ANOTHER AESTHETICS IS POSSIBLE

JENNIFER PONCE DE LEÓN

ARTS OF REBELLION IN THE FOURTH WORLD WAR

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DISSIDENT ACTS *A series edited by*
Macarena Gómez-Barris and Diana Taylor

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to Gabriel

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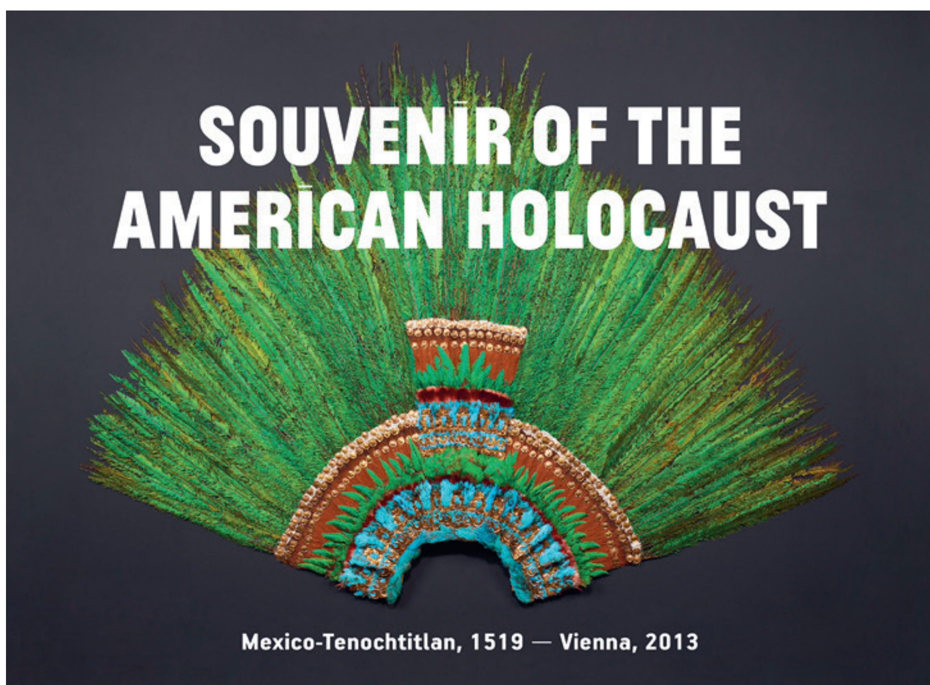

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INTRODUCTION

IN 2002, in the wake of a financial crisis and massive popular uprising that rocked Argentina, the artists of Etcétera . . . brought a proposal to a popular assembly that met weekly in a park in Buenos Aires: "Now that we have nothing, we should give back to the politicians the only thing we have left: our shit!" With the help of the assemblies and independent news media, they organized a collective performance that realized this proposal in the most literal way, directly in front of the National Congress.

In Los Angeles, California, a few months later, the Pocho Research Society of Erased and Invisible History inaugurated its practice of direct action public history. They installed seemingly official historical plaques on city monuments, adding occluded histories of working-class Latinas/os/xs and Mexican and Central American immigrants. In the hands of these guerrilla historians, a city monument's nationalist mystification of L.A.'s history was challenged by histories of Mexican and Central American migration to the city and a critique of US imperialism, and an official monument to the Southern Pacific Railroad was altered to honor the taggers who turned boxcars into canvases.

Back in Buenos Aires, Grupo de Arte Callejero (GAC; Street Art Group) was also mimicking state signage in guerrilla interventions that brought

histories suppressed by the state into public view. With what appeared to be traffic signs, they directed people to the homes of former military and police officers and priests. These signs functioned within exposure protests (*escraches*) that the Argentine human rights movement organizes to publicly denounce individuals who were involved in state terrorism during the country's most recent dictatorship, realizing a form of popular justice not dependent upon complicit state institutions. GAC's work in the human rights movement moved beyond a focus on state terrorism under dictatorship to address state violence in the present, as well as the ubiquitous discourse of "security" that is used to legitimate it.

