Communication with EU Delegation in Bissau

November 27, 2021, to June 30, 2022

WhatsApp Exchange with Simona Schlede, Head of Development Cooperation.

November 27

[17:04, 27/11/2021] [redacted]: Dear Miguel,
here Simona Schlede, Head if Cooperation EUD Bissau.
I know Paloma has talked to you yesterday, but I wonder if you could be reached for a short conversation (later, of course, at a decent time for you).

I have read the entire book with, now, and can certainly congratulate you on the excellence thereof, but would still have a few queries, please.

Indeed one passage, in chapter 12, pp 234-235, "a titulo de exemplo...." - I would like to see with you.

Seeing the Ambassador later today, and hope indeed to get back to you on Monday with final assessment.

Thanks for your understanding, Simona

Thxs for
[17:12, 27/11/2021] Miguel Carter: Hi Simona, Thanks for your note. I am available to talk now, if you are available. Cheers, Miguel
[17:20, 27/11/2021] [redacted]: Sure? Don't want to have breakfast first?
[17:21, 27/11/2021] Miguel Carter: It's 11:20 AM in Paraguay. Past breakfast time. But I am still having some mate.
[17:22, 27/11/2021] [redacted]: Sounds nice, got my calculation wrong then ;-)
[17:22, 27/11/2021] [redacted]: Will ring you in a minute
[17:22, 27/11/2021] Miguel Carter: OK

[19:24, 27/11/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Simona, thank you for our good conversation earlier today. We are delighted to know the book has been well received at the DUE. I just had an exchange with Carlos Cardoso and we agreed to remove the paragraph discussed in our call. There will be no mention of the president's name or actions in this part of the book. Instead, we will add a broader phrase on the general subject in the preceding paragraph. We will send you the revised section of this chapter soon.
[19:29, 27/11/2021] Miguel Carter: We appreciate your efforts to see if we can do the book launch and last workshop with journalists in the second half of January. As noted in our call, I am prepared to travel to Bissau on the week of December 6-10 to deliver at least 300 print copies of the book. I would then bring the remaining 300 print copies in January, if we agree to do the presentation then. Again, thank you very much for the invaluable support. Cheers, Miguel

[21:21, 27/11/2021] [redacted]: Dear Miguel,
I had the occasion to discuss with the Ambassador who congratulates you on this fantastic study.
It is of course not our intention to change the academic work, she says.

As to the passage I raised, she does not necessarily disagree or want to cut, but believes that we should keep impartiality.

Why give an example of only one candidate and not the other who also used the ethnic ticket, she asks.

"We have to give both sides of the coin", she says.

As to the event, I have to check until what date, if at all after December, this could be organised.

I will get back to you on that as well as the payment issue on Monday.

Thxs a lot for your understanding.

[21:32, 27/11/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Simona,

Thanks for the good response. We are thrilled to know the Ambassador is pleased with our book.

As to the paragraph you raised, I think it would be easier for us to edit it in the terms we discussed than to write another paragraph showing how the other candidate did something similar. We can make the basic point addressed in the paragraph, without mentioning specific names.

My sense is that your intuition on this matter is correct. We certainly don´t want to risk any unnecessary problems with these comments in the book.

So, for us, the best approach would be to simply edit this section. That is, take out the personal details, while keeping the main idea intact.

Hope we can work things out on the payment issue and do the presentation in …

November 28

Email sent by Miguel Carter

"SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu>	
cc:	"VELASCO Paloma (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Paloma.VELASCO-VELASCO@eeas.europa.eu>, "PANTALEONI Montse (EEAS-BISSAU)" <montse.pantaleoni@eeas.europa.eu>
date:	Nov 28, 2021, 2:05 AM
subject:	Last revision on Chapter 12

Dear Simona,

I am following up on our good exchange today to send you a copy of the revised passage in chapter 12 of the Vozes do Povo book.

As promised, we kept the main idea intact, but took out the illustration used and personal names involved.

You will find both the new text and the old version with the track changes.

I trust this will mollify any concerns.

Kind regards, Miguel

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November 29

WhatsApp Message sent by Simona Schlede to Miguel Carter

[16:08, 29/11/2021] [redacted]: Are you available for a call now?
[16:18, 29/11/2021] Miguel Carter: I am giving a talk at the Paraguayan National Congress. Will be available in an hour
[16:18, 29/11/2021] [redacted]: Dear Miguel, tried to call you to give you one bad and one good news.

Indeed, please do NOT go to print, but we shall do an amendment,.extending the contract till 31/3/21 so as to allow all parties to finish deliverables.

As to your financial concern, happy to confirm that with this addendum, you will be able to submit a payment request for 40% of the balance, this on the basis of the electronic version of the book you sent.

Paloma is already working on it.

