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### GUINEA-BISSAU: BUREAUCRATIC POLITICAL CRISIS AND FOREST DEVASTATION

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#### Abstract

Guinea-Bissau is a nation located on the West Coast of Africa with a surface area of 36,125 km<sup>2</sup>. The country has 2 million hectares of forest, thus constituting a rich and diverse ecological potential, which allows the reception of life of the most varied species. Despite this ecological wealth, worthy of protection and preservation, but what has been observed lately in Guinea-Bissau is its unbridled delapidation by human activity, with obscure economic interests. This activity has great potential to

negatively affect the lives of the next generation, in addition to the negative effects that the population is already experiencing, facing. In this sense, based on the above and reporting the text by Pedro Felipe Narciso entitled: “*O golpe de estado, a burocracia e a teoria marxista do Estado*”, the essay aims to reflect on the cyclical political and / or bureaucratic instabilities associated with forest devastation in Guinea- Bissau.

**Descriptors:** Guinea-Bissau; Political bureaucratic; Instability; Forest devastation.

<p><b>GUINEA-BISSAU: CRISIS POLÍTICA BUROCRÁTICA Y DEVASTACIÓN FLORESTAL</b></p> <p><b>Resumen:</b> Guinea-Bissau es una nación situada en la costa occidental de África con una superficie de 36.125 km<sup>2</sup>. El país cuenta con 2 millones de hectáreas de bosque, constituyendo así un potencial ecológico rico y diverso, que permite la acogida de la vida de las más variadas especies. A pesar de esta riqueza ecológica, digna de protección y preservación, lo que se observa últimamente en Guinea- Bissau es su delapidación desenfrenada por la actividad humana, con oscuros intereses económicos. Esta actividad tiene un gran potencial para afectar negativamente a la vida de la próxima generación, además de los efectos negativos que la población ya está experimentando, haciendo frente. En este sentido, con base en lo anterior y dando cuenta del texto de Pedro Felipe Narciso titulado: “<i>O golpe de estado, a burocracia e a teoria marxista do Estado</i>”, el ensayo pretende reflexionar sobre las inestabilidades políticas y/o burocráticas cíclicas asociadas a</p>	<p><b>GUINÉ-BISSAU: CRISE POLÍTICA BUROCRÁTICA E A DEVASTAÇÃO FLORESTAL</b></p> <p><b>Resumo:</b> A Guiné-Bissau é uma nação situada na Costa Ocidental da África com uma superfície de 36.125 km<sup>2</sup>. O país despõe de 2 milhões de hectares de floresta, constituindo assim um potencial ecológico rico e diversificado, o que permite acolhimento de vida das mais variadas espécies. Apesar dessa riqueza ecológico, digno de proteção e preservação, mas o que vem sendo observado, ultimamente na Guiné-Bissau, é a sua delapidação desenfreada pela atividade humana, com interesses econômicos obscuros. Atividade essa com grande potencialidade de afetar negativamente a vida da geração vindoura, além dos efeitos negativos que a população já está vivenciando, enfrentando. Nesse sentido, baseando no exposto e reportando o texto do Pedro Felipe Narciso intitulado “<i>O golpe de estado, a burocracia e a teoria marxista do Estado</i>”, o ensaio objetiva-se refletir sobre as cíclicas instabilidades política e/ou burocrática associadas a devastação florestal na Guiné-Bissau.</p>
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<p>la devastación forestal en Guinea-Bissau.</p> <p><b>Descriptor:</b> Guinea-Bissau; Inestabilidad política burocrática; Devastación forestal.</p>		<p><b>Descritores:</b> Guiné-Bissau; Instabilidade política burocrática; Devastação florestal.</p>
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## INTRODUCTION

To talk about forest devastation in Guinea-Bissau is to reflect on the cyclical political/bureaucratic instability that the country has faced since it **unilaterally** gained independence in 1973. This small African nation is home to around 80 islands that make up the insular part, the Bijagós archipelagos, in addition to the mainland territory that includes eight regions: Bolama, Bafatá, Gabu, Cacheu, Quinara, Tombali, Oio, Biombo and the Autonomous Sector of Bissau.<sup>1,2</sup>

The aim of this essay is to discuss Guinea-Bissau's political/bureaucratic instabilities associated with forest devastation. This discussion will be developed based on the text entitled: “The *coup d'État*, bureaucracy and the Marxist theory of the State”,<sup>3</sup> from the curricular component: Critical Political Theory and Collective Health at the Federal University of São Paulo - Unifesp; Postgraduate Program in Collective Health. That said, we assume that the target audience for this text has probably heard little about this small African country. In this sense, we think it is extremely important to bring up some historical facts, in the field of politics, which marked the country's struggle for independence, and which reverberate on a daily basis.

