Epistemic Decolonization through the Colonial, Anti- and Post-Colonial Archive in Contemporary Art

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This visual essay comprises a selection of works made by artists from several generations and geographies, who contribute to an epistemic decolonization in, and of, the present by means of archival research. With works by Kiluanji Kia Henda (Angola, 1979), Filipa César (Portugal, 1975), Olavo Amado (São Tomé and Príncipe, 1979), Ângela Ferreira (Mozambique, 1958), Eurídice Kala aka Zaituna Kala (Mozambique, 1987), Délio Jasse (Angola, 1980), Daniel Barroca (Portugal, 1976), Filipe Branquinho (Mozambique, 1977), and Mónica de Miranda (Portugal/Angola, 1976), I propose a possible reading of the various ways in which contemporary artists have been working critically with colonial archives, not only public, but also private and familial, in view of a decolonizing memorialization of Portuguese colonialism and an understanding of its profound and multifarious impact in contemporary societies – notably regarding structural and institutional racism in Portugal, and enduring patterns of coloniality and neo-colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe.

The visual essay also includes works in which the decolonizing labour is undertaken by means of important anti-colonial archives, notably filmic, whereby emancipatory projects of political, economic, social and cultural liberation and various conceptions of utopia and futurity are retrieved, remembered and reconsidered. As a whole, this selection also highlights how the standpoint from which African and Afro-diasporic artists examine the post-colonial histories of their (and their parents') countries necessarily implies the consideration of yet other narratives that are equally important: from the socialist revolutions, the Cold War and the civil wars, to the post-Cold War and post-civil war economic liberalization, oligarchic capitalism's notions of progress, development and

national reconciliation, as well as migration, diaspora and gender. Not incidentally, this visual essay begins and ends with images of powerful – and powerfully depicted – black African women. Whilst the former celebrates the Angolan Queen Njinga Mbandi, a 17th-century anti-colonial warrior represented in traditional African attire, the latter depicts an Angolan ballerina moving across the urban space of contemporary Luanda, both images countering the violence of Eurocentric and misogynist stereotypes of female beauty and strength.

Kiluanji Kia Henda (Angola, 1979) has appropriated colonial ruins (and their attendant ruinations) in the urban landscape of Luanda in order to "ruin" them;[1] that is, he has brought them to the surface in order to undermine whatever symbolic power they might still embody. Such leftover structures have included fallen and broken male colonial statues, "ambushed" at the São Miguel fortress by the upright solidity of Queen Njinga, who temporarily "re-enacted" her resistance against colonial occupation (*Balumuka [Ambush]* [2010]),[2] while the Kinaxixi square, where her pedestal used to stand, is undergoing a profound and long urban renewal. Awaiting the completion of the construction works at the Kinaxixi square, her statue has been placed inside the São Miguel fortress, where the National Museum of Military History has been housed since independence. Kia Henda photographed this setting before its reopening in 2013, after which Njinga's statue has been moved to the museum entrance, where it remains. As to the Portuguese colonial statues, unwanted and, therefore, "stranded" while awaiting some sort of final destination (in the meantime, they have been incorporated into the reopened museum's display), they have been photographed by Kia Henda amidst military equipment from the Portuguese colonial occupation and settlement, the liberation war, and the civil war – colonial, anti-colonial, and Cold War traces left on Angolan soil by Angolans, Portuguese, Soviets, Cubans, and South Africans throughout many decades.

The leftover structures examined by Kia Henda have also included the colonial pedestals left vacant by the "ambushed" and "stranded" statues, whose temporary occupation or squatting by several young performers he has been collaboratively orchestrating and photographing (*Redefining the Power* [2011]). Both *Balumuka* and *Redefining the Power* form an integral part of the series *Homem Novo* (*New Man*) (2009-2013), the title of

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[1] On the notions of ruin and ruination, see Ann Laura Stoler (2013).

[2] *Balumuka* means to "stand up" or "to rise" in Kimbundo. The daughter of Ngola Kiluanji (the ruler of the Ndongo kingdom in the 16th century), Njinga Mbandi was the queen of the Ndongo and Matamba kingdoms in the 17th century and a skilled military strategist and diplomat, who is still seen in present-day Angola as a symbol of resistance against Portuguese occupation. On Njinga, see Linda Heywood (2017).

which is indebted to the Marxist-Leninist conception of revolutionary subjectivity and nationhood that is still inscribed in Angola's national anthem. As a whole, the series carries out a heterogeneous, critical, and ironic investigation not only of colonial, anti-colonial, post-independence, and Cold War remnants, but also of the post-Cold War and post-civil war new symbols and heroes of the nation. Real and fictive, solid and transient, stone-made, metallic and human, sculptural and performative, such old and new subjects are shown to be enmeshed in Luanda's layered urban space. They are also made visible in such a way as to upset patriarchal conceptions of manhood, including the revolutionary, by means of gender and sexuality.

