

Notes on Solidarity: Tricontinentalism in Print

Sep 10–Nov 2, 2019

Exhibition
& Programs

**Notes on Solidarity:
Tricontinentalism in Print**

**The James Gallery
The Graduate Center, CUNY
365 Fifth Avenue at 35th Street**

centerforthehumanities.org/james-gallery

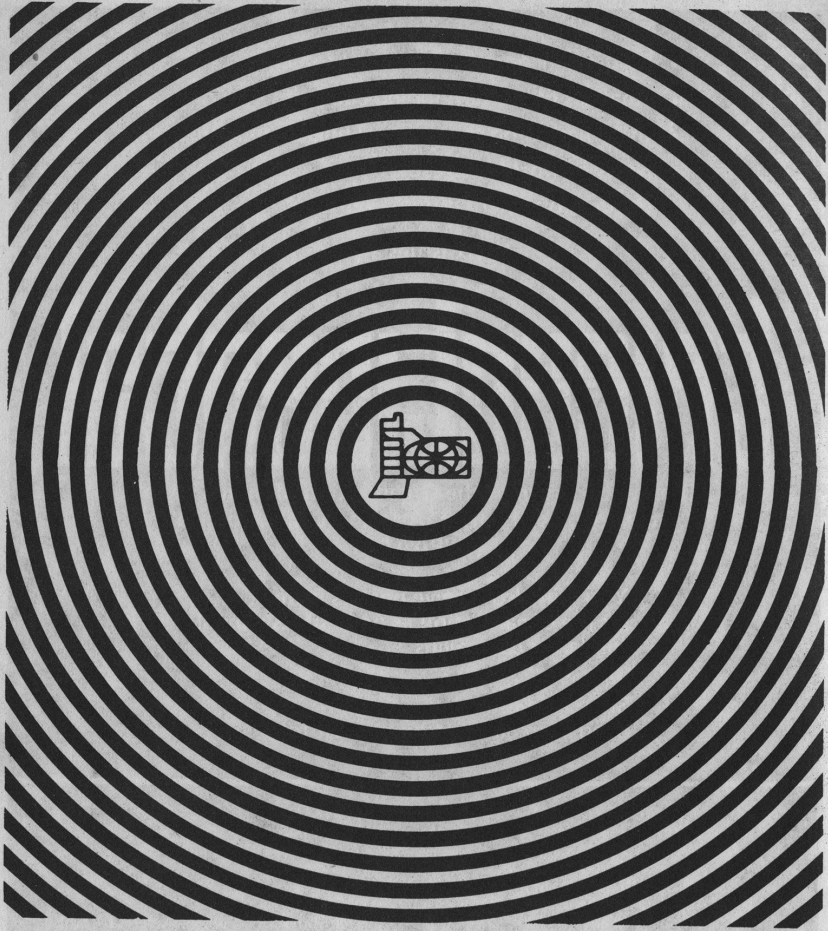
**Hours:
Tue–Thu, 12–7pm
Fri–Sat, 12–6pm**

Sep 10–Nov 2, 2019

Exhibition & Programs

Notes on Solidarity explores the Cold War-era political movement Tricontinentalism, and the role of printed materials within it. Inquiring into the relation of print culture to political feeling, the exhibition presents international graphic production from the 1960s and the 1970s with Tricontinental solidarity as a theme.

This booklet accompanies the exhibition and is intended to provide a record of its display. The booklet begins with an essay addressing the role of printed materials within Tricontinentalism as a movement. Shorter texts addressing the exhibition's individual sections follow. These texts are presented together with plans of each section's layout within the James Gallery.



TRICONTINENTAL Magazine

I would like to subscribe for one year _____ two years _____

Language: Spanish _____ English _____ French _____ Arabic _____

Name _____

Address _____

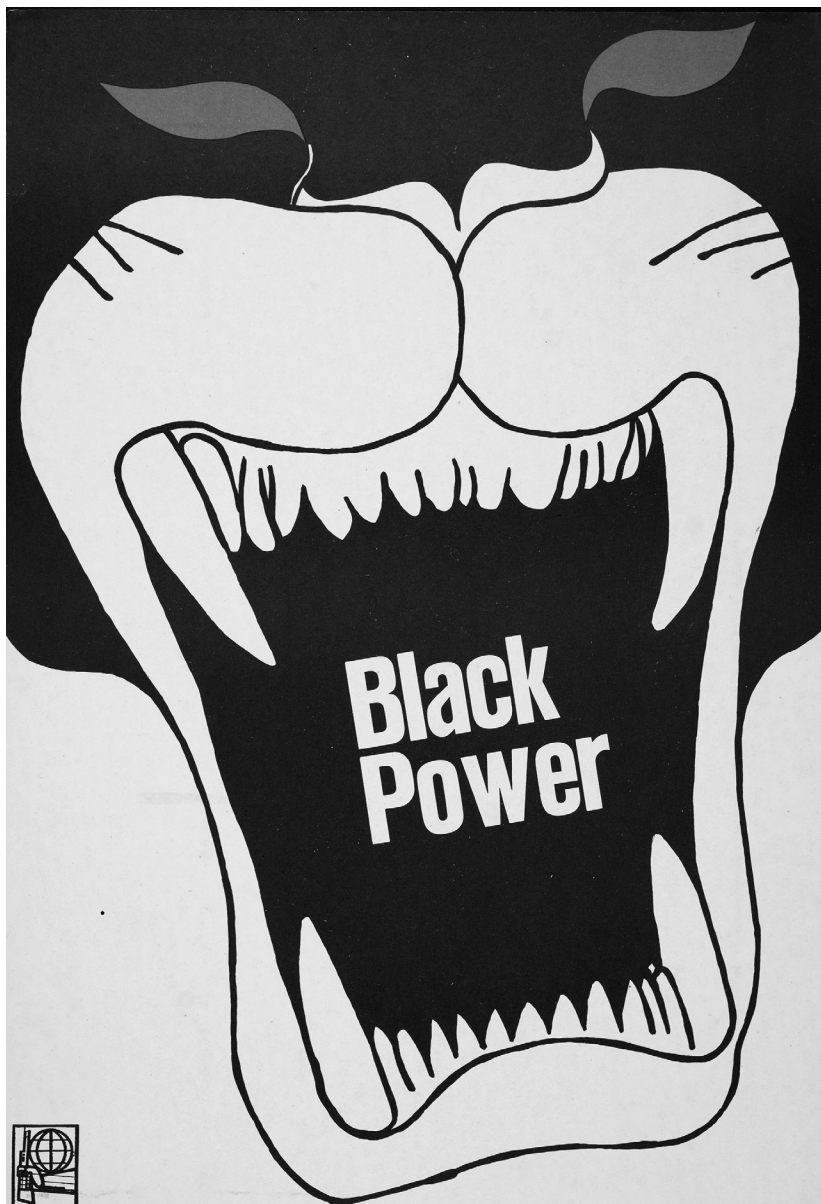
Country _____

Enclosed is a check _____ Money order _____ Other _____

for the following amount _____ Signature _____



Subscription page from *Tricontinental* magazine, no. 83 (1982)



RETALIATION TO CRIME: REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

RÉPONSE AU CRIME: LA VIOLENCE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE

RESPUESTA AL ASESINATO: VIOLENCIA REVOLUCIONARIA

الرد على الجريمة: العنف الثوري
رداً على الجريمة!!

Alfredo Rostgaard, *Black Power. Retaliation to Crime: Revolutionary Violence*, 1968. Offset print. Image courtesy Lincoln Cushing / Docs Populi

Tricontinentalism in Print

April 12, 1968.

Martin Luther King Jr., eight days' dead. Envelopes, postmarked Havana, begin arriving at addresses in Miami. Each is filled with multiple copies of a single poster. The same image appears on every sheet: a close-up on a panther roaring. Between the panther's teeth are two typeset words: "Black Power." By its jaw, an added directive: "Retaliation to Crime: Revolutionary Violence."

Accompanying the posters is a mimeographed note. "On the occasion of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination we have published a poster that is now being circulated all over the world. We are sending you a certain amount of these posters, which may be used in your country for the activities to be carried out in this regard." The note is signed by the secretariat of the political organization OSPAAAL: an engine of international anti-colonial revolution, headquartered in Cuba.

The *Charleston Daily Mail* reports: "Federal officials here were amazed with the speed of the printed Cuban propaganda reaction to the assassination."¹

* * *

The sequence of events recounted above offers just one example of the intertwining of print production and anti-imperialism that took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and is the subject of the present exhibition.

A potent force was at work in drawing print culture and the era's liberation struggles into an intimate relation. That force, inquired into by this exhibition, was the political movement once widely known as Tricontinentalism. A child of the vast political remapping that unfolded in the wake of World War Two, as colonized nations demanded the right to self-determination, Tricontinentalism represented an attempt to join together the liberation movements of the world in one united front.² The movement took its name from its central proposition: a strong alliance between the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in their efforts to defeat colonialism and imperialism. With its

proposal of solidarity between “the peoples of the three continents,” Tricontinentalism expanded an earlier, postwar discourse of two-way solidarity between African and Asian nations.³ Now, Latin America was included as a third partner in the united front against imperialism—and the island of Cuba within it.

During the mid-1960s, Tricontinentalism would be actively promoted by a young and ambitious socialist Cuban state under Fidel Castro.⁴ Havana would play host to the grand conference of 1966 that marked the official inauguration of Tricontinentalism as a movement, and brought together delegates from liberation movements around the world. Likewise, Cuba’s capital would be the headquarters of the organizing body tasked with coordinating a united front between liberation movements on the three continents: the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL, for short).⁵ As spearheaded by Cuba, Tricontinentalism made extensive use of printed materials to promote both a militant form of anti-imperialism and the notion of revolutionary solidarity on which Tricontinentalism as a movement turned. Coinciding with rapid advancements in printing technology, and the increased availability of offset printing specifically, Tricontinentalism harnessed for its purposes paper-based formats including posters, magazines, newspapers, books, postcards, and stamps.⁶ During the late 1960s and early 1970s, all of these and more were issued into being by rolling printing presses to carry the message of Tricontinentalism across the globe.

What the present exhibition seeks to inquire into is this participation of printed materials in the project of Tricontinentalism, and the discourse of solidarity between liberation struggles that it promoted. This exhibition asks: what was the significance of printed materials—seemingly humble and ubiquitous things, made of paper no thicker than a hair’s breadth—to a movement that described itself as aiming at nothing less than a unified front between revolutionary

peoples across the globe, and a collective overthrow of the forces of imperialism? Produced in places as geographically far apart as Oakland, Beirut, and the Mekong Delta, the array of documents and objects brought together in this exhibition allows for understanding of the crucial role that printed materials played in spreading the message of Tricontinental solidarity from one center of dissent to another. More than this, though, the collective evidence of these objects invites this realization: printed materials were *in themselves* essential to producing a powerful feeling of revolutionary solidarity on which Tricontinentalism as a movement depended.

But first: the question of how printed materials served to spread the message of Tricontinentalism’s radical alliance. Paper moves through the world with ease. This was a truth recognized by a nascent socialist Cuba as an enthusiastic state sponsor of Tricontinentalism, and it was Cuba that pioneered the use of printed materials to promote the movement internationally (at a time, it should be noted, when the island nation was locked in ideological battle with the United States, labeled an imperial aggressor).⁷ In this use of printed materials, the Cuban state was canny. In order for any protest to spread internationally, as George Katsiaficas observed in his study of global Left dissent in the 1960s, its grounds of complaint and its aspirations for change have to be successfully disseminated to groups far and wide, and also adopted by those groups.⁸ Highly effective on both counts were the emphatically visual offset-printed posters, magazines, books, newspapers, and postcards proclaiming Tricontinental solidarity in the pursuit of self-determination that were first sent into circulation by OSPAAAL, which began its publishing activities in early 1966. Lightweight and small, able to travel by mail, by hand, or in a suitcase, OSPAAAL’s printed materials were disseminated to and among revolutionary groups and individuals the world over.⁹ What helped to tip the scales for widespread adoption of the Tricontinentalist ethos of solidarity and revolutionary community,

however, were the visuals. As they circulated internationally, OSPAAAL's printed materials carried with them soaring images of resistance, designed by artists employed by the organization and based in Havana. Bold in composition, often bright in color, and prioritizing immediately comprehensible image over text in the case of posters and front covers, these printed materials brought the message of Tricontinentalism to recipients in a form that could strike at the heart of those hungering for sovereignty, and enjoin them to the Tricontinental front—creating that front in the process.

