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Oppressed, Resistant, and Revolutionary: The Third World as Designed in the OSPAAAL Graphic Art

Oprimido, resistente e revolucionário: o Terceiro Mundo representado na gráfica da OSPAAAL

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Abstract: This article analyzes the Third Worldist project of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) by focusing on its graphic production. OSPAAAL was founded during the Tricontinental Conference in 1966 and existed until 2019, based in Havana. I argue that the organization played a prominent role in the dissemination of images about the so-called Third World, allowing a certain interpretation of its meaning – associated with the notions of oppression, resistance, revolution, and solidarity – to be visualized at an international level. Different strategies used by artists who worked for OSPAAAL to visually approximate different contexts, in order to sustain this narrative, will be examined. This study is part of the so-called new Cold War historiography and aims to highlight the role played by actors from the Global South in the (re)elaboration and circulation of narratives about the world order in the second half of the twentieth century.
Keywords: political graphic design; solidarity; third world; OSPAAAL; cold war.

Resumo: Este artigo analisa o projeto terceiro-mundista da Organização de Solidariedade dos Povos de África, Ásia e América Latina (OSPAAAL), enfocando sua produção gráfica. A OSPAAAL foi criada em 1966 durante a Conferência Tricontinental e existiu até 2019, sediada em Havana. Argumento que a organização desempenhou um papel destacado na divulgação de imagens sobre o então chamado Terceiro Mundo, permitindo que certa interpretação sobre seu significado – associada às noções de opressão, resistência, revolução e solidariedade – fosse visualizada em nível internacional. Serão examinadas diferentes estratégias utilizadas pelos artistas que trabalharam para a OSPAAAL para aproximar visualmente diferentes contextos a fim de sustentar esta narrativa. Este estudo se insere na chamada nova historiografia da Guerra Fria e visa ressaltar o protagonismo dos

atores do sul global na (re)elaboração e circulação de narrativas sobre a ordem mundial na segunda metade do século XX. **Palavras-chave:** gráfica política; solidariedade; terceiro mundo; OSPAAAL; guerra fria.

In recent years, the literature has paid increasing attention to north-south and south-south relations during the Cold War. Furthermore, it became clear that this conflict had an important cultural dimension, involving a multitude of actors and narratives. Some of the recently published books that demonstrate these new approaches display on their covers posters produced by the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL).[2] OSPAAAL was founded as an NGO in Havana during the 1966 Tricontinental Conference with the purpose of supporting and coordinating revolutionary struggles at a global level and existed until 2019, led and mainly funded by the Cuban government. Both the Tricontinental and OSPAAAL are still relatively understudied topics, but scholars have been pointing out that they were landmarks of the Third World project in the second half of the twentieth century (FALIGOT, 2013; GENEROSO, 2018, 2020; LEÓN 2021; PRASHAD, 2007).

The new Cold War historiography underscores the conceptual importance of the Third Word, but there are still few studies that focus on its circulation and resemantization.[3] In this article, I argue that OSPAAAL played a prominent role in the dissemination of images about the Third World, allowing a certain interpretation of its meaning to be visualized at an international level. By doing so, OSPAAAL graphic art contributed to the (self-)construction of the Third World as a community of peoples that resisted capitalism and imperialism and that would be responsible for revolutionizing the world order.

According to historian Eugenia Palieraki (2023), the "Third World" concept, coined in a text by French demographer Albert Sauvy in 1952, became global during the Cold War. Although it was originally a sort of manifesto advocating France's return to its earlier international hegemony, assuming a more active "paternalist" role over ex-colonies to avoid the communist revolution in these territories, the concept was later appropriated by left-wing politicians and intellectuals who "replaced Sauvy's fear of 'Third World' revolution with their defense and advocacy of revolutionary anti-colonialism" (PALIERAKI, 2023, p. 11). Among other reasons, this was possible because, unlike the rest of the text, in its last sentence Sauvy used the term "tiers-monde" instead of "troisième monde," establishing a comparison with the Third Estate of the French Revolution. As Palieraki points out, this is the only phrase of the text which has been widely circulated, being instrumental in linking the notions of the Third World, exploited groups, and revolution.

In his book *The Darker Nations. A People's History of the Third World,* historian

Vishay Prashad (2007) argues that the Third World was not a place, it was a project, as well as the institutions produced to carry it forward. He refers to a shared political platform aimed at guaranteeing political and economic sovereignty for the former colonized world (SAJED, 2020), having the United Nations as the major institution for planetary justice. But the ability to show itself as a cohesive force at the UN did not mean that there was a consensus on the concept of the Third World and the best way to defend its interests, as demonstrated by the various disputes and conflicts that marked events such as the Tricontinental Conference and the meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) (ALBUQUERQUE; HERNÁNDEZ, 2019; LEÓN 2021; MAHLER 2018). In other words, although partially institutionalized through organizations such as the NAM, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), and the OSPAAAL, third worldism was a very heterogeneous phenomenon (DJAGALOV, 2020).

I agree with historian Lídia Generoso (2018) when she proposes to conceive of the Third World as a concept that brings within itself the aporetic character that keeps it in dispute, re-interpretation, movement, and transformation. In this perspective, rather than looking for a precise definition, it is worth investigating the multiple answers given to the question "What is the Third World?" in each context. In her study on the first decade of the *Tricontinental* magazine, published by the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat, Generoso found that the Third World appears in it as an object under construction. The magazine published theoretical texts on the Third World and discussed aspects that were understood at the time as common to Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Recurring topics were the experience of colonization in the past and/or present, the unequal and dependent insertion of these regions in the global design of capitalism, and their revolutionary potential. These theoretical debates were allied to attempts to consolidate political networks, "valuing the concept of the Third World as a catalyst for a collective political project around solidarity and the anticolonial and antiimperialist struggle" (GENEROSO, 2020, p. 462).[4]

Historians Jessica Stites Mor and Maria del Carmen Suescun Pozas (2018) argue for the ability of art to frame social issues and spread identity representations, generating empathy. According to the authors, solidarity presupposes empathy, which constitutes a form of political and social action. As we will see in the case of the posters, art can be used to convey a common identity and bridge cultural differences, to express a sense of solidarity with people who share or are expected to share the same values and goals (BLACK, 2018, p. 121). As

scholar Anne Garland Mahler (2018, p. 127-128) puts it, OSPAAAL materials were "directed toward the creation of a fellow feeling that would move people to action on behalf of its constituents across the globe". The ends and means of what she calls "Tricontinentalism"[5] would be the same: to make solidarity, a praxis "that both prepares for and pivots toward a new global relation." Scholar David Featherstone (2012, p. 7-8) draws attention to the fact that solidarity can be forged through political antagonism, for example, by opposing inequality and oppression. This is a central feature of the OSPAAAL posters and relates to the way they conceived of the Third World, as I will demonstrate.

Scholars have drawn attention to the specificities of the narratives connected to the Tricontinental Conference in the framework of twentieth-century anti-imperial projects. Among them, works by Mahler (2018) and Stites Mor (2022) stand out for the centrality they give to OSPAAAL cultural production and for their valuable analysis of selected images. In Stites Mor's case, there is an emphasis on posters that thematize the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, while Mahler privileges those that support anti-racist struggles both in the United States and in South Africa. Stites Mor focuses her analysis on the concept of solidarity promoted by OSPAAAL, relating it to Cuban foreign policy and the disputes within Third World organizations. The author convincingly argues that, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the OSPAAAL posters were part of Fidel Castro's efforts to radicalize both OSPAA and the NAM, to "increase the Cuban leadership and advocate for its interests in these places" (STITES MOR, 2022, p. 64). For this purpose, the posters promoted a notion of political solidarity that moved away from Nasserism, which Castro saw as an obstacle to Cuban approaches to solidarity action in international institutions (STITES MOR, 2022, p. 62-68). In turn, Mahler argues that "Tricontinentalism" must be understood in the long term and beyond the objectives of the Cuban state. She claims that the way this ideology conceived of race (what she calls "metonymic color politics"[6]) and imperial oppression (beyond geographical borders) differed from other contemporary leftist and anti-imperialist discourses, including third worldism (STITES MOR, 2022, p. 208). This article assumes that the latter was more heterogeneous than Mahler considers, and it is precisely within this framework that the OSPAAAL narratives should be considered.

