

★ In recent months, the secretary of the environment issued a statement stating that the brewery wouldn't affect water availability in the region. Obviously untrue, this pronouncement was the latest in a long string of political fabrications. Hundreds of people responded in protest on January 25th of this year. At this protest, a poster read: "The secretary of the environment is a moron who believes in the irrational logic of unlimited growth." [boycottconstellation-brands.org](#)

On the Ground:  
February 8th: A silence bellas Rudolph Hall regarding Trump's proposed mandate to "Make Federal Buildings Beautiful Again". Is this silence indicative that students have grown significantly out of touch with politics? Are we so gaslit that we just can't imagine this isn't fake news? ...Or an indication of a growing appreciation for the neo-gothic? (Quick reminder that the classical studio was an overwhelming favorite at this semester's advanced studio lottery). Given our president's "taste," we'll be on the lookout for mid-term models to plastered in gold leaf, or hastily contoured with Cheeto dust.

February 11th: Third-years on travel week receive an email about an upcoming presentation on "Student Loan Repayment Strategies". Suddenly, the "free" trip to Amsterdam feels a little less special.

February 12th: Overheard in the fourth-floor kitchen: "How many co-living advance studio students does it take to clean a microwave?"

February 13th: Second-years release the tension from their travel-week FOMO with an EXTRA-loud game of badminton in an eerily vacant fourth-floor pit.

February 14th: A third of the student body's Instagram stories saturate with photos from Johannesburg, Paris and Rome, while another third features captions about romantic Valentine's dates with their BP groups.

February 18th: Students in the Copenhagen studio are heard complaining about a week of cold and rain while the Mexico City and Brazil studios compare their studios.

February 19th: A group of students from the Copenhagen studio are heard complaining about a week of cold and rain while the Mexico City and Brazil studios compare their studios.

February 20th: A group of students from the Copenhagen studio are heard complaining about a week of cold and rain while the Mexico City and Brazil studios compare their studios.

February 21st: A group of students from the Copenhagen studio are heard complaining about a week of cold and rain while the Mexico City and Brazil studios compare their studios.

The Dean's List:  
Rocks and Minerals

Welcome to the Dean's List: your weekly destination for Deborah Berke's most on-topic, off the beaten path rankings.

Penthouse: Slate  
7th Floor: Limestone  
6th Floor: Chalk  
5th Floor: Moon rocks  
4th Floor: Beach Rocks  
Basement: Granite (Note: only as large outcroppings, not so much as counters)  
Sub-basement: Marble

