



1966-2016

legacies of the tricontinental

imperialism, resistance, law

Centre for Social Studies
University of Coimbra
Portugal

22-24 September 2016

THE 1966 SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

The 1966 Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, or Tricontinental Conference as it is better known, remains one of the largest gatherings of anti-imperialists in the world. More than 500 representatives from the national liberation movements, guerrillas and independent governments of some 82 countries gathered in Havana, Cuba to discuss the burning strategic questions confronting the anti-imperialist movement of the day. Amongst the delegates were some of the most important figures in the anti-imperialist movement including Fidel Castro, Salvador Allende and Amílcar Cabral.

Building on the earlier 1955 Bandung Conference and 1964 UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Tricontinental represented the extension, into the Americas, of Afro-Asian solidarity begun at Bandung. As such, the Tricontinental marked a highpoint in the emergence of a non-aligned movement and the construction of a Third World anti-imperialist project. At the same time, the Tricontinental represented a break with those earlier efforts. Whereas Bandung was a relatively modest affair, in which the various political currents in the Third World came together to articulate a minimum programme, the Tricontinental was avowedly more radical, explicitly attempting to align anti-imperialism with a wider challenge to capitalism. In the words of Mehdi Ben Barka, Moroccan socialist leader and organiser of the Conference, the Tricontinental aimed to 'blend the two great currents of world revolution: that which was born in 1917 with the Russian Revolution, and that which represents the anti-imperialist and national liberation movements of today'. Indeed, the Conference featured leftist guerrillas who were busy fighting against their own Third World governments.

In keeping with this radical orientation, the Conference condemned imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, declaring its solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle against the United States. The Conference called more widely for solidarity amongst the radical currents in the Third World and debated what role they would take in relation to the United Nations. In so doing, the Conference created much controversy in the developed world, becoming the target of numerous attempts at subversion.

Despite its significance, the Tricontinental has received very little scholarly attention. Scholarship has tended to focus on the relatively modest demands of the Bandung Conference, and neglected the political cleavage represented by the Tricontinental. A key element of the Third World story has been missed and the rich heterodox theoretical and political perspectives put forward by the Tricontinental remain lost to us. The 50th anniversary of the First Tricontinental is an opportunity to reflect on its enduring political, legal and economic importance. We wish to consider both the historical importance of the Conference and its role as a key site for the Third World project, as well as its legacy, both intellectual and political, today.

ORGANISERS

Conference Chairs

Tor Krever, Teresa Almeida Cravo, Robert Knox

Organising Committee

Luis Eslava, Christopher Gevers, Christine Schwöbel-Patel

Administrative Team

Inês Costa, Alexandra Pereira, Irina Castro, Mariana Garrido, Pedro Dias da Silva, Rita Pais, Catarina Fernandes, André Queda

SUPPORT

The conference is made possible by the generous support of the **Centre for Social Studies (CES)** and **Faculty of Economics (FEUC)** at the University of Coimbra as well as a grant from the **Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT)**.

We are also grateful for the financial support of the following CES and FEUC doctoral programmes: **'International Politics and Conflict Resolution'**, **'Post-Colonialisms and Global Citizenship'**, **'Human Rights in Contemporary Society'**, and **'Democracy in the Twenty-First Century'**. Likewise, we are thankful to the **CAICL Research Cluster** at the **University of Liverpool** for their additional support.

Delta Coffee has donated a supply of coffee and the use of their equipment. Finally, we are thankful for the support of the following hotels, which offered discounted rates for conference participants: **Hotel Astória, Hotel Botânico de Coimbra, Tivoli Coimbra, and TRYP Coimbra.**



THURSDAY 9.00-9.30

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA - ENTRANCE HALL

Registration

9.30-10.00

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA

Welcome and Introduction

Tor Krever – Legacies of the Tricontinental, 1966-2016

10.00-12.00

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA

Plenary

Anti-imperialism and the Tricontinental

Chair: Tor Krever

Richard Drayton – The Road to the Tricontinental: Anti-imperialism and the Politics of the Twentieth Century

Robert JC Young – Disseminating the Tricontinental

Rashmi Varma – Dissenting Histories: Feminism and Anti-imperialism

THURSDAY 13.30-15.00

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA

Tricontinental Solidarity I

Chair: **Robert Knox**

Vannessa Hearman – Hopes in Havana: Indonesia's appeal for transnational solidarity at the 1966 Tricontinental Conference

Leslie James – 'Essential things such as typewriters': the mobilisation of discourse and the politics of expertise in the project for a new Africa

