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THE "CONTRACT" IN AGOSTINHO NETO'S POETRY

By

A. R. Brás

The poetry of Agostinho Neto is often perceived as one of combat, revolutionary verse whose primary objective is to awaken the poet's compatriots, to help them become aware of their unenviable plight as a colonized people.¹ This revolutionary element is dominant throughout Neto's opera. It is prevalent in the later poems in which the author already envisages an independent Angola, as one can easily deduce from such titles as: "We Shall Return," "The Equal Voice," and "The Hoisting of the Flag," as well as in the poems he started to write around 1945. Unlike the later verse, written in the advent of the eruption of the armed struggle and thus after Neto had been imprisoned for his poetry and political militancy, the earlier poems are works of social protest rather than of rebellion. Therefore, it is not too surprising that their main theme is contemporary Angolan life, particularly the fate of the *contratados*, workers who were forcefully recruited to work under less than human conditions.

Contract labor was one of the most detrimental policies that Portugal implemented in its overseas territories, especially in Angola, the largest and richest of its former African colonies. It was not a contract in the formal sense of the term, since the contracted workers had no say in the matter; the "contract" was imposed on them. Contract labor, as Basil Davidson writes in an essay appropriately entitled "Africa's Modern Slavery," was "based on a law which says that every African must satisfy the administration that he has worked for six months in the previous year, or is working at the time of the inquiry. If he can't prove this, the administration has a duty to make him work."² The administration would then send the worker to labor not only in other parts of his native land but also in other "Portuguese" territories such as the relatively distant island of São Tomé.

The number of Angolan men who were thus forced to become contract workers did not decrease in the late 1950s and early 1960s as one might expect. On the contrary, it increased dramatically. Even as some of the then colonies of France and England prepared themselves for independence, more Angolans were being "exported" to São Tomé, to use Neto's own words,³ than ever before. As late as 1959, two years before the armed revolt officially erupted in Luanda, the Portuguese colonial administration estimated that there were nearly 400,000 workers under contract in the colony. It is essentially the administration's figures which led Davidson to conclude that forced labor was

then "the economic flywheel of Angola."⁴

Considering the magnitude of the situation and its impact on the people of Angola, it was perhaps inevitable that the contract would also leave its imprint on the nation's literature. It becomes one of the more pervasive themes not only in Neto's work but in Angolan literature in general. Its presence is particularly noticeable in the poetry, undoubtedly the country's most important literary medium from both a literary and a sociological perspective. Alfredo Margarido, for instance, ventures to assert that "all Angolan poets without exception speak of the native laborer, the *contratado*."⁵ The amount of poetry written on the subject is indeed enormous. Major poets and mediocre ones all attempt to shed some light on what they perceive as an omnipresent symbol of Portugal's oppression of their land and people. Consequently, there is a certain irony in the fact that the most celebrated poem on the contract worker is not written by an established poet.

"Muimbu na Sabalu," or "Song of Sabalu," is apparently the only poem published by Mário de Andrade, who is renowned for his perceptive criticism and anthologies of African literature in Portuguese rather than for his poetry. Written in Kimbundu, the Bantu language most widely spoken in and around Luanda, it was then translated into Portuguese by Andrade himself.

The poem is structurally based on the local oral tradition, a factor which is largely accountable for its success, and written in a direct narrative style. Its primary focus is the repercussions of a young Angolan's forceful departure for São Tomé to fulfil his contract. It is narrated by the young man's "father" who describes how his youngest son is abducted and sent to the island by the colonial police, whose sole pretext is the worker's alleged lack of documents. He cries because he does not want to leave and his mother is driven insane upon his departure. The young man's father, in a seemingly desperate attempt to comfort his wife, assures her that their situation must improve and that they will then have their child back:

--Mother, he shall return
Ah, Our fate has to change
 Aiuê!
They sent him to S. Tomé

The father's optimism, however, is premature. His son is not to survive the contract. As he himself confides to his wife in the poem's last stanza:

Our son did not return
Death took him
 Aiuê!