The posters produced in Cuba by OSPAAAL for dissemination abroad are particularly well-known and can be found in multiple museum collections across the United States. Less well-known is the extensive international network of print production that developed in connection with Tricontinentalism, and which this exhibition seeks to highlight. Indicating that Tricontinentalism was an ethos deeply and widely identified with in the 1960s and 1970s by groups pursuing self-determination well beyond Cuba, this exhibition brings together a selection of graphic production from diverse independence and racial justice movements in the United States, Vietnam, Palestine, Lebanon, and Namibia. In their geographical range and high number, these documents and objects collectively suggest that printed materials not only provided an essential organizing tool for anti-imperialist resistance; they also provided a vital space within which groups around the world could articulate their identification with, and affirm their participation *within*, this international revolutionary community. As later sections of this booklet discuss, this identification often took material form in an adoption of the striking visual language of resistance developed by OSPAAAL, as well as instances of reissuing graphic work by other groups in an act of solidarity with their cause. Such initiatives and exchanges resulted in a rich and extensive body of graphic material that stands as testimony to the deep importance of print in this moment of widespread challenge to the status quo,

as a key site for the expression of shared dissent and a self-reinforcing solidarity. In bringing together a selection of graphic work produced in the moment of Tricontinentalism's heyday, this exhibition provides for a physical setting in which the making and receiving of printed materials can be understood as having constituted important practices of solidarity in themselves. As Anne Garland Mahler observes in her recent study of Tricontinentalism and the legacy of its thinking, Tricontinentalism is unusual as a political movement in that its ends paradoxically lay in its doing: in producing and experiencing a feeling of being in solidarity with others.¹⁰ That feeling, Mahler suggests, was a transformative one. It remade the self as a revolutionary political subject, moved to action on the behalf of revolutionary others, toward whom the feeling of solidarity was directed. Naturally, this radical becoming itself anticipated further transformation: "the realization of a world different from the current one," as Mahler writes.¹¹

This exhibition suggests that Mahler's insights can be extended to the mass of printed materials that were produced in the spirit of Tricontinentalism during the late 1960s and early 1970s, years of liberatory tumult. As those engaged in challenging existing power arrangements worked over paper surfaces, designing and laying out messages of collective resistance to be sent through the rollers of offset presses; or as others held in their hands a freshly printed and recently received magazine or poster that brought news of struggle elsewhere, so were the individuals who identified as part of Tricontinentalism's international community able to experience their imaginative, mental identification in a concrete and embodied way.¹² The actual matter of printed materials—paper, pages, staples, ink—provided an important means through which individuals could physically feel themselves part of the Tricontinental community, ready to take decisive action on their counterparts' behalf.¹³ To see these printed objects and their messages of solidarity arrayed on display is, at the same time, to behold a moment in which

the practices of anti-imperialism and print production briefly became one.

Tricontinentalism, we know today, did not remake the world under the sign of revolution. The product of a specific set of historical and political conditions, the movement faltered as the first years of the 1970s eventually passed into the mid- and then late 1970s, the U.S. exited Vietnam, the landscape of the Cold War continued to shift, and nationalism gained the upper hand over a rhetoric of internationalism between decolonizing states. All the while, the U.S.-led project of economic globalization increasingly took hold in the background, eventually flourishing in the 1980s.¹⁴ With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the once rapid flow of printed materials of the kind presented in this exhibition dwindled to the thinnest trickle.¹⁵ A final ending of sorts, OSPAAAL was officially dissolved by the Cuban government this past June, bringing to a close a half-century of the organization's work promoting international revolution (however sparingly following Cuba's Special Period of the 1990s).¹⁶ What remains with us of Tricontinentalism, and is unaltered by time, however, is that which was already present in the late 1960s and early 1970s: its possibility alone. It was ultimately a possibility—of a radical internationalism; of collective revolution; of an end to imperialism—that was so vividly proposed on the surfaces of the printed materials that carried the rhetoric of Tricontinental solidarity through the world.¹⁷ At once stealth organizing tools, affective objects, and sites of an incandescent, utopian futurity, it is the powerful role of printed materials in a time hungry for change that this exhibition invites us to see.

—Debra Lennard

Messages to the Tricontinental

In January of 1966, delegates representing liberation movements and government organizations from over eighty countries and territories across Africa, Asia, and Latin America gathered in Havana for the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.¹⁸ The culmination of several years' discussion and planning, the conference followed on the heels of highly symbolic meetings held between representatives of African and Asian nations during the mid-1950s, and was cast as their natural successor.¹⁹ Spanning twelve days, the event formally brought together for the first time representatives from Latin American nations with African and Asian diplomatic counterparts, and marked the official inauguration of Tricontinentalism as the movement that would attempt to unite liberation struggles across the three continents.²⁰ While providing a setting for the planning of joint action to counter imperialism, the conference was also intended to "fortify, increase, and coordinate" the bonds of solidarity that would impel Tricontinentalism forward, as a discursive space for the recognition of alike experiences.²¹

OSPAAAL, the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, was established as a resolution of the Havana conference, and was to be the organizing body responsible for the daily work of coordinating a unified front between liberation struggles across the three continents.²² Headquartered in Cuba's capital, OSPAAAL was brought into being in the midst of a fertile landscape of propaganda activities, with rambunctious creative energy licensed by Cuba's socialist revolution—and it used printed materials accordingly.²³ Where the organization differed from counterpart agencies in Havana that were equally experimental in their cultural production, however, was in producing its materials primarily for export, and international circulation.

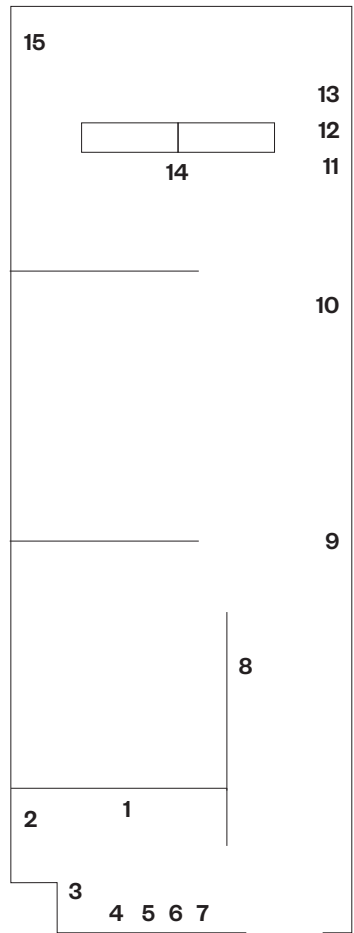
Beginning in April 1966 with the publication of a petite news review, the monthly *Tricontinental Bulletin*, which covered

self-determination struggles internationally and was briefly printed in black-and-white, OSPAAAL swiftly added to its repertoire an arsenal of visually striking printed materials for immediate distribution abroad, principally via mail. The *Bulletin* was joined in August 1967 by *Tricontinental*: a bimonthly magazine that diversified the news coverage of the *Bulletin* with investigative pieces, theoretical reflections, poetry, and photo-essays. Aimed at the widest possible dissemination, the magazine was produced in a print-run of around 50,000 copies, and the editorial page of each issue carried an anti-copyright message that actively encouraged further reproduction.²⁴ As the magazine and news bulletin were sent from Cuba's shores to individuals, groups, and embassies internationally, both played a vital role in bringing a "message to the Tricontinental" (as a special supplement that anticipated the magazine's publication was titled), providing a unique textual space in which the discourse of liberation struggles across the world could come together and be encountered in one reading.²⁵ (Stokely Carmichael would latterly describe the magazine as a "bible in revolutionary circles.")²⁶

Included with *Tricontinental* magazine were the solidarity posters for which OSPAAAL is best known. At the hands of individuals who had trained as artists in Cuban academies prior to the revolution, and who were given relative free rein in creative terms by the Communist Party of Cuba, OSPAAAL developed a distinctive and striking graphic language for its posters that could communicate spirited resistance at a glance.²⁷ Varied according to each artist's sensibility, and the needs of the liberation struggle in question, OSPAAAL's posters in solidarity with a given struggle or cause typically employed bold and bright areas of flat color and an emphatically centered composition to depict a recognizable symbol of a people or culture, armed or otherwise engaged in an act of struggle or uprising—an iconography reflective of the Tricontinentalist philosophy that the forces of imperialism leave only a stark choice: "servitude or struggle."²⁸ Initially printed using offset lithography in

separate, single-language editions (Spanish, English, and French) totaling around 50,000 copies, Arabic text was added in 1968, and all four languages were subsequently printed on each solidarity poster in a programmatic statement of internationalism.²⁹

Triple-folded into 8" x 4" rectangles and tipped inside the central seam of *Tricontinental* in order to be discovered by the reader, these posters both visualized and materialized the concept of revolutionary solidarity to which the magazine as a whole was dedicated. In adopting this particular format for the dissemination of its posters, OSPAAAL also effected a subtle but significant shift in the poster's typical function as a medium of communication; a shift that corresponded with the affective basis of Tricontinentalism as a movement. By definition the poster is a public medium, most commonly encountered in the street.³⁰ In the case of OSPAAAL's relatively petite solidarity posters primarily disseminated in the pages of *Tricontinental*, however, the printed sheet was designed to address just one person and their body, as they removed the folded poster from the magazine's central seam, and unfurled it to reveal its visual message of solidarity. Creating a viewing situation which allowed for individuals to be moved by the image they held in their hands, OSPAAAL made of the poster an instrument of Tricontinentalism.



Exhibition Checklist

Messages to the Tricontinental

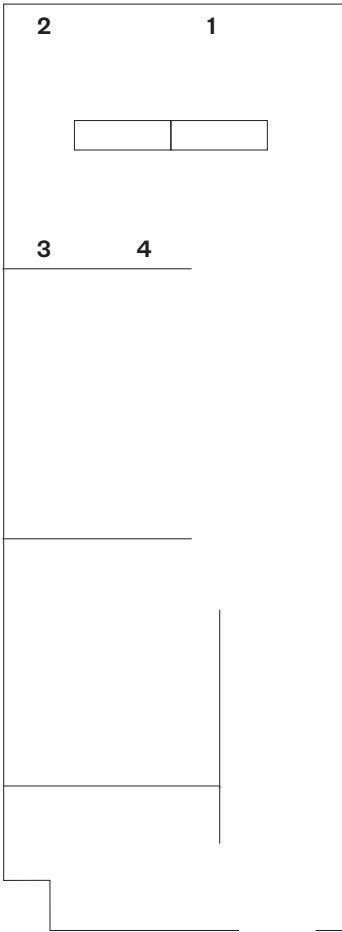
1. British Movietone news footage of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (hereafter Tricontinental Conference), held in Havana, January 3–15, 1966. (30 seconds, silent.)
2. 35mm slide projection of news photographs documenting preparations for the Tricontinental Conference.
3. Poster by René Portocarrero (1965/66), made to publicize the Tricontinental Conference.
4. Poster by Fernando Valdes (c. 1966), made to publicize the Tricontinental Conference.
5. Shelf with printed materials (1958–66) relating to the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), and the later discourse of solidarity between Africa, Asia, and Latin America, promoted by Tricontinentalism.
6. Poster by the youth organization Federación Mundial de la Juventud Democrática (c.1966), made to publicize the Tricontinental Conference.
7. Poster by Reinhilde Suárez (1968) for OSPAAAL (Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America), publicizing the “international week of Tricontinental solidarity.”
8. Five OSPAAAL posters declaring solidarity with liberation movements and imperialized peoples across Africa, Asia, and Latin America (1968–81).
9. Twenty OSPAAAL posters declaring solidarity with liberation movements and imperialized peoples across Africa, Asia, and Latin America (1967–74).
10. Plinth with OSPAAAL poster by Alfredo Rostgaard (1972), which unfolds to transform former U.S. President Richard Nixon into a vampire. Beside the poster: *Tricontinental* magazine, nos. 21–22 (1970–71), with flip book-style image sequence accompanying an article on neo-colonialism and the international arms trade.
11. OSPAAAL poster by Alfredo Rostgaard (1968): a Zaire banknote from the Democratic Republic of the Congo peels back to reveal a U.S. dollar, covering assassinated independence leader Patrice Lumumba.
12. OSPAAAL poster by Alfredo Rostgaard (1968), which unfolds from an image of a panther missing a bullet, to show the panther roaring.
13. OSPAAAL greeting card (1968), wishing the recipient success in the “revolutionary struggle” in the new year.
14. Tables with various copies of *Tricontinental Bulletin* and *Tricontinental* magazine (1967–74).
15. Vinyl record *Fighting Hymns* (1969), released by Tricontinental Publishers.

