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Solidarity, Worldmaking and Inter-Connected Geographies of Authoritarianism: Trade Unions and the Multiple Trajectories of Chile Solidarity

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Abstract

This paper intervenes in debates around the relationship between solidarity and worldmaking in the context of decolonisation and the Cold War. While work on worldmaking has drawn attention to key aspects of solidarity formation in this context (e.g. Getachew, 2019; Kelley, 2019), to date it has offered a limited engagement with the role of labour in the articulation of such solidarities. Here, we demonstrate how such a focus on worldmaking can help to highlight the multiple political trajectories that have been shaped through articulations between

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Chile solidarity and labour internationalism. Drawing on recent work on the Chilean Left, which stresses such multiple trajectories (eg Schlotterbeck, 2017), we provide three engagements with the opposition to authoritarian politics in different geographical contexts, foregrounding the role of exiled trade unionists involved in the Committee of the Exterior of the Central Única de Trabajadores de Chile (CEXCUT). These cases are the contestation of links between the Pinochet regime and Eric Gairy's dictatorship in Grenada by Caribbean left activists in the Oilfield Workers Trade Union in Trinidad and Caribbean Labour Solidarity (CLS) in Britain; the role of Luis Figueroa of the CEXCUT and other Chilean exiles in shaping links between opposition to Pinochet and struggles for democratisation in the immediate post-junta period in Greece; and the role of maritime workers in British port cities such as Liverpool in contesting trade with Chile. We argue that through examining the relations between different trajectories of solidarity and interconnected geographies of authoritarianism, an engagement with worldmaking practices can help move beyond narrowly statist and methodologically nationalist frameworks.

Introduction

In a speech at the 1977 conference of the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC), Johnnie Walker, the Scottish Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF), argued that the 'fight for democracy in Chile' was an 'important and an integral part of the fight for democracy in Britain', emphasising that it was necessary 'to learn from the lessons of what happened in Chile because it could happen here' (Walker, 1977: 52). Moving a motion in solidarity with Chile and against the Pinochet dictatorship, Walker observed that :

> It wasn't an accident when military exercises took place in London with tanks on London Airport. We cannot forget the mercenaries volunteering for Angola, they were in the main former officers and soldiers of the British Army, and our British soldiers are now becoming highly trained in crowd suppression in Northern Ireland (Walker, 1977: 52).

Walker concluded that it was important 'to give support to the Chilean [(Trade Union Congress)] TUC's call for a boycott on trade with Chile,' and stressed the need to support 'the trade unions involved in refusing to man ships engaged in trade with Chile or loading and unloading those ships in British ports' (ibid.).

Walker's intervention places the solidarities with Chile, shaped by trade unionists both in the UK and beyond, in relation to interconnected geographies of

authoritarianism. By linking the coup in Chile to authoritarian dimensions of politics in the UK, particularly regarding state violence in Northern Ireland, and to the links between former UK military personnel and repression of the liberation struggles in Angola, Walker positions such authoritarian political cultures at the intersection of militarism and colonialism. Through so doing, the speech indicates the importance of situating transnational solidarities as shaped through opposition to different experiences of rightist authoritarianism.

To engage with the importance of such solidarities, this paper focuses on forms of labour internationalism shaped by trade unionists and left-wing political activists in Britain, Grenada, Greece and Trinidad. In line with Walkers' stress on the importance of intervening in economic connections between Britain and Chile, we explore both challenges to the foreign trade and infrastructures on which the Pinochet regime depended, and the 'infrastructures of solidarity' shaped by Chile solidarity organising (Abou-El-Fadl, 2019; Kelliher, 2018). In so doing, we position the solidarities built through opposition to the Pinochet regime as constitutive of common efforts to dismantle a world order shaped by the imperatives of Western and US imperialism, as well as how these efforts shaped different left-wing political cultures.

Focussing on these transnational geographies foregrounds how multiple solidarities were articulated together with oppositional left-wing geographical imaginaries across the various contexts we explore. Such a focus is significant; as Kim Christiaens has argued, 'most of the historical work' on Chile solidarity 'has remained focused on national case studies or popular organizations' (Christiaens, 2018: 415). Christiaens usefully traces some of the different geographies through which Chilean solidarities were articulated and envisioned – particularly in relation to 'the dictatorships in Portugal, Spain and Greece' (Christiaens, 2018: 416; see also Poulantzas, 1976). Here we contribute to and extend this project by moving beyond Christiaens predominant focus on 'transnational issues within the borders of Europe' (Christiaens, 2018: 416).

Such a focus on solidarities 'within Europe' tends to abstract these political interventions from broader geographies, circulations and imaginaries of the global Left, which impacted on and shaped internationalisms in relation to Chile. This framing has consequences, as Christiaens also refigures quite bounded understandings of European politics ignoring, for example, the ways in which the Portuguese Revolution was in part intertwined with events in former Portuguese colonies, such as Angola and Guinea-Bissau. To develop an account that positions Chile solidarities in relation to some of the different transnational connections that shaped the global Left, this paper brings these diverse solidarities in conversation with recent work on 'worldmaking,' which has sought to chart the geographies of decolonisation beyond nation-centred accounts of anti-colonial politics (Getachew, 2019). We also develop a linked analysis of the 'variegated

authoritarianisms' that such transnational solidarities were forged in opposition to, as we draw connections between the authoritarian regimes examined in this paper through to broader rightist political cultures and practices.

To achieve these aims, this paper develops a sustained focus on trade unions and labour internationalisms that engages with worldmaking beyond Getachew's predominant focus on national leadership figures and political elites. Drawing on recent work on the Chilean left (e.g. Harmer, 2021; Schlotterbeck, 2017), we provide three engagements with opposition to interconnected geographies of authoritarianism. The paper firstly discusses denunciations of the links between the regime of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) and Eric Gairy's dictatorship in Grenada (1974-1979), made by Caribbean left activists in the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) in Trinidad, and Caribbean Labour Solidarity (CLS) in Britain; secondly, it explores the role of Luis Figueroa of the Exterior Committee of the Chilean TUC (CEXCUT)[4] and other Chilean exiles in shaping links between opposition to Pinochet and struggles for democratisation in the immediate post-junta period in Greece; and finally, the paper examines the role of maritime workers in British port cities, such as Liverpool, in contesting trade with Chile. Through our analysis, we evidence the value of engaging the relations between different trajectories of solidarity, articulated in this case in relation to Chile, as well as the differently placed geographies of authoritarianism that shaped them. These engagements with worldmaking, thus, enable us to both think about different Chile solidarities as interconnected, but also to analyse how international trade union solidarities were shaped in and through specific material and embodied 'infrastructures from below'.

Worldmaking, Authoritarianism and Infrastructures of Solidarity From Below

In her book *Worldmaking After Empire: the Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, Adom Getachew set out an influential set of arguments which seek to complicate '[n]arratives that equate decolonization with the transition from empire to nation-state' (Getachew, 2019: 9). She recasts 'anti-colonial nationalism as worldmaking' in opposition to views of decolonisation as a moment of nation-building, in which the anticolonial demand for self-

[4] A committee of the exterior abbreviated here as CEXCUT was 'formed by exiled CUT members in Paris in 1974 and played an important role in connecting the Chilean labour movement with international labour and solidarity organisations' (Bowen, 2020: 634).

determination of alien rule and the formation of nation-states were seen as coterminous (Getachew, 2019: 2). She positions such worldmaking practices as shaped through, and as shaping, the post-colonial political geographies that exist at the intersections of nationalism and internationalism. Thus, Getachew contends that what 'made anticolonial nationalism distinctive as a project of worldmaking was not only that it imagined nationalism and internationalism as compatible commitments,' but rather 'that anticolonial nationalists believed national independence could be achieved only through internationalist projects' (Getachew, 2019: 170).

Here, we understand worldmaking practices as 'historically specific ways of practising the world' (Stanek, 2022: 1578) and position them as concerted efforts to create, shape or influence the socio-political world in more just and progressive ways. Locating solidarities as worldmaking practices can help to foreground the relations between broader global Left geographies, circulations and imaginaries, as well as the everyday internationalisms that working people developed in relation to Chile following the military coup of 11th September, 1973. Our approach allows us to make a distinctive contribution to existing literatures on Chile solidarity, by tracing solidarities that were forged in the wake of Pinochet's deposing of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government (1970-1973) and linked to broader anticolonial and anti-imperialist commitments. These solidarities challenged an unequal world order that maintained reactionary and authoritarian regimes such as that of Pinochet in Chile. This approach builds on the work of scholars such as Tanya Harmer, who by eschewing tendencies to either exceptionalise or subordinate Chile to global Cold War dynamics, have sought to construct more global histories of the Unidad Popular period itself (Harmer, 2021). Harmer also opens up a very useful sense of the different geographies of the Chilean Left prior to 1973, including the importance of 'the Chilean Left's relationship with Algeria from the 1950s to the 1970s' (Harmer, 2021: 7).

We argue that such a politics, however, was still attuned to and articulated through place-based struggles against authoritarianism. Solidarities were shaped through different interventions and connections in relation to forms of 'variegated authoritarianism' (Karaliotas, Featherstone and Gowland, 2023). That is, we locate authoritarianisms as being forged through a set of diverse practices, linked to various authoritarian rightist political formations that were also foundational to the emergence of neoliberalism through interconnected political projects. Democratic opposition forces in Grenada and Greece, for example, engaged in an internationalist politics and sought to restructure geopolitical relations precisely because these domestic regimes were backed by neo-colonial and neo-imperialist powers abroad. Getachew's conception of worldmaking then usefully accounts for the multiple geographies through which transnational solidarities operated in

these circumstances. This emphasises that solidarities were intervening in and shaped by the broader conjuncture, rather than being locked into a narrowly statist or methodologically nationalist framework which abstracts solidarities with Chile from the diverse linkages and relations these solidarities were shaped by.