In this context, Guinea's political and bureaucratic history has been marked by sad episodes of political/bureaucratic instability.<sup>4</sup> Some say that one of the country's **feats** is to be known as the only Portuguese-speaking country in Africa where presidents do not finish their terms, which are democratically granted by the ballot box. José Mário Vaz, the democratically elected former president, 2014-2020, was the only one in the history of Guinean **democracy** to close the cycle of the democratic succession process without being deposed; given that he had a term that was much criticized by a portion of the population, especially the younger ones.<sup>4</sup>

To sum up, as happened in almost all African countries that had to confront European colonization not by peaceful means, the struggle for independence in Guinea-Bissau also began in urban centers, in the form of demonstrations and strikes. These demonstrations demanded changes in the *modus operandi* of the Portuguese fascist and colonial system, in relation to the legitimate

rights of the people to self-determination and national independence. The colonial authorities, however, remained violently intransigent.<sup>1,5,6</sup>

[...] colonial domination of the African continent was not exclusively of a military, political and economic nature. In order to achieve its objective, European colonialism and its modus operandi also had to be justified and legitimized on a moral, philosophical and religious level. Europe's domination of the rest of the world ended up legitimizing Western scientific knowledge as the only valid form of knowledge, thus nullifying other epistemological bases of knowledge in other parts of the world outside Europe, especially on the African continent.<sup>6(123)</sup>

In this vein, with no interest from the colonial government in meeting the demands arising from these demonstrations - as is to be expected - on August 3, 1959, the disgruntled dockworkers, sailors and merchants went on strike over more mundane issues such as pay rises and better working conditions, at which time they were forced to return to work, literally at gunpoint, killing around fifty strikers and leaving an immeasurable number of wounded. This moment has been called, in the country's history of the struggle for independence, the “*Pidjiguiti* Massacre”.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it became a central and vital point when the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde - PAIGC took the crucial decision to change course and embark on a path of struggle in every possible way, including armed warfare.<sup>1,2,4,5</sup>

In view of the above, according to Lopes,<sup>1</sup> the most important lesson drawn from the brutal response of the Portuguese to the *Pidjiguiti* strike was the need to mobilize and organize the rural masses for national liberation. Moving the PAIGC's headquarters to safe ground south of the border in Conakry, the capital of the newly independent Republic of Guinea (also known as Guinea-Conakry), the legendary *Abel Djassi* (Cabral's war name)<sup>1</sup> and his comrades set about preparing and planning the now inevitable war of independence. Four years later, on January 23, 1963, the Portuguese living in Guinea felt the determination of the PAIGC fighters, disgruntled warriors mobilized and inspired by Amílcar Cabral. The enormous success of this is confirmed by the final outcome of the armed struggle for the liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.<sup>1</sup>

Amílcar Cabral was undoubtedly the central key figure, the undisputed leader of the political, military and diplomatic battles that had to be won to ensure the triumph of the armed struggle. His genius was precisely his ability to convince the doubtful and suspicious about the true cause/motive of the fight against colonialism, mobilize sympathizers to take deadly risks, persuade skeptical international opinion about the justice of the cause, secure the resources and, above all, galvanize men and women to perform incredible acts of courage.<sup>1(28)</sup>

The attack on the Portuguese garrison in Tite, in the south of Guinea-Bissau, on January 23, 1963, was the start of the long-delayed armed liberation struggle that was undoubtedly one of

the most emblematic moments in the history of the colonized people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. It was a struggle in which Guineans and Cape Verdeans, despite the antagonisms generated by the colonial condition and, in the context of an armed liberation struggle, the hostility between them promoted by the same condition, fought side by side, against a common armed enemy.<sup>1,2</sup>

The struggle to safeguard life has always been linked to the struggle for social progress, for human happiness and against the exploitation of man by man. History reveals this truth more clearly, especially after the emergence of private property and the class struggle. In the course of the historical process, the dialectical contradictions generated by wars have always been the expression of the exploited classes' attempt to dominate power. In this sense, it is worth remembering that imperialism has already generated two world wars, and is responsible for the hecatomb of at least 50 million dead in the Second World War, for the monstrous crimes of genocide, [...] for the devastating annihilation of defenceless populations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the globe, often under the pretext of propagating the highest values of a pseudo-civilization that is falsely humanist, humanitarian and inclusive.<sup>5(134)</sup>