The analysis of OSPAAAL materials presented here is not aimed at identifying its ideological affiliations, nor at discussing its greater or lesser alignment with Cuban foreign policy. Building on Generoso's findings, but focusing specifically on the OSPAAAL graphic art, I sought to identify how the

Third World was portrayed both in terms of topics covered and visual strategies used. Although other authors have addressed aspects of this narrative, they have not elaborated on what the general characteristics of the Third World envisioned by OSPAAAL were, and they mostly based their analysis on texts resulting from the Tricontinental Conference or published in the homonymous magazine. Differently, my analysis focuses on how the artists working for the organization portrayed the Third World.

As researcher Jorge Bermúdez explains, with the creation of OSPAAAL propaganda department,

> Suddenly, designers had to face a process of visual codification of a great cultural diversity and, at the same time, adapt it to the plastic and graphic codes in which they had been professionally and culturally trained [...] Designing from a national culture such as the Cuban for multiple cultures with multiple languages, dialects, religious, and cultural problems was the greatest challenge of this poster design. (apud VILLAVERDE, 2013, p. 227)

How did the artists respond to this challenge? I will address this issue by highlighting the strategies used to visually bring together different contexts when calling for and rendering[7] solidarity. For this purpose, a number of examples will be presented, mostly posters but also some images published in the *Tricontinental* magazine. The analysis will encompass different resources used by artists to build a visual narrative about the Third World, explaining the patterns observed. Therefore, the visual sources will be at the heart of the analysis, deviating from a recurring tendency in the studies on OSPAAAL, which is to use its published images to merely illustrate themes of the political situation described in the text. Instead of seeing artists as mere reproducers of an ideology imposed from above, this study takes them as active and important agents in the Third World project. Faced with the challenge of visually contributing to build this collectivity, they explored different paths, which will be analyzed in the following sections. First, however, I will present an overview of the artistic and political context in which OSPAAAL operated.

OSPAAAL and Cuban Poster Art

The "cultural front" was considered strategic by the leaders of the Cuban

Revolution since before their triumph over Fulgencio Batista in 1959.[8] In the first months following the revolution, the Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry (ICAIC), as well as Casa de las Américas, and the cultural supplement *Lunes de Revolución* were created, followed by many other cultural publications, institutions, and projects. However, over the course of the decade, tensions between intellectuals and the state intensified, and the early 1970s became known as the "gray years", because creative freedom was severely curtailed, especially in the literary field (GALLARDO 2009; GORDON-NESBITT, 2015).

In the field of graphic arts, the Revolution inherited a very good infrastructure. In the late 1940s and 1950s, Cuba was used by the United States as a base for disseminating messages and products aimed at the Latin American market. Therefore, a great development of the advertising and graphic industry took place. Many of Cuba's graphic artists had formal training as designers – some of them, in the United States – and worked in advertising companies before the Revolution. After 1959, their work was redirected from a commercial function to a social and political function. The new political leaders did not establish an official aesthetic paradigm, as in the case of socialist realism in China and the Soviet Union. On the contrary, a multiplicity of art styles coexisted in the Cuban Revolution and many of them were in line with international trends such as Pop Art, Op Art, Conceptual Art, and the Polish poster school (BERMÚDEZ, 2015; LÉGER, 2013).

In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, the country's three main poster producers were ICAIC, which created posters for all national and foreign movies shown in Cuba; the publishing house of the Communist Party of Cuba[9], which focused on internal information and propaganda; and OSPAAAL, whose posters were primarily directed at international political activists.[10] OSPAAAL was founded during the Tricontinental Conference on January 15, 1966, and existed until 2019. The Tricontinental Conference took place in Havana and brought together representatives of 82 Latin American, African, and Asian countries, comprising heads of state and leaders of revolutionary movements, to discuss a collective political platform. Having as its antecedents the 1955 Afro-Asian Bandung Conference, the 1957 Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, and the 1961 and 1964 Conferences of the Non-Aligned Countries, the Tricontinental meant the incorporation of Latin America into the Third World[11] and the radicalization of the debate on anticolonial and antiimperialist struggles.[12] It also made clear Cuba's quest for a leading role among leftist forces (FALIGOT, 2013; LEÓN,

2021; GENEROSO, 2023).

The word "solidarity" already appeared in the preparatory documents of the Tricontinental Conference. For example, one of them lists in the event's agenda "Anti-imperialist solidarity among the Afro-Asian-Latin American peoples in the economic, social, and cultural aspects" (apud YOUNG, 2018, p. 520). Conceived as the main tool to concretize this project in the cultural field, OSPAAAL was based in Havana, had representatives from the three continents,[13] and was divided into four departments, one of them being Information and Propaganda. Its main published materials were posters, the *Tricontinental Bulletin*, the *Tricontinental* magazine, and the ICAIC newsreel.[14] As Mahler (2018, p. 182) points out, the main goals of these materials were helping to foment solidarity among liberation struggles around the world, supporting the creation of a global revolutionary subjectivity, and providing an ideological framework for Cuba's military and financial support for struggles abroad.

The OSPAAAL posters were distributed along with the *Tricontinental* magazine. Conceived as the theoretical body of the organization's Executive Secretariat, the magazine stated as its main objective to understand the great problems that the peoples of the Third World were facing and how to overcome them, "and, at the same time, systematically denouncing the criminal policies of [imperialism]." Therefore, it was intended to "serve as a medium of agitation, diffusion, and exchange [of] revolutionary experiences."[15] *Tricontinental* published interviews and articles by left-wing politicians and intellectuals from different parts of the world, including leaders of revolutionary governments and movements in Latin America (most of them), Africa, and Asia.[16] The magazine was published in the periods 1967-1990 and 1995-2019 in Spanish and English[17], and distributed in about 90 countries through Cuban government bodies and redistribution centers abroad.

Most of the *Tricontinental* issues included a folded poster.[18] About 300 different posters were produced by OSPAAAL until 1990 and some dozen more over the next two decades. The artists who directed the OSPAAAL Department of Information and Propaganda were Alfredo Rostgaard (1966-1976), Rafael Enríquez (1977-1987 and 2005-2019), and Eladio Rivadulla (1991-1997).[19] The wide range of styles present in the OSPAAAL posters is the result of both the directors' different styles – more experimental and allegorical in the case of Rostgaard, more direct and realist in the case of Enríquez – and the aesthetic preferences of the many other artists who created posters for it. In addition, technological changes, as well as the economic situation of the organization

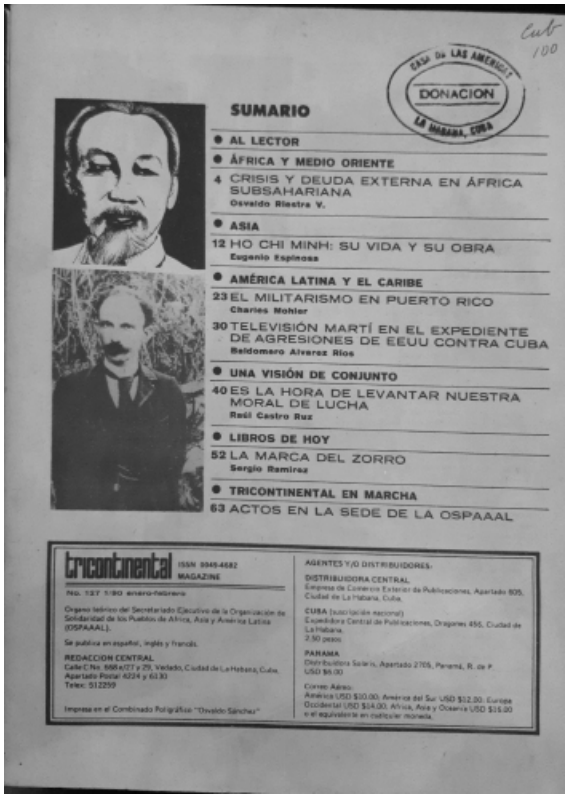
(compromising the availability of material resources), and the international situation (main theme of the posters) are some of the factors that impacted OSPAAAL graphic art over time.