In *The Embassy* (2011), Filipa César (Portugal, 1975) filmed the gazing hands of the Guinean archivist Armando Lona, perusing a colonial photo album of the National Historical Archives in Bissau. His words describe and contextualise the photographs, thereby deconstructing the colonial gaze that fixed and catalogued bodies and landscapes – including the urban, with their colonial statues and monuments. César's camera ends on a loose photograph in between the album's last pages of a PAIGC school in a liberated zone – an image of revolution, although one where revolution is not devoid of contradiction.[3]

Thereafter, César made other films about another archive, whose remains she found in peril of disappearance in 2011. *Cuba* (2012), *Conakry* (2012), and subsequent films of what César has named the *Luta Ca Caba Inda* project revisit the history of the Instituto Nacional de Cinema e Audiovisual (INCA, the Film and Audiovisual National Institute of Guinea-Bissau), in the framework of the PAIGC liberation struggle and post-independence nation building.[4] Founded in 1977, the institute holds films (which have gone through a process of digitization in Berlin) made before and after independence by filmmakers such as Flora Gomes, Sana na N'Hada, and the late Josefina Lopes Crato and José Bolama Cobumba – who Amílcar Cabral had sent to Cuba to train with Santiago Álvarez at the Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry (ICAIC) in 1967 –, as well as films from countries supporting the Guinean struggle, some films from Portugal, and copies of films left by Chris Marker when he visited the country in 1979. In *Cuba*, images

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[3] *The Embassy* ends with Lona commenting on how the symbol of the party, inscribed on the cover of the PAIGC school book being read by the students in the photo, became the symbol of the nation in an entanglement marked by "fusion or confusion". The PAIGC, *Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*, was led by Amílcar Cabral until his assassination on 20 January 1973.

[4] In the meantime, César has made *Mined Soil* (2014), *Transmission from the Liberated Zones* (2016), *Spell Reel* (2017), and *Quantum Creole* (2019), among others. *Luta Ca Caba Inda* is the Guinean Creole for *A Luta Continua* (*The Struggle Is Not Over Yet*). On this project, see, among others, Filipa César (2012; 2017; 2018a; 2018b).

of Álvarez's *Año 7* (1966) and of Cobumba, Crato, Gomes and Na N'Hada's unfinished *Guiné-Bissau: 6 Anos Depois* (1980) unfold on the screen, in front of which three performers (Suleimane Biai, Carlos Vaz and Joana Barrios) read aloud Cabral's *Estudos Agrários* and his *Weapon of* Theory, proclaimed at the Tricontinental conference in Cuba in 1966.[5]

But the *Luta Ca Caba Inda* series also includes *Cacheu* (2012). Somewhat similarly to Kia Henda's *Balumuka (Ambush)* at the São Miguel fortress, *Cacheu* harnesses the haunting that still goes on in the Cacheu fortress, in Guinea-Bissau, for an active work of remembrance. Both artists choreograph a dance of ghosts performed by the stone spectres of colonial statues: dead and yet hauntingly present; fallen from their pedestals, lying broken in graveyards of imperial debris, and yet demanding of the living the recognition of the enduring violence of their fallen gestures.[6] Even more demanding, however, of both the living and these dead are the statue-deprived ghosts of the millions of enslaved Africans who passed through Cacheu, São Miguel and all the other fortresses on African shores towards the Americas.

As opposed to the ruined condition of the colonial statues shown in Kia Henda's photographs and César's video, in Olavo Amado's (São Tomé and Príncipe, 1979) sartorial intervention for the camera, they seem to have risen again (*[Re]Descobertos* [2013]); but only apparently so, for, despite their fairly preserved condition, the artist's gesture of dressing them up in colourful African-cloth garments necessarily and humorously disturbs any heroic grandeur they could evoke, notably for their eminent placement at the entrance of São Tomé's National Museum, at the São Sebastião fortress. Amado critically acknowledges, while at the same time mocking, the prominent visibility ascribed to the statues by their location. His intervention makes them even more conspicuous, but in a non-celebratory and humorous fashion: it reverses the colonial relationship of "discoverer vs. discovered" by turning the Portuguese into the *(re)discovered*, as the title suggests. Also, they emerge as re-appropriated and Africanized by São Tomeans, and so much more in line with the histories of struggle and resistance told by the National Museum's display. Finally, the work's title warns against not only the untruth of the so-called discoveries, but also the dangers of ongoing patterns of coloniality and the neo-colonialism at work in capitalist forms of European "rediscovery".

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[5] See Amílcar Cabral (1988; 2013).

[6] See Jacques Derrida (1994); Avery Gordon, (2008). On these and related works by Kia Henda and César, see Ana Balona de Oliveira (2016a).