In this respect, Getachew's focus on forms of worldmaking offers significant resources for thinking about the way these trajectories of solidarity and internationalism were shaped in the context of decolonisation, and in relation to the geopolitics of the Cold War. This approach can help to rethink the terms and spatialities through which solidarity in opposition to Pinochet's dictatorship were constructed and articulated in and between different geographical locations. As Robin D.G. Kelley argued in an insightful discussion of African American solidarities with Palestine, Getachew's work is useful for reframing understandings of solidarity beyond a limited politics of analogy and coalitionism (Kelley, 2019: 73). Thus, he contends that this move can reconfigure solidarity as about 'more than short term alliances or coalitions but a sort of prefigurative politics that demands of us a deeper transformation of society and of our relationships to one another' (Kelley, 2019: 85).

Such concern with the ongoing construction of solidarities has been central to work on 'infrastructures of solidarity' in geography and beyond (Abou-El-Fadl, 2019; Kelliher, 2018). This work offers ways of moving beyond the primary focus on anti-colonial political leaderships that structure Getachew's work, and taking up Abou-El Fadl's emphasis on the forms of 'subaltern agency' that are central to shaping such infrastructures of solidarity (see also Prashad, 2007). Simultaneously engaging with forms of worldmaking and focusing on the construction of particular 'infrastructures of solidarity' can help to presence different forms of agency and actors in shaping internationalist labour politics. In this paper, a key way we do this is through engaging with the role of the exterior committee of the CEXCUT in shaping solidarities with Chile, particularly in relation to the global labour movement.

In exile, the CUT played an important role in shaping articulations of internationalist solidarity with Chile, along with a range of other significant organisations and individuals that are largely beyond the scope of this paper. Banned in Chile after the coup, as part of Pinochet's intense and concerted repression of trade unions and left parties, key figures of the CUT went into exile, including Luis Figuroa, a Communist and Minister of Labour under the Unidad Popular government led by Allende since 1970. A committee of the exterior abbreviated here as CEXCUT was 'formed by exiled CUT members' whose activities were centred on Paris and also Sweden, where Figueroa was based, and 'played an important role in connecting the Chilean labour movement with

international labour and solidarity organisations' (Bowen, 2020: 634; Christaens, 2014: 100).

As Christiaens argues, CEXCUT pursued 'the struggle against Pinochet from abroad in cooperation with the Chilean underground'. This activity was legitimised 'by the clandestine CUT in Chile and composed of a group of prominent exiled leaders, the committee was quick to develop branches in other countries and to access national trade unions thanks to the spread of trade unionists in exile' (Christiaens, 2014: 100). The role of CEXCUT, as Walkers' comments in the introduction indicate, was significant in securing legitimacy for Chile solidarity actions within the international labour movement, as well as shaping the terms and activities of related solidarities. While the significance of CEXCUT has been acknowledged in existing work on labour internationalism and Chile solidarity (e.g. Christiaens, 2014, 2018; Jones, 2014; Livingstone, 2019), the organisation's role has not generally been discussed in depth (though see Bowen, 2020: 634-5; Christiaens, 2014).

Christiaens does, however, provide a useful, detailed institutional history of CEXCUT and its shifting relations with the international labour movement (Christiaens, 2014).[5] While these broader institutional histories of internationalism are significant, our focus is rather on how key figures of CEXCUT were engaged with and shaped placed solidarities and relations, and we discuss the 'infrastructures of solidarity' they contributed to through their activities. This is indicated by the 'International Solidarity Platform of the Chilean TUC' which in January 1975 called for a 'Total boycott on all loading of armaments or ammunition for Chile' and also advocated targeting international trade to Chile[6]. The program signals how forms of solidarity and internationalism shaped 'from below' were linked to the strategic direction of the CUT and other union leaderships. Such engagements with solidarities and 'infrastructures from below' (see Griffin 2023; Karaliotas, 2024; Minuchin, 2021; Minuchin and Maino, 2023) enable us to trace the multiple trajectories of political activity, internationalism and solidarity.

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[5] Engaging with this exile committee offers one way of presencing Chilean activists in shaping the terms of international solidarities, but it is also important to recognise that the role of the CUT during the Popular Unity period was contested, particularly in relation to tensions relating to the role of the CUT and Chilean Communist Party during the Popular Unity government (Gonzalez, 1984; Schlotterbeck, 2018; and see Henfrey and Sorj, 1977 for discussion of different activists' engagements with the CUT during the duration of the Popular Unity government).

[6] Working Class Movement Library, Merseyside Chile Solidarity Campaign, Archives Box 3 'International Solidarity Platform of the Chilean TUC – January 1975.'

In the case of Chile solidarities, infrastructures from below unsettled the spatial divisions confined to matters of the nation-state, for example, and materialised ideas of worldmaking, specifying them and situating agency in two ways. Firstly, focusing on infrastructures from below draws attention to how trade unionists and activists contested the terms of different geographies of connection and trade by engaging with key infrastructure networks – most notably maritime networks. Secondly, it foregrounds the material and embodied infrastructures that enabled the circulation of ideas and organising in solidarity with Chile through practices such as printing and circulation infrastructures, conference organising, and so on. This offers a way into thinking about the different forms of agency that have sought to construct worldmaking practices in this period through different geographies of connections. It also raises key questions about whose agency, voice, perspective and experience is seen as integral to worldmaking practices.

De-centring leadership figures is arguably a pre-condition for opening up a more expansive sense of the relations between forms of worldmaking and solidarity and post-colonial articulations of the political (Akhtar, 2022). Getachew's articulation of worldmaking processes and solidarities does not develop substantive engagements with the importance of trade unions and broader labour and social movements. By engaging with different articulations of the relations between trade unions and solidarity with Chile and Chilean exiles, we examine some of the ways working-class movements have articulated transnational solidarities to challenge international relations of imperialist domination and its local manifestations of authoritarianism. As Tanya Harmer argues:

> The military leaders who overthrew Allende in Chile were diehard nationalists and virulent anticommunists who self-appointed themselves as supposed saviors of their own nation and the Southern Cone. The origins of these beliefs came from home and from abroad, being molded into a particularly vicious Cold War mentality by the particular experiences that Chile had lived through (Harmer, 2013: 140-141).

In this respect, solidarity with Chile is a particular touchstone. Chile was an anti-imperialist government backed by the labour movement, and was toppled, in part, to foreclose a more egalitarian transformation of the world order. The period of mid-twentieth century decolonisation and the expansion of a politics of self-determination provided the colonised world an opportune moment to challenge the unequal world order (Getachew, 2019). We seek to position trade unions and labour movements as key actors in this process by situating labour organising as a key contested terrain of worldmaking. Doing this can both expand the terms on which worldmaking is understood, and foreground the tensions over which post-colonial worlds struggled. One of our main examples, Grenada's Eric Gairy, was

one of a number of post-independence leaders in the Caribbean who had a background in trade union organising. He became an authoritarian political leader, who was contested by democratic forces in the Caribbean labour movement (Bolland, 2001). This work also speaks to some of the contested political trajectories of global left politics since the early years of decolonisation that frame Getachew's account of worldmaking.

Aasim Sajjad Akhtar has noted that the 'grand political horizon of remaking the world' sketched by Getachew, 'receded' by the late 1970s, gave 'way to the earliest incarnations of what became the hegemonic neoliberal order' (Akhtar, 2022: 55; see also Scott, 2004). Akhtar positions Pinochet's regime and its treatment of Chile as a 'neoliberal laboratory,' as a pivotal event in this respect, arguing that the 'New International Economic Order (NIEO) spearheaded by the so-called G77 countries' was a 'last hurrah' before 'the regimes of Reagan, Thatcher, Pinochet, Zia ul Haq and many others made common cause to "rollback" whatever gains the internationalist movement had made' (Akhtar, 2022: 56; see also Ahmed, 1992, Navarrate-Hernandez and Toro, 2019; Riesco, 1999; Sabri Öncü, 2023). In this context, bringing together work on worldmaking, solidarity and labour internationalism offers possibilities for thinking through, and tracing, the relations between interconnected geographies and their multiple articulations of solidarity.

To do this, the paper draws together a discussion of solidarities shaped in relation to Chile, by trade unions and trade unionists in the context of Grenada and Trinidad, and in relation to Greece, and Britain. Engaging with these geographical contexts provides different perspectives on the formation of transnational solidarities, but also highlights the ways in which these solidarities shaped worldmaking on different terms, though often through related practices. This also positions solidarities with Chile in relation to some of the different geographies of power that shaped these labour internationalisms – for example, trade unions such as the National Union of Seamen (NUS) in the UK were constituted through histories of racism and the agenda of key leaders of the union, such as Havelock Wilson and Thomas Yates, who linked imperial sentiments with anti-Communism (Gordon and Reilly, 1986). By drawing attention to the different trajectories through which solidarities were shaped, we explore how these interventions shaped more than either a singular left politics of solidarity or depoliticised articulations of human rights (cf Bowen, 2002).

We draw on a range of archival materials from Britain, Trinidad and Greece, which we use to recover diverse trajectories of solidarity and combine work on union archives with material from social and political movements, including those directly relating to Chile solidarity. Our approach in this respect draws on the expansive conceptualisation of left-wing politics that Marian E. Schlotterbeck develops in her work on the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (the

Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR) in the city of Concepción, which mobilises engagement with different sources and oral histories relating to unions, left political parties and placed political cultures (Schlotterbeck, 2018: 13; see also Hardt, 2023). This highlights a multiplicity of trajectories moving through the Chilean socialist project, many of which would also play out transnationally (Reyes Matta, 1988). We engage archival sources that document how solidarities in relation to Chile were linked in specific ways, as well as with forms of situated opposition and resistance to authoritarianism in the context of varied Cold War geopolitics, particularly in relation to the OWTU and in Greece. Given our language skills and competencies as a research team, the paper draws on sources in English and Greek, as well as on key documents such as statements, declarations and correspondence from CEXCUT, which were found across various trade union archives across the UK and Greece and translated into English. This indicates the mobilities that were integral to labour internationalisms, and reveals dynamics of how differently placed trade unionists engaged with CUT. In Trinidad, the official archives of the OWTU were engaged with extensively to examine how solidarities with democratic forces in Grenada were articulated. The key focus being how links between authoritarian regimes in Grenada and Chile were highlighted in both materials produced for popular consumption and how the contestation of these connections shaped internal union discussions and policy. The next section considers some of these transnational connections by exploring how trade unionists involved in the OWTU in Trinidad linked Chile solidarity to opposition to the dictatorship of Eric Gairy in Grenada.