We can talk later, best regards, Simona
[18:16, 29/11/2021] Miguel Carter: I can call in 5 minutes. Thanks
[18:19, 29/11/2021] [redacted]: Ok

***

December 2

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>	
to:	"SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu>
cc:	"PANTALEONI Montse (EEAS-BISSAU)" <montse.pantaleoni@eeas.europa.eu>, "VELASCO Paloma (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Paloma.VELASCO-VELASCO@eeas.europa.eu>
date:	Dec 2, 2021, 6:43 AM
subject:	Vozes do Povo - complete text

Dear Simona,

As promised on Monday, attached please find a copy of the complete text of the Vozes do Povo book prepared by DEMOS.

Please confirm that you received it well.

We look forward to hearing from you with regards to the contract addendum mentioned in our exchange on Monday.

Also, I need to explain to my colleagues why the Ambassador requested DEMOS to refrain from printing the book, considering she had described it as a "fantastic" book the previous day. We would appreciate a justification for this.

Sincerely, Miguel

Observation: Simona did not respond to this email and gave no explanation for the Ambassador's decision to suspend the book publication.

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December 2

VELASCO Paloma (EEAS-BISSAU) <Paloma.VELASCO-VELASCO@eeas.europa.eu>	
to:	Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>
cc:	"PANTALEONI Montse (EEAS-BISSAU)" <montse.pantaleoni@eeas.europa.eu>, "SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu>
date:	Dec 2, 2021, 3:09 PM
subject:	RE: Vozes do Povo - book printing and project completion

Dear Miguel,

In order to accelerate the effects of the addendum, we kindly ask you to start preparing asap a request for an intermediate payment of 40% of the budget. This, on the basis of the reception of the following deliverable: full electronic version of the book sent, and well received by the EUD.

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December 6

Resposta de Miguel Carter a Paloma Velasco (a manager do projeto)

Miguel Carter
<miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>

to:	"VELASCO Paloma (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Paloma.VELASCO-VELASCO@eeas.europa.eu>
cc:	"PANTALEONI Montse (EEAS-BISSAU)" <montse.pantaleoni@eeas.europa.eu>, "SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu>
date:	Dec 6, 2021, 9:20 PM
subject:	Re: Vozes do Povo - book printing and project completion

Dear Paloma,

As I understand it, we should have the contract addendum signed before I can submit an invoice.

Based on the terms of our present contract, we have no legal standing on which to make a request for payment.

We are looking forward to receiving a copy of the addendum.

Once this has been agreed and signed, we will provide an invoice without any delay.

In a previous email, we requested the EUD to provide a justification for its decision to suspend our book publication. This is a matter of great importance to all co-authors of the book.

Moreover, the decision taken by the EUD affects our ability to complete our contract, which is based on the publication and dissemination of the book.

We would appreciate hearing from you on these matters soon.

Sincerely, Miguel

Observation: The DUE did not respond to this email requesting, yet again, an explanation for the EU's decision to suspend the book publication.

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Miguel Carter
<miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>

to:	"VELASCO Paloma (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Paloma.VELASCO-VELASCO@eeas.europa.eu>
cc:	"SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU)" <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu>, "PANTALEONI Montse (EEAS-BISSAU)" <montse.pantaleoni@eeas.europa.eu>
date:	Dec 6, 2021, 10:31 PM
subject:	Vozes do Povo book

Dear Paloma,

Enclosed please find an updated copy of the Vozes do Povo book. We made some improvements in the graphic design and re-arranged the photographs included in the volume.

It looks even better now. The text remains the same.

Best regards, Miguel

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Communication with Simona Schlede and ambassador Sónia Neto via WhatsApp, on December 7 and 8.

December 7

[21:55, 07/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Hi Simona, could we please set up a time for a WhatsApp call tomorrow, Wednesday? There are some important and rather urgent issues I would like to discuss with you. I am available to meet in after 1 PM Bissau time. Thanks, Miguel

December 8

[03:49, 08/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Dear Miguel, I am in Phnom Penh, 7h ahead of Bissau, let's see how we sort it out.
[13:03, 08/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Thanks, Simona. I am in Nairobi. Only 4 hour difference from where you are. If you are available, we can talk now.
[13:06, 08/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Please note that the Ambassador herself, to whom I just spoke, would like to speak to you. She expects your phone call at 13h Bissau.
I shall send you her whatsapp in a minute.
Best regards, Simona
[13:07, 08/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Sonia Neto OSCAR 1 - 111
[13:08, 08/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Thank you, Simona. I will be glad to speak to the Ambassador in three hours time. Kind regards, Miguel

Brief Communication with Ambassador Sónia Neto

[14:37, 08/12/2021] Sonia Neto - EU Ambassador: Dear Miguel, I would like to speak with you at 12.00 Bissau time. At 13.00 I will have a video conference with Head Quarters. Please let me know if will be OK for you.
Kind regards
Sonia

[15:33, 08/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Thank you for your message, Sonia. I will be available in 5 minutes. Was anticipating our call at 13 hours Bissau time, per Simona's earlier message. Best regards, Miguel

[15:47, 08/12/2021] Miguel Carter: *Caiu a conexão* [In Portuguese: The connection fell]

Notes taken after the WhatsApp call with Ambassador Sónia Neto.

