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Transnational solidarity: Anticolonialism in the global sixties
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Introduction

Transnational solidarity in the long sixties

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pp 1–26.

In May and June of 2020 hundreds of thousands of people around the world took to the streets in solidarity with protests in the United States against homicidal police brutality and the systemic racism that underpins it. People chanted ‘George Floyd! Say his name! Say his name!’ in anger and in condemnation of the brutal murder of an unarmed African American man, George Floyd, by a white police officer. The familiarity of this phone-captured image of black death did not diminish its capacity to horrify. Elsewhere, Floyd’s portrait was drawn on derelict walls in war-torn Idlib, Syria and on Israel’s apartheid wall in the Palestinian town of Bethlehem. In Derry, graffiti quoting Martin Luther King Jr. that ‘Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere’ appeared in solidarity with the protesters in the US. Lebanese activists sent a ‘quick guide’ of protest tactics via Twitter signed ‘From #Lebanon to #Minneapolis, solidarity everywhere’. In Chile, an illustration of Floyd alongside Camilo Catrillanca, a 24-year-old indigenous Mapuche man killed by Chilean police in 2018, was circulating on social media platforms.¹ Palestinians also saw in Floyd’s lethal stranglehold at the hands of the police, the violent techniques that the Israeli state enacts against them.²

Public expressions of transnational solidarity erupted across a range of contexts in which protest movements had been mobilising. The widespread political and affective identifications with Floyd were articulated with local demands for social justice and struggles against racism. Demonstrators in the UK, for example, carried placards insisting that the ‘UK is not innocent’ and challenged the ways in which historical figures were remembered and commemorated in public spaces which valorised and lionised British imperial history. Most obviously this was manifested in the toppling of the statue of the Atlantic slaver Edward Colston in Bristol. Rallies opened up the many silences around British imperial history and developed into increasingly pressing calls to ‘decolonise’ cultural institutions, knowledge frameworks and curricula.

These contemporary instances of border crossing anti-racist solidarity attest to the historical erasures and unfinished decolonisation projects that belie our supposedly postcolonial time. Indeed, some of the symbolic moments of solidarity in transnational circulation today bear an uncanny resemblance to – and often explicitly reclaim – the political contestations

¹ Jorge Poblete and Patrick J. McDonnell, ‘For Many Chileans, U.S. Demonstrations Spark Reminders of Impassioned Chile Protests’, *Los Angeles Times*, 15 June 2020.

² Ahmed Masoud, ‘Let’s Measure the Exact Angle: A Palestinian Perspective on the Maxine Peake controversy’, *Ceasefire*, online magazine, posted on 30 June 2020, <https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/lets-measure-exact-angle/>.

animating the long sixties. Transnational solidarity then was central to the radical imagination that connected New Left and civil rights movements with anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggles across what has since been identified as the Global South. Yet despite its centrality to activists then and now, transnational solidarity as a powerful mobilising force, together with its associated set of aesthetic, political and cultural practices remain relatively understudied. In its focus on the unfinished decolonisation struggles of the 'long sixties', this book is concerned with precisely that lacuna.

Decentring 'the sixties'

The 1960s continues to engage scholars from many disciplines in debates over what exactly changed and, indeed, whether the various protest movements were in fact radical at all in their political demands. Both nostalgically celebrated as a revolutionary heyday and lamented as a failed political project, the decade continues to haunt veterans and preoccupy scholars over fifty years on. However, long-held evaluations of this tumultuous decade have too often remained parochially centred on European and North American experiences in a handful of cities. 'The sixties' have conventionally been universalised on the basis of myopically Western speculations about what makes radical politics possible.³ Speculations that limit our understandings of what transnational solidarity might look like and the kinds of political imaginaries and radical aesthetic practices it created. For this is a period which in fact challenged 'the legitimacy and power of the global colour line and its oppressive political economies of inequality'.⁴ Crucially, the Global South, despite its centrality for activists in the 1960s, is conspicuously marginalised in the scholarship. It has been argued – and demonstrated – that anticolonial liberation struggles and anti-imperialist resistance spanning the three continents of the South, from Cuba to Algeria to Vietnam, both politically informed a new generation of contestation and offered a new radical horizon for leftist internationalism.⁵ Thus, Samantha Christiansen and Zachary Scarlett contend in their edited collection, *The Third World in the Global 1960s*: 'The Third World became the vehicle for the social, cultural, and political transformation in the West.'⁶ It is precisely the erasures of Third Worldist radical politics from memories of May '68 in France, as Kristin Ross has argued, that have reduced this event to a mere lifestyle youth revolt and

³ See for instance, Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso 2001 [1985]), pp. 161–73; Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958–c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁴ Manning Marable, *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Global Colour Line* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 7.

⁵ Foundational literature includes: Samantha Christiansen and Zachary Scarlett (eds) *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013); Fredric Jameson, 'Periodizing the 60s', in S. Sayres, A. Stephanson, S. Aronowitz and F. Jameson *The 60s Without Apology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press in cooperation with *Social Text*, 1984), pp. 178–209; George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1987); Kristen Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2002); Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: the Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Cynthia Ann Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

⁶ Christiansen and Scarlett, *The Third World in the Global 1960s*, p. 1.

quests for individual autonomy. It is, she notes, ‘the price that must be paid for “saving” May as a happy month of liberated “free expression”’.⁷

In addition to recent calls to decentre the Western loci of the sixties, there have been sustained efforts to look beyond the ‘moment’ of ‘68, with accounts starting in the mid-1950s and following the radical trajectory well into the 1970s.⁸ While a number of studies expand the time under analysis without widening the conventional geographic purview, Christiansen and Scarlett utilise the idea of the ‘long sixties’ as part of their project to centre the Third World as a site of radical political movement throughout this period.⁹ Approaching activism in these chronologically elongated terms not only encourages reflection on either side of ‘68 but also calls attention to a different set of political milestones that informed transnational imaginaries in this period, including: the Cuban Revolution (1953–59); the Bandung Conference of 1955 that inaugurated Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Non-Aligned Movement; the Algerian War of Independence (1954–62); the Tricontinental Conference in Cuba (1966) that broadened the remit of Afro-Asian solidarity to include Latin America; the Arab-Israeli June War (1967) and the subsequent rise of Palestinian guerrilla organisations; the US massacre of Vietnamese civilians at Mỹ Lai (1968); and the fall of Saigon (1975).