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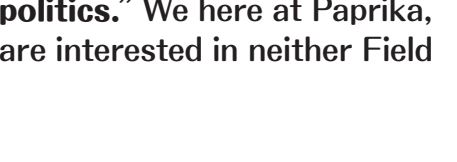
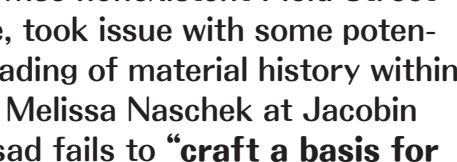
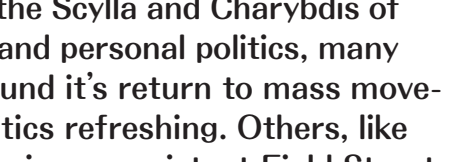
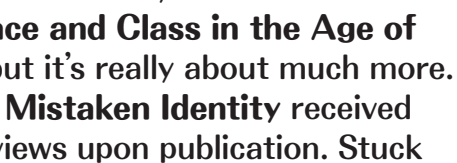
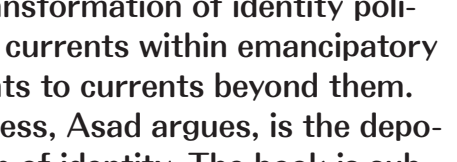
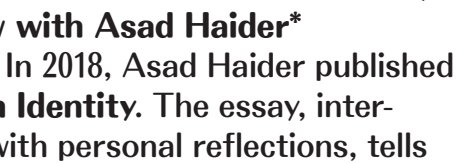
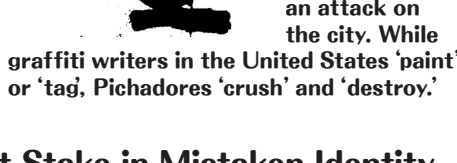
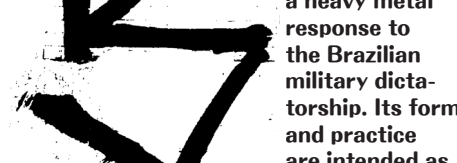
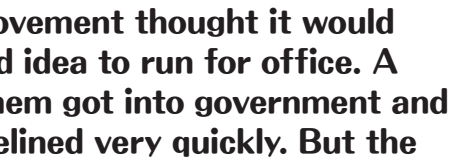
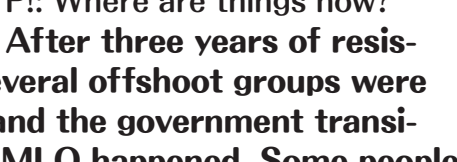
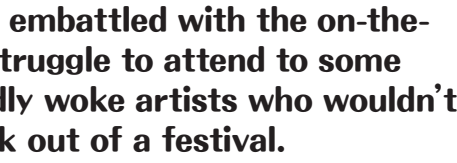
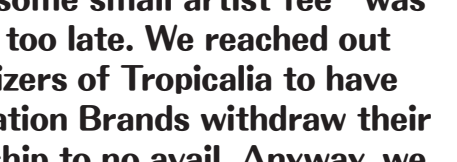
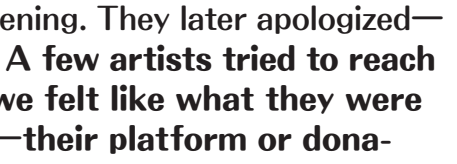
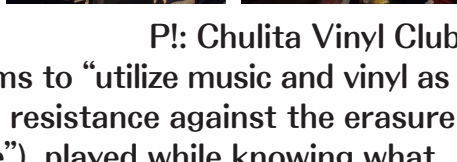
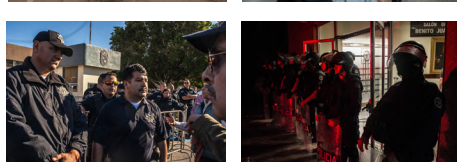
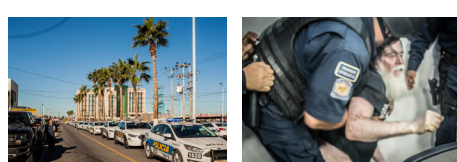
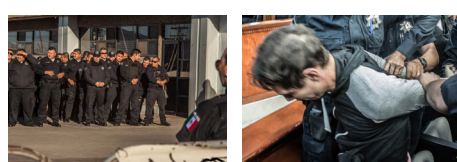
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was an Los Angeles Instagram account, that posted about the boycott of Constellation Brands and the work of Mexicali Resiste. They started tagging this music festival, Tropicalia, which was sponsored by Constellation Brands, and asking artists not to play.



Street's theological Marxism nor Naschek's socialism. We're interested in currently emergent social struggles that sketch out ways of living and organizing towards total social transformation.

Writing about race in his article **The Limit Point of Capitalist Equality**, Chris Chen states "much anti-racist analysis and practice continues to treat 'race' as a noun, as a property or attribute of identities or groups, rather than as a set of ascriptive processes which impose fictive identities and subordinate racialized populations." Starting from a similar position, Asad goes a step further—that a struggle capable of overturning the miseries of the existent world must put forward its own set of processes that can organize everydayness into a method of political struggle. This process, he says, is one of "imagining the possibility of an alternate form of life."