In 2000 Etcétera . . . created a heterodox version of the human rights movement's exposure protests in front of Argentina's National Fine Arts Museum. It denounced the museum and one of its trustees, who is a powerful art collector and majority shareholder of an enormous agribusiness. With flaming sugar footprints and sticky traces, this *SUR*realist protest-performance exposed a history of corporate complicity in state terrorism in the 1970s and linked it to the same corporation's exploitation and poisoning of agro-industrial workers in the present, while challenging the bourgeois myths of high art's autonomy and the beneficence of cultural philanthropy.

A museum was also the focus of a public denunciation by the Diego de la Vega Cooperative Media Conglomerate, whose founder and CEO, Fran Ilich, is an artist and activist who has long been active in the social movement constellated around the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional; Zapatista Army of National Liberation). Ilich penned a petition that called on Austria's World Museum to return the most famous object in its collections: an ancient Mexica (Aztec) headdress, "war booty . . . obtained in the midst of the American holocaust" in the sixteenth century.[1] This petition publicly launched an alternate reality game that was played out across multiple on- and offline platforms, from epistolary and economic exchanges to faux souvenirs and a pop-up coffee shop that materially supported Zapatista communities.

When George W. Bush, the self-proclaimed leader of the so-called War on Terror, came to Argentina in 2005, the Internacional Errorista (International Errorist) went public. After they appeared on streets and beaches bearing their "poetic arms," reports in the news media variously described them as actors playing terrorists, activists dressed as Palestinians, antiglobalization protestors, and vandals, while the police squadron that pulled up on the Erroristas said they had been reported as armed *piqueteros*—that is, members of Argentina's unemployed workers' movement. These police unwittingly

became actors in an errorist film about manufactured perceptions of criminality and security and the confluences among hemispheric antiterrorism politics, U.S. imperialism, and the criminalization of working-class people and dissident movements.

These practices and productions, among others discussed in this book, were created by artists whose omnivorous and politicized experimentalism has led them across and beyond the arts. They fuse artistic production with practices considered extraneous to disciplinary understandings of fine art and literature, such as direct action tactics, public history, gaming, cartography, and solidarity economies. This contradisciplinary experimentalism, as well as the largely extra-institutional character of their work, is bound up with the politics of their practice and its relationship to movements, as well as their heterodox understanding of what "art" is and what it can do.

Their art is articulated—in different ways, and always in specific contexts—with ongoing antisystemic movements and social struggles rooted in different parts of the Americas.[2] These include the anticapitalist and anticolonial movement constellated around the EZLN, which is led by indigenous peasants in southern Mexico; the 2001–2 Argentine uprising and urban social movements in Buenos Aires, including the human rights movement; struggles against the criminalization, policing, and displacement of racialized working-class people in Los Angeles; and the international movements against neoliberal "free trade" regimes and against U.S.-led wars. While these struggles have important local inscriptions and national determinations, they are all part of the global movement against capitalism and the oppression on which it depends. By analyzing art practices that are articulated with different collective struggles, this book elucidates the vitality and creativity of a contemporary anticapitalist cultural Left whose praxis is enmeshed with grassroots movements across the Americas.

AN OTHER AESTHETICS

The looking-glass school is the most democratic of educational institutions. There are no admissions exams, no registration fees, and courses are offered free to everyone everywhere on earth as well as in heaven. It's not for nothing that this school is the child of the first system in history to rule the world. . . . The looking-glass school teaches us to suffer reality, not change it; to forget the past, not learn from it; to accept the future, not invent it. In its halls of criminal learning, impotence, amnesia, and resignation are required courses. Yet perhaps—who can say—there can be no disgrace without grace, no sign without a countersign, and no school that does not beget

its counterschool.—Eduardo Galeano, Upside Down: A Primer for the Looking-Glass World *(2000)*

This book's title cites the imperative affirmation by the EZLN and its base communities that "another world is possible." Within the Zapatistas' theory and practice, this is an assertion that *los de abajo y a la izquierda* (those from below and on the Left) can create a world in which justice, real democracy, and freedom are accorded to all, which necessarily must be a world beyond capitalism.[3] Aesthetics—here understood in its broad sense as the socially forged sensory composition of a world—constitutes a crucial site of struggle in this effort. Because aesthetic practices and productions shape how we perceive and understand the world, they can and do participate in the multidimensional and collective labor of creating and defending another social reality. In this sense, an *other aesthetics* refers to the forging of worldviews that support the collective struggle to make and defend this other possible world.

