

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

“We, on the other side”: Black Internationalism in/against the Lusophone World, 1944-1978

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3186h6t9>

Author

Gordon, C. Darius

Publication Date

2024

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

“We, on the other side”: Black Internationalism in/against the Lusophone World, 1944-1978

By

C. Darius Gordon

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Daniel Perlstein, Co-Chair

Professor Tianna Paschel, Co-Chair

Professor Brandi T. Summers

Spring 2024

Abstract

“We, on the other side”: Black Internationalism in/against the Lusophone World, 1944-1978

by

C. Darius Gordon

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Daniel Perlstein, Co-Chair

Professor Tianna Paschel, Co-Chair

This dissertation examines the ideas and practices of transnational solidarity against racial and imperial violence in the mid-20th century Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) world. In the decades following World War II, a national movement for Black self-determination was emerging in Brazil while the African colonies under Portuguese rule were at war for national independence. While scholars have largely characterized the relationships between these movements as symbolic or one-directional to the benefit of Brazilians, my dissertation highlights the importance of interpersonal and tangible encounters toward a mutual ideological exchange. I examine the ideas that emerged from several opportunities that – sometimes unintentionally – facilitated meetings between activist-intellectuals of the Brazilian Black Movement and the anticolonial revolutionaries of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde. I draw on archived correspondences, press publications, organizational documents, memoirs, state surveillance documents, oral history interviews, and close readings of cultural and literary productions from Brazil, Portugal, and Cabo Verde to demonstrate how this network of activists and intellectuals shaped ideas about post-colonial subjectivity, language, cultural politics, and liberation. Ultimately, I argue that this network of intellectuals demonstrated a *Black imperial double consciousness*. This concept frames the dissertation by highlighting how this network of Black internationalists drew upon their shared history of Portuguese imperialism while also drawing on varied articulations of global blackness in order to produce the ideas that animated their movements, shaped their language of solidarity, and reconfigured the terms of their international relations.

Structured by interpersonal and tangible accounts of Black diasporic ideological exchange, each chapter of this project is organized around the conditions that made these transatlantic encounters possible. In **Chapter 1**, “Blackness, Africanity, and (Un)Learning Subjecthood,” I use a series of international education opportunities to offer insight into how these intellectuals co-constructed notions of blackness and Africanity as they formed bonds of solidarity. I argue that these young intellectuals both drew upon and challenged the racial logics of the Portuguese empire to produce a sense of shared identity and shared struggle. **Chapter 2**, “‘The only language common to all’: *Poesia Negra* and Black Grammars of Solidarity,” analyzes

the *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* [Anthology of Black Poetry in Portuguese] (1958), edited by the Angolan Mário Pinto de Andrade, and its circulation in a Brazilian network during the 1960s and 70s. I argue that these intellectuals used the poetic form to express a grammar of blackness that simultaneously drew upon and challenged the notion that they were bonded to one another as Portuguese-speaking subjects. In **Chapter 3**, “On a Global Stage: National Culture and the Cultural Politics of Independence,” I examine the ideas of cultural politics expressed by the Brazilian, Angolan, and Guinean presence at the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977. By staging a conversation between two of these intellectuals, I argue that their understandings of nationalism and internationalism are shaped by the cultural politics derived from their specific struggle against Portuguese imperialism as well as the broader Pan-African cultural-political discourses.

This project intervenes in the field of global Black studies by centering people and territories that use Portuguese as an official language, which challenges the existing emphasis on Anglophone and Francophone populations. Further, by emphasizing the encounters and interpersonal relationships which enabled the exchange of ideas, this project offers a materially-grounded reading of the Black diaspora that allows us to reflect on the possibilities of present-day transnational solidarity. Overall, this project furthers our understanding of the histories of Black internationalism, the conditions of possibility for transnational solidarity, and the lasting legacy of empire and the struggles against it.

*For Gran Gran and Thereza Santos,
you have shown me our dreams are worth fighting for.*

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Dedication.....	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
List of Organizations and Events.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv

Introduction | 1
We, on the Other Side

Chapter 1 | 25
Blackness, Africanity, and (Un)Learning Subjecthood

Chapter 2 | 50
“The only language common to all”: Poesia Negra and Black Grammars of Solidarity

Chapter 3 | 71
On a Global Stage: National Culture and the Cultural Politics of Independence

Conclusion | 88
A Luta Continua

Bibliography | 93

Appendices | 100

List of Organizations and Events

Acronyms/Abbreviations	Portuguese	English	Country/Region
ACN	Associação Cultural do Negro	Black Cultural Association	Brazil
CEA	Centro de Estudos Africanos	African Studies Center	Portugal
CEAA	Centro de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos	Center for Afro-Asiatic Studies	Brazil
CECAN	Centro de Cultura e Arte Negra	Center for Black Art and Culture	Brazil
CEI	Casa dos Estudantes do Império	House of Students of the Empire	Portugal
DOPS	Departamento de Ordem Política e Social and the	Department of Political and Social Order	Brazil
FESTAC	N/A	The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture	Nigeria
MNU	Movimento Negro Unificado	Unified Black Movement	Brazil
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola	Angola
PAIGC	Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde	African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde	Guinea-Bissau/ Cabo Verde
PIDE	Portuguese Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado	International and State Defense Police	Portugal
UGEAN	União Geral dos Estudantes dos Países sob Domínio Colonial Português	General Union of the Students of the Countries Under Portuguese Colonial Dominion	Global
UNE	União Nacional dos Estudantes	National Union of Students	Brazil

Acknowledgments

I take the genre of gratitude seriously. I want to take the time to acknowledge those who have traveled with me literally, figuratively, and spiritually. The process of this dissertation, and the Ph.D. more generally, have taken me to places I could have never imagined, introduced me to people I would have never known, and offered up ideas that have left me profoundly altered. When I began this journey six years ago, I was not prepared for what awaited me. This work transpired over two union strikes, a global pandemic, climate catastrophes I'd only seen in science fiction, the deaths of loved ones, and countless examples of state, imperial, and colonial violence. There was also beauty: the birth of a niece and a nephew, good times with new and old friends, some of the most breathtaking views this world has to offer, and celebrations of love. This dissertation is the sum of all of these parts, and the many who walked this road with me.

Where else to begin, but from the heart? Julian, my love, thank you for all that you are and all that you do. I did not have finding love at the end of the world on my bingo card, but you came into my life when I needed it most. The laughs, good meals, and grounded perspective you share have made the late nights bearable. I am forever grateful for your support and understanding.

To my committee, thank you for believing in me. Tianna, words can't express how much your feedback, listening ear, big laughs, and encouragement have meant to me. You saw this project before I did, and you encouraged me to keep going even when I didn't see the path forward. Thank you for being my day one on this campus. Dan, your curiosity and storytelling will forever change the way I approach the ideas of this world. Thank you for encouraging me to play with new concepts and ask big questions. Brandi, you made time and space for me when so few were willing. Thank you for being a sounding board, a mentor, and a friend.

I've also benefited from sustained support and mentorship from other scholars. Amílcar Pereira, from the start of my master's degree research until now, you have been with me every step of the way. I am grateful to call you a collaborator and friend. Travis Bristol, your check-ins, nourishment, and perspective for how to move through the academy made all the difference. Michael Dumas, I wish you nothing but the very best. Your principled critique modeled a radical orientation to the academy that I am still trying to embody.

They often say the dissertation is an isolating process. In many ways, it was. Yet, there is no way I could have done this without the countless reading groups, writing workshops, feedback sessions, and accountability meetings I've been a part of over the years. These research communities have inspired more ideas than I can count, handled my work with gentle hands, and let me brainstorm when I wasn't quite sure what I wanted to say in this project. Thank you to GEPEAR/UFRJ, Tianna's Research Group, Dan's Research Group, the Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean (BLAC) Working Group, Furacão, Disrupting Diasporic Hegemonies, the Summer Workshop on the Making of Modern Brazil, and the 2024 Black Studies Writing Group. A special thank you to Caleb Dawson, Michael Bakal, Cathy Park, Bharat Suri, Alice Taylor, Cristina Méndez, Veer Kothari, Joy Esboldt, Talia Leibovitz, Aukeem Ballard, Jorge Maia, Watufani Poe, John Mundell, Nicole Ramsey, Franchesca Araújo, Sibahle Ndwayana, Ed Martin, Vanessa Castañeda, Cassie Ossei, Rachel Williams, Mahasan Chaney, Leah Faw, Juliet Kunkel, Bayley Marquez, Kenly Brown, Caio Fernandes Barbosa, Zenzile Riddick, Chris Walkes, Darion Wallace, Xavier Durham, Clara Perez, Kathryn Bishop-Sanchez, Ericka Larkins, Tassiana Oliveira, Flavia Cerqueira, Kevin Rigby Jr., Rashad Timmons, Carol-Armelle Ze-Noah, Thay de Lima, Luisa Melo, Derrika Hunt, Elizabeth Löwe Hunter, Stephanie

Reist, and Adriana Green. Your feedback and motivation at various stages of this work mattered a great deal.

I have also benefited from an immense amount of research advice from scholars all over the world. Thank you for your feedback on presentations of my research, suggestions on iterations of chapter drafts, connections to archives and scholarly community, and advice when I felt lost. These conversations took on many unexpected forms in unexpected places: late night conversations in parks, over zoom, on the beach, in homes, in offices, over lunch, over dinner, over coffee, on long walks, over WhatsApp, on conference panels, and the list goes on. Thank you to João Resende, Abel Djassi Amado, Mário Medeiros da Silva, Lucilene Reginaldo, Aldair Rodrigues, Flávia Rios, Pedro Borges, Gal Aparecida de Souza, Marcio Andre de Oliveira dos Santos, Maria Claudia Cardoso Ferreira, Fatoumata Seck, Mauricio Acuña, Michelle Purdy, Krystal Strong, Keisha-Khan Perry, António Tomás, Michael Hanchard, Bright Gyamfi, Sara Doolittle, John Willinsky, Desmond Fonseca, Silvia Maeso, Pedro Varela, José Pereira, Victor Barros, Fatinha Santos, Milena Britto, Ana Luisa Machado, Bernardo Reis, Eliane, Eduardo Estevam, Idalina Almeida de Freitas, Marilene Pereira, Annie Birkeland, Adriana Dantas, José Francisco dos Santos, Claudia Castelo, Rebecca Tarlau, Rita Alves, Jaques D'Adesky, Pedro Monaville, Daniela Gomez, Jerry Dávila, Rafael Pinto, Manuel Faustino, and Luena Pereira. On my research trips, I would often joke that I had many meetings set up with “a friend of a friend of a friend of a friend...” This work is born out of the kindness and support of a network of friends and colleagues. I am forever grateful for your generosity and generativity.

I've also been fortunate enough to make lasting friendships on my research travels. A special thank you to: Bruno, who has always supported my research in Brazil, and who graciously hosts me whenever I'm in São Paulo; Jorge, Marcos, and Gisele, who made Rio de Janeiro a second home; to Anderson, Eduardo, and Idalina who introduced me to a community in Salvador; and to João, who has seen to it that I will return to Praia. Thank you to all who fed me, housed me, danced with me, and introduced me to the best beers and caipirinhas their cities had to offer. Your care sustained me as I embarked on this work.

A warm thank you to the friends I've made in the Bay Area. I could not have done this without being grounded in such loving community. Having folks who saw me within and beyond the context of my intellectual work remind me that I'm more than what I produce. You also remind me of the stakes of my own politics, the value of community, and the strength of my own voice. I'm especially grateful for the various iterations of the Blake House, the 3 Corners, and Black Connect for helping make this place home. A special thank you to my friends of many years who have supported me every step of the way: Diane-Jo, Madhana, David, Nana, Dami, Addey, and Kai.

To my grandparents, parents, siblings, nieces, and nephews. Thank you for being my inspiration. Even when you didn't quite get what I was doing, you understood that it mattered to me, and perhaps to the world. Shout out to Butta. Your calls to chat, messages of support, and curiosity have shaped me and my scholarship more than you know.

Lastly, this work would not have happened without funding, archival, and research support. Many UC Berkeley institutions financially supported this work. Thank you to the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Center for African Studies, Mellon Black Studies Collaboratory, Center for Race and Gender, Global, International, and Area Studies Research Hub for funding my archival research trips. Financial support provided by the National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation Dissertation Fellowship was vital for this final year. Special thank you to the following for your administrative and logistical support: Julia Byrd, Greg

Louden, Janet Waggaman, Barbara Montano, Taylor Johnson, and Jack Busbee. Thank you to the many archivists who helped me navigate so many different systems of documentation. A special thank you to Luena Pereira who allowed me into her home to access her father's personal archive. I am forever thankful.

It takes a village to make a dissertation happen, and I am immensely grateful for mine. Thank you and *obrigado*.

Introduction

We, on the Other Side

On March 25, 1959, Black artists, intellectuals, writers, scholars, and political leaders gathered in Rome, Italy for eight days at the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists (Second Congress). The theme of this transnational gathering was “The Unity and Responsibility of Negro-African Culture,” and it was organized by the Paris-based African Society of Culture, the editors of the Pan-African magazine, *Présence Africaine*. Among the attendees of the event, was a small contingent of Portuguese-speaking activist-intellectuals. Several scholars have written about the importance of this meeting for them. For example, it was during the Second Congress that Mário Pinto de Andrade, Viriato da Cruz, and Lúcio Lara, three of the founding members of the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA, People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola) met with Frantz Fanon in the basement of a small café.¹ The Angolan intellectuals note, for instance, that this meeting was a decisive moment in determining that they would need to return to Angola and engage in armed struggle in order to achieve full self-determination.² At the same time, Geraldo Campos de Oliveira, co-founder and president of the Brazilian Associação Cultural do Negro (ACN, Black Cultural Association), arrived from a different national context. As the only Brazilian to attend the Second Congress, he was seeking to understand how to name the relationship between Black culture and national culture in Brazil and hoping that finding a link between the Afro-Brazilian struggle for civil rights and the African struggles for liberation could offer answers. After the gathering, Campos de Oliveira returned to Brazil with a new perspective that helped usher in a wave of African solidarity-organizing; not only within the ACN, but also in ways that amplified similar efforts emerging in São Paulo and across Brazil at that time.³

Transnational encounters such as the Second Congress mark entry points for understanding a number of ideological developments in the global movements against colonialism and racism in the mid 20th century. Debates on the tensions and possibilities between Africa and the African diaspora, between art and politics, and between nationalism and internationalism were at the core of such encounters as these intellectuals worked out these debates in real time. Highlighting the Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) presence in particular offers a window into the specificity of struggles against Portuguese imperialism and of the relationships between the few Portuguese-speaking intellectuals present. There are questions regarding if and how these intellectuals, a small minority at this transnational gathering and

¹ Joao Manuel Neves, “Frantz Fanon and the Struggle for the Independence of Angola: The Meeting in Rome in 1959,” *Interventions* 17, no. 3 (May 4, 2015): 417–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2014.994548>. p. 417

² According to Andrade, “this meeting with Fanon reinforced an important decision for each one of us; it was necessary to return to Africa. We couldn’t be spread out across Europe, Europe was a place of passage, it was a transition to Africa” Mário de Andrade and Michel Laban, *Mário Pinto de Andrade: uma entrevista dada a Michel Laban* (João Sá da Costa, 1997). p. 151

³ Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva, “Fazer História, Fazer Sentido: Associação Cultural do Negro (1954-1964),” *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política*, no. 85 (2012): 227–73, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-64452012000100007>; José Ricardo Marques dos Santos, Dener Santos Silveira, and Erik Borda, “A Descoberta do Insólito: uma entrevista com Prof. Dr. Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva,” *Áskesis - Revista des discentes do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia da UFSCar* 4, no. 2 (December 18, 2015): 83–83, <https://doi.org/10.46269/4215.93>; Petrônio Domingues, “‘Em Defesa da Humanidade’: A Associação Cultural do Negro,” *Dados* 61 (March 2018): 171–211, <https://doi.org/10.1590/001152582018150>; Paulina L. Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, Illustrated edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

many others of this era, related to one another. Did they interact? On what terms? What ideas were shared among them? And how did their ideas both reflect the larger debates in the Black diaspora and the uniqueness of their shared relationship to Portuguese imperialism?



Lúcio Lara, Viriato da Cruz, Geraldo Campos de Oliveira, and Marcelino dos Santos at the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists [Rome, March/April 1959]. Photo courtesy of @Arquivo Lúcio Lara / ATD (Associação Tchiweka de Documentação) - Angola

Accessing the history of these encounters is not an easy task. Little has been archived, saved, or repeated that answers these questions. Yet, glimpses exist that gesture toward possible answers. For example, to date, I have found two photos that capture the fact of an encounter between Geraldo Campos de Oliveira and the Angolans of the MPLA at the Second Congress. In the first (above), there are several men, including Lúcio Lara (upper left), Viriato da Cruz (center), Mozambican Marcelino dos Santos (upper right), and Geraldo Campos de Oliveira (bottom right). They stand in the middle of a discussion, two of them eying the camera directly with subtle smiles. In the second photo (below), Campos de Oliveira and Viriato da Cruz sit next to each other at a dining table among several other intellectuals. Campos de Oliveira, with his head in his hand, might be expressing a level of weariness from the events of the Second Congress. Da Cruz looks at the camera, seemingly a bit startled and off guard. These two images not only capture the fact that these intellectuals were present, but that they engaged with one another if only briefly. They smiled and broke bread together in the midst of eight long days together in Italy. What these images, alone, cannot tell us is what these intellectuals discussed or how they related to one another's ideas and struggles.



Campos de Oliveira (Brasil), Viriato da Cruz (Angola), Makosso (Congo-Brazzaville), Claude Mafema (Congo-Léopoldville), Mário Cardoso (Congo-Léopoldville) at a dining table at the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists [Rome, March/April 1959]. Photo courtesy of @Arquivo Lúcio Lara / ATD (Associação Tchiweka de Documentação) - Angola

Collecting the fragments of what is known by bringing other archival documents to bear on these images, we might be able to reconstruct possible meanings from these encounters. Drawing on published texts, archived correspondences, and other secondary sources that surround the moment of the Second Congress, we are able to imagine what might have been. Maybe Campos de Oliveira discussed the events of the Second Congress with Viriato da Cruz over their meal. Viriato da Cruz might have been interested in engaging his ideas on the “Responsibility of the Black Intellectual,” the title of the speech he would give at the Second Congress.⁴ Conversations could have happened over birthday celebrations (da Cruz and Lara would both celebrate their 30th birthdays in the days just before and after the gathering). These birthday celebrations might have led to discussions of generational differences in organizing (Campos de Oliveira was at least 20 years older than the MPLA intellectuals). Perhaps the group discussed Mário Pinto de Andrade’s speech on “Literature and Nationalism in Angola.”⁵ Those ideas would have been quite salient considering Andrade had published the *Anthology of Black Poetry in Portuguese* in the previous year, which included two poems by the Brazilian Solano Trindade. While the relationship between Andrade and Trindade is unclear, Campos de Oliveira shared that connection considering Trindade was in the same network of Black intellectuals living in São Paulo. Campos de Oliveira ran for state legislature in São Paulo as a socialist in 1950, and he believed that racial segregation was an under discussed issue in Brazilian political life.⁶ Did the Angolan intellectuals, many of whom were either members of the Angolan

⁴ Viriato Da Cruz, “Des responsabilités de l’intellectuel noir,” *Présence Africaine* N° XXVII-XXVIII, no. 4 (December 1, 1959): 321–39, <https://doi.org/10.3917/presa.027.0321>.

⁵ “Literature and Nationalism” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, 11 January 1962, Identifier: 04310.004.005, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04310.004.005>. This english version of the speech is from January 11, 1962 when he presented it at Columbia University. I haven’t tracked down the 1959 version, and I’m not sure how much it changes over the three years.

⁶ Santos, Silveira, and Borda, “A Descoberta do Insólito.”

Communist Party or engaged a Marxist-Leninist critique of colonialism, compare the racial and economic structures of their societies? Perhaps they considered the foundational role of the Portuguese in that regard.

I share these speculations on possible conversations to suggest that reading the disparate archives of these intellectuals alongside the fact of their encounter offers possibilities in our search for understanding this history. Beyond the speculative, it is difficult to definitively state how these intellectuals interacted with one another at the Second Congress. By reading for answers to these questions within archival documents, biographies, memoirs, and the literature produced after the Second Congress, we are able to re/imagine and re/stage the ideas that emerged and circulated through such an encounter. Further, by using the knowledge of an encounter to set the scene, we are able to bring their ideas to life and into conversation in ways that evoke new possibilities for understanding this history of Black internationalism. This may well be the key to unpacking a new set of global histories of anti-racist and anticolonial struggle.

In the decades to follow the Second Congress, there would be several opportunities that brought together activist-intellectuals of Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde, and to a lesser extent Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe.⁷ José Maria Nunes Pereira, a white Brazilian man of Portuguese-descent who would go on to be a vital bridge between the Brazilian Black Movement and African liberation movements, reflected on the state of these relationships decades later. As a participant in the oral history project, *Histories of the Black Movement in Brazil*, Pereira recalls that Luis Cabral, the first president of independent Guinea-Bissau, suggested that what was needed at the moment of national independence was not militancy but an exchange based on governmental diplomacy.⁸ Pereira also recalled the Brazilian Black movement's response to this request: "We, on the other side," did not want to enter legal proceedings with the Brazilian government. "At this time," Pereira asserted, the Brazilian Black movement "was denunciation, it was a shout."⁹ By the late 1970s, the contemporary Brazilian Black movement, in its nascency, was not interested in working with nor within the Brazilian government to develop diplomatic relations. They were in a moment of denouncing the Brazilian nation. Pereira's story captures many aspects of the ideas that are explored in this dissertation.

The language Pereira uses to describe the relationships between these movements situates himself within the racial, geographic, and political divides across the Atlantic. In its broadest sense, this dissertation explores the floating signifiers in Pereira's words. Who was "we"? What was "the other side"? And how did the meanings of the phrase "we, on the other side" (or the meanings that such a phrase evokes) shift from the 1950s through the 1970s, over decades of struggle, war, exile, dictatorship, solidarity, comradeship, and various forms of transnational mobility? Anchored in a range of encounters similar to the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, this dissertation broadly explores these questions related to the ideas and practices of transnational solidarity.

⁷ In this dissertation I primarily focus on the relationships among actors in Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Brazil. While I occasionally make reference to the other African countries under Portuguese rule, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe, my research demonstrated significantly less tangible and interpersonal ties between Black Brazilians and the struggles for national liberation in these countries. Additional research should consider the role of the largely white-leftist Brazilian cadres that traveled to Mozambique and the more symbolic and discursive role that these movements played in relationship to the Brazilian Black Movement during this period.

⁸ For an account of President Luis Cabral's 1980 visit to Brazil, see "Mao dupla: Brasil e Guiné," *Veja*, 25 June 1980, pp. 48-49.

⁹ "Conceição, José Maria Nunes Pereira." CPDOC/Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), (10h 35min). Oral History Interview conducted by Verena Alberti and Amílcar Araujo Pereira in 2006.

This dissertation considers the ideas that emerged through a history of encounters among a group of Portuguese-speaking intellectuals of the Global South in the second half of the 20th century. Analyzing the Brazilian Black movement and the anticolonial revolutions of Portuguese-speaking Africa between 1944-1978, this dissertation asks:

1. Under what conditions were encounters between the Brazilian Black Movement and the struggles for national independence in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde made possible?
2. What can these encounters tell us about the ideas that animated these struggles for liberation?

In this dissertation I argue that the intellectuals of the Brazilian Black movement and those of the anticolonial revolutions in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde drew upon their unique relationship to Portuguese imperialism while simultaneously making use of varied articulations of global blackness in order to produce the ideas that were fundamental to their liberation struggles.

Further, I argue that the development, exchange, and circulation of ideas in this intellectual network is a case of a broader phenomenon in the history of the Black diaspora. To make this argument, I frame the historical encounters in this dissertation as experiences of *Black imperial double consciousness*. This concept draws from the notion of “double consciousness” coined by W.E.B. Du Bois in 1903 in his foundational text, *The Souls of Black Folk*. Du Bois describes the double consciousness of Black folks in the U.S. as follows:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; to warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.¹⁰

Du Bois presents the Black experience of being in, but not of, the dominant power structure as an onto-epistemological position that requires Black subjects to understand themselves through U.S. hegemony, even when they have the capacity to understand themselves on different terms. Building from this idea, I situate this form of double consciousness within a global formulation. I argue that the intellectuals in this study shared an experience with Portuguese imperialism that framed their Black internationalism. I use the language of imperialism here to note the fact that while Brazilians had not been Portuguese colonial subjects for over a century, many of their social, cultural, intellectual, and economic commitments were still linked to the legacy of Portuguese imperialism and its prerogatives. Thus, in this dissertation, imperialism refers to the active colonization efforts of Portugal as well as their broader influences on and connections to the Portuguese-speaking world. This led to a similar “two-ness” described by Du Bois. I argue that the ideologies and strategies against Portuguese imperialism were enmeshed within a Lusophone-specific framework, even as these intellectuals actively sought to unmake the Portuguese empire. I use the language of “in/against” in the naming of this dissertation to index this *Black imperial double consciousness*. Thus, “in” refers to the ways in which their political subjectivities, solidarities, and political horizons reflect the ideas of the Portuguese imperial

¹⁰ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 1994). p. 2

matrix. On the other hand, I use “against” to demonstrate how these intellectuals articulated their ideas, networks, and political strategies in ways that challenged and exceeded the Portuguese sphere of influence. Namely, by positioning themselves within a Black world. Ultimately, I use the duality of *Black imperial double consciousness* as a heuristic that clarifies the specificities and generalizability of linguistic and geographic regionalism in Black Diaspora Studies. I return to this idea in the conclusion of this dissertation.

Historical Context & Periodization

While this dissertation focuses on the second half of the 20th century, some additional historical context may be useful for situating the centuries-long processes that constructed the conditions of colonialism, imperialism, and antiblackness at the core of this study. Specifically, this additional context highlights the key role that the Portuguese imperial project has played in world history; demonstrates how Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde have become geopolitically entangled; and offers context for the moment in which the movements, ideas, and acts of solidarities in this study emerge.

In 1444, Portuguese traders began the transatlantic slave trade by bringing the first enslaved Africans to Europe. By 1526, they had opened the floodgates to a worldwide economy predicated on the capture, exchange, and forced labor of enslaved Africans when they first brought enslaved Africans to Brazil. Between 1526 and the 1860s, roughly 5.5 million enslaved Africans were brought to Brazil primarily from the Bantu regions of the Atlantic coast, today Congo and Angola. This constituted nearly half of the estimated 12 million taken from Africa. In 1822, Prince Regent Pedro de Alcântara declared independence for the Empire of Brazil, establishing independence from Portugal. The Brazilian empire would maintain the practice of slavery until 1888 when Princess Isabella—after much pressure from Brazilian and international abolitionists—signed the *Lei Áurea* (The Golden Law), which abolished slavery. The following year, 1889 marked Brazil’s formal conversion from empire to a presidential republic. Following emancipation, Brazilians of African descent continued to face social, political, and economic marginalization.¹¹ It is this history that sets the stage for 20th-century Black Brazilian struggles for full access to citizenship in Brazil.

The Portuguese colonies of Africa would take on a different trajectory. Throughout the 16th century, the Portuguese empire established formal colonies in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, Mozambique, and São Tomé e Príncipe. However, it wasn’t until the mid-20th century that large numbers of settlers began to move to the African colonies of Portugal. In the 1950s, the leader of the Portuguese Estado Novo dictatorial regime, António Salazar, declared these colonies “Overseas Provinces” of Portugal in an attempt to reframe the colonial relationship and promote further settlement.¹² In the early 1960s, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, and Mozambique would begin armed struggles for independence that would not end until the mid-1970s, after over a decade of war. The *Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC, African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cabo Verde) would declare independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde in September 1973, and the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA, People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola) would claim Angola’s independence in November 1975. These centuries-long histories constitute the

¹¹ Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, None ed. edition (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

¹² David Birmingham, *A Short History of Modern Angola* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

backdrop to the story I tell in this dissertation.

This dissertation focuses specifically on the years 1944-1978. These years have traditionally been framed as key periods for national and global politics in Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, and Portugal. In Brazil, these years encompass what is traditionally periodized as the Populist Republic (1946-1964) and the Military Dictatorship (1964-1985). In Portugal, these years encompass the Estado Novo Regime (1926-1974) and the immediate years of democratization. This period also marks the years leading up to, during, and following the wars for independence in Angola (1961-1975), Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde (1963-1973).

This dissertation proposes 1944-1978 as its own periodization that brings the history of Black internationalism in the Portuguese-speaking world into sharper focus. Exploring national and international politics from below, this dissertation is periodized around a Black sense of time. Rather than narrate history by changes in national or imperial regimes, this project draws on the experiences and ideas of a group of subaltern Black subjects in order to redefine markers of historical meaning. Thus, I choose to cut across these traditional periodizations in order to capture the arc of Black internationalism taking place within, below, through, and around these other temporal-political markers. I begin in 1944 with the founding of the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* [The House of Students of the Empire], a student organization in Portugal that, especially by the 1950s, served as an incubator for the founding ideas of the revolutionary wars to come. I end the dissertation in 1978. This year marks the return of Thereza Santos (a Brazilian Black radical intellectual and a central figure to this project) to Brazil after several years in exile in Guinea-Bissau and Angola. This moment, I argue, marks a shift in the politics of solidarity across these struggles. As I will show in this dissertation, by the late 1970s, solidarities across the divergent political projects of African national independence and Black Brazilian self-determination within a nation, needed to be reconfigured through state, academic, and economic trade relations.

Review of the Literature

Black Internationalism in the Lusophone Context

Scholars writing about the various networks of Black relations in this period have tended to focus on Black internationalism as it, partially or primarily, pertains to the West or Global North. Often, sites such as London, Paris, and New York have figured centrally in the literature on 20th-century Black Internationalism.¹³ As metropolises, these sites have historically served as meeting places for colonial subjects, where ideas about colonialism, racism, and capitalist exploitation were not only developed but also debated. Due to the centralization of imperial power, exchanges of Black radical ideas were common in these sites as activist-intellectuals crossed paths. These studies highlight the importance of transnational solidarity as crucial for the ways many of these intellectuals developed their thought and strategy regarding struggles against colonialism, imperialism, class-based domination, gender exploitation, and racism. More explicitly, they demonstrate the ways in which many of these ideas were born out of local

¹³ Frank Andre Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow*, Illustrated edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Robin J. Hayes, *Love for Liberation: African Independence, Black Power, and a Diaspora Underground* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2021); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003); Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939*, First Edition edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

struggle as well as the relationships of solidarity forged across the Atlantic, leading to sets of radical ideas that were reformulated and rearticulated in the process. Further, this literature demonstrates the ways in which the ideas and cultures of Black internationalism, as they circulated among and between intellectuals, produced a sense of belonging to a Black world. This literature often considers individual or collective Latin American, Caribbean, and/or African influences in the organizing and thought taking place in Western Europe and North America, but the body of scholarship on Black internationalism has rarely centered this intellectualism between thinkers in the Global South. My dissertation builds from extant literature on Black Internationalist projects by shifting the focus of the circulation of Black radical ideas to the Global South, specifically through South-South solidarities.

The Portuguese-speaking world is particularly rich for expanding our understanding of Black transnational solidarity. This is especially true given the often-overlooked contributions that these places and intellectuals have offered to highly-regarded figures and concepts in Black history. Several examples illuminate this case. W. E. B. Du Bois, a central figure in Black Studies and a 20th-century intellectual who contributed significantly to the idea of Pan-Africanism, traveled to Lisbon in 1923 for the second session of the Third Pan-African Congress. He would later write about how both Brazil and Portugal shaped his views on race, racism, and the African diaspora.¹⁴ Arguably misguided, Du Bois saw Brazilian and Portuguese race relations as racial utopias that represented the promises of what societies could become. These ideas went on to animate the visions of movements such as the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, while reifying the idea that Brazil represented a racially egalitarian society in which all members of the society have equal opportunity and access to citizenship.¹⁵ This idea, which has come to be known as the “myth of racial democracy” is a concept that has historically been used to describe the racial and political landscape of the Brazilian nation as a means of obscuring the deeply entrenched racist and antiblack policies and practices that shape the experiences of systemic racism in the country to date. The racial discourses and national representations of the Portuguese-speaking world, thus, had an impact on Du Bois’s visions for an egalitarian future.

As another example, the intellectual, psychiatrist, and revolutionary, Frantz Fanon had direct and indirect influence on the African revolutionaries from the Portuguese colonies. Fanon met directly with these emerging leaders from Angola in 1958 at the All-African People’s Congress in Accra, Ghana; followed up with them in Lisbon immediately following that 1958 Congress; and met once more in 1959 at the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Rome, Italy (as mentioned in the opening to this chapter). These meetings with Fanon profoundly impacted how these militants began to think about the ideas of armed struggle and national culture.¹⁶ Further, the relationship between Fanon and the revolutionary-intellectuals of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, and Mozambique shaped how many of them engaged with ideas of national culture and the questions of colonial violence. This relationship would be cut short by his death at the young age of 36, but the legacy of those connections would live on.

¹⁴ W. E. B. DuBois, “Worlds of Color,” *Foreign Affairs* 3, no. 3 (1925): 423–44, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20028386>; António Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral: The Life of a Reluctant Nationalist* (C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 2019); Juliana Góes, “Du Bois and Brazil: Reflections on Black Transnationalism and African Diaspora,” *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, December 20, 2021, 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X2100045X>.

¹⁵ Amílcar Araujo Pereira, “The Transnational Circulation of Political References: The Black Brazilian Movement and Antiracist Struggles of the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Afro-Latin@s in Movement*, 2016, 247–67, http://www.academia.edu/28574868/The_Transnational_Circulation_of_Political_References_The_Black_Brazilian_Movement_and_Anti-Racism_Struggles_of_the_Early_Twentieth_Century.

¹⁶ Neves, “Frantz Fanon and the Struggle for the Independence of Angola.”

Algeria, the place from which Fanon lived, struggled, and theorized in the later years of his life, would be among the first African countries to support the liberation movements of the MPLA and PAIGC. While there has been scant attention given to these relationships, what's clear is that the influence of the formidable figure, Frantz Fanon, in the Portuguese-speaking world had lasting impacts on their ideas, struggles, and geopolitics.

As a final example, Léopold Senghor, the Senegalese poet, politician, and intellectual known for theorizing the concept of Négritude, traveled throughout the Lusophone world and worked closely with Portuguese-speaking activists, intellectuals, revolutionaries, and politicians during his lifetime. His ideas on négritude inspired a “re-Africanization of spirits” among the intellectuals from the African colonies of Portugal.¹⁷ Further, his poetics offered a unique framing to our image of “Lusophone Worlds” and his diplomatic work encouraged Brazil to support the end of Portuguese colonialism.¹⁸ Ultimately his efforts within the Portuguese-speaking contexts were crucial for facilitating ideas, movement, networks, and policies toward anti-racist and anti-colonial liberation.

As brief examples, these anecdotes highlight the Lusophone world's historic relationship to the broader world of Black internationalist thought and projects. Through these examples, it becomes clear that Portuguese-speaking intellectuals, activists, artists, and revolutionaries have played a fundamental role in shaping, and being shaped by, the more-frequently studied figures and concepts of the Anglophone and Francophone Black diaspora. Yet the breadth and depth of Black internationalism within the Lusophone world and its relationships across imperial and linguistic configurations, remains largely understudied. This dissertation, thus, centers a network of Portuguese-speaking Black intellectuals as a way to consider both the particularities of their thought and experiences and to highlight how their history has always been part of this larger multi-lingual, global Black diasporic community.

Brazilian Racial Politics in Transnational Perspective

There exists a large body of literature on the transnational perspective of racial politics in Brazil.¹⁹ This review focuses on the literature that explicitly engages 20th-century relationships between Brazil and Africa. Studies of these 20th-century relations tend to fall into just a few, interrelated categories: relationships between state actors and state institutions;²⁰ cultural ties

¹⁷ Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Origins of African Nationalism: Continuity and Rupture in the Movements of Unity Emerging from the Struggle against Portuguese Colonial Domination, 1911–1961*, trans. Mario Pereira (Tagus Press, 2023).

¹⁸ Jerry Dávila, *Hotel Trópico: Brazil and the Challenge of African Decolonization, 1950–1980*, Illustrated edition (Durham NC: Duke University Press Books, 2010); Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral*; Mauricio Acuña, “Poéticas e Performances de Imaginações Afro-Atlânticas: O Primeiro Festival Mundial de Artes Negras” (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2021).

¹⁹ Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade*, Illustrated edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Jessica Lynn Graham, *Shifting the Meaning of Democracy: Race, Politics, and Culture in the United States and Brazil*, First edition (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019); Tianna S. Paschel, *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil* (Princeton University Press, 2016); Christen A. Smith, *Afro-Paradise: Blackness, Violence, and Performance in Brazil* (Urbana ; Chicago ; Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2016); João H. Costa Vargas, “Gendered Antiblackness and the Impossible Brazilian Project: Emerging Critical Black Brazilian Studies,” *Cultural Dynamics* 24, no. 1 (March 1, 2012): 3–11, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0921374012452808>; Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*; Jaime Amparo Alves, *The Anti-Black City: Police Terror and Black Urban Life in Brazil*, 1 edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

²⁰ Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*; Anani Dzidzienyo and J. Michael Turner, “African-Brazilian Relations: A

such as religion, art, and music;²¹ intellectual linkages such as (inter)textual references;²² and the symbolic role of Africa as a historico-conceptual site for developing new ideas about the (Black) Brazilian experience.²³ Conceptually, these studies are, in the most abstract sense, invested in uncovering the ways the trans-Atlantic slave trade and its legacy structured ideas, relationships, policies, cultural production, and identities for Brazilians and their outlook on African peoples, territories, and cultures. Put simply, they tend to demonstrate that both the Brazilian state and civil society have, at various points in time, drawn upon a sense of community or familiarity with Africa, and that this sense of familiarity is born out of the trade in enslaved Africans. This sense of kinship or heritage with the African continent frames political strategy as well as personal and affective notions of belonging and identity. The idea that all Brazilians have an African ancestor if they search far enough along the family tree is a fundamental framework through which nearly all Brazilian relationships with the African continent have been perceived, deployed, or negotiated. This idea speaks both to Black Brazilians and blackness more generally as it is deployed by Brazilians of all races in relation to the African continent. This dissertation builds from this research which highlights African history and culture as fundamental to Brazilian social and political thought.