Pl: It might be useful here to explain depoliticization.

The first way to talk about depoliticization is to contrast it to the common arguments that are based in a suspicion of marketing, arguing that capitalism is happy to commodify our identities. While this may be the case, this has to be situated within another argument—that the affective style that we associate with identity politics can be understood through what Spinoza called sad passions, affects which are results of our diminished capacity to act. When we are unable to act politically, we experience these sad passions. Many of the phenomena lumped under the title identity politics—whether policing each other's language or engaging in lengthy confessions of one's own privilege—must be understood as part of a process of depoliticization.

The historical sense of depoliticization is the one in which the American mass movements against racism came to a close. There is this sequence running from the 50s to the 70s where mass movements are challenging a fundamental part of the American power structure. These movements achieved certain limited aims without effecting the total transformation of society that they had always aimed at. After this, what it means to act politically becomes unclear. This is an immediate condition for depoliticization, where the language of anticracism is no longer embedded in mass movements. Instead, that language is utilized by politicians whose aims ultimately run counter to the mass movements which made that politician's career possible.

There is a larger condition of depoliticization that's associated with the failure of the 20th century revolutions—that is, the failure of the state socialist societies to make a transition to a different form of life. The great events of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolutions didn't succeed in creating a society beyond capitalism, making that transformation unimaginable. It has become impossible to imagine an alternative to the existing forms of life. This is not a novel argument; we see it in the description of neoliberalism as an inevitability. The other aspect, though, is an inability to recognize in the present what has happened in other historical moments—that completely new forms of life were put on the table. But the end of those moments, the failure of these political sequences, does not invalidate the possibilities that they brought about.

In my view, we have to think in terms of organization and disorganization rather than in terms of consciousness, experience, or ideas. We have to think about particular forms of organization, and about how particular forms of organization can generate particular powers. When we are disorganized, and our power is limited, we're susceptible to the sad passions.

In terms of art, we can look at the poetry of Amiri Baraka and see the political aspects directly. At the same time, when we look at his writings on jazz, we see that he identifies a political character in it, even if no direct line can be drawn between the music and a certain political program. The political character is brought out in the new possibilities that jazz generated.

Identity takes phenomena that have social and structural causes and turns them into attributes of our selves. To treat race as an identity is to invert this causality—to take one's attributes and, from there, relate them to the social structure. But it works first the other way around—identity is an effect of the social structure. So it's possible to have art that unravels the idea that identity is the original cause of my experience.

Pl: It can be said, though, that identity can describe a set of real conditions, conditions that often affect the organization of space within a city.

We can't assume that identity is the most useful term to describe the way groups of people are determined by the physical orientation of space or the history of neighborhoods and so on. If we see a politics that's centered on the life of a neighborhood, is this best explained in terms of identity? I think that's only a partial answer.

It is true, however, that we can't get away from identities and their real effects in our relations. There's always lived experience, even if lived experience can't totally and sufficiently describe social phenomena or our own ability to act. So we will always see in politics different representations of senses, of particular consciousnesses and attributes that individuate us.

Part of what I have been suggesting, though, is that we need to understand those as being logically secondary to the question of the organization of powers. If it is possible to assert an identity in politics that is oppositional, that challenges the existing state of things, then that can't be understood as an inherent quality of a certain identity or of identity in general. Rather, we should look for organization that makes it possible to challenge what exists. On that basis, particular experiences and consciousnesses may arise that represent these powers, but they aren't causes.

We make a mistake when we take them as causes. If we are speaking about, for example, resistance to gentrification, we can also conceive of identity being deployed in the service of gentrification. So how is it that an identity can be oppositional, rather than just a means of marketing? That question takes us to organization. And I don't mean organizations specifically, but the broader question of how the relations between us form patterns that augment, rather than diminish, our capacity to act. We can have ways of relating to each other that make us more capable of acting politically, and certain ways of relating that diminish this capacity. I'm describing this difference as that between organization and disorganization.