In Lisbon, artists such as Kia Henda, Ângela Ferreira (Mozambique, 1958) and others have also looked at the ways in which the violent histories and memories of slavery and colonialism continue to be denied by the grand narrative of the so-called discoveries. Besides still thriving at all levels of public education, including many sectors of Portuguese academia, this narrative also remains deeply embedded in celebratory monuments, many of which built under the aegis of the Estado Novo dictatorial regime (1926-1974). Such denial obviously includes the present-day legacies of such pasts in the form of an enduring structural racism in contemporary Portuguese society, conveniently swept under the carpet of an anxiously maintained "lusotropicalism", repackaged as "lusofonia" and the idea of a benign Portuguese influence around the world.[7] Obviously, those who continue to carry the heavy burden of such a collective denial are, today as much as yesterday, non-white bodies (black, Romany, etc.) and, in particular, black women. After many decades of resistance and struggle, anti-racist and intersectional feminist grassroots organizations are bringing structural racism and the processes of memorialization of slavery and colonialism into the public sphere with increasing visibility.

Ferreira's video and sculptural installation *Messy Colonialism, Wild Decolonization* (2015) reflects on the way in which the site of the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* symbolically marked both the beginning of the Portuguese colonial enterprise as envisioned by the Estado Novo from the late thirties; and its collapse in the mid-seventies, after thirteen years of war waged against the Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean liberation movements (1961-1974).[8] The first, temporary version of the *Padrão* was inaugurated at the Exposition of the Portuguese World, the exhibition organized by the regime in 1940 to celebrate the 800th anniversary of Portugal's founding; and the 300th of Portuguese independence from Spain. A permanent version of the monument was inaugurated in 1960, in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the death of Henry the Navigator. Ferreira's video begins with images of the construction of the *Padrão*, pertaining to the newsreels *Imagens de Portugal* no. 186 (1959) and no. 193 (1960), the latter of which includes images of the making of the sculptures that became the *Padrão*'s main decorative elements at the atelier of the sculptor Leopoldo de

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[7] Theorised by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, lusotropicalism was appropriated by the Estado Novo after the Second World War to justify Portugal's maintenance of its African colonies when other European countries started to decolonise. It propagated the idea that the Portuguese mixed more with the African populations they colonized and were more benevolent towards them than the other European colonizers. These ideas are still pervasive in Portuguese society. See, for instance, Cláudia Castelo (1998).

[8] The independence of Guinea-Bissau was unilaterally declared in 1973, and those of Angola and Mozambique were declared in 1975.

Almeida. The sides of the monument, in the shape of a caravel facing the Tagus estuary, are occupied by an ascending parade of kings, conquerors, explorers, scholars and poets, led by Henry the Navigator, and sculpted in the large-scale, epic style typical of Estado Novo statuary. The façade was designed in the form of a cross, within which appears the image of a sword – a powerful metaphor for the entanglements between discoveries, civilizing mission and conquest. The films by means of which Ferreira recalls these histories were also made in the context of the Estado Novo's propaganda initiatives.[9]

In 1974-1975, this same site was one of the places where the wooden crates of returning settlers piled up, some of them remaining there for years awaiting clearance, caught up in the midst of the revolutionary period. The video ends with images taken by the photojournalist Alfredo Cunha in 1975, depicting the crates and boxes that the installation renders sculpturally; the "spoils of the end of colonialism", ironically "standing up against the Monument to the Discoveries".[10] In this work, Ferreira confronts us with the absence of a rigorous public debate on the violence of the colonial enterprise and, in particular, the ways in which dictatorial narratives have been normalized in the present; while also considering the complexities of a decolonization process, which involved the sudden and mass arrival of many Portuguese from the former colonies who were practically strangers to the former metropole and unwanted by the Carnation Revolution.

Importantly, artists such as Kia Henda and Eurídice Kala aka Zaituna Kala (Mozambique, 1987) have also looked at such "spoils", but while they were still being made, packed and prepared for shipping in Luanda (*Concrete Affection – Zopo Lady* [2014-2015]) and Maputo (*Will See You in December… Tomorrow* [*WSYDT*] [2015]) between 1974 and 1975. However, despite their sculptural and conceptual focus on the historical moment of political decolonization, both Kia Henda and Kala also examine other post-independence narratives and, more broadly, contemporary aspects of Angolan and Mozambican societies. By looking at decolonization, independence, revolution and the beginning of the civil war, in a Cold War context, Henda offers a cinematic portrait, a visual archive of the contemporary remnants of Luanda's modernist architectural heritage, hardly surviving neglect and demolition in a city highly gentrified by oligarchic

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[9] See Maria do Carmo Piçarra (2015). The square in front of the *Padrão* is decorated with a large-scale floor piece in limestone, depicting a compass rose and a world map of the routes taken by the Portuguese during the so-called age of the discoveries. This square was offered to Portugal by apartheid South Africa, a fact which is seldom referenced.

