



UNIVERSIDADE DE  
COIMBRA

Pedro Miguel Figueiras Varela

**ANTI-RACISM IN PORTUGAL FROM PAST TO PRESENT**  
MOVEMENTS AND WORDS

**Thesis submitted for the PhD program in Human Rights in Contemporary Societies, supervised by Professors Silvia Rodríguez Maeso and Lígia Sofia Alves Passos Ferro and presented to the Institute of Interdisciplinary Research of the University of Coimbra.**

February 2023



Institute of Interdisciplinary Research of the University of Coimbra

# ANTI-RACISM IN PORTUGAL FROM PAST TO PRESENT: MOVEMENTS AND WORDS

Pedro Miguel Figueiras Varela

Thesis submitted for the PhD program in Human Rights in Contemporary Societies,  
supervised by Professors Silvia Rodríguez Maeso and Lúcia Sofia Alves Passos Ferro and  
presented to the Institute of Interdisciplinary Research of the University of Coimbra.

February 2023

1 2  9 0

UNIVERSIDADE D  
COIMBRA

This page intentionally left blank

## Acknowledgements

---

First, I must thank Flor and Félix, who were in the same boat as I during this journey. To my mother, father and brother for all the support. This work would never be possible without the friendship and backing of my supervisors, Silvia Maeso and Lúcia Ferro. I must also acknowledge those I have joined in collective adventures during these years: José Augusto Pereira, Cristina Roldão, Otávio Raposo, Raquel Lima, Raquel Matias, Diego Candido, Apolo de Carvalho, Mojana Vargas, Carla Fernandes and Jovita dos Santos Pinto. I cannot forget all the conversations with Ana Rita Alves, João Moreira, Marta Araújo and Pedro Almeida. Many greetings to the friends who helped me with English and Cape Verdean: above all to Rebeca; and also André, Diogo, Elva, Filipa, Lourenço and Simone. I will also not forget all the complicity among my PhD colleagues to whom I owe a lot. I must also remember all the support from Acácio Machado, Catarina Fernandes, Inês Lima, Irina Castro, Maria José Carvalho and Rita Pais. To those who received me in their homes during this journey, thank you very much: Flávia, Hugo, Manuel and Maria; Rebeca, Angela, Irie, Caryn and Steve; Sílvia and João; Liliana and João. For all the friendship over the years: Diogo, João, Manuel and Sebastião. I would also like to thank those who made the return to the past possible through the archives of their organisations: Ana Barradas, José Falcão, Mamadou Ba and Timóteo Macedo. I could not fail to acknowledge all the people who directly helped me or collaborated in this research: Adérito Montes, Ângelo Torres, António Tonga, Bárbara Góis, Chalo Correia, Duca OG, Evalina Dias, Elsa Sertório, José Baessa de Pina, Lúcia Furtado, Manuel Gouveia and Uncle C. For my fieldwork, once again, I must be grateful to Pedro Diniz for opening the doors of his neighbourhood and home. And then to many others such as AmG, Armagedom, Basil, Bitola, Brasão, Buskubu, Cadri, Camila, Carlos, Fábio, Fatinha, Ferry, Fox, G Fly, Jessica, Jinov, Joaquina, Kaiden, Kats, Kutico, Loni, Lucinda, Lulas, Litos, Manuel, Maria, Mariana, Minha, Mintchas, Nana, Nola, Rei, Victor and Xina.

This page intentionally left blank

This work was funded by the Portuguese State and the European Union through FCT - Foundation for Science and Technology within the scope of the PhD Studentship, SFRH/BD/129171/2017.



This page intentionally left blank



## Abstract

---

Anti-racism in Portugal has a long history that is still little known. This thesis unveils this past and present by studying several historical moments of the struggle against racism, considering the political movements and artistic practices in those periods, such as poetry (in the past) and rap (in the present). Racism is a structuring part of our history, and forms of opposition to it, such as the anti-racist movements, struggles and practices, are essential to understand our society. I propose to study anti-racism activism in Portugal in three movements and periods: the Black movement (1911-1933), Black poetry and African nationalism (1942-1963), and the anti-racist movement (1990-2020). I first address a Black Pan-Africanist generation that pioneered the fight against racism in Portugal (1911-1933). Despite its central role in the struggle for human rights, it is a forgotten generation. Then is discussed the vital role of Black poetry and African nationalists in anti-racism in Portugal during a specific period (1942-1963). Further on, I study an anti-racist movement that emerged in the 1990s and extends to the present day, formed by the collective struggle of anti-racist organisations, immigrant, neighbourhood and Roma associations, the Black movement and the rap movement. This thesis was shaped through research that uses diversified tools such as archive and press analysis, interviews, ethnographic research, poetry and rap lyrics interpretation. In this work, I also discuss different conceptualisations of anti-racism and the central role of the Black movements in the fight against racism, namely the 'Black radical tradition'. In this context, various understandings of racism are examined, with a focus on the concept of 'racial capitalism' and the reality of racism in Portugal is also addressed. Furthermore, the importance of anti-racism for human rights is discussed, particularly the limits of this relationship. In order to examine contemporary anti-racism from the perspective of Black urban communities and youth, I engage with the story and life of a self-produced Black-majority neighbourhood under demolition, *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)*, where fieldwork was carried out through ethnographic research. In the periphery of Lisbon, this area reveals the struggles to build a community and the path of rap among different generations. Over the decades, rap has been fundamental in this neighbourhood, as in many others in the Lisbon metropolitan area, for its aesthetic expression and denunciation of racism, police violence, impoverishment, and social and urban segregation. Beyond fighting racism, anti-racism reveals new readings of humanity and perspectives for a world without oppression. This thesis shows a long and silenced

history of struggle against racism in Portugal, which is fundamental to understanding our society and thinking about the future.

**Keywords:** anti-racism; black movement; rap; history; ethnography.

## Resumo

---

O antirracismo em Portugal tem uma longa história que ainda é pouco conhecida. Esta tese revela este passado e presente através do estudo de vários momentos históricos da luta contra o racismo, considerando os movimentos políticos e as práticas artísticas desses períodos, tais como a poesia (no passado) e o rap (no presente). O racismo é uma parte estruturante da nossa história e formas de oposição a ele, tais como os movimentos, lutas e práticas antirracistas, são essenciais para compreender a nossa sociedade. Proponho estudar o ativismo antirracista em Portugal em três movimentos e períodos: o movimento negro (1911-1933), a poesia negra e o nacionalismo africano (1942-1963), e o movimento antirracista (1990-2020). Inicialmente debruço-me sobre uma geração negra pan-africanista que foi pioneira na luta contra o racismo em Portugal (1911-1933). Apesar do seu papel central na luta pelos direitos humanos é uma geração esquecida. Depois é discutido o papel fundamental da poesia negra e dos nacionalistas africanos para o antirracismo em Portugal, durante um período específico (1942-1963). Mais adiante, estudo um movimento antirracista que surgiu nos anos 1990 e se estende até aos dias de hoje, formado pela luta coletiva de organizações antirracistas, associações de imigrantes, de bairros e Roma/ciganas, o movimento negro e o movimento rap. Esta tese foi moldada através de uma investigação que utiliza ferramentas diversificadas tais como análise de arquivo e imprensa, entrevistas, pesquisa etnográfica, interpretação de poesia e letras de rap. Neste trabalho também analiso diferentes concepções de antirracismo e o papel central dos movimentos negros na luta contra o racismo, nomeadamente a ‘tradição negra radical’. Neste contexto, são examinadas várias concepções de racismo, com enfoque no conceito de ‘capitalismo racial’ e é também abordada a realidade do racismo em Portugal. Além disso, é discutida a importância do antirracismo para os direitos humanos, particularmente os limites desta relação. A fim de examinar o antirracismo contemporâneo na perspectiva das comunidades urbanas negras e da juventude, envolvo-me na história e na vida de um bairro de maioria negra em demolição, *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)*, onde foi realizado trabalho de campo através de pesquisa etnográfica. Na periferia de Lisboa, este lugar revela as lutas para construir uma comunidade e o caminho do rap entre diferentes gerações. Ao longo de décadas, o rap tem sido fundamental neste bairro, como em muitos outros na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa, pela sua expressão estética e denúncia do racismo, violência policial, empobrecimento, e segregação social e urbana. Para além do combate ao racismo, o antirracismo revela novas leituras da humanidade e perspectivas para um mundo sem opressão. Esta tese mostra uma

longa e silenciada história de luta contra o racismo em Portugal, que é fundamental para compreender a nossa sociedade e pensar no futuro.

**Palavras-chave:** antirracismo; movimento negro; rap; história; etnografia.

# Table of Contents

---

Acknowledgements .....	III
Abstract .....	VII
Resumo .....	IX
Introduction .....	1
CHAPTER 1 - ANTI-RACISM AND RACISM .....	9
1.1 What is anti-racism? .....	9
1.2 At the heart of anti-racism: the 'Black radical tradition' .....	16
1.3 The long history of the anti-racist struggle and thought .....	20
1.4 Anti-racism in human rights and its limits .....	26
1.5 Anti-racism in Portugal .....	28
1.6 About racism .....	31
1.7 The vital questions raised by the concept of 'racial capitalism' .....	35
1.8 Academic approaches and denunciations of racism in Portugal .....	38
1.9 Lusotropicalism, multiculturalism and interculturality in Portugal .....	43
1.10 The role of artistic practices for anti-racism .....	48
CHAPTER 2 - THE BLACK MOVEMENT (1911-1933): AT THE ROOTS OF ANTI-RACISM .....	53
2.1 Silencing the past and the pioneer studies by Mário Pinto de Andrade .....	54
2.2 An anti-racist and Pan-Africanist generation: the press and the organizations .....	61
2.3 Inside the Pan-African international struggle .....	70
2.4 Contradictions: colonialism, federalism and forced labour .....	73
2.5 Pioneers in the struggle against racism .....	75
2.6 "Africans, wake up!": Poetry and other literatures .....	81
2.7 The failure to overcome the colonial question .....	98
CHAPTER 3 – BLACK POETRY AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM: WRITING AND ACTIVISM (1942-1963) .....	101
3.1 "It is Africa that is coming!": the first steps .....	101
3.2 The emergence of an African nationalist generation in Portugal .....	104
3.3 The encounter with racism in the 'metropolis' .....	110
3.4 The racial question in Amílcar Cabral's thought .....	112
3.5 African, Black and anti-racist poetics .....	115
3.6 An anti-racist movement? .....	136
CHAPTER 4 - THE ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENT AND RAP (1990-2020) .....	139
4.1 The rise of a new anti-racist movement .....	139
4.2 Portugal Day in 1995: the brutal murder of Alcindo Monteiro .....	148

4.3 The immigrant rights movement and Roma associations .....	155
4.4 <i>Rede Anti-Racista</i> : an attempt to unite.....	161
4.5 The Black youth activism in the periphery: a movement in transformation .....	165
4.6 The police racist violence at the Alfragide police station in 2015 .....	174
4.7 The emergence of several Black organizations.....	176
4.8 The Black movement take to streets .....	182
4.9 2020: a landmark year for the anti-racist struggle .....	189
4.10 “Rappers and warriors”: words against racism.....	198
4.11 Rap in the feminine .....	212
4.12 “To all the Blacks in the ghetto”: <i>kriolu rap</i> .....	215
4.13 Anti-racism present in various artistic practices.....	218
CHAPTER 5 - <i>RABULERA</i> NEIGHBOURHOOD: RESISTANCE AND RAP.....	223
5.1 Back to a place under demolition .....	223
5.2 <i>Estrada Militar</i> : a street that tells stories .....	228
5.3 Methodology and the ethnographic approach.....	231
5.4 From ‘ <i>barracas</i> ’ to brick houses, from collective organisation to demolition.....	235
5.5 Life stories of a neighbourhood .....	240
5.6 Struggles of a neighbourhood in consolidation .....	244
5.7 A disappearing place .....	247
5.8 In the beginning ‘Black Zone’: the emergence of rap in <i>Rabulera</i> .....	252
5.9 The new millennium: ‘Alcateia’ and ‘BMP’ .....	255
5.10 ‘Ghetto Tsunami’ and the younger rap generations.....	258
5.11 G Fly, a female rapper .....	264
5.12 “My rap is like this: one body, one eye, one mouth” .....	267
Conclusions.....	277
Sources and Bibliography .....	287
1. Archives .....	287
2. Music and Audiovisual.....	287
3. Bibliography.....	289

*Rappers e guerreiros que se agitam sem rodeios  
Lutam e se juntam para afastar velhos receios  
Falam de racismo, etnocentrismo  
Forças ocultas para mim são surdas  
São, são: forças sem razão  
Males se juntaram e criaram esta nação*

General D, 'PortuKKKal é um erro', 1994.

This page intentionally left blank



# Introduction

---

This thesis analyses anti-racism in Portugal from the past to the present, considering social movements, collective struggles and artistic practices. This research seeks to contribute to the knowledge and study of anti-racism in Portugal and internationally, examining its historical roots and legacies, as well as the present anti-racist struggle.

The following questions have oriented the research design, the theoretical framework, methodology, fieldwork and the final structure of the thesis: where does the anti-racist struggle in Portugal come from? What are the country's different historical moments of mobilisation and rise of anti-racist awareness? How do these struggles relate to the international anti-racist context? What role did some artistic practices play in these moments of mobilisation? What is the origin of the current anti-racist movement, how was it formed, and what has it become? What is the role of rap in the awareness and anti-racist struggle in recent decades? Nowadays, how vital is rap in a Black-majority neighbourhood in Lisbon's periphery where racism is a constant presence?

After the 2007–2008 world financial crisis, we saw uprisings, revolutions, wars and, in some cases, the strengthening of a far-right ideology, organisations and governments with openly racist discourse and practices. In some cases, they even came to power, as in Austria, Brazil, India, Italy, Hungary, Philippines, Poland, and United States of America. Nevertheless, we have also experienced the strengthening of anti-racist social movements worldwide, as in Brazil, France, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA). In the USA, the various mobilisations under the Black Lives Matter actions over the last few years have become a global influence, turning it into an international movement. Indeed, like many academic approaches, this one was inspired by the political moment we live in.

In Portugal, anti-racism has increasingly become a relevant social movement, mainly led by Black people but also by Roma, immigrant and white activists. We can now see the emergence of several organisations, crucial street protests, the growth of anti-racism in artistic practices, some media visibility and the construction of new anti-racist public figures. This reality has also contributed to the development of the academic and public debate on racism and anti-racism. However, anti-racism is currently much more discussed and studied in the political sphere than in academia.

It is also necessary to mention my commitment to the struggles for human rights and anti-racism. Since 2007 I have participated in several mobilisations against racism in Portugal, and occasionally, I was involved in their construction. Through this experience, I can also better understand the transformation of the anti-racist movement in the last fifteen years.

My thesis focuses on the struggle against racism at different moments in Portugal's history: 1) the Black movement (between 1911-1933); 2) Black poetry and African nationalism in Portugal (between 1942-1963); 3) the anti-racist movement (1990-2020). Considering these different periods, my study shows us that we are facing nowadays a phenomenon that has happened not only in the present but at different times in history, always integrated into international anti-racist struggles. In this sense, the thesis' title may lead to deception; however, my analysis has aimed to avoid methodological nationalism. I have tried systematically to integrate the struggle against racism in Portugal into the international context, looking at its influences and connections. On the other hand, approaching different moments in time allows me to have a comparative look, understand more broadly what anti-racist movements or struggles are and deepen the concept of anti-racism itself.

Artistic practices were fundamental for the development of these political struggles. In this context, I propose an analysis of anti-racism in Portugal, considering the central role of some specific artistic practices, namely poetry (in the past) and rap (in the present). This approach enables unveiling viewpoints on racism, blackness, Africanity and anti-racism. More specifically, poetry was fundamental for the first two periods. For the Black movement in the early 20th century, it was frequently published in their press, and it was a primary form of expression in the first years of African nationalists' political consciousness. From the 1990s onwards, rap, as an artistic expression and a movement, would prove to be fundamental in the anti-racist struggle, particularly among Black youth and the most marginalised neighbourhoods.

Although there is some discussion on the concept of anti-racism, anti-racist movement and anti-racist practice, this has not been significantly developed in academic research. However, there are some relevant studies on specific anti-racist movements, particularly Black movements. Still, few studies approach the broad perspective of the anti-racist movements. The studies of Herbert Aptheker (1975), Paul Gilroy (1987, 1990), Alastair Bonnett (1993, 2000, 2010), Alana Lentin (2000, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2020), David Theo Goldberg (2009, 2015), and Ghassan Hage (2016) who discussed concepts of anti-

racism and anti-racist practices, became relevant references for my approach. To understand Black resistance and movements, I must highlight the works of W.E.B. Du Bois (1935), C.L.R. James (1938), Herbert Aptheker (1943), George Padmore (1956), bell hooks (1981), Angela Davis (1983), Robin D. G. Kelley (1994, 2002), Cedric J. Robinson (1983, 1997), Michael George Hanchard (1998), Petrônio Domingues (2007, 2008), Ahmed Shawki (2006), and Hakim Adi (2008, 2018). As I will discuss later, the ‘Black radical tradition’ (Robinson, 1983) is central to understanding anti-racism. In the case of the struggle against racism in Portugal, as in many other places around the world, Black thought, Black political experience and Black artistic practices have been the main foundations of many anti-racist movements.

My thesis is influenced by different academic fields such as Anthropology, Sociology, History, Literary Studies, Critical Race Theory and Black Studies. This multidisciplinary approach was necessary to address such a complex object and also derived from my academic path, which started in Landscape Architecture, got close to Rural Sociology and met with Anthropology and, more recently, with History. For that matter, I have used different methodologies, such as historical and press analysis, ethnographic research and oral history, and poetry and rap lyrics analysis.

I have chosen not to translate the poems, prose fiction and rap lyrics that I transcribe into the pages of this work since literature translation requires specific training and technical skills, and this was beyond the scope of my research. They appear in the original languages: Portuguese and Cape Verdean language (also known as Cape Verdean ‘Creole’). However, I often translate short excerpts directly and interpret these verses in the text I wrote in English.

Considering that I am a white researcher working on anti-racism, Black movements and racism, it is relevant to discuss standpoint theory and *lugar de fala*. Widely developed in women, feminist and gender studies, the standpoint theory contends that individual or collective perspectives are shaped by each person or group's social and political background. And the place from which each person acknowledges reality is influenced by their gender, race or class. From a standpoint theory perspective, epistemology is always situated, and oppressed groups have fundamental ways of understanding their place in the world (see Alcoff, 1991; Wylie, 2003). Furthermore, the concept of *lugar de fala* [place of speech] has been brought mainly in Brazil from the standpoint theory tradition. In *lugar de fala* perspective, the non-recognition of the fact that we start from different places in the social hierarchy leads to legitimising an exclusive discourse. It is also important to acknowledge

that there is a collective experience of oppression; for that matter, when we speak of *lugar de fala*, it is mainly a collective place and not only an individual one (Ribeiro, 2017, p. 64). According to the philosopher Djamila Ribeiro, all experiences and voices are essential, but it is crucial to understand from which place our experience starts and from where we speak (Ribeiro, 2017, p. 69).

The thesis is structured into five chapters. In the first chapter, I put forward some of the essential debates in academia and the political field to understand anti-racist movements and practices and concepts of anti-racism; I also get into the discussion about the importance of the 'Black radical tradition' in the struggle against racism. In this sense, I focus on relevant studies on the history and actuality of anti-racism. With this in mind, I integrate the history of anti-racist movements and practices in Portugal into the global history of the struggle against racism. I also write on the role of anti-racism in human rights and the limits of the human rights approach to anti-racism. Debates on racism and race are brought up. For example, the concept of 'racial capitalism' elaborated by Cedric J. Robinson is discussed, which frames the history of capitalism as grounded in racial hierarchies. My thesis also addresses the recent history of the study of racism in Portuguese academia and discusses the effects of lusotropicalism, multiculturalism and interculturality on institutional racism in Portugal. I then write on the vital role of artistic practices in anti-racism.

In the second chapter, the thesis addresses the importance of the first Black political movement in Portugal, which existed between 1911-1933. Many of the results of this chapter are based on the collective effort that Cristina Roldão, José Augusto Pereira and I have made over the past years in the research on this silenced Pan-Africanist generation. This was the first Black movement politically organised in Portugal and the first anti-racist movement. In this chapter, I write on the role of 'silencing the past' (Trouillot, 1995) to understand this generation's disappearance from the narrative of the History of Portugal; I describe their organisations and discuss their political views, notably concerning racism and colonialism. Then I have a final focus on poetry and some other literature written by this generation.

For this chapter, the methodology was based on an extensive analysis of this generation's press that we found in the National Library of Portugal, the General Library of Coimbra University and the Municipal Library of Coimbra; I am referring to the following press titles: *O Negro*, *A Voz D'Africa*, *Tribuna D'Africa*, *O Eco D'Africa*, *Portugal Novo*, *A Nova Pátria*, *O Protesto Indigena*, *Correio de Africa*, *A Mocidade Africana*, *Africa and Africa Magazine*. This chapter analyses this generation by focusing on their Black press and the poetry that appeared on these pages. In addition to the Black press, some of the

Portuguese general press and other Black international press of the time were gathered. The research was also carried out in the PIDE-DGS Archives at the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo to understand the political persecution of some activists. Mário Pinto Andrade's pioneering research on this generation and his archive (placed within the Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation, Lisbon) were also essential for this study. I also explored the Archives of the General Secretariat of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where you can find the founding documents of several organisations. Also significant was the research in the personal archives of W.E.B. Du Bois, available online (Du Bois Papers - Special Collections and University Archives - University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries).

In the third chapter, I discuss anti-racism among the African nationalist generation living in Portugal between the 1940s-1960s, focusing on the initial moment of political awareness. This generation mobilised poetry - mainly in an initial phase - as a form of Black and African affirmation, influenced by the *Négritude* movement and other Black artistic currents of the time. Regarding methodology, I draw mainly on a varied bibliography written about this generation and memoirs of some militants. I also resorted to several books and collections of poetry by various authors. Thus, I analyse anti-racism, racism, blackness and Africanity through the poetry of poets such as Francisco José Tenreiro, Alda Espírito Santo, and Agostinho Neto, among others. In this chapter, I propose a window of analysis that begins in 1942, with Francisco José Tenreiro's first poetry book up until his last poems in 1963, when he died, which marks a fundamental era of this movement of Black poetry.

In the fourth chapter, I focus on the origins of the contemporary anti-racist movement. I suggest that the roots of the current anti-racist movement must be understood from its emergence in the 1990s through the convergence of different social and political groups. I start with a focus on the role of anti-racist, African-immigrant, Roma, neighbourhood organisations and the rap movement. Then I write on the emergence of Black youth activism in the periphery and an autonomous Black movement with the emergence of several organisations. Here I pay particular attention to the role of the rap movement<sup>1</sup>, and I analyse various music lyrics to understand this reality. This chapter is divided into key chronological moments in the struggle against racism, which make it possible to understand

---

<sup>1</sup> I will use the term 'rap movement' and not 'hip-hop movement' intentionally since hip-hop culture integrates others forms of practices, such as graffiti or breakdancing. In Portugal, in the beginning, there was contact with hip-hop culture in its broader sense (breakdancing had a fundamental role back then), but that culture later branched out into a strong rap movement. In Portugal as in other places, hip-hop culture consolidated as a rap movement, which is the centre of my analysis. When I use the term hip-hop, it is in the broader sense.

the transformations that have taken place over the years. It goes from the emergence of an anti-racist movement in the early 1990s until the mobilisations against the racist killing of Alcindo Monteiro in 1995; from the struggle for immigrants and Roma rights to the creation in 1999 of the political network *Rede Anti-Racista*; from the formation of a Black youth activism in the periphery to the street mobilisations of recent years led by the diverse Black and anti-racist organisations.

The archives of organisations such as *SOS Racismo*, *Solidariedade Imigrante* and *Movimento Anti-Racista* were essential to the research in this chapter. Access to these archives was possible thanks to the goodwill of its militants, such as José Falcão, Mamadou Ba, Timóteo Macedo and Ana Barradas, to whom I am very grateful. In these archives, I could find press files, communiqués, pamphlets, posters, publications, photographs, etc. It must be said that in the case of *SOS Racismo*, there has been an archival practice of the anti-racist struggle in a broad sense for many years. Most of the press analysed in this chapter is integrated into these archives. Still, I also searched the online archives of several newspapers, namely, *Público*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Jornal de Notícias* and *Expresso*. The analysis of this press focused from 1990 to 2020. I also explored the RTP Archives (public television) for the anti-racist and rap movement and the Archives of the General Secretariat of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to access the statutes and founding documents of several organisations that I discuss here. For this chapter, I also did 18 in-depth interviews (semi-structured) with founders, current and former leaders of the anti-racist associations, the Black movement and Roma, immigrant and community associations and members of the rap movement. The main objective of these interviews was to understand their activist path, the history of the organisations they founded or were part of and, above all, to learn from their perspectives of the anti-racist movement. It was also fundamental here to search and analyse rap in its poetic, musical and visual aspects.

Indeed, the history of rap in Portugal intersects with the history of several generations of Black artists and neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Lisbon. In my thesis, I set out to study the phenomenon of rap in a specific neighbourhood. My last chapter is thus based on an ethnographic study of a Black-majority community in the periphery of Lisbon, *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)*. In this area, the history of rap and its role as a practice to raise awareness and denounce racism, impoverishment, exclusion, and police violence unites several generations of rappers. I came back to a place where I had already conducted fieldwork in the past. This allowed me to start from a higher level of knowledge, fundamental for my thesis, namely when going through the difficult periods of the COVID-19 pandemic

that prevented the start of this stage of my PhD research. Nowadays, this neighbourhood is being demolished and apparently about to disappear in the next few years.

In this community, since the 1990s, there have been rap groups, many MCs, various beatmakers and videomakers. An important branch of rap created in Portugal - *kriolu rap* - was also strengthened there. I explore the memory that unites rap in this place. Still, to understand this neighbourhood, my interviews and fieldwork expanded from the rap movement members to people who built a community with their own hands and organised themselves so that it would have better conditions. This neighbourhood tells' stories of migration, solidarity and collective organisation against poverty and institutional racism, expressed today, in a 'raw' way, through an unfair demolition process. In this chapter, I look to a neighbourhood that arose from the need and struggle of its inhabitants, where houses and community organisations were built collectively. It is a story of the struggle against 'racial capitalism' and from where new forms of humanity emerged. Methodological issues, namely ethnographic ones, will be developed in a separate section of this chapter (see '5.3 Methodology and the ethnographic approach').

I have aimed to advance the historical and contemporary understanding of anti-racism as a political and social phenomenon in Portugal and internationally. I hope this thesis can contribute to the knowledge of anti-racism more broadly by joining other studies already conducted in different social realities, allowing a better insight into the past, present and future of anti-racism.

This page intentionally left blank



# CHAPTER I - ANTI-RACISM AND RACISM

---

Over several years I challenged myself to think about what anti-racism is or when the anti-racist struggle and anti-racist thought started. This led me down many paths of reflection and social analysis that I bring to this thesis. I begin this chapter with my primary object of study, anti-racism. I address the concepts and understandings of anti-racism and look at the historical moments of anti-racist mobilisations worldwide and in Portugal, bringing to the debate the relevance of the 'Black radical tradition' in the anti-racist context. It can be said that the discussion on what anti-racism is and what its practices are is not very broad, yet some scholars directly address this issue. I also look at the framing of anti-racism within human rights and the limits of this connection. Then I will discuss racism, putting forth some debates around this theme and looking with some detail at the concept of 'racial capitalism', a concept which attempts to understand racism in its origins and nowadays, framing the history of capitalism as grounded in racial hierarchies. Afterwards, focusing on the Portuguese reality, I make a small state-of-the-art about the study on racism in the academy and bring the denunciations of racism by the anti-racist movement and international institutions. Still on the national reality, I discuss the role of lusotropicalism, multiculturalism and interculturality, projects and practices that intersect with racism and anti-racism. In the last part, I turn to the role of artistic practices in anti-racism, thus paving the way for the following chapters.

## 1.1 What is anti-racism?

Anti-racism is a global and heterogeneous set of movements, ideologies, practices, and struggles that seeks to challenge, confront and end racism. Anti-racism, more than just being an opposition to racism, aims to create something new, a world without racial oppression.

Unfortunately, anti-racism as an object of study has not been approach much in academia and the political sphere. However, some authors stand out in this debate, such as Alastair Bonnett (1993, 2000, 2010) and Alana Lentin (2000, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2020), who discussed anti-racism as a concept and set of social movements, researching anti-racist struggles in some European countries; or Herbert Aptheker (1975), Paul Gilroy (1987, 1990) and Ghassan Hage (2016), who also brought some insights into the anti-racist debates,

traditions and practices. The works of David Theo Goldberg (2009, 2015) are also important; while focusing fundamentally on the theme of racism, they also bring in some discussions on anti-racist practices and history.

In 1975, Herbert Aptheker, who was an influential white scholar of African American history and literary executor for W.E.B. Du Bois, stated that there was: “[...] almost no literature treating of the history of anti-racist thought in the United States [...] Similarly, in studies of racism one will certainly find references to rejection of this ideology, but the works are studies of racism, not its opposition.” (Aptheker, 1975, p. 16). As a matter of fact, Aptheker’s concerns about the lack of study and debate on anti-racism can be extended to the present day and other realities outside the USA.

Alastair Bonnett also wrote: “Racism and ethnic discriminations are under continuous historical and sociological examination. Nevertheless, anti-racism is consigned to the status of a ‘cause’, fit only for platitudes of support or denouncement.” (Bonnet, 2000, pp. 1-2). To change this situation, he proposes that anti-racism should be used as an important topic of social scientific, historical, and geographical enquiry. Moreover, he argues that anti-racism is a global phenomenon, a diverse social process, that can easily be associated with democracy, solidarity, freedom, equality, tolerance, respect and dignity. For this scholar, anti-racism was one of the central “liberatory political currents” in the last century:

Anti-racism has been one of the central liberatory currents of the twentieth century. It may be located in the struggle against European colonialism, and in the attempt to form governance. It can be seen at work in the development of forms of education and training that facilitate tolerant and cosmopolitan attitudes, as well as within everyday culture. If we are to be able to build on such work, and identify and oppose racism in the future, the development of and ideologies behind these forms of resistance need to be understood and made the subject of debate. I would also argue that such a project needs to be unsentimental and alert to the contradictions of its subject matter. The history of anti-racism is not simply a story of heroic struggle. Very often it is not the history of heroes at all, but something more mundane, more tarnished, more recognizably a part of all our lives. (Bonnet, 2000, pp. 179-180)

Alana Lentin, in her book, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe*, states that anti-racism is “[...] much spoken-about but a little studied phenomenon.” (Lentin, 2004, p. 306). In another work, Lentin writes that the study of anti-racist discourse and collective social actions has long been ignored as a serious field of research; however, she says that the debate on anti-racism is vital to understanding race and racism (Lentin, 2008, p. 315). Furthermore, Lentin highlights that there is no understanding of anti-racism without raising the question

of race and the debate on racism, for her, anti-racist thought in academia and activism has provided us with most of our current definitions of race and racism (Lentin, 2004, pp. 9-10).

Throughout the course of history, a multitude of organizations and individuals have arisen from the anti-racist movement, advocating diverse methods to bring an end to racism. Like other social and political movements, anti-racism has always been a field of debates and tensions between different perspectives:

There is no golden era of anti-racism, a time when it was not beset by internal conflicts around representation, respectability, or gendered hierarchies, and externally thwarted by paternalism, tokenism, or subsumption under the weightier concerns of class solidarity or universalist feminism. (Lentin, 2020, pp. 105-106)

Alana Lentin also believes that anti-racism must contain a critique of “modern nation-states histories”, “colonialism”, “fascism”, “nazism” and must defend immigrants and human rights (Lentin, 2004, p. 3).

One of the central tensions within the anti-racist political movement has always been between revolutionary/radical perspectives and more reformist/institutionalised ones. As Bonnet puts forth, “[...] while some want to find solutions within the socio-economic status quo and believe that modern societies can be reformed to create racial equality, others see anti-racism as a revolutionary activity.” (Bonnet, 2000, p. 118). One of these tensions has been verified through the contradiction of the initiatives and policies promoted by the state, which often weaken the struggles of the movements. In this context, scholars have warned that states and hegemonic institutions have sometimes co-opted anti-racist discourse and practices. This has often led to silencing and controlling the most transformational forms of anti-racism (see Gilroy, 1987, 1990; Bonnett, 2000; Lentin, 2004, 2011; Goldberg, 2009, 2015). More specifically, Bonnett refers that there is a “[...] frequent co-option of anti-racist radicals by capitalist states.” (Bonnett, 2000, p. 3). And, in the view of Alana Lentin, “[...] the success with which anti-racism has been both appropriated and relativized by the state as well as hegemonic activist voices poses a significant threat.” (Lentin, 2011, p. 159). Alana Lentin (2011) also claims that the need to dismantle the idea of race, formulated by some anti-racist activists and scholars, was subverted in the deconstruction of the experience of racism by an anti-racialist agenda that seeks to relativize the struggle against racism. The danger, she says, is that in the “post-racial” context, racism itself is dissociated from its historical roots.

In 1990, Paul Gilroy, in his article, ‘The end of anti-racism’, criticized anti-racist initiatives that local governments were co-opting in Britain in the 1980s and identified a

crisis inside anti-racism. Back then, he defended that that the liberation of Black people went beyond opposition to racism:

[...] there is more to the emancipation of blacks than opposition to racism, particularly when racism is itself viewed as separable from wider political processes. These have come to include the emergence of an integrated Europe. [...] In this way, 'anti-racism', which also tends to trivialise black life as nothing more than a response to racism, has come to be discredited. (Gilroy, 1990, p. 71)

Alana Lentin stands that Gilroy's critiques were on what "[...] became known as the 'race relations industry', mainly the activities of local government in the domain of multiculturalism." (Lentin, 2004, p. 191). Paul Gilroy also criticised the versions of anti-racism mobilised by institutions and many anti-racist organisations in Britain, as these were placing Black people only as victims, ignoring the complexity of Black life and its potentialities:

There is every likelihood that the versions of anti-racism I have criticised will wither away as the local state structures on which they have relied are destroyed by the conflict with central government. But anti-racist activities encapsulate one final problem which may outlive them. This is the disastrous way in which they have trivialised the rich complexity of black life by reducing it to nothing more than a response to racism. More than any other issue this operation reveals the extent of the anti-racists' conceptual trading with the racists and the results of embracing their culturalist assumptions. Seeing in black life nothing more than an answer to racism means moving on to the ideological circuit which makes us visible in two complementary roles - the problem and the victim. Anti-racism seems very comfortable with this idea of blacks as victims. (Gilroy, 1990, p. 83)

Regarding also what can be seen as the limits of anti-racism, João H. Costa Vargas argues that the analytical category 'racism' is not adequate to analyse the experiences of Black people, since in his perspective 'racism' assumes that "[...] black experiences and non-black experiences are analogous and, therefore, commensurable [...]" and thus is a category that "[...] does not account for the uniqueness of black experiences."<sup>2</sup> (Vargas, 2020, p. 16). In this context, for Vargas, racism should be replaced by the category 'anti-blackness' when we are analysing the experience and struggles of Black people. From his perspective, antiracism "seeks a recalibrated world" being reformist or wanting radical transformation and the anti-antiblackness "requires an unqualified rupture" struggling for an abolition (Vargas, 2021).

The 1990s were also the years of the rise of the European Union (EU) slogan, "All Different, All Equal", a watchword also main streamed in Portugal. This was an institutional response to the rise of violence perpetrated by fascist groups and the radicalization of the

---

<sup>2</sup> "Por supor que experiências negras e experiências não negras são análogas e, portanto, comensuráveis, o racismo não dá conta da singularidade das experiências negras."

anti-racist struggle. Remembering those times, Alana Lentin wrote critically about this campaign:

I looked back to my own involvement, notably in Europe-wide campaigns financed and coordinated under the auspices of the European institutions, and remembered the anger of Black people at the lack of representativity, the platitude of slogans in black and white – ‘All Different-All Equal’ – and of institutional promises of practical ‘followup’ that materialised only in the glaring orange-coloured posters produced two years later for the European Union Year Against Racism. Images and symbols – half black face, half white; slogans – ‘Racism, it’s all the same shit!’; media awards, ‘ethnic’ food fests, Cheb Khaled: they’d solve it. What made some anti-racisms like this? (Lentin, 2004, p. 5)

Paul Gilroy warned also about the tension between the anti-racist strands that placed anti-fascism at the centre (an anti-racism driven mainly by anti-fascist thinking) and those that saw anti-racism more broadly. The differences between anti-fascist and anti-racist perspectives on the struggle against racism have been one of the tensions within the movement for decades, namely in Portugal. This tension remains nowadays, where different perspectives sometimes arise between anti-fascist groups (mostly white-led) and Black activists. On these tensions in Britain Gilroy wrote:

A tension exists between those strands in anti-racism which are primarily anti-fascist and those which work with a more extensive and complex sense of what racism is in contemporary Britain. This simplistic anti-fascist emphasis attempts to mobilise the memory of earlier encounters with the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. The racists are a problem because they are descended from the brown and black shirted enemies of earlier days. To oppose them is a patriotic act; their own use of national flags and symbols is nothing more than a sham masking their terroristic inclinations. (Gilroy, 1990, p. 73)

On these tensions, Alana Lentin also noted that, “While being anti-racist does not imply neglecting the campaign against the rise in far-right activity, contrary to anti-fascism it generally goes beyond equating racism exclusively with the activities of the extreme Right.” (Lentin, 2004, p. 219). Unlike anti-fascist perspectives on the struggle against racism, which direct their struggle almost exclusively against the far-right and its relation to fascism and nazism, an anti-racist perspective looks more broadly at racism in our society, struggling against its everyday forms, against violence by far-right groups and also its institutional forms perpetrated by the state:

Anti-racism conceives of racism multiply, as wearing different guises and emerging both from within the institutions of the state to cause discrimination and as the often violent expressions of hatred by individuals, sometimes on behalf of a far-right grouplet [...] (Lentin, 2004, p. 219)

David Theo Goldberg has also brought in another key debate, the distinction between 'anti-racism', 'anti-racialism', and 'non-racialism'. Although they often come with

the same label, he considers that anti-racialism and non-racialism are not truly anti-racist practices, repeatedly having the opposite effect.

Anti-racialism seeks only to “end racial reference” and it unfolds a politics of domination where the power supposedly seeking to respond to racism tries to erase the evidence of racism instead of combating its structures and effects (Goldberg, 2015, p. 162). The anti-racist perspective emerged mainly in response to the brutality of the Holocaust, which led to institutional and state rejection of the existence of biological races in order to hierarchically classify humans. In this sense, Barnor Hesse has indicated the centrality of Western experience of the Jewish Holocaust for the constitution of a hegemonic understanding of racism: “Western political culture has inherited a hegemonic concept of racism that foregrounds those meanings associated with the anti-fascist critiques of the Jewish Holocaust [...]” and this led to the “[...] foreclosing subaltern anti-colonial critiques centred on Western Imperialism.” (Hesse, 2004a, p. 9). These anti-racist perspectives that focus primarily on the experience of the Holocaust, ignoring the persistence of racism in its current structural form, often lead to the silencing of the broader anti-racist struggle:

Anti-racialism is to take a stand, instrumental or institutional, against a concept, a name, a category, a categorizing. It does not itself involve standing (up) against (a set of) conditions of being or living, as it is not always clear what those conditions might in fact be for which race is considered to stand as a sort of shorthand. [...] Anti-racism, by contrast, conjures a stance against an imposed condition, or set of conditions, an explicit refusal or a living of one’s life in such a way one refuses the imposition, whether one is a member of the subjugated population or the subjugating one. It is an insistence that one not be reduced, at least not completely, to or by the implications marked by the imposition and constraint, by the devaluation and attendant humiliation. At the limit, anti-racism is the risk of death, the willingness to forego life, perhaps at once the measure of the severity of the imposition, dislocation, and curtailment, and of the seriousness of the commitment. There clearly is no evidence of anti-racialism ever commanding that sort of risk. (Goldberg, 2009, p. 10)

Anti-racialism is opposed to a concept of categorisation and against the biological race but is not against racism in itself. Moreover, if, on the one hand, it is known today that races do not exist on a biological level, they persist on a social level as a historical and power construction. While avoiding taking this into consideration, anti-racialism often silences the existence of racism.

As for the non-racist perspective, Goldberg contends that it tends to “[...] signify a retrospective state of being [...]”, always in contrast to the conditions it claims to be denying (2015, p. 163). Non-racialism is the negation of racial conditions and oppressions. Goldberg, also states that: “Institutional multiculturalism effectively became, from the 1970s to the new millennium, this naming of the racially unnameable. Where the non-racial, the

negation or distinctive denial, mutes the racial and raciality mutates into multiculturalism.” (*ibidem*, p. 22). The author then asks: “Is it possible to be non-racial in a society historically constituted and continuing as multi-racial, and on what terms? (*ibidem*, p. 170). The answer can be that as long as racism exists in our society, a non-racial perspective often hides the existing racism.

Goldberg argues that unlike 'anti-racialism' and 'non-racialism', 'anti-racism' is present, active, activist rather than passive, and forward-looking, conceived as a set of provisions and commitments; anti-racism is an ongoing process in its realisation (Goldberg, 2005, pp. 162-169). Furthermore, if anti-racialism only intends to eliminate the racial reference without confronting racism, anti-racism is committed to ending the material and symbolic injustices of racism. Anti-racism is not only against the racist past and present, but it also intends to do so within an affirmative set of ideals, as it wants to dream of what a society without racist structures would be like. Goldberg also advocates the importance of what he designates as “racial anti-racism”, which “[...] sometimes requires racial identification both to recognize those targeted by racist orderings and to respond by offsetting the debilitating effects.” (*ibidem*, p. 164) Therefore, anti-racism can take the form of affirmative action or racially based reparations. Invoking race in such cases is vital to identify those who have suffered the legacy of racist injustice. He states: “Here racial invocation or identification is pragmatic, a somewhat paradoxical or enigmatic means to social life beyond the limiting conditions of the racial.” (*ibidem*, p. 164).

A known quote from Angela Davis says, “In a racist society, it’s not enough to be non-racist; we must be anti-racist”. This African American political activist, philosopher and academic has been an essential voice in linking racism with other forms of oppression in our society, crossing anti-racist philosophy with socialism and feminism. Her interpretation of anti-racism predisposes an action of change, a desire to end and bring something new, and, above all, a warning not to ignore racism and to be proactive against it. Here I outlined some crucial debates on what anti-racism is, bringing important theoretical discussions on this topic. In the next part, I will discuss the centrality of the ‘Black radical tradition’ for the anti-racist thought and practices.

## 1.2 At the heart of anti-racism: the ‘Black radical tradition’

Black struggles and Black political thought have been crucial pillars against racism for centuries. Specifically, the ‘Black radical tradition’ is an essential part and source for the anti-racist movements, struggles, ideas, and practices. Cedric J. Robinson developed the idea of ‘Black radical tradition’ in his book *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (1983). In his perspective, “The Black radical tradition was an accretion, over generations, of collective intelligence gathered from struggle.” (p. xxx), a necessity against ‘racial capitalism’ and “[...] for liberation and motivated by the shared sense of obligation to preserve the collective being, the ontological totality.” (Robinson, 1983, p. 171).

The ‘Black radical tradition’ combines liberatory projects shaped by modes of Black and African resistance, ideas and struggles that developed out of the conditions of slavery, colonialism and against ‘racial capitalism’. Robinson states that: “The resoluteness of the Black radical tradition advances as each generation assembles the data of its experience to an ideology of liberation.” (*ibidem*, p. 317). He bases his analysis on an interpretation of capitalism as inherently racist, an idea I will develop later in this chapter. Through a “Historical Archaeology of the Black Radical Tradition” he looks into the past of Black resistance struggles against slavery, colonialism and oppression in South America, the Caribbean and North America, focusing for instance on the autonomy processes of the *Quilombo dos Palmares* and the Maroons communities:

For those African men and women whose lives were interrupted by enslavement and transportation, it was reasonable to expect that they would attempt, and in some ways realize, the recreation of their lives. It was not, however, an understanding of the Europeans that preserved those Africans in the grasp of slavers, planters, merchants, and colonizers. Rather, it was the ability to conserve their native consciousness of the world from alien intrusion, the ability to imaginatively re-create a precedent metaphysic while being subjected to enslavement, racial domination, and repression. This was the raw material of the Black radical tradition, the values, ideas, conceptions, and constructions of reality from which resistance was manufactured. And in each instance of resistance, the social and psychological dynamics that are shared by human communities in long-term crises resolved for the rebels the particular moment, the collective and personal chemistries that congealed into social movement. But it was the materials constructed from a shared philosophy developed in the African past and transmitted as culture, from which revolutionary consciousness was realized and the ideology of struggle formed. [...] The first forms of struggle in the Black radical tradition, however, were not structured by a critique of Western society but from a rejection of European slavery and a revulsion of racism in its totality. Even then, the more fundamental impulse of Black resistance was the preservation of a particular social and historical consciousness rather than the revolutionary transformation of feudal or merchant capitalist Europe. Why the pathology of race was so dominant a part of Western consciousness or what might be done to change that character was of less concern than how Black peoples might survive the encounter. This perhaps is part of the explanation of why, so often, Black slave resistance naturally evolved to marronage as the manifestation of the African’s



determination to disengage, to retreat from contact. To reconstitute the community, Black radicals took to the bush, to the mountains, to the interior. (Robinson, 1983, pp. 309-310)

Robinson highlights the importance of the Haitian Revolution and the struggles in Africa, what he calls “Revolt at the Source”. Then the author deepens a discussion on the thought of Black radical intellectuals such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Richard Wright, and C.L.R. James. About the last, Robinson states: “The force of the Black radical tradition merged with the exigencies of Black masses in movement to form a new theory and ideology in James's writings.” (Robinson, 1983, p. 272).

As put forth by Mohammed Elnaiem: “The Black radical tradition is a rich and vibrant tapestry woven by the blood, sweat, and tears of so many Black people. [...] the Black radical tradition is an international legacy of resistance that continues until the present.” (Elnaiem, 2021). In other respects, George Lipsitz, claims that Robinson's research shows how the pillars of the construction of a “Black humanity” came from the most oppressed segments of Black society:

The “Black” in the Black radical tradition is a politics rather than a pigment, a culture rather than a color. Yet this Blackness does not presume a unified homogeneous community with only one set of interests, needs, and desires. On the contrary, Robinson's research reveals that the key building blocks for Black survival, Black humanity, and Black democracy came from the lower rungs of Black society, from the plantations and slave quarters [...]. (Lipsitz, 2020)

In the words of Robinson, since the ‘Black radical tradition’ was driven from racial antagonism, it was inevitably transformed into a radical force. In its most militant manifestations, ideas of overthrowing the entire racial structure were formed:

As the Black radical tradition was distilled from the racial antagonisms which were arrayed along a continuum from the casual insult to the most ruthless and lethal rules of law; from the objectifications of entries in marine cargo manifests, auction accountancy, plantation records, broadsheets and newspapers; from the loftiness of Christian pulpits and biblical exegesis to the minutia of slave-naming, dress, types of food, and a legion of other significations, the terrible culture of race was revealed. Inevitably, the tradition was transformed into a radical force. And in its most militant manifestation, no longer accustomed to the resolution that flight and withdrawal were sufficient, the purpose of the struggles informed by the tradition became the overthrow of the whole race-based structure. (Robinson, 1983, p. xxxi)

Barnor Hesse and Juliet Hooker write that the ‘Black radical tradition’ proposed by Robinson, “acts as a site of critical thought” and “provincializes and problematizes” the idea of Western normativity: “[...] reinhabiting it with a critical marking and interrogation of modernity's colonial foundations, thereby conceptualizing race as constitutive of the episteme of Western normative rule.” (Hesse & Hooker, 2017, p. 445). Anthony Bogues also argues that the ‘Black radical tradition’:

[...] is a distinct political and intellectual tradition in which the markers are African and African Diaspora elaborations of ideas, practices, cultural and literary forms, as well as religious formations and political philosophy. It is not a tradition which should be simply located as a geographic one, but rather, like all other intellectual and political traditions, is characterised by the questions which it poses. This means that the black radical tradition has never been a negative response and/or simple negation of the West, but rather, that it has posed critical questions which faced human life at different historical periods. (Bogues, 2011, pp. 484-485)

Paul Gilroy disputes the term 'Black radical tradition' suggested by Robinson. In Gilroy's perspective, 'Black radical tradition': "[...] turns both illuminating and misleading [...]" because it can suggest that the "[...] radical elements of this tradition are its dominant characteristics and because the idea of tradition can [...] sound too closed, too final, and too antithetical to the subaltern experience of modernity which has partially conditioned the development of these cultural forms." (Gilroy, 1993, p. 122).

At the end of his book, Robinson, after referring to the deep problems that the world was going through, states that Black people cannot be the only solution for the world, however, in the face of such injustices a 'Black radical tradition' formed in opposition to that 'civilization' is part of the answer for change:

It is not the province of one people to be the solution or the problem. But a civilization maddened by its own perverse assumptions and contradictions is loose in the world. A Black radical tradition formed in opposition to that civilization and conscious of itself is one part of the solution. Whether the other oppositions generated from within Western society and without will mature remains problematical. But for now we must be as one. (Robinson, 1983, p. 318)

Robin D. G. Kelley, in his book *Freedom dreams: the Black radical imagination* (2002), progresses through the struggles and projects for new societies brought by Black movements and thinkers, mainly from the diaspora. Elaborating on what he calls the 'Black radical imagination', the author elaborates on the projects coming out of the struggles of the Black movement for liberation. In his words the 'Black radical imagination': "[...] is a collective imagination engaged in an actual movement for liberation. It is fundamentally a product of struggle, of victories and losses, crises and openings, and endless conversations circulating in a shared environment." (2002, p. 151). The scholar addresses the first dreams of 'Back To Africa' ("Dreams of the New Land"); the Black marxism and Black liberation movements ("Red Dreams of Black Liberation"); the Black 'third world' political projects ("Third World Dreaming"); the long struggle for reparations ("Dreams of Reparations"); the transformational struggle of Black feminists ("Black Feminist Dreams"); and highlighting the centrality of the arts, focuses on the importance of surrealism for new Black visions of the world ("Dreams of the Marvelous"). All these liberatory projects and movements set out

to end racism and imagine a better world for Black people and beyond. For example, in the case of Black radical feminism, as put forth by Kelley:

Radical black feminists have never confined their vision to just the emancipation of black women or women in general, or all Black people for that matter. Rather, they are the theorists and proponents of a radical humanism committed to liberating humanity and reconstructing social relations across the board. (Kelley, 2002, p. 137)

Angela Davis writes that the 'Black radical tradition' is a tradition that can be "claimed by people everywhere." (Davis, 2016, p. 100). Furthermore, focusing on the USA, she also says: "[...] we celebrate Black history [...] because it is a centuries-old struggle to achieve and expand freedom for us all. [...] Black history is indeed American history, but it is also world history." (*ibidem*, p. 100).

There has been an important discussion about the central place of women in the Black liberation movements. Looking at the reality of the USA, bell hooks, for whom the anti-racist struggle is everyone's task, "Whites, people of colour, and blacks" (1995, p. 269), highlights the centrality of Black women's activism, both in the Black liberation movement and in the feminist movement. For her, they were and are essential to a progressive vision of anti-racism and anti-sexism:

Black women active in the struggle for black liberation and all social movements advocating women's rights both in the past and in the present have continually resisted this devaluation. Our resistance has intensified as we have struggled to place transforming cultural attitudes about the representation of black women on the agendas of both black liberation movement and contemporary feminist movement. Indeed, militant black female resistance to racist/sexist representations of our reality gained momentum as individual black women asserted leadership in both the production of feminist theory and feminist political practice. Working to critically interrogate and challenge racist/sexist representations, revolutionary feminist black women have offered to all Black people, and everyone else, a progressive anti-racist, anti-sexist standpoint that fundamentally alters old ways of thinking about black female reality. Though well received by black women who are struggling to decolonize their minds and educate themselves for political consciousness (and our allies in struggle), these resistance efforts are continually undermined by white supremacist capitalist patriarchal assaults on black womanhood. Those assaults are evident in the mass media which continue to serve as the primary propaganda machine for the dissemination of white supremacist capitalist patriarchal thought and values. (hooks, 1995, p. 78)

Philosophies and political projects are born from the 'Black radical tradition', the 'Black radical imagination' and the Black women's struggle. In these 'traditions', 'imaginings' and 'struggles' we find thoughts and policies that are central to anti-racism, for in fact they are at the heart of the anti-racist struggle.

### 1.3 The long history of the anti-racist struggle and thought

Herbert Aptheker wrote that “The history of anti-slavery begins with the first slave; similarly, the history of anti-racism begins with the original object of scorn, derision and insult.” (1975, p. 18). Furthermore, he writes “[...] just as the anti-slavery movement was not confined to slaves or to Black people, so anti-racism was not confined to the immediate objects of its attack.” (*ibidem*, p. 18). Although I understand the proposal that anti-racism started with the first acts of discrimination; my focus is on the constitution of anti-racism, as a movement or collective mobilisation, i.e., when it became more organized. From this perspective, I agree with Alana Lentin’s claim that the roots of anti-racism are in the abolitionist movement, and then developed in the anti-colonial struggle, in the autonomous Black and immigrant-led movements, such as the civil rights and Black Power formations, and after in the South-African action against Apartheid (Lentin, 2008, p. 312). I would also add the enslaved rebellions of the 18th and 19th centuries to the abolitionist movement.

Lentin’s analysis of the anti-racist movement in Europe, based on her fieldwork in France, Britain, Ireland, and Italy, concludes that anti-racism, as a publicly recognised form of political organisation, emerged in Europe in places such as Britain and France, especially after the World War II in reaction to fascism and anti-Semitism, and soon after in the struggle of non-European immigrants. Italy and Ireland, on the other hand, “[...] witnessed the first purposefully anti-racist organisations in the early 1990s in response to racism against immigrants [...]” (Lentin, 2004, p. 16).

Nevertheless, she underlines that “Anti-racism was not a new phenomenon; anti-slavery and self-help movements became established in Europe during the nineteenth century and were complemented, come the 1920s, by the work of anti-racist scientists [...]” (Lentin, 2004 p. 72). She states that, before anti-racism emerged as a publicly recognised form of political organisation in Europe, there were already organised groups of Jews that fought against racism between the two World Wars, in particular in France. She also addresses the importance of the Pan-African Conferences in Europe and movements around them in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as precursors of contemporary anti-racism.

David Theo Goldberg (2009, pp. 10-30) also highlights that there were three significant periods of broad and international anti-racist mobilisation throughout history: the abolitionist movement, mainly the enslaved rebellions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (in his words, the Haitian Revolution might be said to mark this movement); the anti-colonial and civil rights movements from the beginnings of 1920s until the 1970s; and the anti-Apartheid and

multicultural movements of the 1970s until the 1990s. Bear in mind that Goldberg includes in the abolitionist movement the revolts of enslaved people (notably the Haitian Revolution). It is important to think about the abolitionist movement in this broader way.

Ghassan Hage believes that the anti-racist social movement has a long history, from the opposition to slavery to the anti-colonial struggles, from the civil rights movement in the USA to the anti-Apartheid struggle. Today it is also reflected in the actions in support of asylum seekers and against Israeli treatment of Palestinians (Hage, 2016, p. 123).

Alastair Bonnett (2000) states that we cannot consider anti-racism before the 20<sup>th</sup> century since it is in this century that the concept/word of racism starts to be used. In its etymological analysis, he states that ‘racialism’ can be found in English dictionaries in 1902, ‘racism’ in 1932 and ‘racist’ in 1936. He then writes that “The term ‘anti-racism’ is a twentieth-century creation. Indeed, it did not appear in regular usage until the 1960s (and even then, it was largely confined to English - and French-speaking countries).” (Bonnett, 2000, p. 10). However, I ask, do we need the term anti-racist to understand a struggle as being against racism? Is it also necessary for the concept of feminism to appear in history for us to admit that only at that moment women fought for their rights? I do not believe it’s necessary to come up with a word for us to acknowledge that before the word appeared, there were already struggles and political movements that may be comprehended only by the concept we confer to it afterwards. What can we say about these words written in 1802, during the enslaved revolution, in the constitution of Saint-Domingue [then Haiti]?

There cannot exist slaves on this territory, servitude is therein forever abolished. All men are born, live and die free and French. [...] All men, regardless of colour, are eligible to all employment. [...] No other distinctions exist than those of virtues and talents, nor any other superiority than that granted by the law in the exercise of a public charge. The law is the same for all, whether it punishes or protects. (Saint-Domingue Constitution (1801), article 1, 2 and 3)

Are they not anti-racist demands and concepts at the dawn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century? I do believe so, “All men, regardless of colour” they said. It is obvious that the anti-racist struggle already existed before the terms ‘racism’ and ‘anti-racism’ appeared. It is also in this sense that I embrace the argument that frames the abolitionist struggle as part of the anti-racist movement. The abolitionist movement must be understood in a broad way, including the great Haitian Revolution and the uprisings it influenced, as well as the most recognized abolitionist militancy against slavery and against Atlantic Slave Trade that emerged in the Americas and in Europe and that integrated white and Black people (the last often forgotten in the history of this movement). On the relevance of the Haitian Revolution for the dawn of the anti-racist movement, Goldberg states:

The Haitian Revolution (1791–1803) seeking independence from enslaving French rule might be said to mark the initiation also of anti-racist movements. Embracing the racial ambiguities of both American and French Revolutions regarding human and political equality and the Rights of Man, abolitionist slave revolts followed the Haitian example throughout the European orbit, marking most of the nineteenth century. They sought to throw off the yokes of degradation, alienation, economic exploitation, political and legal subordination that combined to fashion the peculiar mode, style, and substance of racist subjugation. The slave revolts thus were not only about inclusion or incorporation into Euro-dominant social orders and civil societies but the very transfiguration of the given and the commonplace, of civil society and the state. (Goldberg, 2009, pp. 10-11)

I should also add here the importance of forms of resistance to colonialism or slavery prior to the abolitionist movement and enslaved rebellions of the 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries: such as processes of resistance against European occupation in various parts of the world and the liberation experiences of *Quilombismo/Cimarronage*. However, there is still a lack of further debate to understand whether these experiences should be included in a broader political anti-racist mobilisation.

Hakim Adi, in his book *Pan-Africanism: A History* (2018), also reminds us that, for example, before Pan-Africanist movement was consolidated in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were earlier efforts by Africans to unite against racism and slavery:

Before the concepts of Pan-African and Pan-Africanism fully emerged at the end of the nineteenth century there were various organized efforts by Africans in the diaspora during the eighteenth century to unite to combat racism, to campaign for an end to the kidnapping and trafficking of Africans, or to organize to repatriate to the African continent. In Britain, for example, there appear to have been several informal efforts before African abolitionists, led by Olaudah Equiano (c.1745–1797) and Ottobah Cugoana (c.1757–?), formed the Sons of Africa organization in the 1780s to campaign for an end to Britain's participation in the trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans. The Sons of Africa appears to have been one of the first Pan-African organizations. Its members came from different parts of West Africa but as a consequence of enslavement and forced migration, found themselves in England where they organized collectively to find solutions to the common problems they faced. The Sons of Africa wrote letters to the press, lobbied Parliament, jointly addressed the Quakers and co-operated with other abolitionists and radicals as part of the wider campaign against the trafficking of Africans and for the rights of all. (Adi, 2018, p. 7)

Engaging the perspectives of Lentin (2004, 2008), Goldberg (2009), Hage (2016) for the understanding of the main anti-racist movements around the world, I propose this chronological systematisation of different key historical processes that have shaped anti-racism and which are fundamental to my analysis:

1. Enslaved rebellions/the abolitionist movement (18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries)
2. African 'proto-nationalism', Black nationalism and Pan-African Conferences Era (1900s -1940s).
3. USA civil rights struggle and Black Power movement (1950s-1970s).

4. Anti-colonial movement /African Nationalism/Anti-imperialism (1940s-1970s).
5. Anti-Apartheid struggle (1940s-1990s).
6. Anti-racist and immigrant European movement (1940s-2000s).
7. Black Lives Matter international struggle; Indigenous and Immigrant movements; Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement for Palestine (BDS) (2000s-2020s).

Regarding the origins of anti-racist thought, it is inevitable to expect that it appeared in different minds as soon as racism emerged in Europe around the 15<sup>th</sup> century; however, a more solid critique was built up later. Goldberg argues that although European counter-racial conceptions against the naturalisation of domination began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they did not, in fact, annul the racial commitment, however according to him, we can call this the first anti-racism:

This initial counter - or anti-racism was first expressed by the likes of Las Casas in the debate with Sepulveda in the 1550s, in ways that began to make evident the role of the state in racial determination. This initiating counter-tradition of the racial found non-European human groups not to be inherently inferior. So the first, perhaps most obvious, expression of anti-racism, in both historical and conceptual form, could be marked in terms of its anti-naturalizing commitment. (Goldberg, 2015, p. 14)

It is also worth mentioning the ongoing work by José Lingna Nafafé on the pioneering struggle of Lourenço da Silva Mendonça, an exiled prince from the Kingdom of Pungo a Ndongo (nowadays Angola) who fought against slavery in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After living in Brazil, Portugal and Spain, he filed a criminal case in 1684, in the Vatican, against transatlantic slavery, with the support of Black religious brotherhoods: “The court case Mendonça presented called for the liberation not just of Black Africans, but also of other Atlantic constituencies such as New Christians and the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Mendonças’ claim for freedom was a universal one.” (Nafafé, 2019).

David Graeber and David Wengrow’s book, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (2021), shows us how an Indigenous American critique of European society emerged in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The authors claim that this critique has influenced European Enlightenment philosophers in their values of equality, freedom and justice. The authors argue that Native American populations provided an important counter-model to European societies and an essential critique of their hierarchies, laws and moneyed behaviour, which entered European thought through travellers' accounts and influence on missionaries and was assimilated into the analyses of Enlightenment thinkers. David Graeber

and David Wengrow ask in their book: “But why then insist that all significant forms of human progress before the twentieth century can be attributed only to that one group of humans who used to refer to themselves as ‘the white race’ (and now, generally, call themselves by its more accepted synonym, ‘Western civilization’)?” (Graeber & Wengrow, 2021, p. 26).

European Enlightenment in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was central to strengthening racism through ideas of racial hierarchies, particularly responsible for the emergence of scientific racism. During this period, several thinkers emerged in Europe defending freedom and equality between men, mostly between white men, the supposedly civilized. Many of these thinkers had contradictory philosophies of justice, particularly when these did not reach women or racialised people. These ideas influenced events such as the North American Revolution (1765-1791) and the French Revolution (1789-1799). However, these revolutions did not overcome slavery or inequality between races. In the case of France, which firstly abolished slavery and implemented it again with Napoleon Bonaparte in power. It was only in Haiti that a successful revolution for racial equality happened; leading to the abolition of slavery at the hands of what C.L.R. James called the ‘Black Jacobins’ (1938), where the prominent leaders, such as Toussaint Louverture, were inspired by the French revolution ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, “[...] principles whose radical implications he [Toussaint Louverture] could see more clearly than the empire that destroyed him in order to re-enslave his people.” (Figuerola, 2009, p. 1009). In the words of C.L.R. James: “The blacks were taking their part in the destruction of European feudalism begun by the French Revolution, and liberty and equality, the slogans of the revolution, meant far more to them than to any Frenchman.” (1938, p. 198). In the context of the North American and French Revolutions and their racial ambiguities, many abolitionist slave revolts followed the Haitian example, a revolutionary process that shaped most of the nineteenth century and was central to the ‘Black radical tradition’ (see Robinson, 1983, pp. 144-149).

It is also relevant to mention the importance of some anti-racist thinkers within Anthropology (one of the central academic fields responsible for the growth of scientific racism and the solidification of colonialism) at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. I highlight the often-forgotten Haitian anthropologist Anténor Firmin, author of the book *De l'Égalité des Races Humaines* (1885) or the known German-born North American with Jew ancestry, Franz Boas, that raised essential debates against scientific racism and used his ethnographic research to show that there was no scientific basis for hierarchising human races or white peoples’ superiority (see King, 2019).



Firmin's book was published in 1885 in Paris as a response to Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* and the racist anthropology of the nineteenth century (see Fluehr-Lobban, 2000). In his work, Firmin stated that "The races are equal":

Returning to the truth, they will realize that human beings everywhere are endowed with the same qualities and defects, without distinctions based on colour or anatomical shape. The races are equal; they are all capable of rising to the most noble virtues, of reaching the highest intellectual development; they are equally capable of falling into a state of total degeneration. (Firmin, 1885, p. 450)

Mário Pinto de Andrade, in his posthumous book *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano* (1997a), dedicates a chapter to racism, anti-racism and the "values of the black-African civilisation" (pp. 57-73). He argues that the issue of race is a specific history of the European West since scientific racism was built there to justify Black Slave Trade. Then he writes on the relevance of the European Enlightenment to the development of racism and the specific role of anthropology in the history of both racism and anti-racism. He situates the Haitian Revolution at the centre of the struggle for equality and highlights the role of Anténor Firmin's book to refute Gobineau's racist thesis. Andrade also highlights the role of the Black educator, Edward Wilmot Blyden, for the rehabilitation of Black civilisation and the construction of a Black-African humanism.

W.E.B. Du Bois was also a very important activist and scholar who put forth fundamental discussions within the academy. He studied at the Fisk University, University of Berlin and Harvard University and became a professor at Atlanta University; however, his work as a sociologist and historian is still much overlooked. In sociology, he pioneered the study of the oppression of Black people in the USA (Du Bois, 1903), and as historian, uncovered the influence of African-Americans in the country's history (Du Bois, 1935). He popularized and dwelt on ideas such as the 'colour line' and 'double consciousness'. His book, *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), along with that of C.L.R. James's *The Black Jacobins* (1938) and the *American Negro Slave Revolts* (1943) from Herbert Aptheker's, were fundamental to their time, sustaining the view that the colonised and the racialised people had been central in the fight against racial discrimination (see Bhattacharyya, Virdee & Winter, 2020, p. 3). Du Bois was also the leader of one of the largest USA anti-racist organisations of his time, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) and editor of the important newspaper *The Crisis*; and was one of the main organizers of the Pan-Africanist movement in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In this part I discussed anti-racism, seeking to understand the anti-racist struggles, views and mobilisations. In this context, I propose a historical periodisation for its study. Now I am going to analyse the place of anti-racism in human rights.

## 1.4 Anti-racism in human rights and its limits

Under the big umbrella of human rights, anti-racism has taken an important place, and, over time, movements against racism have also used human rights discourse and institutions in their favour. In the Haitian Revolution, enslaved people and Black people “[...] insisted that human rights were theirs too.” (Laurent Dubois, 2004, p. 3); and after World War II, “The development of the UN human rights regime occurred primarily through the search for an effective international response to racism.” (Sian, Law & Sayyid, 2013, p. xii); in the period of the anti-colonial struggles in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, political movements promoted national self-determination as a human right; and the struggle against South African Apartheid was the first ongoing human rights violation that United Nations confronted. The anti-Apartheid movement was the “[...] main driver in establishing the first United Nations-sponsored human rights treaty, with a monitoring body: the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), adopted in 1965 [...]” (Tsutsui, Whitlinger & Lim, 2012, p. 373).

Human rights are a powerful tool to achieve equal status and laws, and they have the capacity to dialogue with different realities and movements. By opening new possibilities, they have the power to let people dream of other and better societies. According to Costas Douzinas (2007, p. 2), human rights are the ongoing history of closing the existing gap between the concept of an abstract human and the real human. For centuries, women, racialised people, enslaved people, workers, indigenous peoples, peasants, or LGBTQIA+ dreamed and fought to be included in the ‘humanity’ of human rights, from which they were excluded. However, human rights discourse also has limits (Moyn, 2017), and their institutional frames can silence the specific rights of humans (Bhramba & Shilliam, 2009).

Human rights discourse has often been perversely used to justify wars and invasions: as in the case of NATOS’ bombing of Ex-Yugoslavia (1999), the invasion of Afghanistan (2001-2021) and the occupation of Iraq (2003-2011). The anthropologist Jaime Amparo Alves (2014, p. 3) also addresses the limits of human rights when we are speaking about racialised people that are deemed to be outlawed, abject and non-human. In his view,

there are difficulties for Black people to reclaim membership in the human community because they are not considered fully humans: “It is one thing to lose the status of humanity; it is another to be by definition outside such a domain.” (Amparo Alves, 2014, p. 12).

Samuel Moyn (2017, 2018a, 2018b) has extensively argued that human rights are limited as an emancipatory project. He understands them as a strong discourse to achieve equal status but argues that in fact they fail to promote social and economic equality. He argues that they are too weak to structure egalitarian social movements. If we are worried about equality, we also need different movements along with those we already have (Moyn, 2018b). He believes that human rights as a project are compatible with inequality, even radical inequality, and that is why they failed to confront neoliberalism, becoming its “powerless companion”:

Neoliberalism has changed the world, while the human rights movement has posed no threat to it. The tragedy of human rights is that they have occupied the global imagination but have so far contributed little of note, merely nipping at the heels of the neoliberal giant whose path goes unaltered and unresisted. And the critical reason that human rights have been a powerless companion of market fundamentalism is that they simply have nothing to say about material inequality. (Moyn, 2017, p. 5)

Moyn concludes that there is no reason for human rights movements to be the powerless partners of the neoliberal project, arguing that they need to do more than call only for a neoliberal human face. He believes that “the age of human rights” has not been kind to equality because it is also the age of the victory of the rich (Moyn, 2018a, p. 2). However, he does not consider that human rights activism or proposals are irrelevant; indeed, he states that they are crucial for social emancipation, but we need other emancipatory tools along with human rights:

Human Rights became our highest ideals only as material hierarchy remained endemic or worsened. Human rights emerged as the highest morality of an unequal world, in a neoliberal circumstance its partisans struggled to humanize, only to find themselves accused of complicity with it. Human rights activists should not desire that companionship, even if they decide that their role is not to argue for equality. More important, their audience should not believe human rights are the only or even the main keys to unlock the portal to the world’s future. Human rights will return to their defensible importance only when humanity saves itself from its low ambitions. If it does, for the sake of local and global welfare, sufficiency and equality can again become powerful companions, both in our moral lives and in our political enterprises. (Moyn, 2018a, p. 220)

As I said before, the anti-racist movements have been using human rights too often as a tool, but human rights discourse alone has not been enough to confront racism in its structural aspects. For example, in European institutions, human rights discourse has often been used to silence racism. Marie-Bénédicte Dembour (2009), says that human rights not only have limitations but can also sometimes have negative effects. According to this scholar

the European Court of Human Rights<sup>3</sup> is an institution designed to protect human rights; still, it sometimes has the opposite effect, silencing them, at least in one crucial area: racism (Dembour, 2009, p. 184). For her, the silencing of racism in the European Court of Human Rights - where there has only been one partial condemnation for racism in 49 years of existence - allows the wrong idea that Europe is a place where racial democracy exists and racial equality flourishes.

We can and need to use human rights discourse and tools as a way of emancipation, but we must understand and learn from its limitations. If we do not, we may condemn specific liberation struggles to failure. We must also take into account the danger posed by an overarching human rights discourse, which sometimes hinders particular demands.

## 1.5 Anti-racism in Portugal

Until today, there is no in-depth and comprehensive study on the history of anti-racism in Portugal. Nonetheless, it is essential to highlight the pioneering works of Elsa Sertório (2001), Ana Rita Alves, Rita Cachado & Ana Cruz (2018), Joana Gorjão Henriques (2018c), and also José Augusto Pereira and I (2022) for the discussion and mapping of the most recent anti-racist struggle in Portugal.

Elsa Sertório's book *Livro Negro do Racismo em Portugal* (2001) analyses racism in Portugal through the testimonies of racialised people and anti-racist militants and maps out the organisations that struggled against racism in the 1990s and early 2000s. This work also gives an essential emphasis on immigrant rights movement in this struggle. In 2018, in her book *Racismo No País dos Brancos Costumes*, the journalist Joana Gorjão Henriques brought the central debates that were taking place in the anti-racist movement in those years and the voices of the Black movement that were then rising. At a different level, it is also important to highlight two documentaries, *SOS Racismo: 20 anos a quebrar tabus* (2014), by Bruno Cabral, about the remarkable moments of the fight against racism over two decades and the role of this anti-racist association; and the film by Miguel Dores, *Alcindo* (2021), that portrays the environment of the struggle against racism in the years of Alcindo Monteiro's death in 1995.

---

<sup>3</sup> The European Court of Human Rights is a supra-national court established by the European Convention on Human Rights in 1959. The Court is based in Strasbourg, France, and among its 47 members states, 28 are from the European Union.

Ana Rita Alves, Rita Cachado & Ana Cruz in *Dicionário dos Antis: A Cultura Portuguesa em Negativo* (2018), wrote an entry for the word ‘anti-racism’. Their text, despite being short, attempts to make a comprehensive analysis in history of the anti-racist movement in the country, addressing the challenges it has been through. The authors argued that the history of anti-racism in Portugal necessarily means speaking about a movement that struggles for its recognition, memory and tries to open a public debate on race, racism, colonialism and violence. Their text emphasises the importance of the resistance to colonialism for the emergence of an anti-racist discourse in the mid-twentieth century in Portugal. Then they present the rise of the struggle against racism in the 1990s, highlighting the fundamental role of *SOS Racismo* organization but not forgetting the crucial role of the immigrant and peripheral neighbourhood associations movement. Furthermore, they highlight the importance of Black youth activism in the periphery of Lisbon in the early 2000s and mention rap’s influence over time in denouncing and discussing racism in Portuguese society.

More recently, José Augusto Pereira and I were invited by Marta Lança to reflect on the anti-racist movement since the 1990s in Portugal. This resulted in an article integrated into the project “ReMapping Memories Lisbon - Hamburg: (Post)Colonial Places of Memory” of the Goethe-Institut Portugal. In the text ‘*Um olhar sobre três décadas de antirracismo em Portugal: da noite do “Dia da Raça” às mobilizações de 2020*’ (Pereira & Varela, 2022) we mapped the different phases of the last decades anti-racist struggle in Portugal, its key moments and its evolution until today.

It was in the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s that anti-racism was publicly recognised in Portugal as a form of political action. However, people's resistance to racism has a longer and silenced history in this country. For instance, in Portugal, since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Black people have fought for rights and liberty through religious brotherhoods (Reginaldo, 2009; Lahon, 2012; Fonseca, 2016); when enslaved, they resisted through collective or individual escapes (see Caldeira, 2017); and created their own artistic and cultural practices (Tinhorão, 1988). It is still necessary to better understand how Black religious brotherhoods may have been fundamental to a precursor struggle against slavery, racial hierarchies and the creation of Black identity. For example, Lourenço da Silva Mendonça's combat against slavery in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, that I mention before, was partly supported by Black religious brotherhoods from different countries.

Also, Muslims (after *Mouriscos*) and Jews (after *Marranos/Converso/New Christians/Anusim*) had to resist the persecutions and the inquisition since the 15<sup>th</sup> century,

creating ways of preserving their culture and religious practices for centuries. In Portugal, former Jews survived till the 20<sup>th</sup> century with different ‘*Marranos*’ communities; throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there is a record of the presence and persecution of Muslims in Portugal (see Pincha, 2019; Barros, 2020). Roma people have also resisted against institutional violence, namely repressive laws, and cultural persecution, since the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Portugal, creating their own ethnic and cultural identity till the present day. However, we cannot consider this an anti-racist, Black, or Roma political movement.

To address this issue, I bring the vital discussion of the Brazilian historian Petrônio Domingues (2007) on the definition of what should be understood as a Black movement, which here we can also extend to the notion of other autonomous anti-racist resistance movements. Looking at the Brazilian historical reality, Domingues proposes that the Black movement be defined as the collective struggle of Black people to solve their problems in society, fundamentally in the fight against racism and where the racial factor is a central element of mobilisation (*ibidem*, p. 101). From a historical point of view, he argues that it is problematic to perceive as a Black movement all forms of organisation and practices of people of African descent, such as religious brotherhoods or artistic expressions. From this perspective, the anti-racist movement is what we can refer to as a political organised anti-racist movement.

For instance, we know that Black people in Portugal organized into different forms for centuries, namely religious brotherhoods. However, the first politically organised Black movement in the Portuguese territory only emerged with the Pan-Africanist generation (1911-1933). This Black movement that I will address in the next chapter were the first to use political tools such as associations, newspapers or political parties, focusing on the rights of Black people and the fight against racism. From this point of view, it is proposed here that they be understood as the first politically organised Black movement in the history of Portugal and as the first anti-racist movement (Varela & Pereira, 2020).

From this perspective, bearing in mind the Portuguese reality and integrating the previous studies by Lentin (2004, 2008), Goldberg (2009) and Hage (2016) on broad international anti-racist struggles, I propose dividing the struggle against racism in Portugal into the following phases:

1. Black movement (1911-1933)
2. Black poetry and African Nationalism (1940s -1960s)
3. Anti-racist movement (1990s – Nowadays)

In the next chapters I will focus on these three periods highlighting their political character and analysing the artistic practices mobilised in this regard. In this last part I have focused on anti-racism, I will now turn to racism, which is the cause for existing struggle and thought against racism. After discussing what anti-racism is, the importance of the 'Black radical tradition' for it, the history of anti-racism comprehensively and in Portugal, trying to understand the limits of anti-racism within the boundaries of human rights, I will now discuss conceptions of racism, putting forth the debate on 'racial capitalism' and then focus on the Portuguese reality.

## 1.6 About racism

Racism was built under the expansion of capitalism, colonialism, and slavery and has shaped societies worldwide for more than five centuries. Racism is a product of modern Europe, where the Iberian Peninsula was central to its expansion. Nowadays, racism is not a particularity of a country, continent, or society; it is a reality with common ground and essential worldwide effects. Racism is based on ideologies and practices that shape power relations, reproducing social, economic and symbolical inequalities based on racial hierarchies. With common historical foundations, racism adopts diverse contours in different socio-political contexts around the world (see Lentin, 2004; Goldberg, 2009). According to Achille Mbembe:

Racism - in Europe, South Africa, Brazil, the United States, the Caribbean, and the rest of the world - will remain with us for the foreseeable future. It will continue to proliferate not only as a part of mass culture but also (we would do well not to forget it) within polite society; not only in the old settler colonies but also in other areas of the globe, long deserted by Jews, and where neither Negroes nor Arabs have ever been seen. (Mbembe, 2019, p. 57)

Built up during European Modernity and developed in the Age of Enlightenment, the idea of race is a social and historical construction that was central to the rise of nation-states and the colonial project. Race is no longer admitted as a biological factor; however, we do not yet live in a post-racial age (see Goldberg, 2015; Mbembe, 2017). Today, race is still a changing social and political construction that maintains power structures for some and oppression for others. As David Theo Goldberg puts forth, frequently: *“We talk (about) race when not talking (about) it; and we don't talk (about) it when (we should be) talking (about) it.”* (Goldberg, 2015, p. 1). This scholar puts it that after the events of World War II,

“race was buried alive”, and in Europe, this has led to the adoption of “racelessness” political projects (Goldberg, 2009). Still, it has not prevented racism from continuing till nowadays. Alana Lentin also mentions that the false consensus that ‘Western’ societies are post-race societies contributes to portraying the criticism of racism by racialised people as inaccurate, alienating, and counter-productive to a supposed social cohesion (Lentin, 2011, p. 59). On the same topic, Achille Mbembe writes that racism without races is now emerging in several countries:

Europe’s twilight has arrived, and the Euro-American world has not yet figured out what it wants to know about, or do with, the Black Man. “Racism without races” is now surfacing in many countries. To practice racism today even as it is rendered conceptually unthinkable, “culture” and “religion” have replaced “biology”. Republican universalism is presented as blind to race, even as non-Whites are locked in their supposed origins. (Mbembe, 2017, p. 7)

Racism is a significant cause of poverty, oppression, and violence nowadays. More than one century ago, W.E.B. Du Bois had already warned: “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line, - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.” (Du Bois 1903, p. 19). And in 1943, he stated that the “democratic program” could not exist with the “[...] complete subordination of one race to another.”; therefore “[...] assimilation does include cultural tolerance, and eventual cultural equality and unity of democratic ideal.” (Du Bois, 1943, p. 218).

Racism as we know it cannot be understood without the construction and impact of whiteness and white privilege - acknowledging this is central for white researchers that study racism and anti-racism. Racism is built on the idea of white supremacy over racialised people, and whiteness and the ‘white race’ is a modern social construction (Allen, 1994), that allows racism, as a global phenomenon, to be a powerful mechanism of oppression, discrimination and inequality. Fanon wrote in the book *Black Skin, White Masks* that, “The white man is sealed in his whiteness.” and “There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men.” (Fanon, 1952, p. 3).

When speaking on racism, the African American writer James Baldwin (1962) stated that white people must be saved from their inhumanity. He said that the ‘white man’ fears being judged by his whiteness and racism. Writing on *Racism in the USA*, he stated:

[...] a vast amount of the energy that goes into what we call the Negro problem is produced by white man’s profound desire not to be judged by those who are not white, not to be seen as he is, and at the same time a vast amount of the white anguish is rooted in the white man’s equally profound need to be seen as he is, to be released from the tyranny of his mirror. (Baldwin, 1962, p. 94)



On the other hand, as it is written by Barnor Hesse and Debra Thompson, white supremacy (historically and politically) is a: “European colonial form of racial governance through the violence, authority and ideology of *we the white people*, exercised over those designated, subordinated, and inferiorized as non-white.”, that became “increasingly codified and elaborated” during the late nineteenth-century European colonialism and USA Jim Crow Laws (Hesse & Thompson, 2022, p. 465). And as put forth by the same authors:

By the early twentieth century white supremacy was increasingly cultivated, disseminated, and globalized through Western doctrines and practices of white superiority, the civilizing mission, racial policing, racial science, and racial caricatures and stereotypes of non-whites in newspapers, literature, movies, cartoon strips, and commodity advertising. Up to the last third or quarter of the twentieth century this was the liberal humanist modernity of the Western colonial world [...]. It is worth recalling that after World War II, which was waged by Western powers for democracy against fascism and racism, those powers continued to subscribe to the white supremacy of colonialism and Jim Crow; it was anticolonial, civil rights, Black power, and anti-racist movements that precipitated the disestablishment of formalized white supremacy and the adoption by Western governments of official stances and legislation against racism within apparently inclusive democracies. (Hesse & Thompson, 2022, p. 465)

Wrongly, racism has often been framed as an individual and exceptional phenomenon or linked to nationalistic excesses (Goldberg, 2002; Hesse, 2004a; Lentin, 2008; Araújo & Maeso, 2016). For instance, the wrong idea of connecting state racism only to extremist political projects – such as Nazi Germany (1933-1945), South African Apartheid (1948-1994) or Racial Segregation in the USA (1870s-1965) - has been preventing the correct interpretation of racism as a systemic problem. Unfortunately, this limited approach blocks a deeper discussion on the relations of racism with the origins and development of colonialism, slavery, and capitalism (Du Bois 1935; James, 1938, Williams, 1944; Cox, 1959); the construction of whiteness as a tool of injustice in capitalism (Allen, 1994); as an everyday oppression (Essed, 1991); or as an institutional and state problem (Ture & Hamilton, 1967).

Therefore, it is worthwhile to understand what institutional racism is. It is a form of racism that expresses itself in the practice of social, political and economic institutions. The Black intellectuals and activists Kwame Ture [aka Stokely Carmichael] and Charles Hamilton argued that racism was a set of “[...] decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group.” (Ture & Hamilton, 1967, p. 4). They pointed out that institutional racism “[...] it is no less destructive of human life. [...] [and] originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation [...]” (*ibidem*, p. 4) and they also wrote “[...] institutional racism has another name: colonialism.” (*ibidem*, p. 5).

Institutional racism intertwines with colonialism, and the colonality of racism is maintained and denied by present liberal democracies (Hesse, 2004b). Institutional racism is also the underestimation by state institutions of the problem of racism; or the attempt to make this problem and racialized groups invisible in many societies.

On overcoming racism, which is the ultimate goal of anti-racism, Achille Mbembe (2017) considers that the path passes through a critique of the past that must create a future inseparable from the notion of justice and dignity. Mbembe argues that until racism disappears, we will have to keep fighting for a world beyond race. For this reason, the burden of history must be shared through a critique of the past to create a better future:

Until we have eliminated racism from our current lives and imaginations, we will have to continue to struggle for the creation of a world-beyond-race. But to achieve it, to sit down at the table to which everyone has been invited, we must undertake an exacting political and ethical critique of racism and of the ideologies of difference. The celebration of difference will be meaningful only if it opens onto the fundamental question of our time, that of sharing, of the common, of the expansion of our horizon. The weight of history will be there. We must learn to do a better job of carrying it, and of sharing its burden. We are condemned to live not only with what we have produced but also with what we have inherited. Given that we have not completely escaped the spirit of a time dominated by the hierarchization of human types, we will need to work with and against the past to open up a future that can be shared in full and equal dignity. The path is clear: on the basis of a critique of the past, we must create a future that is inseparable from the notions of justice, dignity, and the in-common. Along such a path, the new “wretched of the earth” are those to whom the right to have rights is refused, those who are told not to move, those who are condemned to live within structures of confinement - camps, transit centers, the thousands of sites of detention that dot our spaces of law and policing. They are those who are turned away, deported, expelled; the clandestine, the “undocumented” - the intruders and castoffs from humanity that we want to get rid of because we think that, between them and us, there is nothing worth saving, and that they fundamentally pose a threat to our lives, our health, our well-being. The new “wretched of the earth” are the products of a brutal process of control and selection whose racial foundations we well know. (Mbembe, 2017, p. 177)

Several scholars and activists studied how racism and capitalism intersect. Furthermore, there have been long-standing discussions as to whether racism arises after capitalism, alongside it, or before it; and what links exist between them. On this point, the debates brought by Cedric J. Robinson are fundamental, namely in his discussion on 'racial capitalism'.

## 1.7 The vital questions raised by the concept of ‘racial capitalism’

The relation and interdependence of capitalism, slavery and racism has been a long-time study theme. Among the works that approach this relationship, it is worth mentioning some classics, *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860–1880* (1935), by W.E.B. Du Bois; *The Black Jacobins* (1938), written by C. L. R. James; *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), by Eric Williams; and *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*, by Oliver Cromwell Cox (1957). Also relevant are other works such as, *Women, Race and Class* (1981), by Angela Davis, where she analysis the relation of gender, class and race to capitalism in America; *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (1983), by Cedric J. Robinson, where the concept of ‘racial capitalism’ is developed; *The Invention of the White Race* (1994), by Theodore W. Allen, which analyses the birth of racism in North America alongside the invention of the white race; and *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (2002), by Robin D. G. Kelley, where the importance of anti-capitalism among the Black movement is developed.

The notion of ‘racial capitalism’, refers to the mutual dependence between capitalism and racism. Activists and intellectuals from South Africa, started to use the expression during the struggle against Apartheid, more specifically, according to Robin D. G. Kelley it was first coined by the white South African Marxists affiliated with the African National Congress (ANC), Martin Leggasick and David Hemson, in their 1976 paper ‘Foreign Investment and Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa’ (Kelley, 2021a, p. xiv). However, Kelley notes that they were not proposing a theory of ‘racial capitalism’, but they rather, “[...] implied that dismantling apartheid without overthrowing capitalism would leave in place structures that reproduce racial inequality and the exploitation of all workers.” (*ibidem*, p. xiv).

Cedric J. Robinson, in his book *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, developed ‘racial capitalism’ as a theory for understanding the general history of capitalism. In the words of Arun Kundnani (2020), Robinson was influenced by the discussion on ‘racial capitalism’ as an exception of South Africa brought by anti-Apartheid thinkers when he lived in England in the late 1970s. He extended this idea to wherever capitalism prevailed:

While the South African Marxists were working on the basis that South Africa presented an exception to traditional Marxist assumptions, Robinson turned the argument on its head. The exception was, in fact, the rule. What the South Africans

had called “racial capitalism” was not only to be found in South Africa but wherever capitalism prevailed. All capitalism was racial capitalism. The orthodox Marxist account of capitalism had to be rethought, not just in colonised settings, but even in Western Europe, where, Robinson claimed, racial divisions of labour had existed throughout the history of capitalism. (Kundnani, 2020)

In the words of Robin D. G. Kelley (2021a), Robinson proposes that capitalism “[...] emerged within the feudal order and flowered in the cultural soil of Western civilisation already thoroughly infused with racialism.” (p. xvi). Based on the works of the Marxist sociologist Oliver Cox, Robinson theory proposed that capitalism was not a revolutionary negation of feudalism (thus challenging an important Marxist idea) and, indeed, racialism preceded capitalism. As Cedric J. Robinson wrote: “The historical development of world capitalism was influenced in a most fundamental way by the particularistic forces of racism and nationalism.” (Robinson, 1983, p. 9); and he goes on, “This could only be true if the social, psychological, and cultural origins of racism and nationalism both anticipated capitalism in time and formed a piece with those events that contributed directly to its organisation of production and exchange.” (*ibidem*, p. 9). He then concludes: “Feudal society is the key. More particularly, the antagonistic commitments, structures, and ambitions that feudal society encompassed are better conceptualised as those of a developing civilisation than as elements of a unified tradition.” (*ibidem*, p. 9).

Robinson also brought a critique of Marx and Engels’ analysis of the emergence of the bourgeois society:

Racism, I maintain, was not simply a convention for ordering the relations of European to non-European peoples but has its genesis in the “internal” relations of European peoples. As part of the inventory of Western civilization it would reverberate within and without, transferring its toll from the past to the present. In contradistinction to Marx’s and Engels’s expectations that bourgeois society would rationalize social relations and demystify social consciousness, the obverse occurred. The development, organization, and expansion of capitalist society pursued essentially racial directions, so too did social ideology. As a material force, then, it could be expected that racialism would inevitably permeate the social structures emergent from capitalism. I have used the term “racial capitalism” to refer to this development and to the subsequent structure as a historical agency. (Robinson, 1983, p. 2)

According to Kundnani for Robinson, when the large-scale trafficking of enslaved Black people began, the ‘Negro’ was invented as a legitimising figure, building on the pre-existing forms of race in Europe, such as the pre-existing images of the Muslims, Jews, Roma people, Slavs or Irish (Kundnani, 2020). Furthermore, Ruth Gilmore also argues that: “The racial in racial capitalism is not secondary nor did it originate in colour or intercontinental conflict, but almost always group differentiation in the face of premature death. Capitalism demands inequality, and racism consecrates it.” (Gilmore, 2019, p. 77).

Thus, Robinson (1983) argues that capitalism did not create a universal proletariat but a racialised and hierarchised proletariat. In this sense, Satnam Virdee explains Robinson's views on the constitution of Europe and whiteness in opposition to post-colonial views on this process:

The black Marxist Cedric Robinson (1983) claimed that the first modern racial subjects were not of African or Asian descent but European, including most notably the Catholic Irish, Slavs, Jews as well as countless others. Significantly, anti-Semitism along with anti-Roma racism encourages us to think of the prevalence of multiple modalities of racism – not all of which were colour-coded or reducible to colonialism (Miles, 1993). This tendency within postcolonial sociology towards homogenising Europe (and whiteness) obscures a consideration of the multiple routes through which racism was made, carrying with it the danger that we continue to underestimate racism's full significance and material force in the making of the modern world. (Virdee, 2019, p. 6)

In his *Boston Review* article, Robin D. G Kelley asks in the title, “So what did Robinson mean by ‘racial capitalism’?”. There he brings us remarkable answers. He shows how Robinson, based on Cox's work, challenged the Marxist idea that capitalism was a revolutionary negation of feudalism:

Building on the work of another forgotten black radical intellectual, sociologist Oliver Cox, Robinson challenged the Marxist idea that capitalism was a revolutionary negation of feudalism. Instead capitalism emerged within the feudal order and flowered in the cultural soil of a Western civilisation already thoroughly infused with racialism. Capitalism and racism, in other words, did not break from the old order but rather evolved from it to produce a modern world system of “racial capitalism” dependent on slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide. Capitalism was “racial” not because of some conspiracy to divide workers or justify slavery and dispossession, but because racialism had already permeated Western feudal society. The first European proletarians were racial subjects (Irish, Jews, Roma or Gypsies, Slavs, etc.) and they were victims of dispossession (enclosure), colonialism, and slavery within Europe. Indeed, Robinson suggested that racialization within Europe was very much a colonial process involving invasion, settlement, expropriation, and racial hierarchy. Insisting that modern European nationalism was completely bound up with racist myths, he reminds us that the ideology of *Herrenvolk* (governance by an ethnic majority) that drove German colonization of central Europe and “Slavic” territories “explained the inevitability and the naturalness of the domination of some Europeans by other Europeans.” To acknowledge this is not to diminish anti-black racism or African slavery, but rather to recognize that capitalism was not the great modernizer giving birth to the European proletariat as a universal subject, and the “tendency of European civilization through capitalism was thus not to homogenize but to differentiate—to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into ‘racial’ ones. (Kelley, 2017)

From this perspective, capitalism is inherently racist, or as we can say in Robinson's optic that capitalism is ‘racial capitalism’, and there is no capitalism that is not racist. In the words of Gargi Bhattacharyya, Robinson suggests, “[...] that all capitalism emerges from a basis of racialised division and that racial capitalism is the underlying, if unacknowledged, character of capitalism as such.” (Bhattacharyya, 2018, p. 9).

Recently, Julian Go, in assessing the relevance of ‘racial capitalism’ to sociological theory, highlights three tensions within the existing literature on this concept. In his perception, ‘racial capitalism’ raises some relevant questions but does not adequately resolve them: “Nonetheless, they remain important for generating further theory and research”. He then questions “(1) whether “race” as opposed to other forms of difference is the primary mode of differentiation in capitalism”; “(2) whether deficiencies in existing theory warrant the new concept “racial capitalism”” and “(3) whether the connection between race and capitalism is a contingent or logical necessity.” (Go, 2021, p. 38). He also claims that the term ‘racial capitalism’ is now a buzzword and “[...] refers broadly to relationships between racial inequality and capitalism [...]”, yet “[...] the literature does not specify a single set of causal relationships or connections between them.” (Go, 2021, p. 38). He believes that the existing literature does not offer uniform concepts or a shared conceptual apparatus on ‘racial capitalism’ (Go, 2021, pp. 38-39). He then concludes:

[...] I argued that some of the literature’s claims need to be reassessed and rethought. But none of this is to suggest the literature or the racial capitalism concept should be renounced. There are tensions but these are productive tensions. This counsels that we should embrace rather than overthrow the racial capitalism concept. Precisely because the racial capitalism literature contains these tensions, it connects with various existing theoretical debates in sociology while raising important new questions for further theorizing and research. The racial capitalism literature does not, in itself, amount to an entirely new single theory of capitalism or of race. But the problematic it opens up is far too important to ignore. (Go, 2021, pp. 44-45)

The term ‘racial capitalism’ has increasingly emerged within the anti-racist struggle but is often used generically. Cedric J. Robinson developed a theory around this concept, framing the history of capitalism as grounded in racial hierarchies, allowing us to discuss ‘racial capitalism’ it in more depth today. Nevertheless, the theory has yet to be further developed within the framework of anti-racist struggles.

## 1.8 Academic approaches and denunciations of racism in Portugal

In 1995, Portugal Day<sup>4</sup> was marked by dozens of attacks against Black people in Bairro Alto<sup>5</sup> (Lisbon) and the murder of Alcindo Monteiro, perpetuated by a neo-fascist

---

<sup>4</sup> The ‘Portugal Day, Camões and Portuguese Communities’, current holiday, celebrated on June 10th, has its origins in the republican nationalist ideology and was popularized during the fascist dictatorship of Estado Novo as the ‘Day of Camões, Portugal and Race’.

<sup>5</sup> Bairro Alto is a central district of Lisbon night life.

skinhead group<sup>6</sup>. After these dramatic events of racist violence, the debate on racism increased in Portuguese society. Then, in 1996, a public petition was presented by anti-racist and human rights organisations to the Assembly of the Republic (Petition No. 40/VII/1, 1996), leading to the creation of the first law, specifically against racial discrimination (Law No. 134/99, of August 28). Unfortunately, this law has had very few results until nowadays (see Ba, 2020, 2021).

With the increase of public debate on racism and the strengthening of anti-racist struggles in those times, several academics from social sciences in Portugal start to write on racism from different perspectives. In anthropology, as Ana Rita Alves states (2021, p. 66), the work of Miguel Vale de Almeida was crucial since he brought the debate on racism, race and national identity in its relationship with colonialism and lusotropicalism (see Almeida 1997, 2000). Vale de Almeida's work connects questions of ethnic-racial identity with the theme of racism and multiculturalist rhetoric. It addresses racism in its relation to lusotropicalism and the new discourse of lusophony.

In the opposite direction, the anthropologist João de Pina Cabral (1998) proposed an anti-racialist way out of the anti-racist debate. With his focus on the concepts of racism, race and xenophobia, he defended the replacement of the expression “racism” with “ethnocentrism” and “discrimination and ethnic prejudice”. He also stated that “racism” was a term that carried a referential load linked to the Anglo-Saxon context of the polarisation of Blacks and whites that was taken to the extreme in South Africa and North America: “Now one of the difficulties I find in using the word “racism” to apply to Portuguese contexts is that it carries with it all that essentially Anglo-Saxon referential charge [...]”<sup>7</sup> (Cabral, 1998, p. 23). As I showed earlier, from Goldberg's (2009, 2015) perspective, this anti-racialism or non-racialism thought is a twisty path when we want to combat racism. On this issue, Vale de Almeida also wrote:

[...] in the most recent years we have witnessed the creation of a taboo around the use of the expression “race”, leading not to an overcoming of racism but to a displacement of the contents of “race” to the expressions 'ethnicity' or 'culture', the framework of references for the constitution of identities hitherto considered as 'ethnic' becomes more complex and fluid. This may lead to forms of cultural

---

<sup>6</sup> This episode was the culmination of several violent events held by fascists skinhead groups against Black people and leftist militants. In 1989, José Carvalho (also known as ‘Zé da Messa’), a factory worker and militant of the Trotskyist organization *Partido Socialista Revolucionário* (PSR), was stabbed to death in front of his political party headquarters in a concerts day (See Sertório, 2001, p. 172; ‘Rescaldo do assassinato de José Carvalho’, 1989). Also, a known actor, João Grosso, was brutally attacked by fascist skinheads in the same year (see ‘Entrevista a João Grosso’, 1992). Many other attacks against racialized people (mainly blacks) were perpetrated by skinheads along those years.

<sup>7</sup> “Ora uma das dificuldades que eu encontro na utilização da palavra “racismo” para se aplicar a contextos portugueses é que ela transporta consigo toda essa carga referencia essencialmente anglo-saxónica [...]”

fundamentalism and strategies of exclusion, such as those observed in Europe at the level of state policies and public opinion.<sup>8</sup> (Vale de Almeida, 2000, p. 17)

In sociology, Fernando Luís Machado analysed theoretical frameworks and focused on racism as an individual social practice. He stated that the theoretical production of the social sciences, especially that of the Anglo-Saxon world, has inflated the problem of racism (Machado, 2000) and that lusotropicalism has “[...] an anti-racism potential that cannot be neglected [...]”<sup>9</sup> (Machado, 2001, p. 23). When comparing the Portuguese context with other national contexts, he relativised the problem of racism in Portugal, namely ignoring its structural forms. He also adopted the “ethnicity” perspective, focusing on the contrasts that existed between the “minorities” and the dominant Portuguese society (Machado, 1992).

In the field of social psychology Rosa Cabecinhas (1996, 2007) developed work considering “social stereotypes”, “social interactions” and “symbolic domination”, namely “perception of group variability” and “homogeneity effect”, comparing sexual and racial categorisations. In her work she also shown how “cognitive processes” are influenced by dominant ideologies, and in the case of Portugal, lusotropicalism. Also Jorge Vala, Rodrigo Brito and Diniz Lopes (1999) in social psychology worked from a perspective of individual racism, focusing on the problematic categories of ‘blatant’ and ‘subtle’ racism. Their book denounces the importance of lusotropicalism for racism in Portugal.

The anthropologist and sociologist João Filipe Marques in his studies questioned the widespread and resistant myth of the supposed national ‘non-racism’ (Marques, 2004). He criticised the psychosociological model of Thomas F. Pettigrew and Roel E. Meertens (Marques, 1995), which introduces the distinction between ‘blatant’ racism and ‘subtle’ racism. Marques writes that there is very little subtlety in many manifestations of racism in Portuguese society, stating that the insistence on the use of the paradigm of ‘subtle racism’ had the perverse effect of hiding its flagrant forms (Marques, 2004, pp. 38-39). It is also important to address that Fernando Luís Machado (2001) criticised the insistence on studies

---

<sup>8</sup> “[...] que nos anos mais recentes se tem assistido à criação de um tabu em torno da utilização da expressão “raça”, conduzindo não a uma ultrapassagem do racismo mas a um deslocamento dos conteúdos de “raça” para as expressões “etnia” ou “cultura”, o quadro de referentes para a constituição de identidades até aqui tidas como “étnicas” torna-se mais complexo e fluído. Isto pode conduzir a formas de fundamentalismo cultural e estratégias de exclusão, como as que se observam na Europa ao nível das políticas dos estados e da opinião pública.”

<sup>9</sup> “Enquanto sistemas activos de crenças, a democracia racial no Brasil ou o luso-tropicalismo em Portugal têm, por isso, um potencial de anti-racismo que não se pode negligenciar, principalmente quando comparados com outros mitos que, enfatizando a pureza de certas origens nacionais, podem tornar-se com alguma facilidade numa porta para o racismo”



focusing on ‘subtle’ racism, which in his view, contributed to underestimating and hiding the more open forms of racism.

It is also essential to mention the work of the anthropologist Kesha Fikes (2000, 2005, 2009). Through a long ethnographic study, between the mid-1990s and the early 2000s, among Cape Verdean women fish sellers (*peixeiras*) in Lisbon, this scholar explores racism, race relations and racialisation in a Portuguese society in transformation.

More recently, the various works by Marta Araújo and Silvia Maeso (2014, 2016, 2017) stand out in Portuguese academic studies about racism. Their studies focused on the structural forms of racism, based on a critical analysis of academic production, the politics of hegemonic institutions, law and the educational system. In their work they also recall, that before, the study of racism in Portuguese academia has often ignored institutional racism with studies being dominated by approaches that focused on prejudice and individual attitudes (Araújo & Maeso, 2016).

Recently, Pedro Abrantes and Cristina Roldão (2016) approached racism in schools, showing that Black children and youth suffer institutional racism in the national education system. Ana Rita Alves (2013, 2016, 2021) has studied racism in housing and segregation for several years. Francisco Bethencourt (2013) worked on racism as a historical European phenomenon, showing that the crusades and the Iberian invasion of the Americas are at its roots. Pedro Almeida (2016, 2018) has been working on racism in football and the media.

The book recently edited by Silvia Maeso, *O Estado do Racismo em Portugal: Racismo antinegro e anticiganismo no direito e nas políticas públicas* (2021), brings together several Black, Roma and white authors. They reflect on racism and anti-racist activism in Portugal, breaking the boundaries between the knowledge produced in the academy and the political struggle. This compilation, among various themes, looks at the institutionalization of racism in justice, discusses the legislation against racism, police brutality, racial segregation, discrimination in the ‘family protection systems’, racism in the media and brings perspectives for the anti-racist struggle.

