

## **(Re)Bordering Lusophone and Transnational Africas: A Critical Introduction**

*In your text, treat Africa as if it were one country. It is hot and dusty with rolling grasslands and huge herds of animals and tall, thin people who are starving. Or it is hot and steamy with very short people who eat primates. Don't get bogged down with precise descriptions. Africa is big: fifty-four countries, 900 million people who are too busy starving and dying and warring and emigrating to read your book.*

Binyavanga Wainaina, "How to Write About Africa" (2006)

On the cover of a recently completed doctoral thesis in Luso-Afro-Brazilian Studies (Schor 2017), there is a photograph of a young woman that shows her uncovered back tattooed with a map of Africa. This map, inscribed onto the body of a woman of color, is monochrome (black ink) and without borders; its simple form may serve to evoke the importance that the idea of Africa—as One Africa—has not only for those living across the continent, but for people of African descent living in other corners of this global diaspora; it may prompt those about to read this latest issue of PLCS on "Transnational Africas" with a brief exercise in visualization of our own.

To begin: What mental map of Africa do we Lusophone literary and cultural scholars, especially those situated at the translational intersections of English and Portuguese language academia, imagine when we think about, much less begin to study and write about, 'Africa,' its art, music and other elements of visual, material and sonic culture? Is it the bare outline of the continent, one that all too often serves to stress its symbolic oneness, even if that representation may suppress important details and particularities? Or is it the colorful political map, largely of former European colonies turned independent nation-states, privileging these divisions or others on the continent (language, ethnicity, physical topography)? Or perhaps an art historical map, which superimposes characteristic objects across a backdrop of a continent now repurposed as blackboard, a surface on which to teach, one that may or may not be depicted with political borders?

Or perhaps a combination of all of these: an outline of an Africa left largely blank, except for five notable exceptions: those independent nation-states once under Portuguese rule and now known as the PALOP (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa)? For these countries, most scholars reading this introduction will hopefully need no geography lesson: we already know the way they stretch from one end of the African continent to the other, and if we are honest with ourselves, how, despite their distance from one another and lack of contiguity, we all-too-often continue to imagine them both together with one another, in the same measure that we think of them as somehow separate from both their immediate neighbors and the more distant political entities, ones that condition any number of ways of seeing, mapping, bordering and knowing, and yes, researching and teaching Africa.

With this understanding of geography as one more form of visual culture in mind (and one that all too often serves to oversimplify or generalize), another example of possible alternative mapping from recent scholarship might be helpful here, one that is found at the start of the 2007 collection of scholarly articles *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, edited by Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca and David Treece. In this book, which draws its most unmistakable source of inspiration from the title of the British cultural theorist Paul Gilroy's seminal 1993 work *The Black Atlantic*, the map of the Atlantic that appears as a supplementary introduction of sorts, features sites that not only fall neatly within the current political boundaries of Lusophone Africa, but also numerous others that complicate the boundaries of this now presumably postcolonial cultural construct. Ironically enough, by including the often obscured sites of the Portuguese colonial encounter, ones still undeniably "black," but here examined in the context of Lusofonia, the Atlantic Ocean is marked with numerous place names as geographical points of reference that allow for a more comprehensive view of the cultures that have come into contact with the Portuguese over the last 500 years.

This view of Lusofonia, though it perhaps can never be completely inclusive in its scope and complexity, is still a distinct configuration in relation to those studies of Portuguese language in the world that continue to equate the cultural, literary and communicational concept of Lusofonia with the political organization of nation-states that use it as their official language, the CPLP (e. g., Ashby 2017). At the same time, it also does not seem fair to reduce this concept to being simply a more 'modernized,' or even explicitly 'liberal,' reincarnation of Portuguese colonialism. At least from the unofficial, diasporic perspective of, say, the

Portuguese-language communities of southeastern New England, which are not part of any former colony or present-day Portuguese-speaking country, yet are no less Portuguese-speaking than countless others on a world map, this concept of Lusofonia never assumed any overlap with the former Portuguese Empire. But even if it did—to characterize the idea of Lusofonia as a form of colonialism, liberal or otherwise, can only serve to deflect attention from the very real, and undeniably more violent and exploitative (if not always overtly genocidal) institutional structures that were at the organizational heart of the European colonialism, to which the Portuguese colonialism was certainly no exception, despite any residual presence of apologists in Portuguese academic and intellectual circles that may remain.

