Anticolonial Antiphonies

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Abstract: This article narrates anticolonial antiphonies: an ongoing praxis of political reverberation and relay, a shuttling of strategies that carry across time, space, and language, connecting decolonial movements across histories and geographies. Antiphony inserts discord and dissonance into colonial orders, seeking to bring other worlds into being, and the article hears how sound carries movements that defy colonial cartographies and classifications, bringing together places and struggles that are often understood separately. It does so by combining the authors' work on anticolonial histories, afterlives, and futures in Cairo, Egypt, and in Athens, Greece, in the process hearing the Mediterranean—particularly the Eastern Mediterranean—as a space that holds multiple imaginations of decolonization and futurity. The article tells four stories, moving antiphonally between these two cities, listening to (1) revolutionary and counterrevolutionary soundscapes, (2) "beatmapping" practices that connect migration and mobilization, (3) broadcast voices that affectively disseminated anticolonial resistance, and (4) the insurgent geographies created by sonic uprising. In so doing, it articulates a sonic third worldism that connects these movements and stories and places the sonic expressions foregrounded in the article into a much bigger political history. Anticolonial antiphony and sonic third worldism, though muffled and always under threat, continue to reach out toward decolonial futures—across the Mediterranean and as far as they can carry.

Keywords: sound, anticolonialism, Mediterranean, third worldism

Antiphony is a vocal practice. Usually meaning call and response, and part of many forms of music, antiphony sounds community and makes community in sound. In Paul Gilroy's formulation of the Black Atlantic, antiphony bridges from music to other forms of cultural expression, doing the work of connecting and relating among people that live across seas and

oceans yet are bound together in displacement and diaspora. There is, for Gilroy, "a democratic, communitarian moment enshrined in the practice of antiphony which symbolises and anticipates (but does not guarantee) new, non-dominating social relationships."[1] Antiphony is equally a protest sound. In demonstrations and occupations, antiphony is the back-and-forth of chant, the consensus making and collective demand of the people's microphone. It is a Greek word, αντιφωνία, that in Greek means something different again, something closer to contradiction or discord.

This is an article about antiphony. In particular, we seek to narrate anticolonial antiphonies, in which resonate all of the qualities above: protest, connection, and contradiction. In anticolonial antiphonies we hear an ongoing praxis of political reverberation and relay, a shuttling of strategies that carry across time, space, and language, connecting decolonial movements across histories and geographies. Neither antiphony nor anticolonialism is a smooth process—not a simple echo, repeating and reproducing politics at a distance. Instead, antiphony inserts discord and dissonance into colonial orders, seeking to bring other worlds into being. By putting anticolonialism and antiphony together, we hear how sound carries movements across geographies that defy colonial cartographies and classifications, bringing together places and struggles that are often understood separately.[2] These movements speak to one another,

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[1] Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, 79.

[2] We are interested in building what Lisa Lowe calls "scenes of close connection in relation to a global geography that one more often conceives in terms of vast spatial distances" (*Intimacies of Four Continents*, 18).

backward and forward through history, producing unruly tempos that push against the linear logics of colonial time.

Following these antiphonal trajectories, we have written this article without a linear structure. The antiphonies we narrate here follow geographies, histories, and movements that move in multiple directions. We seek to reflect that in our writing. We do so by combining our work on anticolonial histories, afterlives, and futures in Cairo, Egypt, and Athens, Greece, and in the process we hear the Mediterranean—particularly the Eastern Mediterranean—as a space that holds multiple imaginations of decolonization and futurity.[3] The article tells four stories, moving antiphonally between these two cities, which become a single narrative that jumps between scenes and sounds, times and places.[4] The article itself, then, is a set of anticolonial antiphonies: a series of stories (let's call them "Mediterr-ations") that loop into, across, and sometimes against one another and that don't begin and end in any orderly manner. We begin by placing

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[3] In thinking the Mediterranean as a space of connection and contestation, we join with historians, geographers, and anti- and postcolonial writers who have explored the encounters and circulations that produce the sea. {Au: Correct as edited? Yes} See Al-Mousawi, *Two-Edged Sea*; Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings*; cooke, Göknar, and Parker, *Mediterranean Passages*; Hawthorne, *Contesting Race and Citizenship*; Khuri-Makdisi, *Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism*; and Matvejevic, *Mediterranean*.

[4] Here we follow Ana María Ochoa Gautier, who describes the work of "soundmapping" as building "an intellectual cartography that asks us to pay attention to the many possibilities of thinking in sound . . . —one that is less a map and more a conglomeration of stories" ("Afterword," 271).

anticolonial antiphonies into bigger histories of third worldism, before listening to revolutionary and counterrevolutionary soundscapes, "beatmapping" practices that connect migration and mobilization, broadcast voices that affectively disseminated anticolonial resistance, and the insurgent geographies created by sonic uprising. We end with a brief and speculative conclusion, as we imagine these stories continuing to loop into one another and joining with other anticolonial antiphonies across time and place.

Sonic Third Worldism (from City to City and Shore to Shore)

In an essay on the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, Khadija El Alaoui writes this event as not just a gathering of political leaders, setting to the task of reorganizing the world's histories and geographies at the end of empire. It was also an event that lived and was carried in the streets of colonized places around the world, in the rhyme and rhythm of people's poets, in the voices of everyday conversations. "Street Bandung," for El Alaoui, is "where neighbourliness is practiced," where "new ways of doing justice are imagined."[5] Street Bandung is a vernacular political composition, voiced polyphonically and resounding across continents, connecting anticolonial struggles along the way.

Across the world, and at the same time, people from Cairo to Algiers were buying radios and batteries to tune in to newly broadcast stations such as Voice of the Arabs and Voice of Algeria, evading and combatting imperialism with the weapons of wavelengths and radiophonic relay. In Frantz Fanon's famous account, radio listening was the means through which the Algerian people felt themselves "to be called upon and wanted to become a reverberating

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[5] El Alaoui, "Meaning of Bandung," 74.

element of the vast network of meanings born of the liberating combat."[6] Broadcast sound was a central means of combating colonial occupation and "believing in the liberation."[7] Across the world again, artists and writers in the Caribbean were simultaneously experimenting with forms of sounding that could offer countertestimony to colonial histories and open new poetics of diasporic relating. Sonic modes of representation functioned as "a sharp (temporal and spatial) point of exploration, making resonant a history of loss."[8]

Street Bandung, anticolonial radio, Négritude audiopoetics—in all these cases (and countless others) anticolonialism was constituted in and through sound. We hear this as a kind of sonic third worldism, which at once contains all of the stories that follow in this article and places the sonic expressions that we analyze into a much bigger political history. Third worldism itself emerges from the anticolonial struggles of the mid-twentieth century, sometimes narrated as being bound between 1945 and 1989, or what Michael Denning calls "the age of three worlds"; sometimes it is placed into longer histories of contestation against empire stretching back to the beginning of European empire in 1492 and into the present.[9] The third world was not a place but a project, and here our task of hearing a sonic third worldism is twofold.