However, it is possible to recognize some striking features of its posters. First, although the vast majority of them were printed in offset, they used the silk screen printing aesthetics (flat colors, limited number of colors, large areas of color, drawings with precise contour), which was the technique consecrated by the ICAIC poster art (BERMÚDEZ, 2015, p. 223). Second, OSPAAAL posters always displayed the organization's logo and usually presented the texts in four languages: Spanish, English, French, and Arabic. The latter was drawn manually because there were no typographic models available. This demonstrates that the artists working for the organization had to find creative solutions to technical problems resulting from the distance between the covered regions (VILLAVERDE, 2013, p. 226-227). As for the organization's logo,[20] it appeared for the first time in the pamphlet entitled *Toward the First Tricontinental Conference* (1965) and was created by artists Reinilde Suárez and Tony Évora (YOUNG, 2018, p. 518). It consists of a globe supported by an arm – formed by three lines, each one representing a continent – which holds a rifle. As I will show in the next items, the third striking feature of the OSPAAAL posters was the recurrent use of these and other symbols to address the international political situation, visually bringing together different contexts to claim the protagonist role of the Third World.

Similar Aesthetics and Common Symbols

Many *Tricontinental* issues had specific sections on Africa, Asia, and Latin America, in addition to a section that addressed issues common to the three regions.[21] Thus, when opening the magazine, the reader encountered themes and images that gave prominence to these different regions and connected them. Especially recurrent were images of leaders considered representative of Third World struggles, visually bringing them closer. For instance, the table of contents of *Tricontinental* n. 127 is accompanied by an illustration of Ho Chi Minh and a picture of José Martí (Figure 1). The Vietnamese and the Cuban leaders are in similar poses, with their heads slightly turned to one side and their eyes looking ahead. Also, both wear civilian clothes and long beards (Ho Chi Minh) or mustaches (Martí). All these visual similarities, reinforced by the fact that the images are in black and white, suggest an ideological alignment. In the

Figure 1 - Table of contents of Tricontinental n. 127, 1990



Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas.

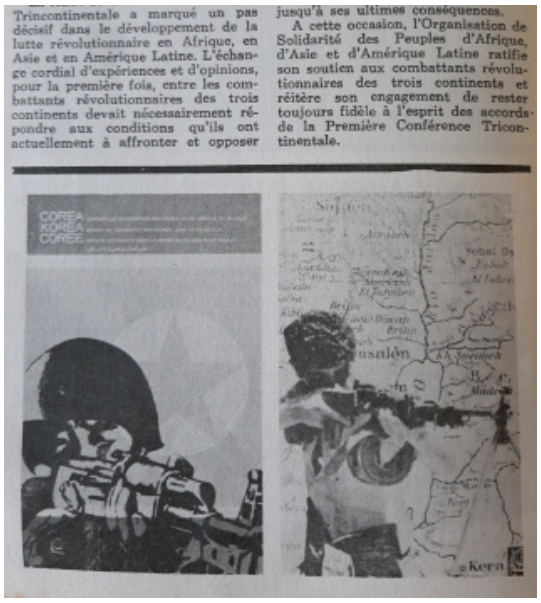
same way, Figure 2 demonstrates that the link between different subjects was made or at least reinforced by the images that accompanied the texts published in the magazine. Here, a note on the anniversary of Vietnam's independence is followed by a note on the anniversary of the death of former Chilean President Salvador Allende. The major differences between both leaders and national contexts are nuanced through the presentation of the former side by side and in very similar poses, accompanied by other images that show the Vietnamese and Chilean peoples carrying forward the struggles initiated by them.

Figure 2 - Table of contents of Tricontinental n. 121, 1989, p. 54-55

Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas.

The same strategy was used in a note published in *Tricontinental* n. 4, in 1968, in honor of the second anniversary of the constitution of the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat (Figure 3).22 It reproduces two posters created in the same year for the organization, one by artist Gladys Acosta and one by Jesús Forjans. By displaying the posters side by side, unlike how they normally circulated, the magazine highlighted their similarities. Both posters present in the foreground, on the lower left side, the profile of a young combatant pointing a weapon forward. In the first case, there is an illustration of a North Korean teenager or young adult holding an AK-47 rifle, and in the second case, a photograph of a Palestinian boy holding an RPD 44 machine gun. In the background, there are elements that contextualize these characters: a North Korean flag in the first case and a map of the region around Jerusalem in the second case. On other occasions, the strategy used by OSPAAAL artists to approximate struggles that took place in distant places was to use the same style of illustration (color palette, strokes), as in Figures 4 and 5. They correspond to the back covers of *Tricontinental* n. 106 (1986), that is, images designed, probably by the same artist, to be seen in sequence. While one of them depicts in the foreground an anonymous Kampuchean23 soldier, the other depicts the Nicaraguan revolutionary Augusto César Sandino. In addition to the illustration style, the character's body part depicted (bust), the direction of their gaze, and common features such as black hair and hats help to bring them closer visually.

Figure 3 - Fragment of the article "Deux années du secretariat de l'OSPAAAL". Tricontinental n. 4, 1968, p. 152 (French edition)


Tricontinentale a marqué un pas décisif dans le développement de la lutte révolutionnaire en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique Latine. L'échange cordial d'expériences et d'opinions, pour la première fois, entre les combattants révolutionnaires des trois continents devait nécessairement répondre aux conditions qu'ils ont actuellement à affronter et opposer jusqu'à ses ultimes conséquences.

A cette occasion, l'Organisation de Solidarité des Peuples d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique Latine ratifie son soutien aux combattants révolutionnaires des trois continents et réitère son engagement de rester toujours fidèle à l'esprit des accords de la Première Conférence Tricontinentale.

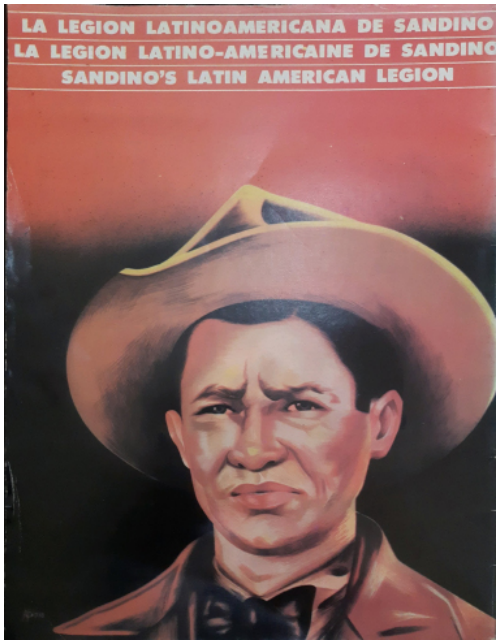
COREA
KOREA
CORÉE

Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas.

Figure 4 - Internal back cover of Tricontinental n. 106, 1986

Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas.

Figure 5 - Back cover of Tricontinental n. 106, 1986



Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas.

In the case of the posters, a resource introduced in 1968 with logistical purposes would reinforce the notion that the issues addressed were common to the three continents: the presentation of the text in four languages simultaneously.[24] Furthermore, by emphasizing image over text, OSPAAAL artists sought to ensure that the message could also be understood by nonspeakers of these languages, as well as by illiterate people. Symbols played a central role in the formulation of these messages. Through them, the Third World was associated with the notions of resistance and revolution, and this was done by showing the oppressed condition of certain peoples, the obstacles they had been facing, and their resolution to fight and to win. Recurring symbols used for this purpose

Figure 6 - Poster by Alberto Blanco, OSPAAAL, [1982]

Source: Macphee (2019)

Figure 7 - Poster by Tony Évora, OSPAAAL, 1967

Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-06.html25

Figure 8 - Poster by Tony Évora, OSPAAAL, 1967

Source: Available at: https://www.ospaaal.com/detail/4b.html

were barbed wire, chains, defiant looks, the clenched fist, and certain types of weapons.