This is why the disarticulation of colonial borders and mental mapping is so important as researchers continue to elaborate models of Lusophone linguistic community in Africa and beyond, that do not follow earlier colonial models, nor attempt to replicate its oppressive structures. To imply that they do seems more like a denial of the worst abuses of colonialism than a valid critique of scholars and cultural workers often attempting to find ways forward from a variety of political perspectives that cannot be conflated and dismissed as “liberal,” that is, if that word can even be said to mean anything specific given its varied definitions across Western languages and political cultures, to say nothing of Africa and the rest of the Global South.

But to return to Lusophone Africa and its Black Atlantic: in the aforementioned volume, one example stands out in this remapping of Portuguese colonial space along a new set of visual, territorial and cultural coordinates. I am referring to Milton Guran’s article on the Agudás of Benin, a community comprising both formerly enslaved people and former traders who returned to the city of Ajudá on the coast of Benin to play “a special role in the political, economic and religious life” of the city and surrounding region, especially in Porto-Novo, often called “The Brazilian Dream” to refer to the important contributions of Brazilian returnees there as well (Guran 148).

Perhaps because of these detailed accounts of the lives and cultural identity of Brazilians in this African port city, I was surprised to find that there was no mention of Portugal’s tiniest former colonial territory, a miniscule enclave on the African continent, at first governed from São Tomé, only about a square kilometer in size, and later no larger than a small military fort (2 hectares). It was set within what was to become French colonial territory, in a coastal area along

the Gulf of Guinea that later became the newly independent nation of Dahomey, only to be renamed the People's Republic of Benin by the Marxist-Leninist government of President Matthieu Kérékou in 1975.<sup>1</sup>

Even if these historical details may have escaped some of us until now, those among us still obsessed with the Portuguese “pink bits” on any political or cultural map of Africa, if not the Global South, will know exactly what I am talking about: it is that cartographical curiosity named São João Baptista de Ajudá, a dubious candidate if there ever was one for territorial autonomy of any kind, given that it was no larger than a small compound, not to mention one whose very existence as a separate territorial entity was tied inextricably to its history as a transit point for enslaved people for the New World. It was only expunged from political map of Africa when the newly declared Republic of Dahomey (later Benin) demanded that it be returned in 1961, shortly after the country's political independence from France in 1960. As most Portuguese colonial scholars will recall, 1961 was also that *annus horribilis* considered by many to be the critical turning point in the history of Portuguese colonialism; one which saw the increasing political unrest in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau tied to growing independence movements, a year that ended with the annexation of the remaining Portuguese territories in India in December of that year. As was to be expected, the Salazarist-controlled press in Portugal was quick to reassert its claim to the tiny parcel, in spite of the clear absurdity of preserving a territory too small to even be represented on most maps of Africa without an inset map, even if in this particular case it would have to be one that could function with the precision of a microscope.

Whatever the justifications might have been for this refusal to surrender even a single square centimeter of ground, in a colonial conflict, one that would only intensify and continue to spread in years to come, it was only after the Carnation Revolution of 1974 that all Portuguese claims on this postage-stamp-sized colony were renounced once and for all; nonetheless, this reluctance to face the facts of loss of empire is all too often how colonialism operates as a discourse, both by its administrators and colonial settlers or in the writings, not to mention the research of its latter-day apologists as witnessed in the recent spectacle at the academic journal *Third World Quarterly*: magnifying the inviolable integrity of its own territorialized discursive spaces, however minuscule, while ignoring or simply remaining in denial of the broader historical and cultural realities that lie beyond its fortified enclosure of control.

In spite of these and other factual evidence at our disposal, so it is today as well in many respects, as we once again find ourselves obliged to state the obvious to a handful of Western scholars who continue to engage in the whitewashing of the dirtier chapters of European colonialism in Africa and elsewhere, with the recent row over calls to retract an article defending colonialism at the academic journal *Third World Quarterly* perhaps only the most publicized example.<sup>2</sup> While earlier issues of *PLCS* dedicated to the literatures of African nation-states no doubt do their part to place our focus firmly in a postcolonial, if not explicitly decolonial, mindset, much as theorists like Walter D. Mignolo continue to insist (Mignolo 2011), the work in the double issue of *PLCS*, *Parts of Asia* (17/18), edited by Cristiana Bastos, made the question all the more explicit: while concerned with the vast and varied encounter between Portuguese culture and those found across the diverse landscape of South, Southeast and East Asia, the critique that exhorts scholars to transcend the cultural, linguistic and with them the ideological confines of the colonial enclave and set aside one's own culturally ingrained "colonial nostalgia" (Bastos 17, Larkosh 190) is just as timely now as it was ten years ago, and in the process, perhaps displacing a measure of what Paul Gilroy identifies as "colonial melancholia" as well (Gilroy 2006).

