the cultural identity of the Cape

³⁵ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 222.

³⁶ Ibid, 230.

³⁷ Hall, "Cultural Identity," 231-232.

³⁸ Ibid, 225.

³⁹ Ibid, 233.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 235.

⁴¹ Ibid, 235.

⁴² Amílcar Cabral, "Identity and Dignity in the National Liberation Struggle", *Africa Today* 19, no. 4 (1972): 44.

⁴³ Cabral, "Identity and Dignity," 44.

Verdean diaspora, the American presence is omitted, as the African and European cultures already collided and creolized on the Cape Verdean archipelago, and not in the Americas.

1.4 Literature review

1.1.1 Introduction

Cape Verde comprises of a vast diaspora and its culture is the product of centuries of creolisation. This, as I will show, comes to the fore in some of the secondary literature and has proved to cause confusions and contradictions in Cape Verde's search for a national identity during its struggle for independence and post-colonial years. For what can be considered to be truly Cape Verdean when its history is marked by the constant hybridisation of peoples and cultures?

1.1.2 Secondary sources

In the article "Cape Verdean Tongues", cultural anthropologist Márcia Rego traces the history of metalinguistic discourses surrounding Portuguese and *Kriolu* to show how those discourses create Cape Verdean notions of 'nation' and 'national identity', both within the country and the diaspora. Rego states that the search for a Cape Verdean national identity has always been one full of ambiguities, confusions and contradictions, gravitating around the following contrasts: Colonial subjugation vs. autonomy; Africanness vs. Europeanness; and tradition vs. modernity.⁴⁴ This shows how Rego's conception of the Cape Verdean national identity shows resemblance with Stuart Hall's notion of the cultural identity of diaspora's; there is not one size-fits-all identity but a multiplicity of cultures, as the Cape Verdean diaspora is constantly reinventing itself through mixing and creolizing influences from Africa and Europe.⁴⁵ However, in this maze of different influences and contradictions, *Kriolu* is claimed to be constant factor of being Cape Verdean or *Caboverdianidade*, while at the same time being a language that is ever changing and adaptable to new situations.⁴⁶ *Kriolu* as a signifier for the Cape Verdean people seems to fit within the country's myth of origin.⁴⁷ The myth tells of the mixed origin of the Cape Verdeans, their ambiguous relation to Africa and Europe and their transnational tendencies; while it is *Kriolu* that emanated from this and bound them together.

Kriolu as a signifier for the Cape Verdean national identity is something that is addressed in the journal article "Creole in Cape Verde" by sociologists Katherine Carter and Judy Aulette

⁴⁴ Rego, "Cape Verdean Tongues," 150.

⁴⁵ Hall, "Cultural Identity," 235.

⁴⁶ Rego, "Cape Verdean Tongues," 157-158.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 145.

as well.⁴⁸ They claim that language is a fundamental part of a people's character, and it is particularly used by ethnic groups as an identifying feature.⁴⁹ In their article, Carter and Aulette investigated the importance of *Kriolu* to Cape Verdean identity through surveys and interviews with Cape Verdean women. They conclude that through the use of *Kriolu*, Cape Verdeans preserve their shared history and local identity as being different from their colonizers.⁵⁰ While the language is looked down upon by those who celebrate their European ties and influences, it is a language that allows its speakers to hide, express and safeguard their own ideas, and it preserves their own community identity.⁵¹ I expect this to be true as well for the way in which *Morabeza Records* used *Kriolu* lyrics to preserve their Cape Verdean identity and transcend their own ideas on this Cape Verdean identity across the diaspora.

My expectation is further enhanced by Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies Kay Aoki's research "Construction of a Creole Identity in Cabo Verde."⁵² In his research, Aoki addresses the specific case the evolution of the Cape Verdean music style *morna* through the analysis of lyrics to define the importance of *creoleness* in the creation of a distinct Cape Verdean identity.⁵³ Aoki explores how the unique Cape Verdean ethnicity based on language and cultural heritage (*creoleness*) that developed in Cape Verde's history was embedded in the oppressive context of slavery and colonialism.⁵⁴ However, while this *creoleness* was formed out of oppression against the slave population of Cape Verde, it came to resemble an ideology of pride and independence of Cape Verdean distinctiveness.⁵⁵ This ideology as described in Aoki's article resembles the second movement of creolisation as I set out in 'Theoretical concepts'. In turn, *morna* became the music style through which the Cape Verdean alleviated the hardships of life, through which migrants expressed their homesickness (*sodade*) to their distant homeland, and through which Cape Verdean sentiments were explored through its use of *Kriolu* instead of Portuguese.⁵⁶ For my research, it would be interesting then to research to which extent the Cape Verdean creolised history was embodied in the *morna's* that were recorded on *Morabeza Records*.

⁴⁸ Katherine Carter & Judy Aulette, "Creole in Cape Verde: language, identity and power," *Ethnography* 10, no. 2 (2009): 213-236.

⁴⁹ Carter & Aulette, "Creole in Cape Verde," 214.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 232-233.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 232-233.

⁵² Kay Aoki, "Construction of a Creole Identity in Cabo Verde: Insights from 'Morna', a Traditional Form of Music," *Inter Faculty* 7 (2016): 155-172.

⁵³ Aoki, "Construction of a Creole Identity," 155.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 157-158.

The expression of *Caboverdianidade* through Cape Verdean music is also explored by political scientist Mai Palmberg in “Expressing Cape Verde”.⁵⁷ Palmberg delves into the racial, class, and gender spectrums that are tied to the different musical genres and shows how the music of Cape Verde is inherently linked to the country’s history of race hierarchy and slavery. Again, the importance of *Kriolu* within Cape Verdean music is also addressed as the language that was publicly celebrated through the music.⁵⁸ It was also through the composition of *morna*’s that *Kriolu* in Cape Verde was first recorded and developed as a written language.⁵⁹ Interestingly Palmberg also applies Stuart Hall’s two conceptions on cultural identity. She argues that the cultural identity of Cape Verde resembles the diasporic identity that is constantly changing and evolving over time. To add, she claims that Cape Verde is very much a homogeneous society with *Kriolu* as the identity glue.⁶⁰ In turn, to call Cape Verde a heterogeneous society would show how difficult it is for the Western mind to leave behind the notion of race as a defining ingredient in the notion of identity.⁶¹ She concludes that through the use of *Kriolu* lyrics, the music of *morna*, *coladeira*, and later *funaná* function as icons in the construction and maintenance of an all-Cape Verdean identity.⁶²

The interrelationship between Cape Verdean music and *Kriolu* is extensively explored further in social anthropologist’s Carla Martin’s “Music: An Exception to Creole Exceptionalism?”.⁶³ In her research, Martin sets out how Cape Verdean music and *Kriolu* came to sustain each other over the course of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century as they were both Cape Verdean cultures practices that were forbidden by the Portuguese. She further argues that the popular use of *Kriolu* lyrics in music facilitated the development of the *Kriolu* language in poetry and further literary works.⁶⁴ This can be explained as early Cape Verdean intellectuals in the 1920’s and 1930’s often engaged in both the study and composition of lyrics and music, blurring the lines of the oral and written hierarchy of the *Kriolu* language.⁶⁵ *Kriolu* also became the language best to express the complexity and variety of the Cape Verdean people as it was inherently linked to its history of slavery, colonialism and creolisation. Taking into account the dense interrelationship between *Kriolu* and music, the *Kriolu* lyrics in music

⁵⁷ Palmberg, “Expressing Cape Verde,”

⁵⁸ Ibid, 129.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 128.

⁶⁰ Palmberg, “Expressing Cape Verde,” 129.

⁶¹ Ibid, 129.

⁶² Ibid, 130.

⁶³ Carla Martin, “Music: an exception to Creole exceptionalism? Cape Verdean national identity and creativity post-independence,” *Social Dynamics* 42, no. 1 (2016), 46-68.

⁶⁴ Martin, “Music,” 47.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 47.

came to be seen as one of the truest expressions of *Caboverdianidade*.⁶⁶ The Cape Verdean creole culture was also actively promoted by the PAIGC through emphasizing musical, dance and artistic productions. Martin states how the Cape Verdean diaspora, with considerably larger resources and freedom of speech which was granted to Cape Verdeans resident population, caused the development of language interacting with music.⁶⁷ However, for my research I will research whether the Cape Verdean diaspora enjoyed the freedoms as widely as is implied by Martin.

The promotion of Cape Verdean culture by the PAIGC is also the focus of the research done by anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Rui Cidra in “Cabral, Popular Music and the Debate on Cape Verdean Creoleness.”⁶⁸ However, in the case of Cidra’s research, the main point is not so much the promotion of Cape Verdean culture during the struggle for independence, but rather how this promotion was interpreted by musicians in post-independent Cape Verde. In particular, Cidra addresses Amílcar Cabral’s political thought with regard to culture and its impact on the postcolonial experience of Cape Verdean musicians.⁶⁹ After Cape Verdean independence in 1975, a renewed recognition and appreciation of the previously forbidden musical styles of *funaná*, *tabanka* and *batuque* emerged among Cape Verdean musicians. Through these musical styles, the musicians voiced their sense of belonging to the Cape Verdean nation and made the historical experience of a creolised blackness audible which was previously prohibited by the Portuguese.⁷⁰ Cabral, who had been assassinated in 1973 (two years before Cape Verdean independence) talked about “returning to the source” and the need for a “re-Africanisation”.⁷¹ These concepts in turn set in motion the popularisation of the more African music styles of *funaná*, *tabanka* and *batuque* which inspired young musicians to critique colonial rule and ‘return to history’.⁷² Cidra admits the Cape Verdean nationalist class anchored its country’s cultural sovereignty to *morna* and *coladeira* inspired by Cabral’s understanding of ‘national liberation as a cultural act’ during the struggle for independence.⁷³ However, while he addresses the explicit nationalist expressions that were incorporated into the recording of these music styles, I believe he overlooks the implicit messages that were conveyed in critique of the

⁶⁶ Ibid, 64.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 52.

⁶⁸ Rui Cidra, “Cabral, popular music and the debate on Cape Verdean creoleness,” *Postcolonial Studies* 21, no. 4 (2018): 433-451.

⁶⁹ Cidra, “Cabral,” 434.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 434.

⁷¹ Ibid, 434.

⁷² Ibid, 441.

⁷³ Ibid, 441.

colonial system. I would like to investigate how critique against Portugal was already conveyed rather implicitly through the use of metaphorical language and hidden messages in the music of *Morabeza Records*. Nevertheless, Cidra's research does give an interesting insight into how different styles of popular Cape Verdean music came to represent the Cape Verdean cultural identity during different times.

The characterisation of Cape Verdean over time is further analysed by the anthropologist Timothy Sieber in "Popular music and cultural identity in the Cape Verdean post-colonial diaspora".⁷⁴ He states how popular music across the global diaspora of Cape Verde has offered a vital dialogue on issues of memory, identity, race and post-coloniality.⁷⁵ However, just as Cape Verde's national cultural identity is the subject to constant change and redefinition, so is its music. As Sieber explains, Cape Verdean music has always been a hybrid music, reflecting multiple cultural influences further accelerated through the extension of its diaspora.⁷⁶ In turn, the music always spoke to the times in which the people lived. Whereas older musical styles like *morna* and *coladeira* addressed living the rural life and embarking on ships to the America's and Europe, the lyrics of more modern genres like hip hop and *cabo-zouk* speak to what the Cape Verdean diasporic youth experiences today.⁷⁷ The notion of what is truly authentic Cape Verdean culture is contested. Sieber concludes that "as Cape Verdean culture and identity continue to change and diversify in the diaspora, debates over music thus are bound to grow even more intense in the years to come."⁷⁸ With regard to my research I will focus on how the *morna* and *coladeira* songs of *Morabeza Records* represented the times and if there are any links to be made with the Cape Verdean independence movement through an analysis of those *morna*'s and *coladeira*'s.

In addition to the scholarly articles on Cape Verde, I also studied secondary literature that deals with the broader perspective on music, diaspora and migration. Two articles in particular turned out to be relevant for my research.

First, is the journal article "African Echoes, Modern Fusions" by historian Barbara Bush in which she explores the role of concepts as music, identity and resistance in African diasporas.⁷⁹ While Bush focusses on the development of reggae among the African-Jamaican diaspora in

⁷⁴ Timothy Sieber, "Popular music and cultural identity in the Cape Verdean post-colonial diaspora," *Etnográfica* 9, no. 1 (May, 2005): 123-148

⁷⁵ Sieber, "Popular Music," 123.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 127.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 145.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 146.

⁷⁹ Barbara Bush, "African Echoes, Modern Fusion: Caribbean Music, Identity and Resistance in the African Diaspora," *Music Reference Services Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (2006): 17-35.

Britain since the 1960's, she makes some insightful statements on the wider historical and cultural context of conflict and convergence between African and European cultures in the first part of her article.⁸⁰ Bush argues that music and dance are a central facet of African diaspora culture and are subject to creative fusions from different parts of Africa and between African and European traditions.⁸¹ In turn, these creative fusions were the product of the histories of slavery and colonialism. Simultaneously, music and dance are "an arena of contestation and conflict within racialized power structures."⁸² The technology might change over time but the message of oppression and calls for freedom in the music remain.⁸³ The message of oppression became more significant as drumming among the enslaved peoples was banned in the U.S. and Caribbean in times of slavery.⁸⁴ In general, colonizers considered the music that emanated from the African diasporas not only to be a threatening reminder of the unknowable "otherness" of the African enslaved peoples but also as a potent for rebellion. The practice of collective drumming asserted black identities, expressed protest and forged solidarity in oppressive conditions where other forms of protests were repressed.⁸⁵ This might partly explain why the practice of more African-orientated music styles such as *funaná*, *tabanka* and *batuque* were prohibited on the Cape Verdean islands and *morna* and *coladeira* were not. Furthermore, Bush points out how resistance in the African diasporas was also expressed in other ways. The example is given of the contemporary blues artist Corey Harris who suggests that the preoccupation with "my woman done me wrong" reflected disguised criticism of white oppressions that could not be voiced explicitly.⁸⁶ Concerning my research, I will examine if the artists on *Morabeza Records* applied the same kind of implicit protest against Portuguese colonialism.

The second article with a broader perspective on music, diaspora and migration is "Introduction: Music and Migration" by ethnomusicologist John Baily and geographer Michael Collyer.⁸⁷ While the article serves as an introduction to the journal of *Ethnic and Migration Studies*, it sets out an interesting typology for considering the relationship between music and migration.⁸⁸ Baily and Collyer argue that "various cultural productions have been used to

⁸⁰ Bush, "African Echoes," 22.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁷ John Baily & Michael Collyer, "Introduction: Music and Migration," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 2 (2006): 167-182.

⁸⁸ Baily & Collyer, "Introduction," 167.

provide greater depth to our understanding of the way migrants view their own migration, their host society and the place they have left, as well as how they are viewed by the host society.”⁸⁹ Since the late 1990’s, migration researchers have turned to the cultural productions such as film, music and dance. According to Baily and Collyer these productions are particularly interesting since they not only reflect but also inform migrants’ attitudes in a way other types of production such as food do not.⁹⁰ Studying lyrics can shed light upon processes of transnational cultural production and reveal individual perspectives on migration. However, music is more than lyrics alone, as music has the power to evoke memories and capture emotions separate from the lyrical content that we can all identify with, migrants and non-migrants alike.⁹¹ This is reminiscent of this thesis’ opening quote by Silva; the music itself expresses what is not written or voiced out loud. Baily and Collyer also point out how music can travel independently of migrants and respond to other factors in a broader commercial and cultural environment.⁹² It would be interesting to find for my research if a transnational product like the music on a LP can attain a different meaning for different audiences.

Further elaborating on the relationship between music and identity among migrant communities, Baily and Collyer also point out that music can be used to establish and maintain a group’s identity among the group itself and to the outside.⁹³ In addition, Baily and Collyer address the ethnomusicological strands of thinking of social cohesive and therapeutic functions of music among migrant communities. Concerning my own research, I will study to which extent the music from *Morabeza Records* was aimed to meet these two functions and to which extent the music was used to establish and maintain the Cape Verdean identity among the Cape Verdeans themselves and to the outside.

1.2 Primary sources

Since the focus of my research is on the discography of *Morabeza Records* it is also the main primary source for this thesis. The total discography comprises of about 57 records, holding an estimated 680 songs, recorded by a dozen different artists, all recorded between 1965 and 1976. Below a table is found to give an overview on the albums that were recorded, including the

⁸⁹ Ibid, 167.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 167 & 168.

⁹¹ Ibid, 168.

⁹² Ibid, 168.

⁹³ Ibid, 175.

names of the concerning artists, the number of songs on each album and the year/exact date of release.⁹⁴

#	Artist	Album title	# of songs	Date
1	Caboverdianos na Holanda	<i>Caboverdianos na Holanda</i>	12	26-04-1965
2	Cézaria Evora	<i>Mornas de Cabo-Verde</i>	4	1965
3	Bana, Luís Morais & Os Verdianos	<i>Nha Terra Cabo Verde</i>	10	18-07-1966
4	Bana & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Mar di Furna</i>	4	1966
5	Bana & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Trá-Trá-Trá</i>	4	1966
6	Bana & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Pensamento e Segredo</i>	10	23-02-1967
7	Humbertona	<i>Morna Ca So Dor</i>	8	1967
8	Luís Morais	<i>Boas Festas</i>	12	1967
9	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Regresso de Voz de Cabo Verde</i>	10	1967
10	Djosinha & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Partida</i>	10	20-01-1968
11	Morgadinho	<i>Solo de Morgadinho é Luís Morais</i>	4	22-01-1968
12	Tázinho	<i>Lana</i>	4	16-10-1968
13	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Instrumental</i>	12	16-10-1968
14	Tázinho	<i>Hora di Bai</i>	12	1968
15	Luís Morais & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Meché</i>	12	14-02-1969
16	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Cumbia Ma</i>	4	27-02-1969
17	Tázinho	<i>Dia Grande</i>	10	20-08-1969
18	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Agora é Abol</i>	4	20-08-1969
19	Luís Morais & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Sensational Luís Morais</i>	12	24-10-1969
20	Chico Serra & Humbertona	<i>Chico Serra e Humbertona</i>	12	12-12-1969
21	Tázinho	<i>Sucessos Tazinho</i>	12	1969
22	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Nova Coladera</i>	4	1969
23	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Ilha de Fogo</i>		01-02-1970 28-02-1970
24	Humbertona, Waldemar & Marcelo	<i>Humbertona-Waldemar-Marcelo</i>	12	1970
25	Luís Morais	<i>Romançe do Nosso Amor</i>	12	01-12-1971 31-12-1971
26	Luís Morais	<i>Mona Linda</i>	12	16-12-1971
27	Bonga	<i>Bonga '72</i>	10	23-05-1972
28	Djosinha	<i>Corveta</i>	10	01-06-1972
29	Djosinha	<i>Se Meu Coração Falasse</i>	10	19-06-1972
30	Djosinha	<i>Perdao</i>	10	26-06-1972
31	Luís Morais	<i>Flores Negras</i>	4	04-10-1972
32	Luís Morais	<i>Adorável</i>	10	1972
33	Djosinha & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Bonita</i>	12	1972
34	Luís Morais	<i>Saxo-Show</i>	10	30-07-1973
35	Mário Pop et Les Flammes	<i>Mário Pop et Les Flammes</i>	10	01-08-1973
36	Humbertona & Piuna	<i>Dispidida</i>	12	02-11-1973
37	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Mornas Originais</i>	16	01-12-1973 31-12-1973
38	Humbertona & Toi	<i>Sodade</i>	7	1973
39	Luís Morais	<i>Sacramento</i>	10	19-08-1973 18-04-1974

⁹⁴ In the case of some of the albums, the exact date was not listed in the Rotterdam City Archives' database. In those cases only the year was known.