An *other aesthetics* also refers to a materialist understanding of aesthetics that is not based upon the presumed specificity of what is socially designated as "art" and pertains, instead, to the composition of a sensorium, which is both mental and perceptual. It is based on the recognition, central to Marxist thought, that subjects' experienced lifeworlds are produced, reproduced, and transformed through social practice. As Marx writes, human individuals' existence "*is* social activity," as we make ourselves "for society and with the consciousness of [ourselves as] social being[s]."[4] All aspects of humans' "relations to the world—seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling, thinking, being aware, sensing, wanting, acting, loving"—are eminently social and historical.[5] Following the work of Marx, Frantz Fanon, Sylvia Wynter, and others, I reject the ontological division of biological and social life (and, by extension, of materiality and consciousness), maintaining instead that humans' consciousness is based in our actual life-process and does not exist apart from it.[6] Human cognition and sensuous perception are bound together and are the product of historical processes. As such, human activity and experience should be understood in all of their material sensuousness.

Aesthetics, which derives from *aisthánomai,* "to perceive, feel, or sense," allows us to discuss intellectual "sense" and material "sense" as inseparable, and the Marxist theory of aesthetics I have adumbrated references the sociocultural formatting of human cognition and perception, understood as co-constitutive. Jacques Rancière has contributed to this theory with his concept of the *distribution of the sensible,* a "primary aesthetics" that orders sensuous perception and thereby "produces a system of self-evident facts of

perception based on the set horizons and modalities of what is visible and audible, as well as what can be said, thought, made or done."[7] Yet Rancière's writings on aesthetics jettison fundamental Marxist insights about the objective bases of social organization and the determinations these exercise upon this primary aesthetics, as well as upon art.[8] I argue, instead, that the production of experienced lifeworlds via material practices operates within a complex social totality that is overdetermined by the social relations of production.

My heterodox use of the concept of aesthetics derives from my understanding that "ideology operates as an all-encompassing sensorium that emerges from the actual life-processes of Homo faber. It composes an entire universe through the collective and historical production of a shared world of sense that is at one and the same time physical *and* mental."[9] It is based on Marxist theories of ideology that posit that subjects' consciousness of themselves and their relationship to the world are constituted via ideology, which is produced and transformed through material practices.[10] These theories guide my analysis of the ways that social relations of production and reproduction relate to aesthetics and to aesthetic practices. I use the concept of *aesthetics* in order to specifically draw attention to the ways ideology structures our perception. While reductionist conceptions of ideology collapse it into mental representations or discourse, I want to emphasize that its reality-producing effects shape our entire world of experience, including through the modeling of perceptions, feelings, habits, actions, memories, and desire, as well as through ideas and language.

I am also interested in aesthetics because of its simultaneous proximity to and difference from art. In this book, "art" refers to literary and performing arts, as well as visual art. The history of art offers a rich repository of concepts, techniques, and methods for both analyzing and mobilizing the power of aesthetics, as defined earlier. However, theories of aesthetics that exclusively refer to those practices and productions that are identified as art easily ignore the social force aesthetics exercises through other social practices. When such approaches are based on claims that artworks have essential and particular aesthetic qualities and/or elicit a unique aesthetic experience, they obscure the historical constitution of art forms as sociocultural categories and the racial and gendered class relations (including colonial class relations) in which this history is embedded.[11] The artistic practices I analyze certainly draw on the history of art, and on the conventions and techniques that the historical codification of art as a specific type of labor and object of analysis has produced. However, they are equally

informed by and respond to histories and types of cultural practice generally considered extraneous to art when it is treated as a self-contained discourse or practice. For these reasons, I have developed a conceptual vocabulary that allows me to discuss how social practices of all types work to shape perceptions of and ideas about the world. This approach is also necessarily opposed to mimetic conceptions of art—that is, the idea that art represents reality. Rather, I am interested in how aesthetic practices are *constructive* of social reality.