Barbed wire was mostly used in OSPAAAL materials to symbolize apartheid in South Africa (Figure 6). Since this symbol denotes oppression and has been associated with Nazi concentration camps (KRELL, 2002; NETZ, 2004), it was powerful in denouncing the racist policies of the South African government. Sometimes OSPAAAL posters also used barbed wire to refer to Africa as a whole, implying that it was a continent plagued by racism beyond official apartheid regimes (Figure 7).[26] Figure 7 also shows that portraying poverty was another way artists used to refer to the oppression faced by sub-Saharan Africans. In the background of this poster by artist Tony Évora, there is a black and white picture of a man who has a tired face and wears worn clothes. Here, barbed wire can also be taken as a reference to colonialism and social inequality, since in former British colonies in Africa many forced labor camps, prisons, and properties such as farmers and mines were usually secured with this material (FORTH, 2017; NETZ, 2004). This would be a plausible interpretation on the part of Latin American observers, as they were also used to seeing prisons and agricultural properties surrounded in this way. Therefore, the image captures a common feature, allowing the message to be understood on the other side of the Atlantic. In another poster (Figure 8) published the same year, the same artist seems to X-ray the Latin American societies, revealing the miserable environment in which children (also in worn clothes) have lived and died. There is a call to action in the text accompanying the image, which reads: "Every year by which Americas liberation may be

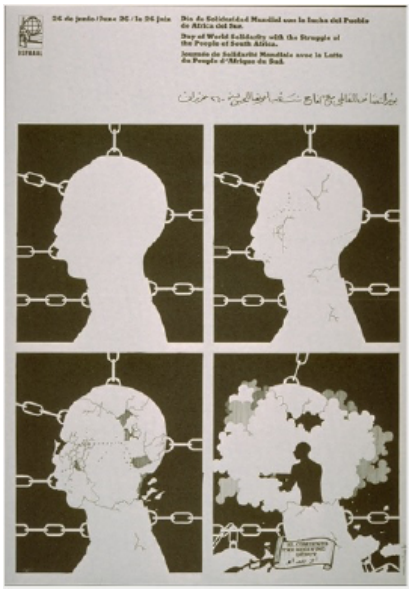
Figure 9 - Poster by Olivio Martínez, OSPAAAL, 1974

Source: Available at: https://www.ospaaal.com/detail/63blg.html

Figure 10 - Poster by Rolando

Source: Poster by Rolando Córdova, OSPAAAL, 1976.

Figure 11 - Poster by Olivio Martínez, OSPAAAL, 1974



Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-79.html

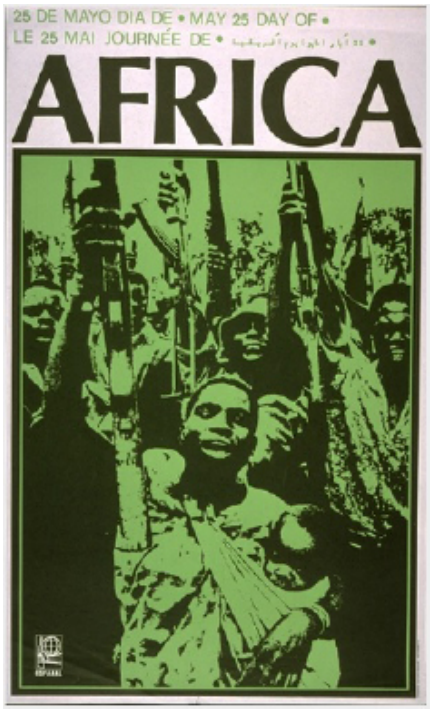
hastened will mean millions of children rescued from death." **(**JOUNEE..., 1969).

Chains and handcuffs, which alluded to slavery, were also symbols of oppression recurrently used on OSPAAAL posters. But, as it is possible to infer from the raised fist of the woman portrayed in Figure 6 and the text at the top of Figure 8, the message conveyed was one of resistance. Likewise, in a 1974 poster by Olivio Martínez (Figure 9), the recent independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde was represented as a break in the chains that used to tie them to Portugal. The image in the background corresponds to the flag adopted by Guinea-Bissau in 1973, which was inspired by the flag of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, led by Amílcar Cabral[27]. The same symbolism of rupture appears in a poster created two years later by artist Rolando Córdova (Figure 10). In the foreground of this photomontage, there is a representative of the independence movement of Puerto Rico raising his clenched fist, recalling the Black Power aesthetics. In this case, it was not a matter of commemorating an event that had already taken place, since Puerto Rico remains tied to the United States to the present day. Here, the breaking of the handcuffs represents a project, an objective whose achievement seems assured given the resolution of the character. The image of the clenched fist stands out, which at that time was consecrated as a symbol of antifascist struggles and since the late 1960s had been associated with the Black Panthers movement.[28] Significantly, like the chains, the clenched fist was used on the

OSPAAAL posters primarily to portray the struggles of African Americans, Afro-Puerto Ricans, and dark-skinned Africans, that is, as a both antiracist and antiimperialist symbol that connected struggles carried out in different parts of the world.

The poster presented in Figure 11 also refers to a project that had yet to materialize: the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, a cause that received open Cuban military support. Here artist Olivio Martínez used the repeating pattern often seen in pop art works to tell a story. In the first frame, a profile head is tied together with chains. In the second, cracks start to appear and it seems that the head is being pulled apart by the chains. The destruction continues until the head is blown apart in the final frame, revealing the image of a man holding a gun. The idea transmitted is that, before the currents destroy this person, they must end this situation of oppression themselves. In other words, the apartheid system could only be defeated through revolutionary struggle, demanding a change of mentality and an active attitude on the part of the oppressed subjects. The fact that the poster uses only the colors black and white to refer to apartheid is also meaningful. Both the chains and the head linked to them are presented in white, while the person holding the gun is black. At the bottom of the fourth scene, it reads "The beginning," implying a

Figure 12 - Poster by Víctor Manuel Navarrete, OSPAAAL, 1977



Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-03.html

Figure 13 - Poster by Jesús Forjans, OSPAAAL, 1969

Source: Available at: https://rifri-typo.ch/Sammlung/Plakate/cuba

Figure 14 - Poster by Asela Pérez, OSPAAAL, 1970

Source: Available at: https://www.commarts.com/project/6974/cuba-si

new historical stage opened by the struggle represented by the black character.

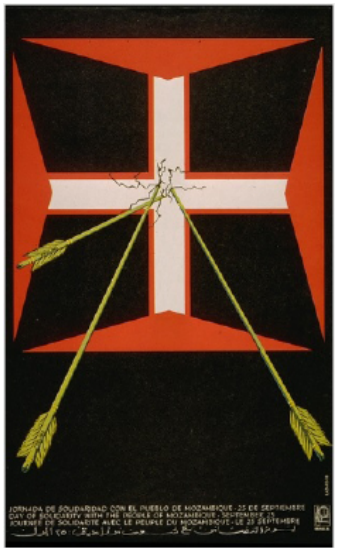
This poster leads to another recurring motif on the OSPAAAL posters: weapons. They were portrayed to reiterate the idea that the liberation of the Third World could only take place through the armed path, as demonstrated by Figures 12-14. Each of these posters addresses a continent (Africa, Asia, and Latin America) as a whole, rather than specific countries. Although they were created by different artists and are visually very varied in terms of techniques and color palette used, weapons are central in all of them as defining elements of the respective regions. While the two other posters use more direct elements to refer to Africa (uppercase typography) and Latin America (stylized map), the poster on Asia draws on a cultural element. Indeed, as scholar David Kunzle (1975, p. 96) points out, OSPAAAL posters "systematically incorporate, as it were a stamp of the struggle's indigenous legitimacy, the style and/or an artifact typical of that country's native tradition, accompanied, often enough, by a symbol of modern armed resistance which defends that tradition." In Figure 13, an Eastern dragon interacts with a rifle. Its characteristics do not allow one to associate it to any specific country, and this is precisely the purpose of the image: to represent Asia as a whole, in what could be considered an "Orientalist" perspective (SAID, 1978).

The background of the poster is composed of repeating images of weapons and they demonstrate that, in the OSPAAAL posters, the weapons associated with revolutionary movements were always light weapons typical of guerrillas and other revolutionaries around the world, such as AK rifles, grenades, and carbines. Among them, AK-47 was the most portrayed, making it a symbol of Third World struggles. For the Imperialist side, however, there were planes, tanks, and heavy weapons. This topic will be deepened in the next section by observing the graphic resources used to position colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism as the common enemy of the Third World.