The video call with the ambassador lasted approximately 12 minutes. She said she wanted to know more about our project. Carter explained the success of the presentations made to members of Guinea-Bissau's parliament, political party leaders and civil society reps. He underscored the fact that our data helped elevate the quality of discussions carried out among Guineans.

The ambassador noted that she did not sign the contract for the DEMOS research project. Moreover, she did not appreciate Carter's comments about the frustrations shared by all the authors of the book over the decision to suspend its publication. He explained that this impediment could end up being perceived as an act of censorship. Shortly after, she ended the call, claiming she had a meeting with Brussels. She said she would resume the conversation with Carter on Monday, December 13. But never reached back, nor did not respond to the message Carter sent that Monday, reminding her of the pending exchange.

Follow up communication with Simona Schlede

[17:51, 08/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Simona, I had a brief conversation with the Ambassador. She was not available at 13h, so we spoke before our schedule time. She mentioned they were working on the addendum and proposed that we have another meeting on Monday, to complete our conversation. There are a few important things I would like to go over with you regarding the addendum. Please let me know when would be a convenient time for us to talk. Hope you are enjoying your visit in Cambodia. Cheers, Miguel

WhatsApp communication between Miguel Carter and Thierry Cozier, the EU Delegation Administrator, between December 13 and 14

December 13

[20:16, 13/12/2021] [redacted]: Dear Mr Carter,

I'm Thierry Cozier, head of finance, contracts and audit at the EU Delegation in Bissau. I would like to have a conversation with you about the addendum to your contract. Could you please indicate when this can be organised. Best regards,

[21:12, 13/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Mr Cozier, Thank you for your message. I would be pleased to have a conversation with you on the addendum. Would tomorrow Tuesday at 9 AM Bissau time work for you? I have tried reaching out to Simona on a couple of important issues we would like to see included in the addendum. She has not responded to my request for a conversation about this. I image she must be occupied in Cambodia. But we can have an exchange to clarify issues that are relevant on your end.

[21:12, 13/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Best wishes, Miguel

[21:14, 13/12/2021] [redacted]: Thank you for your prompt reply. 9:00 tomorrow morning is perfectly fine with me.
Have a nice evening wherever you can be,

14 de December

[12:04, 14/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Good morning, Thierry. I am available for our call when you are. Cheers, Miguel

Miguel Carter and Thierry Cozier have an approximately 30-minute conversation via WhatsApp.

[15:11, 14/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Mr Cozier, thank you for our conversation earlier today. Please send me a draft copy of the addendum, discussed during our exchange. Thank you. Best regards, Miguel
[15:16, 14/12/2021] [redacted]: Dear Mr Carter, Thank you for your message. I have presented the various items and options on the table and I'm waiting for comments from other services to be able to proposed the draft addendum. I hope it can be done today. Thank you for your patience. Best,
[15:19, 14/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Mr Cozier, I appreciate your good efforts. Sincerely, Miguel
[15:25, 14/12/2021] [redacted]: No problem, I'll do my best to find an acceptable compromised for the parties taking into account most of the requirements on both sides. I'll get back to you asap. Best,

[15:29, 14/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Thank you. As noted in our conversation, if the EUD would prefer not to have the EU flag or references made to the EU in the book, we can adapt and make the relevant changes. For us it is crucial that the book be published and made available to those who would wish to read it. This is clearly stated in the first point of the contract we signed. As you can see below:

[15:29, 14/12/2021] Miguel Carter: 1.1 The subject of this contract is to develop the Vozes do Povo data set, by drawing further insights from Guinea-Bissau's first public opinion survey through data mining, comparative assessments, focus group studies; and to disseminate these findings through publications, presentations and trainings, done in Guinea Bissau with identification number FED/2019/406-596 ('the services').

[15:33, 14/12/2021] Miguel Carter: All the key data we used to develop the book has already been published in Guinea-Bissau, in the DUE´s website and in our website, as well. The Guinean media

gave ample coverage to the public opinion survey prepared and presented in 2018, with the EU Ambassador at the time. As part of the project, we have carried out public presentations with members of parliament, political party leaders and civil society activists in Bissau. All of them were deeply impressed with the information that was presented to them, and have been in touch with me to see when the book will come out.

[15:39, 14/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Our book is based on scientific data produced between 2018 and 2019. It does not deal with current political affairs, but rather provides a historical review of development trends in Guinea-Bissau. We do not see how any of this would be controversial in Bissau. In fact, as our presentations to members of parliament and political party leaders show, the actual impact is quite sobering. Through our data, we were able to elicit a high-level, factual-based conversation about Guinea-Bissau, with people who are in opposite political camps. It would be a huge disservice to the Guinean people to have the book´s publication restricted any longer.