Our volume builds on recent efforts to expand and complicate the spatiality and temporality of the global sixties and offers new analyses of this critical historical conjuncture through the lens of solidarity, with and across anticolonial liberation struggles. It is primarily concerned with the emergence of transnational solidarity as a nodal theme for the Left, which is more often cited than actively explored in traditional studies of the period. Solidarity often provided tangible networks and practical, organisational resources that activists could draw on as well as contribute to. It also emerged as a means of framing political discourse and thereby positioning specific situations within a broader anti-imperialist struggle aligned with other liberation movements. The very term ‘transnational solidarity’ is one that needs to be theorised and explicated in relation to this radical conjuncture. The chapters that follow explore how solidarity was conceived, imagined and radically enacted in the border crossings, both spatial and ideological, of activists, freedom fighters, artists, students, intellectuals, sports fans, medics and filmmakers in the long sixties. Crucially, this volume is concerned with solidarity’s transnational politics, associated itineraries and cultures of circulation.

Our ‘global’ approach here does not seek simply to carve out spaces for neglected stories of radical interconnections. The point is not merely to ‘add’ to the story of the radical 1960s and expand its geographical map. Rather, these neglected stories offer us a different, if not always competing, narrative of what was ‘radical’ about the long sixties, centring anticolonial struggles and the concept of what anticolonialism meant for liberation politics. These writings illuminate the ambitious and uneven attempts to make a series of

⁷ Ross, *May ‘68 and its Afterlives*, p. 9.

⁸ See Jameson, ‘Periodizing the 60s’; Ross, *May ‘68 and its Afterlives*, p. 26.

⁹ Christiansen and Scarlett, *The Third World in the Global Sixties*, pp. 3–5. For related work, see also Chen Jian, Martin Klimke, Masha Kirasirova, Mary Nolan, Marilyn. Young and Joanna Waley-Cohen (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building* (London: Routledge, 2018); and Tamara Chaplin and Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney (eds), *The Global 1960s: Convention, Contest and Counterculture* (London: Routledge, 2017).

connections based on a set of assumptions not only about what liberation might mean, but who was the subject of liberation, and who was the agent for revolutionary politics. It is on that basis that our volume contributes to decentring the sixties from long-held Western epistemological moorings. It is a project of political restitution and historical redress that foregrounds anticolonial solidarity at the heart of the period's radical political movements. In so doing, this book speaks directly to recent work on solidarity as a neglected paradigm for understanding anticolonial history and makes a two-fold contribution to an emerging scholarship that seeks to emphasise the agency of the colonised: first, in writing transnational histories of decolonisation away from Western-centric teleology;¹⁰ and second, in centring this history in the making of a New Left radicalism in the global sixties.

Anticolonial solidarity in the global sixties

'My people' – the people who knew about oppression, discrimination, prejudice, poverty and the frustration and despair that they produce – were not Irish Americans. They were black, Puerto Rican, Chicano.¹¹

With these provocative words, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, the Irish civil rights activist reflected upon the relationship between civil rights in Ireland and the US in 1969. Not long after this, she was given a key to New York City which she then presented to the Black Panthers, 'to whom this city and country belong'.¹² Her sense of peoplehood did not fit into fixed ideological constructs of nation, ethnicity, or race. She crossed these borders to identify with those who shared similar conditions of oppression and discrimination. This is what Devlin McAliskey understood solidarity to be; this is how she linked her local struggle in Northern Ireland to that of others elsewhere in the world. Nearly fifty years later, Devlin McAliskey reconfirmed the anticolonial politics of this transnational solidarity by noting: 'Where we came to in 1968, where Palestine came to, where South Africa came to, where Quebec came to, where the Afro-Americans came to in the sixties was written in the sands of the birth of the British Empire, and European empires.'¹³ Devlin McAliskey's outlook is one example – though a particularly notable one – of many forgotten militant voices,

¹⁰ This scholarship has a wide historical and geographical scope – we name just a few of the important works that have placed the agency of the colonised at the centre of their studies. The work on transnational solidarity in the Atlantic world of Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh's *Many Headed Hydra* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); recent work on African American anticolonial politics by Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011) and Benjamin Balthaser *Anti-Imperialist Modernism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016); Priyamvada Gopal's seminal *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London & New York: Verso, 2019); John Chalcraft, *Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); see the Roundtable 'Why Decolonization', convened by Cyrus Schayegh and Yoav Di-Capua, in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 52 (2020), 137–145; Ruth Craggs and Claire Wintle (eds) *Cultures of Decolonization: Transnational Productions and Practices, 1945–1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

¹¹ Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey, 'A Peasant in the Halls of the Great', in M. Farrell (ed.) *Twenty Years On* (Dingle, Ireland: Brandon Book Publishers, 1988), p. 87.

¹² Gregory M. Maney 'Transnational Mobilization and Civil Rights in Northern Ireland', *Social Problems*, 47:2 (2000), 169–70.

¹³ Devlin McAliskey's keynote delivered during the conference 'The Radical Sixties: Aesthetics, Politics and Histories of Solidarity', at the University of Brighton, 27–29 June 2019, transcribed in this volume.

networks and cultures of transnational solidarity that this book is concerned with and aims to unravel.

In his pioneering book, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, Vijay Prashad rewrites the history of the 'Third World' as a project of anticolonial solidarity that carried the hopes for dignity and dreams of self-determination of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. His analysis centres transnational meetings – in Bandung (1955), Cairo (1961), Havana (1966) among many others – and the ensuing institutional platforms whereby newly independent states and their leaders carried their Third Worldist project forward. However, while interstate diplomacy has had an important role in shaping this project, we know very little about grassroots transnational solidarity beyond these official channels. How did non-state actors imagine themselves as part of a Third Worldist anticolonial project? How did militants act in solidarity with and within such a project? How did grassroots activists connect anticolonial struggles to anti-capitalist struggles and to what extent was transnational solidarity centred on the new forms of self-determination that were forged in the battles against Empire?