Many of the enslaved people who were eventually to settle on plantations in Brazil would later return to inhabit cities in the region, perhaps most notably to Lagos in Nigeria and Porto-Novo, whose Portuguese names attest to the cultural dimension that survives to this day, a cultural presence especially visible in examples of the so-called "Brazilian architecture" found in these cities' older neighborhoods. Once considered the epitome of modernity, many of these buildings are in danger of disappearing, especially in Lagos, as an unfortunate casualty of the frenetic expansion that characterizes the transformation of this and other megacities of the Global South as they develop their own urbanistic understandings of the modern and the new, for a twenty-first century in which these conurbations already dominate the list of the world's most populated metropolitan areas. With such undeniable facts in mind, these sites of cultural production are increasingly connected not just to a former colonial metropolis but above all to one another. In this way, they are already constructing their own concrete understandings of a postcolonial cultural centrality all the more undeniable with each new transformation.

On a smaller urban scale, a more immediate example can be found closer to home for us here in New England. When visitors enter the African collection at

the Museum of Fine Arts in nearby Boston, one of the first things they might notice as they walk in are the Benin bronzes from what is today part of southwestern Nigeria placed near the entrance (see studies by Blackmun, Dark and Forman for further examples). These artworks, often stolen and resold to museums around the world, depict not only native warriors, but also the Portuguese, who arrived on the coasts of the Gulf of Guinea, reaching the port of Gwatto and making contact with the *oba* or king of the Edo Kingdom as early as 1485. The Portuguese soldiers are dressed in metal armor and firearms much like the ones that Edo warriors themselves would begin to use and incorporate into portraits of their own leaders and military figures.

While these artifacts of earliest contact from Edo visual culture are well-known, though perhaps not an integral part of what we learn about when we think of, say, introductory course in Lusophone cultural studies, what is given less attention is the ways that these techniques and thematics continue to influence contemporary bronze casting in the Edo culture to this day. Perhaps such examples can even be said to suggest a series of challenges to the ways in which the teaching of ‘Africa’ as a relatively undifferentiated and ‘othered’ cultural space in Portuguese (-language) literary and cultural studies related to Africa might be shifted to some extent, perhaps even towards a more historically grounded sensibility to so-often impermanent and redrawn borders: not only of countries in Africa, but of the academic institutions we ourselves may find ourselves in as we read this and consider, to give just one example, the increasing visibility of students of African descent in Portuguese programs, whether from Cape Verde, Brazil, or just as likely in many cases, from the US, Portugal and other European countries with significant and growing African diaspora populations.

It is this awareness of the realities of the majority of Portuguese speakers in the world today that underscores the urgency of imagining more inclusive futures for academic disciplines, whether in the humanities in general, or Luso-Afro-Brazilian Studies in particular, and with it, the full-scale “decolonization of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century university” itself: that is, if a recent essay by Achille Mbembe, that Cameroonian colonial historian and decolonial thinker whose work transits any number of global educational institutions in South Africa, the US, Europe and elsewhere, is any indication of possible new directions. Regardless of the possible directions that our own programs and institutions may choose, Mbembe makes a convincing argument that, while it may escape the attention of many of those who continue to implement the neoliberal model of the

all-administrative university, there are other scholars, above all in Africa and elsewhere in the Global South, who know that another kind of more radically inclusive and ideologically diverse university remains possible.

So what is perhaps most interesting for the purposes of this issue of *PLCS on Transnational Africas* is the emphasis not only on visual, material, sonic and textual representations—ones conditioned, if not indelibly marked, by the Portuguese colonial/imperial gaze and the territorial boundaries it encourages—but perhaps more importantly, the shift in focus toward the representations of the native peoples they encountered and continue to interact with: both in what today are considered the recognized limits of Lusophone Africa or beyond, no matter whether in Portuguese, African languages and creoles, or other European and global languages.