In public and political debates on racism in Portugal, a number of voices have stood out in recent years. I will highlight a few names as examples. The thinker and activist, Mamadou Ba (2014, 2017, 2020, 2021), has reflected on structural racism, the anti-racist struggle, justice and legislation in Portugal. Beatriz Gomes Dias (2019, 2021), Cristina Roldão (2019, 2020) and Joacine Katar Moreira (2017), three Black academics and activists, have been central to the anti-racist debate, namely from a historical, sociological and

political perspective. Flávio Almada has also stand out as a thinker, rapper and activist of the Black and community movement (Almada, 2016, 2022). And from her artwork, Grada Kilomba (2018) has been crucial to the debate on racism and the present impact of the colonial heritage.

In the last years, several Portuguese anti-racist grassroots movements have developed a critique of racist police violence but also of racial inequalities when accessing education, health, and housing; judicial impunity; silencing of the history of racialised people and the right to memory; and the lack of equality data on racial issues (see Rodrigues, Fernandes, Roldão, Insali, Pereira & Ba, 2017). Also, several human rights and anti-racist international organisations have been alerting and denouncing, in their reports, documents or press releases, on severe problems of racism and police racist violence in Portugal, essentially against Black people, Roma people and immigrants. This is the case of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent (OHCHR) (2012); the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2013, 2018); the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) (2015); and Amnesty International (2018). In 2018, the ‘Council of European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment’ report also concluded that Portugal is one of the EU country members with the highest rate of police violence episodes and that Afrodescendants and immigrants are the ones who suffer most from this violence (CPT, 2018). According to their analysis, Portuguese police practice racial discrimination and there is a feeling of impunity since the complaints against police forces frequently have no criminal consequences. Indeed, police brutality is one of Portugal’s most tragic faces of racism (see Raposo, Alves, Varela & Roldão, 2019). This institutional practice it is a violent reality and a human rights violation that affects many people and racialised neighbourhoods in Lisbon’s periphery<sup>10</sup>. In the last years, with the growth of Black and Roma activism and some visibility of racist police violence episodes, media and civil society drew attention to racism in Portugal. However,

---

<sup>10</sup> Racist police violence, as an oppressive phenomenon, is also related to hegemonic masculinity. For instance, police forces in our society perform and use hegemonic masculinity to oppress racialised people. Hegemonic masculinity also works through the ‘examples’ of men that represent the supposed ‘proper’ manhood, like policemen, war heroes, sports stars or successful businessmen (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 846). Also, since violence becomes important in gender practices among men, many episodes of significant violence like military combat, police violence and homicide are violence between men (Connell, 1995, p. 83). Police masculinised culture is a powerful tool used by state institutions to perpetuate oppression in our societies. Police work is male gendered (Messerschmidt, 2000, p. 175) and police is a structure where hegemonic masculinity has been institutionalised (Bikos, 2016, p. 2). Police maintain hegemonic masculinity by using authority, force and the subordination of women, other men and other masculinities.

Portuguese public institutions continue to ignore institutional racism. As Marta Araújo states:

Public Bodies and Academics have tacitly ignored institutional racism and anti-racist struggles in a number of other contexts, in favour of a culturalist approach to difference, that tends to evade questions of “race/power”. This is a political choice, not an accident or forgetfulness. (Araújo, 2013, p. 41)

## 1.9 Lusotropicalism, multiculturalism and interculturality in Portugal

In the European Union, the ‘raceless state’ project is dominant, and its ‘racelessness’ policies are often based on the perspectives of multiculturalism and interculturality, which I will discuss below. Silence over race allows EU states to declare themselves at the same time non-racist, or even supposedly anti-racist while maintaining Eurocentric ideologies and practices (Lentin, 2008), when indeed they are anti-racist and non-racial, as I showed before. Today, racism coexists with its official condemnation by states (Hesse, 2004a), and that is also the Portuguese case (Araújo & Maeso, 2016).

Many modern nation-states have been built on the basis of an imaginary of racial homogeneity, where the supposed ‘others’ (i.e., non-white people) are excluded to the margins (Goldberg, 2002). For instance, the Portuguese State continues to reproduce the idea of racial homogeneity when looking at its present and past, where the ‘Portuguese people’ appear to be only white people. This excludes other groups historically present in this territory of their civil rights and the right to memory, such as Black people, Roma people, Amazigh, Muslims and Jews. For example, thousands of people born in Portugal, particularly Afrodescendants<sup>11</sup>, are denied citizenship, specifically Portuguese nationality. This is due to the *jus sanguinis* law, in place since 1981, a time of much high migration from former African Portuguese ex-colonies. The current nationality law in Portugal, based on the prevalence of the *jus sanguinis* principle against the *jus solis*, determines that it is not enough to be born in Portugal to have Portuguese legal nationality. This has been responsible for a historical injustice that primarily affects Black people. This law excludes many from Portuguese nationality today, despite being born on Portuguese soil. In 2017, this led to a unitary and comprehensive campaign of the anti-racist, Black and immigrant rights movement, which improved the legal framework but did not change the *jus sanguinis*

---

<sup>11</sup> The term Afrodescendant or people of African descent is used to describe people of the African diaspora, African-immigrants and their descendants born and/or socialized outside Africa.

principle to *jus soli* as demanded. The Campaign For Another Nationality Law slogan was: “Those born in Portugal are Portuguese. Full stop!”.

On the other hand, in the shadow of the lusotropicalist ‘living ghost’, the debate on racism in Portugal in the hegemonic and state discourse is contaminated by a supposed national, cultural, and colonial exceptionalism, where Portugal’s past and present are believed to be less racist than the other societies. In the words of the anti-racist activist Mamadou Ba, Portugal is one of the countries with a colonialist past where the debate on racism is least clarifying and serious (Ba, 2014). This is due to the penetration of lusotropicalist ideas, that leads to racism and its structural denial:

Of all the former colonial powers, Portugal remains one of the colonialist countries where the debate on racism is still among the least clarifying because it is installed in a historical chimaera of Lusotropicalism, also built based on a historical hoax, according to which Portuguese colonialism would have been, in comparison with the other colonial violations, the most generous and least violent. This premise based on a historical fallacy, undermined by a mixture of political hypocrisy and cynicism, is gaining ideological sedimentation and hindering a serious and frontal debate on racism. In Portugal, racism and its denial are structural in the ideological confrontation on the place of the difference in a potentially and structurally racist society because it is structurally and historically colonial.<sup>12</sup> (Ba, 2014, p. 1)

The specific formulation of lusotropicalism as an ideology became known through the works of the Brazilian scholar Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987). Cláudia Castelo (2013) writes that an “archaeology” of lusotropicalism reveals that its foundations were first laid in Gilberto Freyre's book *Casa-grande & senzala* (1933) and that these ideas were then developed in several subsequent works. In Brazil, lusotropicalism was adopted as a national identity project promoted by the state known as ‘Racial Democracy’, and in Portugal it was appropriate to justify the colonialism of the Estado Novo dictatorship after World War II and when the anti-colonial struggles for independence emerged in occupied African territories. Nevertheless, until today lusotropicalism is an essential representation of Portuguese national identity.

In 1955, the Angolan intellectual and politician, Mário Pinto de Andrade, denounced the use of lusotropicalism by the Portuguese State to justify its African colonialist project and accused Gilberto Freyre of going along and condoning the Portuguese fascist regime.

---

<sup>12</sup> “De todas as antigas potências coloniais, Portugal continua a ser um dos países colonialistas onde o debate sobre o racismo é ainda dos menos clarificadores, porque está instalado numa quimera histórica em que o lusotropicalismo, também construído na base de um embuste histórico, segundo o qual o colonialismo português teria sido, em comparação com as restantes violações coloniais, o mais generoso e menos violento. Esta premissa assente numa falácia histórica, minada por um misto de hipocrisia e cinismo políticos, vai ganhando sedimentação ideológica e dificultando um debate sério e frontal sobre o racismo. Em Portugal, o racismo e a sua negação são estruturais no confronto ideológico sobre o lugar da diferença numa sociedade potencial e estruturalmente racista, porque estrutural e historicamente coloniais.”

Mário Pinto de Andrade was a pioneer in the criticism of Freyre's ideas. Under the pseudonym of Buanga Felé, he wrote in the *Présence Africain* journal: "It is precisely the refusal to consider the functioning of the colonial apparatus as being primarily a hold of economic exploitation directed by a political power that determines the weakness of his [Gilberto Freyre's] sociology."<sup>13</sup> (Andrade, 1955, p. 27). This article would be reproduced in Portuguese in the following year in the Brazilian newspaper *Para Todos* directed by the communist writer Jorge Amado (Andrade, 1956).

Until today, lusotropicalism promotes the 'imaginary' that the Portuguese had a distinctive colonisation. It says Portuguese colonialism was softer and less violent than other imperialisms; it advocates that Portuguese people have a natural capacity for miscegenation and adaptation in the tropics. As Cláudia Castelo states:

In general terms, Lusotropicalism postulates the special adaptability of the Portuguese to the tropics, not out of political or economic interest, but out of innate and creative empathy. The Portuguese aptitude for relating to tropical lands and people, their intrinsic plasticity, would result from their own hybrid ethnic origin, from their "bi-continentiality" and from prolonged contact with Moors and Jews on the Iberian Peninsula in the first centuries of nationality, and is manifested above all through miscegenation and the interpenetration of cultures.<sup>14</sup> (Castelo, 2013, p. 1)

Lusotropicalism silences the brutal violence of colonisation, slavery, racism, mass murder of Indigenous and Black people and the systematic rape of women. The Afro-Brazilian intellectual Abdias Nascimento wrote critically on Gilberto Freyre's work, standing that Freyre built an entire career by manufacturing new euphemisms for the racial classification of Black people and, by doing so, served Portuguese colonialism:

A Brazilian is called *preto*, *negro*, *moreno*, *mulato*, *crioulo*, *pardo*, *mestiço*, *cabra* - or any other euphemism; and what everybody understands immediately, without the possibility of doubt, is that he is a man of colour, that is, the one so-called descended from enslaved Africans. He is, therefore, a *negro*, no matter the colour of his skin. Let us not waste time with superfluous distinctions... There are some "scientists" who, in fact help to build an entire career by manufacturing new euphemisms of this sort. One of the most convincing examples is found in the internationally famous historian Gilberto Freyre, founder of so-called lusotropicalism, the ideology that so effectively served Portuguese colonialism. Freyre's lusotropicalist theory, based on the assumption that history recorded a definite inability of human beings to build important civilisations in the tropics (the "savages" of Africa and the Indians of Brazil being living documents of this

---

<sup>13</sup> "C'est justement le refus d'envisager le fonctionnement de l'appareil colonial comme étant au premier chef une emprise d'exploitation économique dirigée par un pouvoir politique, c'est ce refus-là, qui détermine la faiblesse de sa sociologie."

<sup>14</sup> "Em traços gerais, o luso-tropicalismo postula a especial capacidade de adaptação dos portugueses aos trópicos, não por interesse político ou económico, mas por empatia inata e criadora. A aptidão do português para se relacionar com as terras e gentes tropicais, a sua plasticidade intrínseca, resultaria da sua própria origem étnica híbrida, da sua "bi-continentalidade" e do longo contacto com mouros e judeus na Península Ibérica, nos primeiros séculos da nacionalidade, e manifesta-se sobretudo através da miscigenação e da interpenetração de culturas."

fact), asserts that the Portuguese succeeded in creating not only a highly advanced civilisation, but in fact a racial paradise in the lands they colonised, both in Africa and America. Significantly, one of Freyre's books is entitled *O Mundo Que o Português Criou*. His enthusiastic glorification of Portuguese tropical civilisation depends largely on the theory of cultural and physical miscegenation between Blacks, Indians and whites, the practice of which would reveal unique wisdom, a kind of specific vocation of the Portuguese. Mário de Andrade, the Angolan poet, was one of the first to refute this colonising ruse effectively.<sup>15</sup> (Nascimento, 1978, pp. 48-49)

Under lusotropicalist ideology, the belief that Portuguese people are naturally more tolerant of 'others', mainly the colonised and racialised people, is promoted until today. Many societies have their own myths of racial tolerance: USA 'colour-blindness'; the United Kingdoms' 'fairness'; the European Union's 'multiculturalism' (Portugal included), and South Africa's 'non-racialism' (Goldberg, 2002).

Lusotropicalism refers to an alleged "Iberian model of racial exceptionalism" (Hanchard, 1994) that is a political discourse with scientific pretensions (Vale de Almeida, 2006) and persists, decades after the independence of the former Portuguese colonies, as a common discourse in the national political and ideological spectrum (Castelo, 1998). On lusotropicalism, Elsa Sertório, in her work on the Portuguese anti-racist movement, wrote that it affects present racism and that is why anti-racist action is needed to fight against it:

The myth of Lusitanian "soft customs" is so anchored in Portuguese society that it has resisted so many international reports about the brutality of Portuguese colonialism and continues to resist all forms of discrimination, repression and degradation of living conditions that immigrants and ethnic minorities suffer. We think that the belief in this myth is an obstacle to the consciousness that presupposes a clearly anti-racist action, because this perception only develops indifference and apathy, if not even complicity.<sup>16</sup> (Sertório, 2001, p. 9)

---

<sup>15</sup> "Um brasileiro é designado *preto, negro, moreno, mulato, crioulo, pardo, mestiço, cabra* - ou qualquer outro eufemismo; e o que too o mundo compreende imediatamente, sem possibilidade de dúvidas, é que se trata de um *homem-de-cor*, isto é, aquele assim chamado descende de africanos escravizados. Trata-se, portanto, de um *negro*, não importa a gradação da cor da sua pele. Não vamos perder tempo com distinções supérfluas... Há alguns "cientistas" que de fato ajudam a construir toda uma carreira com a fabricação de novos eufemismos desse porte. Um dos exemplos mais convincentes se encontra no internacionalmente famoso historiador Gilberto Freyre, fundador do chamado lusotropicalismo, a ideologia que tão efetivos serviços prestou ao colonialismo português. A teoria lusotropicalista de Freyre, partindo da suposição de que a história registrava uma definitiva incapacidade dos seres humanos em erigir civilizações importantes nos trópicos (os "selvagens" da África, os índios do Brasil seriam documentos viventes desse fato), afirma que os portugueses obtiveram êxito em criar, não só uma altamente avançada civilização, mas de fato um paraíso racial nas terras por eles colonizadas, tanto na África como na América. Significativamente, um dos livros de autoria de Freyre intitula-se *O Mundo Que o Português Criou*. Sua entusiástica glorificação da civilização tropical portuguesa depende em grande parte da teoria de miscigenação, cultural, e física, entre negros, índios e brancos, cuja prática revelaria uma sabedoria única, espécie de vocação específica do português. Mário de Andrade, o poeta angolano, foi um dos primeiros a efetivamente refutar este ardil colonizador."

<sup>16</sup> "O Mito dos "brandos costumes" lusitanos está de tal maneira ancorado na sociedade portuguesa que resistiu a quantos relatórios internacionais houve sobre a brutalidade do colonialismo português e continua a resistir a todas as mostras de discriminação, da repressão e da degradação de condições de vida que atingem os imigrantes e as minorias étnicas deste país. Pensamos que a crença neste mito é um obstáculo à tomada de consciência que pressupõe uma atuação claramente antirracista, na medida em que só desenvolve a indiferença e a apatia, se não mesmo a cumplicidade."

Currently, lusotropicalist discourse and ‘imaginary’ are also used by the Portuguese political and economic elites, not only to continue to reproduce patriotism, racism, and colonialism as in the past but also in their dispute of power with other global elites, in particular inside the European Union. It is common to use lusotropicalism to promote the Portuguese nation: as the ‘inventors’ of globalisation; supposed intrinsic capability to deal with political and economic issues with nations of the Global South; and Portugal as a nation that promoted humanity and human rights throughout its history. If, in the past, lusotropicalism was used in the violent process of colonisation (including justifying the colonial war), today, it is used in the process of neocolonialism.

Miguel Vale de Almeida proposes that today we live in a post-lusotropicalist period, that is, “[...] the continuity of the lusotropicalist belief in democracy [...]” (Almeida, 2022). In his perspective, Portuguese society did not know how to decolonise after 1974-75. This failure demonstrates the disturbing continuity of the hegemony of the lusotropicalist narrative and the fact that “This narrative, widely disseminated in common sense, supports processes of denial of structural and institutional racism.”<sup>17</sup> (Vale de Almeida, 2022). The anthropologist then concludes that Portuguese society suffers a “disease” due to the perverse narrative of national identity anchored in an imagined colonialism transposed to the present:

Perhaps because the illness we suffer from is a perverse narrative of national identity, anchored in an imaginary colonial transposed to the present. Portuguese democracy, in one of its most significant failures, did not know how to decolonise itself. And a demonstration of this failure is the disturbing continuity of the hegemony of the Lusotropicalist narrative.<sup>18</sup> (Vale de Almeida, 2022)

The institutional reproduction of the hegemonic narrative of Portuguese exceptionalism based on lusotropicalism, and the denial of racism, is crucial to understanding the way in which public policies against racism are implemented. In Portugal the lusotropicalist narrative has depoliticised the debate on colonialism and has been used to build the idea of a historical vocation for Portuguese interculturality (Araújo, 2013).

The idea of interculturality is based on the concept of reciprocal interaction between racial and ethnic groups, and it is a theory that should be considered complementary to multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012). Today we have a racist critic of multiculturalism,

---

<sup>17</sup> “Esta narrativa, largamente disseminada no senso comum, ampara processos de negação do racismo estrutural e institucional.”

<sup>18</sup> “Talvez porque a doença de que padecemos seja a de uma narrativa perversa de identidade nacional, ancorada num colonial imaginário transposto para o presente. A democracia portuguesa não soube, num dos seus maiores falhanços, descolonizar(-se). E uma demonstração desse insucesso é a perturbadora continuidade da hegemonia da narrativa luso-tropicalista.”

but there is also an anti-racist critic of the use of this concept and practice. Multiculturalism and interculturalism as political and philosophical concepts have limits. For instance, it can have perverse results when used isolated. As an alternative against racism, Kenan Malik (2015) defends that multiculturalism tends to construct a national identity by characterising certain groups as alien to the nation and homogenising these groups. Further, Robin D. G. Kelley, refers that “There is a distinction between multiculturalism as a response to eurocentrism, versus the liberal multiculturalism which evolved into a kind of pro-status quo. That is that we will accept the status quo as long as people of colour are represented in the existing status quo.” (Kelley, 2021b). Also, Goldberg (2006) states that, in Europe, multiculturalism has led to the disappearance of the public debate on European colonialism and its implications today; the author defends that, often, multiculturalism makes the discussion on racism invisible. Unfortunately, the practice of public policies of multiculturalism often does not consider racial inequalities and racism as a matter of power. By proposing to resolve racism as just a matter of individual ignorance, it silences the debate on institutional racism.

Marta Araújo (2013) points out also that interculturalism (a specific field of multiculturalism) has been used as a form of anti-racist politics that avoids anti-racist debate. In this sense, the author argues that the concepts of interculturality and the integration project are the product of the institutionalisation of racism and its evasion. In Portugal, the official rhetoric centred on interculturality reproduces the myth of lusotropicalism and of the supposed pacific coexistence between racial groups, becoming a symbolic resource to show the country's false tolerant character and avoid the debate on racism.

Lusotropicalism and the policies of multiculturalism and interculturalism have often been used in Portugal to divert attention from racism and white supremacy. If lusotropicalism must be fought head-on, the state strategies of multiculturalism and interculturalism must also be questioned so that they are not used to silence the brutality of racism.

## 1.10 The role of artistic practices for anti-racism

In W.E.B. Du Bois’s influential book *The Souls of Black Folk* from 1903, each chapter reveals a pair of epigraphs: a poem and underneath an excerpt from a musical score of African American Spiritual music. These songs usually use biblical narratives adapted to



Black lives, namely Black enslaved lives. At the end of his *Forethought*, the sociologist wrote:

Before each chapter, as now printed, stands a bar of the Sorrow Songs - some echo of haunting melody from the only American music which welled up from black souls in the dark past. And, finally, need I add that I who speak here am bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of them that live within the Veil? (Du Bois, 1903, p. v)

In this landmark work for Social Sciences in the USA and African American Literature, where the concept of ‘Double consciousness’<sup>19</sup> is developed, Black music is used as a guide to bring forth the discussion on race, racism and civil rights. This is no accident, for centuries artistic practices within racialised groups have integrated forms of resistance to racial oppression, preserved ancestral culture and created new ways of living in the face of racism. Therefore, we cannot look at anti-racist resistance without understanding the central role of artistic practices in that struggle. The last book chapter, ‘The Sorrow Songs’ (*ibidem*, pp. 155-164), does not start with a poem but with the verses of one “Negro song” and again with a musical score, ‘Lay Down Body’, a known African American song about death and sadness, but also hope:

I walk through the churchyard  
To lay this body down;  
I know moon-rise, I know star-rise;  
I walk in the moonlight, I walk in the starlight;  
I ’ll lie in the grave and stretch out my arms,  
I ’ll go to judgment in the evening of the day,  
And my soul and thy soul shall meet that day,  
When I lay this body down.

During this chapter, Du Bois describes these Black songs that have accompanied him since his childhood and that brought back to him the voice of the ancestral enslaved Black people:

They that walked in darkness sang songs in the olden days - Sorrow Songs - for they were weary at heart. And so before each thought that I have written in this book I have set a phrase, a haunting echo of these weird old songs in which the soul of the black slave spoke to men. Ever since I was a child these songs have stirred me strangely. They came out of the South unknown to me, one by one, and yet at once I knew them as of me and of mine. Then in after years when I came to Nashville I saw the great temple built of these songs towering over the pale city. To me Jubilee Hall seemed ever made of the songs themselves, and its bricks were red with the blood and dust of toil. Out of them rose for me morning, noon, and night, bursts of wonderful melody full of the voices of my brothers and sisters, full of the voices of the past. (Du Bois, 1903, p. 155)

---

<sup>19</sup> ‘Double consciousness’ is a concept and term coined by W.E.B. Du Bois, which refers to the challenge of African Americans of “[...] always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others [whites], of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.” (Du Bois, 1903, p. 2).

The sociologist goes through the history and meaning of the songs that he has placed throughout the book, and which are a source of wisdom for his interpretation of the racial issue: “The ten master songs I have mentioned tell in word and music of trouble and exile, of strife and hiding; they grope toward some unseen power and sigh for rest in the End.” (*ibidem*, p. 159). This Pan-Africanist intellectual states that the “rhythmic cry of the slave” now stands at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the most beautiful expression of the human experience born in the USA and that although forgotten and despised, is the exceptional spiritual heritage and the greatest gift of the Black people of the USA, that resisted for centuries: “I know that these songs are the articulate message of the slave to the world.” (*ibidem*, p. 157). Then, in the end, he asks: “[...] shall this nation proclaim its ignorance and unhallowed prejudices by denying freedom of opportunity to those who brought the Sorrow Songs to the Seats of the Mighty?” (*ibidem*, p. 162).

In Portugal, for example, the secular Black presence has left long-silenced traces in society, namely in vocabulary, agriculture, bullfighting, popular festivities, religiosity, literature, theatre, dance and music (see Tinhorão, 1988). According to Isabel Castro Henriques (2019), in Portugal, for centuries, the participation of Africans was constant and active in dance and music, among other festive activities, such as concerts and balls in public and private spaces. Influential authors (Tinhorão, 1988; Nery, 2004) defend that the fado musical genre, today Portuguese UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, has its origins in *modinha* and *lundum*, a genre of Afro-Brazilian dance and singing. Furthermore, one of the most famous fado singers of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Maria Severa (1820-1846), would have had enslaved, Roma or Black roots. According to this proposal on fado origins, cultural transits promoted by the ‘Black Atlantic’ made it possible for this ‘danced fado’ to arrive in Lisbon and be quickly adopted by the poor popular masses of the city, which was transformed into fado by the Lisbon Black, Roma and white working-class during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of Vicente Lusitano it is worth also noting here. This Portuguese Renaissance Black composer enjoyed an international career in Rome and went to Germany, where he became protestant. He is believed to be the first Black published composer of European classical music (Schumann, 2020). It is also good to remember Joseph Antonio Emidy, born in 1775 in West Africa. He was enslaved by the Portuguese as a child, brought to Brazil and after to Lisbon, where he trained as a violinist. Afterwards, he became a very influential musician in England (Davis, 2015).

Racism, exploitation, and diaspora contributed to the emergence and construction of a ‘Black Atlantic’ culture (Gilroy, 1993); and with the transatlantic circulation of Black

knowledge, products and individuals, many cultural practices were developed by Black people against dehumanisation (Mbembe, 2017). Pan-Africanism struggle was born from this 'Black Atlantic' culture with the objective of emancipation of Black people and Africans worldwide. In this transatlantic culture, a shared symbolic and cultural capital was built, sometimes with a declared anti-racist character. Anti-racism, which has been elaborated transnationally, has allowed the expansion of anti-racist processes that express themselves frequently in the artistic practices of people of African descent (see Gilroy, 1993; Hanchard, 1994). Thus, the anti-racist processes elaborated within Black artistic practices are fundamental to understanding race, racism and anti-racism. For instance, Harlem Renaissance/New Negro Movement (1920s-1930s) and *Négritude* (1930s-1940s) were artistic, intellectual, and cultural movements central to the anti-racist struggle in their time, namely Pan-Africanism and anti-colonial African struggle and both movements influenced Black artists and activists that fought against racism in Portugal. I will elaborate on these influences in the following chapters.

Gerald Horne's book, *Jazz and Justice: Racism and the Political Economy of the Music*, shows how jazz was deeply shaped by racism from its birth to the present day. In this study, the African American historian demonstrates how Black musicians resisted structural racism, and how this artistic practice entwined with white supremacy, organized crime, corruption, capitalist exploitation and imperialism (Horne, 2019). On the other hand, rap since its emergence, in the USA, and in many other places such as Portugal, has been shaped by race, racism and anti-racism. Rap is today a transnational culture, marked by its racial and anti-racist bases. In Portugal, besides rap music, the role of Black people is also central in the introduction of soul music, R&B, techno, kuduro or zouk/kizomba. Nowadays, Black artistic practices also extend beyond music in Portugal; they emerge in dance, theatre, film, fashion and literature (Roldão, 2019).

Artistic practices are thus fundamental for understanding racial issues and anti-racism in Portugal. Throughout this thesis, I will focus on the importance of the arts for the anti-racist struggle at different historical moments in Portugal, namely poetry and rap lyrics.

This page intentionally left blank

## CHAPTER 2 - THE BLACK MOVEMENT (1911-1933): AT THE ROOTS OF ANTI-RACISM

---

Between 1911 and 1933, a period spanning the First Portuguese Republic until the onset of Estado Novo Dictatorship<sup>20</sup>, several newspapers and organisations led by the first generation of the Black movement in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Portugal emerged in Lisbon. This movement resulted from the Republican Revolution, the political organisations and struggles that arose in the occupied African territories and the international Pan-Africanist movement. These activists struggled against racism and demanded rights for Africans in Portugal and the colonised territories (Varela & Pereira, 2020). The First Portuguese Republic was a period of social and political struggle that mobilised the working class, urban middle classes, women, students, Africans and the bourgeoisie (see Rosas & Rollo 2009, p. 11). During this time of democratic openness, great contestation and social dispute, many newspapers and organisations, such as parties, trade unions, clubs, or associations, appeared in Portugal and a generation of Black people organised themselves to defend their rights. It should also not be forgotten that the regime that emerged with the Republic was deeply patriotic and colonialist (Proença, 2009, p. 206); this political context also explains many of the struggles and contradictions of the generation I am about to delve into.

In the first part of this chapter, I discuss the idea of ‘silencing the past’, as developed by Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995), I will write about the long history of Black people in Portugal and I have a focus on the pioneering work of Mário Pinto de Andrade in the study of this generation. Then I will describe this movement in the Portuguese context (the organisations, their press, political disputes, etc.), considering their place in the Black internationalism. Finally, I will discuss political contradictions that ran through this generation, particularly about colonialism, forced labour and African national independence. I will then analyse the pioneering struggle that this movement had against racism in Portugal, looking at denunciations, perceptions and debates that were emerging in their Black press. Finally, I will dedicate a section to this generation's poetry (and other forms of literature),

---

<sup>20</sup> After the coup d'état of May 28 in 1926, which overthrew the First Portuguese Republic (1919-1926), began the Military Dictatorship (1926-1933), which later culminated in the Estado Novo (1933-1974), which was led by the dictator Oliveira Salazar, that implemented a fascist regime (on the particularities of Portuguese fascist regime see Rosas, 2019)

where anti-racism is present and essential elements of affirmation of Africanity and blackness appear.<sup>21</sup>

## 2.1 Silencing the past and the pioneer studies by Mário Pinto de Andrade

Up to this date, the history of this Black movement is not generally known by the Portuguese population, and it occupies a very marginal or almost invisible place in Portuguese historical research and academia. This omission cannot be understood without considering the power of the silencing of the past as a form of racism and social hierarchisation of society. However, in recent years this movement has been revealed in the academy, schools, in the press and in places of anti-racist activism.

In his book, *Silencing the past: power and the production of history*, the Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot shows how power operates in the production of history. Pointing out the Global North's failure to acknowledge the most significant enslaved revolt in history - the Haitian Revolution - he shows how silencing the past is used as a form of power. For the author, "[...] past does not exist independently from the present." and "The past – or, more accurately, pastness – is a position." (Trouillot, 1995, p. 15). For this scholar, human beings participate in history as protagonists and narrators (*ibidem*, p. 2), and our history is the fruit of power. For him, the ultimate power in historical production is historical invisibility and its ultimate challenge, the exposure of its roots (*ibidem*, p. xix). To Trouillot, the present is essential for history, and he believes that the authenticity of the past resides in the struggles of our present: only in the present can we be true or false to the past we choose to acknowledge (*ibidem*, p. 151). At the end of his book, he writes: "History does not belong only to its narrators, professionals or amateurs. While some of us debate what history is or was, others take it in their own hands." (*ibidem*, p. 153).

On the historical construction and maintenance of hegemonic narratives in Portugal, Miguel Cardina has shown how a selective representation of the past has maintained, in the post-imperial period, an official discourse of the singularity of the "Discoveries" and the specificity of the "Portuguese presence in the world" (Cardina, 2016). Furthermore, this has an impact on the construction of collective memory. Silvia Maeso contends that "[...] the

---

<sup>21</sup> As I mentioned in the introduction, Cristina Roldão, José Augusto Pereira and I have been developing collective research on this generation in recent years and much of the debate and information I bring to this chapter is a result of that collective work.

continuing renewal and centrality of the “cult of Discoveries” is possible as long as the institutionalisation of racism is silenced in the history of colonialism and today.”<sup>22</sup> (Maeso, 2016, p. 27). In this sense Marta Araújo’s and Silvia Maeso’s research on history school textbooks, have presented the reproduction of Eurocentric views that do not question racism (2010, 2012, 2016). According to the authors, school textbooks are at the centre of a complex set of power relations, being essential objects of study for crystallising common conceptions about national and European imaginaries. They state that:

In the last two centuries, education systems in Western societies have constituted crucial instruments for constructing nation-states and reproducing national identities. The homogenising project of the modern nation has largely resulted in eliminating students' diverse identities and subjectivities, thus masking and legitimising the persistence of inequalities. This has been achieved mainly through the imposition of national curricula, which reproduce Eurocentric representations of national/European history.<sup>23</sup> (Araújo & Maeso, 2010, p. 243)

The recognition of the importance of the past and present history of Black peoples in Europe and the world is a struggle mainly led by anti-racist activists and academics. Moreover, the challenging of the main narrative that Black people’s presence is recent in Europe allows us to invert, to some extent, the constant delegitimizing of Afrodescendants’ political action in Europe and enables the right to historical memory.

As I have already mentioned, many modern states have been built based on creating the imaginary of national white racial homogeneity, where ‘others’ are excluded to their margins (see Goldberg, 2002). This is a hegemonic reality among the European states and in Portugal, where racialized people are seen until today as outsiders, perpetuating racial inequalities in social, economic, and symbolical fields. The hegemonic historical narrative has been relatively silent on the importance of non-white peoples in the Portuguese past. This is a racist process of whitening Portuguese history, and the omission of the presence of Black people in Portugal over the ages is an example of the process of silencing the past. A silence that produces racism in the present and the future.

We can easily trace the presence of Black people in Portugal in written documents since the mid-fifteenth century. However, if we are to discuss on Afrodescendants before the construction of the category ‘Black’, we can go further: as far back as the Carthaginian

---

<sup>22</sup> “[...] a contínua renovação e centralidade do “culto dos descobrimentos” é possível enquanto a institucionalização do racismo seja silenciada na história do colonialismo e na atualidade.”

<sup>23</sup> “Nos dois últimos séculos, os sistemas educativos nas sociedades ocidentais constituíram instrumentos cruciais da construção dos Estados-Nação e da reprodução das identidades nacionais. O projeto homogeneizador da nação moderna resultou amplamente na eliminação das diversas identidades e subjetividades dos estudantes, mascarando e legitimando assim a persistência de desigualdades. Isto foi conseguido sobretudo pela via da imposição dos currículos nacionais, que reproduzem representações eurocêtricas da história nacional/europeia.”

presence in the Iberia Peninsula (575 BC to 206 BC) or the presence of Amazigh in the period of Al-Andalus (711-1492); and after with the transformation into *Mouriscos* till late seventeenth century in the Iberia Peninsula (see Manuel, 2010). For centuries, the presence of free and enslaved Black people was constant, mainly in the country's south; as I mentioned before, their influence was felt in agriculture, dance, festivities, literature, music, religion, labour hierarchies, theatre and vocabulary. Didier Lahon states that in 1550, the enslaved (mostly Black people) would have been 10% of the population in Lisbon. Between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Black people could have represented around 15% of the city's population (Lahon, 2004, pp. 73-80).

Portugal was central to modern racial slavery, and for many centuries enslaved Black people were forcibly brought under brutal violence by the Portuguese from Africa to the Americas (mainly Brazil), from continental Africa to African Islands such as Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe but also to Portugal. Portuguese-flagged ships were the ones that transported the highest numbers of forced Africans to the Americas (see *Slave Voyages*, 2022). Despite more than five centuries of documented written records on Black people in Portugal, the influence of Afrodescendants throughout Portuguese history is constantly ignored in the hegemonic culture. On the other hand, the legacies of slavery and colonialism are a constant presence in today's Portuguese society.

In the sixteenth century, Black people developed the neighbourhood of *Mocambo* in Lisbon that was recognised by a royal charter and named officially with an African word in the Bantu language. This was a neighbourhood of free Black people, but enslaved Africans also lived there (Castro Henriques & Leite, 2013). In the nineteenth century, *Travessa do Mocambo* [street], in what later became *Madragoa*, was the last toponymical memory of this past. Today, in the process of silencing the past, there is no memory of *Mocambo* and its Black presence in its old streets. With the abolition of slavery in the 'metropolis'<sup>24</sup> in 1761 (in the colonies remained until 1878); the decadence of the Portuguese empire; and the 'dilution' of the Black population among white inhabitants, the number of people perceived as Black may have diminished until the end of the nineteenth century, but they did not disappear. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we also had a constant presence of Black people in Portugal. For example, in the first decades of the century, this presence occurred with an African elite residing in Lisbon that belonged to the movement I will discuss here (Andrade, 1997a; Varela & Pereira, 2020), as well as other more impoverished Black and proletarian

---

<sup>24</sup> During colonialism, 'metropolis' was the reference to Portugal as opposed to the colonized territories.



segments residing in the capital (Castelo, 2022), however, there is not much data on this presence and it is not easy to understand the size of the Black population during these decades. Afterwards, between the 1940s-1960s, many university students, ship workers, maids and other Black workers lived in Lisbon. In the second half of the 1960s an important number of Cape Verdeans started to arrive to work in Portugal; in the post-independence period (1974-75) besides the white population living in Africa, many Black people arrived in the country; and in the late 1980s an important labour migration from several former Portuguese colonies intensified (see Batalha, 2004; Machado, 2009; Góis, 2008; Fikes, 2009). Black history in Portugal, as we can see, goes back several centuries.

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup>, the evidence of the Black presence in Portugal was a problem for many national scholars as this went against the construction of a white racial Portuguese identity (see Tinhorão, 1988, pp. 359-376). Back then, traces of the Black presence in Portugal were portrayed by anthropological studies in villages along the River Sado (Vasconcelos, 1920). Leite de Vasconcelos - a Portuguese linguist, archaeologist, and ethnologist - studied people of African heritage in the region of Sado river, in little villages on the margins of the Sado River, which has São Romão and Rio de Moinhos. In his documents, based on old racist anthropological categories, he classified them as “Portuguese specimens of the black race” and identified a process of ‘dilution’ of these communities. In those times, underestimating this presence and struggling for Portugal’s statute and belonging to white Europe, other Portuguese white scholars attempted to prove that Black people have had little impact on Portuguese society or its genetics throughout history (see Tinhorão, 1988, pp. 359-376; Araújo & Maeso, 2016, p. 156). In the case of anthropology in Portugal (as in other countries) the discipline also played a central role in the colonisation process, namely in the later phase of colonialism (Mateus Pereira, 2021).

Since the 1980s, there has been crucial academic research on the history of Black people in Portugal, which has shown its importance in the past, namely through studies on slavery (Saunders, 1982; Fonseca, 2002; Lahon, 2004; Caldeira, 2017); African presence (Castro Henriques, 2009, 2019; Castro Henriques & Leite, 2013; Castro Henriques & Silva, 2020; Alcântara, Roldão & Cruz, 2019; Carmo, Sousa, Varela, Ventura & Bivar, 2020); Black religious brotherhoods (Reginaldo, 2009; Lahon, 2012); and the long and silenced presence of Black people in the country (Tinhorão, 1988; Lahon, 1999). I highlight two books with a broad overview of the theme: *Os Negros em Portugal: Uma Presença Silenciosa* (1988), by José Ramos Tinhorão, and *O Negro no Coração do Império. Uma*

*memória a resgatar – Séculos XV a XIX* (1999), from Didier Lahon. José Ramos Tinhorão shows how the Portuguese historians ignored, despised, or whitened the presence of Black people in Portugal over time (Tinhorão, 1988, p. 359). Didier Lahon argues that after the end of the nineteenth century, the visible and invisible memory of the Black presence was erased from the general awareness (Lahon, 1999, p. 15). These two studies acknowledge the silencing of the continuous presence of Black people in Portugal. However, they do not address the impact of this silencing on contemporary racism. In fact, it is a silence built by racist and colonial ideologies and promoted by the state in its official narratives and schools. It is a silence that blocks the access of Black people to its history in general and specifically to the right to memory in Portugal. This silence affects Black lives today and promotes structural and institutional racism that causes social, economic, and symbolic inequalities. It is also a silence that develops the idea that Black people are foreigners, outsiders or immigrants and do not belong here, preventing many of them from accessing the Portuguese nationality (even when born here), as shown in the previous chapter. This silencing also extends to the history of Muslims or Roma people in Portugal (see Ferreira, 2018).

By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, some Portuguese white sociologists, anthropologists, and geographers in Portuguese academia start to research and publish many papers and books on Black people in Portugal from the perspective of migration. They were mainly looking at the people who came after the 1960s. They often could not acknowledge the presence of Afrodescendants in Portugal over the centuries and in other decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Considerable academic research on the constant and prolonged presence of Black people in Portugal has not changed the hegemonic narrative that Black people's presence is a new phenomenon in Portuguese society. Even when it is admitted this long presence, there is the perception that Black people had very little influence on society and its transformation. This silence is a product of racism, reproduces racism and promotes inequalities in the present and for the future. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot puts forth, this shows us that the past does not exist independently from the present, and pastness is a position we need to confront (Trouillot, 1995).

I believe that historic research is not enough, and when conducting that research on the past, we have to struggle always for the present. We cannot easily change the hegemonic narrative because 'official' history is mainly a matter of power relations in the production of knowledge, interpretation of frameworks, and then of what is considered as relevant data. That is why Black people and non-whites were 'expelled' from Portuguese memory. It is

not only a struggle in the history academic field; it is a political combat in the present, carried out today by Black, Roma and the anti-racist movement.

It is no accident that the first main research on the Black movement from 1911-1933 was carried by the Angolan intellectual Mário Pinto de Andrade in the 1980s and 1990s, notably through his posthumous and unfinished book, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano: Continuidade e ruptura nos movimentos unitários emergentes da luta contra a dominação colonial portuguesa 1911-1961* (1997a).

Cristina Roldão, José Augusto Pereira and I, building upon Mário Pinto de Andrade's pioneering work, have been researching this generation and disseminating the trajectory of this Black movement. I highlight our publications and exhibition: 'As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933): uma geração pan-africanista e antirracista' (Varela & Pereira, 2019); 'Feminismo negro em Portugal: falta contar-nos' (Roldão, 2019); The Exhibition 'Para uma história do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933)' (Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2019); 'A história silenciada do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933)' (Pereira & Varela, 2019); 'Direito à memória e antirracismo: reivindicar o movimento negro de 1911-1933' (Varela, 2019); 'As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933): uma geração pan-africanista e antirracista' (Varela & Pereira, 2020); 'Jornal O Negro - Edição comemorativa do 110º aniversário' (Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2021).

It is also important to mention other studies. In 1968, Eduardo Manuel Cardoso dos Santos, in his book *Pan-africanismo: de ontem e de hoje*, dedicates a descriptive chapter, entitled "Os primeiros anos do Pan-africanismo em Portugal", to the newspapers and organisations from this generation, but there is no in-depth analysis. The various studies from the Santomean historian Carlos Espírito Santo, who, in recent decades, has focused on many of the activists from São Tomé and Príncipe that were part of this movement. From his works, I highlight *O Nacionalismo Político São-Tomense* (2012), *Aires Menezes: O Leão* (2001); *Torre de Razão* (2000a); *Almas de elite santomenses* (2000b). And the studies by José Castro and José Luís Garcia (1995) and by the latter author alone (Garcia, 2012, 2017, 2022), on Mário Domingues also reveal the trajectory of a black anarcho-syndicalist journalist who belonged to this movement at a later stage.

Mário Pinto Andrade (1928-1990) was an intellectual, sociologist African nationalist and anticolonial militant. Marxist and promoter of Black culture, founder of MPLA (Popular Movement of Liberation of Angola) and its first president. He lived in Portugal between 1948 and 1954, where he was part of the African nationalist generation linked to the *Centro*

*de Estudos Africanos* [Centre for African Studies] and the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* [Empire's House of Students] that he entitled 'Cabral's Generation' in reference to one of his foremost leaders, Amílcar Cabral. Within this generation Andrade was a fundamental piece in its unity and internationalist networks. In those years, he was a companion of Agostinho Neto, Alda Espírito Santo, Amílcar Cabral, Francisco José Tenreiro, Marcelino dos Santos, Noémia de Sousa, Viriato da Cruz, among others Black activists living in Portugal (see Mata & Padilha, 2000). After, during his exile in Paris, he was editor of *Presence Africaine* magazine and met significant figures of the *Négritude* movement. During the Angolan independence process in 1974-75, among others with political divergences with the leadership of MPLA, he was removed from the party and exiled from his country.

Afterwards, he went to Guinea-Bissau, where he became 'Minister of Information and Culture', becoming one of the militants dedicated to culture and arts during the first years of independence and the country's reconstruction after the liberation war. In 1980, during 'Nino' Vieira's military coup, he did not return to the country, spending the rest of his life in exile in several countries, such as Cape Verde, Portugal, France, Mozambique and England. In these last years, he immersed himself in the past of what he called the 'proto-nationalists'. He started with a question similar to ours (but from a different perspective) that led us to the same generation. Andrade asked, where did the African nationalist movement against Portuguese colonialism started? In our case, we asked, where did the anti-racist struggle and the Black movement in Portugal began?

During the 1980s, Mário Pinto de Andrade start to present his research in lectures and interviews in several African countries. I highlight, for example, the lectures he gave in Cape Verde (1984)<sup>25</sup> and in São Tomé and Príncipe (1985)<sup>26</sup>; and the interviews he gave for two Cape Verdean newspapers during that time<sup>27</sup>. Then in 1990 was released a paper, '*As ordens do discurso do "Clamor Africano": continuidade e ruptura na ideologia do nacionalismo unitário*' (1990), in a Mozambican academic journal. Mário Pinto de Andrade died that year at the age of 62 with his life's work unfinished. In 1997, his posthumous book was published, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano: Continuidade e ruptura nos movimentos unitários emergentes da luta contra a dominação colonial portuguesa 1911-1961*.

---

<sup>25</sup> 'Do protonacionalismo à modernidade', Conferências Praia, 30/07/1984 e Mindelo, 02/08/1984.

<sup>26</sup> 'Considerações sobre a história das ideias nacionalistas nos países emergentes da luta contra a dominação cultural portuguesa', Conferência em São Tomé, 02/03/1985.

<sup>27</sup> 'É urgente recuperar a nossa memória histórica', *África Jornal*, Cabo Verde, 12/12/1984, pp. 28-29; 'As origens do nacionalismo nas ex-colónias portuguesas', *Tribuna: órgão de informação do sector urbano da Praia do PAICV*, Cabo Verde, n.º 11, 05/1985, pp. 6-7.

In Andrade's perspective, the 'proto-nationalists' were a generation of Black people who organised themselves politically in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to demand rights in Portugal, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. He looked at that generation as a mirror that reflected the early struggles that paved the way for a later generation of African nationalists to fight for the liberation of the then-Portuguese colonies (in which he included himself). Andrade sought to look and study the struggles led by Black organisations that had strong networks between them in the different occupied territories in Africa and the 'metropolis', putting an essential emphasis on the activists who fought in Portugal during that time. They could be collectively entitled 'proto-nationalists' in this bold and comprehensive perspective. We can also integrate his analysis into the historical research of the 'nativist movement' (see Varela & Pereira, 2020).

The perspective that I bring to this thesis and that José Augusto Pereira and I previously advocated (Varela & Pereira, 2020) focuses mainly on what was happening in Portugal then. We look at these activists in Lisbon as the builders of the first Black movement in the country, therefore, we shifted the focus from Mário Pinto de Andrade's 'proto-nationalism' to understand “[...] this group of activists as Pan-Africanists [...] and as [...] the first generation of the Black and anti-racist movement in Portugal.” (Varela & Pereira, 2020, p. 25). Our vision does not try to diminish the perspective of 'proto-nationalism' but we pretend to study this movement from a new angle. Accordingly, from the Portuguese reality, they can be understood as a Black movement; from an international angle, they were part of the Pan-Africanist movement; from an African perspective they can be understood as 'proto-nationalists'. These different perspectives should not cancel each other out, but rather be complementary.

## 2.2 An anti-racist and Pan-Africanist generation: the press and the organizations

Between 1911 and 1933, many Black press titles were published in Lisbon: *O Negro* (1911), *A Voz D'Africa* (1912-1913 and 1927-1930), *Tribuna D'Africa* (1913 and 1931-1932), *O Eco D'Africa* (1914-1915), *Portugal Novo* (1915), *A Nova Pátria* (1916-1918), *Correio de Africa* (1921-1923 and 1924), *O Protesto Indigena* (1921), *A Mocidade Africana* (1930-1932), *Africa* (1931 and 1932-1933) and *Africa Magazine* (1932). In these decades the importance of the Black press extended from Africa to the diaspora. I use the concept of

'Black press', following Petrônio Domingues, that considers that 'Black press' is a press published by Black people and dedicated to the Black community (Domingues, 2004, p. 60).

This press in Lisbon was representative of the many political and cultural organisations that emerged in this period, such as *Associação dos Estudantes Negros*, *Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de Africa*, *Liga Africana*, *Partido Nacional Africano*, *Grémio dos Africanos*, *Ke-Aflikana* and *Movimento Nacionalista Africano*. From the denunciation of specific racist episodes to the struggle against the ideology of white supremacy and institutional discrimination, anti-racism will be a permanent issue for this generation, from the first to the last publications and from the most combative organizations to the institutionalised ones. This generation will thus be a pioneer in the anti-racist struggle in Portugal. In this chapter I discuss this generation between 1911 and 1933, because this is the period that comprises their first and last publications/organizations in Lisbon and the beginning and end of a movement.

*O Negro* was the first newspaper of this movement, although only three numbers were published, it became a reference for an entire generation that was beginning to struggle for rights. Black students in Lisbon made it a powerful and radical anti-racist press tool. The first number starts with this radical discourse:

Let us reflect... Our slavery is secular, and by its virtue, we have suffered all kinds of vexations and tyrannies, and by its virtue we have been the target, where the envy, the crime and the insult have been penetrated with impunity with their poisonous arrows [...] we do not want to continue to be cheated because we are tired of paying, we are tired of tutors, Saviors and Lords, and all we hope for, is to learn to guide our ideas and free ourselves from all forms of tyranny and exploitation with which we have been enslaved, had our intelligence crushed and all our manifestations of social life. [...] We want Africa to be the social property of Africans, not shredded for the benefit of the nations that conquered it and the individuals who colonised it by robbing and enslaving its indigenous people. [...] Well, each race must work to emancipate itself, overcoming all the obstacles of the present reality that prevent them from fraternizing, because the emancipation of each race can only be and must be the result of their own efforts.<sup>28</sup> ('Reflitamos' and 'A Nossa Orientação', 1911, p. 1)

These powerful words were written in Lisbon six months after the Republican Revolution, when dreams and struggles took the streets, factories, military barracks, schools

---

<sup>28</sup> "Reflitamos... A nossa escravidão é secular e em virtude dela temos sofrido todos os vexames e tiranias e em virtude dela temos sido o alvo aonde a inveja, o crime e o insulto têm crivado impunemente as suas setas venenosas [...] não queremos continuar a ser enganados, porque estamos fartos de pagar, estamos fartos de tutores, de Salvadores e Senhores e tudo o que aspiramos é aprender a orientar as nossas ideias e a libertar-nos de todas as formas de tirania e exploração com que nos têm escravizado, esmagado em nós todas as energias de inteligência e todas as manifestações de vida social. [...] Queremos a Africa propriedade social dos africanos e não retalhada em proveito das nações que a conquistaram e dos indivíduos que a colonizaram roubando e escravizando os seus indígenas. [...] Pois bem, é forçoso que cada raça trabalhe para emancipar-se, vencendo todos os obstáculos da realidade presente que as impedem de se confraternizarem, porque a emancipação de cada raça só pode e deve ser o resultado dos seus próprios esforços."

and associations; and influenced Black people in Lisbon and in the African Portuguese ‘colonies’. All the names related to this journal are from young men of São Tomé and Príncipe origin, such as Ayres de Menezes, Artur Monteiro de Castro, José Cunha Lisboa, Alberto José da Costa and Pedro Gamboa. This African archipelago was one of the main Portuguese colonies at the time and a local Black elite had emerged there. Mário Pinto de Andrade (1990) reminds us that it was in this archipelago where the first impulse of Black organizations movement in the Portuguese colonised territories in Africa happened, and it was this political legacy that these young people carried with them to Lisbon. In effect, the activists of Santomean origin would stand out in this Portuguese Black movement over the years alongside Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Bissau Guineans and Mozambicans.

In the very first number of *O Negro* newspaper, there are reports of cases of racism in Portugal: “We were told that in some schools Black students are treated with less respect, and that injustices perpetrated by teachers that make us sick took place.”<sup>29</sup> (‘Parcialidades’, 1911, p. 2). There are also references to Booker T. Washington, the influential African American activist. And they also follow the processes of oppression and nationalist struggles around the world:

A short while ago, Russians talked again about the yellow peril? Do they not continue to exterminate the Poles, that handful of heroes whose life of sacrifice and heroicity fills the universe with astonishment? Don't the Turks continue to persecute and slaughter the Armenians? Do not Europe in Africa and the Americans in America continue to lynch blacks, confident in the impunity and mental and morphological, fatal and irremediable inferiority of that race on whose forehead the colour of the night they managed to read the curse of inexorable sentences?<sup>30</sup> (‘A Nossa Orientação’, 1911, p. 1)

The newspaper has had a difficult journey, being the target of racism and hate. In the second number, the editorial announces that the newspaper has received threats and declarations of revenge in anonymous letters. And in the third number, they denounce those who have insulted *O Negro* and declare that what moves the newspaper is not resentment, hatred or revenge, but “a thought of love and justice” that aims to emancipate Black people and all people in general.

---

<sup>29</sup> “Consta-nos que em certos estabelecimentos de ensino os estudantes negros são tratados com menos correção, havendo mesmo por parte de determinados professores injustiças que nos enojam.”

<sup>30</sup> “Os russos ainda há pouco não nos tornaram a falar do perigo amarelo? Não continuam a exterminar os polacos, esse punhado de heróis, cuja vida de sacrifícios e de heroicidades enche de assombro o universo? Os turcos não continuam a perseguir e trucidar os arménios? A Europa na África e os americanos na América não continuam a linchar os negros confiantes na impunidade e na inferioridade mental e morfológica, fatal e irremediável dessa raça em cuja fronte da cor da noite eles conseguiram ler a maldição das sentenças inexoráveis?”

Much of what we know today of this movement is revealed in their Black press. The pages that have resisted the deterioration of time or the contempt of those responsible for archiving show us political views, international influences, names of organisations and activists, faces on photographs, poems, short stories, literary references or addresses. This Black movement raised their struggle and ideas through their newspapers and the different organisations they built. They were deeply transnational, connecting Black people in Portugal, Angola, Cape-Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe; and they shared ideologies and militancy with others from other African countries and African Diaspora, such as USA, France or Brazil.

This generation also witnessed deep ideological and political struggles in Europe. For example, in 1911, *O Negro* hailed the working-class and the humanitarian “Free France”, referring to the political struggles that were taking place there against the persecution of trade unionists; in 1913, *Voz D’Africa* evoked the history of the Paris Commune; and the newspaper *A Mocidade Africana* in the early 1930s has references to the Soviet Union and Karl Marx.

This movement was heterogeneous and influenced by different perspectives, from the most moderate to the most radical. We can say that the movement was born united, divided for many years, and only decades later, to a certain extent, converged. The paths of its leading organisations, the *Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África*, the *Liga Africana*, the *Partido Nacional Africano* and the *Movimento Nacionalista Africano*, show us precisely that. Also noteworthy are the *Grémio dos Africanos* and *Ke-Aflikana*, cultural organisations where women played an important role (see Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023).

Crucial figures of this movement were João de Castro, José de Magalhães, Ayres de Menezes, Artur de Castro, Heliodoro de Castro, Nicolau dos Santos Pinto, Marcos Bensabat, Georgina Ribas, Mário Domingues and Viana de Almeida. Two of them were members of the Portuguese parliament, João de Castro and José de Magalhães, and both represented different factions in this Black movement for years.

In 1912, a year after the launch of *O Negro*, a group of men (literally) of African origin met in Lisbon to form the *Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África*. This federation wrote that they wanted to bring together the various African organisations in Portugal and Africa. In its early days, José de Magalhães was appointed president and João de Castro secretary general (*A Voz D’Africa*, 1912, p. 2). However, the two quickly became leaders of two tendencies that embodied different perspectives on the struggle over the years. In 1913, disagreements arose, reflected in the dispute for control of the *Junta* and its official



newspaper, *A Voz D'Africa*. João de Castro, who had been director of the newspaper until its number eleven, was dismissed and decided to establish another newspaper with the editor Ayres de Menezes, *Tribuna D'Africa*, which they declared to be the official body “[...] of the JDDA [*Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África*] and, therefore, for its editorial and administrative staff, for its ideas and aspirations, the true continuation of *A Voz*”<sup>31</sup> (*Tribuna D'Africa*, 1913a, p. 1). On the other hand, the editorial of *A Voz D'Africa* claimed to have been treacherously attacked by *Tribuna D'Africa* (*A Voz D'Africa*, 1913a, p. 1)

These disputes would continue for years and were later evidenced by the creation of two distinct organisations: the *Liga Africana* in 1920 and the *Partido Nacional Africano* in 1921, the first linked to José de Magalhães' faction and the latter to João de Castro's. The divisions that led to the emergence of these two organisations showed more radical or moderate views and reflected the international debates of the Pan-African congresses, namely the ones that were dividing the Pan-African movement in 1921. And in general, the PNA assumed more radical and Black autonomy stances, influenced by Marcus Garvey's Black nationalist ideas. At the same time, the *Liga Africana* maintained more institutional and conciliatory conduct and was linked to the era of the Pan-African Congresses. The divergences could also demonstrate differences between wealthier and more intermediate segments of the Black and African society.

In 1921, on the front page of *Protesto Indigena*, published in Lisbon in 1921 and claiming to be the “interpreter of the aspirations” of the *Partido Nacional Africano*, we could read the following anti-racist political discourse:

The Indigenous protest: It is the pain and suffering kneaded in blood and tears! It is Dante's Hell of all torments and all troubles! It is the agony and vilification of five centuries of martyrdom that cannot be rescued! Through his mouth, sparkling with rage and despair speaks the Homeric and secular voice of millions of victims, millions of martyrs, killed, prostituted, and raped! Lacerated with whipping, foaming blood and pus from a thousand wounds, the bodies still have the strength and energy to throw the hideous face of their executioners "The Protest", of their contempt, a violent and distressing explosion of their unparalleled misfortune! The dead command, the dead speak, the dead want revenge! Expropriated from goods that were theirs; stripped from liberties that were theirs; killed treacherously, and thrown into the graves, between laughs and satisfaction; the dead rise triumphantly from the graves, souls vibrate, singing victory and shading with nightmares, from anxieties and fears, the debauched life of their executioners! On the pretext of giving them a civilisation, which is a lie, they plundered, raped, murdered - with fury, malice, and unprecedented greed! From the fifteenth century to the present, the story of these crimes is a stain of blood and filth, shaming the human conscience and facing the satanic rage of Justice! [...] What had the innocent victims done to them? What is their crime? Was the colour of their faces, by chance, a stigma, a threat, an affront? No! A thousand times, No! [...] Five

---

<sup>31</sup> “[...] órgão da JDDA e, portanto pelo seu corpo redatorial e administrativo, pelas suas ideias e aspirações, o verdadeiro continuador de *A Voz*.”

centuries! And even today, the Black race is a caste of oppressed people! [...] Oh! But "The Protest" must rise so high, fair, and indignant that the stones will fall, dragging along with them the traitors - the false and the tyrants! In this great moment, the Blacks, with the certainty of their right, conscious of the bright reason of their justice, perhaps will feel their eyes wet with the pitiful mourning that is due to all the dead, and this will touch them, perhaps for the vanquished, this generous pardon of the great souls. "The Indigenous Protest" then, will only become a harmonious suit for free life, for human equality, for universal concord.<sup>32</sup> ('O Protesto Indígena', 1921, p. 1)

The *Protesto Indígena*, representing the aspirations of the recently created *Partido Nacional Africano*, emerged in opposition to the *Liga Africana*; in its only number there are political criticisms against the *Liga's* leaders for their supposed alignment with Portuguese colonialism, but they also took the form of personal offences. Later, in 1931 already during a period of dictatorship, João de Castro, Marcos Bensabat and others joined efforts to establish the *Movimento Nacional Africano* (Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023). This organisation played a role in reconciling the movement but brought deeply political contradictions. Its official newspaper now stated that João de Castro and José de Magalhães were no longer irreconcilable and announced that the latter would be honorary president of the organisation's National Council. Still, it seems that he had no influential role in this organisation since there are no more references to his work in the movement after. At the same time, in this period, the movement took a less critical stance toward colonial policies and seemed increasingly influenced by the Portuguese imperial nationalistic ideology (Varela & Pereira, 2020). In the *Movimento Nacional Africano* official newspaper, *Africa*, João de Castro's role became less and less relevant, and the newspaper appeared to be taken

---

<sup>32</sup> "O Protesto Indígena é a dor e o sofrimento amassados em sangue e em lágrimas! É o Inferno dantesco de todos os tormentos e de todas as angústias! É a agonia e o vilipêndio de cinco séculos de martírio irresgatáveis! Pela sua boca, espumante de raiva e de desespero, fala a voz homérica e secular de milhões de vítimas, de milhões de mártires, mortos, prostituídos e violados! Retalhados de vergastadas, esvurmendo sangue e pus de mil feridas, os corpos têm ainda vigor e alento para lançar à face hedionda dos seus algozes "O Protesto" do seu desprezo, explosão violenta e angustiosa do seu infortúnio sem par! É que mortos mandam, os mortos falam, os mortos vingam! Espoliados de bens que eram seus; esbulhados de liberdades que eram suas; mortos, traiçoeiramente, e lançados, à vala, por entre gargalhadas e motejos; os mortos levantam-se, triunfantes, dos túmulos, as almas vibram, cantantes de vitória e ensombrando de pesadelos, de angústias e de medos, a vida crapulosa dos seus carrascos! A pretexto de lhes darem uma civilização, que é uma mentira, saquearam, violaram, assassinaram - com fúria, com maldade, com cupidez sem igual! Do século XV ao presente a história desses crimes é uma mancha de sangue e lodo, envergonhado a consciência humana e afrontando a cólera satânica da Justiça! [...] Que lhes haviam feito as vítimas inocentes? Qual o seu crime? A cor dos seus rostos era, porventura, um estigma, um labéu, uma afronta? Não! Mil vezes, Não! [...] Cinco séculos! E ainda hoje a raça negra é uma casta de oprimidos! [...] Ah! Mas "O Protesto" há-de subir tão alto, tão justo, tão indignado, que as pedras hão-de aluir, arrastando, na derrocada - conjuntamente com os traidores, - os embusteiros e os tiranos! Nesta hora sobre todas bendita, os negros, fortes da serena fortaleza do seu direito, conscientes da alumburada razão da sua justiça, porventura, sentirão humedecerem-se-lhes os olhos do pranto piedoso que se deve a todos os mortos e tocá-los-á, talvez pelos vencidos, esse generoso perdão das grandes almas. "O Protesto Indígena" então, tornar-se-á, apenas, um harmonioso terno à vida livre, à igualdade humana, à concórdia universal."

by white military officers with colonial interests at a time when the dictatorship was being consolidated.

Mário Pinto de Andrade mentions that this generation disappeared, submerged in the contradictions inherent to the *Movimento Nacional Africano* (Andrade, 1997a, p. 77), and, according to our research (Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023), due to the repression of the Estado Novo dictatorship, since some of the most prominent Black activists living in Lisbon were persecuted by the regime. The PIDE-DGS archives show us how some leaders of this movement were later treated: Viana de Almeida was arrested in 1938 for three months<sup>33</sup> and João de Castro in 1941<sup>34</sup> (very probably after being beaten and tortured thereafter, as he spent two weeks in the prison infirmary). Both would thus be prevented from maintaining their regular journalistic and militant activity during the Estado Novo dictatorship.

We know that an essential part of the members of this Black movement in Portugal came from the Portuguese-occupied territories in Africa, they arrived as children or teenagers, with their family or to study and work. W.E.B. Du Bois describes that the members of the Liga Africana in the 1923 Lisbon Pan-African session were students, doctors, lawyers, engineers and merchants (Du Bois, 1924). In 1931, The newspaper *A Mocidade Africana* reported: “There are in Lisbon, although it may not seem so, hundreds and hundreds of Africans from our colonies working in various professions or studying. But how many are they? One thousand, two thousand, five thousand? We won't be able to assess exactly.”<sup>35</sup> (‘O proletário negro’, 1931, p. 1). Mário Pinto de Andrade (1990) refers that the leaders of this movement came mainly from an African elite but that nothing is known exactly about its militant base, only sometimes the press alluding to an “African colony” of Lisbon with “hundreds of blacks” and that many would live under misery. An African elite led the movement, mainly middle class and petit bourgeois. It is also necessary to understand that the leaders of this movement represented an African colonial class in decline at a time when Portuguese imperialism was advancing: both based on colonial monopolies and through a white population occupying positions previously held by Black people.

Women were somewhat in this movement’s sidelines but not absent. In 1929, *Voz D’Africa*, will show photographs of nine leaders of *Partido Nacional Africano*; three women

---

<sup>33</sup> Viana de Almeida PVDE (1938). ‘João Viana de Sousa e Almeida’. Serviços Centrais, Registo Geral de Presos, liv. 49, registo n.º 9626. PIDE/DGS Archives – ANTT.

<sup>34</sup> João de Castro PVDE (1941). ‘João Monteiro de Castro’. Serviços Centrais, Registo Geral de Presos, liv. 67, registo n.º 13281. PIDE/DGS Archives – ANTT.

<sup>35</sup> “Em Lisboa, existem, distribuídos pelos diferentes bairros, para cima de cinco mil africanos, na sua grande maioria filiados no Partido Nacional Africano [...]”

being among them: Maria Dias d'Alva Teixeira, Maria Nazareth Ascenso and Georgina Ribas (Roldão, 2019). The last was the most important name among them. Georgina Ribas was born in Angola and came to Portugal at three years old and became pianist (Andrade, 1997). She was a founder of *Grémio dos Africanos* and one of the prominent leaders of this African cultural association in Lisbon. Through this Black press, some names of Black women in Lisbon linked to the movement appear; however, there are no relevant articles written by them or in-depth descriptions of their roles as activists. Thus, there is a void about their political views and thoughts (see Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023). There are also a few references to national and international women's struggles. In 1913, *Voz D'Africa* criticised the decision of the Portuguese parliament to block the right of women to vote:

Similar to what happened in Italy, it seems that the Portuguese parliament would not grant women the right to vote. The supreme reason is the fear that they, being conservative and clerical, may contribute to the progress of the conservatism. And this is said with unimpeachable seriousness as if all the men who are to vote were the most progressive spirits of this and the other world!<sup>36</sup> ('As mulheres e o voto', 1913, p. 3)

In the same year, *Tribuna D'Africa* will support the struggle of suffragettes in England and dedicates a tribute to the tragic death of Emily Davison. The English suffragist died after being hit by King George V's horse at the 1913 Derby, "She was, at last, a true martyr of revolutionary feminism, struggling to carry out her ideal."<sup>37</sup> was written in the pages of this newspaper (*Tribuna D'Africa*, 1913b, p. 3).

**Table 1 - Black Press in Lisbon from 1911 to 1933<sup>38</sup>**

Title	Period	Organisations	Leaders	Published numbers
<i>O Negro</i>	1911	<i>Associação dos Estudantes Negros;</i> <i>Liga Académica Internacional dos Negros</i>	José Cunha Lisboa; Alberto José da Costa; Ayres de Menezes; Arthur Monteiro.	3
<i>A Voz D'Africa (1.º)</i>	1912-1913	<i>Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África</i>	Ayres de Menezes; João de Castro; João de Carvalho; N. Santos Pinto; Luís Ledesma; António Maria Santos.	24

<sup>36</sup> "Parece que, a exemplo do que se passou na Itália, o congresso português não concederá o direito de voto às mulheres. Como razão suprema invoca-se o receio de que elas, sendo conservadoras e clericais, possam contribuir para o progresso da reação. E diz-se isto com uma seriedade impagável, como se todos os homens que hão de votar fossem os espíritos mais progressivos deste e de outro mundo!"

<sup>37</sup> "Foi, enfim, uma verdadeira mártir do feminismo revolucionário, esforçando-se por bem levar a cabo o seu ideal."

<sup>38</sup> Based on the table created in Varela & Pereira (2020).

<i>Tribuna D'Africa (1.º)</i>	1913	<i>Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África</i>	João de Castro; Ayres de Menezes; João de Carvalho.	11
<i>O Eco D'Africa</i>	1914-1915	<i>Liga Angolana</i>	Lino Bayão; Manuel Ranjel.	14
<i>Portugal Novo</i>	1915	<i>Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África</i>	Augusto António Évora; Pascoal Amado; Marcos Bensabat; Raymundo Ledo Pontes; João Pascoal Will; João Albasini; Manuel Pereira dos Santos; Vandunem Júnior; Martinho Nobre de Melo; António Cursino Lopes.	4
<i>A Nova Pátria</i>	1916-1918	<i>Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África</i>	A. Silva; M. Sequeira.	9
<i>O Protesto Indigena</i>	1921	<i>Partido Nacional Africano</i>	Borja Santos; Amancio da Silva Ribeiro; António Gonçalves da Motta.	1
<i>Correio de Africa (1.º)</i>	1921-1923	<i>Liga Africana</i>	Cursino Lopes; A. de Sousa Magalhães; Lino Bayão; Nicolau dos Santos Pinto; Luís A. De Pinho; José de Magalhães.	65
<i>Correio de Africa (2.º)</i>	1924	<i>Liga Africana</i>	Lino de Sousa Bayão; J. Carneiro.	5
<i>A Voz D'Africa (2.º)</i>	1927-1930	<i>Partido Nacional Africano</i>	João de Castro; Mário Domingues; José Lisboa da Silva; Manoel José da Silva Martins; Angelina Praia; Carlos Ferreira Gomes da Silva; Marcos Bensabat; Viana D'Almeida; Luís da Cunha Lisboa; Herculano Levy; Heliodoro de Castro; António Gonçalves.	19
<i>A Mocidade Africana</i>	1930-1932	-	Manuel Dias da Graça; Júlio Medina de Rosário; Júlio Monteiro; Viana de Almeida; Manuel Quaresma Dias da Graça; Júlio Miguel Monteiro Júnior.	31
<i>Tribuna D'Africa (2.º)</i>	1931-1932	-	Artur de Castro; Luís da Cunha Lisboa; Joaquim Ramos; Mário Domingues; D. Ursula Cardoso; Inácio dos Santos Torres; Jorge	14

			Betencourt; José Franco.	
<i>Africa (1.º)</i>	1931	<i>Movimento Nacionalista Africano</i>	João de Castro; José Alfredo Jorge.	1
<i>Africa (2.º)</i>	1932-1933	<i>Movimento Nacionalista Africano</i>	João de Castro; Marcos Bensabat; ‘Capitão’ José Francisco Filipe; ‘Tenente’ Manuel Pires Rosendo.	46
<i>Africa Magazine</i>	1932	-	Mário Domingues; Viana de Almeida; Duarte Pinheira.	3

## 2.3 Inside the Pan-African international struggle

“Indigenous people from the five provinces of Portuguese Africa, unite! Blacks of the world, unite!”<sup>39</sup>. These words were highlighted in *Tribunal D’Africa* (1932), directed by Artur de Castro and Mário Domingues. Down below one note shows that the censorship commission revised this periodical. The call “Blacks of the world, unite!” also appears in 1921 in *O Protesto Indigena* and 1931 in the *Africa* newspaper. This generation was part of the Pan-Africanist movement of the time and influenced by Black nationalism. In their press there are also often references to Black leaders such as Toussaint Louverture, Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, José do Patrocínio and Blaise Diagne.

Pan-Africanist thought emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century from the common heritage of Africans around the world, shaped by slavery, colonialism, and resistance. This led to the emergence of a collective Black/African identity and struggle. The meetings in Paris in 1919; London, Brussels, and Paris in 1921; London and Lisbon in 1923; and New York in 1927 marked the first cycle of the Pan-African Congresses. In those decades, the main influences and divergences in the Pan-Africanist movement were felt around figures such as W.E.B Du Bois, Blaise Diagne and Marcus Garvey. Hakim Adi, considers that Pan-Africanism evolved as:

[...] as a variety of ideas, activities, organisations and movements that, sometimes in concert, resisted the exploitation and oppression of all those of African heritage, opposed and refuted the ideologies of anti-African racism and celebrated African achievement, history and the very notion of being African. Pan-Africanism looks forward to a genuinely united and independent Africa as the basis for the liberation of all Africans, both on the continent and in the diaspora. (Adi, 2013, p. 3)

<sup>39</sup> “Índigenas das cinco províncias da África Portuguesa, uni-vos! Negros de todo o mundo, uni-vos!”

The 1911-1933 generation was part of this Pan-Africanist activism and its debates. They built organisations connecting Black people from Portugal and different African territories (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe), and they were associated with other organisations and leaders in the USA or France. In 1921, José de Magalhães and Nicolau dos Santos Pinto were delegates in the Pan-African Congress sessions as members of the *Liga Africana*. After this congress, these two delegates joined the permanent council of the Pan-African Association (Magalhães, 1921). But when they arrived in Portugal, they were accused by the recently formed *Partido Nacional Africano* mainly because of Nicolau dos Santos Pinto's intervention in the congress, to omit the atrocities of the Portuguese colonisation, in particular the existence of forced labour in the colonies. We must remember that Nicolau dos Santos Pinto was a Black São Tomé-born landowner and businessman. Back in Lisbon, there was a meeting of the Black movement, which took place with a great dispute, showing the deep divisions that existed in this Black movement and which diverged the *Partido Nacional Africano* from the *Liga Africana*. The anarcho-syndicalist newspaper *A Batalha* describes it thus:

The meeting called by the Liga Africana got tense [...] The first speaker was Mr Nicolau Pinto, a member of the Liga Africana, who constantly interrupted and had to give up, as also did Mr José de Magalhães, the majority of the assembly erupting with cheers for Mr Marcus Garvey and the Partido Nacional Africano and out to Mr Diagne, traitor to the African cause [...] <sup>40</sup> ('O congresso Pan-Africano', 1921)

This episode had international repercussions and was addressed in Marcus Garvey's *Negro World* (Andrade, 1984; Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023), the most prominent Black newspaper of the time in the USA:

The assembly broke out with cries of, 'Long Live Marcus Garvey and the African National Party (meaning the Universal Negro Improvement Association) and a way with the faker' and Sr. Diagne and that Pan-African congress was not representing the African cause. ('Echo of Pan-african Congress', 1921)

Of course, the *Negro World* was distorting what took place in Lisbon when it claimed that the *Partido Nacional Africano* meant in fact Universal Negro Improvement Association. Still, it is true that this party was deeply influenced in those days by UNIA thoughts.

Apart from this meeting, leading to severe accusations between the organisations, José de Magalhães and João de Castro would get involved in physical confrontations in the

---

<sup>40</sup> "Decorreu agitada a reunião convocada pela Liga Africana [...] O primeiro orador foi o sr. Nicolau Pinto, membro da Liga Africana, que constantemente interrompido teve de desistir, assim como o sr. José de Magalhães, irrompendo a maioria da assembleia com vivas ao sr. Marcus Garvey e ao Partido Nacional Africano e fora ao sr. Diagne, traidor da causa africana [...]."

centre of Lisbon, in Rossio Square (Andrade, 1997; Varela & Pereira, 2020). The atmosphere in Lisbon since the end of the World War I was very tense, with significant strikes, brutal repression of workers, political militias and street fights and successive governments fallings (see Samara, Rosas & Farinha, 2021). A few days after the meeting that brought the *Liga Africana* and the *Partido Nacional Africano* into confrontation, as well as the fight between João de Castro and José de Magalhães, one of the most striking episodes of the First Republic happened: A Noite Sangrenta (The Bloody Night), when a radical wing of the republican movement (among them members of the army and navy) kidnapped and murdered several government and high-ranking leaders of the Republic. The atmosphere in Europe after the World War I was also of tremendous social confrontation.

In 1923, a session of the Pan-Africanist Congress held in Lisbon also revealed the importance of these Black activists from Portugal within the international Pan-Africanist movement. In that occasion, W.E.B. Du Bois came to the Portuguese capital to meet with the *Liga Africana* and reported this event at the time as the Lisbon session of the third Pan-African Congress. However, José de Magalhães, in the *Liga Africana*'s press tool, *Correio de Africa*, stated that it was impossible to hold this Pan-African session and that there could only take place a conference with Du Bois due to the impossibility of travelling from the colonies for other *Liga Africana* members (Magalhães, 1924, p. 1). Mário Pinto de Andrade refers that this session, for a long time presented as the second session of the III Pan-African Congress, was a mistake (Andrade, 1997a, p. 173). However, we know today that this meeting attempted to fit in as a session of the Pan-African Congress at a time of deep divisions in the movement (Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023).

In 'Pan-Africa in Portugal', an article that Du Bois wrote on this session in his magazine *The Crisis*, he said:

The second session of the Third Pan African Congress took place in Lisbon on the evening of December first, the great Portuguese national holiday, and on the following Sunday, December second. [...] The Portuguese are not used to Congresses nor to strangers, save to hurried tourists. They feel themselves a bit out of the world. Yet this very feeling gives them a peculiar and eager sense of hospitality. The hall of the Liga Africana where we met was a gem—scarce 20x50 feet but with beautiful frescoes, and a tapestry covered table at the end and brass-studded leather chairs. José de Magalhães presided quietly and without pretense. He is a man of fifty and more—a deputy from the black colony of San Thomé in the Portuguese Parliament. A professor in the State School of Tropical Medicine. The audience was singularly striking. They were mostly young black men, students, well dressed and courteous. In manner and they hailed from eight African colonies: from Angola, San Thomé, Mozambique, Guinea, Nigeria, Ajuda, Cape Verde, and also from Goa (India) and of course from Lisbon and America. We had as guests and speakers the present Portuguese Minister of Colonies, E. Vicenti Ferreira, and Viera da Rocha, who has twice formerly been Minister of Colonies, and Professor Adolfo Benarus. The first session was devoted



to an explanation of the history and meaning of the Pan-African Movement and to a most interesting exposition of the work of the Negroes of San Thomé — the most independent and progressive of Portuguese African, colonies. The second session was devoted to the history and work of American Negroes and the future of the Pan-African movement. (Du Bois, 1924)

Du Bois, describes a quiet, hospitable and peripheral Portuguese capital; and an elitist but diverse *Liga Africana*.



Figure 1 - *O Negro* (1911); *Correio de Africa* (1921); *A Mocidade Africana* (1931); *Africa* (1931).

## 2.4 Contradictions: colonialism, federalism and forced labour

In 1911, showing the need for African territorial autonomy, the newspaper *O Negro* stated, “We want Africa to be the social property of Africans, not shredded for the benefit of the nations that conquered it and the individuals who colonised it by robbing and enslaving its indigenous people.”<sup>41</sup> (‘A Nossa Orientação’, 1911, p. 1). On the other hand, the self-determination processes involving India, Egypt and Ireland were also highlighted in the Black press from Lisbon (Varela & Pereira, 2020). In 1932, for example, in the newspaper *Africa*, Artur de Castro wrote that, “England wants peace and brings India, Ireland, Egypt and South Africa to fight rancorously between its claws?”<sup>42</sup> (Castro, 1932, p. 1). Two years earlier, in the *Voz D’Africa*, they wrote more boldly, “The Africans who are following closely and with the keenest interest the events in India, openly manifest their appreciation of the enemies of British rule over the land of the Vedas, for whose triumph they claim to be

<sup>41</sup> “Queremos a Africa propriedade social dos africanos e não retalhada em proveito das nações que a conquistaram e dos indivíduos que a colonizaram roubando e escravizando os seus indígenas.”

<sup>42</sup> “A Inglaterra quer a paz e traz a Índia, a Irlanda, o Egito, a África do Sul a debaterem-se rancorosamente entre as suas garras?”

anxious.”<sup>43</sup> (‘O Egipto e a Inglaterra’, 1930, p. 5.). But, contradictorily, the movement never officially defended the African Portuguese colonies independence.

In fact, for the colonised territories in Africa, their strongest claims, (namely from *Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África* and *Partido Nacional Africano*) were in favour of a federation in which the colonies could have autonomous legal entities with their parliaments but framed within Portuguese imperialism. They also campaigned to end the laws of exception in the colonised territories (notably *Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África*, *Liga Africana* and *Partido Nacional Africano*) and contested the persecution of African militants and their organisations in the colonies. In general, they defended the necessity of federalisation and the need for European colonialist development in Africa, which could supposedly bring equal benefits to Black and white people. These demands never led to an official stance in support of independence and at various times, when Portugal was accused internationally of using forced labour, the movement's leaders sided with the Portuguese government, as it seems to have happened in the Pan-African Congress in 1921. And even if *Partido Nacional Africano* criticised this *Liga Africana* stances at the time, four years later, João de Castro, representing this party, also denied in Geneva accusations of Portuguese use of forced labour in the colonies (Andrade, 1997a, p. 131).

They had a vision of the Portuguese Empire as a confederation and, as a movement, they did not defended the African territories independence. This, perhaps, was their central political contradiction. But we must consider that this contradiction was also among the international Pan-Africanist movement of their time. It seems they had the true illusion that colonisation, which was seen as a developmental practice, would bring progress to Black Africans and equal rights to all. Mário Domingues wrote in 1932: “Yesterday, to colonise was to exploit; today it is to civilise, colonial settlers and naturals harvesting, brotherly, the fruit of that civilisation.”<sup>44</sup> (Domingues, 1932, pp. 10, 11 e 51). We must remember that Mário Domingues, years before, was a pioneer in Portugal in defending the African territories independence (Castro & Garcia, 1995), but this at a time when he did not belong to the Black movement and was a journalist from the anarcho-syndicalist movement. Later, when he started directing newspapers of the Black press from 1927 onwards, his views on these issues, as we can see, were no longer the same; however, we do not know whether he

---

<sup>43</sup> “Os africanos que estão acompanhando de perto e com mais vivo interesse os acontecimentos da Índia, manifestam abertamente o seu apreço pelos inimigos do domínio britânico sobre a terra do Vedas, por cujo triunfo se afirmam ansiosos.”

<sup>44</sup> “Ontem, colonizar era explorar; hoje é civilizar, colhendo colonos e naturais, irmãmente, o fruto dessa civilização.”

changed his view deeply or was trying not to confront the dictatorship and its censorship (Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023). The studies, first by José Castro and Luís Garcia (1995) and later by the second author alone (Garcia, 2012, 2017, 2022), on Mário Domingues, have revealed the trajectory of a Black journalist. These works focus primarily on his relationship with the anarcho-syndicalist movement and the anti-colonial thought rather than his intervention in this Black movement, which he joined at a later stage.

Hakim Adi writes that the Pan-Africanist Congresses from 1919, 1921, 1923 and 1927, mainly organised by Du Bois, established Pan-African ideas, consolidated networks and brought activists from different countries together, who took positions against racism and began to raise the demand for self-determination:

[...] established the idea of Pan-Africanism, consolidated Pan-African networks and drew activists from the United States, Liberia, Ethiopia and Haiti, as well as those from Africa and the Caribbean resident in Europe. The congresses took a stand against racism and began to raise the demand for self-determination in the colonies. However, few representatives from organisations on the African continent participated, there was little support from African American organisations and no permanent organisation, organising centre or publication was established. The congresses were also criticised for the moderate political views expressed and for the exclusion of Marcus Garvey, perhaps the leading Pan-Africanist of the time. (Adi, 2018, p. 59)

Nevertheless was only after the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945 that the independence of the African colonies officially became the centre of the Pan-African congresses. That's why Adi defends that historically there have been two main strands of Pan-Africanism:

The earlier form emerging during the period of trans-Atlantic enslavement originated from the African diaspora, stressed the unity of all Africans and looked towards their liberation and that of the African continent. The more recent form emerged in the context of the anti-colonial struggle on the African continent in the period after 1945. (Adi, 2018, pp. 3-4)

## 2.5 Pioneers in the struggle against racism

Anti-racism was central to this Black movement, and its activists were pioneers in the anti-racist struggle in Portugal (Varela & Pereira, 2020). This generation developed the first political organisations in Portugal to struggle against racism: newspapers, magazines, associations, and parties. The rescue of this memory is essential today when a new anti-racist and Black militancy is organised in the country. The vision we have today of this generation, more than a century later, is the result of this new activism and its debates; it was in search of the origins of the anti-racist and Black movements in Portugal that we reached this generation.

Portugal was one of the pioneers of modern racial slavery, which for over four centuries, kidnapped millions and millions of Africans on a scale never seen before. As we saw in Chapter 1, the enslaved rebellions/abolitionist movements are understood historically as the first extensive collective mobilisations against racism worldwide. However, in Portugal, there was no abolitionist movement or Black rebellions to end slavery (i.e. in the 'metropolis'), and for example, the leading figure of the legislation against slavery in the country, Sá da Bandeira (1795-1876), a Portuguese politician from the constitutional monarchy, did so in a logic of defence of the colonial project that did not challenge racism and definitely was not a movement (see Marques, 2008, 2019; Pimentel, 2013). From this perspective, we can state that the first anti-racist movement in Portugal emerged with the Black generation of 1911-1933 (Varela & Pereira, 2020). It is only in the setting of this movement that equal rights for Black people are demanded for the first time in a political and organised way in the 'metropolis'. However, this should not erase other important struggles in the past in Portugal. We must remember, as already mentioned, that Black people organised themselves into religious brotherhoods; when enslaved, they planned individual and collective escapes and influenced various artistic and cultural practices over the centuries. In the Portuguese occupied territories, also relevant struggles against slavery took place: such as *Quilombo dos Palmares* in Brazil (17<sup>th</sup> century). In fact, in Brazil there has been a whole *quilombola* experience for centuries (see Gomes, 2005). In the context of the Portuguese empire, questions about abolitionism or Black resistance against slavery can lead us to other discussions, however, my focus here is on anti-racist and black movements in Portugal.

In 1912, the newspaper *Voz D'Africa*, from *Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África*, published a fearless article denouncing the racism that persisted two years after the implantation of the Republic. Their criticism was not only of racist mentalities or ideologies, but of institutional racism, namely in political, administrative and legal regulation:

The stupendous laws of the monarchy are still in force! The Constitution is still the privilege of a minority! The caste system prevails! The infamous race hatred that we, the reprobates, the ever oppressed, in great oblivion, would like to see banished for good from the Portuguese land, is there, stupid and fierce, dictating laws, regulating the procedure of the high officials of the Republic! Our rights to liberty, individual security and property continue to be violated. [...] The African people have come of age. Their freedom card was snatched by force from the hands of their torturers in a tragic succession of nameless anguish and unspeakable cruelties. [...] They said they had no intelligence, and the schools, the high schools, the universities are there to disprove the imbecile assertion. They said they had no energy, and the admirable social organisations he has founded are there to prove the falsity of the stupid idea. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, industrialists, merchants, publicists, a whole staff of indefatigable workers has been proving to the world that this admirable race lacks nothing: neither the strength of power, nor

the sharpness of intelligence, nor the warmth of heart.<sup>45</sup> ('Africanos, organizai-vos', 1912, p. 1)

In 1913, in *Tribuna D'Africa*, published by João de Castro and Ayres de Menezes, it was claimed respect for the Portuguese republican constitution. They demanded to all Portuguese, without distinction of race or colour, the same duties and the same rights:

The miserable condition in which the Portuguese Africans have lived up to now could not be more humiliating or more unworthy of a free people [...] The laws - supreme derision! - declare them to be Portuguese citizens, free men. Yet the Africans live perfectly well in a prison with no air or light. The colour of their faces is the infamous hood with which their brothers from the Metropolis try to steal them away from social coexistence [...] Thus, the life of the African people has been nothing more than captivity and slavery because it has been an actual banishment. Exiled, they have lived, exiled, they continue to live. If the Monarchy gave them nothing, the Republic has given them nothing. [...] It is in this orientation that the Liga de Defesa [*dos Direitos de Africa*] was founded to combat the absurdity that separates two races that deep love each other and that deep feel that irresistible attraction that has always united the souls that live in the same affections and the same aspirations are confused. [...] And how does it [the *Junta*] claim? Demanding that the Constitution of the Republic is respected and that all the Portuguese, to all, without distinction of race or colour, be required to perform the same duties and be guaranteed the same rights. It demands that all laws of exception that weigh upon the African people be revoked, that they be given instruction and progress, that they be given affection and protection.<sup>46</sup> ('Sim, P'ra Frente!', 1913, p. 1)

In another number of this newspaper, in an article entitled 'Race Hatred!', reprisals, arbitrariness and injustices practised by the authorities against Black people in the colonies are criticised. From that text, I highlight this powerful sentence: "[...] the hatred of race, of

---

<sup>45</sup> "Vigoram ainda as leis estupidas da monarchia! A Constituição é ainda privilégio duma minoria! O regime das castas prevalece! O Infame ódio de raças que, nós réprobos, os oprimidos de sempre, num generoso esquecimento, desejaríamos ver banidos para nunca mais da terra portuguesa, esta aí, estúpido e feroz, ditando leis, regulando o procedimento dos altos funcionários da República! Violados continuam os nossos direitos concernentes à liberdade, à segurança individual e à propriedade. [...] O povo africano atingiu a plena maioria. A sua carta de alforria arrancou-a ele a viva força da mão dos seus algozes, na trágica sucessão de angústias sem nome e de crueldades inarráveis. [...] Diziam que ele não tinha inteligência e as escolas, os liceus, as universidades aí estão a desmentir a imbecil asserção. Diziam que ele não tinha energias e as admiráveis organizações sociais que tem fundado aí estão para provar a falsidade da estúpida asserção. Médicos, advogados, engenheiros, industriais, comerciantes, publicistas, todo um estado-maior de trabalhadores incansáveis vem atestando ao mundo que nada falta a essa admirável raça: nem a pujança da força, nem a agudeza da inteligência, nem o calor do coração."

<sup>46</sup> "A mísera condição em que até agora têm vivido os africanos portugueses não pode ser mais humilhante nem mais indigna dum povo livre [...] As leis - suprema irrisão! - declaram-nos cidadão portugueses, homens livres. Contudo os africanos vivem perfeitamente numa prisão sem ar e sem luz. A cor dos seus rostos é o capuz infamante com que os seus irmãos da Metròpole tentam furtá-los ao convívio social [...] Assim a vida do povo africano não tem sido mais do que um cativo e do que uma escravidão, porque tem sido um verdadeiro desterro. Exilados têm vivido, exilados continuam vivendo. Se a Monarquia nada lhes deu, a República nada lhes tem dado. [...] Nessa orientação é que se fundou a Junta de Defesa, para combater contra o absurdo que separa duas raças que no fundo se amam e que no fundo sentem essa atracão irresistível que sempre uniu as almas que nos mesmos afetos vivem e nas mesmas aspirações se confundem. [...] E como reclama exigindo que a Constituição da República seja respeitada e que a todos os portugueses, a todos, sem distinção de raça ou de cor sejam exigidos os mesmos deveres e garantidos os mesmos direitos. Exige que sejam revogadas todas as leis de exceção que pesam sobre o povo africano, que se lhe dê instrução e progresso, que se lhe dedique afeto e proteção."

a dominating race against dominated other, must end [...]"<sup>47</sup> (Tribuna D'Africa, 1913c, p.

3). And in the same year, they question the role of anthropologists in racism:

[...] there are no superior or inferior races, only from the point of view of civilisation, and civilisation is not the tyranny of a few against the freedom of almost everyone. The incapacity of certain races is a problem that may well cradle emeritus anthropologists, but that nature takes care of discredit. <sup>48</sup> ('Nem senhores, nem escravos', 1913, p. 1)

In a front article in *Voz D'Africa* in 1913 on the polemics between the relation of civilisation with "races", they refer to sociologists such as Émile Durkheim, Jacques Novicow and the psychologist Théodule-Armand Ribot as examples of the ones whose works contest race superiority. This article defends that in the future, there will be no different "races":

Civilisation and race cannot be identified because the first is a notion of psychological and social order and the second of physiological order, says J. Novicof [Jacques Novicow] [...] Anthropologists, who attribute European civilisation to the physiological factor alone, fall into the fundamental error stressed by Mr Ribot [Théodule-Armand Ribot]. Civilisation and race cannot be identified because the first is a psychological and social notion, and the second a physiological one. [...] All the above shows how little importance race has in human affairs. Some authors even maintain that the factor of race is entirely negligible. In the Rules of the Sociological Method, Durkheim writes that he doesn't know any social phenomenon that is undoubtedly dependent on race. We consider this opinion to be somewhat exaggerated. In the United States, the presence of seven and a half million blacks raises enormous difficulties. In any case, however, since race is a physiological fact and civilisation is a psychic and social one, it is clear that there's no cause-effect link between them. [...] The day when barriers and prejudices disappear, the day when the whole globe will be a vast amalgam of peoples always in movement, crossbreeding will multiply more and more and we can already foresee an epoch, certainly very far away, in which the differences of races will be sensibly attenuated and disappear [...] We are moving towards the balance of races just as we are moving towards the balance of wages. On the day when this equilibrium is reached, it cannot be said that civilisation will be the exclusive appanage of whites, blacks or yellows because it will be the appanage of humanity. <sup>49</sup> ('A Civilização e a Raça', 1913, p. 2)

---

<sup>47</sup> "[...] o ódio de raça, de uma raça dominadora à outra dominada, deve acabar [...]"

<sup>48</sup> "Não Há Raças Superiores, nem inferiores, senão sob o ponto de vista da civilização e a civilização não é a tirania de poucos em detrimento da liberdade de quâsi todos. A incapacidade de certas raças é um problema que pode embalar muito bem antropologista emérito, mas que a natureza se incube de desiludir."

<sup>49</sup> "Civilização e raça não podem identificar-se, porque a primeira é uma noção de ordem psicológica e social e a segunda de ordem fisiológica, diz J. Novicof [Jacques Novicow] [...] Os antropologistas, que atribuem à civilização europeia só ao fator fisiológico caem no erro fundamental acentuado pelo sr. Ribot [Théodule-Armand Ribot]. [...] Civilização e raça não podem identificar-se porque o primeiro é uma noção de ordem psicológica e social e a segunda de ordem fisiológica. [...] Tudo quanto fica dito mostra a pouca importância da raça nos negócios humanos. Autores há que sustentam mesmo que o fator raça é inteiramente desprezível. Durkheim escreve, nas Regras do método sociológico que não conhece nenhum fenómeno social, que esteja em incontestada dependência da raça. Esta opinião julgamo-la um pouco exagerada. Nos Estados Unidos a presença de sete milhões e meio de negros levanta enormíssimas dificuldades. Em todo o caso, porém, como a raça é um facto de ordem fisiológica e a civilização de ordem psíquica e social, é claro que não se encontram ligadas pelo laço da causa e do efeito. [...] No dia em que desaparecerem as barreiras e os preconceitos, no dia em que todo o globo for uma vasta amalgama de povos sempre em movimento, os cruzamentos multiplicar-se-ão cada vez mais e podemos já prever uma época certamente muito longínqua em que as diferenças das raças serão, sensivelmente atenuadas, desaparecendo [...] Caminhamos para o equilíbrio das raças exatamente como caminhamos para o equilíbrio dos salários. No dia em que esse equilíbrio for alcançado não se poderá

These Black activists sought to combat the racist theories on the rise at that time, making a call for fraternity between human beings regardless of their colours: “It is urgent that the barriers that separate the races disappear for once, so that true human progress may be a fact, for there is nothing more beautiful than fraternity between men, whatever their colour.”<sup>50</sup> (*Correio de Africa*, 1921, p. 1). And for instance, *Correio de Africa* published during 1921 and 1924, in successive issues, a column entitled “Whites and Blacks”, intending to counter those who advocate a hierarchy between races. In 1930, the newspaper *A Mocidade Africana* stated that there is no distinction between Blacks and whites, they are all equal and only “character and intelligence can separate them”<sup>51</sup> (*A Mocidade Africana*, 1930, p. 2). In 1931, the same newspaper published that: “It is more than settled, without admission of controversy, that the black race is not inferior to any of the other races. And that there is even no inferior race. This is more than ascertained.”<sup>52</sup> (*Pessant*, 1931, p. 4). In 1931, *Tribuna D’Africa* demanded severe punishment against João da Costa, a “resident of the town of Amadora” (Lisbon periphery), because he barbarously mistreated a fourteen-year-old youngster that he had “brought” with him from an African territory. (*Barbaridades*, 1931, p. 4). One year later, the newspaper *Africa* stated that it intended to put, “[...] the Portuguese of all races on equal footing.”<sup>53</sup> (*O Momento Político*, 1932, p. 1).

There were also constant denunciations of cases of racism in other countries, notably in the USA. For example, *Africa Magazine* published that in North America, it is “[...] the fascist organisation of the Ku Klux Klan that is at the head of all persecutions against men of colour.”<sup>54</sup> (*A Klu-Klux-Klan e os pretos*, 1932, p. 52). In 1932, when the Nazi Party won the German elections, and Salazar was finance minister in Portugal, the *Africa* periodical attacked Hitler’s racism in an article: “The mentor of German racism [Hitler], will one day have the reward of all adventurers, forgetfulness [...]”<sup>55</sup> (*Hitler - III Reich - Portugal*

---

afirmar que a civilização seja apanágio exclusivo de brancos, negros ou amarelos, porque será apanágio da humanidade.”

<sup>50</sup> “É urgente que as barreiras que separam as raças desapareçam por uma vez, para que seja um facto o verdadeiro progresso humano, porque nada há mais belo do que a fraternidade entre os homens, qualquer que seja a sua cor.”

<sup>51</sup> “Não há, não deve haver distinção entre pretos e brancos; somos todos iguais. Só o carácter e inteligência pôde nos separar-nos.”

<sup>52</sup> “Está mais que assente, sem admissão de controvérsias, que a raça negra não é inferior a qualquer das outras raças. E que até não há raça inferior. Isto está mais que averiguado.”

<sup>53</sup> “[...] no mesmo pé de igualdade os portugueses de todas as raças.”

<sup>54</sup> “[...] a organização fascista da Ku Klux Klan que se encontra à cabeça de todas as perseguições contra os ‘homens de cor’.”

<sup>55</sup> “O mentor do racismo alemão [Hitler], terá um dia a recompensa de todos os aventureiros, esquecimento [...]”

Colonial', 1932, p. 7). Unfortunately, contrary to forgetfulness, the Nazi regime would become deeply inscribed in the history of humanity and this generation would witness its racist brutality in the following years.

The affirmation of a Black and African identity was also a constant in this movement. We see pictures depicting achievements of African Americans, of Senegalese soldiers in the French Army or dedicated to the “beauty” of African women, even though in the last issue, generally with a sexist and colonial vision (see Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023).

They also wrote articles about the strength of the Black Movement in Brazil, France, the USA and even Australia or texts on the importance of Black people in arts and sports. Below we can also see the pride and controversy that happened after the victory of A. Almeida in 1913, a Black athlete, in a Lisbon Marathon:

Long live the black race [Title]. The victory in the Marathon by one of our compatriots filled with amazement... and envy the white athletes of Lisbon [...]. It is another triumph of the black race that we record and exalt with joy. For many years he was one of the bravest young men in Lisbon, an Angolan man named Puna, a student of the Academic School. Now an Angolan son wins in races! This is the way: to work, to persist, to honour the name for the work, to dilate the fame of Portugal, showing that the Portuguese of the colonies are worthy companions and even rivals of the Portuguese of the metropolis in all fields of civilisation. In all... And let the dogs bark...<sup>56</sup> ('Viva a raça negra', 1911, p. 1)

It is essential to mention that the activists of this movement wrote in several occasions about the contrast between racism or segregation experienced in the colonies and a more ‘peaceful racial relationship’ experienced by them in the ‘metropolis’. Apart from the fact that their social status may misrepresent this view in Lisbon as an African elite, it is necessary to understand that in the colonies, the organised Black movement was always more brutally repressed during the First Republic (Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023). For example, when in 1916, the president of *Liga Guineense*, Raimundo Ledo Pontes, was arrested and accused of inciting revolts in Guinea-Bissau; or in 1922, when the *Liga Angolana* was banned by the governor of Angola Norton de Matos and its activists persecuted; or in 1926 when the headquarters of *Liga dos Interesses Indigenas de S. Tomé* were destroyed and burned by white colonisers, dissolved by the Governor and some of their members deported to Angola, one of them, the founder of *O Negro*, Ayres de Menezes, then

---

<sup>56</sup> “Viva a raça negra: A vitoria de Maratona por um patricio encheu de pasmo... e de inveja os corredores brancos de Lisboa, que nem parece a capital dum império que se dilata por quatro partes do mundo. É mais um triunfo da raça negra que noutro lugar registamos e exaltamos com jubilo. Há muitos anos era dos rapazes mais valentes de Lisboa, um angolense chamado Puna, estudante da Escola Académica. Agora vence nas corridas outro filho de Angola! Este é o caminho: trabalhar, persistir, honrar o nome pelo trabalho, dilatar a fama de Portugal mostrando que os portugueses das colónias são dignos companheiros e até rivais dos portugueses da metrópole em todos os campos da civilização. Em todos... E deixar ladrar os cães...”



living in the island of São Tomé. In fact, before the Estado Novo's dictatorship, repression was never experienced by this Black movement in Lisbon as violently as it existed in the colonies.

## 2.6 “Africans, wake up!”: Poetry and other literatures

Several newspapers of this Lisbon Black press published poems, short stories, plays, excerpts from novels, book recommendations, literature and art criticism, and journalistic and literary chronicles. Many of them, express African pride, anti-racist thought, and sometimes, provide references to Black artists from other realities. Poetry is, by far, the most important form of literature appearing on these pages. Ruan Levy Andrade Reis and Petrônio Domingues (2020), also show the importance of literary texts in the Black press of São Paulo (Brazil) between 1915 and 1931. For their analysis in this Brazilian Black press, “The main assumption is that Black intellectuals took political advantage of poetry to value the “coloured man class”. They aimed at not neglecting their aesthetic sense, as much as possible.”<sup>57</sup> (Reis & Domingues, 2020, p. 148).

In the Lisbon Black press, literature was also central to expose African and Black identity themes. In 1913, an article in the newspaper *Tribuna D'Africa*, which focused on Black emancipation, referred to intellectuals, activists, and politicians such as Du Bois, Booker T. Washington and Edward Wilmot Blyden, along with names such as Paul Laurence Dunbar, an African American poet and Kelly Miller, an African American scientist ('Harmonia e Coesão', 1913, p. 1). This shows that this generation in Lisbon, besides looking abroad for Black references in politics and activism, also sought them in science and the arts. In addition, in the 1920s and 1930s, the winds of the Harlem Renaissance reached, in some form, the Portuguese Black press pages. However, the influence of this movement on this generation does not seem to have gone much beyond Mário Domingues, who followed what was happening in New York and especially its repercussions in Paris.

During these decades, in the pages of this Lisbon Black press, we can find literary works from Caetano de Costa Alegre, Marcelo da Veiga, Pedro Monteiro Cardoso (pseudonym, Afro), Mário Domingues, Corsino Lopes, Eugénio Tavares, Rui de Noronha, Sousa Paim, Maria Emilia Ribas, Ursula Cardoso, or from white writers such as Sérgio

---

<sup>57</sup> “O principal argumento é de que os intelectuais negros se valeram da poesia pelo sentido político, como meio de valorização da “classe dos homens de cor”, contudo procuraram, na medida do possível, não negligenciar o seu sentido estético.”

Frusoni, Guedes de Amorim or Mafalda Mouzinho de Albuquerque (pseudonym, Ruben de Lara).