*They sent him to S. Tomé*⁶

Andrade's ideological message in "Muimbu na Sabalu" is direct but, nevertheless, quite powerful. The fact that none of the personages is given a name suggests that any Angolan could be subjected to a similar ordeal. Since the young worker is always addressed as "our son," it also appears to imply that he is not just somebody's child but rather the off-spring of the nation and that all Angolans should therefore strive to prevent the reoccurrence of such a calamity. But the poem is more than a mere condemnation of a colonial system which seems determined to annihilate the culture and people of a nation under its control. "Muimbu na Sabalu" is also a remarkable reflection of the dominant ideology in Angolan poetry since 1948, the year that gave birth to the Let's Discover Angola cultural movement and which, therefore, marks the genesis of the modern period in Angolan literature.⁷

António Jacinto is probably the most important of Angola's established poets, other than Neto, who writes extensively on the impact of the contract. Although none of his poems on the subject is as celebrated as "Muimbu na Sabalu"--perhaps the greatest achievement in the nation's autochthonous poetry on the contract worker--one should not minimize Jacinto's contribution. A prolific author, he is extremely popular and influential, particularly in his own country. Many of his poems have been adapted to music and were sung by soldiers and the masses during the colonial and civil wars. As Neto and Andrade, Jacinto's main focus is the daily life of the working people. Likewise, his attitude towards forced labor is also similar to his compatriot's.

In "Monangamba," Kimbundu for male servant or, by implication, contract worker, Jacinto deals with the role of forced labor in the colonial economy. The worker waters the plantation with his own sweat, as the poet has it. He gets up early in the morning and retires late in the evening. He is the source of his employer's prosperity. He provides the latter with money to buy machinery, cars, ladies, and men such as the worker himself. Towards the end of the poem the *monangamba* realizes that it is he, and others like him, who enable the plantation owner to enslave workers. However, since he feels powerless before the colonial apparatus, he only asks:

*Ah! Let me at least climb the palm trees
Let me drink my palm wine, palm wine
and forget when I am drowned in my cups
--'Contract wor-r-r-ker. . .'*⁸

Jacinto's "Letter from a Contract Worker" is more effective than "Monangamba" because it is both less didactic and less

escapist. The worker in "Monangamba" almost acknowledges physical and moral defeat. He is hopeless, beaten, and at last wants to drown himself in palm wine. The laborer in "Letter," on the other hand, becomes aware of his limitations--his and his fiancée's lack of formal education--but that seems to make him even more determined to struggle. The poem is essentially a description and analysis of the mental process a young man undergoes as he plans to write his girlfriend, whom he is unable to see because of his contract. He wants to compose the greatest of love letters, an epistle that would bring back the memories of all good moments they shared, a letter that she would never forget. It would be a confidential letter just for the two of them. However, the young man soon realizes the absurdity of his thinking of writing the love letter. His fiancée does not read "and I--Oh hopelessness!--cannot write!"⁹

"Letter from a Contract Worker" also succeeds as a poem to a much larger degree than "Monangamba" because it does not focus only on the contract's impact on the worker. "Letter" illustrates how the people who are left behind, in this case the laborer's fiancée, are affected by the unexpected separation. By emphasizing the frustration that arises from the two characters inability to communicate, the poem becomes an indirect condemnation of the colonial system's nonexistent educational program. The idea of a confidential correspondence alone is ludicrous considering the couple's circumstances. Their illiteracy precludes a private long-distance relationship, since there is always a need for a third person to read or write even the simplest of notes. Despite "Letter from a Contract Worker," however, Jacinto's poetry seems to suffer from a relatively narrow, and often highly didactic, approach. It is the author's failure to fully explore the contract's impact on the population as a whole, more than anything else, which leads one to judge his work on the subject as considerably less significant than Neto's.