### **Other Africas, African Others**

Such examples complicate and expand current understandings of a vast and diverse continent such as Africa on the basis of its colonial and post-independence national borders, and by extension, the commonly held view that linguistic identity is and must invariably remain at the heart of national identity or cultural perspective, when it may be the case that cultural identity in the nominally Lusophone world has always been more of a complex set of multilingual or translational engagements, and not just between Portuguese and other spoken and written languages officialized by nation-states and their empires or preserved as one vehicle for colonized peoples' cultural resistance. Other forms of native cultural production can be found in the messages conveyed in visual and sonic culture, and it is for this reason that these forms of cultural expression are at the center of this volume's focus.

What other, more fluid paradigms of identity might emerge from the study of the visual arts, not to mention other material forms of cultural production in which written, spoken and recorded language is not a necessary or essential element? And how does such creative expression allow for a divergent vision of Africa, one in which ideas, images and other visual material can cross boundaries, reshape cultural spaces, and contest subsequent interpretations of African art and culture that remain to these official linguistic and cultural paradigms?

Moreover, every model of identity implies, both within it and beyond its borders, a clear concept, or at the very least, a vague understanding, of alterity: that often uncertain zone of otherness that borders and conditions, if not permeates,



any contemporary understanding and articulation of self. Take the writings of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, the Indian postcolonial theorist who, along with her collaborator Ranajit Guha, is to be credited for recontextualizing the Gramscian concept of the subaltern in discussions of postcoloniality in the Global South. In 2008, Spivak published a book with the ambitious title *Other Asias*, which takes on the daunting task of speaking about a vast and diverse continent beyond her native country and culture to think in “other” terms: Armenia, Afghanistan, *inter alia*. It was this book, with its discussions of postcoloniality across borders and new forms of continental thought that can be seen as providing one theoretical model for this renewed discussion on alternative, divergent forms of transnationality. In the disciplinary context of Lusophone African studies, this understanding of otherness as elaborated by Spivak (not to mention “others”) can also extend to any number of other modes of creative expression, be it visual culture, popular media culture, cinema, architecture, or music.

What can this context of “Other Africas” bring to transnational Lusophone African literary and cultural studies? How might non-Lusophone and even non-linguistic forms of expression modify our way of researching and understanding what we have come to call Lusophone Africa, for lack of a better term? What of our academic engagement is explicitly committed to decolonizing these cultural spaces, and with them our own universities and the ways we interact with them as institutions?

### **Futures, Utopias and Other Regenerations**

Other research that is just as important to mention here as we attempt to imagine other paradigms for transnational Africas is that theoretical and critical work that assists us, not just in visually conceptualizing, but materially implementing a different set of futures for Africa, ones distinct from both its colonial past and its often stubbornly neocolonial present. What forms of futurity can we imagine for Africa through its visual, material and sonic culture, however Utopian that notion may seem in theory or impossible to achieve in practice?

In the area of Luso-Afro-Brazilian Studies, certain examples of recent scholarship come to mind: for instance, that of Yoruba-speaking Nigerian academic Niyi Afolabi’s *Golden Cage: Regeneration in Lusophone African Literature and Culture*, which departs from and proposes an approach to mainly Angolan and Mozambican literary figures (Honwana, Rui, Couto, Ba Ka Khosa) by way of the recurrent and much-discussed theme of regeneration found in the works of another



Yoruba-speaking Nigerian, the internationally celebrated author Wole Soyinka. While the text may begin like so many others with a political map of Africa in which Lusophone African countries are colored in, with black ink, and thus singled out, the text itself allows for a much broader pan-African context for discussion, especially to Nigeria, not only Africa's most populous country, but also, along with its Western neighbor Benin, quite possibly the logical starting point from which new transborder discussions between Lusophone and other African literatures and cultures can be reinitiated, especially in the varied forms of transatlantic religious syncretism and other elements of diasporic transculturation that find their origins here. This kind of comparative research between nominally 'Lusophone' and other cultural sites may offer new possibilities for regeneration, if not by giving greater recognition to those African scholars who could contribute far more to this discussion.