Mikuláš Pešta – Tricontinental as a radicalisation factor of the Left-wing terrorist groups in Europe

João Arsénio Nunes – The Portuguese Communist Party and the 'Cuban Line' in the International Communist Movement

CES SEMINAR ROOM 2

Imperialism and Resistance in the Americas

Chair: **Teresa Almeida Cravo**

Denis Rogatyuk – The Citizens' Revolution: economic development, constitutional change and labor rights in Ecuador

Jonas Van Vossole – Sub-imperial South: the Case of Brazil today

Isaac Saney – Patria Es Humanidad: Tricontinentalism, Anti-Imperialism and Socialism In Cuba

Ana Isabel Rodríguez Iglesias – A Genealogy of El Salvador-US Economic Relations: Implications for Security, from the Alliance for Progress to the Alliance for Prosperity

CES SEMINAR ROOM 1

Remembering Che

Chair: **Luis Eslava**

Natalia Delgado – The New Men and Women at Work: Contributions of Ernesto Che Guevara's thought

Renzo Llorente – Che Guevara's Anti-Imperialism

Carla Prado – 'Towards a great and nearby future': the influence of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara in Algeria

Philip Kaisary – Che Guevara: Revolutionary Politics and a New State of Being

MATHEMATICS ROOM 2.3

Transitions, Sanctions and Breaking Points

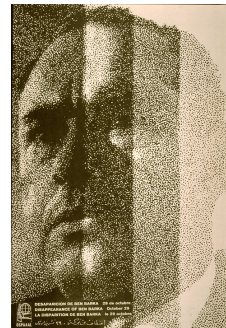
Chair: **Christine Schwöbel-Patel**

Göksu Uğurlu – The Change of the Concept of Sovereignty?: An Analysis on the Constitution Making Process in Iraq after 2003

Taliyah Mirmalek – Docility through Disability: The Case of the UN Sanctions Disciplinary Regime Against Iraq and Iran

Noha Aboueldahab – The Arab Spring: The End of Post-colonialism?

Sophie Rigney – Reparations, Responsibility, and Recognition: the United Kingdom and Nation-Building in Indigenous Australia



OSPAAAL POSTER DISPLAY

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA - FOYER

Thursday - Saturday

The Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL) was founded in January 1966 following the Tricontinental Conference. Supporting anti-imperial liberation movements around the world, the organization became a major producer of political solidarity posters, distributing them internationally in OSPAAAL's *Tricontinental* journal.

A collection of OSPAAAL posters, including both original and reproduction prints, will be on display in the foyer of the Auditório da Reitoria for the duration of the conference.



THURSDAY 15.30-17.00

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA

Theorising Imperialism and Revolution

Chair: **Tor Krevier**

Henry Veltmeyer – Imperialism in an era of extractive capitalism

David Yaffe – Imperialism and the split in the working class movement

John Narayan – Huey P. Newton: An Unacknowledged Sociology of Empire

Sandra Pogodda – Violence and Revolutions

CES SEMINAR ROOM 2

Crime, Criminals and the International in the *longue durée*

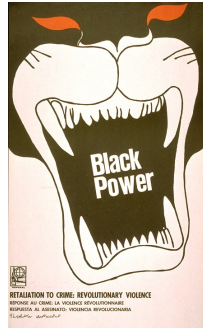
Chair: **Christopher Gevers**

Claire Vergerio – Alberico Gentili and the Modern Conception of International Violence

Eric Loefflad – Decolonisation, the Nation-State Form, and the 'Double-Track Approach to International Criminal Justice'

Regina Paulose – Reparations: Addressing Colonization in the light of International Criminal Law

Harj Narulla – Rethinking 'Colonial' International Law: Recognising Truth Commissions under the ICC's Complementarity Regime



CES SEMINAR ROOM 1

Transnational Liberation

Chair: **Miguel Cardina**

Paul Emiljanowiiicz & Khaled Al-kassimi – Decolonial Counterplots to Modernity: Cabralian Praxis and the Legacies of Bandung and Tri-Continental, 1955-2016

Eilin Rafael Pérez – Of Solidarity and Self-Reliance: North Korea and the Transnational Performance of Power

Christine Schwöbel-Patel – Tricontinental Posters: Aesthetics, Violence and International Law

MATHEMATICS ROOM 2.3

History, Materiality and International Law on the Left

Chair: **Sergio Martín Tapia Argüello**

Rose Parfitt – Thinking through the Arco dei Fileni: Fascist Self-Determination Yesterday and Tomorrow