Neto discovers that forced labor is a flagrant attempt not only to acquire a scandalously inexpensive work force but also to destroy the very structure of the African family. As the colonial authorities recruit the best and healthiest men in the rural areas of the country, they start to weaken an institution that they perceive, perhaps rightly so, as a veritable threat to their policy of assimilation. Village after village is reduced to its women, its very young, and its very old. With those individuals who would normally form a bond between the two groups absent from the community, a rift develops. Ancient traditions and values are questioned and the authority of the family is gradually damaged. Neto, therefore, cannot consider the disruption of the family as if it were an isolated or unique case. Rather, he sees it as symptomatic of the general breakdown in Angolan life, a malaise he directly associates with the

intrusion of an alien system in the affairs of the people of Angola.

For Neto, the forceful separation of men from their wives, children, and parents, although one of the more blatant examples of colonial exploitation, is not very different from other daily incidents across the land. It is not more humiliating or tragic than the cases of young women who are compelled to resort to prostitution, those of children who are unable to acquire a decent education or even enough food and clothes, or that of the average citizen who has learned to respect and fear the white man and the rich, a distinction he usually does not have to make. Neto demonstrates that there is an interrelationship between one facet of Angolan life and every other. Thus, as he approaches the contract, he focuses on the society as a whole rather than solely on the workers and their immediate families.

The poet in "Farewell at the Hour of Parting," one of Neto's earlier poems, first addresses his mother. However, as he becomes aware that his situation is not too unlike that of most other young people, he immediately qualifies his statement and refers to all black mothers whose sons have left. He tells them that if there is going to be hope for the younger generations, they themselves must search for it. They must be self-dependent. They can no longer afford to wait passively, like their mothers did, when crimes continue to be perpetrated against them and their land.

The young people, continues the poet, have no illusions regarding the regime's intentions. Unlike their parents, they no longer expect the outsiders to fulfil their promises and thus satisfy the people's expectations. It is the youngsters themselves who are the "future," even though:

*Today
we are naked children in bush villages
school-less children playing with a ball of rags
in the sands at noon
we ourselves are
contract workers burning lives in coffee plantations*

They are black men who are kept in ignorance so that they will revere the white man and the powerful. They are as well the children of the *musseques* (predominantly African quarters), where there is no running water or electricity. They are the drunkards whose dignity has been eroded by alcohol and the men who lose themselves to the rhythm of an indigenous dance of death. Today, the poet reminds Angolan mothers, they are:

*your children
hungry*

*thirsty
ashamed to call you Mother
afraid to cross the streets
afraid of men
We ourselves*

But tomorrow they will be a different people, a people in search of light and life. Free, they will then create their own destiny, and will be proud and confident when they at last celebrate "the day of the abolition of this slavery."¹⁰

"Farewell at the Hour of Parting," like the poems by Andrade and Jacinto, is an outright and unqualified denunciation of Portugal's unwelcome presence in Angolan territory. Although the colonial power is never directly identified, it becomes emphatically clear that the poet deems it responsible for most of his society's ills, the most conspicuous of which is probably forced labor. Contract workers may well be the only people who are "burning" their lives in the coffee plantations of Angola and São Tomé, but Neto does not consider their ordeal more degrading than anybody else's and there are, as he shows in the poem, many other individuals getting burned by the fires of colonialism. Large segments of the populace feel alienated from life and attempt to get from alcohol, parties, and dancing what they are otherwise unable to acquire. Communication has broken down to such a degree that dialogue is almost impossible between parent and child. The whole nation seems to have fallen victim to a situation it obviously did not create and over which it has little or no control. The chaotic state of human relations, perhaps more than anything else, appears to be a vivid reflection of the extent to which society has disintegrated.