Solidarity and Interconnected Geographies of Authoritarianism

In 1975, Maurice Bishop, a key leader of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) and soon-to-be Prime Minister of Grenada, gave a talk at the OWTU headquarters in San Fernando, a city in Southern Trinidad's oil belt, titled 'Fascism – A Caribbean reality?'. Bishop would later become Prime Minister following a socialist revolution on the island in 1979. This talk was transcribed and later published for educational purposes by the union (Bishop, 1975). Bishop assessed the emergence of what he saw as increasingly fascist tendencies in the Caribbean, in states like Grenada, Dominica and Haiti, and he positioned these states within a broader collection of neo-fascist regimes including "Spain, South Africa, Portugal before the 1974 coup [and]…Chile" (Bishop, 1975: 5). Here, Bishop signalled the international context within which authoritarian regimes such as Pinochet's existed. These neo-fascist regimes were connected via multiple circulations of aid, military material and authoritarian practices. In this section, we examine how Trinidad's OWTU and the CLS group in Britain developed an

opposition to the Pinochet regime through solidarity with trade unions and popular democratic organisations in another authoritarian state, namely, the West Indian island of Grenada. Central to such solidarities were efforts to popularise knowledge of the connections between the Grenadian and Chilean regimes. This was reliant upon the production and circulation of print materials distributed through transnational infrastructures of trade union and Caribbean left-wing printing and communication. Relatedly, the OWTU and democratic forces in Grenada also worked to disturb mutual relations of aid and support between Chile and Grenada by disrupting and (re)politicising international infrastructures of maritime trade and transport.

Authoritarian politics and repressive rule in Grenada preceded the Chilean coup of 1973. Grenada had its own autocratic leader in the figure of Eric Gairy, who would dominate the island's political life from his rise to prominence in the early 1950s until his ousting in 1979 during the Grenadian Revolution (Bolland, 2001). Through Gairy's founding of the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union and the Grenada United Labour Party, he positioned himself as the head of the anti-colonial and labour movement (ibid.). He developed a charismatic leadership style and a deeply clientelist form of politics that saw the entrenchment of corruption and theft of public funds (Bolland 2001; Searle 1983). As first Premier and then Prime Minister of an independent Grenada, Gairy and his regime oversaw the country's transition to independence and post-colonial project of nation-building. However, Gairy's government did little to challenge the neo-colonial character of the Grenadian economy, with US and British firms such as Cadburys, Holiday Inn and Geest maintaining monopolies in key sectors such as tourism, banana production and the export of cocoa and nutmeg (Bishop, 1975).

Gairy's nationalism and post-colonial project represents precisely the limitations of a narrowly statist articulation of anticolonialism, which a politics of anticolonial worldmaking (Getachew 2019) seeks to exceed. In the case of Gairy and Grenada, nationhood and state power was a means of entrenching clientelism and corruption, and establishing a material basis for an emergent [7] political class

[7] The term *comprador* denotes a person who acts as an agent for foreign organisations or states. In the context of Caribbean political-economy, theorists such as Walter Rodney (1975) and Clive Thomas (1984) use this term in their analysis of the emergence and consolidation of the post-independence state. In this analysis the region's political class, drawn from the middle-classes and constituting something of a national bourgeoisie, maintain power and wealth through the continued structuring of Caribbean economies along essentially colonial lines. These *compradors* acting as middle-men between foreign capital and the extraction and exploitation of local resources and labour are thus able to secure personal wealth and the continuation of their political project at the expense of complete subordination to the interests of foreign capital and imperialism (Poulantzas 1976; Kamugisha 2019)

(Bolland 2001; Rodney 1975). By necessity, therefore, there could be no break with imperialist and neo-colonial powers active in the Caribbean, and, as noted above, Gairy's regime was compliant with Western capital. Ultimately, this led to increasing authoritarianism as his regime's popular legitimacy deteriorated. The opposition to Gairy sought to push a politics of self-determination beyond the attainment of formal independence, to include popular participation in economic and political decision-making on the island. Furthermore, this expanded conception of the politics of anticolonial self-determination, identified by Getachew (2019) as characteristic of the worldmaking she explores, was articulated internationally to build solidarities in opposition to an international order of US-led capitalist-imperialism that supported and backed authoritarian regimes such as those of Gairy and Pinochet.

Such international relations of reaction and repression that supported the Gairy and Pinochet regimes extended beyond a dependence on the imperial core with key support networks and alliances developed bilaterally between Chile and Grenada. As CLS reported in their official organ *Cutlass* (Issue 10: 2, 1977), Gairy had held "cordial discussions" with Pinochet, in which Chilean economic and military support was pledged to Grenada. CLS was formed in 1974 as the Jamaica Trade Union Solidarity Campaign, with the organisation responding to an appeal for support from trade unionists in Jamaica, who at the time were protesting repressive labour legislation. However, CLS would soon broaden its efforts to support anti-imperialist and democratic forces across the entirety of the Caribbean. One of CLS' primary activities was the collation, publication and distribution of correspondence and reports from Caribbean workers and trade unionists to audiences in Britain. CLS would hold open meetings to discuss events in the Caribbean (*Cutlass* 1976 issue 1) informed by such correspondence, and through their journal, *Cutlass*, transmit knowledge of events in the Caribbean through networks of radical bookshops in London (Simpson, 2022), as well as distributing materials in workplaces and selling them to friends and family (*Cutlass,* Issue 5, 1977). These transnational networks of communication and print production constituted the material and technical infrastructures through which a politics of solidarity could be formed and articulated with worker and progressive struggles in the Caribbean.

A core focus of the anti-imperialist and labour solidarity activities of both CLS and the OWTU were the transnational support networks that helped maintain the authoritarian rule of Pinochet and Gairy. The major group in Grenada that CLS and the OWTU worked with to popularise knowledge of and oppose such networks was NJM. NJM led the mass-based democratic opposition to Gairy on the island, and would eventually launch a revolution in 1979 and establish a

thirdworldist Marxist-Leninist revolutionary government between 1979 and 1983 (Meeks, 2009). This would be relatively short-lived, however, as by 1983 the Revolution collapsed into factional infighting and violence, and was ultimately 'finished off' by a US invasion on the 25th October (John, 2010).

CLS, the OWTU and NJM spent a great amount of time and effort publicising Gairy's links to Pinochet, and in so doing connecting their own struggle for democracy in Grenada to democratic and anti-imperialist struggles globally. This can readily be conceived of as an anti-imperialist worldmaking project, articulated from below through labour and worker solidarity, constituting infrastructures of transnational communication and print production. This was an internationalist politics that sought mass liberation and self-determination beyond the 'mere' trappings of national independence, and a formal end to colonisation to be realised through the nation-state. Further, the democratisation of Grenada would serve to remove a link from a chain of repressive regimes that extended across the Global South and indeed into Southern Europe. These moves challenged a world order of imperialism to entrench a politics of self-determination, non-domination and mass participation both in local-national terms, as well as to inaugurate a new international regime, one in which neo-colonial powers would no longer dominate global institutions and prop up authoritarian governments (Getachew, 2019).

The most visceral and egregious connection between Chile and Grenada that these pro-democracy forces focused on was the circulation of arms, repressive tactics and military material. In a 1979 interview, Bernard Coard, Minister of Finance in the post-revolutionary Government of Grenada, recounts that leading officers in Gairy's army had been sent to train in Chile (Searle, 1979). This was part of a broader pattern that CLS reported on in *Cutlass*, stating "Many shipments of arms have arrived, military officials from Chile are resident in Grenada, and Grenada personnel are being trained in Chile" (*Cutlass,* Issue 15: 1, 1978). In more specific terms, Coard explained, "He [Gairy] received ten crates of arms from Chile, marked 'medical supplies', which turned out to be guns and uniforms" (Searle, 1979: 10). The clandestine nature of the circulations of arms and material that supported authoritarianism, in both Chile and Grenada, highlights the necessity of the popularisation of such connections through the reportings of CLS, which would regularly republish NJM reports and information in *Cutlass* (Issue 15, 1978). By broadening popular knowledge of such links in Britain, CLS sought and was able to rally greater support for the democratic struggles of NJM in Grenada, and, by extension, remove or weaken one of Pinochet's allies and economic partners. This relationship of military aid wasn't unidirectional with the Chilean-trained officers regularly housed in Grenadian barracks (Searle 1979). Indeed, it was in such barracks that revolutionary forces would discover torture manuals written in Spanish after Gairy had been overthrown (ibid.). The circulation of arms and personnel represent the material infrastructures through

which a world order of imperialism (Getachew, 2019) was maintained, and as such the opposition worked to disrupt such flows. To counter this, groups like CLS and NJM built their own transnational infrastructures of solidarity, which were representative and prefigurative of an international politics based on commitments to anti-authoritarianism, as well as equal exchange between working people in the Global North and South.

These largely maritime transnational geographies and networks were not just vectors for the circulation of repressive tactics between oppressive regimes, however (Cole, 2018). In 1974, the OWTU leveraged their key position within Pan-Caribbean networks of oil distribution and shipping to bear significant pressure on the Gairy government (OWTU, 1978). The OWTU instigated an oil embargo in support of mass anti-Gairy protests, and a general strike in Grenada led by NJM (Searle, 1983). In November of 1973, they called a 'People's Congress' with some 10,000 Grenadians attending the mass meeting at the island's Seamoon Stadium (Mandle, 1985). At the meeting, it was resolved that the government should resign within two weeks as part of a 'People's Indictment,' or else a general strike would be called (Mandle, 1985; Searle, 1983). Gairy responded with a campaign of terror, unleashing his notorious paramilitary group the 'Mongoose Gang' to beat and target opposition leaders whilst key figures in NJM were jailed. Tensions on the island reached a peak in early 1974, with the general strike in effect and the government on the offensive. Future Prime Minister of revolutionary Grenada Maurice Bishop's father was killed by police during a docker's strike, whilst the island was overcome by an extensive economic shutdown (ibid.).