In addition to highlighting the entanglement between national racial discourses and perspectives on Africa, these studies tend to highlight similar African geographies in their research. Largely, when these studies examine specific international relations, they tend to focus on countries such as South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal due to a combination of the prominence of the South African Apartheid struggle, shared cultural and religious ties of the Yoruba traditions, and the social, political, and economic influence of these countries during the mid-late 20th century. By comparison, studies that focus specifically on relations between Brazil and countries of Lusophone Africa are rare. Even rarer are those studies that are explicitly attentive to relations formed by radical political commitments, such as social and political movements. I posit that this as an important geopolitical formation for inquiry because it has the potential to highlight the particularities of the racial logics at the core of the Portuguese colonial-imperial project and its legacies. In doing so, the logics and strategies of struggle against racist, colonial exploitation are brought into sharper focus. While studies exist that clearly document the existence of social and political connections formed between militants in Brazil and revolutionaries in Portuguese-speaking Africa, the extent of these relations and their influence on the intellectual formations of the movements remains underexplored. This dissertation contributes to this literature by focusing on Brazilian relations with Portuguese-speaking African countries. Further, I take as my primary focal point the ties forged between radical and revolutionary social movements such as the Brazilian Black movements and the anticolonial struggles in Lusophone Africa.

Reconsideration,” in *Brazil in the International System: The Rise of a Middle Power*, by Wayne A. Selcher, ed. Wayne A. Selcher, 1st ed. (Routledge, 1981), 201–18, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429052101-8>; Wayne A. Selcher, “Brazilian Relations with Portuguese Africa in the Context of the Elusive ‘Luso-Brazilian Community,’” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 18, no. 1 (1976): 25–58, <https://doi.org/10.2307/174815>.

²¹ Stefania Capone Laffitte, *Searching for Africa in Brazil: Power and Tradition in Candomblé* (Duke University Press, 2010); Patricia de Santana Pinho, *Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia* (Durham NC: Duke University Press Books, 2010).

²² Amílcar Araújo Pereira, *O mundo negro: relações raciais e a constituição do movimento negro contemporâneo no Brasil* (FAPERJ, 2013); Pereira, “The Transnational Circulation of Political References.”

²³ Allan Charles Dawson, *In Light of Africa: Globalizing Blackness in Northeast Brazil*, 1st edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014); Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*.

A select number of scholars of Brazilian history have offered some scaffolding for the research in this dissertation by taking varied approaches to the study of the relationships between the Brazilian Black Movement and the anticolonial struggles in Lusophone Africa. Some scholars have focused on the ideological currents that link the Brazilian Black movement and the ideas of African decolonization. Usually, these texts highlight how decolonization sparked and inspired the ideas and activities of the Brazilian Black movement, both culturally and politically. For example, through a robust oral history project, Amílcar Pereira's *O Mundo Negro* provides first-hand accounts of the development of a Black political agenda in Brazil from the 1970s into the present. He specifically highlights the theoretical and diasporic influences of that struggle. Regarding Africa, he demonstrates the inspirational role of African liberation struggle and thought. Drawing from places such as Angola and South Africa and on the ideas of intellectuals such as Amílcar Cabral, Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon, and Agostinho Neto, Pereira demonstrates how the ideas of liberation in these movements planted seeds in the minds and hearts of many Black Brazilians of the necessity to struggle for self-determination. Similarly, in *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, Paulina Alberto writes about the ideas that animated the Brazilian Black movement across the 20th century.²⁴ Alberto demonstrates the ideological currents that led up to the contemporary movement, suggesting that Black Brazilians have had a shifting relationship to Africa over the course of the 20th century. Specifically, she highlights that “as Africa began to take a leading role in the narratives of democracy, human rights, and antiracism that black thinkers held dear, it provided [Black Brazilian intellectuals] with a new source of inspiration for their racial politics and identities.”²⁵ Texts such as Pereira's and Alberto's demonstrate a foundational link between the ideas of African liberation and the foundation of the Brazilian Black movement. While these texts often reference the history of tangible exchanges and interpersonal relations forged between Brazilians and African revolutionaries, a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between those tangible and interpersonal connections and the ideological currents of the Brazilian Black movement remains underexplored. By highlighting the more concrete, tangible, and interpersonal aspects of these ideological exchanges, this dissertation offers additional perspective to the ways in which radical and revolutionary ideas of anti-racism and anti-colonialism arrived in Brazil and circulated among those who would champion the Brazilian Black movement's calls for a radical Black self-determination.

Other scholars have engaged the history between Brazil and Portuguese-speaking Africa from the perspective of diplomatic relations. Renowned scholar Anani Dzidzienyo provides a rich history into the racial and ethnic contours of Brazil's history of trade and diplomatic relations with the African continent.²⁶ In his work, Dzidzienyo demonstrates the entanglement between Brazilian diplomacy, trade relations, Portuguese influence, and racialized discourses of Brazilian Africanity.²⁷ Through his theory of “triangular mirrors,” Dzidzienyo argues that Brazil

²⁴ Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*.

²⁵ Alberto, p. 234

²⁶ In the wake of his recent passing, the work of Paget Henry and Bright Gyamfi, for example, help put Dzidzienyo's unique experiences and ideas in perspective. As a Ghana-born, U.S.-based, scholar of Brazilian race relations, his insights are exceptionally unique. Rest in peace. Paget Henry, “Who Will Pour the Libations? A Tribute to Anani Dzidzienyo,” *The CLR James Journal* 26, no. 1/2 (2020): 11–14, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27170754>; Bright Gyamfi, “The Africa-Diaspora Orbit: Anani Dzidzienyo's Contributions to African/Black Studies and Black Liberation,” *African Studies Review* 66, no. 2 (2023): 464–89, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/122/article/902249>.

²⁷ Anani Dzidzienyo, “Triangular Mirrors and Moving Colonialisms,” *Etnográfica. Revista Do Centro Em Rede de Investigação Em Antropologia*, no. vol. 6 (1) (May 1, 2002): 127–40, <https://doi.org/10.4000/etnografica.2853>;

reflects and refracts multiple images of colonialism, racism, and empire through its relationships with African countries. Building on this work, Jerry Dávila in *Hotel Trópico: Brazil and the Challenge of African Decolonization, 1950–1980*, examines the shifting diplomatic relations between Brazil and Africa in the context of African independence movements.²⁸ According to Dávila, as African nations emerged, Brazil saw an opportunity to establish itself as a new global power by forging ties with countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, and Angola. Like Dzidzienyo, Dávila argues that the racial logics of race-mixture and racial democracy, at the core of Brazil's national origin story, deeply shaped its interest in, and representation of, its foreign policy in African countries. To strengthen their own diplomatic ties with Africa, the Brazilian national discourse, embodied by diplomats, began to draw on ideas that Brazilians had an innate proclivity for racial mixture. Thus, they believed that all Brazilians, regardless of race, came from an African heritage. Dávila demonstrates that these diplomats drew on these beliefs as they established diplomatic relations in Africa in the mid 20th century. Dzidzienyo's and Dávila's narrations of this history unveil how Brazilian race-making, racial thought, and racial politics shape, and are shaped by, an engagement with global political events such as African decolonization and the collapse of Portuguese empire.

Additionally, in their work, they name the limited opportunities Afro-Brazilians have had in the realm of international relations and foreign diplomacy.²⁹ Given this limited access in formal spheres, they also highlight how Afro-Brazilians have challenged and attempted to shape Brazil-Africa relations by other means. Dzidzienyo writes that they challenged the “culturalist discourse” of these relations by criticizing the hypocrisy of honoring Africa in international relations but marginalizing Afro-Brazilians at home. Dávila cites the work of the political organization known as *Movimento Afro-Brasileiro pela Libertação de Angola* (MABLA, Afro-Brazilian Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the presence of African students in Brazilian universities, and other Black political organizations pressuring Brazil to support African liberation and anti-apartheid movements. Despite these instances, they both ultimately argue that the influence of Black Brazilians in an official diplomatic capacity remained limited throughout the 20th century.

In recent years, Brazilian scholars have produced work that more explicitly explores this history from the vantage point of Black intellectuals and militants. An organization, best detailed by historians José Francisco dos Santos and Viviane Lima, is MABLA. This organization was an aggregate of Brazilian fronts in the struggle to support African independence from Portugal, with an explicit focus on supporting the MPLA in Angola. Dos Santos outlines the founding of this organization in the early 1960s, then reveals the Brazilian government's attempts to suppress the movement by jailing and surveilling MABLA members. His analysis highlights not only the activities of MABLA, but also the ideas that motivated them. For example, the intellectual exchanges of Brazilians in Portugal and Africa presented the opportunities to understand the linked-fate of Black, Portuguese-speaking subjects. Ultimately, he argues that this network of activists was influential in pushing Brazil to be the first UN member state to recognize Angolan independence, a political move that seemed counterintuitive to their own anti-socialist and Pro-

Anani Dzidzienyo, “A África Vista Do Brasil,” *Afro-Ásia*, no. 10–11 (1970); Dzidzienyo, “Triangular Mirrors and Moving Colonialisms.”

²⁸ Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

²⁹ In fact, Raimundo Souza Dantas was the first Black Brazilian to serve as a foreign diplomat, representing Brazil in Ghana from 1962–1964. He remained the only Black Brazilian to have served as an ambassador for many years following that posting. Today, it is still rare for Black Brazilians to serve in such positions in Brazilian international affairs.

Portuguese agenda. Building on this work, scholars such as Viviane de Souza Lima offer additional examples of the ways in which the presence of Africans from the Portuguese colonies in Brazil strengthened solidarity during this period. In recently published articles, she offers additional details on the formation of MABLA and their impact on Brazilian state and civic support for independence of African peoples.³⁰ Dos Santos and Lima offer the few accounts that emphasize the tangible and interpersonal aspects of this network of intellectuals who, in addition to a rich circulation of discourses, symbols, and culture, also traveled toward, struggled alongside, and encountered each other in meaningful ways. While illuminating, these works largely focus on the Brazilian experience of this solidarity. One aspect that remains unexamined in these works is how this network of activist-intellectuals actively navigated the racial discourses that frame their politics. This dissertation builds on these scholars to highlight a long history of networks, and to situate the racial politics of this international solidarity. In doing so, I argue that we sharpen our understanding of the terms of Black internationalism in and beyond the Portuguese-speaking world.

Global and Racial Dimensions of the African Wars for Independence against Portugal

Several scholars have written about the global and racial dimensions of the African struggles against Portugal for national independence. Scholars such as Pedro Varela and José Pereira have demonstrated that the anticolonial sentiment of Black Africans living in Portugal grew in the first half of the twentieth century. This happened, in part, through relationships to Pan-African organizing such as their relationship to the second and third Pan-African Congresses.³¹ This “proto-nationalist” period of the black movement in Portugal, gave way to the nationalist movements studied in this dissertation.

Focusing more specifically on the second half of the 20th century, historians have highlighted the crucial role of various international groups in shaping strategic, ideological, and military efforts for the national liberation of the territories under Portuguese rule.³² Some historians have argued that international platforms such as conferences and the United Nations were key stages for garnering support for their struggles.³³ At other times, historians have argued for the importance of situating these national liberation movements within the context of Cold War politics. These scholars demonstrate how African militant-intellectuals often pragmatically took support from a variety of international sources and blurred the lines of ideological dogma.³⁴

³⁰ Viviane de Souza Lima, “Solidariedade atlântica: Movimento Afro-Brasileiro Pró-Libertação de Angola (MABLA), entre percursos e conexões,” *Sankofa (São Paulo)* 16, no. 28 (October 23, 2023): 73–102, <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.1983-6023.sank.2023.217537>; Viviane de Souza Lima, “O “Caso dos Angolanos”: Prisões e Tortura de Estudantes Africanos Durante o Golpe Civil-Militar de 1964 No Brasil,” *Revista Trilhas da História* 13, no. 25 (2023): 33–53, <https://doi.org/10.55028/th.v13i25.19328>.

³¹ Pedro Varela and José Augusto Pereira, “As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933): uma geração pan-africanista e antirracista,” *Revista de História*, no. 179 (September 14, 2020): 1–36, <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-9141.rh.2020.159242>.

³² Rui Lopes and Víctor Barros, “Amílcar Cabral and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde: International, Transnational, and Global Dimensions,” *The International History Review* 42, no. 6 (November 1, 2020): 1230–37, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2019.1703118>.

³³ Víctor Barros, “Connected Struggles: Networks of Anticolonial Solidarity and the Liberation Movements of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa,” in *Transnational Solidarity*, ed. Zeina Maasri, Cathy Bergin, and Francesca Burke (Manchester University Press, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526161574.00013>; Aurora Almada e Santos, “The Role of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations Organization in the Struggle Against Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: 1961-1974,” 2012.

³⁴ Natalia Telepneva, *Cold War Liberation: The Soviet Union and the Collapse of the Portuguese Empire in Africa*,

Scholars have also demonstrated the necessity of support beyond governmental entities, such as civic support from members of the diaspora.³⁵ Together, this tapestry of international networks presents what historian Federico Ferretti refers to as the subaltern diplomacies of these liberation movements.³⁶ To date, the historiography of these movements for African liberation against Portugal have not attended to the racial politics of solidarity between Brazil and Brazilians in relation to the ideas and strategies of national independence. I argue that by doing so we gain sharper insight into the unique ideological struggles faced during the wars for independence against Portugal, and the international strategies used to confront them.

What this review of the literature demonstrates is that few have explored the history of the Brazilian Black movement and the revolutionary wars for Independence in Portuguese-speaking Africa as entangled in a history of Black internationalism produced by ideas and social relations. This is especially true in terms of thinking of this as a history produced by mutual exchanges. Thus, I echo calls by other scholars to tell a more diverse, complex international history by focusing on connections among the Global South beyond the realm of formal politics.³⁷ In doing so, this dissertation argues that we will have a sharper theoretical tool for understanding the circulation of the ideas that animate national and transnational struggles against imperialism, colonialism, and racism.

Black Internationalism and Ideas of a Common Struggle, A Theoretical Framework

In this section I present the theories that guide my analysis. I begin with theories that guide my approach to studying the circulation of these ideas within a Black internationalist framework. I then offer Black Geographic perspectives that frame my focus on the tangible and interpersonal aspects of Black internationalist exchange. Lastly, I consider notions of worldbuilding in the particular context of a Lusophone imperial matrix.

International connections have long been forged, practiced, articulated, and retained in the history of the Black diaspora. One way to think about Black diaspora is as an inherited condition or position born out of shared history and maintained by the afterlives of settler colonialism, chattel slavery, and the ongoing violence of global racial capitalism. Yet another way of conceptualizing Black diaspora is as an ongoing process, that is, as an action, that is never guaranteed, always contextual, and often intentionally framed, enacted, or embodied. In this dissertation, I frame Black transnational relations as both “a process *and* a condition.”³⁸ I join others in asserting that the diaspora is historically rooted in the conditions produced by the entanglements of the transatlantic slave trade and imperialism, and is intentionally (re-)articulated toward the needs of the present and future.

Understanding the Black diaspora as both actively forged and an inherited condition

1961–1975 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2022); Aurora Almada e Santos, “‘Action Needed’: The American Committee on Africa and Solidarity with Angola,” in *Transnational Solidarity*, ed. Zeina Maasri, Cathy Bergin, and Francesca Burke (Manchester University Press, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526161574.00014>.

³⁵ Abel Djassi Amado, “Whose Independence? Cabo Verdean-Americans and the Politics Of National Independence Of Cabo Verde (1972-1976),” *Journal of Cape Verdean Studies* 5, no. 1 (October 2020): 36–53.

³⁶ Federico Ferretti, “Geopolitics of Decolonisation: The Subaltern Diplomacies of Lusophone Africa (1961–1974),” *Political Geography* 85 (March 1, 2021): 102326, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102326>.

³⁷ Su Lin Lewis, “Decolonising the History of Internationalism: Transnational Activism across the South,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, October 16, 2023, 1–25, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440123000233>.

³⁸ Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin D. G. Kelley, “Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World,” *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (2000): 11–45, <https://doi.org/10.2307/524719>.

requires further unpacking. While it may be forged, it is never on even grounds, not always an attained status, nor guaranteed to be reciprocated. Brent Hayes Edwards proposes the concept of *décalage* to describe this experience. He asserts that “the level of the international is accessed unevenly by subjects with different historical relations to the nation”, and as a result “articulations” of diaspora always already require an acknowledgement of difference.³⁹ This difference, and the risk it suggests, is described by Edwards as *décalage*: “the kernel of precisely that which cannot be transferred or exchanged, the received biases that refuse to pass over when one crosses the water.”⁴⁰ Thus, *décalage* names working through difference as a constitutive aspect of what it means to build Black diasporic relations. Thinking through the notion of *décalage* helps me theorize the Black Portuguese-speaking diaspora as a confluence of difference built toward similar and overlapping desires for liberation. Throughout this dissertation, I sit with the diaspora as a literal and imagined community, and I acknowledge the power of its successful connections as much as its failed misrecognitions.

Central to this dissertation are the *ideas* forged and articulated through these attempts at diasporic connection. This dissertation examines the intellectual activism of Black liberation struggles. As Robin D. G. Kelley demonstrates in *Freedom Dreams*, the legacy of revolutionary ideas far exceeds the life of one movement or person, and the best of these ideas emerge within social struggle. Rather than focusing on how Black social movements have failed or succeeded, I follow Kelley’s orientation to the work in exploring the radical potential of the ideas of the movements and what we can learn from their legacies. Ultimately, Kelley suggests that while the strategies of activism are vital, we also need a broader vision for re-imagining ourselves, our relations, and our world if we are to reach a better future – or better yet, build one. This orientation toward the “merits or power of the visions themselves,” is foundational to this project.⁴¹

To study the circulation of these ideas, this dissertation draws on Black internationalism as a framework. Drawing from Burden-Stelley and Horne, I use Black internationalism as a conceptual framework because the network of intellectuals who compose this study:

centers critical political economy analysis; theorizes the international character of Blackness as a special condition of surplus value extraction; interrogates intra-racial class conflict and antagonism; insists upon the importance of culture in the history, progress, and self-emancipation of African descendants; and strives for the eradication of white supremacist capitalist imperialism.⁴²

Further, Patterson and Kelley argue that the utility of Black internationalism, both in its historic practice, and as a conceptual framework, is that it is re/articulated through and in conversation with many of global movements that are not necessarily racialized as Black movements. By taking this approach, this dissertation acknowledges and makes room for the myriad of ways in which the network of Black activist-intellectuals at the core of this study are actively engaged in political projects and solidarities that could be understood as a “harbinger of Black

³⁹ Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*. p. 7

⁴⁰ Edwards. p. 13

⁴¹ Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*, New Ed edition (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 2003). p. ix

⁴² Charisse Burden-Stelley and Gerald Horne, “From Pan-Africanism to Black Internationalism,” in *Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism* (Routledge, 2020).

internationalism.”⁴³ This dissertation engages Black internationalism as a framework, even when the activists, intellectuals, artists, and militants in this study do not refer to themselves as such. I choose to do so because their politics draw from and engage with Marxist-Leninist notions of culture, class, and nation in their struggles. Many of the intellectuals in the study identify as leftists, socialists, or communists, and regularly engage in critiques of labor exploitation and the capitalist imperatives of colonialism. Black internationalism is used as a framework throughout this dissertation to discuss a number of ideas that articulate an anti-racist, anti-colonial, anti-imperial, and anti-capitalist politics toward Black and African self-determination.

In addition to the ideas of Black internationalism, central to this dissertation is the notion that the circulation of these ideas must be understood via the tangible and interpersonal conditions that make that circulation possible. To do this, I engage Katherine McKittrick’s Black Geographic reading of Paul Gilroy’s *The Black Atlantic*. The Black Atlantic, a concept popularized by Paul Gilroy, is a geographic and analytic site through which I frame Black internationalism and its series of networks. In his foundational text, Gilroy describes the Black Atlantic as a rhizomatic, fractal structure that challenges racial essentialism and ultimately the concept of modernity itself.⁴⁴ While Gilroy’s Black Atlantic is instructive in its warning against constructing a monolithic blackness, McKittrick argues that his reliance on blackness as placeless obscures the materiality of the history he studies. In his construction of the Black Atlantic as cultural identity and through cultural practices, he relies heavily on oceanic metaphors that situate blackness as placeless, and emphasizes the aesthetic, cultural, and metaphoric aspects of black place(lessness). McKittrick generously offers another way to read the site of the Black Atlantic by looking for the material and geographic referents Gilroy implicitly draws upon. She suggests that:

if *The Black Atlantic* is also read through the material sites that hold together and anchor the text-- the middle passage, the Atlantic Ocean, black travelers in Europe, Canada, and elsewhere, the slave ship, the plantation, shared outernational musics, fictional and autobiographical geographies, nationalisms-- it clarifies that there are genealogical connections between dispossession, transparent space, and black subjectivities.⁴⁵

McKittrick’s reading of Gilroy’s *The Black Atlantic* is an invitation for how we might bring together the discursive and material connections of Black internationalism by way of the geographic conditions from which, within which, and through which they develop. More broadly, her interventions in Black Studies and traditional Geography have given me new perspective for the ways the ideological relates to the interpersonal and tangible in the formation of a Black Atlantic subjectivity.

In this dissertation, I largely consider this entanglement between the tangible, interpersonal, geographic, and discursive by way of this project’s organizational structure. Grounded in the tangibility of Black diasporic exchange, this project is organized around the conditions that made these transatlantic encounters possible. I do this in order to highlight the

⁴³ Patterson and Kelley, “Unfinished Migrations.” p. 27

⁴⁴ “I want to develop the suggestion that cultural historians could take the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis in their discussions of the modern world and use it to produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective.” Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*, Reissue Edition (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993). p. 15

⁴⁵ Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, First edition edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). p. xxi

fact that the circulation of Black internationalist ideas was not inevitable, but rather played out through a series of encounters. Each chapter of this dissertation is contained within a particular route, a set of geopolitical opportunities for mobility and circulation. I argue that the ideas that emerged from these liberation movements must be understood alongside the material conditions of travel and circulation that made them possible. In organizing the dissertation in this way, I reveal the conditions of possibility for the circulation of radical ideas as well as the ideologically-productive power of diasporic connections.

What kind of worlds are made through these connections? In this dissertation, I am not only interested in the spaces from which Black radical thought and relations get produced, but also the real and imagined spaces produced by Black internationalist thought (i.e., the nations and worldviews built by Black radical visions). In *Worldmaking After Empire*, Adom Getachew closely follows the work of several Black Atlantic intellectuals (W.E. B. Du Bois, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Eric Williams, Michael Manley, and Julius Nyerere) throughout the mid 20th century. Using the concept of "worldmaking," she illuminates how the anticolonial struggles for self-determination were not only about nation building, but sought to restructure the legal, political, and economic configurations of the modern world.⁴⁶ Similarly, Musab Younis, in *On the Scale of the World*, writes about how Black writers, in the interwar English and French-speaking contexts, produced ideas "from a black sense of place" on the scale of the world. From this global perspective, "Black writers illuminated the hierarchies of race that did not simply exist on a global scale but in an important sense produced that very scale."⁴⁷ Building my analysis alongside these concepts of worldmaking through anticolonial struggle and literature, this dissertation considers the worldmaking visions produced within the Black Portuguese-speaking communities in the second half of the 20th century. By focusing on the worldmaking projects in a Lusophone context, I illuminate the ways Portuguese-speaking Black intellectuals crafted their relationships of solidarity by drawing upon and challenging existing discourses of world order.

To consider worldbuilding within and against a Black Portuguese-speaking world, I unpack the relationship between what sociologist, Gilberto Freyre, calls "O Mundo que o Português Criou" (The World that the Portuguese Created) and the visions of Black intellectuals toward other worlds, akin to what historian, Amílcar Pereira has called "O Mundo Negro" (the Black World).⁴⁸ Gilberto Freyre, the white Brazilian sociologist, played a unique role in constructing the ideological and discursive landscape in which these Black intellectuals produced their own ideas. Freyre is known largely for his thinking on the racial politics of the Brazilian nation and for popularizing the concept of "racial democracy." Racial democracy is used to present Brazil as a racially harmonious society. The concept posits that Brazil is a country of race-mixture, that has seamlessly brought together European, African, and Indigenous peoples to produce a singular Brazilian citizen and a society free from racial discrimination. This concept has been used to obscure racial inequalities in Brazil, as well as to inspire activism across the racial and political spectrum. Less commonly known is the fact that Freyre also played a

⁴⁶ Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019).

⁴⁷ Musab Younis, *On the Scale of the World: The Formation of Black Anticolonial Thought*, First Edition (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2022). p. 5 See also, "Black interwar writing shows that a "black sense of place" included a sense of the whole world: a body of global thought that was articulated by journalists, politicians, writers, poets, novelists, travelers, anticolonial militants, historians, and scholars, living and moving across the Black Atlantic, and constituting a vibrant "thought zone" of the late colonial world." pg. 6

⁴⁸ Gilberto Freyre, *Mundo que o Português Criou*, 1ª edição (É Realizações, 2010); Pereira, *O mundo negro*.

foundational role in formulating and promoting the racial logics of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. In Freyre's early works, *Casa e Senzala* [published as *The Masters and the Slaves* in English] and *Sobrados e Mucambos* [*The Mansions and the Shanties*], he promoted the idea that Brazil is the result of a uniquely Portuguese propensity for racial and cultural miscegenation in the tropics, arguing that Brazil is the perfect mixture between European, African, and Indigenous peoples. In the years to follow, Freyre would expound upon this thinking in support of Portuguese imperialism and colonialism. In 1940, he published *O Mundo que o Português Criou* [*The World the Portuguese Created*], furthering such ideas by broadening the scope of his previous ideas under the new concept of "lusotropicalism." Lusotropicalism, similar to racial democracy, extended the racial-sexual logics of Portuguese imperialism to promote Portuguese colonialism in Africa and Asia. Then, following a tour of the African colonies in 1951 (on invitation and paid for by the Portuguese government), Freyre published *Aventura e Rotina* [*Adventure and Routine*] (1952) and *Um brasileiro em terras portuguesas* [*A Brazilian in Portuguese Lands*] (1953) in which he described how he saw the virtues of Portuguese imperialism first-hand. He proposed the field of "luso-tropicology" to further study the mechanisms of this so-called virtuous process, and as a way of understanding these colonies as the formations of "Novos Brasis" (New Brazils) under the policies of Portuguese colonialism.⁴⁹ These ideas, I argue were an inescapable part of the discursive landscape navigated by the intellectuals in this study.

What did it mean for these intellectuals to organize and struggle within "o mundo que o Português criou;" to know that they were much more than that world, and to envision other worlds? By making this particular imperial configuration a focal point, certain ideas about race, blackness, language, coloniality, and nation come into focus. On the one hand, these intellectuals were responding to their conscription within that world. Shared language, institutions, and economic networks put them in proximity with one another in ways that did not reflect their relationships with other Black diasporic subjects. The notions of lusotropicalism and racial democracy are built on the rather unique ways the Portuguese empire constructed an imperial politics around *mestiçagem* (race-mixture). On the other hand, these intellectuals (through their relations to each other and the broader Black World), found ways to challenge the logics of racial democracy and lusotropicalism. As you'll see throughout the dissertation, Black activists, intellectuals, militants, and artists from the Francophone, Anglophone, and Hispanophone world are deeply imbedded within the networks of thought and activism of Portuguese-speaking world. This dissertation is an exploration of the ways in which a network of intellectuals was struggling within and against the racialized global legacy of the Portuguese imperial project.

Scattered, Toward a Methodology

Before I can describe the specific methods of this project, it is important to outline my broader methodological approach to the studies of Black life, intellectual history, and relationality. Reconstructing the history of ideas among of range of actors moving around the world and back is not easy. It's even harder when so much of the activities taking place were clandestine, and much of the evidence of them has been classified or destroyed. The process of conducting this research has left me scattered. I find that word generative for thinking about the diffuseness of my experience throughout this process. To scatter takes on several instructive

⁴⁹ Cláudia Castelo, "'Novos Brasis' em África: desenvolvimento e colonialismo português tardio," *Varia Historia* 30 (August 2014): 507–32, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-87752014000200009>.

definitions here. As a verb, to scatter means “to sow by casting in all directions” or “to occur or fall irregularly or at random.” In pursuing answers to my research questions, I have had to cast nets far and wide, to scatter my mind across continents and decades. This history has scattered its responses to my inquiries, occurring “irregularly or at random.” I was never entirely sure where a glimpse or a hint of Black diasporic connection would show up, and I was often pleasantly surprised. The people, sources, and histories are “a small quantity or number irregularly distributed or strewn about,” and as a result I have become “the state or extent of being scattered.”⁵⁰ I lean into this feeling as part of my method. This project, which spans so many geographies, so many temporalities, and so many people, demands that I allow myself to be pulled apart, to scatter myself, to see and hear and feel across various spatial and temporal registers at once. I don’t think that this is entirely unique to my project; I’d argue that many acts of Black Study call upon us to scatter the dominant order of thinking in order to see blackness, Black relation, and Black being acutely.

A critical study of (Black) history requires intentional methodological and reading practices. I understand an encounter with the archive as an encounter with power. As Trouillot explains:

Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance).⁵¹

I contend with these silences by asking what knowledge can be created from the margins. One way this takes shape is through the use of the subjunctive mood. In many instances, where we may never know exactly what happened, I use words such as “may,” “might,” or “could” to index interpretive possibilities. I also do this by imagining and staging encounters between individuals and their ideas through a close reading of their political ideologies at specific moments in time. By relying on scattered fragments and glimpses, I explore the possibilities for reconstructing encounters among Black, Portuguese-speaking intellectuals throughout the second half of the 20th century.

As a Black person born and raised in the United States, with no knowledge of family history outside of this country, I also acknowledge the hegemonic presence of the U.S. Black experience in Black Studies. I acknowledge my own implications in U.S. political and economic imperialism that impacts Afro-descendants worldwide. Which is to say that while I feel a certain connectedness to Black Brazilians, Africans, and African descendants broadly, some did not always feel the same toward me. Nonetheless, I approached this work with the desire to uphold and affirm Black life worldwide, and to challenge imperialist, colonialist, capitalist, and anti-Black violence in all its forms. Often, my work relied on a community and network of scholars, activists, and artists who not only shared their experiences and history with me, but who were also willing to connect me to other people locally and across the Atlantic. As a result, this historical research required a re/construction of a transnational network in the present. This network led to more opportunities, questions, rabbit holes, and detours than I can share in this dissertation.

⁵⁰ “Definition of SCATTERED,” March 18, 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/scattered>.

⁵¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

Methods

The process of collecting information for this research spanned approximately 13 months and three countries on three different continents. From June through August of 2022 and February through April of 2023, I conducted archival research, oral history interviews, and met with scholars and organizations in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Salvador da Bahia, São Carlos, and Campinas, Brazil. In October 2022, I spent a month in Lisbon, Portugal conducting archival research and meeting with Portuguese researchers. Lastly, I conducted a month-long research trip to Praia, Cabo Verde in July 2023, where I conducted archival research and oral history interviews, in addition to meeting with local scholars. Across these sites, this project has required a range of sources which can be categorized in three ways: archived documents, documents and interviews that reconstruct this history, and manuscripts published by the intellectuals within the network I studied.

I engaged with a variety of archived documents including organizational documents, print media, archived correspondences, surveillance documents, and photographs. To acquire these materials, I primarily worked through a number of government, university, personal, and digital archives (See Appendix A). Organizational documents and print media were a central way through which the individuals and organizations I studied made their ideas public. The materials gave them the opportunity to circulate their ideas. This felt like a natural place to begin my inquiry into the collective modes of thinking across the diaspora. I examined both mainstream and independent press publications including newspapers, newsletters, bulletins, and magazines. Many of the presses I consulted only produced a handful of relevant publications, but *Versus* (Brazilian, leftist magazine), *Nô Pintcha* (Revolutionary Newspaper of the PAIGC), *Jornal de Angola* (revolutionary newspaper of the MPLA), *Mensagem* (student newsletter from Lisbon), and *Présence Africaine* (Francophone Black cultural magazine from Paris), all proved especially useful.

In order to think more about the modes of exchange born out of (a desire for) these encounters, I also turned a close eye toward archived correspondences. Letters exchanged among these intellectuals illuminated when, where, how, and why they traveled. By examining correspondence around the occurrence of particular events, I gained more intimate insight into the ways these intellectuals were making sense of their struggles and their world. The most unexpected and illuminating collection of correspondences came from the personal archive of José Maria Nunes Pereira, located in his daughter's home in Rio de Janeiro. Recovering a series of letters exchanged between Thereza Santos and Pereira offered a great deal of insight into Santos's time as an exile in Guinea-Bissau and Angola, a period of her life that remains veiled.

Because documentation by these intellectuals was sometimes limited, I turned to state surveillance documents to fill in the gaps of travel and circulation. I also sought to better understand the ways the Portuguese empire and Brazilian state understood these networks. In this regard, documents from the *Brazilian Departamento de Ordem Política e Social* (DOPS, the Department of Political and Social Order) and the *Portuguese Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* (PIDE, International and State Defense Police) were useful. I will note that one must be wary when thinking with state surveillance documents. Still, by reading these documents against the grain, it was another opportunity to learn more about the movement and activities of the intellectuals in this study.

In addition to archived texts, there were those that could broadly be considered memory texts. These texts include biography and memoir, edited collections, and oral history interviews.

These firsthand accounts offered one way of filling in gaps between the documents by painting a more contextualized or intimate picture. For example, Thereza Santos's memoir, *Malunga Thereza Santos*, was perfect for shedding light on her own perspectives of such a rich life. The edited collections of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 77), by the Chimurenga Collective and Marilyn Nance, brought life to a festival that changed the world. Alberti and the oral history interviews of the Brazilian Black Movement conducted by Verena Alberti and Amílcar Pereira, hosted by the *Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil* (CPDOC), were also useful. Lastly, I was able to conduct three oral history interviews in Brazil and Cabo Verde. Among them, my interview with Manuel Faustino gave me the perfect angle for concluding this project (See Appendix B for IRB-approved interview protocol).

Lastly, I engaged in a close reading of manuscripts published by the intellectuals within the network. This offered some of the clearest and most detailed sense of the big ideas in this project. The *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* and the *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* brought my dissertation into a whole new understanding of how to study the ideas of this network.

Main Argument and Key Contributions

In this dissertation, I argue that Black radical intellectuals simultaneously drew upon and challenged imperial logics as they defined their political subjectivity, articulated their bonds of solidarity, and negotiated the worldmaking visions of their movements for liberation. Using the worldview placed upon them by imperialism *alongside* the worldview they constructed as Black subjects, these intellectuals produced ideas about themselves, their struggles, and their worlds that were both specific to them and that spoke to global visions of self-determination. By making this claim based on Portuguese-speaking intellectuals in the mid 20th-century, this dissertation offers at least three major contributions.

The first contribution is to the historiography. While my goal in this project is not to produce a complete history of these Black internationalist relations, by highlighting nodes of connection along that history, this dissertation offers contributions to the histories of Black internationalism, Brazilian racial politics, and the anticolonial movements against Portugal. By focusing on a set of intellectuals in the Portuguese-speaking world, I offer new context for where and how we understand 20th-century Black internationalism to be located. Further, by highlighting the tangible and interpersonal aspects of the relationship between African liberation and the Contemporary Brazilian Black movement, my project renarrativizes the way Brazilians became inspired by African independence. I also shed light on the ways Brazilians played a role in the struggles for independence and nation-building in Guinea-Bissau and Angola.

The second contribution of this dissertation is that it brings together the fields of Black Studies and African Studies. As two interrelated fields, they often operate in silos. In the review of literature on this topic, it was rare to find studies that examined the production and navigation of race on both sides of the Atlantic, especially in the Portuguese speaking context. My work responds to the call to think race in Africa. As Jemima Pierre argues in *The Predicaments of Blackness*, "The very production of 'Africa'—its colonial history, its geographical, political, and cultural mapping, as well as ongoing discursive configurations of the continent's incorrigible difference—occurs through ideas of race."⁵² By attending to the role of race in structuring

⁵² Jemima Pierre, *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race*, Illustrated edition

African (de)colonization, I argue that we arrive at a greater understanding of global articulations of blackness and the ways they function in the (un)making of empires. This dissertation encourages us to see the resonance across these fields and across the Atlantic, with a unique focus on South-South relations.

The third contribution this dissertation makes is in strengthening our understanding of the terms, promises, limits, and conditions of possibility for transnational political solidarity. By framing this dissertation within a shared imperial configuration, this dissertation brings the particularities of the global struggles against racism and colonialism in the Portuguese-speaking context into sharper focus. At the same time, it offers a framework toward a generalized understanding of struggles within other imperial configurations, and in the context of a broader world. As we continue to understand (anti)blackness as global, and desire to build coalitions across geographic borders, we benefit from telling different stories about the histories of Black internationalism, especially those rooted outside of the Global North. Not only do they yield more incisive analyses of globalized power and empire, but more importantly, they highlight alternative visions for challenging that power and its legacies.