The poets of this generation were not the first Black writers in Portugal to speak about the Black condition. Caetano Costa Alegre (1864-1890) was one of the precursors of Black literature in Portugal and his poems are a constant presence in this press even decades after his death. Costa Alegre was born in the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, and all his poetry was written in Portugal, where he was a medical student and died young with tuberculosis. Mário Pinto de Andrade said that Costa Alegre's poetry:

[...] reflects a form of consciousness of the condition of the black man wounded in his colour. Struck in the most intimate part of his being by the humiliations he suffered in a social environment that was hostile to him, torn by isolation and by amorous disappointments, Costa Alegre takes refuge in a universe of racial self-condemnation.<sup>58</sup> (Andrade, 1975, p. 3)

Costa Alegre's poetry was impregnated with ultra-romanticism, melancholy and suffering and in his words emerged, although often problematically, the affirmation of his blackness and the issue of the colour line, in his case a line that usually prevented interracial love and where the white woman is the lofty symbol of beauty and amorous desire:

A minha cor é negra,  
Indica luto e pena;  
É luz, que nos alegra,  
A tua cor morena.  
É negra a minha raça,  
A tua raça é branca,  
Tu és cheia de graça,  
Tens a alegria franca,  
Que brota a flux do peito  
Das cândidas crianças.  
Todo eu sou um defeito,  
Sucumbo sem esperanças,  
E o meu olhar atesta  
Que é triste o meu sonhar,  
Que a minha vida é mesta  
E assim há-de findar!  
Tu és a luz divina,  
Em mil canções divagas,  
Eu sou a horrenda furna  
Em que se quebram vagas!...  
Porém, brilhante e pura,  
Talvez seja a manhã  
Irmã da noite escura!  
Serás tu minha irmã?!...<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> “[...] reflete uma forma de tomada de consciência da condição do negro ferido na sua cor. Atingido no mais íntimo do seu ser pela humilhações que sofreu num meio social que lhe era hostil, dilacerado pelo isolamento e por deceções amorosas, Costa Alegre refugia-se num universo de autocondenação racial.”

<sup>59</sup> Alegre, 1991, p. 57.

In 1930, Mário Domingues dedicated an article to Costa Alegre in *A Mocidade Africana*. There he wrote that he was “a great poet of the Black race” and “It is up to us Africans to tear him from the bitter oblivion to which humans almost always consign those who loved and suffered for humanity.”<sup>60</sup> (Domingues, 1930). Later, in the 1950s, in contrast to what he said two decades before, he stated that, after all, Costa Alegre, as well as Gonçalves Crespo, were, in fact, Black people who wrote white people's poetry (Domingues, 1956).

Marcelo da Veiga (1892-1976) is one of the most relevant poets who wrote on this Black press, and his poems appear in newspapers as *O Eco D’Africa*, *A Nova Patria*, *Correio de Africa* and *A Voz D’Africa*. Born on the island of Príncipe, he came to Portugal to study at the age of 11. Around 1928, he returned to his homeland to administer a *roça*<sup>61</sup> [farm], and in 1959 he was arrested by the Portuguese political police and then deported to Angola. Later, between 1962 and 1971, he lived again in Portugal, in Amadora (Lisbon’s periphery), and until his death, he lived between São Tomé and Príncipe and Portugal. Veiga was one of the most important poets of this Black generation in Lisbon but did not publish any book during his entire life, and many of the poetry known before his death was published in this Black press. However, the writer left his poems organised in notebooks ‘hoping’ that one day they would finally be published in book form (Ferreira, 1989, p. 9). This happened in a posthumous compilation, *O Canto do Ossôbó* (1989).

Furthermore, like other activists, such as Ayres de Menezes or Salustino da Graça, it can be said that he was part of a small set of militants of the 1911-1933 generation that seemed later influenced by anti-colonialism. In 1963, when the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* launched a poetic anthology of poets from São Tomé and Príncipe, organised by Alfredo Margarido, it was no coincidence that several poems by Marcelo da Veiga appeared<sup>62</sup>. This choice showed that this poet was then, in the 1960s, a reference for a new generation of political activists.

Manuel Ferreira (1989), at the time of the launch of Veiga's poetic compilation, ventured in his introduction to state that this poet could, after all, be seen in some way as a precursor of the expression of *negritude* in African poetry in the Portuguese language before others. However, despite some elements of *negritude* in Veiga's poetry, I align with the

---

<sup>60</sup> “A nós, africanos, compete arrancá-lo ao amargo esquecimento a que os humanos quase sempre votam os que amaram e sofreram pela humanidade.”

<sup>61</sup> *Roças*, is the name given to medium and large properties in São Tomé and Príncipe.

<sup>62</sup> 'Poetas de S. Tomé e Príncipe' in *Antologias de Poesias da Casa dos Estudantes do Império 1951-1963*, UCCLA - União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa, 1994.

Mário Pinto de Andrade's interpretation, that considered Francisco José Tenreiro as the first to express plainly the *negritude* in the Portuguese language (Andrade, 1953). But it is crucial to understand Ferreira's reasoning in defending this idea of what we can call 'proto-*negritude*' because the elements of an early *negritude* in Veiga's poetry should make us reflect:

All of us who have lived through the development of the phenomenon of African cultural identity and are no less interested in that of national consciousness and of denunciation and revolt - have in mind that these new literary ideas appear for the first time in the book, *Ilha de Nome Santo*, of 1942, and it is because of this fact that Francisco José Tenreiro has been considered the first poet of *negritude* in the Portuguese language. However, the poetry of Marcelo da Veiga forces a long reflection and a reconsideration of the moment when *negritude* was installed in African poetry in the Portuguese language. [...] Hence the reasonableness of placing the poet Marcelo da Veiga as the producer of the expression of *negritude* before others, including Tenreiro and a few years in advance.<sup>63</sup> (Ferreira, 1989, pp. 26-27)

Given the poetic importance of Marcelo da Veiga and his constant appearance in the Black press from 1911-1933, it is worthwhile to analyse in some depth the poems that appeared in these newspapers. The poem 'Acordai' was published in *O Eco D'Africa* (1914), a newspaper run by Angolans in Lisbon. His verses seem to be the prelude to an unprecedented Africanity in literature written in Portugal. In this poem, he asks "Africans, wake up!", speaks on an oppressed African homeland and demands its "liberation"; in the end, he writes, "Africa will be happy!" my soul then will "laugh", "sing", "prepare yourselves":

#### **Acordai**

Africanos, acordai!  
Basta agora de dormir!  
Olhemos para o provir  
Que é de luta e que é de glória...  
Acordai...

Aurora fulva - sorri-vos  
E a Pátria está oprimida,  
E deve ser redimida,  
Resgatada, libertada...  
Preparai-vos...

Não vem de longe a hora - eu digo-vos:  
Sinto não sei que me diz:  
- A África será feliz! -

---

<sup>63</sup> "Todos os que vivemos o desenvolvimento do fenómeno da identidade cultural africana e não menos interessados o da consciência nacional e o da denúncia e da revolta -, temos presente que estas ideias novas literariamente surgem pela primeira vez, em livros, na Ilha de nome santo, já citado, de 1942, e é por esse facto que Francisco José tenreiro vem sendo considerado como o primeiro poeta da *negritude* da área da língua portuguesa. Só que a poesia de Marcelo da Veiga obriga a uma demorada reflexão e a reconsiderar o momento em que a *negritude* se instala na poesia africana de língua portuguesa. [...] Daí a razoabilidade de colocarmos como produtor da expressão da *negritude*, antes de outros, inclusive Tenreiro e com a antecedência de alguns anos, o poeta Marcelo da Veiga."

E a minha alma então ri, canta...  
Preparai-vos...<sup>64</sup>

In 1922, 'Evocação' (dated 1917) was published in *Correio de Africa*, the periodical of the *Liga Africana*, where most of his poetry was released during these years. Veiga wrote that this poem led to his arrest in 1959 and subsequent deportation to Angola (Veiga, 1989, p. 212). Inocência Mata (1989) has compared the poem 'Evocação (Ilha do Príncipe)' based on his initial poem 'Evocação' with the verses of Francisco José Tenreiro's 'Epopeia' from 1942, where the scholar says it emerges a historical-telluric, social and cultural discourse with an anti-European matrix. Veiga's 'Evocação' is a nostalgic poem that evokes a better past in the Islands of São Tomé and Príncipe when Black people were landowners and when they had not yet been "robbed" by whites:

#### **Evocação**

Quando a nossa ilha era nossa,  
E nossas suas terras;  
Cada um possuía seu quinhão de roça,  
E a alegria coroava os vales e as serras;  
Campos de inhame, de mandioca e milhos,  
Ensopados em luz e água, plantados  
De coqueiros, de ócás, de bananeiras,  
Onde, à tardinha, o sol punha seus brilhos  
Tenuíssimos, cansados  
Quais reflexos doridos de lareiras.  
Roças lindas, distantes, dos uvôdos,  
Para onde, na ocasião das grandes festas,  
Não havia convites, iam Todos,  
Porque eram todos bons, irmãos e amigos  
E tinham mesa e abrigos,  
Casas brancas de cal, vivas, sem frestas.  
Terras de noites lindas, embruxadas!  
Em que as serras e os campos,  
Como se os astros os pulverizassem,  
Se cobrem de relumes, pirilampos...  
Ó minha Ilha do Príncipe d'outrora,  
De Sant'António, mais nossa Senhora!  
Terra de "São Lourenço" e Simalô;  
De canoas que sem possuírem velas,  
Só a remos, como aves abrem voo  
Sob proteção de Deus e das estrelas...  
Ilha-Encanto, Princesa do Equador!  
Formosa aos olhos qual um passarinho!  
Verdejante canteiro em luz e flor...  
Ó terra "d'A'biá-Fóca" e feiticeiras,  
E de noites balsâmicas, estranhas,  
Do luar clareante e alvo como o linho,  
Luar que embranquece o cume das montanhas  
E põe neves nas águas das ribeiras  
Que, em ondas, são quais tranças de deidades...  
Ilha de Poentes d'ouro das Trindades!

---

<sup>64</sup> Veiga, 1914, p. 2.

Cujo o povo hoje não possui um lar,  
Porque o branco que um dia o visitou,  
Tudo lhes roubou,  
Seus campos destruiu,  
Sua casinha branca demoliu,  
E a ventura, qual fumo, foi-se po ar...

Ó minha Ilha do Príncipe d'outrora,  
De Sant'António, mais nossa Senhora!<sup>65</sup>

Weeks later, another of his poems appears in the same newspaper; now Africa is a maternal entity as a homeland, where life and glory will flower. Dedicated “To the Great Mother”, where from “injustice”, “pain”, and “agony”, a brilliant “chimaera” will blossom. This “Mother-Africa” will no longer bow to “mockery” and “insults”:

**À Grande Mãe...**

Nem sempre, ó Pátria, como uma cratera,  
Que não espirra lava, inerte e fria,  
Quedarás! a injustiça torpe gera  
O ódio, estanca suores da agonia.

Avante! de do inverno a primavera  
Nasce, da tua dor, tua agonia,  
Desabrochará a rutila quimera  
Como da treva densa, a luz do dia.

Em ti, desde altos píncaros às matas  
Virgens, do riacho à garrulas cascatas,  
A vida e glória florirão também

Não mais te curvarás ao escárnio e ao insulto,  
Porque o nosso ódio, hoje tornado um Culto,  
É teu gáudio de luz oh África-Mãe.<sup>66</sup>

In 1929, another of his poems appeared in the newspaper *Voz D'Africa*. It is ‘África-Máter’<sup>67</sup>, very similar to the one mentioned above, and now dedicated to his “friend and country fellowmen”, João de Castro, leader of the *Partido Nacional Africano*. In 1924, Marcelo da Veiga dedicated his poem ‘Noites Equatoriais’<sup>68</sup>, in *Correio de Africa*, to Lyno Bayão, a *Liga Africana* activist. In this poem, the African and slavocratic roots of São Tomé society emerge. It is a poem written in Portugal with his mind on his distant island. From a place of “cold night” (Portugal) where fear emerges, the writer imagines the equatorial night of the “distant home”. Then come drumbeats, dense forests and baobabs. In that distant land,

---

<sup>65</sup> Veiga, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Veiga, 1921, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Veiga, 1929, p. 5.

<sup>68</sup> In the book *O Canto do Ossôbó* this poem as the title ‘Batuque (Ou noites equatoriais)’.

ancient African warriors stripped of their weapons rearm themselves for new battles, “Oh nights of my land! Drunk with enchantment and the perfume that wanders!”:

### Noite Equatoriais

Nestas noites assim de tanto frio,  
Noites de nostalgias,  
Noites de medo e azar,  
Em que o vento p'la serra uiva sombrio,  
A minha alma repleta de agonias  
Voa aflita p'ra o meu distante lar. [...]

[...] - É o batuque! Angola surge imensa;  
Estraleja e farfalha a mata densa,  
Em altos cerros, matagais sombrios  
Onde o baobá viceja primaveras, [...]

Como suportas a agra humilhação  
Dum bestial feitor,  
E sem um gesto,  
Sem um protesto,  
As tuas próprias lágrimas contendo,  
Menos que um verme, vais, ó irmão, vivendo?  
Que é da tua azagaia ervada e veloz?  
E a lança? E o escudo de pele de leão? [...]

[...] A floresta reboa! Apavoradas  
Fogem das lapas feras despertadas.  
O fogo em estalidos sobe e medra,  
E, ao fechar da noite, é só cinza e pedra  
A tribo inimiga,  
Eis então ruge  
O batuque, e, em delírio a febre, estruge  
Como a água em negro e torvo sorvedouro,  
A aclamação ao chefe vencedor...

Ai noites da minha terra!  
Ébrias de encanto e de perfume que erra!<sup>69</sup>

Manuel Ferreira (1989, p. 27) contrasts the verses of this Veiga's poem with those of Costa's earlier cited poem. In Ferreira's analysis, Veiga starts from the Black condition and builds the opposition between colonised and coloniser, inciting revolt. In the case of Costa's poem, the Black condition, by contrast, is accepted as a fatality.

In addition to the poems mentioned above with a Black and African affirmation tone, others by Marcelo da Veiga appear in this Black press, with themes such as love and melancholy. These are poems such as ‘À mais linda africana’, ‘Carta’, ‘Poemas do amor e da saudade’, ‘De viola ao peito’, ‘A tentação’ and ‘Costa Alegre’ (dedicated to the dead poet). As Inocência Mata states, these poems denounce a “lyrical discourse” with

---

<sup>69</sup> Veiga, 1924, p. 2.

“contamination” of “ultra-romantic symbolism”, frequent in this Veiga’s literary phase (Mata, 1989, p. 29).

The press of the anti-racist generation of 1911-1933 was an important place for disseminating African and Black literature and arts in general. Besides the frequent presence of the poetry of Marcelo da Veiga or Costa Alegre, a lot of other poetry was published in the pages of these newspapers. First, it is essential to note the appearance of poems written in Cape Verdean (i.e. Cape Verdean ‘Creole’) or Sãotomense (São Tomé Forro ‘Creole’). Literature written in languages of African origin was undoubtedly a form of affirmation. I highlight, as an example, the poem 'Andorinha de Bolta'<sup>70</sup> written in Cape Verdean by the influential author Eugénio Tavares that was published in *Tribuna D’Africa*; or in the same newspaper the text in Santomense 'Plétu nacá tlabafa!'<sup>71</sup> by Lédê Saura. Bearing in mind the perspective of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (1987), in his critique of African-based literature, these poems written in African languages fit into what the Kenyan writer and academic calls African literature in opposition to the Afro-European literature, that is in these case, literature written in Portuguese by Africans.

Other poems in Portuguese by Eugénio Tavares appear in the newspaper *A Mocidade Africana*, such as ‘Restea de luz!’, ‘Mães’, ‘Irmãos’, or even an article in the same newspaper about morna music, ‘A Morna e o Povo de Cabo Verde’. It is also important to note that in 1922, in *Correio de Africa*, in a section entitled ‘African literature’, two unauthored African tales appear, based on African oral literature, the ‘Proezas de Samba Guéladio Diêgui’<sup>72</sup> and ‘A lenda de Ngurangurane, o filho do crocodilo’<sup>73</sup>.

Another acknowledge poet of the time who left some poetry in the pages of this press was Pedro Monteiro Cardoso, sometimes signed under his pseudonym ‘Afro’, a Cape Verdean born on the island of Fogo. However, compared with Marcelo da Veiga, ‘Afro’, like many of his generation, seems to have enormous difficulty breaking with a Portuguese imperial nationalist vision and a Eurocentric worldview. In the 1920s, in *Correio de Africa* appear his poems, ‘Confissão’, ‘Hesperides 1460’, ‘Soneto’ and ‘Ode a África’; in the early 1930s, in *A Mocidade Africana*, ‘Saudade’, ‘Roussos Além!’ and ‘A Mr. Blaise Diagne’.

I highlight his poem ‘Ode a África’ - launched in 1922, in *Correio de Africa*’s front page - that was dedicated to the “Portuguese delegates to the Pan-African Congress in

---

<sup>70</sup> Tavares, 1932, p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Lédê Saura, 'Plétu nacá tlabafa!', 1931.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Proezas de Samba Guéladio Diêgui’, 1922, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> ‘A lenda de Ngurangurane, o filho do crocodilo’, 1922.



Brussels and Paris (1921)”. It portrays a great African past but a future waiting for the salvation of Europe and Christianity, showing the deep political contradictions of this generation:

### **Ode a África**

África minha, das Esfinges, berço,  
Já foste grande, poderosa e livre;  
Já sob os golpes do teu gladio ingente  
Tremeu o Tibre!

Como o soberbo baobá frondente,  
Os longos braços levantando aos céus  
Ao longe foste em iberinas plagas  
Erguer troféus!

Do Tigre os vales e da Ibéria os ecos  
O nome teu em tempos aprenderam;  
E ao teu poder da Babilónia os filhos  
Valor perderam!

Os teus ousados barinéis ovantes  
As ondas bravas do Interior aradas,  
Por longos anos de opressão geraram  
Avassaladas!

Entre os antigos já Cartago e Egipto  
Foram impérios de poder e fama.  
Por fim caíram... foram-lhe Calvário,  
Pelúcio e Zama.

Sim! já foste grande, dominaste o mundo;  
Mas hoje jazes sem poder sem nada.  
E ao férreo jugo das potências gemes  
Maniatada.

Sobre o teu corpo, ó meu leão dormente,  
Vieram bárbaras nações pousar;  
E, quais harpias truculentas, feras,  
Nele cevar...

Ó Pátria minha idolatrada e mesta,  
Quando nos campos de batalha erguias  
Teus estandartes, forte, não sonharás  
Tão tristes, dias!

Se foste tu quem acendeu o facho  
Que fez da Grécia a gloriosa peregrina  
Porque hoje vergas para o chão a fronte  
adamantina?!

Vós, que do tumulto dormis à sombra,  
“Quebrando a lousa do feral jazigo”  
Surgi! Erguei-vos desse pó, guerreiros  
Do Egipto antigo.

E tu, Aníbal, imortal caudilho,  
Que a teus pés viste Roma prosternada,  
Ergue-te empunha novamente a lança

P'la Líbia amada!

Cavalheiroso Abdel Kadel e Negus  
E vós, valentes filhos dos sertões,  
A lanças, chuços expulsai-me todas  
Essas nações!

Mas que digo? Antes repousai, guerreiros!  
Bem-vinda seja a paz, seja bem-vinda!  
Longe canhões a vomitar metralhas,  
E a paz infinita!

África minha, das Esfinges berço,  
A voz escuta que te chama e brada:  
“Não vês além erguer-te no horizonte  
A madrugada?

Por tanto tempo à luz cerraste os olhos,  
A doce lei de Cristo desprezando.  
Mas eis agora o fim da ignava noite  
E o sol raiando!

Curvai os ramos até ao chão olaias,  
Leões, rugi na vossa soledade,  
Saudando a estrela fulgurosa e linda  
Da liberdade!

Deixai, deixai que se derrame prestes  
A luz da fé no inóspito sertão,  
E, a par e passo, prologando as trevas  
A da instrução!

Missionários mais que heróis ousados,  
Sede bem-vindos! Nobres mensageiros  
Da Boa Nova por Jesus pregada,  
Sois verdadeiros!

Não cobiçais riquezas deslumbrantes,  
Não vindes, não pelo oiro que seduz;  
Ferro homicida não vibrais: vossa arma  
É uma cruz!

Buscar não vindes, trazer sim, pioneiro!  
Da augusta crença árvore frondosa  
Plantai, Apóstolos da Paz, na Líbia  
Triste e inditosa!

Chamai seus rudes e tismados filhos  
- Almas e neve corpos de carvão -  
Como Jesus outrora às criancinhas  
Pelo Jordão!

A mar as lusas quinas ensinai-lhes  
E a orar a Deus na língua de Camões!  
Breve outros vales ouvireis cantando  
Novos barões

Senhor que, sois tão poderoso e justo,  
Olhos volvei todo piedade e amor  
Para esta terra miseranda e espúria!

Senhor! Senhor!

Vós sois, vós sois Pirâmides de Mênfis  
De heroicos feitos poema imorredouro  
Em que se gravam dos Menés os nomes  
Em letras de ouro!

Sim, quantos séculos tombar já vistes  
Do nada ao seio vorador? Milhões!...  
E não obstante, eis-vos de pé ainda,  
Celsos padrões!

De tempo as iras afrontais impávidas,  
Como do Líbano o gigante anoso  
Do forte noto triunfante arrosta  
O açoite iroso!

Rubras de glória, as Águias napoleónicas  
Vistes passar altivas, vencedoras...  
E hoje, que é delas? Pó e cinzas, trevas  
Aterradoras!

Cantai, tem cada povo sua Ilíada!  
Cantai da Líbia as sempiternas glórias!  
Que pergaminhos há de tão brilhantes  
E altas memórias?!<sup>74</sup>

His poem ‘A mr Blaise Diagne’, dedicated to the Senegalese-French deputy Diagne, appears alongside a French translation. The centre of the poem, once again showing evident contradictions, speaks of a glorious France, the “land of rights”, a maternal France that will be the salvation of Africans: “Os negros, nela [França] só, têm carinhos de Mãe”<sup>75</sup> [The Blacks, in her [France], have only the affection of a Mother]. Then we find a poem celebrating the Portuguese discovery of Cape Verde, ‘Hesperides 1460’<sup>76</sup>. In ‘Confissão’ we read a love poem<sup>77</sup>; there is also an article of his on Cape Verdean folklore with verses written in the local languages that compare the Cape Verdean language variants of the islands of São Nicolau, Santo Antão and Fogo<sup>78</sup>.

Rui de Noronha, a relevant poet from Mozambique from this time, is also the author of some poems in these newspapers as ‘Soneto’, ‘Gotas de Água’ or ‘Dúvida’. In ‘Soneto’, which was published in two different periodicals, *Mocidade Africana* and *Africa Magazine*, racial pride surface, “Go with her sing the pride of your race”:

[...]

Vai. Segue o teu destino.  
A onda quer-te e passa.

---

<sup>74</sup> Cardoso, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>75</sup> Cardoso, 1931a, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> Cardoso, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Afro, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> Cardoso, 1931a, p.2

Vai com ela cantar o orgulho da tua raça  
Que eu ficarei cantando o nosso eterno amor.<sup>79</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that there are poems written by Corsino Lopes and Sousa Paim. Considering women, we can find one literary chronicle and one poem ‘Lágrimas e sorrisos...’<sup>80</sup>, from Úrsula Cardoso; and a children's story ‘O “preto”’<sup>81</sup> from Maria Ribas, the daughter of Georgina Ribas, about racism in childhood. Different works from Mafalda Mouzinho de Albuquerque (under the pseudonym of ‘Ruben de Lara’), a relatively known white writer and personal friend of Georgina Ribas (Ribas, 1980) are present in this Black press. In 1931, one of her poems appeared in *A Mocidade Africana*, which celebrates the African struggle and equality between races and is dedicated to the Black activist of this generation, Viana de Almeida:

#### **Saudação à Raça Africana**

Lutais e vencereis! Ao vosso lado  
Vigia a sentinela da Razão!  
Tendes inteligência e coração  
E um ideal de luz abençoado!

Há vultos de grandeza e de eleição  
Na vossa grei, que ao mundo tem lançado  
Mais dum exemplo grande, iluminado  
Pelo talento em todo o seu clarão!

O erro enorme, o erro que entristece  
É somente o de quem não reconhece  
Que em toda a raça há heróis e há pigmeus!

Eu vos saúdo oh! Raça bela e forte!  
Somos iguais na vida, iguais na morte...  
E todos nós irmão perante Deus!<sup>82</sup>

In addition, there are other poems written by white people dedicated to solidarity and the fight against racism. For example Artur Sangreman Henriques, wrote the poem ‘Raças’, where he says: “Deixem as lutas!... ódios entre as raças, [...] Respeitem os negros, são iguais aos brancos, Formam conjunto, com os outros povos, O grande todo que é a “Humanidade”!”<sup>83</sup> [Stop the fighting!... hatred between races, [...] Respect the blacks, they are equal to the whites, They form together, with the other peoples, The great whole that is "Humanity]”. Furthermore, noteworthy is the poem ‘Fraternidade’ by José Pedro Moreira,

---

<sup>79</sup> See 'Soneto', Rui de Noronha, *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 27, p. 3; Rui de Noronha, ‘Soneto’, *Africa Magazine*, n.º 1, 03/1932, p. 28.

<sup>80</sup> Úrsula Cardoso, 1931, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Ribas, 1932, pp. 42-43.

<sup>82</sup> Lara, 1931, p. 4.

<sup>83</sup> Henriques, 1931, p. 2.

poet and director of the Instituto Lusitano, dedicated to the “African Colony in Lisbon” and which demands human rights for African peoples:

Não mais à divisão das raças e das cores  
nem escravos nem senhores!

[...]

O mundo reprovou tão feroz crueldade, em jorros de piedade, e pediu, em clamor,  
p'ros povos africanos  
os direitos humanos  
iguais a todo o Ser que trabalha e produz.<sup>84</sup>

This poetry by several white authors in this press demonstrates a certain reach of the struggle of this Black generation among segments of white society. The impact that this generation had on the white population is still a work to be done.

The most successful writer of this Black generation was the journalist Mário Domingues (1899-1977). Born on the island of Príncipe, he arrived in Lisbon as a baby, where he grew up with his white father's family in a petit-bourgeois bosom. His mother was an Angolan forced labourer on a plantation. In 1919, as a 19-year-old, he started working at the newspaper *A Batalha*, an known anarcho-syndicalist periodical. Belonging to the *Confederação Geral do Trabalho* (CGT), the largest trade union federation of its time, it was Portugal's most crucial working-class newspaper. For years, Domingues wrote articles, chronicles, and novels, several of them about colonialism, forced labour and racism. In Portugal, he was pioneer in the defence of independence for the African colonies (Castro & Garcia, 1995; Garcia, 2012, 2017, 2021). In 1921, in an article entitled 'The Ideal of Independence' he said:

The separatist spirit exists today in almost all of Portuguese Africa: the blacks have the right to affirm and defend it. [...] Let there be the courage to affirm aspirations! We affirm them right now. We ardently desire the independence of the black people because we are in favour of the independence of all peoples because we want to see the humanity free, absolutely free, living in peace and harmony!<sup>85</sup> (Domingues, 1922)

In 1921, he followed from Portugal, as a journalist, the II Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris and the divergences in the Black movement in Lisbon. In 1924 he was part of a meeting to reunite the Black movement, but as a neutral activist and not a member of any Black organisation ('A Raça Negra Vai Entrar Em Atividade Na Defesa Dos

---

<sup>84</sup> Moreira, 1932, pp. 1-2.

<sup>85</sup> “O espírito separatista existe hoje em quase toda a África portuguesa: os negros têm o direito de afirmá-lo e defendê-lo. [...] Haja pois coragem de afirmar aspirações! Nós afirmamo-las desde já. Desejamos ardentemente a independência do povo negro, porque somos partidários da independência de todos os povos, porque queremos ver a humanidade livre, absolutamente livre, vivendo em paz e harmonia!”

Seus Direitos’, 1924). Only in 1927, he definitely integrated the Black movement of Lisbon when he became the editor-in-chief in *Voz D’Africa*, the official *Partido Nacional Africano*’s newspaper (see Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023).

He was part of a younger generation of this Black movement and wrote in the movement press, articles, chronicles and literary works. In 1924 he has an article in *Correio de Africa* (Domingues, 1924, p. 2); in 1927 he appears as editor-in-chief of the newspaper *A Voz D’Africa*; in 1930 he wrote some articles for the periodical *A Mocidade Africana*; in 1931, he started to direct Artur de Castro’s newspaper *Tribuna D’Africa*; in 1932, he founded *Africa Magazine* with Viana de Almeida. During this period, as I wrote before, Domingues no longer seems to share the old anti-colonial views and is very mildly critical of Portuguese colonisation, however we must not forget that we were already living under dictatorship.

Mário Domingues began writing fiction in the early 1920s when the Harlem Renaissance movement was taking to the streets of New York and other USA cities. The Harlem Renaissance was an African American cultural movement in the 1920s and 1930s that influenced literature, music, dance, art, theatre and politics. It happened at the same time that Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism was influencing the anti-racist activism. Domingues was not oblivious to this artistic explosion that spread throughout the Black diaspora, namely in the Parisian art scene.

In those years, it is evident that Domingues was on the look for what was happening abroad in the Black arts. Even though we cannot say that the Black movement in Lisbon was influenced by the Harlem Renaissance, besides him and maybe other few others. In two articles in the Black press, ‘Hora Negra da Europa’ (Domingues, 1928) and ‘Arte Negra’ (Domingues, 1931), Mário Domingues focuses on a Black artistic wave that was then taking place. He mentions Josephine Baker and the Black Follies, the spectacle from the dancer and choreographer Louis Douglas, as an example of artists who came to tell the “Old World” that there is a race that Europe has forgotten and was advancing the movement of “Modern Art”. The show Black Follies brought to stage in Lisbon and Porto, showed some echoes of the African American arts. In 1927, Mário Domingues also wrote an *ABC* magazine article about the singer, dancer and actress Florence Mills. On her death, the Portuguese journalist remembers she was not known in Portugal but was very important among the North American Black community, where she collaborated in the great liberation movement of the “black race in America” (Domingues, 1927).

In 1930, Viana de Almeida wrote in the newspaper *A Mocidade Africana* a chronicle on Mario Domingue's new book *O Preto do Charleston* (1930), where he refers to the writer

as “a committed black man”<sup>86</sup> (Almeida, 1930). This fiction was an adventurous story of a Black man of Angolan origin named Tomé. In the book, this character that grew up in Portugal migrates to the USA, where he learns to dance Charleston. Later, in Lisbon he becomes a jazz-band club dancer and has a problematic crush on a white woman who rejects him:

Não tardou que Tomé, o preto dançarino, executasse o seu primeiro “Charleston” dessa noite, ante o olhar atento e assombrado de alguns mirones que tentavam aprender por que artes mágicas, ao tan-tan rítmico do jazz, ele conseguia, sem uma única falha na cadência, movimentar as suas pernas bambas, as pernas de trapo, conjugando-as com o balancear desconexo dos braços de pêndula. Era um boneco desarticulado que, movido por um maquinismo oculto, adquiria a flexibilidade de um farrapo abandonado ao vendaval impetuoso daquelas músicas de sertão africano, que floresceram por estranha afirmação de raça nessa Norte América intransigente e severa para com os negros. (Domingues, 1930, p. 24)

This Mário Domingues’s fiction is influenced deeply by the winds that blew from Harlem and the Pan-African movement. Through a jazz band and dance scene in Lisbon nightclubs, the author portrays his main character’s experiences of racism and resorts to a theme often present in this generation’s literature: unrequited love from a white woman. The book also criticize the Portuguese political situation (the Military Dictatorship), shows an underground world of jazz clubs frequented by a bohemian white middle class, portrays homosexual love, talks about cocaine consumption, and presents an underground Lisbon life in the years of the Salazar Dictatorship rising. At the end of the book, “Dreams of the New Land”, as Robin D.G Kelley (2002) refers to it, emerges as an option to escape the suffering caused by racism. Tomé does not want to die without returning to Africa, the land of his mother (like Mário Domingues). In his writing ‘Mother Family’ becomes ‘Mother Nation’ (the “Mother Africa”), the Black people are a community of brothers, Africa a land deformed by “white civilisation”, but a “continent of the future” from where regeneration will come:

- Morro com pena de uma coisa - afirmou ele: - de não ver a África, de não tornar à minha terra. [...] Lá morreu minha mãe, eu era pequenino. E no fundo do meu coração, minha mãe e a África confundem-se no mesmo sentimento de ternura. [...] - A África é, para mim, a mãe, a mamã terna que irmanou seus filhos na mesma cor inconfundível. Quando vejo um preto, sinto aqui dentro, no peito, que ele é meu irmão. E tudo quanto é dela, da Mãe África, conheço-o mesmo que a civilização branca o haja deformado. Adivinho a África em certas músicas que os americanos industrializam com o seu espírito brutalmente prático e mercantilista [...] - Pressinto - profetizou ele - que a África é o continente do futuro. O olhar curioso que a Europa cansada, gasta por mil vícios e taras, para lá está lançando, significa a fascinação de um mundo melhor. A esfinge negra sedu-la. De África há de vir uma regeneração salutar. Dentro de cinquenta anos ela predominará na Europa mais do que a América, porque não será apenas a exploração das suas riquezas que lhe dará força, será a penetração do seu espírito fadado para os mais belos cometimentos artísticos. Os africanos revelarão ao mundo um novo ritmo,

---

<sup>86</sup> “[...] um negro convicto [...]”

mais vigoroso, mais humano, mais profundo. Já notou o potencial de vida que há na música negra? (Domingues, 1930, pp. 176-178)

In the Black press of 1911-1933, other literary works by Mário Domingues appear. For example, a short novel, 'Drama no Sertão', about sexual violence by a white foreman against the white woman of the boss in Africa (Domingues, 1929) and *Má Raça* (Domingues, 1932), a play published in parts in the only three numbers of *Africa Magazine*, which was directed by himself and Viana de Almeida. The Estado Novo regime will later censor this play.

*Má Raça* portrays Mariana's (a Black Santomean) experiences of racism, when she arrived with her white husband in Santarém (a city in Portugal). The image of this female character is patronising, emerging as a gentlewoman and somehow naive. Not knowing that the white man has married a Black woman, his mother and daughter are shocked when they meet Mariana: "Elas não podem dissimular a sua surpresa ante a cor de Mariana" (Domingues, 1932). Then, during their stay, many episodes of racism will emerge, from bullying to cases of brutal violence, mainly by the husband's mother and daughter, but also by other people in the town. As allies of the Santomean only two white maids remain "As pessoas da sua cor são de carne e osso como a gente." (*ibidem*), says the older maid. Mariana describes her suffering and humiliation: "Minha sogra chegou a dizer-me na cara que não compreendia como o filho casara comigo, porque eu sou... uma negra"; "Os vexames são constantes. [...] Porque sou preta!". And the mother refers that: "Se ele soubesse que eu ontem não pude resistir sem lhe puxar a carapinha." (*ibidem*). This episode of extreme violence is witnessed by the house maid who describes it as follows: "D. Cândida [sogra] agarrou-a pelos cabelos e atirou-a ao chão. E vai a menina Aldinha [enteada] e - zás! - deu-lhe um pontapé nos rins, salvo seja." (*ibidem*). And then Mariana mentions how they treat her as a "slave":

Trata-me como se eu fosse uma escrava. Em África os pretos conhecem mais carinhos do que eu tenho recebido na Europa. Ontem, depois de me insultar, de me torturar, de me vexar - bateu-me! [...] Sim, bateu-me, dizendo-me que era assim que meu marido me devia tratar, porque todos os pretos nasceram escravos. Um horror! (Domingues, 1932)

In this work, as in *O Preto do Charleston*, racial discrimination and colonialism are central to Mário Domingues's fictional writing. Mário Domingues and Marcelo da Veiga were undoubtedly crucial for this Black movement. Marcelo da Veiga never made a living from his writing and never published a book. On the other hand, Mário Domingues was a relatively successful writer. However, during Salazar's dictatorship, away from the newspapers, most likely for political reasons, he survived writing books about Portuguese



historical characters, adventures and detective stories. In 1960, in his later novel, with an autobiographical style, *O Menino Entre Gigantes*, he recalls how he suffered racism as a child and bitterly portrays how it was omitted to him the story of his mother.

Also, in the 1960s, Marcelo da Veiga, still wrote poetry where *negritude*, racism and colonialism emerged. At this stage, he seems influenced by the anti-colonial struggles happening worldwide. In those years, he dedicated at least three poems to some of the leaders of his generation: João de Castro, Salustino Graça do Espírito Santo and Januário Graça do Espírito Santo. The verses of these poems show the hope planted by this generation and the disillusionment of some of their life paths, such as in the case of João de Castro. In these three poems, Marcelo da Veiga speaks of his generation as “grain”, “seed” or the “sapling of a tree”. We can interpret these poems as Marcelo da Veiga looking at his generation as the roots of what was happening in those years: the struggle for African liberation.

#### **A João de Castro**

João! Não sei o que és agora! Os outros  
Nem por eles pergunto  
Tal como vão para manjedoura os potros,  
Foram-se para o presunto

O Sonho e o Ideal que eram o nosso pão  
De cada dia já  
Não vivem; dormem sob pedras num chão  
Que nenhuma flor dá.

Por isso nada evoca, e o que nós fomos,  
Lançando à terra o grão  
Não se perderá com o ardor dos pomos,  
Se há, num preto, um coração.

28/04/1962<sup>87</sup>

#### **A nossa geração**

À Memória de Salustino

A nossa geração trouxe a Mensagem  
Que gerou o Sonho e deu a Ideia....  
Ela fica (semente como a areia),  
Que o tempo leva e espalha na passagem

Podemos partir. É bem tarde já.  
A seara cresce e rumoreja ao vento.  
Que mais alegria ou contentamento?  
Partamos! A outra vem e colherá!

Amadora, 30/09/65<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Veiga, 1989, p. 130.

<sup>88</sup> Veiga, 1989, p. 131.

### **Januário Graça**

Da basta árvore da nossa geração,  
Já mirradas nos ramos que as sustentam,  
As folhas não se aguentam,  
Pedem, buscam o chão:  
- Hoje uma; amanhã outra, elas se vão  
Até que o tronco todo fica só  
E, por sua vez, cai também então,  
Para criar novos rebentos com seu pó.

18/05/1967<sup>89</sup>

## **2.7 The failure to overcome the colonial question**

This Black movement of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was a product of the unfulfilled dreams of the First Portuguese Republic, the struggles that emerged in the then Portuguese colonies and the international Pan-Africanist struggle, and as Anthony Bogues points out, “Pan-Africanism has been a major stream in the wide complex of black political thought” (2011, p. 486). This generation must be placed in the history of the Portuguese struggle for human rights, since they were the first organized political movement that fought against racism in Portugal. They imagined a world without racism, their ‘Black radical imagination’ as put forth by Robin D. G Kelley (2002), was a collective dream engaged in a different world, a better world for Black people and for all.

This was a generation that fought against racism and attempted to acquire more rights for Africans in the Portuguese colonies and Portugal. To this end, they formed various organisations, launched newspapers and used literature as a form of expression for change. Despite their illusions about the First Republic and the political change that would bring about, they also criticised it. Some of its activists also seem to have had illusions about the initial project of the Military Dictatorship (1926-1933), but as a movement, they were annihilated by the Estado Novo fascist regime (1933-1974), as is evident by the disappearance of their newspapers in 1933 and later by the arrests and persecution of Viana de Almeida and João de Castro by the political police.

The main contradiction of this anti-racist generation I believe was their weak political stand against colonial domination. Not going beyond a federalist perspective, they never demanded total independence for the African territories and they usually maintained a Portuguese imperial nationalist vision. In this sense they hoped that the racial question could

---

<sup>89</sup> Veiga, 1989, p. 222.

be overcome inside the framework of colonialism. However, we cannot forget that in their newspapers, there were references to the struggles for independence that raged around the world after the World War I, such as Ireland, India and Egypt.

Another key contradiction was their elitist perspective. Their class origins - that is, an African elite (even if often in decline due to an advancing colonial project) - was determinant in their failure to understand and integrate more exploited African segments in the movement, from the 'metropolis' and the occupied African territories. This placed them several times on the side of the Portuguese regime when it was internationally accused of using forced labour. The racial question is embedded to the colonial question, and it was impossible to overcome the former without ending the latter.

It is the following generation - in Portugal, in the Portuguese colonies and in the international Pan-African movement - that will develop an effective project for African liberation. However, many African independence movements have often despised the racial issue, sometimes to avoid internal debates on 'colourism' within their organisations. This occurred, for example, in various liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism. On one hand, the first generation focused on racism and did not overcome the colonial issue. On the other hand, the second, deeply anti-colonial, many times ignored the racial issue. In fact, there is a dialectical dependence between anti-racism and anti-colonialism and that should not be ignored at any time.

This page intentionally left blank

## CHAPTER 3 – BLACK POETRY AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM: WRITING AND ACTIVISM (1942-1963)

From the 1940s onwards, a generation of Black people arrived in Portugal to study. Many were crucial to the political organisations that led to the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies (1961-1974) and belonged to a significant wave of the ‘Black radical tradition’ (see Robinson, 1983). Initially creating poetry, under the influence of other Black artistic movements (namely *Négritude*), this generation would express in ‘words’ their Africanity, blackness, anti-racism and anti-colonialism. This chapter analyses ‘Cabral’s Generation’<sup>90</sup> with a main focus on their ‘literary period’ and tries to understand the importance of these activists for anti-racism in Portugal.

I begin this chapter with the poetic words of Francisco José Tenreiro, a pioneer of a generation of Black poets that was to emerge in Portugal. Then I address this generation, their political journey and their encounter with racism in the ‘metropolis’. I dedicate a section to Amílcar Cabral’s thought on race and racism to discuss the somewhat ambivalent relationship this generation had with anti-racism. I go on analysing this generation’s connection with poetry and how this artistic practice was fundamental in the first phase of political and racial awareness; then, I analyse several poems. In the end, despite the undeniable role of these activists in the history of anti-racism globally, I also question if it is correct to understand this African nationalist movement as an anti-racist movement.

### 3.1 “It is Africa that is coming!”: the first steps

Francisco José Tenreiro, the pioneer of a generation of Black poets living in Portugal, launched his first poetry book, *Ilha de Nome Santo*, in 1942. In this book his poems speak for all Black people and to all Black people, referring to places such as São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, Liberia, USA, Brazil, UK, France and Portugal. “It is Africa that is coming”, “Black people from all over the world”, “Harlem! Black neighbourhood!”, “The eyes of the white like whips”, or “The sound of shackles keeping the beat!” he wrote. As Mário Pinto de Andrade said, Tenreiro was the first who expressed plainly *negritude* in the Portuguese language:

---

<sup>90</sup> This was a term used by Mário Pinto de Andrade to refer to the first generation of African nationalists in Portugal, focusing on the importance of Amílcar Cabral for them.

The person who first expressed the ‘*negritude*’ in the Portuguese language was undoubtedly Francisco José Tenreiro in his book *Ilha de Nome Santo*, dated 1942. We should point out that he found for himself, individually, the most authentic forms of subjective and objective expression of ‘*negritude*’. *Ilha de Nome Santo* thus appears as a happy meeting of the themes of his native land (S. Tomé) and also as an exaltation of the black man from all over the world.<sup>91</sup> (Andrade, 1953)

Tenreiro’s poem ‘Epopéia’ denounces the brutality of colonialism, racism, slavery and displacement, and celebrates the pride in Africanity and blackness. Referring to a free Africa before the arrival of Europeans, he starts the poem:

Não mais a África  
Da vida livre  
E dos gritos agudos de azagaia!  
Não mais a África  
De rios tumultuosos  
- veias intumescidas dum corpo de sangue!

Os brancos abriram clareiras  
A tiro de carabina.  
Nas clareiras fogos  
Arroxando a noite tropical

[...]

Tenreiro then takes us to the ‘slave ships’ and the territories to which the Black people were taken - Brazil and the “North” - and he denounces “the men of the north, were tearing, bellies and horses, to the men of the south!”:

[...]

Noite de grande lua  
E um cântico subindo  
Do porão do navio.  
O som das grilhetas  
marcando compasso!

Noite de grande lua  
E destino ignorado!...

Foste o homem perdido  
Em terra estranhas...

No Brasil  
ganhaste calo nas costas  
Nas vastas plantações do café!  
No Norte  
Foste homem enrodilhado  
Nas vastas plantações do fumo!

Na calma do descanso noturno

---

<sup>91</sup> “Quem pela primeira vez exprimiu a ‘negritude’ em língua portuguesa foi sem sombra de dúvida Francisco José Tenreiro no seu livro *Ilha de Nome Santo*, datado de 1942. Devemos assinalar que ele encontrou por si, individualmente, as formas mais autênticas da expressão subjetiva e objetiva da ‘negritude’. A *Ilha de Nome Santo* aparece assim como um feliz encontro dos temas da sua de origem (S. Tomé) e ainda como exaltação do homem negro de todo o mundo.”

Só a saudade da terra  
Que ficou do outro lado...  
- só as canções bem soluçadas  
Dum ritmo estranho!...

Os homens do norte  
ficaram rasgando  
ventres e cavalos  
aos homens do sul!

[...]

In the end, he announces, “It is Africa that is coming!”, “let it be the rhythm of an achievement!” and “let it be the cadence of a new life!”:

[...]

Quando cantas nos cabarés  
Fazendo brilhar o marfim da tua boca  
É a África que está chegando!

Quando nas Olimpíadas  
Corres veloz  
É a África que está chegando!

Segue em frente  
Irmão!  
Que a tua música  
Seja o ritmo de uma conquista!

E que o teu ritmo  
Seja a cadência de uma vida nova!

...para que a tua gargalhada  
De novo venha estraçalhar os ares  
Como gritos agudos de azagaia!<sup>92</sup>

In another poem ‘Ilha de nome santo’, he wrote about how white people brought gunpowder and the empire of white men, but the island of São Tomé was, in fact, the land of Black people:

[...]

Onde apesar da pólvora que o branco trouxe num navio escuro  
onde apesar da espada e duma bandeira multicolor  
dizerem poder dizerem força dizerem império de branco  
é terra de homens cantando vida que os brancos jamais souberam  
é terra do sàfu do sòcòpé da mulata  
- ui! fetiche di branco! -  
é terra do negro leal forte e valente que nenhum outro!<sup>93</sup>

Francisco José Tenreiro was a Black poet born in the African Island of São Tomé in 1921 and raised in Portugal. The poems in his first book are a landmark to the ones that came

---

<sup>92</sup> Tenreiro, 1942, pp. 29-33.

<sup>93</sup> Tenreiro, 1942, pp. 52-53.

after. Due to his importance in the artistic scene and academia (as a geographer) and his role as an intellectual and writer, he was highly respected by this Black generation that lived in Portugal. Unlike the great majority of them who came to Portugal as young people or in early adulthood Tenreiro had grown up in Lisbon, where he had been brought up from the age of two. In late 1950s, Francisco Tenreiro would take the opposite path of others, when he became a deputy of the dictatorship in 1958.

The book *Ilha de Nome Santo* was released as part of a collection that was a landmark for the poetry of the Portuguese neo-realism movement, *Novo Cancioneiro*. The neo-realism literary movement in Portugal was infused with social concerns influenced by the communist movement and its members were known to oppose the Salazar dictatorship. Inocência Mata writes that neo-realism and *negritude* in Portugal made it possible, in some way, to better resist censorship and repression:

At the time, neo-realism and negritude were aesthetic paradigms that enabled writers, Africans and Portuguese, to mediate the socio-political, economic and cultural reality of a colonial Portugal under the sign of the dictatorship, with the corollaries of racism, ethnic discrimination and social, repression and curbing freedom of expression.<sup>94</sup> (Mata, 2016, p. 85)

## 3.2 The emergence of an African nationalist generation in Portugal

From the 1940s onwards, hundreds of young Africans from the territories colonised by Portugal arrived in the ‘metropolis’ to study in Lisbon, Coimbra or Porto. As the colonisation process moved on, the Estado Novo dictatorship needed academically train white settlers and African middle classes in order to deepen the exploitation of African territories. According to Mário Pinto de Andrade (1976), the African students who entered Portuguese universities at this time were not the sons of a local bourgeoisie or traditional chiefs but rather the sons of the urban petty bourgeoisie and colonial administration employees. Ironically, it was from this generation of students that a political vanguard emerged, which buried the Portuguese fascist colonial regime through the liberation wars. Kalaf Epalanga (2008), an important contemporary Angolan-Portuguese musician and

---

<sup>94</sup> “Na altura, o neo-realismo e a negritude eram paradigmas estéticos que possibilitaram aos escritores, africanos e portugueses, a mediação da realidade sócio-política, económica e cultural de um Portugal colonial sob o signo da ditadura, com os corolários do racismo, da discriminação étnica e social, da repressão e do cerceamento da liberdade de expressão.”



creator, referring to this generation, once wrote that “[...] the plans and dreams of our nations were built in the streets of Lisbon.”<sup>95</sup>.

Indeed, during the 1940s-60s, many of the future leaders of what would become the anti-colonial movements studied and worked in Portugal, and there they formed their initial political path and built networks between them, uniting 'freedom dreams' from different territories. To give two prominent examples, Agostinho Neto, the first president of Angola, became a doctor and political activist in Portugal and Amílcar Cabral, a hero of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde's struggles for independence and the most influential leader of his generation, studied Agricultural Engineering in the Portuguese capital and began his activism there. However, these facts should not silence the contributions of essential leaders who had other life stories that never passed through Portugal. For instance, the first president of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira or the first president of Mozambique, Samora Machel, never studied in the 'metropolis'.

This generation initially became organised in Portugal around an African political movement in which the reading and creation of Black literature, especially Black poetry, occupied a fundamental place. It is also relevant to mention their importance to the scientific, technical, social and historical study of Africa and the African Diaspora. During those years, they were living under the repression and censorship of the Portuguese fascist regime, some were politically persecuted, arrested and even tortured by the dictatorship.

Just as Paris was central in the literary movement of *Négritude*, Lisbon (and in part Coimbra) played an essential role for these intellectuals, writers and activists. Pires Laranjeira considers that this generation in the 1950s created their own *negritude* (Laranjeira, 1995). In this thesis, I will use the term *Négritude* (in the French version, with accents and in capital letters) when referring to the movement that emerged in the 1930s among Black writers from countries that were colonised by France and *negritude* (in the Portuguese version, without a capital letter and an accent) when I refer to a broader *negritude* as referred to in the works of Pires Laranjeira.

This generation was influenced by Black Literature, African Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, Marxism, Anti-imperialism and the Portuguese anti-fascist movement. Internationally, since the 1930s, the Pan-Africanist movement was influenced by socialist thought. For instance, Hakim Adi writes, demonstrates that the first international conference of negro workers in Hamburg (1930), organised by militants such as George Padmore, “[...]”

---

<sup>95</sup> “Os planos e sonhos das nossas nações foram construídas nas ruas de Lisboa.”

linked the communist movement with important black trade union and anti-colonial activists in Africa, the Caribbean, the US and Europe and subsequently had a significant influence on the future development of the Pan-African movement.” (Adi, 2008, p. 237). Then, in 1945, the Manchester 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress demanded decolonisation and condemned racial discrimination and capitalism. After World War II, the winds of anti-colonialism were blowing through the planet and also arrived in Portugal. In 1955, took place the first large-scale Asian-African conference opposing colonialism, the Bandung Conference. In the early 1960s, the anti-colonial question would also lead to important divisions within the Portuguese left (see Cardina, 2011).

For many of these activists, African liberation from colonialism was a significant step towards the liberation of Black people and workers worldwide. In this perspective, liberation was central to ending racism in Africa and the diaspora. As an example, Hakim Adi, writing on Malcolm X’s Pan-Africanist thought, say:

One aspect of Malcolm X’s Pan-Africanism was his view that independent African nations should help bring the oppression of African Americans before the United Nations. Another, is the development of his view that the government of the United States and its political system, the oppressor of African Americans, was also the oppressor of those in the African continent and the supporter of other oppressors of Africans such as Portugal and South Africa. (Adi, 2018, pp. 165-166)

Malcolm X was a prominent figure during the civil rights movement in the USA. As David Theo Goldberg notes, the anti-colonial and civil rights struggles were intertwined and part of an historical moment of significant anti-racist mobilisation:

The two - a global anti-colonial struggle figured most visibly in Africa and Asia, and the civil rights struggles in the United States - can be thought together here precisely because they are so deeply interconnected historically and conceptually, geopolitically and existentially. This connection should come as no surprise. Colonialism was factored constitutively around racial conception and configuration. [...] Anti-colonial and civil rights mobilizations need to be viewed as vigorous, influential, and effective anti-racist movements. Anti-colonialism, of course, ally directed at effecting national independence while the civil rights movement was aimed first and foremost at national integration. Both nevertheless sought to undo the histories of racially ordered social structures, legal enforcements, group-driven exclusions, conceptual colonialisms, and racially indexed foreshortened lives in the metropolises as much as in the colonies. Both sought to “decolonize the imagination” and to “provincialize Europe” (which is also to say to deprovincialize what is not European). In this, they sought to strip from the racially subjugated the imposition of infantilizing and demeaning self-conceptions, with varying degrees of success and less dramatic transformative influence on the imaginaries of the oppressing classes. Where anti-colonialism altered the geopolitical status quo with palpable implications for former colonial subjects, the civil rights movement altered the political terrain in the US with equally mixed effect for America’s racially disadvantaged. (Goldberg, 2009, pp. 11 and 14)

I believe that the anti-colonial struggle often had an anti-racist character but cannot be seen unconditionally, as an anti-racist movement. This is evident in the case of the generation I am focusing on, as the anti-racist question often became marginal in their struggles. For this generation, we can find perceptions of racism and anti-racist critics in the colonies and in the 'metropolis', mainly in their writings in early times. Later, during the liberation wars, the struggle against racism was often relegated to a marginal place, in particular, because it was less politically relevant in their thought but also because discussions of colourism, ethnicity and race were emerging in their organisations, discussions seen, often, as divisive.

My analysis will focus on the period when writing through Black affirmation was essential. We can say that the African *negritude* in the Portuguese Language, as put it by Pires Laranjeira (1995) was born with the poetry of Francisco José Tenreiro in 1942 (with his first book) and died with him in 1963. Since this period is fundamental for a unique movement of Black poetry in Portugal I propose an analysis between these years, from 1942 until 1963. Contrary to the other periods under analysis in this thesis, it was not so easy to define a chronological frame of study here. If we focus on African Nationalism in Portugal, we can establish a period that spans between the 1940s and the 1970s as the most relevant. However, it is in an early phase that the question of anti-racism is more evident, namely through the creation of Black poetry under the influence of *Négritude*.

Although Tenreiro did not join the African liberation struggle and was a deputy of the regime in the end of his life, he was a central piece in a period of Black affirmation in Portugal through writing that questioned racism and colonialism. He had a significant influence on the ones who arrived from Africa and was also part in the process of the "Reafricanization of the Spirits", which traces the process of when these African students deepened "their political awareness" analysed "the position of the black man in the world" and began to "reafricanize" themselves, thinking "together the African problems" (Andrade, 1976).

Three institutions and organizations founded in Portugal during the 1940s and 1950s were fundamental for these activists: the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* [Empire's House of Students] (1943-1965), the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* [Center for African Studies] (1951-1954) and the *Clube Marítimo Africano* [African Maritime Club] (1954-1961). Of these three, the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* was the one that lasted longer and the one that had the most significant number of young Africans in Portugal. However, it would be the most politically ambiguous. It was created by the dictatorship in Lisbon in 1944 (with

branches in Coimbra and Porto) in order to host Black and white students from the colonies. This institution became an essential spot for Black African students to meet and organize themselves and raise an anti-colonial movement (see Mata, 2015; Castelo & Jerónimo, 2017). If, in the beginning, this structure had the objective of controlling the colonial elites who were expected to manage in the future the Portuguese empire, it quickly became a place where political awareness, mainly through culture, brought the idea of independence (Calafate Ribeiro, 2017).

António Tomás Medeiros, a militant of this generation, refers that this institution gradually lost its character of only a “reception house” and became a spot of conferences and debates on the most varied African themes. For this, the bulletin *Mensagem* was the space where the first reflections on Black literature appeared. Also, discussions on linguistics, essays, poetry and prose of African literature in Portuguese language were shown, making a “[...] clear break with the canons of colonial ideology.”<sup>96</sup> (Medeiros, 2015a, p. 38). It was also an ambivalent structure since there, we could find the future African nationalist leaders but also the future colonialist bureaucrats (see Castelo, 2011; Mata, 2018; Menezes, 2017). From the cultural and artistic perspective, *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* was a central place for parties, dancing, listening to music, publication, reading, reciting and creating poetry. Considering the militant generations who moved around this institution, as proposed by Inocência Mata (2018), we can divide them into two periods the ‘Cabral’s Generation’ (1944-late 1950s), and the ‘Utopia Generation’ (Late 1950s-1965s).

It is also important to mention that this place influenced white students and activists in Portugal. During these years, some Black people also shaped the anti-dictatorship organisations in the 'metropolis', putting forth anti-colonial perspectives to the anti-fascist movement. As Hugo Azancot de Menezes, founder of the MPLA, states in his memoirs, many of them belonged to the *Movimento de Unidade Democrática - Juvenil* (MUD-Juvenil)<sup>97</sup>, and sometimes also to the Portuguese Communist Party (Menezes, 2017). The African nationalistic leaders and the anti-colonial struggle will influence deeply Portuguese political organisations (see Cardina, 2010) and will have a significant influence on the events that ended the dictatorship in the Carnation Revolution in 1974-75 (Moreno, 1975).

For example, the influence of Black people and anti-colonialism in the Portuguese anti-dictatorship movement in the 1940-50s (of which many were part), is made explicit in

---

<sup>96</sup> “[...] uma ruptura nítida com os cânones da ideologia colonial.”

<sup>97</sup> MUD-Juvenil, was the youth organisation of Movement of Democratic Unity (MUD). MUD was a large platform of democratic organizations, established in 1945, that opposed the Portuguese dictatorship.

the manifesto “On the Way towards an Effective and Fraternal Unity of the Portuguese Youth and the Youth from the Portuguese Colonies - Letter to the Colonial Youth from Lisbon” from the Central Commission of the *MUD-Juvenil*, where it says they want colonies independence and raise awareness on racism: “We therefore recognise to the peoples of the Portuguese colonies the right to their national independence, within the fairest solution of the problem of nationalities that they will find.”; “We suggest the publication of a 'colonial bulletin' for the dissemination of colonial problems among the Portuguese and for the widest possible distribution in the colonies, as a contribution to raising the consciousness of young Africans or Asians in the colonies, combating racism, etc...”<sup>98</sup> (MUD-Juvenil, 1955)

In 1954, the creation of the *Clube Marítimo Africano* was crucial to create networks between progressive Black students and African ship workers in Lisbon (Zau, 2005). Tomás Medeiros reminds us that under the influence of the Portuguese Communist Party ideology and inspired by their organisational practice, Agostinho Neto, Humberto Machado Graça Tavares and António Espírito Santo, among others, “[...] set out to conquer the African proletariat in Lisbon - the ship workers.”<sup>99</sup> (Medeiros, 2015a, p. 39).

By the end of the 1950s, these activists started to organise themselves for the liberation struggle that began in an explicit armed form in 1961 in Angola, 1963 in Guinea-Bissau and 1964 in Mozambique. The first activists began to leave Portugal as early as the 1950s in order to escape repression and organise the struggle. It is not a coincidence that Cedric J. Robinson considered Amílcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto, Eduardo Mondlane and Marcelino dos Santos as key figures for a new wave of the ‘Black radical tradition’:

It is now a generation later. In the intervening years the Black radical tradition has matured, assuming new forms in revolutionary movements in Africa, the Caribbean, and North America. In the ideas of revolutionaries, among them Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Amílcar Cabral, Julius Nyerere, Robert Mugabe, Agostinho Neto, Eduardo Mondlane, Marcelino dos Santos, Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Walter Rodney, and Angela Davis, Black radicalism has remained a currency of resistance and revolt. (Robinson, 1983, p. 316)

---

<sup>98</sup> “Reconhecemos, portanto, aos povos das colónias portuguesas o direito à sua independência nacional, dentro da solução mais justa do problema das nacionalidades que eles venham a encontrar.”; “Sugerimos a publicação dum ‘boletim colonial’ para divulgação dos problemas coloniais entre os portugueses e para distribuição larga quanto possível nas colónias, como contribuição para a consciencialização dos jovens africanos ou asiáticos das colónias, combate ao racismo, etc...”

<sup>99</sup> “[...] partem à conquista do proletariado africano em Lisboa - os marítimos.”

### 3.3 The encounter with racism in the 'metropolis'

Despite being part of a privileged elite from the colonies, the life of African students in Portugal was not generally easy, as they suffered racism and, often, economic hardships. When portraying the Black students linked to the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* in the 1950s, Hugo Anzocot de Menezes - son of Ayres de Menezes, founder of the newspaper *O Negro* (1911) - refers to the problems they faced when compared to the white students also coming from Africa:

The racial discrimination, the repressions and the arbitrariness, plus the difficulties of the daily life of each African student, whose monthly fees, besides being tiny, were never received on time and, when they were, they did not even allow the great majority to cross the threshold of abstinence [...].<sup>100</sup> (Menezes, 2017, p. 47)

In the same memories, Menezes states, “In the Portuguese social space of the 1940s and 1960s racist manifestations and others of a prejudiced nature were evident and no less frequent.”<sup>101</sup> (Menezes, 2017, pp. 42-43). He then describes a series of racist behaviours that Black people experienced in Lisbon: the “Portuguese” generally refused to sit next to “Africans” on public transport; some white women would bless themselves superstitiously when passing by Black people on the street in order to “bring good luck” and many people ostentatiously sneezed when crossing Africans. Menezes refers that this “aggressive and primitive” last behaviour was based on a past where Black enslaved people in Lisbon were associated with the “pepper of the Kingdom” that came in the boats from the Orient.

In the words of Alfredo Margarido - a white intellectual who lived in São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola and was a key figure in the literary milieu of this generation, *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*, enabled many African students to maintain their psychological balance because of the violence of uprooting and the level of racism they suffered in Portugal (Margarido, 1994). Margarido also refers that when one passed the doors of this institution, the threat of racism that could weigh on Africans, in generally faded away. This situation demanded permanent solidarity (Margarido, 2000, p. 44).

Tomás Medeiros also mentions the economic hardships Black African students suffered in Portugal. Nevertheless, from his perspective, racism was felt more among the lower-class Africans in Lisbon, setting as an example those who worked on ships. However,

---

<sup>100</sup> “A discriminação racial, os recalcamientos e as arbitrariedades, mais as dificuldades do dia-a-dia de cada estudante africano, cujas mensalidades, além de magras, nunca eram recebidas a tempo e, quando o eram, nem ao menos permitiam à grande maioria ultrapassar o portal da abstinência [...].”

<sup>101</sup> “No espaço social português dos anos 40 e 60 eram evidentes e não menos frequentes as manifestações racistas e outras de carácter preconceituoso.”

he states that later, when these African students graduated and started to work, institutional racism came to the fore in the dispute for qualified jobs because, in the perspective of these white people “[...] a black person could not be superior to a white person”<sup>102</sup> he says (Medeiros, 2015b). It is worth transcribing here his testimony portraying the racial prejudices that his generation came into contact with in Lisbon and which led them to a Black and African nationalist political awareness and for which the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* was a central. He writes that in Portugal, the Black students were suddenly aware that they were not equal to the white people, they were not the same nation, the same language and the same culture:

Blacks, in Portugal, were not a "threat" to social peace [an ironic reference to the racist alarmist discourse in the 1990s/2000s] but, like the animals included in the embassy of Dom Manuel I to Pope Leo X, rare, exotic objects, or knickknacks for family homes. And just like the *Alentejanos* [people from Alentejo, a region in south Portugal] that feed Portuguese jokes, they appeared in Pragana's caricatures in the pages of the newspaper *A Bola*, with an unreasonably large lip and two crossed bones on their heads signifying an image of anthropophagy. He was the black donkey driver of the *Casa Africana*. The black that the prostitutes pinched in the street - a taste - childish and naive manifestation of those who believed that in this way, the "merchandise" would have more luck and more outlet. The children followed their steps with the monotonous and repetitive sound of the song: "*preto da guiné lavava a cara com café*" [Guinea Black person washed his face with coffee]. The elders delighted themselves with the "*olha o preto — atchim!*" [look the Black person - sneeze sound]. Suddenly [the Blacks students in Portugal], became aware that they were not the same - the same people, the same nation, the same language, the same culture. On the contrary, they were different, carriers of a stigma that would accompany them, irremediably, for life - the colour of their skin. Moreover, the colour of their skin was the mark of original sin - as the Doctors of the holiest Christian Church decreed, a sin that no Pope could explain where and why it had been committed - and that they would have to implacably expiate from generation to generation, until the end of the world. For some, the drama of the discovery of colour is added to the drama of maladjustment. My colour is black "Indicates mourning and sorrow", writes the Santomean poet Caetano Costa Alegre. [...] In the great Babylon that Lisbon represented, the CEI [*Casa dos Estudantes do Império*] was the corner of nostalgia, the meeting point with the distant land, the "place where one could take a bath every day", as Fernando Mourão confided and, above all, a kind of *Collegia Fabrorum* where the students were initiated in the art of reflection about themselves and about the OTHER and also about their role in the group's activities.<sup>103</sup> (Medeiros, 2015a, pp. 36-37)

---

<sup>102</sup> “[...] um negro não podia ser superior a um branco.”

<sup>103</sup> “Os negros, em Portugal, não eram uma “ameaça” à paz social mas, como os animais incluídos na embaixada de D. Manuel I ao Papa Leão X, objetos raros, exóticos, ou bibelots das casas de família. E tal como os alentejanos que alimentam as anedotas portuguesas, apareciam nas caricaturas de Pragana nas páginas do Jornal A Bola, com o beijo desmesuradamente grande e dois ossos cruzados na cabeça a significar-lhes uma imagem de antropófagos. Era o negro burro-de-carga da Casa Africana. O negro que as prostitutas beliscavam na rua — um gosto — manifestação infantil e ingénua de quem acreditava que assim, a “mercadoria” teria mais sorte e mais saída. As crianças acompanhavam-lhes os passos com a sonoridade monocórdica e repetitiva da canção: Preto da Guiné Lava a cara com café. Os mais velhos, deliciavam-se com o “olha o preto — atchim!”. De súbito, tomavam consciência de que não eram iguais — o mesmo povo, a mesma nação, a mesma língua, a mesma cultura. Pelo contrário, eram diferentes, portadores dum estigma que haveria de acompanhá-los, irremediavelmente, pela vida fora — a cor da pele. E essa cor da pele era a marca dum pecado original — assim o decretaram os doutores da santíssima igreja cristã, pecado que nenhum Papa soube explicar onde e

It seems that in Portugal, a generation that belonged to intermediate sectors in the African territories became more aware of their position in the colonial and racist society, although it was a privileged place compared to other Africans, it was a subordinate position.

### 3.4 The racial question in Amílcar Cabral's thought

Amílcar Cabral was one of the main political leaders of this time even naming his generation, 'Cabral's Generation'. Especially in a younger phase of his life we can find in his thought references to racism. However, as I will show, the fight against racism was marginal in his political activity.

We can find references to race and racism in some of the letters between Amílcar Cabral and Maria Helena Rodrigues (Cabral's girlfriend/wife), compiled in the book *Cartas de Amílcar Cabral a Maria Helena* (2016). In a 1948 letter, Amílcar Cabral condemned those who criticised Maria Helena (a white woman) for having a Black boyfriend, “[...] you know that I am black and, more than that, it is not the colour of the skin that determines the value of a man or the characteristics that can denounce his superiority or inferiority in relation to other individuals.” Furthermore, he adds, “I would like to tell them, dear Lena that the ‘colour line’ is a myth that, fortunately, Humanity, always progressive is removing from its bosom, similar to what happened to many other myths.”<sup>104</sup> (Cabral, 2016, p. 91). In another letter where he writes to his partner about racism in South Africa, Amílcar Cabral states:

---

porquê fora cometido — e que teriam de expiar, implacavelmente, de geração em geração até ao fim do mundo. Ao drama da inadaptação se junta — para alguns — o drama da descoberta da cor. A minha cor é negra indica luto e pena escreve o poeta santomense Caetano Costa Alegre. Não é meu propósito alongar-me aqui no estudo do percurso de cada um na reacção do negro ferido pelo desprezo do branco, esmagado pelo orgulho do branco. O que importa, situado o fundamento do problema, é transformá-lo em problemática e, a partir dela, tentar compreender o papel que a CEI desempenhou no despertar da consciência nacionalista no seio dos estudantes africanos em Portugal. Tomando como ponto de arranque o binómio inadaptação/racismo, notamos o seguinte: se alguns houve que se refugiaram na sua “torre de marfim”, curtindo o sonho do seu regresso à terra natal, ou no drama insolúvel da “autocondenação da raça”, outros, voltando-se para si próprios, interrogaram-se, escutaram-se e tentaram resposta. O homem é um ser inseguro que trata de afirmar-se, buscar segurança não no isolamento, mas no grupo. Dentro dele, mede-se e mede os demais para saber até que ponto o grupo é um prolongamento da sua própria personalidade. Na grande Babilónia que Lisboa representava, a CEI era o cantinho da saudade, o ponto de encontro com a terra distante, o “sítio onde se podia tomar banho todos os dias”, como confidenciou Fernando Mourão e, sobretudo, uma espécie de Collegia Fabrorum onde os estudantes se iniciavam na arte de reflexão sobre si próprio e sobre o OUTRO e também sobre o seu papel nas atividades do grupo.”

<sup>104</sup> “[...] tu sabes que sou negro e, mais do que isso, que não é na cor da pele que reside o valor de um Homem, amor que dignifica e eleva. [...] Eu gostaria de dizer-lhes, Lena querida, que a "linha de cor" é um mito que, felizmente, a Humanidade, sempre progressiva, vai afastando do seu sei, semelhante ao que sucedeu a muitos outros mitos.”



Nothing more comfortable than this: the white man is born master, and the black man is born a slave; the white man commands and the black man obeys, the white man enjoys life and the benefits of civilisation (created by science - and it is funny, there are great black scientists) and the black man must maintain his primitive conditions. Nothing more comfortable Lena. However, forget that life belongs to all and that, whatever the cost, all men must live.<sup>105</sup> (Cabral, 2016, p. 195)

In another letter dated from 1944 with a photo of him in a group from the secondary school of São Vicente (Cape Verde), he refers to a contrast between the racial question in Portugal and Cape Verde, “[In the photo] There are so many blacks, mulatto, brown, white kids (of all colours). It is a faithful image of what Cape Verde is. You don't know what 'being this or that colour' is there. What matters there is the man himself.”<sup>106</sup> (Cabral, 2016, pp. 208-209). In another letter, he mentions the importance of sports achievements by Black athletes, “[...] you see blacks triumphing in the Olympic Games, winning the most vibrant applause [...]”<sup>107</sup> (Cabral, 2016, p. 217). And in 1950, he refers to Maria Helena how the history of Black civilisation has been ignored (Cabral, 2016, p. 303). In a letter dated from 1950, he writes about racism in Brazil, referring to an event in which Katherine Dunham, an African American dancer, was denied entry in a hotel in São Paulo, which led to the appearance of an anti-racist law. He also mentions the work of the anthropologist Alfred Métraux, as a reference against racism. At the end of this letter, Cabral concludes that it will not only be laws that will prevent racism. For example, he mentions that despite the Portuguese constitution not allowing discrimination, it exists anyway (Cabral, 2016, p. 312).

Later, in some political texts, Cabral accused Portugal of racism, for example in an article published in London in 1960, ‘The Facts about Portugal's African Colonies’, he mentioned that in the Portuguese colonial regime, “Racial discrimination is either openly or hypocritically practised.”; “Portuguese “multi-racialism” is a myth”; “In the towns of Lourenço Marques and Beira (Mozambique), Nova Lisboa and Lobito (Angola), racial segregation is openly practised.”; and “By classifying him as “uncivilised”, the law gives legal sanction to racial discrimination and provides one of the justifications for Portuguese domination in Africa.” (Cabral, 1960, pp. 6-12). In 1968, in an interview to the *Tricontinental magazine*, Cabral referred to how the Portuguese regime exploited “tribal

---

<sup>105</sup> “Nada mais cómodo do que isto: o branco nasce Senhor, e o negro nasce escravo; o branco manda e o negro obedece; o branco goza a vida e os benefícios da civilização (criados pela Ciência - e tem graça, que há grandes cientistas negros) e o negro deve manter as suas condições primitivas. Nada mais cómodo, Lena. Mas não se lembram de que a vida pertence a todos e que, custe o que custar, todos os homens hão de viver.”

<sup>106</sup> “Há tantos miúdos pretos, mulatos, morenos, brancos (de todas as cores). É uma imagem fiel do que é Cabo Verde. Lá não se sabe o que é "ser desta ou daquela cor". Lá o que interessa é o homem em si.”

<sup>107</sup> “[...] vêem-se os negros triunfar nos Jogos Olímpicos, conquistando os mais vibrantes aplausos [...]”

contradictions” and racism based on differences between “lighter and darker” Black people (Cabral, 1968a).

Nevertheless, after the liberation armed struggle started, references to racism in Cabral’s thought are generally connected to what was happening in South Africa Apartheid and the diaspora. For instance, he mentions the “fascist-racists of South Africa” and its connections with the Portuguese “fascist-colonialists” (Cabral, 1961). Cabral also defended the importance of the Pan-African anti-colonial struggle to end imperialism and racism in South Africa:

And we are also certain that people like that of Angola, that of Mozambique and ourselves in Guinea and Cabo Verde, far from South Africa, will soon, very soon we hope, be able to play a very important role in the final elimination of that last bastion of imperialism and racism in Africa, South Africa. (Cabral, 1965)

In 1968 this Guinean-Cape Verdean leader, in a declaration made at the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America, declared the need to “[...] strengthen our relations of sincere collaboration with the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces, for useful cooperation in the common struggle against colonialism, imperialism and racism.” (Cabral, 1968b). Here Cabral seems to show that, in his perspective, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-racism were parallel and interconnected struggles but not always the same. In Cabral’s perspective, it seems that anti-colonialism and anti-racism could be interconnected struggles but not intrinsic to each other. In his thought, anti-racism seemed to be a struggle subjugated to anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. In fact, the issue of racism is almost always absent or marginal in Cabral’s political texts.

Filipe Paiva argues that the concept of race was prominent in Cabral’s youthful writings but disappeared along his political path: “Race in Cabral, unlike the magma of African anti-colonial thought of the 1950s and 1960s, is not the founding element.”<sup>108</sup> (Paiva, 2015, p. 18). Branwen Gruffydd Jones also mentions how Amílcar Cabral and his generation moved away from race perspectives, “[...] ultimately transcending the framing of race [...]” and in this scholar’s perspective “[...] arriving at a more radical understanding of culture.” (Jones, 2020, p. 1). From my viewpoint, this generation seems to have actually moved closer to ‘anti-racialist’ ideas, but as I developed in Chapter 1, anti-racialism is not the same as anti-racism.

Today Amílcar Cabral is a leading figure for the anti-racist and Black movement in Portugal. He is, by far, the most consensual Black leader, as a past inspiration, between the

---

<sup>108</sup> “A raça em Cabral, ao contrário do magma do pensamento africano anticolonial dos anos de 1950 e 1960, não é o elemento fundador.”

country's anti-racist, Black and far-left organisations. It is also necessary to affirm that the struggle for the liberation of the Portuguese African colonies was central to the greater isolation and struggle against the racist regimes in South Africa or Rhodesia and particularly in the case of Angola and Mozambique, which have become important countries in the fight against these regimes. Cabral and his generation placed the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle at the centre of their activity, often taking the anti-racist issue to a more secondary place. They seem to see racism more as a South African or diaspora issue (notably in the USA); and furthermore, the question of race was sometimes seen as divisive in their organisations. It should be noted that racial issues, namely colourism and ethnicity, ran deep through many of the organisations that these activists led. In the case of Amílcar Cabral's PAIGC, the national question (Guineans vs Cape Verdeans) and racial question ('*negro*' vs '*mestiço*') became deep internal discussions. At the end of this chapter I will develop the idea that this generation should not be seen as an anti-racist political movement per se. However, we should not underestimate its importance for the anti-racist struggle and awareness in its time, namely in Portugal.

### 3.5 African, Black and anti-racist poetics

Initially, racism, colonialism, and the political and artistic influences they encountered led this generation to a path of Black affirmation through literature. We should bear in mind that this literature, especially Black poetry, may have also emerged as an initial political expression to resist censorship and repression during the fascist-colonialist dictatorship.

In 1951, some of the most influential intellectuals of this generation established the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* as an informal but fundamental place for the study, discussion and creation of Black literature; learning about African arts, science and history of Africa and the Black diaspora. The sessions took place in the house of 'Tia Andreza'. Andreza da Graça do Espírito Santo (family of Alda Espírito Santo) as Mário Pinto de Andrade said after her death, was a woman who ensured the continuity of the spirit of resistance and combat of Santomeans from the old generation of Pan-Africanists such as Ayres de Menezes and Salustino da Graça do Espírito Santo (Andrade, 1989). Mário Pinto de Andrade remembers the time of the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* as a period when several Africans were exploring their *negritude* and Africanity, and for which literature was vital:

I remember the time when, in Lisbon, a certain number of Africans were seeking the path of their *négritude* and the affirmation of an African awareness. The whole laceration of our literary trajectory revealed both this estrangement from our vital black-African sources and the will to resist against Portuguese catechism. We were in search of a language that was our own, adapted as much as possible to our search for authenticity, wanting very much to be the interpreters of popular aspirations. The weight of assimilationism suffered by all weighed heavily on our shoulders. Indeed, we were only aware of all the artifice of our intellectual training, but also of the difficulty of finding ourselves in rethinking Black-African values by our own means. It was necessary to tear away the veil that obscured us, to remain ourselves. The "Centro de Estudos Africanos", organised at this time, constituted a crucible of discussion and cultural confrontation. It was a matter of bringing our souls back to Africa, without completely renouncing the acquisition of a European education. We therefore launched into the songs of our "black brothers", as well as into all the poems that are co-birth and re-creation of the world and highly proclaim human dignity. On one side, Aimé Césaire, L.S. Senghor, L. Hughes, Nicolás Guillén, and on the other, Pablo Neruda, Nazim Hikmet, Aragon, Paul Éluard were familiar to us. We assimilated a profound message but also modern rhythms.<sup>109</sup> (Andrade, 1961, pp. 62-63)

According to Andrade (1961), this small but essential community was dynamised mainly by him and Francisco José Tenreiro, and was attended by people as Agostinho Neto, Alda Espírito Santo, Amílcar Cabral, António Domingues, Humberto Machado, Marcelino dos Santos and Noémia de Sousa. They were all linked to the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*. According to Alda Espírito Santo, certain things could not happen at the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* due to political vigilance, leading to the formation of the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* at the *Casa Tia Andreza*, a place open to "all Africans" in Lisbon (Santo, 2002, p. 68). In the words of Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Centro de Estudos Africanos* aimed for the "reafricanization of the spirits" (Andrade, 1976). As Sónia Vaz Borges writes: "The CEA [*Centro de Estudos Africanos*] appears with two very specific objectives: first, to study and get to know Africa in the most different areas; second, to rediscover themselves as black-Africans inserted in a colonial context [...]"<sup>110</sup> (Borges, 2008, p. 60).

---

<sup>109</sup> "Vem-me à memória a época em que, em Lisboa, um certo número de Africanos procurava o caminho da sua *négritude* e a afirmação de uma consciência africana. Todo o dilaceramento da nossa trajetória literária revelava tanto deste afastamento das nossas *fontes vitais* negro-africanas como da vontade de resistência contra o *catecismo* português. Nós estávamos à procura de uma linguagem que nos fosse própria, adaptada o mais possível à nossa busca de autenticidade, desejando muito sermos os intérpretes das aspirações populares. O peso do *assimilacionismo* sofrido por todos pesava sobre os ombros. Com efeito somente nos dávamos conta de todo o artifício da nossa formação intelectual mas igualmente da dificuldade para nos encontrarmos a repensar pelos nossos próprios meios os valores negro-africanos. Era preciso rasgar o véu que nos obnubilava, para permanecermos nós mesmos. O "Centro de Estudos Africanos", organizado nesta época, constituiu um cadinho de discussão e de confrontação culturais. Tratava-se de reconduzir as nossas *almas* a África, sem para tanto renunciar em bloco à aquisição de uma formação europeia. Lançávamo-nos, portanto, nos cantos dos nossos "irmãos negros", assim como em todos os poemas que são co-nascimento e re-criação do mundo e apregoam altamente a dignidade humana. De um lado, Aimé Césaire, L.S. Senghor, L. Hughes, Nicolás Guillén, e, de um outro, Pablo Neruda, Nazim Hikmet, Aragon, Paul Neruda, Nazim Hikmet, Aragon, Paul Éluard eram-nos familiares. Nós assimilámos uma profunda mensagem mas igualmente os ritmos modernos."

<sup>110</sup> "O CEA aparece com dois objectivos muito específicos: primeiro, estudar e conhecer África nas mais diferentes áreas; segundo, redescobrirem-se a si próprios enquanto negros-africanos inseridos num contexto colonial [...]"

These meetings on African and Black culture played a pivotal role in the emergence of what Pires Laranjeira (1995) called *negritude africana de língua portuguesa* [African *negritude* in the Portuguese language], a literary movement in the Portuguese language influenced by Black literature from around the world, namely the *Négritude*. In a text dedicated to Amílcar Cabral after his assassination in 1973, Mário Pinto de Andrade stated: “The creation of the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* in Lisbon during 1951 marked the beginning of the “long march” towards liberation.” (Andrade, 1973). In terms of race, he also noted that during the activities of this *Centro*, they “[...] introduced perhaps a category that seemed, apparently racial, we privileged the black.... For us the black man was the centre of Africa: it was a *negrista* vision [...]”<sup>111</sup> (Andrade, 1997b, p. 73). Pires Laranjeira write that it is evident that one of the cultural bridges of passage for the African liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism was this artistic and cultural periods (Laranjeira, 1995, pp. 13-20).

It is also important to acknowledge that the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* was formed after a political struggle between generations (see Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2023). In the late 1940s and early 1950s, this new generation attempted to replace the old generation of the *Casa de África Portuguesa* (1944-1951), whose leader was Artur de Castro, the experienced Black activist and founder of the newspaper *O Negro*. In an interview with Michel Laban, Mário Pinto de Andrade described an episode that took place in 1950 when his generation attempted to take over this association. The objective, he said, was to renew the “*Casa*” as a front for the political struggle. Furthermore, a petition addressed by a “reorganisation committee” which criticised the former leadership of Artur de Castro, included the names of Mário Pinto de Andrade, Vasco Cabral, Andreza da Graça do Espírito Santo, Alda Espírito do Santo, Amílcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto, Marcelino dos Santos, among others. However, this effort was unsuccessful, as they were unable to “dethrone” Artur de Castro:

But the attempted coup, to take the small Bastille that was the *Casa de África*, did not succeed: there was a political meeting with the old Artur de Castro - an old fox -, but he resisted, and we had to make a real rupture, following the slogan spoken by Amílcar Cabral – his first slogan – “All honest Africans must leave this room!”. As a result, all honest Africans stood up as one and left the room: Artur de Castro was left completely alone. We broke up with a representative of the old generation of the 20s.<sup>112</sup> (Andrade, 1997b, pp. 70-71)

---

<sup>111</sup> “Nós introduzimos talvez uma categoria que parecia, aparentemente racial, nós privilegiámos o negro.... Para nós o negro era o centro de África: era uma visão negrista [...]”

<sup>112</sup> “Mas a tentativa de golpe, de tomada da pequena Bastilha que era a Casa de África, não se realizou: houve uma reunião política com o velho Artur de Castro – uma velha raposa -, mas ele resistiu, e nós tivemos que fazer uma verdadeira rutura, seguindo a palavra de ordem dita por Amílcar Cabral - a sua primeira palavra de

According to Mário Pinto de Andrade, this episode of generational dispute for the control of the *Casa de África Portuguesa*, when the solitary 'old guard' is abandoned in an empty room, led to the creation of the *Centro de Estudos Africanos*. This rupture illustrates the formation of a new anti-colonialist movement that breaks with the failed political project of the previous Black movement in Lisbon.

In my analysis of their poetry, I will pay specific attention to the reality of racism that they faced in the 'metropolis' and the poems written while they lived in Portugal. However, racism in this historical context cannot be separated from colonial oppression. My focus on anti-racism and racism in their discourses refers not only to the denouncement of direct, structural or institutional discrimination and racial hatred, but also to their celebration of blackness, Africanity and Pan-Africanism.

The launching of *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* [Notebook of Black Poetry in Portuguese Expression] in 1953 is a landmark publication for this generation. Resulting from the meetings in *Centro de Estudos Africanos* it was edited by Mário Pinto de Andrade and Francisco José Tenreiro. The *Caderno* somehow closes the cycle of the *Centro*, establishing poetry as a form of Black collective affirmation among this generation. Mário Pinto de Andrade wrote in the introduction to this publication that it had not been intended for those who hide their prejudices by accusing them (the Black people) of 'racism' warning against what is now called 'anti-anti-racism', since it seems they were being accused of 'reverse racism'. The Angolan intellectual argued that this was a publication for those who were open to the formation of a 'new humanism' on a universal scale of which Black people were also a part:

This anthology is, ultimately, the expression of an anxiety; may everyone understand it and love it. It is not therefore intended for those who, when it comes to poetry, only know how to scrutinise the formal exercises or for those who, to hide their prejudices and their racism, accuse us of racism. It is aimed fundamentally at those who are able to see themselves reflected in this poetry, and those who, recognising the present hour of the formation of a new humanism on a universal scale, understand that Blacks also contribute their particular timbres to sing in the great human symphony.<sup>113</sup> (Andrade, 1953, p. 3)

---

ordem - 'Todos os africanos honestos devem sair desta sala!'. E com esta palavra de ordem, todos os africanos honestos se levantaram, como um só homem, e partiram: Artur de Castro ficou completamente só. Nós rompemos com um representante da velha geração dos anos 20."

<sup>113</sup> "Este caderno é, em última análise, a expressão duma ansiedade; possam todos compreendê-la e amá-la. Não se destina pois, aos que em matéria de poesia apenas sabem esquadriñar os exercícios formais ou aqueles que, para iludir os seus preconceitos e o seu racismo, nos acusam de racismo. Destina-se fundamentalmente aos que sabem encontrar-se refletidos nesta poesia, e aos que, compreendo a hora presente de formação dum novo humanismo à escala universal, entendem que os negros exercitam também os seus timbres particulares para cantar na grande sinfonia humana."

It is relevant to mention here that in the previous year, Franz Fanon's book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) was released proposing precisely a 'new humanism'. Was Mário Pinto de Andrade referring to Fanon's 'new humanism'? Franz Fanon in his critique to racism and colonialism called for a 'new humanism', a humanism that also includes "our coloured brothers":

Toward a new humanism...  
Understanding among men...  
Our colored brothers...  
Mankind, I believe in you...  
Race prejudice...  
To understand and to love... (Fanon, 1952, p. 1)

Fanon wrote, "I seriously hope to persuade my brother, whether black or white, to tear off with all his strength the shameful livery put together by centuries of incomprehension." (Fanon, 1952, p. 5). Later, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Fanon defends that the liberation struggle against colonialism will bring a 'new humanism': "This new humanity, for itself and for others, inevitably defines a new humanism." (Fanon, 1961, p. 179). He also wrote against the "abstract, universal values of the coloniser", stating that for "the immense majority of colonised peoples", dignity has nothing to do with "human" dignity (Fanon, 1961, p. 9). Fanon proposed that colonised people take a different path from Europe, "endeavor to invent a man in full [...] Let us decide not to imitate Europe and let us tense our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us endeavor to invent a man in full, something which Europe has been incapable of achieving." (Fanon, 1961, p. 236). He then states that he wants to walk in the company of "every men" and "The Third World must start over a new history of man" (Fanon, 1961, p. 238). Fanon argues that the end of colonialism is not enough in itself, it is necessary to fight for a 'new humanism' and racialized people will be the driving force of this new humanity. This thinker, argued for the centrality of non-white people in creating a better world without colonialism and racism. His anti-colonialism and anti-racism show that the 'antis' aim not only to end oppression, but to promote another society. Mário Pinto de Andrade, as well as other Blacks living in Lisbon, would certainly be aware of the Black radical thought of their time, namely that of Fanon.

In *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*, we find poems from the afro-cuban Nicolás Guillén; and by Black people who mostly lived in Portugal as, Alda Espírito Santo, Agostinho Neto, António Jacinto, Francisco José Tenreiro, Noémia de Sousa and Viriato da Cruz. There are also illustrations from António Domingues, the son of the Black journalist Mário Domingues. As Inocência da Mata puts it, *Caderno de Poesia Negra de*

*Expressão Portuguesa*, is the first systematic manifestation of the *negritude* in the Portuguese language (Mata, 2006, p. 17).

Influenced by different currents of Black literature, we find Pan-Africanism, Black affirmation and the denouncement of racism and colonialism. The poems in *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão* take us to the African territories and the nostalgia felt in Lisbon. Moreover, they refer to a unity between Black people from all over the world, ‘traveling’ between the plantations of slavery to those of forced labour and from the periphery of African cities to Harlem in New York. The verses travel to Angola, Mozambique, Congo, São Tomé and Príncipe, Brazil, Cuba and the United States of America. They refer to the poetry of Aimé Césaire, David Diop, Langston Hughes, Léopold Senghor and Nicolás Guillén, and the music of Louis Armstrong, Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson. Furthermore, they speak of an Africa and a blackness that will bring a new world, a world of peace.

Alda Espírito Santo, in ‘Lá no Água Grande’, brings us the songs interpreted by happy women in São Tomé and Príncipe as they wash their clothes in a river. However, the same women are silent when they return to the plantation where they are oppressed and exploited:

[...]

E os gemidos cantados das negritas lá do rio  
Ficam mudos lá na hora do regresso...  
Jazem quedos no regresso para a roça.<sup>114</sup>

In his poem ‘Aspiração’, Agostinho Neto begins with the voice of Black people in Africa, North America and South America. The words of the singular poet are then transformed into the plural voices of Black people around the world, all ‘singing’ the same sorrowful song, the same sadness:

Ainda o meu canto dolente  
e a minha tristeza  
no Congo, na Geórgia, no Amazonas.

Ainda  
o meu sonho de batuque em noites de luar.

[...]

Then he denounces the racism by referring to the “lines” (segregation lines or colour lines) that confine Black people to the slums, the periphery and the dark corners of rich houses where they work and where they murmur “still”:

---

<sup>114</sup> Tenreiro & Andrade (org.) (1953), p. 6.



[...]

E nas sanzalas  
nas casas  
nos subúrbios das cidades  
para lá das “linhas”  
nos recantos escuros das casas ricas  
onde os negros murmuram: ainda

[...]

Nevertheless, his desire is transformed into strength, inspiring desperate consciences to create, creation of freedom on the “slave roads”:

[...]

O meu Desejo  
transformado em força  
inspirando as consciências desesperadas.

CRIAR [...]

Criar criar  
criar liberdade nas estradas escravas<sup>115</sup>

[...]

António Jacinto, who would be imprisoned in Tarrafal Prison years later, in his poem ‘Monangamba’ after portraying the hard work of Black people in the coffee plantations, asks: “Who makes the white thrive?”. The answer had already been given: “The Black, of the colour of the contracted!”.

[...]

Quem dá dinheiro para o patrão comprar  
Máquinas, carros, senhoras  
E cabeças de pretos para os motores?

Quem faz o branco prosperar,  
Ter barriga grande – ter dinheiro?  
- Quem?<sup>116</sup>

[...]

In Francisco José Tenreiro's poem ‘Coração em África’ he begins on the paths taken in Europe but with his heart in Africa. It is as if his verses were, in a way traversing the path of this generation in Portugal that, after all, had its soul in Africa:

Caminhos trilhados na Europa  
de coração em África.  
Saudades longas de palmeiras vermelhas verdes amarelas  
tons fortes da paleta cubista  
que o Sol sensual pintou na paisagem;

---

<sup>115</sup> Tenreiro & Andrade (org.), 1953, pp. 6-8

<sup>116</sup> Tenreiro & Andrade (org.), 1953, pp. 9-10.

saudade sentida de coração em África  
ao atravessar estes campos do trigo sem bocas  
das ruas sem alegrias com casas cariadas  
pela metralha míope da Europa e da América  
da Europa trilhada por mim Negro de coração em África.

[...]

After mentioning racism in the USA, the glories of African Americans, the poems of Nicolás Guillén and David Diop, the music of Armstrong and the mysteries of Africa, Tenreiro's melancholically returns to Lisbon, where he suffers racism and where Black people live in poverty:

[...]

De coração em África trilho estas ruas nevoentas da cidade  
de África no coração e um ritmo de be bop be nos lábios  
enquanto que à minha volta se sussurra olha o preto (que bom) olha um negro  
[(ótimo) olha um mulato (tanto faz) olha um moreno (ridículo)  
e procuro no horizonte cerrado da beira-mar  
cheiro de maresias distantes e areias distantes  
com silhuetas de coqueiros conversando baixinho à brisa da tarde.  
De coração em África na mão deste Negro enrodilhado e sujo de beira-cais  
vendendo cautelas com a incisão do caminho da cubata perdida na carapinha

[...]

In the end, Tenreiro refers to artists such as Diego Rivera, Pablo Neruda and Pablo Picasso. He then writes about the dove of peace created by the Cubist painter which will fly through the skies of the world with its heart in Africa, as if this continent were the epicentre of a new world to come, a world of peace post-World War II and amid the Cold War:

[...]

Deixa-me coração louco  
deixa-me acreditar no grito de esperança lançado pela paleta viva de Rivera  
e pelos oceanos de ciclones frescos das odes de Neruda;  
deixa-me acreditar que do desespero másculo de Picasso sairão pombas  
que como nuvens voarão os céus do mundo de coração em África.<sup>117</sup>

[...]

Noémia de Sousa, in her poem 'Deixa Passar o Meu Povo', takes us to her environment in Mozambique, where she listens to the sound of African music. The voices of the African Americans (Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson) singing "black spirituals from the Harlem" and with their sweet voices saying "Let my people go" [the poet writes this sentence in English in reference us to the historical music 'Go Down Moses']:

[...]

E enquanto me vierem de Harlem

---

<sup>117</sup> Tenreiro & Andrade (org.), 1953, pp. 10-12.

vozes de lamentação  
e meus vultos familiares me visitarem  
em longas noites de insónia,  
não poderei deixar-me embalar pela música fútil  
das valsas de Strauss.  
Escreverei, escreverei,  
com Robenson e Marian gritando comigo:  
“Let my people go”,  
OH DEIXA PASSAR O MEU POVO.<sup>118</sup>

In the last poem from the collection, we read the verses of Viriato da Cruz in ‘MAMÃ NEGRA (Canto de Esperança)’. This “Black mother” is the living drama of an entire race, and we hear voices from the fields of rice, coffee, rubber and cotton plantations, the voices from the fields of Virginia, the Carolina, Alabama, Cuba and Brazil, voices from Harlem, African villages and the blues from the Mississippi. Voices from all of America and all of Africa, the voices of the Black poets, Langston Hughes and Nicolás Guillén, and through the eyes of this “Black mother”, Viriato da Cruz sees “The Day of Humanity”:

Tua presença, minha Mãe - drama vivo dum Raça  
drama de carne e sangue  
Que a Vida escreveu com a pena dos séculos.

Pela tua voz  
Vozes vindas dos canaviais dos arrozais dos cafezais  
[dos serin-  
gais dos algodoais!...  
Vozes das plantações de Virgínia  
dos campos das Carolinas  
Alabama  
Cuba  
Brasil...

[...]

Pelos teus olhos, minha Mãe

Vejo oceanos de dor  
claridades de sol posto, paisagens  
roxas paisagens  
dramas de Cam e Jafé...  
Mas vejo (Oh! se vejo!...)  
mas vejo também que a luz roubada aos teus  
olhos, ora esplende  
demoniacamente tentadora - como a Certeza...  
cintilantemente firme - como a Esperança...  
em nós outros teus filhos,  
gerando, formando, anunciando  
- o dia da humanidade  
O DIA DA HUMANIDADE...<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> Tenreiro & Andrade (org.), 1953, p. 14.

<sup>119</sup> Tenreiro & Andrade (org.), 1953, pp. 15-17.

The Black poet generation from the 1940s-1950s was deeply influenced by various Black literary movements. Scholar Pires Laranjeira (1995) says that this “1950s Generation” developed a *negritude* of its own, influenced by many Black literary movements such as the North American Black Renaissance, Cuban *Negrismo*, Haitian *Indigenismo*, Brazilian *Negrismo* and of course *Négritude*. He also notes their connection to Portuguese Neo-realism. And we must not forget the importance of Brazilian Modernism.

Alda Espírito Santo refers to the importance of *negritude* for her generation as a form of resistance against racism in the ‘metropolis’:

There are people who criticize *negritude*. *Negritude* was a necessary affirmation because others saw African people as inferior. Africans needed to become aware of their identity. The diaspora of the Americas, of the whole world and all the progressive forces, were in favour of a new world, of change, and anything that showed openness attracted us. For example, I grew up for eight years in a nun's school in the north of Portugal, and only when my mother arrived in Portugal and took us - my sister and me - to Lisbon did I meet a group of African relatives and friends. In the north of Portugal, there were few Black people. In the street, they would say “*Preta, mulata, nariz de macaca*” [Black, mulatto, monkey nose] and so on, but luckily none of that affected me. Then we came into contact with the world. We had a cousin called Arlindo Espírito Santo who was discovering people! It was he who brought us Mário de Andrade, Agostinho Neto - the whole world we came into contact with. It was a discovery that led us to become aware of ourselves.<sup>120</sup> (Santo, 2002, p. 67)

In 1954 Mário Pinto de Andrade left Lisbon for Paris, fleeing the fascist and colonial dictatorship. While there, he met many writers and intellectuals such as Alioune Diop, Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Cheikh Anta Diop, Richard Wright, Albert Camus or Jean-Paul Sartre. He was the editor-in-chief of *Présence Africaine* magazine (Kajibanga, 2000). He also participated in the first two Congresses of Black Writers and Artists in Paris (1956) and Rome (1959). The life trajectory of Mário Pinto de Andrade shows how this generation of writers and political activists was not only aware of various Black cultural movements, but also actively involved in what was happening culturally at the international level. Mário Pinto Andrade said his generation positively received the *Négritude* literary movement as a way of revalorisation Black people and as response to racist ideology (Andrade, 1975).

---

<sup>120</sup> “Há pessoas que criticam a negritude. A negritude era uma afirmação necessária porque os povos africanos eram tidos pelos outros como povos inferiores. Era necessário que os africanos tomassem consciência da sua identidade. A diáspora das Américas, do mundo todo e todas as forças progressistas estavam a favor de um mundo novo, de uma mudança, e tudo o que demonstrasse que era abertura, atraía-nos. Por exemplo, eu cresci, durante uns oito anos, num colégio de freiras, no norte de Portugal, e só quando a minha mãe chegou a Portugal e nos levou - eu e a minha irmã - para Lisboa, encontrei um grupo de parentes e amigos africanos. Lá no Norte de Portugal havia poucos negros. Na rua diziam-nos: “*Preta, mulata, nariz de macaca*” e por aí fora outras coisas disparatadas, mas felizmente nada disso me afetou. Depois é que tomámos contacto com o mundo. Tínhamos um primo chamado Arlindo Espírito Santo que andava à descobertas das pessoas! Ele é que nos levou o Mário de Andrade, o Agostinho Neto - todo o mundo com que entrámos em contacto. Foi toda uma descoberta que nos levou a tomar consciência de nós mesmos.”

However, he argued that his generation has overcome *Négritude*, going beyond the simple claim of “scandalous pride in being black” and placing class analysis above racial analysis (Andrade, 1975).

As early as 1959, in a lecture at the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*, Agostinho Neto criticised the *Négritude* movement for not reaching African peoples. He proposed overcoming this dilemma through learning and interacting with African cultures. Already showing a political-intellectual departure from *Négritude*, Neto stated that *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão* appeared under the “sign of *negritude*”. (Neto, 1959, p. 54)

As one of the primary ‘guardians’ of the poetry of this generation, Mário Pinto de Andrade not only wrote many essays on poetic themes, but also organised several collections of Black and African poetry, such as *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa* (1953); *La poésie africaine d'expression portugaise: anthologie* (1958); the *Antologia Temática de Poesia Africana: Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, Guiné, Angola, Moçambique I - Na noite grávida de punhais* (1975); and *Antologia Temática de Poesia Africana: Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, Guiné, Angola, Moçambique II – O canto armado* (1978).

If the *Centro de Estudos Africanos* played initially a crucial role in the study and dissemination of poetry, the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (CEI) maintained this activity for much longer. For instance, from 1948 to 1964, CEI published the bulletin *Mensagem*, which was an important platform for sharing ideas and literature. The CEI also published several collections of African poetry, short stories and literary criticism.

Among many writers (most of them poets) of this African anti-colonial generation (some of whom could be considered a second wave), I would like to highlight Agostinho Neto (Angola), Alda Espírito Santo (São Tomé and Príncipe), António Jacinto (Angola), Francisco José Tenreiro (São Tomé and Príncipe/Portugal), José Craveirinha (Mozambique), Kaká Barbosa (Cape Verde), Luandino Vieira (a white man from Angola), Marcelino dos Santos (Mozambique), Noémia de Sousa (Mozambique), Onésimo Silveira (Cape Verde), Ovídio Martins (Cape Verde), and Viriato da Cruz (Angola). I also want to mention those who played the role of literary critics or editors, such as Alfredo Margarido, Carlos Ervedosa and Manuel Ferreira (all white Portuguese men) and Mário Pinto de Andrade. Black literature influenced many white writers, artists and intellectuals living in the colonised territories and Portugal; this also took place in other parts of the world where Black literature flourished (see Laranjeira, 1995, p. 44).

Many of these writers played a fundamental role in the African liberation struggle against the Portuguese colonial-fascist regime, and many of them were leaders of these movements. As writers, we must acknowledge that they were also a political generation. As Gerald M. Moser wrote, “The African literature in Portuguese is therefore to a large degree a militant literature produced by Negro and non-Negro Africans who are difficult to silence.” (Moser, 1962, p. 279). As Inocência Mata puts it, they were the “poets-politicians” (Mata, 2017, p. 151).

This generation wrote mainly in Portuguese, but sometimes in African languages such as Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau ‘Creole’, in Kimbundu or São Tomé Forro ‘Creole’. According to the perspective laid out in the essential discussions that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (1987) has brought up about on the relevance of the African languages in African literature here, we are primarily discussing Euro-African literature: literature written in Portuguese by Black intellectual Africans. Nevertheless, it is essential to mention that beyond this literature, during this period, there was a continuity of the traditional African poetic orality, and a new form emerged with the liberation struggles, as ‘combat poetry’, often expressed in the African languages. Mário Pinto de Andrade wrote about this, stating:

Whether the traditional songs, expressing the glorious deeds of the first heroes in the struggle against foreign presence, or the poems of circumstance, composed during the period of the colonial night, or the poems that arose in the fire of the new guerrilla of man in Guinea, in Angola or Mozambique, these manifestations attest to the permanent character of African poetry. [...] combat poetry deploys its weapons in two complementary ways: one, collectively created (in national languages, including Guinea-Bissau Creole), and another, individually created (in Portuguese and Creole as well).<sup>121</sup> (Andrade, 1979, pp. 2 and 8)

As a way of analysing this generation’s literary output, Mário Pinto de Andrade proposed dividing it into three phases: the first, *negritude* between 1942 and 1953, starting with the book *Ilha de Nome Nanto* and ending with *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*. The second phase, he called “particularisation”, occurring between 1953 and 1960, marked by the growth of African nationalistic political awareness and ending with the beginning of the armed struggle against colonialism. The third, what he called “the bullets start to bloom”, took place between the early 1960s and the independence of the countries in 1973-75, with poetry as a declared political tool (Andrade 1975, pp. 7-10). In fact, among

---

<sup>121</sup> “Quer os cantos tradicionais, exprimindo os feitos gloriosos dos primeiros heróis na luta de resistência contra a presença estrangeira, quer os poemas de circunstância, compostos durante o período da noite colonial, quer ainda os poemas surgidos no fogo da nova guerrilha do homem na Guiné, em Angola ou em Moçambique, essas manifestações atestam o carácter permanente da poesia africana. [...] a poesia de combate desdobra as suas armas em dois registos complementares: um, de criação coletiva (nas línguas nacionais, incluindo o crioulo da Guiné-Bissau), e outro, de criação individual (em língua portuguesa e em crioulo igualmente).”

scholars of the poetry of this generation there is no clear categorisation about the different literary periods of this movement.