First, it requires tuning in to the echoes of third worldism that continue to reverberate in the present. Colonialism itself hasn't ended; never has this been clearer than in the present we are

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[6] Fanon, "This Is the Voice of Algeria," 94.

[7] Fanon, "This Is the Voice of Algeria," 97.

[8] Hill, *Black Soundscapes White Stages*, 141.

[9] Denning, *Culture in the Age of Three Worlds*; Mahler, *From the Tricontinental to the Global South*; Phạm and Shilliam, *Meanings of Bandung*.

writing in, when a whole world calls for an end to settler colonialism and the genocidal violence that extends from it, and another world carries on regardless. This means that anticolonialism, too, is an ongoing practice, constantly seeking to connect peoples and places and build toward collective forms of liberation. Third worldism is thus reactivated in the political present. We argue that sound carries these anticolonial and liberatory politics in ways that collapse far-flung geographies and neat distinctions between past and present. Half of the stories in this article take place after the age of three worlds had supposedly come to an end, but they are bound together through antiphonies that jump across time and place.[12]

Second, it involves foregrounding the geopoetics of third worldism as much as its geopolitics. This was a movement of cultural workers and popular struggles as well as of statesmen and intellectuals. Recent work on cultures of anticolonialism highlights the creative labor of writers' conferences and resistance literatures, the poetic solidarities of decolonial experiments and new aesthetic imaginaries, and the role of recorded music in circulating noisy

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[12] Because of the multiple forms of colonialism and imperialism involved in these stories, our use of the terms *colonialism* and *imperialism* throughout this piece are intended to contain European forms of empire stretching back to the fifteenth century, as well as the neocolonialism of US interventionism through the twentieth century and into the present— including its backing of forms of settler colonialism that are ongoing. As we articulate later, anticolonial antiphonies push against multiple forms of colonialism, and our use of terms thus reflects this transhistoricity and multipolarity of imperialism and struggles against them.

alternatives to empire.[13] Our hearing of sonic third worldism, then, joins with scholarship that engages the sonic politics of anticolonialism.[14] And it joins equally with the work of sound artists and musicians who plug in to these histories and bring them resounding into the present.[15] So although our focus here is on a particular set of times and places—Cairo and Athens, from the middle of the last century to the present—the sounds we follow and the sonic strategies we narrate are always speaking to something much bigger: a sonic third worldism that carries through antiphony between these two cities and onward to many other places. Numerous forms of colonialism and imperialism are entangled in these stories, just as multiple forms of resistance are connected in efforts to make worlds beyond them.

Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Soundscapes

The 2011 Egyptian revolution was a pivotal political and social event, an eighteen-day struggle against a military dictatorship led by Hosni Mubarak that had been in power since 1981. It was also a visceral event during which new modes of politics were produced and reproduced. We are interested here in the viscerality of this event: the way bodies and emotions flowed through the public spaces in which revolutionary resistance was taking place. In *The Visceral Logics of*

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[13] Desai and Ziadah, "Lotus and Its Afterlives"; Agathangelou, "Throwing Away the 'Heavenly Rule Book'"; Denning, *Noise Uprising*.

[14] E.g., Alonso, "Broadcasting the '(Anti)Colonial Sublime'"; Hermosilla, "Gathering of the Protest Songs"; Karmy and Schmiedecke, "'Como se le habla a un hermano'"; yamomo, "Sonic Experiments of Postcolonial Democracy."

[15] Ekomane, "Music of Anticolonial Resistance"; Hop, "De-Westernized Sonic Practices and Technologies"; Khazrik et al., "Fil Mishmish"; Shirhan, "Lovesong Revolution."

Decolonization, Neetu Khanna centers the visceral nature of anticolonialism and revolution more broadly, arguing that political events did not simply provoke feelings but were also produced in and through visceral and embodied states.[16] The body in revolution is a body creating revolution, and here the sonic viscerality is as important as other forms of visceral feeling. The soundscape of the 2011 revolution was not merely a backdrop but a central dimension of revolutionary politics.

The revolution erupted after a decade of strikes and protests reverberated around Egypt calling for social justice and democracy. As news that Hosni Mubarak planned to hand over power to his son Gamal began to spread, Egyptians began to mobilize in favor of holding democratic elections. This built on mobilizations calling for social justice, targeted primarily at the wave of privatizations sweeping the public sector, the rising cost of living, and rising inequality, as well as the growing unrest around police brutality that was seen as expanding into the everyday lives of most Egyptians. The revolution itself, which began on January 25, 2011, was inspired by the revolution that broke out in Tunisia in December 2010. Indeed, one of the main chants heard in Tunisia, *Al sha'ab yureed esqat al nizam* (The people demand the fall of the regime), was to become one of the most common chants in Egypt.

In this section, we explore the politics of sound through the various sounds that make up a revolution. Sound was not a consequence of political action but instead did political work; it was mobilized and engaged as a means of coming together while simultaneously documenting forms of violence against protesters. As Elliott Colla writes, "Poetry is not an ornament to the [Egyptian] uprising—it is its soundtrack and also composes a significant part of the action

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[16] Khanna, *Visceral Logics of Decolonization*.

itself."[17] Scholarly work has focused on the role of poetry and chanting during the revolution as a particularly prominent aspect of political mobilization.[18] The centrality of music and poetry has a longer history, dating back to figures like Ahmed Fuad Negm, whose poems (with music from Sheikh Imam) were central to resistance against the government during the 1970s, and whose poetry was revived during 2011.[19] Throughout the revolution, particular figures became associated with revolutionary songs. Ramy Essam, for instance, wrote a song titled "Irhal" that was played over and over in Tahrir Square.[20] This has led scholars to understand the poet as being at the forefront of the revolution.[21]

Sounds such as chants, songs, poems, music, police guns, fireworks, tear gas, sirens, and food vendors make up a soundscape of revolution that acts as an important archive on the viscerality of protest. As Khanna notes, this type of viscerality produces its own tempo—as opposed to a linear or rationalist historical teleology, the visceral tends to produce a disruptive and erratic temporality:[22]

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[17] Colla, "Poetry of Revolt."