A Note on Terminology

The word “Lusophone” is a fraught term, one that I do not use lightly. In many ways it reifies the colonial and imperial logics examined in this study. Rightfully so, scholars have written against it as a concept used to define peoples, territories, and languages. Throughout this dissertation, my goal is to highlight much of that thought. “Portuguese-speaking” is one alternative I use frequently in this project. Sometimes, it is cumbersome in a sentence or doesn’t quite capture the object of my analysis. The phrases *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* (PALOP) and *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP, Community of Countries of Portuguese-Language) are also used by scholars and government entities to refer to the countries in this study. For similar reasons, they don’t always work well in this text. Thus, in this dissertation, I use the word Lusophone in two ways. The first is literally in the sense of Portuguese-speaking; strictly to refer to a group of people who speak Portuguese and spaces in which Portuguese is one of the primary languages. The goal here is not to suggest that these people are defined *solely* by their use of the Portuguese-language, but rather to highlight a discrete group of intellectuals who use Portuguese (among many languages) as one of their primary modes of communication. Second, the intellectuals I engage are simultaneously challenging and utilizing a set of geopolitical and discursive frames born out of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. Here, I use Lusophone to mark these particular settings, discourses, and institutions. My use of Lusophone in this regard is also not an all-encompassing identity-marker or a reproduction of the ideas of a Portuguese imperial project. These intellectuals exceed, and frequently disrupt, notions of being a Portuguese people or defined by a Portuguese culture. Rather, throughout the dissertation and often in their words, I demonstrate how they are conscripted into these imperial projects, but not solely defined by them. I have thus avoided phrases that other scholars use such as Luso-Africans, and instead use the word Lusophone to describe the Portuguese language, culture, ideas, and real/imagined territories (when applicable) that I feature in this project.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1, “Blackness, Africanity, and (Un)Learning Subjecthood,” focuses on how, as university students, Portuguese-speaking intellectuals co-constructed notions of blackness and Africanity in the emergence of their liberation struggles. Opportunities for education abroad were a complex battleground for anticolonial politics. These moments were, in part, shaped by questions and debates around what it meant to be Black and/or African in ways that reverberated across the Atlantic throughout the 20th century. This chapter examines the role that racial discourses played in developing transnational solidarity within Lusophone educational institutions. By analyzing archived correspondences, press publications, organizational documents, and Portuguese and Brazilian surveillance documents, I argue that these young intellectuals articulated a shared identity that relied upon and challenged notions of lusotropicalism and racial democracy. This chapter makes at least two contributions. First, by focusing on the racial politics of these networks, I highlight how the ideas of blackness and Africanity developed in these networks served as a key motivating factor for bringing this network together. Second, this chapter connects a history of Black internationalism through a long legacy of educational networks. In doing so, I highlight the ways in which students responded to, reappropriated, and refused the antiblack colonial and state logics of their educational programs.

In what ways did a shared history of Portuguese colonization offer a shared language to articulate solidarity among (former) Portuguese colonial subjects? In what ways did that shared language fall short in making meaningful connections, and how might we perceive what they drew upon to fill the gap? To answer these questions, Chapter 2, “‘The only language common to all’: *Poesia Negra* and Black Grammars of Solidarity,” primarily analyzes the production of Mário Pinto de Andrade’s *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* [Anthology of Black Poetry in Portuguese] (1958) and its circulation in a Black Brazilian network in the 1960s and 70s. I argue that *poesia negra* (Black poetry) represents one articulation of a grammar of global blackness that this network relied upon to form their bonds of solidarity. More explicitly, I argue that through the functions of the poetic, these intellectuals simultaneously reflected and refracted the notion that they were bound to one another as Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) subjects. In addition to the poetry anthology, this chapter draws largely on previously-collected oral history interviews, biographies, and press publications. Notably, in this chapter I emphasize the crucial role of inter-personal relationships and tangible material exchanges in the circulation of these Black, anticolonial poetics.

How did the intellectuals of the Black Portuguese-speaking world engage ideas of national culture and internationalism considering the differing national contexts of their struggles? How do reflections on national culture shape how we understand the politics of Black internationalism of the Portuguese-speaking world in this period? In Chapter 3, “On a Global Stage: National Culture and the Cultural Politics of Independence,” I examine the ideas of national culture and cultural politics in the context of Black internationalism. I do this by highlighting the cultural production, thought, and experiences of the exiles, Thereza Santos and Mário Pinto de Andrade. In particular, I consider the possibility of an encounter between them at the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977. Drawing on archived interviews, press, and biographical texts about Mário Pinto de Andrade and Thereza Santos, this chapter takes the presence of a Lusophone contingent at FESTAC 77 as the platform to stage a conversation among them related to ideas of race, national culture, and international solidarity. In doing so, I argue that the shifting conceptualizations of blackness and cultural politics in their own national political contexts offers a unique perspective for

understanding similar shifts in the broader Black world.

Lastly, I conclude the dissertation in two ways. First, I demonstrate a shift in the relations of Black internationalism that had existed since the early 1950s. I argue that by the late 1970s, there were a number of diverging opinions and positions on race, culture, political economy, and nation that were causing divides in the Black internationalism of the Portuguese-speaking world. Second, I return to the concept of *Black imperial double consciousness* that frames this overall dissertation to demonstrate how this dissertation illuminates the concept's general utility for how we understand blackness, Black struggle, and Black solidarity on a global scale.

Chapter 1

Blackness, Africanity, and (Un)Learning Subjecthood

In 1953, the journal *Présence Africaine* published the essay, “The Situation of Black Students Worldwide,” in the special issue, “The Black Student Speaks.” This essay, authored anonymously by “Students from Portuguese Africa,” highlights the educational problems faced by young people from the African colonies of Portugal.⁵³ They argued that because “the Portuguese have shown how to create ‘creole’ worlds” and were driven by the goal of reproducing the colonial regime through capitalist exploitation, the African subjects of Portuguese colonialism were unable to create educational institutions designed by and for Black students. Responding to these barriers, the authors suggest that what is needed is “a university for Black culture...An African University full of expression.”⁵⁴ Speaking in response to and within a transnational network of students who would write about and lead the struggles for African independence in the mid 20th century, these students from Portuguese Africa understood themselves as Black students in the context of a global, anticolonial student movement.⁵⁵ At the same time, in naming the “creole worlds” they inhabited, their argument highlights what they believe to be the racial specificities of the Portuguese colonial project, marking their understanding of Black culture as distinct from students under other colonial regimes. Lacking the education they desired, these students found subversive ways of crafting their own education that engaged blackness and Black culture within, against, and beyond the confines of the project of colonial education.

This chapter examines the ideas of blackness and Africanity that emerged within a network of formal educational opportunities, programs, and policies within the Portuguese-speaking world. More specifically, in this chapter I demonstrate how notions of blackness and Africanity, as reflected and refracted through a uniquely Lusophone framework, structured the possibility for solidarity among the young intellectuals from Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Brazil in the 1950s and 60s. I argue that, in the context of these educational opportunities, these young intellectuals simultaneously drew upon and challenged the racial logics of lusotropicalism and

⁵³ António Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral: The Life of a Reluctant Nationalist* (C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 2019), p. 46. While the essay was published anonymously, scholars such as António Tomás suggest that it was likely Amílcar Cabral, Mário de Andrade, Noémia de Souza and Agostinho Neto, among others, who collectively authored the piece.

⁵⁴ Des Étudiants D’Afrique Portugaise, “Situation Des Étudiants Noirs Dans Le Monde,” *Présence Africaine*, no. 14 (1953): 223–40, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24346446>. “Etant donné que le Portugais a montré à créer des mondes « créoles »” and “une Université ou des Universités pour de la culture nègre... Une Université africaine ample de l’expression.”

⁵⁵ Pedro Monaville, *Students of the World: Global 1968 and Decolonization in the Congo*, Theory in Forms (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022); Dan Hodgkinson, “Politics on Liberation’s Frontiers: Student Activist Refugees, International Solidarity, and the Struggle for Zimbabwe, 1965–79,” *The Journal of African History* 62, no. 1 (March 2021): 99–123, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853721000268>; Leo Zeilig and Nicola Ansell, “Spaces and Scales of African Student Activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean University Students at the Intersection of Campus, Nation and Globe: Antipode,” *Antipode* 40, no. 1 (January 2008): 31–54, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00570.x>; Eric Burton, “Decolonization, the Cold War, and Africans’ Routes to Higher Education Overseas, 1957–65,” *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 1 (March 2020): 169–91, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S174002281900038X>. Student activism was key to anticolonial politics as students around the world used the status, mobility, and educational tools offered to them to fight on local, national, and global scales. African anticolonial movements relied on student activism, and in many cases the liberation movements were founded by these students. These students rendered both real and imagined social, cultural, and political geographies in their nationalist and internationalist efforts against colonial regimes.

racial democracy in order to articulate a political subjectivity that facilitated their bonds of solidarity. While historians have highlighted the anticolonial politicization that took place in these particular educational settings, I add to this literature by emphasizing the ways these intellectuals articulated and navigated definitions of blackness and Africanity in the development of their transnational solidarity.⁵⁶ I emphasize that the ideas of blackness and Africanity that were produced to forge a network of solidarity are in response to the racial logics of Portuguese-imperialism and its legacy. Notions of lusotropicalism and racial democracy structured the ideological landscape as these intellectuals arrived at their own definitions of blackness and Africanity. Often oscillating between refusing and utilizing these racial logics, these intellectuals presented blackness and Africanity as common identities that motivated their appeals for, and actions toward, solidarity.

To trace this historical legacy, I connect two key moments. The first is the emergence of anticolonial politics among students in Lisbon in the 1950s. The second is the arrival of African students to study in Brazil in the early 1960s. In weaving these stories together, I emphasize the legacy of Black internationalism that was founded and sustained, in large part, by a network of opportunities related to educational institutions. I use the language of learning and unlearning subjecthood to frame this chapter. Through the language of (un)learning subjecthood, I wish to highlight the tension experienced within these educational opportunities. Whereas subjecthood is paradoxically defined as the state of being the subject of a political regime and also as the capacity of a being to possess agency, I use the notion of subjecthood to index the ways these intellectuals came into their own political subjectivity and challenged colonial/imperial subjection within these educational opportunities.⁵⁷

The Casa dos Estudantes do Império and Refusing the Colonial Subject

Following World War II, Portugal saw an influx of students from the Portuguese colonies. The post-World War II economic boom that fueled Portugal's industrialization, required trained industrial workers. To meet this need, they invested heavily in their educational sector. Secondary, technical, and university education grew by 300 percent between 1940 and 1960.⁵⁸ At the same time, access to formal education in the Portuguese colonies remained limited.⁵⁹ Thus, if students living in the colonies, either settler or indigenous, wanted to advance their education they often sought out opportunities in the Metropole cities of Coimbra, Lisbon, and Porto. The opportunities that funded studying in the metropole for both the children of Portuguese-settlers and indigenous Africans of the colonies were wide-ranging.⁶⁰ Whether

⁵⁶ Moreno, "A Casa dos Estudantes do Império"; Santos, *Relação Brasil/Angola*; Lima, "Solidariedade Atlântica."

⁵⁷ "Subjecthood, n. Meanings, Etymology and More | Oxford English Dictionary,"

https://www.oed.com/dictionary/subjecthood_n.

⁵⁸ Antoinette Errante, "Education and National Personae in Portugal's Colonial and Postcolonial Transition," *Comparative Education Review* 42, no. 3 (1998): 267–308, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1189162>.

⁵⁹ "Possibilidades de estudo e condições de vida dos jovens angolanos" by Mário Pinto de Andrade, February 1955, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04356.001.003#!1>; Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2018), 97. "What is undeniable is that the African child growing up in Portuguese colonial territories stood one chance out of a hundred of getting instruction beyond grade two or grade three."

⁶⁰ Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral*; David Birmingham, "Agostinho Neto," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.671>; Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, "(Black) Cosmopolitanism, Transnational Consciousness and Dreams of Liberation," in *Red Africa: Affective Communities and the Cold War*, ed. Mark Nash (London, UK: Black Dog Press, 2016). As an example of just how peculiar the

familial support, government grants, religious scholarships, or private funding, Portugal was prepared to receive these young people as an investment in the industrialization of the empire. It was during this period, from the mid 1940s into the early 1960s, that many leaders of the movements against Portuguese colonialism developed and sharpened their anticolonial analyses. One key place where these students developed their anticolonialism was the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (CEI, House of Students of the Empire), a government-funded organization for university students from the colonies.⁶¹ This section traces how students reappropriated the space of the CEI in the service of anticolonial education and organizing. In doing so, I argue that the relationship between the regime's goals of colonial indoctrination and the student-led, anticolonial political education was a struggle over racial ideas, namely the meaning of Black and African identity.

In 1943, a group of students from Angola—the children of settlers and colonial officials—created an association in Lisbon with the aim of helping other Angolan students pursue higher education. They named that organization the *Casa dos Estudantes de Angola* (House of Students from Angola), and their goal was to increase the “number of boys from the colony studying in the Metropole, offering them the certainty that they will not find themselves isolated.”⁶² Soon after, students from the other colonies began to organize their own respective *Casas* in Lisbon.⁶³ These *Casas* were designed as homes for the children of white settlers to find a place to belong in the metropole. This was largely in response to the history of white settlers from the colonies being prohibited from entering the highest positions in many professional fields. As a form of de jure discrimination in the 1930s, then de facto by the 1940s, the practices of keeping white settlers out of elite positions in the metropole motivated the white students from the colonies to organize themselves. In doing so, they could pool together resources and offer support as they navigated life in the metropole.⁶⁴

These gatherings presented a problem for the Portuguese Estado Novo regime. For one, as these students organized themselves, they could collectively demand that the government offer more resources to support them. Further, the organization of these students, based on colony of origin, challenged the dictatorship's propaganda of a unified Portuguese empire. As these students increasingly began to identify with “Angola” or “Mozambique,” for example, these nationalist tendencies posed a threat to a cohesive set of “Overseas Provinces” of Portugal. Lastly, as these students gathered within houses, it made the task of state surveillance against anti-fascist subversion more difficult. Gathered in private settings, these students could have more frank and intimate conversations about their relationship to the Estado Novo behind closed doors.

In response to these concerns, on July 3, 1944, the Minister of the Colonies, Dr. Francisco Machado, alongside other representatives of the dictatorship such as the national

funding opportunities could be: In 1945 Amílcar Cabral arrived in Lisbon through two scholarships, one based on academic merit from his local highschool in Cabo Verde and another granted by the Portuguese Mission of Overseas Students. In 1947 Agostinho Neto was awarded a scholarship by the Methodist Church of the United States to study medicine at the University of Lisbon. In 1948, Mário Pinto de Andrade arrived on a scholarship from the Catholic Church.

⁶¹ This section covers the 21-year history of the CEI, for a more a visual sense of this timeline, see Appendix C.

⁶² “Casa dos Estudantes de Angola”, *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Issue 223, Lisbon, January 1944, pp. 64-65. <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BGC/BGC-N223&p=66>

⁶³ While a few other colony-based student-led organizations had been formed in Coimbra, it is those in Lisbon that form the first CEI.

⁶⁴ Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral*.

commissioner of the *Mocidade Portuguesa* (the youth branch of the Estado Novo), visited the *Casa dos Estudantes de Angola* to declare a merger of the various *Casas*.⁶⁵ The goal, according to news published in the regime's colonial newsletter, the *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, was to unite:

the boys who arrive in the Metropole from our African colonies, India and Macao. Once the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* is constituted, our wish is satisfied, knowing that we can count on their dedication, patriotism, and good will. This will establish the necessary camaraderie among all students and a more fruitful national mentality. Our colonies are increasingly integrated into the thinking of the Metropole, and it is good to reinforce the link that unites the elite of the Overseas and the Mainland.⁶⁶

The goal of merging these colonial houses all under one roof, in both Lisbon and Coimbra, was to promote a sense of allegiance to Portugal and to inculcate Portuguese imperial ideology within these students. The language of “fruitful national mentality” and integration “into the thinking of the Metropole” emphasize that the Portuguese regime saw this as an opportunity to reinforce an ideological hegemony in their project of colonization. By enforcing the *idea* of a unified Portuguese identity among them, the Estado Novo attempted to construct colonial subjects invested in the prosperity of Portugal over their competing priorities back home in the colonies. Thus, from its inception, the Ministry of the Colonies, alongside the *Mocidade Portuguesa*, sought to control the functions and activities of the CEI, considering it “*uma filha da Mocidade Portuguesa*” (a child of the *Mocidade Portuguesa*).⁶⁷

One way we can trace the receptivity and response to this attempt at colonial indoctrination is through student publications that emerged from the CEI. One of the most prolific venues for student writing at the CEI was *Mensagem*, a student publication which took on many forms over the years.⁶⁸ During the course of its life as a publication, *Mensagem* was issued as a bulletin, a magazine, and a newsletter. It was originally designed as a bi-weekly magazine, which sought to bring “to the Empire an intellectual message from its students.”⁶⁹ In short, *Mensagem* was a platform through which students of the CEI could not only publish updates on the state of the organization, but also student poetry, short stories, and essays on topics such as art, culture, women's rights, and history as a way of voicing their perspectives as young intellectuals.⁷⁰ Well-known writers of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, such as Viriato da Cruz, Agostinho Neto, António Jacinto, Mário António, José Craveirinha, Mário Pinto de Andrade, and Noémia de Souza, among many others, published some of their first works in

⁶⁵ The *Mocidade Portuguesa*, or the “Portuguese Youth,” was the youth branch of the Estado Novo dictatorship. Membership was compulsory for young people aged 7-14, and optional up until the age of 25.

⁶⁶ “Visita do Sr. Ministro das Colónias à Casa dos Estudantes de Angola”, *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Issue 229, Lisbon, July 1944, pp. 133-134. <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BGC/BGC-N229&p=137>

⁶⁷ Cláudia Castelo, “A Casa dos Estudantes do Império: lugar de memória anticolonial,” n.d., 18.

⁶⁸ Noemi Alfieri, “*Mensagem*, Présence Africaine, Black Orpheus: African Epistemes, International Networks, and the Renovation of the Literary Environment (1960s),” *História Da Historiografia* 16 (October 9, 2023): <https://doi.org/10.15848/hh.v16i41.2006>.

⁶⁹ *Mensagem*, Issue 1, July 1948, Collection of Associação Casa dos Estudantes do Império, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. p. 1. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=11124.001.001#11>

⁷⁰ Darlene J. Sadlier, *The Portuguese-Speaking Diaspora: Seven Centuries of Literature and the Arts* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/48668>.

Mensagem. The ideological proclivities of the students within the CEI can be gleaned by tracking its trajectory.

The colonial indoctrination of the Estado Novo that took place within the CEI was, in some respects, a successful project. For example, the very first essay of the 1948 inaugural issue of *Mensagem*, was titled “Os Colonizadores do Século XX - Palestra de Alda Lara (Angola)” (The Colonizers of the 20th Century - Lecture by Alda Lara (Angola)).⁷¹ The essay is a published speech that Lara had recently given to a group of students at the CEI. Targeted mostly at the *caloiros*, the freshman class, Lara offers a speech in two parts: The first half highlights the 20th-century history of African colonization by the Portuguese as a successful struggle against the indigenous populations. The second half is a charge to the new students arriving in the Metropole to reclaim their role in the project of colonization. “In reality, we are the colonizers of the 20th century,” Lara proudly asserts. Despite substantial gains in Angola for white and *mestiço* (mixed race) members of society, “o negro continua bastante atrasado, no que diz respeito a higiene e instrução” (the negro continues far behind, with respect to hygiene and education) in her estimation. For Lara, it is therefore the responsibility of her peers at the CEI, a new generation of educated colonizers, to continue the work of saving the native populations of the African colonies of Portugal.

Lara offers, in her speech, a gendered and racialized enunciation that reflects the language of lusotropicalism. For example, according to Lara, her charge for the 20th-century colonizers is a responsibility that uniquely falls upon her peers differently based on sex and gender. She devotes several paragraphs of her speech to emphasize that her male peers have a duty to marry an Angolan woman because she will be of like-mind and want to return to the colony. It is the duty of the men to find and marry an Angolan woman, according to Lara, because Angolan women “são quem que submete” (are the ones who submit). She does not clarify the race of the Angolan women these men should marry, but she does highlight the racialized role these women will play in the colonization project. Regardless of whether these men marry women from Angola, the metropole, or other colonies, Lara is emphatic about reminding them that “there is a new civilization to be built.” Further, these women play a role in this process that is “importantíssimo!” More important than their potential work as doctors, educators, missionaries, or wives, Lara notes that they have a unique mission:

They will be the main educators of the children who, through their voice, will form the foundations of future Angolan societies. They will be the most powerful helpers in the campaign in favor of the indigenous people, because it is in contact with them that black servants [*criados negros*] will absorb a greater civilization and then transmit it to others.⁷²

Lara’s speech reflects the gendered and racialized logics of Portugal’s lusotropicalist visions. Her insistence that the most important thing these settler women can do is start a family and educate their Black servants places these students as the agents of colonial reproduction. This is needed, according to Lara, in order to finish the job of “building a civilization” where the Black, indigenous Africans have apparently failed to do so. Through marriage or education, the native,

⁷¹ “Os Colonizadores do Século XX - Palestra de Alda Lara (Angola),” *Mensagem*, Issue 1, July 1948, Collection of Associação Casa dos Estudantes do Império, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. pp. 2-9.

<http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=11124.001.001#!1>

⁷² Ibid.

Black inhabitants of the territory will absorb the European civilization, producing a Lusophone society.

The conclusion of Lara's speech echoes the language of the Estado Novo Regime when they founded the CEI a few years prior. Lara declares that "It is essential that we understand the extent to which we can serve Portugal, we only need to know how to set out disinterestedly, side by side, to strengthen the ties that unite the Metropole with the great indispensable colony." Her desire to "serve Portugal" marks the success of the plan for ideological reproduction that was orchestrated at the founding of the CEI. This speech highlights the racialized and gendered colonial logics of lusotropicalism at the core of the Portuguese colonial project. As the opening to *Mensagem*, it also presents the organization and its students as actively engaged in the project of colonial ideological reproduction.

Yet another example of the racialized colonial logics of the CEI is presented in the September 1948 issue of *Mensagem*. The students of the CEI published an excerpt from an essay written by Jaime Batalha Reis, "the great diplomat, publicist, and professor." They cite the excerpt from an edited volume originally published by the General Agency of the Colonies in 1941. As a Portuguese diplomat in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Reis played an active role in negotiating colonial rule over African territories. His essay, partially reproduced in this issue of *Mensagem*, offers a comparison between Portuguese and English styles of colonization:

The Portuguese colonize by uniting with the indigenous, forming family with them, creating a mixed race, constituting villages and towns that will slowly become civilized, but in a way that the people that they meet in the dominated countries are not systematically classified separately.⁷³

The publication of this older essay, once again, reproduces the idea that Portuguese settlers are well-equipped and benevolent colonizers. It also highlights the racial project at its core by clearly articulating the foundational ideas of lusotropicalism. Reis is emphasizing the perceived uniqueness of the Portuguese colonization process as one of race-mixing. Thus, this excerpt stands as another demonstration of the ways ideas of lusotropicalism were promoted by the CEI. The students of the CEI, especially, in these early years reflected the colonial desire of colonization not only as a land-grab, but also as an absorption or conscription of the indigenous Black-Africans into this project. In doing so, they imagined themselves as producing a new civilized society in which all subjects, regardless of race, could be "classified" and treated equally.

Despite the reproduction of lusotropicalist constructions of race in *Mensagem*, some members of the CEI sought to challenge these logics through the pages of the magazine, even in the CEI's early years. Some of the earliest writings of Agostinho Neto, the future leader of the MPLA and first president of independent Angola, were through the CEI. At 26 years old, he published in the first few issues of *Mensagem*, under the name António Neto.⁷⁴ These writings reflect not only a budding anticolonialism, but also highlight the ways in which his anticolonial politics were entangled with his emerging sense of Black identity.

⁷³ "Antologia Colonial," *Mensagem*, Issue 3, September 1948, Collection of Associação Casa dos Estudantes do Império, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. pp. 5-6.
<http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=11124.001.002#!3>

⁷⁴ Agostinho Neto's full name was António Agostinho Neto.

In one example, Neto offers his thoughts on blackness as enmeshed within his emerging sense of Angolan nationalism in relation to the spirit of Portuguese colonialism. In the combined *Mensagem* issues 4-6 from October-December of 1948, Neto published an excerpt from his lecture, “Restoration of Angola.”⁷⁵ Early in the piece, he establishes his commitment to the Black population of Angola. In this speech, he posits that “I owe Angola, for example, the possibility of being able to do something for the progress of the negros.” Yet as the speech continues, we see more clearly the ways in which his thinking during this period is also entangled with the colonial ideologies being reproduced through the CEI. In his estimation, it is his role to serve as a great leader of his people by taking on the:

vast lode of raw material to shape consciences: make them workers, farmers, doctors, soldiers; instructing and educating them; freeing them from the diseases that decimate them, working the land so that they don't go hungry, bringing them to the light of civilization. Great is the task, but great will be the merit for those who have helped to fulfill it.⁷⁶

In many ways, Neto's self-positioning in relation to the masses of Black Angolans mirrors the antiblack discourse of the colonial charge in Lara's speech. The need to rescue Black Angolans from themselves and bring them into civilization is at the heart of both speeches.

However, the speech also suggests a budding difference in the ways that Lara and Neto understand their responsibility to the people of Angola. A key difference is that throughout the speech Neto oscillates between the use of “us” and “them” in reference to the Negro masses of Angola. This shifting sense of co-identification reflects a sense of racial anxiety felt by many of Neto's peers at the time. Class, education, and geographic difference shaped a sense of racial dis-/identification for Neto and his generation. The slippage or discernment between “us” and “them” in Neto's speech offer a portrait of the ways that Black identification began to function in unsettling lusotropicalist notions of a unified Portuguese race. Working out a sense of Black and African identity on the page offered many Black students of the CEI an opportunity to question their relationship to the empire and the colonial project. While the settlers could sometimes identify as Africans, race as experienced in the metropole heightened the racial divisions of the colonial regime. It's through this logic that indigenous Africans from the colonies began to use the phrase “negro-africano” (Black-African) to distinguish themselves from the white settlers. These racial tensions between the Estado Novo's colonial regime, white settler students, and the increasing arrival of Black-African students would only continue to augment into the 1950s.

The anti-fascist fervor of the CEI only amplified after the first few years, making a significant surge toward outwardly anticolonial politics in the 1950s. This was largely due to the shifting demographics of the organization. While the early wave of students from the colonies was almost entirely white children of Portuguese settlers who grew up in the African colonies, by the 1950s, Black-African students—and even a few Brazilians—began to frequent the CEI.⁷⁷ This wave of CEI students is also known as the “Cabral Generation,” a term coined by Angolan student Mário Pinto de Andrade in reference to the leadership and influence of Amílcar Cabral

⁷⁵ “Excerto da palestra Restauração da Angola,” *Mensagem*, Issue 4-5-6, October-December 1948, Collection of Associação Casa dos Estudantes do Império, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. pp. 1-4. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=11124.001.003#!1>

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Sadlier, *The Portuguese-Speaking Diaspora*.

during this period. In particular, the Cabral generation is known for initiating a sense of nationalist politics.⁷⁸ The CEI was a home away from home that brought together young people and provided them comfort and safety.⁷⁹ By helping to meet the basic needs of these students, the CEI welcomed them with open arms when Portuguese society was not always so receptive.

Nonetheless, the CEI was not immune to the structural antiblackness that permeated the city. The Black students in the metropole also experienced racial discrimination within the CEI. According to António Tomás, “white anxiety was at the very core of the institution.”⁸⁰ These white students felt that they had to prove themselves in the Metropole, which often meant distancing themselves and their interests from the Black-African students from the colonies. Thus, a sense of racial hierarchy, already a fixture in colonial life, only became amplified in the Metropole, generally, and the CEI, more specifically. The small number of Black students in the early years of the CEI felt that they only received “official representation” without ever actually being integrated into the core of the organization. Lacking those alternatives for themselves, “it was in the margins of the [CEI]” that Black-African students began to organize themselves against Portuguese imperial rule.⁸¹

Amidst the margins of the CEI, these Black-African students developed their own ecology. As members of the CEI, they specifically sought out one another in the process of searching for their own identities. Jorge Querido, a former member from Cabo Verde, described the CEI as:

an authentic institution of informal education that contemplated and guided the training of African students, instilling in them values such as freedom, democracy, tolerance, and, above all, for us Africans, awakening us to our own identity and teaching us how to combat the mental and cultural alienation caused by centuries of colonial domination.⁸²

These questions of “identity” and “combating mental and cultural alienation” reflect the exploration of what it meant to be an African, what it meant to be from a particular colony or ethnic group, and also what it meant to be Black in those contexts. Looking back, Cabral himself, described this moment as the process of “re-Africanization of spirits.” Mário Pinto de Andrade would later clarify the vital role that the re-Africanization of spirits played in the national independence movements. Years later, in a 1976-interview he gave for *Nô Pintcha*, the revolutionary newspaper of Guinea-Bissau, Andrade elucidated that in the process of the re-Africanization of Spirits, “the first manifestation of revolt is the affirmation of blackness.”⁸³ Put differently, in addition to a cultural and political project, the re-Africanization of spirits was also a racial project. For the students, this re-Africanization often took the form of cultural exploration, and was regularly worked out on the pages of *Mensagem*.

Issue number 13 of *Mensagem*, which was published in January 1952, reflects the development of this racial project well. In this issue, Mário Pinto de Andrade published part 2

⁷⁸ “A Geração de Cabral: Palestra feita por Mário Pinto de Andrade,” 1973.

⁷⁹ “Prolegómenos a uma História (verdadeira) da Casa dos Estudantes do Império” by Tomás Medeiros, *Mensagem*, Special Issue, 1997, p. 31.

⁸⁰ Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral*. p. 38

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “O ‘espírito’ da CEI” by Jorge Querido, *Mensagem*: Special Issue, 1997, p. 117.

⁸³ “Amílcar Cabral e a Reafricanização dos Espíritos” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Nô Pintcha - Órgão do Comissariado de Informação e Cultura*, Issue 225, 12 September 1976, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04336.003.007#11>

out of his three-part essay series (though part 3 is never realized) on Black literature. Titled, “A Literatura Negra e Os Seus Problemas,” (Black Literature and its Problems) Andrade outlines the uniqueness of a “Black-African” literature in three components: style, meaning, and “black feeling.”⁸⁴ In just a few pages, he covers Negro spirituals of enslaved Africans in the Americas, Phyllis Wheatly and the early Black U.S. literary canon, the Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro Movement, Nicolás Guillén of the Afro-cubanismo movement, and the Francophone Negritude Movement. This global contextualization of Black literature, for Andrade, allows him to situate blackness and Africanity within a shared global cultural and expressive legacy. This global articulation of blackness speaks beyond their position within the matrix of lusotropicalist racialization that absorbs blackness into a global Lusophone culture. Rather, by situating the literature and poetry of his peers from the African colonies of Portugal within a longer and broader Pan-African and global Black literary tradition, Andrade challenges the Empire’s claims that its African subjects are identifiable, at least entirely, by a Lusophone culture.

Similarly, in the same issue, the poem “1619” by the São Tomean Francisco José Tenreiro, offers a global reading of blackness that is linked by slavery and colonialism. The title evokes connections to the transatlantic slave trade. As the year that many have claimed as the date that marked the first arrival of enslaved Africans in North America, the poem begins by referencing a connection between Portuguese Africa and the Black diaspora. Notedly, he draws on the fact that those “20 and odd” Africans who arrived in Virginia were kidnapped from Angola by Portuguese traders.⁸⁵ With the opening line “Da terra negra à terra vermelha” (from black earth to red earth), he further ties this connection to the violence of settler-colonialism on the African continent by painting the picture that the native lands of Black folks now run red with blood.⁸⁶ Throughout the rest of the 21-line poem, Tenreiro offers an elegy to the enslaved Africans in the Americas by demonstrating their inextricable link to those on the continent. Both Andrade and Tenreiro’s pieces not only express a sense of global, Black identity, but are also laden with emerging nationalist and anticolonial critiques.

As challenges to the colonial order, the racialized anticolonial ideas, that students such as Andrade and Tenreiro expressed, remained at odds with the dominant narratives coming out of the CEI, and certainly the Estado Novo regime. On the final pages of the very same issue of *Mensagem* that published Andrade’s essay on Black literature and Tenreiro’s poem on the Portuguese role in the transatlantic slave trade, the CEI published its statutes. Among the rules governing the CEI are Articles 4 and 5.

Article 4. The *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* has no interference in matters of a political or religious nature and is absolutely prohibited from interfering in matters of such a nature.

Article 5. The *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* does not distinguish between races or colors, political or religious beliefs, or of any other nature.

⁸⁴ “A Literatura Negra e Os Seus Problemas” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Mensagem*, Issue 13, January 1952, PT/TT/MP/DSU/010/009, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo), Lisbon, Portugal. pp. 11-14. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=11124.001.003#11>

⁸⁵ John Thornton, “The African Experience of the ‘20. and Odd Negroes’ Arriving in Virginia in 1619,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1998): 421–34, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2674531>.

⁸⁶ “1619” by Francisco José Tenreiro, *Mensagem*, Issue 13, January 1952, PT/TT/MP/DSU/010/009, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo), Lisbon, Portugal. p. 14.

By ending the issue with these disclaimers, the issue reflects the ongoing ideological battles taking place within the CEI. Juxtaposing the writings of Andrade and Tenreiro to these statues reveals the ways many of the Black intellectuals of the CEI were sharpening their anticolonial nationalist ideological tools within the CEI through racialized language. Students such as Andrade and Tenreiro were at odds with the regime's desires for the CEI and its intellectual, cultural, and political activities. I read these tensions, worked out over the pages of this student magazine, as reflective not only of anti-colonial, nationalist sentiment, but also as the active navigation of the meanings of blackness and Africanity. These meanings were situated as personal identities and positions within a racialized economic order within and beyond the Lusophone context.

These ideas posed a threat to the colonial regime. Thus, it is of no surprise that on May 30, 1952, due to increased political activity, the Portuguese Overseas Ministry and the Ministry of National Education instituted an administrative commission of the CEI in Lisbon. Effective immediately, the CEI would be led by the *Mocidade Portuguesa*, which took over the leadership, activities, and fiscal management of the student organization. This administrative commission lasted until 1957.⁸⁷ That year, when the CEI's leadership was returned to the hands of the students, they had to make several concessions. Most notably, the students were forced to finally re-structure the organization and end the use of colonial "Sections" as a form of organizing themselves within the organization.⁸⁸ In short, the dictatorial regime was trying to stamp out nationalist tendencies and insist upon a unified Portuguese identity. However, by continuing to force these students closer together, they were setting the stage for the development of stronger anticolonial politics.

Despite, or perhaps because of these institutional changes, the 1957 period that returned the organization to student control ushered in an even stronger wave of racialized, anticolonial politics among the students of the CEI. In addition to expansions in housing, food, and healthcare, there was also an increase in the social, cultural, and academic activities. This new generation of students brought with them more anticolonial sentiments, and they began to organize themselves around these ideas. By the early 1960s, the CEI had expanded notably. The CEI in Lisbon had approximately 600 members, served an average of 200 meals a day in the canteen, housed 14 residents, offered its own library, and had a game room; it hosted regular social events such as dinners and dances; it highlighted the accomplishments of their own scholars and welcomed faculty for academic events such as lectures and conferences; it staged cultural events such as poetry readings, music sessions, literary competitions, and film screenings; it held sporting events such as soccer, basketball, and ping pong tournaments; and it even ran a clinic with the support of one of the founding members. The CEI branches had also expanded. In addition to the Coimbra delegation, a delegation opened in Porto in 1959.

⁸⁷ Castelo, "A Casa dos Estudantes do Império: lugar de memória anticolonial." The administrative commission took control of the Coimbra CEI in 1955.

⁸⁸ Sadlier, *The Portuguese-Speaking Diaspora*. For clarity, the original students, despite being ordered to merge under one imperial umbrella, maintained factions, or 'Sections' as they called them, organized by colony of origin. The structure of the organization had a General Executive Board (President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, etc.) that provided oversight for each of the "Sections" that represented each colony. These sections, in turn, had their own executive board and representatives. However, the post-1957 CEI Statutes reflect that the organization, under the pressure of the regime, re-structured based on its activities. Now the Departments of Culture, Sports, Support and Camaraderie, and Theater would each report to the General Executive Board. What's interesting about this forced restructuring is that it serves as another example of how the regime's oppression strengthened the capacities of its own dissidents.

While the students, now increasingly Black, publicly presented the CEI as a cultural organization to the Estado Novo regime, these activities also served a political purpose. They began to use the organization, resources, and connections fostered within the CEI to form political cadres. As such, students were able to use the social and cultural nature of these events as cover for their political activity.⁸⁹

The changing demographics of the CEI not only precipitated more political organizing, but also opportunities for solidarity. In addition to increased Black-African presence, the CEI also saw the arrival of Brazilians who made the student organization their home in the 1950s.⁹⁰ Two prominent Brazilians in this network were both white men who developed a sense of solidarity with the emerging African nationalists within the CEI. I argue that they did this through a sense of racial identification that was marked by the racial logics of Portuguese colonialism. Fernando Mourão and José Maria Nunes Pereira, two Brazilians of white-Portuguese descent (who were eligible for membership into the organization because of their Brazilian nationality), came to Portugal for university studies in the mid-1950s and became integral members of the CEI. Mourão, at the age of 21, first joined the CEI in Coimbra as a law student and then subsequently transferred to Lisbon in 1957. Similarly, 19-year-old Pereira joined the CEI in Porto in 1956 as a medical student before transferring to Lisbon.

Both Mourão and Pereira played important roles in the organization in similar ways, mostly supporting the processes of political education and consciousness-raising among the young African students. In Coimbra, Mourão was responsible for the development of the library of texts about the African continent, which often required him to contact and develop relationships with scholars of Africa living on the continent and in the diaspora. In many ways, he became the head of international relations of the CEI. In Lisbon, Mourão became a part of the editorial team, responsible for the production of the CEI's publications such as *Mensagem* and other anthologies of poetry and prose. Pereira, similarly, was put in charge of educating the newest members of the CEI on African history. In an interview, he recalled that the president of the CEI, who was from Cabo Verde, said that they should "Put that *Brazilian white boy* [*branquinho brasileiro*] in charge of teaching the history of Africa to the freshmen class. Because he reads a lot."⁹¹ Not only did Mourão and Pereira integrate themselves into the CEI, but they were most involved within the subsection of students who were engaged in anticolonial politics, those who were predominately Black-Africans.

