

and activism rather than in solidarity with guerillas. They continue to draw, however, on the mythical powers of peasant tradition and the memories of an earlier confrontation with the world's greatest imperial power. These activists have also remade the notion of struggle, turning it from a vanguard into a popular activity. A conception of struggle that includes not just dramatic confrontations with Israeli troops but day-to-day activities like education (teaching in underground schools), expressive culture (organizing folk-dance troupes), and economic self-sufficiency (setting up cooperatives to produce yogurt, honey and canned vegetables). And through a disciplined struggle which (until recently) has resolutely forsworn armed violence, a new generation of *kufiya* wearers denies Israeli officials the power to affix the name terrorism to their fight for national self-determination.

Let us now turn back to the U.S. Here, there is a kind of official "iconography" of the *kufiya* rather than an official "history"; the narratives, official and oppositional, are more dispersed than in Israel. To my knowledge, the *hatta* first appeared in the U.S. within the movement against the war in Vietnam. Activists in the late sixties and early seventies, on the fringes of the anti-imperialist U.S. left, put on *kufiyas* in conscious solidarity with the Palestinian national liberation movement. *Kufiyas* appeared—virtually unnoticed—in anti-war demonstrations amidst other more visible and numerous signs of international solidarity—the NLF (Viet Cong) flags and posters of Che Guevara which, according to Todd Gitlin, so alarmed the U.S. "establishment" (1980: 181). Those heady moments, when masses of activists imagined that the entire world was in the throes of coordinated and interrelated revolutionary struggle, are now almost forgotten due to the reimposition of what Michel Foucault (1989) terms a "geographical *cordon sanitaire*" around popular consciousness. Third World struggles no longer seem to give off sympathetic echoes. The remaking of memory was not complete, however, for pockets of solidarity with Palestinians lived on in the post-Vietnam "new social movements": in the movement against intervention in Central America, in anti-nuclear and anti-apartheid groups, and in African-American circles, the *kufiya* retained a certain currency.

The early eighties, however, brought the *kufiya* into an apparently apolitical arena, the domain of urban street style. The literature on English and U.S. subcultures and the sartorial practice