[18] See Colla, "Poetry of Revolt"; LeVine, "Music and the Aura of Revolution"; Sanders and Visonà, "Soul of Tahrir"; and Ghanem, "2011 Egyptian Revolution Chants."

[19] Colla, "Poetry of Revolt." This was an interesting broader trend, whereby the appropriation of old songs and chants was widely visible (Sanders and Visonà, "Soul of Tahrir").

[20] LeVine, "Music and the Aura of Revolution," 794.

[21] Sanders and Visonà, "Soul of Tahrir," 214.

[22] Khanna, *Visceral Logics of Decolonization*, 23.

The visceral inhabits an unstable time full of potentiality, of possibility and destruction, the erratic and volatile time of the colonised and the subaltern. The time of the visceral disrupts the linear, homogenous, empty time of bourgeois historicism; it refuses the "spatialized, measurable, quantifiable, homogenous, empty, and teleological time" of capitalist modernity and bourgeois historicism and its sequencing of "always fleeting and inconsequential . . . instants" where each gains significance only through its own negation.[23]

Revolutionary sounds similarly did the political work of altering the experience of time, producing tempos that were disruptive and erratic rather than linear and under control. These came up against counterrevolutionary sounds, such as police guns, police sirens, and tear gas cannisters going off, which were similarly doing their own political work of provoking chaos, fear, and paranoia. The soundscapes of revolution and counterrevolution are thus not aftereffects of politics but constitutive of how politics unfolds.

Take, for instance, the soundscape of the prison, which we can think of as a space of counterrevolution. In "The Sound of Prison," Lina Attalah sketches out the lifeworld of Tora, one of Egypt's most well-known prisons.[24] The visuality and soundscape evoked through the piece bring to life the prison space beyond what we might imagine when we think of prisons, rendering them spaces of both life and death, politics and despair. Watching as families enter the prison to visit loved ones, she notes in passing that the scene "feels like an invisible face of

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[23] Khanna, *Visceral Logics of Decolonization*, 150, quoting Cesare Casarino.

[24] Attalah, "The Sound of Prison."

Cairo."[25] The prison has its own economy—vendors selling oranges and mandarins, trays of

konafa (a Middle Eastern pastry soaked in syrup), and clothes. The sounds of Cairo blend with

the sounds of prison life, the cacophony of conversations and arguments making up a "temporary

prison soundscape."[26]

The piece is striking in its affective sketch of a range of experiences: the fatigue of

families coming to visit, the impatience of detainees waiting for them to arrive, the search for

privacy once they are reunited. The sonic landscape of revolution thus also includes the sounds

of what has been a brutal counterrevolution, of which the prison has been a central mechanism of

repression. Similarly, Lawrence Abu Hamdan's 2016 work "Saydnaya (the Missing 19dB),"

focusing on Saydnaya Military Prison, thirty kilometers north of Damascus, Syria, explores the

soundscape of prison.[27] Using memories of former detainees that are largely sonic, Abu Hamdan

explores how "sound and silence are connected to techniques of domination, power and

resistance" through "forensic listening."[28] Silence emerges as the dominant feature of the prison

soundscape, a silence that is felt as part of the brutality of the prison itself.[29]

Thinking of revolutionary chants as anticolonial antiphonies foregrounds the sonic

elements of resistance while also placing the revolution in a longer trajectory of anticolonial

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[25] Attalah, "The Sound of Prison."

[26] Mossallam, "To Chant the Worlds Away."

[27] Abu Hamdan, "Saydnaya."

[28] Parker, "Forensic Listening," 149.

[29] Parker, "Forensic Listening."

struggle—against a postcolonial state invested in reproducing colonial dynamics.[30] Revolutionary chants connected geographies across the Middle East and North Africa, created public collectives in protest spaces, issued warnings about police violence, and structured movement during protests. This latter point in particular highlights the way chants were constitutive of revolt, as opposed to merely producing a soundtrack of it. As Egyptian historian Alia Mossallam recalls:

> *Ithbat*. Ithbat can be translated as "stand still," "steady" and "unshaken." It was one of the newer chants that were infused into us on the 25th of January 2011—every time the police launched an offensive, and people started to run, someone would shout "Ithbat" as he or she stopped moving, and then several would shout it, and then tens and hundreds, until thousands would stop. I would close my ears and squeeze my eyes shut and let the thousands of voices shake through me, shake out the fear, and stabilise my resolve.[31]

In this sonic memory, Mossallam draws out not only how the chant contained a political call to stand still and resist but also that the thousands of voices chanting would "shake out the fear," allowing her to remain in place. As Colla notes, the sense of collectivity created through chanting together allowed protesters to let go of their fear.[32] Chants similarly connected protests across Egypt to one another through sound as chants emerging in Suez might reverberate to Cairo and chants from village squares echoed through big cities. Even when sound was not

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[30] See Fanon's discussion in *The Wretched of the Earth* around how postcolonial elites often reproduce colonial dynamics rather than break from it (pages 148-206).

[31] Mossallam, "To Chant the Worlds Away."

[32] Cola, "The Poetry of Revolt."

traveling directly, it was doing the work of connecting revolutionary demands through visceral and embodied experiences. Chants also allowed for revolutionary spontaneity, as protesters came up with rhyming couplets on the spot as a means of capturing their feelings.[33]

Expanding on the power of revolutionary chants, Mossallam describes how they allowed people brought together collectively to decide where to go and what to do. If a chant "captured the imagination," then it would inspire people to take action; if it didn't, it would disappear quietly into the crowd. Chants also travel transnationally; they are forms of moving sound. One of the most popular chants in Egypt came from Tunisia: "The people demand the fall of the regime." This chant traveled across North Africa and Southwest Asia, creating a soundscape of regional revolution. Beginning in Tunisia, it moved to Egypt, then Syria, then Saudi Arabia, then Yemen, and beyond. The chant is in classical Arabic, which is distinctive from most of the other chants, which in turn explains how it spread across geographies.[34] This chant came to define these different geographical spaces through a collective set of political demands, more so than other outputs such as social media posts or announcements by revolutionary groups. Here the form of the chant—specifically its linguistic form—creates internationalist connections. The intonation, accent, or specific words of the chant might change as it shifts location, but its form and rhythm remain the same. In this sense, sound became integral to creating a shared political space.

In contrast to spontaneity, chants also often involved historical repetition, a characteristic that speaks to the form chants take. Poetry, songs, and chants from previous uprisings became

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[33] Sanders and Visonà, "Soul of Tahrir," 214.

