



Textbook «Lutar, Aprender, Vencer, Trabalhar», Bissau, African Party for Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), Literacy Political Direction, 1977, p.17. Private archives given to Huco Monteiro, Bissau, Guinea-Bissau.

The Alter-lives of Independence Movements: Frustrated Hopes, Renewed Utopias

25–27 June 2026

Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

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The Alter-lives of Independence Movements: Frustrated Hopes, Renewed Utopias

Decades after formal decolonisation, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism have remained a wellspring of inspiration and contestation. Studies about anticolonial thought, the 1955 Bandung Conference, and transcontinental solidarity movements have proliferated in academia and activist networks, providing the basis of theories and practices of resistance in contemporary times. Nevertheless, the ideas and the movements they inspired did not perish with the epoch that produced them. They evolved and acquired alternative lives in the period of nation-building and world-making, whether in extended or distorted forms. On the one hand, there were local and transnational efforts to sustain and enrich the revolutionary impulse through embracing the anticolonial spirit in various areas such as development, education, and diplomacy. As international institutions such as the UN welcome additional member states, Europeans and non-Europeans travelled to decolonised states like Algeria and Angola to learn and further cultivate ideas in building new societies. On the other hand, some dominant groups that took over the independent states capitalised on the anti-colonial pride to justify authoritarian and anti-democratic rule. Their utopian visions led to the systematic oppression of opposing forces and to the reproduction of the hierarchical international state model. The fear of neocolonialism and disillusionment propelled both the former coloniser and colonised to reorganise their strategies and desires in the face of an emerging world order.

This conference on the alter-lives of independence movements explores the evolution and transformation of anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggles. It focuses on events and reflections on the early years of independence, a period of turbulent transition from colonial domination to self-governing nation-states and the tumultuous beginnings of a new international order. We introduce the concept "alter-lives" to denote the process of altering imaginaries and practices that emerged during the colonial period in responding to uncertain futures, including the political uses of anticolonial memories and/or histories. It also refers to alternative relations forged between former colonisers and colonised after independence. Thus, using "alter-lives" as a conceptual ground, this conference engages in the following questions: first, how have anticolonial thinking and practices evolved domestically and transnationally? Second, what were the structural and agential forces behind these evolutions? Third, how were anticolonial memories and histories politicised to achieve certain ends? Fourth, what difficulties did these agents face in realising their envisioned future? Lastly, how have alterations and alternatives affirmed and/or challenged the revolutionary ideas of the independence struggles?

[>> Registration \(free\)](#)

Programme

The Alter-lives of Independence Movements: Frustrated Hopes, Renewed Utopias

Day 1 — Thursday, 25 June

16:00 - 16:30 Registration

16:30 - 16:45 Opening remarks, Luís Trindade, Director (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

16:45 - 17:45 Keynote address, **Sanjay Seth** (University of St. Andrews)
'Decolonization and the Normalization of the Nation-State'

18:00 - 19:30 Welcome reception

Day 2 — Friday, 26 June

09:30 - 09:45 Registration

09:45 - 11:05 **Panel 1: The Other Bandungs**

Moderator: Rebeca Ávila (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Marçal de Menezes Paredes (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul)

Ahmad Rizky M. Umar (Aberystwyth University)

'Bandung's Incomplete Decolonisation: The Palestine Question, the Bandung Conference, and the Limits of Eurocentric Self-Determination'

Žiga Smolič (University of Ljubljana) [online]

'Institutionalizing Solidarity: Yugoslav Support for National Liberation Movements and the Case of the Palestine Liberation Organization'

Anna Ferrer Gil (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

'The Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet and Against Colonialism in Asia and Africa: The "Bandung for Tibet"'

11:05 - 11:25 Coffee break

The Alter-lives of Independence Movements: Frustrated Hopes, Renewed Utopias

11:25 - 12:45 **Panel 2: Un-gendering Liberations**

Moderator: Giulia Strippoli (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Sofia Lisboa (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Maša Mrovlje (University of Leeds)

'Anti-colonial Struggles and Gender Oppression: The Emancipatory Power of Women Resisters' Disappointment'

Idriss Jebari (Trinity College Dublin)

'Confiscated Liberation: Fadela M'rabet, Print Landscapes, and the Afterlives of Anti-Colonial Liberation in Algeria, 1962-72'

Roshini Kempadoo (University of Westminster) [online]

'We are pursued, by repetitive catastrophe'

12:45 – 14:30 Lunch (at the library's cafeteria)

14:30 - 16:10 **Panel 3: Navigating postcolonial states' hopes and disillusionments**

Moderator: Marta Macedo (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Carmina Yu Untalan (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Alina Sajed (McMaster University)

'Colonial modernity and the postcolonial state: the politics of utopias'

Azra Rashid (University of Ottawa; John Abbott College)

'The Failures and Frustrations of People's Uprising in Bangladesh'

Evander Ruthieri da Silva (Federal University for Latin American Integration; University of Potsdam)

'Making Heroes and Building the Nation: The Case of the National Heroes' Acre (Zimbabwe – 1980s–2000s)'

Wayne Huang (University of California-Santa Cruz)

'"We Could Have Been Extraordinary": An Unthinkable Revolution in Central Sumatra'

16:10 - 16:30 Coffee break

The Alter-lives of Independence Movements: Frustrated Hopes, Renewed Utopias

16:30 - 18:10 **Panel 4: Re-coding Afro-Asian Revolutionary Praxis**

Moderator: Andrea Vacha (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Manuela Ribeiro Sanches (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Emily Barber (University of Massachusetts)

'Developing New Humanism and De-Centring Violence: Reading Fanon through Amílcar Cabral and Mário Pinto de Andrade'

Akinkunmi A. Akinlabi (Crescent University) [online]

'Reconceptualising African Unity in the Twenty-first Century: Pan-Africanism Beyond Nkrumah's Political Ideal'

Roland Abinal Macawili (University of the Philippines-Los Baños)

'Producing Bonifacio: Colonial, Nationalist, and Revolutionary After-Lives'

Dominique Ankoné (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

'An unsettling Marxist? Revisiting Trã n Đức Thảo's concept of the "imperial horizon"'

Day 3 — Saturday, 27 June

09:30 - 09:40 Registration

09:40 – 11:00 **Panel 5: Clashing Pedagogic Arts and Memories**

Moderator: Paulo Catrica (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Melanie Toulhoat (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Adrian Perkasa (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)

'From Revolutionary Dream to Tragic Aftermath: Prijana and the Java-centric Nationalism in Postcolonial Indonesia'

Amarachi Iheke (King's College)

'Stimela, Beyond Metaphor: Navigating unfreedom through the Body Archive as pan-African sonic-poetic worldmaking'

Shalom Ìbírónké (Bowen University) [online]

'Theatre as Counter-Memory in Post-Independence Kenya' [online]

11:00 - 11:20 Coffee break

The Alter-lives of Independence Movements: Frustrated Hopes, Renewed Utopias

11:20 – 12:40 **Panel 6: Solidarity and Transnational Connections**

Moderator: Rui Cidra (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Pedro Aires Oliveira (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Marçal de Menezes Paredes (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul)
'Canadian Cooperants living in Maputo: International Solidarity Movement in Post-Independence Mozambique'

João Fusco Ribeiro (University of Évora)
'East meets South: Socialist Poland and Zimbabwe in the Era of Anticolonial and Postcolonial Politics (1965–1989)'

Merry Caitlyn Lee-Mei-Jin (Brunel University)
'Insurgency as Alter-Life: Unequal Exchange, Frustrated Decolonisation, and Anti-Colonial Memory in North Borneo'

12:40 – 13:40 Lunch

13:40 – 15:00 **Panel 7: Going Back and Forth the Cold War**

Moderator: Elisa Scaraggi (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Rui Lopes (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Karolis Jonutis (Vilnius University)
'The "Alter-lives" of Public Spaces: Contested Monuments and the Re-imagining of Post-Soviet Lithuania'

Rolando Talampas (University of the Philippines-Diliman)
'Filipino Postwar Anti-Neo-Colonial Struggles: Nationalism in the Cold War Period'

Begüm Adelet (Cornell University)
"'Show your voice as your passport, comrade Robeson!": Technologies of Resonance and Repression in Cold War United States and Turkey'

15:00 – 15:15 Coffee Break

The Alter-lives of Independence Movements: Frustrated Hopes, Renewed Utopias

15:15 - 16:55 **Panel 8: Confronting Liberation's Complex Detours**

Moderator: Rita Lucas Narra (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Discussant: Victor Barros (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

Fernando X. T. Ximenes (Independent Researcher/Timoriana Association) [online]
'FRETILIN's Unfinished National Liberation Struggle: From Politicization, Depoliticizations to Repoliticization'

Nkululeko Mabandla & Ana Deumert (University of Cape Town)
'The Guerrilla: Reflecting and Refracting South African Alter-Lives'

Itay Lotem (Westminster University)
'From Independentism to Memory Activism: How Former Independentists Turned to Slavery to Articulate a Bond between the French Republic and the the Antilles'

Elisa Scaraggi (IHC — NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)
'From Freedom Fighters to "Enemies of the People": Continuities and Ruptures in the MPLA's Discourse in the Case of the Revolta Activa'

16:55 – 17:30 **Collective "conclusions" and closing**

>> Registration (free)

Participant Bios and Abstracts

ADELET, Begüm

Cornell University (USA)

Bio: Begum Adalet is Associate Professor of Political Theory at Cornell University. She is the author of *Hotels and Highways: The Construction of Modernization Theory in Cold War Turkey* (Stanford University Press, 2018). She is currently working on a second book manuscript, tentatively titled, "Insurgent Mood: Black Radical Internationalism from the United States to the Middle East."

Title: *"Show your voice as your passport, comrade Robeson!": Technologies of Resonance and Repression in Cold War United States and Turkey"*

Abstract: Focusing on singer, actor, and activist Paul Robeson, this paper is organized around the sonic production and transmission of what playwright Lorraine Hansberry dubbed an "insurgent mood" across different peoples and places. Without a passport between 1951 and 1958, Robeson was pathologized by the security state, which believed that "the mere hearing of his singing turned one into a communist." He struggled to overcome the restrictions placed on his ability to travel, singing into telephones carried across the Atlantic to Welsh miners or amplified across the Canadian border, animating and broadcasting a mood that helped overcome borders, enabling people, songs, and emotions to move in different ways through the world. The paper traces the circulation, reception, and resonance of Robeson's voice in places like Turkey in the 1950s, where prominent Turkish and Kurdish poets, such as Nazim Hikmet and Cegerxwîn, who themselves were imprisoned and would later be sent to exile, wrote in solidarity with him. These poems would later be set to music and circulate in bootleg cassettes with the intensification of the ban on Kurdish music in the 1970s and '80s, exemplifying additional infrastructures for both the repression and dissemination of anticapitalist and anticolonial political affect.