Commenting on the limited knowledge available on such Afro-Asian networks, Reem Abou-El-Fadl et al. have eloquently stated in a recent manifesto:

*If the Third World was a project to which millions contributed, then historians have yet to unravel the many threads by which they did so and to approach its history with the spirit with which it was originally imagined: one that sought communication and solidarity across difference.*¹⁴

Likewise, David Featherstone notes that subaltern histories of solidarity have been largely silenced and marginalised. Examining solidarities from early twentieth-century maritime labour struggles to contemporary anti-climate change activists, he urges instead a reframing of internationalism to examine its creation 'from below', arguing that 'solidarities can be a powerful force for reshaping the world in more socially equitable and just ways'.¹⁵ Our volume echoes these calls to foreground subaltern histories of transnational solidarity and extends this optic to meet the contingencies of the long and radical struggles for decolonisation. Our focus is specifically on the long sixties as a site of political optimism and sustained struggle, what Jacques Rancière calls 'a time of historical faith', that illuminates histories and politics which were determinately revolutionary and self-consciously internationalist.¹⁶ Beyond its articulation within the Global South, the anticolonial project conjured up a broader framework of solidarity that intersected with African American civil rights movements and revolutionary anti-imperialism in the North and, not least, mobilised diasporic and immigrant communities in the metropolises. These threads of solidarity weave together a more complex transnational political imagination than the horizontal and vertical axes of South-South and North-South geographic connections would allow us to consider.

¹⁴ Reem Abou-El-Fadl, Leslie James, Rachel Leow, Su Lin Lewis, Gerard McCann and Carolien Stolte, 'Manifesto: Networks of Decolonization in Asia and Africa', *Radical History Review*, 131 (2018), 176.

¹⁵ David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed Books 2012), p. 12.

¹⁶ Jacques Rancière, 'The Cause of the Other', *Parallax*, 4:2 (1998), 31.

Anticolonial revolts, in both ideological framework and praxis, inspired and informed anti-imperial dissent in the metropolises. The impact of anticolonial struggles on global forms of resistance has a history as long as empire itself – and one that has been systematically overlooked. As Priyamvada Gopal recently argued in the case of the British Empire, connections between the colonies and the imperial centre were dialogical.¹⁷ Her argument joins with others to undo the many silences in imperial history about the agency of the colonised. She reveals how concepts such as ‘freedom’, ‘liberation’ and ‘self-determination’ were understood by anticolonial insurgents and interpreted in the diaspora, thus shaping their understanding in the metropole.¹⁸ In doing so, she challenges long-held views on the Eurocentric provenance of such emancipatory claims and their supposed unidirectional transmission to the colonies. Crucially, Gopal prioritises the politics of solidarity over those of paternalist humanitarianism in enabling this dialogical intellectual exchange: ‘Far from neutralizing the other within a safe mode of “difference”, resistance brought home the fact of a commonality that could not be contained by the familiar disposition of benevolence. What was required was solidarity.’¹⁹

Gopal’s argument can be productively extended to the long sixties’ radical history of decolonisation when such dialogical exchange was amplified by the intensity of global flows that marked the period. Fredric Jameson’s seminal periodisation of the sixties traces its radicalism historically back to ‘Third World beginnings’,²⁰ as does Kristin Ross in her pioneering historical redress of May ’68 and its afterlives in French history. She foregrounds dialogical relations between anticolonial struggle, in Algeria and Vietnam, and political dissent in France, noting that:

*French third-worldism was in one sense nothing more than the recognition, beginning in the late 1950s, that the colonized, through their wars of liberation, had emerged as a new figuration of the people in the political sense (‘the wretched of the earth’), eclipsing any manifestation of a European working class by universalizing or giving a name to a political wrong that in turn mobilized students and others in the West.*²¹

Beyond earlier colonial timeframes that Gopal investigates, ideas of ‘liberation’ saw an even more significant reverse flow from colonies to metropolises in the long sixties. It was not only the figure of the freedom fighter – the colonial militant – that inspired agency and solidarity as the new revolutionary subject. It was, crucially, also revolutionary thought and praxis from the Global South – Fanon, Cabral, Césaire, Guevara and Mao among others – that dislocated left politics from their Communist Party moorings and decentred both Soviet Marxism and Europe in the radical imagination of May ’68 militancy.²²

¹⁷ Gopal, *Insurgent Empire*, pp. 6–7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁰ Jameson, ‘Periodizing the 60s’.

²¹ Ross, *May ’68 and its Afterlives*, pp. 10–11.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 82–4.

The trajectories and local translations of anticolonial and anti-imperialist liberation struggles from South to North is also powerfully visible in black liberation movements of the period. The black transnational imagination had long transgressed the boundaries of the nation across the African diaspora.²³ Cynthia Young notes that in the sixties the black radical struggle in the US was ‘informed by the global’ where ‘an imagined black nation was produced in and through Third World identification and solidarity’.²⁴ She demonstrates how a Third World Left emerged among leftists of colour in the US who were inspired by events in the decolonising world in Africa, the Caribbean and Asia. This ‘US Third World Left’ enabled internal contestations of economic, racial and cultural arrangements and ‘emphasized solidarity based on material circumstance rather than racial, ethnic, or geographic kinship’.²⁵ Its formation, adds Young, rested on the cultures of circulation that characterised the global sixties, from travelling texts, mobile print cultures and moving images to literally travelling bodies.²⁶ African American activists identified with the continent of Africa and the African diaspora, but pan-Africanism was inflected in a way which encompassed all those who suffered colonial oppression. As Black Panther Kathleen Cleaver simply stated it: ‘in a world of racist polarization we sought solidarity’.²⁷ In addition to Cuba, Jamaica, Algeria and Congo, the black liberation movement in the US also articulated its solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. Moreover, that solidarity – which has seen significant ‘renewal’ since 2014 with the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement – is understood ‘not only as a principled response to a specific historical injustice, but also as the signpost of an analytical understanding of imperialism, colonialism, and white supremacy as global phenomena that subsume the Black American condition’.²⁸