Multipliers

Tricontinental materials were not only produced in Cuba. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, editions of *Tricontinental* magazine in the local language began appearing in Europe and in the U.S. Likewise, OSPAAAL's poster designs migrated onto the surfaces of a whole host of printed materials produced far from Cuba's shores. Despite having been conceived as a project of solidarity between liberation movements across Africa, Asia, and Latin America, Tricontinentalism would not remain exclusively bound to that geography in an era in which civil rights protests were met with violence, and U.S. military involvement in Vietnam was reported on and televised internationally. For international Left movements defining themselves in opposition to imperialism, capitalism, and racism, Tricontinentalism provided an important ideological reference point—and this affinity often took material form in print.

In Paris, a French edition of *Tricontinental* magazine was published by François Maspero between 1968 and 1973.³¹ In Milan during the late 1960s, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli coordinated an Italian-language edition of the magazine, and an independent press based in Munich, Trikont Verlag, produced a German-language edition for one year only, in 1968.³² In the U.S., a Bay Area printing collective called Peoples Press produced a North American edition that featured new content and artwork in addition to a digest of materials from the Cuban publication, from 1971 through 1973. In publishing local editions of *Tricontinental*, these groups and individuals served as “multipliers” of OSPAAAL's discourse, as Christoph Kalter has recently observed—but the impact was not only one-way.³³ If political identities are understood as things that are actively shaped and defined through practices and actions, then these publications might be thought as extensions of Tricontinentalism as a movement. The acts of translating, physically producing, and reading these magazines alike allowed for individuals located thousands of miles from the three continents to which Tricontinentalism had originally referred to craft their identities as part of its radical community.³⁴

Offset printing lent itself well to practices of solidarity: a subject also explored in this section of the exhibition. A photo-mechanical technology, offset printing was premised on reproduction, and could produce large print-runs at little expense. As the materials presented here suggest, during this moment of upheaval images of resistance shuttled back and forth between groups in different parts of the world in literal and material expressions of solidarity between individual causes. The geographic span of the image sequences created in the process offers an indication of the wide impact of Tricontinentalist thought, as it flowed from printed materials produced in Cuba outward, onto the rest of the world.



Exhibition Checklist
Multipliers

1. Wall-mounted case with various copies of *Tricontinental* magazine, French, Italian, and German editions (1968–70).

2. Periodical published by the “Comité des 3 continents” at Sorbonne University, Paris (1968).

3. Three OSPAAAL posters (1968–74) declaring solidarity with self-determination movements internationally, and two posters by groups in the U.S. (1972–74) re-using OSPAAAL imagery.

4. Vitrine with printed materials (1968–70) relating to the circulation of Alfredo Rostgaard’s 1968 OSPAAAL poster design in solidarity with the Black Power movement.

Tricontinental U.S.A

Within the United States, a particularly strong dialogue developed between the ethos of Tricontinentalism and those seeking change at home, fostered by the conjuncture of extensive disapproval of military involvement in Vietnam and mounting frustration with continuing discrimination against citizens of color. The mid-to-late 1960s saw the emergence of what Cynthia Young has called a “U.S. Third World Left”: a new and distinct political formation forged at the intersection of “domestic rebellion and international revolution.”³⁵ For the many diverse members of this Left, it was the example of anti-imperialist movements abroad that provided a frame of reference for actively challenging power structures at home. Aiding the articulation of this new political sensibility, printed materials were often called on in this period to provide an imaginative space in which local and international protests could be bridged.

The publishing activities of Peoples Press, one of many independent printing collectives to proliferate throughout the Bay Area in the 1960s, offer an example of the U.S. Left’s pronounced shift of focus towards liberation struggles overseas and a discourse of revolutionary solidarity during this period.³⁶ Primarily originating content for a domestic audience, Peoples Press published materials that included introductory primers on Vietnam and Angola, and photo-essays on Cuba. The collective also published the North American edition of *Tricontinental* magazine. In return for the latter, OSPAAAL invited one member of Peoples Press to its offices in Havana, in a temporary work exchange. The result was Jane Norling’s poster in solidarity with Puerto Rico: the only OSPAAAL poster to have been designed by a U.S. citizen, and a work that moves freely back and forth between international anti-imperialism, and protest against arrangements at home.³⁷

An alliance with Tricontinentalist discourse would be especially important for communities of color agitating for change. Tricontinentalism as officially formulated at the Havana conference of 1966 turned on a logic of commonality and “mutual interest”:

similar problems urged joint struggle.³⁸ At the 1966 conference, this logic had been extended to “Afro-Americans in the United States,” identified as occupying a subaltern situation comparable to “other oppressed people.”³⁹ In the later 1960s, multiple groups within the U.S. seeking self-determination would adopt for themselves the idea that parallel experiences of oppression linked them to liberation struggles abroad, and this principle of interconnected struggle would be expressed through print.

Two of the most prominent artists associated with the Chicano civil rights movement, Malaquías Montoya and Rupert García, began making political prints in the context of the coalitional Third World Liberation Front strikes that took place at San Francisco State College and Berkeley in 1968–69, and were fueled by student demands for more diverse curricula and faculty.⁴⁰ Throughout the early 1970s, both artists applied their respective printmaking practices to the articulation of an internationalist revolutionary vision that presented the Chicano movement as continuous with liberation struggles abroad.⁴¹ The international solidarity posters that Montoya and García each designed, which consciously drew on and adapted the visual language of Cuban graphics, are particularly indicative of the reciprocal character of local and international protest in the context of the U.S. Third World Left, in which each was implicated in the other.

During the same period, Emory Douglas’s graphic work for the Black Panther Party visualized the Black Power movement as part of an international revolutionary vanguard. A position of solidarity and joint struggle with liberation movements overseas was a major aspect of the Panthers’ thinking and public platform in the late 1960s.⁴² Drawing from a wide range of anti-colonial thinkers and writing, the group’s leaders theorized racism as a form of oppression structurally linked to imperialism; as Huey Newton would put it succinctly in 1970: “we have a coalition with all struggling people of the world.”⁴³ As the member

of the Party’s leadership who crafted its visual identity, Douglas accordingly incorporated a Tricontinentalist imagery and discourse into the illustrated pages of the *Black Panther* newspaper, situating African-American struggle back-to-back with that of the three imperialized continents. Boldly graphic, and militant in tone, Douglas’s designs and posters for *Black Panther* newspaper represent a distinctive site of convergence between discrete iterations of the Tricontinentalist project.⁴⁴

Exhibition Checklist
Tricontinental U.S.A.

1. Vitrine with printed materials (1972–77) relating to the graphic work of Jane Norling, and her work for OSPAAAL in Havana, during 1972–73.

2. OSPAAAL poster by Jane Norling (1972–73), declaring solidarity with Puerto Rico.

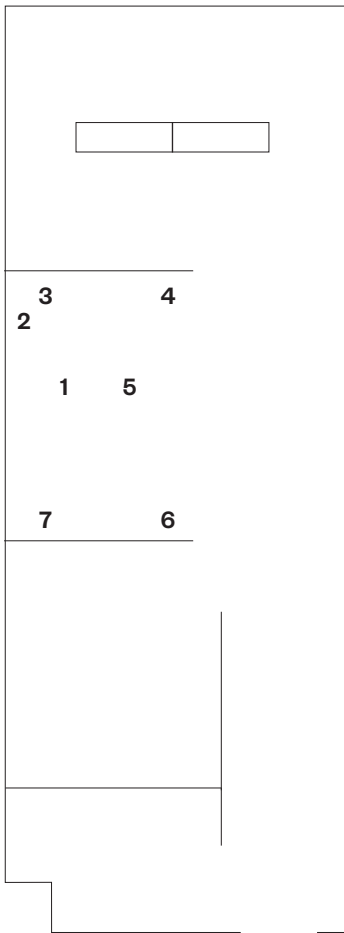
3. Three exhibition prints of posters by Emory Douglas (c. 1967–69), with solidarity with anti-imperialism as theme.

4. OSPAAAL poster by Lázaro Abreu Padrón (1968), declaring solidarity with the African American people. Below, wall-mounted case with: issues of the *Black Panther* newspaper (1968–69) featuring artwork by Emory Douglas later re-used by OSPAAAL; *Tricontinental Bulletin* (1969) with cover design based on artwork by Emory Douglas; OSPAAAL postcard, undated, declaring solidarity with “the Afro-American people” on the anniversary of the Watts Rebellion, 1965.

5. Vitrine with four issues of the *Black Panther* newspaper (1969–71), with cover artwork dedicated to international liberation movements.

6. Two posters by Malaquías Montoya, and Rupert García (both 1969), each made as part of Third World Liberation Front student strikes at San Francisco State College and University of California, Berkeley.

7. Two posters by Rupert García, and Malaquías Montoya (1970; 1973), with solidarity with Vietnam as theme.



A New Network

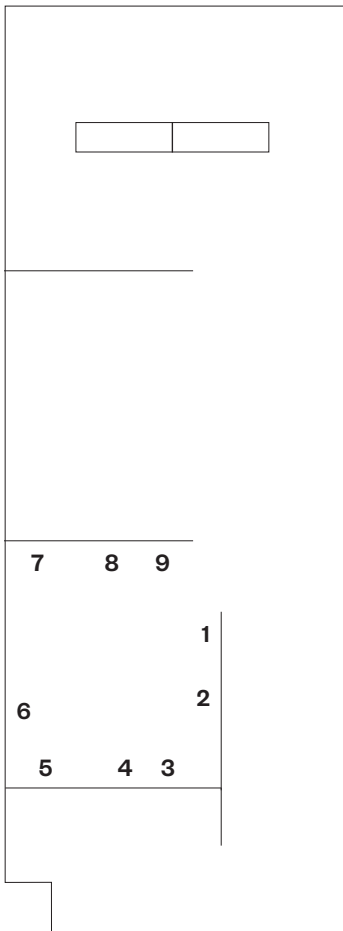
From the late 1960s through the 1970s, Tricontinental graphic production gave to the poster new and particular meaning. A product of the overlapping energies of the push to establish a collective liberation movement, and the abundant artistic experimentation that followed Cuba's revolution, OSPAAAL's graphics established the poster (and reproducible prints generally) as a privileged site for communicating anti-imperialist feeling.⁴⁵ Widely disseminated by OSPAAAL among centers of dissent, the brightly-colored poster with imagery evoking resistance became synonymous with a self-identified "Third World" struggle and network, as these materials moved through channels distinct from those established by colonial powers.⁴⁶ As posters circulated widely, becoming increasingly associated with Tricontinentalism as a movement in the process, so too did they become increasingly effective as tools of communication within this community, the use of which could bring a local movement into an international orbit of protest, and strengthen the collective call for change. Foregrounding the internationalism of Tricontinental print production, this final section of the exhibition traces a selection of such elective affiliations through print.

In 1969, Havana-based artist René Mederos received a commission from Cuba's Department of Revolutionary Orientation to travel to Vietnam and record scenes of the war.⁴⁷ Applying an idea of the solidarity graphic as a site of interconnection between discrete struggles, Mederos attuned the silkscreen prints that he made to the visual language of anti-imperialist Vietnamese prints, in which upbeat representations of both warfare and industrial agriculture predominated, rendered in bright hues.⁴⁸ Taking cues from this local print culture, Mederos presented the struggle in Vietnam as resilient, vibrant, and egalitarian, using only bright colors throughout his two series of silkscreen prints, and including several scenes of women combatants in a nod to National Liberation Front propaganda, crafting a visual language that brought Cuban graphics together with Vietnam's.⁴⁹

The idea of a particular type of poster as expressive of a shared anti-colonial project and identity provided for acts of association, as well as exchange. The hybrid poster-calendars made for the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) by South African artists George Hallett, Ian Scott, and Gavin Jantjes in 1975–76 offer an example. Each of these calendar sheets employs a single, central image of resistance; bold flat color; and, in the case of Hallett's collaboration with Jantjes, a message of solidarity in the four languages of OSPAAAL's materials: English, French, Spanish, and Arabic. Designed and produced while Hallett, Scott, and Jantjes were in self-exile in London, in protest against apartheid, these calendar-sheets inscribe Namibia's campaign for self-determination within the Tricontinental rhetoric of strong, collective resistance.⁵⁰

The anti-colonial poster was not a rigid code to be adhered to, however. A flexible common language, it could be adapted to local artistic traditions as it circulated. As a case in point, when a new visual identity aligned with international anti-colonial struggle was elaborated for the Palestinian liberation movement following the Six-Day War of 1967, which saw Arab-controlled territories fall to Israel, a range of graphic directions were taken. Ismail Shammout designed posters for the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) that merged the influence of Cuban graphics and an international brand of Pop art, while Marc Rudin brought his previous experience as a graphic designer in Switzerland to the posters and magazines of the PFLP (the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine): a socialist, secular organization formed as a resistance movement after the Six-Day War.⁵¹ Kamal Boullata, meanwhile, brought to his graphic work for Fateh a distinctive, hand-drawn illustrational style that abjured color in favor of emphasizing taut and spikey lines, charged with energy. Translated to solidarity posters that consisted of text alone, Boullata's work took the anti-colonial graphic in new visual directions.

