The Contribution of Lusophone publishing in the autonomy of the periphery: exile, diaspora, anti-colonialism and national literature in Africa

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Abstract

This text aims to try to prove that editions connected with exiled people, the Diasporas and Portuguese literature written in various parts of the world played a relevant role in contemporaneous Ibero-American culture and publishing activity. The starting point was the hypothesis that exiled people and Diasporas, with their legacies and interchanges, are a privileged area for a transnational history, which mixes cultures and the history of the book. To test the idea, research was aimed at the analysis of the relationships among Portugal, Brazil and Portuguese African colonies during the 1960s, a decade of significant political, cultural and social changes. The attention was centred in five features: 1) the anti-Salazar nets in Brazil; 2) other Luso-Brazilian connections; 3) political pressure for Portuguese African Colonies emancipation; 4) the long historical Luso-African-Brazilian relationship; 5) the Brazilian exile.

Research led to the evidence that Lusographic editions transformed itself, despite the difficulties set particularly by Portuguese and Brazilian dictatorships. It was confirmed how it was involved in several world issues, namely in international anti-colonial resistance and in the circulation of texts and ideas. Lusographic editions also contributed to the springing of national literature releasing them from metropolitan tutelage and mobilising them to the widespread resistance, as can be observed in Angolan history. In that period publishing was marked by the urgency of national political causes and by all-embracing narratives (integrating political, social and cultural issues), namely various Marxist trends and influencing the fashion of essays and engaged literature.

Keywords: Exile, Lusophone world, publishing, transnationalism, revolutionary edition.

1. Introduction

In the 20th-century, Ibero-American dictatorships were the direct cause of expatriation of millions of citizens, of economic emigration, flights from compulsory military enrolment or political exile in general. In this complex scenario, the culture of exile assumed a relevant function as resistance culture, hybridism, convergence, pluralism and alternative. The book publishing connected with exiled writers and to Diaspora played a pertinent part in Latin-American culture and printing in modernity. We know it was important in Spain and Latin American relationships. However, little has been researched on this subject, having as focus the Portuguese speaking world (from this point on referred to in the text as Lusophone or Lusographic). This text aims to be a contribution to this study and world literature in the Portuguese language. The reason has to do with the fact that several kinds of literature in Portuguese achieved their autonomy due to convergences and involvement at several levels: aesthetic, literary and even political confluences (Mata, 2013).

Sharing the idea that the history of exile is also a transnational history (Silva, 2007b), this text proposes a tour along Portugal, Brazil and...
Lusophone Africa (in particular Angola). On it, one will try to map and reflect on the connections, circulation and relevant cultural transference. For the Lusophone matrix of the culture of exile, the conception adopted will be broad, following Silva (2007b) to be able to enclose multiple situations: the political refugees, the deserters and resisters outside the country and the political exiles in general. The expatriated and Diasporas in Lusophone scope are diverse, involving Portuguese, Brazilians, Luso-Africans, Luso-Asians, etc. Their history is also transnational because it is engaged in global issues of anticolonial resistance and of texts circulation, implying the crossing of distinct dimensions. These are political mobilisations, collective experiences, intellectual history, individual route maps, social and cultural groups, different generations, the press and text circulation, issues of gender, art and culture.2

Another issue that will be studied is the African’s Diaspora, born in Portuguese colonies, people who had not (yet) chosen the condition of exiled (or illegal) but already travelled through Portugal, other colonies or even other places carrying with them the feeling of alterity. These were mainly students or separatists militants.

2. The anti-Salazar nets in Brazil

2.1. The edition through Brazilian nets and newspapers

In the 1950s, groups of Portuguese political exiled created in Brazil several antifascists publishing platforms, as the periodical newspapers Portugal Democrático [Democratic Portugal] (1956-1975) and Portugal Livre [Free Portugal] (1959-1961). These periodicals integrated a tradition of political combat, initially antifascist, that left the country and went to the Diasporas.1 Both publications were reinforced with the coming of new generations of exile, during the 1960s, many of them deserters from the Colonial War, began in 1961. The presence of these newcomers would strengthen the anti-colonialist and internationalist perspectives. The periodical Portugal Democrático became known for its political opposition to Salazar’s dictatorship, but the scope of its action went deeper: the fight against dictatorial Iberian governments, the colonial denouncing, the support of political exiles, the engagement in strategies to overthrow Salazar dictatorship, debating what kind of future Portugal could have (Silva, 2007a: 35, 165-167, 233). This periodical founded, in 1958, the Comitê dos Intelectuais e Artistas Portugueses Pró-Liberdade de Expressão [Portuguese Intellectuals and Artists for freedom of speech Committee]. This Committee was informally established in the Editorial Board of O Estado de S. Paulo newspaper. Its function was to advertise meetings, publications and editorials about the Portuguese state of affairs, or that of the Portuguese emigrants and exile in Brazil. They also compiled collections of research denouncing the crimes of Colonial War, that later they sent to the UN (Silva, 2007a: 160, 214-215).