The OWTU embargo then materially contributed to the weakening of the Gairy regime during this time through aiding the general strike. Chris Searle (1983) notes that by early 1974, fuel supplies on the island had effectively run dry. OWTU workers were able to shape infrastructures of solidarity from below through their intervention in Caribbean oil economies, with the international networks of shipping that maintained the Gairy regime with Chile and Pinochet being key backers. The construction of these transnational solidarities aligned with those enacted by the NUS, who boycotted Chilean vessels post-coup. Indeed, the OWTU's actions challenged the extractivist and racial-capitalist functioning of a Trinidadian oil industry dominated primarily by US and British firms (see also Kosmatopolous, 2023). This account also adds nuance to Getachew's (2019) analysis of this period of history. She sees the more radical worldmaking projects of anticolonial leaders such as Jamaica's Michael Manley and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere thwarted by a combination of the Oil Shock, the IMF, the World Bank and Western multinational corporations. OWTU workers utilised their strategic

position vis a vis Western oil multinationals to actively curb the excesses of the imperialist-backed authoritarian regime of Eric Gairy, and build internationalist bonds of solidarity to advance more popular and participatory politics.

These actions by OWTU workers challenge accounts such as Timothy Mitchell's (2011) in *Carbon Democracy,* which present the emergence of a global oil economy as necessarily weakening trade union power and democratic agency. Indeed, it suggests how such engagements with the oil economy could provide key forms of leverage through reshaping and (re)politicising the technical and transport infrastructures that the global oil trade requires. OWTU workers enacted a "radical politics of infrastructure" (Vasudevan, 2015: 318) by disrupting the usual functioning of oil shipment and transport that they were employed to carry out. In the service of backing the democratic struggle and general strike in Grenada, OWTU workers re-imagined and restructured their relationship to the technical and material bases of the Caribbean oil industry (Vasudevan, 2015). Through so doing, they retooled material networks as infrastructures of solidarity, asserting workers' agency and speaking to how political engagement can inaugurate new and prefigurative political spatialities and materialities (Karaliotas, 2024). The OWTU boycott might also be usefully read alongside the CUT's (1975) 'International Solidarity Platform,' which called for the boycotting of arms sales to Chile and the targeting of Chilean international trade, primarily through maritime networks. Whilst the OWTU weren't directly targeting Chile, by weakening Gairy and Grenada and potentially supporting Gairy's removal from power, they were nonetheless targeting a committed ally of the Pinochet regime through the kinds of international boycotts urged by the CUT.

The OWTU embargo represented a material practice and means through which an anti-imperialist worldmaking project was enacted from below by organised labour. By intervening in the transnational circuits and infrastructures of the oil economy that OWTU workers were enmeshed with, it became possible to advance a project of solidarity to remove a link in an alliance of US-backed reactionary governments. This anti-imperialist stance and practice of material aid would continue to be enacted by the OWTU and NJM in the late 1970s. In 1978, the OWTU instigated another oil embargo against Antigua. This was because the island was being used as a trans-shipment point for arms bound for the Apartheid regime in South Africa (OWTU, 1978). This anti-Apartheid stance was similarly upheld by NJM. Following the Grenadian Revolution in 1979, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop outlined this policy during his address to the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations: "we particularly join in the chorus of support for the application demanding mandatory sanctions against the racist state of South Africa." Bishop positioned South Africa within broader networks of imperialism, neo-colonialism and, in his words, "fascism" (ibid.).

As noted at the opening of this section, Bishop (1975) assessed the Pinochet regime to be fascist or neo-fascist, and here, again, we see an analysis of the existence and maintenance of reactionary regimes across the Global South, with Gairy's Grenada representing a key example. This was the world order that required dismantling if a new world was to be made. This was a new world in which the politics of anti-colonial self-determination were expanded to include the protection of civil liberties and democratic freedoms of all peoples in the Global South (Getachew, 2019); a new world order based upon sovereign equality, international non-domination and a radical commitment to political and economic equality (ibid.). The OWTU and NJM built towards this vision with a politics that materially manifested through mass mobilisation, strike action and embargoes. These practices weakened or disrupted the infrastructures that maintained neo-fascist regimes, and simultaneously reworked these infrastructures and aided in the construction of new ones that allowed for the articulation of a transnational solidarity from below.

Bishop's analysis of Chilean and Grenadian neo-fascism noted above was also routinely deployed in CLS' reportage and consciousness raising efforts. This position is neatly illustrated in a cartoon produced by CLS and shown in figure 1 below.

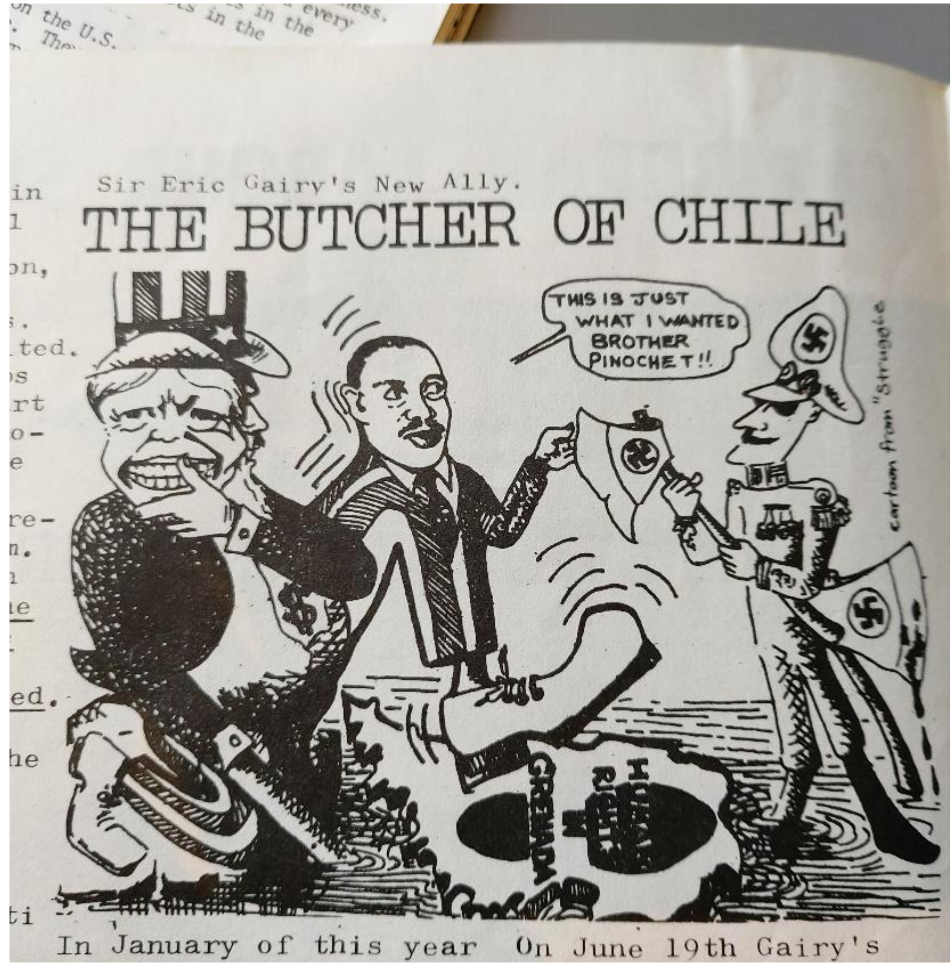

Figure 1: Political Cartoon in Cutlass: The Butcher of Chile[8]

In figure 1, Gairy is portrayed as an appendage of the imperialist US, which is depicted as two-faced and literally sucking the Caribbean dry. Here again, US imperial backing and the imperatives of continued neo-imperialist exploitation of the Caribbean and the Americas was seen as essential to the maintenance of authoritarian regimes in the region. Strikingly, Pinochet is portrayed as a Nazi, a representation that aligns with Maurice Bishop's (1975) analysis. The central relationship depicted between Gairy and Pinochet here is the trading of arms.

[8] The George Pedmore Institute Archives, Newspapers UK and Caribbean, NEW/44, Cutlass, Issue 10, 1977

CLS's particular form of popular reporting on trade in Britain must be understood alongside the efforts of NJM and the OWTU in the Caribbean, who sought to block these circulations through direct action (OWTU, 1978, Searle, 1979). The rhetoric and analysis of neo-fascism behind these actions was similarly deployed by Chilean democratic and exile groups in Europe, who drew connections and similarities between the 'fascist' dictatorships of Southern Europe and the Pinochet regime (Christiaens, 2018). This language of fascism also highlighted a similarity of experience that would be intimately familiar and readily identifiable for Europeans given the continent's recent political history. Returning to Getachew's (2019) worldmaking framing, we can understand the analysis of international fascism as the intellectual and theoretical work necessary to transform the international world order in a more egalitarian and democratic fashion.

CLS would continue their work to popularise NJM's efforts to link the reactionary and authoritarian Gairy regime to Chile in 1978. In *Cutlass* (issue 15, 1978), a report by an NJM delegate was sent to the World Conference of Solidarity with Chile held in Madrid in 1978 and organised by Chile Democrático, a Rome-based organisation of Chilean exiles in which Hortensia Bussi de Allende played a prominent role (Christiaens, 2018). The conference was one in a series of major international conferences held across Southern Europe to demand and organise solidarities with anti-dictatorial forces in Chile. These conferences might usefully be thought of as a mobile solidarity infrastructure (Griffin, 2023) through the organisation and hosting of delegates from across the global Left and trade union movement. The construction of such spaces of solidarity and interaction acted as a locus through which multiple political trajectories of groups and movements that opposed the Pinochet regime, and its backers and allies such as Gairy, could be drawn together to articulate an alternative worldmaking project from below. In the following section, we discuss in detail the conference held in Athens in November 1975.