[34] Sanders and Visonà, "Soul of Tahrir," 214.

part of the present through repetition, and the form of the chant allowed for this because of the familiarity of these past sonic echoes. This familiarity is linked to its rhythm and memories this brings up, rather than its content. As such, familiarity and spontaneity both came to define revolutionary chants. Chants mobilize people, often through reference to the past, while creating an opening in the present to imagine a different future. As Mossallam writes, "A chant can move and mobilise like poetry, it can capture your heart like a song, and it can weave a future before you like a vision."[35] Mossallam beautifully describes the viscerality that Khanna alludes to in her work, showing how it is not simply a background sensation but an embodied experience producing political change. Invoking affect, it speaks to the power embedded within sound, to connect across geographies and temporalities while at the same time anchoring the listener firmly in the present. Soundscapes of revolution and counterrevolution therefore have much to tell us about Egypt in 2011, as well as how resistance and the sonic are entangled. Similarly, chants connected to past revolutions created connections with the 2011 revolution. The cartographic work being done here disrupts fixed spatial boundaries and linear temporalities at the same time.

Beatmapping the Mediterranean

It's 2021, a summer evening in Athens. Members of a youth organization, founded and led by people of refugee background, form a circle in front of the Greek national academy and prepare to perform *arada*, the traditional performance art of Damascus, Syria, made out of rhyme and rhythm, song and pun, call and response. Two *daouli* and a *darbuka* sit on the pavement, both percussion instruments with long migratory histories in aural public spheres all around the

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[35] Mossallam, "To Chant the Worlds Away."

Eastern Mediterranean.[36] A crowd assembles in front of the academy building, designed to resemble imaginings of the ancient city but actually built in the nineteenth century by Danish architects with Austrian financing. The air fills quickly. Chants resounding with Damascene revolt against empires—against Ottoman imperialism and the French mandate—ring out into Athenian public space.

Ten years earlier, these same chants provided the 2011 uprising in Syria with its revolutionary rhythms, where people in Syrian cities joined the chorus of rebellion across the region, vocalizing and amplifying the same appeal that carried from Tunisia and Egypt—the people demand the fall of the regime—while also creating new chants built onto traditional *arada* forms.[37] These chants combine celebration with subversion, speaking historically to the honor and courage of people seeking to keep their city free from injustice and the people free from oppression—folding historical anticolonialisms against French and Ottoman rule into revolutionary demands in the present.

In their updated twenty-first century form, the chants of *arada* were "some of the most creative cultural productions of the revolution."[38] Every Friday people would assemble in cities across Syria, gathering around a particular theme that gave impetus to the uprising, with local committees coordinating slogans to unite the movement.[39] Chants did unifying work,

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[36] On "aural public spheres," see Ochoa Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation."

[37] Halasa, Omareen, and Mahfoud, "Song in the Revolution"; Neggaz, "Syria's Arab Spring"; Issa, "Ibrahim Qashoush's Revolutionary Popular Songs."

[38] Halasa, Omareen, and Mahfoud, "Song in the Revolution," 211.

[39] Yassin-Kassab and Al-Shami, *Burning Country*, 58.

antisectarian work, geographical work. Voices shouted solidarity with places that were being besieged and attacked by the Assad regime forces. Holding everything together was the collective vocalization: "One, one, one, the Syrian people are one."[40] Chants carried from city to city—from Damascus to Homs to Deraa to Aleppo to Idlib and so on—piecing people together in the process, and collapsing the techniques of distancing and division that had underwritten the regime over the previous four brutal decades.[41] While the chants in 2011 and after were not anticolonial in any straightforward sense, as was the case with neighboring revolutions, they propelled the movement against dictatorships that had prevented the full realization of anticolonial projects in the region, linking uprising to previous moments of anticolonial resistance and voicing them all at once.

In Athens, ten years later, the *arada* performance contains shoutouts to Syria and Damascus, to Palestine and to Greece and Athens itself. The revolutionary practice of cities

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[40] Yassin-Kassab and Al-Shami, *Burning Country*, 43.

[41] Monzer al-Sallal, an organizer interviewed by Robin Yassin-Kassab and Leila Al-Shami, asserts that, through these chants, "we discovered the geography of Syria for the first time. If Homs was hit, in Manbij we'd chant 'Homs, we're with you until death.' It brought us all together. And now the values and traditions of different regions have been mixed together by migrating refugees. We've got to know each other better" (*Burning Country*, 170). As the authors themselves put it: "The most remarkable feature of the protest movement at this time was its ability to unite people across religions, sectarian and ethnic boundaries. The language of protest was neither religious nor secular; the demands as expressed on the street were for political rights to be applied in general, not to specific groups" (45).

singing for other cities is stretched and echoed across the Mediterranean.[42] These practices now speak of both migration and mobilization. Athens—and other places along with it—is mapped into geographies of liberation. As Robin Yassin-Kassab and Leila Al-Shami note, creating a new geography of liberation was both a guiding force and a consequence of the uprising in Syria, one that did not map onto to the old cartographies of empire.[43] Instead, the chants of revolution build an internationalism on its own terms. This is similar to what Ilham Khuri-Makdisi calls a "popular anti-imperialism" when detailing geographies of contestation in the region in the late nineteenth century.[44] In that moment, political ideas bounced between urban spaces around the Eastern Mediterranean, fostering a sense of global radicalism as people organized against direct and indirect forms of imperialism, which in Athens now becomes a transhistorical and multipolar anticolonialism, spoken out against Ottoman and French imperialisms in the past, against the colonialities of EU border politics that structure and limit life in the present, and against forms of oppression and intervention in between—layering them all together in rhyme and verse. People continue to build geographies and futures from the ground up, futures that are plural and participatory and that hold people and places together. "We will sing for the revolution that we believe in," Hani Al-Sawah asserts in the essential volume *Syria Speaks*, "for the cities we love and for the freedom that all of us seek."[45]

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[42] Alkabbani, in Alkabbani and Western, "Movement Exists in Voice and Sound."

[43] Yassin-Kassab and al-Shami, *Burning Country*, 36.

[44] Khuri-Makdisi, *Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism*, 144.

[45] Al-Sawah, "Lure of the Street," 221.