A Common Enemy and How to Defeat It

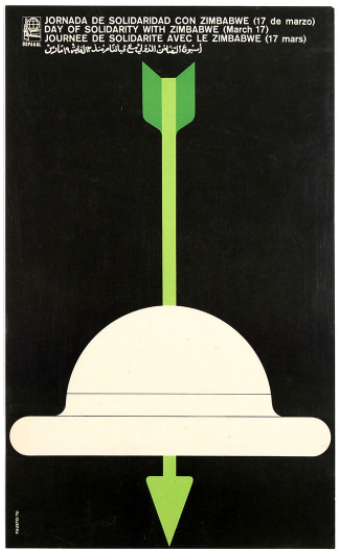
Conceived as a global alliance of the three continents against imperialism (YOUNG, 2005, p. 19), the Tricontinental Conference went beyond the critique of colonialism, also highlighting capitalism and imperialism – US imperialism in particular – as the major problems plaguing the Third World. The issue of colonialism was addressed in OSPAAAL posters mainly between the late 1960s and early 1970s, having the African independence movements as its main theme. Capitalism was addressed in a more indirect way during the same period by both criticizing the imperial powers and exalting communist governments, but from the 1980s onward neoliberalism was directly thematized. In turn, US

Figure 15 - Poster by Lázaro Abreu, OSPAAAL, 1970



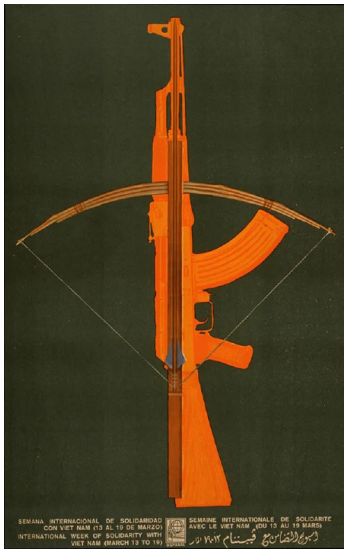
Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-58.html

Figure 16 - Poster by Faustino Pérez, OSPAAAL, 1970



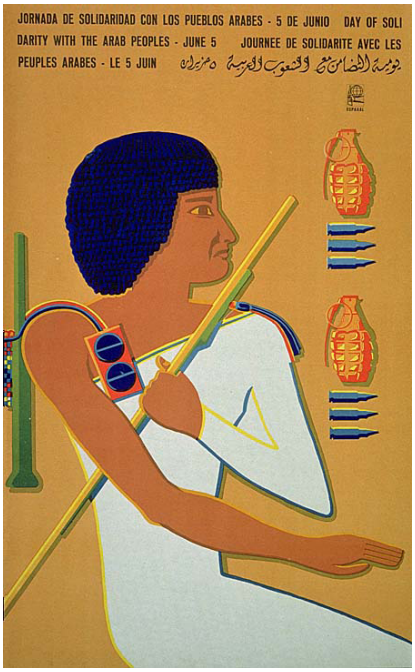
Source: Macphee (2019)

Figure 17 - Poster by Jesús Forjans, OSPAAAL, 1969



Source: Available at: https://www.itsnicethat.com/articles/graphic-design-ospaaal

Figure 18 - Poster by Berta Abelenda, OSPAAAL, 1968



Source: Available at: https://www.palestineposterproject.org/sites/default/files/OSPAAAL_ArabSolid_PPPA.jpg

imperialism was a central theme at all stages of the organization.

The anticolonialist posters often connected past and present, conceiving them not as opposites, but as a continuation of the same cultural and struggle legacy (BERMÚDEZ, 2015), as demonstrated by posters that support national liberation movements in Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Figures 15 and 16). In them, indigenous arrows destroy the Portuguese (represented by the Order of Christ Cross) and the English (represented by the colonial pith helmet) empires. In this way, a connection is established between contemporary independence movements and the first struggles carried out against the imposition of the colonial order in Africa by white Europeans (GARCÍA, 2022, p. 78). Similarly, one of the many OSPAAAL posters dedicated to Vietnamese combatants in the context of the Vietnam War (Figure 17), by artist Jesús Forjans, displays a bow with an AK-47 occupying the place of the arrow and ready to be thrown. By bringing together weapons used by the Vietnamese to resist the different invading forces of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the image establishes a continuity between French colonialism and US imperialism. Besides the symbology used to convey a similar message, these three posters are also similar from an aesthetic point of view, which suggests that OSPAAAL artists worked together and influenced each other. This style – inspired by the silkscreen technique,

visually synthetic, and which prioritized a more analytical rather than literal reading of the images – was an imprint of Alfredo Rostgaard and predominated in the years he headed the organization's propaganda department.

A poster created in the same period by Berta Abelenda, one of the few female artists who worked for OSPAAAL, shows an illustration inspired by Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols (Figure 18). The character portrayed carries a contemporary rifle on his shoulders while looking at inscriptions in form of projectiles and grenades on the walls. On the top of the poster, a text calls for the "Day of solidarity with the Arab peoples." Therefore, different historical times coexist in the image, as Generoso (2023, p. 278)[29] analyzes: "of the Arab peoples as a political reference based on temporally circumscribed ethnic conceptions, of contemporary Egypt as political leadership among the Arab peoples, of ancient Egypt as a visual reference to a past that is projected onto the present, of the contemporary weapons as an expression of the urgencies of this present and expectations for the future." At the same time, this poster makes explicit the limits of Cuban artists when trying to portray contexts that were unfamiliar to them. As art curator Josh Macphee (2019) points out, "hieroglyphs of the [Egyptian] ruling class are certainly not to be the best

Figure 19 - Poster by Rafael Morante, OSPAAAL, 1982

Source: Available at: https://www.palestineposterproject.org/sites/default/files/MorantePPT_0_0.jpg

Figure 20 - Poster by Alberto Blanco, OSPAAAL, 1989

Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-248.html

Figure 21 - Poster by Lázaro Abreu, OSPAAAL, 1972

Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-141.html.

representation of the pre-colonial slave populations."

In the case of neocolonial or imperialist powers, the complaint focused on the United States and its allies, such as Israel and South Africa. OSPAAAL published about 20 posters supporting revolutionary movements in Palestine, Lebanon, Libya, and Syria, and most of them used the Star of David (present in its flag) as a symbol of Israeli imperialism. In other cases, Israel was depicted as a puppet of US interests as in Figure 19, an example of the so-called *cartel maqueta*[30]. In it, artist Rafael Morante used a Trojan Horse to symbolize US Imperialism penetrating the Middle East in disguise. Armed Israeli soldiers descend from the horse to attack the Palestinian people, as suggested by the Palestinian proverb quoted at the top of the poster, which reads "He who plunders others always lives in terror." In this and some other posters (such as Figure 22), toy soldiers were used to represent and mock enemy forces. Introducing comic elements to address serious and tough issues was a hallmark of OSPAAAL graphic art (GENEROSO, 2023; RADBOY, 2010; SOUZA, 2020).

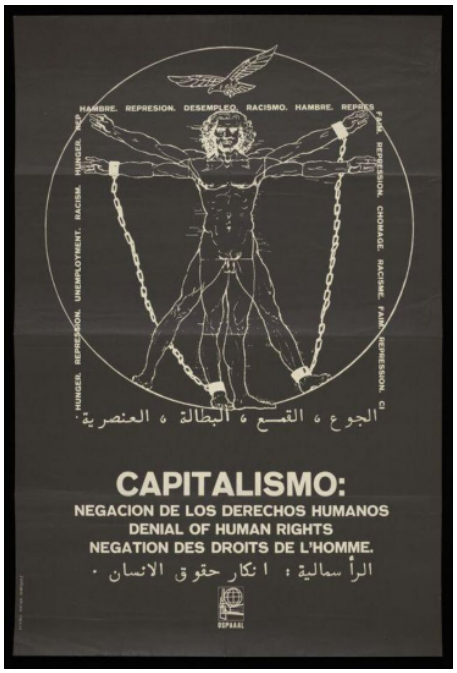
OSPAAAL posters emphasized interventionism as a principle of US foreign policy that had been threatening national sovereignty in different parts of the Third World (Figures 19-21). Sometimes represented by the colors of its flag, sometimes by the image of the eagle, or soldiers and sophisticated weapons, or even photographs of Richard Nixon, the United States was denounced as

an oppressor of the progressive forces of the Third World. In Figure 21, B-52 airplanes drop a chain of bombs in Southeast Asia. The impact points are marked on the map and correspond to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Above the map, sitting on one of the planes, there is a smiling Nixon (recalling the movie character Dr. Strangelove) who is satirically depicted symbolizing the fallacy and hypocrisy of the US peace proposals (GARCÍA, 2022, p. 312). In his hands, the former US president holds a flag with a swastika. This symbol was widely used in Cuba to refer to the United States' foreign policy. For example, during the 1970s, the official newspaper of the Communist Party, *Granma*, always replaced the letter x in Nixon's name with a swastika when mentioning it. In the OSPAAAL materials, the swastika was used primarily to denounce both the crimes committed by the United States in Vietnam and the dictatorships established with US support in the southern cone of Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s (Figure 22), establishing a comparison with the crimes committed by the Nazis during the Second World War. This narrative was in line with the concept of "genocide" defended in the Russell Court, or Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal, convened in the same year of the Tricontinental Conference (MOLDEN, 2010).