These Brazilians first and foremost felt a co-identification with the Black-Africans of the CEI, due to what they understood as a shared relationship to Portuguese colonialism. As Brazilians, they understood their own national history as a struggle against Portuguese colonialism, and they found a resonance with the nationalist struggles in Africa. However, the links that bound them did not stop at a shared sentiment against the Portuguese empire. Reflecting on his role in the CEI, and its impact on him, Pereira states the following:

⁸⁹ Castelo, "A Casa dos Estudantes do Império: lugar de memória anticolonial."

⁹⁰ One example of his texts shared over radio includes one "on the cultural similarities between Cape Verdeans, Afro-Brazilians, and Afro-Americans. In this article, he followed the principles of *Négritude*, showing that Cape Verdeans, as blacks, had more in common with other communities in the black diaspora-- particularly those that were the result of the Atlantic Slave Trade-- than with the Portuguese population in general" Tomas, Cabral Bio, 49. Tomas doesn't cite this! But I definitely need to find it. Just cite Tomas on it and maybe footnote that I'm still searching for the document

⁹¹ Conceição, José Maria Nunes Pereira (2019). CPDOC/Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), (10h 35min). Oral History Interview conducted by Verena Alberti and Amílcar Araujo Pereira in 2006.

So, there I began to systematize the study of Africa, I began to kafrialize myself. Kaffir is an Arabic word that means "black". In the colonies, *kafrializado* (...) is a white who lives like a black man, lives in the countryside, has mulatto children, and never has the money to return to the metropolis, marry a white woman.⁹²

Pereira's comment demonstrates the centrality of a sense of blackness in developing his anticolonial politics as well as his relationships with the Black-Africans of the CEI. Pereira's sense of *kafrialização* marks, for him, his positionality as a white man taking on a Black struggle. It's not just an anticolonial politics, it is also a racial politics. This formulation also demonstrates the entangled notions of Africanity with Blackness that were being developed in the CEI at the time, and further draw on the logics of race-mixture that were central to Portuguese colonialism.

Elsewhere, Pereira demonstrates that it was the fact of his Brazilian identity—one established through Lusophone notions of race-mixture—that made possible this process of "Africanizing" himself. His own sense of a mixed-race heritage allowed him to feel that he could understand, engage in, support, and teach about Africa. Earlier in that same interview, Pereira describes how his experiences in the CEI allowed him to fully embrace himself as one who "carries the flag of a black man."⁹³ One can't help but notice how similar Pereira's descriptions of himself are to Gilberto Freyre's ideas of Brazilian racial formations. Pereira's comments reflect an embodiment of the racialized and sexualized colonial ideologies that have been discussed thus far. That he saw himself within the struggle for African national liberation because he identified with Africa/ns is made possible through these logics. The notion that his Brazilian national identity, through a logic of race-mixture, inherently ties him to Africa grounds his statements. Further, he reproduces the idea that one can access that ancestry or heritage through sexual or romantic relations with Black women. The irony is that Pereira's description of his relationship to blackness and Africanity are made legible through the same racial logics of Brazil's racial democracy and Portugal's lusotropicalism that many of his Black peers in Brazil and Africa would ardently challenge in the years to come.

Thus, Pereira and Mourão found themselves in solidarity with African liberation struggles through the racial logics of "looking at Africa and seeing Brazil."⁹⁴ The significant contributions of Pereira and Mourão as bridges between Brazil and the African liberation movements against Portugal cannot be overstated. However, what I demonstrate here is that both Mourão and Pereira forged relationships during their youth in the CEI that would forever shape their lives (and arguably many others) as an outcome of the racialized ways in which they understood the world and themselves in it. A perspective that was steeped in the colonial ideological reproduction within the CEI.

The bonds of solidarity being forged between Pereira and Mourão in the CEI reflect the call for solidarity presented by the cadre of anticolonial students at this time as represented within the manifesto of the *Movimento Anti-Colonialista* (MAC, Anti-Colonialist Movement). By the late 1950s, the CEI reached another level of heightened surveillance and scrutiny. As a result, many students were beginning to leave Portugal for other parts of Europe. In 1957 young intellectuals, such as Mário Pinto de Andrade, Marcelino dos Santos, Viriato da Cruz, Agostinho Neto, and Amílcar Cabral among others, joined together to form MAC, an umbrella organization

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid. (Dávila quoting Freyre, 2023, p. 11)

⁹⁴ Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

that would house the MPLA and PAIGC, among other nationalist organizations representing the African colonies of Portugal.⁹⁵ In MAC's 1960 manifesto, they cite the common program and strategy for action among the colonized territories. They also dedicate a substantial amount of space to unpacking the particular relationship between their struggle for national independence and their perceived lack of support from Brazil. I quote here at length:

MAC considers it unworthy and without any valid justification, that certain circles in some countries, especially Brazil, continue to support the myth of community between the people of the Portuguese colonies and Portugal by continuing to provide moral and material aid to Portuguese colonialism. In the particular case of Brazil, MAC., faithful to the aspirations of our people, waits vigilantly, for the memory of its colonial past and the rethinking of History to show the Brazilian people and leaders that progress and greatness – which we ardently wish for Brazil – cannot and should not be built in complicity with this new form of slavery, which is the plundering and exploitation of the work of the black peoples of Africa dominated by Portuguese colonialism. MAC, affirming the trust of our people, is certain that the people of Brazil, especially Brazilians of African origin whose ancestors knew the horrors of Portuguese slavery, and, also, Brazilian democrats and progressives – will not allow the stain of slavery, once introduced by Portugal in its country, to reappear on the face of Brazil in a new form, but with the same essence and meaning. In relation to the Portuguese people, the objective situation of the great working masses of Portugal, dictatorially oppressed and exploited by the ruling classes of their country, we cannot fail to make them understand the great advantages that will come to them from the victory of the African peoples over Portuguese colonialism.⁹⁶

The young, anticolonial intellectuals of MAC were responding directly to the racialized notion of a Lusophone identity in their appeal to support from Brazilians. By naming “Brazilians of African origin whose ancestors know the horrors of Portuguese slavery,” they are appealing directly to Black Brazilians, and a sense of shared history that should bond them in the struggle against the Portuguese empire. Through an appeal to Africanity, MAC suggested a more natural bond of solidarity between Brazilians (especially Afro-Brazilians) and African liberation rather than Brazilians and Portuguese identity.

Activities, such as these, resulted in increased violence and arrest upon the students of the CEI, and ultimately another government takeover.⁹⁷ As tensions arose, many students chose to flee persecution. The year 1961 is an especially important moment in the history of anticolonial politics through these transnational educational networks. The wars for independence officially began with Angola in February 1961, and as a result many of the students of the Portuguese colonies were eager to join the fight. Known as the *Fuga dos Cem* (the Escape of the One Hundred), the mass exodus of African students from the Portuguese metropole back to the

⁹⁵ Other organizations included: Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO, Liberation Front of Mozambique) and Comitê de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (CLSTP, Committee for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe).

⁹⁶ "Movimento Anti-Colonialista (MAC) – Manifesto," January 1960, Arquivo Lúcio Lara, Associação Tchiweka de Documentação, Luanda, Angola. <https://www.tchiweka.org/documento-textual/0009000060>

⁹⁷ Due to another wave of increased political activity, the CEI was once again forcibly taken over by another administrative commission. From December 30, 1960, until July 1961, the government seized the CEI's operations after finding a manifesto entitled “Message to the Portuguese People.” This was protested by current and past students, many sending telegrams to the government to no avail.

colonies was a strategic and risky series of flights.⁹⁸ Throughout the course of the year, over 100 African students returned to the colonies to join the emerging struggles whose foundations were being laid with by leadership of Cabral's Generation. These escapes happened in large groups, as well as individually, but needed to be well-calculated due to the regime's attempts to keep these students from joining the war efforts.⁹⁹ As a result of these escapes, the *União Geral dos Estudantes da Africa Negra sob a Dominação Colonial Portuguesa* (UGEAN, General Union of Black African Students under the Domination of Colonial Portugal), was founded in late 1960 as another umbrella group to connect these students scattered across the globe. MAC and UGEAN, thus, constituted more explicit articulations of the internationalization of student networking and anticolonial politics that were born out of the CEI.¹⁰⁰

Following the *Fuga*, the final years of the CEI took place from 1961-1965. In July 1961, when the CEI was once again in the hands of the students, the government had even further restricted the activities allowed and increased surveillance via the Portuguese secret police force, the *Portuguese Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* (PIDE, International and State Defense Police).¹⁰¹ Various factors prevented *Mensagem* from appearing on a regular basis during this last phase. These included the beginning of the colonial wars in 1961, which resulted in no issues for a year; a brief return to a governmental takeover of the CEI; and the Overseas Ministry's decision to withhold all CEI funds beginning in 1963. Notwithstanding those and other factors, the many bulletins that did appear were exceptionally well produced, and a few approached one hundred pages in length. They were largely devoted to literature and featured talented former and current members of the CEI, writers in the war-torn provinces, and

⁹⁸ Sonia Vaz Borges, *Militant Education, Liberation Struggle, Consciousness: The PAIGC Education in Guinea Bissau 1963-1978*, New edition (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 2019). The escape (or at least its *longue durée*) was also considered part of the "*O Salto*," the more general exodus of Portuguese citizens fleeing the dictatorship's oppressive regime.

⁹⁹ Ibid. One of the largest *fugas* took place between June 16 and July 2, 1961, when, with the help of *Cimade* – *Comité inter-mouvements auprès des évacués*, "an international ecumenical service agency of the French Protestant Federation," 60 students escaped from Lisbon. Through a series of routes that were intentionally convoluted, these students were brought through Spain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Algeria, and Senegal all before they reached home. According to Edmundo Rocha, the *fuga* was a major surprise to the Portuguese regime. They could no longer overlook the threat that the CEI posed as an ideological breeding ground for opposition, not only of anti-Salazarist but of anti-imperial and pro-nationalist sentiments.

¹⁰⁰ "In a PIDE report, dated July 4, 1961, sent to the Ministries of Overseas, National Defense, Interior, Army, Foreign Affairs, Communications and to the Air Force Secretariat, we can read: "The CEI functioned, in Lisbon, as the main recruiter [...] There is no doubt that the exodus of overseas students and the clandestine way in which they act is of great magnitude" (Castelo)

¹⁰¹ Moreno, "A Casa dos Estudantes do Império." As the CEI increasingly came to be a threat to the imperial reach of the regime, the Estado Novo took note. During this period, PIDE invaded the building, seized CEI files, books, magazines and submitted the leadership to extensive interrogations. Even though the CEI complied, their funding was canceled by the Overseas Ministry in January 1963. During this period there is also a decrease in student-members, as a combination of decreased funds for African students which combines with these students' desires to be a part of the struggle at home. "It is worth remembering that, also in 1963, the Estudos Gerais Universitários (General University Studies) were founded in Angola and Mozambique, institutions of higher education that no longer justify that Overseas students had to move to another country to carry out their studies, while at the same time serving as an argument about investments of Portugal in the Provinces, for propaganda purposes during the colonial war against liberation struggles. The creation of the General University Studies in this context can be read as a measure that also strengthens the feeling of a war fought as far away from the metropolis as possible, reducing the flow of information circulation between civilians, by reducing the contingent of students from the colonies in Portugal."

intellectuals scattered to other parts of Africa and Europe.¹⁰²

The issues of *Mensagem* in these final years are not only more explicitly political, but also reflect an overwhelming interest in Black identity and culture in relation to those politics. As the racial and ideological demographics of the CEI continued to shift, so did the contents of its publications. Namely, the explorations of blackness and black identity in the CEI publications more than quadrupled beginning in the late 1950s. These texts reflect the centrality of blackness and Black identity in the development of anticolonial politics in the CEI, in addition to the heightened racial tensions within the organization. In the final issue of *Mensagem*, published July 1964, nearly all 18 of the essays and poems included discuss race, largely focused on Black-Africanness.

The poem, “Grito Negro” (Black Shout), at the center of the issue, offers a clear sense of the ethos of the CEI.¹⁰³ In the poem, José Craveirinha uses a racial metaphor for the building tension of the struggle against colonial rule. Repeating the phrase “I am coal” throughout the poem, Craveirinha not only refers to blackness, but to the exploitative labor conditions in the colony.

I am coal!

And you brutally rip me off the ground
and make me your mine, boss.

I am coal!

And you light me up, boss
to serve you eternally as a driving force
But not forever, boss.

I am coal

and I have to burn, yes
and burn everything with the strength of my combustion.

I am coal

I have to burn in exploration
burn to the flames of the curse
burn alive like tar, my brother
until I'm no longer your mine, boss.

I am coal

I have to burn
burn everything with the fire of my combustion.

Yes!

I will be your coal, boss!

¹⁰² Despite reduced funding and ultimately no subsidies from 1960 through 1964, the CEI published twenty booklets of poetry and prose by members and other contributors and five country-specific anthologies, four of poetry and one of short stories.

¹⁰³ “Grito Negro” by José Craveirinha, *Mensagem*, Issue 1, July 1964, Collection of Associação Casa dos Estudantes do Império, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. p. 64.
<http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=11124.001.010#!34>

By drawing on coal as a symbol, Craveirinha uses blackness to signify both labor exploitation and a concentrated site of resistance. Coal, in the poem represents the fungibility of blackness. Coal, as raw material, and an extracted resource, represent the overworked laborer until he or she is no longer useful, then discarded, and ultimately replaced. As a parallel, the author, in the first person, draws our attention to the fact that as a laborer in the exploitative colonial system, he will be worked until he can be disposed of and replaced, in a system that has existed “eternally.” But eternally does not mean forever, according to the poem. The power of the burning coal is preparing to combust. This burning, evoked by the poem, symbolizes the strength of a fiery resistance against the system of exploitation. The line “burn alive like tar, my brother” suggests a call for others to take up this resistance as well. In all, this poem is much more directly and politically charged against colonialism than works in previous years. In the final sentence, the author defiantly flips the meaning of coal on its head. Ironically, as a direct challenge to the colonial system, the author states that he will be the boss’s coal. If the boss, the colonial regime more generally, wants to burn him up, then he will gladly burst into flames, taking the whole regime down with him. The inclusion of this poem in the final issue of *Mensagem* is not only a reflection of the racialized components of the emerging anticolonial politics, but it would also be a harbinger of what was to come as increasingly more students returned to Africa to engage in the armed struggle for liberation.

On September 6, 1965, the CEI closed its doors for good. In a year marked by the intensification of censorship and the persecution of intellectuals in Portugal, the Minister of National Education dissolved the CEI on the pretext that it was no longer linked to any State-run educational institution.¹⁰⁴ However, it was too late. The momentum of the two decades of the CEI had emerged as a transnational movement that could not be undone. It was through the encounters at the CEI that the revolutionary-intellectuals of the wars for independence began to understand the racialized, transnational, structural violence of the empire. While the original goal of the CEI was to reproduce good colonial subjects, it actually offered them an opportunity to explore the ways in which the metropole profited off of a racialized colonial exploitation. The Estado Novo brought them under one roof to insist upon a unified overseas Portuguese-identity, but the unified identity they produced was one that challenged the regimes colonial ambitions. As I will demonstrate in the next section, these activist-intellectuals would continue to rely on these transnational networks as the wars for independence gained momentum.

Bolsistas Africanos and appeals for solidarity in a “Racial Democracy”

Building from the connections in the CEI, these racialized anticolonial politics also came together on the Brazilian side of the Atlantic by way of educational networks. As discussed in the previous section, following the 1961 *Fuga dos Cem*, African students of the Portuguese colonies dispersed globally as they sought ways to continue their education and/or find ways to participate in the struggle. During the years building up to the *Fuga* and certainly after, many of these students from the African colonies of Portugal made their way to Brazil in the early 1960s. These groups of students included those arriving with scholarships from the Methodist

¹⁰⁴ Borges, *Militant Education, Liberation Struggle, Consciousness*. In this process of dissolution, PIDE once again interrogated its leadership. Then they took over the building, confiscated all internal files and bibliographic materials, and even the claimed the furniture. Following this final raid, they sealed off the building and removed any identifying markers of the association in an attempt to completely destroy the symbol that the organization stood for. Despite officially closing the CEI continued in spirit under different names and iterations. The legacy of radical, anticolonial, Black African study continued clandestinely throughout out the 1960s as a “parallel university.”

Church,¹⁰⁵ students seeking refuge from the Estado Novo regime,¹⁰⁶ those that used their status as students to gain entrance into the country and came to Brazil explicitly to organize,¹⁰⁷ and scholarship recipients of a program organized by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty). All of these students found themselves, whether intentionally or not, enmeshed in a milieu of Brazilian-African activism, often student-led, that sought to pressure Brazil to support the independence movements of Portugal's colonies. This section continues the interest in student-intellectuals. Similar to the students in Portugal, I demonstrate how many of the students made use of these educational opportunities toward national liberation. I argue that these students drew upon Portuguese and Brazilian racial discourses and geopolitical infrastructures designed to bolster the economic, political, and social power of Brazil, and they repurposed them toward more radical ends. In this section, I highlight this network of students to explore the ways in which their presence in Brazil prompted an interrogation of the meanings of blackness and Africanity from both a national and transnational perspective. This section furthers the argument that this network of students both drew upon and challenged the Lusophone conceptualizations of race, namely lusotropicalism and racial democracy, as these intellectuals formed their bonds of solidarity.

One of the most formative groups of African students arriving in Brazil in the 1960s were students who had received federal scholarships from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty). On April 14, 1961, Brazilian President Jânio Quadros created the Brazilian Institute for Afro-Asia (IBEAA), which was designed to conduct research on Africa and Asia to improve foreign relations. Known as his *política externa independente* (independent foreign policy), Quadros's vision – which was continued by his successor João Goulart—was an attempt to bring Brazil into the global political scene with an avowedly neutral stance between the US-USSR bipolarity of the Cold War.¹⁰⁸ His goal was to construct a foreign policy that would be most advantageous to Brazilian international trade and power relations. In addition to research, the IBEAA (in partnership with the Itamaraty and the newly formed Center for Afro-Oriental Studies in Salvador da Bahia) began offering scholarships to African students as a form of cultural diplomacy.¹⁰⁹ By offering scholarships to African students, the Brazilian government hoped to

¹⁰⁵ Lima, “Solidariedade atlântica,” June 23, 2017. This group of students were among the earliest arrivals of this wave of African students, primarily arriving in the late 1950s. The protestant missionary system represented the only possibility for economic mobility in many black communities of the Portuguese colonies. Notable students of this group include Angolans Deolinda Rodrigues, a Black internationalist who would go on to be known as ‘The Mother of the Revolution,’¹⁰⁵ and António Jacinto Fortunato. Both arrived in São Paulo in 1959. In 1961, Angolans Paulo Matoso Neto and Francisco Raimundo de Sousa Santos also came to São Paulo on Methodist scholarships.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Students such as José Manuel Gonçalves, Orlando Dourado, and Soares Guedes. Gonçalves, a white Angolan, was an active militant in the student movement among high school students, but when he needed to flee for his safety, he decided on Brazil based on cultural affinity with the country. Dourado, a Mozambican, decided to stay and study in Brazil after arriving from Lisbon as a musician of the Casa Pia de Beja Orchestra. For more on these see students, see Lima, “Solidariedade Atlântica.”

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. These were largely members of the MPLA such as Constância Filomena Ramos da Cruz Nunes Pereira, Alberto de Almeida, David Costa Lopes, Igor Costa Lopes, Rui Costa Lopes, Brasília Farinha, José Maria Valadares, and Mateus da Silva, all who arrived as students in 1962 with the goal of joining the organizing efforts already taking place in Brazil in support of Angolan independence. Notably, Fernando Costa Andrade and Filomena da Cruz were former CEI members, and Filomena was now married to José Maria Nunes Pereira.

¹⁰⁸ Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*; Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

¹⁰⁹ This program reflected the global trend of using international exchange programs as a form of soft power during the Cold War. Liping Bu, “Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War,” *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 3 (December 1999): 393–415, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875899006167>. This program reflected the global trend of using international exchange programs as a form of soft power during the Cold War.

introduce these students to a country with which they would want their emerging nation-states to develop political and economic trade relations. Namely, Brazil sought to convince these young Africans, and their home countries, that they shared so much culturally as a result of Africans being brought to Brazil through the slave trade, that it made sense to go into business with one another.

The Brazilian government drew upon racial logics to insert itself into the economies of emerging African nations. The notion of racial democracy shaped where and how Brazil sought global influence. Brazil understood itself as a country of “Africans of every color,” and it used that image to perform an inherent bond with African nations based on blood, brotherhood, and cultural inheritance.¹¹⁰ This Brazilian performance for the African gaze has been described by historian Paulina Alberto as putting on a show “*para Africano ver*” (for the African to see).¹¹¹ This phrase is a play on the Brazilian idiom ‘*para o inglês ver*,’ which refers to actions taken by Brazilians and the Brazilian government to impress the white Global North. This phrase originates from the 19th century, when the Brazilian Empire pretended to abolish the transatlantic slave trade to maintain good favor with the British. Ending the trade, however, was only a performance, as they would continue to capture, enslave, and import Africans for several more decades. Thus, this reformulation of *para Africano ver* suggests that Brazil was performing a sense of Africanity or African heritage to strengthen economic and political ties with the continent. This is the context of racialized political discourse that gives birth to the cultural diplomacy that not only welcomed a wave of African students but invested in scholarships to bring them to Brazil.¹¹² Racial democracy as a tool for international relations with Africa heavily shades the arrival, experiences, and receptions of these students.

The first cohort of students brought by Itamaraty, often referred to as *bolsistas africanos* (African scholarship-recipients), arrived in Brazil in late 1961. These 15 students came from Ghana, Senegal, Nigeria, Cameroon, Cabo Verde, and Guinea-Bissau to study across disciplines at Brazilian universities all over the country.¹¹³ While the program was designed only for students from sovereign nations, Léopold Senghor, the poet, cultural theorist of *negritude*, and the first president of Senegal, orchestrated a way for African students from the Portuguese colonies (at the outset of the wars for independence, no less) to participate. Senghor arranged for these students to enter the Itamaraty scholarship program as citizens of Senegal. By granting them Senegalese passports, they had the necessary documentation to participate in the program.¹¹⁴ This scheme allowed for Cristóvão Nascimento de Moraes, from Cabo Verde, and Fidelis Cabral D'Almada, from Guinea Bissau, to participate in the program. Further, it demonstrates that from the outset of their experiences as students, they were drawing on a Pan-African network of solidarity that challenged the aims of the program.

¹¹⁰ Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

¹¹¹ Paulina Alberto, “Para Africano Ver: African-Bahian Exchanges in the Reinvention of Brazil’s Racial Democracy, 1961-63,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 45, no. 1 (June 2008): 78–117, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lbr.0.0021>.

¹¹² For more on how these scholarships functioned as a form of cultural diplomacy, see: Lima, “Solidariedade Atlântica”; Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

¹¹³ From Nigeria came Abiodun Oni, Olumuyima Opaleye, Kehindé Onajin, Abiodun Fashina and Akin Akinpeln. Arrivals from Ghana included Samuel Eduku, Yan Offe-Boateng, Akuamea Ose, Afonse Frepomg and Francis Quaye. Claude Cross (of French nationality and the only white student) and Simone Diallo (the only woman of the cohort) came from Senegal. Paul Etamé Ewane joined the group from Cameroon.

¹¹⁴ Senghor’s relationship to this network go back at least as far as 1956, when he visited the CEI in Lisbon. José André Leitão da Graça, “Léopold Sédar Senghor na Casa dos Estudantes do Império,” *Revista África*, August 25, 2012, 281–82, <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2526-303X.v0iespp281-282>.

Even before his arrival in Brazil, Fidelis Cabral grappled with whether pursuing his education was the best route to support the independence of Guinea-Bissau. As a student, it appears as though Fidelis was torn between pursuing a formal education abroad and being on the frontlines of the revolution. In a 1961 letter addressed to Amílcar Cabral (no relation), at this time the president of the PAIGC, Fidelis informed Amílcar that he wanted to find a way to both pursue this educational opportunity and to support the revolutionary party in its struggle for national independence. He assured Amílcar that despite being in Brazil, he wanted “to be useful” as a “loyal and sincere collaborator.”¹¹⁵

In response, Amílcar affirmed the importance of the scholarship opportunity based on its merits as well as for its potential to set Fidelis up to support the party in a unique way. “I’m glad you obtained the scholarship, and I am certain that even in Brazil you will be able to help significantly, and to collaborate with us seriously.”¹¹⁶ In addition to affirming his ability to do both, Amílcar goes on to tell Fidelis to remain in contact with the PAIGC, and that “through a mutual exchange of impressions” they will figure out the possibilities of his role. Amílcar also offers the contacts of the *UGEAN* and Carlos Correia, another student from Guinea-Bissau studying in Germany. This further demonstrates how the PAIGC, and the liberation movements more generally, perceived the important role of a network of Black-African students abroad.¹¹⁷ Amílcar’s response reflected the political strategy he and his peers had dreamed up nearly a decade ago. In their *Présence Africaine* article, referenced at the opening of this chapter, they highlighted the importance of students in the struggle for Black-African self-determination.

Fidelis was not alone in doubting the utility of being a student in Brazil during the outset of the armed struggle. These feelings were heightened for students such as José Lima de Azevedo and Fernando da Costa Andrade, two Angolans who arrived in Brazil in March of 1962. Fleeing persecution in Portugal, Azevedo and Costa Andrade were officially in Brazil to complete their studies in Economics in Rio de Janeiro and Architecture in São Paulo, respectively.¹¹⁸ These students joined other Angolans who had arrived in recent years, such as Paulo Matoso Neto, a student in São Paulo on a scholarship from the Methodist church. These students were clear that, despite officially arriving as students, their primary goal was to serve as representatives of the MPLA. However, they were not always sure if this was the best path forward. Azevedo expressed similar doubts to Fidelis Cabral in a number of letters he sent to Lúcio Lara in the early 1960s. He lamented that he felt lost and unsure of his work in Brazil. In these letters, he stated that he suffers “from the pressure to return” and that he knows “more prudent work” awaited him in Angola.¹¹⁹ Committed to the cause, these students carried on despite limited communication. They engaged in activities such as speaking out in the Brazilian press, working to support other anticolonial movements, and collecting supplies to send to the troops in back home.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Fidelis Cabral to Amílcar Cabral, 12 December 1961, Documentos Amílcar Cabral, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04606.047.041#1>

¹¹⁶ Amílcar Cabral to Fidelis Cabral, 18 December 1961, Documentos Amílcar Cabral, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04609.054.068>

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Lima, “O “CASO DOS ANGOLANOS”.”

¹¹⁹ José Lima de Azevedo to Lúcio Lara, 2 July 1963, 0114.005.067, Arquivo Lúcio Lara, Associação Tchiweka de Documentação. <https://www.tchiweka.org/documento-textual/0114005067>

¹²⁰ The uncertainty experienced by students like Cabral and Azevedo was only heightened by their sense of distance and isolation as armed struggle began in Angola in 1961 and Guinea-Bissau in 1963. In these years, students such as Fidelis and Jose Lima appear to not yet be central figures in the MPLA and PAIGC, respectively, despite wanting to

One of their primary vehicles for organizing was the Movimento Afro-brasileiro Pró-Libertação de Angola (MABLA, Afro-Brazilian Movement for the Liberation of Angola). This organization has a uniquely close tie to the network of students coming out of the CEI in Portugal. José Maria Nunes Pereira and Fernando Mourão, the white Brazilian students who formed part of the cadre of anticolonial students in the CEI in Portugal, had returned to Brazil by the early 1960s. One of the ways they continued to support the national liberation struggles was by organizing for support in Brazil, which led to the formation of MABLA. In short, MABLA was made up of three groups.¹²¹ One in Rio de Janeiro, which was founded by José Maria Nunes Pereira. Pereira had married Filomena Ramos da Cruz, an Angolan woman he met while in Lisbon, in 1961.¹²² Together, they played an important role in facilitating connections between Brazilians and Africans from the Portuguese colonies. Their home was the headquarters of the “Brazilian bureau of the MPLA,” which worked closely with the leftist *União Nacional dos Estudantes* (UNE, National Union of Students). The other two groups were based in São Paulo. One was founded by Fernando Mourão, and the other was largely led by journalists and a cadre of anti-Salazarist Portuguese citizens living in Brazil. While the exact formation of MABLA as an organization is murky, historian José Francisco dos Santos opts to refer to this constellation of African students, Brazilians, and Portuguese nationals, collectively as MABLA.¹²³ Their goal was to pressure the Brazilian state, and to garner public support for national independence in all of the African territories of Portugal, with a particular focus on supporting the MPLA’s work in Angola.

As members of MABLA, Cabral, Azevedo, Matoso Neto, and Costa Andrade participated in several direct actions, lectures, and press events, among other activities. One event that particularly stands out is a series of lectures on August 23, 1961, in the Law Department at the University of São Paulo, entitled ‘Portuguese Colonialism’.¹²⁴ At the event, Paulo Matoso, clarified that this struggle was not about putting black against white, it was a struggle against Portuguese domination. While race was not always expressed on the part of MABLA members, preferring to situate their struggle as one with Portugal rather than Brazil, there remained an anxiety on the part of the Estado Novo regime and the Brazilian state about the racialized nature of this movement. Historian Jerry Dávila notes that there was a PIDE informant that infiltrated MABLA and that he “always noted whether the speakers were Brazilian, Portuguese, or Angolan, and white or black”¹²⁵ This suggests that even when African students in Brazil expressed that it was not about race (whether they believed it is a separate

be involved at that level. In the first few years of the 1960s Fidelis sent several letters to Amílcar Cabral and the PAIGC and did not hear back. Yet, he insisted, despite an uncertainty if this was the best route, that he wanted to remain at the disposition of the party while in Brazil. Azevedo similarly remained in the dark for many years, as he heard very little from Lara or other members of the MPLA. Fidelis Cabral to Amílcar Cabral, 6 March 1963, Documentos Amílcar Cabral, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal.

<http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04613.069.051>

¹²¹ Santos, *Relação Brasil/Angola*; Lima, “Solidariedade atlântica.”

¹²² Luena Pereira, “José Maria Nunes Pereira: Professor, Pesquisador, Divulgador, e Animador Das Relações Brasil-África,” *Mulemba - Revista Angolana de Ciências Sociais*, January 1, 2015, https://www.academia.edu/49297590/Jos%C3%A9_Maria_Nunes_Pereira_Professor_pesquisador_divulgador_e_animador_das_rela%C3%A7%C3%B5es_Brasil_%C3%81frica.

¹²³ Santos, *Relação Brasil/Angola*.

¹²⁴ Relatório do Consulado de Portugal em São Paulo encaminhando ao Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros em 22 de setembro de 1961. MABLA - Movimento Afro-Brasileiro Pró-Libertação de Angola, PIDE/DGS/SC/SR435/61/ui.3054. Cited in Lima, “Solidariedade Atlântica,” p. 116.

¹²⁵ Dávila, *Hotel Trópico* p. 122.

matter), that the Brazilian and Portuguese governments understood clearly the role that blackness played as a mobilizing force in building solidarity across the Atlantic.

Another action organized by MABLA that is worth highlighting for its engagement with discourses of racial democracy and lusotropicalism is an event they organized to commemorate the 2-year anniversary event since the start of the armed struggle in Angola. On February 4, 1962, Paulo Matoso Neto and Fernando Costa Andrade organized a rally at the headquarters of the *Sindicato dos Gráficos* (Graphics Union). This event was so notable that the MPLA published a report highlighting the importance of the event taking place in Brazil.¹²⁶ Matoso Neto and Costa Andrade represented the MPLA alongside the president of the Graphics Union, and representatives of the PAIGC, MABLA, the *Congresso da Cultura Negra* (Congress of Black Culture), *Associação da Cultura Negra* (ACN, Association of Black Culture), and the *Juventudes das Repúblicas de Ghana e dos Camarões* (Youth of the Republics of Ghana and Cameroon). At the event, Costa Andrade gave a speech that traced a comparative outline between the MPLA's struggle and the Brazilian struggle for national liberation. According to the report, Costa Andrade "affirmed that our revolution is a revolution of perspectives, and that we must prepare ourselves for its implementation, perfectly conscious of the task that falls upon us as the people who will realize our country."¹²⁷ The report goes on to clarify the ideological perspectives of the revolution, especially in relation to Brazil. Costa Andrade states that if an obligation for solidarity exists between Brazil and Angola, it is the following:

If the requirement actually exists, it is dictated by a common slave past, the memory of Tiradentes, or the thousands of our dead among us. This undoubtedly imposes on us a future in which Brazil's interests can coincide with those of our independent countries. The perspectives of Brazil's commercial relations with Angola are a factor that, in addition to the data of sentiment, of morals, of the past, and of the coherence of noble principles, I leave to the consideration of my Friends... Brazil is our brother.¹²⁸

In naming both slavery's past and the economy's future, Costa Andrade makes an appeal for solidarity to Brazil based on similar logics that motivated Brazil's recruitment of African students in the first place. This racialized logic that bonds Angola and Brazil as "brothers" corresponds directly to Brazil's own racial perspectives. Further, the promise of using that bond in the interest of renewing a strong economic relationship doubles down on Brazil's goals for their diplomatically-motivated scholarship program. Evoking the language of fraternity and brotherhood, the MPLA understood the pursuit of Brazilian support not only as a racialized project, but one uniquely situated in their shared relationship to Portuguese colonialism and empire.

Not only were they making appeals for solidarity based on Brazilian racial politics, but the *bolsistas africanos* were also experiencing the myth of racial democracy firsthand. While Fidelis was engaging as a student on behalf of the PAIGC, he was also encountering racism in Brazil. Itamaraty students, Cristovão Morais, Collete Diallo, and Fidelis Cabral, were prevented from staying at the Brasil Pálace Hotel despite having a reservation made by Itamaraty. The July 21, 1962, issue of the newspaper, *Correio da Manhã*, reported on this incident under the headline

¹²⁶ "Relato do 4 de Fevereiro no Brasil," by the MPLA, February 1962, Arquivo Lúcio Lara, Associação Tchiweka de Documentação, Luanda, Angola. <https://www.tchiweka.org/documento-textual/0047000003>

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

“Preconceito racial em hotel de BH” (Racial Prejudice in Belo Horizonte Hotel). Following the incident, other *bolsistas africanos* joined them to protest this discrimination, and called for Itamaraty to seek justice through the Afonso Arinos Law.¹²⁹ Signed in 1951, the Afonso Arinos Law made racial discrimination illegal in Brazil. Interestingly, this incident and their appeal to Afonso Arinos Law, highlight the global politics of racism in Brazil. This story resonates in relation to the origins of the Law. In 1950, the world-famous dancer from the U.S., Katherine Dunham, was refused a room at the Hotel Esplanada, a first-class hotel in the city of São Paulo. She publicized the racist incident, and pressure mounted on the Brazilian government. In response, they passed the Afonso Arinos Law in 1951, which made racial discrimination in public places a felony. Ironically, while Dunham’s status as a foreigner in Brazil launched a political campaign, the foreign status in this case had no such effect. The irony is striking, and further highlights the particularity of a Global South solidarity.

This moment, at the very least, confirmed for Fidelis Cabral what was already known about race and racism in Brazil. Regardless, it surely shaped the views of Cabral and his peers as they sought to actively participate in the construction of their own nations. I can’t help but think that as a legal student who would go on to become the first Minister of Justice for newly independent Guinea-Bissau, that Fidelis was impacted by this personal encounter with Brazil’s racism in profound ways. It’s hard to imagine that his attempts to use the Afonso Arinos Law were not on his mind as he helped craft the country’s first constitution and designed its legal justice system.

In Brazil, Fidelis Cabral continued his anticolonial organizing alongside his Law course until he completed the program and eventually left for Senegal in 1963. Less than a year later, and now officially a member of the PAIGC, he decided that he would return to Brazil to “carry out a mission of information and propaganda.”¹³⁰ In early 1964, Fidelis returned for a press tour in Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara,¹³¹ Belo Horizonte, and São Paulo. There, he spoke to the press, participated in conferences and debates, held rallies, made radio and television appearances, and established more contacts of support. He spoke to presses such as *Globo* in Rio de Janeiro, *Portugal Democrático* in São Paulo, and held press conferences, such as one organized by the Brazilian Press Association in Rio de Janeiro, where Cabral estimated around 2000 people in attendance.¹³² Cabral provided Brazilians updates from the war front and asked for donations such as food, clothing, and weapons. In addition to these requests, Cabral frequently made appeals to Itamaraty to increase scholarship opportunities for Guineans, a request that demonstrates his continued understanding of the critical role of these educational networks.

In several of his speeches, Cabral refers to the importance of Brazil’s affective and ethnic ties with Africa. This serves as another example of how these students were appealing to the logics of racial democracy that motivated Brazil’s own political agenda. In short, the propaganda tour used a variety of tactics to appeal to the Brazilian officials, one which was clearly turning Brazil’s discourse on its head. If Brazil sought to use the logic of racial democracy and the language of brotherhood and shared ancestry to form politico-economic relations with African countries, Fidelis and his cadre of militants sought to use that same language to push for wartime

¹²⁹ “Preconceito racial em hotel de BH”. *Jornal Correio da Manhã*, em 21 de julho de 1962, 1º caderno, p. 15.