Situated historically at the threshold of contemporary globalisation, the sixties bear witness to the acceleration of capitalist modernisation and the concurrent expansion of consumer societies, the commercialisation of the jet plane and the advent of television, all of which lend the era its global significance in giving time-space compression an everyday – often bitter – reality.²⁹ Nonetheless, this period’s intense political movements, etching their way independently from, and against, the circuits of capital and state patronage – yet in conjunction with new technologies of circulation and synchronous replication – map a globally complex and decentred web of interconnected relations of solidarity. This is what

²³ Robin Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Freedom Press, 2002); Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism and Communism: the Communist International, Africa and the Diaspora 1919–1939* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2013); Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism* (London: Zed, 1983); Jonathan Derrick, *Africa’s Agitators: Militant Anti-Colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918–1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Brent Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

²⁴ Cynthia Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 52.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

²⁷ Kathleen Cleaver and George Katsiaficas (eds) *Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 125.

²⁸ Noura Erakat and Marc Lamont Hill ‘Black-Palestinian Transnational Solidarity: Renewals, Returns, and Practice’, *Journal of Palestine Studies* 48:4 (2019), 8.

²⁹ Jeremy Varon, Michael S. Foley and John McMillian. ‘Time is an Ocean: The Past and Future of the Sixties’, *The Sixties*, 1:1 (2008), 1–7.

makes the long sixties, in both the northern metropolises and in the decolonising south, radically cosmopolitan in worldview and radically imaginative in outlook; a 'cosmopolitan radicalism'³⁰ shaped 'from below' by the politicscapes of anti-imperialism and anticolonial solidarity.³¹

Indeed, the politics of transnational solidarity will vary, depending both on the activist's subject position, gender, race and class identifications, and on their location in the network of political relations. Consider, for instance, the following set of interconnected relations of solidarity and the complex politicscapes these would entail. French students mobilising in solidarity with Arab colonial immigrant workers in the neighbouring factories of Nanterre. These workers' relations to exiled Palestinian intellectuals in Paris who act as conduits to bring the Palestinian cause to the attention of militant French intellectuals and artists. French intellectuals and artists who travel to convene with fellow militants at congresses in Algeria and Cuba, and to meet freedom fighters in Bolivia and *fida'iyyeen* in Lebanon and Jordan. Peasants turned freedom fighters who in turn have answered a call to arms as dispossessed subjects of the world, identifying with and joining their comrades in North Vietnam. Though they may never have travelled to meet them, they have read enough manuals and seen enough films and images about guerrilla tactics and a 'people's war' to know that they are fighting the same battle on different fronts, and that in strategic terms they are encircling the cities from the countryside to spark a world revolution. A Third World internationalism that in turn reverberates in the voices of striking workers in Turin as they proclaim 'Vietnam is in our factories'³² and is echoed across the Atlantic by defiant African American protesters shouting in the streets of Chicago 'bring the war home'.³³

Transnational solidarity is by no means an equal dialogical exchange and seamless border-crossing that does not get lost in circulation and translation. It is historically contingent and replete with differentials of power, missed encounters, silences, disappointments and misrecognition that seep right through the political relations that bind networks of transnational actors into solidarity. Indeed, the forms of solidarity that make up this volume are as informed by the mistranslations that arise as well as by determined efforts to forge connections across barriers of race and nation. Sometimes these connections were imaginative acts of will, where the solidarity expressed with far-away struggles was based on the identification of a shared form of oppression. Sometimes they were actively made by militants who met, argued, struggled and fought side by side. Nodal cities such as Havana, Beirut, Algiers, Cairo, Paris, London, East Berlin and Montevideo were not only temporary meeting places for state officials at Third Worldist summits, nor simply urban theatres of New Left dissent that became visible in the emblematic year of 1968. These cities provided alternative spaces of cultural encounter, intellectual exchange and political organisation that stretched throughout the *longue durée* of the sixties. Colonial immigrants, students and

³⁰ Zeina Maasri, *Cosmopolitan Radicalism: The Visual Politics of Beirut's Global Sixties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), p. 13.

³¹ We borrow the suffix 'scapes' from Arjun Appadurai in describing the political landscapes imagined and shaped by transnational networks of solidarity to stress that these are perspectival constructs: Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: The Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 33.

³² Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives*, p. 81.

³³ Varon, *Bringing the War Home*. p. 124.

workers, exiled intellectuals and artists, refugees and itinerant militants, all met and exchanged radical ideas and revolutionary hopes and tactics.

Among cities of the South, Algiers, for instance, acted as a nodal city on the global terrain of revolutionary anti-imperialism. Named ‘the Mecca of revolution’ by Amílcar Cabral – Africa’s iconic anticolonial leader – early in the 1960s, the North African city had attracted ‘insurgents that travelled the globe but also insurgents with respect to a global order’.³⁴ In the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Beirut took on a similar nodal role.³⁵ Dubbed the ‘Arab Hanoi’ – a base and springboard for the liberation of Palestine³⁶ – the city attracted intellectuals, militants and artists from the Arab world and further afield to join their Palestinian comrades in lending visibility to their liberation struggle. Solidarity materialised on the battlefield and through the arts, as poetry, literature, films, song, radical print cultures and art exhibitions gave ‘Arab Hanoi’ a resonance both in Beirut and far outside it.³⁷

Likewise, in Montevideo, the Uruguayan radical left that formed the nucleus of the Tupamaros – a guerrilla organisation that acquired mythical status – was in close contact with revolutionary exiles from Argentina and Brazil, as well as with itinerant militant intellectuals such as Régis Debray and a network of Latin American guerrilla groups and peasant movements inspired by the success of the Cuban insurrection (see Cardozo in this volume). In turn, the revolutionary figure of the freedom fighter was a quintessential translocal trope that crossed borders, traversed imaginations and inspired agency as it became aestheticised in films, on posters and in periodicals.³⁸ It is translocal in the way that it articulates identification in two interlocking imagined spatialities: a situated national liberation struggle and a globally interconnected Third World internationalism.³⁹ Film and print cultures of the radical sixties foreshadowed the electronic mediascapes that Arjun Appadurai has argued are essential to the collective imagination – itself a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity and central to forms of agency in the global order.⁴⁰ Transnational imagination, notes Jeremy Presthold, was at the core of a meaningful solidarity: it ‘is a mode of perception that frames local circumstances within a global

³⁴ Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 8.