The periodical Portugal Livre had a particular connection with Humberto Delgado and Henrique Galvão, and among the intellectuals and columnists who wrote regularly in the newspaper, one finds Basil Davidson, Marvin Harris, Yvone Felman and Eduardo Lourenço (Silva, 2012: 64-67).

Also worth mention is the Frente Antitotalitária dos Portugueses Livres Exilados [Free Exile Portuguese Antitotalitarian Front] founded in 1962 in Brazil but spreading through all the Portuguese Diaspora. They published a small periodical that promoted clandestine edition of anti-colonial and anti-dictatorial texts exhorting the Democrats to circulate those editions in Portugal to break the censorship system on books.4

As other exiled people did, several activists working in the mentioned newspapers were also involved in the cultural action (literary criticism, artistic edition) and many of them were involved in different projects.

2.2. Some particular examples

Several Portuguese intellectuals wrote in
Some former Portuguese journalists of the influential *Estado de São Paulo* newspaper were also active book editors: João Alves das Neves edited Fernando Pessoa anthologies, African literature written in Portuguese, as well as several literary essays on Portuguese and African modernist writers, and a study on the influence of António Nobre in Brazilian poetry. Victor da Cunha Rego and wife, Yvone Felman, founded and managed, from 1962 to 1964, the publishing house Editora Felman-Rêgo. Among other works, they published political texts criticising Salazar and denouncing colonial policy: see, for instance, *Angola: através dos textos* [Angola through the texts] (1962). Victor da Cunha Rego also published books about Angolan presence in Brazil (mainly of the Bantu ethnic group) as, for instance, Maria Archer’s *Brasil, Fronteira da África* [Brazil, Frontier of Africa] (1963). Rêgo extended his publishing to questions related to Portugal and women emancipation: the Luso-Brazilian Jonas Negalha’s *Ibéria, anistia, revolução* [Iberia, amnesty, revolution] (1963) and Rêgo’s anthology *A Mulher e o Socialismo* [Woman and Socialism] (1963).

The Portuguese writer Fernando Correia da Silva (1931-2014) created, in 1956, and edited for several years a literary supplement for children, *Folhinha* [Little Sheet], published daily in the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*. In the same decade, he founded a publishing house dedicated to Children Literature (Giroflé). In this enterprise, Fernando Correia da Silva was accompanied by his fellow compatriots Jorge de Sena, Casais Monteiro, Sidônio Muralha, Fernando Lemos and also by the Brazilian writers Maria Bonomi, Guilherme Figueiredo, Cecília Meireles, Carlos Drummond de Andrade and Vinícios de Morais (Matos, 2017; Silva, 2007a: 220-221). Fernando Correia da Silva was also chief-editor at Cultrix and DIFEL publishers between 1960 and 1964, and his own published works were well received.

3. Other Luso-Brazilian connections

3.1. Exiled Portuguese writers and politically engaged Brazilian publishers

This new kind of Luso-Brazilian complicity spread to other groups and found an echo in politically engaged Brazilian publishers. To this interchange, two themes were essential: Africa and anti-colonialism. As Silva explains (2007a: 223), the relationships established through left-wing nets made possible the edition of historical and political books by publishers as Civilização Brasileira, Paz e Terra and Brasiliense. Several Brazilian publishers made this in parallel with the coordination of literary collections. The African theme was by far the most recurrent in these editions, due to the connections of the Portuguese political opposition exiled in Brazil with the African Liberation movements. Many African writers were thus published in Brazil. Furthermore, several Portuguese writers exiled and living in São Paulo collaborated in many historical and political texts in particular in the magazine *Paz e Terra* [Peace and Earth].