On September 24, 1973, the first People's National Assembly was held in Madina de Boé, east of Guinea-Bissau, declaring the existence of a sovereign state, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which led to recognition by more than 60 countries in the international community. On this map of countries that have recognized Guinea-Bissau as a sovereign country, Brazil is one of the first. All those years of struggle and suffering led to the fall of the fascist Portuguese government on April 25, 1974. The Portuguese military, aware of the approaching disaster and the beginning of the end of an era, the colonial era, set in motion what is known as the “Carnation Revolution”, thus ending the 48-year dictatorship in Portugal and consequently the withdrawal of colonial forces in Guinea-Bissau.<sup>7</sup>

April 25 goes down in history as the main dividing line in the formation of contemporary Portugal, because it irreversibly marked the end of Portugal's colonial presence in Africa. It began the reorganization and modernization of economic and civil life, as well as stabilizing, for the first time in Portugal, a parliamentary-type bourgeois democracy. The impetus for these fundamental changes came, significantly, not so much from within Portugal itself, but from Africa: the colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau were the main cause of the final collapse of the Salazar dictatorship, the catalyzing agent of the forces within Portuguese society that were determined to pull the country out of its long period of isolation in the stagnant, semi-feudal waters of the southern European periphery.<sup>5(131)</sup>

Portugal's first two Provisional Governments kept their promise to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It was goodbye to a province that had always been the stepmother of the colonial empire, even though it was the smallest of the warring provinces. The fact that there was only one liberation movement, the PAIGC, **made it easier to** reach an understanding between the

Portuguese authorities and the PAIGC so that, in essence, they would recognize the independence that had already been unilaterally declared on September 24, 1973.<sup>1,2</sup>

After this date, there was no shortage of countries recognizing the new state; by the end of that year, there were around 40 and, by 31 May 1974, there were already 84. September 10, 1974 thus marked the beginning of the political course of a new state, which became the first Portuguese colony on the African continent to have its independence recognized by Portugal, and which was now left entirely **in the hands of the Guinean people**, or rather, **in the hands of the Guinean political leaders**, although for them, the actual day of independence was September 24, 1973. Since then, **fully independent** Guinea-Bissau has been run by **its own hands**; over the course of almost 51 years, it has undergone many political/bureaucratic metamorphoses that have caused major and serious setbacks for the consolidation of **democracy**, political stability and socio-economic development.<sup>1,2,8</sup>

We didn't go to war to conquer Portugal. We did it because we were obliged to do so in order to conquer our human rights, our rights as a nation, as an African people who want their independence, that is, the total liberation of our people in Guinea and Cape Verde, the conquest of our national independence and our sovereignty.<sup>5(139)</sup>

But what is the explanation for the PAIGC's extraordinary success? Historical and geographical factors were certainly more favorable to the development of the liberation struggle in Guinea, compared to Angola or Mozambique: most of the interior of the country was inaccessible to the Portuguese, providing a breeding ground for guerrilla warfare. The independence of Guinea-Conakry (1958) and Senegal (1960) provided the PAIGC with a safe haven to the north, east and south, as well as valuable bases for military training/exercises, supplies of war material and propaganda broadcasts about the struggle. Thanks to the difficulties encountered in the process of adaptation of the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau, and other factors such as the fact that the Guinean people were the most resistant to Portuguese colonization on the African continent, the Portuguese never managed to establish a true and extensive colonizing domain in Guinea, where tribal and class contradictions were perhaps less pronounced than, for example, in Angola. However, the main reason for the PAIGC's success must also be attributed to the quality of its political organization and leadership and, in particular, to the extraordinary abilities of its secretary-general, Amílcar Cabral, a man (who was) ahead of his time and who was unjustly assassinated.<sup>5,6,8</sup>