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Draft addendum to contract FED/2019/406-596_DEMOS

COZIER Thierry (EEAS-BISSAU) <Thierry.COZIER@eeas.europa.eu> — Wed, Dec 15, 2021, 10:34 PM

Dear Mr. Carter,

Following yesterday's conversation and WhatsApp exchange, please find attached a draft of the proposed addendum with its annex II.

To be noted that I haven't received a formal feedback from the concerned services yet. Therefore, please considered this document as a basis for your comments in the view of progressing towards a solution.

I understand all your concerns, however I have to remind you that, as stated in article 3 of the contract, the General Conditions (annex I) have "legal" priority on the Terms of Reference (annex II).

Articles 8.1 and 14 of the General Conditions are of course applicable in the case of the present service contract.

Notwithstanding these, the objective of the proposed addendum is to find a solution which can suite all parties.

In the addendum, an extension of the implementation period and an interim payment have been included.

In its annex II (ToR), the amendments (addition or removal of text) proposed are highlighted in yellow.

You will see that a session to present the study/book to EU representatives (Delegation and HQ) and some invitees was included.

I could imagine a two-hour session through a video link (and/or presential) where you could present your work and reply to the comments by the attendance.

This should be an opportunity for you to dissipate the possible remaining hesitation among deciders. The approval by the contracting authority for the continuation of the foreseen activities could probably be easier to obtain.

Should you have comments on the proposed text, please let me know at your best convenience.
Best regards,

Thierry COZIER
Chefe de Seção Finanças, Contratos e Auditoria
Head of Section Finance, Contracts and Audits

Delegação da União Europeia na Guiné-Bissau
Bairro da Penha - BP359 - 1122 Bissau Codex - Guiné-Bissau

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WhatsApp communication between Miguel Carter and Thierry Cozier, the EU Delegation Administrator, between December 16 and 21

December 16

[22:52, 16/12/2021] [redacted]: Dear Mr Carter, this message to ensure that you have seen my email concerning the proposed draft addendum to the service contract. Please let me know if you have any comments about it, which I could bring to the attention of our services. I have received no opposition with regards to the amendments proposed which means that if you agree we could finalise the addendum on this basis. Best regards,

[22:59, 16/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Mr Cozier, I am currently traveling to Europe and have not had a chance to properly review the email. I will revert back on Monday. Thanks, Miguel
[23:17, 16/12/2021] [redacted]: Thanks a lot for your quick reply. No problem, I'll wait for your response on Monday. Have a safe journey. Best,

December 21

[00:57, 21/12/2021] Miguel Carter: I will be sending an email tomorrow. Thanks
[01:06, 21/12/2021] [redacted]: Ok thank you for the info. Best,

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Miguel Carter's response to Thierry Cozier, December 21, 2021.

Dear Mr Cozier,

Thank you for your letter.

We are seeking counsel on the issues raised in the addendum proposal to our contract, given the intricacy of the implications raised. Because of the holiday season, this is likely to take some added time. We will revert back to you on these matters as soon as we can.

With regards to the invitation to make an online presentation of the *Vozes do Povo* initiative, as scholars, we always welcome the opportunity to share our research findings with policymakers, independent of any contractual agreement. We would be pleased to engage three authors involved in the *Vozes do Povo* book, including the two volume editors, Carlos Cardoso and myself. Kindly let us know of a convenient date and time for this meeting.

We wish you a Merry Christmas.

Sincerely, Miguel

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Thierry Cozier's response on December 21, 2021.

Dear Mr Carter,

Thank you for your email.

Well noted and we look forward to hearing from you at your best convenience.

Merry Christmas and best wishes for the New Year.

TC

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WhatsAp communication with Simona Schlede between December 22 and 24

December 22

[16:58, 22/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Dear Miguel, greetings from Cambodia where I have been trsvelling/visiting my son. I got my phone stolen and lost most of my contacts and history.
I understand from a call to my colleague Thierry, today, that things are unfortunately not evolving according to what we had discussed. Please be reassured, however, that I/we are still looking for a good solution!
Best wishes for a Merry Christmas with your family and "Guten Rutsch" into 2022,
Kind regards, Simona

December 23

[00:38, 23/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Simona, thanks for your message. Sorry to hear about your mishap with the phone while visiting your son in Cambodia. Hope it was not a traumatic incident. I sent you a message a while back suggesting we have a phone call, but I imagine the it might have gotten lost as result of the bad incident. I think it would be more constructive if we could talk over some of the issues involved in the Vozes do Povo project. Thierry unfortunately does not know the project and cannot read Portuguese, and therefore cannot appreciate the substantive issues involved. Hence, I think a dialogue between us would be more helpful. Entre nous, the issues raised in the Addendum proposal sent by Thierry went well beyond the scope of what you and I had agreed at the end of Novemb…

December 24

[02:49, 24/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Dear Miguel, happy to try and find a moment in the evening, either 25th or as of 28th - assuming I will have wifi at my next destinations (6h differene), if to sign the amendment this year, if not more calmly in the new year.
Thierry is trying to respond to the Ambassador's concerns, I understand, while keeping all options open.
Best wishes e pensamento positivo! 🙏

[13:47, 24/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Dear Simona, thank you for your good response. Let's aim for a conversation on December 28, when I will be 4 hours earlier than Paris. Let me know what works best for you. God Jul!