The publishing house Civilização Brasileira edited books denouncing colonialism, but also texts on the relationship between Brazil and Africa and Portuguese political fight. The publishing house Brasiliense, directed by the Brazilian historian and politician Caio Prado Júnior, published several books connected with Africa. Two deserve particular reference: the anthology organised by João Alves das Neves, *Poetas e contistas africanos de expressão portuguesa* [Portuguese speaking African Poets and Storytellers] (1963); Mário Moutinho Padua’s *Guerra em Angola: Diário de um médico de campanha* [War in Angola: Diary of a campaign doctor] (1963). The latter was received with horror among academic community due to the unpassionate and
accurate description of the atrocities Portuguese soldiers practised during the Colonial War.

Contemporary Portuguese writers received the deserved attention from publishers and editors in Brazil, particularly those that opposed Salazar, the majority. To refer to some of them, one can mention Fernando Monteiro de Castro Soromenho (1910-1968). Though he was Portuguese by birth, he became a distinguished writer of Angolan literature, focusing on local realities, and keeping until his death his confessed anti-Salazarism and anti-colonialism. He exiled himself in Brazil, in 1965, where his books were published and was the founder of the Centre of African Studies at São Paulo University.

Aquilino Ribeiro (1885-1963), though not exiled, was awarded particular attention by Brazilian publishers and editors. It all began in 1958 when his novel *Quando os lobos uivam* (1958) [*When the wolfs howl*]. It is an anti-Salazarism novel and Ribeiro had to face a court judgment, charged of offences to the authorities. This judicial action was denounced in a solidary international campaign whose dimension led the Portuguese authorities to withdraw the charges. The book was forbidden in Portugal, but in Brazil the first edition came out in 1959. Adolfo Casais Monteiro wrote the preface, Fernando Lemos prepared the cover and Anhambi edited the book.

Another of Aquilino Ribeiro’s book followed shortly after, entitled *Quando os lobos julgam a justiça Uiva: texto integral da acusação e defesa no processo de Aquilino Ribeiro* [*When the wolfs judge justice howls, Full text of Aquilino Ribeiro’s charge and defence*] (1959). This too had a preface written by Adolfo Casais Monteiro, though different from the previous one (Rodrigues, 2004).

Another Portuguese book was the target of a solidarity campaign. *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* [*New Portuguese Letters*] (1972), a feminist and anti-Salazarism book written by three young writers: Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa. Alleging “an irremediable pornographic content offensive of public morality”, the government forbade the book in May 1972 and impelled a legal suit against the authors. This process had a long echo in western media, generating a strong contestation movement. In June 1972, the process known as “The three Marias” was elected as the first international feminist cause by NOW – National organisation for Women, which contributed to the book international reputation. The whole process had a substantial impact in Brazil and other South American countries, as can be proved by records of Portuguese diplomacy. The effect was far less relevant in Portuguese colonies and Spain, due to political censorship.

*Novas Cartas Portuguesas* had two 1974 editions in Brazil, one in São Paulo the other in Rio de Janeiro, the same year of the French translation and one year before the English one (Amaral et al., 2014).

### 3.2. Production and literary edition by Exile in Brazil

Several Portuguese intellectuals continued in exile their literary and academic output, free from political censorship until 1964 when Military Dictatorship took over Brazilian government. The most prolific were Jaime Cortesão, Jorge de Sena, Adolfo Casais Monteiro and Vítor Ramos. They all worked as directors or organisers of collections of Portuguese, Brazilian or universal literature in Brazilian publishing houses.

Jaime Cortesão was the literary editor at Livros de Portugal and Dois Mundos publishers. They were two Portuguese and Brazilian publishing houses that helped to cross-frontiers, especially with the common collection “Clássicos” [*Classics*] e “Contemporâneos” [*Contemporaneous*]. Though created by Portuguese living in Brazil, and due to their projects, they gave voice to both critical Brazilian and Portuguese literature, namely by contemporary authors, through careful editions and critical anthologies. Furthermore, during the exile, Cortesão published his historical studies focused in Portuguese and Brazilian history.
Jorge de Sena co-directed Nossos Clássicos [Our Classical], a pocket collection from Livraria Agir Publishers. The collection inaugural number was dedicated to Fernando Pessoa and was organised by Adolfo Casais Monteiro.