¹³⁰ Aristides Pereira to Fidelis Cabral, 22 February 1964, Identifier: 07065.085.002, Documentos Amílcar Cabral, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07065.085.002>

¹³¹ Formerly an independent state, now part of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

¹³² Lilica Boal to Unknown, 3 April 1964, Identifier: 04615.072.021, Documentos Amílcar Cabral, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04615.072.021>

support for the African independence movements. As a result of this campaign, the Portuguese regime is acutely aware of the danger of these student networks and their appeals based on racial discourse.¹³³ The presence of PIDE in Brazil serves as another example of the ways in which definitions of blackness and Africanity were understood by Portugal as driving a wedge between itself and Brazil's support.

While nearing the end of this mission, Cabral's work was abruptly cut short. Beginning on April 1, 1964, Fidelis Cabral, along with many other members of MABLA, were arrested on the day of the military coup that started the Brazilian military dictatorship. The Brazilian authorities, working with PIDE, claimed that this type of subversive activity, while not directed at Brazil, could spark other forms of political protest. Arguably, they understood this anti-colonial organizing as inspiring labor and racial organizing. Fernando da Costa Andrade was arrested on April 1 in São Paulo and released two days later. On April 4, José Lima de Azevedo was detained. While he was initially released on May 26, he returned to jail on July 24. On April 8, José Maria Nunes Pereira was arrested as well as Fidelis Cabral and Cristóvão Moraes. On August 1, 1964, Paulo Matoso Neto was arrested in São Paulo. Many of these students spent less than three days in prison. However, others would either remain in prison or have multiple arrests over the course of the next year. Most notably, José Lima de Azevedo was arrested 3 times, spending more than 400 days incarcerated and even tortured by the military police, facing some of the worst treatment of the group. Senegalese authorities pressured for the release of these students until they were all freed and subsequently fled the country in fear of extradition to Portugal or further imprisonment.¹³⁴

By 1964, the short-lived, state-run scholarship program for African students had been suspended due to the Brazilian military coup and subsequent dictatorship.¹³⁵ However, the appeals for solidarity, which were in part based on Brazil's own racial logics, had been planted. By receiving its own logic flipped on its head, the Brazilian authorities claimed that these Africans had "brought a subversive seed to Brazil."¹³⁶ This seed of subversion helped lay the groundwork for an entire generation of Black Brazilian activist-intellectuals who would become radicalized and politicized. The ethos of the anticolonial campaigns of Black African students in Brazil left their legacy. They served as inspirations that laid the foundation for a newly politicized Africanization of the Black liberation movement in Brazil, as well as more material

¹³³ Informação secreta. Assunto: Ação dos estudantes portugueses que vivem no Brasil. Ministério do Ultramar, Gabinete dos Negócios políticos para Diretor da Polícia Internacional e Defesa do Estado. 14/04/1964, p. 2. PT/MNE/IDI/DAB/MU – GNP, UI 1502. Cited in Lima, "Solidariedade Atlântica," p. 178

¹³⁴ Fidelis is arrested on his mission, in early April 1964, Senghor moves into immediate action to get him released, on behalf of Amílcar Cabral. But before Chermont (BR ambassador to Senegal) can even do anything he finds that Fidelis was released after a 48hr hold and is on his way back to Africa. It appears that Amílcar Cabral was very worried about his comrade and grateful for his safety indicating that Fidelis had definitely ingratiated himself into the party by mid 1964. For more Senegalese support for the arrested Angolans and Guineans see: Santos, *Relação Brasil/Angola*; Lima, "Solidariedade atlântica"; Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

¹³⁵ It is worth mentioning that while opportunities for mobility offered by Brazil had come to a halt with the installation of the dictatorship, it did not put an end to the networks that had been established. For example, in a letter from Fernando Mourão to Mário Pinto de Andrade in 1965 he highlights his efforts to pursue more scholarships for Angolan students in the U.S. He also attempts to arrange a co-taught university course on Brasil/Angola comparisons that Andrade would come to Brazil to teach. This letter indicates, at the very least, a desire to continue to use education as a condition for solidarity even when the opportunities were dwindling or foreclosed. Fernando Mourão to Mário Pinto de Andrade, 19 April 1965, Identifier: 04308.007.005, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mario Soares, Lisbon, Portugal.

¹³⁶ Interview with Candido Mendes, 24 November 2006. Cited in Dávila, "Hotel Trópico," pg. 120.

ties and commitments to the struggles in Africa. All over the country, the reverberations of actors such as the *bolsistas africanos* were felt within the new wave of Black Brazilian activism that was more intimately connected with African history and its present-day politics. A little over a year after their arrests, *Última Hora*, published a report with the headline “Os Angolanos: Seu Crime é Sonhar com a Liberdade” (The Angolans: Their Crime Dreaming of Freedom).¹³⁷ These dreams changed tides in Brazil. Despite the abrupt ending, these students helped push Brazil toward support for African nationalism. These African relations inspired new kinds of Black cultural production and aesthetics that frequently drew on Africa as an expression of liberation and a symbol of pride. While none of this is due entirely to the role of the *bolsistas africanos*, their social, political, and intellectual engagements contributed to the emergence of a new wave of Black activism in Brazil that would shape generations to come.

In the years between the founding of the CEI (1944) and the Brazilian military coup that launched the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964), student intellectuals in Portugal and Brazil found bonds of commonality and solidarity in their struggles for liberation. In this chapter I demonstrate that these bonds and appeals for solidarity actively navigated racial discourses specific to the Lusophone context. In the CEI, African students challenged their conscription into lusotropicalism and colonial reproduction by articulating themselves within a global, Black cultural and political world that symbolized a source of revolutionary resistance. At the same time, white members of the CEI, namely Brazilians, drew upon Portuguese and Brazilian logics of racial democracy and race-mixture to name and heighten their co-identification with the emerging nationalist liberation movements. In Brazil, the arrival of African students in the 1960s reflected the language of Brazil’s racial democracy and race-mixture back upon itself. Itamaraty had brought these students to Brazil to study in the hopes of demonstrating a natural and inherent bond between their country’s pasts and futures. These students used that same logic to recruit young people and pressure Brazil to support national liberation in Africa. Thus, this chapter demonstrates the ways in which Lusophone-specific notions of blackness and Africanity functioned as central concepts in the making of colonial and capitalist projects and the challenges posed against them.

I return to the concept of subjecthood discussed in the beginning of this chapter. The (re)formulations of blackness and Africanity highlight the ways in which these intellectuals engaged in a complex navigation of the colonial, antiblack, capitalist subjection produced by Portugal and Brazil. They challenged the idea that both in the CEI and as *bolsistas africanos*, the expectations that they learn to be good subjects of the empire and the state. By repurposing access to intellectual and economic resources for their education, these students were able to explore their conditions as part of a broader Black world, and one that uniquely tied them together. By utilizing the opportunities offered by educational programs, I demonstrated, to quote Frank Guridy, “the ways in which they made empire work for them.”¹³⁸

As the struggles for independence turned toward all-out warfare over the liberation of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde, the Brazilian military dictatorship began to crack down on anticolonial activity and entrance into the country. By 1965, many of the revolutionary African students in Brazil had either been expelled or chosen to flee to join the armed struggle.

¹³⁷ “Os Angolanos: Seu Crime é Sonhar com a Liberdade,” *Última Hora*, Personal Archives of José Maria Nunes Pereira, Home of Luena Pereira, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
<http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04308.007.005#!1>

¹³⁸ Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*.

In the years to follow, there would be significantly less direct contact between Brazilians and their counterparts on the African continent as travel and correspondence became increasingly surveilled. However, the seeds of solidarity had been planted that would bloom into vital bonds in the 1960s and 70s. In the next chapter, I begin with the seeds that were planted to think about the unique articulations of solidarity among this network of Portuguese-speaking intellectuals. In particular, I examine poetry, language, and the Black grammars of solidarity that germinated from the 1960s into the 1970s.

Chapter 2

“The only language common to all”: *Poesia Negra* and Black Grammars of Solidarity

As the African students, whom I discussed in the previous chapter, arrived in Brazil in the early 1960s, they brought with them the cultural products that inspired and reflected their national struggles for independence. Many Brazilians, especially Black artists and activists were motivated by the ethos of the literature and artwork that circulated as a result of this network. One such Brazilian was the Black feminist playwright, actress, and communist, Thereza Santos. As a student, Santos began to immerse herself within the social and political activity of African intellectuals from the Portuguese colonies in Rio de Janeiro. One of the most important influences on her thinking at the time was the poetry that these students brought with them. This was especially true of the *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* [*Anthology of Black Poetry in Portuguese*], edited by the previously discussed Angolan writer and revolutionary, Mário Pinto de Andrade in 1958. It was this poetry that introduced Santos to the emerging struggles for independence and solidified her sense of connection with these movements.

So, a decade later in 1974, when Santos began to sense her impending imprisonment by the Brazilian military dictatorship, she turned toward this inspiration and sought asylum with the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. In March of that year, Santos arrived at the Guinea-Bissau, Senegalese border in Alto Casamance, where she would work at the Escola Teranga as a theater teacher, guerilla fighter, and general youth caretaker. In the early weeks, Santos recalled that she struggled to communicate with her students and comrades who spoke various languages and dialects. After finally shaking off her notions of Guinean Creole as “bad Portuguese,” she resolved to learn the language, which, she recalled “was the only language common to all.”¹³⁹ Drawing on the relationship between the *Antologia* and Thereza Santos’s experience in exile, this chapter explores the relationship between the poetic and this notion of a common language across the Black diaspora.

I wish to highlight three main ideas by framing this chapter around Santos’s story. The first idea is that some of Santos’s earliest interactions with African intellectuals of the Portuguese colonies was through poetry, something that was not uncommon at the time. I frame this idea in relation to other scholars of resistance literature and poetry who have argued that this circulation was possible for several reasons. Firstly, poetry’s brevity and concision allow it to be written, reproduced, and circulated quickly in short magazines, newspapers, and anthologies.¹⁴⁰ I would add that this anthologizability also allows it to be read, in bite-sized pieces, more quickly than many other forms of protest writing. Secondly, poetics offered a medium through which these intellectuals could explore not only the content of their ideas but also the ways in which form inspires other modes of thinking about the problem of colonialism.¹⁴¹

Thinking alongside Santos’s experiences with poetry, I explicitly highlight that this poetry did not circulate by happenstance, but rather within and by a network of travelling intellectuals who used this poetry as a tool of communication and politicization. It’s been well argued that the Contemporary Brazilian Black Movement took inspiration from the decolonization movements in Africa, especially the former Portuguese colonies. Many scholars

¹³⁹ “As raízes de Tereza Santos,” *Versus*, Issue 28, January 1979.

¹⁴⁰ Nathan Suhr-Sytsma, *Poetry, Print, and the Making of Postcolonial Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316711422>.

¹⁴¹ Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature*, 0 edition (New York: Routledge, 1987).

have acknowledged the vital presence of African intellectual thought in Brazil and the ways these ideas inspired Brazilians to support struggles for Black self-determination at home and abroad.¹⁴² This chapter specifically highlights the tangible and interpersonal aspects of this circulation. By attending to what Fatoumata Seck has called the “cultural underground of decolonization as a space where alternative forms of social and political organizations have been imagined and sometimes enacted,” this chapter is grounded in the tangibility of the circulation of Black internationalist aesthetics.¹⁴³ To be sure, many of the connections that (Black) Brazilians had with Africa in this era were symbolic or imagined. However, what I wish to highlight in this chapter (and throughout the dissertation) are the ways in which these symbolic ties to Africa also had tangible and interpersonal roots. There were real people, real geographies, and real travels at the core of these diasporic connections, even in the circulation of a Black poetics.

The second idea I wish to abstract from Santos’s story relates to what she perceived as “the language common to all.” In this chapter, I read this “language” neither as the Portuguese-language used in the poetry that inspired her to escape to Guinea-Bissau, nor as the Creole she later learned in order to communicate with her comrades. In this case, language didn’t just reflect commonality. It was actively being constructed within and beyond the Black Portuguese-speaking world. Brent Hayes Edwards argues that “the cultures of black internationalism can be seen only in translation.”¹⁴⁴ Scholars tend to highlight this work of translation by writing about Black internationalism across imperial configurations, or they bypass the question of translation by remaining within a set of imperial configurations. My work takes seriously Edwards’s claim by exploring the fact that even within an imperial matrix with a presumed shared language (Portuguese in this case), the work of translation is still necessary. I argue that both the engagement with the *Antologia* and use of Creole are actions of translation into the grammars of a global blackness. I situate them as an acute register of the grammars of modernity’s global (anti)blackness that transcends national and linguistic borders. In this chapter, I use the notion of grammar to name the ways Andrade, Santos, and their comrades communicated ideas of solidarity.

In this chapter, I use grammar in the literal and figurative. It’s not merely a play on words, but a double meaning that indexes the linguistic enunciations and the register of meaning-making marked by an abstracted, structural position. I argue that through these scenes of poetic and linguistic encounter, we see how grammars of blackness facilitated particular forms of transnational solidarity in cases of both a shared language and language barriers. As such, this onto-epistemic grammar of black, (post-)colonial subjectivity was the grammar that offered Santos and her comrades a mutual recognition even when linguistic relation might have been what facilitated solidarity in the first place, and especially when that linguistic connection failed them. Thus, a Black grammar of solidarity, as articulated in this chapter, challenges the colonial

¹⁴² Paulina L. Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, Illustrated edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Amílcar Araujo Pereira, *O mundo negro: relações raciais e a constituição do movimento negro contemporâneo no Brasil* (FAPERJ, 2013); Michael G. Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988*, Reprint edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998). For example, in *Orpheus and Power*, Hanchard highlights how “Africa signified a place of origin and return, or more precisely, a site to be symbolically retrieved...in the quest for a political compass.” (pg. 89)

¹⁴³ Fatoumata Seck, “The Cultural Underground of Decolonization,” *Cambridge Journal of Postcolonial Literary Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (September 2023): 287–309, <https://doi.org/10.1017/pli.2023.21>. p. 297

¹⁴⁴ Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*. p. 7

conceptions of their bonds as Lusophone, or Portuguese-speaking, subjects and reformulates the geography of their relation away from empire and toward a Black World.

Third, Santos's narrative helps us answer the question of how poetry, and poetics in particular, offered the tools for (un)making the meaning of the bonds between Black radicals in Brazil, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. Specifically, I argue that poetry – and the way it plays with form and meaning—is about the transformation of language into something new. I, again, turn toward Brent Hayes Edwards to unpack this idea. Similarly interested in the role of language and Black diaspora, Edwards argues that the practice of building diaspora “necessarily involves a process of linking or connecting across gaps—a practice we might term *articulation*.”¹⁴⁵ In this chapter, I argue that these articulations are expressed through *poesia negra* (Black poetry) as one expression of the grammars of blackness. This expression challenges a conscription as Lusophone subjects while siting (and citing) their solidarity within a global and historic Black world.

In the following section, I discuss the production of the *Antologia da Poesia Negra*, and its related texts, which help define *poesia negra*'s Black diasporic intents. Subsequently, I demonstrate, through memoir and oral history, the conditions that facilitated the circulation of the *Antologia* in Brazil and analyze how the poetry spoke to a Black Brazilian experience, namely through the experiences of Thereza Santos. Lastly, I conclude by way of returning to Santos's encounter as an exile in Guinea-Bissau to analyze the grammars of blackness that offered her and her comrades a language of solidarity.

Mário Pinto de Andrade and the Making of the *Antologia da Poesia Negra*

In 1948, the 19-year-old Mário Coelho Pinto de Andrade arrived at the University of Lisbon from Luanda, Angola to study classical philology on a scholarship. As a member of the “Cabral Generation” of students in the metropole, it didn't take long before he was enmeshed within the cultural, social, and increasingly political milieu of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império. During his time in Lisbon, from 1948 until 1954, Andrade actively contributed to a racialized, anticolonial radicalization with his peers. While the CEI was often the public facing representation of these students' politics, many of them were involved in more clandestine organizing as well. Organizations such as the Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA, African Studies Center)¹⁴⁶ and Clube Marítimo Africano (African Maritime Club) were also vital to the political education of these young intellectuals, and they stand as strong examples of the ways their anticolonial politicization was embedded within a larger Pan-African and Marxist literary world. Andrade co-founded the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* in 1951 with Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto for a more clandestine political education. A key aspect of this political education was the reading and production of literary work, especially poetry. The CEA also provided the opportunity to connect with a Pan-African network, particularly with intellectuals and institutions in Paris.¹⁴⁷

The Clube Marítimo Africano (also regularly referred to as just Clube Marítimo) was founded in Lisbon in 1945 as a sports association in the metropole, but quickly turned into a

¹⁴⁵ Edwards. p. 11

¹⁴⁶ Not to be confused with the Centro de Estudos Africanos in Brazil that was founded at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP) in 1965.

¹⁴⁷ It was as members of the CEA, that students such as Amílcar Cabral, Alda do Espírito Santo, Agostinho Neto, and Mário Pinto de Andrade likely authored the anonymous essay, published in *Présence Africaine*, that opened the previous chapter. Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral*, p. 46.

cultural and literacy organization. Formed with a union of workers who worked on ships and docks for maritime companies, the organization quickly became a site of radicalization and political education as well. These ship workers included those working in the supply storeroom, cooks, kitchen assistants, waiters, and the laundry staff.¹⁴⁸ A key aspect of this partnership was that the ship workers could traffic subversive literature through the docks, as they traveled between Portugal, Brazil, and the African colonies. Describing this process, António Tomás writes:

Through crewmembers such as José Van Dûnem, students in Lisbon could engage with subversive literature, such as novels by Jorge Amado and other Brazilian neo-realists, as well as Portuguese translations of books with Marxist leanings, which, because of the censorship, could not be found in Portugal's bookshops. It was also through these crewmembers that contact between nationalists in Portugal and others in Africa, such as Viriato da Cruz, was made. To camouflage these activities, Agostinho Neto and other Angolans formed the *Clube Marítimo*, which organized cultural activities. Besides the famous Saturday parties, which attracted a large number of African students, the *Clube* also offered these crewmembers literacy classes. Later, in 1954, Mário de Andrade translated and staged with them the play *Maître École*, by the Guinean Keita Fodéba¹⁴⁹

Mário Pinto de Andrade, in an interview with Michael Laban, adds further details to the activities of the *Clube Marítimo*:

We ordered many books through the sailors. The sailors were not only young proletarians that we had to make literate [...] Some were literate, were men who already had a political consciousness [...] the books were brought from Brazil, the United States [...] We knew the New Negro movement; we followed, we read everything Langston Hughes wrote, we made our consciousness courses, always with the *Native Son* from Richard Wright, reading it in the original. And in Brazil, for sure [...] we read poets of the West Indies—Nicolás Guillén. We recited the poems of Nicolás Guillén, it was mandatory, part of our heritage, part of the baggage of a progressive and informed African intellectual in Lisbon at that time.¹⁵⁰

These extended quotations highlight Brazil as a crucial part of that history for both cultural and economic reasons. Not only were they reading texts by Brazilians that inspired them, but these texts arrived through the economic trade routes of the modern transatlantic triangle between Europe, Africa, and the Americas. I want to draw attention to the fact that as these young intellectuals engaged in a number of cultural and literary activities on the docks, they relied on a network of workers, built on the Lusophone imperial trade routes, to transport texts full of the concepts that animated their political ideologies. These ships carried more than just cargo across the Atlantic, they carried ideas. This group of intellectuals drew upon this fount of Black internationalist knowledge as they developed their own texts that critiqued colonialism, imperialism, and anti-blackness.

¹⁴⁸ Sofia Alexandra Iala Rodrigues, "O Clube Marítimo Africano: Uma história da resistência negro-africana lisboeta" (Master's Thesis, 2020).

¹⁴⁹ Tomás, *Amílcar Cabral*. p. 43

¹⁵⁰ Andrade and Laban, *Mário Pinto de Andrade*.

Further, these quotations offer a clear picture of not only the activities of the *Clube Marítimo*, but also the ways in which those activities were deeply embedded within a Black world and class-conscious organizing. That “the baggage” of these intellectuals required them to contend with the radical ideas across the Black world, helps us contextualize the foundations of Andrade’s intellectual journey.

Exploring these ideas took on a number of cultural manifestations for Andrade, but poetry was one that he would continue to return to over his lifetime. For Andrade, *poesia negra* was a foundational step in the process of developing anticolonial politics among rising African economic and political elites in the metropole. Andrade’s work among these global, anticolonial, anti-capitalist, Black perspectives shaped his desire to explore the meaning and potential of *poesia negra* as a particularly Black poetic expression in the Portuguese language.

No work captures Andrade’s commitment to exploring the power and potential of *poesia negra* more than the *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão*, which he edited and published in 1958. To fully appreciate the *Antologia*, it is necessary to trace the history of its emergence as a reflection of Andrade’s developing racial and anticolonial consciousness in a global context of Black cultural and political movements. As a student in Lisbon, Andrade’s interests were greatly inspired by Black history and culture all over the world. Captivated by figures such as the Harlem Renaissance writer Langston Hughes as well as the Cuban poet of the afro-cubanismo movement, Nicolás Guillén, Andrade’s early writings often reflect an extensive knowledge of the global and historical context of “Black Literature.”¹⁵¹

No group of writers influenced Andrade more than the Negritude writers of the Francophone world, such as Aimé Césaire and Leopold Senghor. Thus, it is of little surprise that in 1953, the young Andrade sought to construct a Portuguese-language version of the *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française* (The Anthology of New Negro and Malagasy Poetry in French), edited and published by Senghor in 1948. This French anthology is known as one of the most foundational texts of the Negritude movement. Andrade’s engagement with Black literature (especially of the Francophone Negritude movement), further his deployment of *poesia negra* as an articulation of global blackness. By building from Negritude, his use of *poesia negra*, at once, becomes a Lusophone-specific articulation and a global, Black articulation through poetry’s ability to layer meaning.

To embark upon this project, Andrade collaborated with Francisco José Tenreiro, a fellow student from the island of São Tome, who is often credited as the first person to engage with the concept of Negritude in the Portuguese language.¹⁵² Together, they collaborated to edit and publish the *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* (The Notebook of Black Poetry in Portuguese) in the Spring of 1953. This prototype for what would later become the *Antologia*, was only 20 pages in length. It included poets from various African Overseas Provinces of the Portuguese empire as well as a dedication to the previously mentioned Cuban poet, Nicolás Guillén. The *Caderno* opens with Guillén’s poem, “Son Número 6” in Spanish, followed by 8 poems in Portuguese from Alda do Espírito Santo (“Lá no Água Grande”);

¹⁵¹ “A Literatura Negra e os seus Problemas,” *Mensagem*, 1951, Lisbon, Portugal.

¹⁵² “The collection of poems published in 1942, entitled *Ilha de Nome Santo*, by the São Tomé author Francisco José Tenreiro whose singular and solitary démarche inaugurated the expression of *Négritude* within the context of Lusophone writing. After this came writings marked unequally by poetic inspiration and, concomitantly, critical writings (some of which remain unpublished).” Mário Pinto de Andrade, “The Orders of Discourse of Clamor Africano: Continuity and Rupture in the Ideology of Unitary Nationalism: Introduced and Translated by Mario Pereira,” *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 2017, 199–224, https://ojs.lib.umassd.edu/index.php/plcs/article/view/PLCS30_31_Andrade_page199. p. 216

Agostinho Neto (“Aspiração”, “Criar”); António Jacinto (“Monangamba”); Francisco José Tenreiro (“Coração em África”); Noémia de Sousa (“Magaíça”, “Deixa Passar O Meu Povo”); and Viriato da Cruz (“Mamã Negra (canto de esperança)”). The *Caderno*, which the editors explicitly state is not an anthology, was organized with one goal: to introduce the concept of *poesia negra* as a tool for the affirmation and revindication of blackness not only in Africa but across the Americas and in Europe as well.¹⁵³

Between 1953-1958, Andrade had many significant experiences that would no doubt inform his *Antologia*. In the summer of 1954, due to heightened political oppression under Salazar’s repressive Estado Novo regime in Portugal, Andrade was forced to leave Lisbon. He transferred to Paris as a student of sociology at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences).¹⁵⁴

In many ways Andrade’s move to Paris marks the second wave of foundational experiences that shaped his thoughts on *poesia negra*.¹⁵⁵ By October of 1954, Andrade began working as an editor for *Présence Africaine*, the pan-African quarterly magazine founded by Alioune Diop which is known as a key disseminator of the Negritude movement. This allowed Andrade to develop lasting relationships with Francophone intellectuals such as Alioune Diop, Cheikh Anta Diop, Frantz Fanon, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire among others. In 1956, Andrade assisted Alioune Diop with the organization of the 1956 First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris at the Sorbonne, where he met Fanon for the first time.¹⁵⁶ Lastly, this era ends in 1958, when Andrade resigns from *Présence Africaine* in order to attend the first Congress of Asian and African Writers in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, where he first heard W.E.B. Du Bois speak.¹⁵⁷ These five years among the Negritude intellectuals of the Francophone world shaped Andrade profoundly as a poet, scholar, and ultimately as a nationalist revolutionary. In his own words this period was not only about self-discovery, but about situating that self within a broader Pan-African context:

We had to discover everything. We had to discover not only Angola, but also Africa and the world... And it was in Paris that I truly felt immersed in the African rhythm, something I could not do in Lisbon. The rhythm of whole Africa, Africa understood in its globality—for all struggles—on every level, the cultural, the political—resonated and were lived out in Paris, because, there were African parliamentarians at the time, and a cultural movement.¹⁵⁸

Andrade arrived at much of his thinking on the layered discovery of Angola, Africa, and the world while he was in Paris. In part, he was inspired by the questions posed to him as he was

¹⁵³ Mário Pinto de Andrade and Francisco José Tenreiro, eds., *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1953.

¹⁵⁴ Sanches, “(Black) Cosmopolitanism, Transnational Consciousness and Dreams of Liberation.”

¹⁵⁵ “Introduction à la Littérature Nègre-Africaine Contemporaine” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, (Undated, unpublished), Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal.

¹⁵⁶ Basil Abia, “How Frantz Fanon Influenced African Anti-Colonial Movements,” *The Republic* (blog), November 15, 2021, <https://republic.com.ng/october-november-2021/fanons-anticolonial-influence/>; Neves, “Frantz Fanon and the Struggle for the Independence of Angola.”

¹⁵⁷ Sanches, “(Black) Cosmopolitanism, Transnational Consciousness and Dreams of Liberation.”

¹⁵⁸ Andrade, Mário Pinto de and Christine Messiant, “Sur la première génération du MPLA: 1948- 1960. Mário Pinto de Andrade, entretiens avec Christine Messiant (1982)”, *Lusotopie*, 1999, pp 185-221, p 200, p 203. Cited in Sanches.

caught in the midst of the cultural and political French Negritude movement. All of this would come to bear on Andrade's conceptualization of *poesia negra* as he worked to publish the *Antologia*.

In the fall of 1958, five years after he co-published the *Caderno*, Andrade finally edited a 106-page collection that he found worthy of the title of *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*.¹⁵⁹ This anthology included 37 poems from Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Brazil. It is worth noting that the *Antologia* reflects the increasing nationalist sentiments of the time. Unlike its predecessor, the *Antologia* organizes its poets by national territory with anywhere from one to seven poets included in each section. While organization by territory mirrors that of the French *Antologie*, Andrade clarifies his own reasons for this format. In the introduction, he states that “possibilities of a Black African renaissance can only be envisaged in a political situation of national independence.”¹⁶⁰ It is also worth noting that while the number of poets in the *Antologia* is expanded to 21, Alda do Espírito Santo and Noémia de Sousa remained the only two women featured in the collection. This gender imbalance not only reflects women's limited mobility and access to the university system through which the *Antologia* was birthed, but as I will demonstrate in subsequent sections, it helps draw our attention to the masculinist horizons of *poesia negra* and the nationalism it seeks to represent. In thematic terms, many poems in the *Antologia* reflect leitmotifs of sorrow or rage at the conditions of Black subjects in the colonies. Other poems meditate on concepts of love, childhood, or occasionally-stolen moments of peace and joy. However, what thematically binds the entire collection is a critical awareness of the ways in which colonial violence and its legacies structure the experiences of Black life.

Poesia Negra: Defining a Concept, Constructing a Grammar

This section analyzes the *Antologia* and some related texts in order to highlight Andrade's conceptualization and deployment of *poesia negra*. I demonstrate how its articulation of blackness is both Lusophone-specific and transnational. While absolutely a concept within a broader context of intellectuals, it's worth exploring Andrade's particular enunciation. As the editor of the *Antologia*, and author of several texts that speak to *poesia negra*'s meaning, Andrade makes a unique contribution to broader studies of poetry in the Black diaspora. Here, I offer a synthesis and analysis of the ways in which Andrade defines the characteristics, authorship, intended readership, and purpose of *poesia negra*.

On several occasions in the years leading up to the *Antologia*, Andrade worked carefully to define *poesia negra*. One of the ways Andrade marked *poesia negra* was by articulating who could author the genre. A difference between the *Antologia* and its earlier iteration is its geographic reach. The 1953 *Caderno* did not include poets from Cabo Verde because Andrade and Tenreiro did not consider its poetry to be Black literature, but rather a kind of creole acculturation. In the conclusion to the *Caderno*, Tenreiro writes that:

The poetry of the Creole islands, with very rare exceptions, does not translate the feeling of blackness that is the basic reason for Black poetry. Is there less interest in it? Is it less valid for the global understanding of the Black world? No way. It is, however, a poetry

¹⁵⁹ Published by Jean Pierre-Jean Oswald, in Paris.

¹⁶⁰ “Cultura Negro-Africana e Assimilação” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, 1958, *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*, p. viii

with well-defined regional characteristics, the result of the acculturation of Black people in the archipelago, and, as such, deserves a very particular study.¹⁶¹

Not only did Andrade reconsider this idea in the *Antologia* by incorporating six Cabo Verdean poets, but he also added two poems by the Black Brazilian, Solano Trindade; thus, expanding who he considered capable of translating that “feeling of blackness” at the heart of *poesia negra*. Initially, including those outside of continental Africa risked diluting his Black, Pan-African nationalism, but Andrade eventually made a shift. It’s possible that Andrade’s time among the Francophone intellectuals shaped his thinking here. Martinican theorists of “créolité” framed it as a concept that surpassed Negritude, preferring a racially-hybrid universal. On the one hand, this concept could have challenged the specificity of blackness in the Black nationalism articulated by Andrade, on the other hand it would have spoken to a more readily acceptable logic of race-mixture within the Portuguese imperial discourse.¹⁶² Then again, this moment could also be read pragmatically, as an attempt to expand the network in struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

In addition to broadening the regional scope, Andrade wrote about the specific characteristics of the authors that produce *poesia negra*. For example, in the introduction to the *Caderno*, Andrade clarifies that *poesia negra* is not solely poetry written by Black-Africans, but rather it has a particular essence brought out by those who have made efforts to “resume lost traditions.”¹⁶³ More specifically, he argues, *poesia negra* comes from those alienated from their Africanity (often the elites in the colonial system), in search of their African past. Andrade further clarifies that:

A poesia do negro ocidentalizado provém duma necessidade imperiosa e angustiante de reencontrar os valores nativos destruídos, necessidade de se readaptar ao seu ambiente, necessidade de gritar a sua presença no mundo.

[The poetry of the Westernized Black, comes from an imperious necessity and anxiety to rediscover the destroyed native values, the necessity of readapting oneself to their environment, the necessity of shouting their presence in the world.]¹⁶⁴

This anxiety related to one’s place in the world is a direct result of the alienation of the Black African from their past, culture, and community. An alienation constituted by the rupture of the transatlantic trade of enslaved Africans, and in the service of colonial exploitation. Thus, when these self-described “Westernized Blacks” such as Andrade and his elite African peers, seek to return to or revisit traditional cultural practices, they have no way of authentically accessing them. Recreating that connection is at the core of what constitutes *poesia negra* according to Andrade.

However, Andrade’s claims about who can author *poesia negra* are not without contradictions. One of the most glaring inconsistencies is the incorporation of the white Angolan,

¹⁶¹ Andrade and Tenreiro, eds., *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*.

¹⁶² A special thank you to Dr. Fatoumata Seck for suggesting this shift as a form of “créolité avant la lettre,” and encouraging me to think about the relationship between créolité and lusotropicalism.

¹⁶³ “Poesia Negro-Africana de Expressão Portuguesa,” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Província de São Pedro*, Issue 19, 1954, Porto Alegre, p. 124

¹⁶⁴ Andrade and Tenreiro, eds., *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*.

António Jacinto. Despite being the child of Portuguese settlers in Angola, he was among the anticolonial cadre of students in the Portuguese metropole in the 1940s and 50s. He is the only non-Black author included in both the *Caderno* and the *Antologia*. In the *Caderno*'s introduction Andrade notes that António Jacinto is "a little less experienced than the rest in the rhythms of Black poetry." He then contrasts Jacinto's poetry with Black Angolans, Agostinho Neto and Viriato da Cruz, who he argues, know Black alienation and its realities well through their own experiences. Yet, this openness to include a white poet in the anthology of *poesia negra*—and his need to explain it—provides a glimpse into the racialized contradictions of the nationalist movements.

As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the awakening to Black nationalism within the Cabral Generation as they navigated definitions of Africanity and blackness, often played out on the page. *Poesia negra* is yet another example. I argue that it was a fear of reproducing the colonial logics of lusotropicalism that motivated Andrade to offer the disclaimer; even if it was a similar logic that allowed him to consider António Jacinto as an author who could produce *poesia negra* in the first place. In some ways this suggests that blackness, at least in this aesthetic and cultural form, is not only lived, but can be learned or experienced as a racial outsider. At the very least, the ability to speak on or through blackness does not require one to be racially Black according to Andrade. This reading sheds a different light on Andrade's claim that "One cannot understand poetry of the Black tradition, if they are not integrated in the social frameworks in which the Black Man has moved."¹⁶⁵ Perhaps he is offering a reading of blackness that is less about phenotype or ancestry and more so about an articulation rooted in the awareness of blackness as an ontological position or a socio-economic category. Blackness, then, for Andrade is about the rejection of the rejection of an African humanity. This articulation foreshadows a common shift in the Pan-African world by expressing that an anticolonial politics must exceed racial identity as the sole marker for liberation. We see here, in the *Antologia*, an articulation that a racial project, alone, cannot make for a successful anticolonial struggle. Nonetheless, *poesia negra* reflects one's ability to speak to the structural experience of blackness.

Poesia negra is not only defined by its authorship, but also by its intended audience. Andrade takes the time to clarify who these collections of Black poetry are for. At least in part, *poesia negra* "...is intended fundamentally for those who know how to find themselves reflected in this poetry."¹⁶⁶ *Poesia Negra* is not necessarily for a Portuguese-speaking audience, but rather those who identify with the poetry's ethos.

For Andrade and Tenreiro, *poesia negra*'s authors and readership transcend nation, region, and language. For example, in the introduction to the *Caderno*, Andrade demonstrates this idea by drawing on a number of Black expressive cultural forms as examples. From the 18th century "work songs" and spirituals of the African slaves in North America to the African folklore at the heart of Cuban Pan-Africanism, he demonstrates the transnational and historical tradition at the heart of *poesia negra*. "With English, French or Portuguese expression, the new Black-African poets are oriented towards an authentically Black literary search, and a claim to the scandalous pride of the quality of being Black."¹⁶⁷ The formulation that "Black-African" poets produce "authentically Black," rather than African, literature is an important distinction. In this articulation, blackness is not Africanness, it is something born out of the modernizing project

¹⁶⁵ "Poesia Negro-Africana de Expressão Portuguesa," p. 123

¹⁶⁶ Mário Pinto de Andrade and Francisco José Tenreiro, eds., *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1953

¹⁶⁷ Andrade (1958). "Cultura Negro-Africana e Assimilação." *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*.

of colonialism. Through this framing, Andrade's claims that *poesia negra* is the negation of the negation, and particularly the imperative of the westernized subject who has been conscripted into colonial modernity. In doing so, he situates it as a global project, one not tied solely to the pre-colonial traditions of the peoples of the African continent.

Poems included in the *Antologia* often reflect this transnational characteristic by deploying references from varying geographies, people, and events associated with antiblack violence or resistance. For example, Kalungo (nom de plume of the Mozambican Marcelino dos Santos) deploys the strategy of Black referencing alongside repetition in two of his poems in order to insist upon a diasporic connection. In "A um menino do meu país" (To a boy from my country), he recounts the murder of Emmet Till and draws parallels between Till and the addressee of the poem, a "Black boy from my country." Each part of the four-part poem is composed of short stanzas, usually non-rhyming couplets or tercets separated by a blank line. The division of the poem into four parts (I, II, III, IV) offers an organized schema for interpreting each part separately and as part of a whole. The bite-sized form in which each stanza presents an idea emphasizes each claim and allows the reader to digest it. The poem draws on epistrophe, repetition at the end of several stanzas. I argue that this repetition is intended to emphasize the connections the author is making between the conditions of Black subjects across the Atlantic. In the poem, the speaker repeatedly uses the couplet, "um menino negro / como tu" [a black boy / like you] to address the listener. In part one of the poem, the speaker states:

A Black boy
like you

died murdered
broken
in the bare marsh
of racist hate

Here, Kalungo sets the stage for the rest of the poem. In these few short lines, the speaker addresses the Black boy from back home, the racism of Emmett Till's murder, and makes a connection between the two. Kalungo's repetitious use of the phrase "como tu" throughout the poem emphasizes the urgency for the addressee and the reader of the poem to see that the conditions of racialized violence that led to Till's death are not dissimilar from the reader's own conditions. It is also an appeal to brotherhood and solidarity. As the poem ends, the speaker asks the reader not to forget that while Emmett Till was the one who was lynched, that "it is your blood cemented at the foundation of the bloody lake of the race." Kalungo uses this bloody imagery to offer a final emphasis to the notion that Black experiences must be understood in the context of a global African diaspora, in part defined by subjugation. By simultaneously drawing on notions of familial bloodlines and the bloodletting violence of antiblackness, Kalungo explains to the Black boy from his country (and the reader) that it is also their blood being spilled by the racist violence in the Americas.