AIRES OLIVEIRA, Pedro

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Pedro Aires Oliveira is an Associate Professor with Habilitation in the Department of History at NOVA FCSH and a researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History. His main research interests are international history, Portuguese colonialism and decolonisation, on which he has published extensively in academic journals and books, including a monograph adapted from his doctoral thesis on the late British and Portuguese colonial period and decolonisation (Mário Soares Foundation Prize, 2007), and his contribution to the work *História da expansão e do império Português* [History of Portuguese Expansion and Empire] (2014). He has experience in supervising master's and doctoral students in various fields of 20th-century history and was the scientific curator of historical exhibitions on the cultural impact of the Great War (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2017) and the centenary of the League of Nations (National Library of Portugal, 2020), for which he coordinated the catalogue.

AKINLABI, Akinkunmi A.

Crescent University, Abeokuta, Ogun State (Nigeria)

Bio: Akinkunmi Akinlabi PhD, is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Crescent University, Abeokuta. He just completed his PhD thesis, which examined France's role in Cameroon's relations with Nigeria, at Obafemi Awolowo University, Osun State, Nigeria. His research interests include Franco-African relations, Nigeria's foreign policy, and African politics. He has seven publications to his name, including a recent article published in the *African Journal of Political Science* (AJPS). He is a fellow of the Ife Institute of Advanced Studies.

Title: *Reconceptualising African Unity in the Twenty-first Century: Pan-Africanism Beyond Nkrumah's Political Ideal*

Abstract: Pan-Africanism, as an ideology and movement, emerged from the New World to combat racism and promote the unification of the Black race worldwide. This idea metamorphosed into an anti-colonial struggle and imperialism after the fifth and last conference held outside the shores of Africa. One of the key advocates of this idea was Kwame Nkrumah, who adopted it to advance the decolonisation and unification of the continent. Nkrumah's idea centred on the creation of a United States of Africa to achieve the primary goal of Pan-Africanism. This idea is premised on the erosion of sovereignty, created by the former colonialists, for the creation of a united Africa. Meanwhile, Nkrumah's idea has been criticised for being idealistic, leading to its description as utopian. Despite this criticism, the unification of the continent, the main argument of Nkrumah's idea, is the central focus of the African Union's Agenda 2063, a framework for the realisation of a united continent. While extant literature focuses mainly on Nkrumah's idea of a united Africa, this study will examine this idea through the lens of Muiu and Martin's *Fundi wa Afrika* and Mutua's (1995) "Why Redraw the Map of Africa: A Moral and Legal Inquiry". The ideas of the two pieces of literature will be compared with Nkrumah's argument to explain the approach of establishing a united Africa in the twenty-first century. To this end, the literature will be systematically reviewed and thematically analysed.

ANKONÉ, Dominique

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (Netherlands)

Bio: Dominique Ankoné is a member of the Inclusion, Exclusion and Mobility research network of the Dutch national research school N.W. Posthumus and part of the Theory of History research network of the Huizinga Institute. In 2023 he obtained a scholarship of the Dutch Research Council (NWO) to work on a PhD dissertation at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam on Trần Đức Thảo's anti-imperial thought, engagement and impact on French-language debates.

Title: *An unsettling Marxist? Revisiting Trần Đức Thảo's concept of the "imperial horizon"*

Abstract: In 1993 the leftist newspaper Humanité published an article mourning the anticolonial philosopher Trần Đức Thảo. Once a renowned and well-known advocate of Vietnamese independence, by then he had run into problems with the Vietnamese government. Trần Đức Thảo passed away in poverty living in an apartment of the Vietnamese embassy in Paris. But today he is again celebrated as Vietnam's greatest 20th century philosopher. Mirroring this ambiguity, Humanité characterized him as an "unsettling Marxist". This qualification invites for three questions: (1) Why was Trần Đức Thảo considered unsettling at the time? (2) what was the reception of his work? and (3) what unheeded lessons may we draw from his philosophy? This paper argues that Trần Đức Thảo's phenomenological or humanist Marxism was at odds both with prevailing interpretations of Marxism and contemporary French self-understandings. Although Trần Đức Thảo was once widely read and praised by thinkers such as Young, Derrida and Lyotard, the reception of his work was nevertheless ambiguous. Contemporary scholars foreground Trần Đức Thảo's concept of the imperial horizon as a pioneering phenomenological analysis of the discursive divide between colonizer and colonized, influencing later postcolonial thinking of Memmi, Fanon and Sartre. Yet, by taking this approach, scholars fail to appreciate the originality of Trần Đức Thảo's historical reflections on the relationship between imperialism, fascism and democracy, written in the aftermath of WWII. The concept of the imperial horizon should be understood as actively produced by imperial institutions, related to the rise of fascism, abused by imperial authorities, and possibly contested in the present. Based on original (archival) research in the context of my PhD, I propose a new reading of Trần Đức Thảo's anticolonial thought drawing on many recently rediscovered and rare writings, taking issue both with postcolonial silencing and appropriations of his thinking.

ÁVILA, Rebeca

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History (IHC), PhD Candidate in History at NOVA University Lisbon (project funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology of Portugal - FCT). Specializing in the history of worldmaking and Global South politics during the Cold War, with an emphasis on Latin American–African relations. Particular focus on policymaking in Brazil, Cuba, and Portugal.

BARBER, Emily

University of Massachusetts (USA)

Bio: Emily Barber is a PhD student at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, with a research focus on the revolutionary literature of Anglophone and Lusophone southern Africa. She holds a Certificate in Translation Studies from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Title: *'Developing New Humanism and De-Centring Violence: Reading Fanon through Amílcar Cabral and Mário Pinto de Andrade'*

Abstract: In a political and academic moment when scholars are quick to dismiss Fanon as nothing more than an inciter of revolutionary violence, this paper argues that, by analyzing the ways in which Mario Pinto de Andrade and Amilcar Cabral interpreted Fanonian thought, we can re-read Fanon through a politics of "anticolonial love" and a sense of collective responsibility towards a changed society. Cabral and Andrade, two major activists and intellectuals in the Lusophone African anticolonial revolutions, both drew heavily from Fanon in their essays and speeches. However, in their interpretations of Fanon, I argue that Andrade and Cabral developed Fanonian thought in two central ways. First, they developed and extended Fanon's concept of a "new humanism." Second, they argued for the necessity of creating a revolutionary movement that already embodied the moral and ethical framework of the newly envisioned society. In analyzing the ways that the Lusophone-African revolutionaries interpreted Fanon, I thus advocate for a reading of Fanon that de-emphasizes violence in the anticolonial revolution and instead focuses on the revolution's embodiment of new social values. Furthermore, I suggest that we use James Baldwin's notion of love as a hermeneutic to understand this fundamentally collective, reciprocal and future-oriented vision of anticolonial revolution.

BARROS, Victor

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Victor Barros holds a Ph.D. in Contemporary Studies, with a specialization in Contemporary History, from the University of Coimbra, and is a researcher at the IHC—Institute of Contemporary History at NOVA University Lisbon. His dissertation on historical commemorations and the construction of the memory of the Portuguese empire in the African colonies was awarded at the Third Edition of the Agostinho Neto International Prize for Historical Research in 2020. In 2023, Víctor Barros was a Postdoctoral Researcher at the École des Hautes Études Hispaniques et Ibériques, Casa de Velázquez (Madrid). He has also distinguished himself in the international dialogue on colonial memory and comparative processes of decolonization, as well as in the public debate on memory policies, identity, and postcolonial challenges.

CATRICA, Paulo

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Paulo Catrica is currently a researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History, NOVA University Lisbon, on a research contract. He studied photography at Ar.Co., Lisbon (1984/85); he has a Bachelor's degree in History, Lusíada University, Lisbon (1992); a Master's degree in Image and Communication, Goldsmiths College, London (1997); a PhD in Photography Studies, University of Westminster, London (2011). He was fellow of the Portuguese Centre of Photography (2000), the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in London (2001) and the Foundation for Science and Technology (2006–10 and 2014–19). He was visiting lecturer at the Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Lisbon (2015–2019); at ESMAE, Polytechnic Institute of Porto (2010–2014); at the School of Arts, Catholic University of Porto (2011–2014); and at the Lusófona University of Lisbon (2010–2014).

CIDRA, Rui

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Rui Cidra has a degree and a PhD in Anthropology from NOVA FCSH. His research uses cultural anthropology, history, ethnomusicology, and post-colonial studies to address the way in which music, dance, and expressive culture originated in former Portuguese colonial territories, particularly in Cape Verde, were mobilized in the demarcation of borders of race, gender, social class, nation, and diaspora between colonial and post-colonial moments.

DEUMERT, Ana

University of Cape Town (South Africa)

Bio: Ana Deumert is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Cape Town. Her research program is located within the broad field of sociolinguistics and has a strong transdisciplinary focus. She has published widely: historical sociolinguistics, language policy and planning, mobile communication, language contact as well as decolonial theory.

Title: *The Guerrilla: Reflecting and Refracting South African Alter-Lives* (joint paper with main speaker **Nkululeko Mabandla**)

Abstract: This paper explores the concept of “alter-lives” by focusing on the history of anti-colonial resistance in South Africa, a history that is embodied in the persona of the guerrilla. We trace how revolutionary imaginaries have been refracted across three critical moments: the armed struggle, post-apartheid neoliberal capture, and contemporary possibilities for re-connection with revolutionary credentials. Drawing on the lived experiences of Nkululeko Mabandla as a former freedom fighter, we interrogate the utopian visions that sustained the liberation movement's revolutionary cadre. Through a close analysis of liberation army publications – Dawn (Umkhonto we Sizwe/ANC) and Azania Combat (Azanian People's Liberation Army/PAC) – we examine how the political imaginaries articulated in these archives shaped – and were refracted by – the guerrilla fighters' experiences. Our analysis reveals how anticolonial memories and histories have been strategically politicized in post-1994 South Africa. We argue that Chris Hani's 1993 assassination marked a pivotal rupture, fundamentally altering the trajectory from the radical egalitarian vision embodied in the 1955 Freedom Charter, toward a different alter-life than the freedom fighters had imagined. The paper traces how the fall of the socialist world and the ascendance of a neoliberal hegemony captured the liberation movement, transforming revolutionary cadres into “the party”—an entity now seeking to control narratives and to limit future possibilities. We address the conference's central questions by examining difficulties the liberation movement faced – navigating the transition from armed struggle to governance within a hostile global economic order – to illuminate the frustrated political projects that characterize South Africa's post-apartheid trajectory.