In the history of emancipatory politics, one of the most noteworthy forms is that of the party. To look back now and say that the party was always a flawed form is to fail to appreciate it as a specific adaptation to a specific historical moment. We are beyond those moments—the party is no longer an adequate organizational form. But we can't use the obsolescence of the party-form to dismiss the whole question of organization. The fact that we haven't been able to conceive organizational forms appropriate to our historical moment has locked us into a depoliticized cycle, a cycle that includes the current back and forth of identity politics.

1 Translator's note

Enrascero means to make "raro." Raro means rare, in the sense of scarce, but also in the sense of strange, unorthodox, weird. Homosexuals are often called raros in that later sense. I believe that a translation to weird or strange is closer than rare to what the author intends to express.

A possible translation may be "Rarifying space", but I understand rarely with connotations of straining social relations or physically making air thin, which I believe is not what the author intends to say.

Strange instead of weird is another option, but I understand strange as related to stranger, of an uncertain other to be fearful of, which might not serve the intention of the author.

To me, weird has a more festive connotation, of something that is undeniably different, but not always menacing. The wording in the title should be an editorial decision in my opinion, concerning the tone that the publication wants to have.

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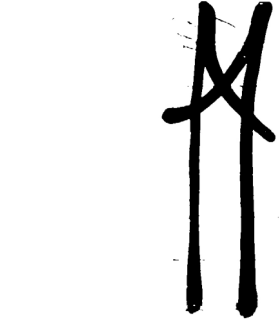
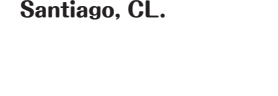
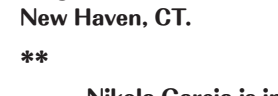
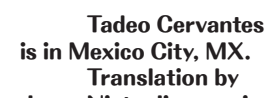
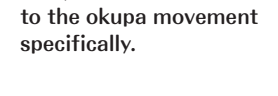
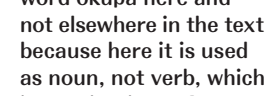
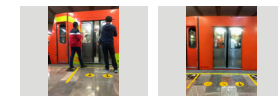
We understand the cuir as a reappropriation and decolonization of queer theory from the global south. Also, as a political twist that keeps in check white, heterosexual, citizen and capitalist logics. As a "broken" and "incorrect" translation of the word queer.

3

The original word (marica) refers pejoratively to homosexuals and queer people in general, but has been appropriated by the queer community in Mexico, and I believe "fag" had a similar trajectory. Also used in footnote 4.

4

In the last car of the Mexico City subway trains there are sexual encounters between homosexuals, heterosexual men that have sex with men, trans women, and fags.