Vítor Ramos, who belonged to the French communist party, had a PhD by Sorbonne and by USP, which theme was Portuguese and French literature. He was director Garnier’s collection Classiques, editing 15 books of universal literature between 1957 and 1962. He was the editorial coordinator of DIFEL Brazil where he conceived a plan of anthologies of national literature for Spain, France, United Kingdom, Portugal and Brazil. However, only the last two were published.

4. Contributions to Portuguese African colonies emancipation

4.1. Deconstructing the Empire from within: the Empire Students House

National consciousness regarding Portuguese colonies in Africa strengthened itself after WW II. In Lisbon, the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (CEI) [Empire Students House] transformed itself from an idealised centre for future colonial elites into a plot of ground for African and Indian independentists in straight complicity with the anti-dictatorial fight led by the opposition. In its magazine Mensagem (1948-64) [Message] one finds several texts written by future icons of African national literature, mainly poetry. CEI published a pioneer collection of Ultramarine Writers and literary anthologies with texts written by Portuguese and Africans, including anti-colonial ones (which gives the collection a unique Lusophone perspective). For instance, there is Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa [Magazine of black poetry in the Portuguese language], a gathering of poetry written by black authors and published in 1953. The Angolan Mário Pinto de Andrade and Francisco José Tenreiro, born in São Tomé, edited it. The collection was inspired in one made by Leopold Senghor (1948), Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française. The editorial plan aimed to establish African literature as opposed to the colonial one (Ferreira, 1986: 108). The CEI students unstoppable radicalisation and subversion led to the compulsory closing of CEI in 1965 (Rosinha et al., 2015).

4.2. The Angolan volcano

In Angola, the feeling of a specific culture had a strong cultural impulse from 1940 to 1960. First through Sociedade Cultural de Angola (SCA) [Society for Culture in Angola], founded in 1942 that launched the magazine Cultura in 1945. The second series of this magazine, published in newspaper format (1957-1961) presented a clearly emancipatory content, strengthening the Angolan ideological and aesthetic ideas present in the CEI magazine Mensagem and ANANGOLA (Associação de Naturais de Angola) [Angolan Natives Association], though with a focus on narrative. To the writers of Mensagem, the newspaper add new authors as Luandino Vieira, Arnaldo Santos and Henrique Abranches, among others (Guerra, 2014).

ANANGOLA was “refounded” in 1947 to recover the legacy of Grémio Angolano [Angolan Society] and Centro Angolano [Angolan Centre]. They published several books as Antologia dos novos poetas de Angola [Anthology of the New Angolan Poets], the magazine Mensagem and several theoretical and literary books written by Angolan intellectuals and activists (Bittencourt, 1999: 67, 114, 123).

The also known as Mensagem II had the contribution of Movimento dos Novos Intelectuais de Angola (MNIA) [New Angolan Intellectuals movement], created in 1948, under the subversive and ironical motto “Let’s discover Angola!” in reaction to the official political slogan “Let’s discover Portugal!” issued by the government to promote tourism. Both the magazine and the Movement had the political urgency of contributing for the emancipation of Angola. Among the leaders, one finds Viriato da Cruz, Agostinho Neto, António Jacinto, Alda Lara...
and Mário Pinto de Andrade. MNIA defended the strengthening of the relationship between literature and society and the promotion of Angolan culture to compete with the cultural tradition imposed by colonialism. They inspired themselves in popular culture, trying to widen the limited audience of similar activities (Bittencourt, 1999: 123-126).

The active political repression that took place in the Portuguese colonies from 1956 to 1966, mainly in Angola, delivered a deadly blow to the mentioned organisations and cultural initiatives (Bittencourt, 1999: 124). The most famous example was Luandino Vieira’s awarded collection of short stories *Luanda*. Portuguese Authors Society (SPA) gave the award, in 1965. This led to a harsh reaction in Lisbon, against both Luandino and the Society and had severe repercussions in Angola. The first edition of these short-stories, which exhorted Luanda popular neighbourhoods to resistance was printed by the newspaper *ABC*, in Luanda, 1964, soon after the collection having received the Mota Vieira Award (also in Luanda). The author was in jail since 1961, accused of “subversive activities against the state”, and the publication did not reveal the author’s identity hidden by an alias. SPA was persecuted and coercively closed, and almost all the members of the jury arrested and judged (Topa, 2014).