The phenomenon of the poster as a shared site of struggle was fleeting, and did not outlast the Cold War. A poster from 1981 by the Lebanese artist Kameel Hawa celebrating Arab-Cuban solidarity marks an outward limit of this exhibition, and of the utopian discourse of collective revolution initially articulated at the Tricontinental Conference of 1966. Made to commemorate a Lebanese delegation's attendance of a Youth Congress in Cuba, Hawa's poster takes up a quotation from Castro on drawing inspiration in struggle from Gamal Abdel Nasser, former Egyptian president and a key figure of the anti-imperialist movement in the 1950s.⁵² In the spirit of the Tricontinental graphic, though, words are pretext for visuals: together, three figures make easy work of surmounting a hill, a cloudless blue sky stretching up above them. Standing on the precipice of the 1980s, the Reagan presidency, and a very different model of an interconnected world, Hawa's poster invokes with nostalgia a previous moment when such imagery on a sheet of paper could instantly communicate what other printed papers, outlining an agenda for an international conference some fifteen years earlier, had brightly hailed as "the common struggle against imperialism."⁵³



Exhibition Checklist
A New Network

1. Three silkscreen prints by René Mederos (1969), from a first series of works made in response to his travel in Vietnam.
2. Wall-mounted case with three silkscreen prints (1967–72) by Vietnamese artists including Phan Thông and H. Hoan, in support of national self-determination.
3. Three silkscreen prints by René Mederos (1971), from a second series of works made in response to his travels in Vietnam.
4. Wall-mounted case with *Ramparts* magazine (April 1970) and a book of miniaturized silkscreen prints (c. 1972), both reproducing René Mederos's prints based on his travels in Vietnam.
5. Poster by René Mederos (1970), with Tet Offensive attacks on U.S. forces as theme.
6. Vitrine with four calendar sheets (1975–76) in support of Namibian independence and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), by George Hallett with Ian Scott and Gavin Jantjes respectively.
7. Two posters (1980–84) by Marc Rudin for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Below, wall-mounted case with two copies of *PFLP Bulletin* (1980–81), designed by Marc Rudin.
8. Exhibition print of poster by Kameel Hawa for the Arab Socialist Union (1981), with Cuban-Arab solidarity as theme.
9. Two posters (1971–72) by Kamal Boullata and Ismail Shammout for Palestinian political organizations, with solidarity with international liberation movements as theme.

1. “Cuba Poster Urges U.S. Negro Revolt,” *Charleston Daily Mail*, April 13, 1968, 10. Quotes are taken from this report.

2. For further reading on Tricontinentalism see Anne Garland Mahler, *From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018); Sarah Seidman, “On Tricontinentalism,” in *Armed by Design: Posters and Publications of Cuba’s Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL)*, ed. Lani Hanna et al. (New York: Interference Archive, 2015), 13–25; and Besenia Rodriguez, “Beyond Nation: The Formation of a Tricontinental Discourse.” PhD diss., Yale University, 2006.

3. International Preparatory Committee of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Cuban National Committee, *Towards the First Tricontinental Conference 2* (November 1, 1965), 5. On Afro-Asian solidarity, and the Afro-Asian Peoples’ Solidarity Organization (founded 1957) see Katharine McGregor and Vannessa Hearman, “Challenging the Lifeline of Imperialism: Reassessing Afro-Asian Solidarity and Related Activism in the Decade 1955–1965,” in *Bandung, Global History, and International Law: Critical Past and Pending Futures*, ed. Luis Eslava et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 161–77.

4. This is not to suggest that Cuba was the sole exclusive promoter of Tricontinentalism. Plans for the first Tricontinental Conference were made between multiple representatives from all three continents, with the Moroccan politician Mehdi Ben Barka serving as chairman of the preparatory committee until

his murder in October 1965. On Ben Barka, and his role in plans for the Tricontinental Conference, see Andy Stafford, “Tricontinentalism in Recent Moroccan Intellectual History: The Case of *Souffles*,” *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 7, no. 3 (September 2009): 218–32.

5. The location of the headquarters in Havana was initially mooted as a provisional solution, to be settled at a second Tricontinental Conference in Cairo in 1968, which never took place. On this, and for additional details regarding the diplomatic history of the conference, see Mahler, *Tricontinental to Global South*, 71–78. The activities of OSPAAAL are a focus of discussion in following sections of this booklet.

6. Offset lithography, or offset printing, is a method of mass-production printing, in which the image to be printed is photo-mechanically transferred onto a rubber covered cylinder. When inked, the cylinder rolls the image onto the surface to be printed. Offset printing was invented in the early 1900s, but it was only in the 1950s that improvements to the process made the technology widely available. See Bob Ostertag, “The Underground Press: A History,” in *Power to the People: The Graphic Design of the Radical Press and the Rise of the Counter-Culture, 1964–1974*, ed. Geoff Kaplan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 160–216.

7. As John Gronbeck-Tedesco has noted, Tricontinentalism as a discourse was critical to post-revolutionary Cuba’s geopolitical strategy, which had the imperative of opposing U.S. influence and military expansion. However, as Anne Garland Mahler has helpfully suggested, Tricontinentalism is far from fully synonymous with Cuba. “Tricontinentalism,”

Mahler writes, “has been both a tool of Cuba’s foreign policy, and an ideology of a global Left that supersedes the Cuban Revolution itself.” See John Gronbeck-Tedesco, “The Left in Transition: The Cuban Revolution in U.S. Third World Politics,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40, no. 4 (November 2008): 651–73, and Mahler, *Tricontinental to Global South*, 288n57.

8. George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), 8.

9. In its report on the Tri-continental Conference, the Organization of American States shrewdly observed that OSPAAAL intended “to create an effective propaganda impact by rapidly publishing a great quantity of documents, speeches, and informational material on the event, and widely disseminating these through all available media.” Organization of American States, *Report of the Special Committee to Study Resolution II.I and VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, on the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples’ Solidarity Conference and its Projections (“Tricontinental Conference of Havana”)* (Washington, D.C.: OAS Council, 1966).

10. The political action to which Tricontinentalism orients its participants is, Mahler writes, “intentionally fluid and undefined. Rather, the ends of Tricontinentalism, the ultimate realization of its political subject, is found in ‘making solidarity itself,’ a praxis of producing affect that both prepares for and pivots toward a new global relation.” Mahler, *Tricontinental to Global South*, 128. Mahler’s pithy analysis—“the duty of the Tricontinentalist is to affect and be affected”—provides

an enlightening gloss on the mechanics of Castro’s injunction of 1962: “The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution.”

11. Mahler, *Tricontinental to Global South*, 127.

12. Even when involving mechanical elements, the process of printing remained highly physical. To give just one indicative example, a how-to ‘zine guide printed in *Amazon Quarterly: A lesbian feminist arts journal* describes a highly visceral series of steps, which culminates in collating by a “band of women who licked their fingers and began the production-line strut” over five hours. Laurel, “How to Make a Magazine, Part Two,” *Amazon Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (July 1974): 63–66. This physical labor takes on affective significance when considering that much radical printing in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity was self-taught, and practiced as part of a personal political commitment. I would argue that the importance of labor in radical printmaking may be understood in comparable terms to that of the labor practiced by young U.S. radicals who traveled to Cuba to voluntarily cut sugarcane, as analyzed by John Gronbeck-Tedesco: “in Cuba such work was necessary for the existential fulfilment of political ideals; the laboring of the body transubstantiated to ideological legitimacy.” John Gronbeck-Tedesco, *Cuba, the United States, and Cultures of the Transnational Left, 1930–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 227.

13. My thinking here owes much to Robb Hernández and Tatiana Reinoza’s co-edited dossier of *Aztlán*, dedicated to the role of paper in Chicana/Latina life and cultural production. Contending that paper is in itself an “expressive agent,” and has the capacity

to act on us, Hernández and Reinoza ask “not what paper is but what paper can do.” Robb Hernández and Tatiana Reinoza, “Introduction: The People of Paper/*La Gente de Papel*,” *Aztlán*, 42, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 130–31.

14. For a helpful analysis of this paradigm shift, see Mark T. Berger, “After the Third World? History, Destiny and the Fate of Third Worldism,” *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2004): 9–39.

15. Heavily dependent on imports from the Soviet Union and the countries of the Eastern Bloc (in 1987–89, an average 84.2 percent of Cuban imports came from the two), Cuba was hit hard by the Soviet Union’s dissolution, entering what Castro would call its “Special Period in Time of Peace.” A shortage of goods from detergent to paper was immediate. On Cuba’s trade dependency, see Andrew Zimbalist, “Trading Water: Cuba’s Economic and Political Crisis,” in *Cuba and the Future*, ed. Donald E. Schulz (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 7–11.

16. An email announcement in Spanish and English communicated this news, dated June 11, 2019.

17. As a movement that sought to consolidate solidarity between revolutionary peoples, for the purpose of making resistance all the more effective, Tricontinentalism and its discourse was always oriented toward future action. Arguably, every image of Tricontinental solidarity, whether produced by OSPAAAL or another group, looked toward revolutionary vision becoming (as the Secretariat of OSPAAAL put it in 1966) “undeniable living reality.” *First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Havana: General Secretariat of the OSPAAAL, 1966), 17.

18. The book published to accompany the conference lists 82 participating organizations in alphabetical order, moving through Angola to Zimbabwe. By the account provided in this book, a total of 782 accredited participants attended the conference. See the back matter of *First Solidarity Conference*, 183–87.
19. Key precedents for the Tricontinental Conference of 1966 included the Asian-African Conference held in 1955 in the city of Bandung, Indonesia, which was attended by representatives from 29 nations, and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, convened in Cairo in 1957–58. As is often commented on in the scholarship on these diplomatic meetings, the Tricontinental Conference and the Cairo conference of 1957–58 differed from the Bandung meeting on grounds of a more militant anti-imperialism, as distinct from the ethos of neutrality and peaceful co-existence that presided at Bandung. On this point see, for example, Robert J. C. Young, "Postcolonialism: From Bandung to the Tricontinental," *Historein*, 5 (2005): 11–21.
20. The conference took place over January 3–15, 1966. For details of the sessions held, see Mahler, *Tricontinental to Global South*, 71.
21. International Preparatory Committee of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Cuban National Committee, *Towards the First Tricontinental Conference 2* (November 1, 1965), 9.
22. See "Organizations Created by the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America," in *First Solidarity Conference*, 57.
23. Cuba's revolutionary leaders considered culture key to social development as a whole, and invested in the arts accordingly, establishing a host of agencies to foster their development. While artistic production was understood to be at the service of the revolution, both Guevara and Castro took the position that formal experimentation was to be encouraged, so long as the artistic production in question remained revolutionary in spirit. For the foundational text on this subject, see Fidel Castro, "Words to Intellectuals" (June 30, 1961), reproduced online as part of the Castro Speech Database compiled by the University of Texas at Austin's Latin American Network Information Center, accessed July 25, 2019, <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1961/19610630.html>.
24. The circulation totals of *Tricontinental* magazine naturally vary between accounts, as detailed records were not always kept. For the upward figure of 50,000, see Reinaldo Morales Campos, "Cuban Posters and Tricontinental Solidarity," in *The Tricontinental Solidarity Poster*, ed. Richard Frick (Bern: comedia-Verlag, 2003), 80–86. The editorial page of each issue of *Tricontinental* magazine carries the text: "Partial or total reproduction is freely permitted by the *Tricontinental* magazine."
25. As Robert J. C. Young points out, *Tricontinental* magazine was pivotal in establishing a body of writing that would provide the theoretical and political foundations of postcolonial thought: "Guevara, Cabral, Fanon, Ho Chi Minh, and many others are for the first time brought together as a coherent body of political work." Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 213.
26. Quoted in Sarah Seidman, "Tricontinental Routes of Solidarity: Stokely Carmichael in Cuba," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 4, no. 2 (2012): 3.
27. For the training of Cuban artists active during the 1960s in prerevolutionary academies, and their graphic influences following the revolution, see the interview with Raúl Martínez and Alfredo Rostgaard in Shifra M. Goldman, *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 143–57.
28. *First Solidarity Conference*, 25. The Tricontinental line of thought—which holds that imperialism is so insidious and exploitative that the only effective response is armed struggle—is explained at some length in this publication. Translated to images by OSPAAAL's staff artists, this thinking unsurprisingly resulted in an overtly macho iconography.
29. Morales Campos, "Cuban Posters and Tricontinental Solidarity."
30. See Elizabeth E. Guffey's concise history of the modern poster as an object produced for display in the street, in Elizabeth E. Guffey, *Posters: A Global History* (London: Reaktion, 2015), 41–89.
31. In 1969, Maspero was sentenced by a Paris district court with three months in prison for publishing the French edition of *Tricontinental*, on grounds of incitement to crime. In an open letter to the court published in his French-language edition, Maspero retorted that the ruling was pointless: "the influence of the magazine increases; subscribers flock." François Maspero,

"Le procès de Tricontinental," *Tricontinental* (French edition) 2 (1969): 123. Within France, Maspero's magazine was not alone as a print-based engagement with Tricontinentalism. During the takeover of the Sorbonne university by striking students in May 1968, a Xeroxed periodical with the title Tricontinental Sorbonne would be produced by the self-identified "Comité des trois continents": a group formed by students from overseas French territories.