Alda Espírito Santo is one of this generation's most important poets and activists. She was part of *Centro de Estudos Africanos* and member of *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* and was a founder of the first anti-colonial movements from São Tomé and Príncipe. She was a central figure as a politician in the first decades of independence and was imprisoned by the political police in Lisbon in 1965. It can be said that in the 1960s-1970s, for those who continued to write poetry as her, the main focus of their poetry became African nationalism and anti-colonialism and that is shown in Alda Espírito Santo's first book *É Nosso o Solo Sagrado da Terra - Poesia de Protesto e Luta* (1977). The book begins with the verses of São Tomé and Príncipe's national anthem, written by her: 'Independência Total' [Total Independence]. But in this collection she also dedicates a poem to Angela Davis 'Voz Negra das Américas': "Ângela, teu braço erguido, Na trajetória histórica, Abalou conceitos distorcidos." (Santo, 1978, p. 101). In another poem, 'Direito à vida', she writes "Homem Negro, marginal nas páginas da história do Mundo [...] Cada homem que se afirma, É homem lançado ao mar..." (Santo, 1978, p. 111) There are also poems on the Batepá Massacre: 'Onde Estão os Homens Caçados Neste Vento de Loucura' and 'Trindade'.

On February 3, 1953, the Batepá Massacre, also known as Trindade War, began in São Tomé and Príncipe. Led by the Portuguese governor Carlos Gorgulho (who was never punished), it was supported by plantation owners who intended to subject the Santomean people to forced labour. Hundreds were killed and arrested in this massacre; houses were burned down; there were beatings and rapes; summary executions; torture with electric shocks and whips; people suffocated to death in overcrowded cells; deportations were carried out; bodies were buried in mass graves or thrown into the sea; and prisoners were sent to a concentration camp, where they were forced to work with their necks, trunks and ankles chained (see Santo, 2003; Rodrigues, 2017, 2018; Rosas & Cabral, 2017). Alda Espírito Santo arrived in the island of São Tomé some weeks before these tragic events. Her denunciations would be fundamental for the anti-colonial and opposition movements against Salazar to be aware of what took place during those days. The Santomean historian, Carlos Espírito Santo, compiled some unpublished writings from Alda Espírito Santo from 1942 to 1953. These poems provide insight into a period of this generation where the issue of racism appears more often. Most of Alda Espírito Santo's unpublished poems compiled by Carlos Espírito Santo survived because after the Batepá Massacre, the poet, afraid that

the police would raid her house, handed over several writings to the Portuguese lawyer Manuel da Palma Carlos, who had travelled to the archipelago to defend Santomeans who had been arrested (Santo, 2012, p. 15). These poems show an early phase of her poetry that is essential for my analysis.

In one of those poems, ‘Competição’, we find Alda Espírito Santo's experience as an African in Portugal and Europe. “In this peace of Europe, I do not want to betray myself”, she writes. In the poem, she criticises the hypocrisy of a European civilisation built under colonialism, speaks of the ancestry that places her among an “endless wave of slaves” and wants to “show Europe the triumphal flag” of the free Africa “which fertilised Europe” and defends the need to ‘reaffricanization’:

Não quero já a Europa a endeusar-me a vida  
Não quero a capa falsa cedida por favor.

Já não quero roçar os meus casacos  
Nas poltronas dos cinemas,  
Nem viver o progresso da gente incolor  
Usando os figurinos deste espelho baço  
Cimentado por mim, mas mofando de mim.  
Sim, nos alicerces do colosso europeu,  
Eu me vejo numa leva infinda de escravos  
A erguer impérios, a misturar meu próprio sangue  
Para criar o monstro da civilização  
Que hoje, hoje no dealbar dos tempos  
Me reduziu a escória e fixa os meus destinos.  
Por isso hoje com os meus pés bem assentes  
Neste Pedaco da Europa, não me quero trair,  
Aceitando a esmola de uma migalha de pão  
Que não é minha.

Eu quero e exijo as cartilhas dos mestres africanos  
Eu quero mostrar à Europa a bandeira triunfal  
Da África livre, que adubou a Europa.<sup>122</sup>

In another poem that was also part of PIDE-DGS Archives (Santo, 2012, p. 52), ‘Eu Canto África’, she speaks for Africa, for the “Black race” in a “hymn of hope”. She does not sing of “pain” but “happiness” for being a “Black”:

Eu canto a África  
Canto a negra gente  
Num hino de esperança  
E levanto a cabeça.

Não canto dor a minha gente  
Mas alegria, alegria de ser negra  
Na doce euforia do porvir.

Eu canto a pele bronzeada  
De gente do equador  
E espero ressurgir

---

<sup>122</sup> Santo, 2012, p. 94.



Da terra do calor.

Eu canto a África  
Canto a negra raça

Com ritmos de guerra  
Do batuque do sertão.

Não canto fatalismo  
Mas grito confiante  
E espero o despontar.  
Cantando a África  
Eu me canto a mim mesma  
Na gente da negra cor.<sup>123</sup>

In another poem, ‘Quando virá o dia?...’, dated from 1947, she asks when the day will come to return to a homeland that belongs to “her race”, and then criticises the enemies of the Black people who question their capacity:

Quando virá o dia?...  
Quando será o regresso.,  
A uma pátria da minha raça?...

Esse dia é lendário...  
Esse dia é uma quimera louca  
Para o homem da outra cor...

“O negro não se erguerá nunca  
O negro, esse bicho, nasceu escravo...  
Para que quererá ele, a liberdade  
Se nunca a teve?...”  
Assim fala o outro, o inimigo das gentes negras...  
Assim mofa ele dos escravos...  
Quando virá o dia?<sup>124</sup>

[...]

In ‘A Nova Lei’, dated from 1948, she denounces the “barriers of gold and colour” and question the disdain against Black people in the “new planet”:

Se a humanidade é una e os homens irmãos,  
Se a lei nos une no abraço fraternal,

Onde vive o pária no vosso vasto mundo?...

No planeta novo onde fica a vida  
Jazem lado a lado o negro e desprezo.

Na harmonia doce dos baixos preconceitos  
Reinam barreiras do ouro e da côr...

Mas isso não é nada  
“E os homens são irmãos”

Injustiças são meras ilusões...

---

<sup>123</sup> Santo, 2012, p. 52.

<sup>124</sup> Santo, 2012, p. 92.

E o pão de todos?...  
Não existe... - Que importa,

Se o direito novo  
Nos chama seus irmãos.<sup>125</sup>

Agostinho Neto is also a notable member of this generation. He came from Angola in the 1940s to study medicine in Coimbra, and later moved to Lisbon. As early as 1950, he published two poems in the magazine *Momento: antologia de literatura e arte* from Coimbra, organised by him, Lúcio Lara (Angola) and Orlando de Albuquerque (Mozambique). The magazine also featured poems by the modernist artist Aureliano Lima and the neo-realist playwright Correia Alves, highlighting the close connections between this generation and white artists in Portugal. In the second number of the magazine, Neto's poems 'Noite' and 'Confiança' (Neto, 1950) were published. In the latter, he writes about racist lynchings in the USA:

John foi linchado  
O irmão chicoteado nas costas nuas  
A mulher amordaçada  
E o filho continuou ignorante.

E do drama intenso  
Duma vida imensa e útil  
Resultou certeza:

As minhas mãos colocaram pedras  
Nos alicerces do mundo  
Mereço o meu pedaço de pão

He was a prolific poet during the 1940s-1950s. From the 1960s onwards, he was for many years the leader of MPLA and, after the independence, he was president of Angola until 1979, the year of his death. His political career was also marked by his significant role in the persecution of internal opposition in MPLA, such as, before the independence, Viriato da Cruz's 'faction' and later on the Revolta Ativa group (integrated by Mário Pinto Andrade). Moreover, we cannot forget his role in the '27 May 1977' events that led to thousands of arrests, disappearances and murders of activists from his own party.

"Acabou-se o ódio de raças" [Racial hatred is over], said Agostinho de Neto in one of his greatest and longest poems, 'A Renúncia Impossível'. Written in 1949 (Laranjeira, 2000b), this poem, was only published after his death. Eugénia Neto, his wife, wrote in the introduction to his book *Agostinho Neto: Obra Poética Completa* (2016) that this poem is,

---

<sup>125</sup> Santo, 2012, p. 37.

for some people, politically disconcerting for its fervent refusal to remain silent about the centuries-long history of Black oppression. The poem begins with a denunciation of the world's brutality and metaphorically states that the poet wants to be "Zero", renouncing himself. Agostinho Neto then goes on to denounce racial segregation "only to coloured men", the "colour lines" that serve to appease the white people. From the perspective of the critique of racism and eurocentrism, it is one the most important poems of this generation. He asserts ironically, "there have never been Black people in the world", and "there are no Black people to lynch!":

[...]

Podeis agora queimar  
os letreiros medrosos  
que às portas de bares, hotéis e recintos públicos  
gritam o vosso egoísmo  
nas frases: "SÓ PARA BRANCOS" ou "ONLY TO COLOURED MEN"  
Negros aqui. Brancos acolá.

Podeis acabar  
com os miseráveis bairros de negros  
que vos atrapalham a vaidade  
Vivei satisfeitos sem "colour lines"  
sem terdes que dizer aos fregueses negros  
que os hotéis estão abarrotados  
que não há mais mesas nos restaurantes.  
Banhai-vos descansados  
nas vossas praias e piscinas  
que nunca houve negros no mundo  
que sujasse as águas  
ou os vossos nojentos preconceitos  
com a sua escura presença.

podeis transformar em toureiros  
ou em magarefes  
os membros da Ku-Klux-Klan  
para que matem a sua fome sanguinária  
nas feridas dos touros que descem à arena.  
Não há negros para linchar!

Porque hesitais agora?  
Ao menos tendes oportunidade  
para proclamardes democracias  
com sinceridade.

[...]

Then he continues to denounce the existing eurocentrism, "You can invent a new History, You can even attribute the creation of the world to yourself.":

[...]

Podeis inventar uma nova História.  
Inclusivamente podeis atribuir-vos a criação do mundo.  
Tudo foi feito por vós  
Ah!

que satisfação eu sinto  
por ver-vos alegres no vosso orgulho  
e loucos na vossa mania de superioridade.

[...]

Furthermore, he also accuses, “There were never blacks!” “You never killed black men with whips to possess their women”, “Oh racists of unbridled lubricity, Satisfy yourselves now within morals.” And then he writes, “There were never any discoveries, Africa was created with the world.” The anti-racist denunciation is evident in these words:

[...]

Nunca houve negros!  
A África foi construída só por vós  
A América foi colonizada só por vós  
A Europa não conhece civilizações africanas  
Nunca um negro beijou uma branca  
nem um negro foi linchado  
nunca mataram pretos a golpes de cavalo-marinho  
para lhes possuírem as mulheres  
nunca extorquiram propriedades a pretos  
não tendes, nunca tivestes filhos com sangue negro  
ó racistas de desbragada lubricidade  
Fartai-vos agora dentro da moral.

Que satisfação  
por não terdes que falsear os padrões morais  
para salvaguardar  
o prestígio, a superioridade e o estômago  
de vossos filhos.

[...]

Eu elevado até o Zero  
eu transformado no Nada-histórico  
Eu no início dos Tempos  
eu-Nada a confundir-me com vós-Tudo  
sou o verdadeiro Cristo da Humanidade!

Não há nas ruas de Luanda  
Negros descalços e sujos  
a pôr nódoas nas vossas falsidades de colonização  
Em Lourenço Marques  
em New-York, em Leopoldville  
em Cape-Town  
gritam pelas ruas  
a foguetear alegria nos ares:

-Não há negros nas ruas!  
Nunca houve.  
Não há negros preguiçosos  
a deixar os campos por cultivar  
e renitentes à escravização  
já não há negros para roubar.  
Toda a riqueza representa agora o suor do rosto  
e o suor do rosto é a poesia da vida.

Não existe música negra  
Nunca houve batuques nas florestas do Congo  
Quem falou em spirituals?

Vá de encher os salões  
de Debussy Strauss, Korsakoff.  
Já não há selvagens na terra.  
Viva a civilização dos homens superiores  
sem manchas negróides  
a perturbar-lhe a estética!

Nunca houve descobrimentos  
a África foi criada com o mundo.

[...]

In the end, he says, “Racial hatred is over, and the work of civilisation”:

[...]

Acabou-se o ódio de raças  
e o trabalho de civilização  
e a náusea de ver meninos negros  
sentados na escola  
ao lado dos meninos de olhos azuis  
e as extorsões e as compulsões  
e as palmatoadas e torturas  
para obrigar inocentes a confessar crimes  
e os medos de revolta  
e as complicadas demarches políticas  
para iludir as almas simples.

Acabaram-se as complicações sociais!

Atingi o Zero.  
Cheguei à hora do início do mundo  
E resolvi não existir.  
Cheguei ao Zero-Espaço  
ao Nada-tempo  
ao Eu coincidente com vós-Tudo.

E o que é mais importante:  
Salvei o mundo.<sup>126</sup>

[...]

Three years after writing this poem, by the first time Agostinho Neto was arrested by the PIDE, the Portuguese political police, for over three months. Agostinho Neto was imprisoned three times by the Portuguese political police in 1952, 1955, and 1960 in Portugal, Angola and Cape Verde. At first because of his connections with the Portuguese anti-fascist movement and later because of his anti-colonialist militancy.

---

<sup>126</sup> Neto, 2016, pp. 143-154.

In 1963, Francisco José Tenreiro was a member of the Portuguese parliament. Although he was the literary ‘father’ of this generation of Black poets in Portugal, unlike most of them, Tenreiro came close to the colonial regime and did not engage in the African nationalist struggle. Pires Laranjeira also recalls that when criticism of the aesthetic and ideological limits of *Négritude* increased and many abandoned its assumptions, Tenreiro stood with Senghor (who was already isolated) in defending a dialogic *Négritude* that was intolerable for African writers engaged in political struggle (Laranjeira, 1995, p. 19). In some way, Tenreiro represented the conciliatory fraction of *Négritude* from Senghor and Agostinho Neto, the most radical fraction of *Négritude* from Césaire (see Mata & Laranjeira, 1997).

In 1963, the liberation armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism had already started in different countries. Most of these poets, many of whom lived already in exile, were now dedicated to their political organisations. Back then in Portugal, Tenreiro seemed to be still dedicated to poetry. In his poem, ‘Amor de África’, dated that year, he portrays daily life in Lisbon, nostalgia for Africa and the racist condescension of white Portuguese. That same year, he died of a cerebral haemorrhage at 42. Francisco José Tenreiro would die suddenly and literarily isolated, as if marking the end of a poetic-literary epoch of this Black generation in Portugal, the end of an African *negritude* in the Portuguese language. In this poem, Tenreiro appears on a foggy morning in Lisbon with love for Africa. It is a sad morning, and the escape seems to be through having his mind in Africa, in the Nile, Zaire, Zambezi and Niger rivers. It is a mind in Africa, but also in China, Malaysia, Indonesia and Indochina. In the poem he describes an everyday life of racism in Lisbon and speaks on the ‘rebirth of humanity’:

#### **Amor de África**

Esparso e vago amor de África  
como uma manhã outonal de nevoeiros calmos sobre o Tejo.  
Difuso e translúcido amor de África  
na sombra fugidia ao gás das travessas às três da madrugada.  
Amor pálido de África num céu de andorinhas mortas  
num campo branco sem malmequeres nem papoulas  
Amor ténue e pálido, difuso e vago, translúcido de África  
no coração murcho das multidões do Rossio olhando o placard  
gente murcha e exausta, cansada e torturada  
cansada e torturada para o amor.  
(Quatro pulsações febris de um corpo só  
oh África do Nilo e do Zaire oh África do Zambeze e do Níger  
quem em ti está pensando de coração em África?  
África dos rios velhos e ruínas ossificadas de Zimbabué  
China das muralhas de crisântemo e sangue  
Malaias e Indonésias com encruzilhadas de sonho e febre

Indochina da virilidade com abraços tricolores de fraternité  
[e palavras de balas  
quem em vós está pensando de coração em África, nas Chinas  
[e Malaias, Indonésias e Indochinas de sonhos crispados?)  
São sempre notícias de longe (terras exóticas meu avô andou lá  
[veja a mala de cânfora conheceu o Gungunhana)  
são sempre notícias de longe bafejando corações murchos às  
[cinco horas da tarde no largo do Rossio.  
Esparso e vago amor de África pelas calçadas da cidade.  
Vago amor de África pelas nove horas da manhã, comigo  
[sentado num eléctrico amarelo  
deslizando nos carris ainda orvalhados do sonho e da ilusão  
com pernas roliças de sopeiras a caminho da praça  
e as vozes acordadas roucas dos embarcações encalhados  
e as gralhas gentis e palradoras da agulha e linha  
comigo sentado no eléctrico amarelo com carris de sonho  
e uma mulher velha com o desejo-de-lugar nos olhos encovados  
e eu deslizando com os sonhos dos outros e acordando para  
[os olhos velhos da mulher  
levantando-me e ela sentando-se no comentário para a do lado  
há rapazes pretos muito gentis, muito gentis, muito gentis  
e eu indiferente e vago com a vaguidade do amor daquela  
[mulher esquecida do tempo como um papiro  
embalado pelo eléctrico amarelo de sonho e pelos carris  
das gralhas mimosas e palradoras;  
(ah não haver milho às mãos-cheias para os bichos gulosos  
[de vida destes corpos penugentos  
nem os barcos de papel da infância seguros contra todos os  
[riscos no Lloyd's da nossa imaginação  
para os homens do mar feitos agora gaiivotas cinzentas em terra).  
Esparso e vago amor de África pelas calçadas da cidade.  
Vago também as nove e trinta da manhã na tabacaria tolhida  
[de espanto  
à esquina do prédio de oito andares  
onde em dois brasidos se queimam olhos fosforescentes de  
[pantera  
e há uma mão felina estendendo na ponta das unhas recurvadas  
pelo desejo e pela ambição o maço de Paris  
uma mão de veludo e unhas de sangue  
metendo conversas secretas e arrepios na espinha  
solicitando encontros respeitáveis com carteiras concretas  
casacos do Alaska e jóias de Kimberley.

Aqui estou agora de coração em África  
nesta noite fria e nu do capote das ilusões  
ouvindo este sábio que tudo sabe tudo sabe de África.

De África e dos pretos claro está!...

Dos pretos que para arrelia das gentes à Terra vieram  
pobrezinhas crianças crescidas em pretidão  
mas que têm alma branca dizem uns  
ou segundo outros alma danada.  
Aqui estou eu agora vestido de África por dentro  
por fora cheviote sorridente o sábio ouvindo  
que das pirâmides diz e esquece os negros faraós  
da poligamia reverbera olhos fechados à pederastia  
fosforescente ao escuro das ruas velhas do mundo cansado  
braço dado com damas de camélias emurchecidas  
como as palavras que solta da sua caveira sem dentes.

Aqui estou eu agora coração oprimido e sorriso longe  
 ouvidos atentos ao linfatismo de repetidas ideias  
 sei lá quantas vezes e tantas como pingos sujando o meu  
 [coração.

Oh! minha África ter-te no peito o que vale  
 perante a clareza absoluta e homérica de afirmações tão sábias!

“Eu antes quero uma fuga de Bach que um batuque de cafres;  
 Prefiro um quadro de Rubens a um manipanso preto;  
 Sim, claro, o Ifé e o Benin são exceções ao resto  
 infantil, imaturo, caricatural da arte africana”  
 Casquinava arritmicamente, os dentes soltos na caveira  
 [consumida de sabedoria!

De Sabedoria de África e dos pretos claro está!...

Ri caveira morta, riam todos vocês assistência sem vida  
 Riam todos que o caso não é para menos;  
 mas deixem-me por favor este sorriso cheviote por fora  
 enquanto o meu coração serenamente conta  
 os minutos-tempo que faltam para a humanidade renascer!<sup>127</sup>

In 1963, already thousands of white colonial soldiers had been sent to the colonies to fight and, in the sad city of Lisbon, Tenreiro suffers racism. However, from Africa, the poet is still waiting for Humanity to be reborn.



Figure 2 – *Ilha de Nome Santo* (Francisco José Tenreiro); *Cadernos de Poesia Negra*; *É o nosso Solo Sagrado* (Alda Espírito Santo); Amílcar Cabral and Mário Pinto de Andrade (Mário Pinto de Andrade Archive - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso).

### 3.6 An anti-racist movement?

This generation was very influential in the history of anti-racism in Portugal; however, I don't think we should classify them as an anti-racist political movement per se.

<sup>127</sup> Tenreiro, 1991, pp. 59-62.



Nevertheless, their affirmation of Black culture and leadership in the anti-colonial struggle was central to constructing an anti-racist awareness in their time in different geographies and Portugal. Their main political project, which aimed to give Africa back to Black people, obviously had an anti-racist ground, but they cannot be understood as an anti-racist movement. They were fundamentally an African nationalist generation, and as their political struggles progressed, it seemed that the issue of racism was diluted. However, especially at an early stage, through their literature and the search for a political path, they reflected on racial issues, denounced racism and claimed their blackness and Africanity. They were central to the path built by the 'Black radical tradition'. Therefore, it is undeniable that this was a period of enormous racial awareness and anti-racist thought in Portugal. These activists profoundly changed the course of history and today influence the Black and anti-racist movement in Portugal.

As I suggest in my rhetorical title, I think we should view this generation as an African nationalist movement rather than an anti-racist movement. However, we should understand them as a movement that hugely impacted the anti-racist struggles, then and now. Anti-colonialism took a central role in the broader anti-racist struggle. I contend that we should view anti-racist movements as those whose primary focus is the struggle against racism. If we do not, we risk placing struggles with other objectives under an anti-racist umbrella simply because it is convenient for us to broaden the definition of what we consider to be anti-racist movements. That is not to say that it is a settled question. In fact, it is under discussion here.

The African liberation struggles against the dictatorship clearly influenced the enormous social reach of the Portuguese revolution of 1974-75. For this reason, some militants of the Portuguese Black and anti-racist movement have recently adopted the slogan 'The 25<sup>th</sup> of April was born in Africa'. The anti-colonial struggle profoundly influenced the course of the Portuguese political left before and after the Carnation Revolution. Back then, one of the main divergences between the different political organisations was the character and handling of African nationalistic movements. The most radical organisations placed great hope in the anti-colonial struggle to end fascism and openly supported it. Thus, it is not surprising that the anti-racist associations that emerged in the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s were mainly led by white militants from far-left organisations in Portugal, as we shall see in the next chapter. They had firsthand experience of solidarity with the anti-colonial struggle of the 1960s and 1970s. On the other hand, the African and neighbourhood associations movement was sometimes mobilised by activists with a militant background in

anti-colonial movement. In summary, the radical left, grassroots associations in the neighbourhoods and the African-immigrant rights movement of the 1980s and 1990s were descendants of the revolution that took place in Portugal in 1974-75 and this revolution was also a 'child' of the anti-colonial struggles.

## CHAPTER 4 - THE ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENT AND RAP (1990-2020)

In the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s, Portuguese society witnessed the birth of an anti-racist movement formed through the confluence of anti-racist organisations (primarily white), an African-immigrant rights movement, Black-majority neighbourhood associations and Black youth that emerged from the rap movement. On these foundations, the anti-racist movement has been transformed over the years. This chapter unfolds as a chronology of more than three decades to understand the journey of a diverse and changing anti-racism.

The chapter begins with the origins of the movement, describes the birth of various anti-racist organisations, and then looks back to a fatal and defining year for the struggle against racism: 1995, the year of Alcindo Monteiro's assassination. Then I focus on the relevance of the immigrant and Roma associations during this journey. Further on, I write on the emergence of the *Rede Anti-Racista* at the end of the 1990s, which was an attempt to broadly unite the anti-racist movement. Then I look more specifically at the Black movement: the origins of Black youth activism in the periphery in the new millennium, a landmark case of racist police violence in 2015 and the emergence of several Black organisations that would be fundamental to a movement that began to take to the streets with increasing strength. In the end, the chapter focuses on the role of rap and rappers in the fight against racism, on the importance of rap in the feminine and *kriolu rap*. Here I turn to rap lyrics, a primordial place of denouncing racism in Portugal and, more broadly, of 'racial capitalism', responsible for impoverishment, police violence and segregation. To conclude I discuss the importance of diverse artistic practices for anti-racism.

### 4.1 The rise of a new anti-racist movement

According to Miguel Vale de Almeida: “It was in the 1980s that a public debate on ‘racism’ started in Portugal, as well as the anti-racist movement and the cultural salience of the growing African-immigrant communities, mainly in Lisbon.” (2002, p. 18). If we can consider the 1980s as the beginning of anti-racist debate and movement, it was in early 1990s that it took a bigger explicit and organic contours.

In January 1990, a report from the public TV channel, RTP, shows us an institutional meeting between African-immigrant associations and the government to discuss the problem of racism. This took place between members of *Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social*, *Associação de Cabo-verdianos de Lisboa* and the Minister of Justice. The report states that the meeting served for the associations to express the feelings of African communities about the rise of racist groups such as the “skinheads” (‘Combate ao racismo em discussão entre associações e Ministro da Justiça’, 1990).

In the same year the birth of *SOS Racismo* was announced to the press, the first association dedicated exclusively to the struggle against racism in Portugal. *Diário de Notícias* dedicated an article to the event: “Portugal has, since yesterday, a new instrument against racism, its name is *SOS Racismo*, and its main objective is to defend ethnic minorities from actions of marginality or acts of aggression.”<sup>128</sup> (‘Novo movimento combate o racismo’, 1990). The *Público* newspaper also dedicated an article to the emergence of this organisation: “It is called *SOS Racismo* and aims to respond to the violence and aggression suffered recently by members of ethnic minorities living and working in Portugal.”<sup>129</sup> (Ferreira, 1990). In this chapter I propose to study the anti-racist movement between 1990, the year *SOS Racismo* was founded, and 2020, when major anti-racist demonstrations happened in Portugal.

*SOS Racismo* was built from the convergence of mostly white left-wing political militants, mainly from *Partido Socialista Revolucionário* (PSR) and *Juventude Comunista Portuguesa* (JCP), but also from elements of *Juventude Socialista* (JS) and independents. It is important to note that Portuguese left-wing militants at the time had a very present tradition of anti-colonialism, influenced by the years of African liberation struggles (1961-75) and the Carnation Revolution (1974-75).

Symbolically, *SOS Racismo* was officially born on December 10, International Human Rights Day, which showed that it wanted to impose itself also as an essential human rights organisation in Portugal. Between December 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>, 1990, to launch and celebrate the beginning of *SOS Racismo*, a series of events were organised, such as debates, theatre and street entertainment, culminating with concerts and performances at the Pavilhão Carlos Lopes in Lisbon with Rádio Macau, Miguel Angelo (Delfins), Luís Ventura (from

---

<sup>128</sup> “Portugal conta, a partir de ontem, com um novo instrumento contra o racismo. O seu nome é *SOS Racismo* e tem como principal objetivo defender as minorias étnicas de ações de marginalidade ou atos de agressão.”

<sup>129</sup> “Chama-se *SOS Racismo* e pretende responder às violências e agressões de que foram alvo, nos últimos tempos, elementos das minorias étnicas que vivem e trabalham em Portugal.”

Lobo Meigo), João Aguardela (from Sitiados), Peste e Sida, Censurados e Zé Pedro (from Xutos e Pontapés), Essa Entente, Tonecas and Clandestinos. They were big names on the Portuguese rock and pop scene back then. A band of Cape Verdean origin also appeared, Banda Dêxã. During these days, several radio stations would also broadcast the song ‘Sun City’ by Artists United Against Apartheid.

In 1992, another series of events were organised at Voz do Operário, with debates, namely with MPs from across the political spectrum; and concerts, where besides rock artists such as Clandestinos or João Aguardela, the Black rapper General D, the Cape Verdean batuque group from Moinho da Juventude and the Cape Verdean band Sossabe were also on stage ('SOS Racismo em maratona de debates', 1992). In 1993, on November 21<sup>st</sup> a larger event called Festa de Todas As Cores [Party of All Colors] was organised, with concerts and performances again in Pavilhão Carlos Lopes. On that day, very known rock bands such as Peste e Sida, Sitiados, Clandestinos or Lulu Blind took the stage; and again, the rising young rapper General D; the known Cape Verdean musicians Dany Silva and Tito Paris; the influential reggae band Kussondulola, with Angolan origin; the Portuguese Protest song musicians José Mário Branco and Francisco Fanhais; the jazz pianist Mário Laginha; and the actresses and reciters Teresa Faria, Paula Só and José Fanha. According to the *Público* newspaper:

The only thing missing was the gypsy presence - which the organisation attempted until the last minute - so that the palette of musical tones offered would have been complete at the "*Festa de Todas as Cores*", an initiative of the organisation *SOS Racismo* that transformed, yesterday afternoon and evening, the *Pavilhão Carlos Lopes* into an anti-racist sanctuary. Starting in the middle of the afternoon, the party had a program that guaranteed seven hours of Portuguese, African, Brazilian, and Timorese songs and many manifestations of faith in racial tolerance. [...] Driven by conviction and by music, the participants - overwhelmingly young, overwhelmingly white, and fans of some groups that performed [...]. Between songs, José Falcão, from *SOS Racismo*, took time to remember the reason for the meeting "What we are doing is to stay awake. To think that the anti-racist struggle is not only like the others, but that, above all, belongs to each one of us, all of us."<sup>130</sup> (J.M.R., 1993)

According to José Falcão, the most known public figure of *SOS Racismo* for many years, the meetings to form this association against racism started in the aftermath of the

---

<sup>130</sup> “Só faltou a presença cigana - que a organização tentou até à última da hora - para que paleta de tons musicais oferecidos tivesse sido completa na “Festa de Todas as Cores”, uma iniciativa da organização SOS Racismo que transformou, na tarde e noite de ontem, o Pavilhão Carlos Lopes num santuário do anti-racismo. Com início a meio da tarde, a festa tinha um programa que lhe garantia sete horas de canções portuguesas, africanas, brasileiras e timorenses e muitas manifestações de fé na tolerância racial. [...] Movidos pela convicção e pela música, os participantes - esmagadoramente fãs de alguns dos grupos que actuaram [...] Entre canções, José Falcão, do SOS Racismo, encontrou tempo para lembrar a razão do encontro. “O Que estamos a fazer é mantermo-nos acordados. Pensar que o combate anti-racista não é apenas com os outros, mas que, sobretudo, é de cada um de nós, de todos nós.””

killing of a leader of PSR in 1989, José Carvalho, by a group of neo-fascist skinheads in front of the headquarters of this Trotskyist party during a night of music concerts (Interview with José Falcão by Pedro Varela, 27/01/2020). Back then, 'Bar das Palmeiras', at the PSR headquarters, was a known place for rock concerts, namely events integrated into an anti-militarist and pacifist campaign led by this party.

In order to understand the social reality in Portugal at that time, it is necessary to mention that the passage from the 1980s to the 1990s were years of growth of the extreme-right; the solidification of the political right-wing in the state and in various sections of the society; increase in African migration to the country and regularization difficulties due to the change of the nationality law from *jus soli* to *jus sanguinis*; and due to the lack of housing, an increase in urban precariousness with the growth of informal construction. During that period, one of the most economically and socially structuring phenomena was Portugal's integration into the European Union, which took place in 1986 and completely in its economic institutions in the late 1990s. The anthropologist Kesha Fikes (2000, 2005, 2009), who did ethnographic research among Cape Verdean women fish sellers (*peixeiras*) in Lisbon between the mid-1990s and the early 2000s, shows a strong portrait of a Lisbon that was transforming itself and where racism was constant. Her work describes a time when a clear division was forming between the Black and white working population, where African immigrants lost rights, heroin was a scourge, the walls were painted with fascist and racist phrases and the police constantly harassed Cape Verdean women fish sellers and publicly shouted racist slurs without anyone doing anything about it, "But just as curious was the contradiction that this form of policing posed to the popular idea that Portuguese were characteristically anti-racist." (Fikes, 2009, p. 5). This was a time when Portugal looked towards Europe, swept its past under the carpet, but the skeleton of the colonialist era was a constant presence.

In the middle of the 1980s, the fascist movement reorganised in Portugal inside Supporters' football groups, in fascist skinhead groups or political organisations such as *Movimento de Acção Nacional* (MAN). The investigative media site *Setenta e Quatro*, in its description of several extreme-right movements in Portugal writes:

The *Movimento de Acção Nacional* (MAN) was founded in 1985 by a group of young people from the periphery of Lisbon and represented the entrance of ethnonationalism into Portuguese politics. MAN was marked by the use of violence in the Portuguese streets. [...] the leadership of MAN soon allied itself with the various groups of boneheads (extreme-right skinheads) that, since the

beginning of the 1980s, had emerged [...].<sup>131</sup> ('Movimento de Acção Nacional', 2021)

Since the late 1970s, the skinhead subculture polarised towards neofascism in many European countries with racist and anti-leftist violence emerging from these groups leading to several murders (see Camus & Lebourg, 2017). Portugal was not immune to this phenomenon. Many neofascist militants adopted the 'skinhead' culture, and during the 1980s and 1990s, they were responsible for many attacks against racialised people and left-wing militants. José Falcão, who was a PSR militant at the time and founder of *SOS Racismo*, remembers:

**José Falcão:** Far-right attacks have been on the rise since 1984. Remember that in the year that Zé [José Carvalho] was killed... **Pedro Varela:** 1989... **José Falcão:** [in that year] João Grosso lost a testicle, in May [after an attack by a neofascist skinhead group]. And there were several [attacks]. And then there's the attack on Faustino<sup>132</sup>, on the train rail (though it was later). **Pedro Varela:** Faustino was also a left-wing militant? **José Falcão:** No, no... Faustino was a Black person who was caught in the street in Porto and the guys [skinheads] put him unconsciousness on the rails but there was a strike and no trains passed.<sup>133</sup> (Interview with José Falcão by Pedro Varela, 27/01/2020)

Manuel Gouveia, JCP leader at the time and founder of *SOS Racismo*, remembers why they felt the need to create an anti-racist organisation:

**Pedro Varela:** Why there was this need to create *SOS Racismo*? **Manuel Gouveia:** First racism was growing in Portugal, *carecas* [skinheads] started to appear and all that stuff. So there were people who felt the need to create a movement to respond it. And then we took the name from a very strong movement in France called *SOS Racisme*, which had nothing directly to do with us... **Pedro Varela:** It was just the name... **Manuel Gouveia:** It was just the name and the fact that they existed and at that time they were powerful, because in France things were even more serious than here.<sup>134</sup> (Interview with Manuel Gouveia by Pedro Varela, 8/10/2020)

---

<sup>131</sup> “O Movimento de Acção Nacional (MAN) foi fundado em 1985 por um grupo de jovens da periferia de Lisboa e representou a entrada do etnonacionalismo na política portuguesa. O MAN ficou marcado pelo uso da violência nas ruas portuguesas. [...] a liderança do MAN depressa se aliou aos vários grupos de boneheads (skinheads de extrema-direita) que desde o início da década de 1980 tinham surgido [...]”

<sup>132</sup> See ‘Julgamento de skinheads’ (1994).

<sup>133</sup> **José Falcão:** Os ataques de extrema-direita vinham num crescendo desde 1984. Repara, no ano que o José é morto... **Pedro Varela:** 1989... **José Falcão:** O João Grosso ficou sem um testículo, em maio... E havia vários [ataques]. E logo a seguir há o ataque ao Faustino, na linha do comboio (se bem que foi depois). **Pedro Varela:** O Faustino também era um militante de esquerda? **José Falcão:** Não, não... O Faustino era uma pessoa negra que foi apanhada na rua no Porto e os gajos puseram-no inanimado na linha de comboio, mas havia greve e, portanto, não passou nenhum comboio.

<sup>134</sup> **Pedro Varela:** Porque existiu essa necessidade de criar o SOS Racismo. **Manuel Gouveia:** Estava a crescer o racismo em Portugal, começavam a aparecer os carecas e aquela coisa toda. E, portanto, havia malta que sentia a necessidade de criar um movimento para responder. E depois o nome foi buscar-se a um movimento que havia em França e que era muito forte e que era o *SOS Racisme*, que não tem diretamente nada a ver... **Pedro Varela:** Era só o nome... **Manuel Gouveia:** Era só no nome e o facto de eles existirem e naquela altura terem peso, porque na França as coisas ainda estavam mais graves do que cá.

On the emergence of an anti-racist movement, neofascist violence, and attacks on Roma and Black people in the 1990s, Ana Rita Alves, Rita Cachado and Ana Cruz wrote:

It was only with the arrival of the 1990s that a social mobilisation against racism was experienced in Portugal. Some factors contributed decisively to this dynamic. In that period, a series of phenomena of a racist nature took place. The homicide of the far-left militant José Carvalho in 1989, and the beating of an Angolan student, who was later pinned to the railway tracks, in 1990, were the highest expression of the rampant violence of the extreme-right that became more and more visible in the public space, namely among football supporters groups and in the urban register, through the painting of signatures and symbols on walls. In this context, the *SOS Racismo* organization was born, which would play a fundamental role in the inscription of (anti-)racism in Portugal. Afterwards, the murder of the Cape-Verdean Alcindo Monteiro, also perpetrated by elements of the extreme right, on June 10<sup>th</sup> 1995, in Bairro Alto, should be pointed out. The constitution of racist popular militias against the Roma communities in Vila Verde (1996) and Francelos (1997-1999) is also noteworthy.<sup>135</sup> (Alves, Cachado & Cruz, 2018, pp. 1601-1602)

In the first years of *SOS Racismo*, the main activities of this organisation were centred on public denouncement of racist violence, media advocacy, anti-racist awareness in schools, cultural events (as concerts), and the selling of ‘*Guias Anti-racistas*’ booklets, a collective work with texts and illustrations which was a form of propaganda, discussion and funding. But, afterwards, political divergences and a dispute for leadership during 1993-94 led to the exit of the militants close to *Partido Comunista Português* (PCP). These activists soon afterwards created their own anti-racist association, *Frente Anti-Racista* (FAR), established officially in 1994. The founding statutes of this organisation stated that it intended to “Promote anti-racist action and training activities, combat xenophobia and racism through anti-racist actions, initiatives, courses, etc.”<sup>136</sup>. In the first years of existence, the *Frente Anti-Racista* had an important activity. This organisation had strong links with the social and trade union movement, as the PCP was the most influential party among the organised working class. FAR had as a president the communist deputy and Black trade union leader Manuel Correia. However, over the past two decades, it has largely transformed

---

<sup>135</sup> “É somente com a chegada da déc. de 90 do séc. xx que se experimenta uma mobilização social contra o racismo em Portugal. Alguns fatores contribuíram decisivamente para esta dinâmica. Nesse período, sucede um conjunto de fenómenos de índole racista. O homicídio do militante de extrema-esquerda José Carvalho, em 1989, e o espancamento de um estudante angolano, posteriormente preso aos carris da linha de comboio, em 1990, foram a expressão máxima da violência galopante da extrema-direita que se tornava cada vez mais visível no espaço público, designadamente nas claques de futebol e no registo urbano, através da pintura de assinaturas e de símbolos nas paredes. É neste contexto que se vê nascer o Movimento SOS Racismo, que viria a jogar um papel fundamental na inscrição do (anti-)racismo em Portugal. Posteriormente, deve assinalar-se o assassinato do cabo-verdiano Alcino Monteiro, também perpetrado por elementos da extrema-direita, a 10 de junho de 1995, no Bairro Alto. Destaca-se ainda a constituição de milícias populares racistas contra as comunidades ciganas em Vila Verde (1996) e em Francelos (1997-1999).”

<sup>136</sup> Frente Anti-Racista. Arquivo da Secretaria-Geral do Ministério da Administração Interna. PT/SGMAI/GCLSB/H-B/001/06501



into a “dormant” organization with diminished impact on the anti-racist movement. Nevertheless, it has recently regained some visibility.

The struggle against Apartheid in South Africa was also an issue in the collective political mobilization of the time in Portugal. Even if it was less relevant than in other European countries, such as the UK, we cannot forget the importance of the conflict between the South African regime and independent Angola during those years for the Portuguese left. Recalling the struggle against Apartheid, Manuel Gouveia, in the interview I conducted with him, also mentions that, as a leader of the Communist Youth, he was part of the welcoming committee for Nelson Mandela on his visit to Portugal in 1993, before he was elected President of South Africa (Interview with Manuel Gouveia by Pedro Varela, 8/10/2020). It is also important to remember that members of the PCP were connected with *Conselho Português para a Paz e Cooperação* (CPPC), created in 1982 and the *Movimento Português contra o Apartheid*.<sup>137</sup> In 1977, the ‘*Conferência Mundial Contra o Apartheid, o Racismo e o Colonialismo na África Austral*’ [World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa] took place in Lisbon, led by Silas Cerqueira, leader of PCP and after of the CPPC, with the presence of Oliver Tambo, Sam Nujoma, Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo, Vasco Gonçalves and Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho.<sup>138</sup>

In 1991, the first bulletin of *Movimento Anti-Racista* (MAR), an organisation led by militants of *Organização Comunista Política Operária*, was also published. Ana Barradas, one of the prominent leaders of MAR and a known left-wing thinker and militant, remembers that the creation of this organisation was influenced by a Spanish and Latin-America movement against the celebration of the centenary of Christopher Columbus’s arrival in the Americas. As she recalled in the interview I conducted, those were also years of celebrating the ‘Discoveries’ in Portugal. A small article in *Público* addressed the emergence of this organisation:

A movement against the commemorations of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Portuguese Discoveries was launched in Lisbon with the explicit purpose of “conducting a campaign against the intoxication of the nationalist wave” and the discrimination of African immigrants in Portugal.<sup>139</sup> (Mendes, 1991)

---

<sup>137</sup> Oficially Movimento Português contra o Apartheid, O Racismo e o Colonialismo na África Austral (Movimento Português contra o Apartheid, Arquivo Secretaria-Geral: Ministério da Administração Interna, PT/SGMAI/GCLSB/H-B/001/02513)

<sup>138</sup> See ‘Conferência Mundial contra o Apartheid, o Racismo e o Colonialismo na África Austral’, 25AprilPTLab - Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril; ‘Conferência Mundial Contra o Apartheid’, RTP Arquivos, 08/06/1977; ‘Intervenção de Jerónimo de Sousa, Secretário-Geral, Celebração em homenagem aos Activistas Anti-Apartheid, 29/01/2015.

<sup>139</sup> “Um movimento contra as comemorações dos 500 anos dos Descobrimientos portugueses foi lançado em Lisboa com o propósito explícito de “conduzir uma campanha contra a intoxicação da vaga nacionalista” e a discriminação dos imigrantes africanos em Portugal.”

For this movement the edition of Ana Barradas' book, *Ministros da noite: livro negro da expansão portuguesa* (1991), was also important. This book exposed the atrocities of slavery and Portuguese colonialism and was used as a tool for discussion and funding. In those years, MAR gave many sessions on racism and colonialism around the country and organised important events, such as the theatrical play '*Mercado de Escravos*' [Slave Market] in 1992, on Portugal Day (June 10<sup>th</sup>) or the Anti-Racist Party on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination attended by the well-known musician José Mário Branco. Ana Barradas recalls the importance of her book and the international networks at the beginning of MAR:

**Ana Barradas:** When there was this conjuncture of the two 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations, the Spanish and the Portuguese [of the arrival in the Americas and India]; the book served for both things. The Spanish commemorations had already begun. I went to Madrid, and there I raised our Portuguese issue. Then we were invited, with MAR already formed, to a mass celebration [in Cadiz] with people coming from all over Latin America and Spain, and from Portugal: us. That was a counter-summit. [...] There, we established many connections. [...] It was crucial because it outlined a programme that suited everyone and set the right tone for the campaign we should run. And when we came to Portugal, the 1992 commemorations were already being prepared, and we were already in the middle of a 'trip.' So, we started in 1991. First, we did this bulletin that we distributed almost for free; the people were the ones who gave us support to sustain it. But the book was the great financier.<sup>140</sup> (Interview with Ana Barradas by Pedro Varela, 14/04/2021)

We can characterise the 1990s anti-racist associations in Portugal as primarily white, specifically in organizations such as *SOS Racismo*, *Frente Anti-Racista* and *Movimento Anti-Racista*. However, some Black, Roma and African-immigrant militants were in these associations or connected with them. Nevertheless, above all, it should not be forgotten that racialised people had important associations of their own (African-immigrant, Roma, or neighbourhood) that played an essential role. I will elaborate further on the importance of these associations. At the same time, during the 1990s, the rap movement was taking shape as an essential tool against racism among the Black suburban youth of Lisbon. Rap was then a place of denouncement and a congregation of people who spoke on police violence,

---

<sup>140</sup> “**Ana Barradas:** Quando havia essa conjuntura dos dois cinquentenários, o espanhol e o português [de celebração da chegada às Américas e Índia], este livro serviu para as duas coisas. Já tinham começado as comemorações espanholas, fui a Madrid e lá coloquei a nossa questão portuguesa. Depois fomos convidados já com o MAR formado, para uma celebração de massas [em Cádiz] com gente vinda de toda a América Latina e de Espanha, e de Portugal: nós. Que foi uma contra cimeira. [...] Aí estabelecemos muitas ligações. [...] Foi muito importante porque traçou um programa que servia para todos e que dava o tom certo da campanha que nós devíamos fazer. E quando viemos para Portugal estava-se a preparar já as comemorações de 1992 e nós estávamos já em plena viagem. Portanto começamos em 1991, primeiro fizemos este boletim que distribuíamos quase gratuitamente, as pessoas é que nos davam apoio para nós sustentarmos aquilo. Mas o grande financiador foi o livro.”

segregation, racism, poverty and youth. General D, born in Mozambique and raised in the south-river side of Lisbon became a public figure against racism during those years. There were crucial links between the political anti-racist movement and activist-rappers of that time.

In 1993, one of the first rap video clips in Portugal (if not the very first) was released, ‘Norte-sul’, by General D’s (with Sofia). This song and footage (filmed in Miratejo) expressed an explicit discourse against racism, colonialism and fascism. At the song’s beginning, we hear the voice of Martin Luther King, “I still have a Dream”. Throughout the rhymes, General D denounces racism, colonialism and Salazar's nostalgia that “still shakes the coffin”. In the video, we can see images of protests with banners of *SOS Racismo* and Sofia sings the chorus, “Assim, todos juntos, cantando a uma só voz, Oiçam o vento, poder para todos nós.” [So all together, singing in one voice, Listen the wind, power to us all] (General D (featuring Sofia), 1993).

In the interview I conducted with José Falcão he mentioned the closeness that *SOS Racismo* had since its early years with young Black people, often linked to the rap scene. He referred names such as General D and Ermelindo aka Lord Strike (from the rap movement and today community leader)<sup>141</sup>:

**Pedro Varela:** How did you met General D? There is something written often that says that General D was the spokesperson for *SOS Racismo*, is that true? **José Falcão:** First, we never had a spokesperson, that's the press [that says]... We never had a spokesperson. General D appears at the beginning of *SOS [Racismo]*, 1991... [...] People knew each other from Bairro Alto, from the music scene, from concerts, from political mobilisation. And these people from rap, but not only from rap, appear. He [General D] came to us saying that he wanted to remember the anniversary of Malcolm X's death, and from then on we started hanging out with him all the time. [...] He wasn't much of a meetings person; he might have gone to one or another [*SOS Racismo* meetings]. But we were always together, we spoke with him and other people. **Pedro Varela:** And within rap do you remember other artists close to you? For example, from Cova da Moura? **José Falcão:** Lord Strike [Ermelindo] at the time was part of a [rap] group [...] we did activities with them, especially with Lord Strike who was the closest person. **Pedro Varela:** Did you had meetings with them? **José Falcão:** They weren't in the meetings... we did activities with them...<sup>142</sup> (Interview with José Falcão by Pedro Varela, 27/01/2020)

---

<sup>141</sup> Cova da Moura is one of the largest self-produced, Black-majority neighbourhoods in Portugal. Located in the municipality of Amadora, on the outskirts of Lisbon, it has been a central area for Black artistic practices and social movements.

<sup>142</sup> **“Pedro Varela:** Como é que tu conhecestes o General D? E há uma coisa que aparece escrita muitas vezes que diz que o General D foi porta-voz do *SOS Racismo*, isso é verdade? **José Falcão:** Primeiro nunca tivemos porta-voz, isso é a imprensa... Nós nunca tivemos porta-voz. O General D aparece no início do *SOS*, 1991... [...] O pessoal conhecia-se do Bairro Alto, da música, dos concertos, da mobilização. E esse pessoal do rap, mas não só, aparece. Ele vai ter connosco a dizer que queria fazer uma comemoração do aniversário da morte do Malcolm X e a partir daí começámos a estar sempre com ele. [...] Ele não era muito de ir a reuniões, é capaz de ter ido a uma ou outra. Mas a malta estava sempre muito junta, discutíamos com ele e outras pessoas. **Pedro Varela:** E dentro do rap lembras-te de outros artistas que eram próximos? Por exemplo da Cova da Moura? **José Falcão:** O Lord Strike [Ermelindo] na altura fazia parte de um grupo [de rap] [...] fazíamos atividades

It is also important to mention the frequent presence of rappers in concerts against racism organised by these associations during those years; in addition to General D, we can find names as Family or the female group Djamal.

General D would rhyme on his first single album, 'PortuKKKAl é um erro': "Males se juntaram e criaram esta nação, Fuck 10 de Junho, E a Cavaco e a Salazar eu digo: Não!" [Evils have joined and created this nation, Fuck June 10th, And to Cavaco and Salazar I say: No!]" (General D, 1994). It was 1994, a year before the skinhead's attacks in Bairro Alto that killed Alcindo Monteiro. The song emerged as a presage of what took place in the year after. The lyric criticised Salazar and the right-wing currently in power, the Cavaco Silva government. The song refers to Portugal as being racist, KKK (in reference to the Ku Klux Klan) and he states, "Fuck June 10", a day of nationalist celebration, and normally with a racist and colonialist character. What was happening in Portugal in this period was also influenced by international phenomena. The beginning of the 1990s would be marked by the end of Apartheid; the anti-racist uprisings and riots in the USA in 1992 ignited by the video release on the police attack on Rodney King; and, in several European countries, the anti-racist struggle was reorganised against the far-right, namely against the phenomenon of the 'White power skinheads' that spread across Europe in the 1980s/1990s.

## 4.2 Portugal Day in 1995: the brutal murder of Alcindo Monteiro

On the night of 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> June 1995, a group of dozens of neofascists roamed the streets of Bairro Alto, Chiado and Cais do Sodré [Lisbon's nightlife areas]. They attacked - with sticks, brass knuckles, beer bottles, chains, steel tubes, stones, military-type boots and steel toe cap boots - dozens of people, most of them Black. Alcindo Monteiro, a 27-year-old Black mechanic of Cape Verdean origin, was brutally beaten in Rua Garrett [street] and died later in the hospital. That night the attacks left dozens of people injured and would also leave two other Black men unconscious in the street. The evidence included in the court judgment describes the racist horror experienced that night and says that neo-fascists shouted during the attacks things like: "Black go to your land", "Death to the Blacks" or "Portugal is ours". These attacks lasted one to two hours. That night Alcindo Monteiro had come from across

---

com eles, sobretudo com o Lord Strike que era a pessoa mais próximo. Pedro Varela: faziam reuniões com eles? José Falcão: Eles não estavam nas reuniões... fazíamos atividades com eles..."

the river to dance with friends in Lisbon clubs. The court ruling describes the horrific attack on him as follows:

On this street, the eleven accused started their descent and saw victim X [Alcindo Monteiro], a black individual, who was walking alone, down the sidewalk on the right side. The eleven defendants, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, J, L, M and O, then pursued him and he attempted to flee up *Rua Garret*. Defendant M is the one who first reaches him and grabs him, dragging him. Immediately, the eleven defendants, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, J, L, M and O, surround the victim X and start beating him, hitting him all over his body with punches and kicks. Simultaneously they drag the victim down the street. Next to the shop “Gianni Versace” window, X is once again dragged, becoming prostrate on the ground. He was then punched and kicked by the eleven accused involving him, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, J, L, M and O. At a certain point, one of these accused, whose identity could not be established, took hold of an object with a circular cement base with a diameter of about 21.5 centimetres and a thickness of about 2 centimetres, from the centre of which emerges a tubular rod with a maximum height of about 18.5 centimetres and a diameter of about 4.3 centimetres (see examination on pp. 452 to 454) and hit the victim, X, twice on the head with it, while he was still being punched and kicked by the others. X was thus hit on the head with several kicks, hair traces of which became embedded in one of the boots used by the accused B at the time. In the end, with the victim lying on the ground in ventral decubitus, inanimate, the accused placed one foot on the victim's head, raising his arms in an attitude of triumph. At this point, these eleven defendants left the scene and headed towards Rua Nova do Almada. However, three defendants, whose identity could not be ascertained, came back and again went towards victim X, whose body was lying inanimate on the ground, and started kicking the victim indiscriminately.<sup>143</sup> (Acórdão do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, 1997)

In 1997, some of the skinheads involved in this night of racist terror were condemned in court. Six of them to 18 years in prison, three to 17 years, one to 16 years, one to 14 years, one to 4 years, two to 3 years and one to 2 years. Mário Machado, who was punished with four years and three months, would be years later one of the main reorganisers of the far-right in Portugal. In the court's indictment, it would be written that the defendants had the

---

<sup>143</sup> “Nesta rua estes onze arguidos iniciam a descida e avistam a vítima X, indivíduo de raça negra, que caminhava, sozinho, pelo passeio do lado direito, no sentido descendente. Acto contínuo, os onze arguidos, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, J, L, M e O, perseguem-no, tendo este tentado fugir no sentido ascendente da Rua Garrett. É o arguido M aquele que primeiro o alcança e agarra, rasteirando-o. De imediato, a vítima X é rodeada pelos onze arguidos, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, J, L, M e O, que o envolvem e começam a sová-lo, agredindo-o por todo o corpo com socos e pontapés. Simultaneamente arrastam a vítima no sentido descendente da rua. Junto à montra da loja “Gianni Versace”, o X é de novo rasteirado, ficando prostrado no solo. Sucedem-se os socos e pontapés dos onze arguidos que o envolvem, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, J, L, M e O. A dada altura um destes arguidos, cuja identidade não se conseguiu apurar, lançou mão de um objecto com uma base circular em cimento com cerca de 21,5 centímetros de diâmetro e cerca de 2 centímetros de espessura de cujo centro emerge uma haste tubular que tem de altura máxima cerca de 18,5 centímetros e de diâmetro cerca de 4,3 centímetros (conferir exame de fls. 452 a 454) e desferiu com o mesmo duas pancadas na cabeça da vítima, X, enquanto este continuava a ser agredido pelos demais a soco e pontapé. X foi assim atingido com diversos pontapés na cabeça, tendo vestígios capilares do mesmo ficado entranhados numa das botas utilizadas na altura pelo arguido B. Já no final é com a vítima prostrada no solo em decúbito ventral, inanimada, o arguido I colocou um pé sobre a cabeça da vítima, levantando os braços em atitude de triunfo. Nesta altura, estes onze arguidos abandonam o local e dirigem-se para a Rua Nova do Almada. No entanto, três arguidos cuja identidade não foi possível apurar voltam atrás e dirigem-se de novo à vítima X, cujo corpo jazia inanimado no solo e recomeçam a dar pontapés indiscriminadamente por todo o corpo da vítima, que saltava animicamente face à força dos golpes imprimidos por esses três arguidos ao pontapeá-la.”

Portuguese dictator Oliveira Salazar as a reference and were linked to the ‘skinheads’ movement in Portugal, whose ideologies were nationalism, fascism, nazism and racism:

They appeal to the superiority of the white race considering the black race as an inferior race [...] They defend the expulsion of all black individuals from the national territory and to achieve this end and in the name of the "Nation" and the "superiority of the white race" they find legitimate all attacks against this group of individuals.<sup>144</sup> (Acórdão do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, 1997)

On that evening, this group of neo-fascists was celebrating Portugal Day, that during the fascist regime has even been called, the Day of the Portuguese Race. Since the Carnation Revolution, the extreme right often uses this day for celebrations<sup>145</sup>.

Days after the death of Alcindo Monteiro, on June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1995, Portugal witnessed the largest anti-racist demonstrations held until then. The anti-racist movement that matured a few years before, brought together thousands of people in the streets of Lisbon and Porto, responding to the appeal of anti-racist organizations, immigrant and community associations, feminist, ecologist, youth and students’ organisations, social solidarity, Schools/Faculties and Catholics institutions, organisations for human rights and international solidarity movements, left-wing parties and trade unions. Initially, thirty organisations called for the demonstration<sup>146</sup> and one hundred officially joined the protest and signed a manifesto<sup>147</sup>. According to the newspapers, around 10 000 people in Lisbon

---

<sup>144</sup> “Apelam a superioridade da raça branca considerando a raça negra como raça inferior. [...] Defendem a expulsão do território nacional de todos os indivíduos de raça negra e para atingirem esse fim e em nome da “Nação” e da "superioridade da raça branca" acham legítimas todas as agressões contra esse grupo de indivíduos.”

<sup>145</sup> On this same day, in 1978, the far-right came together in Largo Camões. Faced with this situation, an anti-fascist counterdemonstration gathered, but they were swept away with a machine gun by the police. The police action leaved one dead (Jorge Morais, a young medical student) and two injured, one of them Jorge Falcato Simões, who became paraplegic because of the bullets and later was a member of parliament by *Bloco de Esquerda*.

<sup>146</sup> Associação Caboverdena, Associação Guineense, Obra Católica de Migrações, CGTP-IN, FENPROF, Associação Morna, Fórum Imigrantes, ACRA, AAMP, Casa de Moçambique, Liáfria, MBS, ACIMA, Casa do Brasil, Associação Santomense, Grupo de Teatro Riboque, APMFME, Amifogo, ACEP, AJC, Associação Cultural Novos Artistas Africanos, CEPAC, Olho Vivo, Kabojovem, SOS Racismo, ASPAS, AICAD, OIKOS, A. Juntar as Mãos and Frente Anti-Racista. (SOS Racismo Archives)

<sup>147</sup> AAMP, Associação para a Cooperação entre Povos (ACEP), Associação para a Integração dos Migrantes Angolanos (ACIMA), Associação Cultural e Recreativa Angolana (ACRA), AICAD, Associação José Carvalho, AmiFesta, AmiFogo, Associação Reencontro Europeu, Associação Santomense, ASPAS, Associação Cultural Novos Artistas Africanos, Associação 25 de Abril, Associação Abril em Maio, Associação Académica da Universidade do Minho, Associação Académica de Lisboa, Associação Amigos Mulher Angolana, Associação Caboverdeana, Associação Caboverdeana do Seixal, Associação de Defesa dos Timorenses, Associação de Estudantes da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Associação de Estudantes de Letras, Associação de Estudantes do ISCTE, Associação de Estudantes do IST, Associação de Estudantes Secundaria Alves Redol (Vila Franca de Xira), Associação Guineense, Associação Juntar Mãos, Olho Vivo, Kabojovem, Associação Lusófona para o desenvolvimento Cultural e Integração, Associação Mulher Migrante, Associação Promoção Mulheres e Familiares da Minorias Étnicas, Associação Portuguesa dos Direitos do Cidadão, Casa do Brasil, Centro Europeu de Formação e Estudos sobre as Migrações, Centro Padre Alves Correia, CGTP-IN, Casa de Moçambique, Conselho Nacional da Juventude, Conselho Municipal das Minorias Étnicas e Imigrantes (CM), Conselho Nacional de Juventude, Conselho Português para a Paz e

walked the same streets that had been devastated by racist attacks a week earlier. Starting from Jardim São Pedro de Alcântara, Black and white people would walk through the streets of Bairro Alto and descend to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Terreiro do Paço, where the organisers delivered a letter. In Porto, the demonstrators met in Praça da Liberdade. At the time, *Diário de Notícias* stated that days before Fernando Ka, leader of the African-immigrant rights movement had been categorical about the future of the Minister of Internal Affairs:

Particularly categorical was the intervention of Fernando Ka, of the Guinean Association of Solidarity, who, outraged, called for the resignation of the Minister of Internal Administration. “Dias Loureiro's policy is to massacre Black people, it must be said clearly. He forgets that even those who don't have Portuguese nationality contribute with their work and with the payment of taxes to the development of this country”.<sup>148</sup> (Andreia, 1995)

*Jornal de Notícias* would write that the Lisbon demonstration was one of the biggest ever held:

The demonstration in Lisbon was one of the biggest ever held in the capital. Thousands of people responded to the call of about three dozen organisations that had called the protest. How many were present?... We don't know. Nobody will know. There were just too many! Lots of people. [...] About an hour after the demonstration had started, there were still people who had not left the starting point, which in itself gives an idea of the massive dimension that the protest had reached. [...] The demonstration would end about two hours later, in Praça do Comércio [also known by Terreiro do Paço], where a delegation from the protest organisation delivered a letter addressed to Dias Loureiro [Minister of Internal

---

Cooperação (CPPC), Centro de Reflexão Cristã, Ecolojovem ("Os Verdes"), Escola Reinaldo dos Santos (Vila Franca de Xira), Faculdade de Ciências, Faculdade de Economia da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Faculdade de Motricidade Humana, FENPROF, Federação Nacional de Associação de Trabalhadores Estrangeiros, Fórum Imigrantes, Frente Anti-Racista, Frente de Esquerda Revolucionária, Grupo de Teatro Riboque, GTP7, Iniciativa para a Convergência das Esquerdas Alternativas, Inquietação, Instituto Anti-Racista (Porto), ISCSPP, Interjovem, JRE, Juventude Comunista Portuguesa, Juventude Contra o Racismo na Europa (Portugal), Juventude Operária Católica, Juventude Socialista, LiÁfrica, Liga Operária Católica, Movimento Bósnia Solidariedade, Movimento Democrático das Mulheres, Morna- Associação Cultural Luso-Africana, Obra Católica das Migrações, OIKOS, Organização dos Quadros Técnicos Caboverdeanos, Organização Médica Caboverdeana, Os Verdes, Pastoral dos Ciganos, PCP, Política XXI, Pró-Dignidade, PS, PSR, Rádio Mais, Sanitae - Associação para a Promoção de Saúde dos Africanos, Secretariado das Minorias Étnicas e Imigrantes (C.M. Amadora), Sindicato das Indústrias Elétricas Sul e Ilhas, Sindicato do calçado de Aveiro e Coimbra, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores das Indústrias de Alimentação do Sul e Ilhas, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores dos Estabelecimentos Fabris das Forças Armadas, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores de Telecomunicações e Comunicação Audiovisual, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores do Município de Lisboa, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores na Indústria de Hotelaria, Turismo e Restaurantes Similares do Sul, Solidariedade Anti-Racista Libertária capuchinho Vermelho, SOS Racismo, Terra Viva, Trabalhadores Sociais Democratas, UDP, UGT, União dos Sindicatos de Lisboa, União dos Sindicatos de Setúbal and Movimento Zonas Livres Anti-Nucleares. (SOS Racismo Archives)

<sup>148</sup> “Particularmente contundente foi a intervenção de Fernando Ka, da Associação Guineense de Solidariedade, que, indignado, pediu a demissão do ministro da Administração Interna. “A política de Dias Loureiro é massacrar os negros, é preciso dizê-lo claramente. Ele esquece-se que mesmo os que não têm nacionalidade portuguesa contribuem com o seu trabalho e com o pagamento de impostos para o desenvolvimento deste país”.”

Affairs], demanding responsibility for the events of Sunday morning that led to the death of young Alcindo Monteiro.<sup>149</sup> (Lourenço & Carneiro, 1995)

However, the report in this newspaper would also add that, after all, the country was not racist, maintaining a narrative that is still dominant today: “All united to demand justice against the murders of the young Alcindo Monteiro and, at the same time, to make it clear that the “skinheads” are just a much smaller minority because Portugal is not racist. It can't be, reminded those present.”<sup>150</sup> (Lourenço & Carneiro, 1995).

The newspaper *A Capital* referred the rapper Bad Spirit perspective, who was interviewed while distributing pamphlets for the demonstration during the funeral of Alcindo Monteiro. For him, rap music was his best ‘weapon’ against racism:

Bad Spirit, “rapper” from Moita, did not hesitate, however, to add, with conviction: “Black people should reflect on what happened and not take revenge”. The truth, however, is that he himself already has a “weapon” pointed at “racists and similar idiots”. Straight to their ears. “I’m going to keep fighting through music”, Bad Spirit explained, flashing a genuine smile.<sup>151</sup> (Ferreira, 1995)

This episode of brutal racist violence was inscribed in the memory of Portuguese society, mainly of racialised but also white people. In the years following these events, anti-racist political mobilisation, rap lyrics and a widening of the public debate on racism would lead state institutions to take measures against racism, namely to combat a certain impunity of the far-right street violence. However, as Mamadou Ba recalls in a 2019 article, at the time there were intellectual and leading figures of Portuguese society that attempted to publicly devalue what had took place in June 1995 (Ba, 2019).

The international debate about racism and the rise of an anti-racist movement in Portugal during the 1990s were central to the evolution of laws against racial discrimination in the country. The 1976 national constitution enshrined in its 13<sup>th</sup> article the principle of equality of all citizens, regardless of race, language, territory of origin and religion.

---

<sup>149</sup> “A manifestação de Lisboa foi uma das maiores jamais realizadas na capital. Milhares de pessoas responderam à chamada das cerca de três dezenas de organizações que haviam convocado este protesto. Quantas estiveram presentes?... Não sabemos. Ninguém saberá. Foram apenas muitos! Imensos. [...] Cerca de uma hora depois do arranque da manifestação, ainda havia gente que não tinha saído do ponto de partida, o que por si só dá a ideia da elevadíssima dimensão que o protesto atingiu. [...] A manifestação terminaria cerca de duas horas depois, na Praça do Comércio, onde uma delegação da organização do protesto entregou uma carta dirigida a Dias Loureiro, exigindo responsabilidades sobre os acontecimentos da madrugada de domingo que originaram a morte do jovem Alcindo Monteiro.”

<sup>150</sup> “Todos unidos para pedir justiça contra os assassinos do jovem Alcindo Monteiro e, ao mesmo tempo, para deixar claro que os “skinheads” são apenas uma minoria, muito menor. Porque Portugal não é racista. Nem pode ser, lembraram os presentes.”

<sup>151</sup> “Bad Spirit, “rapper” da Moita, não hesitou, porém, em acrescentar, convictamente: “Os negros devem refletir sobre o que se passou e não entrar em vinganças”. A verdade, porém, é que ele próprio já tem uma “arma” apontada aos “racistas e otários afins” Direitinha aos seus ouvidos. “Vou continuar a lutar através da música”, explicou Bad Spirit, exibindo um sorriso franco.”



However, it was only in 1995 that the Portuguese Parliament introduced into the penal code the resolutions of the ONU Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), although they were ratified by Portugal in 1982. In 1996, a petition was presented by *SOS Racismo* and *Associação Portuguesa dos Direitos dos Cidadãos* to the Assembly of the Republic proposing the adoption of a specific law against racial discrimination (Petition No. 40/VII/1, 1996). This would lead to the creation of the Law No. 134/99, of August 28, 1999, that “Prohibits discrimination in the exercise of rights based on race, colour, national or ethnic origin”. At the same time the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR) was created, intending to prevent, prohibit and sanction racial discrimination. These laws set the bases for the legislation on this theme. Later they were reinforced by the Race Equality Directive 2000/43/EC, an European Union directive transposed in Portugal by the Law No. 18/2004, of May 11. In 2007 Law No. 93/2017 was created, supposedly to improve the powers of the CICDR, which has been inoperative for decades.

*SOS Racismo* has long criticised the legal framework against racial discrimination in Portugal. Mamadou Ba wrote that in the Portuguese case, “[...] the development of responses to racism, through legislative production and its translation into political and administrative policies, have a bumpy and unsteady path. The paradigmatic example of this is the path of the current legal framework on the matter.”<sup>152</sup> (Ba, 2021, p. 307). Also, a recent academic study led by Silvia Maeso shows how the complaints of racism made to the CICDR have very little convictions (Maeso, Alves & Fernandes, 2021).

It is also important to remember that 1997 was the European Year against Racism, Intolerance and Xenophobia and the Portuguese State, as well as other European Union countries, mobilised the “All Different All Equal Programme”. In her book, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe*, Alana Lentin (2004) remembers this campaign very critically as I mentioned in Chapter 1.

The 1990s were also years of a new lusotropicalism wave in Portugal, with the state celebrations on the supposed ‘Discoveries’, namely through the creation of the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries (CNCDP) (1986-2002). 1996 was also the year of the creation of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries, which placed Portugal in a powerful political and economic relationship with former African

---

<sup>152</sup> “[...] a elaboração de respostas ao racismo, através da produção legislativa e da sua tradução em medidas políticas e administrativas, tem sido um caminho acidentado e pouco firme. O exemplo paradigmático disso é o trajeto do atual quadro jurídico sobre a matéria.”

colonies. One of the high points of this period was the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition (Expo '98), whose theme was 'The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future', chosen largely to commemorate the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 'Portuguese discoveries' (about this political moment and events see Vale de Almeida, 2000; Vakil, 2006; Araújo & Maeso, 2016).

Expo '98 reformed an old industrial area of Lisbon and created new colonialist toponomy in this area. There is now a garden named Heroes of the Sea and three main constructions with the name of Vasco da Gama: a bridge (one of the longest in Europe), a tower and a shopping centre. Due to the nationalist vision promoted by Expo '98, as well as the use of 'clandestine' immigrant work and racism for its construction, *SOS Racismo* declined the invitation to participate in Expo '98 (See Colóquio Internacional 'Em tempo de Expo há outras histórias para contar', 1998, p. 10). In the interview with Timóteo Macedo, today's leader of the immigrant movement, he also mentioned that *Olho Vivo* refused to be present at this event (Interview with Timóteo Macedo by Pedro Varela, 05/02/2020). On the other hand, the organisers of Expo '98 declined the presence of a place in the exhibition for the Roma people (just as they declined it for the East-Timorese people). In response the associations representing them organised a parallel exhibition outside the enclosure, named Expo Cig '98 (Sertório, 2001, p. 19). About Expo '98, Elsa Sertório wrote:

In Portugal, all the ideological propaganda built around Expo '98 is an example of this racist policy. The plundering of the "new" continents, which started five hundred years ago, the oppression and slavery imposed on their inhabitants, the consolidation of colonialism and the colonial wars are historical facts which today are again distorted by a whitening and nationalist language and celebrated as if they were grandiose events.<sup>153</sup> (Sertório, 2001, pp. 70-71)

*Movimento Anti-Racista* (MAR) was also deeply critical of this celebration, influenced by the anti-celebrations of the supposed discoveries in Spain and other countries in central and south America. In their first bulletin, where the drowning of the symbol of the National Commission for the Commemoration of Portuguese Discoveries stood out, they wrote, "[...] it's time to tell some hard truths in Portugal about colonialism, colonial wars, racism."<sup>154</sup> (Porquê este boletim, 1991). Ana Barradas, in the introduction to the third edition of her book *Ministros da Noite: O Livro Negro da Expansão Portuguesa*, criticised the celebrations of 'discoveries' in Portugal and wrote that:

---

<sup>153</sup> "Em Portugal, toda a propaganda ideológica construída à volta da Expo'98 é um exemplo dessa política racista. A pilhagem dos "novos" continentes, iniciada há quinhentos anos atrás, a opressão e a escravatura impostas aos seus habitantes, a consolidação do colonialismo e as guerras coloniais, são factos históricos, hoje novamente deturpados por uma linguagem branqueadora e nacionalista e comemorados como se de acontecimentos grandiosos se tratasse."

<sup>154</sup> "[...] é tempo de se dizerem em Portugal umas verdades duras sobre o colonialismo, as guerras coloniais, o racismo."

There is an imperialist project that is still alive in our time. It is represented in the claims that the Portuguese are, in Europe, the best placed to serve as intermediaries between European business and the peoples we colonised. Our elites want to restore a project that, for ordinary citizens, has had a very substantial effect: we have remained on the periphery of the modern world, we have the most backward indices of prosperity and civilisation in the whole of Europe, and the peoples we colonised are placed - not now, as they try to make us believe, but for a long time, thanks to our devastating work - in the most absolute misery and disgrace. The balance is always negative, give it as many turns as you can.<sup>155</sup> (Barradas, 1991, p. 14)

The death of Alcindo Monteiro was a landmark moment for the anti-racist struggle in Portugal and for the public debate on racism. On the other hand, the state in this period would be responsible for a new wave of lusotropicalism, celebration of colonialism and thereby reinforcing the narrative of the denial of racism in Portuguese society that exists to this day.



Figure 3 - Posters, flyers, newspapers and images from the struggles against racism in the 1990s collected in the *SOS Racismo* Archives (Pereira & Varela, 2022).

### 4.3 The immigrant rights movement and Roma associations

In the 1980s African immigrant associations began to form a movement for immigrant rights, with organizations such as *Associação Caboverdeana* (1975), *Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social (Aguinense)* (officially created in 1987) and *Casa de Moçambique* (1988). This period was also critical for the organisation of Black-majority neighbourhoods associations, which also played a role in the struggle against racism. These

---

<sup>155</sup> “Há um projeto imperialista que na nossa época continua vivo. Está representado nas afirmações segundo as quais os portugueses são, na Europa, os mais bem colocados para servirem de intermediários entre os negócios europeus e os povos que colonizámos. As nossas elites querem repor um projeto que para os cidadãos comuns teve um efeito muito concreto: ficámos na periferia do mundo moderno, temos os índices de prosperidade e civilização mais atrasados de toda a Europa, os povos que colonizámos estão postos - não de agora, como se tenta fazer crer, mas de há muito, graças à nossa obra devastadora - na mais absoluta miséria e desgraça. O balanço é sempre negativo, dê-se-lhe as voltas que se lhe derem.”

communities created associations such as *Unidos de Cabo Verde* (1983) and *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude* (1984). It is also essential to highlight the work of the association *Olho Vivo* (1988) in these years, a youth, environmental, human rights and migrant support organisation led by the leftist party *União Democrática Popular* (UDP) and from which the association *Solidariedade Imigrante* emerged in 2001. This last association would play a key role in the immigrant's struggles in the following years, namely mobilising street protests. Among the thirty organisations that signed the appeal for the demonstration after the death of Alcindo Monteiro, there were several immigrant organisations such as *Associação Caboverdena*, *Associação Guineense*, *Associação Morna*, *Forúm dos Migrantes*, *Casa de Moçambique*, *Casa do Brasil*, *Associação Santomense* and *Associação Kabojovem*. This expressed the specific relevance of the immigrant rights movement as part of the anti-racist movement in this period.

It was not also by chance that on October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1990, *SOS Racismo* did its first presentation in the *Associação de Caboverdeanos e Guineenses* (later *Associação Caboverdeana*) ('Novo movimento combate o racismo', 1990), which was a central African-immigrant association during those years. However, a more official presentation, symbolically launching the organisation, took place on December 7<sup>th</sup>, in a meeting with the Journalists' Union and the Journalists' Ethics Commission, integrated into a week of activities that would culminate in a big event with concerts as I have already described. José Falcão also recalls in the interview I conducted, that *SOS Racismo* had some meetings at the *Moinho da Juventude* association in Cova da Moura<sup>156</sup> in the early years. However, their central meeting point was the *Casa da Paz*, the headquarters of *Conselho Português para a Paz e Cooperação*, an organisation linked to the *Partido Comunista Português*.

Within the emergence of this vital African-immigrant and anti-racist movement, in 1991 Fernando Ka, president of *Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social - Aguinenso* and Celeste Correia, leader of *Associação Caboverdeana* were elected to the Assembly of the Republic as deputies in the lists of *Partido Socialista*; and Manuel Correia, a Black trade union leader, who would later be the president of *Frente Anti-Racista* was elected in the lists of the *Partido Comunista Português*. In 1994, Helena Lopes Silva, of Cape Verdean origin,

---

<sup>156</sup> Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude was created in 1984 and is a central institution in Cova da Moura neighbourhood and a national reference for its community work. Over the last decades, it has been a central neighbourhood association for the defence of human rights in Portugal, a reference for the anti-racist struggle, to the struggle for neighbourhood rights and for African communities.

doctor and former anti-colonialist activist, would also head the list for the European elections for the *Partido Socialista Revolucionário* (PSR).

In the book *O Fenómeno Associativo em Contexto Migratório: Duas décadas de Associativismo de Imigrantes em Portugal*, Rosana Albuquerque, Lígia Ferreira and Telma Viegas (2000, pp. 39-68) state that after 1974, Portugal saw the birth of the first immigrant associations. Some were committed to the independence processes of African countries, such as the *Associação de Caboverdeanos e Guineenses*, born from the struggle during the Carnation Revolution of *Casa dos Estudantes das Colónias* (CEC) and *Grupos de Ação Democrática de Cabo-Verde e Guiné* (GADCG) (Machado, 2010; Carneiro, 2018), and which later became the *Associação Caboverdeana*.

It is throughout the 1980s that we see the growth of postcolonial immigrant rights movement, influenced also by the post-25<sup>th</sup> of April Revolution boom of community intervention in popular neighbourhoods. For example, during this decade, the *Associação Caboverdeana* implemented a project in the neighbourhood of *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia* (*Rabulera*), where I carried out the fieldwork for this PhD (see Chapter 5).

In the 1990s, immigrant rights movement, became more political (Albuquerque, Ferreira & Viegas, 2000, p. 42). During 1992-1993 and 1996, there were essential processes of immigrants regularisation by the Portuguese state. In 2000 the process of Permanence Authorizations also started. These regularisation processes were accompanied by critical immigrant mobilisations with political character. Elsa Sertório recalls that it was only during the regularisation processes of 1992-1993 and 1996 that there was a significant civic and political mobilisation by immigrant associations; however, later in her perspective this was demobilised with the creation of the Alto-Comissário para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas, today Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (Sertório, 2001, p. 163). The Decree-Law 3-A/96, of 26 January 1996, that established the creation of this state institution, stated, “The increase in migratory pressures seen in recent years has given rise to social problems [...]”. This decree-law justified racism as a problem of immigrants’ marginality and not as a problem of the white majority or of the states institutions: “The new challenges facing Portugal as a country of immigration require measures to integrate families from immigrants and, in general, ethnic minorities, in order to avoid situations of marginalisation that generate racism and xenophobia.”<sup>157</sup>. On the problematic relationship between these state institutions

---

<sup>157</sup> “O aumento das pressões migratórias verificado nos últimos anos suscitou problemas sociais [...]”; “Os novos desafios que a Portugal se colocam como país de imigração requerem medidas de integração na

and anti-racism see Araújo (2013) and Maeso & Araújo (2014). It is also important to mention the emergence of the *Programa Escolhas* in 2001, which was directed by this institution and mainly dedicated to Black, Roma and immigrant young people. If, on the one hand, this programme provided enormous resources for various associations, on the other, it depoliticised many of them.

At the end of the 1990s, powerful immigrant activism began to emerge in the *Olho Vivo* association in *Centro de Apoio ao Imigrante* from the same organisation, namely through activists such as Timóteo Macedo, Mouhameth Seck and Jorge Silva. In 1998 in the Lisbons' 25<sup>th</sup> April Parade, which celebrates the Carnation Revolution, a column of 30 immigrants appeared, led by activists from *Olho Vivo* association. According to Timóteo Macedo, this was the first time that immigrants went to the streets in protest in Portugal (Interview with Timóteo Macedo by Pedro Varela, 05/02/2020). Days later, they also added a column with sixty immigrants to the International Workers' Day demonstration, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May. The presence of a column of immigrants in these two demonstrations was led originally by *Olho Vivo* activists and later by the organisation they created, *Solidariedade Imigrante*. This presence in this demonstration has become a constant until today. In December 1999, they organised the First Immigrant Forum in Amadora, with 300 immigrants present (Sertório, 2001, p. 180). Later this led to the creation of the *Solidariedade Imigrante* association in June 2001. Timóteo Macedo remembers that moment:

**Timóteo Macedo:** We had some general assemblies at *Olho Vivo* beforehand. We decided to leave *Olho Vivo* so that immigrants could have their own voice. We decided to create an association like this one [*Solidariedade Imigrante*] for everyone, regardless of their country of origin. We didn't form another little "backyard"... From Cape Verde, there are 30 or so associations; from Guinea, there are probably more. There are associations for all tastes and shapes. I mean, it doesn't make sense... There wasn't an association that brought [all] together. We felt that joining all would create more strength and dynamics, rather than separating ourselves into small communities. Because we believe that policies, be they national, European or global, are transversal to all communities, they touch everyone in the same way. It was necessary to make this known to everyone: that policies are transversal to everyone, and we needed to fight them, regardless of country of origin, religion, gender, ethnicity, race and so on. We need to stand together. And after two, three or four years, we were already the biggest association of immigrants in Portugal. We were already the biggest. In June 2001, [*Solidariedade Imigrante*] was founded in a pavilion in the Church of Queluz. That's what they gave us. They gave us an auditorium in the Queluz social centre to hold a founding assembly, where 99 people from 17 nationalities were present, including three Portuguese people. Three were Portuguese and the rest were

---

sociedade das famílias de imigrantes e, em geral, das minorias étnicas, de forma a evitar situações de marginalização geradoras de racismo e xenofobia.” (Decreto-lei 3-A/96, de 26 de janeiro)

people from 17 different nationalities.<sup>158</sup> (Interview with Timóteo Macedo by Pedro Varela, 05/02/2020)

Then *Solidariedade Imigrante* did an official presentation in Teatro da Barraca. An article published in the *Euronotícias* newspaper announced the creation of this new immigrant association:

Fighting for equal rights for foreigners living in Portugal is the main objective of the recently created association *Solidariedade Imigrante*. With the specificity of being composed of members from 66 countries, this institution intends, above all, to adjust to the present reality of a "lapsed" and "not very swift" Public Administration.<sup>159</sup> (Brito, 2001)

This organisation was also crucial in activism for housing rights, namely against unfair neighbourhood demolition and re-housing processes and central to the emergence of organisations focused on these struggles. In 2005, an essential demonstration of immigrants took place again. Mamadou Ba remember it:

**Mamadou Ba:** [José] Sócrates, the first big clash he had in terms of social confrontation was with the immigrants' associations. It was so intense that they received us in in the official residence of the prime minister. This had never happened before. We did a list of demands, an enormous list of several rights of the immigrant communities. And they received us in the official residence of the prime minister, to hand over the list of demands. And the first demonstration that Sócrates faced immediately after taking office was one of the largest demonstrations of immigrants on Almirante Reis Avenue in 2005.<sup>160</sup> (Interview with Mamadou Ba by Pedro Varela, 22/03/2021)

---

<sup>158</sup> “Nós tivemos umas assembleias gerais na Olho Vivo antes. Decidimos efetivamente sair da Olho Vivo para que os imigrantes tivessem voz própria. E decidimos o quê? decidimos criar uma associação como esta, para todos e todas independentemente do país de origem. Não formámos mais um quintalzinho.... De Cabo Verde existem 30 e tal associações, da Guiné existem, se calhar, mais. Há associações para todos os gostos e feitios. Quer dizer, não faz sentido... Não havia uma associação que congregasse. Nós achámos que era juntando que criávamos mais força e dinâmica, do que nos separando em pequenas comunidades. Porque achamos que as políticas, sejam elas nacionais, europeias ou mundiais, são transversais a todas as comunidades, tocam a todos de igual modo. Era preciso fazer ver isto a toda a gente: que as políticas são transversais a todos e precisávamos de lutar contra elas, independentemente do país de origem, religião, sexo, etnia, raça e por aí fora. Temos de estar juntos. E passado dois, três ou quatro anos já éramos a maior associação de imigrantes em Portugal. Já éramos a maior. Em junho de 2001 é fundada [a Solidariedade Imigrante] num pavilhão da Igreja de Queluz. Foi o que nos deram. Deram-nos um auditório no centro social de Queluz para fazer uma assembleia fundadora, onde estiveram 99 pessoas, provenientes de 17 nacionalidades, entre os quais estavam três portugueses também. Três portugueses e o resto era pessoal de 17 nacionalidades diferentes.”

<sup>159</sup> “Lutar pela igualdade de direitos dos estrangeiros a residir em Portugal é o grande objetivo da recém-criada associação Solidariedade Imigrante. Com a especificidade de ser composta por sócios oriundos de 66 países, esta instituição pretende sobretudo ajustar a realidade presente de Administração Pública “caduca” e “pouco célere”.”

<sup>160</sup> “**Mamadou Ba:** O [José] Sócrates, o primeiro grande embate que ele teve de confrontação social foi com as associações de imigrantes. Foi de tal forma intensa que eles nos receberam na casa do primeiro ministro. Não tinha acontecido isso antes. [...] Nós fizemos um caderno reivindicativo, um caderno de encargos enormes sobre vários direitos das comunidades imigrantes. E ele recebeu-nos em São Bento, não ele mas o governo dele, o homem forte, o Silva Pereira para entregarmos o caderno reivindicativo. E a primeira manifestação com que o Sócrates se confronta logo a seguir à tomada de posse foi com uma das maiores manifestações de imigrantes na Av. Almirante Reis em 2005.”

In those years emerge also Roma associations. Today, Roma activists are central to the fight against racism in the country; they are part of various organisations, from autonomous Roma political organizations to the most heterogeneous anti-racist associations. Roma people, Europe's largest and oldest minority (Fernández, 2021), has been one of the most persecuted groups over the centuries in Portugal (Bastos, 2007a, 2007b; Ferreira, 2018). As Piménio Ferreira states:

Institutional racism against Roma people involves not only Portugal's racist history, but the deliberate refusal to acknowledge its consequences, and the denial of its presence from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century to the present day as well as the delay in acknowledging the historical persecution of Roma people and the need for an anti-racist policy response to compensate for centuries of discrimination and persecution.<sup>161</sup> (Ferreira, 2018)

In the period between the late 1990s and 2000s, important Roma organisations were established, such as *Associação das Oficinas Romani* (1998) in Lisbon; *Associação União Romani Portuguesa* (1999)<sup>162</sup> in Porto; *Associação Cigana de Coimbra* (1999); and *Associação para o Desenvolvimento das Mulheres Ciganas Portuguesas* (2000) in Évora.

In 1996, in Oleiros (Vila Verde) and 1997, in Francelos (Vila Nova de Gaia), local white militias were formed and violently persecuted Roma communities (see Sertório, 2001, pp. 147-152). Some of these organisations appear as a response to this climate of brutality against Roma people (Sertório, 2001, p. 18). In 1997, the *Union Romani* (future *União Romani Portuguesa*), wrote a press release denouncing a serious official communiqué by some people from Vila Verde who asked for the demolition of the Roma community's houses. In the end, it was stated, “The *ciganos* [‘gipsies’] are not animals! The *ciganos* [‘gipsies’] are people and should be treated as such! Let's say no to those who seek conflict! Let's All Unite Around Pacification!”<sup>163</sup>. The 1999 statutes of this organisation stated, among other things, that it aimed for “The promotion of the social, cultural and human levels of the Gypsy People to achieve equality of rights and duties, while maintaining the uses and customs of this community [...]” and also aimed to promote “The dissemination of knowledge of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic and the defence of it, in particular

---

<sup>161</sup> “O racismo institucional ciganóforo envolve não só o histórico racista português, como a recusa deliberada em reconhecer as suas consequências, e a negação da sua presença desde o início do século XV até aos dias de hoje bem como o atraso em reconhecer a perseguição histórica às pessoas ciganas e a necessidade de uma resposta política anti-racista para compensar séculos de discriminação e perseguição.”

<sup>162</sup> *União Romani Portuguesa* appears in connection with the *Union Romani*, an important organization in Spain.

<sup>163</sup> “O cigano não é nenhum bicho! O cigano é gente e como tal deve ser tratado! Vamos dizer não a quem procura o conflito! Vamos Unir-nos Todos em Torno da Pacificação!” (‘Comunicado de Imprensa Union Romani’, 1997)



the values it contains, which represent respect for Human Rights, the elimination of any form of racism and marginalisation.”<sup>164</sup>.

Adérito Montes, a veteran Roma activist and founder of *Associação das Oficinas Romani*, mentioned in an interview I did with him that in those years, he felt the need to create an autonomous association for Roma. In the associations he formed, the role of Roma music was also central to the children and young people who participated in the activities. Namely, there was a carpentry shop where guitars and other musical instruments were built (Interview with Adérito Montes by Pedro Varela, 18/02/2020).

Bruno Gonçalves, another influential Roma activist, member of *SOS Racismo*, founder of *Associação Cigana de Coimbra* and today’s leader of the association *Letras Nómadas*, said in a 2019 interview that Roma associations movement in Portugal “Was born from the ashes” after 1975 (Gonçalves, 2019). However, he stands that this movement is still weak today, and that in recent years, a new generation of Roma political leaders has begun to emerge. They denounce the country’s structural *anti-Romanyism* and the rise of the new Portuguese far-right (which has centred its hate speech against Roma). This new generation has been organising in autonomous Roma associations and anti-racist organizations (namely *SOS Racismo*). Thus, some Roma public figures have also emerged in the country, and many of these activists have also been building relevant international networks.

The emergence of all these immigrant, community and Roma organisations was fundamental to the fight against racism. Today anti-racism conjugates the experiences and political mobilizations of anti-racist, immigrant, Roma, neighbourhood associations, the rap and Black movement. Only by understanding this can we understand the present anti-racist movement in Portugal.

#### 4.4 Rede Anti-Racista: an attempt to unite

Ana Rita Alves, Rita Cachado and Ana Cruz recall that, by the end of the 1990s, the genesis of the *Rede Anti-Racista* [Anti-Racist Network] brought together for the first time, in a single working structure, different kinds of associations: anti-racist, immigrants, Roma,

---

<sup>164</sup> “A promoção dos níveis social, cultural e humano, do Povo Cigano para conseguir a igualdade de direitos e deveres fomentando por sua vez, o mantimento dos usos e costumes próprios desta comunidade [...]”; “A difusão do conhecimento da Constituição da República Portuguesa e a defesa da mesma em especial dos valores que contém, que representam o respeito pelos Direitos Humanos, a eliminação de qualquer forma de racismo e marginalização.” (Associação União Romani Portuguesa, Archives Secretaria-Geral: Ministério da Administração Interna, PT/SGMAI/GCPRT/H-B/001/06496.

human rights and neighbourhood. *Rede Anti-Racista* was then “[...] responsible for organising several demonstrations for the legalisation of immigrants and the *Festa da Diversidade*.”<sup>165</sup> (Alves, Cachado & Cruz, 2008, p. 1602).

In 1998, in Brussels, the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) was created. Between 1998/1999, the movement in Portugal also began to discuss the establishment of a network with the objective of integrating ENAR (Sertório, 2001, pp. 184-185). With the headline ‘An anti-racist lobby is born’, the *Público* newspaper announced the creation of ENAR with “800 members” that will have Portuguese participation ensured by José Falcão from *SOS Racismo* (Correia, 1998). But another article from the journalist Sérgio Vitorino in *Jornal de Notícias* states that two delegates from Portugal were elected to ENAR: José Falcão and Felícia Luvumba (an activist of Angolan origin), from association *Tabanca*. This article also says that a national network against racism was to be set up in Portugal, with anti-racist and immigrant associations, whose main aim was to denounce the situation of “illegal immigrants”, following the constituent meeting of ENAR in Brussels (Vitorino, 1999). In the beginning, *Frente Anti-Racista* was a member of ENAR and in 2000 also stated that it was part of UNITED for Intercultural Action.<sup>166</sup> On March 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>, 1999, the first congress of the *Rede Anti-Racista* took place.

It should be noted that this atmosphere of unity was also influenced by the foundation of *Bloco de Esquerda* in 1999, which had emerged from the coalition of several left-wing parties. The two leading founding organisations had big influence in *Rede Anti-Racista*: PSR with *SOS Racismo* and UDP with *Olho Vivo*.

During the European elections in June 1999, RAR campaigned for the regularisation of all immigrants with a concentration in Martim Moniz Plaza on the 6<sup>th</sup> June. At the beginning of July, it organises the *Festa da Diversidade*, its first major activity (Sertório, 2001, p. 184). During the festival an album with two songs, ‘O Mundo Sem Papel’ and ‘A Terra Não É De Ninguém’ is recorded, with the collaboration of Fernando Girão, Nill Luz, Sergio Godinho, Sofia Barbosa, Maria Viana, Paulino Vieira, Melody, General D, Ernesto Leite, Zezé Barbosa, Filipe Mukenka, Claudia Baição and David Cabral. In the first *Festa da Diversidade* on July 2<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> 1999, we find names of rap musicians, such as General D, Family, Da Weasel; Reggae musicians, as Unfaced Minds; protest singers such as José

---

<sup>165</sup> “[...] responsável pela organização de diversas [manifestações pela legalização dos imigrantes e pela Festa da Diversidade.]”

<sup>166</sup> Notebook Rede de Informação from Rede Anti-racista, No. 1, 01/2000, SOS Racismo Archives.

Mário Branco; Angolan musicians such as Filipe Mukeng; jazz artists such as Maria Viana; or poetry authors like José Fanha.

An article from *Jornal de Notícias* remembers that one of the decisions of the first RAR congress was a concentration on the March 27<sup>th</sup> in Terreiro do Paço, in front of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, joining a European initiative in favour of the undocumented immigrants ('Congresso Anti-Racista marca concentração no MAI', 1999). On the 19<sup>th</sup> of September 1999, the first big demonstration of immigrants in Portugal took place, with 1500 demonstrators. Furthermore, on June 25<sup>th</sup> 2000, a bigger one took place. On this Elsa Sertório writes:

1999 is a historical milestone: for the first time in Portugal, immigrants take to the streets on a large scale. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of September, the first demonstration called by the Rede [*Rede Anti-Racista*] brought 1500 immigrants onto the streets demanding the same rights as nationals, an end to expulsions and solidarity with Timor. It is a demonstration composed mainly of Africans [mainly from Senegal and Guinea Conakry], where associations linked to the PALOP countries are absent. The trade unions formally supported the demonstration but did not mobilise Portuguese workers. The following year, on the 25<sup>th</sup> June, on the eve of the presentation of the new bill on "authorisation to stay" in the Portuguese Parliament, immigrants once again protest in Lisbon against the "legalisation of slavery". This time there are more than two thousand demonstrators, with a greater participation, although still timid, from Portuguese-speaking immigrants and from Eastern European countries, and also from the Portuguese population, mobilised mainly by Bloco de Esquerda, and with the presence of its candidate to the presidential elections, Fernando Rosas.<sup>167</sup> (Sertório, 2001, p. 185)

In this period, Mamadou Ba emerges as leader of *Rede Anti-Racista*. He was a young student-worker connected with the Senegalese and Guinea-Conakry associations in Lisbon and later with *SOS Racismo*. Mamadou Ba reminds us in an interview of what was behind the construction of the *Rede Anti-Racista* and its importance at the time:

**Mamadou Ba:** The Rede [*Rede Anti-Racista*] comes in the wake of other failures on an European level. The Immigrant Forum had failed, which was a gigantic thing, but very institutionalised and, above all, in search of money. Because 1997 was the European Year Against Racism, and there was a lot of money. It was mostly money for the campaign, not to do concrete things, just to campaign. And if you remember, it was in that period that you had "All different, all Equal", posters everywhere. But here, it had failed because it was obvious that it was very institutional, and the failure of this network at the European level also mobilised other types of alternatives. So, you start to discuss at the European level... This is

---

<sup>167</sup> "1999 é um marco histórico: pela primeira vez em Portugal os imigrantes saem em massa para a rua. Em 19 de setembro, a primeira manifestação convocada pela Rede [*Rede Anti-Racista*] traz para a rua mil e quinhentos imigrantes que reivindicam direitos iguais aos dos nacionais, o fim das expulsões, a solidariedade com Timor. É um cortejo composto sobretudo de africanos, onde associações ligadas aos países dos PALOP estão ausentes. Os sindicatos apoiam formalmente a manifestação mas não mobilizam os trabalhadores portugueses. No ano seguinte, em 25 de junho, em vésperas de ser apresentado na Assembleia da República o novo projeto de lei de "autorização de permanência", os imigrantes voltam a manifestar-se em Lisboa contra a "legalização da escravatura". Desta vez são mais de dois mil, contando com maior participação, embora ainda tímida, de imigrantes lusófonos e oriundos dos países de Leste e ainda da população portuguesa, mobilizada sobretudo pelo Bloco de Esquerda, e com a presença do seu candidato às eleições presidenciais, Fernando Rosas."

all interconnected with the European context; you were on the eve of trying to impose a European constitution. The Amsterdam Treaty is the origin of the creation of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR), which in turn is the origin of the *Rede Anti-Racista* in Portugal, which aimed to bring together all organisations around more basic demands. Of course, the ENAR process later escaped the political control of more grassroots organisations. But here, what is good to remember is this attempt to reorganise. Because there have already been several attempts... The SCAL, *Secretariado Coordenador das Ações de Legalização* [Coordinating Secretariat for the Actions of Legalization]), which was an attempt and even had an organic structure that later ended up being very sucked from the inside. [...] This [experience] of reorganisation was quite useful in increasing the movements politicisation. With the *Rede Anti-Racista*, there began to be powerful street demonstrations, and there were very concrete demands, very oriented to agendas that we are still raising today: police violence, the housing issue, and the right to vote. And these debates all helped to politicise the movement. And I think that the key point of these mobilisations, in addition to this politicisation, was also the ability to do things together despite differences. Many things were done together at that time. And I think that the *Festa da Diversidade* later cemented the first phase of this articulation, in which organisations participated according to their capacity and the way in which they organised themselves.<sup>168</sup> (Interview with Mamadou Ba by Pedro Varela, 22/03/2021)

On March 3<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, 2001, the second congress of *Rede Anti-Racista* was held with more than a hundred delegates representing 45 associations.<sup>169</sup> On March 21<sup>th</sup>, 2004, RAR's third and last congress took place. António Barata wrote in the left-wing newspaper *Política Operária*: "The Congress, which ran modestly and smoothly, ignored by the media, was a fairly accurate portrayal of the dilemmas and difficulties faced by immigrant, anti-racist and

---

<sup>168</sup> "Mamadou Ba: A Rede [Anti-Racista] surge na sequência de outros fracassos a nível europeu. O Fórum Imigrante tinha fracassado, que era uma coisa gigantesca, mas muito institucionalizada e sobretudo à procura de dinheiros. Porque 1997 foi o Ano Europeu Contra o Racismo e houve muito dinheiro. Era sobretudo dinheiro para fazer campanhas, não era dinheiro para fazer coisas concretas, só para fazer campanhas. E se tu de lembras, foi nesse período que tu tinhas "Todos diferentes, todos Iguais". Posters por todo o lado. Mas aqui tinha fracassado porque era obvio que aquilo era muito institucional e o fracasso dessa rede a nível europeu também mobilizou outro tipo de alternativas. Então começa-se a discutir a nível europeu... Isto está tudo interligado com o contexto europeu, estavas na véspera de tentar impor uma constituição europeia. O Tratado de Amesterdão está na origem da criação da Rede Europeia Contra o Racismo (ENAR), que por sua vez está na origem da Rede Anti-Racista em Portugal, que tinha o objetivo de congregar todas as organizações em redor de reivindicações mais de base. Claro que depois o processo da ENAR escapou ao controlo político das organizações mais de base. Mas aqui o que é bom lembrar é essa tentativa de reorganização. Porque já existiram várias tentativas... O SCAL (Secretariado Coordenador das Associações para a Legalização), que foi uma tentativa e até teve uma estrutura orgânica que depois acabou por ser muito sugada por dentro. [...] Esta [experiência] de reorganização foi bastante útil para aumentar a politização do movimento. Com a Rede Anti-Racista começou-se a ter manifestações de rua muito fortes e a existir cadernos reivindicativos muito concretos e muito orientados para agendas que ainda hoje nós estamos a levantar: a violência policial, a questão da habitação, o direito de voto. E, esses debates todos ajudaram a politizar o movimento. E eu acho que o ponto chave dessas mobilizações, para além dessa politização, foi também a capacidade de fazer coisas em conjunto apesar das diferenças. Houve muitas coisas que foram feitas em conjunto na altura. E acho que a Festa da Diversidade depois veio cimentar um bocado a primeira fase dessa articulação, em que as organizações participavam em função da sua capacidade e da forma como elas próprias se organizavam."

<sup>169</sup> 'Comunicado de Imprensa Rede Anti-Racista' (2001, March 5).

human rights associations.”<sup>170</sup> (Barata, 2004). This article shows that the impact of the RAR had significantly decreased compared to its initial phase, while it also seems to highlight the existence of internal divergences within the organisation. In March 2004, a second general meeting of ENAR was held in Lisbon at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences with the presence of international representatives. *AnjoNotícias* wrote that:

More than 118 delegates, representing the 15 Member States of the European Union, will be in Lisbon to discuss and reflect on reception policies within the European Union but also to address the problems of racism, xenophobia, religious discrimination and cultural diversity inherent in non-national communities living in Europe.<sup>171</sup> (Baguet Jr., 2004)

In 2006 it would be the sixth and last *Festa da Diversidade* organised by *Rede Anti-Racista*. With divergences around the event's and RAR character, the already weak network finally dissolves. In 2007, *Solidariedade Imigrante* started *Festival Imigrante*, and in the following years, *Festa da Diversidade* would be organised mainly through *SOS Racismo*.

## 4.5 The Black youth activism in the periphery: a movement in transformation

After the Carnation Revolution (1974-1975), Black people in Portugal organised themselves around organizations with the aim to support of African nationalism, built immigrant and neighbourhood associations, and some were also linked to then white led anti-racist groups. It can be said that these struggles of the 1990s laid the basis for the beginning of the construction of a Black movement among young people. It is also impossible to dissociate the beginning of this new autonomous Black political movement in Portugal without considering the rap movement. Rap became a culture that brought together much Black youth in the country, putting forth a strong identity of unity, contestation against racism and political mobilization around blackness.

Since the 1990s, rappers were the face of the Black youth in the periphery that were demanding rights and struggling to end racism and police violence. Furthermore, in 1996, General D advocated the self-determination of an ‘African’ movement. In an interview for

---

<sup>170</sup> “O Congresso, que decorreu modesto e sem sobressaltos, ignorado pela comunicação social, foi um retrato bastante exato dos dilemas e das dificuldades como que se debatem as associações de imigrantes, antirracistas e de direitos humanos.”

<sup>171</sup> “Mais de cento e dezoito delegadas e delegados, em representação dos 15 Estados Membros da União Europeia, estarão em Lisboa, para discutir e refletir sobre as políticas de acolhimento no seio da União Europeia, mas também da abordagem, aos problemas do racismo, da xenofobia, da discriminação religiosa e da diversidade cultural inerente às comunidades não nacionais residentes na Europa.”