[17:10, 24/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Let's try 28th, 20h/10h 👌- Merry Christmas 🎅

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December 28

[14:57, 28/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Dear Miguel, I would have to postpone by 1h, I'd say
[14:59, 28/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Is that ok?
[15:25, 28/12/2021] Miguel Carter: Hi Simona, that's OK with me. So we would talk hour and 35 minutes from now. Cheers

Miguel Carter and Simona Schlede had 40-minute WhatsApp conversation. They addressed various issues, including the ambassador's motives for suspending the book's publication. Simona said she did not know why the ambassador had taken this decision and said she disagreed with it. Miguel raised the idea of publishing the book without the EU's identification and gave the example of a report he produced with a colleague for the Inter-American Development Bank. This publication was vetoed by the Mexican rep on the IDB board. So, the IDB transferred its copyright to the Inter-American Dialogue, which published the study soon thereafter. Both also commented on the videoconference on the Vozes do Povo study that the EU Delegation had proposed for January.

Simona said she did not believe the book stir a polemic in Bissau. Miguel concurred that this would be implausible. But explained that the suppression of the book could lead to a scandal, which would be best to avoid. A point on which Simona agreed.

[17:45, 28/12/2021] Simona Schlede: Thanks Miguel for the call. Will keep you posted.

***

December 29

WhatsApp mensage sent by Miguel Carter to Simona Schlede

Thanks, Simona. I trust we can find a sensible arrangement.

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December 31

Email sent by Miguel Carter to Thierry Cozier.

Dear Mr Cozier,

Greetings. I trust you had a good Christmas and wish you all the best for the New Year.

Simona Schlede and I had a constructive conversation about the *Vozes do Povo* project on December 28.

Simona, however, was unable to explain the reasons why the Ambassador Sónia Neto took the decision, on November 29, to suspend our project and request that we not print the *Vozes do Povo* book.

All the authors of the book are perplexed and upset over this situation.

Hence, it would be important for all of us to know the Ambassador's rationale for this decision.

Transparency on these matters will be most helpful as we seek to find a constructive solution to this impasse.

Sincerely, Miguel

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Thierry Cozier's response on December 31, 2021.

COZIER Thierry (EEAS-BISSAU) Dec 31, 2021, 9:51 PM

to **SCHLEDE**, me

Dear Mr Carter,

Thank you for your message.

I'm afraid that I'm not in a position to comment on the content of the book and the relevance of its publication. My role is only to make sure that contract provisions and rules are followed.

As already mentioned, I could imagine that a proper presentation of your work and a Q&A session could help to reach a consensual decision.

Simona in CC is certainly well placed to make this happen.

Please be informed that the first half of January may be difficult in terms of staffing at the Delegation as the omicron wave is affecting the return of some colleagues currently in Europe.

I wish the very best for the coming year.

Thierry COZIER
Chefe de Seção Finanças, Contratos e Auditoria
Head of Section Finance, Contracts and Audits

*** Again, this email provides no explanation for the actions undertaken by the EU ambassador.*

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January 17

Email sent by Miguel Carter to Thierry Cozier, with copy to Simona Schlede.

Dear Mr Cozier,

I trust you are well.

I am writing to let you know that we are unable to sign an addendum contract that includes any possible restrictions to the publication of the *Vozes do Povo* book or the dissemination of the study produced, as this runs contrary to the principles of academic freedom, scientific integrity and transparency that undergird this project.

We are prepared to sign an addendum contract in the terms initially discussed with Ms Simona Schlede, on November 29, and include issues addressed in our subsequent call on December 28.

We will be sending an email to Ambassador Sónia Neto on the status of our project.

Finally, we have not heard back from the DUE regarding the virtual meeting with the Ambassador that was proposed for this month. Is this activity still in the works?

We look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards, Miguel

*** Observation: The EU did not respond to this email.*

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January 18

Email sent to the EU Ambassador in Bissau on Tuesday, January 18.

Dear Ambassador Sónia Neto,

We are writing to convey our deep concern over your decision to suspend the publication of the book prepared by DEMOS, *Vozes do Povo: Sociedade, Política e Opinião Pública na Guiné-Bissau*, produced in the context of a project underwritten by EU Delegation in Bissau. Attached please find a copy of this volume.

On November 29, the week we were prepared to take the book to the print shop, Simona Schlede informed us of your request to halt the publication. She explained you needed more time to review the volume and suggested we would have the issue resolved by Christmas. Instead, on December 15, we received a draft addendum to our contract with restrictions to the book's publication and dissemination. Thus far, no one in the EU Delegation has been able to provide a rationale for this sudden change of heart, quite striking given the encouraging reviews of our project and manuscript tendered by EU officers.