³⁵ Maasri, *Cosmopolitan Radicalism*, pp. 8–11.

³⁶ See Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949–1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 200 and Fawwaz Traboulsi, ‘De la Suisse orientale au Hanoi arabe: une ville en quête de rôles’, in Jad Tabit (ed.), *Beyrouth* (Paris: Institut français d’architecture, 2001), pp. 28–41.

³⁷ See Omar Jabary Salamanca, ‘The Palestinian 1968: struggles for dignity and solidarity’, *Rekto: Verso* published online 31 May 2018; for solidarity with Palestine in print cultures see Maasri, *Cosmopolitan Radicalism*; in art exhibitions see Kristine Khuri and Rasha Salti (eds) *Past Disquiet: Artists, International Solidarity, and Museums-in-Exile* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2018); in theatre and literature, particularly in the Moroccan-based magazine *Souffle*, see Olivia Harrison, *Transcolonial Maghreb: Imagining Palestine in the Era of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016); in film see Nadia G. Yaqub, *Palestinian Cinema in the Days of Revolution* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2018) and Olivia Harrison, ‘Consuming Palestine: Anticapitalism and Anticolonialism in Jean-Luc Godard’s *Ici Et Ailleurs*’, *Studies in French Cinema*, 18:3 (2018), 178–91.

³⁸ Maasri, *Cosmopolitan Radicalism*, pp. 216–20.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁴⁰ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p. 31.

historical trajectory and shapes collective desires and actions as a result'.⁴¹ The symbolic appeal of Che Guevara, for instance, as the guerrilla archetype of the long sixties 'helped to build and sustain a radical imagined community'.⁴²

Key to our understanding of solidarity is not just the causal connections that were made between decolonising nations, decolonising peoples, anti-imperialist and revolutionary politics and practices, but the political and cultural imaginings upon which solidarities could be envisioned and explicated. What connected people was not what they shared in terms of their given identities, but how their differences could be re-inscribed in relation to specific power structures which enabled a way of seeing the world outside the lens of the immediately experiential. It is here that the question of radical cultural forms as a key space for imaginative identification and transformation is central to this volume, not least in the shaping of the 'new sensibility'⁴³ and 'structures of feeling'⁴⁴ that prefigured the era's radical horizons of possibility.⁴⁵

Transnational networks of artistic solidarity were central to this period's radicalism.⁴⁶ These too have been long forgotten by the art history canon.⁴⁷ Artists met at different international cultural congresses and biennials in the Global South and organised to protest global causes and local issues. For example, the Black Panther Party artist, Emory Douglas accompanied his revolutionary artwork to the Pan-African Festival in Algiers in 1969,⁴⁸ and his illustrations appeared on the legendary posters of the Cuban-based Organization of Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL).⁴⁹ The latter's bulletin, *The Tricontinental* (1966–88; 1995–2019), was particularly active in reporting on anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggles and propagating revolutionary discourse along

⁴¹ Jeremy Prestholdt, 'Resurrecting Che: Radicalism, the Transnational Imagination, and the Politics of Heroes', *Journal of Global History*, 7:3 (2012), 509.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 507.

⁴³ Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

⁴⁴ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961).

⁴⁵ Studies of social movements have increasingly focused on the role of emotion in political mobilization, see for example: Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Poletta (eds), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Helena Flam and Debra King (eds), *Emotions and Social Movements* (London: Routledge, 2005); 'Emotions and Contentious Politics [Special Issue]', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 7:2 (2002), 107–229; Joachim C. Häberlen and Russell A. Spinney (eds) 'Emotions in Protest Movements in Europe since 1917 [Special Issue]', *Contemporary European History*, 23:4 (2014), 489–655.

⁴⁶ Over the last few years, there has been several exhibitions, conferences and volumes dedicated to international networks of artistic solidarity, including: Jessica Stites Mor and Maria del Carmen Suescun Pozas (eds) *The Art of Solidarity: Visual and Performative Politics in Cold War Latin America* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2018); Khuri and Salti's edited volume *Past Disquiet* and related touring exhibition, on show at the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (2015), the Haus der Kultur en der Welt in Berlin (2016) and Sursock Museum in Beirut (2018); the conference 'Axis of Solidarity: Landmarks, Platforms, Futures' organised by Tate Modern in London (2019); Mary Ikoniadou's and Zeina Maasri's session 'Visual Solidarities: Crossing borders in Aesthetic Practices' at the Association for Art History (2019); the exhibition 'Notes on Solidarity: Tricontinentalism in Print' curated by Debra Lennard and hosted by The Center for the Humanities James Gallery in New York (2019); the exhibition 'Designed in Cuba: Cold War Graphics' at the House of Illustration in London (2019).

⁴⁷ Khuri and Salti, introduction to *Past Disquiet*.

⁴⁸ Emory Douglas, *Black Panther: The Revolutionary Art of Emory Douglas* (New York: Rizzoli, 2007), p. 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100–1.

with corresponding visual rhetoric and aesthetics.⁵⁰ OSPAAAL's posters and periodicals were published in at least three languages (Spanish, English, French and sometimes Arabic) and distributed through subsidiary networks in Cuba, India, Panama, Mexico and Lebanon.⁵¹ The visual malleability and portability of such printscapes extended the revolutionary imagination across national borders and language barriers and helped define conceptions as well as aesthetic sensibilities of transnational solidarity among readers and viewers. Furthermore, artists donated artworks and formed part of broader solidarity networks that organised travelling exhibitions and museums-in-exile, of which the International Art Exhibition for Palestine, the Museo de la Resistencia Salvador Allende (MIRSA) and Art Against Apartheid are key examples.⁵² Far from being reduced to mere propaganda, this was a period of artistic fecundity and experimentation. New modes of artistic practice and of public exhibition were sought as tactical alternatives to the market system and entry into public culture and politics. Strategies of guerrilla warfare inspired artists to devise a 'cultural guerrilla' approach to artistic practice. As for instance Paula Barreiro López shows in this volume, the manifesto of 'cultural guerrilla' announced at the Cultural Congress in 1968 Havana in the presence of a host of international artists, had no small role in the militant artistic practices that took central stage in May 1968 in Paris.