"Farewell," however, is not a pessimistic work. In fact, like most of Neto's poetry, it is infused with a dominant element of hope. The author does use "Farewell" as a means of exposing Portugal's policies in his native land, of showing how the people and resources of Angola are being exploited by a country that claims to be engaged in a fraternal crusade to "civilize" Africa. As he does so, he evidently cannot avoid emphasizing the atrocities being committed in the name of religion or civilization. But he also utilizes the poem as a means to alert his compatriots to the realities under which they live as well as to rally them in an attempt to reacquire the autonomy they lost to Portugal or, rather, the sovereignty the Portuguese usurped from them.

Neto, at the very beginning of "Farewell," has the voice in the poem say to his and all Angolan mothers that the new generation has learned from the errors of the past. The days of indecision and passivity are over; henceforth the nation's

youth will determine its own fate:

*I do not wait now
I am he who is awaited*

*It is I my Mother
hope is us
your children
gone for a faith that sustains life¹¹*

Although the translation follows the original closely, it does not exactly capture the ambiguity and nuances of the Portuguese. A main characteristic of Neto's poetry is the simplicity of the language; but it is definitely a deceptive simplicity. While he tends to use plain words, perhaps to make his work more accessible to its intended audience, he often chooses a word or a term with contradictory or complementary meanings. The technique is remarkably effective in the couplet: "Eu já não espero/sou aquele por quem se espera."¹² The Portuguese verb *esperar* means both to wait and to hope. Thus the two lines, in the original, can be read as either: "I no longer hope, I am the one for whom people hope" or "I no longer wait, I am the one who is awaited." The translator selects the second interpretation and the context seems to vindicate her choice. Unfortunately, when Marga Holness chooses one rendition of the couplet over the other (since she cannot have both), she inevitably deprives "Farewell at the Hour of Parting" of some of the ambiguity which makes the original such an impressive piece of poetry.

Although the richness and intricacies of Neto's language are not fully captured in the translation, his primary theme is. The poem, like the author's opera in general, is permeated with hope. Despite their being aware of their precarious status as a colonized people, or because of it, Neto's personae never appear to waver in their hope and determination to transform their society. It is not going to be an easy task, but they are confident. They are positive they will transcend the exploitation and slavery to which they have been exposed, that they will finally be able to be themselves.

The poet demonstrates that he is aware of the magnitude of the struggle his people face. They will have to battle not only the enemy from without but also the enemy from within. Five centuries of serfdom and humiliation have not elapsed without leaving on their trail a multitude of noticeable and undetected scars. Angolans are born and die without ever being able to determine what they want for themselves and for their nation. They are not allowed to think; the thinking is done for them. A people that for centuries has been forced to depend on and obey others is not likely to develop itself into a self-confident

group too rapidly. Likewise, as Neto puts it in "Old Black Man," a worker who has been bought and sold, lashed and lynched, dispossessed of all he owned, and beaten by other men, is bound to be affected by the experience. He is dehumanized:

*Forced to obey
God and men
he lost himself*

*He lost his country
and the concept of being*¹³

But the old man is obviously not the only individual who has become a victim of colonial dehumanization. The poet suggests that everybody has to a greater or smaller extent suffered a similar fate. When he looks at the faces of the people even as they shop or stroll leisurely, he writes in another of his poems, he realizes immediately that the Angola he would love to help transform is still a nation "of serfs whose parents were also serfs."¹⁴

It is evident that Neto realizes that the people of Angola have been profoundly affected by five centuries of foreign political domination, five centuries without autonomy. They lived in a political and sociocultural vacuum, and it will not be easy to adapt themselves to the new life, the new society they are going to create. The author knows how formidable is the challenge ahead for Angolans but he is not overwhelmed by it. On the contrary, he remains totally positive about their ability and will to eventually change their reality and thus be responsible for their own destiny and that of their homeland.