[10] See the video's text component. For a history and visual analysis of the *Padrão* in the context of the Exposition of the Portuguese World in 1940, its permanent construction in 1960, and Alfredo Cunha's photographs in 1975, see Ellen Sapega, (2002; 2008).

capitalism. But, from a more intimate and personal perspective, this work is also about "the relation between space and collective memory confronted by the vital and mandatory need to emigrate".[11] Similarly, Kala's installation examines various movements across space and time. As a whole, *WSYDT* is based on her own experiences of moving between Maputo and Johannesburg; on inter-generational, family memories, such as her grandfather's recollections of having built crates for the departing Portuguese in 1975; and on Mozambican pre-, colonial and post-colonial collective history, marked as it is by the circulation of people (both voluntary and forced), commodities (such as the *capulana* fabric) and ideas across the Indian and Atlantic oceans.[12]

Délio Jasse's (Angola, 1980) artistic archives, palimpsests and "liquid archaeologies" also speak of and to the conflicting relation between space, collective memory and displacement, from a personal perspective. Having examined in previous works such as *Schengen* (2010), and from his own experience, a condition of diasporic hybridity, disturbing the fixities of cultural and racial stereotypes, in *Endless Absence* (2014), Jasse complexifies temporally dislocations in space and movements across borders by invoking phantasmatic presences of the colonial past in the urban space of contemporary Luanda. By means of photographic compositions made analogically, he juxtaposes appropriated photographs of anonymous people, mostly acquired in Lisbon's flea market, and his own images of the unrecognizable Luanda that he "misencountered" ("desencontrou") twelve years after the diaspora.[13] To these, he adds the stamps typically found in passports and visas, some of which explicitly refer to the departures from Angola and Portugal in 1961 – that is, to the movements of those trying to escape the "colonial" war and conscription –, while others, issued by the Immigration and Borders Service in Portugal, and the Migration and Foreigners Service in Angola, display much more recent dates. Jasse thus calls attention to the structural racism inherent to nationality laws that restrict access to full citizenship in Portugal and, more broadly, in "fortress Europe", and to mobility, migration and xenophobia across the African borders inherited from colonialism[14].

Like Jasse, Daniel Barroca (Portugal, 1976) also unveils and inscribes by superimposing obfuscating layers. In *Layered Object #6* (2011) glass layers and glass powder signal,

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[11] See the work's synopsis on a private video link.

[12] For a more in-depth analysis of these works by Ferreira, Kia Henda and Kala, see Ana Balona de Oliveira (2017a, 2019a, 2019b).

[13] I am referring here to the title of one the photographic series by means of which Jasse examines, precisely, that reencounter with Luanda: *Desencontros (Misencounters)* (2011).

[14] For a more in-depth analysis of Jasse's work, see Balona de Oliveira 2016d and 2016e.

whilst obstructing, the complicities of soldiers' gazes and comradery. For this and other works, Barroca appropriated images from the photographic war album that his father compiled while fighting along the Portuguese Armed Forces in Guinea-Bissau. Many who fought in the "colonial" war assembled similar albums – common and yet unspoken presences in the homes of many Portuguese families today. Barroca exposes the existence of his father's by using it as archival source, while the glass, interrupting a thorough visual access to the photographic documentation, seems to encapsulate unspeakable memories[15]. The visual essay highlights the contrast between Portuguese soldiers entertained by cardboard games, in the intervals of war violence, and Guinean young students attending school in a PAIGC liberated zone. As is well known, some of the military who fought the "colonial" war became the main protagonists of the Carnation Revolution in 1974. Decolonisation was supposed to be achieved as quickly as possible and the empire forgotten equally fast. To a certain extent, this entwinement between "colonial" war and revolution might be said to have contributed to a post-colonial condition marked, in the long term, by colonial amnesias, imperial nostalgias, neo-colonial relationships, and structural racism in contemporary Portugal.

In *For Mozambique* (2008), Ferreira had already invited us to revisit two other revolutionary, if also fleeting, moments of collective rising – the Mozambican revolution led by FRELIMO in 1975, and the October Revolution in 1917 Russia – and to recall, somewhat similarly to what César would do later in Guinea-Bissau, the emancipatory role that cultural production played in both.[16] *For Mozambique*'s three models were inspired by three agitprop structures designed on paper by the Latvian-Russian constructivist Gustav Klucis (1895–1938) for the IV Comintern Congress and the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution in 1922.[17] The inclination of *For Mozambique*'s

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[15] For a more in-depth analysis of Barroca's work, see Balona de Oliveira 2016d and 2016e.