In our conclusion, we will link past and future by connecting current discussions around a National Dialogue to the Freedom Charter's revolutionary promise. We ask: Which pathways remain open for reconnecting with the armed struggle's transformative energies, and how might contemporary alternatives both affirm and challenge the original independence visions?

FERRER GIL, Anna

Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Spain)

Bio: Anna Ferrer Gil is a PhD student at the History at the Department of Humanities, Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Pompeu Fabra University), Spain. She is currently researching the attitudes shown by Third World countries vis-à-vis the Tibet issue. Additionally, she is interested in topics such as the Cold War in the Third World, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the conferences that took place during the Bandung Era.

Title: *The Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet and Against Colonialism in Asia and Africa: The "Bandung for Tibet"?*

Abstract: Among the many conferences that convened the Third World following in the footsteps of the 1955 Afro-Asian Conference of Bandung, the Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet and Against Colonialism in Asia and Africa (AACT), an unofficial meeting held in New Delhi from April 9 to 11, 1960, was the only one that put the Tibet issue at the forefront of discussions. However, this meeting and the role played by Asian and African countries in the debates on Tibet remain understudied. I intend to address these gaps by using primary sources such as the internal report of the Convention or the correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Jayaprakash (JP) Narayan. Therefore, I will examine it in the context of the Bandung Era and compare it with others which convened Afro-Asia during the same period, events that served as a source of transnational solidarity centered in the fight against colonialism and the pursuit of an alternative to the world order of the early Cold War. I argue that the conference convened by JP Narayan tried to serve as a source of Afro-Asian solidarity with Tibet and to establish a connection between the Tibet issue and other anticolonial struggles that were taking place in Africa and Asia at the time. On the other hand, my research wants to analyze whether the participants, none of whom attended the conference as official representatives of their countries of origin, were disconnected from their states and if they had any power to influence the stance of their nations' governments vis-à-vis the Tibet question. Finally, I intend to assess whether the Afro-Asian Council, the entity founded by the organizers of the AACT in the aftermath of the meeting, tried to present itself as an heir of the Bandung Spirit and to establish a relationship with the Non-Aligned Movement.

HUANG, Wayne

University of California, Santa Cruz (USA) - University of Oslo (Norway)

Bio: Wayne Huang is a PhD candidate in Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and currently a visiting researcher at the University of Oslo. His research examines intimacy, Islamic revival, and the authoritarian remaking of agrarian life in rural Sumatra, Indonesia.

Title: *"We Could Have Been Extraordinary": An Unthinkable Revolution in Central Sumatra*

Abstract: This paper examines the "unthinkability" of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI, 1958-61), a short-lived uprising in Sumatra that remains marginal in both Indonesian and international scholarship. During the volatile years between the Bandung Conference and the consolidation of authoritarian rule, many Sumatrans began to feel that the Jakarta government had become merely another colonizer. This view was selectively supported by the United States and its Asian allies, while condemned by the Chinese and Indonesian Communist Parties. The entanglement of domestic and Asia-Pacific geopolitics rendered PRRI's "anticolonial" character difficult to define and its legitimacy persistently questioned. It sits uneasily within established frameworks in both Indonesian national discourse and progressive Western academia: was it an independence movement, an anti-communist campaign, a defense of Islam, or a Cold War proxy backed by the CIA? I argue that this ambiguity is precisely what makes PRRI difficult to remember yet analytically productive. Drawing on archival research and long-term ethnographic fieldwork in the Kerinci highlands of Sumatra, one of PRRI's last strongholds, this paper approaches PRRI through what I call the negative space of memory. Rather than reconstructing a definitive history or claiming access to an authentic subaltern "voice," I attend to silences, contradictions, mockery, laments, and fragmentary testimonies to ask: how do people in a rural periphery live with the afterlives of a war that cannot be comfortably named or remembered? What formulas of erasure have excluded PRRI from dominant narratives of decolonization and independence? Bringing together the political anthropology of memory and Hartman's (2008) notion of critical fabulation, I explore how Kerinci villagers inhabit unresolved and un/imagined futures. By treating PRRI not simply as a failed rebellion but as an alter-life of anticolonial struggle, I also show how its unthinkability reveals long-lasting epistemological dichotomies of the Cold War.

ÌBÍRÓNKĚ, Shalom

Bowen University (Nigeria)

Bio: Shalom Ìbíronkẹ has a PhD in Theatre Arts from Redeemer's University. With a background in theatre and activism, he currently pursues a research path in diversity and inclusion management in the Nigerian creative industry. He is the author of the play, *Home Won't Build Itself*. He has published his research in academic journals and he often directs play productions. Shalom teaches at the Theatre Arts Programme at Bowen University, Iwo, Nigeria.

Title: *Theatre as Counter-Memory in Post-Independence Kenya*

Abstract: Ngugi wa Thiong'o's collaborative plays *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (1976) and *I Will Marry When I Want* (1977) dramatise the gap between anticolonial promise and postcolonial reality in Kenya. Written during a period when the Kenyatta regime appropriated Mau Mau symbolism while suppressing labour organising and land reform, both plays weaponise collective memory against state narratives. *The Trial* resurrects Kimathi not as the domesticated national hero of official commemoration but as an unfinished revolutionary project. *I Will Marry* exposes how independence failed to dismantle the structures of land dispossession and exploitation, merely changing the colour of the oppressors. This paper examines how Ngugi's theatrical practice constitutes what the conference terms "alter-lives"—both an alteration of anticolonial memory and an alternative to the compromised nationalism of Kenya's ruling class. The plays reveal how cultural production became a site where revolutionary consciousness persisted after formal movements had been absorbed or crushed. Ngugi's subsequent detention following *I Will Marry*'s performance demonstrates the threat posed by keeping anticolonial struggle alive in popular forms. The paper argues that these works expose the neocolonial continuation of extraction under indigenous elites and insist that decolonization remains an incomplete process requiring renewed struggle.

IHEKE, Amarachi

War Studies, King's College (UK)

Bio: Amarachi Iheke is an educator, researcher and community worker inspired by imaginations of pan-African liberatory worldmaking. Much in that vision, her ongoing doctoral project explores radical re-imaginings of African selfhoods in Azania (South Africa) through a sonic-poetic militant Body Archive. Alongside her work on Azanian sonic-poetic resistance practices, she also thinks through Igbo oral-textual cultural productions in wider explorations of anticolonial psychosocial justice in her home context of Eastern Nigeria. Her written work has been featured in *The Republic* and *The Funambulist* Magazines, and her doctoral project at King's College London is funded by the UK Research Institute.

Title: *Stimela, Beyond Metaphor: Navigating unfreedom through the Body Archive as pan-African sonic-poetic worldmaking*

Abstract: This paper posits that sonic-poetic artists in Azania-South Africa across genres of Jazz, Marabi, Isicathamiya and various diverse Nguni Polyphonic Vocal Traditions, through weaponising a sonic-poetic militancy in resistance to apartheid's settler coloniality, in turn, produced an embodied subversive Body Archive that offers a compass for meaning-making within a continuum of colonial 'unfreedom'. In thinking through and with black study pedagogies of necropolitics (Mbembe, 2019), the Human as colonial operative logic (Wynter, 1970) and pan-African Stereomodernism (Jaji, 2024), I materialise a sonic-poetic Body Archive, consolidated in artists' operationalisation of sonic-poetic pan-African comradeship from the 1960s to the contemporary moment. It follows that the Body Archive is expressed in artists' pan-African philosophical rootedness in (re)articulating African worldsense(s) through trans-generational and ancestral memorialisation practices that are aurally and orally reiterative, spatially unfixed, and collaboratively improvisational. In attempts to express defiant livingness by disavowing colonially imposed subjectivities, through the Body Archive, artists sounded African selfhoods in the borderless-communal despite ongoing necropolitical violence. As a framework, the Body Archive encompasses not only pan-African psychosocial worldmaking, it also acts as a site for reckoning with and reflecting on tensions within radical solidarities compounded by colonial 'unfreedom'. Such fractures in sonic-poetic expressive visions of pan-African worldmaking are addressed here through attempts at neo-liberal elite capture, co-optation, and appropriation of a cultural —little 'p' — pan-Africanism (Shepperson, 1960). Such appropriative violence is discussed through elite attempts at 'defanging' sonic-poetic militant traditions in Azania-South Africa by relegating them to 'post'-apartheid and 'post'-transition iconography. These fractures are further contemporarily contextualised in present-day extensions of colonial 'unfreedom' as deepening racial socioeconomic inequality, disguised in elite mobilisations of xenophobic nativist provincialisations and ahistorical nationalist exceptionalisms (Madlingozi, 2018).

JEBARI, Idriss

Department of Near and Middle East Studies at Trinity College (Ireland)

Bio: Idriss Jebari is a Lecturer in Middle East Studies at Trinity College Dublin. He is a historian of Arab thought and social and cultural history in the Arab region. He is the author of *Leaping Decolonization: North Africa in the Global Sixties and Seventies* (Cambridge University Press, 2026). After completing his doctorate on the history of the production of critical thought in Morocco and Tunisia at the University of Oxford, he held a postdoctoral research fellowship at the American University of Beirut (Lebanon), and at Bowdoin College in Maine (USA).

Title: *Confiscated Liberation: Fadela M'Rabet, Print Landscapes, and the Afterlives of Anti-Colonial Liberation in Algeria, 1962-72*

Abstract: In 1972, the Algerian authorities celebrated a decade since the country's heroic independence from France. The government periodical *Révolution Africaine* lauded its socialist development plans in the economic, social, and cultural realm, including by celebrating the emergence of a "new Algerian woman." Yet, in the run-up to that anniversary, a number of critical essays had challenged these claims of liberation by documenting in print another, oppressed reality of the Algerian woman after independence. Among them was the teacher Fadela M'Rabet who released *La femme algérienne* (1967) and *Les algériennes* (1969) with François Maspéro in Paris. She was fired and lambasted, forcing her to leave the country. From Paris, M'Rabet's critique became sharper as she released *L'Algérie des illusions: La révolution confisquée* (1972), calling out early the country's descent into authoritarianism and failure to uphold the promises of independence. This paper argues that M'Rabet's approach was shaped by the anti-colonial practice of the Algerian nationalist movement against France, which she now deployed as a counter-hegemonic, subversive, and critical strategy against the national authorities in the first decade after independence. First, M'Rabet documented the challenges faced by Algerian women and embraced a concept of liberation that she now applied to new settings ranging from the domestic space to the highest spheres of politics. Second, she engaged closely with and countered the rhetoric of *Révolution Africaine* with anecdotes and vignettes drawn from her experience in Algerian society as a teacher. Third, she sought and achieved publication in a prestigious, respected, and widely read press such as Maspéro in Paris, emulating her male nationalist predecessors including Mostefa Lacheraf or Kateb Yacine. They were adopted by other actors to pursue (or complete) the country's liberation from other, internal forms of domination. Fourth, M'Rabet's case illustrates how the authorities' response had a radicalizing effect on her positions, from documenting to explicitly calling out the failure of the Algerian revolution. As such, this paper shows how certain anti-colonial practices lived on after independence in Algeria. M'Rabet and the Algerian feminist critique reveal an early sign of nationalist disillusionment in socialist Algeria. In the following decade, a growing number of critical voices would challenge and hold the state accountable to its own rhetoric – from the leftist university students to the Kabyle region – leading to the progressive fraying of Algerian state legitimacy.