Returning to the attendance of the Grenadian delegation, their presence was indicative of efforts to popularise knowledge about the linkages between the Gairy and Pinochet regimes in a broader international context, particularly within the Chile solidarity movement. The case of an NJM delegate attending the conference usefully expands the geographies and horizons of solidarity beyond the European-centred discussions of authors such as Christiaens (2018). The delegate reported both to *Cutlass* and the conference that whilst Gairy was strengthening his links with the Pinochet regime, domestic anti-democratic pressure in Grenada was being ratcheted up, through actions such as banning opposition parties' and organisations' access to the national media (Cutlass issue

15, 1978). Alongside the NJM's reporting to the conference on the extensive circulations of arms and men between Grenada and Chile, this account again speaks to an analysis and language of international fascism that was being deployed in the Caribbean, the UK and wider Europe. Partly influenced by the USSR through organisations like the World Peace Council, the language of anti-fascism was also present in key CEXCUT documents and statements. These political discourses indicate some of the diverse terms and forms of international solidarity with Chile that were configured on the left in the 1970s, and highlights the ways in which they have been partly occluded by a focus on the depoliticising impact of the liberal human rights regime (see also Bowen, 2020).

In this context, NJM called for international pressure to be placed on Gairy to topple his weakening regime in Grenada, effectively removing an ally of Pinochet on the world stage. Such a call reminiscent of and aligned with those of Chilean exile groups, such as the CUT, who similarly stressed the need for international solidarity to undermine Pinochet's rule. CLS' publicity efforts regarding the connections between Grenada and Chile were manifested through the distribution of NJM reports in the UK, and can be seen as part of this broader international effort. The next section considers how multiple geographies of solidarity were shaped in relation to Greece, which was under the military dictatorship of 'the Colonels' between 1967 and 1974.

The Two Juntas and Infrastructures of Solidarity from Below

In a now partially declassified report on the importance of the Chile Solidarity Movement in Europe, written on December 1974, the author – a US National Intelligence Officer for Europe – provides a telling account of the multiple geographies of solidarity and anti-imperialism shaped in light of the Chilean coup. After consultations with various CIA officials, the report contends that Chile 'has replaced Vietnam as a convenient means of focusing anti-US sentiment. It offers a common ground for communists, socialists and left-to-moderate Christians and Liberals to come together on an issue – when they agree on little else' (CIA, 1974: 1). The official goes on to argue that 'whether measured as a rallying point for disparate groups, or a public impact issue, it is most significant in Portugal, Greece, Italy and Sweden, least so in Britain and West Germany; France in between' (*ibid*). Importantly, however, the report is quick to suggest that:

> In Greece and especially Portugal, fears that Chile might show what the US might do to them are no doubt sharpened by the CSM's activities, but would also no doubt be there if the CSM did not exist. They are the result of circumstances having nothing to do with Chile, and will grow or diminish for reasons having nothing to do with Chile. (CIA, 1974:2)

Thus, the CIA's report usefully draws attention to the role of situated experiences of authoritarianism in the articulation of Chile internationalist solidarities, even

without naming the former. The ‘circumstances having nothing to do with Chile’ mentioned in the report are, of course, the dictatorial regimes in the two countries that had just collapsed during the same year. For Greek and Portuguese citizens and activists, the events in Chile were nothing but related with their own experiences in the sense of the involvement and support of the US in the Greek, Portuguese and Chilean coups and dictatorial regimes. It is through these shared but variegated experiences that processes of worldmaking were taking shape through the Chile Solidarity Movement.

For Greece in particular, Allende’s killing, Pinochet’s military dictatorship and US interventionism in Chile became a rallying point and a common reference during the final year of the military Junta. Already in September 1973, a demonstration in solidarity with Chile was staged in the cracks created by ‘liberalisation’ reforms by the Colonel’s regime (Kornetis, 2013, 2015). Rigas Feraios, the Student Union affiliated with the Communist Party of the Interior (KKE-es),[9] passed a resolution clearly articulating the links between the two regimes as part of the US Cold War geopolitics. As Kornetis writes, Pinochet’s dictatorship was seen in Greece as ‘proof that American interests were ruthlessly pursued in the same manner all over the world, always at the expense of people’s democratic rights’ (2013: 248). Rigas’ pamphlet is telling in this regard:

> For the Greek students, who have lived for six years now under the dictatorship of Papadopoulos, the scenario is well-known. Just like Papadopoulos in Greece, Pinochet in Chile talks about “a patient in a plaster cast,” they have the same obscurantist ideology, they use the same rough-and-ready demagogy, the same lies. And it is not strange. Because the assassins of the Chilean people and the Greek Junta have been trained in the same centres of international subversion in the United States (…)

The best contribution to the struggle of Chile is the intensification of our own struggle, against the common enemy. Rigas Feraios calls its members and all Greek students to contribute as much as they can to the solidarity movement to the people of Chile. Their struggle is our struggle (Rigas Feraios, 1973).

The military Junta’s violent repression of the Polytechnic Uprising on the 17 of November 1973, when a students’ occupation of the School to demand student elections turned into a massive popular uprising against the colonels’ regime,

[9] The Greek Communist Party split in 1968 during the military Junta. The split unfolded along the lines of Party leadership from abroad – by KKE members in exile and in close relation to the Soviet Communist Party – and resulted in the existence of the ‘orthodox’ Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the ‘Euro-communist’ Communist Party of Greece – Interior (KKE-es).

deeply intensified the sense of a shared trajectory and solidarity between the Greek and the Chilean people. The links between the Greek and Chilean experience continued to constitute a key reference in post-dictatorial Greece, as students, trade unionists and left-wing activists 'emotionally identified with the "Chilean tragedy" through their own experiences of military authoritarianism' (Palieraki, 2023: 526). Thus, an important body of scholarship has usefully drawn attention to how Greece-Chile solidarities were being articulated on the plane of anti-imperialism and thirdworldism (Christiaens, 2018; Kornetis, 2013, 2015; Palieraki, 2023; Papadogiannis, 2015). Tracing the spaces and 'infrastructures from below' in and through which such worldmaking solidarities were articulated can shed new light on their embodied dimensions, as well as how they shaped political discourses, imaginaries and identities in Greece, and broader solidarities with Chile. It can also help illuminate the often neglected role of trade unions and grassroots syndicalism in shaping these solidarities.

A key 'infrastructure from below' that emerges in this line of argument is the 'World Conference of Solidarity with the Chilean People', hosted in Athens between the 13th and the 16th of November 1975 to coincide with the second anniversary of the Polytechnic uprising (Christiaens, 2018; Palieraki, 2023). The conference was organised by the Chile Democrático international network, the World Peace Council (WPC) and a broad alliance of actors in Greece who came together around the Greek Committee of Solidarity for Chile (Elliniki Epitropi Allileggyis me ti Chili, GCSC). It was one of many organised in Southern European cities, like Lisbon (September 1974), Athens (November 1975 and 1982) and Madrid (November 1978) by Chile Democrático (Christiaens, 2018; Jones, 2014; Palieraki, 2023). As Christiaens notes, 'the plans for this conference had crystallized through contact between the World Peace Council and exile leaders of Chile Democrático in the aftermath of the Moscow Conference of Peace Forces in October 1973' (2014: 226). For its part, the GCSC was closely connected with the Greek Communist Party (KKE), but operated as a broader popular front that brought together various personalities that were not necessarily members of the KKE. As Palieraki documents, the

> Committee's president was the KKE militant Odysseas Tsoukopoulos, who was known largely for his participation in the 1940s Resistance, Peace Movement activism (…) and work as a human rights lawyer. Other GCSC members (…) included human rights activist Lady Amalia Fleming, the centrist MP and human rights lawyer Georgios Magkakis, and the President of the Panhellenic Union of National Resistance Fighters, Themistocles Zafeiropoulos. Finally, world-renowned artists, including Mikis Theodorakis and Danae Stratigopoulou, also participated in the GCSC (2023: 531).

In Athens and other Southern European cities, Chile Solidarity conferences built on narratives around the role of US geopolitical interventionism, as well as shared experiences with dictatorial regimes, to shape Chile-Southern Europe solidarities around narratives of thirdworldism (Christiaens, 2018). These solidarities also revolved around shared demands 'for the people's movements struggling for democracy and human rights worldwide' as COMACHI (Coordinación de Movimientos de Ayuda a Chile) – the Latin American Coordination of Movements in Solidarity with Chile – put it in its message to the Athens conference (COMACHI, 1975:1).

Figure 2. Poster for the Athens 1975 Conference designed by Greek artist and architect Dimitris Talaganis[10]

[10] Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, Afiche para la Conferencia Internacional de Solidaridad con Chile organizado por Comité griego de solidaridad con Chile para efectuarse en Atenas, Grecia del 13 al 16 de noviembre de 1975, CL MMDH 00000846-000001-000019

The 1975 Conference (see figure 2) was attended by delegates from 75 countries (ERT, 1975), including '90 national organizations' and '12 international youth and student organizations' (Chile Democrático, 1975a: 1). Key Chilean figures attending were Clodomiro Almeyda, Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Popular Unity's government, who also delivered the conference keynote; the president of the CUT, Luis Figueroa, a Communist who had been Minister of Labour under Allende; and Hortensia Bussi de Allende, who as aforementioned was a leading figure in the Chile Solidarity movement (ERT, 1975). The opening of the conference was declared by the Mayor of Athens, Ioannis Papatheodorou, a member of the communist-party affiliated National Liberation Front (EAM) in WWII, and the first democratically-elected mayor of Athens after the Junta supported by a broad alliance of the L eft (Rizospastis, 1983). The WPC General Secretary, Romesh Chandra, also gave an opening speech (ERT, 1975). The conference was attended by various Greek MPs from the left – including the leaders of KKE Harilaos Florakis; KKE-es Babis Dracopoulos; and PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)[11] Andreas Papandreou. The leadership of the country's key Trade Unions was also in attendance: the President and the General Secretary of the General Federation of Workers of Greece (GSEE) Papageorgiou and Karakitsios; the President of the Panhellenic Confederation of Agricultural Cooperatives Chronopoulos; and the President of the General Federation of Private Employees, Karathanasis (Chile Democrático, 1975b; ERT, 1975).