Figure 22 - Back cover of Tricontinental, n. 56, 1978

Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas.

Figure 23 - Poster by Rafael Enríquez, OSPAAAL, 1977



Source: Available at: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1441186/capitalismo-denial-of-human-rights-poster-enriquez/

In different covers and articles published in *Tricontinental*, the Southern Cone dictatorships – especially the Chilean and Brazilian cases – were addressed from an economic point of view, that is, denouncing the interests of national and international economic elites that supported these regimes (Figure 22). As in the case of apartheid regimes, also a recurring topic in the magazine, the authors sought to make explicit the connection between violation of human rights and the capitalist system. This connection was the subject of one of the most famous OSPAAAL posters, designed by artist Rafael Enríquez (Figure 23). Against a black background, there is a white drawing of the Vitruvian man by Leonando da Vinci. As analyzed by Generoso, here the man of "perfect forms" is chained, limited by hunger, repression, unemployment, and racism – words (in four languages) that bypass him. These words assume the space that the Italian Renaissance attributed to the terrestrial plane, represented by the square. The man is flown over by a bird of prey, which can be understood both as a direct reference to the United States and as an allusion to the myth of Prometheus, who was chained by Zeus' order for sharing with humanity the knowledge the Olympian gods wished to preserve for themselves. Therefore, "on the poster, the promises of freedom, equality, fraternity, progress, and reason, made by modernity to 'humanity', are expressed as an unfulfilled promise, interdicted by capitalism" (GENEROSO, 2023, p. 283-284). As in the cases of Figures 17-19, here the images are articulated in a way that a particular temporality is established, an interim in which the struggles in the past and in the present can cohabit a tricontinental, anticolonial, antiimperialist, resistant, and revolutionary sensibility.

Embodying all these principles, the victorious struggles of Cuba and Vietnam against the United States appear in the OSPAAAL posters as models to be followed throughout the Third World. Indeed, these were the two most portrayed countries: between 1967 and 1990, OSPAAAL published about 21 posters on Vietnam and 16 on Cuba. Using different graphic resources, but always establishing binary oppositions (CORRIGAN 2014), they affirmed the justice of these revolutionary causes and their ability to defeat the much more powerful enemy. For example, in a 1980 poster (Figure 24), artist Victor Manuel Navarrete used a comic book aesthetic to represent Cuba as a lightning bolt breaking Uncle Sam's head. While the latter is represented in black and white, as if it were outdated, the lightning bolt and the Cuban flag are colored, suggesting movement and vivacity. The poster called for solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, implying that this meant continuing to hit the common

enemy. In turn, a 1968 poster by artist René Mederos[31] (Figure 25) favored the use of typography to represent the defeat of the United States in Vietnam. Created before the end of the war, the poster affirms the certainty of the victory of the Viet Cong. In the image, the US flag, in the shape of a hat hit by bullets, is crushed by two blocks that form the word "Vietnam." The letters are larger than the flag, conveying the idea that the Vietnamese were stronger than their enemies.

Figure 24 - Poster by Victor Manuel Navarrete, OSPAAAL, 1980

Source: Available at: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1441397/world-solidarity-with-the-cuban-poster-navarrete/

Figure 25 - Poster by René Mederos, OSPAAAL, 1968

Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-127.html

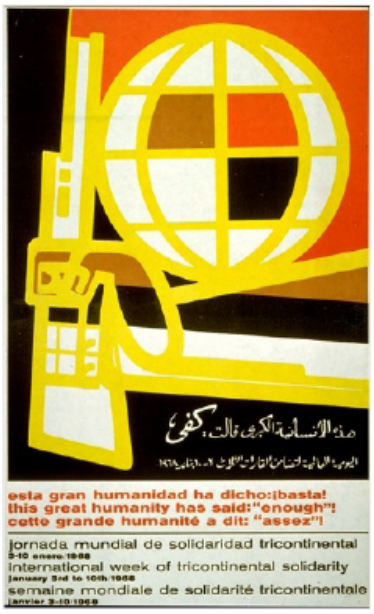
Since its first published materials, OSPAAAL insisted on the worldwide significance of this struggle. Five months before the first regular issue of the *Tricontinental* magazine came out, OSPAAAL published the *Tricontinental Special Supplement* to deliver the text "Create two, three, many Vietnams. Message to the Tricontinental," by Ernesto "Che" Guevara. It stated that "Our every action is a battle cry against imperialism, and a battle hymn for the people's unity against the great enemy of mankind: the United States of America" and celebrated Vietnam's "everyday heroism and their repeated blows against imperialism, impelled to disperse its forces under the sudden attack

and the increasing hatred of all peoples of the world!" (GUEVARA, 1967). The poster[32] created by artists Alfredo Rostgaard and Lázaro Abreu to accompany the supplement repeatedly used three photographs of Guevara taken during his Congo campaign and the red color. In this way, it reinforced the message that revolutionary struggles carried out in different parts of the Third World would have the same purpose.

Racialization of Revolutionary Subjects and Abstraction of Geographic Borders

The images created to celebrate OSPAAAL anniversaries summarize several of the aspects I have highlighted so far and adopt more clearly an identity perspective based on physical traits. It is important to note that their main characteristics were already present in the propaganda materials produced within the framework of the Tricontinental Conference (GENEROSO, 2023). By reiterating the same themes, symbols, and messages, these commemorative materials aimed to establish continuity between the event in which OSPAAAL was created and the subsequent work of the organization. As we can observe, the vast majority of the figures presented below (26-31) display a phenotypic and racialized representation of the three continents. Skin color was the element most used for this purpose. Black or dark brown skin sought to symbolize Africa, while the skin colors associated with Asia and Latin America were yellow and white, respectively. Phenotypic traits also contributed to the construction of these references. In the cases where busts or full bodies were depicted, dark-skinned characters had thick lips, large foreheads, and dark hair. In turn, characters who represented Asia, even when portrayed with other skin tones, had a narrow face, slanted eyes, straight dark hair, thin lips, and no beard. As for the Latin American characters, they had a long and full dark beard. Sometimes, the characterization was completed by objects such as clothes and hats.

Figure 26 - Poster by Renilde Suárez, OSPAAAL, 1968



Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-306.html

Figure 27 - Cover of Tricontinental n. 10, 1969

Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas

Figure 28 - Poster by Alfredo Rostgaard, OSPAAAL, 1969

Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-302.html

Figure 29 - Poster by Rafael Enríquez, OSPAAAL, 1981

Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-304.html

Figure 30 - Internal backcover of Tricontinental n. 25, 1971

Source: Photographed by the author at the library of Casa de las Américas

Figure 31 - Poster by Gladys Acosta, OSPAAAL, 1991

Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-305.html

In addition to the characters, these posters typically featured two other elements: stylized versions of the globe and weapons. Just like the image of the three arms, both were already present in the original OSPAAAL logo. The globe was usually positioned to show Latin America, Asia, and Africa in a central place (Figures 26 and 29). In fact, only these continents were depicted, either reproducing their contours or using colors to mark their approximate position. This suggests, once again, the protagonism of the Third World. With regard to weapons, different types of rifles and submachine guns used in guerrilla or human wave attacks carried out on the three continents were portrayed. Leaving aside the military specificities of each region, the metaphor of three arms carrying the same weapon was extensively explored in OSPAAAL graphic art.

Figures 27 and 28 correspond, respectively, to the cover of the tenth edition of the *Tricontinental* magazine and the poster distributed along with it to celebrate both the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution and the third anniversary of the Tricontinental Conference. The editorial of this issue positioned the magazine as a defender of a Tricontinental collectivity founded on revolution, armed struggle, and solidarity. According to the text, solidarity would be "more than a mere watchword, a necessity in revolutionary struggle."