Another set of futures can be found in the 2015 collection of essays edited by Francisco Bethencourt, published under the title *Utopia in Portugal, Brazil and Lusophone African Countries*; perhaps most notable in this context of transnational Africas is the one by the currently Macau-based São Tomean scholar of Lusophone African literature Inocência Mata, who interprets the Utopian longings that emerge both in the works by Pepetela in relation to relevant theoretical texts (Bignotto, Mannheim) and, perhaps more importantly, in the concrete context of current political realities in Angola and by extension, elsewhere in Africa. Especially when their messages are juxtaposed and understood alongside one another, these theoretical examples cannot but serve as yet another kind of programmatic warning to those who hope to imagine futurity not only through works of literature and culture, but also, at least to some extent, through the ongoing political consolidation processes of nation-states and their all-too-fragile institutions. As Mata notes:

in the end, the bureaucratic utopia, or rather, what has been instated as a bureaucratic programme, has replaced the political-social utopia, and its purpose has a dystopic characteristic to it. It is the natural outcome of the 'victorious vanquished' because a utopia in power is a contradiction in terms. Which to use Karl Mannheim's statement in my epigraph, is the same as saying that only in Utopia and revolution is there true life. The institutional order is always-only the evil residue that remains from ebbing Utopias and revolutions. Hence, the road of history leads from one topia over a Utopia to the next topia, etc. (Mata 180).

Mata's sobering conclusion on the prospects of imagining cultural futures through the political lens of the nation-state may appear to leave little hope within current institutional and ideological confines, even as new cultural objects continue to emerge and propose new models for creative activity. How, then, might we create a future that takes these warning signals of politicized institutional and ideological overreach into account?

Limiting ourselves to literary scholarship, however, would be to miss the point of this special issue of *PLCS*: to continue to extend the corpus of cultural materials that form the basis of our research and teaching beyond literature in a way that recognizes the undeniable importance of other forms of visual, sonic and material culture. From the field of contemporary art, one recent collection of essays in particular sets off in a markedly different direction: the 2016 collection *African Futures: Thinking About the World in Word and Image*, which documents the multi-city African Futures festivals held simultaneously in the three African cities of Johannesburg, Lagos and Nairobi the year before. While any exact definition of the term "Afrofuturism" that emerges as the guiding principle of this exhibition may have to be deferred for a more in-depth discussion than I am permitted here, the sheer number of essays on the ways that African artists incorporate their vision of future into their own recent work in visual, material and sonic culture—i.e., both from within the current conventional confines of what we identify as 'Lusophone Africa' such as the Angolan artist Kiluanji Kia Henda, but also, and perhaps more importantly, *beyond*—does much to temper any pessimism regarding the role cultural workers can still have in making and remaking workable concepts of futurity. In the concluding essay, Achille Mbembe reappears for the purposes of our discussion to ponder the significance of an Africa at the moment of its "planetary turn": one in which China continues its economic externalization on the Continent, and environmental forces caused by human exploitation of the entire planet also expose it to an ever-greater fragility. His final thoughts, however, are not bare economic ones, but part of a broader argument that shifts the focus back to one of Africa's most important unresolved issues: that of race, racism and racialization, playing themselves out on an increasingly global scale:

New configurations of racism are emerging worldwide. Because race-thinking increasingly entails profound questions about the nature of the human species in general, the need to rethink the politics of racialization and the

terms under which the struggle for racial justice unfolds—here and elsewhere in the world—today has become ever more urgent. Racism is still acting as a constitutive supplement to nationalism. How do we create a world beyond nationalism? [...] But simply looking to past and present, local and global rearticulations of race will not suffice. To tease out alternative possibilities for thinking life and human futures in this age of neoliberal individualism, we need to connect in entirely new ways the project of non-racialism to that of human mutuality. In the last instance, non-racialism is truly about radical sharing and universal inclusion. (Mbembe 334-335)

In a commentary clearly directed both to thinkers and to practitioners in the area of visual culture, Mbembe provides yet another reminder of how interdisciplinary and transnational work on Africa, whether by Black African scholars or by those in other cultural environments, can ignore crucial questions of racialization only at its own risk. Regardless of the additional sites of cultural activity that will no doubt be revealed as the discipline continues its work in this direction of its ever-uncertain limits and futures in an irreversibly globalized context, the articles in the collected volumes cited, both in this critical introduction and by others that comprise this issue of *PLCS*, are also indicative of an ever-increasing number of divergent sites of scholarly research and transmission of knowledge in our field and beyond that not only engage critically with the colonial engagement of a single European colonial power in Africa, but that also reference a number of sensory examples that go beyond the limits of Portuguese or any other written language in order to assist in visualizing this complex cultural conversation across the borders of African nation-states. At the same time, this approach serves to complicate naïve or nostalgic understandings of the colonial enclave and its claims of the epistemological or symbolic primacy of its own cultural production, much less its presumed cultural or racial superiority in relation to that of native colonized peoples.