Similarly, in another poem by Kalungo, "Onde estou" (Where I am), he again draws on references to other Black geographies alongside the use of repetition. This time he repeats the first-person subject, "eu" (I), as the speaker of the poem refers to various geographic and social positions to highlight the place of Black people, globally. For example, midway through the

poem, after not specifying any particular geographic location through which the speaker experiences various forms of colonial violence and duress, he states:

Here in America

yes, I am also here
I am here

But Lincoln
was assassinated
and I

I
I
every day I am lynched

Once again, through repetitious pronouns, in this case in the first person, Kalungo is aggregating a chorus of Black voices who embody, know, and speak from the same place of blackness on “the path inscribed / by the whip.” By bridging the Americas, presumably with Africa, through the phrase, “yes, I am *also* here,” this poem doubly asserts Kalungo’s argument that there is an interconnectedness of Black struggle on the continent and in the diaspora.

By the end of the poem, Kalungo seeks to reclaim this position not just as one of violence, but also of brilliance and resistance forged from that position:

Why
then
do you look for me in the Glory of Beethoven

if I am here

rising up in the millions of shouts
that rise from the cellars
on all the docks

If I am here
very alive
in the voice of Robeson and Hughes
Césaire and Guillen

Godido and Black Boy reborn

The speaker contends that the essence of who they are has been misunderstood by posing a rhetorical question. Rather than look for him in the culture of a universal humanism that has been defined by white cultural aesthetics and values, you will find him in Black cultural values. These values are expressed among elite intellectuals just as much as they are among the cries of millions of exploited laborers. The list of Black intellectuals ranges from Langston Hughes to Aimé Césaire. Kalungo references Godido, a novel written by Mozambican author João Dias that was published through the CEI. In doing so he situates the Portuguese-speaking literary scene

within the cannon of Black writers across linguistic and geographic formations. He concludes the poem clearly. It is in those men, “who composed the poem // of life against death,” where you will truly be able to find Black being. This diasporic reading of a Black(ened) epistemology from a Black(ened) ontology echoes throughout the poetry collection. Kalungo’s emphasis on men limits who he considers Black intellectuals, and also reflects a common male-centered approach throughout many of the poems in the *Antologia*. Few examples stand out that offer Black women as intellectuals and agents in this tradition.

One such example is the poem “Deixa passar o meu povo” (Let my people go) by Noémia de Sousa. In the poem, she echoes the penchant for the powerful connection of diasporic resonance. More specifically, this poem’s multilingual use of English and Portuguese highlights the translingual register of the grammar of *poesia negra*. In the poem, the speaker reflects on what gets stirred up in hearing Marian Anderson and Paul Robeson, Black U.S. performers and activists, sing “Let My People Go.” De Sousa’s choice to include Marian alongside Robeson reflects a subtle challenge to the list of men in Kalungo’s poem above. I offer excerpted lines from the poem that demonstrate her use of the phrase “let my people go” (as she presents it in English) in repetitious epistrophe:

...	[...]
Mas vozes da América remexem-me a alma	But voices from America stir my soul and
e os nervos.	nerves.
E Robeson e Marian cantam para mim	And Robeson and Marian sing to me
spirituals negros de Harlem.	negro spirituals from Harlem.
<i>Let my people go</i>	<i>Let my people go</i>
...	...
e não são doces vozes de embalo.	and they are not sweet lullaby voices.
<i>Let my people go.</i>	<i>Let my people go</i>
”	...
Escreverei, escreverei,	I will write, I will write
com Robeson e Marian gritando comigo:	with Robeson and Marian yelling with me:
<i>Let my people go,</i>	<i>Let my people go,</i>
OH DEIXA PASSAR O MEU POVO	OH LET MY PEOPLE GO]

Throughout the poem, written in Portuguese, de Sousa writes “Let my people go” in English nearly every time it is used. The repetition not only reflects the call for freedom expressed in the spiritual, but also the ethos and rhythm of the song. Further, doing so in English throughout the poem highlights the notion that *poesia negra* is expressed in many languages and across languages. In writing about the way Anderson and Robeson’s words keep her up at night, de Sousa highlights how this register of Black recognition transcends a shared language. Rather, it reflects the grammar of blackness reflected in *poesia negra*. Though largely made through references to the Black figures from the U.S., Andrade’s decision to include Kalungo and De Sousa’s poems highlight the broad trans-regional and translingual character of *poesia negra*.

As the authorship, intended readership, themes, geographies, and linguistic register of *poesia negra* highlight a Pan-African project, the fact that the collection is nominally an “Expressão Portuguesa” (Portuguese Expression) must be considered. In the preface to the *Antologia*, Andrade goes to great lengths to explicitly distinguish his project from that of the colonial project of lusotropicalism. In naming this as a *Black* project that uses the medium of the

Portuguese language, rather than as a product of Portuguese culture, Andrade highlights how the relations he sees, and seeks to forge, through *poesia negra* exceed that colonial legacy even while using the colonial language it enforces. To make this argument, Andrade offers a sharp, lengthy critique of Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre, and his concept of lusotropicalism, the idea that all current and former Portuguese colonies constitute a unit of feeling and culture. Part of his critique of lusotropicalism deals directly with language. He argues that “the percentage of illiteracy in the ‘Portuguese overseas’, among the black populations, especially in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique,” is a factor that challenges, at the very least, the successful reproduction of a Lusophone culture “if the Portuguese language must be considered as the only vehicle of Luso-tropical thought and feeling.”¹⁶⁸ Beyond the practical fact that the Portuguese had not invested in educating the masses of their colony, he argues that this politic of cultural assimilation is better understood as a “superposition of values.” In doing so, he situates both Portuguese language and notions of Lusophone culture, as an imposition of European cultural values onto its subject persons rather than an integration or harmonization. These ideas build on Andrade’s critiques of lusotropicalism published in *Présence Africaine* in 1955, Where he describes it as “a um só tempo um conceito, uma teoria e um método de colonização” (at once a concept, a theory, and a method of colonization).¹⁶⁹ Thus, Andrade’s elaboration in the *Antologia*’s introduction clarifies that while this anthology of poetry uses the Portuguese language, it is, as *poesia negra*, a challenge to the idea of “O Mundo que o Português Criou” (The World that the Portuguese Created).¹⁷⁰

While the entire *Antologia* reflects this challenge to lusotropicalism, the starkest challenge to this notion comes from Andrade himself. His only poem to be included in the *Antologia*, “Muimbu ua Sabalu” appears twice: first, in Kimbundu, a Bantu language spoken in Angola, and then fully translated into Portuguese with the title “Canção de Sabalu.” In a footnote, he hopes that “the reader will excise the immodesty of including [himself] in this anthology with a song in Kimbundu, whose value is more symbolic than poetic.” By including a poem in a native language of Angola, Andrade makes the symbolic gesture that the Portuguese language is but one expression of the essence of *poesia negra*.¹⁷¹ This sentiment was also previously expressed by Tenreiro in the conclusion to the 1953 *Caderno*. In ways that compliment what Andrade would do later do in the *Antologia*, Tenreiro writes:

Black poetry is expressed in different languages: French, English, Spanish, and Portuguese; nevertheless, Black poets understand each other and are still understood, as a group, by those who, beyond mere formal and regional aspects, know how to read deeper.¹⁷²

While Tenreiro only references European languages, Andrade’s use of Kimbundu indicates a development in his thinking about the ways the unbound linguistic aspects of *poesia negra* challenge the notion of lusotropicalism. Thus, we might understand that those who “know how to read deeper” are those who register the grammars of blackness that *poesia negra* reflects as an

¹⁶⁸ *Antologia*.

¹⁶⁹ “Qu’est-ce que le luso-tropicalismo?” by Buanga Fele (pseudonym of Mário Pinto de Andrade), November 1955, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04330.008.006#!3>.

¹⁷⁰ Gilberto Freyre, *O Mundo que o Português Criou*, 1ª edição (É Realizações, 2010).

¹⁷¹ *Antologia*.

¹⁷² *Caderno*.

attunement to blackness's translingual, transnational grammars rather than merely those who know how to read Portuguese.

Lastly, as an intervention, it is important for Andrade to clarify the purpose of *poesia negra*, which, he argues, links closely with the Negritude movement as well as a national political project. In addition to the *Antologia*'s "mission of revealing a black awareness" that incited the authors from the current and former Portuguese colonies to "say [their] specific problems," Andrade understands *poesia negra*, more broadly, as having revolutionary qualities.

Rui de Noronha, the Mozambican poet, reflects this revolutionary call in his poem "Surge et ambula" (roughly "Arise and march" in Latin). The first two stanzas of the poem use an alternating rhyming scheme that echoes the steady step of a uniform military march. The opening command of the remaining two stanzas, "Desperta." (Awake.), along with their rhyming scheme, suggest a call to action:

Desperta. Há muito que no alto adejam corvos
Ansiosos de cair e de beber aos sorvos
Teu sangue ainda quente, ó escrava sonâmbula...

Desperta. O teu dormir é mais do que terreno...
Ouve a voz do progresso, êsse outro Nazareno,
Que a mão te estende e diz: -- *África, surge et ambula!*

[Awake. It's been a long time since ravens have flown
Anxious to fall and drink in sips
Your blood is still warm, oh sleepwalking slave...

Awake. Your sleep is more than earthly...
Listen to the voice of progress, that other Nazarene,
May the hand reach out to you and say: -- *Africa, arise and march!*]

The rhyming scheme (AAB, CCB) almost acts as a catapult, launching the reader into action. With a clear marching order to conclude the poem, Noronha reflects the revolutionary call that Andrade sees as a vital component of *poesia negra*. The youthfully defiant tone of the poem resembles many of the poems in the anthology, most notably the writings of Agostinho Neto. This ethos aligns with cadre of Africans from the Portuguese colonies coming into their own racialized, anticolonial political consciousness across Europe at the time. This faith in their generation and a desire to change their conditions in ways that are different from the previous proto-nationalist generation is an intellectual call to arms for national independence.¹⁷³

Taken all together, the authors, intended readers, transregional, multi-lingual, and revolutionary functions of *poesia negra* exhibited by the *Antologia* reflect a critique of the Portuguese imperial project. Further, I argue that it also captures *poesia negra* as an articulation of a global Black grammar. Put differently, Andrade's decisions around editing the *Antologia* formulated a challenge to the colonial and imperial logic of lusotropicalism by articulating *poesia negra* as an expression in the Portuguese language within—and toward—a broader Black world. These Black grammars of *poesia negra* circulated through revolutionary communities over the years following the publication of the *Antologia*. Next, I will demonstrate the way in

¹⁷³ Varela and Pereira, "As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933)."

which this circulation and reception among Brazilian intellectuals reflects the resonant grammars of blackness at the core of *poesia negra*.

“Descobri a África por meio dessas poesias”: Poesia Negra in Brazil

This section highlights how *poesia negra* and its constitutive grammars of blackness traveled to and through Brazil in ways that animated Black Brazilian militant-intellectuals. I focus primarily on Thereza Santos. In the late 1950s, Thereza Santos entered university at the National Faculty of Philosophy (now the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro). In addition to her studies, she started participating in political street-theater and joined the *União Nacional dos Estudantes* (UNE, National Union of Students), a leftist student organization. Despite her busy intellectual and political life, she often felt lost in this period. In large part, her emerging racial consciousness began to enter her political worldview more centrally, but she felt that the majority of her organizing opportunities within the Communist Party fundamentally neglected the Race Question:

I spent years believing that we had a common cause, but their cause did not include black people, and in my search for a more just society, black people were a vital part of confronting the situation of misery, discrimination, and prejudice that they lived and still live, and I was part of that reality.¹⁷⁴

Perhaps this is why, when Santos found herself among the milieu of African students arriving to Brazil in the early 1960s, she eagerly integrated into this group along with other Brazilian allies.

In 1961 “o lado africano” (the African side) entered Santos’s life.¹⁷⁵ It was at this time, through her work with the UNE that she met some of the African students who had recently arrived in Rio de Janeiro, such as the previously mentioned Guinean Fidelis Cabral. It was also at this time that she first met José Maria Nunes Pereira and encountered the organizing work of MABLA. In her memoir, Santos recalls this period as more than just a political development, she developed as an intellectual in this network as well. Some of these students brought with them some of the literature and poetry that inspired their own anticolonial, nationalist stance. Among those texts, for example, was the *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*. As a result, Santos began to admire poets such as Geraldo Bessa Vitor, Agostinho Neto, Mário Pinto de Andrade, Francisco Tenreiro, among many others.¹⁷⁶

Santos’s choice of the word, “lado” to describe how these texts entered her life is illuminating. It frames the Atlantic as a divider of a single, or connected, entity. In this formulation, Santos and her African peers are located on opposite sides that single geography, and it was *poesia negra* that brought the two sides together. I argue that this is the work of registering *poesia negra*’s black grammars. “Descobri a África por meio dessas poesias” (I discovered Africa through these poems), she recalled in her memoir. This was her first introduction to these African intellectuals and revolutionaries. Though, Santos was not the only Black Brazilian to be inspired by the circulation of poetry from the African colonies of Portugal.

¹⁷⁴ Thereza Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira* (São Carlos, 2008), p. 27.

¹⁷⁵ Santos, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶ Santos, p. 37.

During the 1960s and 1970s, several Black Brazilians had experiences similar to Santos. Oswaldo de Camargo, the Black Brazilian poet, critic, historian of Brazilian literature, and founding member of the Association of Black Culture (referenced in the opening to the dissertation) recalled that the arrival of poetry from African intellectuals profoundly shaped Brazilian perceptions of Africa during this period:

At that time, no. You didn't know Africa. The Africa you had was literary Africa. Which was translated as "slave ship" [...] The Africa we had was a mythical Africa... Then Africa begins to stir. The independence movement begins in Africa... Then some young men arrive from Angola as refugees, they come as refugees from Africa, from Angola, speaking Portuguese. To the point that their Portuguese accent surprised us. There were two, at least. One of them was, I remember very well, Paulo Matoso. They come with some African books. First time we saw some books coming from Africa! First time, at least for me, that I really came across an African. A Black African man. For me, the beginning of getting to know Africa was there. And it was through Paulo Matoso, who gave me a book by Noémia [de Souza] – not gave; loaned me a book by Noémia, who was a poet from Mozambique or Angola, that's not the point now.¹⁷⁷

While certain details escaped Oswaldo many years later (such as the fact that Noémia was from Mozambique), what he remembers clearly is that he was surprised he shared a language with these young African intellectuals; and that it was through texts written in this shared language that he came to understand Africa beyond its symbolism and mythology. The literal trafficking of texts, especially poetry, mattered greatly in shaping the idea of Africa for Camargo and his peers.

Amauri Pereira, longtime Black activist and intellectual from Rio de Janeiro, recalls a similar story about the plethora of Black-authored texts, many from African revolutionaries, that arrived in Brazil as:

precious items brought from Portugal due to articulations with the Center for Afro-Asiatic Studies (CEAA) at Candido Mendes University, by some 'travelled' friends, and other situations, and which fed the discussions of the incipient Movimento Negro, in its new impetus in the mid-1970s.¹⁷⁸

It was through these early introductions to Africa, and this "precious" revolutionary literature brought to the CEAA, that Pereira was inspired to co-found *SINBA* [the Society of Brazil-Africa Exchange] in the late 1970s.¹⁷⁹

In fact, the *Antologia* was so precious in these Brazilian networks that in her memoir, Santos detailed a story that highlights this value. She recalled that:

This anthology belonged to José Maria, and I devoured it every time I was at his house. I was always there because he lived in Catete next to Flamengo, where UNE was

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Oswaldo de Camargo granted to ao Mário Medeiros da Silva on 29 July 2007, 29/07/2007, São Paulo, Brazil. Cited in Silva, "Fazer História, Fazer Sentido."

¹⁷⁸ Amauri Mendes Pereira, *Do Movimento Negro À Cultura de Consciência Negra* (Belo Horizonte: Nandyala, 2018), p. 102.

¹⁷⁹ Pereira, *O mundo negro*.

headquartered. This book has a story because I 'stole' it from Zé Maria, who 'stole' it back (it was his!). One of the times I 'stole' it, I showed it to Ferreira Gullar, who also stole it from me, and I had to go to the National Bank, where Gullar worked, to recover my 'theft'. So, every time I managed to highjack the book, I didn't show it to anyone, because it seemed to have a magnet. Everyone wanted to get hold of it.¹⁸⁰

Together, these recollections on the tangibility of the exchange of texts that came from Africa and Europe to Brazil offer a grounded reading of their circulation. In doing so, it helps situate the circulation of *poesia negra* as a material practice as much as a symbolic and literary one. When Santos got her hands on this book that everyone wanted, it moved her emotionally, intellectually, and politically. “I had never read anything by Brazilian poets that was so poetic, lyrical and at the same time blunt and revolutionary about the search for emancipation, for freedom” she recalled.¹⁸¹ By reading *poesia negra*’s diasporic reach as an intentional and embodied practice, I highlight the circulation of Black poetics as a condition of possibility for the circulation of anticolonial thought. In the next section, I analyze more poetry of the *Antologia* in relation to the ways it spoke to Santos’s own experiences as a Black militant in Brazil.

Registering the Black Grammars of Poesia Negra

The Africa that Santos discovered by way of the *Antologia* might have drawn her and her comrades in with direct references to Brazil. While a direct connection between any individual poem and Santos’s reception is mostly impossible, reading the *Antologia* through the lens of Santos’ personal and political journey suggests ways she might have seen herself reflected in, and been inspired by, *poesia negra*.

In “Mãe Negra (canta de esperança)” (Black Mom (song of hope)) by Viriato da Cruz, Santos might have been intrigued and affirmed by Cruz’s direct reference to Brazil. The poem addresses “Mother Africa” regarding her children in Africa, the Americas, and beyond; and what our inheritance is from her. The speaker addresses his “Mother” as an anthropomorphic Africa whose voice reaches the speaker in distant lands:

...
Voices from Virginia Plantations
from the fields of Carolina
Alabama
Cuba
Brazil...

Thus, as Brazilian reader, Santos could recognize herself as a child of Africa in this multinational list. Further, in framing the voices of Africa as coming from the Americas and toward Africa, the poem might have inspired in her the idea that she, too, could reach the continent from “distant lands.” In the same ways that she was discovering Africa through these poems, she might have been discovering Brazil and herself as part of a larger Pan-African world. Then again, Santos might have had her own critiques of the use of the “mother” as a symbol for the continent of Africa. As a common theme throughout the *Antologia*, the use of women and female figures as

¹⁸⁰ Santos, p. 37

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

stand-ins for tradition problematically reflect the masculinist visions of not only *poesia negra*, but also the horizons of the revolutionary project. By feminizing tradition and masculinizing modernity, many of these poems erase the women actively involved in the intellectual, cultural, and political aspects of the emerging wars for independence. For as much as Santos might have seen herself in this poem, she also might have felt obscured by it.

In addition to direct references to Brazil, Santos might have also been affirmed by seeing the inclusion of poetry by Solano Trindade, a Brazilian, among these African poets. The fact that some of the African students arriving to Brazil in the 1960s brought poetry by a Brazilian with them is a rich, diasporic irony. What does it mean that Trindade might have been (re)introduced to these Brazilians by Africans? Reading Trindade's line "A Black moan is a song, a Black moan is a poem..." in his poem "Quem tá gemendo?" (Who's moaning?), likely affirmed for Santos that Brazilians were also part of the poetics of the Negritude movement, part of the revolutionary nationalist fervor, and were Black (Africans) searching for (and returned to) themselves.

In other ways, the Africa that spoke to Santos might have been found in poems such as "O menino negro não entrou na roda" (The Black boy did not enter the circle) by Geraldo Bessa Victor. It is a short poem about a little Black boy being denied from playing with white children:

The boy did not enter the circle
of white children. Desolate, absorbed,
he was left alone, standing with the gaze of a blind man,
he was left alone, silent with the voice of the dead.

These feelings of desolation and being "left alone" resonate with Santos's own childhood experiences. In her memoir she recalls growing up in the Engenho Novo neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro, as one of very few Black families in the neighborhood. Her friends as a young child were the white girls in her neighborhood, and she says that "I owe my Black consciousness to the cruelty of the whites in relation to the blacks."¹⁸² Seeing the racist experiences of her own childhood reflected in the poetry of an Angolan might have strengthened her sense of relation and imagined community with Africa.

Lastly, these poems could have spoken to Brazilian readers, such as Santos, through their calls to react to oppression. For example, another poem that likely animated Santos as a creative was "Criar" by Agostinho Neto, which highlights the work of creating in the midst of hate and violence:

Criar criar
criar no espírito criar no músculo criar no nervo
criar no homem criar na massa
criar
criar com os olhos secos

[Creating creating
creating in the spirit creating in the muscle creating in the nerve
creating in man creating en mass
creating
creating with dry eyes]

¹⁸² Santos. p. 18

The anaphora, repetition at the beginning of lines, of “criar” (to create) throughout the poem offers a call to action that summons the reader. The epistrophe of repetition at the end of each stanza of “criar com os olhos secos” (create with dry eyes) provides solace through the struggle of creating in hard times. No doubt this poem spoke to Santos’s creative tendencies as an actress, playwright, and dancer.¹⁸³ That the antidote to violence might be to create, reflects Santos’s own path as a creative. She was already busy forging connections between her creative work and her political commitments during these years, so to see her work as part of a global movement for Black and African liberation offered her a diasporic context for her commitments. Further, it would serve as a catalyst for the theater work, she would do in Brazil and later in Africa in the years to come.

A clear example of how the call to create, alongside *poesia negra*, moved Santos is in her 1973 production *E Agora... Falamos Nós* (*And Now We Speak...*). She co-produced the play with Eduardo de Oliveira e Oliveira, the Black queer cultural, intellectual, and activist from São Paulo.¹⁸⁴ Together, they co-founded the Centro de Cultura e Arte Negra (CECAN, Center for Black Art and Culture), and used it as a vehicle in search of Black “identity and self-esteem.”¹⁸⁵ The play was a “colcha de retalhos” (patchwork) that offered a series of vignettes, scenes, and performances that when layered together offer a history of Brazil told from a global Black perspective.¹⁸⁶ This chapter cannot engage fully with this project. I reference it here to highlight how among the many “patches” of the play, Santos and Oliveira e Oliveira included the poem “Monangamba” by António Jacinto, which was published in the *Antologia*. This poetry had awakened something in Black Brazilians, Santos especially. She would remain in contact with these intellectuals which, many years later, would present her with the opportunity to seek refuge from Brazil’s military dictatorship at the height of its repression.

Reaching for a common language: The Black Grammars of Solidarity

This final section returns to the story that opened the chapter. I want to revisit Thereza Santos’s self-exile to Guinea-Bissau with a renewed clarity of *poesia negra* as a Black grammar that initially animated her relationship with Africa and the revolutionaries of Guinea-Bissau and Angola. By the time Thereza Santos fled from Brazil in 1974, it had been over a decade since her first encounter with the *Antologia*. Yet, this poetry reflects the core of Santos’s personal and political aspirations for working with the PAIGC. So even prior to her arrival, her affective connection to Guinea-Bissau, and Africa more broadly, had been formed through the ability to share in the poetry written in a “Portuguese expression.” While this might initially be read solely through their shared relation to a colonial language, her experiences in Africa suggest a deeper resonance that transcends common colonial and linguistic history. As I’ve demonstrated, it was a shared Black onto-epistemology that Santos found reflected in the *poesia negra* as one

¹⁸³ Santos began acting in stage plays and street theater in her teen years. At 22, Santos played a minor role in the film, *Black Orpheus*, winner of the Cannes Film Festival and Oscar for Best International Feature in 1960. She also acted in several Brazilian novellas on TV Tupi. Her novelas in order of casting since 1969 include *Nino o Italianinho*, *A Fábrica*, *Signo da Esperança*, *Mulheres de Areia*. She also worked with the Mangueira Samba school in Rio de Janeiro and the Vai Vai Samba school in São Paulo.

¹⁸⁴ Rafael P. Trapp, *O Elefante Negro* (Alameda Editorial, 2020).

¹⁸⁵ Thereza Santos, “My Conscience, My Struggle,” in *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, ed. Michael Hanchard (Duke University Press, 1999), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822382539>.

¹⁸⁶ The manuscript of “E Agora... Falamos Nós” by Thereza Santos and Eduardo de Oliveira e Oliveira, 1973, Courtesy of Glauciana Aparecida de Souza.

articulation of a structuration of relationality that operates through, but beyond, Portuguese imperialism. This clarity refines her claim of “the only language common to all” as an enunciation of the grammars of blackness she initially registered through *poesia negra*.

For example, Santos frequently featured the poetry of many of these African intellectuals in her theatrical works while in exile. In doing so, she showcased the important messages of this poetry to her students and audiences. In a sense, she was bringing these ideas full circle as they had come from African poets in Europe, to Brazil, and now to Africa through her theater and arts practices and her revolutionary commitment to building a new nation. For example, variations of her play *Africa-Liberdade* premiered on both September 24, 1974, and 1975, the first and second anniversary of the declaration of national independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde. In this play, Santos depicted a national origin story from the pre-colonial era, through the violence of colonization, through the independence wars, until the present moment. She celebrated those who fought valiantly for national liberation, and offered a national origin story in the exact moment when the country was deciding how to represent themselves as sovereign nation. The play opens with a number of poems by African intellectuals.¹⁸⁷ This brief example registers her use of *poesia negra* as a mode of communication on the stage.

In fleeing to Bissau, Santos brought some of the ideas inspired by the revolutionary poetics with her. However, to organize in the day to day, Santos had to learn a new language to solidify relations that she had imagined were established via their commonality as (former) Portuguese-speaking subjects. Thus, the “only language common to all” in Santos’s case was quite literally not Portuguese, which helps demonstrate that Black internationalist relations forged in the Lusophone world, such as those between Santos and her African comrades, were not solely through their historical relations as Portuguese (post-)colonial subjects. These relations, and their linguistic registers, I argue, represent a challenge the idea that these militants were (solely) Portuguese-speaking subjects by registering the grammars of blackness offered by *poesia negra*.

Using her Creole, Santos had a new language to continue speaking the grammars of blackness that brought her to Africa in the first place. These linguistic experiences are only one facet of the ways I think about the factors that push and pull at the Black internationalist relationships forged within and against the Lusophone world. So *poesia negra*, as a grammar of blackness, remained as their bridge, an expression that exceeded their shared or different linguistic practices.

Santos frames this as a moment of mistranslation in which she had to work toward establishing a connection of solidarity. A return to the notion of *décalage* is instructive here. Edwards uses the notion of a joint to describe the way diasporic communities come together, hinged by a particular idea, yet still movable. I argue that blackness, its Lusophone-specific and global articulations, act as the hinge on which *décalage* plays out in this context. I abstract from Santos’s experience to read it as an active and changing moment of solidarity, rather than as an *a priori* connection based on a presumed shared language. While Dzidzienyo has described Santos’s story of exile as “an unusual example of Afro-Brazilian identification with continental Africa,” I theorize her experience as one with broader reach within and beyond the Portuguese-speaking Black diaspora.¹⁸⁸ In thinking of the encounters with *poesia negra* as an *articulation* of

¹⁸⁷ “‘Africa-Liberdade’ Estreia hoje em Bissau,” *Nô Pintcha*, Issue 77, 24 September 1975, Arquivo histórico digital Nô Pintcha. <https://nopintcha-chul.letas.ulisboa.pt/pdf/2019-11/No-Pintcha-1975-no-77.pdf>

¹⁸⁸ Anani Dzidzienyo, “Triangular Mirrors and Moving Colonialisms,” *Etnográfica. Revista Do Centro Em Rede de Investigação Em Antropologia*, no. vol. 6 (1) (May 1, 2002): 127–40, <https://doi.org/10.4000/etnografica.2853>, p.

Black internationalism, we see the discursive, intellectual, cultural, and affective conditions that made acts of solidarity possible for Santos and many of her comrades invested in challenging imperialism.

By analyzing poetry produced by and shared within a network between Portuguese-speaking Africa and Brazil, this chapter argues that *poesia negra* represents one articulation of the grammars of global blackness. These intellectuals used that articulation to form bonds of Black internationalist solidarity. Further, this grammar worked through and exceeded its Portuguese imperial legacy to offer the conditions for Black Brazilians and Africans of the Portuguese colonies to establish politically advantageous ties. In doing so, this connection presented a challenge to the notion that these Black militant intellectuals were bonded by Portuguese language or a shared Portuguese culture. Rather, *poesia negra* offers a reading of the ways in which these actors reconfigured the narrative of their relationship as one rooted in a shared transnational and translingual Black, anticolonial subjectivity. Lastly, by attending to the tangible and interpersonal aspects of the exchange, I demonstrated the conditions of possibility for the circulation of a Black, anticolonial, anti-imperial poetics. Building from the previous chapter, the poetic circulations in this chapter were made possible by Portuguese and Brazilian production of, and participation in, the modern world economy that allowed for the mobility of these intellectuals and the literature they carried with them. In particular, I highlighted the investments in education and the function of merchant ships as couriers that not only tied the Portuguese-speaking world together, but also shaped the flow of cultural production and their attendant ideas across the Atlantic. Ultimately, this chapter recognizes the ways in which poetics were used as a tool to not only reconfigure language, but to configure a form of transnational solidarity.

While Santos had established close bonds with the PAIGC, by January 1976 she made the decision to take her investments in African liberation to Angola. Due to political differences and concern for her own safety in Guinea-Bissau, Santos decided to flee from Bissau to Luanda. The next chapter places Santos in Angola. In the next chapter, I explore how theorizations of culture and national representation were articulated by an international gathering that brought Portuguese-speaking Africans and Brazilians together in the era immediately following national independence.

Chapter 3

On a Global Stage: National Culture and the Cultural Politics of Independence

Similar to Thereza Santos, the Brazilian intellectual Abdias do Nascimento, fled the persecution of the military dictatorship and went into exile in 1968. While he was in the United States in the first decade of his exile, Nascimento had taken a position as a professor at the University of Ife in Ile-Ife, Nigeria in September of 1976.¹⁸⁹ Nascimento's arrival serendipitously placed him just a few hours away from what would become one of the largest Black cultural gatherings of the twentieth century. In the early weeks of 1977, the Nigerian government hosted The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 77) in Lagos. The Brazilian government, invited to participate in FESTAC, organized a delegation that included visual artists, dance and music groups, films, and paintings, alongside diplomats and intellectuals. Additionally, Itamaraty, the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, shared *The Impact of African Culture on Brazil*, an official publication released in advance to orient the world to the Brazilian contributions and interests in the festival. In the report, they argued that Brazil was a nation of mixed-heritage that had peacefully absorbed African culture as a constitutive element of its national identity.

Aware of Nascimento's presence in Nigeria, the Brazilian government actively worked with the Nigerian government to prevent Nascimento from official participation in the event. In response, Nascimento declared himself an unofficial member of the Brazilian delegation. While the Brazilian government sought to present itself through the lens of racial democracy, Nascimento actively sought to challenge those ideas. At FESTAC 77, he circulated the English-language essay, "'Racial Democracy' in Brazil: Myth or Reality?", as a challenge to the representation of the official Brazilian delegation.¹⁹⁰ He argued that this framing of Brazil through an African cultural past and through claims to African ancestry, intentionally obscured the reality of a distinct Black racial or cultural identity in Brazil.¹⁹¹ Further, it limited the capacity for Brazilian connections to contemporary African liberation struggles. The Nigerian government worked with the Brazilian government to ban Nascimento from speaking out at FESTAC. They argued that it was based on the fact that he was not an official member of the national delegation. Despite being banned from presenting at FESTAC, Nascimento's agitation against the Brazilian myth of racial democracy contributed to the final report of the FESTAC colloquium, which recommended that an investigation take place to examine Brazilian race relations.¹⁹²

While this story of Abdias do Nascimento and the Brazilian delegation is well known among historians of racial politics in Brazil, placing Nascimento's story in the context of two other Portuguese-speaking exiles at FESTAC offers another vantage point through which we can understand Brazil's relationship to racial politics, national representation, national culture, and internationalism. In this chapter, I turn my attention to a unique configuration of national cultural representations as played out at FESTAC 77. The Brazilian Thereza Santos, as a representative of the Angolan MPLA, and the Angolan Mário Pinto de Andrade, as a representative of Guinea-

¹⁸⁹ Keisha-Khan Y. Perry and Anani Dzidzienyo, "Homenagem: Remembering the Life and Work of Abdias Nascimento," *Journal of Black Studies*, May 3, 2021, 00219347211011587, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219347211011587>; Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*.

¹⁹⁰ Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

¹⁹¹ Abdias do Nascimento, *"Racial Democracy" in Brazil, Myth Or Reality?: A Dossier of Brazilian Racism* (Sketch Publishing Company, 1977).

¹⁹² Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*.

Bissau and Cabo Verde through the PAIGC, were also present at FESTAC. What does it mean that an Angolan represented Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde? That a Brazilian represented Angola? That a Brazilian was not authorized to represent anyone, yet showed up anyway? As exiles in this network, their presence at FESTAC offers perspective into how Black intellectuals in the Portuguese-speaking world were navigating key questions and debates of Black internationalist politics. Tensions between states and peoples, culture and politics, and Negritude and Pan-Africanism were not only central to FESTAC, but also to the politics of solidarity among Brazilians, Angolans, Guineans, and Cabo Verdeans.

This chapter takes the Portuguese-speaking configurations of national representation at FESTAC 77 as a departure point to think through ideas of racial politics, national culture, and internationalism. This chapter also introduces a new methodological approach for this analysis. While there are no indications of an encounter between Andrade and Santos in the archives, there are reasons to believe they met during FESTAC 77. In this chapter, I speculate on what a conversation between Andrade and Santos might have looked like in the wake of national independence for the former Portuguese colonies. In doing so, I interrogate what these politics of representation tell us about their ideas of national culture and global blackness at the time. Ultimately, I argue that these intellectuals were making sense of the changing political and economic tides, that caused shift in how they understood the concept of blackness, within the Portuguese-speaking context and Black internationalism more broadly.

In this chapter, I first briefly outline my method of analysis. Then I introduce the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 77) and its major debates to give context. Then, I outline the configuration of national representation of the Portuguese-speaking presence at the festival. Following, I stage a conversation between Andrade and Santos that highlights how their ideas and experiences at the time of the festival illuminate the state of racial politics, nationalism, and international solidarity. Lastly, I demonstrate how the experiences of Thereza Santos following FESTAC 77 highlight and heighten the ideas of national culture and transnationalism discussed in this chapter.

Staging Possibilities, a note on method

This chapter takes on a slightly different methodological approach than the previous chapters. Whereas I previously highlighted documented encounters among a network of intellectuals, this chapter explores the *possibility* of an encounter that has not been documented. How can we tell the history of the encounter of ideas with such uncertainty? What other methods are necessary in the wake of silences and gaps in the archive? Similar to the speculative practice that opens this dissertation, in this section I lean further into speculation as a method of historical rendering. I do this by engaging in something akin to what Saidiya Hartman has referred to as “critical fabulation,” as a gesture toward possible histories without the need to provide closure.¹⁹³ It’s important to note that I am accessing an entirely different set of archival materials than Hartman. They were produced under different conditions, and the reasons for silences in these archives are in many ways different. Yet, the practice of thinking with and through what little we (can) know about the past is instructive here.

In this chapter, I weave between naming what is known and asking questions of the unknown. I do this by staging a conversation between Mário Pinto de Andrade and Thereza

¹⁹³ Saidiya Hartman, “Venus in Two Acts,” *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (July 17, 2008): 1–14, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/241115>.

Santos, reconstructed from their interviews, writings, and biographical texts that highlight their thinking and experiences around the time of FESTAC 77. Largely, FESTAC has remained under documented and archived in fragments. Recent works, such as Marilyn Nance's *Last Day in Lagos* and Chimurenga's *FESTAC '77*, have attempted to reproduce an archive of FESTAC's stories.¹⁹⁴ These stories, according to Ntone Edjabe of the Chimurenga editorial collective, have until recently "circulated in the manner of a family secret — a family of millions of people."¹⁹⁵ By relying on the scattered glimpses that surround their experience at FESTAC, I reconstruct an archive of the Portuguese-speaking presence at one of the largest Black and African cultural gatherings of the 20th century.

Unpacking FESTAC 77 and Key Debates

From January 15 to February 12, 1977, in Lagos, Nigeria, The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 77) brought together an estimated 16,000 participants to participate in cultural exchange, political debate, and to connect with a diasporic community. As one of the largest Black and African cultural events in history, it "facilitated the symbolic and temporary return of the largest number of Black people to the continent."¹⁹⁶ Drawing on the financial support of the recently booming oil industry of Nigeria, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo offered to host the festival in Lagos in an attempt to rebrand Nigeria in the wake of civil war.¹⁹⁷ Obasanjo saw FESTAC as an opportunity for Nigeria to forge a new national culture and re-present the country to the world.

To accomplish this goal, Obasanjo built the National Theater of Nigeria and a housing complex known as FESTAC Village, designed to house as many as 17,000 people.¹⁹⁸ As one of the largest Black, Pan-African gatherings of the 20th century, the number of well-known artists and intellectuals in attendance is immense. To paint a picture of the range of attendees, a few notable figures in attendance included: Wole Soyinka, Leopold Senghor, Maulana Ron Karenga, Stevie Wonder, Miriam Makeba, and Sun Ra's Arkestra. The Nigerian Funk/Jazz musician, Fela Kuti, even staged a "counter-FESTAC" to protest the government. All in all, FESTAC hosted nations and peoples from over 75 countries, organized into 15 World regions.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Chimurenga, *Festac '77* (Chimurenga and Afterall Books, 2019); Marilyn Nance et al., *Marilyn Nance: Last Day in Lagos*, ed. Oluremi C. Onabanjo (CARA/Fourthwall Books, 2022).