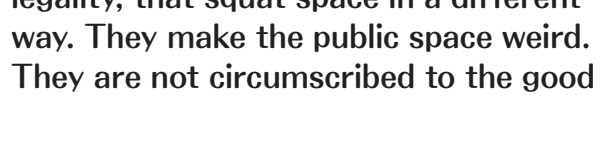
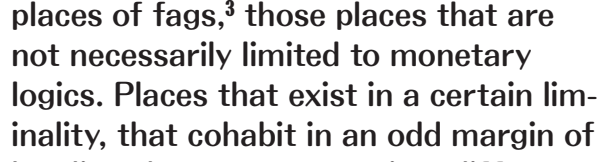
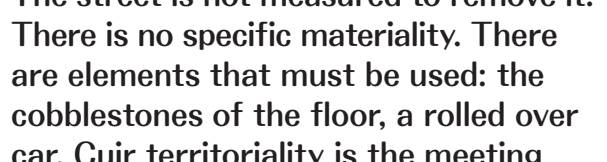
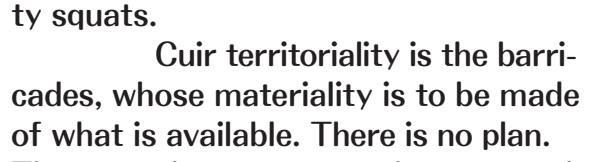
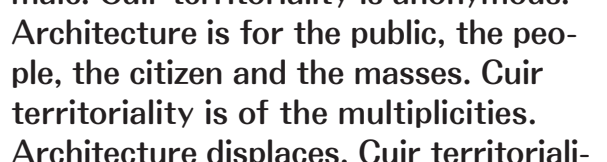
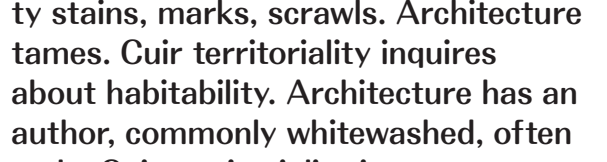
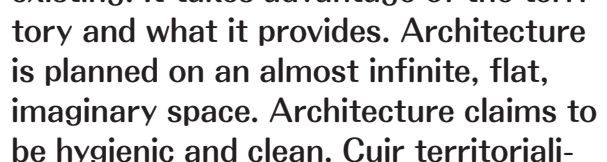
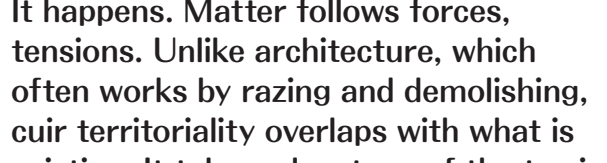
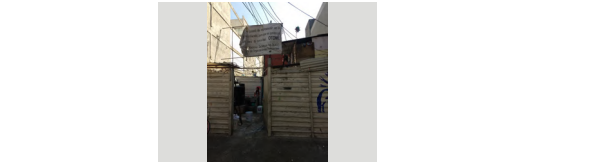
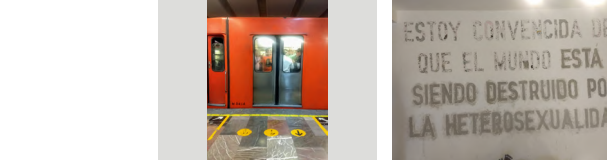
This issue of Paprika! takes issue with identity. Gathering contributions from people across the Americas, we draw a constellation of struggles, media, & intellectual projects that reject identity as a set of stable categories.

**Making space weird!<sup>1</sup>, some notes on a cuir<sup>2</sup> territoriality Tadeo Cervantes\***

We understand the city as a political formation, that has as its goal the production of the citizen as subject, the sanitization of space and the social, of stopping revolts, it is a great factory of capital re-production. Extending from that premise we ask the following: what territorial gestures arise from subjectivities that are considered political and social problems, as things that dirty or damage space? What forms of habitability can be generated as resistance to the metropolis? This text is some notes on a cuir territoriality.

First, I will begin by describing how the modes of operation of architecture and urbanism are different from a cuir territoriality. This is not intended to generate opposing poles. Evidently, there are mixtures, interconnections, flows, contaminations, tensions between one way of inhabiting space and the other. This distinction aids us simply as a model for explanation that attempts to demonstrate another way of living the territory that is not authored by architects and urbanists.

Architecture measures to occupy a territory. Its logic of operation is translated into centimeters, inches, meters and yards. It draws imaginary lines that will shape matter; that is, matter follows the figure. It pretends to be grandiloquent and gestural, beautiful, transcendent. It institutes. A cuir territoriality does not measure space. It irrupts more than it institutes. It does not have pretensions of beauty.



gay citizen. They are the cruising spots. They are, for example, the last car in the Mexico City subway.<sup>4</sup> It is the graffiti that claims a space. That tags it. That writes in a wall in Oaxaca "nos quieren obligar a gobernar, no vamos a caer en esa provocación" (they want to make us govern, we will not fall for that trap). Cuir territoriality are the *okupas*<sup>5</sup> (squatters) and the communities that have claimed a territory. That propose another way of inhabiting. It is the crack in the wall. It is the hole in the jail. It is the other possible world.