### **This Issue**

With issues of *PLCS* already dedicated to the literatures, cultures and other expressive traditions of Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde, as well as one that, with contributions from both within and beyond the officially Lusophone world, does much toward meeting the objective of critically problematizing and recognizing the multiplicity of culturally specific uses that the concept of Lusofonia

finds a number of unnoticed forms of reinvention and regeneration. This double issue of *PLCS* takes the discussion forward, allowing us to revisit cultural production in and beyond those spaces usually considered part of Lusophone Africa, but as have seen, Africa, like any other continent or territorial entity, is always subject to remappings, and with them, new understandings of space, ways of seeing, hearing and otherwise sensing culture as it continues to change.

It is for this reason that the focus for this issue will be broadening the focus beyond literary studies to privilege visual, material and sonic culture. While the Portuguese language, as well as literature and political discourse in Portuguese, continues to shape discussions on cultural identity within all five Lusophone African nation-states, visual culture can play a critical role in questioning the primacy of language and literature, not just in providing alternative models for nascent national identities and division of space within the official linguistic frameworks predicated by officializing institutions such as the CPLP or Lusofonia, but also because in its transnational circulation, art may well encourage a more flexible and nuanced approach to (trans-)national identity.

While some scholars in the field still tend to conflate the concept of Lusofonia, in Africa and elsewhere, with any of its institutional incarnations that claim to speak for it in its entirety, others may well find themselves more concerned with its contested borders and the inherent limitations of current disciplinary models, as new interactions with and between other African and global sites enter into contact with and transform this conversation, perhaps radically: whether in connection to the three countries that have already been the subject of issues of *PLCS* (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde), or in others such as São Tomé and Príncipe and Guinea-Bissau still to be given the same degree of critical attention.

It might well be less-studied examples of local, native cultures, the cultural transit of cross-border regions, or the emergent transnational political systems where new perspectives might emerge; just as important for us, however, will be the ways that they are interpreted, incorporated and reflected in the “Other,” still undeniably (geo-)political institutional and academic spaces that we occupy and inhabit as scholars, not only where Lusofonia once again ‘meets’ Africa, but also vice versa.

## NOTES

1. These successive names for the country now known as Benin provide yet another example of how newly independent African states reference the cultural achievements of native kingdoms in their own projects of national consolidation according to their own narratives of power and authority (e.g., Ghana, Mali; consider also the renaming of other states in the 1970s to indicate concentrations of political power: e.g., Central African Republic/Central African Empire or Congo/Zaire). Regardless of the degree of cultural or geographical overlap that these newly independent states share with their historical precursors; in the case of Benin, it was actually because of the lack of connection with any of the ethnic groups in the country that President Kérékou considered it a more neutral, and thus more suitable choice for the country as a whole. And if these details on the consolidation of national identities seem irrelevant to a discussion of Lusophone Africa or, if you prefer, the Black Atlantic, we can go back to limiting our focus to officially Portuguese territories, regardless of their relative lack of importance in the overall cultural identity of the region (which is quite possibly one of the reasons why Guran chose to leave any mention of it out of his article).

2. Of most interest to Lusophone scholars concerned with the historiography of Portuguese colonialism in the article in question, if not the the apologetic turns on European colonialisms it has attempted to relegitimize, are perhaps those arguments which critique the political legacy of Guinea-Bissauan liberation leader Amílcar Cabral (at one point going so far as to propose that this country allow its former colonial master to return and colonize an off-shore island, and that if this were to occur, the country would somehow be transformed into another Macao or Goa, the two other former Portuguese colonial territories that the author of this article seems to consider postcolonial success stories). While it is not my place to speculate on, much less prescribe, what the correct economical or political course for post-independent Lusophone Africa might be, one might do well to defer to the recent collection of scholarly articles by English-speaking Black Studies scholars on Amílcar Cabral, one that in both its title (*A Luta Continua*) and its wide range of academic contributions that it brings to this discussion, make a more compelling counterargument for his continued relevance for postcolonial researchers on Lusophone Africa, not to mention other parts of the continent and beyond (Saucier ed., 2017).

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