¹⁹⁵ Ntone Edjabe and Kwanele Sosibo, "Reproducing Festac '77: A Secret Among a Family of Millions," *The Funambulist Magazine*, November 2, 2020, <https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/pan-africanism/reproducing-festac-77-a-secret-among-a-family-of-millions-with-ntone-edjabe-and-kwanele-sosibo>.

¹⁹⁶ Andrew Apter, "Festac 77: A Black World's Fair," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.798>.

¹⁹⁷ The Biafran War (1967-1970), also known as Nigerian Civil War, was fought between Nigeria and the Republic of Biafra, a secessionist state. In the years following the war, Nigeria connected its crude-oil supply to the global market under new trade agreements that were bolstered by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), leading to a booming economy. For more on the relationship between Nigeria's oil industry, post-civil war moment, and FESTAC, see Andrew Apter, *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005), <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/P/bo3534816.html>.

¹⁹⁸ While the longterm goal was to provide permanent housing to Nigerians, although there were many issues with completing this project following the festival.

¹⁹⁹ Those regions were: South America Zone, Caribbean Zone, USA/Canada Zone, Europe Zone, Australia Zone, Eastern African Zone, Southern African Zone, East Africa Community Zone, Central Africa I Zone, Central Africa II Zone, West Africa (Anglophone) Zone, West Africa (Francophone) Zone I, West Africa (Francophone) Zone II,

The principal aims of the festival were to reflect on the role of Black and African cultures in a global context, only this time as a celebration for turning the tide against colonial powers. For the first time ever, a nearly totally-independent Africa was gathering, and it was important for the leadership of these countries to extend their national influences globally through the diaspora.²⁰⁰ In short, the gathering sought to re-establish relations among Black peoples and nations of the world in a new global era defined by Black and African national independence and self-determination. As Andrew Apter puts it, FESTAC “redrew the map of the pan-African world.”²⁰¹

Host to hundreds of music, theater, literary, dance, and visual arts performances and showcases, FESTAC’s Colloquium on Black Civilization and Education was at the center of the gathering. It was there that a number of intellectuals and political elites of the attendant countries and regions participated in debates about the work of ideological decolonization needed in the era of independence; and the collective and international steps necessary to reach that goal. The colloquium sub-topics were organized around five themes in relation to: arts, pedagogy, literature, philosophy, religion, African systems of government, science, and mass media. As Apter notes, “the very organization of these themes manifests an implicit developmental pathway from art to science, and tradition to modernity,” and thus represent a guiding framework for how the organizers of FESTAC were reading the cultural and political moment.²⁰²

FESTAC is, therefore, a rich site for considering the global debates on blackness, Africanness, nationhood, and internationalism. The ideological currents of FESTAC not only reflect a multitude of cultural and political ideologies but represent the culmination of a number of Black and African world configurations. FESTAC is often compared to two gatherings that preceded it. Naturally, it is compared to the first iteration of such a festival, The First World Festival of Black Arts (FESMAN) in Dakar in 1966. FESMAN was the first of its kind, a large-scale international Black cultural festival hosted by an independent African country.²⁰³ FESTAC is also commonly compared to the Pan-African Cultural Festival (PANAF) held in Algeria in 1969. It’s been argued that this moment inaugurated “a Fanonian model of revolutionary culture that broke from Senghor’s idea of Négritude to chart an alternative pathway toward Black liberation.”²⁰⁴ Thus, if FESMAN has been considered a Black cultural gathering and PANAF considered an African political gathering, FESTAC in many ways sought to synthesize the ideas

North Africa, and the Liberation Movements Zone. “Festac 77: General Program,” Festac Archive of Abdul Alkalimat. <https://alkalimat.org/festac/pdfs/generalprogramme.pdf>

²⁰⁰ At length, the stated aims of FESTAC were: (i) to ensure the revival, resurgence, propagation and promotion of Black and African culture and Black and African cultural values and civilization; (ii) to present Black and African culture in its highest and widest conception; (iii) to bring to light the diverse contributions of Black and African peoples to the universal currents of thought and arts; (iv) to promote Black and African artists, performers and writers and facilitate their world acceptance and their access to world outlets; (v) to promote better international and interracial understanding; (vi) to facilitate a periodic 'return to origin' in Africa by Black artists, writers and performers uprooted to other continents. “Festac 77: Spotlight,” Festac Archive of Abdul Alkalimat. <https://alkalimat.org/festac/pdfs/spotlight.pdf>

²⁰¹ Andrew Apter, “Festac 77: A Black World’s Fair,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.798>.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ For more on FESMAN: Acuña, “Poéticas e Performances de Imaginações Afro-Atlânticas: O Primeiro Festival Mundial de Artes Negras”; Sabrina Moura, “The Cultural Politics of Négritude and the Debates around the Brazilian Participation in the First World Festival of Negro Arts (Dakar, 1966),” in *New Histories of Art in the Global Postwar Era* (Routledge, 2021).

²⁰⁴ Apter, “Festac 77.” p. 4

as both Black and African, and both a cultural celebration and a political gathering of nations and liberation movements. While certainly an oversimplification of the ways these intellectuals and political leaders were debating the relationship of culture and politics, this framing is instructive in that it offers a picture of FESTAC as the platform through which these unresolved tensions were to be worked out. One example of this synthesis can be found in changing the name of the 1977 Festival. As the organizers decided to include both “Black” and “African” in its title, they not only reflected the ideological expansion but also the broadening geographic inclusivity of peoples invited to attend.

As much as it is a synthesis of the cultural and political perspectives on blackness, FESTAC’s capaciousness ultimately meant that it lacked a singular, unified vision for who or what Black and African cultural politics look like. Communists, socialists, and capitalists came together to celebrate a shared sense of Black or African identity despite not having a consensus on what that culture meant in the context of their own political economies. At the same time, nations and peoples gathered under varied definitions of the meaning and purpose of a unified Black or African identity. Despite some documented disagreements, Apter argues “the Colloquium Proceedings of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture subsumed dissenting voices within a master narrative of Black manifest destiny marching from tradition to modernity.”²⁰⁵ Yet, the fact remains that these different ideological orientations held competing visions for undoing and reimagining a Eurocentric world order. What united them was a sense that a shared Black or African culture could help accomplish these visions. Ultimately, FESTAC was a celebration of Black and African national culture, while simultaneously an embodied navigation of the tensions between different models for re/configuring a Black world: tensions between Black/African, Universal Humanism/Marxist-Leninism, and States/Statelessness were all on full display as the Lusophone contingent arrived in Lagos.

The Lusophone Presence at FESTAC

As previously discussed, the case of the Brazilian delegation at FESTAC 77 has been the topic of much scholarship.²⁰⁶ This has largely focused on the story of the Black Brazilian intellectual, Abdias do Nascimento. This section focuses on the delegations from Guinea-Bissau and Angola. It is difficult to track the presence of delegations from Portuguese-speaking Africa at FESTAC. As planning for FESTAC was occurring, the former African colonies of Portugal were at the peak of their wars for national independence, and by the time of FESTAC, they had only claimed independence in recent years.

On January 23, president of the PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral was assassinated in an attempt to overthrow the leadership of the party. Despite this, the party unilaterally declared independence on September 24, 1973. The United Nations General Assembly would vote in November of that same year, overwhelmingly in favor of recognition of Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde’s sovereignty. Angola would continue to be at war against Portugal for a while longer until the tides began to change in 1975. On April 24 of that year, a group of military officers staged a coup to overthrow the Estado Novo dictatorship in Portugal, which paved the way for a socialist regime. This opportunity presented the MPLA in Angola the chance to finally gain national independence. After 14 years of war, Angola achieved independence on November 11, 1975.

²⁰⁵ Apter, p. 5

²⁰⁶ Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*; Dávila, *Hotel Trópico*; Perry and Dzidzienyo, “Homenagem.”

Immediately following independence, Angola broke out into a civil war to decide national leadership. It was primarily a power struggle between two former guerrilla movements. The communist MPLA and the anti-communist *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

As a result, they had little resources to dedicate to such an event, and little ability to coordinate and communicate much in advance. For this reason, there are few traces of them in the official documentation leading up to, and during, the festival. In the planning documents leading up to FESTAC, Guinea-Bissau is listed as one of the “Francophone West Africa Zone” countries, only to be removed later, likely due to inconsistent communication on its participation. So, from the outset, one might read the festival archives to suggest that the Portuguese-speaking African countries’ relationship to statehood and statelessness as perhaps the most well-documented aspect of their presence at the festival.

Nevertheless, such a large gathering of intellectual and political elites on African soil was too important to pass up. For the MPLA and PAIGC, FESTAC represented an opportunity to debut themselves on a global stage, forge diplomatic relationships at a crucial time in Pan-African politics, and perform national legitimacy. Despite issues with formal recognition and consistent participation within the organizing body, Angola and Guinea-Bissau/Cabo Verde were also represented.

Thereza Santos, was now living out her exile in Angola and working within the MPLA Ministry of Culture. The MPLA sent a delegation of 110 members to FESTAC. This delegation included Roberto de Almeida (vice-minister of Foreign Relations), Majors Rui de Matos and Victor Teixeira e Lisboa, Mendes de Carvalho (Minister of Foreign Trade), members of the Angolan Secretariat, and the majority of the contingent: actors, technicians, and musicians from the Escola de Teatro do Conselho Nacional de Cultura (Theater School of the National Council of Culture). As Director of the school, Thereza Santos was tasked with leading this troupe of young people to represent Angolan culture by presenting her theatrical production, *História de Angola* (*History of Angola*).

At FESTAC, the Angolan delegation had difficulty presenting their production. The FESTAC organizers weren’t prepared to receive their more-than-100-person troupe. The organizers also asked them to perform their piece in a government building made for military displays. “There, it was impossible to present a piece,” according to Santos.²⁰⁷ They struggled to find a place to perform the play over the first few days until finally on the morning of January 26 they were informed they would perform the evening of January 27 in Tafawa Balewa Square.²⁰⁸ The first presentation was “uma merda” (a shit show) due to bad acoustics, lighting, and organization. They left feeling that “o nome de Angola estava em jogo” (the name of Angola was at stake).²⁰⁹ This phrase highlights how Santos and the MPLA were aware of the stakes of FESTAC as a global event for developing national diplomacy and representing themselves as a legitimate nation. Staged as, and through, a cultural festival, this moment was understood as one with significant political stakes. By effort and chance, they were able to perform again in the National Stadium Gym on the night of February 2. It was still not ideal, but the conditions were markedly improved. According to Santos, the second production of the play had an estimated 5,000 enthusiastic viewers in attendance.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ “As raízes de Tereza Santos,” *Versus*, Issue 29, February 1979.

²⁰⁸ “II Festival Mundial de Artes Negro-Africanas: A Participação Angola,” Chimurenga, *Festac* ’77.

²⁰⁹ “As raízes de Tereza Santos,” *Versus*, Issue 29, February 1979.

²¹⁰ “II Festival Mundial de Artes Negro-Africanas: A Participação Angola,” Chimurenga, *Festac* ’77.

The PAIGC, representing newly independent and still unified, Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde, sent a delegation as well. One of the more interesting figures to make an appearance in the PAIGC delegation was the Angolan, Mário Pinto de Andrade, who had been living in Bissau as an exile for the last few years. Additionally, the delegation included Lucete Cabral (representing the President), Mário Cissoko (director of National Institute of Scientific Investigation), Agnelo Regalla (poet and Director of the National Broadcasting), Augusto Trigo (painter and Director of Craftmanship), Sana Na N'Hada (filmmaker), Luis Medina (from the Commission of Education and Culture), Érico Verissimo, Manuel Figueira, Mário Tolentino (Minister of Education and Culture of Cabo Verde), and Mário Fonseca (poet). The PAIGC delegation presented an exhibition of traditional and modern statuary from Guinea-Bissau (especially bijagó and nalú statuary), but they were unable to present any productions from their national, dance, music, or theatrical groups.²¹¹ According to Andrade, their “most dynamic presence “at FESTAC was in the colloquium. There, he presented the essay “African Poetry of the Armed Struggle” on what he refers to as “African combat poetry.”²¹²

There are reasons to believe that an encounter between Andrade and Santos did not happen at FESTAC. As a large event, with many people and much activity, it might have been difficult for them to come across one another. Further, it's possible they avoided each other all together. They had both, in recent years, fled from the political parties in which the other now worked. As exiles, it's difficult to say exactly what their relationships were to the people in their previous political homes.

However, there are many reasons to believe that an encounter did take place between them. The fact that they were all housed in close proximity in FESTAC Village would have facilitated such encounters. According to the *Jornal de Angola*, the MPLA and PAIGC delegations were neighbors, and the MPLA delegation sought out other delegations from “países amigos” (friendly countries) that were “ideologicamente afins” (ideologically aligned).²¹³ There are of course other reasons, beyond chance run-ins, that they might have actually sought out one another's company. They were intimately and socially connected in a network of radicals, intellectuals, and artists. Andrade and Santos practically switch places in terms of geographic location and political party, and it's possible that there was even an overlap in Bissau. As Andrade arrived to engage in cultural work with the PAIGC in Bissau, Santos was fleeing to work within the Ministry of Education and Culture with the MPLA in Luanda. They both intimately knew the context within which the other was living and working. Whether this encounter at FESTAC happened or not—though I'm inclined to believe it did—there is still much to be gleaned from placing their ideas in conversation alongside the configuration of their presence as exiles at FESTAC. In the next section, I build from the possibility of this encounter in order to stage a conversation between Santos and Andrade.

The Exiles Speak: Cultural and Racial Politics in Nationalist and Internationalist Contexts

If Andrade and Santos did meet at FESTAC, one of the first topics they might have discussed was the fact of their shared mutual friends and comrades. Most notably, António Jacinto, was a mutual friend and comrade that highlighted the strength of the connection between them. As a former peer of Andrade during their days in the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*,

²¹¹ “Festac '77,” *Nô Pintcha*, Issue 292, 1 March 1977, Arquivo histórico digital Nô Pintcha. <https://nopintcha-chul.letras.ulisboa.pt/pdf/2019-11/No-Pintcha-1977-no-292.pdf>

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ “II Festival Mundial de Artes Negro-Africanas: A Participação Angola,” Chimurenga, *Festac '77*.

Jacinto was one of the few white poets included in the *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*. So, when Santos arrived in Angola in 1976, she was already quite familiar with Jacinto, who became her supervisor in the MPLA Ministry of Education and Culture. In fact, she narrated the moment of meeting him as a dream come true: “Nunca nos meus sonhos mais loucos (e eu sou uma sonhadora louca!) pensei que um dia o conheceria” (Never in my wildest dreams (and I am a crazy dreamer!) did I think that I would see the day).²¹⁴

After exchanging pleasantries and getting caught up on mutual friends, comrades, and political updates, their conversation might have begun with the role of culture in liberation struggle. Both Andrade and Santos shared a belief in the vital role of culture in revolutionary politics. Grounded in the context of FESTAC 77, Andrade might have outlined his thoughts on the event as “an extension of the great struggle that African intellectual vanguards have been waging to affirm the cultural values of our peoples”²¹⁵ He was among the few to connect FESTAC 77 all the way back, at least, to the Congresses of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris and Rome in 1956 and 1959, respectively.²¹⁶ Andrade’s perspective opens up the reading of this staged encounter as a moment to not only consider the particular context of the MPLA and PAIGC, but also to consider his and Santos’s ideas within the broader, historical, and ideological shifts that had taken place in the Black diaspora throughout the mid 20th century. Andrade saw this festival as the achievement of a vision for a global Black-African cultural festival that he and his colleagues dreamt up decades before. The realization of this vision was, according to Andrade, only made possible in the “new historical context, created by the conquest of independence of the majority of the African peoples.”²¹⁷

Santos might have been elated to talk about this long history of racial and cultural politics. She might have shared her own journey about how she came to know Africa through the work of African poetry, especially the *Antologia da Poesia Negra*, organized and edited by Andrade. As discussed in the previous chapter, Santos, like many Brazilians, came into a radicalized relationship with Africa through poetry and literature. For Santos, it was Andrade’s own work in editing the *Antologia* that first moved her intellectually and emotionally toward her African nationalist politics. The fact that Andrade’s cultural work had cemented in her the ability to imagine fleeing to Guinea-Bissau is undoubtedly a fact that could frame the intimacy of their conversation. Santos might have relished in the opportunity to meet face to face with the man whose investments in poetry shaped her own political trajectory. Sharing this fact with him, if she had not already done so, could have allowed for a sense of closeness and vulnerability in their debate.

Andrade’s thinking on poetry had changed over the years. He may have pushed her to see his perspective that poetry and its role in the revolution were no longer the same as when he edited the *Antologia* nearly 20 years before. While he would have agreed that “everything that was done afterwards is the materialization of our first shout of re-Africanization,” poetry in the nationalist struggle had evolved.²¹⁸ The next wave of poetry which began to take shape in 1961 following the start of the wars for independence was a more militant poetry, what Andrade referred to as “combat poetry.” Andrade may have shared his thinking on this next phase of

²¹⁴ Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*, p. 59.

²¹⁵ “Festac ’77,” *Nô Pintcha*, Issue 292, 1 March 1977, Arquivo histórico digital *Nô Pintcha*. <https://nopintcha-chul.lettras.ulisboa.pt/pdf/2019-11/No-Pintcha-1977-no-292.pdf>

²¹⁶ I began this dissertation by framing it through the Second Congress in Rome.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ “Festac ’77,” *Nô Pintcha*, Issue 292, 1 March 1977, Arquivo histórico digital *Nô Pintcha*. <https://nopintcha-chul.lettras.ulisboa.pt/pdf/2019-11/No-Pintcha-1977-no-292.pdf>

poetry, something that would have been top of mind since he was presenting the speech “African Poetry of the Armed Struggle” at the FESTAC Colloquium. According to Andrade:

For reasons inherent in the politico-military struggle and in view of the opposing enemy forces, the African poetry of Portuguese-expression adopts a tone absent in French- or English-language creations. In all the countries in the process of liberating themselves from Portuguese colonial domination, poetry follows similar patterns: refusal to assimilate, particularisation of the songs highlighting the national features, and identification with the national war of liberation.²¹⁹

Andrade names combat poetry as a uniquely Portuguese expression. In framing combat poetry as a Lusophone creation that stands apart from Anglophone and Francophone formulations, he is also situating it within a conversation of the broader Black cultural world. This suggests that even as a poetry born out of the specific “politico-military” conditions of popular resistance in the African colonies of Portugal, it had the potential to add to a global understanding of the cultural politics of the Black diaspora. In this case, by offering the unique conditions that produce African combat poetry as a Portuguese-expression, he is drawing our attention to the fact that the conditions of anticolonial struggle necessarily produce a unique culture. It is through that cultural production that a national culture emerges. Thus, we can understand combat poetry as one that he situates within Portuguese-speaking African territories that has generalizability for the relationship between struggle and Black cultural politics more broadly.

The evolution of this poetry followed an arc. According to Andrade this combat poetry emerged from a generalizable trajectory. Andrade would have presented a socio-historical analysis of poetics to Santos to demonstrate “the intimate relationship between poetry and the historical process of popular resistance”²²⁰ In Andrade’s assessment, the early poetry of the revolutionary nationalists tended to evoke notions of childhood, earth, and Mother Africa, as the first stage of consciousness development. We saw this in the *Antologia*. The next stage of poetry, which was only beginning to emerge in the *Antologia* was a poetry of protest. This poetry is the combat poetry that Andrade highlights. It’s a poetry that emerges from the people through and for armed struggle. A distinguishing feature of combat poetry is that it “requires the utmost simplicity,” in structure in order to reach the masses and circulate clear meaning. Lastly, the poetry that was only beginning to emerge, according to Andrade, focuses on liberation by celebrating their victory and emphasizing their freedom. This third phase, Andrade argues, will inform the path of national language, culture, and identity. This is Andrade’s theory of Black poetic evolution.

In addition to introducing his theory of poetic evolution toward revolution, he also might have introduced a number of poets that, according to him, paved the way for combat poetry. These “fighter-poets” include Ovídio Martins (Cabo Verde); Kaoberdiano Dambara (Guinea-Bissau); Agostinho Neto, António Jacinto, and Costa Andrade (Angola); Marcelino dos Santos, Jorge Rebelo and Armando Guebuza (Mozambique).²²¹ “The fighter-poet is ahead of everyday reality. He is the herald of good news. Henceforth, he galvanizes the energies and sketches the outlines of the goal of the struggle.” Thus, for Andrade, the poetry of Portuguese-expression had

²¹⁹ “African Poetry of the Armed Struggle” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, Chimurenga, *Festac* ’77.

²²⁰ “Reafricanização e Literatura” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, 4 July 1977, Identifier: 04354.011.002, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04354.011.002#11>

²²¹ “African Poetry of the Armed Struggle” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, Chimurenga, *Festac* ’77.

moved from a search for tradition or pre-colonial cultural practices, and instead moved toward the culture produced through struggle in the present moment.

Santos might have shared her own evolution in understanding the relationships between culture and resistance. She knew quite well what it meant to draw upon culture to make sense of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. In fact, she describes her time in Guinea-Bissau as a guerrilla fighter and theater teacher as one that instilled in her a new value for the power of cultural production in times of struggle:

it was there, in the midst of poverty, war, and the noise of shells, that I learned to value culture... that is, I learned not to separate cultural values from the social and political values of men. For some, it is incomprehensible, for me it is the path that I discovered and that I decided to follow.²²²

Culture was an indispensable part of the struggle for liberation. At the same time, Santos might have pushed back against the notions of a linear progression in the themes of cultural expression offered by Andrade's theory of poetic evolution. In particular, Santos might have noted the sexism imbedded in Andrade's description of the evolutionary trajectory. By framing the appeals to Mother Africa as the first stage of poetry, he suggests that struggles toward a modern future move past such interests. She would have argued for the importance of a continued search for one's African roots, and for tradition. For Santos, questions of Africa and childhood were still central to the poetics in the warring and post-independence era. In fact, throughout her time as an exile, Santos consistently worked with young people to organize theater productions that renarrativized the historic origins of the nation. I have so far discussed her independence-day productions, *África-Liberdade* (discussed in previous chapter) and *História de Angola* (discussed in previous section). In both cases, her goal was to help reproduce the past toward the construction of national identity. This revalorization of culture in the midst of revolution is evidenced by the wide range of work Santos engaged in as an exile. In the PAIGC, as co-founder of the Department of Culture within the Ministry of Youth and Sports, she organized a dance, theater, and music school as well as numerous plays, many of which were original manuscripts and productions. Then in the MPLA Ministry of Education and Culture, Santos founded a music school, dance school, and theater school; she developed the programmatic capacities of the Ministry of Education; conducted anthropological research in the interior of Angola on the Ministry's behalf; and produced wildly successful theater and poetry productions in the service of the newly established national party. Working with the Department of Revolutionary Orientation, some of her productions even aired on Angolan national television.²²³

Wherever they landed on their perceptions of poetry, and culture more generally, in relation to revolutionary nationalism, it's quite possible that they both would have lamented on what they felt was an insufficient support of the arts in both Guinea-Bissau and Angola. Speaking on Guinea-Bissau, just a year and a half before FESTAC, Santos stated "I think that the people are very busy with a series of things and there isn't much faith. They still aren't able to face that one of the things necessary to politicize is theater."²²⁴ Both Santos and Andrade struggled to gain the support they felt they really needed as creatives at this time.

²²² Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*, p. 54.

²²³ Santos p. 60.

²²⁴ "'África-Liberdade' Estreia hoje em Bissau," *Nô Pintcha*, Issue 77, 24 September 1975, Arquivo histórico digital *Nô Pintcha*. <https://nopintcha-chul.lettras.ulisboa.pt/pdf/2019-11/No-Pintcha-1975-no-77.pdf>

However, it wasn't just that lack of support for their cultural endeavors that had made recent years hard for them. From there, the conversation might have taken a turn toward other difficult realities of revolutionary politics. More specifically, they could have also discussed the racial politics of the MPLA and of African revolution more broadly. This is something they were both in the midst of experiencing intimately. For one, it was part of Andrade's decision to leave the MPLA.

In the years leading up to FESTAC, Andrade was among a group of Angolans who had developed a distaste for MPLA-president Agostinho Neto's politics. Disagreeing with what they considered to be an authoritarian turn, Andrade helped co-found the group *Revolta Activa* (Active Revolt) in 1974. One of major divisions related to their dissent was allowing the people to speak on "the racial question."²²⁵ Many Black Angolans continued to have a distrust for white and mix-race Angolans, who before and after the revolution, carried with them a certain degree of privilege. Throughout the armed struggle, there was difficulty integrating white cadres into the MPLA. Once they were integrated, there continued to be tensions around racial resentment and managing the capacities of white and mixed-race leadership within the party. Initially, Neto insisted that the MPLA stick to the founding principles of the party. It was designed as a socialist party for all those who fought for Angola. However, he succumbed to external pressure, and installed a 90 percent Black leadership. Andrade and the *Revolta Activa* felt that it was up to the people to democratically decide if there was a role for *mestiço* and white Angolans within the party. Neto's response, according to *Revolta Activa*, was authoritarian rather than democratic. While it is likely that Andrade and Neto agreed on the racial question, Andrade disagreed with his political action in that moment. This division reflected, in some ways, the uniqueness of a struggle for independence against Portuguese imperial ideologies. Lusotropicalism was a system that had masked itself as a multi-racial democracy. Thus, the skepticism about the possibilities of building a multi-racial democracy in the era of independence were a natural result. The MPLA worked hard to oust the members of the *Revolta Activa*, causing Andrade to flee into exile.

On January 18, 1976, just six days before Santos would arrive in Angola, the *Jornal de Angola* published an article with the following headline: "Trabalhadores manifestam a sua solidariedade aos camaradas da Educação" (Workers Express their Solidarity with Education Comrades).²²⁶ The article showcases letters of support from unions and other labor organizations against the *Revolta Activa*. More specifically, they supported the removal of Joaquim Pinto de Andrade (brother of Mário Pinto de Andrade) from the Ministry of Education and Culture for his involvement with the *Revolta Activa*, referring to the organization as an "arm of imperialism" and "an enemy of the Angolan people." They called for the need to eradicate the group in order to "crush the imperialism of our homeland." This is the context that Santos entered into the MPLA. She would begin her work within the Ministry of Education on January 27, 1976.

Thus, when Santos arrived in Angola, she entered a context that Andrade was all-too-familiar with. After hearing about his experiences, Santos could have turned the conversation toward her own frustrations with the authoritarianism and racial politics in Angola. Her recent struggles with factions of the MPLA over the role of white students in her theater productions

²²⁵ Fátima d'Alva Penha Salvaterra Peres, "A Revolta Activa – Os Conflitos Identitários no Contexto da Luta de Libertação Nacional" (Master's Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010).

²²⁶ "Trabalhadores manifestam a sua solidariedade aos camaradas da Educação," *Jornal de Angola*, 18 January 1976, Identifier: 04308.006.002, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04308.006.002>

were haunting her at FESTAC. In commemoration of the 1-year anniversary of national independence, Santos and her theater school prepared the premiere production of *História de Angola*. During the rehearsals leading up to the show, she was confronted by comrades and community members who told her that white students weren't allowed to participate in the Anniversary show. According to Santos, she was summoned in front of the Ministry of Education, and they accused her of having a show “cheio de brancos” (full of whites). She argued that “em meio a 87 alunos, sem contar violinistas e cantores, há quatro brancos. Serão tantos?” (Out of the 87 students, without counting the violinists and singers, there are four whites. Will that be too many?) Despite some continued resistance, she finally presented her show on November 11 at the commemoration event for the anniversary of Angolan national independence. Upon debuting the show, she won the trust of Agostinho Neto and other key members of the party.²²⁷

Despite garnering support for her play from President Agostinho Neto and high-ranking party members such as Lúcio Lara, Santos couldn't shake her sense that she was experiencing a “racist manifestation.” In processing the event, she recalled:

In a country where black people, under the colonial regime, did not even have the right to be a simple bus driver or typist in public offices, the resentment was very great, and it was natural that there would be some confusion. No one had stopped to analyze the issue politically, but I wasn't going to participate in that, it was against my principles. I have suffered the consequences of discrimination countless times, and I wouldn't stop. On the contrary, I would fight against it in every way possible.²²⁸

Following the premiere, Neto had issued a decree that *História de Angola* represent the country at FESTAC.²²⁹ However, she was asked to remove her white students.²³⁰ Presumably, the MPLA was conscious of how they presented themselves as a nation, for what was likely one of the first opportunities to portray Angolan national culture since they became a sovereign nation. They wanted to present Angola as a Black nation. Santos might have shared this fact with Andrade.

Hearing this news, Andrade might have agreed with her that it was wrong to leave them behind. By 1977, he had come to think of the re-Africanization of spirits as just a phase in the revolutionary process. He also understood the Negritude movement as a positive force, but one that no longer spoke to the needs of a Pan-African future:

And regarding the appreciation of the Negritude movement, in our opinion, this movement must be situated historically (in the context of its time, that is, the 1930s) and recognize its positive role, as a driver in the double awareness of the black man, symbol of the oppressed and bearer of culture. It is evident that this fight for the defense and illustration of the cultural values of Black African peoples is today in different terms, and in a social field characterized by the intensification of class conflicts in Africa.²³¹

²²⁷ Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*, p. 62.

²²⁸ Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*, p. 61.

²²⁹ Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*, p. 63.

²³⁰ “As raízes de Tereza Santos,” *Versus* Issue 29, February 1979.

²³¹ “Festac '77,” *Nô Pintcha*, Issue 292, 1 March 1977, Arquivo histórico digital Nô Pintcha. <https://nopintcha-chul.lettras.ulisboa.pt/pdf/2019-11/No-Pintcha-1977-no-292.pdf>

These ideas situate Andrade in a moment of deep reflection on the ways in which a re-affirmation of Black-Africanity was just a step in the process of socialist liberation. At this moment, independent African countries were no longer interested in negating the negation of their humanity. They felt they proven their humanity and were now interested in seeking the ideological tools for building successful nations. In his general assessment of the racial politics of FESTAC, he offered a similar comment:

It is true that an idealistic current was expressed in Lagos, tending to base the unity of the black world on racial characteristics. But another current of opinion prevailed. Without losing sight of the common historical origins of the people of the continent and those of the diaspora, the unitary basis of such communities results from the situation of similar oppression on political, cultural and socio-economic levels. This question is thus posed in terms of inter-influence and interaction of struggles.²³²

For Andrade, he saw that there had to be something beyond racial identification. He also saw his own ideological shift as one that reflected the broader Pan-African world. In a moment that felt as though complete African independence was an inevitability, the question of how to govern and provide for the people was equally, if not more, important than the question of a Black identity based on challenging the “the common historical origins” of colonialism and slavery.

From here, other conversations on the relationships between African nationalism and Black internationalism were possible between Andrade and Santos. As exiles, their unique relationships to states and statelessness presented opportunities to think critically about nation-states as models for identification, and how their liminality offered perspectives on transnational solidarity and nationalism. For Andrade, FESTAC “developed under the sign of unity and diversity,” which speaks to how he might have discussed the racial politics of solidarity with Santos.²³³ For Andrade, this sense of unity within the African diaspora is based on the awareness of certain values of the universal heritage of humanity and human rights. The diversity is in regard to the range of cultural expressions that emerge toward such values. Thus, rather than highlighting the racialized sense of connectedness, he sees the connections being forged as part of a revolutionary humanistic universalism. This might have caused tension between the two. Santos, who had fled specifically to Africa in large part based on a racial identification, might have insisted on the importance of their connection as Black subjects as well.

Additionally, Andrade’s thinking around FESTAC highlights the importance of revalorizing traditional languages, and the need for a common language within countries, on the continent, and across the diaspora. Considering Andrade and Santos had a shared language, this could have been the basis for further discussion. Maybe they would have discussed the MPLA’s sympathies for Afro-Brazilian struggles. Just a few years prior, Agostinho Neto offered a perspective that critiqued Brazilian racial politics in support of Brazilians of African descent.²³⁴ Or perhaps Andrade would have mentioned his recent meeting with Paulo Freire, the Brazilian pedagogue who would spend the late 1970s traveling around newly-independent Portuguese-speaking Africa to help develop their educational systems.²³⁵ Considering Santos’s own investment in education in Guinea-Bissau and Angola, this would have been of great interest.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Dzidzienyo and Turner, “African-Brazilian Relations.”

²³⁵ “Entrevista de Paulo Freire a Mário Pinto de Andrade, 1976 | Ep. 5,” 1976, Rádio e Televisão de Portugal.

Despite these connections, the conversation might have ended on the note that they both felt the growing divide between the needs of the struggles in Brazil, and those in Angola and Guinea-Bissau. For Andrade, even a shared language was not enough. The weakening bonds of internationalism were the result of nationalist particularities, and were reflected in the evolution of language and culture in just a few short years:

There is no unity in Portuguese. Just a certain political language used in the liberation struggle. We enter a new phase with independence. And there is a break, there cannot be mechanical continuity.²³⁶

Similarly, Santos felt there was more she could do back in Brazil than in Angola. Hearing news of the Black movement in Brazil, she was beginning to long for a return. She wanted to take her revolutionary spirit where she felt she had “political respect.”²³⁷

Lastly, Andrade knew that the nationalist war had changed the cultural politics of internationalism, not only in relation to Brazil, but to the broader, Black world:

We were influenced by Brazilian literature: Jorge Amado, Graciliano Ramos, Manuel Bandeira, Drummond. And also by the poets of blackness: Senghor, Césaire, Damas. But that's the past. Now there is a certain autonomy, we are directing influences. The war was a determining factor in this change. It is a period in which the writer reads little, is separated from external sources. So, in the new poetry, there is an appeal to one's own roots.²³⁸

Andrade positioned the African national liberation movements as entering a new phase. He also highlighted that the new phase had decidedly reconfigured its relationships to Brazil and to the Black world. In his formulation, the project of nationalism had to take center stage, ideologically and politically, which meant a different relationship to Black internationalism.

By drawing on their ideas and experiences, this conversation outlines the landscape of their shared and distinct struggles. In terms of nationalism, they were both in a period of frustrations, especially related to questions of authoritarianism, racial politics, and national representation. In terms of transnational solidarity, they were both finding its limits. The needs of different political strategies in relation to different national projects was beginning to put a strain on the racial concepts that had once bonded them.

I argue that by staging this conversation, we are able to see the ways in which blackness, conceptually, functioned as a node around which many of the political realizations of both Santos and Andrade had to be reconsidered. National identity and transnational political solidarity that were founded on their understanding of a shared history with colonialism, slavery, and racism, had come up short as a politics for building a nation and sustaining their bond. Further, while these politics were at times articulated through the particularities of their own experiences as representing countries formerly under Portuguese rule, they also situated their

https://www.rtp.pt/play/p9753/e753014/dossier-africa#google_vignette

²³⁶ “Reafricanização e Literatura” by Mário Pinto de Andrade, 4 July 1977, Identifier: 04354.011.002, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares. <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04354.011.002#11>

²³⁷ Thereza Santos to Bebel Pereira, 2 December 1974, Personal Archives of José Maria Nunes Pereira, Home of Luena Pereira, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

²³⁸ Ibid.

ideas within the context of a broader Pan-African or Black diasporic world. Thus, they simultaneously understood and articulated their ideas, experiences, and tensions of the shifts in Black cultural politics in both nationalist and internationalist terms. In the next and final section, I follow Santos back to Angola following FESTAC 77, to demonstrate how her experiences highlight her own navigation of the ideas unpacked here.

“Eu era negra, mas não era Angolana”: Following FESTAC 77

After the events of FESTAC, Santos returned to Angola. In the following months back in Luanda, she would experience the real consequences of navigating the ideas staged in the previous section. Upon their return, Santos’s theater troupe began to tour *História de Angola* around the interior of the country in the early months of 1977.²³⁹ Primarily, her goal was to make the work more accessible to the many Angolans living in the *mussques*.²⁴⁰ Once again, she encountered critiques about white students in her play. “The youth of the MPLA decided to go to the show and openly and directly criticize the presence of ‘*brancos fazendo o papel de negros*’ (whites playing the role of blacks).”²⁴¹ Santos continued to feel as though she had spent so much of her life fighting against discrimination against Black people, and now she felt she was being asked to participate in discrimination against white people. While she still identified closely with the struggles of Black Angolans, she was beginning to feel herself in the middle of a national tension framed by a racial politics she could not identify with. This tension would haunt Santos and her work for the remainder of her time in Angola.

These incidents came to a head in 1978. While planning a going away party for a Cuban comrade, she was told not to invite her two white students to the event. She immediately called this out as racial discrimination. She recalled the response of her fellow MPLA party members was that “*eu era negra mas, não era angolana*” [I was black, but I wasn’t Angolan]. She understood this moment as both dismissive of her concerns and a disinvitation to the event.²⁴² Once again, people who she considered friends and comrades were making clear where the line was between their Black solidarity. The response, in drawing attention to the fact that she wasn’t born in Angola, uses nationality as a shorthand for articulating different relationships to what it means to be Black. These members of the MPLA were drawing a line between nationalism and blackness that unsettled the foundations on which their solidarity had been built. In the 60s Santos felt that she was comrades with revolutionaries, now in this moment of independence she was working with government officials who saw her as a Brazilian citizen first and a comrade second. They were all beginning to feel that a reliance on blackness, alone, was not enough to sustain the transnational ties that bound their efforts. For Santos, this moment was the final straw. “I wanted to stay in Angola, however I couldn’t bear to go through the discrimination process that I had lived in Brazil my whole life.”²⁴³ It was in that moment that she knew it was

²³⁹ This was largely due to Pepetela (Artur Pestana dos Santos), the vice-minister of transportation for the MPLA. As one of the most recognized novelists of Angola, and a white man, he himself is another figure through which the ideas of racial politics, cultural politics, and nationalism in Angola could be explored.

²⁴⁰ A word used to describe communities that dwell in poor living conditions, similar to *favelas* in Brazil. A common translation is the word “slums.”