The border crossing of transnational solidarity

Barbara Smith, a founder member of the Combahee River Collective, recently reflected upon how, as an African American socialist and feminist, she positioned herself in the 1970s:

*We were third world women. We considered ourselves to be third world women. We saw ourselves in solidarity and in struggle with all third world people around the globe. And we also saw ourselves as being internally colonized. We were internally colonized within the United States. We identified as third world people. And that kind of solidarity was not just true of the very new Black feminism that we were building.*⁵³

Smith's understanding of the subject position of African American women during the long sixties is one that foregrounds solidarity as a means of understanding not only the struggles of others but her own struggle. The idea of the Third World here was not a geographically experiential one but a matter of history and of politics. Solidarity was transformative in terms of how it positioned the African American woman; in this case, not just as the multiply oppressed minority within a minority in a racialised state, but as an oppressed majority within an anticolonial global movement of resistance. Significantly this was during a time of 'a global assault on empire'.⁵⁴ Smith's self-positioning underlines that the question

⁵⁰ See Anne Garland Mahler, *From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

⁵¹ For further insight on OSPAAAL's posters see: Lincoln Cushing, *Revolución! Cuban Poster Art* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2003) and Richard Frick (ed.) *The Tricontinental Solidarity Poster* (Bern: Comedia-Verlag, 2003).

⁵² Khuri and Salti, *Past Disquiet*, p. 45.

⁵³ Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *How We Get Free* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2017), pp. 44–5.

⁵⁴ Robin Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003), p. 63.

of solidarity was a dialectical one, one in which identity was potentially enriched rather than diminished when imagined outside of experiential paradigms. Furthermore, the African American woman had a stake in global liberation struggles and these struggles were themselves interdependent. This idea of the revolutionary subject as a subject in transition, being remade not only by the direct struggles of which she was a part, but also by the struggles of others which created hitherto unseen connections between who she thought she was and who she might become, is key to the politics expressed throughout this volume.⁵⁵ This is, of course, a dynamic process where identifying Smith's relocation of political subjecthood to that of the Third World woman, like Devlin McAliskey's border crossing identification with radical anti-racism, are expressions of a politics which insists not only on tracing transnational radical links but on refusing the limits of proscribed identities which would literally and metaphorically keep them 'in their place'.

The commitment to revolutionary change through shared oppression and investment in the liberation of others is not a mere anachronism of the long sixties – a politics that is irrelevant to the present. As Jacques Rancière notes in his powerful reflection on the French Left and the Algerian War, *The Cause of the Other*: 'Politics does not exist because of some faith in the triumphant future of emancipation. Politics exists because the cause of the other exists.'⁵⁶ Rancière does not use the word 'solidarity'; rather, his essay is erected on the concept of identification and, crucially, of disidentification; a disidentification with the French state 'that had done this in our name and removed it from our view'.⁵⁷ Though seemingly far removed from the remaking of the self as described by Barbara Smith, Rancière's refusal to identify with a certain self underlines the multidirectional flows of political solidarity insisted upon by Smith. The relationship here between 'I' and 'other' is not one which is based on a 'respect' for difference, or a refusal to speak to the struggles of others. Nor is it a co-option of those struggles. What is necessary here is a transformational shift in order to see the 'other' outside the violent inscriptions of the state which renders the other, and indeed the actions of the state, as invisible. This is not a politics of acting on behalf of another but of the recognition of collective liberation in which the cause of the other produces changes in 'us'. As James Baldwin put it in a different context 'as long as you think you're white, there's no hope for you'.⁵⁸

Like Gopal, Rancière repudiates the classic liberal position which busies itself with the "cause" of the "other" and thus 'retreats from politics to ethics'.⁵⁹ Expressed as 'duties towards the suffering', such a liberal position reinscribes the power dynamic that structures colonial power relations. Rancière does not present this work on identification as a definition of political solidarity but it is a compelling theorisation of the dialectical transformation that solidarity can engender.⁶⁰ The retreat to 'ethics' is precisely the refusal

⁵⁵ This transformative element of political solidarity is touched upon in Featherstone's enriching work on solidarity which he defines as 'a relation forged through political struggle which seeks to challenge forms of oppression', Featherstone *Solidarity*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Jacques Rancière 'The Cause of the Other', *Parallax*, 4:2 (1998), 31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁸ James Baldwin, cited in Bill V. Mullen *James Baldwin: Living in Fire* (London: Pluto Press, 2019), p.115.

⁵⁹ Rancière, 'The Cause of the Other', 31.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

of a politics which demands transformative change in the colony and the metropole, of those in the oppressor nation as well as the oppressed territory. The ethics of solidarity in a liberal humanitarian sense – which are demystified in very different ways by Gopal and Rancière – are not what motivates many of the activists who appear in this volume, or indeed the editors of this collection. Rather it is the politics of solidarity in all their necessarily messy and inspiring dimensions which are so startling; a model of solidarity that eschews any notion that political interconnections are formed through either the erasure of or the reification of difference. The point is that solidarity, as Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues, ‘is always an achievement, the result of active struggle to construct the universal on the basis of particulars/differences’.⁶¹ Moreover, and particularly important for the work in this volume, she insists that ‘rather than assuming an enforced commonality of oppression, the practice of solidarity foregrounds communities of people who have chosen to work and fight together’.⁶² It is the myriad nature of these ‘chosen’ solidarities that the chapters in this volume reveal. They are forms of solidarity where political identities are reimagined through interconnected translocal struggles. The grassroots focus of the volume is itself a decentring process where the practices of these activists complicate any neat divisions between ‘here’ and ‘there’, and when spatially determined models of belonging and unbelonging became blurred and contested. What is rooted in the local is not reducible to the local. As Doreen Massey argues in a different context: ‘the global is locally produced; and global forces are just as material, and real, as is the local embeddedness’.⁶³ The site of struggle was also to be defined in terms of the relationship between particular groups of oppressed people and those whose liberation politics were invested in the overthrow of that oppression. The motto of Aboriginal activists in 1970s Australia captures precisely this: ‘If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.’⁶⁴