[16] The FRELIMO, *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*, was led by Eduardo Mondlane until his assassination on 3 February 1969, and by Samora Machel, the first president of independent Mozambique, until his death on 19 October 1986. The airplane in which Machel was traveling from Zambia to Mozambique crashed in a mountainous area in South Africa. There have been suspicions, never confirmed, that the South African government might have been involved in the accident. Machel was succeeded by Joaquim Chissano. The Mozambican civil war (1977- 1992) opposed FRELIMO to RENAMO, the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*. Rhodesia sponsored the founding of RENAMO in 1975 to fight against FRELIMO's support to Rhodesian liberation movements. Contrary to what happened in Angola, South Africa did not invade Mozambique but intervened in the war by supporting RENAMO against the FRELIMO government.

[17] *For Mozambique*'s three models are: *Model No. 1 of Screen-Tribune-Kiosk celebrating a post-independence Utopia, Model No. 2 for Screen-Orator-Kiosk celebrating a post-independence Utopia*, and *Model No. 3 for Propaganda Stand, Screen and Loudspeaker Platform celebrating a post-independence Utopia.*

Models No. 1 and *No. 2* reference another constructivist moment: Vladimir Tatlin's *Model for Monument to the Third International*, 1920. The angle of Tatlin's structure, at 23.5 degrees from the vertical axis was intended to connect the Revolution to the axis of the Earth. Like most of Klucis' models, Tatlin's architectural utopia was never built, but their visions live on and continue to produce effects in unexpected ways, as Ferreira's work makes evident.

Besides Jean-Luc Godard and Anne-Marie Miéville's unrealised television project, developed at the invitation of the Mozambican government and entitled *Nord contre Sud ou Naissance (de l'image) d'une nation* (1977–1978) (in a counter-gesture to the racist narrative of Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* [1915]), which is visible and readable in the Klucis-inspired screens,[18] *For Mozambique* includes *Makwayela* (1977). This film was made when, invited by the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM), Jean Rouch and a team of French filmmakers from the University of Paris X, Nanterre, including Jacques D'Arthuys and Nadine Wanono, among others, led several projects in collaboration with several departments of the UEM, which aimed at training Mozambican filmmakers, such as Arlindo Mulhovo, João Paulo Borges Coelho and Moira Forjaz, mainly using Super 8. Many experiments were undertaken in Maputo but also in rural areas, where the communities would be involved in the editing and screening, while the films would circulate between communities, exchanging several sorts of experiences and knowledge.[19] In the case of *For Mozambique*, we are invited to revisit an urban image of the people: the celebratory performance of the miners' song and dance, originally from the south of Mozambique, adapted by a group of glass-factory workers who had just returned from the mines in apartheid South Africa, and now including the participation of a fellow woman worker.

On the other side of the screen, Bob Dylan celebrates the Mozambican revolution in the Hard Rain concert at Fort Collins, Colorado, in 1976, with his song "Mozambique" – another song, therefore, but now one where revolution seems to have acquired another meaning, that of the "sunny Mozambique" on whose beach couples dance "cheek to cheek". Despite the apparent hedonism of Dylan's lyrics, they point towards revolution beyond the orthodoxy of party politics. *For Mozambique* is an archive and cartography of revolution imbued with polyphonic meanings – evident in the way the sound of the *Makwayela* at times becomes the soundtrack for Dylan's performance and vice-versa – stretching across time and space.

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[18] See Jean-Luc Godard (1979).

[19] For a more in-depth analysis of *For Mozambique* and subsequent, related works by Ferreira, see, among others, Ana Balona de Oliveira (2016b; 2019b)

As mentioned earlier (with respect to Kia Henda's *Concrete Affection*), some artists have also looked at the ways in which the remnants of the modernist architecture left by the Portuguese in the former African colonies have been re-appropriated in post-colonial times. Mostly through photography and video, Kia Henda and Mónica de Miranda (Portugal/Angola, 1976) in Angola, and Filipe Branquinho (Mozambique, 1977) in Mozambique, among others, reflect on the many pasts – colonial, post-independence, post-Cold War, post-civil war – told by the often decaying and yet re-inhabited modernist buildings of 1950s and 1960s Luanda, Maputo and beyond. While gazing at these many pasts through architecture, these artists are also critically concerned with a present marked by global capitalism and its conceptions of progress and development, which prompts them to imagine other, historically conscious futurities.