40	Mário Pop et Les Flammes	<i>Soyez Les Bienvenus</i>	12	12-01-1974
41	Mário Pop et Les Flammes	<i>The Great Show</i>	6	11-04-1974 10-08-1974
42	Luís Morais	<i>Luís Morais em La Bonanza</i>	12	09-08-1974
43	Various Artists	<i>Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesta e Luta</i>	17	1974
44	Bonga	<i>Angola 74</i>	10	1974
45	Mário Pop et Les Flammes	<i>Happy Holidays</i>	12	19-02-1975
46	Luís Morais	<i>La Violenta</i>	10	25-02-1975
47	Mário Pop et Les Flammes	<i>Brothers</i>	12	22-05-1975
48	Frank Mimita	<i>Hora Já Tchegá</i>	12	18-06-1975
49	Luís Morais	<i>Welcome Luís Morais</i>	10	21-11-1975
50	Bonga	<i>Angola 76</i>	10	27-11-1975
51	Bonga	<i>Raizes</i>	10	1975
52	Jay 'C' Denson	<i>Morna Nobo</i>	10	21-04-1976
53	Luís Morais	<i>Noche de Ronda</i>	10	1976
54	Bana & Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Merecimento de Mãi</i>	4	Unknown
55	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Frá Broque / Teus Lindos Olhos</i>	2	Unknown
56	Voz de Cabo Verde	<i>Ragóce D'Manhe</i>	4	Unknown
57	Mario Pope	<i>You Are Looking Good / Yesterday</i>	2	Unknown

Apart from the music that is found on these albums, I also researched the matching record sleeves. While I obtained access to the music of 57 albums, the number of record sleeves that were available for research amounted to 44. Although the overall focus of my thesis is on *Morabeza Records*, the discography will primarily come back in chapter four (Analysis) of this thesis.

In addition, I conducted a research into newspaper articles from a wide range of Dutch newspapers: *De Volkskrant*, *Trouw*, *Het Vrije Volk : democratisch-socialistisch dagblad*, *Algemeen Dagblad*, and *NRC Handelsblad*. The articles I found dealt primarily with the developing colonial war in Guinea-Bissau, the coming of Cape Verdean migrants to Rotterdam and their dealings with the Dutch legal system and the Portuguese secret police. The keywords I used to find the articles were: 'Joao Silva', 'Cabral', 'Kaaoverdianen', 'Kaaoverdiaanse', and 'Kaaoverdie'. The analysed newspaper articles will primarily come back in chapter two on the Cape Verdean diaspora in Rotterdam.

Furthermore, for chapter two I also analysed the nineteenth edition of *Nôs Vida*. *Nôs Vida* was a semi-emancipatory bimonthly paper, established and read among the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam, from the late 1960's till the late 1970's. For this thesis, I managed to gain digital access to the nineteenth edition of the paper from 1972 through the Rotterdam City Archives.

Also, I conducted interviews with Carlos Gonçalves, the current curator of *Morabeza Records*, and Jorge Lizardo Oliveira, a musician and expert on Cape Verdean music and history. Both have nephews of *Morabeza Records* founder João Silva. They primarily helped me uncover some of the stories behind the record label and its artists for chapter three and four of this chapter.

Another supplementary primary source were the lyrics to the songs penned by João Silva. Through my contact with Carlos Gonçalves, I got into indirect contact with Silva himself, who sent me the original Kriolu lyrics to the songs written by him. In addition, I also obtained the official declaration of Cabral, proclaiming Silva's status as representative of the PAIGC in Western-Europe from 1972 (included in chapter three).

1.3 Research method

My research comprised of four different methods. First, there is an analysis of the imagery, titles and liner notes that are found on the record sleeves. Second, I conducted a close reading of song lyrics, tracking down the implicit political comments and hidden meanings. Third, I did a research into the newspaper articles of the earlier mentioned Dutch newspapers through the online newspaper database Delpher. Fourth, I conducted interviews to gain an insider view of the music, artists and motives behind *Morabeza Records*. These interviews also served to check whether some of my findings from the analysis of the record sleeves and song lyrics were indeed correct.

For the analysis of the record sleeves and the song lyrics, I decided to scan through all of the music that was made available at the Rotterdam City Archives. Due to the current Covid-19 situation I was not able to visit the Archives for research. In turn, I managed to gain full digital access to *Morabeza Records*' discography and the scanned record sleeves through a request to the Archives.

For the record sleeve analysis, I decided to include all the sleeves that had been scanned by the Rotterdam City Archives, comprising of 44 in total (note that this is less than the number of albums I got the digital audio files from). To not make the section on this particular analysis too big, I decided to discuss some general observations on the record sleeves in total numbers. For example, this pertains to the total amount of record sleeves that featured images of the Cape Verdean islands or coasts, or the total amount of sleeves of which the title represents a feeling or expression that can be linked to particular developments to the armed struggle in Guinea-

Bissau.⁹⁵ From one of the interviews I conducted with Carlos Gonçalves I found that João Silva had the final say on all of *Morabeza Records*' output, and that therefore there is some political intent to be found behind every image, title or liner note found on the albums released.⁹⁶ With this in mind I decided to make a selection of eight albums that I analysed in-depth to complement the general findings of my research into *Morabeza Records*' discography.

Since the discography of *Morabeza Records* comprises of a vast collection of music I had to devise a plan in order to tackle the abundance of songs and album covers that were available for me to research. I decided to look for words that expressed certain feelings of pride, longing (*sodade*), sorrow, anger, or any emotion that could be linked to the struggle for national liberation and a Cape Verdean cultural identity. Also, I found that on almost all the record sleeves the writing credits for the songs were listed. In turn, I conducted an investigation into who the composers were and whether they had any affiliations with the Cape Verdean independence movement. That way, the chance for the song in question to contain a hidden message or socio-political incentive was higher and therefore more relevant for my research. For example, some of the songs released on *Morabeza Records* were penned by João Silva. As he was the brains behind the label, I expected his songs to contain particular hidden messages with regards to the struggle for independence. Through my contact with Carlos Gonçalves, I managed to get my hands on the lyrics of thirteen songs that were penned by Silva himself. I made the choice to include two of these songs into my in-depth analysis in chapter four.

In my research of the music's lyrics I was limited as my Portuguese is not that good that I can thoroughly understand *Kriolu*, even though there is some resemblance between the two languages. However, both Carlos Gonçalves and Jorge Lizardo Olivieira helped me translate the lyrics I chose to analyse.

As I was only able to gain access to one issue of *Nôs Vida*, it wasn't possible for me to observe a development or trend in how *Nôs Vida* was formalized. The texts were written in Portuguese so I managed to translate them with my own knowledge of the Portuguese language and additional help with google translate.

1.4 Innovative aspects

One of the main innovative aspects of my thesis is that it will be the first in-depth study into the discography of *Morabeza Records*. As noted earlier, multiple studies have addressed

⁹⁵ Note that the Cape Verdean islands weren't the theatre of the armed struggle. The actual fighting happened in Guinea-Bissau. In Cape Verde the PAIGC was allegedly active in a number of underground activities.

⁹⁶ Carlos Gonçalves, interview by Wessel Verkerk. Telephone conversation. April 26, 2020.

Rotterdam's importance as a political and cultural hub for the Cape Verdean community, especially with regards to its music industry and distribution.⁹⁷ However, none of these studies elaborated on the way in which the music and the initiators of *Morabeza Records* put the political and cultural motives behind the label in practice. One of the reasons why *Morabeza Records*' discography has not been part of any academic research as of yet is probably because it has only been available for research since it was made part of Rotterdam's cultural heritage in 2017 and taken up into the collection of the Rotterdam City Archives.

Furthermore, as I have access to the full discography of *Morabeza Records*, I will be able to expose a potential discourse of the music released on the label. With that I mean I will be able to notify any outstanding changes that occurred in the nature of the music or the themes discussed in the lyrics over time, parallel to the course of the Cape Verdean independence struggle. An example of a major event which had a big influence on the course of the struggle was the assassination of Amílcar Cabral in 1973, the regarded founding father of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau.⁹⁸ Fuelled by grief and resentment the independence movement intensified and achieved its goal two years after Cabral's assassination instead of giving up the fight. Interesting for me will be to investigate if a turning point is to be detected in the music of *Morabeza Records* surrounding the date of Cabral's assassination.

In turn, by focussing on the full discography of the label I will be able to do something different than other researchers have done before.⁹⁹ Instead of only analysing hand-picked songs, my thesis will comprise of an in-depth research into the label's output between 1965 and 1976.

Another thing is that the interrelationship between Cabral's political thought on national liberation and the Cape Verdean music that was made and released has not been explored in

⁹⁷ Cidra, "Cape Verdean Migration, Music Recordings and Performances," in *Transnational Archipelago Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Luís Batalha and Jørgen Carling (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 194.

Sieber, "Popular Music," 126.

JoAnne Hoffman, "Diasporic Networks, Political Change, and the Growth of Cabo-Zouk Music," in *Transnational Archipelago Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Luís Batalha and Jørgen Carling (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 205-206.

Cidra, "Cabral," 441.

⁹⁸ Luís Batalha & Jørgen Carling, "Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora," in *Transnational Archipelago Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Luís Batalha and Jørgen Carling (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 13-31.

⁹⁹ Cidra, "Cabral," 433-451.

Juliana Braz Dias, "Images of Emigration in Cape Verdean Music," in *Transnational Archipelago Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Luís Batalha and Jørgen Carling (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 173-188.

Martin, "Music," 46-68.

any study either. While the emancipatory and nationalistic functions of the Cape Verdean music from Rotterdam is briefly addressed in sociologist António da Graça's dissertation "Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces," he surprisingly only mentions one of *Morabeza Records*' artists Voz de Cabo Verde, but does not bring up the label itself or its ties to Cabral's political thought.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned earlier, Rui Cidra does address the interrelationship between Cabral's political thought and Cape Verdean but only focusses on the music that emerged in the post-independence era. In turn, my research will shed a light on Cabral's influence on the Cape Verdean music made before independence.

Furthermore, I would like to point out how *Morabeza Records* is mentioned several times in some of the scholarly articles, both directly and indirectly, but none of the articles thoroughly delves into the label's significance for the Cape Verdean independence movement and the exact way in which it exercised its cultural and socio-political motives.¹⁰¹

When put in a broader context, I intend to verify the potential of music as a medium to bring about socio-political change, evoke memories and convey emotions as mentioned by Baily and Collyer. In addition, I will also examine to which extent Bush's statements on the resistant nature of music from the African diasporas can be traced back in the music from *Morabeza Records*.¹⁰²

Lastly, I will analyse the findings of my research into *Morabeza Records*' discography and apply them to Stuart Hall's conception on the diasporic cultural identity as constantly producing and reproducing itself, and defined by diversity and hybridity. Does the music of *Morabeza Records* contain and reflect a hybrid or creole nature? Was the music a production or reproduction of an already present cultural identity of the Cape Verdean people? Is the music in itself a manifestation of a diasporic cultural identity?

¹⁰⁰ António A. da Graça, "Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces: Een case study in de Kaapverdische gemeenschap in Rotterdam," (PhD diss., University of Tilburg, 2013), 56.

¹⁰¹ *Morabeza Records* is mentioned in the following articles:

Palmberg, "Expressing Cape Verde," 130.

Rui Cidra, "Cape Verdean Migration," 194.

Rui Cidra, "Cabral," 441.

Da Graça, "Etnische zelforganisaties," 56.

¹⁰² Bush, "African Echoes," 20.

2. The socio-political context of the Cape Verdean independence movement

2.1 Introduction

In order to learn more about the Cape Verdean independence movement and the role of the Cape Verdean diaspora in it, the country's economic, political and cultural history must be understood. In turn, I will use this chapter to provide the context needed in order to understand the way in which the Cape Verdean independence movement and the Cape Verdean diaspora developed.

First, I will provide a brief history on Cape Verde's development as part of the colony of Portuguese-Guinea from its founding in the mid-fifteenth century till the turn of the twentieth century. I will particularly focus on its economic and social developments as an important hub for the Atlantic slave trade and its economic deterioration after the abolishment of slavery.

Second, I will pick up where I left off in the first part and delve into the establishment of the Estado Novo and its handling of the African territories. Cape Verde in particular attained an interesting ambiguous position within the Portuguese Empire due to its creole society.

Third, I will map out where and when the Cape Verdean independence movement found its origin and how it used its ambiguous position and its creole culture as a way to claim its distinctiveness from both Portugal and other African countries. In turn, I will explain how this distinctiveness was used by the PAIGC to justify its demand for national independence.

2.2 The colony of Portuguese-Guinea

Before the first Portuguese sailors set foot on the archipelago before the West-African coast in the mid-fifteenth century, the Cape Verdean islands had been inhabited. Due to their geographical location, the islands were constantly under the influence of the dry east winds from the Sahara. In effect, barren soil and frequent periods of drought made the islands ineffective for intensive agriculture.¹⁰³ So while the Portuguese planned to use the islands for growing sugarcane, it became an important hub for the Atlantic slave trade instead.¹⁰⁴ Slaves were taken from the African mainland to the islands to be checked, baptised and sent off to the Americas. With European settlers – primarily comprised of men – and the women from Africa that were brought as slaves a population of mixed origin was established that soon became a

¹⁰³ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, (Rotterdam: Stichting Avanço, 2006), 11.

¹⁰⁴ Henny Strooij-Sterken, "Kaaipverdianen. Hoe lang nog de 'stille migranten' van Rotterdam?," in *Vier Eeuwen Migratie: Bestemming Rotterdam*, ed. Paul T. van der Laar (Rotterdam: MondiTaal Publishing, 1998), 267.

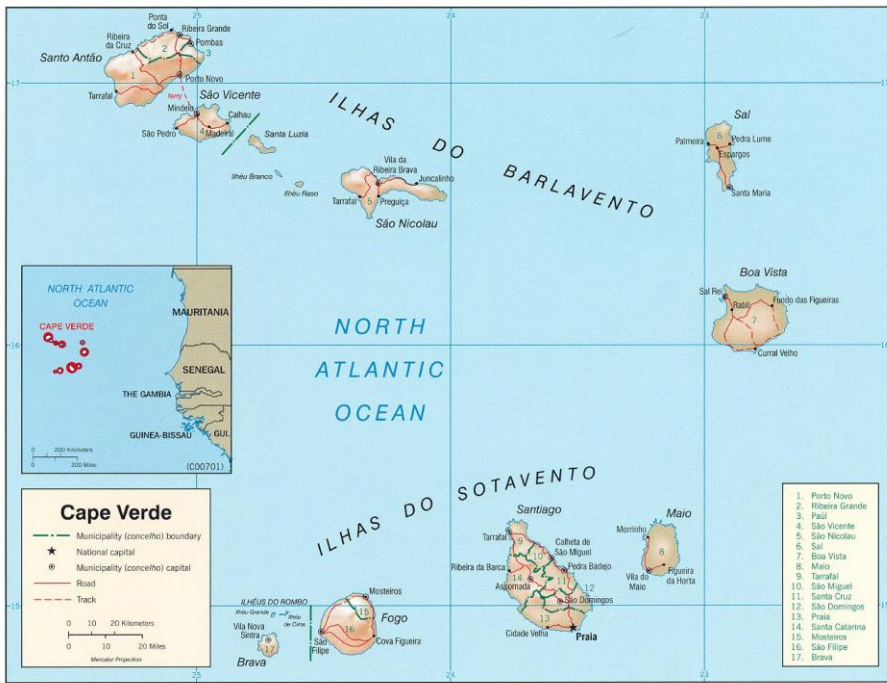


Image 2: Map of Cape Verde and the West-African coast

Source: <https://www.geographicuide.com/africa-maps/cape-verde.htm>, consulted on 20-05-20.

majority among the inhabitants.¹⁰⁵ Under Portuguese colonial rule, this population of mixed race made that Cape Verdeans were treated differently within colonial society than the indigenous inhabitants of the other African colonies of mainland Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.¹⁰⁶ The Cape Verdeans attained an ambiguous role as they functioned as intermediary traders for Portuguese and later other European traders throughout the slavery era. The rulers of the Portuguese Estado Novo later played upon this ambiguous role in their propaganda program to put up the Cape Verdean and Guinean nationalists of the independence movement against each other.

After a period of relative prosperity Cape Verde found itself in a structural crisis. The Guinean port city of Cacheu on the African mainland took over the function of Cape Verdean Ribeira Grande as the starting point of the slaves to the Americas, which resulted in a course of gradual decay; the original trade system based on slavery and agriculture disappeared and the

¹⁰⁵ Batalha & Carling, "Cape Verdean Migration," 14.

¹⁰⁶ The small island colonies of São Tomé and Príncipe felt within the same racial framework as Cape Verde since these islands were inhabited as well before Portuguese settling.

effects of the enduring droughts became tangible.¹⁰⁷ It was during this period that many slaves fled into the unattainable inlands of the islands Santiago and Maio in particular. The term *badio* came into existence and is still used today to call someone who is from Santiago's inland.¹⁰⁸ Maio and Santiago became the hotbeds for newly found slave communities trying to stay out of the hands of the Portuguese. What developed on the Cape Verdean islands was a contradictory situation in which the permission to possess slaves became unprofitable for landowners on the one side, and a growing group of ex-slaves that didn't own land and lived in poverty on the other side.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, large portions of land on the islands were left unworked and underdeveloped which in turn resulted in more casualties during periods of drought.

Although slavery in Portugal was officially abolished in 1761, slavery within the African Portuguese colonies was abolished as late as 1869. However, with slave trade declining on an international level, Portugal directed its attention more to the other African colonies such as Angola and Mozambique in which there was more room for intensive agriculture. Underdevelopment and neglect led to the establishment of a feudalist system with landowners who were completely dependent on the upbringings of small farmers that rented the land.¹¹⁰ This would largely be kept in place until Cape Verde's independence in 1975. Emigration became an important means of surviving as other sources of income apart from agriculture were absent on the islands.¹¹¹

Emigration from the archipelago was shortly facilitated with an economic revival in the mid-nineteenth century. The Portuguese authorities allowed foreign investors to have their way on the islands and warehouses for English ships were built in the ports of Mindelo (São Vicente) and Porto Novo (Santo Antão). This development led to a boost in employment possibilities in different service sectors and domestic migrants of Cape Verde were pulled to the port cities.¹¹² Numerous other foreign companies followed and in the end the British and Italians connected the islands with the outside world through telegram and telephone networks from Mindelo to Europe and South-America. From the 1930s a small maritime service economy arose as Japanese and South-Korean whaling ships called at the Cape Verdean ports. The ships had to be supplied and young men enlisted as sailors on the ships.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 18.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 19.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 19.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 19.

¹¹² Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 20.

¹¹³ Pires, 20.