²⁴¹ “As raízes de Tereza Santos,” *Versus*, Issue 30, March 1979.

²⁴² Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*, p. 78.

²⁴³ Santos, p. 78.

time to return to Brazil. She was experiencing what Dzidzienyo has described as a moment where “nationality perhaps trumped racial solidarity.”²⁴⁴

Unfortunately, her departure was not an easy act. Thereza Santos was imprisoned in Luanda in early 1978, for vague accusations of threat to national security. In the context of intense violence due to splintering political factions in Angola, Santos believed her own case had to do with her refusal to remove the white children from the plays as well as her request to return to Brazil. Before her imprisonment, Santos had gone to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, with the goal of legally leaving the country. She had no personal documents in her possession since her passport had expired and she was not officially a citizen of Angola or Guinea-Bissau. Santos made several requests at the Brazilian Embassy in the weeks before she was arrested and imprisoned in the São Paulo Prison in Luanda.²⁴⁵ She reflects on this moment as a paradox:

I fled Brazil to avoid being arrested, yet I knew why I would be arrested. In Angola I was imprisoned for three months and many days, without knowing why. I think I will never know the motivation behind this.²⁴⁶

The tragic irony of fleeing political persecution in São Paulo, Brazil, only to end up a political prisoner in São Paulo Prison in Luanda, Angola is not lost on her. An irony that especially stung considering her own support of the efforts to free the Angolan students in prison after their arrests following the 1964 military coup. This unexpected resonance between São Paulo and imprisonment was a subtle reminder of the entanglement of her life on opposite sides of the Atlantic. A moment that registered the echo of the deep-rooted connection between her two worlds as well as the ways the tensions of present-day geopolitics required a renegotiation of that relationship. Finally, on June 25, 1978, after 3 months of imprisonment and a 26-day hunger-strike, her appeal to leave Angola was granted. Leaving on such terms demonstrated the stakes of the ideological divides emerging between Black militant-intellectuals.

In this chapter, I staged a speculative conversation between Thereza Santos and Mário Pinto de Andrade at FESTAC 77. As representatives of national culture, exiles, and Black internationalist intellectuals, bringing their ideas together highlighted the particularities and generalizability of the tensions they were navigating in that moment. They understood their own relationships to a Black nationalist and internationalist politics that were grounded in their unique experiences of responding to Portuguese colonialism and imperialism were shifting in the post-independence era. However, they also understood their experiences as part of a larger shift in the Black world, as African politics on the continent began to restructure social, cultural, and political relationships.

This moment marked a shift in this network of Black internationalist relations within the Portuguese-speaking world. In some ways, it was the end of an era. They had to renegotiate a set of relations that were based on ideas of blackness that no longer had the same significance as political, economic, and ideological contexts changed. As many of the African intellectuals were moving toward other forms of social and political organizing, their Brazilian counterparts were

²⁴⁴ Dzidzienyo, “Triangular Mirrors and Moving Colonialisms.” p. 136.

²⁴⁵ The irony of fleeing São Paulo in fear of arrest, only to be arrested in Luanda at the São Paulo prison is both tragically ironic and perhaps an opening to think about the legacy of violence left by the Portuguese imperial project.

²⁴⁶ Santos, p. 79.

developing a stronger commitment to a racialized political subjectivity. Further, in the era of post-colonialism the needs of the nationalist African revolutionary parties had changed. Now, recognized as sovereign peoples with claim to their own nation state, they sought to form relations with other nations. This would inevitably lead to tensions with Black Brazilians who were in a stage of denouncing the state. I highlight the dissolution of this iteration of Black internationalist networking in the conclusion that follows.

Conclusion

A Luta Continua

In 1978, Thereza Santos returned to Brazil. This moment not only marked a change in her personal life but reflects a broader shift in the trajectory of Black internationalism in the Portuguese-speaking world. In the wake of changing political and economic needs, the activist-intellectuals examined in this dissertation began to reconfigure the ideas that inspired, articulated, and grounded their politics of solidarity. As the PAIGC and the MPLA began to tackle the needs of a newly independent country, the Brazilian Black Movement had emerged at a nationally unprecedented level during the period of the *abertura política*, the political opening that marked the decline of the military regime.²⁴⁷ These geopolitics not only meant a change in political strategy, but also required a renavigation of the ideas of Black internationalist solidarity. In this conclusion, I offer a few portraits that demonstrate this case, and an analysis of their significance. I end by returning to the concept of *Black imperial double consciousness* as a way of unpacking the big ideas that motivated this dissertation and to suggest broader implications.

When Thereza Santos returned to Brazil, one of her biggest challenges was her contentious reception in the Brazilian Black movement. When she left in March of 1974, it was the height of violence and repression during the military dictatorship. Black Brazilians had slowly been carving out spaces for themselves and developing new ideas for how to gain more political and economic power in Brazil. When she returned on June 25, 1978, the chain of events that would spark the founding of a national Black movement had just begun. Just ten days prior to her return, a group of activists had gathered to found the *Movimento Unificado Contra Discriminação Racial* (MUCDR, United Movement Against Racial Discrimination).²⁴⁸ This organization, over the course of a few months would emerge as the *Movimento Negro Unificado* (MNU, Unified Black Movement), a national organization that symbolizes the birth of the Contemporary Black Movement in Brazil.²⁴⁹ As Santos began to join in the organizing of this moment, she brought with her the many critiques she had of both the PAIGC and MPLA and its revolutionary leaders. Her denunciations of their politics as authoritarian, sexist, and shortsighted were difficult for many Black militants in Brazil. The Brazilians that were engaged in this new movement were inspired by Africa more than ever. The independence of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde (as well as Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe) in recent years offered an especially animating enunciation of African independence considering the feelings of intimacy evoked by the imperial matrix discussed throughout this dissertation. These Black Brazilian activist-intellectuals turned toward the idea of the MPLA and the PAIGC as templates as they considered how to formulate their own struggles for self-determination. A struggle that they argued was a process of internal decolonization.²⁵⁰ Thus, Santos's criticisms broke from the romanticized notions of Africa and African independence that were becoming a major symbol of Black political organizing. She had experienced, first-hand, the hunger, fear, paranoia, and violence that building a socialist nation-state had engendered, and now struggled to merge her

²⁴⁷ Marcos Napolitano, "The Brazilian Military Regime, 1964–1985," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.413>.

²⁴⁸ David Covin, *Unified Black Movement in Brazil, 1978-2002* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 2006).

²⁴⁹ Pereira, *O mundo negro*.

²⁵⁰ Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*.

experiences with the cultural and aesthetic celebrations of African independence proliferating in Brazil.²⁵¹

Still, there are other examples that highlight this shift taking place in the structure of solidarity between Brazilians and the ex-Portuguese African countries. In the fall of 1979, just a year after Thereza Santos returned from Angola, Beatriz Nascimento, a young Black Brazilian activist and historian, made her own trip to Angola. Nascimento was among the group of Black Brazilians who, in 1974, would begin organizing themselves for historical and political education through the *Centro de Estudos Afro-Ásiático* (CEAA, Center for Afro-Asiatic Studies).²⁵² The CEAA had been co-founded by none other than José Maria Nunes Pereira. He sought to continue his own studies of Africa and to continue to his relationships with the emerging Portuguese-speaking African nations. Nascimento's experiences through the CEAA fueled her studies as a graduate student studying the History of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro's Federal University Fluminense. It was through this work as a graduate student that in late September until early October of 1979, that Beatriz Nascimento would travel to Luanda to conduct academic research. She had been invited by the Intellectual Exchange Section of the Federal Council of Culture of Angola, in the Department of Luanda, to study the "alternative social systems" in Angola for the ways they could help her understand the history of *quilombos* (enslaved maroon societies) in Brazil.²⁵³ Nascimento's work is monumental for the ideas that emerge in the Brazilian Black Movement in the 1980s and 90s. Still, I argue that her interests in, and engagement with, Angola reflects a shift that would go on to predominate the relationships between the Brazilian Black Movement and the former African colonies of Portugal. Her relationship was institutional, governmental, and academic in ways that would echo the travels of many other (Black) Brazilians to Portuguese-speaking Africa in the 1980s and 1990s.

Brazilians were not the only ones to encounter the tension that represented the growing intellectual and political divide across the Atlantic. In an oral history interview I conducted in Praia, Cabo Verde, Manuel Faustino offered a similar tale.²⁵⁴ In the early 1980s, Faustino, Minister of Health and Social Services of Cabo Verde, defected from the PAIGC. Not long after, he left Cabo Verde for Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he studied medicine and worked closely with the Brazilian Black Movement and the CEAA.²⁵⁵ At first, the poor reception of his critiques of the PAIGC puzzled him, now that he was on the other side of the Atlantic. How could these intellectuals and activists so ardently support a political party that, to him, seemed so distant? However, he soon realized he could count on a sense of camaraderie in people like Thereza Santos and other Brazilians who were returning to Brazil after their time in the African liberation movements. Faustino commented that the biggest hurdle was coming to a common understanding on the national differences in race relations and how those ideas shaped political horizons in Brazil and Cabo Verde. He argued that while Brazilians were still coming into their political consciousness through Black aesthetics, the Angolans, Guineans, and Cabo Verdeans as a whole, were no longer interested in racial identification as a primary mode of organizing their politics. Rather, economic and diplomatic questions seemed to be the basis for their new politics. This sentiment echoes Mário Pinto de Andrade's claims in the previous chapter. These

²⁵¹ Santos, *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*.

²⁵² Alex Ratts, *Eu Sou Atlântica*, 1ª edição (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, 2007).

²⁵³ Beatriz Nascimento, *The Dialectic Is in the Sea: The Black Radical Thought of Beatriz Nascimento*, trans. Christen A. Smith, Bethânia N. F. Gomes, and Archie Davies (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023).

²⁵⁴ Interview with Manuel Faustino given to author on 15 July 2023 in Praia, Cabo Verde.

²⁵⁵ Relatório da deslocação de Manuel Faustino a S. Paulo" by Centro de Estudos Afro-Ásiáticos, 2 October 1984, Personal Archives of José Maria Nunes Pereira, Home of Luena Pereira, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

differences, according to Faustino placed Brazilians at a phase of radicalization and consciousness-raising, compared to the phase of establishing an intramural politics taking place on the African continent.

This sense of being in different political phases played out as the PAIGC formed diplomatic relations with Brazil. For example, in the late 1970s, Fidelis Cabral returned to Brazil for the first time since 1964, when he was there as a recently graduated student-activist. Now, as the Minister of Justice for Guinea-Bissau, he had come to Brazil on official business. José Maria Nunes Pereira sent a letter to Thereza Santos highlighting this visit. In the letter, he laments that during this visit, “eles só querem negociar de governo a governo” (they only want to negotiate from government to government).²⁵⁶ Once considered a vital component of the liberation struggle, Pereira was beginning to find himself on the outside of the relations between Brazil and Guinea-Bissau.

These portraits illuminate the broader arc of a Black internationalist solidarity in the Portuguese-speaking world. The concepts that had once linked the movements had shifted in the post-independence era. The MPLA and PAIGC were no longer revolutionary parties but were representatives of national governments. Black Brazilians, seizing the opportunity to denounce the government, had little interest in or access to establishing diplomatic ties. The needs of their politics not only required a new set of relationships, but also, I argue, a new set of ideas to ground their solidarity. As intellectuals in Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde began to find new formulations, these ideas still drew upon many of the foundational logics of the Portuguese imperial matrix that brought the liberation movements together in the first place. For example, members of the MNU were still turning toward the national liberation movements of Angola and Guinea-Bissau symbolically even though the struggle for national independence had been won. The MPLA and PAIGC were still appealing to Brazil’s sense of racial democracy, even if they were less concerned with including Black Brazilians in that process. Increasingly, the relationships between these intellectuals and organizations were based on depoliticized cultural aesthetics, academic research, diplomatic relations, and trade negotiations. These personal histories also help close the questions that motivate this dissertation. To put this moment in the language of José Maria Nunes Pereira’s story that opened the dissertation: by 1980, the “other side” of the Atlantic was simultaneously much closer and much further away as these Black intellectuals, once again, had to negotiate the “we” of a Black Atlantic subjectivity.

Toward a Black Imperial Double Consciousness

To conclude this dissertation, I turn to the concept of *Black imperial double consciousness*, which not only ties the arguments of this dissertation together but has far reaching implications for how we understand Black radical thought on a global scale. This dissertation has argued that intellectuals, activists, militants, and artists of the Brazilian Black Movement, the MPLA, and the PAIGC, utilized and challenged the logics of Portuguese imperialism in order to form political identities and bonds of solidarity. In Chapter 1, I argued that they drew upon and challenged the racial ideas of lusotropicalism and racial democracy to form a shared political subjectivity. In Chapter 2, I demonstrated how they used the poetic form to simultaneously draw on Portuguese-language and to articulate a Black grammar of solidarity with a global perspective. In Chapter 3, I highlighted how these intellectuals unpacked the

²⁵⁶ José Maria Nunes Pereira to Thereza Santos, 24 March 1977, Personal Archives of José Maria Nunes Pereira, Home of Luena Pereira, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

cultural politics embedded in the relationship between nationalism and transnationalism by relying on the particularities of struggling against Portuguese imperialism as well as the global shifts in Pan-African discourse and politics. In aggregate, the stories I have told of these encounters demonstrate that rather than understanding their transatlantic relations solely through the history of colonialism and slavery, these intellectuals actively constructed Black internationalist relations that worked through and against an imperial legacy.

I have chosen to call this complex navigation of the imperial ideological landscape a reflection of Black imperial double consciousness. Double consciousness reflects the duality of one's perspective that is shaped, at once, by the world of hegemonic power structures and Black emplacement in the world. This perspective captures how we might understand the navigation of the intellectuals between *o mundo que o português criou* and *o mundo negro*. This concept is instructive for how we understand the ideas that emerge from, and animate, Black internationalism. In addition to strengthening our understanding of the intellectual and political connections between lusotropicalism and racial democracy, this study has broader implications for those interested in the study of the Black Diaspora.

First, this framework is useful to those interested in unpacking racial politics across the Black Atlantic. By attending to the particularities of Portuguese racial discourses alongside the claims of a broader Black world, this dissertation has demonstrated that Black radical and anticolonial thinkers not only had an astute awareness of the differences between these worldviews but were able to use them strategically to articulate their struggles and to appeal to different audiences for solidarity. Further, it challenges the notion that educated, elite Black and African intellectuals were either intellectually conscripted into empire or radicalized against it. Rather, this dissertation demonstrates that even in their struggles against imperial and colonial domination, they still held onto some of the ideas of the imperial matrix that united them.

Second, by framing their Black internationalism as a Black imperial double consciousness, this dissertation has contributed to our understanding of the relationships between culture and politics. In my initial proposal for this dissertation, I had not planned on highlighting the role of culture and cultural production in these networks. However, what became abundantly clear is that these intellectuals drew heavily upon culture in order to express the duality of their imperial double consciousness. Cultural practices, such as poetry, not only allowed these intellectuals to connect through the use of a shared language, but also offered them the opportunity to transfigure the colonial tools of European culture into something that reflected their relationship to the struggles of a multi-lingual, transnational Black world. By situating these global, Black cultures within the particularities of their imperial twoness, this dissertation offers fresh perspectives for how we read anticolonial cultural productions and the language of Black internationalism.

Third, a Black imperial double consciousness offers insight into how we think about the terms, limits, and conditions of possibility for Black internationalism broadly. This dissertation highlights the tangible and interpersonal aspects of the circulation of ideas of radical, anticolonial, and pro-Black politics. The framework of a Black imperial double consciousness highlights how these intellectuals used their knowledge of existing imperial networks such as the economic imperative to invest in colonial education, cultural diplomacy that resulted from scholarships, and the trade routes of merchant and cargo ships. These intellectuals repurposed these imperial infrastructures not only toward the circulation of radical ideas, but toward actions of political solidarity. This suggests that by relying on our knowledge as subjects within a particular imperial configuration, we can craft strategies that allow us to repurpose or reconfigure

that infrastructure toward anti-imperial aims.

Future Directions

There is always more one could do to revise and expand a research project. Future research should deepen the critiques of these networks that I have only outlined in this dissertation. Not only were these networks predominately male and relatively elite, but these positions informed their radical ideas and political horizons. Through the internationalist thought and travels of women like Deolinda Rodrigues, Alda do Espírito Santo, Noémia de Sousa, and of course Thereza Santos, additional research would help illuminate how the masculinist landscapes of this international network shaped political horizons and world-building visions. Similarly, this project is informed by the fact that many of these intellectuals engage with various forms of Marxist socialist thought. While the project occasionally engages the ways in which this network is motivated by struggles against labor exploitation, extraction, and global racial capitalism, there is still more work needed here as well. Future research should attend more directly to questions related to the ideological currents and circulations of this thought. Additional research should also consider the organizational and affiliative nature of this configuration of Black internationalism as a set of global socialist projects in the midst of the Cold War.

Going into this project, I was led to believe there is little documentation of this internationalist network. What I have come to realize is that there is a richness that still remains to be recovered and recuperated regarding this history. As such, this project has been a first step toward learning where and how to find these records. In future research, I hope to build a more robust and accessible archive of this international history.

Bibliography

Newspapers and Magazines

Jornal de Angola

Mensagem

Nô Pintcha

Présence Africaine

Versus

Books and Articles

Abia, Basil. “How Frantz Fanon Influenced African Anti-Colonial Movements.” *The Republic* (blog), November 15, 2021. <https://republic.com.ng/october-november-2021/fanons-anticolonial-influence/>.

Acuña, Mauricio. “Poéricas e Performances de Imaginações Afro-Atlânticas: O Primeiro Festival Mundial de Artes Negras.” PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2021.

Alberto, Paulina. “Para Africano Ver: African-Bahian Exchanges in the Reinvention of Brazil’s Racial Democracy, 1961-63.” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 45, no. 1 (June 2008): 78–117. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lbr.0.0021>.

Alberto, Paulina L. *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Illustrated edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Alfieri, Noemi. “Mensagem, Présence Africaine, Black Orpheus: African Epistemes, International Networks, and the Renovation of the Literary Environment (1960s).” *História Da Historiografia* 16 (October 9, 2023). <https://doi.org/10.15848/hh.v16i41.2006>.

Almada e Santos, Aurora. “‘Action Needed’: The American Committee on Africa and Solidarity with Angola.” In *Transnational Solidarity*, edited by Zeina Maasri, Cathy Bergin, and Francesca Burke. Manchester University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526161574.00014>.

———. “The Role of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations Organization in the Struggle Against Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: 1961-1974,” 2012.

Alves, Jaime Amparo. *The Anti-Black City: Police Terror and Black Urban Life in Brazil*. 1 edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018.

Amado, Abel Djassi. “Whose Independence? Cabo Verdean-Americans and the Politics Of National Independence Of Cabo Verde (1972-1976).” *Journal of Cape Verdean Studies* 5, no. 1 (October 2020): 36–53.

Andrade, Mário Pinto de. *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*. Published by Jean Pierre-Jean Oswald, Paris, France, 1958.

Andrade, Mário Pinto de. *Origins of African Nationalism: Continuity and Rupture in the Movements of Unity Emerging from the Struggle against Portuguese Colonial Domination, 1911–1961*. Translated by Mario Pereira. Tagus Press, 2023.

———. “The Orders of Discourse of Clamor Africano: Continuity and Rupture in the Ideology of Unitary Nationalism: Introduced and Translated by Mario Pereira.” *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 2017, 199–224. https://ojs.lib.umassd.edu/index.php/plcs/article/view/PLCS30_31_Andrade_page199.

Andrade, Mário Pinto de, and Michel Laban. *Mário Pinto de Andrade: uma entrevista dada a Michel Laban*. João Sá da Costa, 1997.

- Andrade, Mário Pinto de, and Francisco José Tenreiro, eds., *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1953
- Apter, Andrew. “Festac 77: A Black World’s Fair.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.798>.
- . *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005. <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/P/bo3534816.html>.
- Barros, Víctor. “Connected Struggles: Networks of Anticolonial Solidarity and the Liberation Movements of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa.” In *Transnational Solidarity*, edited by Zeina Maasri, Cathy Bergin, and Francesca Burke. Manchester University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526161574.00013>.
- Birmingham, David. *A Short History of Modern Angola*. Oxford University Press, 2015.
- . “Agostinho Neto.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.671>.
- Bois, W. E. B. Du. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 1994.
- Borges, Sonia Vaz. *Militant Education, Liberation Struggle, Consciousness:: The PAIGC Education in Guinea Bissau 1963-1978*. New edition. Frankfurt am Main ; New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 2019.
- Bu, Liping. “Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War.” *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 3 (December 1999): 393–415. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875899006167>.
- Burden-Stelly, Charisse, and Gerald Horne. “From Pan-Africanism to Black Internationalism.” In *Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism*. Routledge, 2020.
- Burton, Eric. “Decolonization, the Cold War, and Africans’ Routes to Higher Education Overseas, 1957–65.” *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 1 (March 2020): 169–91. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S174002281900038X>.
- Butler, Kim D. *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*. None ed. edition. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Castelo, Cláudia. “A Casa dos Estudantes do Império: lugar de memória anticolonial,” 18, n.d.
- . “‘Novos Brasis’ em África: desenvolvimento e colonialismo português tardio.” *Varia Historia* 30 (August 2014): 507–32. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-87752014000200009>.
- Chimurenga. *Festac ’77*. Chimurenga and Afterall Books, 2019.
- Covin, David. *Unified Black Movement in Brazil, 1978-2002*. Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 2006.
- Da Cruz, Viriato. “Des responsabilités de l’intellectuel noir:” *Présence Africaine* N° XXVII-XXVIII, no. 4 (December 1, 1959): 321–39. <https://doi.org/10.3917/presa.027.0321>.
- Dávila, Jerry. *Hotel Trópico: Brazil and the Challenge of African Decolonization, 1950–1980*. Illustrated edition. Durham NC: Duke University Press Books, 2010.
- Dawson, Allan Charles. *In Light of Africa: Globalizing Blackness in Northeast Brazil*. 1st edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- “Definition of SCATTERED,” March 18, 2024. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/scattered>.
- Des Étudiants D’Afrique Portugaise. “Situation Des Étudiants Noirs Dans Le Monde.” *Présence Africaine*, no. 14 (1953): 223–40. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24346446>.
- Domingues, Petrônio. “‘Em Defesa da Humanidade’: A Associação Cultural do Negro.” *Dados* 61 (March 2018): 171–211. <https://doi.org/10.1590/001152582018150>.

- DuBois, W. E. B. "Worlds of Color." *Foreign Affairs* 3, no. 3 (1925): 423–44.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/20028386>.
- Dzidzienyo, Anani. "A África Vista Do Brasil." *Afro-Ásia*, no. 10–11 (1970).
- . "Triangular Mirrors and Moving Colonialisms." *Etnográfica. Revista Do Centro Em Rede de Investigação Em Antropologia*, no. vol. 6 (1) (May 1, 2002): 127–40.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/etnografica.2853>.
- Dzidzienyo, Anani, and J. Michael Turner. "African-Brazilian Relations: A Reconsideration." In *Brazil in the International System: The Rise of a Middle Power*, by Wayne A. Selcher, 201–18. edited by Wayne A. Selcher, 1st ed. Routledge, 1981.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429052101-8>.
- Edjabe, Ntone, and Kwanele Sosibo. "Reproducing Festac '77: A Secret Among a Family of Millions." *The Funambulist Magazine*, November 2, 2020.
<https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/pan-africanism/reproducing-festac-77-a-secret-among-a-family-of-millions-with-ntone-edjabe-and-kwanele-sosibo>.
- Edwards, Brent Hayes. *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Errante, Antoinette. "Education and National Personae in Portugal's Colonial and Postcolonial Transition." *Comparative Education Review* 42, no. 3 (1998): 267–308.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1189162>.
- Ferreira, Roquinaldo. *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade*. Illustrated edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Ferretti, Federico. "Geopolitics of Decolonisation: The Subaltern Diplomacies of Lusophone Africa (1961–1974)." *Political Geography* 85 (March 1, 2021): 102326.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102326>.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Mundo que o Português Criou*. 1ª edição. É Realizações, 2010.
- Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*. Reissue Edition. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Góes, Juliana. "Du Bois and Brazil: Reflections on Black Transnationalism and African Diaspora." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, December 20, 2021, 1–16.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X2100045X>.
- Graça, José André Leitão da. "Léopold Sédar Senghor na Casa dos Estudantes do Império." *Revista África*, August 25, 2012, 281–82. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2526-303X.v0iespp281-282>.
- Graham, Jessica Lynn. *Shifting the Meaning of Democracy: Race, Politics, and Culture in the United States and Brazil*. First edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019.
- Guridy, Frank Andre. *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow*. Illustrated edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Gyamfi, Bright. "The Africa-Diaspora Orbit: Anani Dzidzienyo's Contributions to African/Black Studies and Black Liberation." *African Studies Review* 66, no. 2 (2023): 464–89.
<https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/122/article/902249>.
- Harlow, Barbara. *Resistance Literature*. 0 edition. New York: Routledge, 1987.

- Hartman, Saidiya. "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (July 17, 2008): 1–14. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/241115>.
- Hayes, Robin J. *Love for Liberation: African Independence, Black Power, and a Diaspora Underground*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2021.
- Henry, Paget. "Who Will Pour the Libations? A Tribute to Anani Dzidzienyo." *The CLR James Journal* 26, no. 1/2 (2020): 11–14. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27170754>.
- Hodgkinson, Dan. "POLITICS ON LIBERATION'S FRONTIERS: STUDENT ACTIVIST REFUGEES, INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE, 1965–79." *The Journal of African History* 62, no. 1 (March 2021): 99–123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853721000268>.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. New Ed edition. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 2003.
- Laffitte, Stefania Capone. *Searching for Africa in Brazil: Power and Tradition in Candomblé*. Duke University Press, 2010.
- Lewis, Su Lin. "Decolonising the History of Internationalism: Transnational Activism across the South." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, October 16, 2023, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440123000233>.
- Lima, Viviane de Souza. "O "Caso dos Angolanos": Prisões e Tortura de Estudantes Africanos Durante o Golpe Civil-Militar de 1964 No Brasil." *Revista Trilhas da História* 13, no. 25 (2023): 33–53. <https://doi.org/10.55028/th.v13i25.19328>.
- . "Solidariedade atlântica: Movimento Afro-Brasileiro Pró-Libertação de Angola (MABLA), entre percursos e conexões." *Sankofa (São Paulo)* 16, no. 28 (October 23, 2023): 73–102. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.1983-6023.sank.2023.217537>.
- . "Solidariedade Atlântica: movimento brasileiro em apoio às independências africanas, entre percursos e conexões (1961-1975)," June 23, 2017. <https://repositorio.ufmg.br/handle/1843/BUBD-AQHFEX>.
- Lopes, Rui, and Víctor Barros. "Amílcar Cabral and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde: International, Transnational, and Global Dimensions." *The International History Review* 42, no. 6 (November 1, 2020): 1230–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2019.1703118>.
- Makalani, Minkah. *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939*. First Edition edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- McKittrick, Katherine. *Demonic Grounds*. First edition edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.
- Monaville, Pedro. *Students of the World: Global 1968 and Decolonization in the Congo*. Theory in Forms. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022.
- Moreno, Helena Wakim. "A Casa Dos Estudantes Do Império: Histórias e Embates (1944-1965)." *Revista Poder & Cultura*, January 1, 2016. https://www.academia.edu/40031027/A_CASA_DOS_ESTUDANTES_DO_IMP%C3%89RIO_Hist%C3%B3rias_e_embates_1944_1965.
- Moura, Sabrina. "The Cultural Politics of Négritude and the Debates around the Brazilian Participation in the First World Festival of Negro Arts (Dakar, 1966)." In *New Histories of Art in the Global Postwar Era*. Routledge, 2021.

- Nance, Marilyn, Julie Mehretu, Antawan I. Byrd, Uchenna Ikonne, Tsitsi Ella Jaji, Zakiya Collier, and Chisom Ilogu. *Marilyn Nance: Last Day in Lagos*. Edited by Oluremi C. Onabanjo. CARA/Fourthwall Books, 2022.
- Napolitano, Marcos. "The Brazilian Military Regime, 1964–1985." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, 2018.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.413>.
- Nascimento, Abdias do. *"Racial Democracy" in Brazil, Myth Or Reality?: A Dossier of Brazilian Racism*. Sketch Publishing Company, 1977.
- Nascimento, Beatriz. *The Dialectic Is in the Sea: The Black Radical Thought of Beatriz Nascimento*. Translated by Christen A. Smith, Bethânia N. F. Gomes, and Archie Davies. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023.
- Neves, Joao Manuel. "Frantz Fanon and the Struggle for the Independence of Angola: The Meeting in Rome in 1959." *Interventions* 17, no. 3 (May 4, 2015): 417–33.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2014.994548>.
- Paschel, Tianna S. *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil*. Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Patterson, Tiffany Ruby, and Robin D. G. Kelley. "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World." *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (2000): 11–45. <https://doi.org/10.2307/524719>.
- Pereira, Amauri Mendes. *Do Movimento Negro À Cultura de Consciência Negra*. Belo Horizonte: Nandyala, 2018.
- Pereira, Amílcar Araujo. *O mundo negro: relações raciais e a constituição do movimento negro contemporâneo no Brasil*. FAPERJ, 2013.
- . "The Transnational Circulation of Political References: The Black Brazilian Movement and Antiracist Struggles of the Early Twentieth Century." In *Afro-Latin@s in Movement*, 247–67, 2016.
http://www.academia.edu/28574868/The_Transnational_Circulation_of_Political_References_The_Black_Brazilian_Movement_and_Anti-Racism_Struggles_of_the_Early_Twentieth_Century.
- Pereira, Luena. "José Maria Nunes Pereira: Professor, Pesquisador, Divulgador, e Animador Das Relações Brasil-África." *Mulemba - Revista Angolana de Ciências Sociais*, January 1, 2015.
https://www.academia.edu/49297590/Jos%C3%A9_Maria_Nunes_Pereira_Professor_pesquisador_divulgador_e_animador_das_rela%C3%A7%C3%B5es_Brasil_%C3%81frica.
- Peres, Fátima d'Alva Penha Salvaterra. "A Revolta Activa – Os Conflitos Identitários no Contexto da Luta de Libertação Nacional." Master's Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010.
- Perry, Keisha-Khan Y., and Anani Dzidzienyo. "Homenagem: Remembering the Life and Work of Abdias Nascimento." *Journal of Black Studies*, May 3, 2021, 00219347211011587.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00219347211011587>.
- Pierre, Jemima. *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race*. Illustrated edition. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Pinho, Patricia de Santana. *Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia*. Durham NC: Duke University Press Books, 2010.
- Ratts, Alex. *Eu Sou Atlantica*. 1ª edição. São Paulo: IMPRENSA OFICIAL, 2007.
- Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Brooklyn: Verso, 2018.

- Rodrigues, Sofia Alexandra Iala. “O Clube Marítimo Africano: Uma história da resistência negro-africana lisboeta,” 2020.
- Sadlier, Darlene J. *The Portuguese-Speaking Diaspora: Seven Centuries of Literature and the Arts*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/48668>.
- Sanches, Manuela Ribeiro. “(Black) Cosmopolitanism, Transnational Consciousness and Dreams of Liberation.” In *Red Africa: Affective Communities and the Cold War*, edited by Mark Nash. London, UK: Black Dog Press, 2016.
- Santos, José Francisco dos. *Relação Brasil/Angola: A participação de brasileiros no processo de libertação de Angola, o caso do MABLA e outros protagonistas*. Illustrated edition. Novas Edições Acadêmicas, 2014.
- Santos, José Ricardo Marques dos, Dener Santos Silveira, and Erik Borda. “A Descoberta do Insólito: uma entrevista com Prof. Dr. Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva.” *Áskesis - Revista des discentes do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia da UFSCar* 4, no. 2 (December 18, 2015): 83–83. <https://doi.org/10.46269/4215.93>.
- Santos, Thereza. *Malunga Thereza Santos: A História de Vida de Uma Guerreira*. São Carlos, 2008.
- . “My Conscience, My Struggle.” In *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, edited by Michael Hanchard. Duke University Press, 1999. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822382539>.
- Seck, Fatoumata. “The Cultural Underground of Decolonization.” *Cambridge Journal of Postcolonial Literary Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (September 2023): 287–309. <https://doi.org/10.1017/pli.2023.21>.
- Selcher, Wayne A. “Brazilian Relations with Portuguese Africa in the Context of the Elusive ‘Luso-Brazilian Community.’” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 18, no. 1 (1976): 25–58. <https://doi.org/10.2307/174815>.
- Silva, Mário Augusto Medeiros da. “Fazer História, Fazer Sentido: Associação Cultural do Negro (1954-1964).” *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política*, no. 85 (2012): 227–73. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-64452012000100007>.
- Smith, Christen A. *Afro-Paradise: Blackness, Violence, and Performance in Brazil*. Urbana ; Chicago ; Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2016.
- “Subjecthood, n. Meanings, Etymology and More | Oxford English Dictionary.” Accessed April 29, 2024. https://www.oed.com/dictionary/subjecthood_n.
- Suhr-Sytsma, Nathan. *Poetry, Print, and the Making of Postcolonial Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316711422>.
- Telepneva, Natalia. *Cold War Liberation: The Soviet Union and the Collapse of the Portuguese Empire in Africa, 1961–1975*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2022.
- Thornton, John. “The African Experience of the ‘20. and Odd Negroes’ Arriving in Virginia in 1619.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1998): 421–34. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2674531>.
- Tomás, António. *Amílcar Cabral: The Life of a Reluctant Nationalist*. C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 2019.
- Trapp, Rafael P. *O Elefante Negro*. Alameda Editorial, 2020.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995.

- Varela, Pedro, and José Augusto Pereira. “As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933): uma geração pan-africanista e antirracista.” *Revista de História*, no. 179 (September 14, 2020): 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-9141.rh.2020.159242>.
- Vargas, João H. Costa. “Gendered Antiblackness and the Impossible Brazilian Project: Emerging Critical Black Brazilian Studies.” *Cultural Dynamics* 24, no. 1 (March 1, 2012): 3–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0921374012452808>.
- Younis, Musab. *On the Scale of the World: The Formation of Black Anticolonial Thought*. First Edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2022.
- Zeilig, Leo, and Nicola Ansell. “Spaces and Scales of African Student Activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean University Students at the Intersection of Campus, Nation and Globe: Antipode.” *Antipode* 40, no. 1 (January 2008): 31–54. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00570.x>.

Appendix A. Archives Consulted

Archive	Location
Unidade Especial de Informação e Memória, Universidade Federal de São Carlos	São Carlos, São Paulo, Brazil
José Maria Nunes Pereira Personal Archives	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty no Rio de Janeiro	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Arquivo Nacional	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais	Salvador da Bahia, Brazil
Plataforma Casa Comum, the Mário Soares Foundation	Lisbon, Portugal
Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino	Lisbon, Portugal
Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo	Lisbon, Portugal
Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth, Universidade Estadual de Campinas	Campinas, Brazil
Associação Tchiweka de Documentação	Luanda, Angola (accessed digitally)
Aqrquivo Histórico digital “Nô Pintcha”	Lisbon, Portugal (accessed digitally)
Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo	São Paulo, Brazil

Appendix B. Oral History Interview Protocol

In order to conduct oral history interviews, I will use a series of questions that draws out the broader histories rather than explicitly asking interviewees to directly recount events, encounters, or exchanges. The following questions are sample questions that I will ask my interlocutors to reflect on broader questions related to their own personal pasts as a way of getting at the bigger questions of this study. Sample questions include:

1. Could you please tell me about your childhood and family history?
2. What did you know or think about (Africa/Brazil) growing up?
3. When was the first time you remember encountering ideas about (Africa/Brazil)?
Encountering an (African/Brazilian) person?
4. Please share the story of how you became involved in political activism?
5. Can you recall an event or person that shaped your ideas about Black liberation?
6. Have you ever traveled to [Brazil/Africa]? Could you please share the details of that experience?

In addition to asking questions such as these, when I am able, I will directly share archival materials related to the interviewee and ask them to share the context or story of the related materials. For example,

7. This is a photograph of you at X event on March 14, 1972. Do you recall this event? What motivated you to attend? Could you please share your experience in participating or organizing this event?

I will conclude each interview by asking the interviewees to suggest additional people to interview:

8. Is there someone else it is important for me to speak with in order to better understand this history?

Appendix C. Timeline of the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*

Timeline of the CEI

1943	Founding of Casa de Angola The Casa de Angola is founded in Lisbon, sparking the creation of a number of "Casas" throughout the Metropole.
1944	Founding of Casa dos Estudantes do Império On July 3, 1944, the Portuguese Ministry of the Overseas unites the various "Casas" under one roof, forming the CEI.
Late 1940s	Cabral Generation Arrives The "Geração Cabral" would play a vital role in developing the anticolonial, nationalist sentiments that would lead to the armed struggles for liberation.
1948	First Issue of Mensagem On July 1, 1948, the students of the CEI published the first issue of their student magazine, <i>Mensagem</i> , as a message to the Metropole.
1952	First Administrative Commission In May 1952, the Estado Novo establishes an "administrative commission," due to increased anticolonial activity.
1957	Nova Vaga The Novo Vaga represents the return of student control with stipulations. Namely, the removal of student "Sections" that organized them by territory.
1960	Second Administrative Commission In December 1960, the regime declared another commission.
1961	Another Return to Student Control July of 1961 marked the final wave of student control of the CEI. They began to organize more clandestinely due to increased surveillance.
1961	Fuga dos Cem Many CEI students dispersed globally as they sought ways to continue their education and/or find ways to participate in the armed struggle.
1963	Estado Novo Raid In January 1963, the Portuguese Police raided the CEI, destroying documents and arresting students. Government funding of the CEI ceased.
1965	Closure of CEI In September 1965, the Police entered the CEI premises, took possession of its documents, and shut down its operations for good.