The mausoleum where Agostinho Neto is supposedly buried was built in Luanda by the Soviet Union in 1982, three years after the death of Neto in Moscow.[20] Inspired by Cold War histories and fictions of space conquest and by Western antiquity myths, Kia Henda humorously turned the mausoleum into the *Icarus 13* spaceship, which, thanks to the creative efforts of a team of Angolan scientists, successfully completed man's first journey to the sun in 2006.[21] Kia Henda's script includes other shots, such as those of the Astronomy Observatory in the Namib desert – in fact, an abandoned modernist movie theatre left unfinished by the Portuguese in 1975. In *Panorama* (2017), Miranda returns yet again to looking at modernist architecture in Angola. With *Hotel Globo* (2014-2015), she had already critically examined the changing urban surface of Luanda through video, photographic and performative incursions into the interior landscapes of the 1950s Hotel Globo. The modernist hotel has functioned until recently in Luanda's downtown, where

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[20] Agostinho Neto was the leader of the MPLA, *Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola*, between 1962 and 1979, and independent Angola's first president. The MPLA was the Marxist-Leninist liberation movement which fought against Portuguese colonial rule beside the FNLA, led by Holden Roberto, and UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi. It has been in power since independence and, with the support of the Soviet Union and its allies, notably Cuba, has fought against the Zaire-supported FNLA and the US- and South Africa-supported UNITA. The Angolan civil war began as a Cold War proxy conflict, but continued throughout the 1990s until Jonas Savimbi's death in 2002. The mausoleum underwent repair only after the end of the civil war and was officially inaugurated on 17 September 2012 in commemoration of the 90th anniversary of Neto's birth. See also Jo Ractliffe's photographic work *Mausoléu de Agostinho Neto* (2007) in Jo Ractliffe (2008) and Ondjaki (2008).

[21] The turning of the mausoleum into a spaceship, though obviously involving fiction, was faithful to the way it is commonly referred to by Luandans – *foguetão*, meaning spaceship in Portuguese – and, what is more, to the fact that a spaceship aesthetics was intentional on the part of the Soviets, inspired by the renowned poem by Neto "O Caminho das Estrelas" **(**1953), citations of which can be read on its interior walls, among others. See Agostinho Neto (1977). For a more in-depth analysis of Kia Henda's *Icarus 13*, see Ana Balona de Oliveira (2019b).

the architectural heritage has been increasingly replaced with gentrified, luxury high-rise buildings. In Miranda's work, the Globo, and subsequently the Panorama, as well as the Karl Marx Cinema (called Avis before independence), among others, become spatio-temporal and affective "lenses" through which her own and collaborators' bodies gaze at, inhabit and re-appropriate the multiple geographies and histories of the city. As a diasporic subject, Miranda negotiates double and doubling – or "twin", almost the same but not quite – experiences of belonging, including the inherited, from which an unbelonged sense of shared, communal dwelling might be said to emerge.[22]

Opening and closing this visual essay, the Angolan Queen Njinga Mbandi and the Angolan ballerina on Luanda's rooftop remind us, each in her own way (and despite the complexities of the former's biography), what an actual epistemic decolonization in, and of, the present must include – a relentless politics and ethics of critical memory and thoughtful acts of systemic reparation.

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[22] For a more in-depth analysis of Miranda's *Hotel Globo* (2014-2015) and *Panorama* (2017-2018), see Ana Balona de Oliveira (2017b), available in Portuguese in *Buala* (2016c); Ana Balona de Oliveira (2018), available in a similar version in *Buala*, (2017c) unbelonging, and available in Portuguese in *Revista Vazantes* (2019c).

Kiluanji Kia Henda, part of *Balumuka (Ambush)*, 2010.
12 digital chromogenic prints on matte paper mounted on
aluminium, 166 x 110 cm each. From the series *Homem Novo*,
2009-2013.
© Kiluanji Kia Henda. Courtesy of the artist.

Kiluanji Kia Henda, part of *Balumuka (Ambush)*, 2010.
12 digital chromogenic prints on matte paper mounted on
aluminium, 166 x 110 cm each. From the series *Homem Novo*,
2009-2013.
© Kiluanji Kia Henda. Courtesy of the artist.

Kiluanji Kia Henda, *Redefining The Power III*, 2011.

3 photographic prints on aluminium, 80 × 120 cm. From the series *Homem Novo*, 2009-13.

© Kiluanji Kia Henda. Courtesy of the artist.

Filipa César, *The Embassy*, 2011.
Video still. © Filipa César. Courtesy of Cristina Guerra Contemporary Art, Lisbon.

Filipa César, *Cacheu*, 2012.

Video still. © Filipa César. Courtesy of Cristina Guerra Contemporary Art, Lisbon.

Olavo Amado, *(Re)Descobertos*, 2013.

Inkjet print on matte paper, 70 cm x 100. From the series *(Re)Descobertos*, 2013.

© Olavo Amado. Courtesy of the artist.

Kiluanji Kia Henda, *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*, 2006.
Inkjet print on cotton paper, 188 x 120 cm.
© Kiluanji Kia Henda. Courtesy of the artist.

Ângela Ferreira, *Messy Colonialism, Wild Decolonization*, 2015.
Installation view, GIBCA – Gothenburg International Biennial of Contemporary Art, Roda Sten Konsthall, Gothenburg, 2015. Photo: Hendrik Zeitler. Courtesy of the artist.