What becomes clear is that emigration and seamanship became an important way to escape the hardships of life on the island. To add, it did not only become a way to save oneself but also a way to save one's relatives. For example, the first Cape Verdean migrants that came to Rotterdam were only trying to earn a decent wage to provide for their families on the islands. This will be further discussed in chapter three.

2.3 The Estado Novo and its colonial policy in Africa

The first quarter of the twentieth century was a tumultuous time for Portugal. The country was in deep economic and political crisis and between 1910 and 1926 the offices of Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and Colonial Minister each changed hands more than forty-five times.¹¹⁴ The revolution of 5 October 1910 had ended the constitutional monarchy and heralded the First Republic of Portugal. However, the dire state of the country only seemed to worsen under the First Republic. After numerous coups and governmental rearrangements, a final military coup in 1926 made an end to sixteen tumultuous years. This meant the start of the military dictatorship of the Salazar's Estado Novo, which lasted from 1933 till 1974.¹¹⁵

Already as a Minister of Finance under the military regime in the late 1920's, António de Oliveira Salazar managed to set the government to his own hand. In an admirable way he helped the country attain a balanced budget which made him indispensable in the Portuguese government and loved among the military. In turn, Salazar's power and influence grew which culminated in the alignment of a new constitution that formed the blueprint of his newly found state: The Estado Novo. This new state constituted an authoritarian corporative alternative to the liberalism of the First Republic.¹¹⁶ With the constitution, a single party (the National Union) was introduced, a secret police service (PIDE: International and State Defence Police) was invoked and state-owned corporations were established. Salazar's proclaimed political framework of democratic rights such as the right to vote and freedom of speech was a façade behind which an informal dictatorship was constructed.¹¹⁷ Portugal would be kept in Salazar's grip as he stayed in office as prime-minister till he suffered a cerebral haemorrhage in 1968 and Marcelo Caetano succeeded him. The Estado Novo eventually fell with the Carnation revolution in 1974.

¹¹⁴ Alan K. Smith, "António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy," in *The Journal of African History* 15, no. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974): 657.

¹¹⁵ Heriberto Cairo, "Portugal is not a small country": Maps and propaganda in the Salazar regime," *Geopolitics* 11, no. 3 (2006): 371.

¹¹⁶ Nicolau Andresen, "The Salazar Regime and European Integration, 1947–1972," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 14, no. 2 (2007): 197.

¹¹⁷ Andresen, "The Salazar Regime," 197.

What happened within the metropolis of the Portuguese empire also had a big impact on its periphery, particularly on its African colonies. Prior to the Estado Novo, a prominent rationale among the Portuguese was the notion of ultimate development for the colonies of Angola and Mozambique, both as sources of wealth and as achievements from which to derive a sense of national pride.¹¹⁸ Therein, Portuguese-Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe were neglected as there was less wealth and territorial pride to be gained from these colonies. Portuguese immigration to Angola and Mozambique was considered to be the key to success and the Portuguese government gently tried out a policy of decentralisation and local autonomy for the colonies.¹¹⁹

When Salazar seized power he chose to establish a restrictive system which stressed stability rather than growth and ensured that control over the African colonies would be centralised from Lisbon again. Thus, it was only with the rise to power of Salazar that Portuguese colonial policy can be said to have become static.¹²⁰ In his article “Portugal is not a Small Country”, political scientist Heriberto Cairo effectively delineates three stages into which the Estado Novo’s colonial policy can be classified.¹²¹ For the sake of overview, I will handle these periods and complement them with findings from other scholarly articles.

The first period, from 1930 till 1947, was characterised by a strong emphasis on the Portuguese metropolis as the beacon of imperial power in relation to the periphery. Lisbon gained close supervision over the colonies and the role of foreign investors was severely limited through restrictions on investments, immigration, trade and employment.¹²² This move towards centralisation was affirmed with the passing of the Colonial Act of 1930, set up by Salazar prior to the onset of his rule. Out of fear for a ‘denationalisation’ of the African colonies, the Colonial Act also enforced the use of the Portuguese language as the language of instruction throughout the colonies.¹²³ The Colonial Act also saw the instalment of a hierarchical system based on race in which the colonial subjects of the Portuguese Empire were classified into *indigenas* and *assimilados*. Whereas the status *indigena* was utilized to define the black African native populations of the colonies that embraced their African roots, the status of *assimilado* was assigned to those *indigenas* who were viewed to be more Portuguese in the eyes of the colonizer.¹²⁴ *Assimilados* enjoyed certain socio-economic and political privileges: Whereas

¹¹⁸ Smith, “António Salazar,” 654.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 654.

¹²⁰ Smith, “António Salazar,” 653.

¹²¹ Cairo, “Portugal is not a small country,” 372.

¹²² Smith, “António Salazar,” 666.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 666.

¹²⁴ Lobban Jr. & Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 26 & 27.

indigenas were denied civil rights like the right to vote, *assimilados* were entitled access to Portuguese state schooling.¹²⁵ Since most Cape Verdeans were *mestiços* (of mixed race) they were in general considered to be *assimilados*, which made them somewhat better educated than the populations of the other Portuguese African colonies such as Angola or Mozambique. However, *assimilados* never attained the same status as the white Portuguese themselves.

The second stage of the Estado Novo's colonial policy was spawned by the worldwide trend of decolonisation. This stage formally commenced with the abrogation of the Colonial Act in 1951 and a policy of integration and assimilation was further favoured.¹²⁶ Due to international anti-colonial pressure by the UN Portugal also reclassified its empire; the "empire" became the "Ultramar" ("Overseas") and the "colonies" were renamed "overseas provinces".¹²⁷ By embarking on a more integrationist approach, Portugal seemed to reclaim its old policy of assimilation and embraced the term *lusotropicalism* as a justification of its colonial rule. *Lusotropicalism* was a notion coined by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, which emphasized the mutuality and blending of African, creole, and Portuguese cultures and institutions.¹²⁸ This notion extended the sense of "the white man's burden" as it promoted the racial fusion and Christian conversion in order to produce a homogenized society.¹²⁹

Lastly, the third stage lasted from 1961 till the Estado Novo's dissolution in 1974 and can be considered to be the regime's last resort to hold its grip on the African colonies. The system of *indigenas* and *assimilados* was altogether abandoned and every inhabitant of the Portuguese Ultramar became formally a Portuguese citizen.¹³⁰ Apart from evading international pressure on decolonisation from the UN, this major integrationist turn was a reaction to the multiple nationalist insurgencies in other Portuguese colonies in Africa: Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese-Guinea (Guinea-Bissau) that had emerged.¹³¹

In the end, waging a three-front colonial war proved being too much for a country that was already dealing with major problems on a domestic level. Portugal had experienced a

¹²⁵ Ibid, 27.

¹²⁶ Cairo, "Portugal is not a small country," 372.

¹²⁷ Pedro Aires Oliveira, "Decolonization in Portuguese Africa," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History* 1, no. 25 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.): 3.

¹²⁸ Oliveira, "Decolonization of Portuguese Africa," 3.

¹²⁹ Thomas Hendriksen, "Portugal in Africa, a Noneconomic Interpretation," *African Studies Review* 16, no. 3 (December, 1973): 413.

The "white man's burden" was a term posed in Rudyard Kipling's poem *White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands* from 1899, addressing the way in which it was the USA's alleged task to colonize the Philippines to bring civilisation to the South-East Asian archipelago. After that, the term was applied to any case of colonialism in which the colonizer justified its practices on the basis of a mission-of-civilisation.

¹³⁰ Cairo, "Portugal is not a small country," 372.

¹³¹ Oliveira, "Decolonization in Portuguese Africa," 7.

substantive drain of its male population and poverty and repression was ubiquitous on a national level.¹³² Several reasons can be listed as to why Portugal was that firmly holding on its African territories, but it was considered above all to be a matter of prestige and national pride.¹³³

2.4 The ambiguous position of Cape Verde with the Portuguese colonial system

The conservation of the Portuguese African colonies being a matter prestige became particularly clear in the case of Cape Verde. As discussed earlier, the Cape Verdean archipelago was largely neglected after it had lost its status as a hub in the Atlantic slave trade and any substantial investments to lift the quality of living on the Cape Verdean islands were almost non-existent.

The intermediary role laid out for Cape Verdeans as intermediary slave traders over the course Cape Verde's history was further extended when they were dubbed *assimilados* by the colonial authorities of the Estado Novo's. Even though Cape Verdeans were still far from equal to the Portuguese colonizers, they paid less taxes than *indigenas* of other Portuguese-African colonies and were granted the right for state school education. However, it should be kept in mind that the status of *assimilado* was only given to Cape Verdeans that were of mixed race and considered to be Portuguese enough to assimilate well into Portuguese culture. The majority were peasant-like *badius* and runaway slaves who lived in the rural areas and were not able to gain the status of *assimilado* within the Portuguese system.¹³⁴

Nonetheless, Cape Verde was probably the only place in Portuguese Africa where locals were able to receive access to secondary education, which in turn allowed the emergence of a Cape Verdean middle class that attained jobs within the administrative services and colonial management.¹³⁵ This relatively wealthy class included merchants, landlords, hotel operators, bankers, high-ranking civil servants and government officials.¹³⁶ As happened in other cases where European colonial empires organised education for a local elite through state schools, an attempt was made to generate a sense of imperial consciousness amongst the "native" officials.¹³⁷ However, the allowance for an emergence of a Cape Verdean elite was rather

¹³² Ibid, 7.

Hendriksen, "Portugal in Africa," 409.

¹³³ Ibid, 409 & 414.

Other reasons include Portugal's *Lusotropical* mission or its yearning to find a distraction from its domestic problems.

¹³⁴ Lobban Jr. and Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 58.

¹³⁵ Keese, "Imperial Actors, Cape Verdean Mentality in the Portuguese Empire under the Estado Novo, 1926–1974," in *Imperial Migrations*, ed. E. Morier-Genoud et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 130.

¹³⁶ Lobban Jr. and Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 59.

¹³⁷ Keese, "Imperial Actors," 129.

remarkable as the Estado Novo simultaneously centralized its power over the colonies. To avoid any anti-colonial revolt, the schools and churches functioned in support of colonialism and prison camps were set up as institutions of repression.¹³⁸

Ideological control over the Cape Verdean islands was also made easier for the Portuguese colonizers as the archipelago was the only Portuguese African country that did not have settler colony.¹³⁹ As a result, there were no old traditional cultures the Portuguese colonizers had to subdue which made it suitable for the emergence of a creole culture. One of the main features of this creolized culture was *Kriolu*. As mentioned earlier, it was the first of its kind as a creole language emanated from slavery.¹⁴⁰ To add, the speaking of any African languages was actively discouraged so that no recognition would take place between fellow members of the same language group within the Cape Verdean slave communities.¹⁴¹

In general, *Kriolu* was downgraded and described by Portuguese clergymen as “noisy, grammarless and chaotic; as a corrupted form of ‘clean Portuguese’ and as a nuisance to the empire”.¹⁴² It was a language aimed to serve as an intermediary tool by the colonizers to establish a class of slaves inherently part of the Portuguese Empire. Yet, having found a society almost solely based on slavery, the Portuguese colonizers became heavily dependent on their slaves. A situation arose in which the slave and the Portuguese population became highly miscegenated. The dividing line between colonizer and slave slowly dissolved.¹⁴³ As a result a split formed between a formal system inscribed in Portuguese and an informal system that spoke *Kriolu*.¹⁴⁴

As *Kriolu* was confined to the informal milieu, it came to play an important part of Cape Verdean culture. Despite the prohibition of cultural expressions of *tabanka* and *batuque*, the *morna* became an important medium in maintaining the viability of *Kriolu* as the language of the people.¹⁴⁵ Important Cape Verdean poets such as Eugénio Tavares and Pedro Cardoso wrote many *morna*'s in *Kriolu* and helped inspire the emergence of the *Claridade* Movement in the 1930s. Found in 1936, the literary review *Claridade* was initiated by a group of Cape Verdean poets and intellectuals aimed to unveil the roots of the creole culture and develop original

¹³⁸ Lobban Jr. and Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 60.

¹³⁹ Keese, “Imperial Actors,” 130.

¹⁴⁰ Cohen, “Social identities and creolization,” 71.

¹⁴¹ Lobban Jr. and Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 71

¹⁴² Rego, “Cape Verdean Tongues,” 147.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 148.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 148.

¹⁴⁵ Lobban Jr. and Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 223.

regional Cape Verdean literature.¹⁴⁶ From its outset, *Claridade* was monitored by the PIDE and was subject to censorship, which may explain its careful social criticism.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it was a daring manifestation of creole pride as the Colonial Act of 1930 had instituted Portuguese to be the official language of instruction in Cape Verde.

Carrying on the literary traditions of the *Claridade* in the 1940s was the literary magazine *Certeza*. Whereas *Claridade* was mainly based on historical exploration, *Certeza* took its emancipative role further and wielded a tendency of politicisation of the Cape Verdean population. The *Certeza* writers introduced two elements into Cape Verdean consciousness that became the blueprint for the future emphasis on national liberation and national culture among the PAIGC.¹⁴⁸ The first element concerned the critical questioning of the Portuguese colonialist system and stressing the necessity for political action. The second element furthered on this by calling for a return to the source of Cape Verdean history, culture and struggle: Africa. While most Cape Verdeans at the time considered themselves to be Europeans as part of the Portuguese *Ultramar*, *Certeza* emphasized the unmistakable ancestral connection with continental African history, culture, and struggle.¹⁴⁹

The *Claridade* and *Certeza* transformed the view on the Cape Verdean creole culture. A new consciousness emerged which considered creolisation not to be a “bastard culture” at best, but rather a national culture in its own right with self-generating legitimacy, with *Kriolu* as the spearhead of this culture.¹⁵⁰ Interesting is how *Kriolu* was initially used as an intermediary tool by the Portuguese empire to obtain its colonial objectives, but later used as the language of revolution, resistance and expression of a sense of *Caboverdianidade*.

The signifier *Kriolu* constituted a problem to claims of inclusivity for the Portuguese Empire, as moves to assimilate it competed with moves to place it outside of Portuguese. As *Kriolu* threatened to occupy the space of the formal spaces where Portuguese was spoken, the colonizer’s policy turned towards outright repression of *Kriolu*.¹⁵¹ The colonial authorities instituted a strict censorship in the press during the anti-colonial war years (1961-74), and they closely controlled various forms of cultural expressions. Published literature in *Kriolu* was

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 57.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 57.

¹⁴⁸ Reiland Rabaka, *Africana critical theory: Reconstructing the black radical tradition, from WEB Du Bois and CLR James to Frantz Fanon and Amílcar Cabral* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 229-230.

¹⁴⁹ Rabaka, *Africana critical theory*, 230

¹⁵⁰ Lobban Jr. & Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 68.

¹⁵¹ Rego, “Cape Verdean Tongues,” 149.

forbidden until shortly before Cape Verde's independence in 1975. Portuguese officials also prohibited spoken *Kriolu* in government buildings.¹⁵²

2.5 Cabral, the PAIGC, and the colonial war

Ironically, while a first move towards Cape Verdean cultural consciousness and interest in African origins was claiming a foothold in Cape Verdean society, the twenty-one year old Amílcar Cabral left the islands to pursue a five-year study in agronomy at the University of Lisbon in 1945. Cabral was born in 1924 in Bafata, Guinea-Bissau to a Cape Verdean father and a Guinean mother. As Cabral's father was well-educated and considered an *assimilado*, Cabral himself enjoyed a secondary education on the island of São Vicente. It was common under well-to-do Cape Verdean people to send their children to Portugal to study so Cabral was part of a larger group of ambitious young Africans that entered the University of Lisbon.¹⁵³ Through his activities in university affairs, metropolitan politics and extracurricular activities such as leftist student associations Cabral developed his political thought and became close friends with some future prominent Luso-African activists from Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.¹⁵⁴ Although Cabral had left Cape Verde at the exact time that *Certeza* gained a foothold in Cape Verdean society, he was aware of the cultural movement that was happening and kept track of it abroad.¹⁵⁵ During his student years however, Cabral refrained from any subversive politics probably out of fear for losing his scholarship or for being harassed by the PIDE.¹⁵⁶

When Cabral finished his studies in 1950 he applied for a position in the Portuguese civil service but was denied because of his racial background.¹⁵⁷ This denial was the harsh reality of the racialized Portuguese power structure and evidence for Cabral that he would never attain the status of a European Portuguese citizen. Upset with this denial, Cabral returned to his country of birth and engaged in a two-year agricultural project travelling extensively through Guinea-Bissau between 1952 and 1954. In turn, Cabral gained a lot of detailed information on the land and its people which would prove to be a great asset in organizing and leading the PAIGC.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Carter and Aulette, "Creole in Cape Verde," 214.

¹⁵³ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 59.

¹⁵⁴ Amílcar Cabral, "The Nationalist Movements of the Portuguese Colonies" (speech, Daar Es-Salaam, 1965), Marxists, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1965/tmmpc.htm>. Accessed on 14-3-2020.

Luso-African refers to the African countries that colonies of Portugal and where Portuguese was spoken.

¹⁵⁵ Baraka, "Africana Critical Theory," 229-230.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 231.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 230.

¹⁵⁸ Lobban Jr. and Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 46.

Cabral secretly founded the PAIGC on 19 September 1956 in Guinea-Bissau together with Artistides Pereira, Fernando Fortes, Júlio Almeida, Elisée Turpin, and his half-brother Luís Cabral.¹⁵⁹ Initially the party's aim was to establish a political consciousness among the Cape Verdean and Guinean population and they focussed their attention on the urban youth. In August 1959 the PAIGC launched a nationalist strike at the Pijiguiti docks in Bissau. As a counteraction, the Portuguese soldiers reacted aggressively, killing about 50 protesters and wounding over a 100.¹⁶⁰ The Pijiguiti massacre was a major blow to the young nationalist revolutionary party and its General Secretariat moved to the neighbouring



Image 3: Map of Guinea-Bissau.

Source: <http://www.operationworld.org/country/quib/owtext.html> consulted on 20-5-20.

Guinea's capital of Conakry in September 1959. Guinea had just attained independence from the French colonialists the year before and provided a base for the African nationalists. In April 1961, the Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP) was organised by the leading Luso-African national liberation movements in Casablanca uniting the different independence movements among the Luso-African colonies of Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

After having tried to call for a peaceful end of Portuguese colonialism through open letters to the Portuguese government and pleas to the UN to condemn Portugal's colonial practices, the PAIG determined in late 1961 that a course of direct armed action would be the only realistic means to gain national liberation.¹⁶¹ In June and July 1962 the PAIGC staged a number of sabotage attacks inside Guinea-Bissau which initiated the Guinea-Bissau War for independence between the PAIGC guerrilla fighters and the Portuguese military.¹⁶² No fighting would occur on the Cape Verdean islands as there was an absence of dense jungles and transport between the islands was difficult which thwarted guerrilla hit and run tactics.

¹⁵⁹ Firoze Manji and Bill Fletcher Jr., *Claim No Easy Victories: The Legacy of Amílcar Cabral* (Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2013), 101.

¹⁶⁰ Lobban Jr. and Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 174.

¹⁶¹ Patricia Gomes, "The international relations in the politics of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde," *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 7, no. 2 (2008): 117.

¹⁶² Lobban Jr. & Saucier, *Historical Dictionary*, 176.