Miguel Rábago Dobecker – The Tricontinental Ethos in Latin American International Law: Rupture, containment, continuity

Paulo Ilich Bacca – Indigenizing International Law: Inverse Legal Anthropology and Indigenous Jurisprudence in the Age of Recognition

German Sandoval – Rebellion against imperialism is to obey dignity

THURSDAY 17.30-19.30

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA

Plenary

Tricontinental Figures: Ben Barka, Cabral, Guevara

Chair: **Teresa Almeida Cravo**

Bachir Ben Barka – Mehdi Ben Barka, Icon of International Solidarity and the Anti-Colonial Struggle Against Imperialism

José Neves – From Cuba to Cuba: Amílcar Cabral, the People and the Politics of Production

Helen Yaffe – Che Guevara and the Transition to Socialism



THURSDAY 20.00-

CENTRO CULTURAL DOM DINIS

Conference Dinner

For conference participants who have registered for the dinner.

FRIDAY 9.30-11.00

CES SEMINAR ROOM 1

Decolonizing International Law

Chair: **Luis Eslava**

Jochen von Bernstorff – The Battle for International Law in the Decolonization Period

Joseph Slaughter – ‘A cualquier precio’: Self-determination and the Tricontinental’s Struggle with Human Rights

Michael Morison – The De-Evolution of Third World Freedom: From Mandated Territory to Good Governance

MATHEMATICS ROOM 2.3

Race, Liberation and Empire

Chair: **Leslie James**

Lisa Corrigan – Black Power as Black Pessimism: Mapping The Affects of Postcolonialism onto the Movement

Marta Araújo – We will not include Samora Machel at the expense of Luís de Camões! Race, history, education and liberation struggles after the end of empire

Sam Holder – The Flint Water Crisis: Atmospheric Racial Violence and the Invisible American Subaltern

Musab Younis – The Black Atlantic between the wars: theorising race and whiteness

CES SEMINAR ROOM 2

The Political Economy of Imperialism

Chair: **Christine Schwöbel-Patel**

João Rodrigues & Nuno Teles – Imperialism in unlikely places? The Euro and Portugal

Paul Bullock – The role of the banks in the current Global Economic Crisis

Trevor Rayne – Crisis and the manipulations of high finance

MATHEMATICS GOMES TEIXEIRA ROOM

Imperialism and Resistance in Africa

Chair: **Christopher Gevers**

Branwen Gruffydd Jones – ‘Struggling in defence of international legality’: African anticolonialism in international law

Maria-Benedita Basto – tba

Pablo Gilolmo Lobo – African liberation theories and political projects for social transformation: Amílcar Cabral and Julius Nyerere

Shane Chalmers – Civil Death in the Dominion of Freedom: Liberia and the Logic of Capital

FRIDAY 11.30-13.00

CES SEMINAR ROOM 1

Tricontinental Solidarity II

Chair: **Robert Knox**

Jeffrey James Byrne – Disunity in the face of détente: Tricontinentalism, Non-Alignment, and the resurgence of the Third World project, 1965-1973

Lauren Elizabeth Horst – ‘We the Tricontinental’: Imagining solidarity in the *Tricontinental* magazine

Virinder Kalra – Tracing and Recovering Internationalist Solidarity: The *Lotus* Journal

Laure Guirguis – Reclaiming the People’s War from La Havana to Salalah: Imaginaries, Strategies and Paradoxical Legacies of Revolutionary Violence

MATHEMATICS ROOM 2.3

Peace, Power and Solidarity

Chair: **Rose Parfitt**

Yasmine Loza – Geographies of Power: Representing ‘Arab women’ and the Epistemological Languages of Reproduction and/or Resistance to Imperialist Domination

Tatiana Daré – Women and peace: conciliation or contradiction?

Marina Lourenço-Yilmaz – Resistance as a Terrorist Offence: criminalisation of dissent and the case of Turkey’s Academics for Peace

Maurício Vieira – Is there a geopolitics of solidarity?