An often neglected element of the conference was the trade unions' meeting, held on 15 November and attended by 'the representatives of trade unions from 52 countries and of the international organizations attending the conference' (CUT, 1975:1). In this meeting, the president of CEXCUT, Luis Figueroa, presented a long report on the current situation in Chile, highlighting the atrocities and violence of Pinochet's regime and emphasising how the operations of the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA), Chile's secret police during the Pinochet regime, were expanding beyond Chile's borders into places like Rome and Paris (Figueroa, 1975: 1-2). He went on to criticise Pinochet's economic policies and how they supported the interests of 'local and foreign capital' (Figueroa, 1975: 3-4). Interestingly enough, Figueroa's speech also devoted a large part to discussing how a strategy of broad alliances between trade unions, socialists, communists, political churches and progressive elements of the army was necessary to 'defeat fascism through a multi-faceted struggle but, ultimately,

[11] In the 1970s, Papandreou's PASOK was taking key inspiration from dependency theory and thirdworldism, advocating for national independence and social justice that was being wronged by imperialist interests. Indicatively, during these years and before being elected as the Government, PASOK advocated for Greece's withdrawal from NATO and the European Economic Community (EEC). For PASOK, these concerns with Chile Solidarity were also shaped through the Socialist International.

the real possibilities to reconquer freedom lie in united popular struggle' (ibid: 5). He then moved on to argue that ongoing Trade Union and workers' struggles in Chile, by the likes of coal miners, technicians and University employees, among others, were succeeding in 'preventing the outspread of the fascist Employment Code' (ibid: 6). Highlighting how 'the sources of solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people globally are multifaceted', Figueroa concluded his speech by foregrounding the importance of trade union activism, including an economic boycott, in exercising pressure on Pinochet's regime and calling for a number of coordinated actions, including the 'solidarity shipment of food for Chilean children' and 'various acts of boycott at national or regional level that would isolate the Junta economically and technologically (…) particularly targeting the arrival of military equipment' (ibid: 8).

Figueroa's speech is important in highlighting the agency of Chilean Trade Unions, both in exile and in Chile, in shaping the terms through which solidarities with Chile and resistances to Pinochet were being articulated. The speech illuminates how, for (Chilean) trade unionists and other activists, the articulation of infrastructures from below was key in resisting Pinochet's regime in three ways. First, Figueroa calls for an infrastructural politics from below that would put pressure on the regime by boycotting and blockading existing infrastructural networks. The next section of the paper discusses this in more detail. Second, the speech highlights how infrastructures from below were central both in terms of organising Chile solidarities (like the organising spaces of the Athens conference, where common strategies were devised), and in supporting the Chilean people (like the shipment of goods for Chilean children). Third, the speech also draws attention to how this articulation of global solidarity and resistance networks was met with the articulation of a global network of authoritarianism and oppression through DINA's activities abroad.

The key resolution passed by the trade unions' meeting during the Athens conference gives a clear sense of this. Adopting Figueroa's and the CUT's proposals, the ten conclusions adopted by the delegates form a multi-faceted trade union strategy in contributing to the Chilean struggles through national and international action. They highlight how 'the Trade Union movement must do its best to prevent directly or indirectly the supply of arms and military equipment to the fascist junta', as well as to participate 'in the shipment of food for Chilean children' and 'recommend the organization of an International Day of Solidarity with the Chilean Workers (…) on the 12th of February 1976 [when] nothing needs to be sent to or received from Chile' (CUT, 1975: 3).

Both the Athens Conference and the trade union meeting, thus, emerge as key examples of a mobile and transient solidarity infrastructure from below[12] (Griffin, 2023; Kelliher, 2021). As similar Chile Solidarity Conferences were organised across Europe, the Athens conference exemplifies how 'mobile forms of organisation travelled through material infrastructures produced by labour and left movements, so that local embeddedness and relationships across space were mutually reinforcing' (Kelliher, 2021: 12). Such fleeting spaces of organising and encounters are key in shaping, but also circulating, shared worldmaking visions and solidarities (Karaliotas, 2024) to challenge not only Pinochet's Junta, but also the world order supporting it. The letter from COMACHI also foregrounds how interest and involvement in these events extended beyond the confines of the conference. The conference was also important in creating long-lasting bonds and place-based connections that would inform future Chile solidarity actions, as expressed in the organisation of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Junta in Chile (ICECMJC) in Athens between the 24 and 26 September, 1982 (Avgi, 1982; Ta Nea, 1982). This Conference was again driven by the GCSC and Greek participants included many of the attendants of the 1975 meeting, such as: composer Mikis Theodorakis; artist and architect Dimitris Talaganis who also prepared the poster for the 1975 conference; and the then-Prime Minister Papandreou. In parallel, representatives from all left-wing political parties and key trade union figures were also involved, such as the GSEE President, Orestis Chatzivasileiou and President of the Federation of High School Teachers, K. Economou (ICECMJC, 1982: 1-2).

Attracting wide publicity in the left-wing and trade union press (eg. Anti 1975a; 1975b), the 1975 conference was also one of the many reference points in and through which the Chilean experience shaped political identities, cultures and debates in post-dictatorial Greece. These discussions were taking place as much in everyday spaces of encounter and socialisation as in the party offices. As Nikos Papadogiannis writes, in cinemas and '[i]n the tavernas, again the discussion revolved around the issues of "democratisation" and "anti-imperialist struggle," such as the Vietnam War or the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile' (2015: 155). Cultural activities like these, as well as Theodorakis' concerts of Canto General[13],

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[12] Our use of the term infrastructure from below here is not intended to deny the key role that figures like Figueroa and others had within the Chilean left or the role of MPs or figures like Theodorakis in the Greek left. The term, on the contrary, is meant to signify how these spaces were created out-with formal institutional frameworks and how they also opened up avenues for the participation of other trade unionists and activists beyond established figures.

[13] Theodorakis' "Canto General", first released in 1974, is a musical adaptation of Pablo Neruda's epic poem, blending powerful orchestration with lyrical narratives to celebrate
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became key spaces for the formation of both international solidarities and domestic political narratives. This, however, was far from a frictionless process, as two opposing narratives emerged. Papandreou's PASOK and Maoist Groups like EKKE (Revolutionary Communist Party of Greece) put forward a thirdworldist perspective around the Chilean struggle and the broader conjuncture (Kornetis, 2015). This was fiercely debated and contested by the more 'traditional' anti-imperialist line of the KKE and the euro-communist reading of the KKE-es that centred on democratisation and Popular Unity's strategy of broader alliances (see also Kornetis, 2013; 2015; Papadogiannis, 2015; Palieraki, 2023). Chile solidarities were, thus, a terrain in and through which political identities within the Greek Left were articulated, political analyses were debated, and political strategies were shaped.

Solidarities with Chile also unfolded through grassroots syndicalism. A pertinent example here is the 45-day strike staged by workers in the US multinational, International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), in Athens, during April and May 1975, just a few months before the Chile Solidarity Conference. While the ITT dispute revolved around demands against the dismissal of two women trade unionists and wage increases (Agonas, 1975; Doukouri, 2013), it is of particular interest as ITT 'had been heavily implicated in the economic disruption and subsequent coup' in Chile (Hirsch, 2016: 245), which shaped the trade unionists' engagement in the strike. The ITT strike is also important in that it was part of a broader current of grassroots industrial unionism that centred around workers' committees that was developing in post-dictatorial Greece at the time. The grassroots industrial unionism movement employed militant and autonomous tactics of factory occupations and long strikes, often without the approval of official trade unions, and was a key, albeit often neglected, actor in the struggles for trade union democracy in Greece (Doukouri, 2013; Ioannidis, 2019; Palaiologos, 2018).

The ITT strike began as a one-day stoppage that evolved into a 45-day long dispute after one more woman trade unionist was sacked after the first 24 hours of strike (Doukouri, 2013: 13). Interestingly, Shirin Hirsch draws attention to an industrial dispute at the Glasgow ITT McLaren controls factory in November 1973. While this began as an industrial dispute over wages and the dismissal of striking workers, Hirsch notes how 'subtle links were being drawn between Chile and the workers' occupation', by actors like the Chile Solidarity Campaign but also striking workers (2016: 244). In post-dictatorial Greece, these links were

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the history, struggles, and spirit of Latin American peoples. In post-dictatorial Greece performances of Canto General were also perceived as acts of solidarity.

quite prominent and pronounced. Under the motto 'Down the beast called ITT' (Agonas, 1975; Doukouri, 2013), workers would rally support for their cause by also drawing attention to ITT's role in Chile (see also OPA, 1975). In the immediate post-junta period, widespread anti-US political sentiment was prevalent in Greece often targeting US multinational companies across the country (Ioannidis, 2019). For ITT, specifically, there were widespread allegations of wiretapping, allegedly carried out by its 'foreign' employees, importing and distributing surveillance technology, and receiving preferential treatment during the Junta (ibid: 194). These claims were largely shaped by the company's role in Chile, as Greek citizens, activists and trade unionists drew parallels with Chile's experience. Such discussions and pressures forced the company to issue a public statement, disputing the wiretapping claim just a few days before the strike broke out. While foregrounding their particular demands, ITT workers – women in their majority – traced the roots of their struggle through the company's links with the military Junta, which enabled the implementation of strict working practices and crushed any possibilities for unionising, while also insisting in linking all of these practices with the company's role in Chile (Agonas, 1975). Crucially, in such narratives, references to Chile also served to support the grassroots industrial unionism critique of formal union leadership that was seen as defeatist and reformist.

References to Chile were also prevalent in how the ITT strike was reported by the Greek media (eg. Anti 1975c) popularising sentiments of opposition to US imperialism as articulated through US multinationals in Greece. The documentary film 'The Struggle' (O Agonas) co-produced by the 'Group of 6' in 1975 included ITT's strike as one of its key themes, making clear links between Greece and Chile and promoting a thirdworldist anti-imperialist common narrative (Agonas, 1975; see also Kornetis, 2015). The widespread anti-US and anti-Pinochet sentiment in Greece was also shaping government policies. Only a month after the ITT strike was crushed, Karamanlis' government decided, in early June, to renegotiate its contract with ITT, so that phone books would be now published by the state-owned Organization of Telecommunications of Greece (OTE), and to limit its equipment supplies from ITT (Ioannidis, 2019).