Over the years, heavy fighting occurred in Guinea-Bissau and slowly but surely the PAIGC managed to liberate more and more territory. New anti-aircraft guns from the Soviet Union permitted the PAIGC to open competition for the airspace over Guinea-Bissau that had formerly been the exclusive domain of Portuguese helicopter gunships.¹⁶³ In 1972, the PAIGC gained a major diplomatic triumph as it was recognized by the UN Decolonisation Committee as the only effective movement operating inside Guinea-Bissau. Soon after, Cabral announced that the PAIGC would declare independence of Guinea-Bissau, but on 20 January 1973 he was assassinated in Conakry as part of an intricate plot to break up the PAIGC and disintegrate its Guinean and Cape Verdean members.¹⁶⁴ Effective propaganda was executed on behalf of the PIDE to set up the Guineans against Cape Verdeans. Some of the kidnappers declared that the Portuguese authorities told them they were willing to grant independence to the people of Guinea-Bissau if the PAIGC was to be cancelled, all Cape Verdean members of the movement were excluded and any claims on the Cape Verdean Islands by the to be elected African government were to be negated.¹⁶⁵

Although Cabral's death came as a big blow to the Cape Verdean and Guinean nationalists, the struggle for Cape Verdean independence was intensified and Cabral became a martyr.¹⁶⁶ Guinea-Bissauan independence was declared on September 23 1973 by the PAIGC. Meanwhile, the worsening conditions in Portugal itself led to the Carnation Revolution, initiated by the military, on April 25 1974. What followed was the official Portuguese recognition of Guinea-Bissau on September 10 1974 and Cape Verdean independence on June 30 1975.

2.6 Cabral's political thought and the role of culture in the struggle for independence

While he led an armed conflict in the jungles of Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar Cabral was also a renowned theorist with a clear vision of how to attain national independence successfully. Extensive research has been done into Cabral's ideas on colonialism, international relations and class struggle, and there have been debates to which extent he was a Marxist or one of the pioneers in post-colonialist thinking.¹⁶⁷ However, for my thesis I limited myself to a brief

¹⁶³ Ibid, 178.

¹⁶⁴ Cees Gloudemans, "Militaire positie Lissabon onhoudbaar: Portugees Guinea op weg naar onafhankelijkheid," *De Volkskrant*, 20 April 1973, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010849559:mpeg21:a0178>

¹⁶⁵ Gloudemans, "Militaire positie Lissabon onhoudbaar."

¹⁶⁶ Jorge Lizardo Oliveira, interview by Wessel Verkerk, personal interview, Rotterdam, June 5 2020.

¹⁶⁷ Rabaka, *Africana critical theory*.

explanation of his political thought concerning the importance of history and cultural development in the struggle for national independence. For Cabral believed an armed conflict was needed to get the Portuguese colonizers in Africa to their knees, the fight for their own history as an independent people and a cultural identity was needed as well in order for the people of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau to distinguish themselves as a national people.

According to Cabral, it was colonialism that had deprived the African people of their own history in the first place.¹⁶⁸ When the first Portuguese explorers landed in Africa, they disrupted the history of the African people for them to follow the Portuguese progress of history. In turn, Cabral stated that by taking up arms to liberate themselves, the Africans fought to reclaim and return to their own history, by their own means and through their own sacrifices.¹⁶⁹ While it was not much what the African peoples had after centuries of colonial oppression, it were their own minds, hearts and history which the colonisers had not taken from them.¹⁷⁰ In stating this, Cabral emphasized the uniting function of the shared history of all the colonised African peoples. Particularly in the case of Cape Verde, colonialism was the only history its people had known. However, when the Estado Novo renounced its *indigena*-system and declared all Luso-African peoples to be Portuguese citizens in the 1960s, the history of the African peoples became even more overlooked.

Cabral though believed that history and cultural development were interrelated and that one could not do without the other.¹⁷¹ To sustain his argument, he conceived the relation between cultural development and history to be parallel to that of the flower and the plant.¹⁷² Like the flower is the product a plant, cultural development is the product of history. Once the historical development is halted the development of culture stops as well.¹⁷³ Consequently, a vicious cycle is created in which neither historical nor cultural development among the dominated peoples is possible. So, in order to reclaim Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau's history, its people had to reclaim its own culture as well, since the capacity for forming and fertilising a seed of historical development is found in culture.¹⁷⁴

Patrick Chabal, *Amílcar Cabral: revolutionary leadership and people's war* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

T. W. Luke, "Cabral's Marxism: An African strategy for socialist development," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 14, no. 4, (Winter 1981): 307-330.

¹⁶⁸ Cabral, "The Nationalist Movements."

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Amílcar Cabral, *Return to the Source* (New York: NYU Press, 1974), 42.

¹⁷² Cabral, *Return to the Source*, 42.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

The reclamation of one's own culture is also a manifestation of resistance in itself, since "the security of imperialist domination requires cultural oppression and endeavours to liquidate directly or indirectly the cultural fabric of the dominated people."¹⁷⁵ So, by not only fighting an armed struggle but also a cultural struggle the Cape Verdean population undermined Portuguese imperialist domination. Cabral adds, that despite the imperialist aim to suppress culture altogether it is never possible for the colonizers to achieve this without either a total genocide or complete assimilation of the colonized peoples.¹⁷⁶ In other words, according to Cabral, culture is something that is preserved by the popular masses and weathers any storm until, encouraged by a liberation struggle, it can burst again fully as a flower.¹⁷⁷ Therefore it is the task of the national liberation movement to incite a cultural renaissance.

In his discussion on the role of culture within the national liberation movement, Cabral emphasized the distinction that had to be drawn between "the situation of the popular masses who have kept their culture intact and the situation of the more or less assimilated, uprooted social groups that have been alienated from their culture or whose cultural education has quite simply been stripped of all native elements."¹⁷⁸ With the latter, Cabral primarily focusses on the Cape Verdean elite that had developed itself along the ranks of the colonial system that lived materially and intellectually in the culture of the colonizer. With the occurrence of a national liberation movement it was up to this elite to make the choice of either giving up their uprooted position or join the movement. Although Cabral only focusses on the Cape Verdean elite within the colonial system, I believe their situation of being ripped of all native elements also applies to the Cape Verdean diaspora. Nevertheless, as will come to the fore in chapter three, most of the Cape Verdeans within the diasporic community of Rotterdam had not chosen the side of the colonizer but held on to their distinct Cape Verdean creole culture.

Furthermore, Cabral and the PAIGC continued what the *Claridade* and *Certeza* movement had started, and used Cape Verde's creole history as a source of national consciousness and pride.¹⁷⁹ Cape Verde in particular was the focus of the PAIGC cultural struggle as the islands were not the scene of the armed conflict. Whereas the people in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau could be educated and made conscious of their distinct cultural identity directly, the people of Cape Verde stayed out of direct reach. Although there were some Cape Verdean

¹⁷⁵ Amílcar Cabral and Michel Vale, "The Role of Culture in the Struggle for Independence," *International Journal of Politics* 7, no. 4 (1977): 22.

¹⁷⁶ Cabral, & Vale, "The Role of Culture," 23.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 24.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 24.

¹⁷⁹ Martin, "Music: An Exception to Creole Exceptionism?," 52.

activists and deserters that had fled the archipelago and joined the guerrilla forces in Guinea-Bissau, Cabral was concerned about the lack of political consciousness among the Cape Verdean population, both on the Cape Verdean islands and among its diaspora. However, as I will explain in the next chapter, he found the idea of recorded music to bypass the geographical remoteness of the Cape Verdean archipelago.

2.7 Conclusion

In short, ever since the Portuguese occupied the Cape Verdean islands and made the archipelago into a slave hub, peoples and cultures have been mixed and transformed. As a result, a creolised society emerged. This creolised society was further developed after slavery ended due to Cape Verde's ambiguous position within the Portuguese Empire. Kriolu came to be a primary signifier of this creolised culture, and was used by the PAIGC as a source of national pride in their struggle for independence. Between 1961 and 1974, the Guinea Bissau War of Independence erupted in the jungles of Guinea-Bissau, while Cape Verde was left untouched by any armed conflict. However, Cabral initiated a cultural struggle to be fought for the Cape Verdean islands, emphasising the importance of culture in the struggle for national independence.

3. The Cape Verdean diaspora in Rotterdam

3.1 Introduction

As explained in chapter 2, the people of Cape Verde had an extensive history of migration, resulting in a vast Cape Verdean diaspora.¹⁸⁰ The country's first experience with mass migration happened during the first centuries of Portuguese rule with the shipment of slave trade from Africa to the America's. After slavery over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Cape Verdeans migrated en masse to the U.S., Argentina and Senegal, pulled by growing their growing economies.¹⁸¹ However, during the 1950s and 1960s more and more Cape Verdeans started to migrate to Western-Europe as labour opportunities were plentiful in the post-war countries. Most of the migrants were young men who became good seafarers since the sea was the only way for them to escape the hardship on the islands. They set sail for port cities like Gothenburg (Sweden), Hamburg (Germany), Lisbon (Portugal), Antwerp (Belgium) and Rotterdam (the Netherlands).¹⁸²

In this chapter I will set out how the Cape Verdean migration to Rotterdam emerged, how the Cape Verdean migrants were received, why the Dutch port-city became a crucial foothold for the Cape Verdean resistance movement among the diaspora, and how *Morabeza Records* came into existence.

3.2 The first migration to Rotterdam

On 1 January 2009 the Cape Verdean community comprised of 20.669 people.¹⁸³ How did this arise? Cape Verdean migration to Rotterdam started in the 1950s and expanded over the course of the 1960s. Young seafarers, mostly coming from the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and São Nicolau, came to Rotterdam in search for job opportunities.¹⁸⁴ European ships regularly docked in the Cape Verdean port cities of Mindelo (São Vicente) and Porto Novo (Santo Antão) and took local young men aboard that had come to those port cities to try their luck in finding

¹⁸⁰ Carling and Batalha, "Cape Verdean Migration," 19.

The size of the diasporic population is said to be twice the size of the resident population, although there is little demographic evidence for this claim. To add, the data about these numbers are often estimates; the definition of being of Cape Verdean descent changes per country and Cape Verdeans that migrated before independence often appear as Portuguese in the statistics.

¹⁸¹ Carling and Batalha, "Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora," 21.

¹⁸² Carling and Batalha, 16.

¹⁸³ Da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 53.

¹⁸⁴ Jørgen Carling, "Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands," in *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Luís Batalha and Jørgen Carling (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 91.

a job.¹⁸⁵ For the young men coming from the poverty stricken islands of Cape Verde, the Netherlands made a welcoming impression. Former Cape Verdean seafarer João Silva remembers being treated as an actual human for the first time by white people, instead of a second-class citizen.¹⁸⁶ Whereas the white Portuguese in Cape Verde administered an oppressive discriminatory rule, people in the Netherlands weren't aware of this.

The first men that settled in Rotterdam became a knit community, establishing a firm migration network between Cape Verde and the Dutch city. Two key figures in this establishment were João Silva and Constantino Delgado.¹⁸⁷ Silva, who first arrived in Rotterdam in 1949 as a 19-year old, finally settled in Rotterdam in 1955. Being a young man, Silva was supposed to go into service of the Portuguese army. However, he refused to serve the Estado Novo regime that would deploy him against fellow Africans, so he fled to Senegal.¹⁸⁸ From there he found work on a Greek ship that brought him for the first time to the Netherlands. Silva was caught by the Portuguese authorities in 1950 while on a visit his family in Cape Verde, and he was forced into four years of conscription.¹⁸⁹ Retaining a strong aversion against the Portuguese regime, Silva left Cape Verde for Rotterdam in 1955 as soon as he was dismissed from the Portuguese army. In Rotterdam, Silva married a Dutch woman in 1958 which enabled him to apply for Dutch citizenship, securing his stay Rotterdam. After having worked for different Dutch companies, Silva opened his own ship store Casa Silva in 1965 on the Beukelsdijk in Rotterdam where he sold working clothes for Cape Verdean seafarers.

Constantino Delgado was a friend from João Silva back in São Vicente. He ran into Silva in the mid-1950's in Rotterdam and managed to settle himself in Rotterdam working for the same shipping company. The two men had spent nights sleeping at the same address on the Atjehstraat in Katendrecht, home of Silva's to-be parents-in-law and first unofficial meeting place of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam.¹⁹⁰ Just like Silva, Delgado married a Dutch woman and set up a small business to help fellow Cape Verdean migrants. In 1960, Delgado found the first Cape Verdean pension for seafarers in Rotterdam: Pension Delta. With the founding of this pension, Cape Verdean seafarers had a new place to spend the night instead having to pay an expensive hotel or find another place to stay.

¹⁸⁵ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 70-71.

¹⁸⁶ "De Hokjesman - Rotterdammers," video file, 45:25, YouTube, posted by Maarten Slagboom, June 13 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SaHmPBvZi_M&t=1508s.

¹⁸⁷ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 70 & 74.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 71.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 71.

¹⁹⁰ Judith Barendregt and Maaïke Slingerland, *Sodade: Djunga's Tiende Eiland* (2005; Rotterdam: Duofragma), online videofile.

With men like Silva and Delgado assuming the role of guides for Cape Verdean seafarers, a network of migrants was quickly established. Lost Cape Verdean seafarers in Rotterdam were picked up from the port and were helped by fellow Cape Verdeans to find jobs.¹⁹¹ Men that wanted to leave Cape Verde back in Mindelo were given money through family members of the new migrants in Rotterdam for the journey to the Netherlands. Once in Rotterdam, the men were received in pension Delta, they found a job in the port, they got their necessary working clothes from Casa Silva, and when they repaid their debts when they received their first wage.¹⁹² The example of Silva and Delgado also show proof of the solidarity that existed within the small Cape Verdean diasporic community as the men often knew each other already, direct or indirect through friends and family.¹⁹³ The solidarity among the community is confirmed by elderly men who worked as seafarers in the 1960's who speak warmly about the spirit of the community and cooperation in Rotterdam at the time.¹⁹⁴

The good experiences of the Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam soon spread and more migrants came to Rotterdam. Cape Verdean seafarers were wanted in the Rotterdam port as the shipping business was booming in post-war Europe and Cape Verdeans were known for their hard work and relatively small wages.¹⁹⁵ After working on Dutch ships for seven consecutive years, they were able to obtain a business permit. They found work as factory workers and often settled in Rotterdam.¹⁹⁶ The Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam rose from twenty registered men in 1958 to about 600 in the late 1960's. With the increasing migration from Cape Verde to Rotterdam, the number of pensions and business grew as well, and a Cape Verdean community firmly settled in Rotterdam.

3.3 The legal status of Cape Verdean migrants

The first migrants from Cape Verde in Rotterdam came to be known as honest and hardworking migrants. They became known as a silent minority within Rotterdam, working hard and not posing any trouble to the police.¹⁹⁷ Although it seems as if the Cape Verdean migrants had not much trouble embarking on their journey to Rotterdam to find a new home, they encountered many problems along the way even once they had settled. Unlike Spanish, Turkish or Moroccan

¹⁹¹ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 74.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 74.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 74.

¹⁹⁴ Carling, "Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands," 91.

¹⁹⁵ Strooij-Sterken, "Kaapverdianen," 270.

¹⁹⁶ Da Graça, *Etnische Zelforganisaties*, 54.

¹⁹⁷ Martin Ruyter, "Kaapverdianen in Rotterdam vrezin de PIDE," *De Volkskrant*, November 22 1969, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCD:010848203:mpeg21:a0389>.

labour migrants, the Cape Verdeans came to the Netherlands on their own; and unlike Indonesians, Surinamese and islanders from the Dutch Antilles, they weren't part of the former Dutch colonial empire either. This caused the Cape Verdean migrants in the Netherlands to fall between two stools; Cape Verdeans were the stranger in the midst of other large migrant groups of the Netherlands.

Due to this problematic position, the development of the exact number of Cape Verdean residing in Rotterdam is hard to pinpoint. According to a *Volkskrant* newspaper article the number of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam was estimated to be 700, with an additional 1300 seafarers that lived with their fellow countrymen temporarily.¹⁹⁸ This estimate was confirmed by Onésimo Silveira, the Cape Verdean representative of the PAIGC residing in Sweden.¹⁹⁹

Adding to their problematic situation, most Cape Verdeans immigrated without any legal documents. The colonial authorities in Cape Verde commonly refused the issuance of a passport for those who wanted to emigrate. Consequently, the migrants found alternative, often illegal ways to either attain a passport or emigrate anyway.²⁰⁰ To add, many of them did not only migrate to Rotterdam for economic reasons but for political reasons as well. Among the Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam there was a substantial amount of deserters, just like Silva.²⁰¹

While migration to Rotterdam had been fairly easy for Cape Verdeans, from 1968 onwards, a new legal provision threw a spanner in the works: In order to prevent illegal migration, every migrant needed to obtain an *Authorisation of Temporary Stay* (*Machtiging tot Voorlopig Verblijf* or MVV) from the Dutch embassy. With this new arrangement, the role of the first Cape Verdeans with experience and networking became even more important. In practice, new immigrants arrived in the Netherlands, whether or not through Portugal; they attained a job with help from their fellow Cape Verdeans; once they've obtained a working permit, they returned to Portugal to apply for a MVV at the Dutch consulate.²⁰²

While Cape Verdeans had been granted European citizenship as they were made part of Portugal after 1961, the recruitment bureau in Lisbon denied any Cape Verdeans to get a permit to work in the Netherlands.²⁰³ To add, they were no guest workers but rather political refugees, their right to stay in the Netherlands was often negated. Only guest workers from countries with

¹⁹⁸ Ruyter, "Kaaeverdianen in Rotterdam."

¹⁹⁹ "Onesimo Silveira: Militaire overwinning niet belangrijk," *Het Vrije Volk: Democratisch-Socialistisch Dagblad*, June 2 1969, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010956940:mpeg21:a0179>.

²⁰⁰ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 175.

²⁰¹ Ruyter, "Kaaeverdianen in Rotterdam Vrezen de PIDE."

²⁰² Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 78.

²⁰³ Carling, "Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands," 92.

a recruitment agreement were welcome in the Netherlands. Cape Verde, or Portugal, was not one of these countries.²⁰⁴

The problematic status of being a stranger in the Netherlands becomes apparent from multiple newspaper articles. A prominent example was a group of 30 Cape Verdeans that was arrested in Rotterdam and were to be sent back to Portugal in May 1970. Initially the police arrested their subcontractor who tricked the 30 Cape Verdeans into paying him 100 guilders per person in return for a job. Consequently, the police investigated the legal status of the Cape Verdeans and declared them illegal as they had no legal documents.²⁰⁵ While the *Vreemdelingenpolitie* had decided to send the Cape Verdeans back to Portugal, opposition to this decision came from committee's like the Eduard Mundlane Foundation (EMF), the Angola Committee, the Pro-Gastarbeider Committee, and the social-democratic political party PvdA, which over the years came to support the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam to a large extent.²⁰⁶ What followed was a substantial political debate about the issue whether the Cape Verdeans were allowed to stay in the Netherlands or not, with the underlying question of whether they were illegal migrants or validated political refugees. While the Minister of Justice at the time believed they did not have anything to fear in Lisbon, there were those who questioned this belief.²⁰⁷ In the end, the migrants were allowed to stay Dutch authorities figured the migrants would not get any support from the Portuguese authorities anyway.²⁰⁸ What this particular example shows is how Dutch authorities were struggling with the position of Cape Verdean migrants in Dutch society, as Portugal was a NATO ally on the one hand, but an undemocratic authoritarian regime totally in compliance with Dutch democracy on the other.