Kiluanji Kia Henda, *Concrete Affection – Zopo Lady*, 2014-2015.
Installation view, *As Margens dos Mares*, Sesc Pinheiros, São Paulo, 2015.
Courtesy of the artist.

Kiluanji Kia Henda, *Concrete Affection – Zopo Lady*, 2014-2015.
Video still. © Kiluanji Kia Henda. Courtesy of the artist.

Eurídice Kala aka Zaituna Kala, *Will See You in December… Tomorrow (WSYDT)*, 2015. Installation view, *Will See You in December… Tomorrow (WSYDT)*, MUSART – Museu Nacional de Arte, Maputo, 2015. © Eurídice Kala aka Zaituna Kala. Courtesy of the artist.
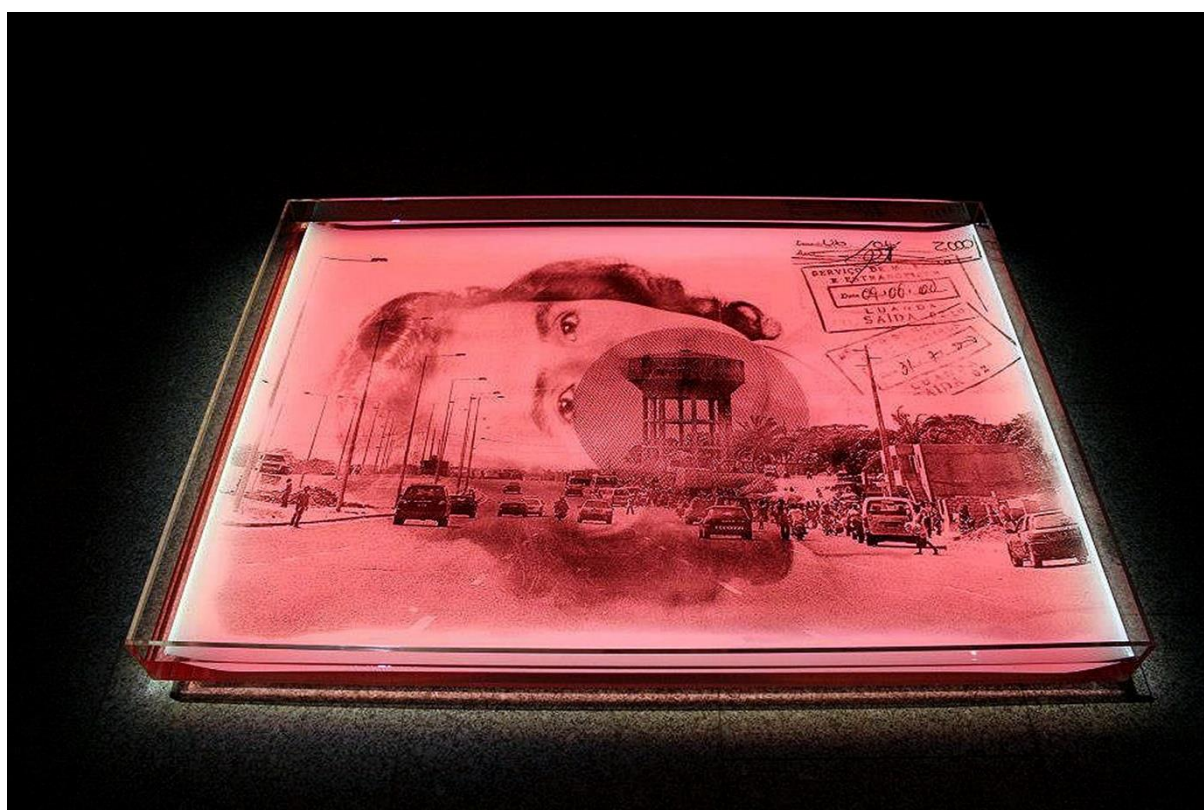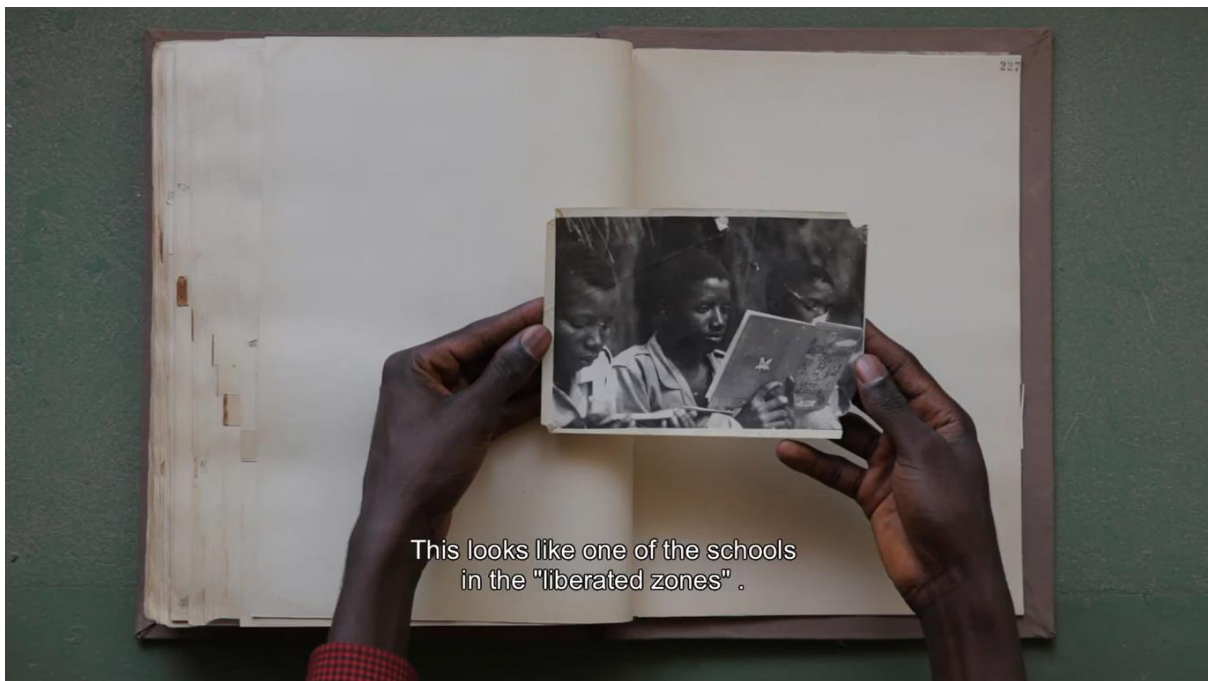
Délio Jasse, *Endless Absence*, 2014.
Print in acrylic box with water, 155 x 110 cm.
© Délio Jasse. Courtesy of the artist.