We hear this as an anticolonial antiphony—call of contestation, response of reaffirmation—and as a kind of "beatmapping." In music production, beatmapping is a tool for detecting and developing rhythms across tempos and keeping beats in propulsion. We reframe beatmapping as a cartographic practice. Calling out city names and affirming each other's uprising is a way that people find one another in struggle and resistance, which in itself is an act of movement building and world making. Beatmapping, in this sense, brings movements and places into relation. The sound of drums and voices calling out for one another makes maps that moved beyond the logics of sectarianism, division, and oppression in Syria and that move beyond the colonialities of European borders and the ways they separate people, continents, and movements.[46] Rather than reproducing these border logics, and the rhythms of pushbacks and narratives of the sea as a graveyard, beatmapping turns the Mediterranean into a space of feedback and contestation.

The street where the *arada* performance takes place is one of the big boulevards in Athens: Panepistimiou, or University Street, a road written in broad strokes when Athens was installed as capital of newly independent Greece by the "protecting powers" of the 1820s. With political and urban planning from London, Paris, and Moscow, the city was built in (and as) a European vision. Yet beneath (and against) this top-down Europolitical culture a street poetics has always existed that positions Athens as a Mediterranean city, what urban theorist Ioanna Theocharopoulou calls the "popular-Eastern Mediterranean."[47] This is something that plays out

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[46] These separations are often reproduced in academic study, which separates Middle Eastern studies and European studies from each other.

[47] Theocharopoulou, *Builders, Housewives, and the Construction of Modern Athens*, 55–60.

in sound—in language and music, in rhythms and uses of urban space—and affirms sonically and culturally what maps already tell us: Athens is closer to Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, and Jerusalem than it is to London, Paris, and European "protection." On this hearing, the chants of *arada* in the center of Athens make spatialities that are at once new and very old, amplifying entangled Mediterranean histories and turning the city around to face the sea.

The anticolonial resonances of the chants themselves are significant. Vocalizations against historical imperialisms bring the past beating into the present, galvanizing and strengthening contemporary movements through an accumulation of resistance(s). Anticolonial histories are recuperated into revolutionary presents. Again this disrupts the tempos of linear time, which is also colonial time. As Carolyn Nakamura writes, European colonization involved the colonization of time and the replacing of the plurality of histories with the collective singular History.[48] But histories reside in bodies, which make revolution out of history. Chants sound out polyrhythmic pasts that crescendo in the present, and they become a gathering space for expanded solidarities. In 2011, Syrian people chanted to support revolution in Egypt.[49] From Athens in 2019, displaced Syrians chanted to support revolution in Sudan.[50] This beatmapping traces the contours of struggle and solidarity, pulsing back and forth across cities and seas.

These sung politics make a geography that is also not linear, that moves in multiple directions. The *arada* sung to Athens, to Cairo, to Damascus, to Khartoum, to Palestine holds movements together. Anticolonial antiphonies do both a carrying work and a cartographic work.

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[48] Nakamura, "Untenable History."

[49] Alkabbani and Western, "Movement Exists in Voice and Sound."

[50] Syrian and Greek Youth Forum, "Al'Athinioun."

They do the work of "inventing places from which to speak,"[51] as people continue to find creative ways to resist the compound forces of dictatorship and counterrevolution, the border and the refugee camp. The rhythms of *daouli* and *darbuka*, of chant and song, of histories and geographies, of revolution and uprising become spaces of invention and of countercartography. As geographer Nour Joudah puts it, "Maps can confine and erase peoples and places, but they can also free a vision. Spatial imagination provides opportunities that policy debates do not."[52] Here this is a spatial imagination made audible, what Stefano Harney and Fred Moten call "the joyful noise of the scattered."[53]

These attunements are not easy, nor is this some straightforward binary of sound and silence, or of voice overcoming the attenuation of state oppression. In his (banned) 2004 novel about life in Syria under dictatorship, *The Silence and the Roar*, Nihad Sirees depicts noise as a tool of tyranny and coercion:

> Barely eight thirty in the morning and the sounds outside were all chaos. Sounds turned into noise as a bullhorn amplified a goddamned voice reciting inspirational poetry, utter gibberish that was only interrupted by the occasional barked instruction. The meaning of all those words got lost because another loudspeaker was simultaneously blaring motivational anthems. Meanwhile schoolchildren parroted the refrain, "Long live . . . Long live . . . "[54]

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[51] Palumbo-Liu, *Speaking out of Place*.

[52] Joudah, "Topography of Gaza."

[53] Harney and Moten, *Undercommons*, 118.

[54] Sirees, *Silence and the Roar*, 8.

The cumulative effect of this sound clash is that "the roar produced by the chants and the megaphones eliminates thought."[55] Regimes endure through sonic techniques. In different ways, sound and music were also tools of dictatorship in Greece during the military junta in the 1960s and 1970s.[56] And in both places, as is the case elsewhere, the "soundwork" of uprising involves reclaiming audiopolitical tools and turning sound technologies toward new political futures.[57]

In 2011, women in Damascus installed loudspeakers on the roofs of buildings and in parks in the city, broadcasting revolutionary songs when the regime tried to block demonstrations.[58] Songs mocked the regime, and the regime found this intolerable.[59] Protestors turned romantic songs into antiregime anthems.[60] Ibrahim Qashoush/Abdul Rahman Farhoud and Abdul Baset al-Sarout electrified movements in Hama and Homs with their vocal performances,

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[55] Sirees, *Silence and the Roar*, 20. The same point is made by Yassin-Kassab and al-Shami, who write that nationalist songs were an essential part of regime propaganda, played day and night in ministries and other public buildings (*Burning Country*, 40). And miriam cooke writes of the regime as a silencer, albeit through noise (*Dancing in Damascus*, 40–41).

[56] Papaeti, "Folk Music and the Cultural Politics of the Military Junta in Greece"; Papaeti, "Popular Music and the Colonels."

[57] On the audiopolitics of sound and revolution, see Denning, *Noise Uprising*.

[58] Sahloul, "La Femme et la Revolution Syrienne"; cooke, *Dancing in Damascus*, 102.

[59] cooke, *Dancing in Damascus*, 42.

[60] Yassin-Kassab and al-Shami, *Burning Country*, 175. The work of artist Urok Shirhan speaks directly to this theme, particularly her piece "Lovesong Revolution."

creating a contestatory space that also became a space of circulation.[61] In the same moment, Athenian publics wedged loudspeakers into the branches of trees in the square below the Greek parliament building, as part of a summer-long occupation that remade the city and the way its political communities exercised vocality.[62] These practices resonate around Mediterranean cities and converge now in Athens.