The EMF went as far as to argue that the Dutch government only wanted to gain economic benefits from the Cape Verdean labourers as the Cape Verdeans did not have the

²⁰⁴ "Moeilijker Toelating 'Politiek Verdachte' Gastarbeiders Dreigt," *Trouw*, November 21 1970, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010818374:mpeg21:a0270>.

²⁰⁵ "Politie Pakt Dertig Kaapverdianen Op," *Trouw*, May 22 1970, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010818397:mpeg21:a0154>.

²⁰⁶ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

The Eduard Mundlane Foundation (EMF) was founded in Amsterdam in 1969 to provide material support for the Luso-African independence movements.

The Angola Committee was established in 1961 to support the independence struggle in Angola. Just like the EMF the Angola Committee supported the struggle against Portuguese colonialism by the independence movements of Luso-African countries. Amongst its activities were a boycott campaign against Angolan coffee and support of Portuguese war resisters.

²⁰⁷ "Kamercommissie Over Beleid Kaapverdianen," *Trouw*, May 29 1970, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010818403:mpeg21:a0266>.

²⁰⁸ "Kaapverdianen Bijna Allemaal Onder Dak," *Het Vrije Volk: Democratisch-Socialistisch Dagblad*, June 12 1970, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010957245:mpeg21:a0306>.

same rights as the Dutch labourers had.²⁰⁹ According to an investigation in 1970 that was executed by EMF and made possible by PvdA- and Tweede Kamer member Nel Barendregt, there were multiple examples in which migrants had their deposits but still got arrested and extradited.²¹⁰ However, an official Portuguese refugee was able to get a passport in the Netherlands valid for three months. Since the Cape Verdean migrants were not officially regarded as refugees, they could not be given a refugee passport which denied them the right to appeal for Social Assistance.²¹¹

In addition, it was not only the Dutch legal system the Cape Verdeans had to deal with; the Estado Novo's Secret Police Force (PIDE) kept a close eye on the Cape Verdean community as well. Especially those who dared to voice their critique against the Portuguese regime in public were heavily monitored. It was due to their tenuous legal status that the Cape Verdean migrants in Rotterdam were extra vulnerable for the PIDE's harassment policies. Many Cape Verdeans were reluctant to voice their political beliefs out of fear for reprisals by the PIDE.²¹² The PIDE had been active in the African Portuguese colonies ever since the first anti-colonial movements came into existence in 1957 and allegedly attempted to hold a tight grip on the Estado Novo's subjects in the West-European diaspora.²¹³

The first notifications of the PIDE's actions against Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands in the Dutch newspapers arose in late 1969. The first, coming from *Het Vrije Volk*, a social-democratic newspaper, addresses how Cape Verdean subjects in the Netherlands are vulnerable for reprisals by the Portuguese authorities.²¹⁴ The article states that the families in Cape Verde were dependent on what their husbands and sons earned working in the port of Rotterdam. In general, these men want to return to Cape Verde every two or three years to visit their families. The Committee argued that it was too easy for the Portuguese police to prevent them from leaving Cape Verde again resulting in the men losing their jobs in Rotterdam. According to Dutch lawyer Van Krimpen it was the fear for these kinds of reprisals that the Cape Verdean community discontinued the initiative for their own community house in Rotterdam in 1969.

²⁰⁹ "Rapport Over Kaapverdianen: Vreemdelingendienst Speelt een Vreemde Rol," *Het Vrije Volk: Democratisch-socialistisch Dagblad*, April 24 1970:
<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010957216:mpeg21:a0303>.

²¹⁰ "Rapport Over Kaapverdianen," *Het Vrije Volk*.

²¹¹ "Gesprek met Hoge Ambtenaar Over Toelatingsbeleid Portugese Deserteurs: Angole-Comité Speelt met Mensen, Zegt Mr. Fonteijn," *Trouw*, December 6 1969,
<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCD:010818965:mpeg21:a0270>.

²¹² Ruyter, "Kaapverdianen in Rotterdam vrezen de PIDE."

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ "Mr. Chr. Van Krimpen, Lid Comité Guinee-Kaap Verdi : Represailles Tegen Kaap-Verdianen Gemakkelijk," *Het Vrije Volk: Democratisch-socialistisch Dagblad*, November 15 1969,
<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010957139:mpeg21:a0265>.

Van Krimpen also admitted the Angola Committee didn't know much about the PIDE's possible activities in Rotterdam, but that he knew about Cape Verdean informants deployed by the PIDE. Van Krimpen added that ever since resistance among the Cape Verdeans had been growing in Rotterdam, the Portuguese regime has been increasingly focussing its attention on Rotterdam.²¹⁵

A week after the article with Van Krimpen appeared, *De Volkskrant* published an article that delved deeper into the harassment and oppression against Cape Verdeans by the PIDE in Rotterdam. Whilst referencing to Portugal, Spain and Greece, journalist Martin Ruyter addresses how totalitarian regimes tried to stay in control of their subjects, even when they resided abroad.²¹⁶ In the case of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam, he states they were being intimidated, monitored and beaten up by members and accomplices of the PIDE.²¹⁷ Coincidentally, central in this article is João Silva. In the article it is explained how Silva was interviewed for the local newspaper *De Havenloods* a month prior, in which he dared to speak out about the endless misery on the Cape Verdean islands, the activities of the PIDE and the growing resistance among Cape Verdeans against the Portuguese Estado Novo.²¹⁸ In the interview for *De Havenloods* Silva also expressed his willingness to develop a community house for the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam. However, Ruyter noted how Silva immediately became the target of the PIDE after the publication of *De Havenloods* interview. Silva received death threats and migrants stopped coming to Casa Silva. Furthermore, fellow Cape Verdeans received threatening calls and were beaten up in the streets; and non-identified Cape Verdeans visited pensions persuading migrants to sign a declaration of solidarity with the Portuguese government. Ruyter sought contact with Silva who explained he didn't mean any harm with the interview and denied being engaged in any politics at all.²¹⁹ All Silva allegedly wanted was to have a community house for the Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam.

What this tells us is that all political grounded actions of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam had to be done in secret as they were heavily monitored by the PIDE and its Cape Verdean informants.²²⁰ Whereas Silva today proudly states he had been politically active for the PAIGC ever since the early sixties, he had to remain silent about it for his own safety and for that of the independence movement.²²¹ Another insight from Ruyter's article is that the Cape Verdean

²¹⁵ "Mr. Chr. Van Kampen," *Het Vrije Volk*.

²¹⁶ Ruyter, "Kaaipverdianen in Rotterdam vrezden de PIDE."

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ Barendregt and Slingerland, *Sodade*.

independence movement of the PAIGC was not unilateral at all, as there were Cape Verdean informants working for the PIDE active in Rotterdam.²²²

In my interview with Carlos Gonçalves he confirmed the active presence of the PIDE in Rotterdam. Carlos and his parents had moved from Cape Verde to Rotterdam in 1969 when Carlos was three years old and their home became a meeting place for sympathizers of the Cape Verdean resistance.²²³ He remembered how, when he was six years old, he answered the door of his parent's place and encountered a man and a woman asking him if his parents were home and if there were any other people present. They talked Portuguese and he answered them in *Kriolu*, telling them they weren't home and he didn't know anything about others staying at their home. In hindsight he believes these must have been PIDE agents keeping an eye on his parents' activities.²²⁴

Apart from support by the EMF, the Angola Committee, the Pro-Gastarbeider Committee, and the PvdA, Cape Verdean migrants did not meet any aid from Dutch authorities against the PIDE. In 1972 a newspaper article in *Trouw* reported the Dutch government claimed to have no knowledge about the PIDE being active in the Netherlands.²²⁵ To add, the Dutch government didn't have any contact whatsoever with the Portuguese authorities concerning political activities of Portuguese (Cape Verdean) migrants in the Netherlands. Dries van Agt, the Minister of Justice at the time, added that the alleged offenses made against Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands were only incidental cases and that there was no reason for any further speculation on PIDE activities. However, the Pro Gastarbeider committee opposed these statements by claiming they had caught an actual Portuguese secret agent trying to infiltrate into their committee. In turn, the Committee believed the Dutch police did not take the complaints serious, as well as similar complaints coming from Spanish and Greek guest workers who each had to deal with their own authoritarian regimes at home.²²⁶

As I have shown with the analysed newspaper articles, Cape Verdean migrants received a great deal of help from different kinds of committees, foundations and political parties. However, the Cape Verdean community also took action into their own hands in a clandestine way to evade suppression by the Portuguese secret service and their informants.

²²² Ruyter, "Kaaipverdianen in Rotterdam Vrezen de PIDE."

²²³ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ "Regering Ontkent, Maar: Portugezen Worden Wél bedreigd, Zegt Actiecomité," *Trouw*, May 16 1972, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010818190:mpeg21:a0191>.

²²⁶ "Regering ontkent," *Trouw*.

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2.4 The development of Cape Verdean resistance

With the rising numbers of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam, problems concerning residence and work rose as well. With the increasing problems amongst the Cape Verdean diasporic community, its pivotal figures realised that they could not solve them through informal solidarity networks as had been done before. In 1967 a group of Cape Verdeans, including Silva, came together and decided to form an organisation which came to be called the 'Associação Cabo Verdiana'.²²⁷ The *Associação Cabo Verdiana* fulfilled three functions: a societal one, a cultural one, and a political nationalist one.

First, the *Associação* was committed to the accommodation of newcomers, aid to those in need, legalisation, housing, guidance and improvement of their legal position or working situation. The association did not only come about due to its leaders, but also through the effective cooperation with progressive Dutch organisations like the EMF, other immigration centres and progressive lawyers as became evident in the previous subchapter on the legal status of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam.²²⁸

Second, cultural emancipation of Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands was one of the spearheads of the *Associação's* policy. Cape Verde was still a Portuguese colony and the country was ravaged by droughts, famines, poverty and a complete absence of any socioeconomic future prospect. The nationalist board members believed that Portuguese colonialism was the main cause for these problems in Cape Verde, which implied that independence was among the highest goals for the members of the *Associação Cabo Verdiana*.²²⁹ Residencies of settled Cape Verdean became the hotbeds for nationalist meetings where issues of the homeland were raised and discussed, conjuring a growing sense of national and cultural consciousness. To add, musical activities amongst Cape Verdean migrants also facilitated cultural emancipation as I will show in the next subchapter on *Morabeza Records*.

Third, underlying the societal and cultural functions of the *Associação* was the association's political function. Some of the members of the *Associação* had strong affiliations with Amílcar Cabral and the PAIGC and were keen to transmit political consciousness to the Cape Verdean diasporic community. Contacts with Dutch politics and democratic values were also of great importance for the political engagement of Cape Verdeans.²³⁰ For example, Silva became member of the Dutch PvdA and a political group within the *Associação* that came into

²²⁷ Da Graça, "Etnische Zelforganisaties," 54-55.

²²⁸ Ibid, 55.

²²⁹ Ibid, 55.

²³⁰ Da Graça, "Etnische Zelforganisatie," 56.

being in 1972 as part of the PAIGC which executed underground activities with the aim of spreading political consciousness. Although this group was first and foremost aimed to mobilize Cape Verdean men for the colonial war in Guinea-Bissau, they quickly focussed on engaging in talks and discussions with the migrants in pensions as their original aim became too ambitious in practice.²³¹

Apart from the *Associação's* practical activities, it was through the bimonthly paper *Nôs Vida* ('Our Life') that the *Associação* managed to express its three functions on paper. *Nôs Vida* was found in 1969 and addressed the problems of the Cape Verdean community in Cape Verde and its diaspora.

The 19th edition from October 1971 I analysed for my research ticked the boxes of all three functions of the *Associação*. First, the paper opens with a brief message on how the Portuguese regime uses the ever present famine on the Cape Verdean islands as a powerful weapon against any initiative by the people to break free from its colonial yoke.²³² It furthers by stating how the mobilisation of young Cape Verdean men to gain marginal jobs in Portugal and undergo military training in Lisbon is but a way for the Portuguese regime to deprive the Cape Verdean population of its living forces to continue domination over the archipelago.²³³ These statements are direct embodiments of the political thoughts expressed by the PAIGC and illustrate the political motives behind *Nôs Vida*.

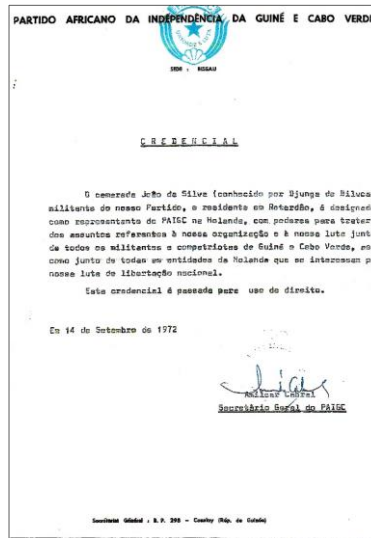


Image 4: Cabral's credential. The official declaration of João Silva's role as representative of the PAIGC in Western-Europe, signed by Amílcar Cabral (1972). Source: João Silva's personal collection.

²³¹ Ibid, 57.

²³² *Nôs Vida: Publicação Mensal da Associação Caboverdiana*, ed. 19 (October 1971), 1.

²³³ Ibid, 1.

The 19th edition of *Nôs Vida* also contained instructional texts for Cape Verdean newcomers on how to legally attain a job and residence permit in the Netherlands and introductory articles to feel more at ease within Dutch society. One example is an informational text on the city of Schiedam which is part of the series ‘*conheca um pouca de Holanda*’ (‘get to know a little bit of the Netherlands’).²³⁴ This illustrates the paper’s fulfilment of a societal role. In turn, the cultural function was effectuated through the incorporation of poems by African intellectuals and extracts from Cape Verdean novels raising questions and contesting present African issues.²³⁵

Even though I was not able to observe the course of *Nôs Vida* over the years, the newspaper articles I analysed did show a growing boldness among the Cape Verdean community to express their contestation with the Portuguese colonial regime. The year 1973 in particular was a turning point with the assassination of Amílcar Cabral on January 20 1973. From then on different demonstrations occurred in Rotterdam, actively denouncing the Estado Novo regime and its colonialist practices in Africa. These demonstrations were initiatives by both people from within the Cape Verdean community as outsider organisations such as the *Angola Committee*.²³⁶

While I have illustrated how Cape Verdean resistance took a foothold in Rotterdam, I want to point out that it was not the only European city where resistance was facilitated. Rotterdam was a major hub inside a larger network of the Cape Verdean diaspora in Western-Europe from which Cape Verdean nationalists operated. For example, the first public European representative of the PAIGC was Onésimo Silveira who resided in Gothenburg. The way in which the Cape Verdean community had manifested itself there, shows a great resemblance with the close-knit and solidary community in Rotterdam. Another example of a hub was the Belgian city Leuven, from where a group of Cape Verdean students morally supported the PAIGC through the distribution of critical articles and papers.²³⁷ Some of the students also

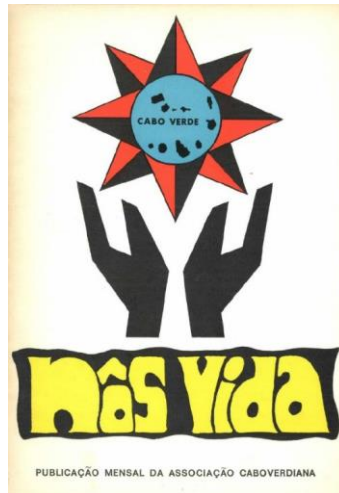


Image 5: *Nôs Vida*. Front cover of the 19th edition of the bimonthly paper (1972). Source: Rotterdam City Archives

²³⁴ *Nôs Vida*, ed. 19, 8-9.

²³⁵ *Ibid*, 8-9 & 12.

²³⁶ “Angolacomité protesteert,” *Algemeen Dagblad*, January 23 1973, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=KBPERS01:002882019:mpeg21:a00075>.

²³⁷ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

became important contributors to the development of *Morabeza Records* as I will explain in the next subchapter.

3.4 *Morabeza Records*

While the *Associação Cabo-Verdiana* and *Nôs Vida* were important vehicles for the cultural and socio-political emancipation of Cape Verdeans, they were primarily focussed on assisting and enhancing the position of Cape Verdean migrants in the diasporic communities of Rotterdam and other West-European cities. Though *Morabeza Records* did the same, the label in particular was initiated to reach and politicise the people on the Cape Verdean islands. The medium of the vinyl record would prove to be a useful good to distribute and convey politically subversive statements.

Before the first album of *Caboverdianos Na Holanda* appeared in 1965, João Silva had already been approached by Cabral to embark on a mission to safeguard Cape Verdean culture through the recording of music in the diaspora. In turn, through the recording of Cape Verdean music, the Cape Verdean people worldwide could be made conscious of their Cape Verdean roots whilst being physically disconnected from anything that was Cape Verdean. Music was also a way to effectively reach the majority of Cape Verdeans that was illiterate; since music can be understood without knowing how to read or write. Silva was initially reluctant to accept Cabral's proposition as he wanted to join the armed conflict in Guinea-Bissau himself. However, Silva saw the importance of his role within the diaspora and of the mission at large and accepted Cabral's proposition. In turn, the recording of the *Caboverdianos Na Holanda* album in 1965 served as a try-out for the mission bestowed upon Silva.

With the development of the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam, João Silva's home became a meeting place for many Cape Verdeans to hang out, discuss politics and play music. The playing of music from "home" was an attempt to soothe their feelings of displacement and homesickness, or *sodade*.²³⁸ These spontaneous jam sessions were called *tocatinas*.²³⁹ Together with childhood friend Frank Cavaquim, Silva decided to record some of the music that was played at these *tocatinas* and *Caboverdianos Na Holanda* was recorded. As Silva had worked for Philips, he had some connections with a studio in Hilversum where the music could be recorded.²⁴⁰ Mind that *Morabeza Records* was not yet established. Silva had released the music

²³⁸ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 122.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Jorge Lizardo Oliveira, June 5 2020.

under his company Casa Silva. It was only after *Caboverdianos Na Holanda* that Silva decided to continue the record label.

Hence, *Morabeza Records* was brought into existence in late 1965 and Silva's property on Beukelsdijk 25B became an important centre of cultural emancipation for the Cape Verdean people. *Morabeza* characterises *Caboverdianidade*: *Morabeza* means being hospitable and welcoming, having an open mind, which is an inherent part of Cape Verdean culture.²⁴¹ Therefore the name of the label itself was already a statement of pride for Cape Verdean culture.

In order to fulfil the mission bestowed upon him, Silva had to find artists to sign to the label. For this he relied heavily on the musical networks from Cavaquim.²⁴² The way in which *Morabeza Records* acquired its artists very much resembled the way in which the Cape Verdean migratory network of Rotterdam had established itself. It was through friends and relatives that musicians from Cape Verde came into contact with Silva and Cavaquim who then brought them to Rotterdam bring them under contract of *Morabeza Records*. Through word of mouth the news spread among the Cape Verdean diaspora in Europe and Africa that a Cape Verdean label was operating from Rotterdam.²⁴³ As the network of musicians came from within Silva's and Cavaquim's social circles, there were mostly Cape Verdean artists that were signed to *Morabeza Records*. There are no Guinea-Bissauan artists on the label simply because Silva and Cavaquim did not know any personally. One exception amongst the signed artists was the Angolan singer Bonga on who I will elaborate in the next chapter.