The *Vozes do Povo* initiative is a unique endeavor in the African continent. No other country in this region has produced a public opinion study as sophisticated and comprehensive. Our volume is based on three-and-a-half years of research, and the collaboration of ten scholars from Africa, Europe, North and South America. The core data used to prepare the *Vozes do Povo* study was presented in a public event with the full participation of the EU Delegation and published on the EU website. All your predecessors in Bissau were strongly supportive of the project, as were all the EU officials we dealt with since 2018 – hence our great surprise at this turn of events.

Our project is founded on the principles of academic freedom, scientific integrity, and transparency. These values are broadly shared within the European community and undergird our contract with the EU Delegation in Bissau. Any effort to censor our book and restrict the dissemination of our study will be viewed as an assault on these principles. Moreover, it would be perceived by many as an attempt to undermine the advancement of science, democracy, and human rights in Guinea-Bissau.

We believe the information produced by the *Vozes do Povo* study is of great importance to the people of Guinea-Bissau and their quest for peace, development, social inclusion, and democracy. Our research was received with enthusiasm by members of the country's parliament, political party leaders, and civil society representatives, who attended our workshops in 2021. All of whom have been anticipating our book publication.

Moving forward, then, we would like to propose two options to meet our contractual obligations. We can either publish the book as set in our agreement, with the EU flag and disclaimer, or we can disassociate the volume from the EU and publish it under DEMOS' full

responsibility. Under the latter option, the EU would transfer the copyright of the *Vozes do Povo* study to DEMOS, which would assume all liability and ensure wide availability of the book and other research findings, as agreed at the onset of the project.

We appreciate your efforts to find a prompt and constructive solution to this impasse and uphold the EU's commitment to science, freedom, and transparency.

Sincerely, Miguel

Observation: The EU ambassador did not respond to this email.

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January 21

Email response by Simona Schlede, head of the EU's Development Cooperation in Bissau.

SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU) Fri, Jan 21, 8:07 PM

to me, COZIER, NETO

Dear Miguel,

I herewith would like to acknowledge receipt of your below mail.

Pending Ambassador Neto's return in February, I am in the meanwhile consulting relevant parties in Headquarters as to the feasibility of your proposed option.

Best regards, Simona

Simona SCHLEDE, PhD
Chefe de Cooperação
Delegação da União Europeia junto da República da Guiné-Bissau

***

January 25

From: **Miguel Carter** <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, Jan 25, 2022 at 12:32 PM
Subject: Re: Vozes do Povo
To: SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU) <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu>
Cc: COZIER Thierry (EEAS-BISSAU) <Thierry.COZIER@eeas.europa.eu>, NETO Sonia (EEAS-BISSAU) <Sonia.NETO@eeas.europa.eu>

Dear Simona Schlede,

We acknowledge your email response as well.

Our impasse with the EU Delegation in Bissau originated nearly two months ago, with Ambassador Sónia Neto's unilateral decision to suspend our publication and put the *Vozes do Povo* project on hold, for reasons unexplained.

The possibility of publishing the book independently of the EU – without the EU flag and disclaimer – has been discussed with the EU Delegation since mid-December 2021; more specifically, with Thierry Cozier on December 14, with you on December 28, and raised once again in our January 18 correspondence with the ambassador. All told, the EU has had six weeks to appraise this option.

We regret the fact that the EU Delegation was unable to convene the January meeting it proposed with Ambassador Sónia Neto and other EU officials. We responded positively to the idea of holding this video conference in our communication with Thierry Cozier, on December 14 and December 21. The issue was also discussed in our December 28 exchange, and raised in a January 17 email addressed to Cozier, which remained unanswered. We believe a conversation with the ambassador would have served as an excellent opportunity to clarify questions and explain our project's great importance for Guinea-Bissau.

As a result of the ambassador's decision to stop the *Vozes do Povo* project, we have been unable to pay the debts incurred in preparing the deliverables submitted to the EU Delegation in 2020 and 2021. The impediments to the completion of our contract have thwarted our effort to receive the compensation owed. All of which has created undue financial harm and hardship.

Hence, we urge you to provide an appropriate response by Friday, January 28. If not, we will need to consider other legitimate recourses to safeguard our agreement.

Sincerely, Miguel

***

January 25

SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU) Tue, Jan 25, 9:19 PM (6 days ago)

to me, COZIER, NETO

Dear Miguel,

I would herewith like to propose a timing for the video conference, which we were unfortunately unable to schedule in January, namely for the second half of next week.
Indeed, may I suggest for example **Thursday February 4th or Friday February 5th around 14h Bissau time** (or Wednesday, if more convenient for you), which I would hope to be a suitable slot in terms of time-difference for both yourself (joining from Paraguay?), as well as colleagues joining from EU headquarters in Brussels.