When analyzing the place of the arts in the international communist movement, Antonio Gramsci wrote: "To fight for a new art would mean to fight to create individual artists, which is absurd since artists cannot be created artificially. One must speak of a struggle for a new culture, that is, for a new moral life that cannot but be intimately connected to a new intuition of life, until it becomes a new way of feeling and seeing reality and, therefore, a world intimately ingrained in 'possible artists' and 'possible works of art.'"[12] Gramsci re-framed debates about the politics of art that were taking place in the international Left by arguing that they should begin with the understanding that the arts are subordinate to and shaped by a far broader cultural and ideological struggle. For Gramsci, the cultural and ideological dimensions of class struggles are intrinsic to the exercise of hegemony. Hegemony names a social relation in which a dominant class or fraction of a class gains the "active consent" of subordinate or allied classes by exercising "cultural, moral, and ideological" leadership over them.[13] It is based on the economic power of dominant groups, and it is enforced by their exercise of domination through force as well, as succinctly captured in Gramsci's description of hegemony as consensus protected by an "armour of coercion."[14] Thus, the importance Gramsci and others accord to culture and ideology should not be taken to mean that their refashioning is sufficient for producing needed social change, or even that it is possible to bring about the cultural revolution Gramsci called for without transforming the economic and political structures upon which elites' power to shape culture and ideology rests.

Another Aesthetics Is Possible examines struggles over ways of "feeling and seeing reality" as they are intrinsic to contemporary class struggles. It analyses specific art practices as they shed light on ideological struggles and, specifically, as they advance cultural struggles of the Left. I describe as counterhegemonic those practices and forces that militate against the manufacture of consensual class domination. These work to dismantle the worldviews imposed by the powerful and replace these with an alternate critical and

coherent sense of reality through which people can grasp social contradictions. When Gramsci described this as replacing "common sense" (*senso comune*) with "good sense" (*buon senso*), his vocabulary underscored the fact that he was referring not only to the transformation of theoretical knowledge, but also to perception and practical knowledge.[15]

Because antisystemic movements are, among other things, powerful counterhegemonic forces, I have sought to understand how art practices have been influenced by and articulated with them. I have been inspired, in this regard, by the work of other scholars who have theorized art as part of movement cultures and analyzed how movements have produced counterhegemonic ideologies about culture and art.[16] Moreover, because artistic practices articulated with movements contribute to the latter's archives and repertoires, analyzing them also offers insight into the history and legacies of particular antisystemic struggles.

This book examines a variety of relationships art practices have to specific movements. Artists I discuss take up knowledge, discourses, and tactics that movements have produced, elaborate upon them, and translate them into new aesthetic forms. In some instances, they produce more speculative or utopian elaborations of worldviews movements have produced. Some artists fuse their art production with movements' forms of social action—be these direct action or economic resistance. They also engage in ideological struggles taking place *within* movements to amplify more radical tendencies.

As Luis Tapia argues, movements have the potential to act in every arena of social life.[17] In addition to mobilizing and organizing people and resources and transforming political systems, institutions, and forms of social organization, they also produce knowledge and shape culture and subjectivity. This has been amply theorized by intellectuals organic to socialist, anticolonial, and liberation movements, including those successful in taking state power, who have argued that collective projects of social transformation must also transform culture and produce new types of subjects.[18] Scholars have also shown how movements produce counterhegemonic knowledges and epistemologies, including alternative ways of conceiving of territory, nature, production, and justice.[19] For Suely Rolnik and Félix Guattari, antisystemic movements enable dominated groups to reappropriate the production of subjectivity by developing their own values and practical and theoretical referents beyond those imposed by dominant capitalist cultures.[20]

The multifaceted agency of movements challenges the distinctions between culture and politics that liberal ideology upholds.[21] As Tapia writes,

they "displace politics from its institutionalized spaces [within liberal states] and politicize social sites that had been depoliticized and, as such, legitimated in their function for organizing inequalities."[22] In so doing, movements often make political culture—that is, the practical knowledge and norms that shape how political processes are understood—an explicit grounds of contestation.[23]