The cut stricken on the literary and cultural activities and in what they might mean for the emancipatory action led inevitably to the radicalisation of the new generations and their choice for military reaction.

5. The Connection Portugal/Africa/Brazil

The cultural interchange among Portugal, Brazil and Africa moulded itself in the collaboration of Portuguese and African intellectuals through Brazilian press, and in the partnership of Brazilian writers in edited Luso-African magazines, apart from the reading and changing of ideas of each other texts.

This kind of interchange that mixed political and cultural intervention worked as a net since the 1950s, due to an organised group of activists that recruited volunteers.

It was a socially vast interchange, tested in the increase of clandestine circulation of Brazilian, Marxists and anti-colonialists texts, made through semi-clandestine itinerant libraries since the 1950s (Bittencourt, 1999: 127). In 1965, Portuguese dictatorship reinforced persecution to the so-called “subversive and pornographic literature”. Portuguese authorities thought Angola was under a “foregoing plan” of “intellectual subversion” and “moral dissolution” promoted by Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, Paris and New York. The “collusion” supposedly would involve several publishers: the Portuguese publishing houses Portugália Editora, Ulisseia and Publicações Europa-América, the Brazilian Zahar, Civilização Brasileira and Fundo de Cultura, the French Hachette and the Portuguese distribution house Specil. Brazilian writers as Jorge Amado and Josué de Castro had their works subjected to censorship *ad hominem* (Melo, 2016: 487-488).

The new Angolan literature had Brazil for inspiration and literary model. It was the case of Arlindo Barbeitos, Mário António and Mário Pinto de Andrade (Laban, 1991). This influence extended to other Portuguese colonies in Africa (Chaves, 2005; Mata, 2013).

The cultural and literary interchange among Portugal, Brazil and Africa is proved in the editorial project of Publicações Imbondeiro (1960-67). With a multiracial profile, this publishing house focused on short stories and poetry and published essential writers defenders of Angola emancipation, from Brazil, Cape-Verde, Mozambique and Portugal. Its books were distributed all over the Portuguese and Brazilian territory. Imbondeiro published a bulletin that supported the idea of alternative Lusophone literature, inspired in the group of Cape-Verdean magazine *Claridade* (1936-1960).

The magazine *Sul* [South], promoter of Southern-Brazilian modernism, allowed writers from Angola, Mozambique, Cape-Verde, São-Tomé and Portugal to escape Salazarism censorship, publishing their texts.
and sending them by mail, disguised as Brazilian books. *Sul* even allowed the change and selling of cultural magazines from both sides of the Atlantic: the Mozambican *Itinerário* (1941-1955), Angolan *Mensagem* and Imbondeiro bulletin (Correa, 2016: 22-24). Furthermore, non-Portuguese authors that denounce dictatorship and colonialism were also published in Brazil (Melo, 2016: 485).

6. From Brazil to Portugal: publishing Brazilian exiled writers

There was also a movement of exiled writers from Brazil to Portugal. Many Brazilian intellectual and students fled Brazilian Military Dictatorship. It began in 1964 and lasted until 1985. In this period, one can distinguish two main groups: the first included intellectuals and reformist politicians connected with the previous government, the second involved activist connected with academic movements and armed fight, revolutionary and more determined in the denouncing of Brazilian dictatorship. This action expressed itself in organisations, meetings and through the media, with articles published in newspapers, loose sheets, documentaries and books. Among the several countries where they fled to Portugal was one of them, particularly after 1974 (Pezzonia, 2017).

Since the 1960s, several Portuguese publishing houses edited books on Latin America and by Southern-American writers. Excluding literary fashion, the production was made mostly by publishers expert in “political literature”, according to Silva (2013). Portuguese editor Arcádia published in 1976 the “first world edition” of an essential book on Brazilian exiled.

The interchange between exile and revolution is well exemplified in Marcio Moreira Alves who published, in Lisbon, books on both Portuguese and Brazilian revolutionary processes (1974; Alves, 1975).

7. Conclusion

The long Salazar and Caetano’s dictatorship originated several waves of expatriation. The first was connected with republican oppositionists faithful to the First Republic. This text centred mainly in the 1960s Brazilian exile and its articulation with Lusographic and transnational edition. This wave of exile had a strong connection with political and cultural left-wing ideas, sometimes revolutionary ones. In fact, in Brazil, groups of exiled republicans managed to create nets and platforms to fight against dictatorship and Portuguese colonialism. This was possible due to the complicity of many local politicians, intellectuals, journalists and artists and the endeavours to maintain editorial interventions, especially promoting Portuguese and Brazilian literature without disregarding a Universalist perspective.