32. An edition in Arabic is said to have been produced in the early 1980s, a suggestion corroborated by a subscription page from a contemporary English edition of *Tricontinental*, which lists Al Farawi publishers in Beirut as a distributor. The author has not seen a copy of this publication. See Robert J. C. Young, "Disseminating the Tricontinental", in *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building*, ed. Chen Jian et al. (Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 532.

33. Christoph Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c.1950–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 271.

34. Solidarities, as David Featherstone takes care to point out, are not necessarily unproblematic. Conducted within and through power relations, they can "entrench the position of some groups, and further marginalize others." The free engagement of individuals in the world's imperializing nations with a movement conceived to support and fortify the imperialized highlights this potential dynamic. David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 21.

35. Cynthia Young, "Havana up in Harlem: LeRoi Jones, Harold Cruse and the Making of a Cultural Revolution," *Science & Society* 65, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 14.

36. Lincoln Cushing's scholarship on Bay Area printing collectives is an invaluable resource. See Lincoln Cushing, *All of us or None: Social Justice Posters of the San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley: Oakland Museum of California in association with Heyday Press, 2012).

37. See Vero Ordaz and Lani Hanna, "As Big as the World: An Interview with Jane Norling," in *Armed by Design: Posters and Publications of Cuba's Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL)*, ed. Lani Hanna et al. (New York: Interference Archive, 2015), 67–82.

38. An essay setting out the goals and philosophy of Tricontinentalism in the book published to accompany the conference of 1966 outlines this logic. Here, Tricontinentalism is explained as grounded in recognition of the "similar experiences of the struggles and hardships of the three continents—all subjected to the same policy of exploitation, aggression and intervention of the imperialist and colonialist powers." See *First Solidarity Conference*, 15, and also International Preparatory Committee of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Cuban National Committee, *Towards the First Tricontinental Conference* 1 (October 15, 1965): 6–9.

39. See "Resolution on the Rights of Afro-Americans in the United States," in *First Solidarity Conference*, 79–80.

40. The self-identified Third World Liberation Front strikes of 1968–69 had their roots in

demands by students of color for a transformation of academia that remained predominantly white at the level of both content and faculty. The strikes first coalesced in March 1968 at San Francisco State College (now University), when members of the Black Student Union were joined by El Renacimiento, a Mexican American student group, the Latin American Students Organization, Asian American Political Alliance, Filipino American Collegiate Endeavor, and the Native American Students Union to form the Third World Liberation Front. A sister movement coalesced at the University of California, Berkeley, in January 1969. For an overview, see the excellent resources compiled by Helene Whitson, San Francisco State University Librarian, on FoundSF.org, and the digital archive produced by students at UC Berkeley. Helene Whitson, "STRIKE!... Concerning the 1968–69 Strike at San Francisco State College," FoundSF.org, last accessed July 25, 2019, http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=STRIKE!..._Concerning_the_1968-69_Strike_at_San_Francisco_State_College; "The Berkeley Revolution," last accessed July 25, 2019, <http://revolution.berkeley.edu/>.

41. On the internationalist emphasis of Chicano and Latinx activist printmaking in the 1960s and 1970s, see Tere Romo, "¡Presente! Chicano Posters and Latin American Politics," in *Latin American Posters: Public Aesthetics and Mass Politics*, ed. Russ Davidson (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2006), 51–65.

42. See Besenia Rodriguez, "'Long Live Third World Unity! Long Live Internationalism: Huey P. Newton's Revolutionary Intercommunalism,'" *Souls*, 8, no.3 (2006): 119–41. The Black Panther Party attended the First Pan-African Cultural Festival

in Algeria in July 1969, the same year in which the Party's newspaper began featuring a regular section dedicated to international revolutionary news; donated medical supplies to liberation struggles in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau; and formally offered troops to South Vietnam's National Liberation Front in August 1970.

43. On this point see, for example, Kathleen Cleaver: "the Black Panther Party saw the condition of blacks within an international context, for it was the same racist imperialism that people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America were fighting against that was victimizing blacks in the United States, according to their analysis." Kathleen Neal Cleaver, "Back to Africa: The Evolution of the International Section of the Black Panther Party (1969–72)," in *The Black Panther Party [Reconsidered]*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998), 216. As Michael L. Clemons and Charles E. Jones write, Panther philosophy drew on range of revolutionary writing, with Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) chief among these literary influences. Michael L. Clemons and Charles E. Jones, "Global Solidarity: The Black Panther Party in the International Arena," in *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and their Legacy*, ed. Kathleen Cleaver and George Katsiaficas (Routledge: New York and London, 2001), 20–40. Mark Lane and Huey Newton, "Huey Newton Speaks" (September 1, 1970). Quoted in Rodriguez, "Huey P. Newton's Revolutionary Intercommunalism": 131.

44. This convergence is especially clear in moments when the *Black Panther* reported on OSPAAAL's re-use of Douglas's illustrations. On September 28, 1968, for example, one such

instance of re-use was reported in terms that illuminate the fortifying role that printed materials played in connecting local to international fronts of protest: "This drawing by Minister of Culture (revolutionary artist), Emory, was made into a poster by the Cuban people, and sent throughout the Third World . . . with a caption reading, 'Solidarity with the Afro-American Struggle.'" *Black Panther: Black Community News Service* 2, no. 7 (September 28, 1968): 15.

45. My thinking on this redefinition of the poster in the 1960s and 1970s owes much to Clare Davies's discussion of this question in Clare Davies, "Decolonizing Culture: Third World, Moroccan, and Arab Art in *Souffles/Anfas*, 1966–1972," *Forum Transregionale Studien*, 2 (2015), unpaginated.

46. Cf. Davies's analysis: "The possibility of mobility implied in the model 'of the Third World work of art as print' could hardly be made to rely on the channels facilitated by a global market system associated with capitalism." Davies, "Decolonizing Culture." For a discussion of the term "Third World," first used in the early 1950s to signify a geopolitical and socioeconomic category distinct from the "First" and "Second" worlds, see Kalter, *Discovery of the Third World*, 34–66.

47. Vietnam was a paramount focus of Cuba's discourse of solidarity with imperialized and colonized nations. As Robert J. C. Young points out, U.S. intervention in Vietnam from 1964 allied the situation of the Asian nation closely with that of Cuba. Likewise, Vietnam too had passed directly from colonial to neo-colonial status. See Young, "From Bandung to the Tricontinental": 16–17. Cuba's strong identification with Vietnam took form in diplomatic relations, as

well as a domestic propaganda campaign with the theme "As in Vietnam," which valorized the resilience and determination of the Vietnamese.

48. Vietnam had developed a strong tradition of printmaking with anti-imperialism as its theme during its war of independence with France, and this was developed further during the years of U.S. military intervention. See Sherry Buchanan, "Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 1945–," in *Communist Posters*, ed. Mary Ginsberg (London: Reaktion, 2017), 275–321.

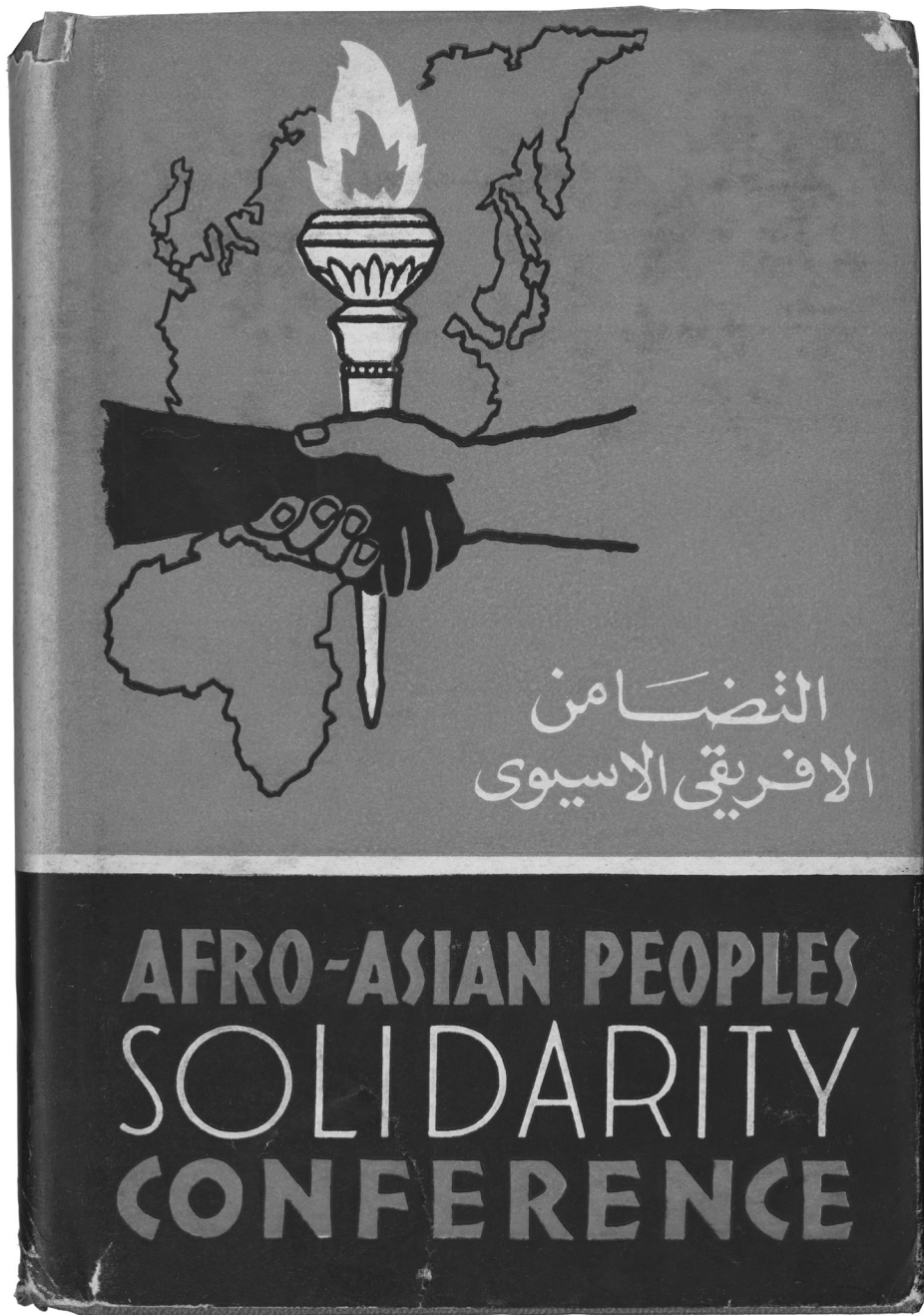
49. On women combatants as a defining aspect of a Vietnamese revolutionary aesthetic see Buchanan, "Socialist Republic of Vietnam," 279, 295.

50. See Giorgio Miescher and Dag Henrichsen, *African Posters: A Catalogue of the Poster Collection in the Basler Afrika Bibliographien* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2004), 32–35. To date, writing on Hallett's collaboration with Ian Scott and Gavin Jantjes remains sparse. For Hallett's photographic projects while in exile in Britain, see Christine Eyene, "George Hallett: The Making of an Archive," in *New Spaces for Negotiating Art and Histories in Africa*, ed. Kerstin Pinther et al. (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2015), 166–82.