*Diário de Notícias* (T.B., 1996), he stated: “Africans must unite in associations, cultural, political or of any other type. Because there are specific problems that must be discussed internally. There is a lot to debate among Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Mozambicans... and between the first and second generation.” In response to the journalist, if there were any “racism” in defending that autonomy, he said: “It’s the same as women having their own organisation. I can be in solidarity with them, think that they are exploited, etc., but I will not stand up for them, I will not be at the forefront of their struggle: they must organise and fight for their rights.” Then the journalist also wrote: “Furthermore, he [General D] is tired of ‘watching programs’ where Black people are talked about, their problems, but where Black people are not present”. In the same interview, General D would defend the right of Black people self-defence in face of violent attacks. In fact, in this period groups of young Blacks organised to defend themselves against neo-fascist groups:

Although “violence leads nowhere”, he [General D] predicts that if xenophobic attacks increase, Africans will not sit back and watch. “I say to you very frankly: if you slap me, I won’t turn the other cheek. I think Africans have given too much time to the other cheek.” For now, music is his weapon: “unfortunately, I’m going to have to keep talking about racism. I will not stop talking about this problem as long as it exists. Racism will probably still continue when I stop singing.”<sup>172</sup> (T.B. 1996)

The 1990s and 2000s were the decades in which a racist image of Black youth as criminal, violent, dangerous, and belonging to gangs was strongly constructed in the Portuguese press, institutions and public opinion. Along with the emergence of rap, emerged the idea of a link between this cultural movement and violence (Fradique, 2003, pp. 153-178). Recently, in 2021, the ‘Internal Security Report’ once again linked rap (namely the genre ‘drill’) to juvenile crime (Relatório de Segurança Interna, 2021). In the case of press, as the work of Teun Van Dijk (1991, 1993) shows, the economic elites are responsible for reproducing a discourse through the press that sustains and deepens racism. The Portuguese

---

<sup>172</sup> “Os africanos têm de se unir em associações, sejam elas culturais, políticas ou de outro tipo. Porque há problemas específicos que devem ser discutidos internamente. Há muita coisa para debater, entre angolanos, cabo-verdianos, moçambicanos... e entra a primeira e a segunda geração.” [...] Ao defender a existência de organizações formadas apenas por negros, General D nega que isso seja outra forma de racismo: “É o mesmo que as mulheres terem uma organização própria. Eu posso estar solidário com elas, achar que são exploradas, etc., mas não vou dar a cara por elas, não vou estar à frente da sua luta: elas é que têm de se organizar e combater pelos seus direitos.” Além disso está farto de “ver programas” onde se fala dos negros, dos seus problemas, mas onde os negros não estão presentes. [...] Embora “a violência não leve a lado nenhum”, ele prevê que, se os ataques xenófobos aumentarem, os africanos não ficarão de braços caídos. “Digo muito sinceramente: se me derem uma estalada, eu não dou a outra face. Acho que os africanos já deram tempo de mais a outra face.” Por enquanto, a música é a sua arma: “infelizmente, vou ter de continuar a falar de racismo. Não vou deixar de falar desse problema enquanto ele existir. Provavelmente, o racismo ainda continuará quando eu deixar de cantar.”

media is no exception and such stereotypes gained a supposed scientific status in Portugal through the term “second generation of immigrants” (Raposo, 2005, p. 159).

In December 2001, residents of Cova da Moura in Amadora, mainly young people, revolted against the murder of Ângelo Semedo (known as 'Angoi'), a 17-year-old Black youngster, killed by a police officer who shot him in the back. For several days the neighbourhood was brutally repressed by the police and the conflict led to a riot atmosphere. The events appeared on the front pages of the country's leading newspapers, and the images occupied the prime-time newscasts, which generally transmitted a racist and alarmist vision.

Until that moment, Cova da Moura was still a neighbourhood little known to the public opinion, but the ‘spectacle’ around these events promoted by the police, newspapers and television channels would place, until today, Cova da Moura in the spectrum of a general racist imaginary constructed as a supposed place of danger and violence. The televisions showed, live and in reports, the police intervention on the revolted residents, speaking of a ‘war scenario’ and transforming the revolt into a press spectacle. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of December, the first pages of the newspapers mentioned: “Shooting in Cova da Moura between population and PSP [police]”, “Shooting and police siege at the gates of Lisbon”, “Shooting between police and young people in Cova da Moura”, or “Violence in Cova da Moura” (see Almeida & Varela, 2021).

A year after, in June 2002, residents of the Bela Vista neighbourhood in Setúbal (an important city in the Lisbon metropolitan area), mainly young Black people, revolted against the death of António Pereira (known as ‘Toni’), a 24 year old Black construction worker who was killed by police shots when he was trying to pacify a conflict. In 2004 there was a total acquittal of the policeman who killed Toni. In the following days after the killing, the police entered the neighbourhood, creating a mutinous atmosphere. In the following days, an important demonstration with hundreds of people that crossed the streets of Setúbal was organised by young Black people, which will be a landmark of the organisation against racism and police violence. One could read on the large banners at this protest, “Stop Violence” or “Police Terrorist Murderer”. In the front of the march, young people held banners with letters that posed the question: “Why Did He Die?” (Lisboa, 2003). An article in the *Público* newspaper remembers those days:

Farther on, in front of the ACM [Youth Christian Association], where everything had happened, a red and white tape cordoned off the place of Toni's death, still with blood stains and bottle glasses on the floor. The people built a kind of wooden altar there, where they placed a photocopy of an enlarged colour photo of Toni. The “Swat” [his nickname] appears in the photograph impeccably dressed, in a black suit, next to a tree. Next to it, there are two candles, many bouquets of

flowers and posters where you could read: “Two-faced criminal cops”, “Chuati” [his nickname], we will never forget you, always a brother”, “Police state dogs on the loose in Bela Vista”, “We are police training toys”, “Violence dressed in blue” or “Africans targeted by pigs in blue”. Toni belonged to the African Cultural Centre, where he was an African dance performer for five years, and for two years, he worked as a volunteer with “children at risk” [...]. At the African Cultural Centre headquarters, there is a candle lit next to a sign that reads “Why did Toni die?” and there are photos of Toni dancing along with the words: “Toni will dance with the angels forever”. The funeral of Manuel António Tavares Pereira takes place today in Setúbal and will hardly go unnoticed, since, as, at the time of this edition's closing, the African Cultural Centre in Bela Vista was preparing to “fill Setúbal with pictures of Toni”.<sup>173</sup> (Ferreira, 2002)

Years after, on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 2005, Portugal Day was marked by an alleged ‘*Arrastão*’ at Praia de Carcaveiros (Lisbon’s periphery), that in fact never existed (Andringa & Cabral, 2005; Antunes, 2018). ‘*Arrastão*’, is a phenomenon constructed through an imaginary of mass running robberies by Black youngsters. The alleged “*Arrastão de Carcaveiros*” opened the afternoon newscasts that day. In the following day, it made headlines in the entire written press with images showing dozens of Black people running on the beach. In the next weeks, it came to light that none of this took place, namely through the police who publicly denied it. But the percussion of its denial never had the effect of its initial impact. This supposed ‘*Arrastão*’ remains marked in the memory of most of the Portuguese population (Almeida & Varela, 2021).

2005 was also the year of the October-November Protests/Riots of the French *Banlieues*, in the suburbs of Paris and other French cities, after the death of two youngsters who were being chased by the police. These events were evidence to many people of the phenomenon of racial discrimination, police violence, segregation and unemployment among non-white European youth. Still, the press and institutional alarmism created mostly a fearful atmosphere about racialised youth. These events and the contact with rap made me gain awareness of what was happening to young Black people on the outskirts of Lisbon where I had arrived three years before to study in the university. This took me months later

---

<sup>173</sup> “Mais adiante, em frente às instalações da ACM [Associação Cristã da Mocidade], onde tudo se passara, uma fita vermelha e branca isolava o lugar da morte de Toni, ainda com manchas de sangue e vidros de garrafa no chão. Os populares construíram ali uma espécie de altar em madeira, onde colocaram a fotocópia de uma foto a cores de Toni ampliada. O “Swat” surge na fotografia impecavelmente vestido, fato preto, junto a uma árvore. Ao lado, há duas velas, muitos ramos de flores e cartazes onde se lia: “Bófias criminosos de duas caras”, “Chuati, nunca te esqueceremos, irmão sempre”, “Polícias cães do Estado à solta na Bela Vista”, “Somos bonecos de treino dos polícias”, “A violência vestida de azul” ou “Africanos alvo em movimento dos porcos de azul”. Toni pertencia ao Centro Cultural Africano, onde durante cinco anos foi dançarino de danças africanas e há dois anos trabalhava como voluntário junto de “crianças em risco”. [...] Na sede do Centro Cultural Africano, há uma vela acesa junto a um cartaz onde se lê “Porque morreu Toni?” e há fotos de Toni a dançar junto aos dizeres: “Toni dança com os anjos até sempre”. O funeral de Manuel António Tavares Pereira realiza-se hoje em Setúbal e dificilmente passará despercebido, uma vez que, à hora do fecho desta edição, o Centro Cultural Africano da Bela Vista se preparava para “encher Setúbal com fotos do Toni.”



to Cova da Moura, where I met Black rappers and activists from the neighbourhood. Initially, during 2006-2007, I coordinated music classes with Marta Luz and Miguel Morelli at *Moinho da Juventude*. This was in connection with Project 'Nu kre bai na bu onda' of the *Programa Escolhas* and a music production workshop run by the rapper Chullage. That's how I became linked back then to Black youth activism in the periphery; and to the anti-racist and rap movement.

In the summer of 2008, on the night of August 28<sup>th</sup>, a massive police operation took place with the unprecedented use of a helicopter with spotlights in the Black-majority neighbourhoods of Quinta da Fonte and Quinta do Mocho in the suburbs of Lisbon. The media that covered this event once again generated great social alarmism with a racist bias due to an exaggerated and 'spectacular' action by the state. The police siege of the neighbourhoods, controlling the entrances and exits of the inhabitants for hours, was justified because these areas were the scene of some skirmishes with the use of firearms, reported on television and in the press. In those days, I remember going to Quinta do Fonte with Otávio Raposo to interview a young Black man, the leader of a youth association, about the events. He would claim that the whole operation had been an absurd exaggeration.

It was in this environment of institutional racism and police violence that, in these years, a Black youth activism in the periphery would form. Often linked to rap and neighbourhood associations, it demanded the right to a voice, in a country that denied these basic rights (Pereira & Varela, 2022). For instance, in 2000, the association *Khapaz* was formed in Arrentela (Seixal), predominantly among Black youth. One of its founders, the rapper Chullage, is a well-known artist and anti-racist activist to this day. Otávio Raposo, who studied the youth of Arrentela's, more precisely the *Red Eyes Gang* crew which Chullage was part, said that this crew was divided in different groups, one of which was mainly composed of rappers who attended the association *Khapaz* and were interested in community organization and raising awareness among the youth. They were almost all Black, many sang in Cape Verdean and their lyrics often criticised racism and poverty (Raposo, 2007, p. 139). The anthropologist describes the emergence of the association as follows:

The initial idea of creating an association came from Chullage and Heda (former partners of the 187Squad group) and was soon accepted by other young people from the neighbourhood: Shenya, SAS, Nando, Gabi, Sabotage, etc. They created an informal group that met at Chullage's house to discuss what could be done in the neighbourhood to improve the quality of life of young people. *Khapaz* – Cultural Association - was born. We can summarise the development of the association *Khapaz* in three central moments. The year 2000 and the first months of 2001 correspond to the period of its emergence; it is the embryonic phase of

what was to become *Khapaz*. What characterises this moment is the informality and the non-existence of structured activities. In April 2001, the partnership with the *Programa Escolhas* was implemented, in which two young people were chosen to work full-time at *Khapaz*. The connection to *Programa Escolhas*, the existence of regular activities in a headquarters, as well as the process of formalisation, affirmation and prospect of the association are the highlights of this period. In 2004, the decadence and fragmentation phase of *Khapaz* began when a large part of the young people from Arrentela stopped getting involved with the association. The fatigue and discouragement of some of its members is the mark of this period, which continues until today.<sup>174</sup> (Raposo, 2007, pp. 75-76)

In those years, the idea of the need to create Black organizations of young people from the periphery began to emerge. In Cova da Moura, *Plataforma Gueto* was born, led mainly by Black youth linked to *Moinho da Juventude* association and the rap movement. This organisation was also linked to the creation of the newspaper/fanzine *O Gueto: Olhos Ouvidos e Vozes* in 2007.

In this period, the group *Encontros* established in Amadora should also be highlighted. During 2006 and 2011 this organisation edited the 'Cadernos Consciência e Resistência', fanzines often dedicated to the history of Black and African nationalist struggles. As Carla Fernandes, founder of *Afrolis*, who was influenced by the dynamics of this group, reminded us, *Encontros*, was led by Black people and for Black people and back then that was a difference in the dynamics of the fight against racism in Portugal:

**Carla Fernandes:** My contact with *Encontros* was very special because it was the first time I saw a Black organization that was moving and bringing a lot of Black people into discussions. They used to hold meetings that only now I notice were similar to *Afrolis*. They had film sessions, some debates, they brought outside guests. They even brought in a former member of the Black Panthers, Bobby. I participated but I wasn't involved in the organisation.<sup>175</sup> (Interview with Carla Fernandes by Pedro Varela, 19/02/2020)

---

<sup>174</sup> “A ideia inicial de criar uma associação partiu do Chullage e do Heda (antigos parceiros do grupo 187Squad), sendo logo aceita por outros jovens do bairro: Shenya, SAS, Nando, Gabi, Sabotage, etc. Criaram um grupo informal que se reunia na casa do Chullage para discutir o que poderia ser feito no bairro para melhorar a qualidade de vida dos jovens. Estava a nascer a *Khapaz* – Associação Cultural. Podemos resumir em três momentos principais o percurso da Associação *Khapaz*. O ano 2000 e os primeiros meses de 2001 correspondem ao período do seu surgimento; é a fase embrionária do que viria a ser a *Khapaz*. O que caracteriza este momento é a informalidade e a não existência de actividades estruturadas. A partir de Abril de 2001, é implementada a parceria com o Programa Escolhas, em que são escolhidos dois jovens para trabalhar a tempo integral na *Khapaz*. A ligação ao Programa Escolhas, a existência de actividades regulares numa sede, assim como o processo de formalização, afirmação e projecção da associação são os pontos a destacar desta época. Em 2004 inicia-se a fase de decadência e fragmentação da *Khapaz*, quando grande parte dos jovens da Arrentela começa a deixar de envolver-se com a associação. O cansaço e o desânimo de alguns dos seus intervenientes é a marca deste período, que se prolonga até hoje.”

<sup>175</sup> “**Carla Fernandes:** O meu contacto com o coletivo *Encontros* foi muito especial para mim porque foi a primeira vez que eu vi um coletivo negro que se movimentava e trazia muitas pessoas negras para as discussões. Eles faziam encontros que só agora é que reparei que eram parecidos com os da *Afrolis*. Eram sessões de cinema, alguns debates, traziam convidados de fora. Eles trouxeram até um ex-membro dos Panteras Negras, o Bobby. Eu participava mas não estava envolvida na organização.”

In January 2009, Elson Sanches, a 14-year-old boy known as ‘Kuku’, was killed by the police with a shot to the head at close range, in the neighbourhood of Santa Filomena in Amadora. The murder of such a young person led to commotion and outrage in various areas. On January 17<sup>th</sup>, *Plataforma Gueto* led a demonstration against racist brutality with hundreds of people in front of the police station in the Casal da Boba, another neighbourhood in Amadora. The protest brought together young Black people, mostly from Amadora, and some white people located in the political left activism. It was a highly politicised act and the organisers of *Plataforma Gueto* launched several slogans against police violence. In the days before, some of the press would release alarmist news about the protest, and, despite the calls for calm from the leaders, the demonstration ended with some stones thrown at the police station. After the stones, many walk away from the protest and some ran down to Amadora. On the way to the car, I saw police in vans driving around and heard someone breaking a store window. A statement released the day before the protest by *Plataforma Gueto* denounced police violence, the press attitude toward the events, and the human rights violations, while it called for justice:

Brothers and Sisters. Almost two weeks after the death of Kuku, the expert report has revealed that he was killed at close range, confirming what several testimonies excluded from the “official” version released by the media already did us suspect. This fact has only strengthened our conviction that we must continue to denounce and demand that justice be done in this case since our silence in previous cases, such as those of Angoi, Tony, PTB, Tete, Corvo, etc., leaves a climate of impunity in the face of such human rights violations and motivates inhuman behaviour by various police officers. Thus, our motivation is not to call for violence but justice as an essential condition for social peace. Having said this, we continue to appeal to all people and solidarity organisations to mobilise in front of the 60<sup>th</sup> Police Station at Rua 17 de Setembro in Casal de São Brás, Boba, tomorrow Saturday at 4 pm, with the sole purpose of showing our discontent with the way the police has been acting in the neighbourhoods, with the young immigrants, and to stand in solidarity with Kuku's family in their search for justice, not allowing this case to fall into oblivion like the previous ones. Regarding the propaganda that the media have already started to orchestrate against *Plataforma Gueto*, namely in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* and on the TV channel *TVI*, we can only clarify that fighting for the rights of our community, inscribed in the Constitution of this country and the Universal Charter of Human Rights, is not extremism nor a call for violence against the state, but an exercise of citizenship. On the other hand, how Kuku died represents one of the most extreme forms of violence that the state exercises on young blacks, gypsies and poor whites. The *Plataforma Gueto* is a social movement formed by a group of young people from various neighbourhoods and different origins which aims to raise awareness and mobilise our community in relation: To exploitation and labour precariousness; To ethnocentric education that impacts the self-esteem of young people with different cultures and accentuates inequalities; To housing policies that promote spatial segregation and stigmatisation of the areas where we live; To the stigmatisation and criminalisation of the so-called “second generation” and immigrants in general that have been used, on the one hand, to legitimise police brutality in our community, and on the other hand, to create and manipulate an adverse public

opinion; All forms of exploitation and discrimination. [Signed] Plataforma Gueto. Without justice, there can be no peace.<sup>176</sup> (Plataforma Gueto, 2009)

Amadora rap band, *Mentis Afro* (Ghoya, Boss and Yaroshia), would make a financial campaign with the sale of their album, *Mundu Infernal*, to provide Kuku with a dignified funeral. Years later, on November 16, 2012, *Plataforma Gueto* organised a concert at Teatro do Bairro to raise money for the ‘Kuku’ family under the name ‘Hip Hop Pela Justiça’ [Hip-hop For Justice]. The event poster featured the artists: Kastro (Submundo/Black Hooligan Zoo), Tummy Triple M, Kromo di Ghetto, Fidjus di Baraka, Hardcore 24, LBC Souldjah, Tchoras MC, Chullage, Hezbollah, Loreta KBA, Dj Extreme, Lowrasta, Gata MC, MOV-I, Landim, Ridel G, Ipaco, Mean, Soul Jah. In December of the same year, 2012, the police who shot ‘Kuku’ was acquitted in court.

Once more, in May 2009, the Bela Vista neighbourhood in Setúbal became a site of conflict for three consecutive days, as clashes erupted between the police and Black youth. This resulted from the death of ‘Toninho’, a 23 years old man from the neighbourhood, during a police chase. After his funeral, there was a protest in front of the neighbourhood police station. The police surrounded the area and did several arrests. During those days, some cars and rubbish bins were burnt. The revolt intensified because three people from the neighbourhood had died in police pursuits within a year and a half (see Franco, Marques & Franco, 2009).

---

<sup>176</sup> “Irm@s. Quase duas semanas passadas da morte de Kuku, o relatório pericial vem revelar que ele foi morto à queima-roupa confirmando o que vários testemunhos excluídos da versão “oficial” divulgada pelos media já faziam suspeitar. Este facto só veio reforçar a nossa convicção de que devemos continuar a denunciar e exigir que se faça justiça neste caso, visto que, o nosso silêncio em casos anteriores como os de Angoi, Tony, PTB, Tete, Corvo, etc., deixam pairar um clima de impunidade face a tamanhas violações dos direitos humanos e motivam um comportamento desumano por parte de vários agentes policiais. Assim a nossa motivação não é apelar à violência mas sim à justiça como uma condição essencial para a paz social. Posto isto continuamos a apelar à mobilização de todas as pessoas e organizações solidárias frente à 60ª A Esquadra na rua 17 de Setembro no Casal de São Brás, Boba, amanhã sábado às 16 h, com o único intuito de mostrar o nosso descontentamento face à forma como a polícia tem actuado nos bairros, junto dos jovens imigrantes, e de solidarizar com a família de Kuku na sua procura por justiça, não deixando que este caso caia no esquecimento como os anteriores. Relativamente à propaganda que os media já começaram a orquestrar contra a Plataforma Gueto, nomeadamente no Diário de Notícias e na TVI, cabe-nos apenas esclarecer que lutar pelos direitos da nossa comunidade inscritos na constituição deste país e na Carta Universal dos Direitos Humanos, não é extremismo nem um apelo à violência contra o estado, mas sim um exercício de cidadania. Por outro lado a forma como Kuku morreu representa um das formas mais extremas de violência que o estado exerce sobre os jovens negros, ciganos e brancos pobres. A plataforma gueto é um movimento social constituído por um grupo de jovens oriundos de vários bairros e de diferentes origens que visa consciencializar e mobilizar a nossa comunidade em relação: À exploração e precarização laboral; À educação etnocêntrica que impacta na auto-estima de jovens com culturas diferentes e acentua as desigualdades; Às políticas de habitação que promovem a segregação espacial e a estigmatização das zonas onde habitamos; À estigmatização e criminalização da dita “2ª geração” e dos imigrantes em geral que tem servido para: por um lado, legitimar a brutalidade policial na nossa comunidade, e por outro criar e manipular uma opinião pública adversa; Todas as formas de exploração e discriminação. Plataforma Gueto. Sem Justiça não haverá Paz.”

In 2010, the 30-year-old rapper 'Mc Snake' (Nuno Rodrigues) died after being shot by a police officer during a police chase. He was a known rapper close to Sam the Kid, one of the most famous artists of the Portuguese rap scene. On March 21<sup>st</sup>, a vigil with three hundred people, many dressed in white, is organised in his memory at the Benfica Train Station. *Diário de Notícias* newspaper wrote that:

More than three hundred people held a minute's silence yesterday in memory of the young musician Nuno Rodrigues, who was shot on Monday by the PSP in Lisbon, releasing two doves and launching heart-shaped balloons. People, family and friends of the late musician gathered near Benfica station wearing white T-shirts and carrying heart-shaped balloons, having held a minute's silence at 16.30 in an orderly atmosphere of respect, consternation and silence, broken only by whistling and clapping at the end of the ceremony. The two doves that flew Benfica's sky symbolised the two years of age of the daughter that the musician left behind, and the white balloons, in the shape of a heart, carried personal messages.<sup>177</sup> ('Vigília pacífica para MC Snake juntou mais de trezentas pessoas', 2010)

The policeman responsible for the shooting was sentenced to a 20-months suspended sentence for grossly negligent homicide.

In 2013, 15-year-old Diogo Seidi, known as 'Musso' died of a brain haemorrhage, days after being arrested in a police station and allegedly beaten by police officers. The event led to a conflict with the police in the Seis de Maio neighbourhood, a self-produced Black-majority neighbourhood which has already been destroyed, in Amadora.<sup>178</sup>

Many of these mobilisations and organizations of young Black people from the periphery, which were becoming prominent in this period, were connected with the neighbourhood community associations and rap movement and some with the immigrant and anti-racist organizations. These Black youth would place police violence at the centre of the anti-racist debate and movement. Its activists would be central to the structural change that would take place in these years in the anti-racist movement, which would become increasingly led by Black people.

---

<sup>177</sup> "Mais de trezentas pessoas cumpriram ontem um minuto de silêncio em memória do jovem músico Nuno Rodrigues, que foi baleado na segunda-feira pela PSP em Lisboa, tendo libertado duas pombas e lançado balões em forma de coração. Populares, familiares e amigos do falecido músico concentraram-se junto da estação de Benfica vestindo T-shirts brancas e levando na mão balões em forma de coração, tendo cumprido um minuto de silêncio pelas 16.30, numa atmosfera ordeira, de respeito, consternação e silêncio, quebrado apenas por assobios e palmas no final da cerimónia. As duas pombas que voaram pelo céu de Benfica simbolizam os dois anos da filha que o músico deixou, e os balões brancos, em forma de coração, levavam mensagens pessoais."

<sup>178</sup> For a chronology of these various episodes of racist police violence see this article from *Esquerda.net* ('Violência policial racista continua a matar em Portugal', 2021)

## 4.6 The police racist violence at the Alfragide police station in 2015

In 2015, an episode of police racist brutality will deeply mark the anti-racist movement and the public debate on racial discrimination in Portugal, even getting some visibility in the international press (see Henriques, 2015; Fletcher, 2015; Raposo, Varela & Ferro, 2017; Raposo, Alves, Varela & Roldão, 2019; Sousa, 2019; Almeida & Varela, 2021). The political mobilisation around this case will put the Black movement organizations at the centre of the struggle against racism, which had not happened until then. The Black Lives Matter movement had already appeared (2013) and the Ferguson protests and unrest had happened (2014). Since then, under the political slogan ‘Black lives matter’, a “proliferation of mobilizations against the violence of racial policing” took place across the Black diaspora (Hesse & Hooker, 2017, p. 444).

On February 5<sup>th</sup> 2015, during a police stop and search in Cova da Moura (Amadora - Lisbon metropolitan area), a young rapper, Timor Ysf, was violently detained by agents of the Public Security Police (PSP). They took him in a van; after in the court he said he was beaten and suffered racist insults during the journey inside that vehicle. The brutality used in the detention, with serious aggressions in the street, led to the indignation of several people, mainly women, who verbally protested against it. The police fired several rubber shots and chased some residents. The Judiciary Police's expertise in court showed that the bullets fired from the police weapons were not the ones given to the police officers (Henriques, 2018a); this indicated that probably the officers put their own rubber bullets in the shotguns so that they are not later used as evidence against them.

Faced with what happened, some members of *Moinho da Juventude*, today's leading association in Cova da Moura, decided to go to the police station to avoid further mistreatment of the detainee. In this group were two well-known rappers, Flávio Almada (also a prominent Black activist from *Plataforma Gueto*) and Celso Lopes, both leaders of *Moinho da Juventude*. When they attempted to talk to the officers near the door of the police station, several officers went out into the street. Then, they chased, beat, shot with rubber bullets and detained five Black residents of the neighbourhood, namely the association leaders mentioned above. Afterwards, they were taken inside the police station, where they were again beaten and suffered numerous threats and racist humiliations. They were detained for two days and accused of breaking into the police station, an accusation later proved false in court. In the early hours, there was mobilisation of family, residents of the neighbourhood

and anti-racist activists, first at the police station, the day after in Alfragide court and two days after in Sintra court, where there was a huge celebration when they were released.

I followed all these moments closely, as during this period, I was carrying out an ethnographic study in Cova da Moura within the scope of the project ‘O trabalho da arte e a arte do trabalho: circuitos criativos de artistas imigrantes em Portugal’, coordinated by Lúcia Ferro and Otávio Raposo. In fact, weeks before this violent episode, the police could be seen to be more tense than usual, and I, along with other colleagues, were approached by a police van in the neighbourhood, searched and threatened, even though we were non-blacks and researchers from the university (see Raposo, Varela & Ferro, 2017; Raposo & Varela, 2019).

The narrative that some press reproduced through the police version of the ‘police station invasion’ would be quickly surpassed by the stories told by the community that placed the police narrative in deep contradiction (Almeida & Varela, 2021). In the following days, several activists (mostly Black) from anti-racist organisations, neighbourhood associations and left-wing parties began a series of meetings in Cova da Moura to respond to these severe events, namely the brutal attacks on the association leaders. The following week, on February 12<sup>th</sup>, an unprecedented gathering was mobilised in front of the Assembly of the Republic, with hundreds of people protesting against racism and police violence. The *Jornal de Notícias* newspaper portrayed the demonstration thus:

Around 300 people gathered, this thursday afternoon, in front of the Assembly of the Republic, in Lisbon, to protest against the police action in the incidents, a week ago, at an Amadora police station near the Cova Moura neighbourhood. [...] The protesters, most of them young people, displayed posters and banners with phrases such as “Punishment for crimes of racism and police brutality”, “We want justice. End police violence”, “I don’t want to be afraid of PSP” and “Torture is a crime” and shouted expressions such as “Against police violence, end institutional racism” and “state racism, no thanks”.<sup>179</sup> (Manifestantes protestaram junto ao Parlamento contra atuação policial na Amadora', 2015)

Weeks later, on March 21<sup>st</sup>, on the International Day against Racial Discrimination, several anti-racist organisations and activists organised a rally against police violence and institutional racism in Largo de São Domingos, in Lisbon. The episode of police violence in Cova da Moura marked this event that combined political and artistic interventions with the presence of several rappers.

---

<sup>179</sup> “Cerca de 300 pessoas concentraram-se, esta quinta-feira à tarde, frente à Assembleia da República, em Lisboa, em protesto contra a atuação policial nos incidentes, de há uma semana, numa esquadra da Amadora próxima do bairro da Cova Moura. [...] Os manifestantes, na maioria jovens, exibiam cartazes e faixas onde podiam ler-se frases como “Punição aos crimes de racismo e brutalidade policial”, “Queremos justiça. Fim à violência policial”, “Não quero ter medo da PSP” e “Tortura é crime” e gritavam expressões como “Contra a violência policial, fim ao racismo institucional” e “Racismo de Estado, não obrigado.”

In those days, there an enormous unity and solidarity within the anti-racist movement and a feeling among activists that this episode could not go unscathed in justice. The state institutions themselves were obliged to act quickly, namely the High Commissioner for Migration which condemned the incident or the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which opened investigations. In July 2015, based on a report by the Inspectorate General of Home Affairs (IGAI), disciplinary proceedings were instituted against nine elements of the PSP that resulted in the suspension of three agents for 90 days. Then followed an unprecedented trial in which the Public Prosecutor's Office accused 17 police officers of slanderous accusation, insult, kidnapping, qualified physical integrity offences, torture, false testimony, and falsification of documents, all aggravated by racial hatred. At the same time, the accusation of 'invasion of the police station' by the neighbourhood residents, who had been arrested, was withdrawn. This was a trial without precedents, because not ever before so many police officers had gone to court accused of such crimes.

The press and public opinion closely followed the trial. More than four years later, on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019, the court sentenced seven police officers to suspended sentences (from two months to five years) and one to effective detention of one year and six months for recidivism. However, the charges of racism and torture - that would have aggravated the sentences - had already been dropped during the trial (see Henriques, 2018a; Raposo, Varela & Ferro, 2017; Raposo, Alves, Varela & Roldão, 2019; Almeida & Varela, 2021).

The anti-racist movement mobilised and was present at the trial sessions. But the far-right also used the case, to catapult hate speech and victimisation. In the last session trial session, which I was also present, a group of policemen, who had rarely followed the trial, unlike the leaders of the neighbourhood and anti-racist activists, forced their way into the courtroom, preventing some victims and activists from entering.

This episode of brutal police violence will deeply mark the anti-racist movement in Portugal. During this period, when some Black organizations were already emerging and the anti-racist debate had deepened, the anti-racist movement took on a new and stronger dynamic.

## 4.7 The emergence of several Black organizations

Starting a little earlier, but mainly after the struggles that emerged in 2015, several Black organizations appeared in Portugal. In addition to *Plataforma Gueto*, which already



existed, various Black organisations that were emerging in those years are worth naming: *Consciência Negra* (2014); *Afrolis* (2014); *Djass – Associação de Afrodescendentes* (2016); *FEMAFRO – Associação de Mulheres Negras, Africanas e Afrodescendentes em Portugal* (2016); *INMUNE — Instituto da Mulher Negra* (2018); *Padema - Plataforma para o Desenvolvimento da Mulher Africana*. More informal organizations also emerged, such as *Crespas e Cacheadas* (2013), *We Love Carapinha* (2015), *Nêga Filmes* (2015), *Roda das Pretas* (2016), *Tributo aos Ancestrais Portugal* (2017), *Chá das Pretas* (2017), *CAIP - Coletivo de Ação Imigrante e Periférica* (2018) (in this case, broader, identifying as non-white) and *Mulheres Negras Escurecidas* (2020). As well as organizations that have brought LGBTQIA+ visions into the movement such as *Queering Style* (2015) or the *Coletivo Zanele Muholi de Lésbicas e Bissexuais Negras* (2016) (see Roldão, 2019). For several years, the *Nu Sta Djunto* collective was also relevant for the mutual aid of Black-majority neighbourhoods; for anti-racist educational activities, the *Grupo Educar* (2018) has stood out; and more recently, *O Lado Negro da Força* (2020), has been central in the anti-racist movement for the visibility of Black people. It is also important to mention the role of an older group with artistic-social intervention, the *GTOLX — Grupo de Teatro do Oprimido de Lisboa* (2002). More recently, a decentralisation of the anti-racist movement, led by Black activists, led to the creation of the *Núcleo Anti-Racista do Porto* (2018) and *Núcleo Antirracista de Coimbra* (2020). All these organisations mobilise in different ways, politics, culture, art, education, solidarity and community struggles. It should also be noted that, for example, *SOS Racismo*, which had been born as a majority white-led organisation, now had a prominent black leader, Mamadou Ba.

Pan-Africanism is a crucial political reference for many Black activists in Portugal. And there is a broad consensus about the figure of Amílcar Cabral, who can be considered one of the main ‘heroes’ among many activists in nowadays. When considering the Pan-Africanist influence, it is essential to mention the ‘*Konfirensa Panafrikanu*’ events organised by Black activists. In this context, it is also important to mention an older practice of the *Plataforma Gueto* to organise *Universidades da Plataforma Gueto* as a space for education and debate between activists, where they have often included intellectuals and activists from the Black or Pan-Africanist movement such as Bob Brown, Ruthie Gilmore, Hakim Adi or Houria Boultedja. It is also worth highlighting the *Movimento Africano de Trabalhadores e Estudantes – RGB*, which despite having an activity focused on Guinea-Bissau, has influential activists in Portugal and for which Pan-Africanism is a considerable influence.

A new feature of the current moment is that women play a central role in this dynamic, directing several of these organizations and becoming important public figures (see Roldão, 2019; Pereira & Varela, 2022). On the presence of Black women in the movement Lúcia Furtado, leader of one of the first Black feminist organizations in Portugal, *Femafro*, say that is an international phenomenon:

**Pedro Varela:** [The prominence of Black women in the movement] is not only a Portuguese phenomenon, it's an international phenomenon. **Lúcia Furtado:** It is a global phenomenon. The phenomena are never limited only to Portugal. The phenomena start and have a global reach. In terms of the world, you look at Black Lives Matter, and you see women at the forefront; you look at Brazil, and you see women at the forefront of the struggle; you look at France, and you see women at the forefront... In every country we look at, the presence of Black women is very relevant.<sup>180</sup> (Interview with Lúcia Furtado by Pedro Varela, 09/10/2020)

The Black movement in Portugal has been also deeply inspired by the dynamics of the Brazilian Black movement since several Afro-Brazilians brought meaningful experiences to these new organizations in Portugal in the last few years. And of course, it has been influenced by the Black Lives Matters movement since this became internationally influential.

The Black Lives Matter movement emerged in 2013 in the USA initially through the action of three Black queer women: Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi. It then transformed into a large and decentralised movement in the USA and its struggles became internationalised. Since 2014, mobilisations against racism and police violence have emerged across the Black diaspora (Hesse & Hooker, 2017). As put forth by the same authors: “Arguably, today black rage has reached unprecedented public and global visibility, mediated by quotidian police killings of Black people, new forms of relentless black activism and ever-vigilant and vocal black social media.” (*ibidem*, p. 451).

In 2020, after the murderer of George Floyd and during the COVID-19 pandemic protests against racism and police violence arise around the world in an unprecedented manner: “These reactive protests circulated across the globe in mass outrage at the murder and denounced police racism and white supremacy in their own particular cities and nations.” (Hesse & Thompson, 2022, p. 456). Furthermore, “Despite the US being in the eye of the

---

<sup>180</sup> “**Pedro Varela:** [O destaque das mulheres no movimento negro] não é um fenómeno só português é um fenómeno internacional. **Lúcia Furtado:** É um fenómeno global. Os fenómenos nunca se resumem somente a Portugal. Os fenómenos começam e têm toda uma abrangência global. Em termos do mundo tu olhas para o Black Lives Matter e vêes mulheres na frente; olhas para o Brasil vêes mulheres na frente da luta; olhas para França vêes mulheres na frente.... Em cada país que nós olhamos a presença da mulher negra é bastante relevante.”

storm of these mobilizations, the BLM protests became and remained global.” (*ibidem*, p. 465). In fact, this international Black anti-racist struggle comes from a long tradition:

A half century after most states in Africa achieved independence and the civil rights movement in the United States succeeded in ending Jim Crow racial segregation, and a quarter century after black South Africans overthrew apartheid, renewed black protest movements around the globe are beginning to question the forms and aims of black politics and the limits of liberal democracy. Globally, black protest movements originating from local concerns are responding in different ways to the inability of liberal democracy to deliver robust racial justice and inviolable equal rights, drawing attention to the unfinished project of decolonization and the unrelenting dehumanization of black lives resulting from the precarity induced by global white supremacy (however much the latter may have morphed). A global wave of black protest is legible from uprisings against police violence in the United States, the United Kingdom, Brazil, France, Canada, and Israel and from student protests in South Africa. (Hesse & Hooker, 2017, p. 448)

These protests, almost always led by Black activists, have become “multiracial and multicultural”: “We note that in 2020 there were extremely high numbers of white participants, often in largely white cities, both in North America and Europe, involved in these protests.” (*ibidem*, p. 462). However, at least in the case of the USA where data is available: “Support among white Americans for BLM and racial justice was temporary.” (*ibidem*, p. 471).

António Tonga, activist of the *Consciência Negra* organization in Portugal, refers to the importance of Black and anti-racist internationalism:

**António Tonga:** We usually say and it has been said before that there is an unshakeable bond of solidarity between Black people, so the anti-racist movement must be international to survive. The more we are confined to our own country, to our own reality, the less capacity we will have to present a response that is adequate to the whole population, even in our own country, in our own places. [...] As soon as I started to get more organised in the anti-racist movement I was very much influenced by the Brazilian folks.<sup>181</sup> (Interview with António Tonga by Pedro Varela, 15/10/2019)

Carla Fernandes founder of *Afrolis* passed through Germany, England and Brazil. Influenced by the Black activism abroad, when she returned to Portugal she felt that anti-racism “spoke” too much to white people and felt the need to create *Afrolis*, which was born as a platform “from us, to us”, or as she puts forth “Black on Black”. She also recalls that before, the Black movement was perceived or was very related to immigrant rights movement but then the paradigm changed:

---

<sup>181</sup> “Nós costumamos dizer e já se dizia antes que há um laço de solidariedade inabalável entre os negros, então o movimento antirracista tem de ser internacional para sobreviver. Quanto mais nós estamos confinados ao nosso próprio país, à nossa própria realidade, menos capacidade vamos ter de apresentar uma resposta que seja adequada ao conjunto da população, mesmo no nosso próprio país, no nosso próprio local. [...] Mal comecei a entrar mais organizadamente no movimento antirracista fui bué influenciado pela malta do Brasil.”

**Pedro Varela:** In an interview to *Fumaça* you said that before there was no Black movement but now there is. **Carla Fernandes:** Yes. Now there is. **Pedro Varela:** When you left the country there wasn't and when you came back there was... **Carla Fernandes:** I think it has much more to do with visibility than anything else and also with self-definition. We used to function more as immigrants. **Pedro Varela:** Immigrant associations... **Carla Fernandes:** Exactly... it was more defined that way and we had no notion that we could come together to call ourselves a Black movement. Even when I came back [around 2014] there was still that division... That was a weak point for us to call ourselves a Black movement. [...] I then said, "There is. There is a Black movement, yes." It comes from self-definition. Because we saw ourselves before as immigrants and we were fighting with those tools.<sup>182</sup> (Interview with Carla Fernandes by Pedro Varela, 19/02/2020)

On the emergence of this new anti-racist movement in Portugal, Joana Gorjão Henriques wrote that we were possibly at an historic moment for anti-racist activism in Portugal, with a growing number of organizations:

It is possible that we are in a historic moment of anti-racist activism in Portugal. From police violence to education, from feminism to the media, there is growing diversity in the movement. The heterogeneity of these groups, some larger than others, some with more regular meetings and activities than others, shows that political powers, namely those dealing with issues concerning equality, will not be able to continue to decide the future alone. whom they want to protect. Regardless of the individual, collective path of each one, regardless of the reservations that may exist in including them in the concept of movement, the truth is that in recent times dozens of voices have emerged with a great capacity for influence and claim.<sup>183</sup> (Henriques, 2018a, p. 129)

Based on these collective experiences, in December 2016, 22 organisations<sup>184</sup> came together through the platform *Afrodescendentes em Portugal* [Afrodescendants in Portugal].

---

<sup>182</sup> "**Pedro Varela:** Numa entrevista da Fumaça disseste que antes não havia um movimento negro, mas que agora há. **Carla Fernandes:** Agora há, sim. Pedro Varela: Quando saíste do país não havia e quando voltaste havia... **Carla Fernandes:** Eu acho que tem muito mais a ver com visibilidade que outra coisa qualquer e também com autodefinição. Nós antigamente funcionávamos mais como imigrantes e existia movimento negro. **Pedro Varela:** Associativismo imigrante... **Carla Fernandes:** Exatamente... era mais definido dessa forma e nós não tínhamos noção de que nos podíamos juntar para chamarmo-nos movimento negro. Mesmo quando regressei ainda havia essa divisão... Isso era um ponto fraco para nós chamarmos movimento negro. [...] Depois eu disse: "Há. Há um movimento negro sim". Vem da autodefinição. Porque nós víamo-nos antes como imigrantes e nós lutávamos com essas ferramentas."

<sup>183</sup> "É possível que estejamos num momento histórico do ativismo antirracista em Portugal. Da violência policial à educação, do feminismo aos media, há uma diversidade crescente no movimento. A heterogeneidade destes grupos, uns maiores do que outros, uns com encontros e atividades mais regulares do que outros, mostra que os poderes políticos, nomeadamente os que lidam com as questões que dizem respeito à igualdade, não vão poder continuar a decidir sozinhos o futuro de quem querem tutelar. Independentemente do percurso coletivo individual de cada um, independentemente das reservas que possam existir em incluí-los no conceito de movimento, a verdade é que nos últimos tempos emergiram dezenas de vozes com grande capacidade de influência e reivindicação."

<sup>184</sup> Organizations that signed the open letter: Afrolis - Associação Cultural; Associação Caboverdeana de Lisboa; Associação Cavaleiros de São Brás; Associação Freestylaz; Associação Lusófona para o Desenvolvimento Cultura e Integração; Circulo de Leitores Moçambicanos na Diáspora; Colectivo MUMIA Abu-Jamal; Coletivo Consciência Negra; Djass - Associação de Afrodescendentes; Femafro - Associação de Mulheres Negras, Africanas e Afrodescendentes em Portugal; Griot Associação Cultural; Grupo Agô de Performances Negras; KUTUCA - Associação Juvenil do Bairro das Faceiras; Movimento Crespas e Cacheadas de Portugal; Movimento Simentis D'África; Muvimento Nu Sta Djuntu – Estamos Juntos; Núcleo de Estudantes Africanos da Universidade de Lisboa; Núcleo de Estudantes Africanos do Instituto Superior de

They sent a letter to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), where they criticised the Portuguese State for not recognising the importance of specific policies for Afrodescendants in the country and for silencing the problem of racism. They demanded the need to collect ethnic-racial data, as recommended by the UN several years ago (Henriques, 2018c, p. 129). The letter highlighted racism in education; racism in courts and police violence; Life conditions, work, housing and health; the role of media; the specific problems of Black women; and criticised the nationality law that prevented access to citizenship to thousands of Black people born in the country.

The right to memory has been also one of the aspects of these struggles over the last years. In 2017, *Djass – Associação de Afrodescendentes*, promoted an essential mobilisation of the Black and anti-racist movement around the construction of a memorial that pays tribute to the millions of people enslaved by the Portuguese empire (still waiting to be erected by the Lisbon City Council); through a participatory budget in the city of Lisbon, they managed to win this proposal in an unprecedented way. As Evalina Dias, president of *Djass*, recalls, after visiting several places and museums in Portugal, Africa and Europe linked to the history of slavery, the association dedicated to the creation of this project. On the role of this memory, Evalina Dias states:

**Evalina Dias:** We want to propose another narrative, we want to dispute the memory, we want to dispute what is placed into the city of Lisbon. Because what we see in Lisbon is an ode to the 'Discoveries', isn't it? It's the toponymy, the statues... It's everything to the 'Discoveries'. It seems that there is no intervention from other populations. The role of the African leaders in the struggle for independence, which also ended up helping the 25<sup>th</sup> of April, is not mentioned. There are some streets named after Amílcar Cabral, but little else. [...] It's us doing a counter narrative, disputing the memory, what remains, what is important to appear in the city of Lisbon. Why are there no African leaders? Why are there no evocative equipments of the not so 'glamorous' and not so 'beautiful' part of the 'Discoveries'?<sup>185</sup> (Interview with Evalina Dias by Pedro Varela, 18/03/2021)

Another important struggle that brought together different groups was the demand for the collection of racial-ethnic data. In 2018, the state set up a Census Working Group that aggregated academics, activists and state agents on this issue. Yet when everything

---

Ciências Sociais e Políticas; Plataforma Gueto; Queering Style; Roda das Pretas; SOS Racismo; Tabacaria Tropical.

<sup>185</sup> “**Evalina Dias:** Queremos propor uma outra narrativa, queremos disputar a memória, queremos disputar o que é que é posto na cidade de Lisboa. Porque o que nós vemos em Lisboa é um ode aos 'Descobrimientos', não é? É a toponímia, as estátuas... É tudo aos 'Descobrimientos'. Parece que não existe intervenção de outras populações. O papel dos líderes africanos para a luta da independência que também acabou por ajudar o 25 de Abril não se fala. Há umas ruas ao Amílcar Cabral, mas pouco mais. [...] É nós a fazer uma contranarrativa, disputar a memória, o que é que fica, o que é que é importante aparecer na cidade de Lisboa. Porque é que não estão os líderes africanos? Porque é não estão equipamentos evocativos da parte não tão 'glamorosa' e não tão bonita dos 'descobrimientos'?”

seemed to predict that some progress would be made towards racial-ethnic data collection in 2021 Census, the National Statistics Institute was against putting a question on ethnic-racial origin. As Cristina Roldão, Mamadou Ba and Marta Araújo mentioned in 2019 in an opinion article, “The possibility of systematically collecting this data is a historical advance in Portugal. A society not afraid to publish statistics on ethno-racial inequalities is one step ahead in the public fight against racism.”<sup>186</sup> (Roldão, Ba & Araújo, 2019).

Also in 2017, the collective experience of this transformed anti-racist movement, mobilised the *Campanha por Outra Lei da Nacionalidade* [Campaign for Another Nationality Law], which lasted more than a year, with meetings, demonstrations and mainly through a petition, that collected 8 000 signatures and was delivered to the Assembly of the Republic, leading to changes in the nationality law. This campaign brought together more than 40 groups, such as Black organizations, anti-racist and neighbourhood and immigrants associations, around the change of a law that prevented access to nationality for people born in the country, but who are children of a foreign father and mother. This campaign brought together the anti-racist movement around a specific campaign that led to improvements in the nationality law in 2020, but not as required by the campaign, that demanded the replacement of *jus sanguinis* by *jus soli*. On June 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017, this platform organised a protest in front of the Assembly of the Republic. On October 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017, a concentration was held to mark the delivery of signatures. On May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018, during the discussion of the law by the members of parliament, a meeting of activists took place in front of the Parliament.

## 4.8 The Black movement take to streets

It can be said that since 2015, the Black movement has gained influence on national politics by creating broad platforms for discussion and action, with the power to mobilise street protests and create some known public figures. In this period, Black movement and their organizations began to increasingly lead the anti-racist movement.

In June of 2018, Nicol Quinayas, a Black 21-year-old Colombian-Portuguese, is filmed being attacked by a bus security guard during the night of the São João Party in Porto (the most famous festival of the city). The police would be accused of negligence by Nicol and her friends, because when they arrived at the scene, they did nothing to identify or arrest

---

<sup>186</sup> “A possibilidade de recolha sistemática destes dados é um avanço histórico em Portugal. Uma sociedade que não tem medo de publicar estatísticas sobre desigualdades étnico-raciais está um passo à frente no combate público ao racismo.”

the aggressor. The policemen that were called to the place only prepared the report three days after Nicol had filed a complaint at a police station. The ‘Nicol case’ would be responsible for two concentrations, the first in Porto ‘*Concentração contra o Racismo*’, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July; and then in Lisbon ‘*Contra o Racismo de Estado, Pela Punição dos Crimes Racistas*’ on the 13<sup>th</sup> of the same month. The debate on Racism was already a national question in the previous years and, this case took the media and mainstream politics. The uproar surrounding this case led to the intervention of the parties represented in the Parliament and the need for a statement from the Minister of Internal Affairs, Eduardo Cabrita, saying he “[...] will not tolerate any phenomenon of violence or manifestations of a racist or xenophobic nature.” (Fumaça, 2018).

Because of these recent events, a protest against racism, ‘*Mobilização Nacional de Luta Contra o Racismo*’, is called on September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018, in Lisbon, Porto and Braga. At the gathering in Lisbon, around 3 000 people were present; there was theatre, capoeira, political interventions and music, with various rappers performing. Dozens of organizations: Black and anti-racist organizations; left-wing parties; Roma, neighbourhood, immigrant’s and student’s associations; feminist’s and LGBTQIA+’s organisations; trade unions; artistic and anti-fascist groups. The manifesto for the protests, signed by more than 60 organisations<sup>187</sup>, said:

The various cases of racism that have been discussed in the public arena are only the tip of the iceberg of what our communities suffer daily, without justice being done. We need to take to the streets together to fight racism and show our repudiation and solidarity with the victims of racial discrimination. Therefore, we call everyone to the *Mobilização Nacional de Luta Contra o Racismo*, on

---

<sup>187</sup> Organizations that signed: Afrolis – Associação Cultural; GTO Lx – Grupo de Teatro do Oprimido; MUXIMA; FEMAFRO – Ass. de Mulheres Negras, Africanas e Afrodescendentes; DJASS – Ass. de Afrodescendentes; Observatório do Controlo e Repressão; Casa do Brasil; CAIPE – Coletivo de Ação Imigrante e Periférica; Consciência Negra; Socialismo Revolucionário; SOS Racismo; Plataforma Gueto; Nêga Filmes; Ass. Cultural Moinho da Juventude; Associação Mucultural do Carregado; Khapaz – Associação Cultural de Jovens Afodescententes; Solidariedade Imigrante – Associação para a defesa dos direitos dos imigrantes (SOLIM); Associação Passa Sabi; Associação dos Filhos e Amigos de Farim (AFAFC); APEB – Ass. de Pesquisadores e Estudantes Brasileiros de Coimbra; Organização dos Estudantes da Guiné-Bissau de Coimbra; Letras Nómadas – Ass. de Investigação e Dinamização das Comunidades Ciganas; Em Luta; Teatro Griot; INMUNE – Instituto da Mulher Negra em Portugal; Associação Nasce e Renasce; Associação Krizo; A Gazua; Coletivo Chá das Pretas; Festival Feminista do Porto; A Coletiva; Núcleo Antifascista de Braga; UMAR – União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta (Braga); STCC – Sindicato dos Trabalhadores de Call Center; AIM – Alternative Internacional Movement; Banda Exkurraçados; Hevgeniks; Kalina – Associação dos Imigrantes de Leste; Comunidade Bangladesh do Porto; União Romani Portuguesa; AMEC – Associação de Mediadores Ciganos; CIAP – Centro Incentivar a Partilha; Associação Mais Brasil; Coordenadora Antifascista Portugal; Associação Saber Compreender; GAP – Grupo Acção Palestina; GERA – Grupo Erva Rebelde Anarquista; Existimos e Resistimos; Rede Ex aequo; Porto Inclusive; Disgraça; Nu Sta Djunto; Outros Ângulos; Assembleia Feminista de Coimbra; UMAR – União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta (Coimbra); Txiribit; Projeto Aparte; Instituto das Comunidades Educativas (ICE); Ass. Desenvolvimento do Minho Rural (ADMIR); Coletivo Tuíá de Artíficos; Associação Cultural e Recreativa Estrela da Lusofonia; Sindicato dos Estudantes; Associação Actividade Motora Adaptada; ILGA – Intervenção Lésbica, Gay, Bissexual, Trans e Intersexo.

Saturday, September 15<sup>th</sup>, at 3 p.m. in Braga (Av. Central/Chafariz), Lisbon (Rossio) and Porto (Praça da República). Police attacks against Black people, gypsies and immigrants happens in the neighbourhoods, streets, public transport and police stations. The Portuguese State does little or nothing about it. Residents of Cova da Moura were assaulted under racist insults by the PSP of Alfragide. The police covered up the facts, accusing the residents of attempting to break into a police station. In Porto, Nicol Quinayas was assaulted by a security guard of the company 2045 and target of racist insults while trying to catch an STCP bus. The PSP, called to the scene, only acted three days later in the face of public outrage. In Beja, Igor, a young gipsy, was shot in the face by a PSP agent from Beja when he went to a farm to ask for work olive picking. Everyone knows of the infiltration of the far-right into the security forces. We have not forgotten Élson Sanches "Kuku", MC Snake, Musso and all those who died or were attacked by the police authorities without justice being done. Racism in politics is blatant, either by the absence of political representation of Blacks, gypsies and immigrants, or by racist acts of various political representatives. There are significant inequalities in access to education, health, housing, justice, culture and employment with rights for Black people, gypsies and immigrants. But the silence of successive governments and political organisations, for the most part, on racism and xenophobia is terrifying. Despite all this, we constantly hear the sentence, "Portugal is not a racist country". We know very well that this is not true; Portugal is a racist country, yes! And the violence is even more significant when other discriminations such as gender, social class, sexual orientation, and gender identity are added to racism. For all these reasons, join the *Mobilização Nacional de Luta Contra o Racismo*. Only our struggle guarantees that justice is done! Only our struggle guarantees the end of racism!<sup>188</sup> (Mobilização Nacional de Luta contra o Racismo, 2018)

It is also important to note that in June 2018, in a rare protest by cleaning workers, many Black women (the majority of workers in this sector in Lisbon) joined a rally organised by trade unions (Henriques, 2018d).

---

<sup>188</sup> “Os vários casos de racismo que têm sido discutidos na praça pública são só a ponta do icebergue daquilo que as nossas comunidades sofrem no seu dia-a-dia, sem que se faça justiça. Precisamos de sair à rua, juntos/as, para combater o racismo, manifestarmos o nosso repúdio e a nossa solidariedade para com as vítimas de discriminação racial. Por isso, chamamos todos/as à Mobilização Nacional de Luta Contra o Racismo, no dia 15 de Setembro, sábado, às 15 horas em Braga (Av. Central/Chafariz), Lisboa (Rossio) e Porto (Praça da República). As agressões policiais a negros/as, ciganos/as e imigrantes acontecem nos bairros, nas ruas, nos transportes públicos e nas esquadras. Perante elas, o Estado português pouco ou nada faz. Moradores da Cova da Moura foram agredidos debaixo de insultos racistas pela PSP de Alfragide. A polícia encobriu os factos, acusando os moradores de tentativa de invasão de esquadra. No Porto, Nicol Quinayas foi agredida por um segurança da empresa 2045 enquanto era alvo de insultos racistas, quando tentava apanhar um autocarro da STCP. A PSP, chamada ao local, só agiu 3 dias depois perante a indignação pública. Em Beja, Igor, jovem cigano, foi baleado na face por um agente da PSP de Beja, quando se deslocou a uma quinta para pedir trabalho na apanha da azeitona. Todos sabem da infiltração da extrema-direita nas forças de segurança. Não nos esqueçamos do Élson Sanches “Kuku”, do MC Snake, do Musso e de todos aqueles que morreram ou foram agredidos pelas autoridades policiais, sem que tenha sido feita justiça. O racismo na política é gritante, seja pela ausência de representatividade política de negros/as, ciganos/as e imigrantes, seja por atos racistas de vários representantes políticos. São grandes as desigualdades no acesso à educação, saúde, habitação, justiça, cultura e ao emprego com direitos para negros/as, ciganos/as e imigrantes. Mas o silêncio dos sucessivos governos e das organizações políticas, na sua maioria, sobre o racismo e xenofobia é aterrador. Apesar de tudo isto, ouvimos constantemente a frase “Portugal não é um país racista”. Sabemos bem que isto não é verdade, Portugal é um país racista, sim! E a violência é ainda maior quando ao racismo se adicionam outras discriminações como a de género, classe social, orientação sexual e identidade de género. Por tudo isso, juntem-se à Mobilização Nacional de Luta Contra o Racismo. Só a nossa luta garante que se faça justiça! Só a nossa luta garante o fim do racismo!”



In 2019, another case of police violence will be a landmark for anti-racist mobilisations. In January, a group of policemen were filmed in Jamaica neighbourhood, in Seixal (Lisbon periphery), attacking several members of the Coxi family from Angolan origin. The video was like a fuse on social media and leads to great indignation of the Black population. On January 21<sup>st</sup>, some residents of this neighbourhood and people in solidarity take off to Terreiro do Paço Plaza in downtown Lisbon, where the Ministry of Internal Affairs is located, to protest against this episode of violence. This gathering draws many people who share the event on social media. Hours later, hundreds of young Black people, the overwhelming majority with no affiliation to the Black movement, organised a spontaneous march up Avenida da Liberdade in the early evening, one of the noblest and most important avenues of the Portuguese capital, where other protests often take place. During rush hour, the police decided to stop the march by firing rubber bullets at the protestors in the middle of Lisbon city centre. Some young people were arrested. Do not forget that, during all the protests between 2011-2013 against troika austerity, some of them with violence, rubber shots weren't used. But now, the police used them against young Black youth.

I remember that day. I was at home, and through social media, we noticed that young Black people were holding a protest in Lisbon due to police violence in the Jamaica neighbourhood. We decided to leave the house by car in a hurry to go and see what was happening and join the protest. Some friends from the Black movement were also going to the place and we were in contact with them. After parking, we walked, and when we arrived at Rossio [plaza], we saw a vast police apparatus surrounding the train station that gave access to the Sintra train line (where many of the young people in the protest were supposed to be from). The police, with helmets and all armed, imposed fear. On the other side of Rossio, more police were vigilant. We met some of our friends, who were gathered in a group of Black and left-wing activists who were close to young Black people, primarily women, who had been at the protest and were now outraged or scared. We then learned about the repression: "Rubber bullets? Really?". They had shot these young people in the city centre of Lisbon; they were very young, many of them were under 18 years old. The police were watching us from a few metres away and some journalists were approaching us. The activists of the Black movement who were there did not know who had organised it. Apparently, everything had been mobilised on social media by young people who had little or no connection to the movement's organizations.

This mobilisation showed that the indignation against racism was enormous among the Black population, especially in younger generations, surpassing even the mobilisation capacity of the movement. We were facing a youth that no longer admitted racism without reacting. A country that saw them grow up and that in school and on television constantly says that it is not racist but that, in fact, is deeply racist. The images showing a family of several generations beaten by the police were unbearable. Days later, the President of the Republic, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, went to the Jamaica neighbourhood and photographed himself next to the victims. Still, in 2022, Hortêncio Coxi and Julieta Coxi were convicted of qualified physical integrity offences; one of the PSP officers who assaulted Fernando Coxi with punches and kicks was only convicted of simple physical integrity offences (see Henriques, 2022). Fernanda Cândia, a known journalist, also wrote an article in the days after the protest called ‘Luther King would be ashamed of what took place in Lisbon’, where she said:

The sharing of the video that triggered the demonstration was followed by the sharing of the videos that the participants of the protest did in an information network parallel to that of the media, who missed the event. The kind of initiatory fascination that can be heard in the comments of those filming and those who respond: “It’s a cry for freedom, it’s a cry for justice, it’s a cry for equality”; “This has never happened in Portugal”; “It won’t stop here. It’s just the beginning”. What happened so that these images, from the atmosphere of communion and conquest, even of perplexity, shaped in those faces, turned into a stampede in the front of the police charge and the rubber bullets that opened the news at the end of the day?<sup>189</sup> (Cândia, 2019)

A few days later, on January 25<sup>th</sup>, a new demonstration takes place, now organised by the anti-racist movement and residents of the Jamaica neighbourhood in front of Seixal Town Hall. The police apparatus is enormous in comparison with the number of protesters; there are undercover policemen and others with their faces covered and ostensibly armed on motorbikes. The gathering includes many speeches from Black and white people. During those days, Mamadou Ba, leader of *SOS Racismo* and political advisor of *Bloco de Esquerda* party, suffers several death threats and is even persecuted by neo-fascist militants in the street, due to his criticisms of the actions of the police in this case. Mamadou Ba remembers the importance of the ‘Jamaica Case’ for the Black movement struggle in those days:

---

<sup>189</sup> “À partilha do vídeo que desencadeou a manifestação, seguiu-se a partilha dos vídeos que os participantes da manifestação fizeram, numa rede de informação paralela à dos media, que falharam o acontecimento. São o único testemunho dessa alegria, da calma na caminhada, da espécie de deslumbramento iniciático que se ouve em comentários de quem filma e de quem lhe responde: “É um grito da liberdade, é um grito da justiça, é um grito da igualdade”; “Isto nunca aconteceu em Portugal”; “Não vai parar por aqui. É só o começo.” Que aconteceu para que destas imagens, da atmosfera de comunhão e de conquista, de perplexidade até, plasmada naqueles rostos se passasse para a debandada face à carga da polícia e aos disparos de balas de borracha que fizeram a abertura dos telejornais no fim do dia?”

**Pedro Varela:** Still on the issue of demonstrations... and now we were talking about the one at Avenida da Liberdade. **Mamadou Ba:** The 'Jamaica Case' was a case that greatly catapulted the debate and strengthened the movement because from the 'Jamaica case', what was already growing quietly: "the capacity for mobilisation..."; "mobilisation of the consciousness of structural violence..." This explodes from Jamaica, doesn't it? [...] When collective consciousness grows, there are often spontaneous eruptions of political struggle that prove a certain maturity of the discussion. Even if there is no concrete political direction, and often there isn't. In this case, it didn't, but it contributed significantly to consolidating the Black movement's growth. In the national collective imagination, but also internally. Within the movement itself. That is: "We are capable of doing things for ourselves, without political proxy, without political capture"; "We manage to do something for ourselves". I think this was also important. And then the cases followed one after another... It's 'Jamaica'; then it's 'Giovani'; then it's 'Cláudia Simões'; then it's 'Bruno Candé'. And at each moment, the capacity for mobilisation grows, and the ability for political awareness also grows. In each case, the level of political consciousness increases.<sup>190</sup> (Interview with Mamadou Ba by Pedro Varela, 22/03/2021)

On February 1<sup>st</sup> 2019, there was also an anti-fascist protest in Lisbon with hundreds of people against far-right growth and racism. This will be the period in which Portugal will start to experience the new rise of the far-right. This happened mainly through the figure of André Ventura, who reorganised the neo-fascism inside the *Chega* party and, for the first time since the Carnation Revolution (1974-1975), elected a deputy with this ideological origin to parliament, catapulted by a racist speech, mainly against Roma people. In the 2022 election, it became the third political force with 7.18% of the votes.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 2019, on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, again, the anti-racist movement organised a concentration in Lisbon. Due to the growing expression of Black movement mobilisations at this time, on October 6<sup>th</sup>, 2019, three Black women were elected to parliament by left-wing parties: Beatriz Gomes Dias by the *Bloco de Esquerda*, Joacine Katar Moreira by the *Livre* (who had been elected in a primary election inside de party) and Romualda Fernandes by the *Partido Socialista*. The

---

<sup>190</sup> **Pedro Varela:** Ainda sobre a questão das manifestações... e agora estávamos a falar desta na Avenida da Liberdade. **Mamadou Ba:** O Caso Jamaica foi um caso que catapultou bastante o debate e fortaleceu o movimento, porque a partir do caso Jamaica o que já estava a crescer em surdina: "a capacidade de mobilização..."; "mobilização da consciência da violência estrutural..." Isto explode a partir do Jamaica, não é? [...] Quando a consciência coletiva cresce, muitas vezes há erupções espontâneas de luta política que prova uma certa maturidade da discussão. Mesmo que não tenha direção política concreta e muitas vezes não tem. Neste caso não teve [referência à manifestação da Avenida da Liberdade], mas acabou por ser um grande contributo para consolidar esse crescimento do movimento negro. No imaginário coletivo nacional, mas também interno... Dentro do próprio movimento. Ou seja: "Somos capazes de fazer coisas por nós próprios, sem procuração política, sem captura política."; "Conseguimos fazer alguma coisa por nós próprios". Eu acho que isto também foi importante. E, depois, os casos foram sucedendo-se... É 'Jamaica', depois é 'Giovani', depois é 'Cláudia Simões', depois é o 'Bruno Candé'. E, em cada momento, a capacidade de mobilização cresce e a capacidade de consciencialização política também cresce. A cada caso aumenta o nível de consciência política."

first two were very known anti-racist activists, leaders of *Djass* and *INMUNE* respectively and would be responsible for taking an anti-racist agenda to the Parliament.

After this elections, Joacine Katar Moreira instantly becomes a target of racist criticism and insults in the press and social media. Showing that society and its media did not deal well with the anti-racist struggle and the presence of Black women who criticised racism in the parliament. On November 21<sup>st</sup>, a small rally was held in solidarity with Joacine Katar Moreira next to the parliament stairs.

Lúcia Furtado reflects on the path of the Black movement in recent decades, mentioning the role of immigrant rights movement, the importance of rap and the arts and the relevance of Black youth activism in the periphery for the present movement:

**Pedro Varela:** I would say that the anti-racist movement led by the Black movement (the anti-racist movement is probably broader) has had a rise in Portugal. I would like you to tell me a bit about that. You have had experience in leadership, and in the construction of demonstrations. I would like you to tell me about this rise in recent years, with several protests that were something that did not existed before, organised by the Black movement. **Lúcia Furtado:** I think that we also have more people and more organisations working on these issues and then it becomes easier to have this rise. But this is all a historical journey, and you and José Pereira started to analyse the issues from 1911 to 1933... But if we think about the last thirty or forty years, it has a lot to do with history. The first generation of my parents who arrived here was a generation very concerned with legalisation issues. So there was a period when the associations were much more for migrants... and there was the issue of legalising people, giving them tools, and it was very focused on these issues. People who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s came from a different reality and had other concerns. Then, in the 1990s, the generation that was born or grew up mainly in Portugal began to appear, and they were already starting to reflect on other issues. [...] First, the arts played a very important role; I think it was the first way out of all these issues, which was the way we had to express ourselves... You had rap, hip-hop. Then other forms start to emerge; you begin to have people who are connected to theatre; you have other forms of expression, spoken-word, they begin to connect to music but not related to rap. And then we have all this evolution. But from then on, there is also a whole generation that begins to form, begins to form here, to read, to be significantly influenced by everything that comes from outside, which was what we had. Because from here...? Now we start to have some fragments of things that happened here [in the past] but that most people didn't even know about. But we were based on Angela Davis, Malcolm X... Everything that came from Brazil in recent years. We begin to incorporate this and begin to form our own identity and our struggle. Different associations begin to emerge... Then *Plataforma Gueto* appears, *Khapaz*, they are the oldest ones [...] they had a crucial role for all of us.<sup>191</sup> (Interview with Lúcia Furtado by Pedro Varela, 09/10/2020)

---

<sup>191</sup> **Pedro Varela:** Eu diria que o movimento antirracista dirigido pelo movimento negro (provavelmente o movimento antirracista é mais abrangente) tem tido um ascenso em Portugal. Queria que me falasses um bocado disso. Tu tens tido experiência na liderança, na construção das manifestações. Queria que me falasses desse ascenso dos últimos anos, com várias manifestações que era algo que não existia antigamente, organizadas pelo movimento negro. **Lúcia Furtado:** Acho que também temos cada vez mais pessoas e mais organizações a trabalhar estas questões e então torna-se mais fácil haver esse ascenso. Mas isso é tudo um percurso histórico e que tu e o Zé Pereira começaram a analisar as questões lá de 1911 a 1933... Mas se pensarmos nos últimos trinta ou quarenta anos tem a ver muito com a história. A primeira geração dos meus pais que cá chegou era uma geração muito preocupada com as questões da legalização. Então tiveste um período que as associações eram muito mais de migrantes... e havia a questão de legalizar as pessoas, dar

2020, also the year of COVID-19 would be marked by the largest anti-racist mobilisations in the country's history, at least since the protests that followed the death of Alcindo Monteiro in 1995. The anti-racist movement, now transformed, was showing its capacity for political mobilisation in the streets.

## 4.9 2020: a landmark year for the anti-racist struggle

On December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2019, a young Cape Verdean student, Giovanni Rodrigues, who was 21 years old, died ten days after being chased and beaten by a group of white men in Bragança (a city in the north of Portugal). This murder will lead to protests in different parts of the country in January 2020, Bragança, Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra and even outside Portugal in Praia city, Paris and London. The Cape Verdean communities mobilised strongly, particularly after statements by a well-known television presenter, Susana Garcia, who referred offensively to the Cape Verdeans. For example, the mobilisation in Lisbon was memorable. I bring the notes of my fieldwork diary to remember this protest:

In Lisbon, the demonstration was scheduled to take place in Terreiro do Paço Plaza, and the organisers, mainly Cape Verdean students, asked for a silent gathering. Most of the people were black, and the Cape Verdean identity stood out on the flags and clothes that some carried with them. The gathering stood still for more than an hour, and nothing seemed to predict what would come next. Sometimes some shout things like "Justice for Giovanni!" but others call for silence. But the slogans started to be chanted more often and many people joined in. Then a stream of people started to walk towards the Tagus River. It seemed they were just going around the plaza in protest. A Cape Verdean band played funeral mornas in the plaza. But suddenly, the stream of people turned towards the streets of Baixa and advanced on Áurea Street. People who were only looking at what was happening joined the 'river' of people, and the march began. There were about 2000 or 3000 people - we don't know... They advanced on the asphalt and the sidewalk, stopping the traffic, and the marching crowd swallowed the surprised cars; the police didn't know what to do. Non-stop, people shouted words against racism and for Giovanni, women were the majority, and you could see many

---

ferramentas e era muito centrado nessas questões. As pessoas que chegaram nos anos 1970s e 1980s vieram de uma outra realidade e tinham outras preocupações. Depois nos anos 1990s começa a aparecer a geração que já nasceu ou cresceu maioritariamente em Portugal e já começam a refletir sobre outras questões. [...] Primeiros as artes tiveram um papel muito importante, acho que foi a primeira porta de saída de todas estas questões, que era a forma que nós tínhamos para nos expressar. Tinhas o rap, o hip-hop. Depois começam a surgir outras formas, começa a ter gente que se liga às questões teatrais, tens outras formas de expressão, spokenword, começam-se a ligar à música mas não ligadas ao rap. E aí temos todas essa evolução. Mas a partir daí também há toda uma geração que se começa a formar, começa-se a constituir aqui, a ler, a influenciar-se muito com tudo o que vem de fora que era o que nós tínhamos. Porque daqui...? Agora começamos a ter alguns fragmentos de coisa que ocorreram aqui mas que a maioria nem sabia. Mas a gente baseava-se em Angela Davis, Malcolm X... Tudo o que vinha do Brasil nos últimos anos. A gente começa a incorporar isso e começa a formar também a nossa própria identidade e a nossa luta. Começam a surgir associações diferentes... Depois surge a Plataforma Gueto, Khapaz, são aquelas mais antigas [...] tiveram um papel muito importante para todos nós [...]"

families and children. The demonstration was moving and powerful. When we arrived at Rossio, the rally did not stop and moved towards Avenida da Liberdade, which had been the scene of police violence against an anti-racist march months before. But now the protest was bigger and people had ‘conquered’ the avenue. There was some danger of repression, of course; you could feel that in the eyes of the demonstrators. But from the composition of the protest with many people, children, women, and families did not seem that police violence could happen. The demonstration rushed to the Marques de Pombal square at the end of the avenue. When it got there, it looked like it was going to stop, but it didn't. Suddenly from one side, from Amoreiras, you could see a significant police apparatus arriving; the police behind us had already cut the Avenue. People were shouting "Giovani Present!" or "Racists, Fascists, Shall Not Pass!" and even slogans in Cape Verdean "*Noz e tudu Giovani!*" [We are all Giovani!]. Then we were at an dead end, but the head of the demonstration, black, young and full of girls, was motivated. So we started to walk down, now already with an extensive police apparatus behind and in front of us. We only stopped at Rossio square, where an excited crowd heard some speeches next to the statue in the square. Several artists of Cape Verdean origin were in the demonstration, such as rappers. Almost all the press ignored the protest, referring only to what had happened earlier in Terreiro do Paço. Once again, the struggle against racism was invisible, even with this huge and historical anti-racist event, only compared with the one in 1995 after Alcindo Monteiro's death. (Fieldwork Diary, January 11, 2020)

Weeks later, new demonstrations took place in Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra due to another case of racist police brutality. On January 19<sup>th</sup>, Cláudia Simões, a Black woman, is brutally arrested by a police officer in the streets of Amadora after an incident in a bus where she was alone with her eight-year-old daughter. Shocked by the situation, passers-by film the violent arrest with a stranglehold on the floor, and the images quickly spread across social media, leading to outrage. Cláudia Simões will also claim that she was assaulted and offended in the patrol car that took her to the police station, and in the following days, photographs of her disfigured face appear. In Lisbon, a protest with hundreds of people mobilised by the anti-racist movement again marched down Avenida da Liberdade on February 1<sup>st</sup>. The call for the demonstration would be ‘End Racist Violence! We Demand Justice for Cláudia Simões’.

The country would enter confinement like many other countries in the following weeks due to the COVID-19 pandemic. During this period, racist hate speech grows on social media and in the public political arena.<sup>192</sup> In Lisbon, the peripheral neighbourhoods with a Black and Roma majority are the target of increased surveillance, justified by health issues and there are moments of tension and violence. For example, on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2020, there was a huge media spectacle around a police/sanitary intervention in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, when it had officially only 16 cases of COVID-19 infections among its inhabitants.

---

<sup>192</sup> On this see the results of the projet *Racismo e Xenofobia em Portugal: A normalização dos discursos de ódio no espaço público da internet* (2022).

Televisions followed armed police who closed and sealed cafes/bars in the neighbourhood when nothing prohibited them from being open. Also, in Quinta do Mocho neighbourhood, in mid-July, the PSP intervened for several days in the area: making arrests, randomly doing stop and search and firing shots.

The press often and exaggeratedly focused also on the Roma community of Moura (South Portugal), that was suffering from some cases of COVID-19 infections. Later, the far-right deputy André Ventura demanded the confinement of all Roma in the country, leading to an essential political response from Roma associations. In early June, the mayor Luís de Sousa, also publicly demanded a sanitary cordon for Roma families in the Quinta da Mina neighbourhood in Azambuja. To the press, this mayor referred to Roma people as not being “normal families like us”; and he even justified himself by saying “I’m not racist. I’m a good friend of all of them.” (see Varela, 2020b).

Regarding migrants/refugees, the situation was even worse. First, in the Algarve region in March 2020, where 74 Nepalese farm workers were locked up in a gymnasium in a school in Faro and, as if they were dangerous criminals, under the surveillance of a vast police apparatus. Shortly afterwards, around 170 refugees/migrants, taken from a hostel in central Lisbon without conditions, were escorted in vans and taken as prisoners to the Ota military base in Alenquer. There they were held and guarded by the military. In the health operation of these people leaving the hostel, the role of the *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* [Foreigners and Borders Service] (SEF) (whose functions have nothing to do with pandemic situations) was also not understood, especially at a time when several of its inspectors and hierarchies were suspected to be responsible for the torture and murder of Ihor Homeniuk, a Ukrainian citizen brutally killed at Lisbon airport. The scandal over this case, which showed the collaboration of many hierarchies of this police unit to omit a murder, later led to a plan for its total extinction. The Lisbon Court of Appeal sentenced three inspectors from the Foreigners and Borders Service in 2021 to nine years in prison for their involvement in the brutal killing of Ihor Homeniuk.

In May 2020, George Floyd was killed by police in Minneapolis after being strangled. In the face of this murder, one of the most significant anti-racist movements of all time arose in the United States of America, led by the Black movement. This anti-racist struggle merges with a struggle against the Trump presidency, marked by racism and the incapacity to fight the pandemic that was killing many. These mobilisations, which could be the largest movement in USA history (Buchanan, Bui & Patel, 2020), will lead to a wave of protests worldwide against racism.

In Portugal, on June 6<sup>th</sup>, the Black movement mobilised one of the largest (or even the largest) anti-racist demonstrations ever seen, with a national and international political agenda, and protests in Lisbon, Porto, Faro, Beja, Viseu and Coimbra. The far-right and ‘anti-anti-racists’ would publicly attack this demonstration for taking place during a period when there were some restrictions due to the pandemic. The numbers for the Lisbon demonstration would be 10 000 for the organisers and 5 000 for the Police. In Lisbon, this protest was initially organised together with the climate movement that had already scheduled a demonstration for that day. Still, the anti-racist mobilisation catapulted the rally due to the events that were sweeping the USA. The journalists Ricardo Cabral Fernandes and Xavier Costa (2020) portrayed the march as follows in the newspaper *Público*:

With fists in the air and placards raised high, thousands of people took to the streets this Saturday against police violence and racism in Lisbon, Porto, Faro, Beja, Viseu and Coimbra. Portugal said it was present in a wave of protests that began in the United States because of the murder of the Afro-American George Floyd at the hands of a police officer, which spread a few days later worldwide. Hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets, and the message was clear: no more impunity for racially motivated police violence, no racism, and no fascism. Thousands of people began by gathering on Alameda D. Afonso Henriques in Lisbon, and shortly afterwards took the Avenida Almirante Reis in the direction of Terreiro do Paço - there were 5,000 people in total, according to the Metropolitan Command of the Lisbon Police [...] George Floyd has become a world symbol of how racially motivated police violence kills, often without society realising it. And all the countries where there were protests this Saturday have their cases. In Portugal, the case of Cláudia Simões, beaten in January by a policeman to the point of deforming her face, was also present. "I don't want to be afraid of the PSP", reads a banner at the demonstration in Lisbon, where the initiative "Black Lives Matter" joined the demonstration called by the platform "Rescue the future, not the profit", whose manifesto was signed by more than 25 associations and groups linked to various causes.<sup>193</sup> (Fernandes & Costa, 2020)

A few days later, the scholar and anti-racist activist, Cristina Roldão, mentioned in an opinion article that the mobilisations in Portugal were influenced by what was happening in the USA but were not an imitation of these protests. In each place around the world, there

---

<sup>193</sup> “De punho no ar e cartazes bem ao alto, milhares de pessoas saíram este sábado à rua contra a violência policial e o racismo em Lisboa, Porto, Faro, Beja, Viseu e Coimbra. Portugal disse presente numa vaga de protestos que começou nos Estados Unidos, por causa do homicídio do afro-americano George Floyd às mãos de um polícia, e que dias depois se espalhou um pouco por todo o mundo. Centenas de milhares de pessoas saíram à rua, e a mensagem foi clara: fim da impunidade da violência policial racialmente motivada, não ao racismo, não ao fascismo. Milhares de pessoas começaram por se concentrar na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques, em Lisboa, e pouco depois tomaram por completo a Avenida Almirante Reis em direcção ao Terreiro do Paço – estiveram no total cinco mil pessoas, de acordo com o Comando Metropolitano da PSP de Lisboa.[...]. George Floyd tornou-se um símbolo mundial de como a violência policial racialmente motivada mata, muitas vezes sem a sociedade se dar conta. E todos os países onde este sábado houve protestos têm os seus casos. Em Portugal, o caso de Cláudia Simões, agredida em Janeiro por um polícia ao ponto de ficar com a face deformada, também esteve presente. “Não quero ter medo da PSP”, lê-se numa faixa na manifestação de Lisboa, em que a iniciativa “Vidas negras importam” se uniu à manifestação convocada pela plataforma “Resgatar o futuro, não ao lucro”, cujo manifesto foi subscrito por mais de 25 associações e colectivos ligados a diversas causas.”



were specific struggles mobilised by the anti-racist movement, the struggle against police racist violence was one of international solidarity but also stemmed from local struggles:

The demonstrations that have broken out across the world in recent weeks are not a mimetic wave of the protests surrounding the murder of George Floyd. We cannot fail to recognise the strong influence of the USA, but the protests that have erupted around the world are also part of a long trajectory of mobilisation in individual countries. [...] In different parts of the world, anti-racist mobilisations against police violence converge under the motto Black Lives Matter and the names of George Floyd, Michael Brown, but also Breonna Taylor (murdered, in her sleep, in a raid made by mistake on her flat in 2020), have echoed along with those of Marielle Franco (a black councillor central to the denunciation of police violence on the Black and peripheral Brazilian population, murdered in 2018 by individuals with links to the police); João Pedro Pinto (14, killed in 2020 while playing at home in a police operation in Rio de Janeiro); Adama Traoré (24, killed in 2016 inside a police car on the way to a police station in Paris); Mame Mbaye (street vendor who did not resist a heart attack in the Lavapiés/Madrid neighbourhood following a police chase in 2018); Mike Ben Peter (killed in 2018 by asphyxiation following the application of immobilisation technique by police in Lausanne/Switzerland); Oury Jalloh (died in 2005 with her hands and ankles chained to a mattress following a fire in her prison cell in Deassau/Germany, without assistance being rendered to her); Cláudia Simões (brutally assaulted by an officer on the street and in a police car following a bus pass related episode in Amadora/Portugal); and of so many black men and women victims of police violence.<sup>194</sup> (Roldão, 2020)

The activist Bárbara Góis, remembers the role of women in the organisation of the demonstration but also the masculine atmosphere that dominates the protests in general:

**Pedro Varela:** Another issue that is important and is very evident in the Black movement is the prominence of women. **Bárbara Góis:** The leadership of these last demonstrations that we have had (in organizing or in meetings), the preponderance of women is overwhelming. Many women! I would say more than 50%. And the organising for the 6<sup>th</sup> [of June] was a lot more women than men, the 31<sup>st</sup> [of July] also. Only that despite this being a gigantic advance, there is a very masculinised dynamic, namely at the time of the demonstration. [...] This is not characteristic of the Black movement per se, but the rally was very masculinised. The demonstration of the 6<sup>th</sup> had the direction and organisation of many women, and there were almost no women at the front. Few women spoke. And I myself, who was part of the organisation, had difficulties getting to the front because I was

---

<sup>194</sup> “As manifestações que nas últimas semanas deflagraram por todo o mundo não são uma onda mimética dos protestos em torno do assassinato de George Floyd. Não se podendo deixar de reconhecer a forte influência dos EUA, os protestos que surgiram por todo o mundo fazem também parte de um longo trajecto de mobilização em cada um dos países. [...] Em diferentes partes do mundo, mobilizações anti-racistas contra a violência policial convergem sob o mote Black Lives Matter e os nomes de George Floyd, Michael Brown, mas também Breonna Taylor (assassinada, enquanto dormia, numa rusga feita por engano ao seu apartamento em 2020), ecoaram juntamente com os de Marielle Franco (vereadora negra central na denúncia da violência policial sobre a população negra e periférica brasileira, assassinada em 2018 por indivíduos com ligações à polícia); João Pedro Pinto (14 anos, morto em 2020 enquanto brincava em casa, numa operação policial no Rio de Janeiro); Adama Traoré (24 anos, morto em 2016 dentro do carro da polícia a caminho de uma esquadra em Paris); Mame Mbaye (vendedor de rua que não resistiu a um ataque cardíaco no bairro de Lavapiés/Madrid após perseguição policial em 2018); Mike Ben Peter (morto em 2018 por asfixia na sequência da aplicação de técnica de imobilização pela polícia em Lausanne/Suíça); Oury Jalloh (falece em 2005 com as mãos e os tornozelos acorrentados a um colchão na sequência de um incêndio na sua cela prisional em Deassau/Alemanha, sem que lhe fosse prestado auxílio); Cláudia Simões (brutalmente agredida por um agente na rua e no carro de polícia, na sequência de um episódio relacionado com o passe de autocarro na Amadora/Portugal); e de tantos e tantas negros e negras vítimas da violência policial.”

constantly sent back by men who had not been part of the organisation.<sup>195</sup>  
(Interview with Bárbara Góis by Pedro Varela, 03/09/2020)

Just a month after this historical anti-racist demonstration, in July, the Black actor Bruno Candé would be brutally murdered, in broad daylight, on the busiest avenue in Moscavide in the suburb of Lisbon. He died with four shots fired at close range by a former colonial war Portuguese soldier who shouted racist slurs and who had publicly insulted him in the street in the days before the murder. The PSP quickly denied the existence of racist motivations behind this crime, and national and local political leaders attempted to prevent this case from being seen as a racist act. However, on July 31<sup>st</sup>, a rally was held in memory of the actor in front of the country's main theatre, the National Theater D. Maria II, organised by the Black, anti-racist movement, his family and friends. There were also concentrations in Porto, Coimbra, Braga and Beja. The journalist Joana Gorjão Henriques (2020), who was at the Lisbon event, wrote that this was the fourth time the movement took to the streets that year. A year later, the man who murdered Bruno Candé would be sentenced to 22 years in prison, a penalty compounded on the grounds of racial hatred.

The anti-racist movement that exists today in Portugal has its roots in the anti-racist organizations of the 1990s, in the immigrant, Roma and community rights associations and also rap movement. For example, some of the organisations that played a relevant role in the fight against racism three decades ago are still a reference today, such as *SOS Racismo*. One of the most pertinent characteristics of today is the emergence of several Black organizations. Nowadays the anti-racist struggle is mainly led by a Black movement under construction, and in this reality, women have played a central role. Now, we have a Black movement with an important capacity for political mobilisation, on the other hand, several Roma activists have emerged and many white people have been mobilised by the anti-racist agenda. However, the question of racial autonomy has been very relevant in the anti-racist debate. And rap continues to play a pertinent role in anti-racist awareness, but today anti-racist artistic practices have extended exponentially to other forms of expression.

---

<sup>195</sup> “**Pedro Varela:** Outra questão que é importante e é muito evidente no movimento negro é o destaque das mulheres. **Bárbara Góis:** A direção destas últimas manifestações que temos tido (na organização ou em reuniões) a preponderância de mulheres é avassaladora. Muitas mulheres! Diria mais de 50%. E a organização para o dia 6 [de junho] foram muito mais mulheres do que homens, do dia 31 [de julho] também. Só que apesar de isso ser um avanço gigantesco há uma dinâmica muito masculinizada, nomeadamente no momento da manifestação. [...] Isso não é característico do movimento negro em si mas a manifestação foi muito masculinizada. A manifestação do dia 6 contou com a direção e organização de muitas mulheres e à frente quase não vias mulheres. Poucas mulheres falaram. E eu própria que tive na organização tive dificuldades de chegar à frente porque me mandavam constantemente para trás, homens que não tinha feito parte da organização.”

Mamadou Ba highlights several factors in his characterisation of the anti-racist movement in Portugal today. This anti-racism is now led by people who suffer racism; there is a search for anti-racist experiences from other places; reference to Pan-Africanism; an unprecedented capacity for political influence; a certain lack of organicity; an enormous heterogeneity of the movement; and the crucial role of the arts in the anti-racist struggle. The words of this anti-racist activist are very relevant for us to think about the anti-racist movement in Portugal today:

**Pedro Varela:** I would like you to tell me what you think has changed in the anti-racist struggle in Portugal and whether you think the Black movement has been consolidating itself. **Mamadou Ba:** I think there have been structural changes. We went from a state in which most anti-racism was by proxy, almost... to having anti-racism led by the people themselves. And above all, with a substantial difference that is... the Portuguese anti-racist movement, especially the Black movement, is finally rescuing traditions of the Black movement from other places: from the United States, from Brazil and partly from England and also a little bit from France. It gives a very great political maturity to the anti-racist movement and to the Black movement, which has always grown on the margins of migrant associations, starting from the so-called second generations. Especially from art, culture, from urban art, from rap, and periphery. **Pedro Varela:** Is there a break with the more institutional logic of the immigrant associations movement? **Mamadou Ba:** It breaks a lot with that and also manages to stand itself as an interlocutor of the political parties spectrum, something that did not happen before. For example, there was always some movement, but there was no political interlocutor, because they were not seen as interlocutors. They even had a certain organicity because they were organised. Still, the political parties did not look at the Black movement as an organic political subject, with which dialogue, discussions could be established, regardless of whether they agreed or disagreed. But there was not that. This is a radical transformation of circumstances. Because without that, there was no capacity to influence the political debate, to make the issue much more central, even within the divergences within the movement and the movement with the party spectrum. And then another thing helps explain this maturation: some activists are already politically and academically literate. That is, they have strong doctrinal baggage on the racial issue, 'drinking' from various traditions, struggles, currents of thought very centred on the Black condition around the world.... And a revival of Pan-Africanist thought within the movement itself. This concern started to grow, despite divergences or different ways of acting and intervention. These bases started to enter very much in the agendas, in the dispute, in the political formulation of Pan-Africanism as a legacy... And debating the legacy meaning of some traditional currents, internally. For example, what does blackness mean? What does Pan-Africanism mean? That debate begins to exist from within. And when there are internal discussions, there is political training. When there is more political training, there is also more capacity for political intervention, and more capacity to transform organically, into a political interlocutor, in the dispute. I think this is the transformations.<sup>196</sup> (Interview with Mamadou Ba by Pedro Varela, 22/03/2021)

---

<sup>196</sup> **Pedro Varela:** Quería que me falasses do que achas que tem mudado na luta antirracista em Portugal e se achas que o movimento negro tem se vindo a consolidar. **Mamadou Ba:** Eu acho que há mudanças estruturais. Nós passámos de um estado em que a maior parte do antirracismo era por procuração, quase... Para a ter um antirracismo protagonizado pelos próprios. E sobretudo com uma diferença substancial que é... o movimento antirracista português, sobretudo o movimento negro ir finalmente resgatar tradições do movimento negro de outras paragens: dos Estados Unidos, do Brasil e em parte da Inglaterra e outra parte também um bocado na França. Dá uma maturidade muito grande política grande ao movimento antirracista e ao movimento negro, que cresceu sempre à margem do associativismo migrante, a partir das ditas segunda gerações. Sobretudo a partir da arte, da cultura, da arte urbana, do rap, suburbana. [...] **Pedro Varela:** Quebrou com as lógicas mais

On the international influence on the movement in Portugal, its feminisation and its national particularities, Mamadou Ba also mentions:

**Mamadou Ba:** And then there is the arrival of the Brazilian movement, which has changed substantially when it comes to questions of intersectionality within the movement. For example, increasing feminisation within the leadership of the Black movement is also a substantial change. **Pedro Varela:** That came a bit from Brazil... **Mamadou Ba:** That influence comes from Brazil and is then reinforced with the whole Black Lives Matter movement. [...] These dynamic increases significantly, but on a huge scale compared to what there was until ten years ago. The level of ideological consistency of the Black movement increases substantially with the contributions that come from Brazil, from the United States [...] Because we were a bit stuck in Portugal, because you had a small nucleus of people that was very present in the post-colonial debate. Still, it was a debate that is also very loose within the academia in Portugal. But then, with the arrival or the contributions of the people from Brazil and the United States, it seems that there is almost a huge leap between this post-colonial and decolonial perspective, and this debate crosses a lot within the movement. We can see that the tensions that exist within the movement come from these disputes. Because the leap was made without discussing the differences between these two perspectives in depth. So sometimes there are legitimate disputes, and I hope they will continue to happen, and it's like this, that maybe things will grow more... but there is this dispute inside [...] This debate happened and grew and gave its fruits. And then, the occupation of Black bodies in spaces disputed by white hegemony also increased the very consciousness that we are capable of going further [...]. **Pedro Varela:** What about the particularities of the anti-racist movement in Portugal? **Mamadou Ba:** Its heterogeneity, its diversity in doctrinal affiliation, there are various currents of thought within the anti-racist movement. But it has a particularity that is of hope, which is its overwhelming youth. And the fact that you have more and more racialised people who are very politically literate is different from what we've had up till now. And there is one characteristic that I think corresponds with the new dynamics: which is its increasing feminisation. There is a preponderance of women in the leadership of the Black movement and the anti-racist struggle. I think it's a step forward and it's proof of its maturity in the ability to have an intersectional approach to the issues of multiple discriminations. But it needs to have more organicity, which will be created over time...<sup>197</sup> (Interview with Mamadou Ba by Pedro Varela, 22/03/2021)

---

institucionais do associativismo migrante? **Mamadou Ba:** Quebra muito com isso e também consegue posicionar-se como interlocutor do espectro partidário, coisa que não acontecia antes. Por exemplo, tinha sempre alguma movimentação, mas não havia interlocução política, porque não eram vistos como interlocutores. Até tinham uma certa organicidade, porque estavam organizados mas os partidos políticos não olhavam para o movimento negro como sujeito político orgânico, com o qual se podia estabelecer diálogo, discussões, interlocuções, independentemente de estarem de acordo ou em desacordo. Mas não havia isso, isto é uma transformação radical das circunstâncias. Porque sem isso não havia capacidade de influência no debate político, tornar a questão muito mais central, mesmo dentro das divergências dentro do movimento e do movimento com o espectro partidário. E depois há outra coisa que ajuda a explicar este amadurecimento é que uma parte dos ativistas têm já uma literacia política e académica. Ou seja têm uma forte bagagem doutrinária sobre a questão racial, bebendo de várias tradições, de lutas, de correntes de pensamento muito centradas sobre a condição negra no mundo... E um resgatar do pensamento pan-africanista dentro do próprio movimento. Ou seja, esta preocupação começa a crescer, mesmo havendo divergências ou formas de atuar e de intervenção diferentes. Essas bases começaram a entrar muito nas pautas, na disputa, na formulação política... O pan-africanismo como legado... E a discutir internamente o significado legado de algumas correntes tradicionais. Por exemplo, o que significa a negritude? O que significa o pan-africanismo? Esse debate começa a existir de dentro. E quando há discussões internas há formação política e quando mais formação política mais capacidade de intervenção política também existe, mais capacidade de transformar organicamente, em interlocutor político, na disputa e eu acho que isto são as transformações.

<sup>197</sup> **Mamadou Ba:** E depois há a chegada da movida brasileira alterou substancialmente no que toca às questões da interseccionalidade dentro do movimento. Por exemplo, feminização crescente dentro das

One of the most relevant characteristics of the Black movement in Portugal today is undoubtedly its strong feminization. In recent years, women have been prominent in political struggles in various parts of the globe and this is also evident in the struggle against racism. On this, Carla Fernandes recalls that the Black women who are now more visible in the anti-racist movement in Portugal had already been in the struggles “for a long time”. And that their current prominence is related to a global phenomenon where “women in general” are increasingly being the “force of change” (Interview with Carla Fernandes by Pedro Varela, 19/02/2020). Evalina Dias also says that many organisations are now led by women but in fact they have always been present in the anti-racist movement but relegated to a second place. She believes that this feminization is giving a new dynamic to the movement:

**Evalina Dias:** Right now we have a number of associations that are led by women or have very strong female leadership. [...] In *Djass*, *Femafro*, *Padema* and *INMUNE* the leaderships are female. It is the taking of consciousness and the taking of power. Because women have always been there, but they were distant and in the background. It was the men who went ahead, they were the ones who showed their faces. But it turns out that now it is women who are taking the lead. This is in the face of the new empowerment of women. The fact that they can have a voice and give a voice and pull others along. And I also think this has brought a new dynamic to the associations.<sup>198</sup> (Interview with Evalina Dias by Pedro Varela, 18/03/2021)

---

lideranças do movimento negro também é uma alteração substancial. **Pedro Varela:** Isso veio um pouco do Brasil... **Mamadou Ba:** Essa influência vem do Brasil é depois reforçada com toda a movida do Black Lives Matter. [...] Esta dinâmica aumenta muito, mas numa escala muito grande, comparando com o que havia até há dez anos. O nível de consistência ideológica do movimento negro aumenta substancialmente com os aportes que vêm do Brasil, dos Estados Unidos [...] Porque nós estávamos um bocado entalados em Portugal, porque tu tinhas um núcleo restrito de pessoas que estava muito presente no debate pós-colonial, mas era um debate que também é muito frouxo dentro da própria academia em Portugal. Mas depois com essa chegada ou os aportes da malta do Brasil e dos Estados Unidos parece que há quase um salto enorme entre essa perspectiva pós-colonial e decolonial e esse debate cruza-se bastante dentro do movimento. Vê-se que as tensões que existem dentro do movimento vêm dessas disputas. Porque o salto foi feito sem que se tivesse discutido com muita profundidade as diferenças entre essas duas perspectivas. Então às vezes há disputas que são legítimas e espero que continuem a acontecer e é assim, que se calhar a coisa vai crescendo mais... mas há essa disputa lá dentro [...] Este debate aconteceu e cresceu e deu os seus frutos. E depois, a ocupação de corpos negros em espaços disputados pela hegemonia branca também aumentou a própria consciência de que nós somos capazes de ir mais além. [...] **Pedro Varela:** E as particularidades do movimento antirracista em Portugal? **Mamadou Ba:** A sua Heterogeneidade, a sua diversidade na filiação doutrinária, há várias correntes de pensamento dentro do movimento antirracista. Ainda a sua fraca organicidade. Mas, tem uma particularidade que é de esperança, que é a sua esmagadora juventude. E o fato de teres cada vez mais pessoas racializadas com muito literacia política, que é uma diferença com o que nós tivemos até agora. E há uma característica que eu acho que corresponde com as novas dinâmicas: que é a sua feminização crescente. Há uma preponderância de mulheres nas lideranças do movimento negro e da luta antirracista. Acho que é um avanço por um lado e é uma prova da sua maturidade na capacidade de ter uma abordagem interseccional nas questões de discriminações múltiplas. Mas precisa de ter mais organicidade, mas isso vai-se criando ao longo do tempo...”

<sup>198</sup> “Neste momento nós temos uma série de associações que são lideradas por mulheres ou que têm uma liderança feminina muito forte. [...] A *Djass*, a *Femafro*, a *Padema* e a *INMUNE* as lideranças são femininas. É a tomada de consciência e a tomada de poder. Porque as mulheres sempre tiveram lá, mas estavam afastadas e em segundo plano. Eram os homens que iam à frente, eram eles que davam a cara. Mas acontece que agora são as mulheres que estão a dar a cara. Isto é face ao novo empoderamento das mulheres. O facto de elas conseguirem ter voz e dar voz e puxar outras. E também acho que isto trouxe uma nova dinâmica às associações.”

At this moment the Black leadership in the anti-racist movement is evident and this has made possible deeper discussions and struggles against racism, in fact, the Black movement now heads the anti-racist movement. On the other hand, probably even among the white population in Portugal, there has never been so much anti-racist awareness, but there is also emerging an organised discourse against anti-racist struggle never seen in the last five decades. This new anti-racist dynamic has posed enormous challenges, discussions and different forms of struggle. These are debates and practices that have emerged in different parts of the world. What forms of autonomy and alliances are needed? What should be the focus of the struggles against racism? What relationship and demands should have with state institutions? The term 'racial capitalism' is increasingly used, as a way of denouncing a breadth of racism that expands to an immense socio-economic reality of human hierarchisation and oppression. It is indeed a changing anti-racism.



Figure 4 – Posters, images and newspapers from recent struggles against racism (Pereira & Varela, 2022).

#### 4.10 “Rappers and warriors”: words against racism

For over three decades, rap has stood out as a space for denouncing, organising and raising awareness against racism in Portugal, responsible for constructing anti-racist discourses and reflections. With lyrics denouncing police violence, segregation, poverty, colonial legacy and racism, Black rappers have been playing an essential role in the struggle against oppression. In the 1990s, while anti-racist and African-immigrant rights movement was solidifying in Portugal, a generation of young Black men and women emerged and, through rap, claimed their place in a racist country. In Portugal, rap has been used as a form of struggle against racism from the beginning till nowadays (see Fradique, 2003; Júnior, 2019; Varela, 2020a; Raposo, Varela, Simões & Campos, 2021).

Hip-hop culture was born in the 1970s in the Bronx (New York) among African Americans, Caribbean Americans and Latino Americans. From this culture emerged rap, break dance and graffiti (Keyes, 2004; Chang, 2005). Rap, which today is an international music genre, took on an early political dimension of racial awareness and social critique (Rose, 1994); becoming the “voice of urban Black youth” (Forman, 2002, p. xvii); and turned into a global phenomenon influencing, “[...] far beyond the Black and Latino neighbourhoods where it first appeared in the 1980s.” (Collins, 2006, p. 191). Nevertheless, African American youth “remain its most visible ambassadors” and because they occupy “[...] such a visible position within American society, and more recently within global mass media, African American youth stand at ground zero for issues of race, nation, gender, age, and sexuality.” (Collins, 2006, p. 3). Born as an underground culture, today rap has also a strong mainstream side - note that in 2017, rock music was replaced by hip-hop music as the most popular genre in the United States of America (see Reuters, 2017) - however, an identity of contestation remains strong in several branches of this musical genre, namely in Portugal.

Rap is also umbilically linked to the ‘city’ and its spaces, as Forman (2004) points out: “Rap music takes the city and its multiple spaces as the foundation of its cultural production. In the music and words, the city is an audible presence, explicitly cited and digitally sampled in the reproduction of the aural textures of the urban environment.” (Forman, 2004, p. 203). The ‘ghetto’ and the ‘hood’ are ‘commonplaces’ in the rap music and nominate specific places but are also a ‘common place’ that aggregates different spaces with the same identity.