The experiences of Greeks living and studying abroad during the Junta were also central in shaping these everyday solidarities. In an oral history interview with Stefanos Ioannidis, Eleni Zacharopoulou, who participated in the ITT strike, noted of her experience in Paris:

> No one was studying for school. We went to the university, we went to... Where there was celebration and joy, it was after May of 1968, it was the LIP [self-managed watch factory], it was Chile. The next day, we went and picked up Allende's widow, we went and picked her up from the

> airport. All the solidarity movements. That's what we did, beyond the [campaign for] Greece. [...] (Ioannidis, 2019: 163).

While the connections and networks formed by prominent figures in exile like Theodorakis have attracted scholarly interest, Zacharopoulou's testimony draws attention to how students' and workers' international everyday encounters and struggles in cities like Paris would be formal in shaping post-dictatorial politics, grassroots unionism, and political identities in Greece. Chile solidarity and encounters with Chilean activists were a key space for the articulation of such experiences in the broader political conjuncture.

Solidarity From Below and Maritime Infrastructures

The previous section has discussed the importance of the mobility of key figures in the CUT in shaping transnational solidarity around Chile. Such linkages were also shaped with the labour movement in the UK. It was in this context that Luis Figueroa visited Britain along with Eduardo Rojas between January 4th and January 8th, 1975, at the invitation of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC). Among the delegation of trade unionists who met with Figueroa and Rojas was Sam McCluskie, then national organiser of the British National Union of Seamen (NUS). In an article for the NUS paper, *The Seaman,* McCluskie noted that a meeting of 'the international committee of the Labour Party under the chairmanship of the Labour MP Ian Mikardo' had 'met a delegation from the equivalent of our TUC in Chile' (McLuskie, 1975: 46). His role was indicative of the broader involvement of the Socialist International in Chile solidarity politics. McCluskie observed that they had been 'questioned about British ships trading to Chile, it was made plain that one well-known Liverpool shipowner [the Pacific Steam Navigation Company (PSNC)], continued to trade to and from that country' and that this 'could be an area where our executive council might explore in order to see what direct help they can give the Chilean people' (ibid.).

McCluskie's account draws attention to the role of Figueroa and Rojas, as figures of CEXCUT, in shaping international solidarity and knowledges of maritime trade in terms of targeting particular PSNC ships. While the report on the meeting between Chileans and British trade unionists indicates that these discussions took place at the leadership level of the NUS, the union's involvement in solidarity with Chile was also a result of ongoing pressure from below In 1974, for example, the *Seamen's Charter,* a 'rank and file' paper in the NUS with strong connections to the Communist Party, noted that the Union's Biannual General Meeting held in Torquay in 1974 had passed 'a motion tabled by the Liverpool branch of the NUS condemning the policy of torture carried out by the Chilean Fascist military junta'

(Seamen's Charter, 1974). The union's branch secretary in Liverpool, Tony Santamera, was strongly involved in the Communist Party Seamen's Branch on Merseyside and in Chile solidarity.

The Branch, which regularly discussed Chile at its meetings through the second half of the 1970s, was part of a broader culture of left-wing organising in the NUS, which had been important in challenging antidemocratic cultures in the union itself. An outcome of this campaign to democratise the union was a progressive orientation to internationalist solidarities which hitherto had been closed down by the union leadership. Such internationalist solidarities in relation to Chile and the anti-apartheid movement was in line with action by seafarers in other geographical contexts, such as Australia (see Kirkby, 2017). Thus, on the 17 September, 1975, Jim Slater, who had been elected General Secretary of the Branch in 1974, after long-standing campaigns against figures on the right of the union, instructed 'all officials and members' on behalf of the NUS Executive Council, 'that no member of the union shall be cleared for or engage on any British registered ship trading to or from any port in Chile. Ships trading to any other South American country are not affected by this instruction' (Slater, 1975). This was significant as the union operated a virtually 'closed shop' on British ships, so had significant influence over who signed on to crew ships. The statement also noted that this decision was 'made as a gesture of solidarity to the oppressed Chilean trade union movement in the hope it will inspire the international labour movement, particularly those engaged in sea and air transport, to embark on a similar course of action' (Slater, 1975).

As Slater's statement makes clear, a key broader intent of the motion was to act as a 'catalyst' for similar action by other unions, indicating their worldmaking ambitions. The recognition of this action by key figures on the left of the trade union movement in Britain is demonstrated by Johnnie Walker's statement at the 1976 STUC Congress. The Executive Committee of the Chile Solidarity Campaign also resolved to 'write to each of the national unions which have affiliated to us, or which are represented on our committee, appealing for full support to be given to the initiative of the NUS' (Chile Solidarity Campaign, September 19, 1975). As Mike Gatehouse, who was Joint Secretary of the CSC between 1974 and 1979, recalled, 'the trade union component was regarded as very important, partly because some of the most concrete actions, and the earliest actions were boycotts', drawing attention to 'the seamen in Liverpool, the dockers in Liverpool, and the potential for dockers elsewhere.'[14] More informal support

[14] Mike Gatehouse interview with David Featherstone, 9th April, 2022.

for the boycott was provided by Merseyside Chile Solidarity Committee, who organised a social for seafarers involved in the boycott.[15]

Here, the role of the Liverpool branch of the NUS indicates the significance of infrastructures of solidarity in the city, which were central to operationalising the executives' proposals. These infrastructures of solidarity combined localised dynamics with internationalist connections shaped through maritime and/or left-wing organising. This organising drew on the long-standing culture of militancy in both seafarers and dockers' unions in the city, both of which had often been shaped in direct opposition to the leadership of unions such as the NUS (Wailey, 1984). Tony Wailey's account of the 1966 seafarers' strike in the city, based on his own experiences during the dispute, also emphasises how cultures of seafarers' solidarity also depended on, and were shaped by, forms of gendered labour and support related to kinship networks (Wailey, 2024: 235).[16] The infrastructure of Chile solidarity in the city was shaped by intersections between trade unionists; intellectuals, such as Tony Lane, a Communist Party member, sociologist and writer on maritime history and politics; Chilean exiles and activists, such as Angela Thew, then Secretary of Merseyside Chile Solidarity Campaign; and the Liverpool Trades Council, which functioned as a network between different trade unionists at the local level.

Thew played a key role in shaping linkages between the city's trades council and various different unions, which represented both dockers and seafarers seeking to coordinate action between them. Thus, she worked on behalf of the Merseyside committee in liaising with key trade unionists such as the Secretary of the Dock Shops Stewards Committee, in order to garner support for a consumer boycott of 'all Chilean goods (especially food stuffs) which usually come into the Port in April', noting how this boycott was supported by 'the Chilean TUC.' This emphasises the ways in which boycott work was carefully targeted to anticipate the importance of building the leverage necessary to impact on the peak period of importation of Chilean produce in the northern hemisphere spring, as well as the

[15] Working Class Movement Library, Merseyside Chile Solidarity Campaign papers, Box 3.

[16] 'Other times you'd have one in the Animal House that Jimmy Cavanagh's auntie used to run, and when the money ran short, she would always let you have a few and pay her when you could, strike or no strike' (Wailey, 2024: 235).

way that links to the CUT were invoked to signal the legitimacy and importance of such boycott work.[17]

As well as the city's branch of the NUS, 'rank and file' organising among left seafarers was also significant, particularly through the work of members of the Merseyside Communist Seamen's Branch. Figures involved in the branch made connections with the local branch of the Chile Solidarity Campaign, spoke about Chile at Liverpool Trade's Council meetings and produced and distributed a pamphlet as part of their campaign (Merseyside Communist Seamen's Branch, 1976, Riethof, 2022). A handbill was also circulated in British ports in 1975, to publicise that the Executive Council of the Union had instructed NUS members 'Not to go on ships sailing to Chile'. It explained that this was because of 'the atrocities committed against the Chilean Trade Unionists and Workers' by the regime of General Augusto Pinochet (see also Jones, 2014: 149).[18] Noting that the response to the Executive Council's decision had been 'tremendous', the handbill observed that 'over 700 Liverpool Seamen who have been unemployed for many weeks and months will not set foot on ships carrying Chilean cargoes.'

Such solidarity work drew on links with Chilean maritime workers and on seafarers' experiences of Chilean ports, emphasising that these interventions were part of ongoing engagements with worldmaking through the construction of linkages and routes of solidarity. As Mike Gatehouse of the Chile Solidarity Campaign noted in his 1974 correspondence with Stuart Hyslop, a seafarer based in South West Scotland, 'a strike by seamen on the ferry between Puerto Montt and Punta Arenas' had been violently repressed by the Junta.[19] Hyslop's own involvement in Chile solidarity was shaped in part by his personal experience of Chilean politics; he had been in Puerto Montt on a PSNC ship in 1969. He recalls seeing dockers barracking the then Christian Democrat President Eduardo Frei when he came into the port to campaign in the city ahead of the 1970 general election.[20] His links with Chilean maritime workers were facilitated by his shipmate and friend John Eastwood who had extensive contacts with left-wing Chilean dockers and seafarers.[21]

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[17] Working Class Movement Library, Merseyside Chile Solidarity Campaign papers, Box 3, letter from Angela Thew to the Secretary, Dock Shop Stewards Committee, dated 20th January, 1978.`

[18] Liverpool Record Office, Merseyside Communist Party records 329 COM/13/10.

[19] Letter from Mike Gatehouse to Stuart Hyslop dated November, 12th, 1974, in possession of Stuart Hyslop.

[20] Conversation between Davi Featherstone and Stuart Hyslop, 6th November, 2023.

[21] Conversations between Davi Featherstone and Stuart Hyslop, 6th November, 2023 and July 23rd 2024.