A new wave of younger exile, uniting deserters and emigrants, formed either the Marxism or refusal of Colonial War, engaged actively in the press. Along with members of previous generations of exile, this wave wrote, founded publishing houses (e.g. Felman-Rego) or joined Brazilian ones involved in the denouncing of Portuguese colonialism and the promotion of the emergent African national literature in the colonies.

A different exile has to do with African people that rebelled against Portuguese and Eurocentric dominium, both political and cultural (Laranjeira, 1998; Mata, 2013). They promoted several initiatives to deepen and spread their message of emancipation, in the service of a revolutionary independentist cause but seeking to articulate it with a Universalist meaning. Their more relevant actions took place within several organisations, in Portugal (CEI) and the colonies – SCA (1942-1966), ANANGOLA (1947-1964) and MNIÁ (1948-1952). They also published in cultural magazines (*Mensagem* and *Cultura*, etc.) and in the edition of books: CEI and Publicações Imbondeiro.

They worked in collaboration or interchange with Portuguese and Brazilian intellectuals, as was the case of magazine *Sul*, chosen as an example. This significant emancipatory
activity began in 1940, involved several social groups and had its climax in the 1960s until Salazarism blocked literature dissemination through fierce repression and censorship, which had as direct consequence political and cultural radicalisation. Different expatriation movements, namely the one caused by the Brazilian Military dictatorship, were also referred. It as an inverse exile, with Brazilians taking refuge in Portugal and receiving the support of Portuguese intellectual, many of them previously exiled. The connection between Portugal/Brazil/Africa fed on exile and emancipatory impulses. It took advantage of the press using newspapers, publishers, civic, cultural and political organisations. All the exile enriched publishers and editors’ production, the spread of ideas, mainly those connected with anti-colonialism and internationalism. They were mentors of new editorial projects, new journals and magazines, due to their connections with the national and local press. They contributed to a better international understanding of concealed realities, as the Portuguese colonialism.

The criticism of Portuguese colonialism and dictatorship was profoundly influenced by Marxist ideas, as it was involved in the ideological and political fight against imperialism. This perspective was relevant to the denouncing of Latin-American dictatorships and bringing to the foreground the third-World thematic, pacifism and so forth. One particular kind of editions received greater attention due to the exile work: engaged essay and literature directly connected with contemporary reality, which reinforced world literature written in Portuguese.

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1 Lusographic is the word chosen to signify the edition and publication in Portuguese language but issued in any Portuguese-speaking world region.

2 In this point I follow Monciaud’s theoretical and methodological proposal (2015: 13-14).

3 Between 1963 and April 25th, 1974, the clandestine press led by radical left-wing organisations, both in Portugal and exile add up to 158 titles, apud. recent survey with restrictive grate (Pereira, 2013: 26).

4 Cf. Anonymous (1962: 16); for more information on similar organizations see Silva (2007a).

5 See: Angola; cinco séculos de exploração portuguesa (1967), written by Américo Boavida, Angolan doctor and co-founder of Corpo Voluntário Angolano de Ajuda aos Refugiados [Angolan Voluntary Corp for Add to the Refugees]; José Honório Rodrigues’ Brasil e Africa (1961); João Alves das Neves’ Poetas portuguêses modernos (1967). In latter book, the cover had a text by the Brazilian literary critic Fausto Cunha who emphasised the strong influence Portuguese modernist poetry had on Brazilian poets.

6 See Rocha (1989: 32-36). It is particularly relevant Augusto dos Santos Abranches activities in Brazil as an “agitator of Lusographic culture”.

7 These only later would realise the geographical amplitude of their cultural and civic involvement: see Luandino Vieira testimony in Saraiva (2014: 35).

8 The most politically and culturally relevant writers published by Imbondeiro were Agostinho Neto and Luandino Vieira.


10 We are referring to Memórias do exílio: Brasil 1964-19??: obra colectiva Cavalcanti et al. (1976) with the support of Paulo Freire, Abdias do Nascimento and Nelson Werneck Sodré (Green, 2010).