Arada moves around the city. It is performed in streets and squares, in community centers, in front of parliament. It takes place in the same spaces where Greek publics have protested against austerity, against economic and military intervention, adding to the archive of resistance written into the city's urban fabric. And although this archive is fragile, ephemeral, something that needs continual maintenance, utterance, and performance, it continues to ring out across transnational and transurban geographies, and has now outlived the regime it sounds out against. Revolution songs are being sung all over Syria again, these shared vocalities continuing to protect the cities and their people. The revolution remains a revolution: one that was scattered, its layers and vocalities accumulating and remapping across time and space; and has now, somehow, found its way home.

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[61] cooke, *Dancing in Damascus*, 42–43, 64; Halasa, Omareen, and Mahfoud, "Song in the Revolution." The identity of the first singer hasn't been entirely clear. While the singer of revolutionary songs in Hama is widely known as Ibrahim Qashoush, who was murdered by the regime in 2011 as his voice was deemed too much of a threat, video has also circulated to suggest that the singer is actually Abdul Rahman Farhoud, now singing anti-Assad songs again following the fall of the regime at the end of 2024.

[62] Stavrides, *Common Space*, 166–69.

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Gamal Abdel Nasser's Disembodied Voice

Anticolonialism and third worldism were sonically charged historical moments that brought together different geographies through a shared commitment to a decolonized future. Through revolutionary protest songs and chants, the sounds of armed struggle and liberation war, or the radio broadcasts spreading information about movements near and far, all of this and more meant that the sounds of anticolonial resistance were central to animating and creating new spaces of politics. These sounds did the political work of connecting spaces, people, and ideas that were tied together materially through experiences of colonialism and capitalism and ideologically through third worldism and anticolonial liberation; as noted earlier, we refer to this as *sonic third worldism*.

Radio broadcasts in particular were a crucial element of anticolonial struggle and connectivity.[63] Voice of the Arabs, for instance, was a foundational Egyptian radio station in the 1950s and 1960s that broadcast news, political commentary, speeches, music, and cultural programs about anticolonial struggles around the world.[64] The first episode aired on July 4, 1953, and the station is said to have been the brainchild of Egypt's postcolonial leader Gamal Abdel Nasser, who saw the radio as a pivotal tool in the struggle for liberation. By the 1960s it was broadcasting twenty-four hours a day, with an extremely large audience across the Arab world. On the other hand, there was Radio Cairo, which reached many countries across Africa. As

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[63] See Thomson, "Worldmaking in the Palestinian Radio Stations"; Reza, "Reading the Radio-

Magazine"; Potter et al., *Wireless World*; and Moorman, *Powerful Frequencies*.

[64] Boyd, "Development of Egypt's Radio."

James R. Brennan notes, "Broadcasts from Cairo offered a powerful vision of an emerging Afro-Asian world."[65] Radio Cairo was able to attract broadcasters and technicians away from colonial radio stations through their ability to pay employees higher salaries and was listened to widely, especially in East Africa, where transmissions were easily accessible.

The story of Voice of the Arabs and Radio Cairo also tells the story of the rise of Nasser, a core member of the Free Officers group that had spearheaded the revolution against British rule, leading to Egypt's independence in 1952. He presided over a popular project of decolonization, emphasizing political, economic, and social independence and underpinned by third worldism, Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism as a global project of transformation. Nasser became one of the most important postcolonial figures within third worldism, initiating dramatic changes within Egypt and across North Africa and the Middle East. Egypt's economy turned away from foreign capital and privatization, toward nationalization. Education and health care were made accessible to all, and investment into the public sector was prioritized. Nasser expressed both ideological and material support for anticolonial movements and postcolonial states across Africa and the Middle East, seeing Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism as central to Egyptian foreign policy. The 1950s and early 1960s were thus a monumental time in Egypt, during which dramatic political, economic, and social transformations took place.

The radio was important during these decades because some of Nasser's most popular speeches, including when he nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, were broadcast on stations

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[65] Brennan, "Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa," 174. This made them of particular interest to British colonial officers across Africa, as can be seen from the vast amount of material related to surveillance at the British National Archives.

such as Voice of the Arabs. Political speeches by anticolonial figures were central to the

soundscape of anticolonialism, not least in Egypt, where Nasser's voice was known to almost

every Egyptian and Arab, but also in many in other parts of the world. Nasser's speeches were

extremely popular and affective, acting as rallying calls in the same way revolutionary chants did

during the 2011 revolution. In the rest of this section, we explore the soundscape of one

particularly powerful speech through its representation in a film, highlighting how the sounds of

anticolonialism were constitutive of the political and social worlds of decolonization.

Essa Grayeb's *The Return of Osiris* (2019) is a film made up of other films. It collects

different clips from a host of Egyptian films that documented or enacted Nasser's famous

resignation speech, which he gave to the Egyptian public following the military defeat of the

Arab armies by Israel in the Six-Day War in 1967. A central dimension of Nasser's political

project was to liberate Palestine from Israeli settler colonialism, culminating in several military

defeats for Arab states, including in 1967. The 1967 defeat was colossal, not least because

Egyptian radio broadcasts had been publicizing Egyptian dominance during the short war. As

such, the defeat came as a shock and has since been understood as a pivotal political moment in

the Middle East, leading to the end of Arab nationalism and various anticolonial projects.

Following this defeat, Nasser announced that he would resign.

Bringing together different clips from Egyptian films that included this famous

resignation speech, Grayeb produces a complex sonic and visual experience layered with

memory and history. Each clip brings its own soundscape and visual imagery with it, as well as a

whole range of familiar Egyptian actors and actresses. We move quickly from one film to the

next, with each film responsible for reproducing a small part of the speech. What ties this

montage together is Nasser's voice, ringing through each scene except where silence or loud

cheers take its place. Sometimes his voice is clear, other times muted; sometimes booming, other times quiet. Nevertheless it is always his voice that guides us as we try to make sense of what we are watching. The film is thus an example of how sound is a portal into anticolonial histories and how sonic experiences speak directly to the memories many Egyptians have of the anticolonial moment.