Radical movements reveal elements of the "other possible world" to which the EZLN's revolutionary discourse refers—that is, of a "new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant."[24] Arguing against messianic and programmatic conceptions of social transformation, Raúl Zibechi insists that this "other possible world" is not a "program to be realized"; rather, it is *already* being built in the interstices of the dominant capitalist order. For Zibechi, antisystemic movements are bearers of a "real and possible new world" that is "woven into the base of new social relations" these movements organize, and our task, then, is to defend, strengthen, affirm, and expand it.[25]

This world-in-the-making is largely invisible within the aesthetic-ideological coordinates the dominant social order imposes. That is, it is *aesthetically* rendered invisible, impossible, or forever deferred. Aesthetic practices aligned with movements can work to affirm and defend this other world by producing conditions that allow others to perceive it *as a real world*. This is, of course, precisely what hegemonic aesthetic practices do for dominant capitalist and colonial social orders: they make these seem natural, desirable, or, at least, like the only possible, or even imaginable, reality.

To capture the sense in which the entire experienced lifeworlds of subjects are shaped to naturalize colonial-capitalist social orders, Eduardo Galeano uses the extended metaphor of a "looking-glass world," evoking Lewis Carroll's novel as well as Marx and Engels's metaphor of the camera obscura of ideology. In this "looking-glass world," Galeano writes, where "price determines the value of things, of people, and of countries," "model citizens live reality as fatality."[26] In order to contend with this foreclosure of alternatives, counterhegemonic aesthetic practices create perceptual-epistemological openings that make it possible to perceive another reality whose very existence is obscured within dominant ideology. This does not mean that one's worldview can be entirely transformed all at once. Nor does it mean that such transformation can be an individual endeavor or one confined to the realm of ideas. On the contrary, Galeano's metaphors of a looking-glass school and its counterschool fittingly represent the composition and re-composition of

people's perceptions and understanding of reality as a collective and ongoing process that is grounded in material practice.

THE FOURTH WORLD WAR

The artists and writers addressed in this book were all born in the late 1960s or 1970s, and they became involved in art-making and grassroots politics in the late 1980s or 1990s. They are keenly aware of their generational formation as Leftists who came of age in the midst of antisystemic movements that differ significantly (in their theories, forms of organization, and social action) from the national revolutionary and liberationist movements of the 1960s and 1970s that were the experiential touchstones for their older kin, as well as an inspirational reference point for the artists themselves. Ilich spoke about this in one of my interviews with him, saying:

> My generation is the generation of rupture. My generation wanted international socialism; we had to make do with Zapatismo. It's a different thing, no? We wanted the romantic moment with Che's guerrilla, and Lenin, and later the state, production, space travel, socialism, the distribution of wealth in social forms, socialization of life, recreation, healthy food, electricity for everyone. And the Zapatista Indians brought another thing, which are ideas of autonomy, diversity, organization, right? They are against the state, so they absolutely changed our paradigm. Fortunately, I feel like I adapted to these times.[27]

Similarly, artists from Etcétera . . . describe themselves as belonging to a generation that is a "hinge"[28] between the world-historical conjuncture of the 1960s and early 1970s, in which revolutionary socialism was the horizon for antisystemic movements across Latin America, and the 1990s, when neoliberal capitalism was globally hegemonic, the institutional Left was liberal-reformist, and radical Left movements were not, generally speaking, immediately oriented toward taking state power. As a *hinge,* they connect the ideals of movements of their parents' generation to those in which they are involved, while contending with the transformation of antisystemic politics that has occurred in the intervening years.

The rupture in Left politics their generation straddles was accomplished through a ruling-class counteroffensive against labor and the Left, which I describe later. For the artists I write about, this is an unavoidable history, and, indeed, the political import of *how* it is historicized is of central concern to the Chilean and Argentine artists of Etcétera . . . and Grupo de Arte

Callejero. Their work demonstrates that an engagement with this history need not operate in melancholic or cynical modalities that fixate on the Left's defeat or claim that its youthful adventurism brought this about,[29] nor through idioms of nostalgia or funereal memorialization, which also bury radical politics in an inaccessible past. While readily learning from the histories that preceded them, these artists emphasize the vitality and urgency of Left movements in the present and demonstrate their full assumption of their own potential to make history in circumstances they did not choose.