Written and verbal communication are two primary forms of expression in rap, and the thoughts and intellect of the artist should be viewed as central to analyse it. In fact, rap artists “[...] are more than the things that they possess. They are writers. They are thinkers.” (Jenkins, 2011, p. 1231). Thus, from the point of view of the study and analysis of society, “Rap music presents a case worthy of examination and provides a unique set of contexts for the analyses of public discourses pertaining to youth, race and space.” (Forman, 2000, p. 66). For Murray Forman, for whom rap culture is central to understanding the city, space, race and class in the USA, rap artists developed ideological and theoretical perspectives by drawing on past ‘Black radicality’:

Those ensconced in the hip-hop culture, which is also commonly described as the hip-hop nation, do not entirely ignore the earlier dominant themes of race and nation that were so central to twentieth-century black American intellectuals and leaders along a continuum encompassing W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Malcom X, and Martin Luther King Jr. [...] Rappers, then and now, claim that

they developed their ideological and theoretical perspectives on race and class in America on the ground, at street level, drawing from earlier analytical modes that were also crucial to the sociopolitical agendas of the Black Panther party and Malcolm X as well as to earlier musical precursors such as the Watts Prophets or Gil Scott-Heron. Rap "reporters" articulate the widespread sentiment among minority youths that unless there is a body count, society deems their stories irrelevant. Hardcore rappers conceive of themselves as legitimate street reporters for disenfranchised Blacks and Latinos who actively sustain the community infrastructures through which they circulate but whose access to public means of communication is denied or whose messages are either contained by or incorporated into the social and media mainstream. (Forman, 2002, pp. 63 and 250)

It is also relevant to mention that in the case of the USA, that also extends to other realities as Portugal, rap has become a reference and an influence on radical Black thought. In fact it can be said that rap is a contemporary artistic and action space of the 'Black radical tradition'. As Forman states:

The "new black intelligentsia," of which Todd Boyd, Michael Eric Dyson, Robin D.G. Kelley, Mark Anthony Neal, and Tricia Rose are among the most conspicuous members, demonstrates a clear understanding of, and affinity with hip-hop. In the writing and lectures of a growing number of progressive black thinkers - not all of whom toil in the university system - there is general concurrence that hip-hop represents an extension of specifically African American cultural traditions but, importantly, it also poses challenges and introduces ruptures to prevailing notions of an unbroken cultural continuum. (Forman, 2004, p. 3)

Robin D. G. Kelley, in his book *Race Rebels: culture, politics, and the Black Working Class* (1996), which focuses on the past and present resistance of the Black American working class devotes a chapter to the importance of rap as a place of what he calls 'race rebels'. For this scholar, 'race rebels' are those who emerge from forms of resistance (organised and unorganised):

I chose the title *Race Rebels* because this book looks at forms of resistance - organized and unorganized - that have remained outside of (and even critical of) what we've come to understand as the key figures and institutions in African American politics. The historical actors I write about are literally race rebels and thus have been largely ignored by chroniclers of black politics and labour activism. Secondly, the title points to the centrality of race in the minds and experiences of African Americans. Race, particularly a sense of "blackness", not only figures prominently in the collective identities of black working people but substantially shapes the entire nation's conceptions of class and gender. Part of what *Race Rebels* explores is the extent to which black working people struggled to maintain and define a sense of racial identity and solidarity. (Kelley, 1996, pp. 4-5)

Moving on from this more comprehensive analysis of rap (namely looking at its epicentre and place of diffusion and influence, the USA), I now focus on the Portuguese reality. Rap music in Portugal was born mainly among Black youth from the suburbs of Lisbon and, in Porto, among white youngsters from the popular classes. During the 1980s hip-hop arrives, first mainly with breakdance (as an ephemeral phenomenon) and then with



rap music. At the beginning of the 1990s, rap began to be adopted by large sections of the youth in Portugal; this was no coincidence, as the USA was living through the so-called 'golden age of hip-hop' (1986-1997).

In Portugal, at first contact with hip-hop culture happened with: the distribution of films focused on breakdance as *Breakin'* (1984) and *Beat Street* (1984); with insights brought by family or friends that were living abroad (as USA, France or Netherlands) or by trips abroad; and with rap music in the radio. As put it by Rui Cidra, "The formation of an urban youth universe for the reception and production of rap began to take shape at the end of the 1980s, all over the Lisbon metropolitan area."<sup>199</sup> (Cidra, 2002, p. 197). Several authors have already looked into this past, namely from a sociological, anthropological and musicological perspective (see Contador & Ferreira, 1997; Contador, 2001; Cidra, 2002; Fradique 2003; Alberto Simões, 2010; Soraia Simões, 2017a, 2017b, 2018, 2019). Further on, I will try to understand the origins of rap in Portugal from the perspective of a specific neighbourhood (chapter 5).

In early 1990s, with music festivals in the *Incrível Almadense* (Almada) and *Voz do Operário* (Lisbon) (Cidra, 2002, 197), the rap movement shows itself as already organised in the Lisbon metropolitan area. Afterwards, in 1992 the musical press 'discovered' rap and 1995 was elected by some press as "the year of Rap in Portugal" (Fradique, 2003, p. 179). 1994 and 1995 were years of rap explosion in Portugal, with many albums being released, concerts, music being played on the radio, and the interest of the music industry, the media, institutions and politicians in the movement (Contador & Ferreira, 1997; Fradique, 2003).

The Miratejo area, on the south-river side of Lisbon, has been portrayed as the birthplace of rap in Portugal. However, it must be said that rap or break dance circulated among various groups of the Black youth of Lisbon's periphery. However, this area became the 'mythical' place of its foundation because it was there that many well-known rappers gathered to socialise, like General D (who was from Barreiro but frequented this area) or Bambino (from the well-known Black Company rap group). As António Contador and Emanuel Ferreira said in their pioneer work *Ritmo & Poesia: Os Caminhos do Rap*:

Miratejo is to rap in Portugal, what the Bronx is to rap in the United States. In short, it is the Mecca of Portuguese aesthetes of rhythms & poetry, at this early stage, still copied from its older American brother and looking for more remarkable clairvoyance that will decisively pass through a period of shooting in black English. American rappers find here a receptive base for their message, especially since the similarities between the conditions of survival in the South Bronx and the Margem Sul [Tagus South Bank] are easily grasped by these

---

<sup>199</sup> "A formação de um universo juvenil urbano vocacionado para a receção e produção do rap começou a estruturar-se no final da década de 80, um pouco por toda a Área Metropolitana de Lisboa."

potential MCs. The scarcity of means is crucial in the low visibility of what is being said and shouting, but it is not enough to stop their voices, quite the contrary. The use of beatboxing and other improvisation techniques dictated the development, crucial at this time, of the base, fundamental support of rap anywhere. Anywhere rap start is underground, and Portugal is no exception.<sup>200</sup> (Contador & Ferreira, 1997, p. 165)

Between 1994 and 1995, the first Portuguese rap albums and EPs were released, such as the ones recorded by General D, *PortuKKKal É Um Erro* (1994) and *Pé Na Tchôn, Karapinha Na Céu* (with *Os Karapinhas*) (1995); Da Weasel, *More Than 30 Motherf\*\*\*s* (1994) and *Dou-lhe Com A Alma* (1995); the most successful band from that time, Black Company, *Geração Rasca* (1995); Ithaka, *Flowers And The Color Of Paint* (1995); from the Porto area, Mind da Gap, *Mind da Gap* (1995); and, through the landmark *Rapública* music collection (1994), artists emerged such as Boss AC, Black Company, Family, Funky D, Líderes da Nova Mensagem, New Tribe and Zona Dread. In 1996, Djoek's album *Nada Mí N'Caten* was released, it was the first almost entirely sung in Cape Verdean, and in 1997 one of the first female bands in Portugal, Djamal had their debut and only album released, *Abram Espaço*.

According to Teresa Fradique, rap played a fundamental role in those years in the political protest against the right-wing government and racism (2003, p. 150). However, there was the use and even institutionalisation of some anti-racist discourse. As an example, rap music was the anthem in mainstream political campaigns. But from 1998 onwards, an underground rap movement centred on alternative publishing began to consolidate (Fradique, 2003, p. 150). Let's say that during these last decades, rap has almost always remained an underground culture. However, as we have seen, it went mainstream in the mid-1990s and now, in recent years, mobilised by its international success. Presently, it has had a considerable rise in the music market, with various artists who are strongly commercial and politically uncritical. On the new phase of mainstream rap in Portugal, the music critic Ricardo Farinha writes:

In the last six or seven years, hip-hop has grown resoundingly in Portugal. It has gone from being a regular absence on festival posters or popular and academic festivals to an obligatory presence in almost all events, from the most mainstream

---

<sup>200</sup> “Miratejo está para o rap em Portugal, como o Bronx está para o rap nos Estados Unidos. Em suma é a Meca dos estetas lusos dos ritmos & poesia, nesta fase inicial, *ainda copiada do irmão mais velho americano* e à procura de uma maior clarividência que irá passar decisivamente por um período de rodagem em *black english*. Os rappers americanos encontram aqui uma base receptiva à sua mensagem, tanto mais que as semelhanças entre as condições de sobrevivência em *South Bronx* e a Margem Sul são facilmente apreendidas por estes potenciais MC's. A escassez de meios é crucial na fraca visibilidade daquilo que se vai dizendo e gritando, mas não é impedimento suficiente para calar as suas vozes, bem pelo contrário. O recurso ao beatboxing e outras técnicas de improviso vai ditando o desenvolvimento, crucial nesta altura, da base, sustentáculo fundamental do rap em qualquer lado. Em qualquer lado o rap começa por ser *underground*, Portugal não é excepção.”

to the most alternative. The rhymes and beats have infected radio stations in general. The numbers on platforms like YouTube and Spotify are not deceiving.<sup>201</sup> (Farinha, 2020)

In 1997 against the opportunistic exploitation of the anti-racist struggle, Da Weasel would rhyme in their song ‘Toda Gente’ that everyone shouts, “all different, all the same!” but maybe it was not really like that:

Toda a gente grita: todos diferentes todos iguais!  
Mas se calhar há uns quantos bacanos a mais  
Toda a gente quer ser solidária  
Mas na hora da verdade toda a gente desaparece da área<sup>202</sup>

In the second booklet, ‘Guia Anti-racista’, organised by *SOS Racismo* in 1996, Rosana Albuquerque wrote an article on art and anti-racism. After showing the importance of music in its connection with protest movements and how enslaved African Americans created work songs as a form of protest, communication and organising the struggle, she writes on the importance of rap in those days, most probably based on the Portuguese experience:

Today we have rap. In rap, the word has a primordial meaning, hence its strength to bring young Black people together and make them seek their roots (still and always...), even when this is something much more diffuse and distant. It achieves what many familiar sermons have probably never achieved: identification with a culture and a history. But it also brings together young white people who, for other reasons, which are basically the same, feel excluded. It is the pure word of revolt.<sup>203</sup> (Albuquerque, 1996, p. 146)

In 1994, General D, considered by many to be the ‘father’ of rap in Portugal, released his music single ‘PortuKKKkal é um erro’ [PortuKKKkal is a mistake], representing the “Rappers and warriors”. In it, he rhymes about the importance of rappers in the fight against racism in Portugal, criticising the racism and ethnocentrism that were the pillars of this “nation”. In the title, he mixed the letters KKK (Ku Klux Klan) with the word Portugal “PortuKKKkal”. He was deeply ironic and critical of the racist nature of the country. He speaks of the rap movement as a “brotherhood” of poor people and asks Martin Luther King to protect him. Then he says that “PortuKKKkal” is a “mistake” and that Portugal has a problem which comes from the root: racism. Further on, he denounces police violence that “treats my brother like an animal”, then sings that “Rappers and warriors” will “Fight and

---

<sup>201</sup> “Nos últimos seis ou sete anos, o hip-hop cresceu estrondosamente em Portugal. Passou da ausência já habitual nos cartazes de festivais ou festas populares e académicas para uma presença obrigatória em quase todos os eventos, dos mais mainstream aos vincadamente alternativos. As rádios em geral deixaram-se contagiar pelas rimas e batidas. Os números em plataformas como o YouTube e o Spotify não enganam.”

<sup>202</sup> Da Weasel, 1997, ‘Toda a Gente’.

<sup>203</sup> “Hoje temos o rap. No rap, a palavra tem um significado primordial, daí a sua força para juntar jovens negros e levá-los a procurar suas raízes africanas (ainda e sempre...), mesmo quando isso à partida é algo muito mais difuso e longínquo. Consegue aquilo que provavelmente muitos sermões familiares nunca conseguiram: a identificação a uma cultura e a uma história. Mas também agrega jovens brancos que, por outras razões, que no fundo são as mesmas, se sentem excluídos. É a pura palavra da revolta.”

come together to dispel old fears, They speak of racism, ethnocentrism”. In the end, he states that “Men came together and created this nation”, “Fuck June 10<sup>th</sup>” (against the celebration of Portugal Day), and says “No” to “Cavaco Salazar”, in reference to the right-wing prime minister in power and Salazar, the fascist dictator. In this song General D directly questions the foundations of the nation-state, the structural racism that existed in Portugal and sharply criticises the government that was in power:

Rima radical  
Mas eu digo a verdade  
Pego no mic e eu agito uma cidade  
Porque somos pobres  
Todos uma irmandade  
Racismo joga ele com toda a sua maldade

[...]

Façam-me um favor  
Nascido de color  
Não faço rimas de amor  
Talvez eu não venda  
Talvez eu não seja  
A luta continua  
Luther King que me proteja

[...]

Aqui é PortuKKKAl  
Erro ou país  
Coisa de raiz, yau!

Nova PIDE em PortuKKKAl  
GNR e tal  
Trata meu irmão como se fosse um animal  
Grades tugas eu vi  
Um aperto senti  
A correr aprendi  
Da GNR eu fugi  
Mas no chão que eu passo  
Não cresce kapim  
No chão que eu passo  
Não cresce kapim

[...]

Rappers e guerreiros que se agitam sem rodeios  
Lutam e se juntam para afastar velhos receios  
Falam de racismo, etnocentrismo  
Forças ocultas para mim são surdas  
São, são: forças sem razão

Males se juntaram e criaram esta nação  
Fuck 10 de Junho  
E a Cavaco Salazar eu digo: não <sup>204</sup>

---

<sup>204</sup> General D, 1994, ‘PortuKKKAl é um erro’.

This first General D EP is a cry against racism and a hymn to Africanity and blackness; there we can hear sounds of African American music or African musicality, such as Cape Verdean drumming from Batuque at the end of the theme 'Olhar Para Dentro'. As I said before, the anti-racist struggle was consolidating these years, and there were ties between this movement and rap. As we have seen before, General D was a public figure in the struggle against racism in Portugal, a prominent leader of the rap movement and also connected with *SOS Racismo*. General D, in fact, Sérgio Matsinhe, was born in Mozambique and raised in the suburbs of the Portuguese capital, in Lisbon's southern margin of the Tagus River. He was an organiser of the rap movement and recorded one of the first rap albums in Portugal. At this time, rappers will be a constant presence in anti-racist events.

As referred by Teresa Tradique in her book, *Fixar o Movimento: Representações da música rap em Portugal* (2003), in Portugal, rap was able to speak out at the right time about racism and call for non-violence. Also, at the right time, it “*understylised*” itself and became more marginal (underground) and aggressive (‘gangsta’) - disappointing some, providing others with the necessary material to materialise the urban enemy - but, above all, ensuring the survival of the movement.<sup>205</sup> (Fradique, 2003, p. 132).

In 1994 the journalist Francisco Camacho announced the first rap record released in the Portuguese market in the newspaper *O Independente*:

General D: is the first Portuguese rapper to release an album on the national market. It comes out on 28<sup>th</sup> June and is entitled “PortuKKKKal”. It's not a typo, gentlemen, it's written just like that: “PortuKKKKal”. Like Ku Klux Klan, because racism is out there. Camouflaged, barely acknowledged, but it exists and it does damage. This is what is spoken of in the three songs of the new maxi-single, “Look Inside”, “Ritual” and “PortuKKKKal is a Mistake”. As rap dictates, General D is a messenger before he is a musician. Words come first as long as they are aggressive and targeted. No more seeing Black people singing sweet poems “full of dyes and preservatives”. General D writes about the shaming and patronising racism that continues to throw entire Black communities into the slums and the “sub-basement” of the social pyramid. He wants the “brothers” to get rid of the passivity that took over the “first generation of Africans in Portugal”. He appeals to the blacks' intervention and the “collective spirit” that insists on remaining hidden.<sup>206</sup> (Camacho, 1994)

---

<sup>205</sup> “Em Portugal, o rap soube falar na altura certa do racismo e apelar à não-violência. Também na altura certa, “subestilizou-se” e tornou-se mais marginal (*underground*) e agressivo (*gangsta*) – desiludidos alguns, fornecendo a outros o material necessário à materialização do inimigo urbano – mas, sobretudo, assegurando a sobrevivência do *movimento*.” (2003, p. 70). Refere a mesma autora que o rap foi utilizado em torno dos anos 1994 e 1995 para protagonizar uma mensagem de tolerância racial e de denuncia de injustiças sociais “Ao contrário do que se verificou noutros países, em Portugal, o rap foi encarado como um dos meios privilegiados na tarefa de promover a tolerância entre negros e brancos, utilizando-se o seu discurso como um instrumento (ainda que ilusório) preventivo de potenciais conflitos. Um rap politicamente correto esteve assim ao serviço de uma política que descobre as minorias étnicas e simultaneamente reconhece a sua marginalização.”

<sup>206</sup> “General D: é o primeiro rapper português a conseguir lançar um disco no mercado nacional. Sai no dia 28 de Junho e intitula-se “PortuKKKKal”. Não é gralha, senhores, escreve-se assim mesmo: “PortuKKKKal”. Como Ku Klux Klan, porque o racismo anda por aí. Camuflado, mal assumido, mas existe e faz estragos. É disso que se fala nas três canções do novo maxi-single, “Olhar para dentro”, “Ritual” e “PortuKKKKal é um Erro”. Como

In 1994, the newspaper *Público* had an article dedicated to the rap phenomenon in Portugal entitled 'Rap: the voice of the new Africans'. The journalist wrote that the second generation of Africans, born in Portugal after the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974, chose rap as their privileged form of expression. In their messages, Black teenagers from the suburbs call for equality between races, an end to xenophobic violence and the pride of having "curly hair, a thick lip and a flat nose." (Ferreira, 1994).

In the mythical rap collection *Rapública* (1994), the group *Zona Dread* had the song 'Só queremos ser iguais', where they portray everyday and institutional racism, and police violence. In the chorus they chant: "We just want to be equal, Neither to be less not to be more, We just want to be equal". They accuse the government and the media of the racism they suffer and ask for unity between white people and Black people against racism:

Num dia de verão, a malta lá do bairro  
Sem nada p'ra fazer, foi ter com a multidão  
Entrámos num café que estava cheio de tapados  
E mal nós nos sentamos disseram: "Estamos fechados!"  
O quê, mas estava cheio?  
Os negros vigiados ali fizeram-se leis e ainda alguns estragos  
Levaram-nos para a esquadra não se sabe o porquê  
Os brancos ficaram, isso logo já se vê  
E duma pequena história fizeram um dicionário  
Nós passamos mal, isso é o nosso diário  
Onde podemos andar? Na rua acho que não  
Só por termos algo negro e ouvir os meus irmãos  
Nos sítios onde vamos já houve uma acusação  
Já guardam as carteiras, olha aí que vem ladrão

[...]

[refrão] Só queremos ser iguais  
Nem ser menos, nem ser mais  
Só queremos ser iguais

[...]

O racismo está nas ruas de Lisboa  
E o governo finge que tudo tá na boa (Tá na boa)  
Mas que se lixe o governo  
Porque transformou as ruas num inferno  
Cheio de droga, Sida e prostituição  
E não faz nada para mudar a situação  
Utilizam *medias* e críticos  
Para fazerem jogos políticos  
A comunicação social está para começar o conflito racial

---

manda o rap, o General D é um mensageiro antes de ser um músico. Primeiro estão as palavras, desde que sejam agressivas e com um alvo bem definido. Chega de ver negros a cantar poemas doces "cheios de corantes e conservantes". O General D escreve sobre o racismo envergonhado e paternalista que continua a atirar comunidades negras inteiras para os bairros de lata e para a "subcave" da pirâmide social. Pretende que os "irmãos" se desfaçam da passividade que tomou conta da "primeira geração de africanos em Portugal". Apela à intervenção dos negros e ao "espírito coletivo" que teima em ficar escondido."

Aquilo que se lê no jornal  
Muitas vezes é a falsa imagem de Portugal  
É criada uma instabilidade  
Porque não foi dita toda a verdade

[...]

Não podemos permitir toda essa violência  
Grave iam ser as circunstâncias  
O futuro está nas mãos da juventude  
Temos que acabar com essa atitude  
Porque senão a situação não vai voltar como é mesmo  
Porque vai crescer muito mais o racismo  
Branco com negro, negro com branco  
Vamos ter que lutar, banco a banco  
Contra aqueles que querem que nós sejamos inimigos  
Se juntos podemos enfrentar perigos  
Para um futuro melhor  
Eu digo que o jogo tem que mudar de cor

[refrão] Só queremos ser iguais  
Nem ser menos, nem ser mais  
Só queremos ser iguais

[...]

O que aconteceu, nós só queríamos curtir  
Debaixo do chicote, tivemos de bulir  
E qual foi o gozo, foram umas gargalhadas  
Fizeram de nós cães no meio da parada  
Nós já fomos escravos, cultura negra estagnou  
E assim parecendo que não, o racismo não acabou  
Que mal tem esta cor, não fui eu que a escolhi  
Mandam-nos para a nossa terra, não escolhi onde eu nasci<sup>207</sup>

During the music, we can sometimes listen a voice in English saying, “The Black race can't afford you no more”. It's the voice of the actor Adolph Caesar in the film *A Soldier's Story* (1984), a story about racism in a segregated army regiment. This voice is also used in Public Enemy's song ‘Move!’ (1991) and it's where this sample must come from.

In the same compilation, Boss Ac speaks on racism. In his song, ‘Verdade’, he talks about the poverty and hunger in the Portuguese ‘slums’, “I see hungry people in the slums” and “The discriminated emigrant is condemned to the ghetto”. Boss AC ‘dreams’ about racial equality, “How good it would be equality between the races”. He denounces the racists and fascists who want a “new Hitler” and a “new Salazar”. Against it, he calls for resistance, “We don't need more violence, Against xenophobia we will offer resistance” and “The light of revolt is on and illuminates the city”. He denounces police violence “With disguised idiots who abuse their authority” and the ‘false democracy’ “Democracy is one piece of bread for

---

<sup>207</sup> Zona Dread, 1994, ‘Só queremos ser iguais’.

me and two for you”. For him, rap can be a tool against injustices, “We don't have money, but from our voice, we build our art”, and rap is the truth that comes from the street, “The truth, I see it naked raw, Because my dictionary is the street”:

Vejo nos bairros degradados gente com fome, que não come  
Gente que não trabalha e não dorme  
Democracia é um pão para mim e dois para ti  
Mas não foi assim que eu aprendi  
Mas que bom que seria igualdade entre as raças  
Respeitar as diferenças é algo que talvez não faças  
Culturas diferentes devem aprender entre si  
Viver entre si e devem conviver entre si  
Com tanta miséria p'ra que é que queremos guerra  
Só porque sou negro mandam-me para a minha terra  
Mentalidades tacanhas e ignorantes  
Gente que quer que tudo seja como dantes  
Querem um novo Hitler, um novo Salazar  
Racistas e fascistas para o mundo acabar, não!  
Não precisamos de mais violência  
Contra a xenofobia ofereceremos resistência  
O ódio está em todo o lado, disfarçado  
Toda a gente o sabe, mas pelo poder ignorado  
Cavacos que só querem no bolso pôr mais uns cobres  
Gastam dinheiro à toa sem se lembrarem dos pobres  
Dos pobres, dos pobres, dos quais fazemos parte  
Não temos dinheiro mas da voz construímos nossa arte

[refrão] A verdade  
Vejo-a nua, crua  
Porque o meu dicionário é a rua

A vida é ingrata  
Coopero com os irmãos que vivem nos bairros de lata  
Lidando com a pobreza, miséria, tristeza  
A luz da revolta está acesa  
E ilumina a cidade  
Com idiotas disfarçados que abusam da autoridade  
Peões da falsa tolerância  
Enquanto alguém na piscina comanda o povo à distância  
Rejeito a hipocrisia, a falsa democracia  
Se fosse verdadeira eu não seria minoria, minoria

[Refrão] A verdade  
Vejo-a nua, crua  
Porque o meu dicionário é a rua

O imigrante é discriminado, é condenado ao gueto  
Não interessa quem é, o que interessa é que é preto  
Triste e desamparado, pois chora e ninguém liga  
Sonha acordado à espera de uma mão amiga  
Barriga vazia, família por sustentar  
Obras não faltam mas sempre prontas a explorar  
Ninguém o sustenta, ninguém o alimenta  
Viver é difícil, se não consegue ao menos tenta  
Truques inventa para pôr os filhos a estudar  
Com fome, sem comida, com certeza hão de chumbar<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>208</sup> Boss Ac, 1994, ‘A Verdade’.



[...]

Lúcia Furtado, leader of *Femafro* organization and raised in Miratejo, remember the importance of rap in the 1990s for Black youth, even the ones who were not from the rap movement like her:

**Pedro Varela:** Rap was essential for you, too? **Lúcia Furtado:** For me, it's already an old thing because where I was born, there was General D or Bambino (from my school) and Black Company. **Pedro Varela:** What was the importance of rap in Miratejo? **Lúcia Furtado:** Rap was king during the early 1990s [...] rap talked about racism, it spoke about identity, it spoke of police violence, and it placed these issues in a raw and naked way. And for us it was very important because it was how we had a voice. [...] It was the way we had to expose the situations because the media generally did not speak about these issues. It was the way we had of expressing ourselves, of putting it out there. Rap for me was essential because it was how we learned to communicate with each other and with those who were outside, the general population.<sup>209</sup> (Interview with Lúcia Furtado by Pedro Varela, 09/10/2020)

Also, António Tonga, activist from the *Consciência Negra* organization, talks about the role rap played for him and how it still stands out today in connecting anti-racism “to the neighbourhoods” and “to reality”:

**Pedro Varela:** Did rap played an important role for you? **António Tonga:** Without a doubt. I look back and realise the extent of the importance of rap for my awareness. It was important to me and it must be important to a lot of kids. In fact, our movement, even today when we've elected three MPs women, is still a movement without the social insertion it should have. To have a Black movement, a consistent anti-racist movement, you need social insertion, you need structural work, you need to mobilise the neighbourhoods, to move the youth, and our movement still doesn't have that capacity. Rap fulfils this role very well. It plays the role of linking anti-racist ideas to the neighbourhoods, to reality. And that is why rap had a huge role, a very important role, of making the link between the Black movement of the 1990s and the current Black movement.<sup>210</sup> (Interview with António Tonga by Pedro Varela, 15/10/2019)

It is worthwhile to look at the work of a rapper from another generation. Allen Halloween is a Black rapper who has had significant media exposure recently. The rapper,

---

<sup>209</sup> **“Pedro Varela:** O rap foi importante para ti? **Lúcia Furtado:** Para mim já é uma coisa antiga porque dado ao sítio onde eu nasci haver o General D ou o Bambino era da minha escola e os Black Company. **Pedro Varela:** Qual era a importância do rap em Miratejo? **Lúcia Furtado:** O rap foi rei durante o início dos anos 1990s. [...] O rap falava sobre racismo, falava de identidade, falava de violência policial e punha de forma crua e nua essas questões e para nós foi muito importante porque era forma que nós tínhamos de ter voz. [...] Era a forma como tínhamos de expor as situações, porque os media em geral não falavam dessas questões. Era a forma que tínhamos de nos expressar, de por cá para fora. O rap para mim foi essencial porque era a forma com que nós aprendemos a comunicar uns com os outros, também com quem estava de fora, a população em geral.”

<sup>210</sup> **“Pedro Varela:** O rap teve um papel importante para ti? **António Tonga:** Sem dúvida. Olho para trás e percebo a extensão da importância do rap para a tomada de consciência. E é para mim e deve ser assim para ‘bué da’ putos. Aliás o nosso movimento, mesmo hoje que elegemos três deputadas, continua a ser um movimento sem o lastro social que deveria ter. Para ter um movimento negro, um movimento antirracista consequente é preciso ter lastro social, é preciso trabalho estrutural, é preciso mover os bairros, mover a juventude e o nosso movimento ainda não tem essa capacidade. O rap cumpre muito esse papel. [...] Ele cumpre o papel de ligar as ideias antirracistas aos bairros, à realidade. E por isso é que o rap teve um papel brutal, importantíssimo, de fazer a ligação do movimento negro dos anos 1990s para o movimento negro atual.”

born in Guinea-Bissau and raised in Portugal, mentions in one of his songs that “Salazar” [the Portuguese dictator] “condemned him from the beginning”. He is one of the most potent narrators of the violence experienced in Portuguese society and the misery suffered by the poorest. His music ‘SOS Mundo’ speaks on the “apocalyptic world” with “thousands of people crammed into ghettos” where “third-class whites, ‘Gipsies’ and Blacks” live, who suffer police violence and where “racial hatred is a cultural heritage” a “social cancer, which spreads”:

[...]

Mundo infernal, babilónia total  
É a queda do sistema, à escala mundial  
Pânico geral, violência policial  
Milhares de pessoas amontoadas em guetos  
Branco de terceira, ciganos e negros  
O ódio racial é a nossa herança cultural  
É um cancro social, que alastra  
Espalha raízes nas mentes mais fracas  
Falta dinheiro? A culpa é do estrangeiro  
A morte do terceiro mundo é a vida do primeiro  
Xenofobia, racismo, fundamentalismo  
Fascismo, imperialismo<sup>211</sup>

[...]

In his latest album, *Híbrido* (2015), Allen Halloween released a song called ‘Bairro Black’ where he sings with the veteran General D and Buts Mc. In this song, they denounce the killing of young people by the police in “Black neighbourhoods”, which are inhabited by Blacks, ‘Gipsies’ and poor whites. They criticise the perverse relationship between the police and the press that creates fake news and they speak of a latent revolt that one day will rise. The music represents a cycle of police persecution that punishes all those who live in “Black neighbourhoods”:

[...]

Mais um puto d’um bairro degradado, assassinado  
Eliminado por um agente do Estado  
Era bandido, era mitra, era nigga  
Tinha problemas com a justiça  
Como no Estado fascista capitalista  
A história será encomendada a um jornalista  
E a cabra [polícia] sai matando  
O preto, o cigano e o pobre branco  
E vai matar até quando?  
Até o circo pegar fogo, mano.

[...]

É rusga na madrugada

---

<sup>211</sup> Allen Halloween, 2006, ‘SOS mundo’.

Os homens [policias] fecharam a rua  
Com cães e carros de patrulha  
Fuga, no beco buga  
Caçadeiras Zummm  
É uma noite que não acaba nunca  
É o abuso no Bairro Black  
É o abuso no Bairro Black

Reghetização e perseguição  
Alguém venha-me explicar o estado desta Nação  
Desde puto muito cedo nesta pressão  
O meu pai trabalhador fica nesta humilhação  
Uma fuga da polícia já tentei mais uma vez  
Conheço bem o sistema, já fiz tempo no xadrez  
Tenho um mês de fora mas já me querem de volta  
Não, não ponho os pés mais nessa poça irmão  
Polícia chega na briga, mandando bala perdida  
Chutando a família, chutando a vizinha  
Vejo maca estendida, mana ferida  
Apanhada na corrida  
Polícia quando chega não pergunta, só castiga  
Abuso sujo, é o cheiro do cartuxo  
Uma noite muito longa no bairro onde me refúgio  
Eu nunca fujo<sup>212</sup>

Primero G, a former member of the historical group of *kriolu rap*, TWA, in his song 'A história do hip-hop tuga' tells his version of the rap movement in Portugal<sup>213</sup>. He says that in the 1980s hip-hop arrived in Portugal and at that time only B-Boys represented it. During the weekends there were competitions with the support of radio stations. In the schools, these competitions drew big crowds, but the movement still lacked DJs, MCs and producers. Then hip-hop died and in the 1990s it was resurrected. The MCs and DJs started to be dedicated. In his opinion, as he says in the song, General D was the first “revolutionary” who wrote lyrics to “change the situation”. But at that time there was a lot of “jealousy” and “rivalry” that “divided the movement”. In 1993 TWA was born. At that time CDs were a recent thing and they made mix tapes on cassettes which they distributed in the neighbourhoods. In 1995, rap was booming. TWA had a lot of fans in the “slums”, while other MCs “sang for money”. Then he says that these MCs influenced a lot of people, and they screw up “our movement”. He states in the end that nowadays, most of the movement is “bought” and they want to “erase” and “change” this past.

The history of rap in Portugal is undoubtedly a very broad space of deep understanding of society, namely for the interpretation of youth, racism, police violence, poverty and the city. Their words, but also their musicality, are an immense 'archive' that is

---

<sup>212</sup> Allen Halloween, 2015, 'Bairro Black'.

<sup>213</sup> Primero G, 2016, 'A história do hip-hop tuga'.

still very little explored. This are voices that tear up political space and make themselves heard.

## 4.11 Rap in the feminine

As the work of Soraia Simões (2017a, 2018) shows, women, despite having been made invisible, were also part of the beginnings of rap in Portugal, bringing new issues in their lyrics, namely the oppression of women. In the early 1990s, rap bands such as Divine and Djamal were pioneers.

The rap movement is, like other musical cultures in Portugal, a markedly masculine space. But despite constant invisibility and silencing, women have always been present in the movement. As Mynda Guevara, a young MC from Cova da Moura, mentioned in an interview she gave to *Público* newspaper:

Rap is a bit of a sexist space. We women have to prove that we can do things constantly. We have to work double or triple compared to the boys. I've felt it on my skin, especially in the beginning. It takes much willpower.<sup>214</sup> (Duarte, 2018)

Like Mynda Guevara, several women have fought for their place in the patriarchal society and the rap movement over the decades. It is therefore essential to highlight the names of many of them and their groups, who have continuously 'swim against the tide': Divine, Djamal, ZJ-Zuka, X-Sista, Jumping, Sweetalk, Jeremy, G Fema, Dama Bete, Capicua, Red Chikas, Lweji, Telma Tvon, M7, Mynda Guevara, Eva Rap Diva, W-Magic, Juana na Rap, Blink, Lady N, Chikita, Legendary, Shiva, Sharye, Lady F, A.M.O.R., Veecious V, PI, Sky, Lady R Black Magic Woman, Nenny, Russa, Cintia, among others. Most of them, let's not forget, are Black women.

In the lyrics of many of these MCs, talk of female resistance and the fight against male oppression is omnipresent, women's space in the movement is claimed and male violence, sexual harassment, lack of opportunities or the difficulty of being a woman-mother-worker in our society is denounced. But other themes also arise: social segregation and inequality; marginalisation; police violence; the injustice of the prison system; love; and, of course, racism. The recent work of the young rapper/R&B singer, Cíntia, who speaks

---

<sup>214</sup> "O rap é um meio um pouco machista. Nós, mulheres, temos de provar constantemente que somos capazes de fazer as coisas. Temos de trabalhar a duplicar ou a triplicar em comparação com os rapazes. Já senti isso na pele, principalmente no início. É preciso muita força de vontade."

openly of love and sex between women, placing homosexuality in the panorama of rap for the first time, is also of note.

I, at the invitation of Soraia Simões wrote about the journey of women in the rap movement and its relationship with anti-racism (Varela, 2020a). In 1995 the pioneering female group Djamal said in a newspaper interview, “Djamal is a band to combat discrimination against women in rap [...] but we want to be seen as rappers”<sup>215</sup> (Dias, 1995). In 1997, on their first and only album, they sang about racism but alerted about other oppressions that were forgotten. In ‘Revolução (Agora!)’, they stated the importance of combating racism and inequality but urged to not forget the oppression of women, demanding the union between these different demands:

Fala-se da cor, fala-se de dinheiro  
Mas algo é passivamente aceite pelo mundo inteiro  
Há séculos que se vive nesta obscuridão  
De limitar a mulher com a dor da opressão

[...]

Chega de abuso  
Temos direito  
É hora de tratar a mulher com respeito

[...]

É preciso união,  
Pôr fim a discriminação racial, social e que tal sexual  
Mudar o panorama aqui em Portugal  
Porque este é um sistema que funciona com defeito<sup>216</sup>

An article in *Público* newspaper describes a concert by Djamal and elements of Black Company, which took place days after the racist murder of Alcindo Monteiro in 1995: “It all started with Djamal, the only and gratifying all-female rap group in Portugal. Jeremy, X Sister, Jumpin and Sweet Talk [...] dedicated a moment of silence to the young man murdered by the skins and then [Djamal] went off to fight.”<sup>217</sup> (Duarte, 1995). In these years, Djamal played a role in the anti-racist struggle, appearing with General D and other artists in at least three crucial events of campaigns against racism, such as the ‘*Concerto Contra a Discriminação Racial e Xenofobia*’ by *SOS Racismo*, at the Ritz Club, on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1997,

---

<sup>215</sup> “Djamal é uma banda para combater a discriminação das mulheres no rap [...] mas queremos ser vistas como rappers.”

<sup>216</sup> Djamal, 1997, ‘Revolução (Agora!)’.

<sup>217</sup> “Tudo começou com as Djamal, único e gratificante grupo de rap exclusivamente feminino em Portugal. Jeremy, X Sister, Jumpin e Sweet Talk [...] dedicaram um momento de silêncio ao jovem assassinado pelos skins e depois partiram à luta.”

which marked the second anniversary of the assassination of Alcindo Monteiro; the ‘*Gala do SOS Racismo*’ in Guimarães in 1996; or in Beja ‘*Alentejo Terra de Tolerância*’.

Also, Nenny, a very successful young woman who started in rap and has moved into R&B, recalled in an interview that the first time she wrote a song as a child, it was about racism: “It was around the age of 9, 10 that I wrote my first song. It was about racism and prejudice, I still remember.”<sup>218</sup> (Teixeira, 2020). In fact, since the release of the Djamal album in 1997 until today, racism has been a theme in female rap. For example, Dama Bete, who had an essential highlight on her 2007 album *De igual para igual*, wrote in her song ‘Missão à Terra’ that human beings are capable of aggression due to the colour of their skin and that is madness:

O Ser humano tem grande obsessão [pelo dinheiro]  
E cega e se torna vilão. [...]  
Capaz de agredir, assim sem pena  
É capaz e faz, sem paz, que cena  
Até o aspeto pode ser ofensor  
A cor da pele, o cabelo, a cor [...]  
Os humanos são malucos, é o que me parece<sup>219</sup>

Capicua, the successful white rapper from Porto, who in her youth was linked to *SOS Racismo* and has been involved in several anti-racist events, portrays racism and colonial oppression in her lyrics. In ‘A Mulher do Cacilheiro’ she narrates the difficult life of a Black working woman of Cape Verdean origin in Lisbon:

Pele negra, cabelo curto  
Saudade de Cabo Verde  
Vontade de um mundo justo [...]  
E entre toda aquela gente  
Ela é só mais uma ‘preta’  
Só mais uma imigrante  
Empregada da limpeza  
Só mais uma que de longe  
Vê a imponência imperial [...]  
E ela é mais uma heroína que não interessa a Portugal<sup>220</sup>

On the other hand, among many male rappers in Portugal, the offence and objectification of women is common, particularly among mainstream artists (see Correia, 2020). But as Capicua says, this does not mean that rap is more sexist than the rest of society; in fact, it only seems to express this misogyny in a rawer form (Prado, 2017). Also, Robin D. G. Kelley, in looking at ‘gangsta rap’ warned that much of the adolescent misogyny evident in that rap genre is characteristic of most male youth cultures (Kelley, 1996, p.185).

---

<sup>218</sup> “Foi para aí com 9, 10 anos, escrevi a minha primeira música. Falava sobre racismo e preconceito, ainda me lembro.”

<sup>219</sup> Dama Bete, 2007, ‘Missão à Terra’.

<sup>220</sup> Capicua, 2014, ‘A Mulher do Cacilheiro’.

It must be stated that a lot of the focus on a certain misogyny in rap ignores that this exists in other musical or youth environments. Often this focus on rap, it must be stated, has racist prejudices behind it.

#### 4.12 “To all the Blacks in the ghetto”: *kriolu rap*

*Kriolu rap* (i.e., rap sung in Cape Verdean language/ Cape Verdean ‘Creole’) has become a sub-genre of rap in Portugal; in fact, it is involved in a kind of rap movement of its own. Created mainly in Black-majority neighbourhoods and sung mainly by descendants of Cape Verdeans, but not only, it has become a genre that tries to represent the most marginalised and segregated segments of Portuguese society.

Cape Verdean language is a Portuguese-based ‘creole’ with west African language elements spoken on the islands of Cape Verde. Over decades, Cape Verdean has become the lingua franca of many neighbourhoods in the periphery of Lisbon, specifically those with essential populations of Cape Verdean origin, the most prominent African community in Portugal. However, this language today extends beyond the borders of Cape Verdean spaces and is spoken and understood by young people of different origins and has become a language of the ‘street’. Confined to an underground environment for decades, some artists, such as Apolo G, Julinho Ksd or Vado, have recently broken into the mainstream scene (see Farinha, 2020).

*Kriolu rap* is not only characterised by the language used in the music. *Kriolu rap* is known for being more politicised, for denouncing injustices and daily life difficulties, becoming ‘reality rap’. To rhyme in Cape Verdean is also for many a ‘cry of freedom’ through the use of a language that represents Black and African identity, and specifically Cape Verdean ancestry. *Kriolu rap* is also an artistic-cultural-social space that allows collective denunciation and communication between different neighbourhoods and people who live similar social realities (see Pardue, 2015; Raposo, Varela, Simões & Campos, 2021).

As sung by Karlon, a *kriolu rap* artist and member of the emblematic band Nigga Poison, “Creole for me is more than official language, It is a maternal love that never leaves me” (Karlon, 2018, ‘Sol na céu’). Many *kriolu rap* artists have also openly confronted racism, denouncing the injustices that affect many Blacks in the country and this is a direct confrontation with the lusotropicalist notions of citizenship (Pardue, 2015).

In the passage to the new millennium, *kriolu rap* acquired a broader dimension, with a higher number of artists producing this style, “[...] benefited by the transformation of technology in music recording, creation and dissemination that paved the way for the consolidation of an underground circuit of production, distribution and consumption.” (Raposo & Varela, 2022). For example, in 2000, Da Blazz launched the album *Catchores di Pinga*; in 2001, Nigga Poison launched *Podia ser mi*. This same year, Chullage produced *Rapresálias: Sangue, Lágrimas, Suor*, with songs in Cape Verdean. In 2002, TWA launched *Miraflor*. However, we must not forget that rap sung in Cape Verdean has been present since the beginning of rap in Portugal. There are songs recorded in Cape Verdean in the *Rapública* collection, such as *Rabola Bo Corpo* (in Ragga style) from the band Family. The works of Djoek, a rapper from Cova da Moura already mentioned above, who, in 1996, released *Nada Mí N’Caten* and in 1998, *Ke Ki Ke*, are landmarks as they sung mainly in Cape Verdean. And in 1998, Boss AC also released *Manda Chuva* with two songs in Cape Verdean, ‘Corda’ and ‘Tunga, Tuinginha’ (the latter also in ragga style).

In their first EP in 2001, Nigga Poison dedicated the opening music ‘*Dedicaçon*’ to “To all the Blacks in the ghetto”. With a strong message against the injustices of society, namely racism, “In this fucking land of Portugal, Legal or illegal, They treat us all the same”, this song brings an idea of unity between Black youth from impoverished and segregated neighbourhoods:

Kel música li e um dedicaçon  
Pra tudu pretu di ghetto  
Ki es puru real niggas  
Kes ki dja sufri pamo e pretu  
Oh Miraflor, Yo  
Oh Ghetto G, Yo:  
Oh Ghetto Stress, Yo  
É nos address, Yo  
Entra na realidade  
Entra na mundu di verdade  
Completa bu menti  
Bo pudi ve simplicidade  
Nada li e real  
É Fucking tchom Portugal  
Legal o Ilegal  
Es tratanu sempre igual  
Mas povu caboberdiano  
Nunca ka fugi di se raça  
Ta luta pa vida  
Na tudu dia ki ta passa

[...]

Pretu dja sufri tcheu  
Pretu dja sufri tcheu kaladu  
Recurdanu nos passado



In the second song of this album, ‘Ditadura’, sung in Portuguese, they say, “The Blacks were slaves [...] If in the time of Salazar there was a dictatorship, how much longer will this shit go on? [...] How many fascists, how many nationalists, how many corrupt people are on our list?”<sup>222</sup>

Chullage, in his album *Rapensar* (2004), invited several rappers - Mitó, Uncle C, Celso Opp, Fat Opp (Shotgun), Kromo di Guetto, Zé Rui de Bibia and Phatalistik (Submundo) - to sing in Cape Verdean on the song ‘Kabu Verde Kontra Racismo’ [Cape Verde against Racism]. In his part, the artist Chullage talks about the segregation he was born into; the racism that exists in companies, the government, the police and at school; the difficulty of finding work while maintaining a Black aesthetic identity; he talks about the Cape Verdean diaspora and he mentions that his efforts are in Africa where he wants to bring change because Portugal has nothing else to give him:

Pret ta segregod na realidade k'm nascê  
chei de racista na empresa, govern, pulicia, eskkkola, tv  
semp k'm ta beská um traboi a sério ês ta dam k pê  
se 'm ten rasta, karapinha, brinku, mi ka podê vencê  
nha identidad de pret 'm ka podê mantê  
ês ta pensa k'm ka sabê lê  
k'm ka sabê eskrevê  
k'm ka sabê komportá  
k'nada mi ta intendê  
k'm ka sabê falá  
k'na sis kosa m ta mexê  
nha kabeça ti ta fervê  
nha koraçon ten revolta k'm ka podê  
kontê  
dis de kriança  
m'ta debox de insult de govern, fog de pulicia e oi d'segurança  
na Portugal, Holanda, França ka ten esperança  
por iss nha esforço ta post na África pa levá mudança  
pk ess terra ka tem más nada pa dam  
pelu kontrario so ês krê tram  
governam e robam  
ma mi ê warria ness terra e mi ten nhas tropa pa judam  
de Margem Sul, pa Lisboa, Bóston, Paris, Rotterdam  
se ê pa vivê de joi, mi ta morrê de pê mas ês ka ta kalam

---

<sup>221</sup> “This song is dedicated / for all Blacks from the ghetto / who are pure real niggas / for those who have suffered because they are Black / Oh Mirafior, Yo / Oh Ghetto G, Yo / Oh Ghetto Stress, Yo / It's our home, Yo / Come into reality / Enter in the real world / Complete your mind / To see simply / Nothing here is real / In this fucking land of Portugal / Legal or illegal / They treat us all the same / But the Cape Verdean people / Never runs away from their origins / They struggle for their lifes / Every day that passes by / [...] Blacks have suffered a lot / Blacks have suffered a lot in silence / Remembering our past / We have all been deceived” (Nigga Poison, 2001, ‘Dedicaçon’).

<sup>222</sup> “Os pretos foram escravos [...] Se no tempo do salazar houve uma ditadura, por quanto mais tempo esta merda continua? [...] São quantos os fascistas, são quantos os nacionalistas, são quantos os corruptos que estão na nossa lista?” (Nigga Poison, 2001, ‘Ditadura’).

pa tud kriolu mundo fora, nô konstrui nôs kingdom.<sup>223</sup>

On Chullage's previous album, *Rapresálias*, from 2001, in another collective song mainly in Cape Verdean, 'Nu Bai', the rapper Manonori talks about not putting your head down and raising rap as an anthem; he sings against discrimination, criticises the prison system and the violent policing in the neighbourhoods. Then he says they fight for equality and that Africans are all one brotherhood:

[...]

Situaçon li na tuga sta tudo fudidu, ma mim ka da  
Baixa cabeça, mim ta lavanta rap como hino  
Mim ta fla fuck pa discriminaçon r tudo  
Preconceito, modi ki um homi podi julga sel  
Memo ten defeito, se juiz ka ê deus, nem ka e  
Divindadi, ê kenha pa tranca nha irmon na cela a  
Sete chavi, babiloni ê kenha pa entra na bairro e  
Espanca preto a vontadi, nigga nhos abri odju,  
Nhos luta pa igualdadi, nhos luta pa conservason  
Di nos comunidadi, ka mesti luta ku bo pa modi  
Africanos nos e tudo irmandadi<sup>224</sup>

Rap sung in Cape Verdean language has stood out as a musical form where a strong social criticism emerges, portraying in a frontal way the marginalised Black lives in Portugal.

## 4.13 Anti-racism present in various artistic practices

Rap, over the years, has been one of the artistic practices with the most extensive anti-racist discourse in Portugal. Still, especially in recent years, with the rise of a more commercial and less politicised rap, it is clear that this old flame has been diminishing in the whole extent of rap, even the one made in Black-majority neighbourhoods. This also brings me to another path; although anti-racism is very visible in rap, this is not the only artistic practice that questions racism in Portugal. Anti-racism also appears in theatre, cinema, visual arts or literature, namely in much of what has been produced by Black people in Portugal in recent years. My work will not focus on these other artistic practices, but it is still paramount to mention their importance.

As the academic, artist and activist Raquel Lima said during my interview with her, in Black reality, the link between art and political struggle is ancient:

---

<sup>223</sup> Chullage, 2004, 'Kabu Verde Kontra Racismo'.

<sup>224</sup> Chullage, 2001, 'Nu bai'.

**Pedro Varela:** In Portugal, there is a strong relationship between the activism of the Black movement and the activism of Black artists, isn't there? I want you to tell me how artistic practices are fundamental to the Black movement. **Raquel Lima:** I think it's inevitable... When a Black person manages to find a space for the construction of subjectivity, 'it is always a danger', let's say... Because when you construct yourself as a political subject and know your way of expressing yourself around the world, you gain tools, not only symbolic capital, but you can articulate all these oppressions that you experience. So, art enters as a form of occupation, occupation of the debate, which is sometimes easier when you don't have the tools to be in Parliament, to be in the academy, to be in the production of public opinion (like journalism, press, etc...). The arts are thus spaces of intimacy where you can translate all this more autonomously. So, there is a direct connection, and it's old. It's old if you think of the samba, the tango. The tango is a word from Kikongo, which comes from the north of Angola and reaches Argentina, and it's the enslaved Black people doing their rituals. In other words, many artistic practices today accepted as part of the national identity of countries like Spain, Argentina, and Portugal (even Fado) result from artistic movements of revolt against a colonial system. So, I think this is super old; super old, isn't it... the production of art that is also a political construction.<sup>225</sup> (Interview with Raquel Lima by Pedro Varela, 11/10/2020)

For instance, the work of Teatro Griot has been very influential in the theatrical scene in Portugal in recent years, a primarily Black company that has brought plays that denounce racism to important theatres. Also, the theatrical experience of Aurora Negra, by the artists Cleo Tavares, Isabel Zuaa and Nádía Yracema, has also been a landmark in the artistic scene. They brought to the stage the experience of racism, performing in the most important theatre in the country, the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II, in 2020 and 2021 and toured all around the country. It is also important to mention the long political-social work of the Grupo de Teatro do Oprimido de Lisboa (GTO-LX), based on theatre practices of the oppressed and primarily Black people, which has brought awareness related to racism and immigration to the neighbourhoods, in particular, has been very active in the struggle to change the nationality law. In the visual arts, we cannot forget the work of Grada Kilomba, which has had much international visibility, more so than in Portugal. In literature, Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida stands out in prose and has had some success with her novels that address racial issues.

---

<sup>225</sup> “**Pedro Varela:** Em Portugal há uma relação forte entre o ativismo do movimento negro e o ativismo de artistas negras e negros, não é? Queria que me falasses sobre a forma como as práticas artísticas são fundamentais para o movimento negro. **Raquel Lima:** Eu acho que é inevitável... Quando uma pessoa negra consegue encontrar um espaço de construção de subjetividade ‘é sempre um perigo’, digamos assim... Porque quando tu te constróis como sujeito político e quando tu conheces a tua forma de te expressar no mundo, tu tás a ganhar ferramentas não só de capital simbólico mas estás a conseguir articular essas opressões todas que vives. Então a arte entra como uma forma de ocupação, ocupação do debate e que às vezes é mais fácil quando não tens as ferramentas para estar no parlamento, para estar na academia, para estar na produção de opinião pública (como jornalismo, imprensa, etc...). As artes são assim espaços de intimidade onde tu consegues traduzir tudo isso de uma forma mais autónoma. Então há uma ligação direta e é antiga. É antiga se tu pensares no samba, no tango. O tango é uma palavra do quicongo, que é do norte de Angola que chega à Argentina e que são os negros escravizados que estão a fazer os seus rituais. Ou seja, muitas das práticas artísticas hoje convencionadas como parte da identidade nacional de países como Espanha, Argentina e Portugal (mesmo com o Fado) são resultado de movimentos artísticos de revolta contra um sistema colonial. Então acho que isso é super antigo, super antigo, não é... a produção de arte que seja também construção política.”

Recently, in music, Marcus Veiga (from the Scúru Fitchádu project) and the well-known musician Dino D'Santiago have shown that the anti-racist discourse in music is not just confined to rap.

Also recently, as has happened in the past, poetry has been an important site for the emergence of an anti-racist discourse and reflection on blackness. We cannot forget the role of *Djidiu*, an initiative by *Afrolis* that mobilised Black people to actively participate in the production and dissemination of writing of their authorship or of authors they considered relevant. Carla Fernandes recalls how *Djidiu* started:

**Carla Fernandes:** It started after *Afrolis* stopped being just a radio project and became an association [...] *Djidiu* emerged after the association was formed. Initially, it was supposed to be a group in which we shared some knowledge about African literature or Black literature. But after two or three sessions (it was very quick) we said, "No. Let's produce it ourselves." Because we realized that the kind of texts we were bringing were again from African nationalists, people from the United States and Brazil. And we said, "What about us? Where do we fit in here? Let's produce us." And that's what we did.<sup>226</sup> (Interview with Carla Fernandes by Pedro Varela, 19/02/2020)

In 2018 *Djidiu* released a book collection with poems who exposed the Black experience in Portugal, but not only, with several authors: Apolo De Carvalho, Carla Fernandes, Carla Lima, Carlos Graça, Cristina Carlos, Danilson Pires, Dário Sambo, LuZGomes and Té Abipiquerst Té. In poetry, Gisela Casimiro, Maíra Zenun and Raquel Lima also stand out in the last years; these three poets affirm their identities and self-determination, focusing among other things on in the racist reality of Portugal (Veloso, 2022). Carla Fernandes refers that "art is politicise" and that "art is accessible to everyone" and through art, things such as discussing race can be unblocked: "accessible to a lot of people" (Interview with Carla Fernandes by Pedro Varela, 19/02/2020).

The emergence of the *União Negra das Artes* (UNA) [Black Union of Arts] in April 2021 synthesises the convergence of several Black artists from different fields to unite and fight for more representation in the arts and Portuguese society. This organisation is the result of the rise of the anti-racist movement in recent years and affirms that it is "[...] an initiative that arises within the scope of the anti-racist struggle and the affirmation of blackness in Portugal, with emphasis on the various manifestations and recent debates

---

<sup>226</sup> "Carla Fernandes: Surgiu depois da Afrolis ter deixado de ser só um projeto de rádio e passar a ser uma associação [...] O Djidiu surgiu depois da associação estar formada. Inicialmente era para ser um grupo em que nós partilhávamos alguns conhecimentos sobre literatura africana ou sobre literatura negra. Mas passado duas ou três sessões (foi rapidíssimo) nós dissemos: "Não. Vamos produzir nós." Porque apercebemo-nos que o tipo de textos que estávamos a trazer eram novamente de nacionalistas africanos, de pessoal dos Estados Unidos e do Brasil. E nós dissemos: "E Nós? Onde é que nós cabemos aqui? Vamos produzir nós." E foi isso que nós fizemos."

around the claims for human rights, the decolonisation of knowledge and the valuing of the artistic-cultural legacy carried out by Black people.’<sup>227</sup> (UNA, 2022).

I conclude this chapter with Lúcia Furtado’s account of how the different artistic practices and many Black artists have been fundamental to the anti-racist struggle, highlighting the mutual influence and exchange of ideas between the anti-racist Black movement and the Black artistic scene:

**Lúcia Furtado:** We have been using the artistic part a lot, for example, in the protests. Because we know that it will also mobilise a lot of young people. Because they look to it a lot, they reflect a lot on what the artists say... So it's always very important. I'm from Miratejo, 'Mirasquad', which has a history of rap, hip-hop. And I think the arts were undoubtedly one of the doors that opened space for this whole [Black] movement in Portugal. With the arts, many people started to reflect on these issues. With Chullage or General D... And some others that already in the 1990s reflected on the issues of racism, but they weren't mainstream artists in the sense that they weren't selling CDs a lot and weren't on television. But the youth from the outskirts of Lisbon, even outside Lisbon, listened, and that's what it represented... For us, it was very important. [...] Artists today are increasingly more versatile; they are no longer restricted to a specific genre. You have Chullage, but then he's connected to Teatro Griot. You have Raquel Lima, who does spoken word; she's also connected a bit to music and also sometimes to the theatre. You have Zia Soares, she's in theatre, but she's also connected to other areas... You have a new generation with Cleo Tavares and Nádia Yaracema from Aurora Negra, who has been there for many years. [...] You have an Isabél Zuaa who has gained recognition outside Portugal... Or Grada Kilomba who had to leave Portugal to gain recognition... You have Sónia Vaz Borges who is also in the USA, who does many things here, but even so, it is only now that there is some recognition. Still, even so, in a very specific niche. She is a woman with a fantastic production. You also have Gisela Casemiro who writes but is sometimes in the theatre. Several Black people are doing things... Djaimília Pereira de Almeida is already on her third book. We, with *Femafro* [organization], did a session with her in a school.<sup>228</sup> (Interview with Lúcia Furtado by Pedro Varela, 09/10/2020)

---

<sup>227</sup> “[...] uma iniciativa que surge no âmbito da luta antirracista e da afirmação de negritude em Portugal, com ênfase nas diversas manifestações e debates recentes em torno da reivindicação de direitos humanos, da descolonização do conhecimento e da valorização do legado artístico-cultural protagonizado por pessoas negras”

<sup>228</sup> “**Lúcia Furtado:** Nós temos utilizado muito a parte artística, por exemplo nas concentrações. Porque sabemos que vai mobilizar também muito os jovens. Porque eles olham muito, eles refletem muito sobre o que os artistas dizem... fazem... Então é sempre muito importante. Eu sou do Miratejo, 'Mirasquad', tem um historial a nível do rap, hip-hop. E acho que as artes foram certamente uma das portas que abriu espaço para todo este movimento [negro] em Portugal. Com as artes muita gente começou a refletir sobre as questões. Um Chullage, um General D... E alguns outros que já nos anos 1990s refletiam sobre as questões do racismo, só que não eram artistas mainstream no sentido de estarem aí a venderem cds a torto e a direito e estarem nas televisões. Mas a juventude das periferias de Lisboa, mesmo fora de Lisboa ouvia e era isso que representava... Para nós era muito importante. [...] Os artistas hoje em dia cada vez são mais versáteis, já não se restringem a um género em específico. Tens um Chullage mas depois está ligado ao Teatro Griot. Tens uma Raquel Lima faz spokenword, também está ligada um pouco à música e também às vezes ao teatro. Tens uma Zia Soares, está no teatro mas também liga-se a outra... Tens uma nova geração com Cleo Tavares, A Nádia Yaracema das Aurora Negra que já está aí há muitos anos. [...] Tens uma Isabél Zuaa que teve de ganhar reconhecimento fora de Portugal... Ou a Grada Kilomba que teve de sair de Portugal, ganhar reconhecimento. Tens uma Sónia Vaz Borges que está nos EUA também, que faz muita coisa aqui, mas mesmo assim só agora é que há algum reconhecimento mas mesmo assim num nicho muito específico, no entanto é uma mulher com uma produção fantástica. Tens também uma Gisela Casemiro que escreve mas está no teatro às vezes. Há uma série de pessoas negras que vão fazendo coisas... A Djaimília Pereira de Almeida já vai no terceiro livro. Nós na Femafro fizemos uma sessão com ela numa escola.”

This page intentionally left blank

## CHAPTER 5 - RABULERA NEIGHBOURHOOD: RESISTANCE AND RAP

---

The neighbourhood of *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia*, nowadays named by its inhabitants as *Rabulera*<sup>229</sup>, is one of the last self-produced Black-majority neighbourhoods in the Lisbon periphery that withstands in the face of a public policy that has aimed to totally destroy these urban areas. In the neighbourhoods under these conditions - long years of demolitions and relocations (sometimes without the right to a new house) – have revealed an unfair resettlement process that has often been opaque or racist (see Cachado, 2013a, 2013b; Alves, 2013, 2021). The memories of this area in the municipality of Amadora and many others in the Lisbon metropolitan area tell stories of migration, resistance and mutual help but also of poverty, colonialism, institutional racism, police brutality and state violence. Places where 'racial capitalism' becomes all too evident.

In this chapter I focus on the history and life of a Black-majority neighbourhood under demolition and the history of rap in this place. First, I explain my experience of returning to do ethnographic research in a place where I had done fieldwork in the past and then, I describe the neighbourhood through a journey along its streets. In this chapter, due to the complexity of the fieldwork, there is a specific section devoted to the methodology and ethnographic practices. Then I tell the story of a neighbourhood that emerged in the 1960s/1970s, engaging with the residents' life stories, collective struggles and perspectives. In a second part I focus on the history and practice of rap in this area, a localised history and activity that also tells us about the history of rap in general and the current movement in Portugal. Finally, I analyse rap lyrics from *Rabulera*, lyrics that reveal the working of 'racial capitalism' in a raw way.

### 5.1 Back to a place under demolition

*Rabulera*, the Cape Verdean version of the word 'Reboleira' in Portuguese, designates the area in Amadora where the neighbourhood is located, which is also the name

---

<sup>229</sup> *Rabulera* is the Cape Verdean version of the word *Reboleira* in Portuguese, which refers to the area in Amadora where the neighbourhood is located officially named *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia*. Currently the inhabitants of this neighbourhood generally use the term 'Reboleira', which represents a much wider area to refer to their neighbourhood. Thus, to differentiate from the rest of Reboleira many refer to the neighbourhood orally and in writing in its Cape Verdean Creole version, '*Rabulera*'. Thus, to also make this differentiation of the greater Reboleira and the neighbourhood, I will adopt here this term.

of a former civil parish (Reboleira) and a train/underground station (Reboleira). Thus, to differentiate from the rest of Reboleira, many refer to their area, orally and in writing, in its Cape Verdean language version: *Rabulera*. Therefore, I will adopt this term in this thesis to make this differentiation between the ‘greater’ Reboleira and the neighbourhood.

The Lisbon metropolitan area, with 2.870.208 million inhabitants (Census, 2021), is divided into 18 municipalities, including the capital (Lisbon), the municipality of Amadora, among others. Amadora borders Lisbon and currently has 6 civil parishes<sup>230</sup>. With about 171.454 thousand inhabitants (Census, 2021), it is the densest municipality in Portugal and is also where some of the largest Cape Verdean communities live (see Varela 2020c).

The history of this neighbourhood starts at the end of the Estado Novo dictatorship and has witnessed the key events of contemporary Portugal: the freedoms and dreams constructed during and after the Carnation Revolution and the African independences; the years of a Welfare State project; the ‘modernisation’ and neoliberalisation of Portugal as a member of the European Union; culminating in the financialisation of the economy of the Lisbon metropolitan area and consequent gentrification of a city that is now ‘for sale’ in a global market.

The demolition of the *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)* was planned in the *Programa Especial de Realojamento (PER)* [Special Rehousing Program]. PER was an ambitious and heavily funded state program that began in 1993, intending to end the many neighbourhoods considered ‘slums’ in the Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas. In the 1990s, *Rabulera* was already one of Amadora's largest self-produced Black-majority neighbourhoods. Constructed like a tongue, about 1000 metres long, in the shape of a valley and around an old military road, it follows at a sloping section and is somehow hidden by the blocks of flats around it (see Figures 5, 6 and 7). The construction of an underground station a few hundred metres away in 2016 finalised a gentrifying pressure on the neighbourhood's land and its surroundings that has been going on for decades. Among the inhabitants, it is said that a major road is to be built there.

According to Ana Rita Alves’ study (2016), the 1990s represents the inauguration in Portugal of a debate on “the periphery”, particularly on the outskirts of the city of Lisbon. During those years, there was a specific focus on self-produced neighbourhoods, imagined as places where violence and urban delinquency emerged (Maeso, Alves & Araújo, 2021). It is worth quoting an excerpt from a racist piece of news from the newspaper *Público*, which

---

<sup>230</sup> The administrative divisions of Portugal by descending order are: administrative regions (*regiões administrativas*), municipalities (*municípios*) and civil parishes (*freguesias*).



Ana Rita Alves uses to illustrate the imagery created in this period when PER was being established. During a visit by the then president of the republic to the area of Camarate (Lisbon periphery), the newspaper wrote: “Mário Soares started an Open Presidency in Greater Lisbon on the penultimate day of January. If there is such a thing as the “average Lisboner” he would have been frightened: the capital is besieged by dozens of “Camarates”, slums full of blacks, gipsies, marginals, drug dealers”.<sup>231</sup> (‘Legalização, Racismo e “Gangs”’, 1993).

The Decree-Law No. 163/93, of May 7, which created the PER, said: “The eradication of the shantytowns, a wound still open in our social fabric, and the consequent relocation of those who reside in them imposes the creation of conditions that allow its total extinction.” The Portuguese self-produced neighbourhoods were involved in a profoundly discriminatory vision that remains to this day. For almost three decades, many of the PER resettlements were carried out unfairly (populations being resettled to even more peripheral places and without being consulted); several families were left without the right to a home; and is involved in deeply racist processes (see Cachado, 2013a, 2013b; Alves, 2013, 2021). Amadora’s municipality has been where many of these injustices have happened.

Although the PER was revoked in 2018, as Ana Rita Alves says, it is “[...] as present today as if it was yesterday in the life of cities, in their materiality and the daily lives of thousands of people. The PER lives, beyond memory, in its consequences and latencies [...]”<sup>232</sup> (Alves, 2021, p. 25). She also writes that, even though the fight for housing in several neighbourhoods has been essential in the formulation of a New Generation of Policies and Housing (NGPH) in 2018 and, fundamentally, in the creation of the 1<sup>st</sup> Right - Support Program for Access to Housing (Decree-Law No. 37/2018), “[...] doubts persist as to whether the new programs will effectively respond to the most urgent and emerging housing needs in the national territory.”<sup>233</sup> (Alves, 2021, p. 25).

Between 2014 and 2015, I spent many days in *Rabulera* doing an ethnographic study on urban agriculture for my master's degree (Varela, 2015; Varela, 2020c) and for a period when I also worked on a project on arts and music (Varela, Raposo & Ferro, 2018). I spent hours listening to the stories of the first Cape Verdean inhabitants of the neighbourhood:

---

<sup>231</sup> “Mário Soares iniciou pelo penúltimo dia de Janeiro uma Presidência Aberta na Grande Lisboa. Se existir isso a que se chama de “lisboeta médio” ele terá ficado assustado: a capital está sitiada por dezenas de “Camarates”, bairros de lata cheios de pretos, ciganos, marginais, vendedores de droga.”

<sup>232</sup> “[...] o PER é tão presente hoje como ontem na vida das cidades, na sua materialidade e no quotidiano de milhares de pessoas. O PER vive, para além da memória, nas suas consequências e latências[...]”.

<sup>233</sup> “[...] dúvidas persistem que os novos programas venham responder efetivamente às carências habitacionais mais urgentes e emergentes em território nacional.”

sitting on the sofa in their living rooms built by their own hands; watching card games; or helping in their vegetable gardens. With the younger inhabitants, I spent days socialising inside music home studios, in chats on the streets or near a grill while waiting for my meat. Between 2020 and 2022, I returned to the neighbourhood to do my PhD fieldwork, and I could witness that a significant area had already been demolished, probably between a third or half of the houses were already gone. In those years, the process stagnated due to the pandemic, but in 2022 it returned strongly and some of the places and homes of people I knew disappeared. The state's plan for this neighbourhood is to completely tear it down. That is what is currently happening as I write these words: the heart of the community is being demolished.

Despite the processes of eviction and demolition, *Rabulera* remains a meeting point, a place of networks and conviviality. It is a hub that brings together those who still live there with those who used to live there, a social space that resists the empty spaces that are being extended. Sometimes, new places of conviviality are born with renewed uses from spaces now opened by demolition. RD saw his house demolished a few years ago. At the age of 42, he is one of the people I have known the longest because of his connection to rap. He described this new reality to me:

**Pedro Varela:** People are still moving around the neighbourhood, aren't they?  
**RD:** People have left, but they always come on weekends. People have to be there every weekend. Because they have people here, although they took many people to Boba [neighbourhood] and they stayed almost close [to each other], it's not the same. **Pedro Varela:** Many people didn't even get a house and are elsewhere. **RD:** Yes, many people did not have that right to a house, yes.<sup>234</sup> (Interview with RD by Pedro Varela, 11/04/2021)

In the last two years, I have spent several afternoons and evenings in a place people now call '*Descampado*' [Open Field]. This wide space already without houses, created a spatial void with a view over the city. From there, you can see the old Sorefame factory<sup>235</sup>, the vegetable gardens of the disappearing Quinta da Lage neighbourhood, the silhouette of Brandoa, the Benfica stadium, a pillar of the Sporting stadium and the path of the planes in the sky landing in the background on the Lisbon's airport plateau. The '*Descampado*' has become a place of passage, conversations, laughter and discussions; of children's playing; a

---

<sup>234</sup> **Pedro Varela:** O pessoal continua a circular à volta do bairro e no bairro, não é? **RD:** O pessoal saiu daqui mas vem cá sempre, fim de semana. O pessoal todos os fins de semanas tem de estar aí. Porque têm pessoal aqui. Apesar que eles levaram muita gente para a Boba e não sei quê e ficaram quase perto [uns dos outros] mas não é a mesma coisa. **Pedro Varela:** E muita gente nem teve direito a casa e está noutra sítio qualquer. **RD:** Sim, houve muita gente que não teve direito, sim."

<sup>235</sup> Sorefame (*Sociedades Reunidas de Fabricações Metálicas*) was an important and large factory of railway rolling stock and industrial equipment in Amadora that closed in 2005.

backyard for the houses that surround the area; a place for sharing a beer and *grogue* [Cape Verdean sugar cane distilled drink]; where music is sung around a guitar; sometimes crossed by women with big plastic boxes selling pastries or cakes; and a place of the constant passage of the inhabitants. It's a void that now and then fills with parties, with very young DJs, plastic containers of ice-cold drinks and a grill with roasts.

From morning until nightfall, this place was also transformed into an open-air garage, where several mechanics worked. This is because the neighbourhood has many car garages owned by Black and white people. One day, I will never forget, I saw several mechanics taking apart a car, almost entirely, and putting it, as if playing Tetris, inside a wooden box to send to Cape Verde. A little community of Western Continental Africans has also been established there recently. For many months, until the Municipal Council prohibited the accumulation of cars in repair in '*Descampado*', the place was surrounded by parked cars; in one of them lived a young Cape Verdean girl from outside with addictions and psychiatric problems that was helped by some of the residents.

One of the verandas overlooking this open space became a meeting place for music played by guitars or in music speakers. There, I often joined Brasão with my guitar, an artist from the neighbourhood that plays traditional Cape Verdean music. During this period, I grew my nails again, trained and learned with him several songs from the traditional Cape Verdean repertoire: from Bulimundo to Tubarões, from Cesária Évora to Bana. Brasão came from Cape Verde in the 1990s as a musician and plays nowadays in cafes and bars in Cova da Moura and Reboleira areas. During the pandemic period, work was scarce for him, and people would gather around this terrace, and he would cheer them up with his guitar and deep voice.

On one of the afternoons that I went to the neighbourhood that then turned into a long night, this veranda became once again a place of conviviality and music. It was early April, but still a cold night, as often are the nights in Amadora. After passing by several cafés, improvised bars and houses of acquaintances, I joined a birthday party in front of the '*Descampado*'. Lu's birthday party was in front of her home and her daughters, sons, family and friends were there. At a particular moment, they brought the guitar to Brasão, and as it was becoming a 'ritual', he passed the guitar so I could tune it. Then the show began. His thick voice invaded the night and more and more people gathered there. Lu and one of her daughters also sang songs they loved. At a particular moment, Cape Verdean musician Lulas [aka Cachupa Psicadélica], who lives nearby and has friends in the neighbourhood, passed by. He also picked up the guitar and started doing duets with Brasão, fusing different

generations of artists and Cape Verdean styles. Later, the rapper Castaloni RG arrived and joined in, improvising some rap rhymes over the chords. Moments like these happened several times in that place, and it was there that I spent many afternoons and evenings watching, playing the guitar and chatting. These are important moments of conviviality in a disappearing neighbourhood, which people seem to want to live until the last minute.



Figure 5 – *Rabulera* in the Lisbon metropolitan area (with the boundaries of the municipalities); *Rabulera* neighbourhood 2018 (Google Earth).

## 5.2 *Estrada Militar*: a street that tells stories

When we leave the western side of the Damaia train station, we come across a small garden next to the aqueduct. There, many Cape Verdean men, mainly the elderly, meet to play endless games of cards. They come from different nearby neighbourhoods, some from the *Estrada Militar do Alto Damaia (Rabulera)*. In that area of Damaia, in the late afternoon, people pass fast in the direction of the train or their neighbourhoods, some gather in front of cafes, and a few get off at the station and play a game of cards before going home. In that ‘card garden’, I spent several afternoons watching games and listening to conversations, and from there, I circulated between several cafes with Nola and other ‘comrades’.

If we follow the aqueduct in the direction of Amadora, we find a small traffic circle where *Rabulera* begins following *Estrada Militar* [the old military road]. The neighbourhood runs along this street, just where the communities of Estrela D’Africa, Seis de Maio, Tenda or Fontainhas used to be, but on the other side of the railway line. Only *Rabulera* resists total demolition. Today, when we enter the neighbourhood, the entire right side is already demolished; there used to be a vegetable garden, where I used to go. On the left side are some small buildings that the mechanics use for their garages. In that part of the

street, I met Nola for the first time when he was on his way to his vegetable garden, and in a demolished house on the right side, Machine established his second studio. At the end of this demolished area appears the '*Descampado*', and the Rua da Escola [School Street] starts from there. This street, that climbs too steeply, as its name indicates leads to a primary school in the neighbourhood and goes in the direction of the group of schools Dr Azevedo Neves further up. In the 1960s, the first constructions in the neighbourhood appeared at the top of this street. Continuing up the Estrada Militar from the '*Descampado*', there is a two-floor green building at the first bend, with a cafe, a barbecue and a drinking establishment underneath. It was on the terrace of this house that Machine and the BMP rap group built their first studio (I will return to these rap groups later on). Underneath, there is usually a well-known resident, Maria, who sells drinks and barbecue meat. I've known Maria since I started going to the neighbourhood, when, in another area, she used to flood the streets with *espetadas* [meat sticks kebabs] and roast chicken wings.

After a second turn, we are in the heart of the neighbourhood, in an area with a small square intersected by two alleyways leading out. This is where some cafes and informal establishments are concentrated, and a few years ago, I would stop there with the neighbourhood's young people while we chat and drank beer. In the late afternoon, we were flooded by the sweet smell of the street barbecues. This place is the social and physical centre of *Rabulera*; today, it is an area under destruction. In this little square was the large house of Buskubu's family, one of the largest in the neighbourhood since his father was a construction worker and small contractor. Three of his music studios were born in this house, recently demolished in 2022. Different generations of rappers have recorded their music there, and Alcateia rap band, one of the most emblematic in the neighbourhood's rap history, also rehearsed there. Further up, in a ground-floor house also owned by his family, Buskubu had another studio. Many years ago, 'Buskubu Pro Disco', maybe the first 'club' in the neighbourhood, was born in his family's building. In recent years, a very dynamic place was established there, Magic Sisha Bar Guetto, which brought people from various places to the area.

One of these alleys going to the right leads to an open area outside the neighbourhood, and there, when I first know this place, there was a beautiful green house with a giant avocado tree next to it. At this entrance of *Rabulera*, there was a area with vegetable gardens and verandas with beautiful plants. There, I met several times with older inhabitants; I drank wine with them, listened to their stories and waited for them to take me to their vegetable gardens.

Today, along the old military road that goes up, we see demolished houses built on the small elevations that narrow the street. Sometimes the trees that used to accompany the old military road still stand. On the left side of the road, the houses sometimes appear as staircases, as this is a space with a particular inclination. The only street entirely passable by car is the one we are on, and the Rua da Escola is only good in some parts. Along the entire *Estrada Militar*, there are always small streets that lead to the outside of the neighbourhood and where people come and go.

If we continue up the road, minutes later we will find the space where the Camps' studio used to be. This now-demolished house was where Guetto Tsunami, one of the most important rap bands in the area, used to meet. In July 2021, that place was still there, and on a day of filming a music video for a former member of the group, Master, we were there hanging out at the door. Right there, across the street, is 'Café da Nana', where in the afternoon and evening, people always gather in the street socialising. This is a central meeting place for residents, and I have been told that you only really know *Rabulera* if you go to 'Café da Nana'. One day I asked Machine, if the Nana's still existed. And he replied, "Of course it still exists because the moment it ends the neighbourhood would also come to an end".

Nowadays, the neighbourhood seems to stop right there, at a recently built roundabout. However, if you cut to the right, you'll find even more self-built houses, but now a new street runs through that space. A few years ago, in that area, I went to a demolished site connected to a house still standing. There Machine, RD and other friends had set up a studio in the family house of another rapper, MSG. They used the space opened up by the demolition as a yard for socialising, lunches and where they tended a vegetable garden.



Figure 6 - *Rabulera* 1978 (Álvaro Silva); *Rabulera* 2015 (Pedro Varela); House demolitions in *Rabulera* 2021 (Pedro Varela); *Rabulera* 2021 (Pedro Varela).

## 5.3 Methodology and the ethnographic approach

When speaking of human life, the city can be understood as a “network of networks” (Hannerz, 1980); and the spaces of sociability become privileged places to interpret human relations and understand artistic practices in the city (Magnani, 2002). Here, sociabilities are understood as the establishment of social relations by social relations in themselves (Costa, 2003, p. 211); a kind of pure social, a form of socialisation that only wants the interaction in itself (Frúgoli Jr., 2007, p. 9). This concept of sociability allows a relevant analysis of the phenomenon of social relations in urban space.

The Brazilian anthropologist José Magnani (1984, 2002) suggests original categories of classification of urban use through sociabilities. These categories allow us better understand the city’s reality. From the perspective of Roberto Da Matta, who proposes a ‘house’ vs ‘street’ city analysis (where ‘house’ is familiarity and ‘street’ inhospitable), Magnani offers categories of intermediate spaces of sociability for analysis, such as: ‘turf’ (*pedaço*), ‘patch’ (*mancha*), ‘route’ (*trajeto*) and ‘circuit’ (*circuito*).

Based on Magnani’s work, I consider ‘*Descampado*’ as ‘turf’ (*pedaço*). According to the author, a ‘turf’, such as the ‘*Descampado*’, designates a particular type of appropriation of urban space with solid forms of sociability. There, everyone knows each other; kinship or neighbourhood ties persist; forms of belonging emerge; definitive bonds are built; the presence of its members is regular; and there are, among them, codes of recognition and communication (Magnani, 2002). Thus, “[...] the turf is the place of the colleagues, of the close ones [...] everyone knows who they are, where they come from, what they like and what one can or cannot do.” (Magnani, 1984, p. 12). In the Brazilian context, the author gives examples of ‘turfs’, places like cafes, bars, snack-bars, dance halls, parish halls, religious temples, neighbourhood football fields or neighbourhood circuses (Magnani, 2002).

Ethnographic research is one of the primary methodologies of anthropological work. Adopted mainly in this area, it has also been embraced by other social science. Intending to look at society from the point of view of the subject under study, ethnography was profoundly revolutionary in academia and is, still nowadays, fundamental practice for studying the multiple social phenomena surrounding us. However, it is crucial to consider

the vast extractive, negative and disrespectful context of many ethnographies, especially the oldest.

My analysis is based on the ethnographic study I conducted in the *Rabulera* neighbourhood between 2020 and 2022. My initial fieldwork proposal indicated the Quinta do Mocho neighbourhood. However, by the end of 2019, the COVID-19 pandemic struck the world, and restrictions prevented me from starting fieldwork from its scratch, i.e., exploratory fieldwork, initiating contacts, etc. Despite everything, since I started the PhD, I have accompanied my colleague Otávio Raposo in some of his incursions into Quinta do Mocho. But then, in the face of the pandemic, there were no conditions for what I had proposed to do, and this left me a little distressed for many months during the confinement. Also, in the uncertainty that my grant might not be delayed enough, which proved to be the case, I decided it was necessary to change my fieldwork plan. So, I came back to *Rabulera*. And that, I am sure today, was a very wise decision that improved my research.

As I said at the beginning of the chapter, between 2014 and 2015, I spent many days in *Rabulera* when I was doing an ethnographic study on urban gardens for my master's degree (Varela, 2015). I started that fieldwork in *Rabulera*, but then the main focus was on the vegetable gardens of Cova da Moura inhabitants. And during a period when I was part of a project on arts and music (Varela, Raposo & Ferro, 2018), *Rabulera* artists, mainly Pedro Diniz aka Machine, were also essential for the fieldwork among African-immigrant artists in Amadora. In 2020, I continued collaborating with Pedro Diniz aka Machine, rapper, beatmaker and videomaker from *Rabulera*. Born in Angola to an Angolan mother and Cape Verdean father, he grew up in this area where he arrived as a child. I had known him since 2006, when we met in the musical and association-community environment of Cova da Moura.

I returned to *Rabulera* in September 2020, when we were still experiencing substantial restrictions and fears linked to the COVID-19 pandemic, and my son had been born only a few months before. However, it was necessary to move forward with one of the fundamental phases of my PhD thesis. I had to move between municipalities in Lisbon when it was often forbidden, but I had this right because my work was essential. I also knew that I could be approached by the police in *Rabulera*, at a time when street policing had become more aggressive (see Varela, 2020b). For example, in the summer of 2020, Quinta do Mocho was a place of close police surveillance that led to moments of enormous violence. Obviously, in my case, the risk was much lower in the relationship with the police, since I am a white researcher. I also could enter and leave the fieldwork whenever I decided, namely



if the situation got tense, but the same cannot be said for the population of these neighbourhoods who live with constant police violence (see Raposo, Alves, Varela & Roldão, 2019).

Thus, due to the pandemic, I did an ethnographic study in two moments: from September to December 2020, between April and September 2021 and some occasional visits in 2022. The interval was inevitable because between January and March 2021, we lived the country's most difficult moments of COVID-19. Several people I hung out with during the fieldwork caught the disease in this period. At home, we were aware that I could become infected at any time due to my exposure and the decision for me to do fieldwork had been a collective one. However, COVID-19 would only arrive at our house one year after, from kindergarten. According to my fieldwork diary, I know that I went out more than 80 days to do fieldwork. To this, we must add the two fieldworks I had undertaken before there, which have allowed me to start from a much higher level of understanding of the area and stronger relationships with friends, musicians and residents. Also, returning to the same 'field' at different times gives an essential sense of time and transformation.

Thus, this ethnographic research was based on a "close-up and insider look"<sup>236</sup> (Magnani, 2002), where participant observation, fieldwork diary and in-depth interviews and photographs were used. I did 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews (18 recorded, 2 written) and I also drew on old interviews. Now, most of them were done with rappers (but also other musicians) and older inhabitants or people with experience in the neighbourhood associations. These interviews aimed to understand the life story of each person, collect information about the neighbourhood's history and rap, and discuss perspectives on the past, present and future of this place and of rap movement; in the case of rappers it was also intended to bring some understanding of their specific lyrics. In my fieldwork diary, I recorded descriptions of all my days in fieldwork, as well as thoughts and questions that arise throughout the work. Photography, for me, is also an important element of recording the reality under study, in a way that not only illustrates the fieldwork, but allows a continuous and subsequent look at the place of study, like it was a 'photographic fieldwork diary'. Both writing and photography are indispensable working tools in my ethnographic research.

My fieldwork was not restricted to this geographical space. Beyond my spatial focus, I decided to accompany the protagonists of my study through the different spots they

---

<sup>236</sup> "olhar de perto e de dentro"

circulate in the city. In this sense, I adopted similar practices of Lúcia Ferro, who, in her fieldwork on the practice of parkour in Lisbon, was faced with an ethnographic challenge, which led her to opt for a multi-sited ethnography:

The task of restricting the research to a single location for fieldwork became impossible. The mobility of the actors in the urban space could not be neglected. Our protagonists move through the city, which is a necessary part of their practice. The flow analysis was a lever for the research and a methodological strategy for contacting the people linking up within the city. Tracking and mapping these flows enabled the study from different scales of observation and conceptualisation since it could include the transnational dynamics of production of this practice, this sociability, the contexts and the social representations at a 'global' level. (Ferro, 2015, p. 188)

For her, restricting the fieldwork research to a single location became impossible. The mobility of the protagonists in the urban space could not be neglected. The protagonists move through the city, which is a necessary part of their practice. The flow analysis was a lever for the research and a methodological strategy for contacting the people linking up within the city. Tracking and mapping these flows enabled the study from different scales of observation and conceptualization since it could include the transnational dynamics of production of this practice, this sociability, the contexts and the social representations at a 'global' level (Ferro, 2015, p. 188).

The protagonists I encountered in my ethnographic study also moved across the city for their artistic or work practices. They move between different neighbourhoods through their networks and places of sociability. Based on Lúcia Ferro's (2015) research and my past experience, I adopted a multi-situated ethnography called the 'flow analysis' or the 'ethnography of flow methodology'. This multi-situated ethnographic technique is called 'go-along' (see Mata & Fernandes, 2018). When using 'go-along', the researchers follow individual persons in their daily lives and, through dialogues and observation, actively explore this reality in the study. This 'go-along' technique allows circulation through different territories, leading to the diversification of the ways of being in the fieldwork - the research does not focus only on one or a few concrete points. It moves with people's city paths (Mata & Fernandes, 2018, p. 324).

In my case, although I focused on the current and former inhabitants of the *Rabulera* neighbourhood, which led me most of the time to fieldwork located in this place, I adopted the 'go-along' technique that allowed me to accompany people through different territories and understand their relationship with the city. With them, I moved around other parts of Reboleira and Amadora (such as the centre of this city and other neighbourhoods like Cova

da Moura, Casal da Boba, Casal da Mira, Brandoa or Quinta da Lage); and also to other spaces much further away from the periphery and to the centre of Lisbon.

As in my ethnographic study, I was also dealing with narratives about the neighbourhood's past, i.e. oral history; it was essential to draw on the teachings of this area of study. Namely to understand the nuances of obtaining oral testimonies about the past; the importance of different narratives in the construction of a memory not recorded in a written form; or the importance of the emergence of the interviewer's voice (i.e. my voice) in the excerpts that I place throughout the thesis (Portelli, 2013; Cardina, 2013).

In addition, I also analysed aerial images and photographs of the neighbourhood over the decades to understand its evolution. Here I explored the archives of the Army Geospatial Information Centre (CIGeoE), the GeoPortal from Amadora, Google Earth and groups in social media linked to this urban area where memories and photographs are shared. I also collected in archives and internet newspapers sites, news about this area's past and present, namely in the Oeiras Municipal Archive (of which Amadora was part until 1979) which has an online press archive. These research and discoveries from the past were fundamental in methodological terms. For example, in the conversations I had with the inhabitants, the photographs and pages of newspapers that I was acquiring also became essential elements for several people in their reflection on what the neighbourhood was and is.

## 5.4 From '*barracas*'<sup>237</sup> to brick houses, from collective organisation to demolition

The occupation of this neighbourhood began in the mid-1960s, as far as is known, with white and Roma inhabitants. The African population arrived mainly after the Revolution of April 25, 1974, which opened a space for political freedom and land occupation. Since the end of the 1970s, the people with Cape Verdean ancestry have been the majority of the population in the neighbourhood. Today, mainly Black people live in this neighbourhood, most of them from Cape Verdean ancestry, but also from São Tomé and

---

<sup>237</sup> I will use sometimes the term '*barracas*' (i.e. shacks) when referring to the first type of very precarious constructions that appeared in this neighbourhood, that is, wooden houses, with zinc or plastic structures. Years later, these constructions were almost all replaced by masonry houses. In Portugal the term '*barracas*' [shacks] or '*bairro de barracas*' [shacks neighbourhood] is used pejoratively for many self-produced areas, even though today they are built of masonry and concrete. On the other hand the term '*barracas*' is also used in an identarian way for the origin of neighbourhoods and people, namely in *kriolu rap*.

Príncipe, Angola, Guinea-Bissau (and some from Senegal and Guinea-Conakry). Currently, there are also white people, but few.

Similar to many self-produced neighbourhoods in the Lisbon metropolitan area, *Rabulera* started as a place of ‘*barracas*’ [‘shacks’], which then consolidated into brick houses, concrete slabs, with sewers, access to water and electricity, a central tarmac road and where grocery stores, taverns and community structures appeared. The occupation process is also similar to the process in other urban territories of the LMA: those who arrived first called their family, friends and colleagues who also built their homes there, creating a neighbourhood where kinship networks were central to its social and physical solidification. The newly arrived Black residents informally bought ‘*barracas*’, small vegetable gardens or agricultural and livestock support constructions, from the people who already lived there, mainly white Portuguese. In these spaces they built houses. Initially, many were ‘shacks’ of wood, zinc and plastic, and later, out of the sight of the authorities, they built masonry walls inside the planks. When a ‘good opportunity’ arose, they would remove the ‘wooden shell’ in the hope that it would not be demolished, which did happen several times. In a more advanced construction phase of the neighbourhood, many houses did not start from ‘shacks’ but already from masonry constructions.

It emerged like many other places along the old *Estradas Militares* [Military Roads], which were no longer used by the army and whose uncertain legal status at the time did its occupation possible. Later, collective mobilisation, namely with the emergence of residents' committees, allowed access to water, electricity, lighting, tarmac road, sewers and the creation of collective spaces. From the initial informal constructions, the neighbourhood in the 1980s gave way to an area almost entirely of brick and cement houses. Building these neighbourhoods was only possible because the power relationship between the popular classes, the state and the elites had changed with the Carnation Revolution and political space was open for housing struggles with slogans such as “Houses Yes, Shacks No!”.<sup>238</sup>

Together with other self-produced neighbourhoods with African-majority in the area, *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)* was a place where Black culture established, mainly of Afro-Cape Verdean influence, where Cape Verdean became the dominant language of home and street life, even among those who have no ancestors from this archipelago (Varela, Raposo & Ferro, 2018). Kats, a rapper from *Rabulera*, precisely told me about the social proximity that exists between similar neighbourhoods in Amadora:

---

<sup>238</sup> “Casas Sim, Barracas Não!”

**Pedro Varela:** How important is a neighbourhood like Reboleira for your music?

**Kats:** The scene is the same all over Amadora. We're talking about Amadora, yeah, bro. Amadora is a great place to live. There are a lot of places here in Amadora... I could live in Cova da Moura; I could live in Bairro Santa Filomena; I could live in Bairro Seis de Maio, I could live in Bairro do Zambujal, of course, it would be the same because it's not only Reboleira that feels some discontent, I think all the other neighbourhoods also feel discontent and have problems. Yes, but Reboleira has its essence; we have our essence. What we grew up with, where we were raised... A way of life... Different... The same but different. [...] Santa Filomena neighbourhood is my neighbourhood too. I didn't grow up there; I don't have a house there. But I was received there the same way as in Reboleira. Do you understand? Through friends... Many people say I'm from Santa Filomena when I never had a house there.<sup>239</sup> (Interview with Kats by Pedro Varela, 15/12/2020)

In *Rabulera*, there are strong family, friendship and neighbourhood networks that create central community dynamics, strengthening a culture of resistance against poverty and racism and where forms of mutual help were established that last until today but which, in a narrative familiar to many inhabitants, seems to have faded in recent decades. The weakening of relationships of mutual help or the fading of a more solidary past are common narratives among those who witnessed this neighbourhood (and others) being built by their own hands. The construction of many of the houses in this area was only possible thanks to social relations of reciprocity and collective work that the inhabitants reproduced from their life in rural Cape Verdean contexts, such as the *djunta mon* [join hands] or the *djuda* [help], a dynamic common to many self-produced neighbourhoods in the Lisbon metropolitan area with a Cape Verdean majority (see Varela, 2015; Cuberos-Gallardo, 2019; Varela, 2020c).

Buskubu, a known neighbourhood music producer, now over 50 years old, recalls his childhood when he saw the neighbourhood grow in the 1970s and 1980s:

**Buskubu:** When I came here, the neighbourhood had no asphalt; it was all mud, and when it rained there were metre deep holes in the roads. Obviously, there were more difficulties. But people's unity was different. My father was a builder. People used to have a lunch party, a few boxes of beer, for example, to lay a concrete floor. People helped each other; this no longer exists today.<sup>240</sup> (Interview with Buskubu by Pedro Varela, 24/09/2020)

---

<sup>239</sup> **Pedro Varela:** Qual é a importância de um bairro como a Reboleira para a tua música? **Kats:** A cena é igual em toda a Amadora. Tamos a falar da Amadora, ya mano. A Amadora é um sítio bué bom para se viver... Há bué da sítios aqui da Amadora... Eu podia viver na Cova da Moura, podia viver no Bairro Santa Filomena, podia viver no Bairro Seis de Maio, podia viver no bairro do Zambujal com certeza que ia ser igual porque não é só a Reboleira que se sente algum descontentamento, acho que todos os outros bairros também sentem descontentamento e têm problemas. Ya, mas pronto a Reboleira tem a sua essência, nós temos a nossa essência. Aquilo que a gente cresceu, que a gente levantou... Uma maneira de viver... Diferente... Igual mas diferente. [...] O bairro de Santa Filomena é o meu bairro também. Não cresci lá, não tenho casa lá. Mas ali eu fui recebido de maneira como eu tivesse na Reboleira. Percebes? Através dos amigos... Aliás há muitas pessoas que dizem que eu sou de Santa Filomena, quando eu nunca tive uma casa lá.”

<sup>240</sup> **Buskubu:** Quando vim para cá o bairro não tinha alcatrão, era tudo em lama, quando chovia eram uns buracos de um metro de profundidade aí nas estradas. Havia mais dificuldade como é óbvio. Mas a união das pessoas era diferente. O meu pai era construtor. O pessoal fazia uma almoçarada, umas grades de cervejas, por exemplo para meter uma placa, aquilo era num dia e no outro deixava-se secar. As pessoas entreadjudavam-se, isso já não existe atualmente.”

Armagedon, one of the pioneers of rap in the area and now in his mid-40s, also recalls the problematic days of arriving in the neighbourhood in the 1980s. But he does not forget the importance of mutual help, community life and the relevance of ancestral wisdom, a past that today, in his opinion, no longer exists:

**Armagedon:** When we arrived in the neighbourhood, there was no light, bro. It was dirt paths at the time. It was full of mud. Then when it rained... My house at that time still didn't have windows. There was no light in the house; it was candlelight... [...] [But] As long as you had food and drink. People didn't have to pay anything. As long as you wanted to build something, it was the brotherhood of the people, mainly the familiarity. You could be from another family, but the neighbourhood was the same family. People all got along; you could go to anyone's house. Nowadays, you don't do that, bro. At Christmas, it was something that I enjoyed a lot because you spent the whole night in people's houses. You went, ate, drank. No worries, no worries. It's a scene you don't see nowadays; it's been lost. It was the older men telling stories at the bonfires, the elders. And you'd get wisdom. Nowadays, you don't see that anymore; they gave great advice; I always listened to the excellent advice from the older people. It was the Cape Verdean and Santomean people.<sup>241</sup> (Interview with Armagedon by Pedro Varela, 13/04/2021)

The 1958 military aerial photograph<sup>242</sup> of the area where *Rabulera* was built shows a place where an entrenched military road passed, with trees accompanying it, but without any housing occupation. The next one, from 1968, shows some 'shacks', but still few, in the northernmost part of the neighbourhood on what is now Rua das Escolas. The one from 1986 shows the whole area already built at its height (see Figure 7 below). Unfortunately, there is a gap of two decades between these last photographs, so it is impossible to understand the evolution of the construction in *Rabulera*. The beginning of the occupation in the 1960s that the picture shows is in line with the narratives of the older people in the neighbourhood.

In the press, the first reference I found about this area was in *O Século* newspaper in July 1966, which reports a tragic fire that killed a child and destroyed a house. The article portrayed the fire in that "cluster" of "tiny shacks" in Damaia:

In Damaia, behind Praceta de S. Miguel, a place known as Alto da Damaia, in a clearing in the hills overlooking the Estrada Militar, there are small clusters of tiny shacks [...]. It was in one of these clusters, perhaps about twenty shacks, that a fire

---

<sup>241</sup> "Armagedon: Quando chegámos ao bairro não havia luz, mano. Era terra batida na altura, ya. Era lama para caraças. Então quando chovia... A minha casa na altura ainda não tinha janela. Não havia luz no cubículo, era luz da vela... [...] Desde que tivesse comes e bebes. O people não precisava pagar nada. Desde que quisesses construir alguma cena era a irmandade das pessoas, principalmente a familiaridade: Podias ser de outra família mas o bairro era a mesma família. As pessoas todas davam-se bem, tu podias ir à casa de qualquer pessoa. Hoje em dia não fazes isso, mano. No Natal era uma coisa que eu curtia bué porque a noite inteira passavas nas casas das pessoas. Ias, comias, bebias. Na boa, tranquilo. É uma cena que hoje em dia já não vês, isso perdeu-se. Eram os cotas a contar histórias nas fogueiras, os mais velhos. E um gajo recebia sabedoria. Hoje em dia um gajo já não vê isso, eles davam grande conselhos, eu sempre ouvi os grandes conselhos dos cotas. Era o pessoal cabo-verdiano e santomense."

<sup>242</sup> Military aerial photographs acquired from the *Centro de Informação Geoespacial do Exército (CIGeoE)* [Army Geospatial Information Centre].

broke out yesterday morning and destroyed three of them. [...] For one reason or another, from the hut that was transformed into a brazier, it was still possible to get the little children out without getting burned, but unfortunately, that did not happen to the little sister who was on an iron bed that the heat transformed into embers and who still managed to crawl to a washing tank, under which she could not hide, however, because she was hit by a burning board, under which she died horribly burned.<sup>243</sup> ('Mais uma vida perdida num criminoso bairro de lata onde um incêndio destruiu as barracas e os pobres haveres de três humildes famílias', 1966).

From what is described in the various news reports about this event<sup>244</sup>, the family that lost the child would be white, and another family that saw all its belongings disappear in flames was Roma. Fires will be a tragedy that will ravage informal construction neighbourhoods for decades; the older inhabitants remember another one that burnt down some houses at the end of the 1970s and supposedly killed one person. Also nearby, in the already demolished Fontainhas neighbourhood, in 1977, a similar tragedy killed two children.

The precariousness of life was a constant in this neighbourhood. However, through the efforts of a community huge improvements have taken place in *Rabulera*. The state and local institutions, on the other hand, have done little for this place and in recent decades, have focused more on destroying a neighbourhood than on improving the lives of the people who live there. Today a serious degradation of *Rabulera* is evident.

---

<sup>243</sup> “Na Damaia nas traseiras da Praceta de S. Miguel, sítio conhecido pelo Alto da Damaia, numa clareira da serra sobranceira à Estrada Militar, existem pequenos aglomerados de barracas minúsculas [...] Foi num destes conjuntos, talvez de umas vinte barracas que, ontem de manhã, se manifestou um incêndio que destruiu três delas. [...] Por um motivo, ou pelo outro da barraca transformada em braseiro, ainda foi possível retirar, sem queimaduras, o pequenito não acontecendo infelizmente à irmãzita, que estava numa cama de ferro que o calor transformou em brasas e que ainda conseguiu arrastar-se até um tanque de lavar roupa, debaixo do qual não pôde esconder-se, porém, por ter sido atingida por uma tábua a arder, sob a qual morreu horrivelmente queimada.”

<sup>244</sup> ‘Mais uma vida perdida num criminoso bairro de lata onde um incêndio destruiu as barracas e os pobres haveres de três humildes famílias’, 1966; ‘Arderam Três Barracas na Damaia’, 1966; ‘Vinte pessoas sem lar devido a um incêndio’, 1966; ‘Três barracas destruídas, vinte pessoas e duas crianças em risco de perderem a vida’, 1966; ‘Uma criança carbonizada no incêndio que destruiu três barracas na Damaia’, 1966.



Figure 7 - Aerial photograph 1968 (Centro de Informação Geoespacial do Exército); Aerial photograph 1986 (Centro de Informação Geoespacial do Exército); Aerial photograph 2005 (GeoPortal Amadora); Perspective 2018 (Google Earth).

## 5.5 Life stories of a neighbourhood

Minha, the name by which she is affectionately known, is one of the oldest Cape Verdean women in the neighbourhood, and, in her area, she's recognised as one of the first people who came to live there. For decades she was the caretaker of many children and is highly respected. She is also a known storyteller and one of the 'guardians' of the neighbourhood's memory. Often, in the late afternoon, she sits on a chair in the shade of the wall of her house that runs along the central road. People gather around her, chatting and observing the 'Café da Nana' dynamics on the opposite side of the road.

Minha's house has a long frontage, which grew out of an old porch and is occupied, on the outside, in part by a swiss cheese plant (*Monstera deliciosa*), from which large fruits grow. Also, in the corner grows a bush of *feijão congo* (Pigeon pea - *Cajanus cajan*), a bean common in Cape Verdean and other African and diaspora culinary, and underneath there are some other plants for infusions. In the corner of the house, the cut trunk of one of the ash trees that accompanied the old military road still survives. In some points of the neighbourhood, the ash trees still survive erected, reminding of the existence of that old military road. Minha remembers how this ash tree, now sawn down, used to shadow her house, and how once, in it, her deceased husband built a kind of tree house.



Minha was born on the island of Santiago in the Pedra Badejo area, and at the age of 18, she went to São Tomé and Príncipe to work on the Roça de Rio de Ouro. Several Cape Verdeans from *Rabulera* lived in São Tomé and Príncipe before arriving in Portugal; in the forced migration, they suffered due to Portuguese colonialism, famines and poverty that plagued the islands of the “Flagellated of the East Wind”<sup>245</sup>. Around 1972, she came to Portugal to join her husband, who worked in the construction sector in Lisbon. First, they lived in a very rundown attic in the area of Avenida Almirante Reis (centre of Lisbon). Then they moved to the self-produced neighbourhood of Bairro das Fontainhas on the border between Amadora and Lisbon. When the 25<sup>th</sup> of April Revolution broke out, she was working in a factory next to Sorefame in Amadora and, around 1976 she came to live in a ‘*barraca*’ in this neighbourhood. At first, she lived further down the military road, next to a Roma family that she was close to. Then she moved to the higher part of the neighbourhood with a Cape Verdean friend who had also passed through São Tomé and Príncipe. There they bought the place from a white man who had a vegetable garden and then they built the two houses where they live today.

She decided to come here because this was a quieter neighbourhood, with “less violence and cleaner”. The narrative that this neighbourhood was more peaceful than others is recurrent and one of the justifications for some of those who chose to live there. She recalls when she started living in this house of hers:

**Minha:** When I came up here, it was all vegetable gardens and olive trees. There was only one shack or another. To fetch water, we used to go down near the [train] station; we carried it in our hands and on our heads. Then they placed water here. My house was the first to have light [...] this road was full of stones and to build the house we had to get sand from up there where the cars could get to.<sup>246</sup> (Interview with Minha by Pedro Varela, 06/09/2021)

Soon afterwards, Nana and her husband started building a house across the street from Minha's. The two knew each other from Cape Verde, where they were kinship. They were born in the same area, around Pedra Badejo. Nana arrived in Portugal in 1972; initially, she lived in Estrada de Benfica and later in Carenque. Around 1975-76 Minha and Nana returned to Cape Verde supposedly to stay, their trip was paid, and they took the furniture and everything with them. They were part of a programme of return from the diaspora after

---

<sup>245</sup> Reference to the book by Manuel Lopes *Flagelados do Vento Leste* (1960) which portrays the scenario of the great famines in Cape Verde.