The three continents would share not only the fight against imperialism as an imperative, but also "common objective conditions" that "gave rise to the designation of these continents as 'the underdeveloped world.'"[33]

The cover of the magazine (Figure 27) displays a set of 12 colored cubes that compose the image of three men who are intended to represent Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It is suggested that the original image of each man was dismantled into four parts and then recombined. To represent the specificity of each continent, the artist recurred to phenotypical traits and clothes. The "Asian" man wears flip-flops (*dép lốp* sandals) and yellow clothes, in a tone very close to that used for his skin color. On his head, we can see an indication of slanted eyes, black hair, and a mũ cối helmet, which at that time was used by both the communist Viet Minh in French Indochina and the People's Army of Vietnam. As for the "African" man, he wears camouflage robes and green boots. His facial features are barely recognizable, and his skin has a reddish-brown tone. He wears an unspecific hat on his head, made of the same fabric as his clothes. In turn, the "Latin American" man has light skin and a large black beard. He wears a black beret, an olive-green uniform, and black boots. Therefore, he represents the Latin American revolutionary subject in a more specific way than the other two, corresponding to the leaders of the Cuban 26th of July Movement, such as Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

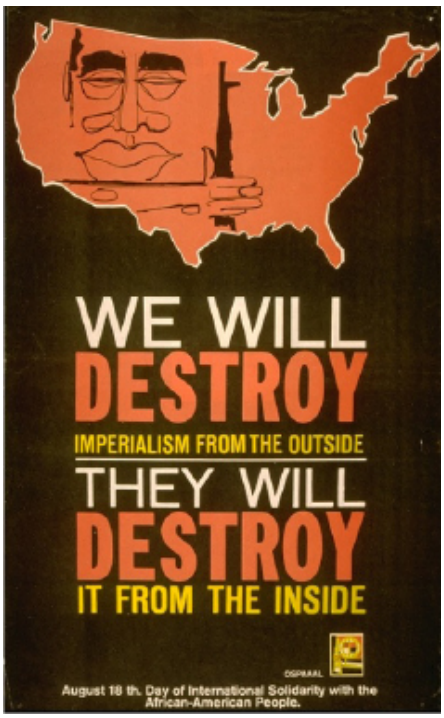
By depicting men considered representatives of the three continents as armed combatants and suggesting that their body parts would be interchangeable, the poster's most obvious message is one of identity and alliance against a common enemy. But a more detailed analysis reveals information that the poster provides unintentionally and ideas that are suggested in a less explicit way. On the one hand, the image demonstrates a relative lack of knowledge of Africa, or at least difficulty to find a combatant model capable of representing the different revolutionary movements of the continent. In contrast, the examples of Vietnamese and Cuban guerrillas are praised. On the other hand, there seems to be an attempt to assert the Cuban leadership at OSPAAAL, as Generoso argues (2023, p. 133-134).

The poster that accompanied this issue of the magazine (Figure 28) conveys the same general message, explained by Mahler (2018, p. 21) as follows: "an intercontinental exchange resulting in a globally unified and mutually supportive militant front against a common enemy—where any guerrilla fighter from any of the three continents could theoretically stand in for the eyes, hands, and feet of another, no matter how geographically, linguistically,

or nationally distant". Here the metaphor used to convey this message was the interchangeability of different heads in the same body of an armed combatant. As many other OSPAAAL posters, this one also racializes the representatives of each continent, and the concept of "metonymic color politics" proposed by the author does not apply. But in other cases, much rarer, we do observe an abstraction of the meaning of the colors used, overcoming the stereotypes associated with each continent, as in Figure 30. It is also important to mention that, to avoid repeating the same formulas, some artists sought to innovate in terms of the characters represented. On at least one occasion (Figure 31), figures of women were incorporated into the materials commemorating the organization's anniversaries, and less emphasis was placed on the theme of armed struggle. But the figure of the Latin American male white guerrilla – inspired by the leaders of the Cuban Revolution – remained.

In addition to intentionally disregarding differences between and within the three continents[34], OSPAAAL posters did not cover all African, Asian and Latin American countries.[35] In turn, they also encompassed African Americans struggles. Regarding the latter, there was a collaboration between OSPAAAL and the Black Panthers. The *Tricontinental* magazine published texts by leaders of the movement such as Angela Davis and Huey Newton, in addition to articles on it written by authors of different nationalities. Also, OSPAAAL posters were reproduced in Black Panther materials and vice versa. The best-known example is the poster "Black Panther" (1968) by Alfredo Rostgaard, which displays the illustration of a black panther with its mouth open. Shortly thereafter, the Black Panther Party took the image of the panther and inserted a photograph of Huey Newton in its jaws and the text "Free Huey Newton" to protest his recent arrest. Similarly, illustrations by Emory Douglas, the Panther's main designer and Minister of Culture, were featured in the *Tricontinental* magazine and one of them was used in a poster[36] by Lázaro Abreu (WILSON, 2011, p. 173-177).

Figure 32 - Poster by unknown artist, OSPAAAL, [1967].



Source: Available at: https://www.docspopuli.org/CubaWebCat/detail.np/detail-325.html

Taking advantage of the lack of precise geographical limits of the Third World concept (PALIERAKI, 2023), the OSPAAAL attributed great importance to the African American case because, as stated in the *Tricontinental Bulletin*, "they are striking at US imperialism from inside, while we are dismembering it from outside" (apud MAHLER, 2018, p. 98). This statement was reiterated in a 1971 poster (Figure 32). As Mahler (2018, p. 6) argues, this conception can be considered an antecedent of the Global South, a concept that "is being employed in a postnational sense to address spaces and peoples negatively impacted by capitalist globalization". In this sense, the South "functions metaphorically to refer both to a global and decentralized system of inequity that affects diverse peoples across a fluid geographical space and to a transnational resistance that is unified around ideological [affinities]" (MAHLER, 2018, p. 26). But, unlike the author, who develops the concept of "Tricontinentalism" in opposition to that of "Third-Worldism", as I sought to demonstrate in this article, both notions can hardly be separated.

Conclusion

The Third World has been a disputed term, and OSPAAAL contributed to

spreading representations of its meaning. It did so in different ways: by publishing theoretical texts in the *Tricontinental* magazine and bulletin, by organizing and hosting events to support causes from different countries and putting its representatives in contact[37], as well as by circulating images that gave meaning and forms to this imagined community. In these materials, the Third World was represented as a collectivity formed by shared characteristics, related to a history of oppression and resistance that continued into the present. Victimized by the capitalist, colonialist, and imperialist system that had systematically placed it in a subordinate condition and attacked its sovereignty, the Third World would be experiencing in the second half of the twentieth century a decisive stage towards the liberation not only of what Franz Fanon called "the wretched of the earth," but of all humanity. For that, it would be necessary to fight the common enemy with weapons. Solidarity, conceived as a principle of the Third World, would also play a decisive role in this battle. It is possible to deduce from the analyzed images that, in OSPAAAL's narrative, the Third World was not a synonym of Africa, Asia, and Latin America neither in general, nor exclusively. Instead, it was associated with the "peoples" considered to be defenders of the aforementioned ideals. Ultimately, the movements and governments linked to the organization.

Challenged to create images that corresponded to the Third World envisioned by OSPAAAL, the artists working for it resorted to different strategies. For example, by portraying representatives of struggles carried out in different contexts side by side, in similar poses, using the same photomontage technique or illustration style. Or resorting to certain symbols of oppression (worn clothes, barbed wire, handcuffs, chains, swastika) and resistance (defiant gazes, clenched fist, weapons) to connect different struggles. Among these symbols, the weapons depicted were especially significant. They allowed for establishing relationships between past and present struggles, as well as to differentiate between legitimate (revolutionary) and illegitimate (imperialist) types of violence. In a more general way, the insistence on the themes of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism also contributed to creating the idea of a common enemy that was causing similar problems in different parts of the world. This led to the call for solidarity with different struggles, which was the main goal pursued by OSPAAAL.