Nasser's resignation speech has been featured widely in Egyptian cinema and literature, given the ramifications of the defeat. Grayeb's montage is therefore both a film in and of itself and an archive of how the defeat was understood and represented when it happened and ever since. Grayeb, a Palestinian filmmaker and photographer based in Jerusalem, is currently working on a project about Nasser, of which this film is a part. Grayeb initially became interested in Nasser because of his childhood memory of seeing Nasser in Palestinian homes, including his grandmother's: "I remember asking people about the guy in the portrait and they were saying this is Nasser, this is Gamal. I lived my childhood thinking he's my uncle. I grew up with this memory, and then I found out Gamal Abdel Nasser is an uncle for many people. And I thought, what is this image of an Egyptian leader doing in Palestinian houses?"[66] These images of Nasser inside the home spoke to another fascination he had, of seeing these images in Egyptian films. He recounts seeing the same image of Nasser hanging on his grandmother's wall in a film starring famous Egyptian actress Suad Hosny. He became interested in using films

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[66] Interview by the author, January 2022. Later, Grayeb adds that when he asked his cousins to describe their grandmother's living room (to confirm that the portrait he remembered did actually exist), they mentioned that next to the portrait of Nasser there had been a portrait of Grayeb's late uncle, which may be why he thought of Nasser as his uncle too.

about Nasser to explore questions of memory. *The Return of Osiris*, released in 2019, used extracted footage from Egyptian films and television series produced between 1976 and 2019 that include a part or all of Nasser's speech. Cumulatively the film, almost fourteen minutes in length, reproduces the whole speech. This is another anticolonial antiphony, a resonating voice.

In the film different people from across Egypt and across class, gender, and ethnicity gather around the radio to listen to the speech. The streets are completely empty, and there is no sound outside other than silence and the echoes of the speech from different radios. The scenes of silent streets, empty waterfronts, and deserted beaches are particularly powerful, juxtaposed against cities and towns that are usually loud and full of life. It is in the silence, even more so than in the speech and the reactions to it, that we might apprehend the gravity of the moment, moving through the speech seamlessly, each part coming just after the next, and yet we are watching vastly different fragments that have been tied together. There are differences in background noise, quality of the audio and video, music, and actors and actresses, yet somehow Nasser's voice and the speech are strong enough to act as a thread weaving the narrative together.

Because of the effect of Nasser's voice, the speech appears seamless despite the footage having been extracted from many different sources. The visual imagery of the film is strong, particularly given the familiarity of the faces and scenes taken from famous Egyptian films, yet it is Nasser's voice that moves us from one scene to the next. While there is a common refrain that most Egyptians know the speech by heart, Nasser's voice is even more embedded within memory given the popularity of his speeches and how often they are reproduced on screen and on the radio. Although he is not technically disembodied, and his image appears throughout the speech, there is a sensation of disembodiment that makes the film an important sonic archive of

anticolonialism. As such, the film is a powerful archive partly because of the familiarity of Nasser's voice.

If memory can be understood as "an archived past that fulfils the need of preserving an affective relation with an exhausted past threatened with oblivion," then the sonic layers of the film speak directly to affect, temporality and memory.[67] The heightened affective state of both the moment of defeat and its recognition (via the speech) is captured precisely by the constant movement between sources in the film, never allowing you to quite settle down. The speech is heard across a whole range of sound qualities, from sharp to static, making the words seem close, far away, or somewhere in between. The experience of hearing the speech, as it plays with temporality, makes the past seem either far away or very nearby. Moreover, the viewer's memories of each film or television series are also entangled within the viewing experience, adding an additional layer.

The speech marked a moment during which Egyptians were confronted with the possibility of living without Nasser and life after anticolonialism. Nasser's announcement of his resignation suggested more than just life without him; it also meant a likely end to the political project of anticolonialism he represented. Indeed, what came after Nasser was a dramatic turn to neoliberalism and the controversial peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. As represented in Grayeb's film, the speech and the response to it constitute important sonic archives of anticolonialism that speak to the power of Nasser's voice, crowds demonstrating for him to stay, and the silence before and right after the speech. Because of how the film is put together, the

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[67] Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia*, 84.

sonic emerges most clearly, tying together disparate films and series. A pivotal turning point in Egyptian anticolonial history is thus experienced as a sonically charged series of events.

Sonic Third Worldism in Athens

> Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο! Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο! Ο αγώνας μας είναι κοινός. Είναι αγώνας αντιχουντικός. Είναι αγώνας αντιδικτατορικός. Είναι αγώνας αντιιμπεριαλιστικός.
>
> (This is the Polytechnic! This is the Polytechnic! Our struggle is common. It is an antijunta struggle. It is an antidictatorship struggle. It is an anti-imperialist struggle.)[68]

Greece, too, has histories of third worldism, also sonically charged and relayed in voices. The spectacular apogee of this came when students occupied Athens Polytechnic University as an act of collective resistance against the military dictatorship, known as the Polytechneio uprising of November 1973. The junta had been running the country since 1967—the same year as the defeat of the Arab armies by Israel. This occupation was a sound event. Over three long days, from November 14 to 17, the occupying students improvised a public broadcast system to communicate with the crowds that gathered outside the university, and they built a radio station that the whole of Athens could hear (and that the police and the military couldn't shut down).[69] In this last story, we hear the anticolonial politics of this moment and these broadcasts and earmark this as another type of sonic third worldism that resonated on global scales.

The Polytechneio uprising has been written about at length, a collective trauma written into the Greek psyche. It marks a violent climax of a dictatorship built on systematic repression, incarceration, torture, and murder of its political opponents. The student occupation was a

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[68] Papadakis and Bofiliakis, *Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο*.

[69] Panourgia, *Dangerous Citizens*, 144.

culmination of growing dissent and resistance, which gathered into a mass mobilization in 1973, led largely by students and youth movements.[70] Its importance in Greece is hard to overstate. In Neni Panourgia's vivid account, "Out on the streets, inside the Polytechnic, at middle-class and working-class homes, this was the moment."[71] The junta lasted only until the following summer. Polytechneio marks a late act of the regime's brutality. In the early morning of Saturday, November 17, the generals sent tanks rolling through the city and sent one crashing through the university gates.

The radio announcements, relaying the student occupation to the city beyond, laid out the scope of the uprising as an antijunta struggle, an antidictatorship struggle, an anti-imperialist struggle. Rising steadily in intensity over the course of the occupation, the broadcasts called for all of Athens to come out onto the streets to bring down the junta. The imperialism in question pertains to the US support for the dictatorship, itself an extension of US interference in Greek politics since the World War II and its violent repression of leftist movements.[72] Out on the street, people did the work of connecting the different scales of resistance. On one level, chants were targeted directly at the needs of the political moment: "down with the junta"; "we want

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[70] Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship*.

[71] Panourgia, *Dangerous Citizens*, 143.

[72] The Greek National Army used US-supplied napalm to defeat the communists in the Greek Civil War of 1945–49.

resistance"; "everyone united"; "fascism will not stand"; "bread, education, freedom."[73] On another level, the students in Athens placed this struggle into a wider anticolonial struggle playing out worldwide.