JONUTIS, Karolis

Vilnius University (Lithuania)

Bio: Karolis Jonutis is an Assistant Professor of Sociology whose research focuses on political sociology, populist discourses, and the transformation of urban spaces. He earned his PhD in 2019 with a dissertation on post-democracy and populist discourses in Lithuania. Currently, he leads a research project titled "Controversies over Public Spaces in Vilnius: Structure of the Conflicts and Patterns of the Transformation."

Title: *The "Alter-lives" of Public Spaces: Contested Monuments and the Re-imagining of Post-Soviet Lithuania*

Abstract: This paper examines the current controversies surrounding Lithuania's public spaces through the lens of its "alter-lives"—how anti-imperial and national liberation imaginaries are transformed and contested decades after the formal end of Soviet occupation. Focusing on two pivotal cases—the failed installation of the Vytis monument in Lukiškės Square and the removal of the P. Cvirka monument—the study argues that these conflicts signify a shift from primary de-Sovietization to a deeper ideological struggle over the nation's future. Drawing on Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), I analyse how the memory of the struggle for independence is politicized to sustain contemporary national identities. The Vytis monument represents a "renewed utopia"; of traditional statehood, while the removal of Cvirka reflects an effort to purge "distorted forms" of the past. These cases demonstrate how the "revolutionary" of 1990 is being reinterpreted: on one hand, as a commitment to conservative and patriotic values, and on the other, as an aspiration for a liberal and modern European identity. By examining the "alter-lives" of these symbols, the paper responds to the conference's call to investigate how histories are politicized to achieve specific political objectives. It concludes that the struggle over physical squares in Vilnius is not merely about history, but about the agency of different social groups in defining the "imagined future"; of a post-colonial/post-Soviet state.

KEMPADOO, Roshini

University of Westminster (UK)

Bio: Roshini Kempadoo is a media artist, photographer and scholar. Her research, multimedia and photographic projects combine factual and fictional re-imaginings of contemporary experiences, histories and memories. Roshini has been active in documenting Caribbean communities, events, rights issues, and individuals in the UK and the Caribbean. She was instrumental in setting up Autograph, the Association of Black Photographers in the late 1980s, and worked as a documentary photographer for Format Picture Agency (1983 – 2003). Her photography and artworks are created using montage, layering, narration and interactive techniques of production. They appear as photographs and screen-based interactive art installations to fictionalise Caribbean, UK and US archive material, objects, and spaces. She has recently completed the Spring 2019 International Artist-in-Residence @ Artpace, San Antonio, US creating the artwork *Like Gold Dust*. She is Reader with CREAM (Centre for Research and Education in Arts and Media), at Westminster School of Arts, University of Westminster. She is represented by Autograph ABP, London.

Title: *We are pursued, by repetitive catastrophe*

Abstract: This paper will present artistic works that draw on women's environmental activist work in the global south. Wilson Harris's poetics about landscapes are deeply felt as someone with familial history and memories of Guyana. In collectively naming the persistence of a particularly pernicious kind of underlying disaster in the making, a violence, I reflect on Guyana's emergence as a petrostate and the lived experiences of persons from Guyana and elsewhere who face the degradation of extraction of resources by global corporations on an industrial scale. As a scholar and photographer, I propose to explore two audiovisual artworks created in recent years. *Like Gold Dust* (2019), created during my international residency at Artpace, San Antonio, USA and *Kissing Life Better* (2023), created for and exhibited at the New Art Gallery Walsall, UK. The paper refers to other media material created by women activists including Red Thread collective, Guyana and material researched on the life of the late environmental activist Wangari Muta Maathai (1940 –2011), Kenya. I explore the potential of Glissant's relational space in which the protagonists are imagined as environmental activists whose efforts are made possible through a network of others, who have little choice other than adopting forms of protest and redress in relation to her surroundings to defend rights to a 'liveable' life. Adopting a feminist decolonialist framing influenced by Françoise Vergès's writings amongst others, I explore a situated perspective of women's lived experiences as central to creating a learning and transformative space in relation to climate change. As someone invested in a distanced creative alliance, I think alongside women environmental activists whose urgent work is in need of being heard and being seen.

LISBOA, Sofia

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Sofia Lisboa holds a bachelor's degree in history from NOVA FCSH and a master's degree in contemporary history from the same institution, having spent two semesters studying at Paris-IV (Sorbonne), where she explored topics related to French colonialism, particularly in Arab contexts. She has worked on cataloging private libraries and later in journalism, focusing primarily on the world of work. She is currently conducting research funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology for her doctoral dissertation titled "The National Museum of Resistance and Freedom (Peniche) and the Memory of 20th-Century Political Violence: A Comparative Study of Portugal, South Africa, and Chile," a dissertation developed within the Doctoral Program in History at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of NOVA University Lisbon, supervised by José Neves (IHC — NOVA FCSH).

LOPES, Rui

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Rui Lopes holds a PhD in International History at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and is a researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History. He has taught at LSE and at Goldsmiths, University of London. He focuses his research on culture in the Cold War, as well as on the international dimension of the Estado Novo and Portuguese colonialism, having published the book *West Germany and the Portuguese Dictatorship, 1968–1974: Between Cold War and Colonialism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and various scientific articles. He is a member of the editorial board of the journal *Práticas da História: Journal on Theory, Historiography and Uses of the Past* and the coordinator of the project "Amílcar Cabral, from Political History to Politics of Memory". Under the program FCT Researcher, he is currently researching the image of Portugal in Western audiovisual fiction during the Salazar dictatorship.

LOTEM, Itay

University of Westminster (UK)

Bio: Itay Lotem is a Senior Lecturer (Associate Professor) in French Studies at the University of Westminster in London, where he has been based since the award of his PhD from Queen Mary University of London in 2017. He is a contemporary historian of memory politics, race and social movements whose research straddles intellectual history, cultural history and political theory. Itay's interest in the intersections between social movements, race, and memory politics developed into his first monograph, *The Memory of Colonialism in Britain and France: The Sins of Silence* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), the first comparative study of the memory of colonialism in Britain and France since the 1960 (shortlisted for the Memory Studies Association's First Book Award in 2022). In 2024, he published a second monograph, *Dealing with Dark Pasts: A European History of Autocritical Memory in Global Context*, which offers an intellectual history of European memory politics since the Second World War. In addition, his published articles have interrogated activist use of academic texts, and particularly the concept of intersectionality, in memory politics.

Title: *From Independentism to Memory Activism: How Former Independentists Turned to Slavery to Articulate a Bond between the French Republic and the the Antilles*

Abstract: As Antillean independentism lost steam in the 1980s, a group of former Guadeloupian independentist activists in Paris sought ways to accept the reality of departmentalisation. In the 1990s, this group, mainly centred around the couples Serge and Viviane Romana and Emmanuel and Evelyne Gordien, opted to focus on the state of Antillean communities in the French hexagon. To articulate Antillean belonging in the republic, these activists turned to psychoanalysis and addressed colonial enslavement as the historical link between France and Antillean communities. Through their investment in a new type of memorial activism that demanded the French republic 'faced' enslavement in public, these activists' trajectories reflect one avenue for examining the afterlife of movements of colonial independence, in this case the unsuccessful Antillean independentist movements. Using oral history interviews, publications and digital research, this paper will follow the development of ideas that underpinned the transition from independentism into memory activism. By examining the transformations of the Antillean organisations born out of ex-independentist movements, from BWAFOUYE to Comité de Marche 98 (CM98), it aims to shed light the process of politicisation of the memory of colonial enslavement in France. How did formerly independentist activists shift their priorities and rearticulate their goals of severing ties with the colonial metropole into focus on affirming their belonging to the republic through memory politics? Here, acknowledging the shared history of enslavement acted as affirmation of Antilleans' equality in a French republican future. And how did they perceive the position of Antilleans in postcolonial France, particularly as debates about enslavement were become ever more central to addressing race and Blackness in the present day? This new generations of activists succeeded in changing state narratives in France and rearticulated their republican belonging through new focus on memory. In so doing, however, they broke with former contacts in the outre-mer and entered conflicts with new generations of Black organisations over the race in postcolonial France.

LUCAS NARRA, Rita

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: She graduated in History at NOVA FCSH and completed a master's in Contemporary History at the same institution, with the dissertation "Outra terra dentro da nossa terra: a formação de um sujeito político em Amílcar Cabral" [Another land within our land: the formation of a political subject in Amílcar Cabral]. Currently she has a PhD scholarship in History, focusing her research on the transnational transits that enabled the formation of the idea of "Third World", starting with the events that led to the fall of the Portuguese colonial empire.

MABANDLA, Nkululeko

University of Cape Town (South Africa)

Bio: Nkululeko Mabandla is a lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town and a former freedom fighter who served as a guerrilla in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress. His broad research interests span settler colonialism, the anti-colonial archive, and the black radical tradition. His publications address the history of the black middle class in South Africa, land and decolonization, and the South African struggle for liberation.

Title: *The Guerrilla: Reflecting and Refracting South African Alter-Lives* (joint paper with **Ana Deumert**)

Abstract: This paper explores the concept of “alter-lives” by focusing on the history of anti-colonial resistance in South Africa, a history that is embodied in the persona of the guerilla. We trace how revolutionary imaginaries have been refracted across three critical moments: the armed struggle, post-apartheid neoliberal capture, and contemporary possibilities for re-connection with revolutionary credentials. Drawing on the lived experiences of Nkululeko Mabandla as a former freedom fighter, we interrogate the utopian visions that sustained the liberation movement’s revolutionary cadre. Through a close analysis of liberation army publications – Dawn (Umkhonto we Sizwe/ANC) and Azania Combat (Azanian People’s Liberation Army/PAC) – we examine how the political imaginaries articulated in these archives shaped – and were refracted by – the guerrilla fighters’ experiences. Our analysis reveals how anticolonial memories and histories have been strategically politicized in post-1994 South Africa. We argue that Chris Hani’s 1993 assassination marked a pivotal rupture, fundamentally altering the trajectory from the radical egalitarian vision embodied in the 1955 Freedom Charter, toward a different alter-life than the freedom fighters had imagined. The paper traces how the fall of the socialist world and the ascendance of a neoliberal hegemony captured the liberation movement, transforming revolutionary cadres into “the party”—an entity now seeking to control narratives and to limit future possibilities. We address the conference’s central questions by examining difficulties the liberation movement faced – navigating the transition from armed struggle to governance within a hostile global economic order – to illuminate the frustrated political projects that characterize South Africa’s post-apartheid trajectory. In our conclusion, we will link past and future by connecting current discussions around a National Dialogue to the Freedom Charter’s revolutionary promise. We ask: Which pathways remain open for reconnecting with the armed struggle’s transformative energies, and how might contemporary alternatives both affirm and challenge the original independence visions?