Solidarity is not of course a concept which is available only to the Left. As our own era attests, the concept of solidarity can be tethered to whiteness, to nation and to the most sinister of political imaginaries in what Paul Gilroy has called a ‘dismal dance of absolutism’.⁶⁵ The transnational solidarities forged in the long sixties were ones untethered from the naturalised, mythologised and racialised roots of blood and soil. It was a solidarity that was invested in a transformed future where identities could be made and remade. To note this, however, is not to invest in a misty-eyed romanticism: the hot wars of the period were bloody and lethal. Moreover, transnational solidarities could pose risks to activists with these forms of identification and organisation being targeted by government authorities. The term ‘solidarity’ also has a history of marginalising particular types of differences, not least in relation to forms of Western feminism which mobilised a ‘colour blind’ solidarity of gender, a form of ‘sisterhood’ dependent upon the erasing of gender oppression as experienced by working-class women and women racialised as other than

⁶¹ Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 7.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Cambridge Polity: 2007), p. 21.

⁶⁴ Cited in Quỳnh N. Phạm and Robbie Shilliam (eds), *Meanings of Bandung* (London & New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), p. 101.

⁶⁵ Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Nation, Culture and the Allure of Race* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 218.

white. Indeed, it is in this period that vivid alternative forms of feminism emerge, and where the authority of who defines the terms of solidarity was challenged. Examining the case of Angela Davis' meeting with Egyptian feminists in the early 1970s, Sara Salem demonstrates in this volume that it is the work of contextualising identity within material structures that affect both Egyptian women and African American women, which enables a transnational feminist solidarity to emerge. It is one that neither erases difference nor prevents identification.

To study the long sixties with particular emphasis on the Global South is to engage with a politics of solidarity which insists on the connectedness of the globally oppressed. The connectedness is forged on a commitment to anticolonialism and the concurrent mobilisations around migrancy and 'race'. As Laleh Khalili notes:

These Third World movements ... seismically shifted the language of power, rights, and freedom and provided a parallel channel in which narratives of might and duty spun by imperial centers could be disputed, defied, and displaced. They made spaces to celebrate decolonizing struggles; the end of (formal) empires; and the possibility of dignity, equality, and freedom.⁶⁶

This commitment is palpable in the writings of activists of the period and in the memoirs of those activists in following decades. The reality of these interconnections were, of course, more complex than their often beautiful articulations; the expression of solidarity is the beginning and not the end of the political project of transforming the world. What is startling about these solidarities is the transnational imagination they inaugurated. The shape and nature of transnational solidarities do not exist prior to the political connections which they establish, but nor are they independent of local histories and geographies. In order to best understand these solidarities as transnational, we need to locate them in the context of their local articulations as much as their international significance. Nikhil Pal Singh thus observes that the 'revolutionary inter-communalism' of black political imagination of the 1960s was the 'combination of its grassroots insurgency and global dreams'.⁶⁷ The global dreaming which forged these connections between Derry and Selma, Paris and Bissau, Montevideo and Algiers, was a reimagining of the forces of revolutionary transformation. As the chapters in this volume attest, such reimagining was also an investment in the agency of other anticolonial activists, sometimes through practical assistance, sometimes through a recognition of a shared oppressor and a polyglot revolutionary language of resistance.

Crossing disciplinary borders

This volume is interdisciplinary in its exploration of transnational solidarity of the global sixties, bringing together for that purpose essays from a variety of, and often intersecting, disciplinary perspectives and methodological tools: history, politics and international relations; ethnographic and cultural studies; art and design history; and critical theory. We

⁶⁶ Laleh Khalili, *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 227.

⁶⁷ Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 161.

firmly believe that in order to understand the manifold ways in which a concept such as solidarity is thought, imagined and enacted, and to enquire into the very conditions which enable it to emerge historically, it is crucial to cross the artificially imposed boundaries of academic knowledge structures. Activism – and life tout court – is not organised like this and neither should be our attempts to understand it. Furthermore, decentring the sixties and examining the transnational dimension of solidarity that shaped its global impetus requires following the trajectories being mapped and being attentive to the translocality of revolutionary texts and cultural forms in circulation. This requires knowledge of the particularity of local contexts and access to archives and sources in various locations and languages. This cannot be achieved by a single person, let alone a single disciplinary formation: it needs to mobilise scholarship beyond the confines of nation-centric and area studies interpretive frameworks. The chapters in this volume illuminate neglected locations of struggle, such as Indonesia, Pakistan and Uruguay, and shed light on forgotten – if not outright erased – histories of solidarity with anticolonial struggles in Portuguese colonies, Palestine and elsewhere. The importance of migration emerges as a central theme throughout the volume, as does the figure of the anticolonial freedom fighter as the new revolutionary subject. The border crossings of transnational solidarity which these chapters uncover, reconfigure the map of the global sixties and reveal new perspectives on commonly known sites.

Both Matt Myers and Abdellali Hajjat centre, respectively, the figure and active role of immigrant workers in their redress of the French long sixties. Myers argues that the immigrant worker was foundational to a political imaginary of the French New Left that allowed to simultaneously imagine a new political order born from global anticolonial revolt, working-class rebellion and generational change. Hajjat's chapter supplements Myers' by providing insight into the largely erased activist role of Arab immigrant workers and students. Focusing particularly on the Committees in Support of the Palestinian Revolution, known as 'les comités Palestine', Hajjat uncovers how these short-lived solidarity movements that formed part of the French long sixties were foundational to the Arab Workers' Movement in France, established in 1972.