As previously discussed, we would indeed appreciate for you to present to the audience the methodology, rationale and major findings of your study/book (for about 45'-60'), followed by a Q&A session (15'-30'), preferably in English.
Please be informed that our standard VTC system is webex – kindly let me know if this is suitable for you, if not, we shall explore other means.

Looking forward to hearing from you,
Kind regards, Simona

January 27

Miguel Carter's email response to Simona Schlede – copied to the ambassador and Thierry Cozier

Dear Simona,

Thank you for the invitation to take part in a video conference on the *Vozes do Povo* project. We accept the opportunity to present our research and discuss our book.

The best date for us would be Friday, February 4, at 14:00 hours, Bissau time. I am currently in Nairobi, thus three hours ahead.

Pending confirmation, we should have three authors of the *Vozes do Povo* book taking part in the event, including Carlos Cardoso and myself. We can do most of the presentation in English, but the graphs exhibited will be in Portuguese.

All the points you requested we cover – the project rationale, research methodology and key findings – are discussed in our book and noted in the three reports we delivered to the EU Delegation between 2020 and 2021. They have also been addressed in multiple presentations offered to the EU Delegation.

So instead of repeating ourselves at length, we think it's important to address the concerns that led the EU Delegation to suspend the book's publication. Hence, our need to understand the reasons that led to this decision. We appreciate your communication on this crucial matter, as this will enable a constructive dialogue on the *Vozes do Povo* initiative.

Finally, we request that you kindly distribute a digital copy of the *Vozes do Povo* volume to all participants of the video conference. We hope EU officials will have an opportunity to examine the book prior to our presentation. Attached please find a copy of the edited volume.

We look forward to a positive exchange.

Sincerely, Miguel

February 3

SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU) <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu> Thu, Feb 3, 2:18 AM

to me, COZIER, NETO

Dear Miguel,

I trust you are aware of latest developments in Guinea-Bissau and can imagine that our Ambassador's agenda is fully taken these days.

I shall get back to you as soon as possible as regards the planned exchange on Vozes do Povo.

Thanks for your understanding,
Kind regards, Simona

Simona Schlede, PhD
Chefe de Cooperação
Delegação da União Europeia junto da República da Guiné-Bissau
Bairro da Penha - BP359 - 1122 Bissau Codex
Mobile: (
https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/guinea-bissau
https://www.facebook.com/delegacaouebissau

*** Ms Schlede never followed up on this email or write to propose an alternate date for our presentation. DEMOS and its partners realized at this point that the EUD was not interested in discussing the Vozes do Povo project with us.*

May 29

Closing Report for the Vozes do Povo – Fase II Project (FED/2019/406-596)

Inbox
DEMOS

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Sun, May 29, 11:50 AM

to SCHLEDE, VELASCO

Dear Simona,

I am writing to present the closing report for the *Vozes do Povo* – Fase II project (FED/2019/406-596), along with supporting documents.

The *Vozes do Povo* initiative was designed to generate knowledge in support of Guinea-Bissau's democratic development. It organized the country's first public opinion survey in 2018. A second project phase was adopted the following year to pursue scientific research based on the survey findings and disseminate the new information through publications, presentations, and trainings. These undertakings were devised to produce actionable knowledge for development strategies, democracy promotion and political risk assessments.

In pursuit of these objectives, DEMOS prepared and delivered three substantive reports: the data mining and analysis inquiry, focus group study, and comparative review with other African countries. Drawing on the novel information generated through this research, DEMOS organized an edited volume, *Vozes do Povo: Sociedade, Política e Opinião Pública na Guiné-Bissau*, produced in collaboration with ten Guinean, European, North and South American scholars. It also drafted a translation of the book manuscript into English. Furthermore, it conducted two workshops and offered five project presentations to the EU Delegation. As far we know, no other country in Africa has carried out a public opinion study of this scope and originality.

To our great surprise, on November 29, 2021, the EU Delegation decided unilaterally to suspend the publication of the *Vozes do Povo* study. As a consequence, DEMOS was unable to complete key project deliverables, namely, (1) print and present the edited volume in Bissau, (2) publish the book and three project reports on the internet, and (3) organize a dissemination workshop with Guinean journalists. All this has hampered DEMOS' ability to accomplish vital project objectives, despite our repeated efforts to resolve this situation.

At this point, DEMOS has provided all deliverables within our control. Thus, DEMOS and its partners feel obliged to request that we close the *Vozes do Povo* project, as is. Much to our chagrin, and due to the unilateral actions taken by the EU Delegation, DEMOS was unable to deliver end products it had prepared and paid for in the context of this initiative.