Daniel Barroca, *Layered Object #6*, 2011.
9 engraved glass layers and glass powder on inkjet print, 29 x 40 cm.
© Daniel Barroca. Courtesy of the artist.

Filipa César, *The Embassy*, 2011.
Video still. © Filipa César. Courtesy of Cristina Guerra Contemporary Art, Lisbon.

Flora Gomes and Julinho Camará in the filming of *Guiné-Bissau, 6 Anos Depois*,
1980, unfinished film.
© INCA, Guinea-Bissau, José Bolama Cobumba, Josefina Crato, Flora Gomes, Sana na N'Hada.
Courtesy of Cristina Guerra Contemporary Art, Lisbon.

Jean Rouch and Jacques D'Arthuys, *Makwayela*, 1977.
Film still. © All rights reserved. Courtesy of Ângela Ferreira.

Ângela Ferreira, *For Mozambique (Model No. 1 of Screen-Tribune-Kiosk celebrating a post-independence Utopia)*, 2008.
Installation view, *Ângela Ferreira. Hard Rain Show*, Museu Colecção Berardo, Lisbon, 2008.
Photo: Luís Colaço. Courtesy of the artist.

Kiluanji Kia Henda, *The Spaceship Icarus 13, Luanda*, 2008.

Photograph mounted on acrylic frame, 120 cm x 80 cm. From *Icarus 13*, 2008.

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Kiluanji Kia Henda, *The Astronomy Observatory, Namib Desert*, 2008.
Photograph mounted on acrylic frame, 120 cm x 80 cm. From *Icarus 13*, 2008.
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Filipe Branquinho, *Cine Theater Africa*, 2015.

Inkjet print, variable dimensions. From the series *Interior Landscapes*, 2011-2015.

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Filipe Branquinho, *Cine Theater Africa, Audience,* 2011.
Inkjet print, variable dimensions. From the series *Interior Landscapes*, 2011-2015.
© Filipe Branquinho. Courtesy of Galerie MAGNIN-A, Paris.

Mónica de Miranda, *Twins*, 2017.
Inkjet print on fine art paper, 63 x 92 cm. From the series *Cinema Karl Marx*, 2017.
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Mónica de Miranda, *Cinema Karl Marx*, 2017.

Inkjet print on fine art paper, 103 x 249 cm. From the series *Cinema Karl Marx*, 2017.

© Mónica de Miranda. Courtesy of the artist.

Mónica de Miranda, *Assemblé*, 2018.
Inkjet print on cotton paper, 60 x 90 cm. From the series *Ballerina*, 2018.
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Mónica de Miranda, *Elevé*, 2018.
Inkjet print on cotton paper, 60 x 90 cm. From the series *Ballerina*, 2018.
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