Founded in Bissau in 1956, the PAIGC was based on the assimilated and class element of the African population. Its clandestine political activity in Bissau

triggered violent repression from the colonial authorities, forcing the movement to leave the urban area in 1959-60 and establish itself among the peasant masses. This was not an easy task. Before launching any armed actions against the colonial state, the PAIGC militants spent around three years patiently investigating local conditions, concentrating their efforts on the ethnic groups most likely to support and sustain the rebellion, gradually removing their doubts, gaining their sympathy and thus developing a form of political propaganda that effectively summarized the people's grievances in phrases that were both real and immediate. Always remember, said Cabral: that the people don't fight for ideas, for things that only exist in the heads of individuals. The people fight and agree to make the necessary sacrifices. But they do it to obtain material advantages, to live in peace and improve their lives, to feel progress and to be able to guarantee a future for their children.<sup>8(31)</sup>

Meanwhile, the PAIGC unilaterally proclaimed independence without managing to put into practice the major project of national development that Amílcar Cabral had dreamed up. In this sense, we can say that Guinea-Bissau's biggest problem is the primary fratricidal political fights. These fratricidal fights happen cyclically because no political formation wants to remain outside the control of the state bureaucracy. To paraphrase Cabral, who said: many of us who are fighting for our independence are doing so thinking that everyone has to be a boss, that we want to live in the colonists' palaces, that we have lots of houses “[...] we will forget the objective of our struggle, to improve the conditions of our people [...]”.<sup>5(137)</sup>

## **BUREAUCRATIC POLITICAL CRISIS IN GUINEA-BISSAU AND FOREST DEVASTATION**

Guinea-Bissau is known as the country in Portuguese-speaking Africa that has experienced the most political turmoil, with successive coups d'état and assassinations of politicians. All this makes it internationally known that Guinea-Bissau is a nation where presidents rarely finish their terms. That said, based on the above, José Mário Vaz was the only president in the history of the republic to have the good **fortune** to finish his mandate granted by the power of the ballot box, 2014-2020.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, according to sociologist and professor Tamilton Gomes Teixeira,<sup>9</sup> Guineans (we) do not go to elections because we have reached the end of a legislature or a presidential mandate, under normal conditions, to renew powers. The Guinean elections have to be interpreted in this way, but the politicians don't care to think about it, for various reasons.

Therefore, according to Teixeira,<sup>9</sup> the Guinean elections have been a sign of a serious crisis, because all the elections the country has held in recent times, after the so-called democratic opening, have followed ruptures. That said, there is no political will to respect the rules of

democratic succession in Guinea-Bissau. In this sense, I ask: is it time, has the time come, for Guineans to hope that the rules of the democratic succession process will be respected, with the election of the new deputies of the nation, where the people granted absolute majority to the Inclusive Alliance Platform - PAI- *Terra Ranka* coalition, under the leadership of the PAIGC? On this question, I would simply say that the Guinean political scene never ceases to surprise its people, which is why it is very difficult to make a prediction.

Referring to what has already been said, I ask: are we facing a crisis of state in Guinea-Bissau or a crisis of capital? As I write this (May 15, 2023), a general strike<sup>10</sup> is taking place in two key development sectors for any nation: health and education.<sup>10</sup> These strikes are recurring scenes in Guinea-Bissau, ever since the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) dictated the rules on the country's economic model, without taking into account the country's specificities. So I ask again: are we facing a state crisis in Guinea-Bissau or a crisis of international capital? My answer to this insistent question is: international capital has done nothing to help Guinean society or the country. As soon as the WB and IMF dictated the economic rules on the economic/development model, Guinea-Bissau experienced difficult times in all areas of development.

However, from a historical perspective restricted to the political field, and with a view to the theoretical and argumentative strategies of this essay, we have divided Guinea-Bissau's political history into two periods: the Single Party regime and the Multiparty regime.

The first period, the Single Party regime, began after the proclamation of independence in 1973 and ended in 1993. The second period, the Multiparty regime, began in the second half of 1994 and has spread to the present day, leading to the **democratic opening**.

In the first period, despite the political organizations created to fight against the fascist regime, that is, for independence, it was the PAIGC that had the greatest notoriety in the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. With a vast organizational strategy throughout most of the country, in Tabanca Committees in the countryside and in Neighbourhood Committees in the cities. The party had its organizational elements in active cells to enable permanent contact with the population. These cells were coordinated by a structure in each region, which in turn depended on another at national level. In this way, the party won the struggle and thereby created the state. So the party had supremacy over it. It was the party that ran society and the State.<sup>4,2</sup>

Under the one-party government (PAIGC), international pressure was already gaining momentum regarding the implementation of “democracy” in the country.