Neto's personae are convinced of the righteousness of their cause and, therefore, refuse to lose hope even under the most desperate of circumstances. The porters in "Contract Workers," for example, do not allow themselves to be defeated without a battle. They are a confident lot, even as they are forced to march along the distant highway with heavy loads on their backs:

*They go
faraway looks
fearful hearts
strong arms
smiles deep as deep waters*

*Long months separate them from theirs
and they go filled with longing
and dread
but they sing*

Tired

*exhausted by work
but they sing*

*Filled with injustice
silent in their innermost souls
and they sing*

There are tears in their hearts as they march, continues the poem, yet they sing. They lose themselves in the distance but: "Ah!/they are singing. . ."15

Since they are unable to protest their ordeal, especially the uprooting from their villages and the separation from their wives, children, parents, and friends, the porters sing. Their songs, however, are more than simple and inoffensive objections to the unjust treatment they receive from a seemingly impersonal administration. Indeed, the songs have a fundamental role in the preparation for the liberation struggle, the struggle whose aim is to overthrow the colonial administration and to destroy the political system that produced it. They awaken consciousness. It is through them that the workers remind one another of the necessity to resist, to fight for their own dignity and that of their neighbors. The workers realize that theirs is not a useless sacrifice. Their act of defiance, writes Neto in another poem, will be an incentive for others to continue the struggle for peace, "peace over sweat over the tears of contract labour/peace over hatred." It will be a step forward toward the creation of a just society, toward the creation of "peace with dry eyes."16

Songs are stimulants for the porters in "Contract Workers." They enable the men both to forget their ordeal and to recall their ability and will to overcome it. The workers sing in order to be able to tolerate the precarious present as well as to prepare for the future, a future which they intend to create. There are other characters who utilize less orthodox means in their struggle for a tomorrow of their own. Such is the case of the marketwoman in the work with the same name.

"The Marketwoman" is one of Neto's most complex poems. Except for a couplet at the very end, two lines which change the poem's whole perspective, it is essentially a litany of complaints by an individual for whom life has offered nothing but disappointment after disappointment, misery. It opens with the description of a woman selling fruit at a market. It is horribly hot and she searches for refuge under the shade of a mulemba tree. Then, as she attempts to sell oranges to "my lady," she starts to associate her present activity with all the misfortunes that have befallen her during her life. She draws a direct relationship between the *selling* of oranges and every other sacrifice she has had to make to survive. It is a

continuation of all the other times she has been forced to sell part of herself, be it her pride and dignity as a human being, her beauty, her life.

The poem's voice says that a marketwoman who sells fruit "sells herself." However, immediately after, the marketwoman exhorts the "lady" to buy oranges. But she has more than oranges to sell:

*Buy sweet oranges
buy from me too the bitterness
of this torture
of this life without life.*

The marketwoman also wants to sell the emptiness in her life, the rosebud that did not flower, the hopes that never materialized. She has sought solace in alcohol and in religions but found none. Instead, she became part of "the very problems of existence." She has given all she possessed. Even her pain and "the poetry of my naked breasts" she gave to poets:

*Now I myself am selling me
--Buy oranges
my lady!
Take me to the markets of Life
My price is only one:--Blood.*

*Perhaps selling myself
I possess myself.*

--Buy oranges!¹⁷

Although "The Marketwoman" does not focus directly on contract labor, it still deals with the interrelationship of seemingly unrelated facets of life. In fact, the poem does testify to the impact the contract has not only on the workers but also on their families and their society. The vendor's oppressed life is not an isolated incident. One certainly cannot divorce it from the tragic fate of those around her. Those people include her children whose blood "mingled with the dust of roads/[is] buried on plantations," a detail which seems to suggest that they might not have survived their contract. The most important aspect of "The Marketwoman," however, is perhaps the woman's determination to struggle, her unwavering hope in the possibility of having her presence felt, of finally being herself. Life has been indescribably unjust to her but she refuses to concede defeat. She has attempted about every possible thing and failed. There is only one more avenue to explore. It is not a promising alternative but she will try it. She will explore any path that may lead to freedom, to the control of her own destiny. As she puts it: "Perhaps selling myself/I possess myself."