The final project report and six annexes include copies of all its outputs, namely:

- The dynamic table, with the data set used to prepare all statistical cross-tabulations.
- The data mining and analysis study, with nine annexes.
- The focus group study, with five annexes.
- The comparative study of public opinion in Guinea-Bissau and other African countries, with three annexes.
- The edited volume, *Vozes do Povo: Sociedade, Política e Opinião Pública na Guiné-Bissau*, print-ready since December 2, 2021.
- An English translation of the edited volume, *Voices of the People: Society, Politics and Public Opinion in Guinea-Bissau*.

All project outputs, except for the English translation of the book, were delivered to the EU Delegation in 2020 and 2021. In addition, we are including copies of five PowerPoint presentations offered to the EU Delegation between 2019 and 2021.

Please forward us the remaining payment due for project deliverables. Attached you will a copy of our invoice.

The project closure gives us an opportunity to address the status of the *Vozes do Povo* book and its ancillary studies. In our view, the most practical way of safeguarding this publication would be to get the EU to transfer the *Vozes do Povo* copyright to DEMOS. This idea was raised in our January 18 email to the EU Ambassador and noted in previous exchanges with Delegation officers. A copyright transfer would allow the EU to disassociate itself from the results of the investigation and any publication thereof. DEMOS would assume all liability for the content of this research. Moreover, in keeping with the project's original spirit, it will ensure wide availability of the book and other research findings. Most importantly, this arrangement would uphold EU commitments to academic freedom, the advancement of science and transparency.

We look forward to resolving these issues soon and appreciate your efforts to expedite closure of the *Vozes do Povo* project.

Sincerely, Miguel

All attachments were delivered by DEMOS and received by the EUD.

May 30

SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU) <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu> May 30, 2022, 6:06 PM

to me, VELASCO

Dear Miguel,

I hope this email finds you well.

I herewith acknowledge receipt of the final report and annexes, as well as the attachments A to F, for which I thank you.

Paloma will be studying them thoroughly so as to proceed with the processing of the invoice and project closure, and will be in touch with you, if and where applicable.

As regards a possible transfer of copyright to DEMOS for the book publication (PT/EN), please be informed this is decided in Headquarters, whom I shall seize again on the matter.

Best regards,
Simona

Simona SCHLEDE, PhD
Chefe de Cooperação
Delegação da União Europeia junto da República da Guiné-Bissau
_____
Bairro da Penha - CP359
Apartado 1122 Bissau Codex – GUINÉ-BISSAU
Tel & whatsapp: ([redacted]
Tel. Secretariado: ([redacted]
Simona.Schlede@eeas.europa.eu

SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU) <Simona.SCHLEDE@eeas.europa.eu> Tue, Jun 21, 5:21 PM

to me, VELASCO

Dear Miguel,

Please be reassured that the file is being processed.
Best regards, Simona

Simona SCHLEDE, PhD
Chefe de Cooperação
Delegação da União Europeia junto da República da Guiné-Bissau

June 23

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Jun 23, 2022, 1:52 AM

to SCHLEDE, VELASCO

Dear Simona,

Thank you for your prompt response.

Could you please give us an estimated timeline as to when the payment will be made?

Also, we would appreciate getting an update on the proposal to transfer the copyright of the Vozes do Povo study to DEMOS. Our team is looking forward to publishing our book soon. Thanks.

Best regards, Miguel

June 28

VELASCO Paloma (EEAS-BISSAU) <Paloma.VELASCO-VELASCO@eeas.europa.eu> Jun 28, 2022, 2:17 PM

to PANTALEONI, COZIER, me, SCHLEDE

Dear Miguel,

I hope this emails finds you well.

This is to confirm the reception of all deliverables. Following the examination of the final narrative report of the project, please find our main comments on it:

- With reference to p.11 of the closing report, it should be noted that, in the absence of the grant of copyright, any publication or distribution of copies or translations to academic press, or other external actors, remains strictly prohibited. The EU decision, at your request, of being granted copyright remains pending. This decision will be communicated at a later date, and does not integrate the current administrative phase of project closure.

- Contrary to what it cites in p.20 *"… the Delegation never provided reasons for this decision or offered possibilities to make any amendments*", on 15 December 2021, the Head of Finance and Contracts section, Thierry Cozier, proposed an amendment to the contract to cancel certain deliverables keeping the same total financial amount. Your agreement to amend the contract was not reached, and no new amendments were attached to the contract.

Finally, I can also confirm that the final payment is being processed.

Thank you.
Best regards,

Paloma VELASCO VELASCO
Adida para a cooperação.
Governação e Desenvolvimento Socioeconómico.

Delegação da União Europeia na Guiné-Bissau
Bairro da Penha - BP359 - 1122 Bissau Codex - Guiné-Bissau

June 30

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Jun 30, 2022, 3:54 PM

to VELASCO, SCHLEDE, PANTALEONI, COZIER,

Dear Paloma,

We are pleased to know the payment is being processed.

Could you kindly provide a timeline for when the funds will be disbursed?

We will respond to other points raised in your letter in due course.

We would appreciate a prompt response to this inquiry.

Sincerely, Miguel