A telling example of how artists came into contact with *Morabeza Records* was *Voz de Cabo Verde*. It was the first band brought under contract of *Morabeza Records* and was an instrumental group whose members had been playing the club circuit in 1960's Dakar. The hardships on the Cape Verdean islands had forced many musicians to emigrate to earn a decent living of which many settled in Dakar as it was the closest main port city to the Cape Verdean archipelago. When the band was brought to Rotterdam and formed by Cavaquim, they were still called *Conjunto os Verdianos* ('Group of Verdians'). However, on Silva's initiative the band's name was changed to *Voz de Cabo Verde* ('The Voice of Cape Verde') to give it a political touch.²⁴⁴ It spoke to the imagination of people in Cape Verde hearing music by 'The Voice of Cape Verde' coming from a record label all the way in Rotterdam. Interestingly, the band didn't mind changing their name as they were already happy to be signed to a label and to

²⁴¹ Sieber, "Popular Music," 134.

²⁴² Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

record and release music. Allegedly, the members of Voz de Cabo Verde weren't aware of any of the political motives and messages behind their music at all.²⁴⁵

What the example of Voz de Cabo Verde also shows is that the political incentives of *Morabeza Records* were mainly kept secret, even for the artists themselves. As came to the fore in the previous subheading, the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam was heavily monitored by the PIDE and any open critique against the Portuguese regime could spawn serious reprisals. The artists of *Morabeza Records* were largely left alone, but Silva was on the radar of the PIDE and they were aware of some of the label's political motives. In effect, the records from *Morabeza Records* destined for Cape Verde were smuggled in alternate record sleeves to prevent interception.

Despite the PIDE's monitoring, *Morabeza Records* develop as a household record label for Cape Verdean artists and released over 55 records between 1965 and 1976. Little by little the LP's were sold upon release as Silva had them pressed in issues of 1000 copies at the most, and Cape Verdean music entered the commercial market for the first time. The records were sold for 10 guilders each but most of them did not sell that well. As Silva pointed out later, the aim of the record label was not to achieve commercial success, but rather to safeguard and spread the Cape Verdean culture.²⁴⁶ In turn, Silva invested a great deal of his own money into the label and never made big money with it.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, the label was a commercial enterprise and money to had to be made to keep the label running and the artists paid. In the next chapter I will elaborate on the way in which *Morabeza Records* maintained its cultural and socio-political incentives whilst making some concessions for commercial purposes.

Although *morna* served as a way to express some of the pain and *sodade* felt by Cape Verdean migrants, they also found comfort and entertainment in the music. While the Cape Verdean sailors stayed on land overnight in between ocean journeys they visited clubs and bars to dance to Cape Verdean and Latin music. Popular late-night venues for Cape Verdean sailors became the La Bonanza and the Habanera in Rotterdam.²⁴⁸ In turn, much of the music from *Morabeza Records* was recorded to fit the loose and energetic atmosphere of places like La Bonanza and Habanera where Cape Verdean sailors would dance with Dutch city girls.

Not only did *Morabeza Records* bring Cape Verdean records onto the market for the first time, it was also the first time Cape Verdean music was played and presented with electric

²⁴⁵ Ibid

²⁴⁶ Ibid

²⁴⁷ Lizardo Oliveira, June 5 2020.

²⁴⁸ Lizardo Oliveira, June 5 2020.

instruments. Whereas Cape Verdean music was previously played on acoustic instruments, artists in the Netherlands obtained electric instruments, partly to be able to play in the Dutch clubs as well.²⁴⁹ This electrical adaptation was a revolutionary development as it transformed the sound of Cape Verdean music and would lay the foundation for future Cape Verdean musical ventures in using new instruments such as the synthesizer in the late 1970's.

As *Morabeza Records* was the first of its kind, it had opened the way for numerous similar record labels to surface after Cape Verdean independence in 1975 in Rotterdam. Many of these labels built upon the networks Silva had established with *Morabeza Records*.²⁵⁰ One example is Black Power records, situated on the Schietbaanlaan in Rotterdam which grew into an important centre of the *funaná* sound after 1975. However, after Cape Verdean independence, Silva was appointed consul of Cape Verde in the Benelux in 1977 and passed management over *Morabeza Records* over to his daughter. As she was less familiar with the network of the music business than her father and with the entrance of the CD as the new medium, the label lost its prominent role and dissolved in the early 1980's.²⁵¹ The significance of *Morabeza Records* fell largely into oblivion while much of the label's songs became staples within the Cape Verdean music catalogue and are considered classics by many within the Cape Verdean community.²⁵² In 2014, the label was revived as Carlos Gonçalves took over the administration of *Morabeza Records* and sought to restore the legacy of the record label on behalf of João Silva. In turn, *Morabeza Records* was made cultural heritage of Rotterdam in 2017 and taken up into the collections of the Rotterdam City Archives. A year later in 2018, the label's discography was also taken up into the cultural heritage of Cape Verde. With this, renewed interest into the significance and legacy of *Morabeza Records* has emerged, not only from outside but also from within the Cape Verdean community.

3.5 Conclusion

Over the course of the 1950's and 1960's, a tightly knit Cape Verdean diasporic community developed in Rotterdam. Although Rotterdam became a popular destination for Cape Verdean migrants, the Dutch legal system and the operating PIDE made it hard for the migrants to attain a firm foothold in the Dutch port city. With the development of the struggle for independence, Cape Verdean nationalists embarked on a clandestine road of resistance against Portuguese colonialism. This resulted in the semi-emancipatory manifestations of *Associação*

²⁴⁹ Jorge Lizardo Oliveira, interview by Wessel, telephone conversation, June 12 2020.

²⁵⁰ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Lizardo Oliveira, June 5 2020.

Caboverdiana, *Nôs Vida* and *Morabeza Records*. João Silva was active in all three, but he was mostly focussed on *Morabeza Records*. Just like migration network between Cape Verde and Rotterdam, recruiting artists for *Morabeza Records* happened primarily through relatives and friend connections. Slowly but surely, the record label grew and Cape Verdean music was spread throughout the diaspora. As a result, Rotterdam grew out to be the hub of Cape Verdean resistance in Western-Europe, spearheaded by *Morabeza Records*.

4. Analysis

4.1 Introduction

In historian Barbara Bush's article "African Echoes", it is mentioned how the drums expressed protest and forged solidarity among the black communities in oppressive colonial conditions where other forms of protest were suppressed.²⁵³ But, as Bush rightly states, resistance could also have been expressed in unexpected ways, as is the case with *Morabeza Records*.²⁵⁴

As we have found, the Cape Verdean people were heavily suppressed by the Portuguese Estado Novo regime, both directly on the archipelago and more indirectly through the PIDE and its informants in the diaspora. Any form of protest or national emancipation was subdued, which in turn called for clandestine ways to express resistance against colonialism and support for national independence. Through my analysis of *Morabeza Records*' discography I found how the Cape Verdean nationalists in Rotterdam found nimble and creative ways to convey their socio-political beliefs to Cape Verdean communities worldwide.

This chapter comprises of the findings and conclusions of my analysis of *Morabeza Records*' discography. First, I will discuss the general findings from my analysis of the songs, the lyrics and the record sleeves. Second, I will elaborate on eight records in more detail to substantiate my general observations. Last, I will give some closing remarks concerning the legacy of *Morabeza Records*' music and how it was conceived after Cape Verdean independence.

4.2 General findings

4.2.1 Music styles

First of all, most of the songs that appeared on *Morabeza Records* were either *morna*'s or *coladeira*'s. Both *morna* and *coladeira* are distinctive Cape Verdean music styles that the Portuguese allowed to be played as the styles had some Portuguese influences and were considered to be music of the *mestiço*'s or *assimilado*'s. The music styles of the *badio*'s on the other hand were prohibited; the African influenced *funaná*, *tabanka*, and *batuque* were feared for their potential to steer up the masses to rise in protest with its driving rhythms and corresponding dancing styles.²⁵⁵ The music of the *badio*'s stood in direct contrast with what the Catholic Portuguese colonizers were preaching. In contrast, *morna* and *coladeira* were considered decent, something the Portuguese could relate to. Both styles were typically played

²⁵³ Bush, "African Echoes," 20.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 20.

²⁵⁵ Palmberg, "Expressing Cape Verde," 125.

in small groups consisting of a guitar (violão) one or two cavaquinho's, a violin or the characteristic saxophone or clarinet and a singer.²⁵⁶ *Morna* is commonly set in a minor key, played at a slow tempo and filled with melancholy and lament (resignation & conformity).²⁵⁷ *Coladeira* on the other hand is often more playful, danceable, played with an up tempo beat and the lyrics serve as social comments (satirical and derisive).²⁵⁸ Despite the differences between the two styles, they often functioned as pairs as most albums alternated between *morna*'s and *coladeira*'s.

The reason why so many *morna*'s and *coladeira*'s appeared on the label was primarily because these were the styles most Cape Verdean artists were acquainted with as other styles were prohibited.²⁵⁹ The artists that Silva and Frank Cavaquim brought to the Netherlands were musicians that had learned their craft from Catholic priests. As I will show with some examples in the next section of this chapter, the typical styles and themes of the genres were inventively used to convey hidden socio-political messages.

Apart from *morna* and *coladeira*, the label also featured songs in the styles of American R&B and soul, Latin cumbia, Brazilian bossa nova and samba, and a handful interpretations of popular songs such as the Beatles' "Yesterday", Jorge Ben's "O Telephone Taco Movement," and Jimmy Cliff's "The Harder They Come".²⁶⁰ In comparison with the bulk of *morna*'s and *coladeira*'s, these other styles can be considered exceptions that were either recorded for commercial purposes or to meet the artists' preferences and requests.²⁶¹ *Morabeza Records* was a commercial enterprise and money had to be made to keep the label running. To add, the artists on the label made music for a living and expected to perform and earn enough to sustain themselves (and their families?) As addressed earlier, not all musicians on the label shared

²⁵⁶ Pires, *Nha Tambor*, 124.

The cavaquinho is a small Portuguese guitar with four strings as opposed to the six strings with normal guitars.

²⁵⁷ Dias, "Images of Emigration," 178.

²⁵⁸ Palmberg, "Expressing Cape Verde," 125.

²⁵⁹ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

²⁶⁰ Mario Pope, "Yesterday," track B1 on *You Are Looking Good/Yesterday*, Morabeza Records 113 627 W, year of release unknown, vinyl LP.

Djosinha, "Que Pena," track A1 on *Se Meu Coração Falasse*, Morabeza Records 6810 189, 1972, vinyl LP.

Mário Pop et Les Flammes, "Thei Beeger Thei Comme," track A1 on *Mario Pop et Les Flammes*, Morabeza Records 6810 239, 1973, vinyl LP.

"The Harder They Come" had been a great hit by Jamaican artist Jimmy Cliff in 1972 and was also the title track of the Jamaican movie of the same name starring Cliff. Initially, the song's message was that the harder one would hold the protagonist back, the harder they would fall eventually as he would beat them anyway. As Morabeza Records artist Mario Pop recorded his cover of the song right after Cabral's assassination early 1973, the meaning of the song attained a whole different meaning when placed in the Cape Verdean context.

²⁶¹ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

Silva's political motivations and simply wanted to be able to record and play the music they liked.

The Angolan singer Bonga serves as an exception to the way in which other artists played non-Cape Verdean music for commercial purposes or artistic preferences. Not only was he the only signed artist that didn't stem from Cape Verde, he also fought his own cultural struggle through the recording of Angolan music. There are a few cases in the music from *Morabeza Records* of single guest appearances by Brazilian musicians, but Bonga released four solo albums on the label between 1972 and 1976.²⁶² Bonga had been a student at the University of Leuven and a mutual friend brought him into contact with Silva and *Morabeza Records'* musician Humbertona.²⁶³ The young Angolan student had been a political activist and wanted to transcend his ideals into his music. In effect, he was signed to the label and released four albums between 1972 and 1976 playing Nigerian folk and *semba* singing primarily in traditional Angolan languages. So, while the other artists of *Morabeza Records* were playing an important role in the safeguarding of Cape Verdean culture and establishing a distinct cultural identity, Bonga was playing his part for Angola.

4.2.2 Language

Most of the music that *Morabeza Records* released was sung in *Kriolu*. The language was a leading feature of the Creole culture of Cape Verde and therefore of the country's cultural identity as envisioned by the PAIGC. Over the centuries *Kriolu* had made the transition from being considered a "downgraded" slave language by the colonizer to becoming an independent, distinctive language and expression of *Caboverdianidade* for Cape Verdean nationalists.²⁶⁴ The emphasis on music sung in *Kriolu* placed the artists from *Morabeza Records* in the same pedigree as the writers from the *Claridoso*-period, making them part of a larger movement for the emancipation of the *Kriolu* language, and therefore *Kriolu* culture and Cape Verdean pride. Through recording and capturing songs in *Kriolu*, *Morabeza Records* and its artists expressed its pride of Cape Verdean culture and affirmed the shared linguistic affinity of Cape Verdeans. The use of *Kriolu* in *Morabeza Records'* recordings illustrates Rogers Brubaker's diaspora

²⁶² Bonga, *Angola '72*, Morabeza Records 6810 290, 1972, vinyl LP
Bonga, *Angola 74*, Morabeza Records 6802 932, 1974, vinyl LP.
Bonga, *Angola 76*, Morabeza Records 6810 442, 1975, vinyl LP
Bonga, *Raizes*, Morabeza Records 6810 865, 1975, vinyl LP.

²⁶³ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

²⁶⁴ Rego, "Cape Verdean Tongues," 147.

criterion of boundary maintenance, as the Cape Verdean migrants emphasised their *Caboverdianidade* whilst settling in Rotterdam.

However, just as there were instances of non-Cape Verdean music styles appearing on *Morabeza*'s releases, there was also music brought out on the label which was not sung in *Kriolu*. Cover versions of Latin, Brazilian, American and English songs were sung in its original language, Spanish, Portuguese and English. The album *Bonita* by singer Djosinha and Voz de Cabo Verde for instance comprised almost entirely of Latin songs sung in Spanish.²⁶⁵ Again, commercial purposes and artistic preferences played a big part in choosing to sing in languages other than *Kriolu*. This is confirmed in the case of Voz de Cabo Verde as its members allegedly weren't aware of the political motives behind *Morabeza Records* and just saw the label was a nice opportunity to earn a living by carrying out their craft.²⁶⁶

4.2.3 Subject matter

As João Silva stated on the liner notes of *Caboverdianos Na Holanda*, Cape Verdean music contains a sorrowful sentiment.²⁶⁷ The same can be said for most of the music that came out on the *Morabeza* label as many of the *morna*'s deal with the subjects of lost, forbidden and unattained love, farewells, poverty and social inequality. At the heart of all these subjects is the feeling of *sodade*, the Cape Verdean expression for "longing", "nostalgia", "feeling of loss" and a destiny of deprivation.²⁶⁸ In turn, *morna* and its imprint of *sodade* are inherently linked to Cape Verde's colonial and migration history and part of the Cape Verdean identity. Whereas *morna* was the expression of inner emotions, *coladeira* told stories of certain individuals and everyday situations.²⁶⁹ In turn the songs of *Morabeza Records* touched upon subjects many Cape Verdeans could relate to, both its resident and diasporic population. This recognition in music creates a sense of bonding both between the listener and the musician and amongst the listeners themselves.

It should be noted that the heavy emotional subjects of *sodade* and loss were not the only themes touched upon in the music from *Morabeza Records*. Especially the work from Djosinha with Voz de Cabo Verde contained a lot of frivolous and uplifting songs as well, aimed for the intimate dancing parties of the Rotterdam clubs and pubs.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ Djosinha and Voz de Cabo Verde, *Bonita*, Morabeza Records 6802 662, 1972, vinyl LP.

²⁶⁶ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

²⁶⁷ *Caboverdianos Na Holanda*, liner notes by João Silva.

²⁶⁸ Palmberg, "Expressing Cape Verde," 124.

²⁶⁹ Dias, "Images of Emigration," 177.

²⁷⁰ Lizardo Oliveira, June 5 2020.

Although the themes of *morna's* and *coladeira's* are distinctively Cape Verdean, explicit protest against the Portuguese colonialist regime in the music of *Morabeza Records* is almost non-existent. A turning point was the assassination of Amílcar Cabral on the 20th of January, 1973 and the declared independence of Guinea-Bissau on the 24th of September, 1974. Further on in my in depth-analysis, I will elaborate on the ways in which the two mentioned events served as a turning point in how criticism on and protest against Portuguese colonialism was voiced.

4.2.4 Record sleeve imagery

Apart from studying the music from *Morabeza Records* itself, my research consisted of an analysis of the album covers from the label as well. Although I was given access to the music of 57 albums, the number of album covers that were accessible was 44. Nevertheless, I made some insightful observations through my analysis of all available covers.

The first thing that struck me was, that apart from small notes of '*Beukelsdijk 25, Rotterdam*' and '*Printed in the Netherlands*' that are found on the backs of most of the album covers, there were no indications that the music had been recorded in the Netherlands. For the outsider, the music could have come from the Cape Verdean islands themselves. One indication for this is the depiction of Cape Verdean landscapes on six different album covers. Further extending on the label's intent to bond with the Cape Verdean listeners through subject matter, the incorporation of images of the Cape Verdean landscapes responded to the memories that Cape Verdean migrants had of the country. As all Cape Verdean in Western-Europe were first generation migrants, they had their recollections of the Cape Verdean islands. In turn, seeing the images of the archipelago's country- and seaside could spawn a sense of familiarity and evoke personal memories and emotions. To add, the incorporation of Cape Verdean landscapes on the record sleeves is a good example of Rogers Brubaker's diaspora criterium of homeland orientation, reminding the Cape Verdean audience of their shared homeland.²⁷¹

Second, eighteen album covers portrayals the artists themselves. Even though this is not very remarkable as it is common for artists to feature themselves on their album covers, it did allow for a form of idolisation to arise. With the artists featured on the record sleeves, people had an image of who the artists were and that they were Cape Verdean just like them. Again, a sense of connection and identification is enhanced between the label, its artists, its audience and

²⁷¹ Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," 5.

the political beliefs of the PAIGC the label stood for; the artists were not Portuguese, but Cape Verdean, coming from the same background as the people who enjoyed their music.

Third, six album covers contain suggestive and complementary artwork to the featured music. A good example is the illustration on the cover of *Caboverdianos Na Holanda* from 1965.²⁷² It shows the painting of a raised brown fist clenching a maraca (see image 6). Not only is the raised fist a



Image 6: Front cover of *Caboverdianos Na Holanda* (1965).
Courtesy of Morabeza Records. Source: Rotterdam City Archives.

symbol of solidarity and support, but also a way to express unity, strength and resistance. In other words, the image was a way for the Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands to show their solidarity with their fellow Cape Verdeans spread across the world and express their resistance against the colonisation of the Cape Verdean islands despite of their physical disconnection. The value of strong imagery on the record sleeves was further enhanced by the fact that a large portion of the Cape Verdean population was illiterate, and had to the album and music's visual and auditory aspects.