CES SEMINAR ROOM 2

Imperialism and Resistance in Palestine

Chair: **John Reynolds**

Paulo Barata – Hamas and the process of Palestinian decolonization

Helmut Krieger – De-Containing Palestine: Lineages of an Anti-Colonial Struggle

Moara Crivelente – Emancipatory Law? In search of an instrument of Palestinian liberation

MATHEMATICS GOMES TEIXEIRA ROOM

Borders, Class, Empire

Chair: **Mariana Garrido**

Ceren Türkmen – Communist Migrants, Anti-Imperialist Analyses and the Making of Antiracist Struggles in the Ruhr-Valley (1955-1980)

Maïa Pal – Migrants and borders: exploring new historical subjects for critical pedagogies in international law and international relations

Aino Korvensyrjä – EU border externalisation and the new Scramble for Africa

Aleksi Ylönen – To Split or Not to Split? Partition as a Political Settlement in the Horn of Africa

FRIDAY 14.30-16.30

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA Plenary

Anti-Imperialist Thought and the Literary Imagination

Chair: **Robert Knox**

Benita Parry – Resistance, Again

Timothy Brennan – Khaldunia: The Literary Politics of Radical Arabic Humanism

Keya Ganguly – Bandung, Antagonism, Writing

FRIDAY 16.45-18.00

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA Plenary

Keynote Lecture

Chair: **Teresa Almeida Cravo**

Vijay Prashad – In the Ruins of the Tricontinental

FRIDAY 21.00-

CAFÉ TROPICAL

Social

Join the conference organisers for drinks at Café Tropical on Coimbra’s main square, Praça da República.

SATURDAY 9.30-11.00

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA

Tricontinental Visions: Internationalism, Cosmopolitanism and the Politics of Solidarity

Chair: **Christopher Gevers**

Vasuki Nesiah – Manifestos, Global Solidarities and Freedom Projects

Ayça Çubukçu – The Humanity of Franz Fanon

Vidya Kumar – Revolutionaries in International Law

Hani Sayed – The Image, History and Emancipation

CES SEMINAR ROOM 2

English & Portuguese

Echoes of the past and Politics of the Present in Lusophone Africa

Chair: **João Rodrigues**

Alexandra Magnólia Dias – From the gatekeeper state to a post-imperial space? Portugal and the CPLP

Edalina Sanches – Beyond decolonization? Portugal and Lusophone Africa at the UNGA

Miguel Cardina & Susana Martins – Sobre o fenómeno da deserção na guerra colonial

Sílvia Roque – Cabral vive? Possibilidades de um legado a partir de olhares de jovens guineenses

CES SEMINAR ROOM 1

Anticolonial Coalitions

Chair: **Leslie James**

Noa Ha – Unsettling coloniality in Europe

José Arce – Towards an Anti-colonial Front: the Legacies of the Black Panther Party and Malcolm X

Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo & José Pedro Monteiro – The uses of the international: Colonial labour, international organizations and anti-imperial mobilization (1945-1975)

CES SEMINAR ROOM 8

Spanish & Portuguese

Imperialism and its Oppositions

Chair: **Silvia Rodríguez Maeso**

Antonio Ortega Santos & Chiara Olivieri – De Bandung a Urumqi: la alineación de China y la salida de 'tercer mundo'

Francesca Paola Casmiro Gallo – Caminando hacía una investigación compartida

Jafar Silvestre Jafar – 'Elos perdidos' no processo de construção da democracia e da paz e o apel da universidade em moçambique

Verónica Yuquilema Yupangui – La Justicia Kichwa: Un Sistema de Justicia que vive, más allá del Derecho eurocéntrico ecuatoriano

SATURDAY 11.30-13.00

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA

Representing Imperialism

Chair: **Joseph Slaughter**

Daniel Widener – Por Eso Cantamos: Paredon Records and the Sound of the Revolutionary Left

Joaquín Barriendedos – BASTA! Pop, 'Foquismo', and the Cinematic Disappearance of Ben Barka

Ros Gray – Becoming Revolutionary: Med Hondo's *Soleil O*

Tariq Mehmood – Reflection on *Lotus*, the journal of the Afro-Asian Writer's Association

CES SEMINAR ROOM 2

Imperialism, Human Rights and History

Chair: **José Manuel Pureza**

Ralph Wilde – Postcolonial Approaches to the Extraterritoriality of Socio-Economic Rights

Radha D'Souza – Bringing International Law back to Earth in the 'Epoch' of Imperialism

Sergio Martín Tapia Argüello – Human Rights and Critical Legal Studies: A View from Latin American Critical Legal Studies

Miguel Régio de Almeida – Some notes for an alternative historiography of Human Rights: imperialism and resistance on the Iberian School of Natural Law

CES SEMINAR ROOM 1

Violence and (Neo)Colonialism

Chair: **John Reynolds**

Ali Hammoudi – The Unity of Ben Barka's Thought & The Moroccan Origins of Tricontinentalism