In addition to analyzing examples of all these strategies, the article pointed out to the limitations of the artists when attempting to represent contexts they knew little about. The artists hired by the organization were all Cuban

and most of them had always resided on the island. Although they were in touch with representatives from different countries that worked at or visited the OSPAAAL headquarters, and although the posters proposed by them were analyzed by the organization's international Executive Secretariat before being published[38], they at times reiterated western stereotypes about "the East," disregarded historical specificities, and tended to lean on racialized depictions of the peoples of each continent.

As we could observe, an optimistic perspective prevailed in the OSPAAAL posters. They asserted confidence in the victory of the peoples of the three continents against poverty, imperialism, and capitalism while hiding the internal disputes and defeats suffered by revolutionary movements. This positive and optimistic interpretation of the Third World contrasted with the notion of "underdevelopment," the concept most persistently associated with it (PALIERAKI, 2023, p. 11). Disputes also took place within Third Worldist organizations, and graphic art played a role in that, as the aforementioned work by Stites Mor (2022) demonstrates.

From the 1980s onward, the idea of a revolutionary Third World no longer had much appeal, and the concept came to have a negative connotation (ALBUQUERQUE, 2014; PRASHAD, 2007). As a result, it began to be avoided, even in academia. The analysis carried out in this article allows us to question this generalized objection to the concept, which has led to the search for alternatives that sometimes tend to anachronism. Instead, investigating how the Third World was understood and mobilized in different contexts, with what purposes and tools, seems to be more promising for historical research. In this sense, it is certainly not a coincidence that many books of the new Cold War historiography, which has been rehabilitating the Third World concept, display OSPAAAL posters on their covers.

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Notas

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[2]Among others, MAHLER (2018); FIELD JR., KREPP, PETTINÀ (2020); HARMER, ÁLVAREZ (2021); STITES MOR (2022), PARROTT, LAWRENCE (2022).

[3]Among them, works by Kalter (2016) and Albuquerque (2011, 2014), which respectively focus on France and on the Southern Cone, stand out.

[4]The translation of all texts originally in Portuguese or Spanish are my own.

[5]Defined by Mahler (2018, p. 4) as "a political discourse and ideology devised through a transnational dialogic exchange" and founded on "a deterritorialized vision of imperial power and a recognition of imperialism and racial oppression as interlinked, often using a racial signifier of color to abstractly refer to a broadly conceived transracial political collectivity." Diverging from authors who used this concept previously, like Robert

Young (2005), Mahler argues that "Tricontinentalism" began to take shape prior to the Tricontinental Conference, circulated outside of the OSPAAAL materials, superseded the Cuban state, and differed from the postcolonial perspective.

[6]Mahler (2018, p. 100) develops this concept by focusing on the OSPAAAL materials that express solidarity with African American struggles: "through the use of racially coded terminology and through the repetition of images of mostly Anglo-American policemen and African American protestors, Tricontinental materials metonymically employ the colonial and Jim Crow categories of 'white' and 'colored,' using white policemen to signify global imperial oppression and an African American identity to stand in for all 'the exploited people of the world.' In this way, the racial divide of the Jim Crow South functions as a metonym not for a global color line of phenotypic difference but for a Tricontinental power struggle in which all radicalized, exploited peoples, regardless of race, are implicated and thus discursively colored."

[7]Here I rely on the notion of "rendering solidarity" proposed by Stites Mor (2022, p. 19), which "points to the many ways cultural practices and forms can communicate judgement, suggest ethical considerations, describe the particularity of events, and frame narratives in the service of political consciousness. Perhaps more critically, 'to render' also means bring into being."

[8]As demonstrated by the clandestine newspapers *Revolución* (created in 1956) and *Sierra Maestra* (created in 1957), as well as by Radio Rebelde, set up by Ernesto "Che" Guevara in 1958.

[9]This institution was created in 1972 and had different names until 1984: Comisión de Organización Revolucionaria (COR) (1972-1974), Departamento de Organización Revolucionaria (DOR) (1974-1984), and Editora Política (from 1984).

[10]Other poster producers based in Cuba are: Casa de las Américas, Instituto Cubano de Amistad con los Pueblos (ICAP), Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes (OCLAE), Consejo Nacional de Cultura (CNC), Instituto Cubano del Libro (ICL), Instituto Nacional de la Industria Turística (INIT), Verde Olivo, and Taller Artístico Experimental de Serigrafía René Portocarrero.

[11]During the 1950s, the term "Third World" referred usually to Africa and Asia (PALIERAKI, 2023, p. 7).

[12]Although there was no consensus, the thesis of revolution through armed struggle prevailed, so the Tricontinental marked a shift away from the developmentalist rhetoric and the principles of neutralism and non-alignment toward a commitment to global militant resistance.

[13]The first OSPAAAL Secretariat was composed of representatives of Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Chile, the United Arab Republic, the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP), Congo-Leopoldville, Guinea-Conakry, Syria, Pakistan, South Vietnam, and North Korea. There were some changes in subsequent decades.

[14]OSPAAAL also published books and recorded some discs and radio programs.

[15]EDITORIAL (1967, p. 1-2).

[16]Over the years, foreign collaboration declined, and most of the texts began to be signed

by Cuban intellectuals and politicians. Furthermore, although the general secretariat of OSPAAAL was made up of representatives from the three continents, both the general secretary of the organization and the editor of the *Tricontinental* magazine were Cubans.

[17]During some periods, it was also published in Arabic, French and Italian.

[18]The initial print run of the posters followed that of the magazine: 50.000 posters in offset printing, besides 500 in silkscreen. Later, the posters began to be printed also in offset in larger size, which, like the silkscreen ones, were distributed separately from the magazine.

[19]Interview with Rafael Enríquez Vega, Havana, November 11, 2022.

[20]It was a black and white version of the image used on the 1968 poster – also by Renilde Suárez – presented in this article as Figure 26.

[21]In OSPAAAL materials, the "Africa" category encompassed both the MENA and sub-Saharan Africa, while "Latin America" encompassed Central America, South America, and the Caribbean.

[22]The image presented corresponds to the French edition.

[23]Democratic Kampuchea was a Communist state that existed from 1975 to 1979 and encompassed modern-day Cambodia.

[24]In 1967, the posters were printed in three versions: 25,000 copies with the text in Spanish, 15,000 in English, and 10,000 in French. From 1968 forward, a single version with these three languages plus Arabic was adopted.

[25]All links informed in the subtitles of the images were consulted on June 13, 2023.

[26]Scholars have drawn attention to the contradictory way in which racism was approached by the Cuban state after the 1959 revolution. Focusing her analysis on the OSPAAAL materials, Mahler (2018) convincingly argues that they contributed to shifting the focus of public debate on racism from the inside to the outside of the island. Thus, while supporting the anti-segregationist struggles carried out in the United States and South Africa, OSPAAAL was silent on the tensions and racial conflicts existing within Cuba.

[27]Cabral actively participated in the Tricontinental Conference and was honored many times on posters and other OSPAAAL materials.

[28]Regarding the mutual influences between Cuban poster art and Black Panthers imagery, see Wilson (2011), Mahler (2018) and Generoso and Resende (2019).

[29]All mentions of this work correspond to the version presented to the dissertation committee, of which I was a member, on March 15, 2023.

[30]Posters produced from the photography of 3D models. This technique started to be used in OSPAAAL posters in the 1980s.

[31]In the following year, Mederos was sent to Vietnam by the Department of Revolutionary Orientation (DOR) in order to get to know, record and portray the Vietnamese struggles. As a result, he created two series of paintings, many of which were converted into posters and stamps. See Kunzle (1975, p. 98-99).

[32]Available at: https://utopix.cc/columnas/la-publicacion-del-mensaje-del-che-a-la-tricontinental/.

[33]Editorial. *Tricontinental,* Havana, n. 10, Jan.-Feb. 1969 (English edition), p. 1-2.

[34]As Prashad (2007, p. 13) observes, most of the documents corresponding to the Third World project "are triumphal, and few of them reveal the fissures and contradictions within the Third World".

[35]The approximate percentage of countries on each continent to which at least one poster was dedicated is as follows: Africa 20%, Asia 27%, Latin America and the Caribbean 45%. See the maps presented in Frick (2003) and the graphics in Generoso (2023).

[36]See MACPHEE, 2019.

[37]The section of the *Tricontinental* magazine entitled "Tricontinental in Marcha" comment on these activities.

[38]Interview with Rafael Enríquez Vega, Havana, November 11, 2022.

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