Another example of suggestive artwork is the painting of a weeping child on the record sleeve of Humbertona's album *Lgrimas é Dor* (Tears and Pain), containing the song *Fidjo di Ninguem* (Nobody's Child).²⁷³ The meaning behind *Fidjo di Ninguem* will be further explored further on in this chapter.

Another remarkable observation was that five albums portrayed women, either up close or in full body wearing revealing clothing. Four of the five albums were recorded by the saxophone player Luís Morais. Morais was a renowned musician who wrote and played many

²⁷² *Caboverdianos Na Holanda*.

²⁷³ Humbertona, *Lgrimas é Dor*, Morabeza Records 113 107 Y, 1967, vinyl LP.
"Fidjo di Ninguem," track B4 on *Lgrimas é Dor*.

morna's and *coladeira's*, but also Latin influenced jazz classics and pop songs. Even though the portrayal of women on the covers seems weird amidst the images on many of the other albums, I believe it was for mere commercial purposes. It was at trend in the 1960's for jazz artists like Miles Davis and Dave Brubeck to feature beautiful women on their record sleeves. In turn, Morais was probably just following their example and trying to attract the white jazz audience as his solo albums were strictly instrumental just like the music of many popular Western jazz artists.

Although the imagery of *Morabeza Records'* albums contained strong implicit messages aimed at fellow Cape Verdeans across the world, the people in Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau often did not get a chance to see it. Many of the records destined for Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau were often put in alternate record sleeves and smuggled into the countries as the PIDE was aware of the emancipatory power of the music from *Morabeza Records* and would intercept them.²⁷⁴

4.2.5 Writing credits

A last important observation in my analysis of the music of *Morabeza Records* was that on almost every album the composers of the songs were listed under the tracks in question. This gave an interesting insight into how the record label placed itself in Cape Verde's cultural history.

A lot of songs were penned by renowned Cape Verdean writers and composers from the *Claridoso* period such as Eugenio Tavares, B. Leza and Jorge Barbosa. Through the incorporation of songs by these figures in Cape Verdean history, the connection between *Morabeza Records* and the Cape Verdean emancipation of *Kriolu* was further consolidated. Not only was it a message to the outside world that the label saw itself as an emissary of what the *Claridade* writers had begun in the 1930s and 1940s, the music by these writers was also immortalized by incorporating them on the label's albums. Their *morna's* were not confined to musicians anymore that were able to play them, but they were now available as commercial goods that were accessible for everyone to hear and share. Since *Morabeza Records* had been an initiative of Cabral, it also shows the PAIGC expressed its solidarity with the literary movement from the *Claridoso* movement and supported the Cape Verdean creole identity.

Apart from covering songs by classic Cape Verdean writers and composers, artists from *Morabeza Records* also recorded songs by Cape Verdean nationalists that supported the PAIGC

²⁷⁴ Cidra, "Cape Verdean Migration," 194.

such as Abílio Duarte (who would become Cape Verde’s first Minister of Foreign Affairs after independence) and other young composers such as Manuel de Novas and Gregório Gonçalves. Quite a number of songs on the label were also written by the label’s founders Frank Cavaquim (listed often under his alias F. Cavaquinho) and João Silva. Silva’s songs in particular attained a special status as they carried personal messages from him to the people of Cape Verde. This shows Silva also used the mission he had been given to express his own feelings and thoughts on the situation in Portuguese Guinea and the position of the Cape Verdean people. Some of Silva’s songs will be further analysed below.

4.3 In-depth analysis

What follows is an in-depth analysis on eight records released on *Morabeza Records* between 1965 and 1976. With the selection of these eight records, I covered albums from the early period of the label to the later period until Cape Verdean independence in 1975. With this selection I primarily intend to give a diverse and well-grounded confirmation of the above-mentioned general findings. In effect, the records discussed show examples of *Morabeza Records*’ music styles, use of *Kriolu*, subject matter, record sleeve imagery and songs penned by notable Cape Verdean composers.

4.3.1 Bana, Luís Morais & Os Verdianos - *Nha Terra Cabo-Verde* (‘My Country Cape Verde’) - 1966



Image 7: Front cover of *Nha Terra Cabo-Verde* (1966). Courtesy of *Morabeza Records*. Source: *Rotterdam City Archives*.

Nha Terra Cabo-Verde was the second album to be released on *Morabeza Records* that was recorded in the Netherlands.²⁷⁵ The album features singer Bana, saxophonist Luís Morais and *Voz de Cabo Verde*. Here the *Voz de Cabo Verde* was still called *Os Verdianos*. The imagery on this particular album is very important. It’s a strong statement to say “Cape Verde, My Country” (album title) with a map of the Cape Verdean Islands as an album cover. The connections between the islands also represents the connectedness and unity of

²⁷⁵ Bana, Luís Morais and Os Verdianos, *Nha Terra Cabo-Verde*, Edição da Casa Silva 110 778 Y, 1966, vinyl LP.

the archipelago; the Cape Verdean islands might be different islands but they constitute one country that is Cape Verde.

The album opens with the song *Fidjo de Ninguem* (Nobody's Child) penned by João Silva. The song can be considered a letter from Silva to the people in Cape Verde. As he was monitored by the PIDE and its informants in Rotterdam, music became the only way for Silva to communicate to his fellow countrymen on the archipelago. The lyrics of *Fidjo de Ninguém* expose Silva's sentiments towards his motherland; he wishes not to be understood for living in Rotterdam while the struggle for independence is fought in Africa, as he still suffers like a child without parents:

“Nha terra, câ bô xinti'm ingrato	“My country, don't call me ungrateful
Pâ mó ñ stá li longe;	Because I left for other countries.
Um tâ sofre só pâ bô,	I suffer as you do
Ê má bô, mi ê Fidjo di Ninguém!	Being nobody's child.

Sai di bô nha corpo, mi ê scrabo,	Far from you I'm a slave
E nab ô um dichâ nha coração qui ê livre.	Since my heart remains with you.
Nha terra, si n'ofendebo bu perdoa'm,	Forgive me if I have offended you
Ê sum tit â louvabo ê tudo nha obrigação.”	When I should only praise you.” ²⁷⁶

Silva relates his position with that of a slave, as he does not feel he can enjoy freedom without Cape Verde's freedom. The song is very much an expression of patriotism. In short, the song's message is: If I have done something wrong, please forgive me, for it is my duty to stay here in the Netherlands for my country, and safeguard Cape Verde's cultural heritage.

²⁷⁶ “Fidjo de Ninguém,” track A1 on *Nha Terra Cabo-Verde*.
Both lyrics in *Kroilu* and English taken from João Silva's personal collection.

4.3.2 Bana & Voz de Cabo Verde - *Pensamento e Segredo* ('Thoughts and Secrets') – 1967



Image 8: Front cover of *Pensamento e Segredo* (1967). Courtesy of Morabeza Records. Source: Rotterdam City Archives.

Pensamento e Segredo was the fourth and last musical output on *Morabeza Records* from Bana, backed by Voz de Cabo Verde.²⁷⁷ Already the album title is very suggestive, when taking into account the secret political motives behind *Morabeza Records* and the thoughts of an independent Cape Verde which Cape Verdean nationalists had to keep for themselves.

Again, like on *Nha Terra Cabo-Verde*, the album's opener is a song penned by João Silva: *Segredo di Nha Vida* ('The Secret of My Life'). Characteristically, *Segredo di Nha Vida* contains a melancholic sentiment and

carries a double meaning:

“Tude segredo di nha vida
É aguentá um sofrimente calóde”

“The whole secret of my life,
Is to endure a silent suffering”²⁷⁸

These two lines are the embodiment of the Cape Verdean *sodade*, and perfectly illustrate Silva's state of mind. As is stated, the secret to life is to always endure a silent suffering, which is what *sodade* means; a sweet suffering. However, it also refers to Silva's silent mission; his silent suffering. While the artists and listeners are enjoying the music, there is a silent suffering behind the music that Silva cannot talk about.

The album also contains two songs by the prominent Cape Verdean nationalist Abílio Duarte.²⁷⁹ Duarte had also written for the *Claridade* magazine in Cape Verde. Furthermore, songs by renowned Cape Verdean composers J.P. Barbosa and B. Leza are also included.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Bana and Voz de Cabo Verde, *Pensamento e Segredo*, Morabeza Records 110.898.Y, 1967, vinyl LP.

²⁷⁸ Bana and Voz de Cabo Verde, “Segredo di nha Vida,” track A1 on *Pensamento e Segredo*.

²⁷⁹ Bana and Voz de Cabo Verde, “Caminho de S. Tomé,” track A5 on *Pensamento e Segredo*.

Bana and Voz de Cabo Verde, “Strela di nha Pêto,” track B4 on *Pensamento e Segredo*.

²⁸⁰ Bana and Voz de Cabo Verde, “Manha Cêdo,” track B5 on *Pensamento e Segredo*.

Bana and Voz de Cabo Verde, “Pensamento,” track B2 on *Pensamento e Segredo*.

4.3.3 Humbertona - *Morna Ca So Dor* ('Morna Is Not Just Pain') - 1967



Image 9: Front cover of *Morna Ca So Dor* (1967).
Courtesy of Morabeza Records. Source: Rotterdam
City Archives.

Morna Ca So Dor was the first album by the young guitarist Humbertona, released in 1968.²⁸¹ Being a nephew of João Silva, Humberto Bettencourt (Humbertona's real name) came as a student from the University of Leuven to Rotterdam to help Silva with his mission. Humbertona shared Silva and the PAIGC's political view and was well aware of *Morabeza Records* political motives.

Even though the album was strictly instrumental, the album title was considered a reference to towards *Morabeza Records*' clandestine nationalist character. By stating *morna* is not just pain, it was indicated that

there was more behind the *morna* than the expression of heavyhearted emotions.²⁸² In other words, there were implicit meanings to be found behind the titles and lyrics of the *morna*'s released on *Morabeza Records*.

Humbertona also interpreted several songs by the Claridade writers and composers B. Leza (*Resposta de Segredo co Mar*, *Miss Perfumada*, and *Mulata*) and by Eugenio Tavares (*Canções Aladas*, *Cai no Mar*, and *Mal d'Amor*).²⁸³ Even though these were instrumental interpretations, it can still be considered an ode by Humbertona to the Cape Verdean composers.

²⁸¹ Humbertona, *Morna Ca So Dor*, Morabeza Records 113.110 Y, 1967, vinyl LP.

²⁸² Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

Lizardo Olivieira, June 12 2020.

²⁸³ "Resposta de Segredo co Mar," track A1 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.

"Miss Perfumada," track B1 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.

"Mulata," track B3 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.

"Canções Aladas / Cai no Mar / Mal d'Amor," track B4 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.

4.3.4 Luís Morais – *Sensational Luís Morais* – 1969



Image 10: Front cover of *Sensational Luís Morais* (1969). Courtesy of Morabeza Records. Source: Rotterdam City Archives.

Luís Morais, the musical director of *Morabeza Records*, was the most featured artists on *Morabeza Records* with twelve solo records. In addition, he helped arrange most of the music for Voz de Cabo Verde and also composed the music to all of João Silva's songs as Silva himself was not a musician.

Even though the music on Morais' solo albums are solely instrumental, the song titles were often very suggestive. One particular example is this record *Sensational Luís Morais*, released in 1969.²⁸⁴ Backed by Voz de Cabo Verde, Morais interpreted songs

like *Grito de Povo* ('Cry of the People') (earlier sung by Bana) and *Dispidida P'Angola* ('Goodbye to Angola'), which was considered an ode to the fellow Luso-African country of Angola.²⁸⁵ As both songs are *morna*'s, the heavyhearted emotions of the songs are captured and transcended to the listener. In contrast, up-tempo cumbia-infused songs like *La Negra Caliente* ('The Black Heat') and *Noite Sem Estrelas* ('Starless Night') were evidently intended for the dancing scenes of Cape Verdean nightlife in the diaspora and on the archipelago.²⁸⁶

While Morais did not voice himself openly against Portuguese colonialism, he did support Silva and his mission. To add, as can be deduced from *Sensational Luís Morais*, some of his albums and songs were considered to be comments on the Cape Verdean struggle for independence. Another example is his album *Estata Violenta* ('State of Violence'), released in February 1975.²⁸⁷ The album's title was an unmistakable reference to the armed conflict in Guinea-Bissau that was coming to an end and the turbulent circumstances on the Cape Verdean islands right before independence on June 30th 1975.

²⁸⁴ Luís Morais and Voz de Cabo Verde, *Sensational Luís Morais*, Morabeza Records 113 572, 1969, vinyl LP.

²⁸⁵ "Grito de Povo," track B6 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.

"Dispidida P'Angola," track A6 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.

²⁸⁶ "La Negra Caliente," track B1 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.

"Noite Sem Estrelas," track A1 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.

²⁸⁷ Luís Morais, *Estata Violenta*, Morabeza Records 6810 657, 1975, vinyl LP.

4.3.5 Djosinha – *Se Meu Coração Falasse* (‘If My Heart Could Speak’) - 1972



Image 11: Front cover of *Se Meu Coração Falasse* (1972). Courtesy of Morabeza Records. Source: Rotterdam City Archives.

When Bana left *Morabeza Records* to pursue his solo musical career in Paris in 1967, he was replaced as *Voz de Cabo Verde*'s front-singer by Djosinha. Djosinha was considered more of a showman than Bana and also spoke and sung fluently English and Spanish. This allowed the group to play a lot of Latin originals from South-America and the Caribbean, perfectly fit for the club nights in *Habanera* and *La Bonanza* in Rotterdam.²⁸⁸

An example of the way in which Djosinha covered Latin originals is this album's title track *Se Meu Coração Falasse* (‘If My Heart Could Speak’), originally written and sung

by Brazilian singer Maria Tereza.²⁸⁹ Even though the song is initially a sad love song about an unattained love, it obtained a whole different meaning when placed in the context of the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam at the time.

“Se meu coração falasse,
Sofreria em você,
Mais, meu coração cigala
Pois tem melodia sofre.”

“If my heart could speak,
You would suffer,
Since, my gypsy heart,
It contains a painful melody”²⁹⁰

When viewed from the perspective of the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam, the song is an expression of how the Cape Verdean migrants had to keep their political ideas for themselves. As I addressed in chapter three, Cape Verdean migrants sustained a precarious legal status in Rotterdam and were easy bait for the harassment actions of the PIDE and its informants. They couldn't voice their critique on the *Estado Novo* regime or reprisals would follow for their families in Cape Verde. Hence the lyric “if my heart could speak, you would suffer.” In turn, *Se Meu Coração Falasse* can be considered a direct message from the Cape

²⁸⁸ Lizardo Oliveira, June 12 2020.

²⁸⁹ Djosinha, “Se Meu Coração Falasse,” track A2 on *Se Meu Coração Falasse*, Morabeza Records 6810 189, 1972, vinyl LP.

²⁹⁰ Djosinha, “Se Meu Coração Falasse.” Portuguese lyrics translated into English by Wessel Verkerk.

Verdean migrant in Rotterdam to his family in Cape Verde and illustrates how non-Cape Verdean songs attained a whole different meaning when placed within the context of the Cape Verdean struggle for independence.

4.3.6 Humbertona & Piuna – *Dispidida* ('Farewell') – 1973



Image 12: Front cover of *Dispidida* (1973).
Courtesy of Morabeza Records.
Source: Rotterdam City Archives.

Dispidida by the guitarists Humbertona and Piuna can be regarded as the first actual response by *Morabeza Records* on the assassination of Amílcar Cabral on January 20 1973.²⁹¹ Although the album is completely instrumental, the album title and some of the song titles are evident comments on the events of the armed conflict in Guinea-Bissau.

To start, the album title can be interpreted in two ways; on the one hand it resembles the farewell to a migrant leaving Cape Verde (as the album cover might incline); on the other hand, it was a farewell

to Cabral who had been assassinated.

The first song *Grito de Dor* ('Cry of Pain') is a clear representation of prevailing sentiment among the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam felt.²⁹² *Morabeza Records* showed its solidarity with the PAIGC in Africa and all other Cape Verdeans that demanded independence from the Portuguese colonizer.

Despite the overall sadness surrounding Cabral's death, there is also a sound of hope as found in the song *Sonho di nha Esperança* ('Dream of My Hope'). It reveals there is still a dream to fight for, a dream of hope for the independence of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau that was envisioned by Cabral.

This album is an example of how words and lyrics were not really needed to describe the sentiment and emotions among Cape Verdeans following Cabral's death. As Silva already

²⁹¹ Humbertona and Piuna, *Dispidida*, Morabeza Records 6810 377, 1973, vinyl LP.

²⁹² "Grito de Dor," track A1 on *Dispidida*.
"Sonho di nha Esperança," track A5 on *Dispidida*.

noted on the liner notes of *Caboverdianos Na Holanda*, the music transcends what the hand does not write or the mouth does not say. The power of music to capture emotions is evident.

4.3.7 Various Artists - *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesto e Luta* ('Cape Verdean Poetry, Protest and Struggle') – 1974

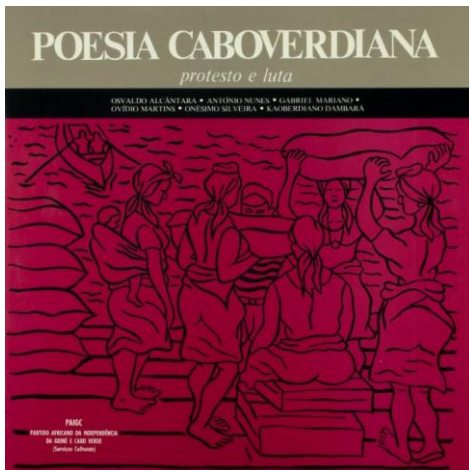


Image 13: Front cover of *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesto e Luta* (1974). Courtesy of Morabeza Records. Source: Rotterdam City Archives.

This album represents a definitive break in the way in which *Morabeza Records* expressed its critique on the atrocious circumstances on the islands caused by Portuguese colonialism. Whereas messages of protest were previously implicitly wrapped up in *morna*'s and *coladeira*'s, explicit critique was voiced through poems by prominent Cape Verdean writers and poets on *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesto e Luta*.²⁹³

The album features six different Cape Verdean poets and comprises of seventeen spoken word poems, musically accompanied with Humbertona's acoustic guitar and subtle percussion. The featured poets are Ovídio Martins, Gabriel Mariano, Kaoberdiano Dambará, Osvaldo Alcântara, António Nunes and Onésimo Silveira (the prominent PAIGC representative in Sweden). The poem *Processo* (Trial) by Ovídio Martins resembles perfectly the way in which the horrendous situation on Cape Verde was explicitly addressed:

▲
 “Não é verdade eu irmão
 não acredites nisso,
 A fome que vimos gramando
 Século de riba de século,
 não foi a estiagem que a pariu,
 Quem é que mirrou teus seios ó mãe!

“It isn't true my brother
 Don't believe it
 The hunger we have endured
 One century to the next
 Was not the drought it seemed
 Who was it who dried your breasts my
 mother!

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

²⁹³ Various Artists, *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesto e Luta*, Morabeza Records 6802 580 Y, 1974, vinyl LP.

Quem é que te estrangulou aos dois anos ó
infância!

A estiagem nada tem com isso,

Quem é que tempo sem conta
te vem explorando terra nossa!