51. On the work of Marc Rudin in particular, see *Marc Rudin* (Zurich: Kasama, 1993).

52. For Kameel Hawa's graphic work for the Socialist Arab Union during Lebanon's Civil War, see the invaluable study by Zeina Maasri, *Off the Wall: Political Posters of the Lebanese Civil War* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), esp. 44–45.

53. International Preparatory Committee, *Towards the First Tricontinental Conference*, 7.



النضال من
الافريقي الالسيوي

**AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES
SOLIDARITY
CONFERENCE**

*Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference, Cairo, December 26, 1957-January 1, 1958.
Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958*

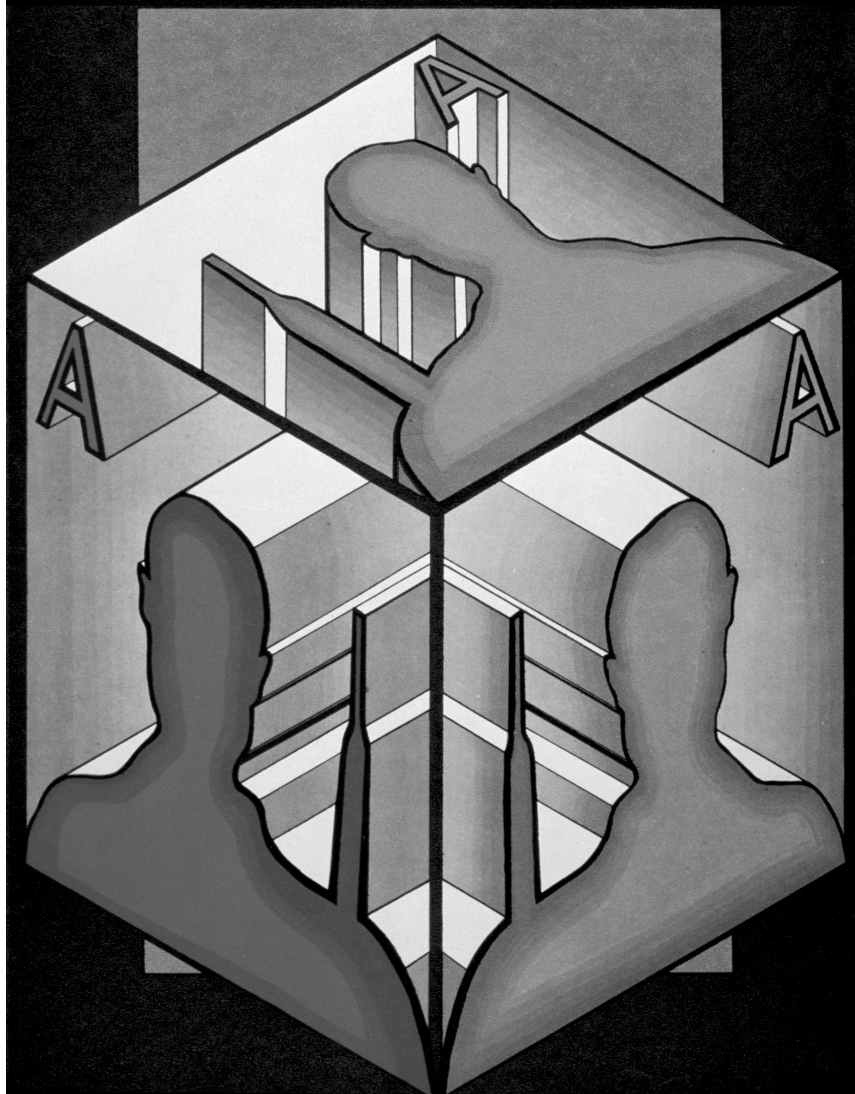


Envelope with postmarks commemorating the Tricontinental Conference, Cuba, 1966



Conferencia Tricontinental CUARTO ANIVERSARIO
Tricontinental Conference FOURTH ANNIVERSARY
Conférence Tricontinentale QUATRIEME ANNIVERSAIRE

مؤتمر القارالسه الدولسه الذكرى الرابعه



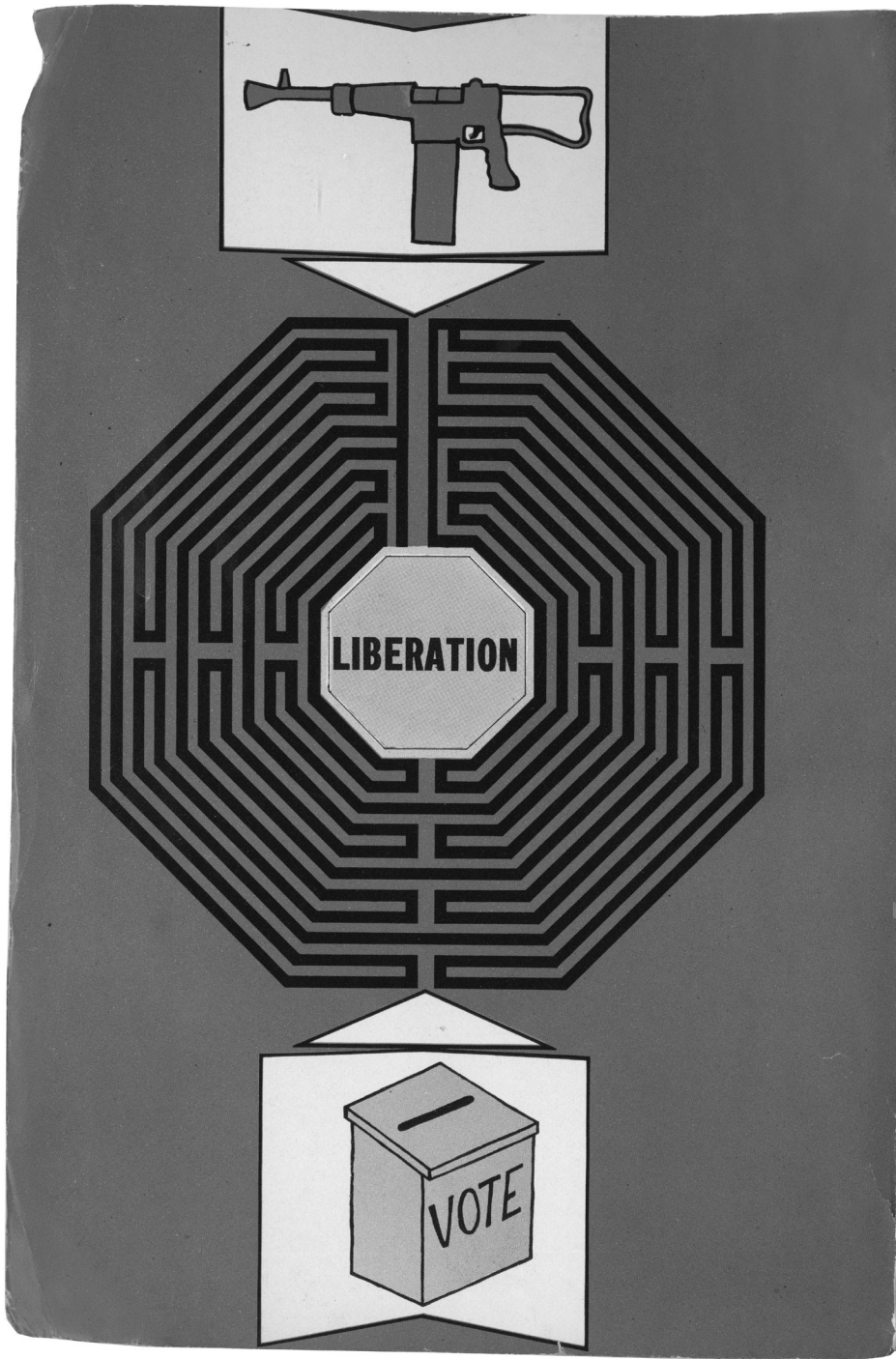
Alfredo Rostgaard, *Tricontinental Conference: Fourth Anniversary*, 1970. Offset print.
Image courtesy Lincoln Cushing / Docs Populi

10

TRICONTINENTAL



Front cover, *Tricontinental* magazine, no. 10 (1969)



Inside cover and editorial page from *Tricontinental* magazine, no. 10 (1969)

editorial

Historical exception or revolutionary possibility? This question, posed at the time of the triumph of the Russian Revolution and again when the Chinese Revolution achieved victory, arose once more when the armed rebellion of the Cuban people finally triumphed on January 1, 1959.

The far-reaching importance of the Cuban Revolution did not escape some observers, who described it as an event of cardinal importance in the history of Latin America. The importance of this event was to be found in its extraordinarily popular nature, in the great number of myths it destroyed, and in the tremendous possibilities it opened for the revolutionary movement on a continental scale.

This was no product of a barracks revolt. This Revolution was born in the heart of the people, and its leaders — as was evidenced in the program of the Moncada — had a clearly defined ideal. This was, to put it in a nutshell, a *revolution*.

Those who had hoped for a mere change of names soon realized their mistake as the Revolution developed. The steps taken by the Revolution progressively destroyed the foundations of the dependent politico-economic structure, building in its place the basis for a new society.

In the face of this reality, the US imperialists came to the conclusion that the Cuban Revolution was completely uncompromising. As soon as the first revolutionary laws were enacted, the imperialists stepped up their activity, utilizing the resources at their disposal, hoping to crush the Revolution. In their eagerness to destroy it, they have resorted to acts of sabotage, set up counter-revolutionary bands, imposed an economic blockade, launched an invasion using an army of mercenaries, and threatened a nuclear attack. But, in spite of this criminal policy, the Revolution continues to march onward, upheld and advanced ever more vigorously by its leaders and the people.

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution has proved to the Third World — especially to the peoples of Latin America — the possibility of effecting a change in their situation; it has been a clarion call for a second and definitive independence. The roots of the first socialist revolution in the American hemisphere are deep, going beyond the geographical limits of Cuba. In their confrontation with imperialism, the leaders of the Revolution have learned that the triumph of the rebellion did not signify the end of the struggle, but rather meant that the real struggle had just begun. From the very beginning, the leaders of the Cuban Revolution realized the continental nature of the struggle they were involved in and the important role the Revolution had to play in the global fight against imperialism. They realized — from the very beginning — that, as Che put it, "It was not an isolated event, but rather the first sign of America's awakening." The triumph — after several years of intense fighting — of the Revolution over the pro-imperialist tyranny that

was destroying the nation announced to the world that Cuba was one of the free countries and — what is fundamental — showed the peoples still under the colonial or neocolonial yoke that the road to liberation was open, that there is no power in today's world capable of preventing the peoples from making their revolutions. With the triumph of the Revolution, Cuba has become a solid pillar of solidarity for the peoples that are struggling to free themselves. This is no accident, nor is it without reason. The stand of the Cuban Revolution proceeds from a basic premise: only through the active solidarity of the peoples will final victory against imperialism be achieved.

Certainty of this has taken deep root in the Third World's revolutionary movement. The objective conditions common to all these peoples — conditions which gave rise to the designation of these continents as "the underdeveloped world" — and their having to face and destroy the common cause of the evils afflicting them — imperialism — made solidarity, more than a mere watchword, a necessity in revolutionary struggle. This solidarity was to be expressed not in empty words but in the generous offering of their lives by the heroic fighters in the continental epic.

The search for expanding and coordinating joint action in the struggle brought about the meeting, for the first time, of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, in January 1966. The Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America made it possible for revolutionaries to exchange experiences and to clearly set down in public documents the principles that should become the common banner of struggle. The revolutionaries' aim of winning the freedom of their respective countries can be summed up in their principal watchword: to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence.

This Conference opened up a new, broad vista for the future of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, the value of which has been and still is dependent on the activity of every one of its members. New causes and factors inherent in every revolutionary process have affected its development, but they cannot stop the process. The course of history is irreversible, and neither imperialism nor traitors nor conciliators can prevent mankind from winning its full freedom. These elements are no more than the dregs of humanity, which must be eliminated in the present process of purification, revolutionary struggle.

Viet-Nam, with its lesson of heroism, unyielding resistance, and victorious offensives in the face of US aggression, offers the clearest proof of what the peoples have in store for the imperialists and their accomplices. Its impact cannot be denied even by the aggressors themselves, who, defeated militarily on the field of battle, have had to accept the conditions set by the National Front for Liberation and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for initiating diplomatic negotiations.

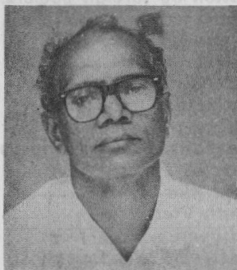
The success of the people of Viet-Nam has greatly encouraged all revolutionaries in the world and gives even greater validity to Che Guevara's central thesis expounded in his message to the Tricontinental Organization. Creating many Viet-Nams has become more than a mere watchword: it has become the primary duty of all revolutionaries.