The boycott, as the Communist seafarer Joe Kenny made clear at a conference on Trade Unions and Chile Solidarity organised by the CSC in 1975, drew on connections with and knowledge and experience of Chilean ports. Thus he argued that:

> Boycotts do not start and end at the docks: boycotts start with seamen in Chilean ports like San Antonio and ports like Antofagasta and Valparaiso. That's where it starts, and that's why the Executive Council of the NUS took the decision to boycott goods, because we believe that it would act as a catalyst to every other trade union in Great Britain. We know the results of the boycott, we know how it will affect the transport workers, the dockers and the road hauliers. We know how it will affect the motor car workers and all that depend on copper (Kenny cited by Chile Solidarity Campaign, 1976).

Kenny's intervention provides a powerful articulation of the ways in which solidarity was envisioned as a relational, connected act between seafarers in Chile and Liverpool, which in part emerged from existing connections and relations (see also Fox-Hodess and Santibáñez Rebolledo, 2020, Khalili, 2020). This resonates with the actions of workers at the Rolls Royce plant in East Kilbride, whose refusal to work on eight Hawker Hunter jet engines that were sent to be refurbished from Chile in 1974 is celebrated in the film *Nae Pasaran* (Bustos Sierra, 2012). It also emphasises that 'solidarities from below' and the infrastructures shaped through them were articulated in key ways through the organising work of figures like Kenny and Thew.

Seafarers' involvement in solidarities around Chile was also shaped by broader trajectories of opposition to rightist authoritarian-regimes, including the Greek Junta. Phil Ballard, who was a member of the union's executive council and a key figure in the Seamen's Charter group and was involved in Chile solidarity work, was arrested in Greece and deported along with two other seafarers for attempting to distribute literature critical of the junta, after their ship, the British Petroleum (BP) tanker *British Commerce*, had berthed at Scaramanga, near Piraeus, for repairs. They were said to have distributed 'excerpts from the recent May Day proclamation of the Greek Seamen's United Trade Union Anti-Dictatorship Committee (EASKEN).'[22] This was part of a broader culture of repression against British opposition to Greek rightist politics, including significant repression of demonstrations in Britain relating to Greece such as those in July 1963 against the visit of the Greek King and Queen (Bowes, 1966: 96-105).

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[22] 'Three Members Arrested in Greece' *The Seaman*, June-July, 1969, p. 154.

As an executive council member, Ballard was also disciplined by the NUS's then right- leaning General Secretary William Hogarth for bringing the union 'into disrepute', in line with the broader anti-Communist politics that shaped the union's leadership at this juncture.[23] This indicates that seafarers' cultures of solidarity could be constructed at odds with union leaderships and structures, and were part of broader challenges to the anti-democratic cultures of the union in the post-war period. It also emphasises that such international solidarities often ran counter to the leaderships of the NUS, as well as the Transport and General Workers' Union, the main union representing dockworkers in Britain at the time, who often sought to close down such mobilisation (eg see Dash, 1987: 67-75). The NUS's organising cultures were also structured by problematic racialised geographies, which at the time included the union charging a levy to shipowners for seafarers who were not domiciled in the UK (Gordon and Reilly, 1986). Progressive worldmaking solidarities, therefore, necessitated challenging key aspects of dominant trade union cultures, and were in part a political intervention in how maritime labour was understood and shaped.

While by 1974 the union's General Secretary, Jim Slater, was associated with the Left, there were nonetheless tensions over the union leadership and executive council's attitudes to Chile solidarity, as well as contrasting assessments of the purpose, commitment and impact of the union's boycott. At a Chile Solidarity Campaign Executive Committee meeting on 22 June, 1976, where a number of leading trade unionists representatives of different transport sectors were present, Slater gave a down-beat assessment of the impact of the boycott. He argued that the impact of the Executive Council's decision had 'been in some respects disappointing.'[24] He continued that while 'blackings had taken place in Merseyside and elsewhere, ships continued to sail to Chile, and to load and unload in British ports. There had been some support from other unions, but this had not been sufficient.'[25] Slater was wary of potentially expelling members who did not participate in the boycott (The Seaman, October, 1975). His assessment of the mixed impact of the action is also supported by indications of some of the tactics allegedly used by ship owners to limit the impact of the NUS boycott on crewing ships involved in trade with Chile.

In correspondence with the International Transport Workers Federation, which supported and facilitated this kind of boycott work against the Pinochet regime,

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[23] See 'Executive Councillor Expelled' *The Seaman*, August 1969, p. 179.

[24] People's History Museum, Labour History and Archives Study Centre Chile Solidarity Campaign Papers CSC/1/7, Chile Solidarity Campaign Executive Committee Notes, June 22nd 1976.

[25] Marieke Riethof notes that the use of the term 'blackings' to refer to boycott work was beginning to be contested during this period, Riethof, 2022.-

Ken Hulme of the CSC reported indications that ships bound for Chile from Liverpool 'with incomplete crews' were picking up seamen at Belfast 'to make up the deficit complement thus bypassing the boycott' in the port.[26] Hulme's letter suggests the ways in which shipping companies like PSNC remained in a powerful position to circumvent a boycott, particularly because of some of the ways in which the differential geographies of support for the boycott in different ports. The chair of Merseyside Docks Shop Stewards Committee, Jimmy Symes, also stressed at the 1975 Trade Union conference organised by the CSC, 'the need for more international cooperation and coordination of boycotts,' arguing that 'Ships can always be diverted, goods trans-shipped or brought in "through the back door."'[27] Similar tactics were used by shipping companies in the 1980s, as owners of oil tankers were targeted by Maritime Unions Against Apartheid in an attempt to blockade oil supplies to South Africa (see Allan 1985: 10, Sparks, 2017).

There was also concern that the pressure that the boycott placed on seafarers was far greater than the impact on ship-owners. In a letter to *The Seaman* in May 1976, Jim Jerrett noted that while the boycott was commendable, he thought that the Executive Council had 'gone about this thing in the wrong way and have ended up putting seamen "on the spot" instead of the British shipping owners concerned and this makes me angry' (Jerrett, 1976: 74). Other participants, however, placed a different emphasis on the importance of the boycott. Jack Rollins, an NUS member who was part of East London CSC, offered a different analysis of the boycott at the CSC executive meeting. Contrasting Slater's position, Rollins emphasised 'the tremendous positive impact on the Campaign of the NUS decision', whilst also noting that the 'CSC had had no illusions about total boycott.'[28] As Mike Gatehouse recalled, 'a lot of these boycotts were pretty much symbolic, they didn't actually damage trade much', but nonetheless had 'significant broader political impacts'.[29] This raises questions about the efficacy of boycott work, but also about the different forms of agency and impact that such

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[26] People's History Museum, Labour History and Archives Study Centre Chile Solidarity Campaign Papers CSC/28/8, Ken Hulme CSC to International Transport Workers Federation 23.4.76.

[27] Chile Solidarity Campaign 'Report to Delegates' Trade Union Conference, Saturday October 25th, 1975 Cardiff Trades Council Papers, 321/16.26 Chile 2/2, Cardiff University Special Collections.

[28] People's History Museum, Labour History and Archives Study Centre Chile Solidarity Campaign Papers CSC/1/7, Chile Solidarity Campaign Executive Committee Notes, June 22nd 1976.

[29] Mike Gatehouse conversation with David Featherstone, 9th April, 2022 and follow up discussion on June 1st, 2024.

work can have on participants, as well as about the ways in which solidarity and worldmaking practices are envisioned and understood.

Conclusions

This paper has located solidarities with Chile in Britain, Greece, Grenada and Trinidad in relation to interconnected geographies of authoritarianism. We have argued that it is necessary to consider how the global histories of authoritarianism in Chile, developed by scholars such as Tanya Harmer (2021), relate to interconnected understandings of transnational histories and geographies of solidarity. To do this, we have based this research on the relations between worldmaking (Getachew 2019) and infrastructures of solidarity to trace some of the ways in which labour internationalism was shaped by forms of democratic opposition to geographically variegated experiences of authoritarianism. Doing this has foregrounded key forms of agency shaped through different forms of 'solidarity from below,' and has drawn attention to transnational geographies of solidarity that have been neglected in existing discussions of Chile solidarity.

In so doing, we have sought to make a distinctive contribution to work on Chile solidarity and particularly to emerging transnational histories of Chile solidarity, such as the work of Christiaens (2018). We have argued that trade unionists and other left-wing activists we have engaged with across different geographical contexts developed forms of solidarity with Chile that were linked with other forms of situated opposition to authoritarianism. Further, we have sought to explore some of the lasting impacts of these connections in terms of differently placed left-wing political cultures. We have highlighted the ways in which different authoritarian political contexts were understood as related, with this shaping solidarities in important ways. Thus, we have discussed both the ways in which, during the post-junta period in Greece, links were made between the Pinochet regime and the Colonels dictatorship, as well as the ways in which OWTU activists contested the relations between Eric Gairy's regime in Grenada and the Pinochet dictatorship. By engaging with the important role played by organisations like the CEXCUT in envisioning and facilitating these solidarities, we have sought to emphasise the role of Chilean actors in exile in shaping the terms on which actions such as boycotts were envisioned and operationalised.

This article has emphasised some of the generative connections and trajectories that shaped solidarities in these contexts. Drawing attention to these generative connections has also enabled us to make a distinctive contribution to emerging conversations about the relations between solidarity and worldmaking. This foregrounds some of the contested political trajectories of global left politics in mid-twentieth century decolonisation projects, reframing aspects of Getachew's (2019) account of worldmaking. In this context, we point to the contested

dynamics related to differently positioned labour organising in. Through exploring the relations between practices of worldmaking and particular infrastructures of solidarity, such as those that shaped the NUS's attempt to boycott ships trading with Chile, for example, we have sought to recognise different and less well remembered forms of agency and connection, as well as to offer accounts of worldmaking that go beyond a focus on key political leaders and figures. We have also highlighted how such solidarities often necessitated challenging leaderships and dominant union cultures. In a context where solidarities with Palestine are being shaped through related practices – and dockworkers and seafarers have refused to ship munitions to Gaza[30] – these accounts emphasise their ongoing and continued relevance for different political conjunctures.

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