There were chants for ousted Chilean president Salvador Allende. Following the CIA-backed Pinochet coup in Chile two months earlier, students gathered in the center of Athens to shout Allende's name. The name itself became a slogan and was chanted again repeatedly during the Polytechneio uprising.[74] There were chants for Thailand. In October 1973, one month before Polytechneio, protestors in Bangkok occupied government buildings of the military junta—also backed by the United States. The crowds at Polytechneio responded with the chant, "Tonight there will be Thailand."[75]

These callouts, and the struggles and resistance movements they connect, are vocalizations of an internationalist cultural politics that precedes and exceeds these specific moments. Athens hosted the Anticolonial Conference of the Mediterranean in 1957 and became the base of the Permanent Committee for Anticolonial Struggle of the Mediterranean in the same year.[76] Moving against the grain of invocations of the city as some European wellspring, and

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[73] Papadakis and Bofiliakis, *Εδώ Πολυτεχνείο*. This last chant, "Bread, education, freedom," is very close to the chant that gathered the demands of Egyptian protesters in 2011: "Bread, freedom, social justice."

[74] Allende's name was also painted onto the university gates next to messages telling the United States and NATO to get out of the country. Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship*, 248.

[75] Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship*, 248–49.

[76] Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship*, 491; Stefanidis, *Stirring the Greek Nation*, 106–7.

complicating any clean geographical splits that divided the world into three during these postwar decades, another Athens sits within geographies of anticolonialism that circle the Mediterranean and echo from far beyond. For historian Kostis Kornetis, Greek youth movements in the 1960s and 1970s were part of radical cultures of the northern Mediterranean, in which third worldism was an inspiration and "revolutionary guide": "The struggle against Pinochet's dictatorship, alongside Vietnam and later on the anticolonial struggle in Portugal's colonies . . . , was placed on the same footing as the local struggle against the Colonels."[77] The radio broadcasts and chants at Polytechneio are another kind of sonic third worldism. By placing themselves into global anticolonial struggle, protestors in Athens made antiphonal spaces at multiple scales. The university radio and the streets outside were connected in a call and response; the chants to Chile and Thailand, and the invocations of Vietnam and Angola, bring Athens into global third-worldist movements; the squeal and squall of the radio transmission signal, searching for and making counterhistories, become powerful frequencies, plugging Polytechneio into far-flung relays of radio as a decolonial tool and technology.[78]

This moves us beyond thinking about Polytechneio as only a national struggle or a narrow contestation of US imperialism.[79] Polytechneio instead reveals a stereophonic political

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[77] Kornetis, "'Cuban Europe?'" 487, 510.

[78] Fanon, "This Is the Voice of Algeria"; Moorman, *Powerful Frequencies*; Bronfman, *Isles of Noise*; Hill, *Black Soundscapes White Stages*.

[79] Israel was also actively supporting the junta in Greece, including through economic and military cooperation, and the Greek dictators were reciprocally "happy about the glorious

consciousness that connects struggles and communities through antiphonies that resound on a planetary scale, shuttling across sites and spaces in ways that confound colonial cartographies and neat descriptions of global North and South. Music, by this time, was being used as a tool to develop a cosmopolitan "third world consciousness" on a global scale—notably through the work of La Casa de las Américas in Cuba, which gathered, translated, and circulated protest songs from around the world.[80] And this builds on what Denning calls a "noise uprising" in the 1920s and 1930s, when recorded vernacular musics became a soundtrack to decolonization and sound figured anticolonial space as nonnational space.[81] Sound, for Denning, "makes possible new and unexpected reverberations, new forms of affiliation and solidarity across space and time."[82] Athens, and its conjoined port city, Piraeus, was part of an archipelago of interlinked places and spaces and of musical counterpoint that unmade imperial geographies of center and periphery—counterpoints that continued to weave through the twentieth century and that resound into the present.

Sonic third worldism shows how local struggles have long been connected through sound, looping with the cross-currents that connect geographies and histories and hearing how sonic imaginations can trigger political change.[83] These are, in other words, audio equivalents of

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victory of the IDF" in 1967. Mack, "Suppressed History of Israel's Support for the Brutal Greek Junta."

[80] Hermosilla, "Gathering of the Protest Songs."

[81] Denning, *Noise Uprising*.

[82] Denning, *Noise Uprising*, 233.

[83] Denning, *Noise Uprising*; Shirhan, "Lovesong Revolution."

what Chandni Desai and Rafeef Ziadah call "insurgent geographies of connection," wherein struggles relate and respond to each on their own terms, making their own sense of space and movement.[84] In the recordings from the Polytechneio uprising, it is possible to hear and hold both the sense of defeat and the sense of enduring resistance. Gunfire rattles, the tanks crash through the university gates, the street falls silent, and the radio cuts out, leaving only the white noise of imperialism and the static of history. Yet the sound archive of Polytechneio continues to resonate through the city. The year the dictatorship fell, this archive expanded through the performance of music that had been banned or censored under the regime and through the voices of people shaping the politics of the city in the streets.[85] And still every year there is a march in Athens to commemorate this event, moving through the city and gathering outside the US Embassy. The chants provide the soundtrack that again ties past and present together and that join people in antiphonal resistance.

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This article has explored antiphony and sonic third worldism as continuing anticolonial methods that reverberate into the present and the future. Moving between Cairo and Athens, we traced some of the promises and contradictions of anticolonial and revolutionary movements, picking up on the way how they speak to one another despite belonging to different places and eras. As such, sonic third worldism not only carries across time and space but also disrupts linear notions of temporality and geography in ways that attune us to connection and solidarity. These anticolonial antiphonies are crucial to highlight not only because they center sound and the

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[84] Desai and Ziadah, "Lotus and Its Afterlives," 297.

[85] Papaeti, "*Songs of Fire* (1975)."

emotions it can bring to the surface but also because they produce an archive of anticolonial connectivity that disrupts imaginings of Cairo and Athens as geographies that can be neatly separated. Instead, we have argued that sound offers a means through which to connect space—Cairo and Athens—and time: anticolonialism and the present.

Arada in Athens, a disembodied voice making its way through Egyptian streets, the chants and broadcasts that bind movements together—these anticolonial antiphonies remind us that resistance is ongoing and that hope is an important political practice. Sound attunes us to registers of anticolonialism that have otherwise slipped out of memory and history and yet continue to feed into the present. Sonic third worldism, though muffled and always under threat, continues to reach out toward decolonial futures—across the Mediterranean and as far as it can carry.

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