It is in this context that the peoples are making ready to celebrate the anniversaries of two events of universal significance: the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution and the third anniversary of the holding of the First Tricontinental Conference. These two dates in our revolutionary calendar should stimulate us and spur us on in our daily struggle against imperialism and its local allies. We are revolutionaries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America; our enemy is unmistakably defined; and the paths leading to our triumph are clearly blazed. Let us push forward our just war; let our ears be receptive to Che's battle cry resounding from the Bolivian jungle. And let us rise in armed rebellion to perform our duty — a duty set us by the example of our martyrs and whose fulfillment our peoples demand today.

TRICONTINENTAL

to the reader

The appearance of the tenth number of *Tricontinental* coincides with the anniversaries of the Cuban Revolution and the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Our cover and the traditional section entitled *Tricontinental* on the March are dedicated to the third anniversary of the event which brought together in Havana the revolutionaries of 82 countries of the Third World. *Land of Ideas* is dedicated to the first socialist revolution in the western hemisphere and includes, under the title "Cuba: Ten Years of Revolution," the speech of Major Fidel Castro on the occasion of the celebration of the first ten years of the revolutionary victory of the Cuban people.



In *Starting Points*, the Secretary General of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), P. Sundarayya, gives us a poignant picture of the state of poverty and oppression to which the people of India are being subjected after twenty years of formal independence. "India: Introduction to a Congress," written on the eve of the Eighth Congress of the GPI (M), analyzes the position of the various political forces of that country in respect to the present situation, pointing out the strategy and tactics to be followed by its Party in order to "complete the Indian revolution."

A little over a year ago, a small nation in the Arab world broke loose from colonial bondage through armed rebellion. After attaining freedom from foreign tutelage, it now faces



TRICONTINENTAL

Theoretical Organ of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

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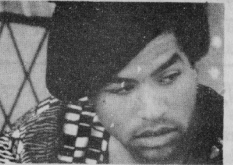
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a new and perhaps more difficult task: the attainment of economic freedom. "South Yemen: Toward Definitive Liberation" (our contribution to Meridian Liberation) presents a view of the difficulties which the South Yemenite revolutionaries must face and overcome in this decisive stage of the national liberation of their people.

Who are the Tupamaros? How do they function? To what do they aspire? These questions, which have been asked more than once by those interested in the Latin American problem, are fully answered in Experiences and Facts by newsman Carlos Nuñez. His article "The Tupamaros: Armed Vanguard in Uruguay" offers, for the first time, detailed information about this movement which, with its daring actions, has made armed struggle the order of the day for this small South American country.

In the same section, French newsman and writer Albert-Paul Lentin presents us with a global panorama of the problem of hunger, veritable scourge of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, "the continents of poverty." "Sociography of Misery," an analysis of the causes of hunger, offers proof of the evidence that only through revolutionary violence can the underdeveloped world put an end to exploitation by foreign powers.

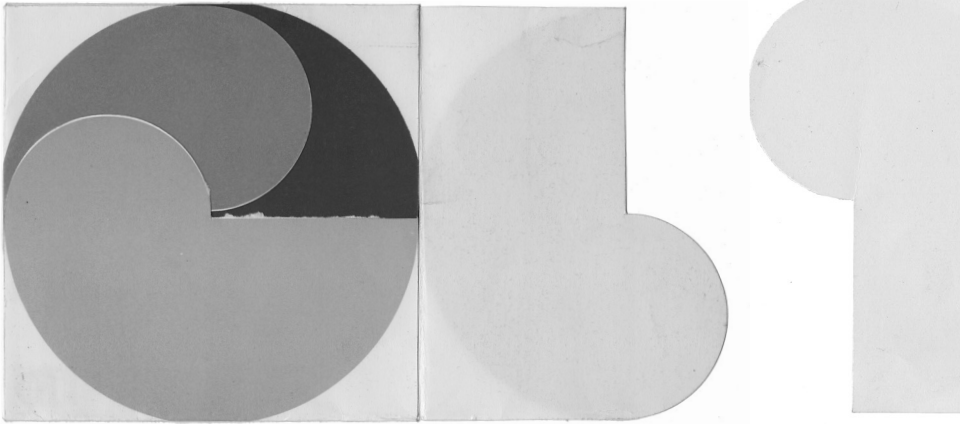
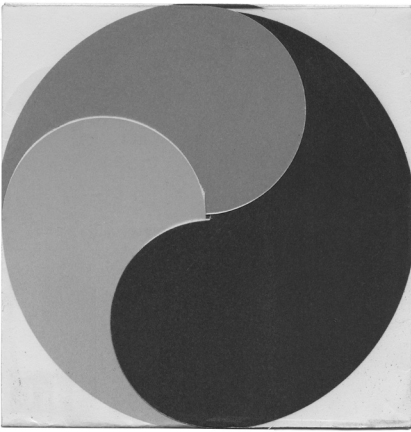
Books of Today is again honored by an article by well-known writer Wilfred Burchett. This time it consists of a chapter from Why the Vietcong Wins, his book which will soon be published by Tricontinental Publishing House. "Making an Army" (the third chapter of the book) is an eloquent exposition of the origins of the People's Liberation Armed Forces, the army which has defeated the Yankees and their mercenaries in South Viet-Nam.

Voices of protest and indignation rise from the very entrails of the monster. These voices tell us of their concern; they tell us of the ills affecting the capitalist society of the United States; and they promise us in no uncertain terms that they will continue struggling until victory is attained. "USA: the Alienation of Culture," which appears in New Expression, and "Black Panthers: the Afro-Americans' Challenge," appearing in Man and his Word, are integral parts of the same denunciation of the imperialist and racist system which has the United States as its vortex. The first is an article by outstanding US folklorist and writer, Irwin Silber, the second, an interview with George Murray, Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party, and Joudon Major Ford, New York leader of that organization.

On the back cover a poster by Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture of the Black Panther Party, graphically illustrates the path to liberation indicated by Silber, Murray, and Ford.

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Artist unknown, *"The Organization of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America wishes [sic] you success in the revolutionary struggle in 1969"*, 1968. Folding greeting card. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam



La Organización
de la Solidaridad de los
Pueblos de Africa, Asia y América
Latina (OSPAAAL) les desea éxitos en
la lucha revolucionaria para 1969.

L'Organisation de la Solidarité des Peuples
d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique Latine (OSPAAAL)
vous souhaite de grands succès dans la lutte
révolutionnaire pour 1969.

The Organization of the Solidarity of the Peoples
of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL)
wishes you success in the revolutionary struggle
in 1969.

نشطة فضائل شعوب أفريقيا و آسيا و أمريكا اللاتينية
تتمنى لكم النجاح في فضلكم الثوري
بمناسبة عام ١٩٦٩

Messages to the Tricontinental

British Movietone news footage of the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 1966. Courtesy Associated Press, story no. BM90710.

News photograph of billboard promoting the Tricontinental Conference, c. 1966. Photo 12/ Universal Images Group via Getty Images.

News photograph of signs in central Havana promoting the Tricontinental Conference, 1965. SVF2/Universal Images Group via Getty Images.

News photograph of signs on the Hotel Habana Libre promoting the Tricontinental Conference, 1966. Keystone-France/Gamma-Keystone via Getty Images.

René Portocarrero, *Saludamos Primera Conferencia Tricontinental*, 1965/66. Silkscreen print. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Fernando Valdes, *Nuestra lucha es una sola y el imperialismo es también uno solo: Conferencia Tricontinental Enero 1966 La Habana*, 1966. Offset print. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference, Cairo, December 26, 1957–January 1, 1958. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958. Private collection.

A Common Aspiration: The Overthrow of Imperialism, Unites Cuba with Africa and Asia. Havana: Foreign Ministry Information Department, 1965. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Envelope with various *Correos de Cuba* stamps made to

commemorate the Tricontinental Conference, 1966. Private collection.

Three *Correos de Cuba* stamps made to commemorate the Tricontinental Conference, 1965. Private collection.

Reinhilde Suárez, *This Great Humanity has said: "Enough!" International Week of Tricontinental Solidarity January 3rd to 10th/1968*, 1968. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Federación Mundial de la Juventud Democrática, *Viva la conferencia tricontinental: La Habana 3-11 Enero 1966*, 1966. Offset print. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Alberto Blanco González, *Namibia: Power to the People*, 1981. Offset print. The Center for International Performance and Exhibition, dba HotHouse.

Daniel García, *Hiroshima: Solidarity with the Japanese People August 8*, 1971. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Artist unknown, *Asia: Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia September 30 to October 6*, 1968. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

José Papiol Torrent, *World Day of Solidarity with Cuba July 26th*, 1968. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Olivio Martínez Viera, *Mozambique: September 25 World Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Mozambique*, 1967. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Rafael Morante Boyerizo, *Free All Political Prisoners: Solidarity with the Afroamerican People August 18*, 1971. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Antonio Fernández Mariño, *Day of Solidarity with Guatemala February 6*, 1970. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Olivio Martínez Viera, *August 18 / World Day of Solidarity with the Struggles of the Afro-American People*, 1972. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Mario Sandoval Rodríguez, *Month of Solidarity with Korea – June 25 to July 27*, 1968. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

René Mederos, *Day of World Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of South Africa (June 26)*, 1970. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Andrés Hernández, *Day of World Solidarity with Laos 12 October*, 1972. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Alfredo Rostgaard, *Tricontinental Conference: Fourth Anniversary*, 1970. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Jesús Forjans Boade, *Day of Solidarity with the People of Mozambique (September 25)*, 1969. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Lázaro Abreu Padrón, *Fedayeen*, 1968. Silkscreen print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Rafael Zarza González, *Day of Solidarity with the People of Laos (October 12)*, 1969. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Berta Abeléndá Fernández, *Day of Solidarity with the People of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde / August 3*, 1968. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Faustino Pérez Organero, *Day of Solidarity with Zimbabwe (March 17)*, 1970. Offset print. The Center for International Performance and Exhibition, dba HotHouse.

Berta Abeléndá Fernández, *Day of Solidarity with the Arab Peoples – June 5*, 1968. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Daysi García López, *Angola: Day of Solidarity 4 February*, 1969. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Faustino Pérez Organero, *Day of Solidarity with the People of Palestine May 15*, 1968. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Faustino Pérez Organero, *Day of Solidarity with the People of Venezuela November 21*, 1969. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

José Luciano Martínez, *Day of Solidarity with Angola February 4*, 1972. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Gladys Acosta Ávila, *Korea: Month of Solidarity with Korea*

June 25 to July 27, 1968. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Berta Abeléndá Fernández, *Day of Solidarity with the People of South Africa – June 26*, 1969. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Alfredo Rostgaard, *Day of Solidarity with the Congo (L) February 13*, 1972. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Alfredo Rostgaard, *Untitled*, 1972. Offset print. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York, and private collection.

Tricontinental magazine, nos. 21–22, 1970–71. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York, and private collection.

Alfredo Rostgaard, *Untitled (Banque national du Congo)*, 1968. Offset print. Private collection.

Alfredo Rostgaard, *Untitled (Roaring Panther)*, 1968. Exhibition print. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics.

Artist unknown, *Untitled (“The Organization of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America wishes [sic] you success in the revolutionary struggle in 1969”)*, 1968. Folding greeting card. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Various numbers of *Tricontinental* magazine and *Tricontinental Bulletin*, 1969–74. Courtesy of Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Fighting Hymns. Havana: Tricontinental Publishers, 1969.

Multipliers

Various numbers of *Tricontinental* magazine (French, Italian, and German editions), 1968–70. Private collection.

Magazine produced by the Comité des 3 continents at Sorbonne University, Paris, May 1968. Courtesy May Events Archive, and Andrew Feenberg.

Alfredo Rostgaard, *Black Power: Retaliation to Crime: Revolutionary Violence*, 1968. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Rafael Morante Boyerizo; Glad Day Press, *Angola Solidarity February 4*, c. 1974. Offset print. Courtesy Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Rafael Morante Boyerizo, *Solidarity Angola: February 4*, c. 1974. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Olivia Martínez Viera, *Solidarity*, 1972. Offset print. Courtesy Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia, *Stop the Bombing! U.S. Out Now!*, 1972. Offset print. From the Rupert and Madison Garcia Collection, California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, Department of Special Research Collections, UCSB Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Atelier Populaire, *Liberez les prisonniers politiques noirs U.S.A! Free Huey Newton!*, 1968. Reproduction courtesy of the Philippe Zoummeroff Collection of May 1968, Beinecke Rare

Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[Appeal for the Freedom of Huey Newton], *Free Huey Newton!* postcard, c. 1968. Wisconsin Historical Society.