MACAWILI, Roland Abinal

University of the Philippines, Los Baños (Philippines)

Bio: Roland Abinal Macawili holds a Bachelor of Arts in History from the Polytechnic University of the Philippines and pursues advanced philosophical studies at the Christ the King Mission Seminary. He currently teaches in the Department of Social Sciences, Division of History, University of the Philippines – Los Baños, and is an Associate Member of the National Research Council of the Philippines (Social Sciences Division). Macawili’s research focuses on the intersections of Philippine historiography, cultural philosophy, and indigenous epistemologies. He is the author of several published studies, including “Tungo sa Isang Pilosopiya ng Ginhawa” (Talas: *Interdisiplinaryong Journal sa Edukasyong Pangkultura*, 2023), “Ginhawa and the Interpretation of Colonialism” (Scientia: *The International Journal in the Liberal Arts*, 2024). Macawili has also contributed to feminist historiography, folklore studies and history of education, as seen in works like “Katawang Babae at ang Imahenaryo ng Nasyon” (Tala: *An Online Journal of History*, 2020) and “Si Rizal, ang Manok at Kwentong Bayan” (*Reading the Regions II*, 2021) and “Advancing Vocational Education in Colonial Philippines: The Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País and the Establishment of Escuela Profesional de Artes y Oficios” (*Recoletos Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, 2025).

Title: *Producing Bonifacio: Colonial, Nationalist, and Revolutionary After-Lives*

Abstract: Andres Bonifacio occupies one of the most fraught after-lives in Philippine historiography. His execution at the hands of fellow revolutionaries, the enduring debate over his status vis-a-vis Jose Rizal, and recurrent calls to recognize him as the first President of the Philippine Republic have ensured that Bonifacio remains a contested figure long after his death. These controversies point not only to unresolved historical questions but also to the multiple ways Bonifacio has been reanimated, appropriated, and re-signified in the political and intellectual life of the nation following the Revolution of 1896–1897. This paper examines the after-lives of Bonifacio as produced by successive regimes of Philippine historiography. It begins with the image of the Supremo in histories written by American imperial scholars, followed by Filipino-authored works that nevertheless remained tethered to the positivist-historicist tradition introduced during the colonial period. It then turns to the Left’s reconfiguration of Bonifacio and the Revolution, particularly in Teodoro Agoncillo’s *The Revolt of the Masses* and Amado Guerrero’s *Philippine Society and Revolution*, where Bonifacio’s after-life becomes central to revolutionary legitimacy. The paper also shows how the discourse of the “Unfinished Revolution” functioned as a powerful after-life of Bonifacio, mobilized both to legitimize the Commonwealth and the Third Republic and to generate mass support for the Communist Party of the Philippines, across its first and second iterations. The discussion then engages alternative after-lives produced by Reynaldo Ileto’s history-from-below approach and Zeus Salazar’s *Pantayong Pananaw*, both of which attempt to displace earlier elite and colonial framings, yet remain politically situated, as noted in Leloy Claudio’s critiques. Ultimately, the paper argues that enduring dichotomies – Bonifacio/Rizal, Revolution/Reform, Elite/Masses – and the persistent condescension toward Bonifacio are not merely historiographical conflicts but products of competing after-lives through which Philippine independence, sovereignty, and revolutionary possibility have been retrospectively imagined, stabilized, and contested.

MACEDO, Marta

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Marta Macedo has been a researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History at NOVA University Lisbon since September 2022. With a degree in Architecture, she completed her Ph.D. in Architecture, specializing in Theory and History, at the University of Coimbra in 2010. Before joining the IHC, she was a researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences at the University of Lisbon as part of the ERC project “The Colour of Labour: the Racialized Lives of Migrants,” a postdoctoral fellow at the CIUHCT at the University of Lisbon, and a visiting researcher at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her current research project, “São Tomé and the Global Atlantic: A Genealogy for the Plantationocene”, examines the relationship between technical-scientific practices and imperial history over the long term. More specifically, she studies the circulation of plantation systems between São Tomé, Brazil, Angola, and the Belgian Congo, drawing on approaches from the history of science and technology, labor, the environment, and capitalism.

MENEZES PAREDES, Marçal de

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)

Bio: Marçal de Menezes Paredes is an Associate Professor of History at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. He is a researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq, Brazil), a member of the Board of Directors of the Lusophone Studies Association (York University, Canada), and an associate researcher at the CEIS20—Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies (Coimbra University) and the Institute of Contemporary History of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. His main research interests include the contemporary history of Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP), East Timor and Portugal, with a special focus on the context of anti-colonial networks in the Lusophone world within the global Cold War. Recent publications: “The Contemporary History of Angola in Brazil: Pluralist Pasts within a Modern Nation” In: Connerman, S. & Pich, R.H. *Studies on Slavery in Brazilian and African Literature*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2025): 75-90; with Augusto Nascimento, eds., *Personalismos políticos nos países de língua portuguesa* (Porto Alegre: Edipucrs, 2024); “The Canadian Broad Left and the Anticolonial Struggle at Home and Abroad: The Case of the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Portugal’s African Colonies,” in *Globalizing Independence Struggles of Lusophone Africa Anticolonial and Postcolonial Politics*, ed. R. Lopes and N. Telepneva (London: ZED Books, 2024): 139–53.

Title: *Canadian Cooperants living in Maputo: International Solidarity Movement in Post-Independence Mozambique*

Abstract: Drawing on original primary sources and oral history interviews, this paper treats the experiences of Canadian cooperants in the People’s Republic of Mozambique between 1975 and 1990 as a historical problem rather than as narratives of altruistic solidarity. It proceeds from the premise that few historical moments were as profoundly global as the making of a postcolonial socialist capital, and that Maputo, in the aftermath of independence, became a privileged site in which international expectations, ideological projections and everyday practices collided. Focusing on a specific modality of cooperation promoted by a Western middle power, the paper examines how young professionals—journalists, engineers, artists, educators, physicians, among others—moved from the normative frameworks of a liberal welfare-state democracy into a postcolonial socialist society shaped by war, scarcity and permanent political mobilisation. Drawing on personal notebooks, photographs, audio recordings and retrospective memories, it interrogates how political commitment was lived, negotiated and, at times, eroded in the quotidian experience of the Mozambican Civil War. By articulating micro-historical trajectories with the global dynamics of the Cold War, the paper argues that these experiences expose the internal heterogeneity of the global left and the structural tensions between Western solidarity movements and African socialist projects. More broadly, it suggests that Maputo functioned as a laboratory of postcolonial socialism, in which hopes of internationalism coexisted with fear, discipline and disenchantment, thereby illuminating the historical limits of socialist internationalism in Lusophone Africa.

MERRY, Caitlyn Lee-Mei-Jin

Brunel University London (UK)

Bio: Caitlyn Lee-Mei-Jin Merry is Learning Technology Manager at Brunel University London and a PhD candidate in Politics and History at Brunel. Her research examines anti-colonial insurgency, imperial counterinsurgency, and the political afterlives of decolonisation in North Borneo, with a focus on insurgent memory, political economy, and the persistence of revolutionary traditions under conditions of repression. She holds an MSt in Social Innovation from the University of Cambridge, and an LLB from SOAS.

Title: *Insurgency as Alter-Life: Unequal Exchange, Frustrated Decolonisation, and Anti-Colonial Memory in North Borneo*

Abstract: North Borneo occupies a paradoxical position in Southeast Asian decolonisation. Despite its abundance of timber, oil, and rubber, it remains the poorest region of Malaysia—an enduring imprint of colonial extraction and unequal exchange. From the late nineteenth century onward, land alienation, head taxes, and racialised labour regimes produced both material dispossession and sustained traditions of anti-imperial resistance. This paper examines the alter-lives of anti-colonial insurgency in North Borneo, tracing how insurgent movements were transformed, constrained, and politically displaced during the transition from empire to formal independence. Indigenous-led uprisings including the Mat Salleh Rebellion (1894–1905), Rundum uprising (1915), and the Kinabalu Guerrillas’ resistance to Japanese occupation (1943–44); articulated visions of autonomy, solidarity, and internationalism that exceeded the political forms ultimately authorised through decolonisation. North Borneo’s exit from colonial rule unfolded amid competing regional claims and Cold War counter-insurgency logics, including the Brunei Revolt, the Philippine claim to Sabah, and Indonesia’s Konfrontasi. Rather than culminating in independence as popular self-determination, these processes resulted in incorporation into a postcolonial federal settlement that preserved extractive relations while narrowing the space for insurgent futures. I conceptualise this outcome as frustrated decolonisation: a condition in which sovereignty was asserted at the level of the state while revolutionary horizons were contained or silenced. Yet insurgency did not disappear. Britain’s designation of the Anti-British National Liberation War as the “Malayan Emergency” exemplifies how imperial authorities reclassified insurgent struggle through semantic, legal, and archival strategies designed to protect capital and contain revolutionary possibility. This counter-insurgency framework generated political anxieties that shaped decolonisation itself. Drawing on political economy, insurgency studies, and critical memory scholarship, the paper traces how Indigenous and diasporic communities engage the alter-lives of these movements through oral histories, cultural production, and counter-archives, sustaining insurgent ethics and critiques of extraction beyond the limits of post-independence statehood.

MROVLJE, Maša

University of Leeds (UK)

Bio: Maša Mrovlje is Associate Professor of Political Theory at the University of Leeds. Her research interests are located within contemporary political theory, with a focus on existential, decolonial and feminist theory. Within this focus, she has contributed to pressing issues of political judgement, memory politics, transitional justice, political violence and, most recently, resistance. She is author of *Rethinking Political Judgement: Arendt and Existentialism* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019). Her articles appeared in leading international peer-reviewed journals, including *Political Theory*, *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, *Millennium* and *The Journal of Politics*. She is currently working on a project entitled *Disappointment: Reclaiming the Unfulfilled Promise of Resistance*, which explores the political potential of disappointment within the modern revolutionary tradition. In addition, she has been researching women’s embodied resistance experience, neglected within dominant masculine understandings of resistance.