Mozambique's Luís Bernardo Honwana, in one of his stories, has a character assert that hope is fundamental to human existence. Everyone needs to believe, he says: "Even a poor man has to have something. Even if it is only a hope! Even if it's a false hope!"¹⁸ Hope, an unquestionable belief in one's ability to overcome handicaps both within and outside oneself, is the unifying element in Neto's poetry. It is also the characteristic that most clearly distinguishes his work on the contract from that of any other Angolan poet, including Jacinto and Andrade. Neto's is a *Sacred Hope*, to use the name he chose for his collection, for a universal socioeconomic and mental transformation or revolution. It never vanishes, not even in the most tragic of events, be it the selling of a woman or the massacre of innocent men.

The author's tone does not become pessimistic even in a poem like "February," a piece devoted to "The Massacre of São Tomé." As its subtitle implies, "February" is an account of the 1953 slaughter of a group of Angolan contract workers by São Tomé's colonial authorities and their cohorts. The poem opens with a graphic description of the carnage, emphasizing in particular how the Atlantic returns the bloody corpses to its shores for the awaiting crows and jackals. It is then that the poet, as a spectator, starts to grasp the significance of the workers' common burial "in shame and salt" on this land "which children still call green of hope":

*It was then that in eyes on fire
now blood now life now death
we victoriously buried our dead
and on the graves
recognized the rightness of men's sacrifice
for love
and for harmony
and for our freedom
even faced with death by dint of the hours
in bloodied waters
even in the small defeats accumulated for victory*

As if the poet's tone were not already positive, he concludes by saying that, for "us," "the green land of São Tomé/will also be the island of love."¹⁹

In "February," as in most of his opera, Neto comes remarkably near to his compatriot Luandino Vieira and Kenya's Ngugi wa Thiong'o in his ideas. Both Ngugi and Luandino have asserted that an individual's life does not necessarily end with his physical death. Ngugi states that an "individual's importance is not only the life he leads in this world, but [also] the effect of his work on other people after he has gone."²⁰

Luandino, on the other hand, has one character say of the protagonist of his first novel after the latter has been tortured and killed by the police: "Xavier, you begin today your real life in the hearts of the Angolan people."²¹ For Luandino and Ngugi death is both an end and a beginning. It terminates an individual's physical existence but it also gives birth to a new being, a being who will continue to live in the hearts and minds of those who share the ideals or ideas for which he was killed. That too is essentially the belief that Neto expresses in "February." Like Luandino's Xavier, the laborers continue to live even after their deaths. They will become a symbol of determination to fight for one's beliefs and theirs a courageous example for present and coming generations to emulate. The poet is convinced that the massacre will raise the consciousness of the people of Africa as well as those of other continents. Therefore, he is positive of the "rightness" of the workers's sacrifice, "even in the small defeats accumulated for victory."

Neto's is a poetry of hope. Although *Sacred Hope* is essentially a study of the oppressed classes in an equally oppressed society and of the subjective conditions that create, or preclude the creation, of a revolutionary consciousness, the poet refuses to allow the often tragic realities of the moment to overwhelm his absolute trust in the human will for self-liberation. He is somehow able to infuse a relatively warm ray of hope even into poems dealing with the most seemingly depressive of situations, such as "Old Black Man," "The Market-woman," and "February." There is, however, a conspicuous exception in Neto's poetry of hope, a piece which, for that reason alone, acquires a strategic ideological significance.