These artists have honed the arts of rebellion within the world-historical context of the Fourth World War. This is the name the Zapatistas have given to the contemporary war of accumulation globalized capital is waging against "all of humanity, against the entire planet,"[30] in which "everything which opposes the logic of the market, . . . everything that prevents a human being from turning into a producing and purchasing machine is an enemy, and it must be destroyed."[31] While the accumulation of capital has denoted social warfare from its beginnings, the "Fourth World War" specifically refers to the form this has taken since the late twentieth century, in the context of globalization and globally hegemonic neoliberalism, as capitalist classes have managed to go further than ever before in "tearing down all nonmarket structures that have in the past placed limits on the accumulation—and the dictatorship—of capital."[32]

In the Zapatistas' periodization, the Fourth World War follows the Third. The "Third World War" refers to the period otherwise known as the Cold War (1945–90), during which time covert wars and wars of "intervention" waged in the Third World by the global superpowers and their surrogates killed an estimated 21 million persons and rendered more than a hundred million others refugees.[33] The inauguration of the Fourth World War in the 1990s indexes the end of the age of "three worlds," when First World Keynesian capitalism, Second World socialism, and Third World decolonization and capitalist developmentalism coexisted, and refers to the contemporary period of capitalist globalization in which "every country and much of humanity [is integrated] into a new globalized system of production, finance, and services."[34] As "globalization" refers to the spread of capitalist production relations around the world and the concomitant destruction of other forms of social organization, it is a continuation of the process that began with European colonialism and the consolidation of the capitalist world-system in the fifteenth century.[35] But "globalization" also refers to a transformation of global capitalism that began in the 1970s. Its salient feature is the

globalization of production processes, which has been enabled by neoliberal restructuring.[36]

Globalization and neoliberal restructuring constituted a counterrevolution led by the capitalist class and its political representatives and ideologues.[37] Coming in the wake of the World Revolution of 1968 and a structural crisis of accumulation, globalization was a means for capital to "break free of the class compromises and concessions" that the working and popular classes had won through decades of struggle, as well as to overcome limits nation-state–based corporate capitalism had placed on accumulation.[38] This reorganization of the accumulation process operated through the imposition of neoliberal social and economic policies on societies throughout the world.[39] These include social austerity, economic deregulation, trade liberalization, cuts to public employment and services, regressive taxation, and the privatization of commonly held social goods.[40] Neoliberalization has subordinated national economies to global economies and has opened up new territories for capitalist profiteering (i.e., outlets for excess accumulated capital).[41] It has also given capital more power to exploit and discipline labor, including through the latter's deregulation and flexibilization.[42] Neoliberalization has transformed capitalist social welfare states into states that more aggressively subordinate the needs of the working class to the demands of capitalist accumulation, while relying ever more regularly on coercive means to ensure obedience to this order.[43] While neoliberal policies are often a more ready target of critique than the capitalist system itself, it is imperative to remember that, as Samir Amin writes, "the savage neoliberal offensive only reveals the true face of capitalism and imperialism."[44]

The transformation of global capitalism since the 1970s has entailed a new round of primitive accumulation, entailing the expansion of capitalist social relations into formerly noncapitalist strata and the concomitant annihilation of the latter's forms of production and social organization, and the separation of millions of people from the means of production.[45] As theorized in Marxist thought, primitive accumulation is a permanent feature of capitalist accumulation and class war that grows from capital's constant need to form new markets and re-create labor supplies.[46] The expansion of capitalist relations operates both extensively and intensively, spreading into new territories and commodifying ever more aspects of social and biological life. It regularly operates through colonial conquest and plundering, war, dispossession, proletarianization and pauperization, and the transfer into private ownership of means of production that had been held in common, including the productive powers of the natural world.[47] While the Midnight Notes

Collective influentially theorized the latest round of intensified primitive accumulation that has occurred around the world since the 1970s as the "new enclosures," in reference to the process of enclosure that occurred in England in the late 1400s that helped give birth to capitalism, spokespersons for the EZLN use the vocabulary of "war" and "conquest" to theorize this phenomenon, thereby underscoring colonialism's foundational and ongoing role in capitalist accumulation.[48]