<sup>246</sup> “**Minha:** Quando vim cá para cima era tudo hortas e oliveiras. Só tinha uma barraca ou outra. Para irnos buscar água era lá em baixo na estação, trazíamos nas mãos e na cabeça. Depois é que meteram água aqui. A minha casa foi a primeira a ter luz [...] esta estrada [militar] era só pedras e para construir a nossa casa tínhamos de ir buscar a areia ali em cima onde conseguiam chegar os carros.”

the Portuguese revolution and during the process of Cape Verdean independence. However, like many others, they returned shortly afterwards to the former ‘metropolis’, according to them, because they could not find work.

Nana came to live in the neighbourhood around 1977 when she was still working in a factory in the Alfragide area. During the construction of her house, Minha prevented it from being torn down. During an inspection by the authorities in the neighbourhood to demolish new houses, she entered and pretended to live there. With the climate left by the 1974-75 Revolution, the destruction of homes with families were usually avoided. Years later, important meetings between members of the neighbourhood committees would take place in this house. Vítor, Nana's husband, who was an office worker and died some years ago, is still remembered as the prominent leader of the neighbourhood rights movement, and head of the processes that brought sewers and a new road to this area. This house was also the birthplace of one of the principal spots of the sociability of the neighbourhood that withstands until today and is known today as ‘Café da Nana’. Next door, her brother also built a house. As I mentioned, the networks of kinship and friendship between the inhabitants are central to understanding how a place with a vital community spirit was built. On Nana's Cafe, as Machine, once told us, “Who knows *Rabulera* knows Nana's, who has stopped at *Rabulera* knows Nana's”.

About 300 metres down the road in the neighbourhood, next to a small square created by the widening of the road, which became one of the hearts of the neighbourhood's collective social dynamics that I described before, and is now being demolished, stand the houses of Nola and Carlos, almost opposite each other. I met these two men more years ago, in 2014, when I was conducting research for my Master's thesis. Both were born in the area of São Lourenço dos Órgãos on Santiago Island (Cape Verde) and are also among the oldest inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

Carlos arrived in Portugal in 1973 to work for the big construction company Jota Pimenta<sup>247</sup>. After living in the company's barracks, in 1974-75, he moved to a ‘shack’ in this neighbourhood. Shortly afterwards, he joined a ‘colleague’, and they bought a construction that had been used to keep animals, and from there, they built their two masonry houses. The old ‘*barraca*’ where he had lived was sold but then burnt down in a fire. He recalls in a tragic-humoristic way the hard times of these wooden dwellings:

---

<sup>247</sup> Jota Pimenta was a big Portuguese construction company during the Estado Novo dictatorship, many Cape Verdeans worked there.

**Carlos:** The houses were made of wood, reinforced with plastic on top. There was no money to buy more materials. The floor was made of earth to sleep on. When it was raining, we even slept standing up... You can't lie in the mud [laughs].<sup>248</sup>  
(Interview with Carlos by Pedro Varela, 29/05/2021)

Across the street lives Nola; the two are long-time friends and have distant kinship relations. Also one of the oldest inhabitants of Rabulera, Nola is one of the people with whom I have had the closest relationship over several years. Over the last few years, I have spent time with him in countless cafes and hangouts in and around the neighbourhood. I have spent afternoons watching card games (a few years ago in the small taverns of the area and now in the garden covered by the Damaia aqueduct). On the sofa of his living room, we took refuge from the hot summer sun and in his kitchen, I learned to distinguish different types of beans that I keep to this day in a drawer like a botanist: *feijão pedra*, *feijão bongolom*, *feijão fava* and *feijão congo*. Beans grown in Cape Verde that were brought to the urban vegetable gardens on the outskirts of Lisbon.

I clearly remember the day I met Nola. I was with Machine, who was introducing me to older people with vegetable gardens. We were walking down the road through the neighbourhood, and he passed us. We were then introduced. He was immediately available and ready to take me to his vegetable garden. On the way, a woman neighbour appeared at the door, in an area that has already been demolished, and called out to him. Between jokes, they talked about some bureaucracy they had to deal with; Nola still seemed to have the aura of having belonged to the neighbourhood committees. As we were leaving, she asked him, as he was going to the vegetable garden, for some cabbage leaves for a dish she was cooking. We continued our way to his vegetable garden, at one end of the neighbourhood. He showed me the place and the crops he cultivated there and told me a little about his life story. We arranged to meet another day. As he said goodbye, he picked up some cabbage leaves and gave them to Machine. He asked us to take the cabbage to his neighbour. Then Nola did his way out of the neighbourhood, and we returned to give the cabbage. She thanked us and we followed along with other young people who were up there on the street. In his vegetable garden at the entrance to the neighbourhood, which was ironically razed to create a poorly treated green space, I retraced his past. I entered the dark mines of Panasqueira<sup>249</sup>, where he worked when he first came to Portugal, and an accident almost took his life and left visible

---

<sup>248</sup> “**Carlos:** As casas eram de madeira, reforçada com plástico por cima. Não havia dinheiro para comprar mais material. O chão era batido para desenrascar para dormir. Quando estava a chover até dormíamos em pé.... Não dá para deitar na lama [risos]”

<sup>249</sup> The Panasqueira mines are a mining complex in a mountainous area in the municipality of Fundão, in the centre-north-interior part of the country. One of its main extractions is tungsten. This ore was very important during the World War II for the manufacture of military equipment.

marks on one side of his head. I ‘travelled’ around Portugal on the motorbike he bought with his first wages, which took him on countless adventures across the country. I ‘travelled’ through the mountains of the interior of the Island of Santiago, where he grew up and who, unlike many, returns regularly. I heard the stories of the building of *Rabulera*, the struggle for sewers and the tarmac of the main road. Stories were told countless times to me as if he wanted me to record for posterity. One day, at a café-bar counter, I met a long-time friend of his, a former longshoreman in Praia, the capital of Cape Verde. He humorously recalled that when he first went to *Rabulera* in the 1980s, it was a “very dark place, with mud and full of shacks”, the neighbourhood seemed to be inhabited by “witches”, he said. Back then, he always would cover the neck of the beer bottle with his finger after drinking to make sure the “witches” didn't get in it. The story was between the real's seriousness and the surreal's humour.

After serving in Mozambique in the colonial army - a land he has no happy memories of as the colonial state forced him to go there - Nola arrived in Portugal in 1971 to work as a miner. At this time, several Cape Verdeans came to fill the labour shortage in the country's ‘underground galleries’ at a time when Portuguese emigration was high. In the neighbourhood, others worked in mines in Alentejo. Then in 1977, Nola came to Lisbon to work in construction. First, he lived in Pontinha, and shortly after, he bought a ‘*barraca*’ in *Rabulera*, where he built his home from the ground and where his children grew up. The life stories of these people tell us about the diverse paths inside *Rabulera* community, almost half a century of memories of a neighbourhood built with their own hands.

## 5.6 Struggles of a neighbourhood in consolidation

Already in 1976, the Associação de Moradores do Bairro Novo do Alto da Damaia [Neighbourhood Association of New Neighbourhood from Alto da Damaia]<sup>250</sup> was created by white residents. Of the three names associated with its foundation, there are one man and two women, respectively, born in Fundão, Comenda (Gavião) and Poiares (Régua). As far as it is understood, the “New Neighbourhood” referred to a project of new constructions for people without houses in what is now the neighbourhood or near it. The name of this association appears in the newspaper *Inter: Boletim da Inter-Associações de Moradores dos*

---

<sup>250</sup> ‘Associação de Moradores do Bairro Novo do Alto da Damaia’. Arquivo Secretaria-Geral, Ministério da Administração Interna, PT/SGMAI/GCLSB/H-B/001/01598.

*Arredores de Lisboa* and is said to be linked to an attempt to integrate it into a SAAL (*Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local*) project, with a forecast of 300 dwellings but which never took place, apparently suspended “[...] due to lack of interest from the population.” (Santos, 2016). The SAAL was a state housing construction programme that emerged after the Carnation Revolution and aimed to meet the country's housing needs. However, among the residents of Cape Verdean origin that I spoke to, there is no memory of this organisation, either because they didn't live there yet or because it was formed in an area that today is not considered the neighbourhood, higher up and with a white people's majority of inhabitants.

In the transition from the 1970s to the 1980s, a new process of community organisation began with the formation of residents' committees. According to what several residents say, initially, the Black and white inhabitants organised themselves in joint commissions that brought together what is still called *Bairro da Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia* (primarily Black) with what is now the neighbourhood in Avenida Dr Teófilo Carvalho dos Santos (predominantly white), but which at the time was also in the continuation of the *Estrada Militar*.

As I mentioned, Vítor, Nana's husband, became one of the most emblematic leaders of these neighbourhood committees, representing residents of African descent. These committees would be responsible for raising money among residents and putting pressure on the authorities to make the sewers and the tarmac of the main road. In the municipal archives, a 1980 meeting of the recently created Amadora municipality<sup>251</sup>, a public tender is mentioned for the water supply and sanitation of the *Bairro da Estrada Militar do Alto Damaia* (Livro de Atas, 1980). Carlos, who belonged to those commissions, remembers those times of door-to-door militancy in the neighbourhood:

**Carlos:** It was the Residents' Commission. “Up and down”, “up and down”. They had to put the quota and money to fix this street and road. Each of us put in the money to fix this street, to put the water... It wasn't like that [easy], no. Our people did this street. Each one of us put in the money. We presented it to the council, the committee, and our countryman, Mr Vítor, who was on the committee, and he went from top to bottom of the neighbourhood. It took much work to deal with this street. We're in this neighbourhood here. Now it's falling. But our street wasn't made aimlessly.<sup>252</sup> (Interview with Carlos by Pedro Varela, 29/05/2021)

---

<sup>251</sup> The municipality of Amadora was only created in 1979 due to an extraordinary growth and development of this territory that then belonged to the municipality of Oeiras.

<sup>252</sup> “**Carlos:** Era a Comissão de Moradores. Para cima e para baixo, para cima e para baixo. Para arranjar esta rua, esta estrada, tiveram que meter a cota, o dinheiro. Cada um de nós meteu dinheiro para arranjar esta rua, para meter água... Não foi assim à toa, não. Esta rua foi feita pela nossa população. A cota de cada um que meteu dinheiro. Apresentámos à câmara, a comissão de moradores, os nossos patrícios, o senhor Vítor, ele era da comissão e andava de cima para baixo. Deu trabalho para tratar desta rua. Tamos neste bairro aí. Agora, pronto, está a ir abaixo. Mas a nossa rua não foi assim à toa.”

Also, in the 1980s, *Associação Caboverdeana* will direct a pilot project in this neighbourhood with the emblematic name in Cape Verdean, ‘*Nô Djunta Môn*’ [Let’s join hands]. *Associação Caboverdeana*, established in the centre of Lisbon, is one of Portugal’s oldest and most important African associations. During the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s, it also had an important role in anti-racist activities. It was also one of the organisations that signed the mobilisation for the demonstration after the death of Alcindo Monteiro in 1995. The project ‘*Nô Djunta Môn*’ in *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)* was a collective endeavour of experienced activists in teaching literacy among the Cape Verdean population of impoverished neighbourhoods. ‘*Nô Djunta Môn*’ was developed between 1980 and 1989, and extended to other places, becoming the most significant community intervention project until that time in the area of education for immigrant communities (see Carita & Rosendo, 1993; Albuquerque, Ferreira & Viegas, 2000; Machado, 2010).

Victor, who is still an association leader today (in other neighbourhoods) and whose aunt lived in the area, and Zenaida, who lived in the community, were two young people who stood out during this period as local leaders in the ‘*Nô Djunta Môn*’ project. At the time, they also became essential promoters of the dance group they had founded with others in the neighbourhood in 1984, the *Estrelas Cabo-verdianas* (Antunes, 2013). Back then, in the early 1980s, Zenaida mentioned racism in an interview to the newspaper *Africa Notícias*:

There are indeed unpleasant situations that sometimes happen. But my intervention and capacity to explain to people that we Africans are so equal to Europeans and that what is sometimes said about the Cape Verdeans are nothing more than insinuations from certain people interested in destroying the image of our emigrants in Portugal.<sup>253</sup> (‘*Nô Djunta Môn*’, 1982-83)

By the end of the 1980s, the project ‘*Nô Djunta Môn*’ ended, and later the City Hall demolished the building where the Alto da Damaia Cultural Center had been installed.

In 2004, the Amadora City Council and the local civil parish sponsored the creation of Loja Social to host projects financed by the national social inclusion policy *Programa Escolhas* – a state funding line for projects aimed at youth mainly in poor racialised communities. In 2019, its building was also demolished and Loja Social moved away from the neighbourhood.

---

<sup>253</sup> “Há, de facto situações desagradáveis que por vezes acontecem. Mas, a minha intervenção e capacidade de explicar às pessoas que, nós africanos, somos tão iguais aos europeus e aquilo que por vezes, se diz do caboverdiano, não passam de insinuações de certas pessoas interessadas na destruição da imagem dos nossos emigrantes, em Portugal.”

In recent decades, the work developed by Sporting Clube da Reboleira e Damaia has been relevant. The Club established itself at the ‘doors’ of the neighbourhood in the 1980s. In addition to sports activities, namely athletics, which integrated many children and young people who grew up there, its social and recreational activities stand out until today, namely the organisation of festive events with concerts and, more recently, the integration to its facilities of activities of the association Kumunidadi di Rubera, where artists linked to the reggae movement, namely Jinov, formed a musical band of young people from the neighbourhood.

Victor recalls how *Rabulera* – in his words, a precursor of the African associations movement in Amadora (since the ‘*Nô DJunta Môn*’ project preceded many others) - is today an orphaned place of community associations. Without a community movement linked to its inhabitants, the neighbourhood was left without the capacity for collective negotiation with the state and local institutions, particularly now at a tragic time of house demolitions:

**Victor:** It's funny that the associations movement in the neighbourhoods was born there. The associations movement of the Africans in the neighbourhoods of Amadora was born there. It was born there, and then it spread to the others. It was there that the first step was taken, then it went to others, to Buraca, to Amadora...<sup>254</sup> (Interview with Victor by Pedro Varela, 08/09/2021)

Victor currently argues that contrary to what has been done, the associations in these neighbourhoods that are being destroyed should be the last entities to leave. In his view, associations should be helped to remain in these places until all the residents are no longer living there. As he says, the associations should “close the door”; that is, they should be the last to leave.

## 5.7 A disappearing place

In 1997, Joaquim Raposo became mayor of the municipality of Amadora with a campaign that criminalised places like *Rabulera* with slogans such as “End to the Nightmare of Slums”<sup>255</sup>. Again, in 2022, the recently elected City Council, in its strategic plan, stated: “We will continue to work on the eradication of the Quinta da Lage neighbourhood and the Estrada Militar [do Alto da Damaia]”<sup>256</sup> (‘Amadora define estratégias para 2022’, 2021).

---

<sup>254</sup> “**Victor:** Engraçado que o associativismo nos bairros nasceu ali. O Associativismo dos africanos nos bairros da Amadora nasceu ali. Nasceu ali e depois é que se espalhou pelos outros. Foi ali é que se deu o primeiro passo, depois foi descendo, foi para a Buraca, foi para a Amadora...”

<sup>255</sup> “Acabar com o Pesadelo das Barracas”

<sup>256</sup> “Vamos continuar a trabalhar na erradicação do Bairro da Quinta da Lage e da Estrada Militar, investindo em programas ao autorealocamento.”

Amadora, over decades, has been a place of unfair and violent relocations, with house demolitions without warning, long and opaque processes, relocation of residents to the outskirts of the municipality, use of police violence during demolitions and countless cases of families left homeless (see Alves, 2021). The real estate pressure spread throughout the municipality, especially in the areas closest to Lisbon, where most of these neighbourhoods were located. Nowadays, *Rabulera* occupies an appetising site for new construction.

The female rapper G Fly left the neighbourhood a few years ago and remembers with bitterness the beginning of the demolition of houses that one day might reach the home she was raised:

**Pedro Varela:** The neighbourhood has been under demolition for several years. When you left, it was already being destroyed... **G Fly:** By the time I left, they had already started demolishing houses. It was really sad... Really sad... People who lived in their homes for 30 or 40 years were crying, seeing their homes falling. If I had seen the City Council tearing down the house where I grew up, I don't know how I would feel, really, it would be a really strange situation. **Pedro Varela:** I knew the neighbourhood about ten years ago and I would say it looks different today. **G FLY:** It does, it does... They've started to destroy the place, slowly, slowly. This week they destroyed a house here, then they destroyed two. And the older people began to leave. There were even cases of people who left the neighbourhood and died after a week. [...] Do you believe that most of the people whom they demolished the houses are people who didn't have the right to their homes? Because they're doing that a lot, they find any excuse for people don't have the right to a home, and they're putting people in god's hands. That's what's happening there. It's something that happened because most of the people who left the neighbourhood didn't have the right to a house. They're 'buying time' so that afterwards, they can say, for example, "We sent you a letter, you didn't answer, goodbye!". "You're no longer in Amadora's restructuring plan" [...]. They take me away from where I grew up, give me a neighbourhood that they want, and, on top of that, they put me paying rent [...]. You go to Casal da Mira or Casal da Boba. They must be giving people time to lose the right not to pay anything and lose the right to put other people in the house; that's what they're doing. Whoever lives in Casal da Mira, ten, eleven o'clock at night no longer has buses. And to leave Casal da Mira and come to Amadora or you have a transport pass, or forget it, or come on foot. [...] All the buildings in Casal da Mira and Casal da Boba in your head, do you think it fits all people from Fontainhas, Tenda, Damaia, Estrela D'Africa, Reboleira, Quinta da Lage, Bairro de Santa Filomena? Do you think so? Of course, not; all those people can't fit there. They are making time. Some give up, and others emigrate. Many people have given up or thought like me. There were many of us in the house, and they said they couldn't give everyone a place. Or they gave a home that would fit everyone, which is impossible... How will we live in a house with 10 or 11 people? Many people negotiate houses. There is a part of the money, and you go and buy a home, put a down payment on a home, ask for a credit, and many people did that. In my grandmother's house, we were about seventeen people because my grandfather's house was enormous. It was a big house, very long, with lots of rooms. It's sad what they are doing to the neighbourhoods, very sad. And then they are placing people from the neighbourhood as far away as possible.<sup>257</sup> (Interview with G Fly by Pedro Varela, 11/05/2021)

---

<sup>257</sup> **Pedro Varela:** O Bairro está a ser demolido há vários anos. Quando tu saíste já estava a ser demolido... **G Fly:** Na altura que eu sai já tinham começado a demolir casas, foi uma tristeza. Foi mesmo uma tristeza. Pessoas que moravam nas casas há 30-40 anos chorarem, a verem as casas a irem abaixo. Se eu vir a Câmara a mandar abaixo a casa onde eu cresci eu não sei como é que me ia sentir, a sério, ia ser uma situação mesmo estranha. **Pedro Varela:** Eu conheci o bairro há uns dez anos e até diria que ele hoje tem um ar diferente. **G FLY:** Tem,



In a survey carried out in 1993 by Amadora City Council, the *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)* was indicated as having 454 houses, 562 households and 1998 inhabitants. By 2013 the households had increased to 580. In the 1993 survey, this neighbourhood was the third largest self-produced area proposed for demolition in the number of houses in Amadora; and in 1998, the third in the number of inhabitants, after Azinhaga dos Besouros and Quinta da Lage, excluding Cova da Moura which was not part of the demolition processes ('Caracterização Social 2014 Águas Livres', 2014; 'Relatório de Execução Final - Programa de Iniciativa Comunitária URBAN II Amadora (Damaia Buraca) 2000-2006', 2015)

In 2007, demolitions began in the neighbourhood without any alternative housing for dozens of inhabitants. This led to the mobilisation of some residents with the support of the *Solidariedade Imigrante* association (Reis, 2007; 'Câmara da Amadora recusa receber moradores', 2007). Once again, as in other places, the demolition was carried out in a non-transparent way, in individual and not collective negotiations and always with a threatening police contingent. In the specific case of this neighbourhood, the process has been very long, and in this period, the families have grown, new residents have moved in, and many have left the area, sometimes going to live in the surroundings and now, with real estate speculation, further and further away. Some who saw their houses demolished continue to live with relatives or rent rooms in the neighbourhood.

---

tem... Começaram a destruir aquilo pingado, pingado. Destruíam esta semana uma casa aqui, depois lá em baixo destruíam duas. E as pessoas mais velhas começaram a ir embora. Houve mesmo casos de pessoas que saíram do bairro e passado uma semana morreram. [...] Tu acreditas que a maior parte das pessoas que eles demoliram as casas são pessoas que depois não tiveram direito [a casa]. Porque eles estão a fazer muito isso, estão a empatar para arranjam qualquer desculpa para as pessoas não terem direito a casa e porem as pessoas ao deus-dará. É o que está a acontecer lá. É uma coisa que aconteceu, porque a maior parte das pessoas que saíram do bairro não tiveram direito a casa. Estão a ganhar tempo que é para depois dizerem "Mandamos-te uma carta, não respondeste, Xau." "Já não estás no plano de reestruturação da Amadora" por exemplo. [...] A mim tiram-me de onde eu cresci, atribuem-me um bairro que eles querem, atribuem vizinhos que eles querem e ainda por cima põe-me a pagar renda [...] Vais para o Casal da Mira ou para a Boba. Devem estar a dar tempo para as pessoas perderem o direito, não pagarem qualquer coisa e perderem o direito para depois porem mais outras pessoas na casa é o que eles estão a fazer. Quem mora no Casal da Mira, dez, onze hora da noite já não tem transporte e tu para saíres do Casal da Mira e vires para a Amadora ou tens passe, ou esquece, ou vens a pé. [...] Todos os prédios da Mira e do Casal da Boba na tua cabeça achas que abriga Fontainhas, Tenda, Damaia, Estrela D'Africa, Reboleira, Quinta da Lage, Bairro Santa Filomena? Achas? Claro que não cabe lá toda a gente. Eles estão a fazer tempo. Uns desistem, outros emigram. Muita gente desistiu ou pensa como eu. Nós éramos muitos na casa e diziam que não podiam dar uma casa a cada um. Ou davam uma casa que cabia toda a gente, que é impossível... Como vamos morar numa casa 10 ou 11 pessoas. Há muita gente que negoceia casas. Há uma parte do dinheiro e uma pessoa vai comprar casa, dá entrada numa casa, pede um crédito, foi muita gente que fez isso. Nós na casa da minha avó éramos umas dezassete pessoas porque a casa da minha avó era grande. Era uma casa grande, bué comprida, com bué da quartos. É triste o que estão fazer aos bairros, muito triste. E depois estão a meter o pessoal do bairro lá mesmo o mais longe possível."

No one knows when they will leave, if they really will leave or if the neighbourhood will be totally demolished, which is apparently going to happen for real. Demolitions stopped during the pandemic years of COVID-19 (2020-2021) but are now back in full force. And if a few years ago there were essential mobilisations against the demolitions, namely in nearby neighbourhoods such as Santa Filomena or Seis de Maio, the defeats of the past do not seem to encourage current struggles. The rapper Kats recalls what will be lost with the demolition of his neighbourhood, namely the generational passage of African culture:

**Pedro Varela:** Now they are demolishing several neighbourhoods, namely *Rabulera*. What will be lost with that? **Kats:** A lot is going to be lost, a lot is going to be lost. Something will be lost is that we Africans; I say "we" because I am also African... Every African who came here to Portugal and when they arrived here they didn't have a roof over his head... And I remember my father saying that when he arrived here in Portugal, to build the house where we lived, where I was born and where I grew up, he had to ask the City Council for permission. At the time, he, like many others, did that so that they could also create our place. The place where their children, me and others, could be raised and continue with that same culture. Because there is one thing we cannot lose, and that is our culture... If we lose the neighbourhood... It doesn't mean that the neighbourhood is culture, but that's where a lot of our culture is from. I think that when the neighbourhoods disappear, we will be surrounded by buildings, and the kids that come after that time will grow up in other environments. They won't grow up in the same environment as me. I used to say, "my old people tell stories that a guy will never see in his life". Yes, and he never will. It's their time, and I can see that today too. [...] The neighbourhood, when we lose the neighbourhood, thank god I can say "I grew up in a neighbourhood". Look, I'm very proud to be from a neighbourhood. Yeah, man, I'm very proud to be from a neighbourhood. There's nothing better; there's nothing better... The Tuga [Portugal/Portuguese] could in fact leave this idea of making more roads... because that's nothing, that's nothing. Taking away happiness and a place that was a community for many years to create and undo roads and other things I don't think this makes sense.<sup>258</sup> (Interview with Kats by Pedro Varela, 15/12/2020)

In Basil da Cunha's latest film, *O Fim do Mundo* [The End of the World] (2019), which again has this neighbourhood as a cinematic setting, the main character, Spira, returns

---

<sup>258</sup> **Pedro Varela:** Agora estão a demolir vários bairros, nomeadamente a Reboleira. O que se vai perder com isso? **Kats:** Vai se perder muita coisa. Vai-se perder bastante coisa. Vai se perder uma coisa que nós africanos, digo "nós" porque também sou africano... Todo o africano que veio aqui para Portugal e quando chegou aqui não tinha o seu teto... E lembro-me do meu pai dizer que quando chegou aqui a Portugal, para fazer a casa que a gente viveu e onde eu nasci e onde cresci, ele teve de pedir autorização na Câmara. Na altura, ele como muitos outros fizeram isso... Para poderem criar também o nosso sítio. O sitio onde os filhos deles, eu e outros pudéssemos ser criados e continuar com aquela mesma cultura. Porque há uma coisa que a gente não pode perder que é a nossa cultura... Ao perderemos o bairro... Não quer dizer que o bairro seja cultura, mas é de lá que tem também bastante da nossa cultura. Eu acho que quando os bairros desaparecerem vamos estar rodeados de prédios e os putos que vierem depois desse tempo vão já crescer noutros meios. Não vão crescer no mesmo meio que eu. Eu antes dizia assim "os meus velhos contam cenas que um gajo nunca vai ver na vida". Ya, e não vai ver mesmo. É o tempo deles e eu hoje estou a ver isso também. [...] O bairro, quando a gente perder o bairro, eu graças a deus posso dizer "Cresci dentro de um bairro". Olha, eu sou bué orgulhoso de ser de um bairro. Ya mano, sou bué orgulhoso de ser de um bairro. Não há nada melhor, não há nada melhor... A tuga mesmo podia deixar essa ideia de fazer mais estradas... porque isso não é nada, isso não é nada. Tirarem a felicidade e uma cena que foi durante muitos anos uma comunidade, para fazerem e desfazerem estradas e outras coisas eu acho que não faz sentido."

home after being detained for several years in a ‘juvenile house of correction’, a problem that plagues the youth from these neighbourhoods. However, for Spira, *Rabulera* is already a strange place, an apocalyptic space in destruction. In the end, the young man takes a backhoe used for the demolition and takes it out of the neighbourhood. Then he destroys it with a huge explosion that lights up Amadora's night sky. Basil da Cunha brings us a tragic metaphor for the feelings of many of the community's inhabitants. In his song for the film, Castaloni RG, a neighbourhood rapper, recalls that one day the “kids” who were taken to ‘houses of correction’ will return to *Rabulera*. But in their former “ghetto”, they will only find buildings built on the rubble of the past: “E tantu putus na colegiu, Criadus sin privilegiu, Es baza es dexe ghetto, Es tchiga es atcha prediu” [There are so many kids in ‘correctional facilities’, Raised without privileges, They go away and leave the ghetto, When they arrive, they will find blocks of flats [for other people]].

Ferry, a rapper who grew up in the area, refers to the pain of seeing the neighbourhood being destroyed in the process of gentrification, a place full of memories and where so many important things have been done:

**Ferry:** For me, Reboleira is what it is there and now that I live away and don't go there as much... I probably go to the neighbourhood once a month... I see more houses destroyed every time. I go there, and it's a complicated feeling to describe. It can be described as pain. A weird kind of pain. Man, that's where I grew up, my memories are all there, and you see that ‘little by little’ it's disappearing, and you know that it's going to be a highway in three years. And, fuck... how can they build a highway there, where there are so many memories, where we did so many things. And one of the things I always loved the most about Reboleira was the fact that... obviously because I grew up there... it was being able to leave home, not calling anyone, not talking to anyone and knowing that I would meet someone in the street to do whatever, to have a drink, to sing rhymes or whatever. This is something that will disappear with the demolition of the neighbourhood because people from the neighbourhood won't be there. Which is what we were talking about, “Gentrification”. And people will end up in Cacém, or Mafra or Margem Sul. Yeah, nobody's going to be anywhere near there.<sup>259</sup> (Interview with Ferry by Pedro Varela, 25/10/2020)

*Rabulera* is a place under demolition that marks the memories of many, tells several stories of struggles, happiness and pain; and also tells the story of rap in Portugal, a

---

<sup>259</sup> “**Ferry:** Para mim, a Reboleira é aquilo como está lá e agora que moro fora e não vou lá tanto. Se calhar vou ao bairro uma vez por mês... Vejo mais casas destruídas cada vez que vou lá e é um sentimento muito difícil de descrever. Pode ser descrito como dor. Um tipo de dor esquisita. Man, é ali que eu cresci, as minhas memórias estão todas ali e tu vês que isso, pouco a pouco, está a desaparecer e tu sabes que aquilo daqui a três anos vai ser uma autoestrada. E foda-se... como é que vão fazer ali uma autoestrada, ali onde há tantas memórias, onde fizemos tantas coisas. E umas das coisas que eu sempre curti mais da Reboleira era o facto de... obviamente porque eu cresci lá... era poder sair de casa, não telefonar a ninguém, não combinar com ninguém e saber que eu ia encontrar alguém na rua para fazer seja o que fosse, para beber um copo, para mandar umas rimas ou whatever. Isso é uma coisa que com o desaparecer do bairro vai desaparecer também. Porque as pessoas do bairro não vão estar lá. Que era o que estávamos a falar, Gentrification. E as pessoas vão parar ao Cacém, ou Mafra ou Margem Sul. Ya, ninguém vai ficar lá perto sequer.”

neighbourhood which carries within itself much of the past, present and future of the rap movement. I will now turn my attention to this reality.

## 5.8 In the beginning ‘Black Zone’: the emergence of rap in *Rabulera*

In the Lisbon metropolitan area, the artistic practices of Black people are an old emerging phenomenon of urban culture, which allows processes of reclaiming the city in the struggle for the ‘Right to the City’. The relevance of the networks and spaces of sociability for the artistic practices of Afrodescendants in this urban area is central to understanding this reality (see Ferro et al., 2016). Racism excludes non-white people the free access to the city and anti-racist artistic practices often struggle to reclaim it. The ‘Right to the City’ is the possibility of transforming and building the city into a collective and democratic process (Lefebvre, 1968), and this right is a central human right (Harvey, 2008). Jaime Amparo Alves (2018) defends that racism creates conditions for the making of an ‘Anti-Black city’, where a majority of white people have the opportunity to exercise their civil rights and the Black people don’t.

Rap in *Rabulera*, as in many other Black-majority neighbourhoods from the periphery of Lisbon, has been a relevant part of Black youth culture since the 1990s. Rap is umbilically linked to urban space (Forman, 2000, 2002, 2004) and is essential for understanding issues of race, nation, gender, age and sexuality (Collins, 2006). The connection between rap and the Black-majority neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Lisbon was portrayed in documentary films such as *O Rap é Uma Arma* (1996), from Kiluanje Liberdade, *Outros Bairros* (1998), from Kiluanje Liberdade, Inês Gonçalves and Vasco Pimentel, and *Nu Bai: o Rap Negro de Lisboa* (2007), from Otávio Raposo.

In *Rabulera*, rap has been an expression of artistic youth Black culture for decades. As G Fly told me, the contact with rap was, for her and many others, a “spontaneous thing”:

**G Fly:** We lived rap a lot there in the neighbourhood, everybody! We truly felt the rap. **Pedro Varela:** You grew up in *Rabulera*; how did rap come up in your life? **G Fly:** Rap came up in my life right through the neighbourhood, right through the neighbourhood. I can't say it was something that came up like that... I think it was a thing that was truly normal in the neighbourhood. Listening to rap... Even people who didn't record [songs] would give [rap] freestyles in the streets, they would write lyrics to sing them out in the streets, and they wouldn't record. I can't tell you how rap came into me; it was a truly normal thing. It was truly normal. I didn't look for it; it was really a spontaneous thing; it was what was happening in

the neighbourhood at the time.<sup>260</sup> (Interview with G Fly by Pedro Varela, 11/05/2021)

The first generation of rappers from this neighbourhood came into contact with hip-hop culture through family and friends living abroad in countries like the USA, Netherlands and France. With constant flows between countries of migration, transnationality has been a central element in Cape Verdean music creation and transformation (see Sieber, 2005; Monteiro, 2011; Varela, Raposo & Ferro, 2018).

Bitola, born in 1973 and today a construction worker, is recognised as one of the first rappers from *Rabulera*. Later he hung out with Esquadrão Central, an influential rap crew from Amadora formed in the late 1990s. Bitola remembers how he had contact with hip-hop culture in the late 1980s through audio and video cassettes brought by young Cape Verdean emigrants who lived in the USA and spent their holidays in the area:

**Pedro Varela:** How did rap come up for you, and when did it come up? **Bitola:** Rap came up for me in the 1980s. It was some emigrant kids. They were Cape Verdeans, but they were emigrants; they lived in the United States. **Pedro Varela:** That's a story that many others from your generation tell... **Bitola:** They come every summer. We didn't have anything here. They came for holidays. They came with tennis rackets, and they came with walkmans. **Pedro Varela:** They were going to Reboleira? **Bitola:** Yes, in Reboleira. Every summer, they came here for holidays and brought things that a guy didn't have. Here, we were all fucked up. I didn't even know what a walkman was. They left me with a yellow walkman, one of those with cassette, which we opened and put tapes in. I started listening to hip-hop because they brought it. It wasn't albums; it was 'hits' by various singers. Also video cassettes. I was about 15 or 16. I started listening in the 1980s and began to like it.<sup>261</sup> (Interview with Bitola by Pedro Varela, 09/11/2020)

The connection with people who lived abroad was also fundamental for the appearance, around 1993, of the first rap group with members of the neighbourhood: Black Zone. The group was composed by C.K.Las, three brothers (Armagedon, Ice and Kebras),

---

<sup>260</sup> “**G Fly:** Nós lá no bairro vivemos muito o rap, todos! Nós sentíamos o rap mesmo. [...] **Pedro Varela:** Tu cresceste na Reboleira. Como surgiu o rap na tua vida? **G Fly:** O rap surgiu na minha vida mesmo pelo bairro, mesmo pelo bairro. Não posso dizer que foi uma coisa que surgiu assim... acho que era uma cena que era mesmo normal no bairro. Ouvir rap... Mesmo o pessoal que não gravava dava freestyles na rua, fazia letras mesmo só para dar na rua, não gravava. Eu não consigo dizer como o rap surgiu na minha vida, foi uma cena mesmo normal. Foi mesmo normal. Não fui eu que procurei, foi mesmo uma cena espontânea, normal, era o que se vivia no bairro na altura.”

<sup>261</sup> “**Pedro Varela:** Como é que o rap surgiu para ti e quando é que surgiu? **Bitola:** O rap surgiu para mim nos anos 1980s. Foram uns putos emigrantes. Cabo-verdianos mas eram emigrantes, viviam nos Estados Unidos. **Pedro Varela:** Essa é uma história que bué pessoal da tua geração conta... **Bitola:** Eles vinham todos os verões. Nós aqui não tínhamos nada mesmo. Eles vinham passar férias. Vinham com raquetes de ténis, vinham com walkmans. **Pedro Varela:** Lá para a Reboleira? **Bitola:** Sim, na Reboleira. Todos os verões eles vinham passar férias aqui e traziam coisas que um gajo não tinha. Nós aqui estávamos todos na merda. Eu nem sabia o que era um walkman. Eles deixaram-me com um walkman amarelo, daqueles de cassete, que abria, metias cassetes. Eu comecei a ouvir hip-hop porque eles traziam aquilo. Não eram álbuns, eram hits de vários cantores. Também cassetes de vídeos. Eu tinha para aí 15 ou 16 anos. Eu comecei a ouvir nos anos 1980s e comecei a gostar.”

DJ, Nelson, JT, Tosh, Afro and DMC. MSG, an important rapper for the following generations, also hung out with them. They were almost all from from *Rabulera*.

C.K.Las, born in 1978, was from the blocks of flats around the neighbourhood and had lived in the Netherlands. Today, he is also known for belonging to the Fidjuz di Cabral project. In early 1990s, with the experience of living in another country, he brought much of the knowledge of the hip-hop culture to the members of the Black Zone. In his 2021 music ‘Lovedora (a.k.a.) Amadora’, sung in Portuguese and Cape Verdean, he remembers the times of the Black Zone rap group. In this song, he recalls how hip-hop culture (“a new culture”) “spread to all areas” in the late 1980s and early 1990s. He remembers how they played basketball and listened to General D on the radio out loud, and from *Rabulera*, they went on adventures to other neighbourhoods to have fun and sing rap:

Numa tarde à maneira  
Das minhas lembranças da Reboleira  
Em pleno dia de sol a jogar basquetebol  
Com o rádio bem alto a curtir o General [D]  
Eu baldava às aulas só para tar com o pessoal  
Da Estrada Militar [*Rabulera*] girávamos até à Damaia  
Fontainhas e Buraca só pa nu atchaba kel bon kaia  
Era mi ku rapaz di Black Zone  
Girava tudu zona pa nu rapava ku kel mas bom  
Fazi un cypher na skina ku radiu ta baza som  
Rimas ta ba ta bem, mas e ka pa tudu alguem  
Si bu ka tem skills, bu ka mesti nem ki bem  
Na gueto di niggas, kontrolado pa digras  
Rodiadu pa predius, karoxus e brigas  
Gira wela ku litrosa e as vez utrus bibidas  
Fezadas na boião, mas també fazi batidas...  
Bu obil?! Nu ta fazeba batidas.

[...]

Fins de 80 pra 90 hip-hop e nova cultura  
E espaja tudu zona e vira na moda<sup>262</sup>

[...]

In the beginning of the music video of this song, we can see footage from the well-known TV channel SIC from 1994-5, with some of the young members of Black Zone doing freestyle on the streets of Lisbon. Armagedon, one of its members, told me that this footage was taken at an event in the centre of Lisbon supporting young people ‘living on the streets’.

Armagedon remembers hip-hop culture appearing in his area in the early 1990s and the impact that *Rapública* (1994), the first Portuguese rap collection, had among his generation:

---

<sup>262</sup> C.K.Las (feat. Tjerk) (2021), ‘Lovedora (a.k.a.) Amadora’.

**Armagedon:** At the time when we started enjoying rap, in Reboleira, there was none of that. There wasn't! Especially when the style of wearing baggy clothes started, only my group wore baggy clothes. There was no one else in the neighbourhood doing that. Then people began to join in over time because they started to like rap. We were night and day. Especially when *Rapública* came out, a guy would sing the whole album, from the beginning to the end. And then we would meet in Reboleira, near the police station, there was a basketball court. We spent the whole day there.<sup>263</sup> (Interview with Armagedon by Pedro Varela, 13/04/2021)

Like many of the rap groups that formed at the time, Black Zone was primarily a street music group, where freestyle, beatboxing and conviviality were essential. Access to recording was still complicated and a privilege for very few. We would have to wait for the new millennium for the rap of this neighbourhood to be recorded on audio.

How hip-hop culture and rap arrived and was built in a neighbourhood like *Rabulera* is the familiar story of many Black-majority neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Lisbon. Access to the culture brought by Black people living in other countries, and the construction of informal rap groups (for whom aesthetics, beatboxing and street rhymes were essential), show the history of rap movement that often escapes official narratives about the emergence of this culture in Portugal. Rap was not just happening in Miratejo (although this was a central place for a generation); it did not just emerge from the songs that hit the radio or in clubs in Lisbon centre where rappers met. Rap emerged at the turn of the 1980s to the 1990s in a multi-situated way, and it was in neighbourhoods like *Rabulera* that rap survived its various phases: from its birth to some public exposure in the mid-1990s, from an underground culture to mainstream in current days. And it will most likely continue to live in areas like this if it again disappears from radio and TV or as a trend on digital platforms.

## 5.9 The new millennium: 'Alcateia' and 'BMP'

At the beginning of the 2000s, Alcateia was the first rap band in *Rabulera* that recorded an EP. Its members were Buskubu, Armagedon, Machine and Cacas. At that time, Buskubu had an informal studio fundamental for rehearsals. Until today, this spot is remembered as an influence for many of the rappers who were younger in those years and saw them singing

---

<sup>263</sup> “Na altura quando a gente começou a curtir assim muito o rap, na Reboleira não havia nada disso. Não havia! Principalmente quando começou o estilo de usar as roupas largas só o meu grupo é que usava roupas largas. Não havia mais ninguém no bairro a fazer isso. Depois o people com o tempo começou a aderir porque começou a gostar do rap. A gente era noite e dia. Principalmente quando saiu o *Rapública* um gajo cantava o álbum todo, de cima a baixo. E depois a gente parava na Reboleira ali ao pé da Esquadra, tinha um campo de basquetebol. A gente parava lá o dia inteiro mesmo.”

there. Buskubu, now 52 years old, was the group's oldest member; at that time, he already had access to musical equipment and experience doing kizomba/zouk. Until today he records young MCs from the area and many generations have passed through his four different home studios.

Another member, Armagedon, born in 1979, had been a fundamental piece of the Black Zone and brought hip-hop culture to the neighbourhood. He was also immersed in the Lisbon rap scene, hung out with many artists from the movement then and circulated through various neighbourhoods where this culture was strong, such as Chelas. The other two members, Cacas and Machine, were younger. Machine, born in 1984, became a vital rapper, producer, beat and video maker and paved the way for the next generations. He was the professional music producer of Kova M Studio and has been working with the film director Basil da Cunha for many years. Machine is responsible for the production of hundreds of songs and videos of rap and other musical styles.

After the dissolution of Alcateia, around 2004, Machine and RD founded the group BMP [Beat Maker Productions] with others, such as Cacas, Armagedon and MSG. RD was older than Machine, and already had a stable job and access to better technology, such as a sampler Boss SP-202, that he bought after seeing it once in Sam the Kid's home studio. The RD's Boss SP-202 fascinated the rappers from *Rabulera*, such as Machine, who got his nickname given by RD for having managed to master this sampler like nobody else. BMP focused on music production since RD and Machine were good at working with new technologies and loved to make beats; and was organised around a new studio built from the ground up with brick and cement by its members. It was on the terrace of Cacas' uncles house, and there, Machine slept at the end of the long night sessions on a mattress on the floor that took up almost all the space in the small room. As RD remembers, people in the area were influenced by the sounds of Alcateia, but they were introduced to beats production and samplers with BMP since the studio became a place of sociability among many and place of self-instruction; this was when computers and new software for music were becoming more available (Interview with RD by Pedro Varela, 11/04/2021). Camps, one centrepiece for the next generation of producers/rappers in *Rabulera*, was one of the youngsters who spent hours in that studio learning and doing beats.

I met Machine in this period, around 2006, when he started hanging out with rappers from Cova da Moura. At that time, I was organising music classes at Moinho da Juventude association with friends: Marta Luz and Miguel Morelli. There were computers for music production in the same space where those classes took place. From there shortly afterwards



the professional studio Kova M Estúdio emerged, of which Machine would be the professional music producer. At a certain point in those classes, we started crossing the music of our instruments with Machine's music beats, who was always an open and innovative artist. For me, Machine has been a fundamental person over the years. Through him, I got to know *Rabulera*, and with him and others, I met the rap movement from the periphery.

During those years, *kriolu rap* was becoming a solid underground culture emerging in many areas, and I was being exposed for the first time to this music culture. Castaloni RG, born in 1989, was then a young musician from *Rabulera* with powerful freestyle skills. He and others were going around doing concerts in schools and other neighbourhoods, and back in that time, he sang in concerts of Beto Di Ghetto, a known and older rapper, who sadly died years later. Even though we did not know each other then, Castaloni RG and I know today that we were at an event that marked us both in 2007: a concert organised by young people in the Associação de Solidariedade Social Alto Cova da Moura (known as '*Clube*'), this cultural event would later lead to Kova M Festival. On that day this rap concert ended in a shooting. I was in the audience and Castaloni was near the stage to perform. During Beto Di Ghetto's concert, a young man fired shots at three other men in the middle of the crowded space, one of whom was seriously wounded. I was next to an area with many children, and we all ducked as the shots were fired right there; the screams and the smell of gunpowder hung in the air. Standing up was the young man with the gun, and from above the stage, Beto Di Ghetto and others bravely appealed for calm. I managed to open one of the doors leading to the cafe of the association, and many of the children around me came out there. During that time, I also learned how the press or the police 'fabricated' news. As the ambulances took a long time to arrive, the injured were taken by car to the hospital. The shots had been fired by one person only who wasn't from the neighbourhood. After the injured were already gone, the ambulances arrived with a threatening police 'support', there were few people left in the area other than association leaders and the atmosphere was calm. However, the news reports about the incident said that the police "[...] found the tempers flaring among the residents, who started shooting at each other"<sup>264</sup>; or "A fight between rival gangs in Cova da Moura"<sup>265</sup>.

---

<sup>264</sup> "[...] encontrou os ânimos exaltados entre os moradores, que se pegaram aos tiros" ('Tiroteio faz três feridos na Cova da Moura', 2007)

<sup>265</sup> "Uma rixa entre bandos rivais na Cova da Moura" ('Tiros levam polícia à Cova da Moura', 2007).

On the rise of *Rabulera* rap, Castaloni RG remembers one of the first music and video clip with big success from the area, ‘Rabulera’ (2007) from Locks & Killas (feat. Ouzi), who during those years had recently emigrated to central Europe. The music has a heavy beat, standard at that time in *kriolu rap* underground scene and the video shows the ‘street culture’ in that area. They sing about Black and ‘ghetto’ pride, inequalities between Africa and Europe and *Rabulera* as a neighbourhood feared and respected by others:

Brother tem orgulhu de ter nascidu pretu  
Di unde ki'm bem? M'bem la di guetu  
M'ta flau, na torna flau, ki la e ka nenhum difetu

[...]

Nos ki ben di guetu nu teni kurpu riju  
Pamo ki nu ta fazi, nu ta vivi sempri na lixu  
Si nu examina dretu, mundu ta desikilibradu  
Europa kun tcheu i Africa desanimadu.

[...]

Rapazes di Rabulera e tropas di terreno  
Ondi ki nu bai ninguem ka ta mexenu.<sup>266</sup>

The success of this song was also associated with its video placed on Youtube, at a time when videos were beginning to rise as a primary means of disseminating music. The videos recorded in that neighbourhood over the years and in other areas are an entire archive of these places, of life in those areas and mainly of the representation these young people make of their neighbourhoods. For some artists, a place like *Rabulera* is an endless resource of scenarios. Apart from Machine, who has filmed many music videos there, there are also several by the known video maker Yannick Monteiro, who has filmed MCs like Apolo G and Ferry. The Swiss-Portuguese director, Basil da Cunha, has used this neighbourhood as a stage for several of his films and has also recorded some rap music videos of *Rabulera* artists. The influence of cinema has extended to several video makers in the neighbourhood, especially Machine, who has been collaborating with this film director for several years.

## 5.10 ‘Ghetto Tsunami’ and the younger rap generations

Around 2010, the rap group Ghetto Tsunami emerged in *Rabulera*. Its members would be responsible for placing this neighbourhood as a reference for *kriolu rap*; this was

---

<sup>266</sup> Locks & Killas (feat. Ouzi), 2007, ‘Rabulera’.

when access to recordings and distribution of music on the Internet was expanding, and there was an explosion of rap, namely *kriolu rap* in Portugal. The members of Guetto Tsunami were producers and MCs like Abrov, Camps, Kats, Dabika, Ferry, Alison (Ali-H), Master, Sandrino and the only recognised female MC from *Rabulera*, G Fly. When Guetto Tsunami recorded their first album, they did it between Camps' house and Machine's new studio, which already had more experience in these matters.

Abrov's recently released song 'Streets' foregrounds the vital role of this band and denounces racism against Black and Roma people: "E Ghetto, E Street, Mi ta representa rap kriolu [...] Nu bem di Rabulera, Ondi Tsumani toma ladera [...] E sima pretus na kadia, ciganus na feira, Sim diretu erra na sociedade"<sup>267</sup> [It's Ghetto, It's Street, I represent *kriolu rap* [...] We came from *Rabulera*, Where Tsunami took the hillside [...] It's like Black people in prison, 'Gipsies' in street markets, No right to make mistakes in the society].

Essential to the consolidation of this group was the informal studio established in Camps' house, which became an important place for socialising, listening to beats, doing freestyle and recording. Camps is also the son of the leaders and members of Boca Doce: Conjunto Musical Voz do Povo, a renowned Cape Verdean traditional music band. He was born surrounded by musical instruments and artists. Kats, a founding member of Guetto Tsunami, remembers the times at Camps' home studio, where conviviality and friendship prevailed, transforming this place into a reference for its own and new generations:

**Kats:** The Gueto Tsunami were the studio days in Camps'. There we had a place to stay and hang out, and we had a little computer there to make some beats. We had a little something there to do some recording or something, but we didn't have a real studio. It was a place for us to hang out and brainstorm ideas. [...] What united Gueto Tsunami was the desire for music and friendship because we were friends with each other; we're all friends above all and love music. And it did perfect sense for us to be there together. [...] The studio was a space where people flow; even if they weren't into music, the kids could come in because the door was open. And many people who started making music in Reboleira were because of the incentive we gave.<sup>268</sup> (Interview with Kats by Pedro Varela, 15/12/2020)

Abrov, now living in Luxembourg, is still a reference for *kriolu rap* in Portugal and continues to release songs annually. Kats has released his own album and often appears in partnerships with other artists today. Ferry RBL, a white MC from the neighbourhood, with

---

<sup>267</sup> Abrov, 2017, 'Streets', Di Undi Nbem

<sup>268</sup> "Os Gueto Tsunami foram os tempos de estúdio do Camps, lá tínhamos um sitio para a gente estar, conviver, tínhamos ali um computadorzinho para fazer uns beats. Tínhamos alguma coisinha ali para fazermos uma gravação ou outra, mas não tínhamos um estúdio em si. Ali era um sitio para a gente estar, convivíamos e dali surgiam ideias. [...] O que unia os Gueto Tsunami era a vontade pela musica, a amizade também, porque a gente tinha amizade uns pelos outros, somos todos amigos acima de tudo e o gosto pela música. E fazia todo o sentido estarmos ali todos juntos. [...] O estúdio era um espaço onde circulavam pessoas, mesmo que não fossem de música, os putos podiam entrar porque a porta era aberta. E muita gente que começou a fazer música na Reboleira foi o incentivo que a gente deu."

Portuguese-Irish-British ancestry, and nowadays the only one to sing entirely in Portuguese, achieved meaningful success.

Ferry is a prolific storyteller. A real-life narrator of the unglamorous and difficult neighbourhood life. In his song ‘Lá na Vila’, which emerged as a criticism of a new wave of rappers who attempted to glamorise life in the impoverished neighbourhoods, he says, “Here no one is a gangster, at most people are ‘*digra*’<sup>269</sup>”:

Reboleira Sul, a zona que um gajo habita  
Onde ninguém olha a meios quando faz a guita  
Não há tempo para rodeios quanto tás na fita  
É rara a vida que não se fodeu se teve lá na Vila

Não vou dizer que lá na Vila é lei da bala  
Mas a má vida não é o que esse people fala  
Linha de Sintra problemas vêm à balda  
Mas ninguém quer comprar jantes, quer comprar pitéu e fraldas

[...]

Na minha zona vale tudo menos foder o teu parceiro  
E o dinheiro aparece mas desaparece sem dar espiga  
E aqui ninguém é gangster no máximo o people é digra  
Não temos tempo para mandar bazofaria  
Só para contar o que se passa lá na vila<sup>270</sup>

In a film documentary where he speaks on his beginnings in rap, Ferry recalls the importance of Alcateia, Machine, and Guetto Tsunami for his path as an artist:

There was an older group called Alcateia, and when many of them heard that a guy was rhyming, they gave me a hand and gave me lots of tips. Machine is a producer from the area, he's also a rapper, but he's more focused on production. A guy at the time went at his spot every day, and that's how it started. There was another group here, which was the Ghetto Tsunami; later on, a bit later on, I joined them, and we worked a lot; we all learnt a lot together and evolved with each other.<sup>271</sup> (Ferry in ‘Onde Tudo Começou’ Documentary, 2015)

When I interviewed him in 2020, he said that at that time, Machine heard that he was doing rap, went looking for him and took him to his home studio. That “pseudo-studio”, as he put forth, later became a place where he rapped every day with others over the beats coming out of the “machines”. Ferry met them at the time when the band Alcateia was disintegrating and BMP emerged:

---

<sup>269</sup> ‘*Digra*’ is a word often used in the *kriolu rap*, which comes from the Cape Verdean word ‘*digradadu*’ [degraded], phonetically is close to the term ‘nigga’ and can mean a person who lives in a run-down area, with very hard life or an outlaw.

<sup>270</sup> Ferry, 2015, ‘Lá na Vila’.

<sup>271</sup> “**Ferry:** Havia um grupo mais velho que eram os Alcateia e muitos deles quando souberam que um gajo estava a rimar deram-me a mão, deram-me bué da dicas. O Machine que é um produtor aqui da zona, também rapper, mas é mais concentrado na produção, o gajo deu-me a mão, deu-me bué da bases, ensinou-me bué da cenas. Um gajo na altura parava no spot dele todos os dias e foi assim que começou. Havia outro grupo aqui que eram os Guetto Tsunami, mais tarde, um bocado mais tarde, mas juntei-me a eles e bulimos bué, aprendemos bué todos juntos e evoluímos uns com os outros.”

**Ferry:** My first contact with rap in the neighbourhood was meeting Peter [Machine]. And Peter already had a pseudo-studio. You can't call it a studio, but it was like a little place with a microphone and his production machines. I met Peter because he heard that I was rapping, so he came looking for me. And he came looking for me and invited me to go there. And it was Machine, Cacas, who was in his group at the time and RD. [...] So I went there once, twice, three times, and the next thing I knew, I was there every day. I was with them there every day. We didn't even record. Boy, it was like freestyle<sup>272</sup>. Peter was making beats on the spot. I remember there was a time when Peter's machine that produced on the spot had some kind of problem. He couldn't even record the beats. So we would stay there for a whole afternoon, the guy would make the beat and then... Man, we'd give freestyle an hour, and the beat would disappear, and the next day, it would be another one. Do you understand? It was that kind of stuff; it was fun. It was mega, mega, mega amateur, but we were kids having fun. [...] It wasn't essential to spread your things; it was important to be there having fun with the guys. Seeing who had the best rhyme, who had the best chorus, that kind of stuff. [...] And that was basically our life. We met, drank beer and sang rhymes. [...] It was wherever we could get to; we had this spot from Machine, we had Buskubu, and further up was Camps' studio. [...] And in the street [we'd rhyme] all the time.<sup>273</sup> (Interview with Ferry by Pedro Varela, 25/10/2020)

Many rappers from the area use the initials RBL after their MCs names. In Ferry's perspective, Guetto Tsunami and others were rap groups, but RBL is a crew. RBL - which is an acronym that appears in the name of many rappers and appears often written on the walls of the streets - seems to have the double meaning of being an acronym for Reboleira and *Rabulera*, but for some, it also means Rimas, Batidas e Litrosas [Rhymes, Beats and Litre Beer Bottles].

Crews are informal groupings inspired by juvenile culture from the USA, which are strongly territorialised and whose members share common practices such as rap (Raposo 2010, p. 130-131). Similar to Raposo's study of the crew 'Red Eyes Gang' from Arrentela, a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Lisbon, in *Rabulera* the belonging to RBL is fluid. RBL can refer to the neighbourhood but also the whole Reboleira area. Many MCs from this neighbourhood use this terminology at the end of their rappers' names and there are

---

<sup>272</sup> In those times, doing freestyle was very important. Sound recording, for his generation, only came later.

<sup>273</sup> "O meu primeiro contacto com rap no bairro foi ter conhecido o Peter [Machine]. E o Peter já tinha um pseudo-estúdio. Não se pode chamar um estúdio, mas era tipo um cubículo onde havia um microfone e havia as máquinas dele de produção. Eu conheci o Peter porque ele ouviu dizer que eu andava a fazer rap, então ele veio à minha procura. E veio à minha procura e convidou-me para ir lá. E era o gajo, o Cacas, que era do grupo dele na altura [Alcateia] e o RD, o Rei. [...] Epá e fui lá uma vez, fui lá duas vezes, fui lá três, quando dei por mim passava lá os dias. Estava com eles ali todos os dias. Nem gravávamos boy, era tipo freestyle. O Peter fazia beats no momento. Eu lembro-me que houve uma altura que a máquina que o Peter tinha para produzir no momento tinha um problema qualquer, nem dava para gravar os beats. Então nós ficávamos lá uma tarde inteira, o gajo a fazer o beat e depois... Pá, dávamos freestyle uma hora e o beat desaparecia e no dia a seguir era outro. Tás a ver? Era esse tipo de cena, era curtidão. Era bué da mega, mega, mega amadora mas eramos putos a divertir-nos. [...] Não era importante espalhar a tua cena, era importante estar aí a curtir com o pessoal. A ver quem mandava a melhor rima, quem tinha o melhor refrão, esse tipo de cenas. [...] E nossa vida era basicamente essa. Era encontramo-nos, beber litrosas e mandarmos rimas. [...] Era onde calhasse, tínhamos esse spot do Machine, tínhamos o Buskubu e mais acima era o Camps. [...] E na rua [rimávamos] sempre."

references to RBL all over the Reboleira area in graffiti tags. Some rappers who are not from the neighbourhood also use this terminology. One of the cases is Xina RBL, a talented MC from another area of Reboleira but with strong family and friendship ties with the neighbourhood. For him, RBL refers not only to the neighbourhood but to all of Reboleira (Interview with Xina RBL by Pedro Varela, 01/10/2020).

Often, belonging to the *Rabulera* neighbourhood and the whole Reboleira area (strongly Black and white working class) presents fluid boundaries. In the case of rap this happens for decades, not only did *Rabulera* play a central role, but its relationship with the entire Reboleira area was also fundamental. This happened right at the beginning with the group Black Zone, where one of its leaders was not from the neighbourhood. Over the years, other spots of Reboleira, such as basketball courts or parks, have been essential spaces of conviviality for young people of the neighbourhood and the entire area of Reboleira. The example of Xina RBL is vital to understanding this reality since even though he is not from the neighbourhood, he is also a reference for neighbourhood rap and uses in his MC name ‘RBL’.

Xina RBL is an MC whose lyrics portray the experience of being Black in a racist society, namely the exploitation at work, police violence and the injustice and traumas of the prison system. Xina RBL, son of a Cape Verdean mother and an Angolan father, sings in Cape Verdean. In one of his songs, he says, “Live your life, Struggle without fear, They don't want us to live, Because we are Black”.

Vivi bo vida  
Luta sem medo  
Es ka kre pa no vivi  
Pamo nos e pretu<sup>274</sup>

In another song, he says that many innocent people are in prison because justice only favours those with money<sup>275</sup>. He affirms his pride in being Black<sup>276</sup>, and in another song, ‘Manxi cedo’, which portrays the heavy life of work, he says that we have to be prepared to face difficult situations, namely when the cops stop us on the street and tell ‘us’ to lie down on the ground<sup>277</sup>. Many of his music videos were created by Machine, who is his cousin. In an interview I did with him, he mentions how his lyrics are deeply personal, reflect the story of his life and the need to keep himself ‘real’:

**Pedro Varela:** Your lyrics are intense and personal; that’s what I feel. What do your songs talk about? **Xina Rbl:** They talk a bit about me, the situations a guy

---

<sup>274</sup> Xina RBL, 2021, ‘Vivi sem medo’.

<sup>275</sup> Xina RBL, 2017, ‘Tardi pa bu txora’.

<sup>276</sup> Xina RBL, 2022, ‘Situação’.

<sup>277</sup> Xina RBL, 2018, ‘Manxi Cedo’.

has been through, the experiences a guy has had, the people around me that a guy absorbs. Mostly I talk about myself, my family, how things are, and what a guy has been through. I try to transmit that message but always conscious of what I am; I'm not going to say what I'm not in a song.<sup>278</sup> (Interview with Xina RBL by Pedro Varela, 01/10/2020)

Another artist who grew up in the neighbourhood but became a reference many years after moving to England, Apolo G, has achieved tremendous success with his 'afro trap'<sup>279</sup> sonority. He is, by far, the artist with a connection to the neighbourhood that has gone the furthest. Despite having only lived in the area till he was 13 years old, his relationship to this place remained over the years: during his youth, on visits he did there where he lived with the rap culture of the area; or, until today, in his ongoing partnerships with MCs from *Rabulera*. His song 'Tempo Antigo', featuring Gary, from 2018 with a video clip filmed in the streets of the neighbourhood, which today has more than 22 million views on Youtube, achieved tremendous success in Portugal and among Cape Verdean communities around the world, making it a great hit. The song portrays the nostalgia of his experiences at *Rabulera*, "I grew up going around in the ghetto, where there is wisdom", "Even today I have memories of me as a child walking through the alleys", "it was only there that I felt good", "I miss the old days":

Dinheru e ka tudo na vida nha nigga djan cria ta gira na ghetto li e sabedoria  
Humildade, amizade verdade e respetu!  
Ti hoje tem memorias de mi pikinoti ta gira na beku  
E pam flau verdade nha mano e só lá ki ta xinti dretu!

[...]

Oh tem sodade, oh tem sodade  
Aiya sodade nha tempu antigo  
Aiya sodade de nhas amigu  
Aiya sodade nha tempu antigo!<sup>280</sup>

In another reference to his old neighbourhood, in his music 'Nha Ghetto', he sings about the racist police violence, "another cop who arrives, kills and disguises" and a community that is disappearing, "Ghetto is finishing, Don't tell me that! I have my shack, if I want I'll die there!", says Apolo G in powerful way:

Mano ka bu tem medo leba um bala na pulmon  
Es mata bu irmon stilo catxor, sai na capa baxo txon

---

<sup>278</sup> "Pedro Varela: As tuas letras são bem profundas e pessoais, é o que eu sinto. Do que falam as tuas letras? Xina RBL: Falam um pouco de mim, das coisas que um gajo já passou, das vivências que um gajo já teve, das pessoas ao meu redor que um gajo vai absorvendo. A maior parte falo de mim, da minha família, como as coisas são, cenas que um gajo passou. Tento transmitir aquela mensagem mas sempre consciente daquilo que eu sou, eu não vou dizer aquilo que eu não su numa música."

<sup>279</sup> Afro trap is a musical genre that combines trap, rap, Congolese rumba or afrobeat. It is a genre with great impact in the outskirts of French cities among young people of African origin.

<sup>280</sup> Apolo G ft. Garry, 2018, 'Tempo antigo'.

Dja baza mas um bofia ata txiga mata e difarça  
Nha mano na nha ghetto es kre kaba ku nos raça

[...]

Gueto é *Rabulera*, Ghetto é nha bandera,  
Momentos positivos e momentos foi bestera  
“Gueto sa ta kaba”, ka nhos flam kela  
“Teni nha baraca, Si kre morri la”  
Ghetto sa ta kaba terreno é barato  
So pamodi kela, nhos kre mandano abaxo<sup>281</sup>

In the *Rabulera* neighbourhood nowadays, there is a very young generation of MCs who are already recording sounds and video clips; most of them are under 20. The names that have stood out the most are Ze Bula, D Raw Na Mike and Nuno Rbl. Many of their sounds were recorded in the studio of the neighbourhood's veteran producer Buskubu, founder of Alcateia, which shows a line of continuity with the old generations. These young rappers maintain a street rap culture, apparently resisting the significant commercialisation that rap is undergoing, namely a branch of *kriolu rap*. Ze Bula, D Raw Na Mike or Nuno Rbl are also deeply influenced by the new strands of hip-hop music, such as ‘trap’, ‘drill’, and ‘grime’. And although Cape Verdean is the dominant language in their lyrics, Portuguese or English often appears. The apocalyptic scene of a neighbourhood falling apart is a constant scenario in their videos. They may be the last generation of *Rabulera* rappers.



Figure 8 - Black Zone 1994 (C.K.Las); Album Alcateia early 2000s (Buskubu); Brasão playing guitar 2021 (Pedro Varela); Abrov, G Fly and Ferry, music video ‘Stress di Capital’ from Abrov 2012 (Basil da Cunha).

## 5.11 G Fly, a female rapper

In recent years there has been more significant questioning of the silencing of the female presence in various segments of Portuguese society, which has extended to rap. Considering this current relevant debate, during the fieldwork I asked several times about women’s presence in rap in the neighbourhood and about other female artists. I have spoken

---

<sup>281</sup> Apollo G, 2016, 'Nha Ghetto'.



before about the group Estrelas Cabo-verdianas. This dance group was created in the 1980s and was led by female and male adolescents. Although the first years of Estrelas Cabo-verdianas activity took place in *Rabulera*, it later took on another dimension outside the neighbourhood, having had significant success. The journey taken by this group is described in the PhD thesis of Marina Antunes (2013).

In rap, the presence of women in the area has been very marginal. There seem to have been very few women rapping on the streets and in home studios and the only one that became a recognised rapper was G Fly. In the history of rap in this neighbourhood, besides G Fly, there seems to be only another name, but she never recorded any songs. It wasn't easy to interview G Fly because she no longer lives in the neighbourhood and works intensely. After some insistence, I arranged an interview with her after her job schedule. G Fly started rapping only later in life and is still a respected *Rabulera* artist today. Her MC name comes from a recurring dream in which she was flying and breaking free. She was freeing herself from past traumas, she said to me. In this interview, she described how she got into rap, initially on her own and later as part of Guetto Tsunami:

**G Fly:** I'm known as G Fly, I'm 37 years old, and I started singing in 2009-2010, more by the influence of the older ones because we in the neighbourhood live rap to the full, everybody. And at that time, the power of rap was different. Rap influenced people differently back then, then it does now, because we felt... I still feel this... I really felt the rap at that time. For example, if I have a studio or a friend who has a studio, I would call you "Let's record, let's record"; "Do the lyrics", or "I'll help you"; "I'll give you the beat". **Pedro Varela:** There was more brotherhood... **G Fly:** There was more brotherhood. I won't say just in rap but for many things. Now the years are changing, the way of thinking is also changing, the generations are bringing other things. Yeah, I started singing in 2009, 2010, alone, and then I joined the group Guetto Tsunami.<sup>282</sup> (Interview with G Fly by Pedro Varela, 11/05/2021)

She grew up in her grandmother's house, a Cape Verdean woman who came from São Tomé and Príncipe and was one of the first ones to build a house in her street. She recalls that being one of the only women in the neighbourhood recognised in rap, didn't bother her much at the time. However, she remembers that if she were to record songs today (which she is thinking of doing one day), she would speak more about being a woman. She

---

<sup>282</sup> **G Fly:** Sou conhecida como G Fly, tenho 37 anos e comecei a cantar em 2009-2010, mais por influência do pessoal mais velho porque nós lá no bairro vivemos muito do rap, todos. E naquela altura a influencia do rap era diferente. O rap influenciava as pessoas de forma diferente, do que influencia agora porque nós sentíamos. Eu sinto isso ainda, sentíamos o rap mesmo naquela altura. Por exemplo, eu tinha um estúdio, eu tenho um amigo que tem estúdio, vou-te chamar "Vamos gravar, vamos gravar" Faz a letra ou eu ajudo-te, eu arranjo-te o beat. **Pedro Varela:** Havia mais irmandade... **G Fly:** Havia mais irmandade. Eu não digo só no rap mas para muitas coisas. Prontos, os anos vão mudando, a maneira de pensar também vai mudando, as gerações vêm trazendo outras coisas. Ya, eu comecei a cantar em 2009, 2010, sozinha e depois entrei para o grupo Guetto Tsunami."

remembers that it was when she started working, after stopping rap, that the inequality of women in society began to be more evident to her. For her, more than in the rap environment, women's oppression is deeply evident in the context of labour exploitation. G Fly has been a factory worker, a construction worker, a mechanic, a locksmith and is currently a cleaner in a hospital:

**Pedro Varela:** And your lyrics, what do they talk about? **G Fly:** Neighbourhood experiences. I've never conditioned myself for being a woman. If I were singing today, I would sing different things than I did ten years ago. But I never focused on that thing of being a woman and not having opportunities. I always equated myself with Abrov, or Camps or... I always equated myself with them. I never thought, "I'm a woman, I sing less than them". I never had this thing of minimizing because I'm a woman, and I never sang that either. I usually sang about the traumas I had in my life, sang about what was going on in the neighbourhood, but I never focused on femininity, you know what I mean. **Pedro Varela:** And if it were today, you would also focus on that? **G Fly:** Maybe if I rapped today, I'd focus more on that. I'm telling you I'd focus more on that, not in the rap context, but in my work context too; I'm telling you about my work. That's what I see; women truly have fewer opportunities, whether it's in rap, whether it's in personal life. At work, we have fewer opportunities than men. If I were to sing rap today, it's more these themes that I would address. If I were to continue singing, even if I were to continue writing lyrics, and singing, if there were aspects that I wanted to touch on, it would be just that. **Pedro Varela:** If you go back to the 1990s, the Djamal, those first female rap bands... **G Fly:** Red Chikas... **Pedro Varela:** Red Chikas, come a bit later... On the one hand, there's silencing. Even the women who are more known [in the movement], like G Fema... Even the ones that come up and then don't get much visibility. **G Fly:** But that's what I'm telling you, we can't just focus on the rap scene; it's a common thing; it's sad but true. **Pedro Varela:** Yeah, I agree too; it's not just a rap thing; it's something that happens in general. **G Fly:** It happens at work, anywhere; we are consistently underestimated for being women. I've worked on construction sites. I worked as a locksmith for three years. I know how to weld, I know how to make bars like that [and pointed out to bars near us]. I understand a bit about mechanics. Now I'm a hospital cleaner and I have worked as a factory worker. When I started to sing, I never felt that... I didn't work before that time like this. I began to work [more] when I left rap, five or six years ago... Later I felt that thing about us being women, about us not having opportunities when I started to work. [...] I always felt the same; now I just... It's strange to tell you; I feel less like I fit in now than when I rapped only among men. I swear to you, I certainly do... It was one of the topics I would approach if I ever sang again, if I ever recorded again. These are lyrics to songs I have at home, and when I get my life a bit more organised...<sup>283</sup> (Interview with G Fly by Pedro Varela, 11/05/2021)

---

<sup>283</sup> **Pedro Varela:** E as tuas letras, do que é que elas falam? **G Fly:** Vivências de bairro. Eu nunca me condicionei por ser mulher. Se eu tivesse a cantar hoje já cantava coisas diferentes do que cantava há dez anos atrás, mas eu nunca me foquei naquela cena de ser mulher e não ter oportunidades. Eu sempre me igualei com o Jani [Abrov], ou o Camps ou... Sempre me igualei a eles. Nunca pensava "Sou mulher eu canto menos que eles". Nunca tive essa cena de minimizar por ser mulher e nunca cantei isso também, cantava normalmente os traumas que eu tive na minha vida, aquilo que se passava no bairro, mas nunca me foquei na feminilidade, tá a perceber. **Pedro Varela:** E se fosse hoje focavas-te também nisso? **G Fly:** Se calhar se eu fizesse o rap hoje focava-me mais nisso. Estou-te a dizer que focava mais nisso não no contexto do rap, mas no meu contexto laboral também, estou-te a falar do meu trabalho. É o que eu vejo, as mulheres têm mesmo menos oportunidades, seja no rap, seja na vida pessoal. No trabalho, temos menos oportunidades que os homens. Se eu cantasse rap hoje era mais esses temas que eu ia abordar. Se eu continuasse a cantar, mesmo a fazer letras, a cantar, se haveria aspetos que eu queria tocar era mesmo isso. **Pedro Varela:** Se tu fores aos anos 1990s, as Djamal, aquelas primeiras bandas de rap feminino... **G Fly:** Red Chikas... **Pedro Varela:** Red Chikas vem um bocado mais tarde... Por um lado, há um silenciamento. Mesmo as mulheres que surgem, como a G Fema...

As an MC, she recorded her own songs alone, as part of Guetto Tsunami and in partnership with other artists such as Abrov, Ferry and KopaOne. Her music ‘Máscaras’ [Masks]<sup>284</sup> has a video directed by Basil da Cunha. The music has a nostalgic sound created by the ambience of the piano and a cello and speaks of a complex world. A world where there is love for family and friends, but where ‘fake people’ cannot be trusted “So fakadas di inimigus ki'm ta guarda na petu” [Only stabs from enemies I keep in my chest]. In another song, ‘N’ka ta perdi esperança’ [I don't lose hope], she speaks about the difficulties she went through in life and how she had to face this alone, “Don't think only of god when things are bad, In the hard moments no one helps you, With me it was always like that”:

Ka bo pensa na dieus, so na hora ki kau sta mau  
Na Hora di fronta, ninguem ka ta judau  
Ku mi foi sempri assim<sup>285</sup>

Black women have had a long career in rap in Portugal, however, little visibility has been given to these artists when compared to men. Their words also highlight other narratives: such as the place of women in society and within the movement. However, we must not forget that many of the criticisms that rap is misogynistic ignore the fact that this happens equally in other artistic fields and youth realities. Many of the discourses against sexism in rap often hides racist and Eurocentric perspectives.

## 5.12 “My rap is like this: one body, one eye, one mouth”

The rap created by the artists in *Rabulera* is named by them as ‘*kriolu rap*’, ‘hardcore rap’, ‘street rap’ or ‘conscious rap’. As rapper Kats puts forth in the opening track of the album ‘Fin di Mundo’ (2010), from Abrov - Guetto Tsunami: “E noz Tsunami rappers ta

---

Mesmo as que surgem e depois não têm muita visibilidade. **G Fly:** Mas é o que eu te estou a dizer, não podemos estar a focar-nos só na cena do rap, é uma cena comum, é triste mas é verdade. **Pedro Varela:** Sim, também concordo, não é uma coisa só do rap, é uma coisa que acontece no geral. **G Fly:** É no trabalho, é em qualquer lado, nós somos sempre subestimadas por ser mulheres. Olha já trabalhei nas obras. Eu trabalhei como serralheira três anos, sei soldar, sei fazer grades como aquelas, entendo um bocado de mecânica. Eu agora sou encarregada de limpeza num hospital e já fui operária. Eu quando comecei a cantar eu nunca me senti... Eu antes naquela época eu não trabalhava assim. Eu comecei a trabalhar quando deixei o rap, cinco, seis anos, depois é que senti mais isso de sermos mulheres, de não termos oportunidade quando comecei a trabalhar. [...] Eu sentia-me sempre igual, agora é que... É estranho te dizer agora eu sinto-me menos encaixada do que quando eu cantava rap e estava só no meio de homens. Juro-te, a sério... Era um dos temas que eu abordaria se voltasse a cantar de novo, se voltasse a gravar. Também são letras que eu tenho lá em casa e quando eu tiver a minha vida um bocado mais organizada...”

<sup>284</sup> G Fly, 2014, ‘Máscaras’.

<sup>285</sup> G Fly, 2012, ‘N’ka ta perdi esperança’.

representa hardcore, Guetto Tsunami digras, e noz [...] Guetto Tsunami e nha clic, ka rap beef, e rap street, e noz ki sta li, so ta transmite.” [It's us Tsunami rappers representing hardcore, Guetto Tsunami *digras* is us [...] Guetto Tsunami is my clic, it's not beef rap, it is street rap, we're just here transmitting].<sup>286</sup>

It can be said that ‘hardcore’, ‘reality’ and ‘conscious’ rap are the main subgenres of rap music we find among the artists from *Rabulera*; it is a rap that crudely portrays the hard life in the area, poverty, segregation and police violence, revealing ‘racial capitalism’, i.e. a socio-economic structure that shows itself in racial hierarchy, oppression, violence and exploitation. But this rap also reveals the pride of loyalty, the contempt for betrayal and falsehood, and the love of belonging to a community with a strong identity and brotherhood. And obviously it has a lyrical, visual and musical aesthetic, dimensions that should not be forgotten. Robin D. G. Kelley warns that rappers should not be seen merely as “street journalists” since their music is also a space for playfulness and storytelling (Kelley, 1997, p. 38). As he reminds us, we cannot forget the aesthetic dimension, style and pleasure inherent in rap creation:

While some aspects of black expressive cultures certainly help inner city residents deal with and even resist ghetto conditions, most of the literature ignores what these cultural forms mean for the practitioners. Few scholars acknowledge that what might also be at stake here are aesthetics, style, and pleasure. (Kelley, 1997, p. 17)

In the song ‘Manos di Rua’, Castaloni RG portrays a community where unity has been lost. A neighbourhood where the police chase you, where you are excluded from society and where you must survive. Against that, you need unity to defend your ‘brothers’: “Manos di rua, Tropas ki ka ta recua” [street brothers, Soldiers that don't back down].<sup>287</sup>

Sometimes in some of *Rabulera*'s lyrics, the ‘reality rap’ becomes ‘gangsta rap’, portraying drug trafficking, violence and the vicious circle of prison and crime. The songs from *Rabulera*'s artists do not glorify this reality; they speak on the forced path marked out by an unjust society from which it is difficult to escape but from which each person must manage to get out alone. Often, the songs carry messages warning fellow neighbourhood members and youth about the best path to escape crime and prison, even if this is a path full of obstacles.

In the recent years in music sonority and mainly within the new generations, the influence of ‘trap’, ‘drill’, ‘grime’ and ‘afro trap’ has been very influential. Even though rap

---

<sup>286</sup> Abrov feat. Kats, 2010, ‘Guetto Tsunami’.

<sup>287</sup> Castaloni R.G., 2014, ‘Manos di Rua’.

in Portugal, namely rap created in impoverished neighbourhoods, is suffering a commercial and ostentatious wave; among the teenage MCs of *Rabulera*, probably due to the connection and influence of older generations, the lyrics still focus mainly on critical messages of society and the description of the hard life of Black youth. Within the Portuguese reality, the rap done there represents a sub-genre, *kriolu rap*. Not only due to the language it is sung in, Cape Verdean, but for what it means. The dynamics of *kriolu rap* influence even those who sing in Portuguese there. In Portugal, *kriolu rap*, still retains the identity of portraying with rawness the life of Black and impoverished people in Portugal, even though some artists have gone more mainstream in recent years.

The video clip filmed by Basil da Cunha for one of Abrov's main songs, 'Noz Rap' [Our Rap], begins with a night-time atmosphere in the *Rabulera* neighbourhood with young adults singing and playing *funana*, a traditional kind of music from Cape Verde. Then the hip-hop rhythm begins, and the lyrics of one of the most influential rappers in the area, Abrov, show an essential 'picture' of the music of this neighbourhood. The song portrays "hardcore" rap as opposed to "commercial" rap. A rap that doesn't sell at "Fnac" or play on "MTV"; a kind of music that talks about a place where you smoke "hashish", where there are "bullet shells on the floor", where fights happen and hunger is present. It's a rap that is only listened to in the "ghettos" by "pure Blacks" and "incorrect whites" who speak the "dialect" [Cape Verdean 'Creole']. It's a rap that they do anyway, even though it doesn't make money. It's "natural" music where the "beats" are given by friends who put in the effort on FruityLoops and Cubase music software programs. It's a rap that talks about "reality"; it's "dreadlocks"; it's a "Carl Cox Rave"; it's "graffiti"; it's "unity" between the "slums". It's a "prison", a "cell"; it's a family "by candlelight"; it's a "thug" a "thief good and bad". It's another brother with a "warrant for arrest". In the chorus, he sings, "My rap is like this: one body, one eye, one mouth". This kind of rap "doesn't fill the plate" he says and "doesn't even give" employment "contract". The style of this music is "street"; it's "revolt", "burned cars", it's "handcuffed" angry fellows, sick of being beaten by the police. Abrov then wishes that *kriolu rap* would reach the "first-level", its "proper place". He says to put mainstream rap aside and to make "heavy" and "aggressive" rap because this is how they feel alive in a "dead society":

E noz rap niggas, hardcore  
 Abrov Souldjah  
 Kel e noz rap hardcore, sem apoio  
 Mas um bom saloio kum clip na MTV  
 Ghetto Tsunami ken ki Abrov?  
 M'ka odjals na TV, kuza e assim

Ali ka teni Bomba ki fari jackin  
Ten carjacking, fumarada, kartuxo na tchon  
Ka bo bem armadu em bom  
Oh enton providencia um caixom  
Ka teni liga, ten txeu briga, kun intriga, fomi na barriga [...]

Nos cena ka sta a venda  
Nu ka cuntxidu na bo zona  
Verdade ja ven a tona  
keda di bo dona  
Es ka ta kurtim  
Nu sta ovidu so na ghettos, kels puros pretus, kum brancus incurretos ta fala  
dialeetus  
Koncertus e pouco, guita kurti, i kes loku  
Kunxidu pa bandidu, geraçom sufridu  
Fumadores di haxixe  
Si bo ka ta curti, fica fixe  
E tem bom clip  
Pikena ta roçal  
Perguntal kuinto ke pagal?  
Noz cena e natural  
FruityLoops para instrumental  
Poi Cubase na riba  
E ta fuma ace  
Som na street  
Di ken esse beat?  
Rapz ta dal  
Es ten moral  
Kumpõe kum qualidade  
Mas fala rialidade  
Mi ka kre subi a pendura  
Nha barra mi ta segura [...]  
Nha stilu m'ka ta muda  
Manti real  
Ten nha skil pra midjora  
Mama ta tchora, hora ki nu subi  
Na chamamentu, tropas ta kulhi

Nha rap e assim:  
Um korpu, um odju, um bóka  
Ki ka ta grama nem fofoka, nem putaria  
Bazofaria di MCs di hoji in dia ta dexam kum azia

Nha rap ka e comercial  
Na Fnac bu ka ta atchal  
Na radius ka ta passal, ki fari na TV mostral  
Mas assim mesmo nu ta djal  
E Noz Rap, E Noz Rap, E Noz Rap, E Noz Rap

Nha rap e um dreadlocks  
E um ravada de Carl Cox  
E um grafiti, e classe ki sta na striti  
Nha rap é *Rabulera*, é Buraka  
E unidade dentru di barraca  
E bo carrera na ponta faca  
Nha rap e um cadea e um cela  
E un familia a luz di vela  
Um puto ta fuma wela  
Nha rap e um bandidu, um ladrom  
Ele e mau, ele e bom

Rap e nha som e kel li e nha visom  
E ka intchim prato, e ka orientá kontratu  
Nha stilu e Sindykatto  
E mas um manu kum mantadu  
Li na skuadra dexa retratu  
Na TIC [Tribunal de Investigação Criminal] um assinatura

Nha stilu e rua, rivoltadu  
Karrus kemadus  
Tropas algemadus na karripana, Yo detado!  
E bairru digradadu, enfurecidu  
Fartu leva na ovidu  
Depos um cumprimidu [...]

Mi ten speranza, Rap Kriolu ta alcança primeru patamar  
Nos devidu lugar  
Kumercial pra ladu  
Entra rap pisadu e agressivu  
E nos forma di sinti vivu, num suciadade mortu  
Mi ka ta canta pra disportu [...]

Nha rap e assim:  
Um korpu, um odju, um bóka  
Ki ka ta grama nem fofoka, nem putaria  
Bazofaria di MCs di hoji in dia ta dexam kum azia<sup>288</sup>

This is a rap that comes from the life of a Black body (body), which looks (eye) at the reality around it and sings (mouth) a collective experience. It is a song that tries to represent a difficult but also unique reality, of solidarity.

In another song from the first album of Ferry called ‘R.B.L’, featuring Abrov, DaBica, Castaloni RG, Subi, Camps, Ryvaldo, M.S.G and Daft Nigga, Castaloni RG says they make “conscious rap” and not “delinquent” rap. He then mentions that many people are deluded into the “gangsta world”, which leads them to prison. He claims that he lives reality and not fantasy. And while dedicating it to all “niggas” and “*digras*”, he refers that, in the neighbourhood, “We have not lost our African ties”:

Ah rapazes, m'ta flau  
No txiga novu miragem  
Txeu MCs pa nu bem manda mensagem  
Caminhu e pra frente  
No nu ka teni paragem  
Nu ta fazi rap consciente e nau delinkuente  
Nu ta vivi na mundo sima nos kre, sima ta da  
Txeu alguem ta iludi  
Na mundo gansta, mas um chibo ja chiba um irmom  
E mas um nigga ki ta bai para na prisom  
Yo, ja no ka teni mas confiança  
Gossi e so na nhas rapazes, tudu brothers ki ja bai pa discança em paz  
Nu ta vivi realidadi e ka fantasia  
Ilusom nigga i ki ta poi bai kadia  
Castaloni ta mostrau realidade di hoji em dia  
Pa tudu nigga, pa tudo digra

---

<sup>288</sup> Abrov Souldjah (2010). 'Noz Rap'.

Nha mano nu ta rima  
Nu ka perdi nossos lassus afrikanus  
Castaloni Rabulera kontra kes ki ta invijanu  
So deus podi julga no  
So deus podi julga no<sup>289</sup>

This same MC, Castaloni RG, appears in 2014 on a TV report about the neighbourhood on TVI channel (TVI, 2014). In freestyle he sings: “M’vem di Rabulera, ki sa fuck Portugal, M’ta kaga pa bandera kum ses hinu nacional, Sem dinheru na algibera nu fazedu marginal, Tudu kuza era utru si nu fosse tudu igual, Dentre gueto Rabulera fla ma noz e illegal” [I come from *Rabulera*, fuck Portugal, I don't give a fuck about the flag with its national anthem, Without money in our pockets we are made marginal, Everything would be different if we were all equal, They say we are all illegal in the *Rabulera* ghetto].

The denouncement of racism is common in rap created in *Rabulera*. Older and younger generations of MCs sing about racism, which materializes deeply in their community in police violence and the prison system. Racism is also placed alongside other social injustices, such as poverty and segregation. And sometimes, one wishes for a post-racial society where no Blacks or whites exist. In one of the only songs recorded by the veteran rapper Bitola, 'Sangui Kenti' [Hot Blood], he says it doesn't matter if he is Black; in fact, he has no race or age:

M'ka teni idade, nem raça  
Na intressa mi e pretu  
M'ka ta para circula  
Sangui kente e mim  
Ninguem ka ta odjam<sup>290</sup>

In another music, ‘Chega e Para’ with Bitola, Machine and RD, the latter says: “Por vezes a PSP chega e para, Por vezes a PSP, chega e dispara” [Sometimes the PSP [Public Security Police] arrives and stops, Sometimes the PSP, arrives and shoots]<sup>291</sup>. Kats in his music ‘Na Ponta Faca’ [knife-edge], says there can be no peace for those who send him to his country (this is a common racist slur in Portugal against those who are not white). Kats then states that he is not Black by colour but Black by root: “Pa kes ki ta fala pa bai pa nha pais, fuck peace, Es ba pa puta ki paris, Ka pretu di cor, Ami e pretu di raiz, Sem manera e mi, Ki sa foda mes enemies”<sup>292</sup> [For those who tell me to go to my country, fuck peace, I'm not Black in the colour, I'm Black in the root, I'm without manners, fuck my enemies]. Kutico G, of a younger generation, in ‘Tema Livre’, states that there is no white or Black race

---

<sup>289</sup> Ferry ft. Abrov, DaBica, Castaloni, Subi, Camps, Ryvaldo, M.S.G & Daft Nigga, 2010, 'R.B.L'.

<sup>290</sup> Bitola, 2012, 'Sangui Kenti'.

<sup>291</sup> Bitola, Machine & RD, 2011, 'Chega e Para'.

<sup>292</sup> Kats, 2012, 'Na ponta faca'.



because both have red blood: “Ka teni raça brançu, Ka teni raça pretu, Pamodi ambus teni sangue burmelhu”<sup>293</sup> [There is no white race, There is no Black race, Because both have red blood].

D Raw Na Mike, from the most recent generation of rappers, in the song ‘Fadjas’ from 2022, says in Portuguese: “Só Pelo Facto de Ser Negro, Foderam-me a Vida, [A polícia] era suposto proteger, Abusam mais ainda”<sup>294</sup> [Just Because I’m Black, They Fucked Up My Life, [Police] were supposed to protect, But they abuse even more]. From the same generation Ze Bula, in a song featuring Djini, ‘Fu\*\* System’, mentions that the “system” wants to put them in prison, and that the guards are even capable of killing them in the yard, “Bofias e capaz di mata pretus na patio di cana [...] Fuck Sistem es kre nos num jaula”<sup>295</sup> [The cops are capable of killing us in the prison yard, Fuck system they want us in a cage]. Also, Nuno RBL, in his music ‘Nez Mundo’, criticises the path of violence and criminality that many young people are forced to follow and denounces police violence: “Na skuada ta mal trata, baza soco kum chapada” [In the police station they mistreat you, they punch and slap you]<sup>296</sup>.

The song, ‘Nos é Real Manos’, by Killas, Abrov and Locks speaks nostalgically of a neighbourhood that when they were young was “a paradise on earth” but whose paths have been closed to young people. There, today, people are arrested and face police violence “Abuso pulicial, tudu dia nu ta enfrenta” [Police abuse, we face it every day], and “nobody forgets” a police “shotgun” pointed out on you. In these neighbourhoods, many people only have an outlaw path to follow, they say; they have to run away from the police, friends die, and others are arrested; life is the same in all “ghettos”, a disgrace for Blacks and whites who live there and are revolted:

Vida muito agitada di um tropa li na tuga  
Respetu es ka ta dau, bo tem ki fasi pa bo mereci  
Shoti na petu, nenhum tropa ka ta skeci  
Rapazis ta da fezada, barulhu di sireni  
Odja bofia ta corri, carro robado na strada  
Um amigo ki morri, uns di prekaria, outrus ta fichadu  
Nes dilema de dia a dia, rapazis tudu revoltadu  
Rialidadi tudo o gueto, tudu dia sa ta passa  
Pa pretu ou pra brançu ess vida ta um desgraça<sup>297</sup>

---

<sup>293</sup> Kutico G, 2016, ‘Tema Livre’.

<sup>294</sup> D Raw Na Mike, 2022, ‘Fadjas’.

<sup>295</sup> Ze Bula Ft Djini, 2020, ‘Fu\*\* Sistema’.

<sup>296</sup> Nuno RBL, 2019, ‘Nez Mundo’.

<sup>297</sup> Killas, Abrov & Locks, 2009, ‘Nòs é Real Manos’.

In 'StreetLife RBL', a song by Machine featuring Alison, Tamin, Ferry and Abrov, with a video directed by Basil da Cunha, they speak on the dangerous life of the streets in the “ghetto”, where death and police are waiting:

Street Life  
Munti vivi nel  
Munti kurti kum el  
Munti corre del  
Munti morre nel

At the end of this song, Abrov mentions that “death is near” and warns, look at those who leave “their mother dressed in black”; then states that the police try to constrain the thoughts of those who live in the neighbourhood:

Street life kel la nos vida  
Si bu podi livra um konfrontu diretu pa morti  
Morti sta pertu trajetoria retu  
Odja kel mas pertu poi se mae ta bisti di pretu

[...]

Bofias ta deteta nos movimentu,  
Tenta amarra noz pensamentu  
Ma sa ta perdi tempu  
Dja no sta na otu andamentu<sup>298</sup>

In a 2007 song, ‘Porta fitchadu’, from Machine and MSG, they sing openly about racism. They speak of a revolution with a microphone on their hand “for our brothers”; of not being Black only in the skin, but also in the “soul and in the heart”. They denounce racism in Portuguese society where “they were closed with the door open”; “a country full of racists”; and they dream that “one day racism will have its end”. This is a song that speaks of the importance of hip-hop culture, the existence of brotherhood and the need for unity against racism. First sings MSG in Portuguese:

Faço a Revolução de *mic* na mão pelo povo irmão  
Não sou negro só na pele, na alma, também no coração  
É um espírito revolucionário neste cenário  
Porque na sociedade tuga vejo o negro ser discriminado  
Não dou de fuga desta sociedade que se encontra em péssimo estado de si  
Sou um revolucionário que luta contra esta sociedade  
Eu espero um dia ver o racismo ter o seu fim  
Porque nada me intimida  
Revolução pelo povo irmão dá início à partida  
Que comece a luta então  
Contra todo aquele que é racista  
Vivemos num país cheio deles

[...]

Abre a pestana nigga, viras as costas e estão-te a foder  
Por isso dou face, não passo despercebido,

---

<sup>298</sup> Machine BMP feat. Alison, Tamin, Ferry, Abrov, 2011, 'StreetLife RBL'.

Fingindo não ver meu povo a sofrer  
 Direitos, igualdades, oportunidades, não estou a ver  
 Revolução iminente, lutando firme pela minha gente  
 Apesar de encontrar poucos revolucionários na linha da frente  
 É nosso estado atualmente, com pouco voto na matéria  
 Isto faz-me transportar revolução em cada artéria  
 Não me agrada ouvir o branco dizer “preto vai para a tua terra”  
 Revolução até morrer  
 Foi declarada guerra  
 De África roubam muita coisa dela  
 Revolucionários de sentinela  
 MSG pela alerta  
 Acorda-se com pulgas quando com cão se deita  
 Na sociedade tuga, fomos fechados com porta aberta  
 Soluções existem para que estas se voltem a abrir  
 Há que solucioná-las

Then Machine sings in Cape Verdean: In the chorus he says, “After all the past, they close the doors, they don't give us opportunities, they ruin the dreams of our African race”. People “live in the ghetto” where they are “free”, “help their companions” and in Portugal they have had enough of carrying “cement and bricks”. Hip-hop is their culture of “body, soul and heart”; they try to succeed in life because there is always a way out despite the “closed doors”; the “Africans” are victims of a war and are a suffering people. He then sings, “Fight Brother! Fight Brother!”, “Give me your hand”, “Side by side, to insist on our rights”, because they are fed up with brutality in the “ghetto”, a place where they [the police] “arrive, kill, chase and throw you to the ground”:

Governo fala di noz  
 Di tudu kil ke nu passa  
 Dipus di tudo passado  
 Es dano ku porta fichadu  
 Oportunidadis es ka da noz  
 Porta sempri es fichanu  
 Tcheu sonho es straganu  
 Na noz raça afrikanu  
 Nu bai nu bem  
 Nu luta pa nu ser alguem  
 A nos e afrikanu  
 No mostra tuga ma nu bali

[...]

E na guetu ke mi ta mora  
 Na guetu ke mi e livre  
 Juda kompanheru  
 Amigu pa amigu  
 Mas sempre verdaderu  
 Nha descendecia e de angulanu ku kriolu  
 Na kel merda Portugal, fartei massa ku tijolu  
 Ke li e ka vida pa ninguem  
 Sempre na batalha  
 Korda cedu madrugada  
 Pom dia a dia ki fadja  
 Dinheru e poku

Kontas pa paga sima padja  
Es gosta da pa VIP mas na menti e bue shit  
Ami e um putu di street, mas um revoltadu,  
Ka teni oportunidade, porta sta fitchadu  
Fadjas ta na stadu  
Fuck pa sistema  
No luta kum kabeça  
Devagar nu ka tem pressa

[...]

Hip-hop e nos kultura  
Di korpu i alma e kuraçom  
Tenta venci na vida  
Portas ta fitchadu, mas teni sempri um saida  
Afrikanus, vitimas dum guera  
Povo sufredor mas pacifco na es terra  
Luta irmom! Luta irmom! Luta pa no venci intom!  
Dam bu mom,  
Ladu a ladu no kumbati para no insisti na noz direitu  
Fartu brutalidadi na noz guetu  
Es ta txiga, es ta mata, es ta batxa, es ta panha<sup>299</sup>

A neighbourhood like *Rabulera* tells the story of many communities on the periphery: self-produced, impoverished, or Black-majority areas. They are places built through the struggle of their populations, erected by the hands of the inhabitants and solidified with local organizations. On the other hand, rap history in this place shows us the trajectory of rap in the peripheric neighbourhoods, the central cradles of the rap movement in Portugal. There, rap resisted the moments when it was despised and survived as underground Black youth culture. Today, here it seems to defy its commercialisation and the emptying of its role of denunciation and social criticism. The history of rap is the history of a culture of the streets, of the neighbourhoods and communion between marginalised people, in the Portuguese case, mainly Black people. For decades, rap has been an anti-racist bastion and central for denouncing racism, poverty and exclusion. The history of *kriolu rap*, ‘hardcore rap’, ‘street rap’ or ‘conscious rap’ does not seem to have ended with the arrival of a new mainstream wave of rap music in the country. However, the question remains: How will this kind of rap resist a mainstream avalanche that wants to turn it into ostentation, consumerist and uncritical rap? The coming years will tell this story.

---

<sup>299</sup> Machine BMP feat MSG, 2007, ‘Porta fitchadu’.

## Conclusions

---

This thesis tells the story of anti-racism in Portugal in different periods, considering its diverse protagonists, practices and political contexts. Racism, which shapes our societies, is further aggravated when we live in a historical period in which certain governments in power and political organisations (increasingly influential) have renovated racist discourses and policies. Thus, at this moment, looking at the past, present and future of anti-racism is even more fundamental.

I started my introduction with some questions I have answered throughout the thesis. Where does the anti-racist struggle in Portugal come from? What are the country's different historical moments of mobilisation and rise of anti-racist awareness? How do these struggles relate to the international anti-racist context? What role did some artistic practices play in these moments of mobilisation? What is the origin of the current anti-racist movement, how was it formed, and what has it become? What is the role of rap in the awareness and anti-racist struggle in recent decades? Nowadays, how vital is rap in a Black-majority neighbourhood in Lisbon's periphery where racism is a constant presence? In my concluding remarks, I systematise the answers to these questions, develop other crucial discussions that emerged while writing this thesis and bring about some thoughts for future research paths.

Considering Lentin's (2004, 2008), Goldberg's (2009) and Hage's (2016) proposals to understand the main global anti-racist struggles in history, I presented a chronology to systematise this history: 1) Enslaved Rebellions/The abolitionist movement (18th/19th centuries); 2) African 'proto-nationalism', Black nationalism and Pan-African Conferences Era (1900s -1940s); 3) USA civil rights struggle and Black Power movement (1950s-1970s); 4) Anti-colonial movement/African Nationalism/Anti-imperialism (1940s-1970s); 5) Anti-Apartheid struggle and solidarity movement against Apartheid (1940s-1990s); 6) Anti-racist and immigrant European movement (1940s-2000s); 7) Black Lives Matter international struggle; Indigenous and Immigrant movements; Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement for Palestine (BDS) (2000s-2020s). Bearing in mind these international historical moments, in this thesis I proposed to study three movements/periods in the Portuguese case: 1) the Black movement (1911-1933); 2) Black poetry and African Nationalism (1942-1963); 3) Anti-racist movement (1990-2020).

The proposed chronological framing of various anti-racist movements in history (internationally and in Portugal) also comes from a deeper discussion of the concept of anti-

racism; unfortunately, “[...] a much spoken-about but little studied phenomenon.” (Lentin, 2041, p. 306). I approach anti-racism as a global and heterogeneous set of movements, ideologies, practices, and struggles that want to challenge, confront and end racism. I have also focused on how anti-racism, more than just being an opposition to racism, aims to create something new, a world without racial oppression.

In Portugal, there are no studies that analyse the anti-racist movement from a broad historical perspective; however, some essential works stand out for each period. For the generation of the Black movement (1911-1933), the research of Mário Pinto de Andrade (1990, 1997a) is essential, as well as the efforts that Cristina Roldão, José Augusto Pereira and I have undertaken in recent years on the study of this movement (Varela & Pereira, 2019a, 2019b, 2020; Roldão, 2019; Roldão, Pereira & Varela, 2019, 2021, 2023; Varela, 2019). For the African nationalists, there is an extensive bibliography, but whose focus is not anti-racism. For the movement that has been formed since the 1990s, I highlight the pioneering works of Elsa Sertório (2001), Ana Rita Alves, Rita Cachado & Ana Cruz (2018), Joana Gorjão Henriques (2018c), and also from José Augusto Pereira and I (2022).

My work also develops discussions on the conceptualisation of racism. I engage with the debate on ‘racial capitalism’, a concept that refers to the mutual dependence between capitalism and racism. Cedric J. Robinson’s theorisation (1983), for whom capitalism is inherently racist, is crucial to understand racism in its structural form. Robinson frames the history of capitalism as grounded in racial hierarchies allowing us to understand racism as a structure of oppression and hierarchisation that maintains forms of socio-economic exploitation.

Bearing in mind that anti-racism is a central piece of the vast struggle for human rights and against social injustice, its history and relevance to the process of social transformation must be considered. My thesis develops a debate regarding the framing of anti-racism within human rights. Anti-racist movements have, throughout history, used human rights institutions and discourses in their struggles. Yet, as I show, human rights mechanisms have proven insufficient to combat racism in its structural forms.

Other issues raised through the research process are related to the limits of anti-racism for liberation. For example, in the case of the struggles of Black people, some scholars consider that anti-racism has its limitations because, on the one hand, it does not integrate all the dimensions of being Black since they embrace an array of processes for the emancipation of Black people that cannot be reduced to the opposition to racism (see Gilroy,

1990); and, on the other hand, because 'racism' is not enough to understand the experiences of Black people (see Vargas, 2020, 2021).

One of the capacities of anti-racism over the years has been its power to unite the struggles of different racialised groups. For example, in the Portuguese case, unity between Black, Roma people and diverse communities of immigrants has been built over decades within the movement. Anti-racism has also been a political space of alliances among racialised and white people. However, these alliances have also been subject to tensions. Discussions about the need for autonomy or how to make these links are constant. Anti-racism creates this space of alliances but also of tensions and, at times, of a problematic dilution of specific struggles; it allows the capacity for unitary political mobilisation or solidarity but also for understanding the limits of these experiences. In addition, the fight against racism does not belong only to organisations that call themselves anti-racist but should be seen broadly, integrating those who fight racism in various ways. In this thesis, I explored this dimension through the analysis of the rap movement as crucial in the development of the contemporary struggle against racism in Portugal.

At times anti-racism has also taken paths too close to state institutions and within the confines of the nation-state, but this is not true for all movements and organisations. There is often this dialectical relationship between the demands towards institutions and the need for autonomy through the creation of independent collective thinking, organisations and practices. There have been various ways of imagining the struggle against racism, ranging from demands for policy changes within state institutions to questioning the foundations of a society that produces 'racial capitalism'.

Black movements have been at the heart of the struggle against racism over the centuries (see Du Bois, 1935; James, 1938; Aptheker, 1943; Padmore, 1956; bell hooks, 1981; Davis, 1983; Kelley, 1994, 2002; Robinson, 1983, 1997; Hanchard, 1998; Domingues, 2007, 2008; Shawki, 2006; Adi, 2008, 2018). It is, therefore, crucial to consider the efforts of these movements and their ideas for anti-racism. In this context, the 'Black radical tradition' (Robinson, 1983) and the 'Black radical imagination' (Kelley, 2002) are fundamental to understanding the struggles against racism. In the case of the struggle against racism in Portugal (as my work shows), as in many other places around the world, Black thought, Black political experience, Black artistic practices and Black radicalism have been foundational of the anti-racist movement. The centrality of Black people for anti-racism in Portugal has been key in different historical periods; my work reflects on this process and elaborates on various Black political struggles, in that context also broadens the knowledge

and debate on 'Black Europe' and the 'African diaspora in Europe', but not forgetting that 'Black Europe' is more than Black people in Europe (see Hine, Keaton & Small, 2009; Nimako & Small, 2009; Small, 2018a; Small, 2018b). A challenge for future research could be to deepen the understanding of Black movements in Portugal within the broader European context. On this topic, Stephen Small challenges scholars to extend their analysis beyond the national level since, within different European contexts, there are common elements that are essential to understanding the African diaspora in Europe (Small, 2018b, p. 14).