Title: *Anti-colonial Struggles and Gender Oppression: The Emancipatory Power of Women Resisters’ Disappointment*

Abstract: Frantz Fanon’s unfulfilled hopes for decolonisation have often been invoked to theorise the failure of founding new communities in the wake of liberation from colonial rule. Less attention has been paid to his disappointment over the failure of women’s emancipation, which he imagined would result naturally from women’s political awakening and their involvement in the anti-colonial struggle. In this paper, I explore how the disappointment of women resisters can inspire resistance against the persistence of gender oppression in the wake of liberation from colonial rule. To articulate this potential of disappointment, I look to Assia Djebar—a prominent Algerian novelist and filmmaker who devoted most of her work to recording the unfulfilled promise of women’s emancipation. Drawing on Djebar, I argue that women resisters’ disappointment can act as a powerful epistemic and political tool. It can not only inspire women resisters to give voice to their complex resistance experience that has been silenced in dominant masculinist narratives of resistance, but also encourage them to fight against the resilient patterns of gender oppression post-liberation.

PERKASA, Adrian

Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (Netherlands)

Bio: Adrian Perkasa is a postdoctoral researcher at the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) Leiden under the TRACE project which funded by European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Grant. His research is about cultural heritage and the politics of knowledge (re)production. Adrian has been a research fellow at different institutes, including the Asia Research Institute, the International Institute for Asian Studies, and the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies. From July 2023 to August 2024, he worked as the 13th International Convention of Asia Scholars Project Manager, which was organized by the International Institute for Asian Studies. During his time at IIAS, Adrian was also involved in the establishment of the Airlangga Institute of Indian Ocean Crossroads (AIIOC) at Surabaya, Indonesia.

Title: *From Revolutionary Dream to Tragic Aftermath: Prijana and the Java-centric Nationalism in Postcolonial Indonesia*

Abstract: Prijana was the longest-serving minister of education and culture in post-independence Indonesia. He proudly stood for the leftist spectrum of Java-centric nationalism during his school years in the Netherlands. In 1954, Prijana was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize by the Soviet Union, alongside notable worldwide figures such as Pablo Neruda, Pablo Picasso, and Fidel Castro. This paper demonstrates that the Java-centric ideas were used effectively by Indonesian political elites, particularly Sukarno, to convey various political concepts to a broader audience in Indonesia, primarily composed of Javanese and illiterate individuals. Previous research identified Javanese nationalism as responsible for inequitable social structures, characterized as conservative and irrational, and associated with provincialism, feudalism, and the perpetuation of undemocratic practices in post-independence Indonesia, drawing parallels to fascist supporters and other demagogues globally. This research examines Prijana's thinking and practices, drawing on archive data in Indonesian, Javanese, and Dutch, highlighting his Java-centric ideas that transcended the imaginations of other Java-centric nationalists in colonial Indonesia. This study demonstrates the repercussions of Java-centric ideologies when the Indonesian army, backed by the United States, employed them with divergent interpretations and objectives, culminating in the termination of Prijana's career and ultimately his life.

RASHID, Azra

University of Ottawa and John Abbott College (Canada)

Bio: Dr. Azra Rashid is a Montreal-based instructor, researcher and filmmaker. Her upcoming book, "Homeward Journeys of Immigrant Women in Canada" interweaves memories and experiences of immigrant women across the country and feminist theories on migration and identity to examine the relationship between identity, belonging and home. Azra's previous research has been focused on testimony and representations of gender in discourses of war. In addition to numerous scholarly articles on the topic, she has also written two books, *Surviving Khmer Rouge: Gender and Genocide in Cambodia* (2023), and *Gender, Nationalism and Genocide in Bangladesh: Naristhan/Ladyland* (2018).

Title: *The Failures and Frustrations of People's Uprising in Bangladesh*

Abstract: As the British empire neared its end, Muslim and Hindu political leaders of South Asia demanded separate political roofs (Gellner 1983) for the Muslims and Hindus in the region, and in 1947 a Muslim-dominated Pakistan and a Hindu-dominated India were created. However, nationalist projects within Pakistan quickly resulted in ethnic, linguistic and political hierarchies. In 1971, during a nine-month long war, at least 300,000 Bengali people were killed by the Pakistani army in East Pakistan, culminating in the creation of Bangladesh. In the newly independent country of Bangladesh, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the nation envisioned freedom, justice, and progress. Yet minorities and women struggled to find justice or meaningful representation. As Gayatri C. Spivak (1993) reminds us, for the subaltern, and especially the subaltern woman, 'Empire' and 'Nation' are interchangeable names. The oppressions and injustices of the empire were reproduced in independent Bangladesh, albeit now by those once celebrated as the nation's true representatives. Hindu minorities lost property rights, Urdu-speaking communities were confined to refugee camps and women's struggles were either omitted or appropriated in the name of the nation. The "July Revolution" of 2024 was a pro-democracy, student uprising in Bangladesh, which saw a violent crackdown by security forces and left nearly 1400 dead. The government was overthrown and Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, fled to India. Like before, the utopian vision for the future did not last long. Less than two years later, Bangladesh now stands poised to elect a party accused of collaborating in the mass killings and rapes of 1971 and more recently for failing to condemn violence against the country's Hindu minority, in particular the 2025 lynching of a Hindu factory worker. Despite the nation's history of women prime ministers, this party also believes that women are naturally unfit for political leadership. This paper examines the specific mechanisms through which the self-appointed guardians of the nation reproduce systems of oppression, replacing the emperor with new oppressors who continue to subjugate the subaltern after popular uprisings.

RIBEIRO, João Fusco

Pilecki Institute (Poland)

Bio: João Fusco Ribeiro is an Assistant Professor at the Center for Totalitarian Studies at the Pilecki Institute in Warsaw, Poland. He holds an MA in European and African Historical Studies (2016) and a PhD in Contemporary History (2023), both from the University of Évora. His doctoral research, which examined the armed guerrilla campaign of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) against Portuguese colonial rule, received an honourable mention from the Mário Soares Foundation Prize. Dr. Ribeiro's research focuses on Angolan liberation movements, the decolonization processes in Lusophone Africa, and on the transnational networks of anti-colonial solidarity in Eastern Europe. His work has been published in journals such as the *Journal of Southern African Studies* and the *Journal of Cold War History*.

Title: *East meets South: Socialist Poland and Zimbabwe in the Era of Anticolonial and Postcolonial Politics (1965–1989)*

Abstract: Poland and Zimbabwe are two geographically distant countries that, at first glance, appear to share few commonalities or connections. Yet important transcontinental links between them exist that merit historiographical attention. During the Second World War, Southern Rhodesia was one of several British colonies in Africa that received thousands of Polish refugees forcibly displaced by the Soviet Union from the Eastern Borderlands. Many of these refugees remained after the war, forming a significant European diaspora and integrating, with varying degrees of success, into Rhodesian and, later, Zimbabwean society. While the refugee experience marked the first significant Polish presence in Southern Rhodesia, Polish-Zimbabwean connections soon took on a new dimension, shaped by decolonization and Cold War politics. By the 1960s, the Polish People's Republic was actively engaged in the region's protracted decolonization process, providing material, financial, and moral support to the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in its armed struggle against Ian Smith's minority regime in Rhodesia. Official state-to-state relations were established following Zimbabwe's complex transition from white minority rule to majority rule in 1980, as part of the late wave of decolonization in Southern Africa. This inaugurated a period of unprecedented diplomatic and economic exchanges between the two countries, along with mutual expressions of political solidarity within the context of Cold War regional tensions, particularly reflecting a shared commitment to resisting U.S. global interference. This article examines the diplomatic engagement, economic exchanges, and expressions of political solidarity between Socialist Poland and Zimbabwe from 1965 to 1989. This period encompasses two phases. The first phase, spanning from 1965 to 1980, focuses on the Zimbabwean War of Independence, during which Poland engaged exclusively with non-state actors. Warsaw provided multipurpose support to the Soviet-backed liberation movement ZAPU, while maintaining only limited contacts with the Maoist-inspired Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which would later emerge as the country's postcolonial ruling party. The second phase, from 1980 to 1989, explores formal state-to-state relations, efforts at diplomatic normalization, and the ambitions, achievements, and setbacks in economic cooperation. It also considers the transcontinental expressions of solidarity and highlights both shared and divergent perspectives on escalating regional tensions during the late Cold War.

RIBEIRO SANCHES, Manuela

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Manuela Ribeiro Sanches taught at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon, from 1981 to 2016. She has held lecturing appointments at Indiana University, Bloomington; Institut für Europäische Ethnologie, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; and the Maumaus Visual Arts School, Lisbon. She was also a resident scholar at the University of California Center for Cultural Studies and at the Institut für Europäische Ethnologie, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Having obtained her PhD with a dissertation on the traveller and revolutionary Georg Forster, her interest in travel literature and related topics, such as the epistemologies that sustain the subjective processes of perceiving and narrating the described objects, led her to broaden her interests to the field of the history of anthropology, which she articulated with a cultural studies approach from a postcolonial perspective. Having widely published on these issues, she later became interested in the transnational processes that marked anti-colonial movements. Her research interests include African film, questions of migration and racism in Europe from a compared perspective.

SAJED, Alina

McMaster University (Canada)

Bio: Alina Sajed is Associate Professor of international relations in the Department of Political Science at McMaster University. She researches and teaches on anti-colonial thought and praxis, national liberation and decolonization, Third Worldism and its reverberations, and the experience of (colonial) modernity. Her research has been published in *Review of International Studies*, *Third World Quarterly*, *International Studies Review*, *Globalizations*, *Interventions*, *Middle East Critique*, *Citizenship Studies*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *International Politics Reviews*, and *Postcolonial Studies*. She is the author of *Postcolonial Encounters in International Relations: The Politics of Transgression in the Maghreb* (2013) and the coauthor (with William D. Coleman) of *Fifty Key Thinkers on Globalization* (2012). She is also the coeditor (with Randolph B. Persaud) of *Race, Gender, and Culture in International Relations: Postcolonial Perspectives* (2018). She is currently working on a project on the experience of modernity in postwar Japan.