Latin America has been described as a "laboratory for neoliberal policies,"[49] in reference to their early and experimental imposition in the region. The process of neoliberalization was launched in the Southern Cone (Chile, Argentina, Uruguay) in the 1970s by civil-military dictatorships backed by national and transnational capitalist classes and the U.S. state apparatus.[50] These regimes used authoritarian governance and terrorism, including an internationally coordinated political assassination program (Operation Condor), to create political conditions that allowed them to impose anti-worker policies and attempt to eradicate socialist and communist ideologies and organizations of social solidarity.[51] This violent counterrevolution was also a reaction to the post–World War II advance of the Left across Latin America, which included the triumph of the Cuban Revolution (1959), the spread of Left guerrilla movements, and the rise of a socialist government in Chile (1970–73) and of Left-leaning nationalist governments elsewhere.[52] As Right-wing, pro-capital dictatorships took power across the region, they overthrew these governments through military coups, decimated the armed Left, and attacked workers' movements.

The United States' ruling class and state managers abetted these attacks on labor, the Left, and democratic institutions, and aided in the authoritarian imposition of neoliberal policies across Latin America and other parts of the Third World.[53] Their imposition of neoliberalism within the United States involved a greater "construction of political consent" via a powerful ideological crusade and the capture of political parties.[54] Yet it also entailed union-busting, strike-breaking, and intensification of the state's "domestic war-making," including the "secret, systematic, and sometimes savage use of force and fraud, by all levels of government, to sabotage progressive political activity."[55] The massive expansion of the Unites States' "industrialized punishment system," which made it the largest incarcerator in the world, was also a constitutive feature of neoliberal social and economic restructuring, serving multiple functions: to discipline labor and neutralize potentially rebellious persons who had been expelled from formal labor markets by restructuring, and also as a site of capitalist profiteering in itself (i.e., an outlet for excess accumulated capital).[56]

In the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the neoliberalization process launched by dictatorships in Latin America was legitimized by the constitutional and nominally "democratic" regimes that succeeded them, whose "form of elite rule performs the function of legitimating existing inequalities . . . more effectively than authoritarianism" by offering a simulacrum of democratic participation in the form of tightly controlled elections.[57] While the 1980s saw an upsurge of Left movements in Central America, by the 1990s, following the defeat of the Sandinistas, neoliberal hegemony had spread across the Americas.[58]

While the U.S. state promoted neoliberalization and globalization across the hemisphere through economic coercion, propaganda, and military force, this should not be understood simply as a matter of its national ruling class promoting its imperial interests. Rather, as William Robinson argues, the U.S. state apparatus acts on behalf of the interests of a *transnational* capitalist class and uses its power to defend, expand, and stabilize the global capitalist system.[59] The underlying thrust of Robinson's argument is that a nation-state–based understanding of sociospatial relations obscures the dynamics of class struggle since globalization. He argues that the international division of labor that was created by modern colonialism has been reconfigured by the "transnational disbursal of the full range of world production processes" and the unprecedented transnational mobility of workers and the formation of a truly global labor pool.[60] A materialist analysis of how "groups exercise social power—through institutions—to control value production, to appropriate surpluses, and to reproduce these arrangements" reveals that global society has become "increasingly stratified less along national and territorial lines than along transnational social and class lines."[61] This is evident, for example, in the presence of conditions associated with peripheral social formations within the territory of core countries, including the United States, as well as capital's increasing use of immigrant labor pools and of the citizen/noncitizen divide to organize inequality and exploitation *within* a given state's territory.[62]

A transnational "*social* cartography"[63] not formatted by the sociospatial imaginary of the nation-state also brings into view the transnational contours of antisystemic struggles of recent decades. Michael Denning provides such a map in his historicization of the global antisystemic tendency that emerged in the 1970s. This antiglobalization movement (or movement of movements) has been constituted by heterogenous forms of struggle from below, from popular uprisings to organized movements and new forms of labor militancy.[64]

Latin America has been an epicenter of this antisystemic movement. Its status as a "laboratory for neoliberalism" also reflects the fierce resistance