Markus Gunneflo – The Assassination of Mehdi Ben Barka and the Shifting Role of International Law in Opposing Imperial Assassination Schemes

Kojo Koram – The Colonial Encounter and The Construction of a Sacrificial International
Campbell Munro – The Advent of Aerial Empire: Air Policing, Imperial Airways, and the Spatio-Legal Construction of Airspace

CES SEMINAR ROOM 8

Portuguese

Categorizar, Disciplinar e Enquadrar o africano: da contrassubversão ao quotidiano laboral

Chair: **Irina Castro**

Bruno Cardoso Reis – Contra-insurreição Portuguesa, imaginar e combater o inimigo subversivo próximo e longínquo

Bernardo Pinto da Cruz – 'As tipologias somáticas mantêm-se': Raça, estatísticas e inteligência no Império Colonial Português

Teresa Furtado – Ordem Colonial e Soberania empresarial: Diamang e Cassequel em perspectiva comparada

SATURDAY 14.30-16.30

AUDITÓRIO DA REITORIA *Plenary* Legacies of the Tricontinental

Chair: **Tor Krever**

Jessica Whyte – *Liberte Sans Frontières*: International Humanitarianism and the New International Economic Order
Robert Knox – From Bandung to Havana: Tricontinentalism, Legalism and the Strategy of Rupture

Sandra Monteiro – The Tricontinental as a practice: what can contemporary internationalism look like?

SATURDAY 16.30-

CAFÉ TROPICAL

Social

Join the conference organisers back at Café Tropical.

(Alternately, you may wish to check out some of Coimbra's historical sights: see page 7)

SATURDAY 21.30-

AQUI BASE TANGO

Party

Celebrate the close of the conference with drinks and dancing at Aqui Base Tango's 'Festa Fora do Armário', a monthly LGBTQ and heterofriendly party organised by PATH, the Platform Against Transphobia and Homophobia.

ROOM GUIDE

1 Auditório da Reitoria

To reach the **Auditório da Reitoria**, enter from Rua Larga, passing between the Physics and Chemistry Departments and descending the stairs to the lower courtyard. The entrance is next to the cafeteria.

2 Mathematics Rooms

The **Mathematics** Department is located on Praça Dom Dinis (at the centre of which stands a statue of King D. Dinis and at the east end of which descends the large Monumental Staircase). **Room 2.3** is on the second floor, while the **Gomes Teixeira Room** is on the third floor. The department's cafeteria is located at the basement level behind the main building.

3 CES Seminar Rooms 1, 2 and 8

The **Centre for Social Studies (CES)** is reached by passing through the gateway at the north-east corner of Praça Dom Dinis. Walk north through the parking lot to reach the main entrance. **Seminar Rooms 1 and 2** are located at the north end of the building. To reach them, continue north through the parking lot past the main CES entrance. **Seminar Room 8** is located on the first floor of CES and reached via the main CES entrance, up one flight of stairs, at the far end of the corridor on the right.

SOCIAL PROGRAMME LOCATIONS

4 Centro Cultural Dom Dinis

The conference dinner, on Thursday evening, is in the **Centro Cultural Dom Dinis**. The Centre is reached by passing CES and continuing north-west along the driveway. It is located up a flight of stairs on the left, opposite the Psychology department.

5 Café Tropical

A popular bar, **Café Tropical** is at Praça da República 34, on the corner with Rua Alexandre Herculano.

6 Aqui Base Tango

Another popular Coimbra bar in a reclaimed police station, **Aqui Base Tango** is at Rua Venâncio Rodrigues 8.

COIMBRA SIGHTS

Founded in 1290, The University of Coimbra is one of the oldest universities in Europe and, since 2013, is a UNESCO World Heritage site. At the historic heart of the university lies the 16th-century **Alcáçova Royal Palace**, now housing the law faculty and administrative offices, and the Baroque **Biblioteca Joanina** (or Joanina Library). Tickets for a self-guided tour of the Palace, including access to the Biblioteca Joanina, can be purchased at the university's **General Library** (see map).

Near the Palace sits the **Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro**, housed in the medieval Bishop's Palace and sitting on the site of the city's original Roman forum. The museum houses a remarkable collection of late medieval and renaissance Portuguese art including Portugal's most extensive collection of sculpture.

Descending through the old town towards the Mondego River, one passes the 12th-century **Old Cathedral** (Sé Velha de Coimbra), the only of Portugal's Romanesque cathedrals from the Reconquista period to survive intact until the present.