Title: *Colonial modernity and the postcolonial state: the politics of utopias*

Abstract: This paper reconsiders the postcolonial state through an engagement with the politics of utopias. Following Ashis Nandy's conceptualization of utopia, I ask here the following questions: how do we evaluate the Third Worldist utopia, the national liberation state? Is utopia a useful or even desirable political horizon? The postcolonial state's origins in the violence of colonial modernity provides a necessary (if deeply ambivalent) lens through which to evaluate the project of the postcolonial state. Epistemically, the colonial project is a straitjacket whereby 'the ruled are constantly tempted to fight their rulers within the psychological limits set by the latter'. The colonial epistemic imaginary provides a limited array of pathways: the nation-state as the legitimate form of political organization (with nationalism and nation-building as conduits to identity formation and consolidation), capitalism as the legitimate form of economic exchange and production, a secular/modernist content to political, social and cultural life where the ethos of modernization is meant to overtake and sever any ties to a diversity of lifeworlds. What are the possibilities for utopias within this limited imaginary? Might this help us understand 'why revolutions always devour their children'? I start by reflecting on the concept of colonial modernity, and on the paradoxical realities and affects evoked by the terms 'colonial' and 'modernity,' which seem to have translated into contradictory if complementary socio-political horizons. I then explore what Nandy calls 'the romance of the state,' whereby the postcolonial state becomes the apotheosis of anticolonial resistance and national liberation. Lastly, Mohamed Mbougar Sarr's *The Most Secret Memory of Men* provides an opening for exploring the politics of Third World utopia as a literary *mise-en-abîme* of postcolonial modernity and for laying bare existential questions about the nature of (post)colonial violence.

SCARAGGI, Elisa

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Elisa Scaraggi is a Marie Curie Fellow at the Institute of Contemporary History of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Her research focuses on the intertwining of personal and collective experiences in personal archives, as well as autobiographies, memoirs, and other life writing. She is currently researching the personal archive of Angolan intellectual and politician Mário Pinto de Andrade as a key to discovering new narratives about Angola's recent past and the relationship between culture and nationalism.

Title: *From Freedom Fighters to "Enemies of the People": Continuities and Ruptures in the MPLA's Discourse in the Case of the Revolta Activa*

Abstract: In May 1974, just days after the coup that overthrew the Portuguese regime, setting the stage for ending a war that had lasted over thirteen years, a group of activists from the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) issued an appeal addressed to all cadres and members of the movement. The document openly denounced the MPLA's absolutist leadership, which was undermining the movement's vitality, and called for a democratization of its power structure. Known as "Apelo dos 19," after the number of its initial signatories – that included prominent figures such as Gentil Viana, Hugo de Menezes, and Mário Pinto de Andrade – the appeal marked the first act of a brief but significant political experiment within the MPLA, known as *Revolta Activa*. Although its members did not see themselves as dissidents, but rather as reformers within the movement, the leadership of the MPLA perceived the *Revolta Activa* as a threat and moved to neutralize its members. Before arrests were carried out in 1976, repression first took a symbolic form, manifesting as verbal violence that, through official speeches and the local press, contributed to the public construction of a vicious internal enemy. In this paper, I examine how the discourse developed during the liberation struggle to target the "enemies of the people" – understood in that context as anyone aligned with the colonial regime – was later appropriated by MPLA authorities to target internal adversaries, including members of the *Revolta Activa*, militants who had devoted their lives to the struggle. Drawing on a range of sources, including memoirs, interviews, and articles published in Angolan and Portuguese newspapers, this communication highlights both continuities and ruptures in MPLA political discourse regarding who was considered the enemy of the people in the immediate post-independence period in Angola.

SETH, Sanjay

University of St Andrews (UK)

Bio: Sanjay Seth is Professor of Postcolonial Theory and Political Thought in the University of St Andrews, before which he was founding Director of the Centre for Postcolonial Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London. He has published widely in the areas of modern Indian history, postcolonial theory, international relations and social and political theory, including *História e Pós-colonialismo* (Imprensa de História Contemporânea 2022), *Beyond Reason: Postcolonial Theory and the Social Sciences* (Oxford UP 2021), and *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Duke UP 2007). He has held visiting fellowships and professorships at universities in Tokyo, Kyoto, Lisbon and Sydney.

Keynote Title: *Decolonization and the Normalisation of the Nation-State*

Abstract: This conference asks how and why anticolonialism culminated in the founding of nation-states. The three decades after 1945 saw a world of empires replaced by a world of nation-states, in what David Armitage describes as “perhaps the most momentous but least widely understood development in modern history.” That the generalisation of the nation-state form would prove to be the outcome of the revolt against colonial rule would not have been obvious in the mid 19th century, at the time of the Indian ‘mutiny’, or at the beginning of the 20th century, which was ushered in by the Boxer Rebellion. Neither of these massive anticolonial uprisings, nor the numerous millenarian uprisings and peasant jacqueries that form a major part of the history of anticolonial struggles, aimed at establishing a sovereign nation-state. But while the quest for emancipation from colonialism took many forms, almost everywhere it culminated in the founding of sovereign nation-states, with borders usually identical to those of the colonial states they supplanted. Why was this so, especially given that the nation-state was a product of European histories, rather than emerging from the histories and traditions of the colonized? What were the driving forces behind this transformation? Do these still shape the world, or have the historical processes that served to naturalise the nation-state now exhausted themselves?

SILVA, Evander Ruthieri da

Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana (Brazil)

Bio: Evander Ruthieri S. da Silva: Professor of African History at the Federal University for Latin American Integration (UNILA, Brazil). He holds a PhD in History from the Federal University of Paraná (Brazil) and is currently undertaking postdoctoral research at the University of Potsdam (Germany) as a CAPES/Alexander von Humboldt Fellow.

Title: *Making Heroes and Building the Nation: the Case of the National Heroes’ Acre (Zimbabwe – 1980s–2000s)*

Abstract: The promotion of public policies aimed at consolidating “sites of memory” (Pierre Nora’s expression) constitutes a transnational phenomenon that can be observed in several post-independence African countries, primarily with the objective of producing interpretations of the past that emphasize liberation and decolonization struggles as foundational narratives, while also supplanting other forms of remembering the past produced during the colonial period. In the case of Zimbabwe, which became independent in 1980 after decades of British colonial presence, this movement involved the creation of monuments intended to commemorate the liberation struggles, emphasizing the role of ZANU-PF and Robert Mugabe, and to consolidate a Zimbabwean national identity born out of the anti-colonial experience. Among several cultural practices, rites, and symbols, such as the annual celebrations of Independence Day and National Heroes’ Day, this paper analyzes the visual narrative of the National Heroes’ Acre monument, built between 1981-1982, in which seeks to materialize a collective memory framed by the Zimbabwean government. This memory recalls the oppressions and violences of the colonial period and celebrates the guerrilla movements, culminating in decolonization under the auspices of Mugabe and his political party. It can be observed that the visuality produced in the monument’s bronze panels leaves no room for dissent, internal rivalries, or opposition groups, as it celebrates the figure of Robert Mugabe as a constitutive element and driving force of the decolonization process and of Zimbabwe’s recent history itself. The appropriation of elements from the history of Southern Africa, such as the stone birds and the conical tower of Great Zimbabwe, also acquires relevance within the monumental ensemble, as they evoke an idealized past presented as a historical antecedent of the modern Zimbabwean nation. Although the panels celebrate popular participation and the construction of a democratic state after decades of colonialism, the National Heroes’ Acre remains a site dedicated to the celebration and remembrance of Zimbabwean political elites, primarily men and women linked to the guerrilla movements or to the political regime and selected to be buried there.

SMOLIČ, Žiga

University of Ljubljana (Slovenia)

Bio: Žiga Smolič, PhD is a historian specializing in the contemporary history of the Middle East and Yugoslavia’s foreign policy during the Cold War. He received his PhD in History from the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana in 2025 with a dissertation titled *Yugoslavia and the Middle East, 1961–1980*. His research explores the political, diplomatic, and social connections between Yugoslavia and the Middle East, with particular attention to the Palestinian revolution, Egypt and Iraq. He is currently employed as a researcher at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Title: *Institutionalizing Solidarity: Yugoslav Support for National Liberation Movements and the Case of the Palestine Liberation Organization*

Abstract: From the late 1950s to the mid-1980s, socialist Yugoslavia supported a broad spectrum of national liberation movements as part of its non-aligned internationalism. While this engagement has often been approached through ideology or high diplomacy, far less is known about how this assistance operated in practice, what role it played in sustaining decolonisation movements, how it was organised within Yugoslavia, and how these solidarity infrastructures in turn shaped Yugoslav society itself. This paper foregrounds the institutional and..

organizational infrastructures through which solidarity was made durable, governable, and politically usable. It argues that Yugoslav support for liberation movements acquired “alter-lives” after formal decolonisation: anti-colonial imaginaries did not simply persist rhetorically, but were translated into routines of fundraising, public mobilisation, and para-state coordination that shaped both foreign policy and domestic political culture. The paper focuses on Yugoslav support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as a revealing case of how solidarity was institutionalised amid geopolitical constraints. It traces Yugoslavia’s initial reservations toward direct cooperation with Palestinian actors and the subsequent shift toward more systematic engagement after 1969–1971. Central attention is devoted to the Fund for Aid to the Victims of Aggression and Colonial Domination, established in the late 1960s from surplus resources collected through humanitarian assistance for Arab states defeated in June 1967. Operating within the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the Fund functioned as a flexible intermediary between state priorities, mass organisations (trade unions, youth, Red Cross, veterans’ associations), and non-state actors abroad. By reconstructing the Fund’s governance, modes of allocation, and its relationship to official diplomacy, the paper highlights key tensions between democratic mobilisational discourse and centralised oversight, as well as between idealistic internationalism and pragmatic considerations (prestige within the Non-Aligned Movement, regional influence, and risk management). Ultimately, it shows how Yugoslav solidarity with the PLO exemplifies the post-independence transformation of anti-colonial commitments into institutional practices that both renewed and constrained revolutionary utopias.

STRIPPOLI, Giulia

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Giulia Strippoli received her PhD in History (2012, Università degli Studi di Torino). From 2019, she is a researcher in contemporary history at the NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities (NOVA FCSH), as an integrated researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History (IHC). She carried out research and published mainly on contemporary Italian and Portuguese history, western communist parties, student movements, political biographies of militants, the leftist groups of the sixties and the seventies. She is currently working on two research projects, on the memories of the communists and on the connections between gender, socialism and decolonization.

TALAMPAS, Rolando

University of the Philippines, Diliman (Philippines)

Bio: Rolando Talampas is a professorial lecturer at the University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD) and the University of the Philippines Open University (UPOU). He is also a member of the Technical Working Group on Lifelong Learning (TWG-LLL) of the Commission on Higher Education (CHED). He has presented papers in various international conferences and published works on maritime industry and transport workers, transport and mobility, indigenous peoples, defense and security issues and threats, health reform programs and issues, among others, in local and international publications.