Likewise, Paula Barreiro López recovers Cuban-based international cultural encounters and experiments with revolutionary art to trace Tricontinental genealogies of artistic militancy and collectivism that took central stage in May '68 France. The Latin American history of revolutionary anti-imperialism is further explored by Marina Cardozo who shifts the discussion away from Cuba to provide in-depth insight on the formation of the Tupamaros in Uruguay, foregrounding the transnational networks of Latin American revolutionaries and exiles meeting in Montevideo.

These 'forgotten' histories are unearthed in relation to the anticolonial struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in the work of Víctor Barros. He traces extraordinary moments of transnational solidarity organised through conferences in Khartoum, Driebergen and Rome dedicated to smashing Portuguese colonialism. Radical border crossings are addressed in a very different way in Sara Salem's illuminating work on Angela Davis' feminist journeys in Egypt in the early 1980s. Solidarity is an active process of recognising and dismantling hierarchies but this is neither blithe nor uncomplicated as Salem demonstrates through her engagement with Davis' deeply reflective anti-racist

feminism. The complexities of transnational solidarity are further explored by Aurora Almada e Santos in her study of the American Committee of Africa in relation to anticolonial struggles in Angola. She investigates how this solidarity was 'performed' in the context of competing and tension-filled contexts on the ground in Africa in relation to politicalised humanitarian campaigning.

The day-to-day processes of building solidarity are investigated by Christian Høgsbjerg in his work on how South African anti-Apartheid exiles in the UK worked with British campaigners to build the sporting boycott movement. This was a process that enacted solidarities which blurred the imperial distinctions between racism at home and abroad, unsettling Britain's unspoken and loudly enunciated whiteness in relation to its past and present. Breaking down the boundaries and the legacies of British imperialism is also reflected on by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. The transnational inauguration of her politics in the Northern Ireland civil rights movement disrupt the parochial lens through which the Northern Irish 'Troubles' have been understood. This place of and yet other to Britain's national imaginary erupted in the late 1960s as part of the global struggle against targeted oppression. Delineating an anti-imperialist voice which eschews the narrowly national, she draws attention to the violence of the British colonial state and its insistent grip on the present.

The transformation of global horizons in the period is also reflected upon by Helen Lackner. In her interview for this volume, she relates how at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Arab Marxists encouraged UK students to develop an interest in the anti-imperialist struggles in the Gulf. Britain's entrenched imperial amnesia was consistently challenged by new generations of post-colonial immigrants where transnational circuits of activism created a space in which colonial apathy was challenged. In Talat Ahmed's chapter on the tumultuous events in Pakistan in 1968 she highlights London as a key site for those wishing to challenge General Ayub Khan's regime. She charts the transnational solidarity of the anti-Ayub movement by Pakistani students, other South Asian communities and labour activists in the UK, recovering the oft-occluded story of Pakistan's political revolts of 1968–69.

Linking Pakistan to South Lebanon by way of the Palestinian liberation struggle, Sabah Haider excavates a deeply buried history of South-South solidarity in her chapter on the popular film *Zerqa* (1969). She analyses how this film functioned as an ideological call to solidarity with the Palestinian cause in Pakistan, revealing the translocal forms of imaginative identification that centred a shared Muslim identity in the struggle against colonialism and Israeli occupation. Transregional Muslim connections are echoed in Claudia Derichs' chapter which focuses on Indonesia to retrace a longer history of Islamist resurgence movements. While important to Afro-Asian anticolonial solidarity, Indonesia's Islamist activism has been neglected in the literature on post-Bandung social movements.

At a moment when Pakistani volunteers were travelling to join the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in South Lebanon, and while Arab activists were actively forming the Comités Palestine in Paris, Iraqi artists and intellectuals on the Left were engaged in a similar passage from Baghdad. In particular, Dia al-Azzawi's book *A Witness of Our Time* (1972), from which selected drawings are reproduced in this volume, pays tribute to the revolutionary promise of the Palestinian *fida'i* (guerrilla combatant). The translocal figure of

the anticolonial freedom fighter that inspired revolutionary art practice from Cuba emerges yet again as the quintessential revolutionary subject that rallied Arab artists and intellectuals on the Left in solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

The important role of political exiles, that Cardozo foregrounds in the formation of the Tupamaros, is central once again to Mary Ikoniadou's chapter which unravels the complex layers of transnational solidarity in East Germany by Greek political refugees. Ikoniadou examines aesthetic manifestations of solidarity in the illustrated magazine *Pyrros* (1961–68) where solidarity with 1960s anticolonial and liberation struggles was not merely a discourse dictated by the Greek Left or by state socialism. Rather, it was intellectually, aesthetically and hence affectively entangled with notions of identification and metonymy. Aesthetics and its role in the formation of solidarities is also the subject of Patricia McManus' critical engagement with the possibility of repurposing Adorno's work on solidarity outside of its conceptual origins. Like Ikoniadou she looks at the potentially debilitating effect of Cold War mobilisations of state 'socialism' on conceptualising solidarity. Her engagement with the possibilities and limitations of Western Marxism of the period is undertaken in order to 'refigure what a radical imagination of solidarity can do'.

The advantage of an edited collection of essays lies precisely in the possibility to bring together a variety of articulations into a single volume. It allows us to include the narratives and experiences of veteran activists, as we do here with the testimonies of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and Helen Lackner, as well as shed light on forgotten voices in the archives, as with the manifesto of artists at the Salón de Mayo in Cuba in 1967; and to reproduce artistic expressions of transnational solidarity, such as the work of Dia al-Azzawi. In doing so, we attempt to trouble the supposed gap between academics and activists, historical document and artwork. Research on activism is not only enriched by the testimonies of activists but often comes from an experience of activism or is a site of activism, not least in the will to expose epistemological violence and produce knowledge that undoes the silences in history. We are not claiming to have a complete overview of the period's transnational networks of solidarity: there is much we have not covered and more of which we remain unaware. This volume is an invitation for more work on solidarity and in solidarity.