Quem é que nos anos de crise
te condenou à morte povo meu!”

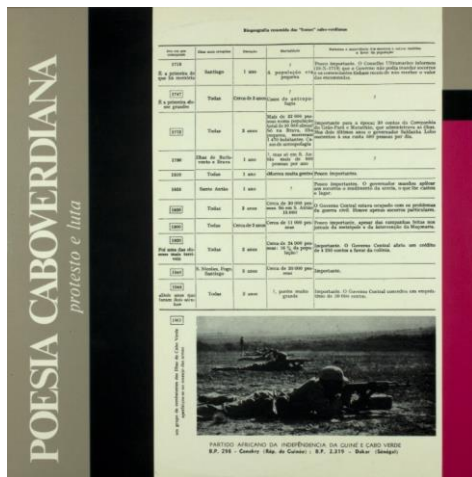
Who was it who cut you short in your
second year my child!

One cannot say the drought did this,

Who was it who time out of mind came to
exploit our earth!

Who was it in the years of crisis who
condemned my people to death!”²⁹⁴

This excerpt from *Processo* is a clear stated accusation of Portuguese colonial rule having caused the poverty and hunger on the Cape Verdean archipelago throughout history. The album



was a way for Cape Verdean independence movement to explicitly politicized the Cape Verdean people and put them up against the Portuguese.

Furthermore, as can be observed on the front album cover, there is a small notification of the PAIGC in the bottom left corner (see image 13). It was the first time *Morabeza Records* openly its connection with the PAIGC. To add, *Poesia Caboverdiana* was also the first album on the label to be fully funded by the PAIGC.²⁹⁵ Also, the back

Image 14: Back cover of *Poesia Caboverdiana, protesto e luta* (1974). Courtesy of *Morabeza Records*. Source: *Rotterdam City Archives*.

cover contains a photo of some PAIGC soldiers in action in 1963 along with a brief

historic overview of famines in Cape Verde including the duration, casualties, and islands that were affected (see image 14). This overview further enhances the point made by Martins in *Processo*, namely that the Portuguese were to blame for the problematic history and current situation of Cape Verde.

²⁹⁴ Ovídio Martins, “Processo,” track B3 on *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesta e Luta*. Portuguese and English lyrics taken from *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesta e Luta*’s inner sleeve.

²⁹⁵ Gonçalves, interview by Wessel Verkerk, Telephone conversation, June 10 2020.

4.3.8 Frank Mimita – *Hora Já Tchegá* (‘Time Has Come’) – 1975

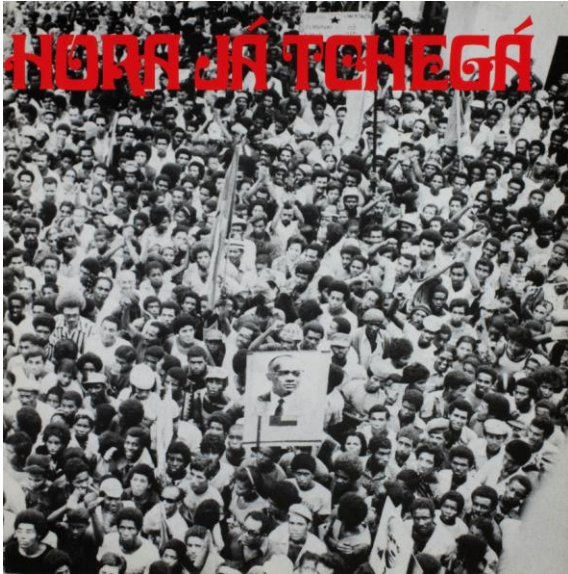


Image 15: Front cover of *Hora Já Tchegá* (1975).
Courtesy of Morabeza Records. Source: Rotterdam City Archives.

Even though *Hora Já Tchegá* was released about two weeks before Cape Verde’s official independence on June 30th 1975, it was a clear-cut celebration of Cape Verdean victory in its struggle for independence.²⁹⁶ The album was the debut album by funaná pioneer Frank Mimita.²⁹⁷

The photo on the front cover (see image #) shows the crowds of people on the streets in Cape Verde celebration independence, carrying a big portrait of their martyr Amílcar Cabral.

The omnipresent feelings of euphoria and relief amongst the supporters of the independence movement were encapsulated in the lyrics of the album’s title song:

“Africa ja corda	Africa has awakened
Nos força ja duplica	Our powers have doubled
Negro ja grita vitoria	The black man proclaims his victory
Medo ja trancas na corpe	Fear sweat stiffens their bodies
Hora ja tchega	The time has come
Africa ja corda	Africa awakens”
Medo ja ca tem	Our fear is gone
Pa no bem luta té fim	We fight to the bitter end
Nos vitoria ta na mon	Victory is in our hands
Graças a nos irmon Cabral	Thanks to our brother Cabral

²⁹⁶ Frank Mimita, *Hora Já Tchegá*, Morabeza Records 6810 745, 1975, vinyl LP.

²⁹⁷ Lizardo Oliveira, June 12 2020.

Qui derrota colonialismo

Who brought about the defeat of
colonialism,

Pa liberta se pove irmon

In order to free his people”²⁹⁸

Africa, or Cape Verde, had finally awakened and shaken off its shackles of colonialism from Portugal. In turn, Cabral was heralded as the founding father of Cape Verde whose task had now been completed. The soundtrack for Cape Verdean independence was captured in Frank Mimita’s *Hora Já Tchegá*.

4.4 Conclusion

As I have shown with my analysis of *Morabeza Records*’ discography, the record label fulfilled its function as cultural vehicle to convey the PAIGC’s political beliefs in multiple ways. Through the recording of Cape Verdean *morna*’s and *coladeira*’s, the frequent use of *Kriolu* singing, the adaptation of traditional subject matter of *morna*’s and *coladeira*’s to the political situation, the distinct album cover imagery, and the interpretation of traditional *morna*’s and other songs by renowned Cape Verdean writers from the past and present, *Morabeza Records* helped to establish and convey a Cape Verdean national cultural identity as envisioned by Cabral and the PAIGC.

²⁹⁸ Kriol lyrics translated into English by Jorge Lizardo Oliveira, June 12 2020.

5. Conclusion

Throughout Cape Verde's history, the country has always been the home of mixing and melting cultures. From its era between the sixteenth and nineteenth century as an important hub in the Atlantic slave trade to its status as a hub for the international steamship and fishing industry from the early nineteenth century to the mid-20th century, people of different nationalities and cultures have inhabited the small Cape Verdean archipelago. In turn, what developed was the first acknowledged creole civilisation, primarily comprised of descendants from African slaves and Portuguese colonizers, ever changing and hybridizing over the course of history. Over the course of the early twentieth century, the Cape Verdean creole culture transformed from being generally considered an inferior offshoot of Portuguese culture to becoming a source of national pride constituted by the literary movement of the *Claridoso* period and embraced by Amílcar Cabral and the PAIGC. Then, I return to my main research question: "How can the role of *Morabeza Records* in the Cape Verdean movement for independence between 1965 and 1976 be explained?"

First, the concept of *Morabeza Records* as a way to safeguard and maintain an alleged Cape Verdean cultural identity was directly initiated by Cabral. Known among the Cape Verdean community to be an outspoken critic of Portuguese colonialism and a pivotal figure for the development of the Cape Verdean diasporic community in Rotterdam, João Silva was endowed with the mission to start a record label by Cabral. In turn, Silva founded *Morabeza Records* in 1965. Due to the monitoring by the PIDE and its Cape Verdean informants, the way in which the music conveyed messages of national pride and critique on Portuguese colonialism took on a clandestine character. That the Cape Verdean community was still suppressed by the Portuguese regime in Rotterdam was a surprise to me as it is not mentioned in any scholarly research to my knowledge. To add, the Cape Verdean independence movement was also not as unilaterally supported amongst the Cape Verdean community as the secondary literature I addressed in the literature review might imply; on the contrary, many Cape Verdeans considered themselves to be Portuguese and there were cases of Cape Verdeans within the diasporic community of Rotterdam operating as informants.

During *Morabeza Records*' active years between 1965 and 1976 there were multiple ways in which the label celebrated *Caboverdianidade*: Most of the songs were sung in *Kriolu*; traditional subject matters of the *morna* and *coladeira* were adopted and interpreted to refer to current events in the struggle for independence; implicit and (later) explicit messages were conveyed through metaphorical lyricism; many of the record sleeves of the albums contained

strong imagery that supported the socio-political and cultural motives of *Morabeza Records*; numerous songs from Cape Verdean *Kriolu* writers from the *Claridoso* period are musically interpreted and featured on the albums from *Morabeza Records*.

Apart from *Morabeza Records*, there were two other initiations of the Cape Verdean independence movement that were established in Rotterdam: The *Associação Cabo-Verdiana* and the paper *Nôs Vida*. These two initiations were primarily focussed on helping the Cape Verdean migrants in Rotterdam attain a better and stronger position within Dutch society, making them aware of the colonial situation in Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau and conveying a sense of Cape Verdean national consciousness. What set *Morabeza Records* apart from the *Associação Cabo-Verdiana* and *Nôs Vida* was that the music from the label was aimed to reach and influence Cape Verdeans worldwide, also in Cape Verde itself. Since there was no armed conflict on the Cape Verdean archipelago it was hard for the PAIGC to reach the islands' populations. However, by smuggling the vinyl records from *Morabeza Records* in alternative record sleeves, the Cape Verdean population on the islands was reached through music. Furthermore, music was considered an excellent medium to politicize the masses as the illiteracy rate was high on the islands but one did not need to be literate in order to understand and listen to the music.

In effect, the music from *Morabeza Records* was attributed the capability to invoke memories, capture emotions and establish and maintain a cultural identity not only amongst the Cape Verdean diaspora, but amongst the Cape Verdean island population as well. This falls in line with the points made in Baily and Collyer's "Introduction: Music and migration," mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis.²⁹⁹ Songs about being away from the motherland and record sleeve images of the Cape Verdean islands invoked memories of the motherland amongst Cape Verdean migrants. The emotions of *sodade*, despair and hope were captured by *Morabeza Records*' artists, pressed onto vinyl and distributed across the rest of the world. As addressed by Baily and Collyer, music had the potential to establish and maintain the group's identity of the Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam, showing their *Caboverdianidade* to the outside world in the form of commercially attainable LP's.³⁰⁰

Furthermore, *Morabeza Records* also served as an arena of contestation and conflict within the racialized power structure of the Cape Verdean diaspora and the Portuguese Estado Novo regime, like historian Bush pointed out with African diasporas in "African Echoes, Modern

²⁹⁹ Baily & Collyer, "Introduction."

³⁰⁰ Baily & Collyer, "Introduction," 173.

Fusions.”³⁰¹ As noted above, the creole culture of Cape Verde had been transformed into a source of national pride. As explained in chapter two, the creole culture emerged out of slavery and colonialism and was further developed over the course of the last centuries due to Cape Verde’s *assimilado*-status within the racist hierarchical system of the Estado Novo. The creole culture was further celebrated in the music of *Morabeza Records* as mentioned above. In addition, just like Bush illustrates how American blues artists used metaphorical lyricism to address socio-political issues, the same was the case with the artists of *Morabeza Records*.³⁰² Therefore, my research affirms Bush’s claims that music is a central facet of African diaspora culture, both as a melting pot of African and European traditions and as a vehicle to express resistance and critique racism.

Lastly, my research acts as an affirmation of Hall’s conception of the diasporic cultural identity. Just as Hall argues, the diasporic Cape Verdean cultural identity as conceived by Cabral and the PAIGC can be considered a “production” that’s always in process and reproducing itself through transformation and difference.³⁰³ First of all, as the idea of safeguarding and maintaining a national cultural identity through a record label was the idea of Cabral, it already displays how the Cape Verdean cultural identity became a production of the independence movement. Second, with the manifestation of a national cultural identity through *Morabeza Records*, the Cape Verdean independence movement also transformed the national cultural identity as it was developed during the *Claridoso* period. As the artists from *Morabeza Records* played *morna*’s and *coladeira*’s with electric instruments, it was a clear break from the acoustic way in which they were played traditionally on the Cape Verdean archipelago. This illustrates how, due to the technological opportunities Cape Verdean diaspora encountered in Western-Europe, the conception of true Cape Verdean music and culture was transformed. Furthermore, the upsurge of *funaná* bands and recordings after Cape Verdean independence throughout Cape Verde and Western-Europe and the dissolution of *Morabeza Records* indicated a new transformation and reproduction of what was deemed the diasporic Cape Verdean cultural identity. In short, the national cultural identity that was established, maintained and expressed both within the Cape Verdean community as to the outside world through *Morabeza Records* during the struggle for independence can be considered one of the many transformational phases of the ever-changing Cape Verdean diasporic cultural identity.

³⁰¹ Bush, “African Echoes,” 18.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁰³ Hall, “Cultural Identity,” 235.

With my research I managed to examine the ways in which a Rotterdam-based Cape Verdean record label *Morabeza Records* acted as an extension of the political propaganda set out by the Cabral and PAIGC. However, it would be interesting to explore the ways to which extent the music impacted the colonial struggle in the colonies of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde directly. Did Cabral's ideas behind his initiated cultural war truly meet its purpose?

Another course of research that would be interesting to investigate is the way in which gender plays a role in the establishment of the Cape Verdean cultural identity and music in general. Since all the Cape Verdean migrants that travelled to Rotterdam during the 1950's and 1960's were men, all the artists were men as well. In addition, all the Cape Verdean writers featured on the records' writing credits were also men. Allegedly, the first woman to ever appear on a long-playing record was Joana do Rosario of the group *Voz di Sanicolau*, who sung on the group's first and sole album in 1976.³⁰⁴ How were women represented in Cape Verdean music and culture prior to 1976? And how did their position within Cape Verdean music develop with the rising popularity of Cape Verdean female singers such as Césaria Evora?

As I found that the Cape Verdean independence movement was not as widely supported as some scholarly articles might imply, it would also be interesting to investigate to which extent propaganda and Cape Verdean informants were used by the Estado Novo to oppose the struggle of the PAIGC. To add, I learned from my interview with Carlos Gonçalves that after independence, the newly elected Cape Verdean government set out a policy to unite the peoples of Cape Verde and actively did not prosecute and condemn those that had operated for the Portuguese during the struggle for independence.³⁰⁵ As a result, the division between Cape Verdean nationalists and sympathisers of the Portuguese colonizer was stashed away in the past and has become a touchy subject. The Cape Verdean struggle for independence is still fresh, and now might not be the right time yet to embark on a research into such a subject, it would be interesting for future research to investigate how Cape Verdeans who opposed the PAIGC experienced the struggle and deal with the past now.

³⁰⁴ Lizardo Oliveira, June 5 2020.

³⁰⁵ Gonçalves, April 26 2020.

6. Discography, bibliography and appendixes

6.1 Discography

6.1.1 Albums (sleeves) and songs

Bana, Luís Morais, and Os Verdianos. *Nha Terra Cabo-Verde*. Edição de Casa Silva 110 778 Y, 1966, vinyl LP.

- “Fidjo de Ninguém.” Track A1 on *Nha Terra Cabo-Verde*.

Bana and Voz de Cabo Verde. *Pensamento e Segredo*. Morabeza Records 110.898.Y, 1967, vinyl LP.

- “Segredo di nha Vida.” Track A1 on *Pensamento e Segredo*.

Bonga. *Angola '72*. Morabeza Records 6810 290, 1972, vinyl LP.

Bonga. *Angola 74*. Morabeza Records 6802 932, 1974, vinyl LP.

Bonga. *Angola 76*. Morabeza Records 6810 442, 1975, vinyl LP

Bonga. *Raizes*, Morabeza Records 6810 865, 1975, vinyl LP.

Caboverdianos na Holanda. *Caboverdianos na Holanda*. Edição de Casa Silva 110.557. L, 1965, vinyl LP.

Djosinha. *Bonita*. Morabeza Records 6802 662, 1972, vinyl LP.

Djosinha. *Se Meu Coração Falasse*. Morabeza Records 6810 189, 1972, vinyl LP.

- “Que Pena.” Track A1 on *Se Meu Coração Falasse*.
- “Se Meu Coração Falasse.” Track A2 on *Se Meu Coração Falasse*.

Frank Mimita. *Hora Já Tchegá*. Morabeza Records – 6810 745, 1975, vinyl LP.

- “Hora Já Tchegá.” Track A1 on *Hora Já Tchegá*.

Humbertona, *Lágrimas é Dor*, Morabeza Records 113 107 Y, 1967, vinyl LP.

Humbertona. *Morna Ca So Dor*. Morabeza Records 113.110 Y, 1967, vinyl LP.

- “Resposta de Segredo co Mar.” Track A1 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.
- “Miss Perfumada.” Track B1 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.
- “Mulata.” Track B3 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.
- “Canções Aladas / Cai no Mar / Mal d’Amor.” Track B4 on *Morna Ca So Dor*.

Humbertona and Piuna. *Dispidida*. Morabeza Records 6810 377, 1973, vinyl LP.

- “Grito di Dor.” Track A1 on *Dispidida*.
- “Sonho di nha Esperança.” Track A5 on *Dispidida*.

Luís Morais and Voz de Cabo Verde. *Sensational Luís Morais*. Morabeza Records 113 572, 1969, vinyl LP.

- “Noite Sem Estrelas.” Track A1 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.
- “Dispidida P’Angola.” Track A6 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.
- “La Negra Caliente.” Track B1 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.

- “Grito de Povo.” Track B6 on *Sensational Luís Morais*.

Mário Pop et Les Flammes. *Mario Pop et Les Flammes*, Morabeza Records 6810 239, 1973, vinyl LP.

- “Thei Beeger Thei Comme.” Track A1 on Mario Pop et Les Flammes, Morabeza Records, 1973, vinyl LP.

Mario Pope. *You Are Looking Good/Yesterday*. Morabeza Records 113 627 W, year of release unknown, vinyl LP.

- “Yesterday.” Track B1 on *You Are Looking Good/Yesterday*. Morabeza Records, year of release unknown, vinyl LP

Various Artists. 1974. *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesta e Luta*. Morabeza Records 6802 580 Y, 1974, vinyl LP.

- Martins, Ovidio de Sousa, “Processo.” Track B3 on *Poesia Caboverdiana, Protesta e Luta*. Morabeza Records, 1974, vinyl LP.

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6.3.3 Speeches

Amílcar Cabral, “The Nationalist Movements of the Portuguese Colonies” (speech, Daar Es-Salaam, 1965), Marxists, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1965/tnmpc.html>
Accessed on 14-3-2020.

Abstract: From 1956 to 1975, the independence movement PAIGC, led by Amílcar Cabral, fought for the national independence of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau against the Portuguese colonialism. While an armed conflict was fought in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde became the focus of a cultural struggle. For this, Cabral initiated the establishment of a record label (Morabeza Records) in the Cape Verdean diasporic community of Rotterdam to safeguard and maintain a Cape Verdean national creolised cultural identity. In effect, Morabeza Records recorded over 55 albums between 1965 and 1976 which were distributed among the Cape Verdean diaspora and its island population. Messages and images of national pride and critique on colonialism were conveyed both implicitly and explicitly in a number of ways through the music. In effect, Morabeza Records was a manifestation of the Cape Verdean independence movement, aimed to politicize, unite, and free the Cape Verdean people from the colonial yoke.