Title: *Filipino Postwar Anti-Neo-Colonial Struggles: Nationalism in the Cold War Period*

Abstract: Fifty years after the 1896 Philippine Revolution that aimed to end 300 years of Spanish colonialism, the country was set ablaze again by anti-neocolonial (anti-imperialist) struggles as the Japanese occupation ended. Therewith, renewed initiatives to resist neo-colonial impositions (such as US military bases and parity rights, among others), first, via legislative participation and, later, through all-out assault against the new US-sponsored regime coincided with the 1948 communist-led upsurge in Southeast Asia. With US instigation and participation, postwar Philippine political leaders managed to frustrate plans to overthrow the postwar republic. The beneficiaries of US favors and support have since then presided over the country's lagging economic development. Filipino leaders at the time were torn between giving in to US neo-colonial designs or realizing patriotic expectations of an independent country. This meant that either the country follows US dictates or assert sovereignty as the Cold War enveloped the region. At the outset, elected Philippine presidents and defense and security agency heads nurtured ties to Washington and soon followed US-led anti-insurgency program that substantially weakened the communist insurgency. Other nationalist initiatives questioned the neo-colonial aftermath of submission to US imperial designs and actions. This paper summons historical clarification on the whys and wherefores of Filipino nationalism and the various movements that sought to realize genuine independence. It argues that competing interests of postwar socio-economic actors had basically minimized, if not frustrated, the realization of the imperatives of thorough nation-building. As such, this paper draws support via discussion of the following: (1) conditions of post-war Philippines that favored US neo-colonial design; (2) varieties of Filipino anti-neo-colonialism; (3) factors that undermined post-war Philippine nationhood, and; (4) the relevance of other forms of nationalist resurgence.

TOULHOAT, Mélanie

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Mélanie Toulhoat is a historian, researcher in contemporary history of Brazil and the African Portuguese-speaking Countries (PALOP). Her current research focuses on popular education and adult literacy projects developed in post-independence Guinea-Bissau by a range of national and international educators, cadres and activists. She holds a PhD in Contemporary History from the Sorbonne Nouvelle University (IHEAL-CREDA) and the University of São Paulo (2019). Her thesis on the history of the Brazilian military dictatorship won the 2020 Thesis Prize of the Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle. This work analyses various forms of graphic humour published in the independent press, and some visual and behavioural mechanisms of political and cultural resistance against censorship and repression, under the Brazilian military regime (1964-1985). She was a postdoctoral researcher at the Laboratory of Excellence "Histoire et Anthropologie des savoirs, croyances et techniques" (LabEx HASTEC) of the Practical School of Higher Studies (EPHE), affiliated to the Institut des Mondes Africains (IMAF) in 2020-2021, and a scientific member of Casa de Velázquez – École des Hautes Études Hispaniques et Ibériques in 2021-2022.

TRINDADE, LUÍS

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Luís Trindade is the director of the Institute of Contemporary History, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities / IN2PAST – Associate Laboratory for Research and Innovation in Heritage, Arts, Sustainability and Territory. Previously, he was Professor of Portuguese and European Studies at Birkbeck, University of London (between 2007 and 2019), and of Contemporary History at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Coimbra, between 2020 and 2023. In the academic year 2006-2007, he was a postdoctoral researcher at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. In Birkbeck, he was a board member of the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities and the Birkbeck Institute for the Moving Image. He was also coordinator of the Research Group on Cultures, Identities, and Power and of the Thematic Line Modern Mediations at the IHC, as well as vice-coordinator of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Coimbra. He has published *O Estranho Caso do Nacionalismo Português. O salazarismo entre a política e a literatura* [The Strange Case of Portuguese Nationalism] (2008), *Narratives in Motion. Journalism and modernist events in 1920s Portugal* (2016), and *Silêncio Aflito. A sociedade portuguesa através da música popular (dos anos 40 aos anos 70)* [Portuguese society through popular music] (2022). He has developed research in the areas of nationalism, Marxism, cinema, and other aspects of popular culture in Portugal in the 20th century.

UMAR, Ahmad Rizky M.

Aberystwyth University (UK)

Bio: Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar is a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Action Postdoctoral Fellow (UKRI Guarantee) at Aberystwyth University, UK. He completed PhD at the University of Queensland and is working on his book project on the idea of Asia in world politics.

Title: *Bandung's Incomplete Decolonisation: The Palestine Question, the Bandung Conference, and the Limits of Eurocentric Self-Determination*

Abstract: This communication advances a postcolonial critique of the Bandung Conference by, specifically, assessing how and why the 1955 Bandung Conference failed to provide comprehensive solution for the Palestine Question. While the Bandung Conference had addressed the Palestine Question and included the Palestine Question at the Final Communique, it fell short to clearly endorse Palestinian self-determination during the Conference. The Israeli occupation after the 1967 Arab-Israel War and partial recognition over Palestinian self-determination after the Oslo Peace process in the 1990s led to further denial of Palestinian self-determination. I argue that the failure to address Palestinian self-determination during and after the Bandung Conference illustrates an incomplete decolonisation, in which certain aspirations for decolonisation was denied or not fully addressed by the Conference. More specifically, incomplete decolonisation occurs due to the Eurocentric conception of self-determination, which has led to ambivalent call for Palestinian self-determination at the Bandung Conference and further denial of Palestinian self-determination after the Conference. I begin by introducing the concept of 'incomplete decolonisation' to understand the Palestine Question in the Bandung Conference. I then discuss how Bandung Conference failed to recognise Palestinian self-determination due to its Eurocentric conception of self-determination. This leads to ambivalence in the call for Palestinian self-determination by conference participants, especially Arab countries. I will assess how this ambivalent call had led to further denial of Palestinian self-determination after the Bandung Conference, particularly after the 1960 UN General Assembly and, more importantly, after the 1967 Arab-Israel War I conclude with some reflection on Palestinian self-determination in the 21st century.

UNTALAN, Carmina Yu

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Carmina Yu Untalan is an integrated researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History, NOVA University Lisbon. She holds a PhD in International Politics from Osaka University, where she worked on American hegemony in East Asia, focusing on Japan and the Philippines. Her current project rethinks international relations through anticolonial figures such as José Rizal, Amílcar Cabral, and Frantz Fanon. She was a postdoctoral fellow at the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden University, and a graduate student fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, and the Institute for Social Critical Social Inquiry, The New School.

VACHA, Andrea

Instituto de História Contemporânea, NOVA-FCSH (Portugal)

Bio: Postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History at NOVA University Lisbon. Previously, he was an FCT doctoral student and visiting researcher at the Pedagogical University of Maputo and ARPAC in Mozambique (2022). His doctoral thesis, completed at Iscte and approved with distinction, focuses on the narratives of Ngungunhane developed in Mozambique and Portugal from the late 19th century to the present day. He is the author of scientific articles, has participated in international conferences, and has appeared in a narrative podcast about the last Emperor of Gaza.

XIMENES, Fernando

Independent Researcher (East Timor)

Bio: A graduate in International Relations from the National University of Timor-Leste (UNTL), his work is rooted in the material conditions of Timor-Leste. Between 2022 and 2023, he served as a fellow for the Southeast Asia Digital Rights Collaborative Initiative under the Association for Progressive Communications (APC). His commitment to dismantling digital hegemony is reflected in his participation in various research, campaign, and regional formations, including Coconet 2017, APriGF 2022, Rural ICT Camp 2022, Drapac 2023, APNIC 2024, and the Global Gathering 2024. Most recently, in 2025, he joined IT for Change's Residential Institute to interrogate the "Frontiers and Frames for a New Digitality." Centering his inquiries on International Political Economy, he has contributed extensively to the collective body of knowledge through books, journals, and essays. His scholarship spans the intersections of political economy, history, psychoanalysis, digital communication and political movement. Notably, his reflections have been published in *Monthly Review* and *Midwestern Marx*. His work includes contributions to collective volumes such as *Psychoanalysis Between Philosophy and Politics* and *Global Manifestos for the Twenty-First Century* (Eds. Barria-Assenjo, Willems, and Žižek). In Timor-Leste, his work is dedicated to the reclamation of popular memory and the advancement of the political struggle. He co-founded Timoriana Association to institutionalize grassroots oral history methodologies, ensuring that the voices of the subaltern are preserved against historical erasure. A co-founder of Komite Esperansa movement, he facilitates political education centered on the study of application of Marxist theory in the historical context of the Timorese national liberation struggle and contemporary social movements. Also he established the Timorese Association for Progressive Media and Information (ITP-TL) and helped initiate Redesperansa (Network of Hope), a community-led internet infrastructure project designed to bypass corporate digital enclosures. His efforts aims to reconcile the synthesis of past historical struggles and present socio-economic injustices to forge a future techno-political project centered on social emancipation.

Title: *FRETILIN's Unfinished National Liberation Struggle: From Politicization, Depoliticizations to Repoliticization*

Abstract: This paper examines the alter-life of Timor-Leste's independence movement, Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN), through a three stages of political process and becoming: of politicization (1974-1978), depoliticization (1980s until present time), and the imperative for repoliticization (post-2002 time). Emerging as a hegemonic national-popular force during the anti-colonial struggle (1974-1978), FRETILIN led national revolution by forging and awakening national consciousness of the Timorese people – since 1975, it fused armed resistance with a project of social liberation. However, its post-independence trajectory illustrates

the profound crisis of revolutionary continuity. Analysed through Gramscian, Fanonian, and Samir Amin lenses, FRETILIN's evolution reveals the broader tensions faced by independence movements which must choose between becoming administrators of a neocolonial order, and pragmatic-coalitional electoral politics. The period of politization (1974-1978) saw FRETILIN act as a "collective intellectual," embodying Gramscian war of position to build a counter-hegemonic bloc for national independence and social liberation. This was followed by a protracted era of depolitization (1980s-present), particularly after the restoration of formal independence in 2002. Here, the party transitioned into a manager of a peripheral capitalist state, undergoing what Gramsci terms a passive revolution. It confronts Fanon's warning of a "national bourgeoisie" administering a rentier economy dependent on oil, while Samir Amin's analysis of the structural constraints that reduce into a managing of "disarticulated" national political economy. This shift fractured FRETILIN's organic links with its base, substituting ideological vitality for electoral pragmatism, compromise and coalitional politics – a conflicting forces of revolutionary path versus electoral machine, it foments contradictions such as democratic centralism turned into administrative centralization. Consequently, this paper argues for the necessity of repolitization as the central challenge for FRETILIN's contemporary relevance. This requires a renewed Gramscian war of position: rebuilding the party as a "school" that cultivates organic intellectuals from contemporary social struggles. It demands a break with comprador logic to center peasants, workers, women, and youth as political subjects. Structurally, it entails a call for strategic delinking to confront dependency and advocate for sovereignty development, popular democracy and productive industrialization as in initial aspiration of 1974-1978 politization.