"Departure for Forced Labor," in a sharp contrast with the bulk of the poet's work, is almost completely devoid of any hope or optimism. A short piece written in 1945, it is believed to be Neto's earliest poem. It also resembles Andrade's "Muimbu na Sabalu," both thematically and structurally. The poem is the story of a young man's departure to São Tomé and is narrated from the perspective of the worker's unidentified bride or wife, his "love." It ends as the ship and the sun disappear simultaneously on the horizon, when:

*There is no light
no stars in the dark sky
Everything on earth is shadow*

*There is no light
no north in the woman's soul*

*Blackness
Only blackness. . . 22*

"Blackness/Only blackness. . ." That is indeed an uncharacteristically pessimistic finale for a work by the author of *Sacred Hope*. The poem lacks what is likely both the dominant and the unifying element in Agostinho Neto's poetry--hope. Yet it is not an anomaly. Like many other pieces of literature, "Departure for Forced Labor" is essentially a product of its time and place. As Marga Holness suggests in the introduction to her translation of *Sacred Hope*, it appears to be a reflection of the poet's sudden realization that the end of World War II would have little or no positive impact on Africa.²³ Young Angolan men would still continue to be forced to abandon their homes and their families to fulfil a contract to which they had not agreed. The end of the war would go unnoticed. It would mean nothing to those people. The same European nations that had recently fought and defeated their fascist enemies would still struggle to impose their own fascism on Africa. They would attempt, regardless of the cost, to prevent the continent from becoming autonomous. They had fought to preserve their independence but would, nevertheless, continue to fight to ensure that the nations of Africa would not achieve their own.

The defeat of fascism in World War II was only a partial one. Therefore, there was no reason to be joyful in 1945. There was no justification to remain optimistic, not even if you were Agostinho Neto, Angola's otherwise ever hopeful poet-statesman. Thus too, perhaps, the *raison d'être* for "Departure for Forced Labor."

¹ See, for example, Eduardo Mayone Dias, "O Elemento da Confrontação na Poesia de Angola," *Hispania* 54:1 (March 1970), p. 57; Donald Burness, "Agostinho Neto and the Poetry of Combat," in *Fire: Six Writers from Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1977), pp. 19-34; and M. K. Makana, "The Poetry of Agostinho Neto," *The African Communist* (2d quarter 1980), pp. 66-71.

² Basil Davidson, "Africa's Modern Slavery," *Harper's* 209: 1250 (July 1954), p. 57.

³ Agostinho Neto, "A Birthday," in *Sacred Hope*, trans. Marga Holness (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1974), p. 33.

⁴ "Africa's Modern Slavery," *Ibid.*

⁵ Alfredo Margarido, "The Social and Economic Background of Portuguese Negro Poetry," *Diogenes* 37:1 (March 1962), p. 64.

⁶ Mário de Andrade, "Canção de Sabalu," *Présence Africaine*

57 (1966), p. 443. My translation.

⁷For a concise analysis of the movement and its impact on Angolan cultural history, see Russell G. Hamilton, *Voices from an Empire: A History of Afro-Portuguese Literature* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1975), pp. 59-68. See also Manuel Ferreira, "Da dor de ser negro ao orgulho de ser preto," in Donald Burness, ed. *Critical Perspectives on Lusophone African Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1981), pp. 207-19.

⁸Antônio Jacinto, "Contract Worker," in Michael Wolfers, ed. and trans. *Poems from Angola* (London: Heinemann, 1979), p. 31.

⁹"Letter from a Contract Worker," *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

¹⁰*Sacred Hope*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹²Agostinho Neto, "Adeus à hora da largada," in *Sagrada Esperança* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1979), p. 35.

¹³*Sacred Hope*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁴"Kinaxixi," *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁶"Create," *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

¹⁸Luís Bernardo Honwana, "Papa, Snake and I," in *We Killed Mangy-Dog*, trans. Dorothy Guedes (London: Heinemann, 1970), p. 46.

¹⁹*Sacred Hope*, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

²⁰Quoted in R. Serumaga, "A Mirror of Integration: Chinua Achebe and James Ngugi," in C. Pieterse and D. Munro, eds. *Protest and Conflict in African Literature* (London: Heinemann, 1969), p. 75.

²¹Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, trans. Michael Wolfers (London: Heinemann, 1978), p. 84.

²²*Sacred Hope*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

²³*Ibid.*, p. xix.