The fundamental object of this study, which is the past and present of anti-racism in Portugal, demonstrates the links between political movements and artistic practices and between the Portuguese context and international struggles. Studying anti-racism in the past and present allows us to compare different moments and better understand its particularities and similarities. This became a challenge as it greatly densified the study. However, my work leaves the possibility of delving further into each of these historical moments, bearing in mind that each such periods were not isolated in time and geographical space.

Regarding the connection between political processes in Portugal as well as globally, one must understand that there were strong links between the Black movement from 1911-1933 that emerged in Lisbon and the other established organisations in the then-Portuguese 'colonies'. This movement was also linked to the Black internationalism of the time, namely the Pan-African Congresses and Garveyism. For the second generation, I have highlighted the connections with the *Négritude* movement and other Black artistic movements, such as those in the Antilles and the United States of America. At a later stage, this generation was involved in the enormous international mobilisation for the end of colonialism. These two generations were integrated into the Pan-Africanist movement of their time that, as Anthony Bogues remind us, "Pan-Africanism is a complex stream of Black radical political thought [...]" (2011, p. 484). From the 1990s onwards, the consolidation of anti-racist, anti-fascist and immigrant struggles in Portugal were connected to similar processes in Europe and, more recently, to the Black movements in the USA, Brazil, Europe and Africa.

The politically organised anti-racist struggle in Portugal started at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the Black movement of 1911-1933. This generation had several newspapers and organisations based in Lisbon and used literature, namely poetry, as an essential form of expression. This poetry had significant elements of blackness, Africanity and anti-racism. This movement fought racism, questioned colonial practices and integrated the Black internationalism of their time. They denounced cases of everyday racism and institutional racism and vehemently opposed scientific racism. They propagandised pride in



being Black, pride in African history and promoted Black references from the past and present. In the poetry written in their Black press, we find references to their African ancestry and love for a 'motherland' in Africa; in the case of Marcelo da Veiga, it even seems to be a spectrum of a 'proto-*negritude*' (see Ferreira, 1989). In 1914, in his poem 'Acordai', he wrote, "Africanos, acordai! [...] a Pátria está oprimida, E deve ser redimida, Resgatada, libertada..."<sup>300</sup> [Africans, wake up! [...] the Homeland is oppressed, And must be redeemed, Rescued, liberated...].

The history of this movement has yet to be widely promoted since they were the first anti-racist political movement in Portugal. We can also affirm that this Black movement in Lisbon 'disappeared' from the History of Portugal in the process of 'silencing the past' (Trouillot, 1995) that produces racism today. As my analysis demonstrated, this generation suffered from intense contradictions. Apart from its elitism, they proposed 'egalitarian colonialism' for Black and white people, defended federalisation and not independence, and were imbued with a patriotic Portuguese imperial ideology. Their leaders sided with the Portuguese State at critical moments, namely when the state was criticised internationally for its brutal colonial practices, namely in the face of accusations of the use of forced labour. However, we must not forget that later they did not cease to be violently persecuted by the Estado Novo dictatorship.

Only the following generation, the 'Cabral's Generation', would put the question of African independence at the centre of their political struggle. Many of the activists of this generation lived in Portugal between the 1940s and 1960s. Artistically, they expressed themselves mainly through poetry. In the initial phase of political formation, specifically in literature, this generation reflected deeply on the issue of blackness, Africanity and racial questions. In 1942, Francisco José Tenreiro, a pioneer in this poetic Black generation, wrote "É a África que está chegando!"<sup>301</sup> [It is Africa that is coming!]. Through the poetry of people like Francisco José Tenreiro, Alda Espírito Santo, Agostinho Neto and others, racial and African awareness emerges, and racism is denounced and reflected upon. Therefore, it is inevitable to think that this was a period of enormous racial awareness and anti-racist thought in Portugal. However, African nationalism and the anti-colonial struggle took up all their militancy; for that reason, I propose that this generation should not be read as an anti-racist movement *per se* because the centre of their struggles was African independence and

---

<sup>300</sup> Veiga, 1914, p. 2.

<sup>301</sup> Tenreiro, 1942, pp. 29-33.

not the struggle against racism (even though this is partially inherent). That is not to say that it is a settled question; in fact, it is under discussion here. These activists profoundly changed the course of history and are, until today, a significant influence in their countries, in Portugal and globally. Their life paths and claims still echo directly today in Portugal's anti-racist and Black organisations. In the future, it would be interesting to study anti-racism in Portugal more deeply between the 1940s and the 1970s, not only in the Black poetry and the African nationalist movement but also expanding the study to the influence of anti-racism on Portuguese left-wing political organisations of that period.

It is necessary to assert that, unlike other periods, determining a chronological framework for research required greater effort regarding this generation. Generally speaking, we can say that there was an African nationalist movement in Portugal between the 1940s and the 1970s. However, here the focus was on anti-racism, and this debate was more evident in the first phase of this movement, namely with the first generation, which materialised in the creation of Black poetry. With this in mind, I proposed to frame the study between the launch of the first book of poetry by Francisco José Tenreiro in 1942 and his last poems in 1963, the year of his death. Although Tenreiro cannot be seen as an African nationalist, despite having been close to this movement, he frames a fundamental period of Black poetry where a component of Africanity, blackness and awareness of racism was essential.

In the 1990s, two decades after the African independences and the end of the dictatorship in Portugal, a new anti-racist movement started to consolidate in the country. It emerged from the struggles of anti-racist organisations; immigrant (primarily African), neighbourhood, and Roma associations; and the rap movement, which was fundamental among Black youth, the “Rappers and warriors”, as General D sang. In the following decades, we witnessed the consolidation of Black youth activism in the periphery, shaped by the previous experience of community organisation; and since the 2010s, the Black movement has been strengthening its political presence through the establishment of various organisations. Several Black organisations with multiple configurations and perspectives have appeared in the last years, with the increasing protagonism of Black women, leadership that has shaped the most recent anti-racist reality. Nowadays, Black activists - that draw on many of the practices and thoughts of the 'Black radical tradition' - stand out in the front of the anti-racist movement and Roma activists are increasingly prominent. From the combination of these realities, today, there is a more consolidated anti-racist movement with a capacity to mobilise street protests and influence public debate with strong political demands.

One of the fundamental conclusions of my work is that the anti-racist struggle of recent decades should be understood as the confluence of different organisations/movements: anti-racist organisations; the Black movement; immigrant, neighbourhood and Roma associations; and the rap movement. The anti-racist movement is currently questioning various aspects of 'racial capitalism': racism in justice/laws, housing, health and education; denouncing police violence and the prison system; demanding the right to memory and the need of collecting equality data on racial issues; or questioning the lack of political and institutional representation. It is a changing movement that is testing alliances and forms of struggle. This long struggle against racism also challenges the democratic practices in liberal democracies that evidently averts rights to a sector of society through racial hierarchies. In the Portuguese case, the constant denial of the existence of racism by state institutions is very problematic. Furthermore, this systematic denial, based on the lusotropicalist mythology, is the purest demonstration of the existing racism.

The research in the archives of anti-racist associations, interviews with activists of the movement (past and present), and bibliographic and press analysis have demonstrated the continuity of the anti-racist movement from the 1990s to the present day. This is evident when some organisations and leaders have accompanied the movement all these decades, or some activists have, at different times, been part of anti-racist organisations, immigrant-African associations, rap movement or Black organisations, which demonstrates the fluid political space of the anti-racist movement. Moreover, despite the transformations that have taken place in the movement, it is evident that there are direct lines of continuity in the demands and struggles since the 1990s. This movement is also part of a historical period that has not yet changed in Portugal: liberal democracy, recent post-colonialism and integration into the European Union. However, we cannot ignore the transformations that the anti-racist movement has undergone. Whether in the future this can be seen as a new period in the anti-racist history is not yet clear.

Rap in Portugal was born as a bastion of the anti-racist struggle and, since the 1990s, has been a social space for raising awareness and denouncing racism, especially among the most excluded Black youth. For three decades, the intrinsic link between an anti-racist social movement and rap demonstrates the central role of artistic practices in this struggle. My thesis explores this dimension: it places a cultural-artistic activity seen as inorganic as central to the struggle against racism. It was no coincidence that one of the first successful MCs in Portugal, General D, also became a very known public voice against racism and in the movement. Over the years, this has happened to many other rap artist-activists. General D's

first music single from 1994, 'PortuKKK'al é um erro', was a direct denunciation of the racism in the country: "Rappers e guerreiros que se agitam sem rodeios, Lutam e se juntam para afastar velhos receios, Falam de racismo, etnocentrismo"<sup>302</sup> [Rappers and warriors who move directly, They fight and come together to dispel old fears, They speak of racism, ethnocentrism]. In specific cases where vital Black activism of the periphery emerged, the boundaries between what can be understood as a Black political movement and the rap movement were often diluted. For instance, rap, neighbourhood and African-immigrant activism crossed paths in the first Black peripheral organisations. Rap in Portugal is undoubtedly a vast space of deep understanding of the society in the last decades, namely for interpreting the youth, the Black population, racism, race, police violence, poverty or the urban space. Rap lyrics, beats and videos are an immense 'archive' that is still very little explored and tells us thousands of stories of those whose voices are silenced by the state. Indeed, it would be interesting to build a 'Rap Archive' in Portugal.

Rap is part of the identity of several generations in Black-majority neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Lisbon. In *Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia (Rabulera)*, where I conducted my fieldwork, rap has been an essential artistic expression since the 1990s. In a place where 'racial capitalism' is seen in its rawest form (segregation, poverty, unemployment, police violence and house demolitions), rap was instrumental for several generations in denouncing this reality and creating a collaborative space for awareness, learning and creation. In the case of *Rabulera*, we are speaking about a self-produced Black-majority area where a community emerged. In my thesis, I go through the history of this place, bringing life stories, processes of community struggles and the importance of rap for several generations. Forms of resistance in this neighbourhood against 'racial capitalism' emerge daily; we see this in the history of a place built by their own hands, allowing for the right to housing that was denied, in the community organisations that were created and in a rap culture that allowed unity among young people. This is, in fact, a struggle for human dignity that is constantly denied.

In *Rabulera*, rap has become a fundamental 'place' of expression for the community and a sub-genre of rap was also developed there, *kriolu rap*. This kind of rap portrays the life of Black and impoverished people in Portugal with rawness. This rap speaks about concrete experiences of 'racial capitalism' in the periphery of Lisbon; in fact, they speak of a local knowledge that is a global experience of Black people. Rap as a transnational

---

<sup>302</sup> General D, 1994, 'PortuKKK'al é um erro'.

movement connects these realities creating a shared identity. The story of rap in *Rabulera* is the memory of thousands of people and hundreds of neighbourhoods in the country. As Abrov, an MC from *Rabulera*, says in one of his most known tracks, “Nha rap e assim: um korpu, um odju, um bóka”<sup>303</sup> [My rap is like this: one body, one eye, one mouth]. A rap that comes from the living body, which looks at the reality around it and sings a collective experience of oppression and liberation.

In sum, anti-racism should be read as a heterogeneous set of movements, ideologies, practices and struggles at global and local levels that seek to confront and end racism, often proposing new forms of society. This research shows that since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, different anti-racist movements and practices have opposed racism in Portugal. However, the long history of these struggles still needs to be further known and studied. With that in mind, this research aims to be a tool not only for academic study but also for political debate and action. When it is explicit that a strengthened racist outburst is breaking out worldwide and an anti-racist movement reorganises itself globally, I hope this work will enable future insights into anti-racist history and actuality, putting forth words of new humanities and strengthening the dream of ending racism.

---

<sup>303</sup> Abrov Souldjah (2010). 'Noz Rap'.

This page intentionally left blank

# Sources and Bibliography

---

## I. Archives

Archive of the General Secretariat of the Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Geospatial Information Centre of the Army (CIGeoE)  
Mário Pinto de Andrade Archives - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso  
Movimento Anti-Racista (MAR) Archives  
Oeiras Municipal Archives  
PIDE/DGS Archives - National Archives of Torre do Tombo  
RTP Archives  
Solidariedade Imigrante Archives  
SOS Racismo Archives  
W.E.B. Du Bois Papers. Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.  
25AprilPTLab - Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril

## 2. Music and Audiovisual

Abrov Souldjah (2010). 'Noz Rap'. *Fin di Mundo*. <https://youtu.be/HtKr7zlSfP4>  
Abrov Souldjah (2017). 'Streets'. *Di Undi Nbem*. <https://youtu.be/C1mPchPZqxY>  
Abrov Souldjah feat. Kats (2010). 'Guetto Tsunami'. *Fin di Mundo*. <https://youtu.be/mcHFEbDMeSI>  
Allen Halloween (2006). 'SOS mundo'. *O Projecto Mary Witch*. <https://youtu.be/xI9Xxc5nw54>  
Allen Halloween (2015). 'Bairro Black'. *Híbrido*. <https://youtu.be/tzLdy07ubcg>  
Andringa, Diana; & Cabral, Bruno (2005). *Era uma vez um Arrastão*. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5OjSY\\_sqk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5OjSY_sqk)  
Apollo G (2016). 'Nha Ghetto'. <https://youtu.be/OzwFdOdX2PU>  
Apollo G ft. Garry (2018). 'Tempo antigo', <https://youtu.be/CdwpmYQ9X8>  
Bitola (2012). 'Sangui Kenti'. <https://youtu.be/dp6L3qZHmsY>  
Bitola, Machine & RD (2011). 'Chega e Para'. <https://youtu.be/6vCeittJZjo>  
Boss Ac (1994). 'A Verdade'. *Rápublica*. <https://youtu.be/NtHw9TFxnjs>  
C.K.Las (feat. Tjerk) (2021). 'Lovedora (a.k.a.) Amadora'. <https://youtu.be/MHBNNDg7c9U>  
Cabral, Bruno (2014). *SOS Racismo: 20 anos a quebrar tabús*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-cz7sU3Dnw>

Capicua (2014). 'A Mulher do Cacilheiro'. *Sereia Louca*. <https://youtu.be/G769So99jM4>

Castaloni RG (2014). 'Manos di Rua'. [https://youtu.be/h\\_a5ru0XmAQ](https://youtu.be/h_a5ru0XmAQ)

Chullage (2001). 'Nu bai'. *Rapresálias: Sangue Lágrimas Suor*. <https://youtu.be/A3qTE4t1pGM>

Chullage (2004). 'Kabu Verde Kontra Racismo'. *Rapensar: Passado Presente Futuro*. [https://youtu.be/p\\_YP7TxZ6Ds](https://youtu.be/p_YP7TxZ6Ds)

Combate ao racismo em discussão entre associações e Ministro da Justiça (1990, January 18). RTP Arquivos. <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/combate-ao-racismo-em-discussao-entre-associacoes-e-ministro-da-justica/>

Conferência Mundial Contra o Apartheid (1977, June 8). 'Conferência Mundial Contra o Apartheid'. RTP Arquivos. <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/conferencia-mundial-contra-o-apartheid/>

Cunha, Basil da (2019). *O Fim do Mundo*. [https://youtu.be/NBv\\_SV0E2O0](https://youtu.be/NBv_SV0E2O0)

D Raw Na Mike (2022). 'Fadjas'. <https://youtu.be/AVh3Rv5rbIU>

Da Weasel (1997). 'Toda a Gente'. [https://youtu.be/gdqc\\_Q0TRBo](https://youtu.be/gdqc_Q0TRBo)

Dama Bete (2017). 'Missão à Terra'. *De Igual Para Igual*. <https://youtu.be/oohlB-sZPrU>

Djamal (1997). 'Revolução (Agora!)'. *Abram espaço*. <https://youtu.be/3gose8wieqw>

Dores, Miguel (2021). *Alcindo*.

Entrevista a João Grosso (1992, April 4). 'Entrevista a João Grosso'. RTP Arquivos. <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/entrevista-a-joao-grosso/>

Epalanga, Kalaf (2018). Kalaf: "O racismo em Portugal continua absolutamente presente mas está mais sofisticado". *Expresso*. [https://soundcloud.com/jornal\\_expresso/kalaf-o-racismo-em-portugal-continua-absolutamente-presente-mas-esta-mais-sofisticado?utm\\_source=clipboard&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=social\\_sharing](https://soundcloud.com/jornal_expresso/kalaf-o-racismo-em-portugal-continua-absolutamente-presente-mas-esta-mais-sofisticado?utm_source=clipboard&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=social_sharing)

Ferry (2015). 'Lá na Vila'. *Fundo de Desemprego*. <https://youtu.be/DKY2SIR0Xm4>

Ferry ft. Abrov, DaBica, Castaloni, Subi, Camps, Ryvaldo, M.S.G & Daft Nigga (2010). 'R.B.L'. *Arrombar a Porta*. <https://youtu.be/f3jqpaubeI8>

G Fly (2012). 'N'ka ta perdi esperança'. <https://youtu.be/qEfLyklgeJE>

G Fly (2014). 'Máscaras'. [https://youtu.be/QGq7jy7sb\\_c](https://youtu.be/QGq7jy7sb_c)

General D (1994). 'Portukkkal é Um Erro'. *Kanimambo*. <https://youtu.be/cujuxQjrhCU>

General D (featuring Sofia) (1993). 'Norte-Sul'. [https://youtu.be/-\\_Si9GFNzC4](https://youtu.be/-_Si9GFNzC4)

Julgamento de skinheads (1994, November 30). 'Julgamento de skinheads'. Rtp Arquivos. <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/julgamento-de-skinheads/>

Karlon (2018). 'Sol na céu'. *Griga*.

Kats (2012). 'Na ponta faca'. *Street Thug*. <https://youtu.be/nStRgd0t4uQ>

Killas, Abrov & Locks (2009). 'Nòs é Real Manos'. <https://youtu.be/vXPw1ITG6hU>

Kutico G (2016). 'Tema Livre'. <https://youtu.be/EbAtS74tbwQ4>

Liberdade, Kiluange (1996). *O Rap é Uma Arma*.



- Liberdade, Kiluanje; Gonçalves, Inês; & Pimentel, Vasco (1998). *Outros Bairros*.
- Locks & Killas (feat. Ouzi) (2007). 'Rabulera'. <https://youtu.be/iYTcT8QsUxU>
- Machine BMP feat MSG (2007). 'Porta fitchadu'. [https://youtu.be/\\_fP77a9xJ28](https://youtu.be/_fP77a9xJ28)
- Machine BMP feat. Alison, Tamin, Ferry, Abrov (2011). 'StreetLife RBL'. <https://youtu.be/t5EJPLt-MBg>
- Mata, Inocência; & Laranjeira, Pires (1996). *Literaturas africanas de expressão portuguesa: a negritude, com Inocência Mata e Pires Laranjeira*. Universidade Aberta. <https://vimeo.com/user34119652/review/160820500/e41df2e937>
- Monteiro, Yannick (2015). *Ferry RBL - Onde Tudo Começou (Documentário)*. <https://youtu.be/gi6pist2zN0>
- Nigga Poison (2001). 'Dedicação'. *Podia ser Mi*.
- Nigga Poison (2001). 'Ditadura'. *Podia ser Mi*.
- Nuno RBL (2019). 'Nez Mundo'. <https://youtu.be/kOUUPajkm4>
- Primerio G (2016). 'A história do hip-hop tuga'. *Tempo Di Reconstru Som*. <https://youtu.be/zQPbQ9nfBLY>
- Raposo, Otávio (2007). *Nu Bai: o Rap Negro de Lisboa*.
- Rescaldo do assassinato de José Carvalho (1989, November 28). 'Rescaldo do assassinato de José Carvalho'. RTP Arquivos. <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/rescaldo-do-assassinato-de-jose-carvalho/>
- Rosas, Fernando; & Cabral, Bruno (2017). *O Massacre de Batepá - História a História – África*. RTP. <https://www.rtp.pt/play/p3951/e317850/historia-a-historia-africa>
- Ribas, Tomás (1980). Programa "O que eu gostaria de ter sido", entrevista a Tomaz Ribas (1980-03-03), RTP Arquivos. <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/tomaz-ribas/>
- TVI (2014). 'TVI Reportagem Reboleira'. [https://youtu.be/9\\_Y5F7Nw0dg](https://youtu.be/9_Y5F7Nw0dg)
- Xina RBL (2017). 'Tardi pa bu txora'. <https://youtu.be/2OE8M1V5WN0>
- Xina RBL (2018). 'Manxi Cedo'. <https://youtu.be/mhXsFk0eUQU>
- Xina RBL (2021). 'Vivi sem medo'. <https://youtu.be/L3vTnOFVL40>
- Xina RBL (2022). 'Situação'. <https://youtu.be/IfQkVmfVOds>
- Ze Bula Ft Djini (2020). 'Fu\*\* Sistema'. [https://youtu.be/i8DWf9z\\_Gg](https://youtu.be/i8DWf9z_Gg)
- Zona Dread (1994). 'Só queremos ser iguais'. *Rapública*. <https://youtu.be/0Vabl-9XdH0>

### 3. Bibliography

- A Civilização e a Raça (1913, January 10). A Civilização e a Raça. *A Voz D'África*, n.º 10, p. 2.
- A Klu-Klux-Klan e os pretos (1932, April). A Klu-Klux-Klan e os pretos. *Africa Magazine*, n.º 2, p. 52.

- A lenda de Ngurangurane, o filho do crocodilo (1922, April, 6). A lenda de Ngurangurane, o filho do crocodilo. *Correio de Africa*, n.º 36.
- A Mocidade Africana (1930, February 1). *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 2, p. 2.
- A Nossa Orientação (1911, March 9). A Nossa Orientação. *O Negro*.
- A Raça Negra Vai Entrar Em Atividade Na Defesa Dos Seus Direitos (1924, September 9). A Raça Negra Vai Entrar Em Atividade Na Defesa Dos Seus Direitos. *A Batalha*.
- A Voz D’Africa (1912, September 1). *A Voz D’Africa*, n.º 1.
- A Voz D’Africa (1913, March 15). *A Voz D’Africa*, n.º 14.
- Acórdão do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça (1997). Acórdão do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça 12/11/1997, processo 97P1203, n.º convencional: JSTJ00032503. <http://www.dgsi.pt/jstj.nsf/954f0ce6ad9dd8b980256b5f003fa814/dd1cc4e3936ccd49802568fc003b7da0?OpenDocument>
- Adi, Hakim (2008). Pan-Africanism and communism: the Comintern, the ‘Negro Question’ and the First International Conference of Negro Workers, Hamburg 1930. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 1 (2), 237-254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17528630802393711>
- Adi, Hakim (2018). *Pan-Africanism: A History*. Bloosbury Publishing.
- Africanos, organizai-vos (1912, December 1). *A Voz D’Africa*, n.º 7, p. 1.
- Afro (1922, May 22). Confissão. *Correio de Africa*, n.º 42, p. 3.
- Albuquerque, Rosana (1996). Arte e anti-racismo. In Fernando João, José Falcão e Manuel Oliveira (org.), *Guia Anti-racista 2* (pp.146-147). SOS Racismo.
- Albuquerque, Rosana; Ferreira, Lúcia; & Viegas, Telma (2000). *O Fenómeno Associativo em Contexto Migratório: Duas décadas de Associativismo de Imigrantes em Portugal*. Celta Editora.
- Alcântara, Ana; Roldão, Cristina; & Cruz, Carlos (2019). Visita à Setúbal Negra (séc. XV-XVIII): Desocultar a história local através da educação não-formal. *Medi@ções*, 7(2), 66–85.
- Alcoff, Linda (1991). The Problem of Speaking for Others. *Cultural Critique*, 20, 5-32.
- Alegre, Caetano de Costa (1991). *Versos por Costa Alegre*. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.
- Almada, Flávio (2016). Flávio Almada (LBC): “Um militante anti-racista, tem de ser, por natureza, anti-capitalista”. *Fumaça*. <https://fumaca.pt/lbc-racismo-brutalidade-policial/>
- Almada, Flávio (2022). Flávio Almada (LBC): O racismo perdeu a vergonha?. *Perguntar Não Ofende*. <https://perguntarnaofende.wordpress.com/2020/09/17/flavio-almada-lbc-o-racismo-perdeu-a-vergonha/>
- Almeida, Pedro (2016). Futebol, Racismo e Média: os discursos da imprensa portuguesa durante o fascismo e pós-Revolução de Abril. *Política & Trabalho - Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 44, 71-90.
- Almeida, Pedro (2018). *Futebol, Raça e Nação em Portugal* [Tese de Doutoramento, Universidade de Coimbra].

- Almeida, Pedro; & Varela, Pedro (2021). Racismo e os órgãos de comunicação social: do suposto “arrastão” à brutalidade policial na esquadra de Alfragide. In Silvia Rodríguez Maeso (org.), *O Estado do Racismo em Portugal: Racismo antinegro e anticiganismo no direito e nas políticas públicas* (pp. 241-265). Tinta-da-China.
- Almeida, Viana de (1930, February). Crónica do Mês (Em volta do Preto do Charleston). *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 2, p. 2
- Alves, Ana Rita (2013). Para uma Compreensão da Segregação Residencial: o Plano Especial de Realojamento e o (Anti-)Racismo [Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade Nova da Lisboa].
- Alves, Ana Rita (2016). (Pré) textos e Contextos: Media, Periferia e Racialização. *Política & Trabalho: Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 44, 91-107.
- Alves, Ana Rita (2021). *Quando Ninguém Podia Ficar: Racismo, Habitação e Território*. Tigre de Papel.
- Alves, Ana Rita; Cachado, Rita; & Cruz, Ana (2018). Antirracismo. In José Eduardo Franco (org.), *Dicionário dos Antis: A Cultura Portuguesa em Negativo*, vol. 1. Instituto Europeu de Ciências da Cultura P. Manuel Antunes (IECCPMA) e Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Amadora define estratégias para 2022 (2022). Amadora Municipality official website. <https://www.cm-amadora.pt/5801-amadora-define-estrategias-para-2022.html>
- Amnesty International (2018). *Amnesty International Report 2017/2018: The State of The World's Human Rights*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/portugal/report-portugal/>
- Amparo Alves, Jaime (2014). Neither Humans nor Rights: Some Notes on the Double Negation of Black Life in Brazil. *Journal of Black Studies*, 14 (2), 1-20.
- Amparo Alves, Jaime (2018). *The Anti-Black City: Police Terror and Black Urban Life in Brazil*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (org.) (1958). *La poésie africaine d'expression portugaise: anthologie*. Honfleur - Pierre Jean Oswald
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1955). Qu'est-ce que le “lusotropicalismo” [under the pseudonym, Buanga Felé]. *Présence Africaine*, 4, 24-35. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1956). Que é o “lusotropicalismo”. *jornal "Para Todos" - quinzenário da Cultura brasileira*. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1961 [2000]). Poetas Negros de Expressão Portuguesa. *Europe*, 381, 3-10. In Pires Laranjeira (org.), *Negritude Africana de Língua Portuguesa: Textos de Apoio (1947-1963)*. Angelus Novo.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1973). Amílcar Cabral: Profil d'un révolutionnaire africain. *Présence Africaine*, 86. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1976, September 12). Amílcar Cabral e a Reafricanização dos Espíritos'. *Nô Pintcha - Órgão do Comissariado de Informação e Cultura*. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.

- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1984). Do protonacionalismo à modernidade. Conferências Praia, 30/07/1984 e Mindelo, 02/08/1984. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1984, December 12). 'É urgente recuperar a nossa memória histórica'. *África Jornal*, pp. 28-29. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1985). Considerações sobre a história das ideias nacionalistas nos países emergentes da luta contra a dominação cultural portuguesa. Conferência em São Tomé, 02/03/1985. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1985, May). As origens do nacionalismo nas ex-colónias portuguesas. *Tribuna: órgão de informação do sector urbano da Praia do PAICV*, pp. 5-6. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1989 [2000]). No Passatempo da Tia Andreza. In Inocência Mata & Laura Padilha, (org.), *Mário Pinto de Andrade: um intelectual na política*. Colibri.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1990). As ordens do discurso do clamor africano - Continuidade e ruptura na ideologia do nacionalismo unitário. *Estudos Moçambicanos: Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane*, 7, 7-27.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1997a). *Origens do nacionalismo africano: continuidade e ruptura nos movimentos unitários emergentes da luta contra a dominação colonial portuguesa: 1911-1961*. Dom Quixote.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (1997b). *Mário Pinto de Andrade: uma entrevista dada a Michel Laban*. Edições João Sá da Costa.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (org.) (1975). *Antologia Temática de Poesia Africana, Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, Guiné, Angola, Moçambique I - Na Noite Grávida dos Punhais*. Sá da Costa.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de (org.) (1979). *Antologia Temática de Poesia Africana. Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, Guiné, Angola, Moçambique II – O canto armado*. Sá da Costa.
- Andrade, Mário Pinto de; & Francisco Tenreiro (org) (1953). *Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*. Editora Gráfica Portuguesa. Edição Fac-símile.
- Andreia, Eunice (1995, July 13). Prisão preventiva para “skinheads”. *Diário de Notícias*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Antunes, Marina (2013). *Estrela d'África, um bairro sensível: um estudo antropológico sobre jovens na cidade da Amadora* [PhD Thesis - Universidade Lusíada].
- Antunes, Rui (2018, August 18). Carcavelos. A história do arrastão que nunca existiu, mas que abriu telejornais. *Observador*. <https://observador.pt/especiais/carcavelos-a-historia-do-arrastao-que-abriu-telejornais-mas-nunca-existiu/>
- Aptheker, Herbert (1943). *American Negro Slave Revolts*. International Publishers.
- Aptheker, Herbert (1975). The History of Anti-Racism in the United States. *The Black Scholar*, 6 (5). Black History II (January-February 1975), pp. 16-22.
- Araújo, Marta (2013). Challenging Narratives on Diversity and Immigration in Portugal: The (De)Politicization of Colonialism and Racism. In Philip Kretsedemas (ed.), *Migrant Marginality: A Transnational Perspective* (pp. 27-46). Routledge.

- Araújo, Marta; & Maeso, Silvia (2012). A Institucionalização do Silêncio: A Escravatura nos manuais de história portugueses. *Revista (In)Visível*, Outubro, 7-15.
- Araújo, Marta; & Maeso, Silvia (2010). Explorando o Eurocentrismo nos manuais portugueses de história. *Estudos de Sociologia, Araraquara*, 15 (28), 239-270.
- Araújo, Marta; Maeso, Silvia (2016). *Os Contornos do Eurocentrismo: Raça, história e textos políticos*. Almedina.
- Arderam Três Barracas na Damaia (1966, July 14). *Diário da Manhã*. Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, PT/MOER/MO/CULT-HL/01/ADMPUB/26070.
- As mulheres e o voto (1913, June 22). *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º 7(18), p. 3.
- Ba, Mamadou (2014, November 20). O racismo começa onde acaba a cultura? *Buala*. <https://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/o-racismo-comeca-onde-acaba-a-cultura>
- Ba, Mamadou (2017, September 7). A fábula de um país com racistas sem racismo. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2017/09/07/sociedade/opiniao/a-fabula-de-um-pais-com-racistas-sem-racismo-1784575>
- Ba, Mamadou (2019, January 14). Liberdade de expressão para banalizar ou não falar do racismo? *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2019/01/14/sociedade/opiniao/liberdade-expressao-nao-nao-falar-racismo-banalizalo-1857714>
- Ba, Mamadou (2020, March 21). Para eliminar a discriminação racial, celebrar menos e agir mais. *Público online*. <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/21/sociedade/opiniao/eliminar-discriminacao-racial-celebrar-menos-agir-1908671>
- Ba, Mamadou (2021). A legislação antirracista: uma manta de retalhos entre a negação e a ineficácia. In Silvia Rodriguez Maeso (org.), *O Estado do Racismo em Portugal: Racismo antinegro e anticiganismo no direito e nas políticas públicas* (pp. 307-321). Tinta-da-China.
- Baguet Jr, Gabriel (2004, March 27). 'Rede Europeia Contra o Racismo'. *AngoNotícias*. <https://www.angonoticias.com/Artigos/item/405>.
- Baldwin, James (1962 [1995]). Down at the Cross: Letter from a Region in My mind. In *The Fire Next Time*. The Modern Library.
- Barata, António (2004, March/April). Congresso da RAR rejeita lei de imigração. *Política Operária*, n.º 94, p.11. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Barbaridades (1931, March). *Tribuna D'Africa*. n.º 6, p. 4.
- Barradas, Ana (1991 [1995]). *Ministros da Noite: O Livro Negro da Expansão Portuguesa*. Antígona.
- Barros, Maria Filomena Lopes de (2020). Cumprir Marrocos em Portugal: a comunidade mourisca de Setúbal no século XVI. In Francisco Javier Martínez (ed.), *Entangled peripheries. New contributions to the history of Portugal and Morocco: Essays in homage to Eva Maria von Kemnitz*. Publicações do Cidehus.
- Bastos, José Gabriel Pereira (2007b). Que futuro tem Portugal para os Portugueses Ciganos. In Mirna Montenegro (org.), *Ciganos e Cidarias*, Cadernos ICE, n.º 9, Lisboa.
- Bastos, José Gabriel Pereira (org.). (2007a). *Sintrensos Ciganos: uma abordagem estrutural, dinâmica*. Câmara Municipal de Sintra.

- Batalha, Luís (2004). *The Cape Verdean Diaspora in Portugal: Colonia Subjects in a Postcolonial World*. Lexington Books.
- Bethencourt, Francisco (2013). *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*. Princeton University Press.
- Bhattacharyya, Gargi (2018). *Rethinking Racial Capitalism: Questions of Reproduction and Survival*. Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Bhattacharyya, Gargi; Virdee, Satnam; & Winter, Aaron (2020). Revisiting histories of anti-racist thought and activism. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 27 (1), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2019.1647686>
- Bhrambra, Gurminder K; & Shilliam, Robbie (2009). Introduction: 'Silence' and Human Rights. In Gurminder K. Bhrambra & Robbie Shilliam (eds.), *Silencing Human Rights: critical engagements with a contested project*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bikos, Lesley J. (2016). "I Took the Blue Pill" The Effect of the Hegemonic Masculine Police Culture on Canadian Policewomen's Identities. *MA Research Paper*, 7.
- Bogues, Anthony (2011). C.L.R. James, Pan-Africanism and the black radical tradition. *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 25(4), 484-499. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2011.639957>
- Bonnett, Alastair (1993). *Radicalism, anti-racism and representation*. Routledge.
- Bonnett, Alastair (2000). *Anti-Racism*. Routledge.
- Bonnett, Alastair (2010). Radicalism, Antiracism, and Nostalgia: The Burden of Loss in the Search for Convivial Culture. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(10), 2351–2369. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1068/a41287>
- Borges, Sónia Vaz (2008). *Amílcar Cabral: estratégias políticas e culturais para independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* [Master thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa].
- Brito, Patrícia (2001, July 6). De olhos bem abertos. *Euronotícias*, p. 32. Solidariedade Imigrante Archives.
- Buchanan, Larry; Bui, Quoc Trung; & Patel, Jugal K. (2020, July 3). Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html>
- Cabecinhas, Rosa (1996). Enviesamentos na perceção dos grupos sociais. O papel da posição social e do contexto. *Análise Psicológica*, XVI (1), 73-86. Lisboa, ISPA.
- Cabecinhas, Rosa (2007). *Preto e Branco: A naturalização da discriminação racial*. Campo das Letras.
- Cabral, Amílcar (1960). *The Facts About Portugal's African Colonies* [written under the pseudonym Abel Djassi]. Union of Democratic Control. Arquivo de História Social.
- Cabral, Amílcar (1961). *Guinea and Cabo Verde against Portuguese Colonialism*. Speech made at the 3rd Conference of the African Peoples held in Cairo, March 25-31, 1961. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1961/gcvpc.htm>
- Cabral, Amílcar (1965). *The Nationalist Movements of the Portuguese Colonies*. Opening address at the CONCP Conference held in Dar Es-Salaam, 1965. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1965/tnmpc.htm>

- Cabral, Amílcar (1968a, September). Practical problems and tactics. *Tricontinental magazine*, 8. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1968/ppt.htm>
- Cabral, Amílcar (1968b). *The development of the struggle*. Extracts from a declaration made to the OSPAAAL General Secretariat in December 1968. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1968/tds.htm>
- Cabral, Amílcar (2016). *Cartas de Amílcar Cabral a Maria Helena: a outra face do homem*. Iva Cabral, Márcia Souto, Filinto Elísio (org.). Rosa de Porcelana.
- Cabral, João de Pina (1998). Racismo ou Etnocentrismo? In Henrique Araújo, Paula Santos & Paulo Seixas (orgs.), *Nós e os Outros: A Exclusão em Portugal e na Europa* (pp. 19-26).
- Cachado, Rita (2013a). O registo escondido num bairro em processo de realojamento: o caso dos hindus da Quinta da Vitória. *Etnográfica*, 17 (3), 477-499. <https://doi.org/10.4000/etnografica.3201>
- Cachado, Rita (2013b). O Programa Especial de Realojamento. Ambiente histórico, político e social. *Análise Social*, 48 (206), 135-152.
- Caldeira, Arlindo Manuel (2017). *Escravos em Portugal - Das origens ao século XIX*. A Esfera dos Livros.
- Camacho, Francisco (1994, June 17). 'O Sr. general'. *Independente*. pp. 18-20. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Câmara da Amadora recusa receber moradores (2007, March 15). *Esquerda.net*. <https://www.esquerda.net/en/content/c%C3%A2mara-da-amadora-recusa-receber-moradores>
- Camus, Jean-Yves; & Lebourg, Nicolas (2017). *Far-Right Politics in Europe*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Câncio, Fernanda (2019, February 1). "Luther King teria vergonha do que se passou em Lisboa". *Diário de Notícias*. <https://www.dn.pt/pais/luther-king-se-estivesse-vivo-tinha-vergonha-do-que-se-passou-na-capital-deste-pais-10519382.html>
- Caracterização Social 2014 Águas Livres (2014). Rede Social Amadora: Conselho Local de Acção Social (CLAS). [https://www.cm-amadora.pt/images/artigos/solidaria/rede\\_social/rede\\_social\\_amadora/pdf/caraterizac\\_ao\\_aguaslivres.pdf](https://www.cm-amadora.pt/images/artigos/solidaria/rede_social/rede_social_amadora/pdf/caraterizac_ao_aguaslivres.pdf)
- Cardina, Miguel (2010). Guerra à guerra. Violência e anticolonialismo nas oposições ao Estado Novo. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 88, 207-231, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.1743>
- Cardina, Miguel (2013). Introdução. In Alessandro Portelli (Miguel Cardina e Bruno Cordovil (org)), *A morte de Luigi Trastulli e outros ensaios*. Edições Unipop.
- Cardina, Miguel (2011). *Margem de Certa Maneira: o Maoismo em Portugal, 1964-1974*. Tinta-da-China.
- Cardina, Miguel (2016). Memórias amnésicas? Nação, discurso político e representações do passado colonial. *Configurações*, 7, 31-42, <https://doi.org/10.4000/configuracoes.3281>
- Cardoso, Pedro Monteiro (1922, January 5). Ode a África. *Correio de Africa*, p. 1.
- Cardoso, Pedro Monteiro (1922, May 4). Hesperides, *Correio de Africa*, n.º 40, p. 1.

- Cardoso, Pedro Monteiro (1931a, May). A mr. Blaise Diagne. *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 17, p. 2.
- Cardoso, Pedro Monteiro (1931b, November). Folclore caboverdeano. *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 23, p. 2.
- Cardoso, Úrsula (1931, May 14). Lágrimas e sorrisos. *Tribuna D'Africa*, p. 1.
- Carita, Cristina; & Rosendo, Vasco Nuno (1993). Associativismo cabo-verdiano em Portugal: estudo de caso da Associação Cabo-verdiana em Lisboa. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, 13, 135-152.
- Carmo, Miguel; Sousa, Joana; Varela, Pedro; Ventura, Ricardo; & Bivar, Manuel (2020). African knowledge transfers in Early Modern Portugal: Enslaved people and rice cultivation in Tagus and Sado rivers. *Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea*, 44 (4), 45-65.
- Carneiro, Mariana (2018). Mulheres de Abril: Testemunho de Helena Lopes da Silva (1949-2018). *Esquerda.net*. <https://www.esquerda.net/artigo/mulheres-de-abril-testemunho-de-helena-lopes-da-silva-1949-2018/56970>
- Castelo, Cláudia (1998). *O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo: O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933-1961)*. Edições Afrontamento.
- Castelo, Cláudia (2011). A Casa dos Estudantes do Império: lugar de memória anticolonial. In *7.º Congresso Ibérico de Estudos Africanos*, 9, Lisboa, 2010, 50 anos das independências africanas: desafios para a modernidade: actas.
- Castelo, Cláudia (2013, March 5). O luso-tropicalismo e o colonialismo português tardio. *Buala*. <https://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/o-luso-tropicalismo-e-o-colonialismo-portugues-tardio>
- Castelo, Cláudia (2022). Africanos e afrodescendentes na metrópole portuguesa (século XX): um regresso ao “arquivo imperial”. *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 34/35, 131-150.
- Castelo, Cláudia; & Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira (org.) (2017). *Casa dos Estudantes do Império: Dinâmicas Coloniais, Conexões Transnacionais*. Edições 70.
- Castro, Artur (1932, July 28). Haja paz para todos os Portugueses! Haja paz para todos os Povos! (Palavras do Sr. Artur de Castro). *Africa*, n.º 11.
- Castro, João de (1930, August 8). Manifesto do Partido Nacional Africano ao País: Frente a Frente com os Acontecimentos - Quem somos? O que queremos? Para onde vamos?. *Voz D'Africa*, n.º 880, p. 1.
- Castro, José; & Garcia, José Luís (1995). A Batalha e a Questão Colonial. *Ler História*, 27/28, 125-146.
- Census 2021 (2021). *População residente (n.º) por Local de residência (à data dos Censos 2021), Sexo e Grupo etário*. Instituto Nacional de Estatística.
- Chang, Jeff (2005). *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip Hop Generation*. St. Martin's Press.
- Cidra, Rui (2002). “Ser real”: o rap na construção de identidades na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa. *Ethnologia*, 12-14, pp. 189-222.
- Collins, Patricia Hill (2006). *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism*. Temple University Press.



- Colóquio Internacional 'Em tempo de Expo há outras histórias para contar' (1998). *Essas outras histórias que há para contar - Colóquio Internacional em Tempo de Expo há outras histórias para contar*. Abril em Maio & SOS Racismo (orgs.). Salamandra.
- Comunicado de Imprensa Union Romani (1997, August 6). Comunicado de Imprensa Union Romani. SOS Racismo archives.
- Comunicado de Imprensa Rede Anti-Racista (2001, March 5). Comunicado de Imprensa da Rede Anti-Racista. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Conferência Mundial contra o Apartheid, o Racismo e o Colonialismo na África Austral (1977). Conferência Mundial contra o Apartheid, o Racismo e o Colonialismo na África Austral. 25AprilPTLab - Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril.
- Congresso Anti-Racista marca concentração no MAI (1999, March 15). *Jornal de Notícias*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Connell, Raewyn; & Messerschmidt, James (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society*, 19 (6), 829-85.
- Connell, Raewyn (1995). *Masculinities*. University of California Press.
- Contador, António (2001). *Cultura juvenil negra em Portugal*. Celta Editora.
- Contador, António; & Ferreira, Emanuel (1997). *Ritmo & Poesia: Os Caminhos do Rap*. Assírio & Alvim.
- Correia, Amílcar (1998, October 18). Nasceu um "lobby" anti-racista. *Público*, p. 27. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Correia, Rute (2020, November 25). O rap é misógino. *Interruptor*. <https://interruptor.pt/artigos/o-rap-e-misogino>
- Correio de Africa (1921, November 3). *Correio de Africa*, n.º 14, p. 1.
- Costa, António Firmino da (2003). Estilos de Sociabilidade. In Graça Índias Cordeiro, et al. (orgs.), *Etnografias Urbanas*. Celta.
- Cox, Oliver Cromwell (1957). *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*. Monthly Review Press.
- CPT (2018). *Report to the Portuguese Government on the visit to Portugal carried out by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) from 27 September to 7 October 2016*.
- Cuberos-Gallardo, Francisco José (2019). El djunta-mon en la periferia de Lisboa: migración cabover-diana y comportamiento moral en un contexto de conflicto urbano. *Revista de Antropología Social*, 28(1), 51-69. <https://doi.org/10.5209/RASO.63766>
- Davis, Angela (1983). *Women Race & Class*. Vintage Books Random House.
- Davis, Angela (2016). *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. Haymarket Books
- Davis, Miles (2015, June 21). Joseph Emidy: From slave fiddler to classical violinist. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-cornwall-33211440>
- Dembour, Marie-Bénédicte (2009). In the Name of the Rule of Law: The European Court of Human Rights' Silencing Racism. In Gurminder K. Bhrambra & Robbie Shilliam (eds), *Silencing Human Rights: critical engagements with a contested project*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Dias, Beatriz Gomes (2019, September 30). Este país não tem sido para todas nem para toda a gente. *Esquerda.net*. <https://www.esquerda.net/opiniao/este-pais-nao-tem-sido-para-todas-nem-para-toda-gente/63593>
- Dias, Beatriz Gomes (2021, November 25). A descolonização que falta fazer. *Esquerda.net*, <https://www.esquerda.net/dossier/descolonizacao-que-falta-fazer/78041>
- Dias, Jorge. (1995, March 1). Jamal: “Para combater a discriminação das mulheres no rap”. *Público*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Domingues, Mário (1922, July 5). O Ideal da Independência. *A Batalha*, p. 1.
- Domingues, Mário (1924, October 25). A Literatura Africana: Os Grandes Motivos Passionais e Literários das Terras D'Além Mar. *Correio de Africa*, n.º 2, p. 2.
- Domingues, Mário (1927, December 22). Uma Grande Atriz e Uma formosa Alma. *ABC*.
- Domingues, Mário (1928, July 2). A Hora Negra da Europa. *A Voz D'Africa*, p. 2.
- Domingues, Mário (1929, July 31). Drama no Sertão. *A Voz D'Africa*, pp. 5-6.
- Domingues, Mário (1930). *O Preto do Charleston*. Guimarães.
- Domingues, Mário (1930, April). Caetano da Costa Alegre: Um grande poeta da raça negra. *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 4.
- Domingues, Mário (1931, November 11). Arte Negra. *Africa*, n.º 882-1, p. 24.
- Domingues, Mário (1932). Má Raça. *Africa Magazine*.
- Domingues, Mário (1932, May). O Império Português. *Africa Magazine*, n.º 3, pp. 10, 11 e 51.
- Domingues, Mário (1956). A mensagem poética dos negros. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso, Pasta 04354.005.004.
- Domingues, Petrônio (2004). Paladinos da Liberdade: A Experiência do Clube Negro de Cultura Social em São Paulo (1932-1938). *Revista de História*, 150, 57-59. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-9141.v0i150p57-79>
- Domingues, Petrônio (2007). Movimento negro brasileiro: alguns apontamentos históricos. *Tempo*, 12 (23), 100-122. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1413-77042007000200007>
- Domingues, Petrônio (2008). Movimento negro brasileiro: história, tendências e dilemas contemporâneos. *Dimensões: Revista de História da Ufes*.
- Douzinas, Costas (2017). The many faces of humanitarianism. *Parrhesia*, 2, 1–28
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1935 [1964]). *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860-1880*. World Publishing Company.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1903 [1994]). *The souls of Black folk*. Dover thrift editions.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1924, September). The third Pan-african Congress. *The Crisis*, 27 (23), p. 122.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1943 [1985]). A Social Program for Black and White Americans (31 May 1943). In Herbert Aptheker (ed.), *Against Racism: Unpublished Essays, Papers, Addresses, 1887-1961, W.E.B. Du Bois*. The University of Massachusetts Press.
- Duarte, Mariana (2018, February 2). Guerreira do Rap. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2018/02/27/culturaipilon/noticia/mynda-guevararap-acima-de-tudo--e-feito-por-mulheres-1804454>

- Duarte, Marta (1995, June 20). *Público*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Dubois, Laurent (2004). *Avengers of the New World: the story of the Haitian revolution*. Harvard University Press.
- Echo of Pan-african Congress (1921, november 29). *Negro World*, p. 5.
- ECRI (2013). *ECRI Report on Portugal: fourth monitoring cycle*. Council of Europe. <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Portugal/PRT-CbC-IV-2013-020-ENG.pdf>
- ECRI (2018). *Relatório da ECRI sobre Portugal (quinto ciclo de controlo)*. Concelho da Europa. <https://rm.coe.int/fifth-report-on-portugal-portuguese-translation/16808de7db>
- Elnaiem, Mohammed (2021, November 11). Cedric Robinson and the Black Radical Tradition. *Jstor Daily*. <https://daily.jstor.org/cedric-robinson-the-black-radical-tradition/>
- ENAR (2015). *Fact Sheet Briefing – Afrophobia in Portugal*. <http://www.enar-eu.org/Shadow-Reports-on-racism-in-Europe-203>
- Essed, Philomena (1991). *Understanding Everyday Racism: an interdisciplinary theory*. Sage Publications.
- Fanon, Franz (1952 [2008]). *Black Skin, White Masks*. Pluto Press.
- Fanon, Franz (1961 [2004]). *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press.
- Farinha, Ricardo (2020, July 07). O rap crioulo chegou ao mainstream: uma nova era para o movimento. *Rimas e Batidas*. <https://www.rimasebatidas.pt/o-rap-crioulo-chegou-ao-mainstream-uma-nova-era-para-o-movimento/>
- Fernandes, Ricardo Cabral; & Costa, Xavier (2020, June 6). “Black Lives Matter”, ouviu-se em Portugal e um pouco pelo resto do mundo'. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2020/06/06/mundo/noticia/black-lives-matter-ouviuse-portugal-resto-mundo-1919738>
- Fernández, Cayetano (2021). ‘Anti-Roma racism and the white academic agenda: hidden blind-spots of the Education System’. *Revista Contemporânea de Educação*, 16 (37), <https://doi.org/10.20500/rce.v16i37.44712>.
- Ferreira, Jorge (1995, June 16). “Rapper” da Moita Aponta a Música como “Arma”, “Assim tá-se mal”. *A Capital*, p. 11. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Ferreira, Manuel (1989). Prefácio. In Marcelo da Veiga, *O Canto do Ossôbó*. África, Literatura, Arte e Cultura.
- Ferreira, Nuno (1990, November 29). SOS Racismo em versão portuguesa. *Público*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Ferreira, Nuno (1994, March 13). Rap: a voz dos novos africanos. *Público*, pp. 17-23. SOS Racismo archives.
- Ferreira, Nuno (2002, June 22). Bairro da Bela Vista revoltado com actuação policial. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2002/06/22/jornal/bairro-da-bela-vista-revoltado-com-actuacao-policial-171916>
- Ferreira, Piménio (2018, january). Portugal de brancos costumes: racismo institucional e ciganofobia. *Le Monde Diplomatique: edição portuguesa*.

- Ferro, Lúgia (2015). Jump Lisbon! Notes from an ethnography of urban flows. *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 14 (2), 177–192. [https://doi.org/10.1386/pjss.14.2.177\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/pjss.14.2.177_1)
- Ferro, Lúgia; Raposo, Otávio; Cordeiro, Graça; Lopes, João Teixeira; Veloso, Luísa; Nico, Magda; Abrantes, Manuel; Abrantes, Varela, Pedro; Bento, Ricardo; & Caeiro, Tiago (2016). *O trabalho da arte e a arte do trabalho: circuitos criativos de artistas imigrantes em Portugal*, 58. Observatório das Migrações - ACM.
- Figueroa, Víctor (2009). Between Louverture and Christophe: Aimé Césaire on the Haitian Revolution. *The French Review*, 82 (5), 1006-1021.
- Fikes, Kesha (2000). Santiaguense Cape Verdean Women in Portugal: Labor Rights, Citizenship and Diasporic Transformation [PhD thesis, University of California].
- Fikes, Kesha (2005). Ri(gh)tes of Intimacy at Doca Pesca: Race versus Racism at a Fish Market in Portugal. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 2(2), 247-266. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X05050174>
- Fikes, Kesha (2009). *Managing African Portugal: The Citizen-Migrant Distinction*. Duke University Press.
- Firmin, Anténor (1885 [2000]). *The Equality of the Human Races (Positivist Anthropology)*. Garland Press.
- Fletcher, James (2015, March 23). ‘They hate Black people’. *BBC News*. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-32419952>
- Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn (2000). Anténor Firmin: Haitian Pioneer of Anthropology. *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 102 (3), 449-466.
- Fonseca, Jorge (2002). *Escravos no sul de Portugal: séculos XVI-XVII*. Vulgata.
- Fonseca, Jorge (2016). *Religião e Liberdade: Os Negros nas Irmandades e Confrarias Portuguesas (Séculos XV a XIX)*. Edições Húmus.
- Forman, Murray (2000). 'Represent': Race, Space and Place in Rap Music. *Popular Music*, 19 (1), 65-90.
- Forman, Murray (2002). *The 'Hood Comes First: Race, Sape, and Place in Rap and Hip-Hop*. Wesleyan University Press.
- Forman, Murray (2004). “Represent”: Race, Space, and Place in Rap Music. In Murray Forman & Mark Anthony Neal (org), *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader* (pp. 201-222). Routledge.
- Fradique, Teresa (2003). *Fixar o movimento: representações da música rap em Portugal*. Dom Quixote.
- Franco, Hugo; Marques, Ricardo; & Franco, Tiago (2009, May 21). Bairro da Bela Vista teme mais violência. *Expresso*. <https://expresso.pt/actualidade/bairro-da-bela-vista-teme-mais-violencia=f515655>
- Frúgoli Jr., Heitor (2006). *Sociabilidade Urbana*. Zahar - Jorge Zahar Editor.
- Fumaça (2018, June 26). Como aconteceu a agressão racista no Porto. *Fumaça*. <https://fumaca.pt/agressao-racista-porto-como-aconteceu/>
- Garcia, José Luís (2012). Um mulato contra o império português. Descobrir Mário Domingues no século XXI. In C. Gaspar; F. Patriarca; L. S. Matos (eds.), *Estado, regimes e revoluções: estudos em homenagem a Manuel de Lucena* (pp.457-483). ICS.

- Garcia, José Luís (2017). The First Stirrings of Anti-Colonial Discourse in the Portuguese Press. In José Luís Garcia; C. Kaul; F. Subtil; A. Santos (eds.), *Media and the Portuguese Empire* (pp. 125-143). Springer International Publishing.
- Garcia, José Luís (2022). *Mário Domingues: A Afirmação Negra e a Questão Colonial, textos, 1919-1928*. Tinta-da-China.
- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson (2017). Geografía abolicionista y el problema de la inocencia. *Tabula Rasa*, 28, 57-77. <https://doi.org/10.25058/20112742.n28.3>
- Gilroy, Paul (1987). *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. Routledge.
- Gilroy, Paul (1990). The end of anti-racism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 17(1), 71-83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1990.9976222>
- Gilroy, Paul (1993). *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Verso.
- Go, Julian (2021). Three Tensions in the Theory of Racial Capitalism. *Sociological Theory*, 39 (1) 38-47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07352751209798>
- Góis, Pedro (org.) (2008). *Comunidade(s) cabo-verdiana(s): As múltiplas faces da imigração cabo-verdiana*. Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI, I.P.).
- Goldberg, David Theo (2002). *The Racial State*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Goldberg, David Theo (2006). Racial Europeanization. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(2), 331-364. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870500465611>
- Goldberg, David Theo (2009). *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Goldberg, David Theo (2015). *Are we all postracial yet? Debating race*. Polity Press.
- Gomes, Flávio dos Santos (2005). *A hidra e os pântanos: mocambos, quilombos e comunidades de fugitivos no Brasil, séculos XVII-XIX*. UNESP
- Gonçalves, Bruno (2019). Vozes Ciganas no Associativismo (Parte I), Entrevistas, Bruno Gonçalves, Vozes Ciganas Obcig, 2019, coimbra. <https://www.obcig.acm.gov.pt/-/vozes-ciganas-no-associativismo-parte-i-entrevistas-bruno-goncalves?inheritRedirect=true>
- Graeber, David; & Wengrow, David (2021). *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*. Signal-McClelland & Stewart-Penguin Random House.
- Hage, Ghassan (2016). Recalling anti-racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 39 (1), 123-133. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1096412>
- Hanchard, Michael George (1994). *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1945-1988*. Princeton University Press.
- Hannerz, Ulf (1980). *Exploring the city: inquiries toward and urban anthropology*. Columbia University Press.
- Harmonia e Coesão (1913, August 1). *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º 9, p. 1.
- Harvey, David (2008). The Right to The City. *New Left Review*, 53, 23-40.
- Henriques, Artur Sangreman (1931, September). Raças. *A Mocidade Africana*, p. 2.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro (2009). *A herança africana em Portugal*. Clube do colecionador dos correios.

- Henriques, Isabel Castro (2019). *A Presença Africana em Portugal, Uma História Secular: Preconceito, Integração, Reconhecimento (Séculos XV-XX)*. Alto Comissariado para as Migrações.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro; & Leite, Pedro Pereira (2013). *Lisboa, cidade Africana. Percursos de Lugares de Memória da Presença Africana. Séculos XV-XXI*. Marca d'Água - Publicações e Projetos.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro; & Silva, João Moreira da (2020). *Os «Pretos do Sado». História e Memória de uma Comunidade Alentejana de Origem Africana (séculos XV-XX)*. Colibri.
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão (2015, February 10). “Os polícias disseram que nós, africanos, temos de morrer”. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2015/02/10/sociedade/reportagem/os-policias-disseram-que-nos-africanos-temos-de-morrer-1685599>
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão (2018a, May 20). Cova da Moura: cronologia dos acontecimentos. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2018/05/20/sociedade/noticia/cova-da-moura-cronologia-dos-acontecimentos-1830601>
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão (2018b, December 21). PJ confirma que cartuchos que atingiram vítima da Cova da Moura saíram de arma da PSP. *Público online*. <https://www.publico.pt/2018/12/21/sociedade/noticia/pj-confirma-cartuchos-entregues-vitima-cova-moura-sairam-arma-psp-1855636>
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão (2018c). *Racismo no País dos Brancos Costumes*. Tinta-da-China.
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão (2018d, June 22). Sindicato diz que hoje aconteceu a maior manifestação de trabalhadores de limpeza em 40 anos. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2018/06/22/sociedade/noticia/sindicato-diz-que-hoje-aconteceu-a-maior-manifestacao-de-trabalhadores-de-limpeza-em-40-anos-1835535>
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão (2020, July 31). Manifestação por Bruno Candé: “Existe muita gente racista e é importante mostrar que estamos fartos”. *Público*. 31/07/2020. <https://www.publico.pt/2020/07/31/sociedade/noticia/manifestacao-bruno-cande-existe-gente-racista-importante-mostrar-fartos-1926611>
- Henriques, Joana Gorjão (2022). Caso do bairro da Jamaica: tribunal condena família Coxi e agente da PSP a penas suspensas. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2022/02/08/sociedade/noticia/caso-bairro-jamaica-tribunal-condena-familia-coxi-agente-psp-penas-suspensas-1994651>
- Hesse, Barnor (2004a). Implausible Deniability: Racism's Conceptual Double Bind. *Social Identities*, 10 (1), 9-29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1350463042000190976>
- Hesse, Barnor (2004b). Discourse on Institutional Racism: the genealogy of a concept. In Ian Law, Deborah Phillips & Laura Turney (eds.) (eds), *Institutional Racism in Higher education*. Trentham books.
- Hesse, Barnor; & Hooker, Juliet (2017). Introduction: On Black Political Thought inside Global Black Protest. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 116(3). <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-3961428>
- Hesse, Barnor; & Thompson, Debra (2022). Introduction: Antiblackness—Dispatches from Black Political Thought. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 121(3). <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-9825919>

- Hine, Darlene Clark; Keaton, Trica Danielle; & Small, Stephen (orgs.) (2009). *Black Europe and the African Diaspora*. University of Illinois Press.
- Hitler - III Reich - Portugal Colonial (1932, May 21). *Africa*, n.º 2, p. 7.
- hooks, bell (1981 [2015]). *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Routledge.
- hooks, bell (1995). *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*. Henry and Company
- Horne, Gerald (2019). *Jazz and Justice: Racism and the Political Economy of the Music*. Monthly Review Press.
- João de Castro PVDE (1941). 'João Monteiro de Castro'. Serviços Centrais, Registo Geral de Presos, liv. 67, registo n.º 13281. PIDE/DGS Archives – ANTT.
- J.M.R. (1993, November 22). Uma festa de todas as cores. *Público (Local - Lisboa)*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- James, C.L.R. (1938 [1989]). *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. Vintage Books.
- Jenkins, Toby S. (2011). A Beautiful Mind: Black Male Intellectual Identity and Hip-Hop Culture. *Journal of Black Studies*. 42 (8), 1231-1251.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd (2020). Race, Culture and Liberation: African Anticolonial Thought and Practice in the Time of Decolonisation. *The International History Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2019.1695138>
- Júnior, Francisco Carlos Guerra de Mendonça (2019). Rimando contra o “mito” do bom colonizador: O RAP como forma de combate ao racismo em Portugal. In Paula Guerra & Tirso Siteo (org.), *Reinventar o discurso e o palco. O rap, entre saberes locais e saberes globais* (pp. 168-189). Universidade do Porto - Faculdade de Letras.
- Kajibanga, Víctor (2000). Mário Pinto de Andrade. Subsídios para o Estudo Biográfico do seu retrato social e intelectual. In Inocência Mata; & Laura Padilho (org.), *Mário Pinto de Andrade, um intelectual na Política*. Colibri.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. (1994). *Race Rebels: culture, politics, and the Black Working Class*. The Free Press.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. (1997). *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*. Beacon Press.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. (2002). *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Beacon Press.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. (2017, January 12). What Did Cedric Robinson Mean by Racial Capitalism? *Boston Review*. <https://bostonreview.net/articles/robin-d-g-kelley-introduction-race-capitalism-justice/>
- Kelley, Robin D. G. (2021a). Foreword: Why Black Marxism? Why Now? In Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Penguin Books.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. (2021b). New World Coming: Racial Capitalism with Robin D. G. Kelley (conversation with James Counts Early). *The People's Forum NYC*. <https://youtu.be/-5UhJYavbA8>
- Keyes, Cheryl L. (2004). *Rap music and street consciousness*. University of Illinois Press.
- Kilomba, Grada (2018). *Plantation Memories: Episodes of Everyday Racism*. Unrast Verlag.

- King, Charles (2019). *Gods of the Upper Air: How a Circle of Renegade Anthropologists Reinvented Race, Sex, and Gender in the Twentieth Century*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Kundnani, Arun (2020, October 15). *What is racial capitalism?* Text of a talk by Arun Kundnani at the Havens Wright Center for Social Justice, University of Wisconsin-Madison. <https://www.kundnani.org/what-is-racial-capitalism/>
- Lahon, Didier (1999). *O Negro no Coração do Império. Uma memória a resgatar - Séculos XV a XIX*. Ministério da Educação.
- Lahon, Didier (2004). O escravo africano na vida económica e social portuguesa do antigo regime. *Africana Studia*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 7.
- Lahon, Didier (2012). Da redução da alteridade à consagração da diferença: as irmandades negras em Portugal (Séculos XVI-XVIII). *Projeto História*, São Paulo, 44, 5-83.
- Lara, Ruben de (1931, June). Saudação à Raça Africana. *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 18, p. 4
- Laranjeira, Pires (1995). *A Negritude de Língua Portuguesa*. Edições Afrontamento.
- Laranjeira, Pires (2000a). Introdução. In Pires Laranjeira (org.), *Negritude Africana de Língua Portuguesa, Textos de Apoio (1947-1963)*. Angelus Novus.
- Laranjeira, Pires (2000b). As Literaturas Africanas de Língua Portuguesa - Identidade e Autonomia. *Scripta*, 3 (6), 225-236.
- Lêdê Saura (1931, May 14). Plétu nacá tlabafa! *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º4.
- Lefebvre, Henri (1968 [2011]). *O Direito à Cidade*. Editora Centauro.
- Legalização, Racismo e “Gangs” (1993, December 27). *Público*.
- Leggassick, Martin; & Hemson, David (1976). *Foreign Investment and Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa*. UCT Libraries Special Collections. South Africa History Online. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/foreign-investment-and-reproduction-racial-capitalism-south-africa-martin-legassick-and>
- Lentin, Alana (2000). ‘Race’, Racism and Anti-racism: Challenging Contemporary Classifications. *Social Identities*, 6, 1, 91-106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630051372>
- Lentin, Alana (2004). *Racism and Anti-racism in Europe*. Pluto Press.
- Lentin, Alana (2008). After Anti-Racism? *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1, 3, 311-331. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549408091846>
- Lentin, Alana (2011). What happens to anti-racism when we are post race? *Feminist Legal Studies*, 19,159-168. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1007/s10691-011-9174-5>
- Lentin, Alana (2020). *Why Race Still Matters*. Polity Press.
- Leong, Nancy (2013). Racial Capitalism. *Harvard Law Review*, 126 (8), 2151-2226, June 2013.
- Lipsitz, George (2020, June 24). What Is This Black in the Black Radical Tradition? *versobooks.com*. <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/4766-what-is-this-black-in-the-black-radical-tradition>
- Lisboa, B. (2003). Festival 20 de Junho: Um Ano Após o Assassinato do Jovem Negro no Bairro da Bela Vista (Setúbal): Relembrar Tony! Combater o racismo e a repressão policial!. *Paginavermelha*. <http://paginavermelha.org/noticias/belavista/belavista.htm>



- Livro de Atas (1980). Livro de Atas n.º 108 das reuniões da Câmara Municipal de Oeiras. Arquivo Municipal de Oeiras, PT/MOER/MO/ORG-FOM/01/108.
- Lopes, Manuel (1960). *Flagelados do Vento Leste*. Editora Ulisseia.
- Lourenço, Paulo; & Carneiro, Ivete (1995, June 17). Lisboa e Porto Saíram à Rua para dizer não ao racismo. *Jornal de Notícias*, pp. 6-7. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Machado, Alberto Rui (2010). O associativismo cabo-verdiano em Portugal - da Casa de Cabo Verde aos tempos de hoje. In Ana Paula Beja Horta (org.), *Revista Migrações - Número Temático Associativismo Imigrante* (pp. 241-250), n.º 6, ACIDI.
- Machado, Fernando Luís (1992). Etnicidade em Portugal: contrastes e politização. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, 12, 123-136.
- Machado, Fernando Luís (2000). Os novos nomes do racismo: especificação ou inflação conceptual? *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, 33, 9-44.
- Machado, Fernando Luís (2001). Contextos e percepções de racismo no quotidiano. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, 36, 53-80.
- Machado, Fernando Luís (2009). Quarenta anos de imigração africana: um balanço. *Ler História*, 56, pp. 135-165. <https://doi.org/10.4000/lerhistoria.1991>
- Maeso, Silvia (2016). O turismo e a academia da “idade dos descobrimentos” em Portugal: O silenciamento/reprodução do racismo no loop pós-colonial. *Revista Política & Trabalho*, 44, 27-49.
- Maeso, Silvia (org.) (2021). *O Estado do Racismo em Portugal: Racismo antinegro e anticiganismo no direito e nas políticas públicas*. Tinta-da-China.
- Maeso, Silvia; Alves, Ana Rita; & Araújo, Danielle (2021). Racismo e políticas de segurança interna em Portugal: policiamento e controlo da juventude negra e Roma/cigana. In Silvia Maeso (org.), *O Estado do Racismo em Portugal: Racismo antinegro e anticiganismo no direito e nas políticas públicas* (pp. 181-240). Tinta-da-China.
- Maeso, Silvia; Alves, Ana Rita; & Fernandes, Sara (2021). A implementação da legislação de combate à discriminação racial em Portugal: uma abordagem sociolegal. In Silvia Maeso (org.), *O Estado do Racismo em Portugal: Racismo antinegro e anticiganismo no direito e nas políticas públicas* (pp. 59-90). Tinta-da-China.
- Maeso, Silvia; & Araújo, Marta (2014). The Politics of (Anti)Racism. Academic Research and Policy Discourse in Europe. In Wulf D. Hund, Alana Lentin (org.), *Racism and Sociology* (pp. 207-237). Lit Verlag.
- Maeso, Silvia; & Araújo, Marta (2017). The (im)plausibility of racism in Europe: policy frameworks on discrimination and integration. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 51(1), 26-50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2016.1270500>
- Magalhães, José de (1921, September 21). A Obra do Congresso Pan-Africano. *Correio de Africa*, n.º 9, p. 1.
- Magalhães, José de (1924, September 10). O movimento pan-africano em 1923-24. *Correio de Africa*, n.º 1, p. 1.
- Magnani, José (1984 [2003]). *Festa no pedaço - Cultura popular e lazer na cidade*. Hucitec e Unesp.
- Magnani, José (2002). De perto e de dentro: notas para uma etnografia urbana. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 17 (49), 11-29.

- Mais uma vida perdida num criminoso bairro de lata onde um incêndio destruiu as barracas e os pobres haveres de três humildes famílias (1966, July 14). Mais uma vida perdida num criminoso bairro de lata onde um incêndio destruiu as barracas e os pobres haveres de três humildes famílias. *O Século*. Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, PT/MOER/MO/CULT-HL/01/ADM/PUB/26072.
- Malik, Kenan (2015, March/April). The Failure of Multiculturalism. *Foreign Affairs Magazine*. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/2015-02-18/failure-multiculturalism>
- Manifestantes protestaram junto ao Parlamento contra atuação policial na Amadora (2015, February 12). *Jornal de Notícias*. <https://www.jn.pt/seguranca/manifestantes-protestaram-junto-ao-parlamento-contr-a-atuacao-policial-na-amadora-4397925.html>
- Manuel, Antonio (2010). *La huella morisca: El Al Ándalus que llevamos dentro*. Almuzara.
- Margarido, Alfredo (1994 [2014]). A Literatura e a Consciência Nacional. In *Antologias de Poesia da Casa dos Estudantes do Império, Angola e S. Tomé e Príncipe*. UCCLA.
- Margarido, Alfredo (2000), Uma ilha africana na Duque d'Ávila. In P. Borges; A. Freudenthal; Tomás Medeiros; & H. Pedro (org), *Mensagem - Casa dos Estudantes do Império: 1944-1994 Número Especial* (pp. 33-42). União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa.
- Marques, João Filipe (1995). O estilhaçar do espelho. Da raça enquanto princípio de explicação do social a uma compreensão sociológica do racismo. *Ethnologia*, 3-4, 39-57.
- Marques, João Filipe (2004 [2007]). *Do "não racismo" português aos dois racismos dos portugueses* [Tese de Doutoramento, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales]. Alto-Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural – ACIDI.
- Marques, João Pedro (2008). *Sá da Bandeira e o Fim da Escravidão: Vitória da moral, desforra do interesse*. Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Marques, João Pedro (2019). Sá da Bandeira e as cortes: o intricado caminho para a abolição da escravidão. In Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo; & José Pedro Monteiro (org.), *O Direito Sobre Si Mesmo: 150 anos da abolição da escravatura no império português*. Assembleia da República.
- Mata, Inocência (1989). Posfácio. In Marcelo da Veiga, *O Canto do Ossôbó*. África, Literatura, Arte e Cultura.
- Mata, Inocência (2006). Endurecer-se sem perder a ternura. In Inocência Mata; & Laura Padilha (org.), *A poesia e a Vida: Homenagem a Alda Espírito Santo*. Colibri.
- Mata, Inocência (2015). *A Casa dos Estudantes do Império e o lugar da literatura na consciencialização política*. UCCLA - União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa.
- Mata, Inocência (2016). A mediação literária da realidade colonial: representações da realidade nas literaturas africanas em português. *Scripta*, 20 (39), 81-93. <https://doi.org/10.5752/P.2358-3428.2016v20n39p81>
- Mata, Inocência (2017). Ficcionalistas da Casa dos Estudantes do Império: a função testemunhal da narrativa curta no período colonial. In Cláudia Castelo; & Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo (org.), *Casa dos Estudantes do Império. Edições 70*.

- Mata, Inocência (2018). O singular enfrentamento à ideologia colonial da colecção “autores ultramarinos” da Casa dos Estudantes do Império. *Revista do NEPA/UFF*, 10(20), 15-23. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22409/abriluff.2018n20a495>
- Mata, Inocência; & Padilha, Laura. (org.) (2000). *Mário Pinto de Andrade: um intelectual na política*. Colibri.
- Mata, Simão; & Fernandes, Luís (2018). Questões metodológicas de uma revisitação etnográfica a territórios psicotrópicos do Porto. *Etnográfica*, 22 (2). <https://doi.org/10.4000/etnografica.5443>
- Mbembe, Achille (2017). *Critique of Black Reason*. Duke University Press.
- Mbembe, Achille (2019). *Necropolitics*. Duke University Press.
- Medeiros, António Tomás (2015a). Prolegómenos a uma História (verdadeira) da Casa dos Estudantes do Império. In P. Borges; A. Freudenthal; Tomás Medeiros; & H. Pedro (org), *Mensagem - Casa dos Estudantes do Império: 1944-1994 - Número Especial* (pp. 33-42). União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa.
- Medeiros, António Tomás (2015b). Entrevista a António Tomás de Medeiros por Elsa Sertório. Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril - Universidade de Coimbra. [http://www.cd25a.uc.pt/media/pdf/Biblioteca%20digital/EntrevistaaAntonio%20TomásMedeiros\\_Nreg%20EB00003.pdf](http://www.cd25a.uc.pt/media/pdf/Biblioteca%20digital/EntrevistaaAntonio%20TomásMedeiros_Nreg%20EB00003.pdf)
- Meer, Nasar; & Modood, Tariq (2012). How does Interculturalism Contrast with Multiculturalism? *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33(2), 175-196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2011.618266>
- Mendes, Anabela R. (1991, June 21). Movimento de contestação organiza-se em Lisboa. *Público*. Movimento Anti-Racista Archives.
- Menezes, Hugo Azancot de (2017). *Percursos da luta de libertação nacional: viagem ao interior do MPLA, memórias pessoais*. Nova Vega.
- Messerschmidt, James (2000). *Nine Lives: Adolescent Masculinities, The Body*. Westview press.
- Mobilização Nacional de Luta contra o Racismo (2018). *Manifesto da Mobilização Nacional de Luta contra o Racismo*. <https://www.sosracismo.pt/geral/mobilizacao-nacional-de-luta-contr-o-racismo>
- Monteiro, César Augusto (2011). *Música Migrante em Lisboa. Trajetos e Práticas de Músicos Cabo-Verdianos*. Editora Mundos Sociais.
- Moreira, Joacine Katar (2017, June 7). Os três “P” ou a trilogia do racismo. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2017/06/07/sociedade/opiniao/os-tres-p-ou-a-trilogia-do-racismo-1774619>
- Moreira, José Pedro (1932, April). Fraternidade. *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 28, pp. 1-2.
- Moreno, Nahuel (1975 [2019]). *Revolução e contrarrevolução em Portugal*. Em Luta.
- Moser, Gerald M. (1962). African Literature in The Portuguese Language. *The Journal of General Education*, 13 (4), 270-304.
- Movimento de Acção Nacional (2021). *Setenta e Quatro*. <https://setentaequatro.pt/wiki/movimento-de-accao-nacional-man>

- Moyn, Samuel (2017, November 24). Are human rights enough? The Universal Declaration between welfare state and neoliberal globalization. *Vikerkaar Eurozine*. <https://www.eurozine.com/are-human-rights-enough/>
- Moyn, Samuel (2018a). *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World*. Belknap Press.
- Moyn, Samuel (2018b, February 4). Os direitos humanos permitiram aos ocidentais voltar a locais que eles já não podiam governar (Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro interview). *Publico*. <https://www.publico.pt/2018/02/04/mundo/entrevista/os-direitos-humanos-permitiram-aos-ocidentais-voltar-a-locais-que-eles-ja-nao-podiam-governar-1801647>
- MUD-Juvenil (1955). 'A Caminho Para Unidade Efetiva e Fraternal dos Jovens Portugueses e das Juventudes das Colónias Portuguesas - Carta aos jovens coloniais de Lisboa - MUD-Juvenil (October 1953)'. Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade - Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso.
- Nafafé, José Lingna. (2019). Lourenço da Silva Mendonça: The First Anti-Slavery Activist? *Modern Marronage: The Pursuit and Practice of Freedom in the Contemporary World*. <https://mmppf.wordpress.com/2019/03/12/lourenco-da-silva-mendonca-the-first-anti-slavery-activist/>
- Nascimento, Abdias (1978 [2016]). *O Genocídio do Negro Brasileiro*. Editora Perspetiva.
- Nem senhores, nem escravos (1913, April 10). *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º 4 (15), p. 1.
- Nery, Rui Vieira (2004). *Para uma história do fado*. Publico & Corda Seca.
- Neto, Agostinho (1950). 'Noite' and 'Confiança'. In Agostinho Lara, Lúcio Lara & Orlando de Albuquerque (orgs.), *Momento: antologia de literatura e arte*, n.º 1 and 2.
- Neto, Agostinho (1959 [2000]). Introdução a um colóquio sobre poesia africana. In Pires Laranjeira (org.), *Negritude Africana de Língua Portuguesa, Textos de Apoio (1947-1963)*. Angelus Novus.
- Neto, Agostinho (1977). *Sagrada Esperança*. Sá da Costa.
- Neto, Agostinho (2011). *Fogo e Ritmo*. Nós Somos.
- Neto, Agostinho (2016). *Agostinho Neto: Obra Poética Completa*. Fundação Dr. António Agostinho Neto.
- Neto, Eugénia (2016). Introdução. In *Agostinho Neto: Obra Poética Completa*. Fundação Dr. António Agostinho Neto.
- Nimako, Kwame; & Small, Stephen (2009). Theorizing Black Europe and African Diaspora: Implications for Citizenship, Nativism and Xenophobia. In Darlene Clark Hine; Trica Danielle Keaton; & Stephen Small (orgs.), *Black Europe and the African Diaspora* (pp. 213-237). University of Illinois Press.
- Nô Djunta Môn (1982-83). *Jornal África Notícias*. In Marina Manuela Santos Antunes (2013). *Estrela d'África, um bairro sensível: um estudo antropológico sobre jovens na cidade da Amadora* [PhD Thesis, Universidade Lusíada].
- Novo movimento combate o racismo (1990, November 29). Novo movimento combate o racismo. *Diário de Notícias*, p. 16. SOS Racismo Archives.
- O congresso Pan-Africano (1921, September 20). *A Batalha*, n.º 868, p. 1.
- O Egipto e a Inglaterra (1929, July 7). *A Voz D'Africa*, p. 5.

- O Momento Político (1932, July, 1932). *Africa*, n.º 11, p. 1.
- O proletário negro (1931, June). *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 18.
- O Protesto Indígena (1911, November 21). *O Protesto Indígena*, n.º 1.
- OHCHR (2012). *Report of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent on its eleventh session - Mission to Portugal*. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Racism/WGAfricanDescent/Pages/CountryVisits.aspx>.
- Padmore, George (1956). *Pan-Africanism or Communism: The Coming Struggle for Africa*. Roy Publishers.
- Paiva, Felipe (2015). Sentidos do silêncio: o conceito de “raça” em Amílcar Cabral. *Revista África(s)*, 2 (4), 8-20.
- Parcialidades (1911, March 9). *O Negro*, n.º 1.
- Pardue, Derek (2015). *Cape Verde, let's go: creole rappers and citizenship in Portugal*. University of Illinois Press.
- Pereira, José; & Varela, Pedro (2019, october). A história silenciada do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933). *Le Monde Diplomatique (edição portuguesa)*, pp. 38-39.
- Pereira, José; & Varela, Pedro (2022). Um olhar para três décadas de antirracismo em Portugal: da noite do “Dia da Raça” às mobilizações de 2020. *Remaping Memories Lisboa-Hamburg - Goethe Institut*. <https://www.re-mapping.eu/pt/lugares-de-memoria/placa-memorial-de-alcindo-monteiro>
- Pereira, Rui Mateus (2021). *Conhecer Para Dominar: A antropologia ao serviço da política colonial portuguesa em Moçambique*. Parsifal.
- Pessant, Phélix (1931, December). Ainda Existirá Escravatura no Século XX! *A Mocidade Africana*, n.º 24, p. 4.
- Petition No. 40/VII/1 (1996). *Propõem a adopção pela Assembleia da República de uma lei contra a discriminação racial - Petição n.º 40/VII/1*. <https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/DetalhePeticao.aspx?BID=6308>
- Pettigrew, T. F.; & R. W. Meertens (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25, 57-75.
- Pimentel, Maria do Rosário (2013). Sá da Bandeira e o estatuto do liberto; dos ideais ao pragmatismo político. In Maria do Rosário Pimentel; & Vítor Marçal Lourenço, *Marquês de Sá da Bandeira e o seu tempo* (pp. 51-68). Academia Militar – Centro de História da Cultura.
- Pincha, João Pedro (2019, November 16). Mouraria, um bairro multicultural também na morte? *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2019/11/16/local/noticia/necropole-mouraria-1893957>
- Plataforma Gueto (2009, January 16). *brutaliddepolicia.blogspot.com*. <http://brutaliddepolicia.blogspot.com/2009/01/plataforma-gueto.html?m=0>
- Porquê este boletim (1991, June). *Boletim MAR*, n.º 1, p. 1. Movimento Anti-Racista Archives.

- Portelli, Alessandro (2013). *A morte de Luigi Trastulli e outros ensaios* (Miguel Cardina & Bruno Cordovil, orgs). Edições Unipop.
- Prado, Carol (2017, July 4). O rap é machista? Para portuguesa Capicua, parceira de Rael e Emicida, não é bem assim. *G1 (Globo)*. <https://g1.globo.com/musica/noticia/o-rap-e-machista-para-portuguesa-capicua-parceira-de-rael-e-emicida-nao-e-bem-assim.ghtml>
- Proença, Maria Cândida (2009). A questão Colonial. In Fernando Rosas; & Maria Fernanda Rollo (org.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa* (pp. 205-228). Tinta-da-China.
- Proezas de Samba Guéladio Diêgui (1922, February 23). *Correio de Africa*, n.º 30, p. 2.
- Racismo e Xenofobia em Portugal: A normalização dos discursos de ódio no espaço público da internet (2022). *Project: Racismo e Xenofobia em Portugal: A normalização dos discursos de ódio no espaço público da internet*. <https://racismoexenofobia.cria.org.pt/?fbclid=IwAR2h9tDZbnzzel3MFfXXyUG1Qn3CmI71EMnAMtKlwGizzLieWIp2zhVDiQ>
- Raposo, Otávio (2005). Sociabilidades juvenis em contexto urbano. Um olhar sobre alguns jovens do Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura. *Revista Fórum Sociológico*, 13/14, 151-170.
- Raposo, Otávio (2007). Representa red eyes gang: das redes de amizade ao hip hop [Master dissertation, ISCTE-IUL].
- Raposo, Otávio (2010). “Tu és rapper, representa arrentela, és red eyes gang”: Sociabilidades e estilos de vida de jovens do subúrbio de Lisboa. *Sociologia Problemas e Práticas*, 64, 127-147. <http://journals.openedition.org/spp/300>
- Raposo, Otávio; Alves, Ana Rita; Varela, Pedro; & Roldão, Cristina (2019). Negro drama. Racismo, segregação e violência policial nas periferias de Lisboa. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 119, 5-28. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.8937>
- Raposo, Otávio; & Varela, Pedro (2019). Relato de uma noite na Cova da Moura. Diário de bordo sobre o racismo. *Sic notícias*.
- Raposo, Otávio; & Varela, Pedro (2022). Insurgent Aesthetics: Creole Rap from the Outskirts of Lisbon. In Carlos Garrido Castellano & Bruno Leitão (org.), *Curating and the Legacies of Colonialism in Contemporary Iberia*. University of Wales Press
- Raposo, Otávio; & Varela, Pedro; Ferro, Lígia (2017). *Faces do racismo nas periferias de Lisboa. Uma reflexão sobre a segregação e a violência policial na Cova da Moura*. Presentation in IX Congresso Português de Sociologia.
- Raposo, Otávio; Varela, Pedro; Simões, José Alberto; & Campos, Ricardo (2021). “Nos e fidju la di gueto, nos e fidju di imigranti, fidju di Kabu Verdi”: estética, antirracismo e engajamentos no rap crioulo em Portugal. *Sociedade e Estado*, 36 (1), 269-291. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0102-6992-202136010013>
- Reflitamos (1911, March 9). *O Negro*.
- Reginaldo, Luciene (2009). “África em Portugal”: devoções, irmandades e escravidão no Reino de Portugal, século XVIII. *Revista História*, 28(1), 289-319. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-90742009000100011>
- Reis, Alexandra (2007, February 27). Bairro da Estrada Militar do Alto da Damaia começa a ser demolido. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2007/02/27/jornal/bairro-da-estrada-militar-do-alto--da-damaia-comeca-a-ser-demolido-178050>

- Reis, R. L. A.; & Domingues, Petrônio (2020). Bardos, penas e armas: a produção literária na imprensa afro-brasileira. *Literatura E Sociedade*, 25(32), 148-170. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2237-1184.v0i32p148-170>
- Relatório de Execução Final - Programa de Iniciativa Comunitária URBAN II Amadora (Damaia Buraca) 2000-2006 (2015). CCC - 20001PT160PC001. [https://issuu.com/ccdr-lvt/docs/relatorio-final\\_pic-urban-ii-amador](https://issuu.com/ccdr-lvt/docs/relatorio-final_pic-urban-ii-amador)
- Relatório de Segurança Interna (2021). *Relatório de Segurança Interna 2021*. Sistema de Segurança Interna - Gabinete do Secretário-Geral.
- Reuters (2017). Hip hop and R&B surpass rock as biggest U.S. music genre. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-music-2017-idUSKBN1ET258>
- Ribas, Maria Emília (1932, April). O "Preto". *Africa Magazine*, n. ° 2, pp. 42-43
- Ribeiro, Djamilia (2017). *O que é Lugar de Fala*. Editora Livramento
- Ribeiro, Maria Calafate (2017). Para além da memória da Casa dos Estudantes do Império. In Cláudia Castelo; & Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo (org.), *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*. Edições 70.
- Robinson, Cedric J. (1983 [2021]). *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Penguin Classics.
- Robinson, Cedric J. (1997). *Black Movements in America*. Routledge.
- Rodrigues, Anabela; Fernandes, Ana; Fernandes, Carla; Roldão, Cristina; Insali, Ianick; Pereira, José; & Ba, Mamadou (2017, February). A urgência de um combate real às desigualdades étnico-raciais e ao racismo. *Le Monde Diplomatique – Versão Portuguesa* (pp. 6-7).
- Rodrigues, Inês (2017). *Espetros de Batepá: Memória, Identidade e Diferença Sexual nas Representações Literárias do “Massacre de 1953” em São Tomé e Príncipe* [Phd Thesis, Universidade de Coimbra].
- Rodrigues, Inês (2018). *Espetros de Batepá: memórias e narrativas do “massacre de 1953” em São Tomé e Príncipe*. Afrontamento.
- Roldão, Cristina (2019, January 18). Feminismo negro em Portugal: falta contar-nos. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2019/01/18/culturaipsilon/noticia/feminismo-negro-portugal-falta-contarnos-1857501>
- Roldão, Cristina (2020, June 19). De Ferguson, à Palestina e Amadora: o abolicionismo de Angela Davis. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2020/06/19/culturaipsilon/noticia/ferguson-palestina-amadora-abolicionismo-angela-davis-1920889>
- Roldão, Cristina; Ba, Mamadou; & Araújo, Marta (2019, April 16). Recolha de dados étnico-raciais nos Censos 2021: um passo à frente no combate ao racismo. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2019/04/16/sociedade/opiniao/recolha-dados-etnicoraciais-censos-2021-passo-frente-combate-racismo-1869349>
- Roldão, Cristina; Pereira, José Augusto; & Varela, Pedro (2019). *Para uma história do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933)*. [Exhibition]. Escola Superior de Educação - Instituto Politécnico de Setúbal (ESE-IPS) - Roteiro para uma Educação Antirracista.

- Roldão, Cristina; Pereira, José Augusto; & Varela, Pedro (2021). *Jornal O Negro - Edição comemorativa do 110º aniversário*. Falas Afrikanas.
- Roldão, Cristina; Pereira, José Augusto; & Varela, Pedro (2023). *Tribuna Negra: origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933)*. Tinta-da-china.
- Rosas, Fernando (2019). *Salazar e os Fascismos*. Tinta-da-China
- Rosas, Fernando; Rollo, Maria Fernanda (2009). Introdução. In Fernando Rosas; & Maria Fernanda Rollo (org.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*. Tinta-da-China.
- Rose, Tricia (1994). *Black noise: rap music and black culture in contemporary America*. Wesleyan University Press.
- Saint-Domingue Constitution (1801), *Constitution of 1801*. <https://www.marxists.org/history/haiti/1801/constitution.htm>
- Samara, Alice; Rosas, Fernando; & Farinha, Luís (2021). Noite Sangrenta de 19/10/1921. *Convocar a História - Podcast*. <https://www.esquerda.net/audio/noite-sangrenta-de-19101921>
- Santo, Alda Espírito (1977). *É Nosso o Solo Sagrado da Terra - Poesia de Protesto e Luta*. Ulmeiro
- Santo, Alda Espírito (2000). Sobre Mário Pinto de Andrade – Um Depoimento Possível. In Inocência Mata; Laura Padilha (org.), *Mário Pinto de Andrade: um intelectual na política*. Colibri.
- Santo, Alda Espírito (2002). *S. Tomé e Príncipe: Encontro com Escritores*. Michel Laban (org.). Fundação Eng. António de Almeida.
- Santo, Alda Espírito (2006). *Cantos do Solo Sagrado*. UNEAS.
- Santo, Alda Espírito (2012). *Alda Espírito Santo: Escritos*. Carlos Espírito Santo (org.). Colibri.
- Santo, Carlos Espírito (2000a). *Torre de Razão*. Cooperação.
- Santo, Carlos Espírito (2000b). *Almas de elite santomenses*. Cooperação.
- Santo, Carlos Espírito (2001). *Aires Menezes: O Leão*. Cooperação.
- Santo, Carlos Espírito (2003). *A guerra da Trindade*. Cooperação.
- Santo, Carlos Espírito (2012). *O Nacionalismo Político São-Tomense*. Edições Colibri.
- Santos, Eduardo Manuel Cardoso dos (1969). *Pan-africanismo: de ontem e de hoje*. Edição do autor.
- Santos, Ricardo (2016). *Cidade Participada Arquitectura e Democracia / Operações SAAL / Oeiras*. Tinta-da-China.
- Saunders, A.C. de C.M. (1982). *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schumann, Garrett (2020, April 23). Centuries of Silence: Vicente Lusitano and classical music's selective memory. *Van*. <https://van-magazine.com/mag/vicente-lusitano/>
- Sertório, Elsa (2001). *Livro Negro do Racismo em Portugal*. Dinossauro.
- Shawki, Ahmed (2006). *Black Liberation and Socialism*. Haymarket Books.



- Sian, Katy; Law, Ian; & Sayyid, S. (2013). *Racism, Governance and Public Policy: Beyond Human Rights*. Routledge.
- Sieber, Timothy (2005), Popular music and cultural identity in the Cape Verdean post-colonial diaspora. *Etnográfica*, 9(1), 23-148.
- Sim, P'ra Frente! (1913, February 20). *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º 1 (12), p. 1.
- Simões, José Alberto (2010). *Entre a rua e a internet. Um estudo sobre o hip-hop português*. Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Simões, Soraia (2017a). RAProduções de memória: 1990-1997, percursos da invisibilidade. As primeiras mulheres no RAP feito em Portugal (afirmação e resistência). *Mural Sonoro*. <https://www.muralsonoro.com/mural-sonoro-pt/2017/11/12/raprodues-de-memria-1990-1997-percursos-da-invisibilidade>
- Simões, Soraia (2018). Fixar o (in)visível: papéis e reportórios de luta dos dois primeiros grupos de RAP femininos a gravar em Portugal (1989-1998). *Cadernos de Arte e Antropologia*, 7 (1), 97-114.
- Simões, Soraia (2019). *Fixar o (in) visível. Os primeiros passos do RAP em Portugal*. Caleidoscópio.
- Simões, Soraia. (2017b). *RAPublicar: A micro-história que fez história numa Lisboa adiada*. Caleidoscópio.
- Slave Voyages (2022). *Slave Voyages*. <https://www.slavevoyages.org/>
- Small, Stephen (2018a). 20 Questions and answers on Black Europe. Amrit Publishers.
- Small, Stephen (2018b). Theorizing visibility and vulnerability in Black Europe and the African diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, pp. 1182-1197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1417619>
- SOS Racismo em maratona de debates (1992, November 5). SOS Racismo em maratona de debates. *Público*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Sousa, Ana Naomi de (2019, June 03). Portugal police officers sentenced in unprecedented trial. *Aljazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/3/portugal-police-officers-sentenced-in-unprecedented-trial>
- Sousa, Jerónimo de (2015, January 29). Intervenção de Jerónimo de Sousa, Secretário-Geral, Celebração em homenagem aos Activistas Anti-Apartheid. PCP official website. <https://www.pcp.pt/para-comunistas-portugueses-vitoria-do-povo-sul-africano-sobre-regime-do-apartheid-foi-sentida-como>
- Sousa, Noémia de (2001). *Sangue Negro*. Associação dos Escritores Moçambicanos.
- T.B. (1996, March 21). A Importância das Associações. *Diário de Notícias*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Tavares, Eugénio (1932, March). Andorinha de Bolta. *Tribuna D'Africa*, p. 2.
- Teixeira, Gonçalo (2020, February 27). Nem Billie Eilish portuguesa, nem Lauryn Hill de Vialonga: Nenny é Nenny e chegou para mandar. *Observador*. <https://observador.pt/2020/02/27/nem-billie-eilish-portuguesa-nem-lauryn-hill-de-vialonga-nenny-e-nenny-e-chegou-para-mandar/>
- Tenreiro, Francisco José (1942 [2014]). *Ilha de Nome Santo*. Fac-simile Novo Cancioneiro. A bela e o monstro edições.

- Tenreiro, Francisco José (1991). *Obra Poética*. Coleção Escritores dos Países de Língua Portuguesa. *Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda*.
- Tenreiro, Francisco José; Andrade, Mário Pinto de (orgs) (1953). *Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*. Editora Gráfica Portuguesa.
- Thiong'o, Ngũgĩ wa (1987). *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. Publishing House.
- Tinhorão, José Ramos (1988). *Os Negros em Portugal: Uma Presença Silenciosa*. Caminho.
- Tiros levam polícia à Cova da Moura (2007, April, 23). Tiros levam polícia à Cova da Moura. *Correio da Manhã*. <https://www.cmjornal.pt/portugal/detalhe/tiros-levam-policia-a-cova-da-moura>
- Tiroteio faz três feridos na Cova da Moura (2007, April 22). Tiroteio faz três feridos na Cova da Moura. *Expresso*. <https://expresso.pt/actualidade/tiroteio-faz-tres-feridos-na-cova-da-moura=f109411>
- Três barracas destruídas, vinte pessoas e duas crianças em risco de perderem a vida (1966, July 14). Três barracas destruídas, vinte pessoas e duas crianças em risco de perderem a vida. *O Primeiro de Janeiro*. Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, PT/MOER/MO/CULT-HL/01/ADM PUB/26068.
- Tribuna D'Africa (1913a, February 20). *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º 1 (12).
- Tribuna D'Africa (1913b, June 22). *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º 7 (19).
- Tribuna D'Africa (1913c). *Tribuna D'Africa*, n.º 10 (21).
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph (1995). *Silencing the past: power and the production of history*. Beacon Press.
- Tsutsui, Kiyoteru; Whitlinger, Claire; & Lim, Alwyn (2012). International Human Rights Law and Social Movements: States' Resistance and Civil Society's Insistence. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 8, 367-96.
- Ture, Kwame; Hamilton, Charles (1967 [1992]). *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*. Vintage Books.
- Uma criança carbonizada no incêndio que destruiu três barracas na Damaia (1966, July 13). Uma criança carbonizada no incêndio que destruiu três barracas na Damaia. *Diário de Lisboa*. Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, PT/MOER/MO/CULT-HL/01/ADM PUB/26078.
- UNA (2022). *Sobre*. <https://uniaonegradasartes.pt/sobre/>
- Vakil, Abdoolkarim (2006). Heróis do Lar, Nação Ambi-Valente: Portugalidade e Identidade Nacional nos tempos do pós. In Manuel Loff; & Maria da Conceição M. Pereira (orgs.). *30 Anos de Democracia em Portugal* (pp. 73-101). FLUP.
- Vala, Jorge; Brito, Rodrigo; & Lopes, Diniz (1999). O Racismo Flagrante e o Racismo Subtil em Portugal. In Jorge Vala (org.), *Novos Racismos: Perspetivas Comparativas* (pp. 31-59). Celta Editora.
- Vale de Almeida, Miguel (1997). Misto, crioulo e cidadão: notas para um humanismo radical. In *O que é a Raça? Um debate entre a Antropologia e a Biologia* (pp. 19-28). Oikos.

- Vale de Almeida, Miguel (2000). *Um Mar da Cor da Terra: "Raça", Cultura e Política da Identidade*. Celta Editora.
- Vale de Almeida, Miguel (2002). "Longing for oneself": hybridism and miscegenation in colonial and postcolonial Portugal. *Etnográfica*, 6(1), 181-200. <https://doi.org/10.4000/etnografica.2858>
- Vale de Almeida, Miguel (2006). On the Lusophone postcolony: 'culture', 'race', 'language'. Rutgers University, Department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies.
- Vale de Almeida, Miguel (2022, March 10). O estranho caso da sobrevivência do luso-tropicalismo. *Setenta e Quatro*. <https://setentaequatro.pt/ensaio/o-estranho-caso-da-sobrevivencia-do-luso-tropicalismo>
- Van Dijk, Teun (1991). *Racism and the Press*. Routledge.
- Van Dijk, Teun (1993). *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Sage.
- Varela, Pedro (2015). *Novas Raízes na Cidade: Sociabilidades nas Hortas Urbanas de Cabo-verdianos na Amadora* [Master Dissertation, ISCTE-IUL].
- Varela, Pedro (2019). Direito à memória e antirracismo: reivindicar o movimento negro de 1911-1933. *Medi@ções*, 7 (2), 86-98.
- Varela, Pedro (2020a). Antirracismo e o Rap no Feminino. *Mural Sonoro*. <https://www.muralsonoro.com/mural-sonoro-pt/2020/5/15/antirracismo-e-o-rap-no-feminino>
- Varela, Pedro (2020b). A pandemia do racismo em Portugal: a face racista do coronavírus. In *Caderno Micar: textos para 7ª edição* (pp. 137-143). SOS Racismo.
- Varela, Pedro (2020c). Hortas urbanas de cabo-verdianos: sociabilidades e resistência quotidiana nas margens de Lisboa. *Análise Social*, 236, 534-559. <https://doi.org/10.31447/as00032573.2020236.03>
- Varela, Pedro; & Pereira, José Augusto (2019, January 8). As origens do movimento negro e da luta antirracista em Portugal no século XX: a geração de 1911-1933. *Buala*. <https://www.buala.org/pt/mukanda/as-origens-do-movimento-negro-e-da-luta-antirracista-em-portugal-no-seculo-xx-a-geracao-de-1>
- Varela, Pedro; & Pereira, José Augusto (2020). As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933): uma geração pan-africanista e antirracista. *Revista de História*, 179, 1-36. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-9141.rh.2020.159242>
- Varela, Pedro; Raposo, Otávio; & Ferro, Lígia (2018). "Eles nos ensinam bués, mas eles aprendem também": redes de sociabilidade e trocas geracionais no circuito musical africano da Amadora. *Sociologia Problemas e Práticas*, 86, 109-132. <https://doi.org/10.7458/SPP2018867447>
- Vargas, João Costa (2020). Racismo não dá conta: antinegitude, a dinâmica ontológica e social definidora da modernidade. *Em Pauta*, 45(18), 16-26. <https://doi.org/10.12957/rep.2020.47201>
- Vargas, João Costa (2021). Blue Pill, Red Pill: The Incommensurable Worlds of Racism and Antiblackness. *Kalfou: a Journal of Comparative and Relational Ethnic Studies*, 8(1), 183-205. <https://doi.org/10.15367/kf.v8i1-2.366>
- Vasconcelos, José Leite de (1920). Espécime português de raça negra. *Boletim de etnografia*. Publicação do Museu Etnológico Português.

- Veiga, Marcelo da (1914, April 3). Acordai. *O Eco D'Africa*, n.º 1, p. 2.
- Veiga, Marcelo da (1921, June 7). À Grande Mãe. *Correio de Africa*, n.º 2, p. 4.
- Veiga, Marcelo da (1922, May 22). Evocação. *Correio D'Africa*, n.º 42, p. 3.
- Veiga, Marcelo da (1924, November 14). Noites Equatoriais. *Correio de Africa*, p. 2.
- Veiga, Marcelo da (1929, June 8). Africa-Máter. *A Voz D'Africa*, p. 5.
- Veiga, Marcelo da (1989). *O Canto do Ossôbó*. África, Literatura, Arte e Cultura.
- Veloso, João (2022, March 21). *Como poetas negras, elas mostram a "realidade racista" de Portugal*. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2022/03/21/p3/noticia/como-poetas-negras-elas-mostram-realidade-racista-portugal-1999264>
- Viana de Almeida PVDE (1938). 'João Viana de Sousa e Almeida'. Serviços Centrais, Registo Geral de Presos, liv. 49, registo n.º 9626. PIDE/DGS Archives – ANTT.
- Vigília pacífica para MC Snake juntou mais de trezentas pessoas (2010, March 22). Vigília pacífica para MC Snake juntou mais de trezentas pessoas. *Diário de Notícias*. <https://www.dn.pt/portugal/sul/vigilia-pacifica-para-mc-snake-juntou-mais-de-300-pessoas-1525159.html>
- Vinte pessoas sem lar devido a um incêndio (1966, July 13). Vinte pessoas sem lar devido a um incêndio. *Diário Popular*. Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, PT/MOER/MO/CULT-HL/01/ADMPUB/26081M.
- Violência policial racista continua a matar em Portugal (2021). Violência policial racista continua a matar em Portugal. *Esquerda.net*. <https://www.esquerda.net/dossier/violencia-policial-racista-continua-matar-em-portugal/78034>
- Virdee, Satnam (2019). Racialized capitalism: An account of its contested origins and consolidation. *The Sociological Review*. 67(1) 3-27. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118820293>
- Vitorino, Sérgio (1999, January 22). Alarga-se em Portugal consciência anti-racista. *Jornal de Notícias*. SOS Racismo Archives.
- Viva a raça negra (1911, April 1). *Voz D'Africa*, n.º 15, p. 1.
- Williams, Eric (1944). *Capitalism and Slavery*. The University of North Carolina Press.
- Wylie, Alison (2003). Why Standpoint Matters. In Robert Figueroa; & Sandra G. Harding (eds.), *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Other Cultures*. Routledge.
- Zau, Filipe (2005). *Marítimos africanos e um clube com história*. Universitária.