As a result, the PAIGC ended up adopting structural adjustment policies, led by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). These policies were implemented without the country being in a position to do so. The structural adjustment policies had as their core the reduction of State intervention in the country's economic and social policies, giving more space to the private sector to participate in the country's socio-economic development policies, i.e. the privatization of certain bodies that had previously been subsidized by the State.<sup>11(21, emphasis added)</sup>

I have to admit that before the democratic opening, the country experienced some political instability, but nothing like what it has been experiencing since the **democratic opening**, with multi-party politics. The deterioration of the state, of public affairs, has reached a level never seen before. The public health and education systems have stagnated, falling short of the real needs of the Guinean population. Guinea-Bissau used to be one of the cleanest countries (in terms of basic sanitation) on the west coast of Africa and now it has become one of the worst, if not the worst. The country used to have the largest center for the study of social and economic issues on the west coast of Africa, the National Institute for Study and Research - INEP, and now it doesn't even have a public university. In fact, it has a single public university in appalling condition.<sup>4</sup>

In 1998, the country experienced a civil war that lasted almost a year. Since then, the Guinean nation has been forced to face an endless cycle of political and military conflicts, with multiple implications in different key areas of development for any nation. As such, the situation in the country after the 1998 conflict was degrading, including the total destruction of INEP's infrastructure, which held all the information about the country's history and scientific production in the social and economic sciences,<sup>11</sup> as we mentioned above. I'm mentioning INEP, among the many institutions destroyed, because a country without a memory of its past is a country without a future. A country without a future is a country that doesn't think about improving the health and education conditions of its people in the present. That said, in Guinea-Bissau the fratricidal struggles (in the field of politics) are leaving the people to fend for themselves.

From now on, I will try to explain the impact of these fratricidal political struggles on Guinea-Bissau's environment (the forest). It is therefore coherent to say (again) that it is not only INEP and other state institutions that have been destroyed by the fratricidal political struggles in Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau's forests have also suffered unbridled destruction, especially since the political-military conflict of 1998. And this destruction became more blatant after the coup d'état of April 12, 2012. Yes, in addition to the military political conflict of June 7, 1998, we had

the *coup d'état* of April 12, 2012 and countless other coup attempts with the same aim: control of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Guinean State.<sup>4</sup>

That said, first of all, being African, it's good to explain a little about the African conception of the environment, the forest. In the African worldview, there are at least two things that must be respected: respect for the elderly and care for nature. These two categories, the old person and nature, are living expressions of ancestry/sacredness for an African, so they deserve respect and care, respectively. In this sense, I refer here to a popular African adage that says: “an old man who dies is a library that burns”.

Nature, in the African conception, is home to the lives and stories of those who have already left, those who have already become ancestors. Therefore, destroying it is like setting fire to a library, erasing the entire history of the ancestors.

With the advance of capitalism, this conception of the African being in relation to nature has been attacked and distorted. According to the literature, of all the major tropical regions in the world, West Africa has the unfortunate reputation of being the region where natural resources and biodiversity have been degraded most rapidly recently. In Guinea-Bissau, despite the unbridled exploitation of the forest, instigated by international capital, and with a weakened internal democratic environment, there is still a heritage of truly exceptional value that resists this inhuman and exclusionary conception.

The Guinean coastline is characterized by a wide and shallow continental shelf, which is home to the Bijagós archipelagos. The fish, crustacean and mollusc resources are exploited more by the fleets of international organizations, especially those of the European Union, for external supply.<sup>12</sup> The extensive and productive area of sandbanks is home to one of the largest concentrations of migratory water birds on the entire African continent. Guinea-Bissau's biodiversity is not simply **additive to** the rest of the world's biodiversity.

Although its surface area is relatively small, the territory of Guinea-Bissau has a vast diversity of vegetation types and plant species, given its location in a region of climatic transition. The main types of forest vegetation in Guinea-Bissau are dense forest, open forest, palms and wooded savannah. According to experts, these forest characteristics attract devastation associated with international capital, due to the quality of the products/wood that can be removed/extracted from them (Figure 1).<sup>12</sup>

**Figure 1: Transport of wood**

[See Figure 1 in original text]

Some argue that the quality of the wood that the Guinean forest provides makes it one of the most coveted, thus generating devastation on a large scale. And against a backdrop of instability in the political sphere, it is more than evident that the big foreign companies are taking advantage of this by felling trees for timber (Figure 2).<sup>12</sup>

**Figure 2: Sawing wood**

[See Figure 2 in original text]

We haven't found any studies that provide data or mileage on the areas devastated in Guinea-Bissau from 2012 to the present day. So, in conclusion, I would like to close this reflection by talking about one of the most serious recent political crises in Guinea-Bissau, the coup d'état of April 12, 2012. After this coup, the Guinean forest suffered devastation never seen before.