The Black Panther, vol. 2, no. 6, September 14, 1968. Courtesy Southern California Library.

Terry Cannon (text); Frank Cieciorka (illustrations), *All Power to the People: The Story of The Black Panther Party*. San Francisco: Peoples Press, 1970. Private collection.

Tricontinental U.S.A.

Jane Norling, *September 23 / Day Of World Solidarity With The Struggle Of The People Of Puerto Rico, 1972–73*. Offset print. University of New Mexico Libraries, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

Jane Norling, *October 14: March & Rally Against the War, 1972*. Silkscreen print. From the Rupert and Madison Garcia Collection, California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, Department of Special Research Collections, UCSB Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Various numbers of *Tricontinental* magazine (North American edition), 1972–73. Courtesy Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Arlene Eisen (text); Jane Norling (illustrations), *Women of Vietnam*. San Francisco: Peoples Press, 1974. Private collection.

Jane Norling, *Con Las Mujeres Cubanas*, 1977. Offset print. Courtesy Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

Four numbers of *The Black Panther*, 1969–71. Courtesy Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York, and Southern California Library.

Emory Douglas, *Afro-American Solidarity with the Oppressed People of the World*, 1969. Exhibition print. © 2019 Emory Douglas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

Emory Douglas, “*Wherever Death May Surprise Us . . .*”, c. 1967. Exhibition print. © 2019 Emory Douglas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

Emory Douglas, “*We are Advocates of the Abolition of War . . .*”, c. 1969. Exhibition print. © 2019 Emory Douglas / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

Lázaro Abreu Padrón, *Solidarity with the African American People August 18, 1968, 1968*. Offset print. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics.

Artist unknown, *Day of International Solidarity with the Afro-American People* postcard, undated. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

The Black Panther, vol. 2, no. 29, April 6, 1969. Courtesy Southern California Library.

Tricontinental Bulletin, no. 32, 1970. Courtesy Interference Archive, Brooklyn, New York.

The Black Panther, vol. 2, no. 3, May 18, 1968. Private collection.

Malaquías Montoya, *TWLF ¡Huelga!*, 1969. Silkscreen print. From the Rupert and Madison Garcia Collection, California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, Department of Special Research Collections,

UCSB Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Rupert García, *Down with the Whiteness*, 1969. Silkscreen print. © The artist, courtesy Rena Bransten Gallery, San Francisco.

Rupert García, *iFuera de Indochina!*, 1970/2000. Silkscreen print. © The artist, courtesy Rena Bransten Gallery, San Francisco.

Malaquíás Montoya, *Viet Nam Aztlan*, 1973. Offset print. Courtesy Malaquíás Montoya.

A New Network

René Mederos, *Women Ploughing*, 1969. Silkscreen print. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics.

René Mederos, *Soldiers Taking Aim*, 1969. Silkscreen print. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics.

René Mederos, *Family Hiding Underground*, 1969. Silkscreen print. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics.

H. Hoan, *Hiệp đồng chiến đấu. Bắn rơi nhiều máy bay địch mở đường tiến quân* ("Cooperation in battle. Shoot down many enemy aircraft in order to launch the offensive"), 1972. Silkscreen print. Courtesy of Track 16 Gallery, Los Angeles, California.

Artist unknown, *Quyết tâm thắng lụt lũ* ("Determined to overcome the consequences of storm and floods"), undated. Silkscreen print. Private collection.

Phan Thông, *Không có gì quý hơn độc lập, tự do* ("Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom"),

1967. Silkscreen print. Private collection.

René Mederos, *Soldiers on Patrol*, 1972. Silkscreen print. Courtesy Javier Hernandez-Miyares.

René Mederos, *Three Militia Women Drinking Tea*, 1972. Silkscreen print. Courtesy Javier Hernandez-Miyares.

René Mederos, *Artists Under Viet Cong Flag*, 1972. Silkscreen print. Courtesy Javier Hernandez-Miyares.

Ramparts, April 1970. Private collection.

Viet Nam Vencera. Havana: Publisher unknown, c. 1971. Courtesy Javier Hernandez-Miyares.

René Mederos, *Como en Viet Nam: Mes de la Ofensiva del Tet*, c. 1970. Silkscreen print. From the Rupert and Madison Garcia Collection, California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, Department of Special Research Collections, UCSB Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

George Hallett and Ian Scott, cover sheet of calendar for 1976, 1975. Offset print. Basler Afrika Bibliographien – Poster Collection.

George Hallett and Ian Scott, calendar sheet for February 1976, 1975. Offset print. Basler Afrika Bibliographien – Poster Collection.

George Hallett and Ian Scott, calendar sheet for August 1976, 1975. Offset print. Basler Afrika Bibliographien – Poster Collection.

George Hallett and Gavin Jantjes, *Victory to the*

Namibian People's Struggle, 1976. Offset print. Basler Afrika Bibliographien – Poster Collection.

Marc Rudin, *Massacres Will Never Stop the Struggle of the Palestinians!*, 1984. Offset print. Private collection.

Marc Rudin, *The Land*, 1980. Offset print. Private collection.

Two numbers of *PFLP Bulletin*, 1980–81. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Kameel Hawa, *When we were in Sierra Maestra we got Inspired by the Resistance and Great Victory of Suez-Castro*, 1981. Exhibition print. Courtesy Signs of Conflict/Zeina Maasri.

Kamal Boullata, *Solidarity*, 1971. Offset print. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Ismail Shammout, *Vietnam-Palestine*, c. 1972. Offset print. Collection, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Institutional Apparatuses, or, the Museum as Form

While the exhibition has come to define the profile of curating and its museums as the primary site of social or political engagement with the public, a number of contemporary visual arts organizations and their workers endeavor to shed this inheritance. Instead, they pursue their missions through close, revisionary engagement with the administrative, logistical, and programmatic armatures that prop up cultural institutions—that domain of activities that has elsewhere been called the “paracuratorial.” We take the “paracuratorial” to imply the culture worker’s obligations outside of exhibition-making (programming, education, education, stewardship, archiving, administration, and the like), along with the infrastructures of extra-exhibitionary activity. Unlike the temporary exhibition, this working group proposes, these function as primary sites of the institution’s politics, knowledge production, and sociality. The group will investigate genealogies that trace how contemporary curating became a saturated medium, and will focus on the sites and structures within which museums reflexively grapple with their ethical obligations.

Guests for the fall will include Michelle Millar Fisher curator at Museum of Fine Arts Boston and initiator of the Art/Museum Salary Transparency Project, curator and writer Nikki Columbus, artist Pablo Helguera, Deana Haggag of United States Artists, Ryan Dennis of Project Row Houses, Connie Choi of the Studio Museum in Harlem, Michael Connor of Rhizome, and Binna Choi of Casco Art Institute. Organized by Kirsten Gill and Lauren at in the James Gallery at the Graduate Center, CUNY, this working group emerged from the Curatorial Practicum course in the PhD Program in Art History at the Graduate Center and is supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

The James Gallery

Fri, Sep 27, 6:30pm
Panel Discussion

ARTMargins Special Issue Launch of “Art, Institutions, and Internationalism: 1945–1973”

Join us for a roundtable discussion and launch of the special issue of *ARTMargins* on “Art, Institutions, and Internationalism: 1945–1973.” Edited by Chelsea Haines (The Graduate Center, CUNY) and Gemma Sharpe (The Graduate Center, CUNY), the issue analyzes the relationship between modern art and the emergence of a new form of internationalism through decolonization and geopolitical realignments between 1945 and 1973. Along with the special issue editors, panelists include *ARTMargins* editors Karen Benezra (Assistant Professor, Columbia University) and Andrew Weiner (Assistant Professor, New York University), and artist Sreshta Rit Premnath (Assistant Professor, Parsons The New School for Design).

Co-sponsored the Center for the Humanities, ART-Margins, the James Gallery, and the Department of Art History at the Graduate Center, CUNY.

The Skylight Room (9100)

Un-Fair Trades: Artistic Intersections with Social and Environmental Injustices in the Atlantic World

Artists have engaged with issues of oppression and exploitation—byproducts of colonialist and capitalist systems—throughout the history of transatlantic encounters: from slavery and resource extraction; to exploitative labor practices and the environmental consequences of industrialization; and human rights movements and climate change anxieties of the past century. This conference will examine a multitude of artistic responses to increasing global connections, which could include plantation scenes, images of the Middle Passage, social reform photography, industrialized cityscapes, and images of workers and employment. When examined through the lens of our contemporary social and environmental concerns, artworks whose motifs intersect with these imbalances of power compel us to analyze the visualizations of oppression and environmental degradation from a new perspective. Amid the 21st-century activist revival (with movements like Occupy Wall Street, #BlackLivesMatter, #NODAPL, and #MeToo) it is more prescient than ever to acknowledge, examine, and reflect upon both historic and perpetuating inequalities.

Two keynote addresses by Dr. Alan C. Brad-dock and Dr. Charmaine A. Nelson will unite the broad themes of this conference.

This conference is co-sponsored by the John Rewald Endowment, the Center for the Humanities, the Advanced Research Collaborative (ARC), the Institute for Research on the African Diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean (IRADAC), The Stone Center on Socio-Economic Inequality, and the Center for Place, Culture, and Politics (CPCP) at the Graduate Center, CUNY, and Pratt Institute.

Martin E. Segal Theatre

Thu, Oct 17, 6pm
Conversation

Tricontinentalism in Perspective

Anne Garland Mahler, Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, University of Virginia; Robyn C. Spencer, History, The Graduate Center and Lehman College, CUNY; Debra Lennard, PhD Program in Art History, The Graduate Center, CUNY; and others.

Tricontinentalism took multiple forms as a self-determination movement of the global south, a political project of the post-revolutionary Cuban state, a cultural production, a discourse, and an ethos. Join us for this evening of discussion unpacking Tricontinentalism from several disciplinary angles, and considering its legacy today. Presentations by speakers will be followed by a conversation moderated by Debra Lennard, curator of *Notes on Solidarity: Tricontinentalism in Print*.

The James Gallery

Mon, Oct 21, 6pm
Conversation

Papers to be Held: Printmaking in Expanded View

Gilda Posada, artist and PhD program in History of Art at Cornell University; Tatiana Reinoza, Department of Art, Art History, and Design, University of Notre Dame; Max Schumann, Executive Director of Printed Matter, Inc.; and Debra Lennard, PhD Program in Art History, the Graduate Center, CUNY.

What is the significance of the *material* aspects of printed matter in contexts of protest: in making a placard, or reading a zine? Can we understand printed materials within social movements as being more than just organizing tools? Focusing on the experiential and physical aspects of printed materials, this evening of discussion brings together scholars and artists whose work engages with printed materials as both a site to act, and to be acted on.

The James Gallery

Wed, Oct 23, 6pm

Performance and Conversation

Poetry Listening Session

Brent Hayes Edwards, Columbia University;
Fred Moten, New York University.

To kick off the *Unit Structures: The Art of Cecil Taylor Conference*, Brent Hayes Edwards and Fred Moten will play hosts to a listening session featuring Cecil Taylor's poetry performances. Drawing from their ongoing research collaboration involving Taylor's unpublished poetry manuscripts, Edwards and Moten will facilitate an immersive experience that delves into sounds, the voice, poetics, politics and representation, performance—with Cecil Taylor's poetry/music/practice—through the faculty of our listening(s).

Co-sponsored by the James Gallery, the Center for the Humanities, Advanced Research Collaborative, IRADAC, PublicsLab, Lost & Found: The CUNY Poetics Document Initiative, the Baisley Powell Elebash Fund at the Graduate Center, CUNY; and the Hitchcock Institute for the Study of American Music at Brooklyn College, and Constance Old.

The James Gallery

Exhibition Credits

Exhibition curator: Debra Lennard
James Gallery curator: Katherine Carl

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The mission of The Amie and Tony James Gallery is to bring artists and scholars into public dialogue on topics of mutual concern. Located in midtown Manhattan at the nexus of the academy, contemporary art, and the city, the gallery creates and presents artwork to the public in a variety of formats. While some exhibitions remain on view for extended contemplation, other activities such as performances, workshops, reading groups, roundtable discussions, salons, and screenings have a short duration. The gallery works with scholars, students, artists and the public to explore working methods that may lie outside usual disciplinary boundaries. All exhibitions and programming are free, accessible, and open to the public on a first-come, first-served basis.

The James Gallery