According to Sousa,<sup>4</sup> the Guinean state and its political and military institutions have been completely undermined by a crisis of authority that has stunted internal development and contributed to external discredit. It is because of the notorious decay of the state and political and military institutions, which has never been seen before, and the no less obvious deterioration in the population's standard of living, that the current crises differ from those that hit the country in the three republics: (i) (1974-1980); (ii) (1980-1994); and (iii) (1994-1998) Republic. Despite the situations experienced, some of them very serious, the existence of the state as such has never been threatened as seriously as in 2012.<sup>4</sup>

As we are talking about a state that operates under a bourgeois state model, there is no way of exempting the bureaucracy's participation in the fratricidal struggles that the country has faced since independence.<sup>3</sup> All the political/military conflicts in Guinea-Bissau are likely to be associated with an attempt by certain political segments to gain absolute control of the state bureaucracy. According to Narciso<sup>3(315)</sup>, “[...] the definition of a coup d'état as a political practice typical of the bureaucracy, which, acting alone or in collusion with political representatives, usurps the exercise of power from branches of the state apparatus”.

The Guinean literature that reflects on the cyclical political instabilities has little analyzed the issue of the incessant political will for absolute control of the state bureaucracy by certain party/political segments. The centrality of the discussion on this issue is more directed towards structural crises (political, military, economic, social and moral). This means, roughly speaking, that what has really occupied all the debates and concerns of some intellectuals, the political class and international organizations has only been the structural crisis: mainly the crisis in the defense and security sector. In this sense, we can see the priority that has been given to reform in this sector.

Perhaps this is why, even today, in civil and political circles in Guinea-Bissau, when people talk about the country's freedom fighters and our Armed Forces, the usual reaction is that they are one of the main culprits for the situation of instability that has plagued the country. As a result, many have advocated retirement and almost compulsory demobilization as the only solutions capable of obstructing the military's countless interferences in national political life.<sup>4(22-23)</sup>

On the other hand, according to Sousa,<sup>4</sup> political instability in Guinea-Bissau is also due to drug trafficking, old hatreds and new problems associated with rumors, intrigues and envy that have hijacked the state, public institutions and daily life. Last but not least, the lack of a national development project. Without a national development project, control of the Guinean bureaucracy becomes the goal to be achieved.

Although it is difficult to objectively draw the line between the responsibility of politicians and that of the military in the crises of recent years, we can say one thing: a reform of the political/military class and the parties would be one of the decisive steps towards putting an end to the cyclical political instability/fratricidal struggles. Politics, as a noble activity of full and exclusive dedication to the people, in the realization of their aspirations, cannot be open to men who only think of personal and family enrichment. Bureaucratic institutions cannot be controlled to the point where they operate under the hospice of a particular political or party personality.<sup>4</sup> With the country (Guinea-Bissau) as it is, under the bureaucratic control of a few political parties, forest devastation would never cease. Given our geographical location, vulnerable to any rise in the sea, it seems to me that in the not-too-distant future, Guinea-Bissau will not only face problems related to coups d'état, but also environmental ones.

## **FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

As a country marked by incessant fratricidal struggles, Guinea-Bissau has experienced cyclical political instability since independence. However, these struggles can be associated with the absolute control of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Guinean state by some political legends or party personalities. That said, through a short literary tour of Guinean political history, we realize that little is said about the effects of cyclical political instability on the environment/forest. In this same literary tour, we didn't find any studies that proposed reflecting on the role of the bureaucracy in the most varied political crises that the Guinean nation/people have experienced and are experiencing. The structure of the Guinean state is based on the bourgeois state model. Therefore, to talk about the devastation of the forest caused by instability in the field of politics is to bring to the center of the discussion the question of bureaucratic participation in these political crises. If the country has faced immeasurable forest devastation since 2012 to the present day, this is a reflection of how the State bureaucracy has been disputed. In other words, the dispute over absolute control of the bureaucracy in Guinea-Bissau is directly proportional to forest devastation.

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