These articles stake out a position for liberatory struggles concerned with identity (those that understand the present "stakes"), suggesting a positive position distinct from uses of identity that reproduce existing social relationships ("the mistakes").

**A thousand hands built these walls Nikola Garcia\*\***

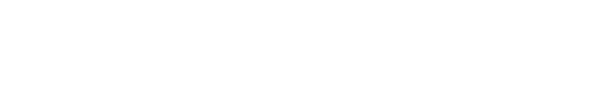
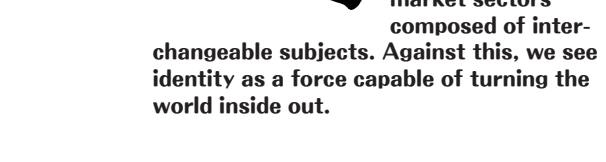
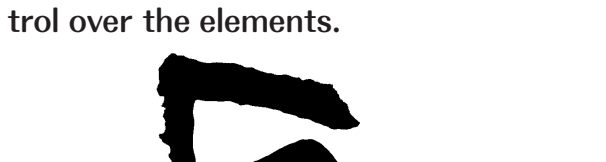
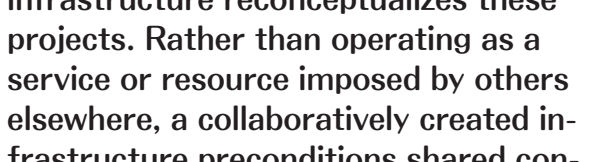
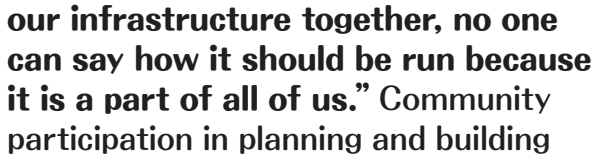
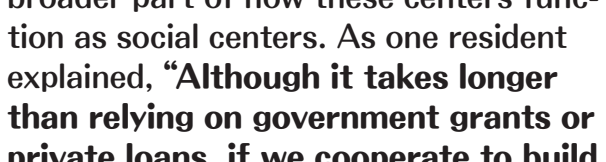
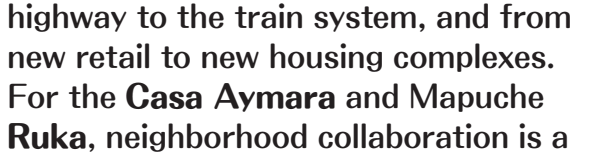
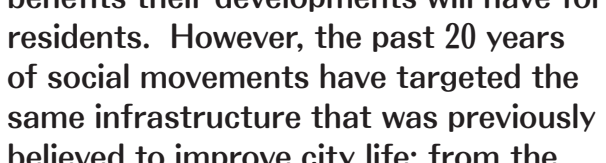
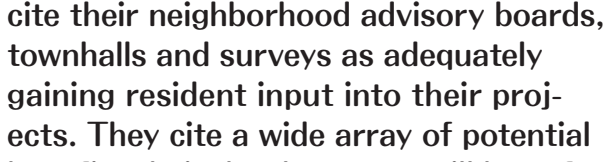
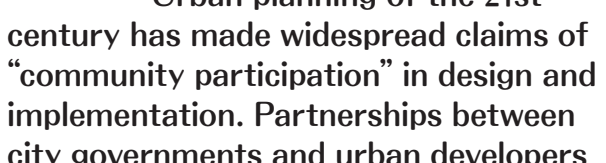
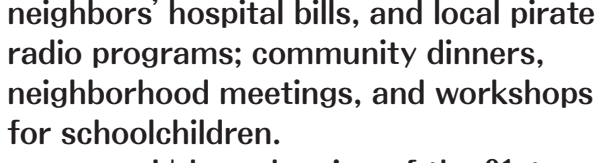
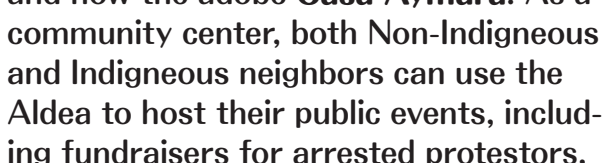
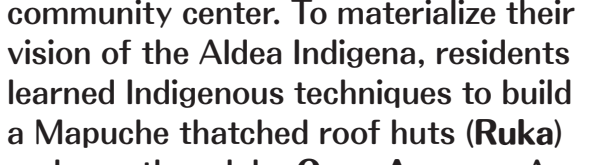
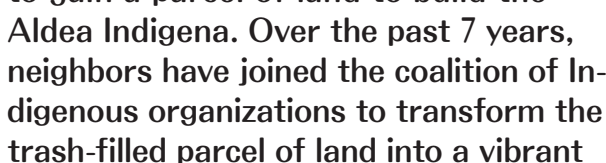
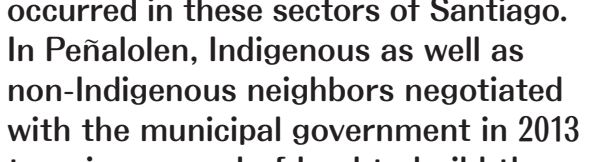
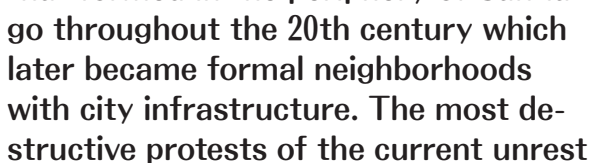
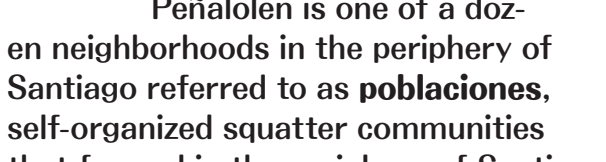
On October 19, 2019, a metro fare evasion movement in Santiago de Chile to reverse a fare hike escalated into a national uprising against an economic system that rendered life untenable. Protesters set metro stations, banks, pharmacies, and supermarkets ablaze. The government's repression of this uprising, by bringing the military into the streets and suspending civil liberties for the first time since the Pinochet Dictatorship (1973-1990), led to a crisis of legitimacy of the entire post-dictatorship political order. In November 2019, the ruling party and its opposition agreed to hold a referendum in April 2020 to decide if the country will write a new constitution.

I moved to Santiago the first week of October, 2019 to conduct my dissertation fieldwork. While protests continued daily, I continued to spend time in the Aldea Indígena (Indigenous village) in Peñalolen, run by the Rapa Nui, Mapuche, and Aymara residents of the neighborhood. The Aldea is a plaza surrounded by community centers built with Indigenous architectural designs, gardens with native trees, and ceremonial structures. In June 2018, neighbors started construction on the Casa Aymara, the adobe social center to host events for the neighborhood's Aymaran community. Explaining the root causes for the ongoing unrest, one participant explained:

"Do you know why protestors attacked the metro station down the street? The station was built here to bring the metro into the neighborhood, but no one had any role in building it. Everyone sees it as something ajeno (foreign), it's not a part of the people. Even the art in the metro is big, imposing, and sterile. The government just says, 'Artist! Make this art piece for the metro!' Imagine if they asked the neighborhood to work together to paint the walls of the metro and everyone worked together to paint the neighborhood's history, like all the other murals people have made in the neighborhood. Government officials claim to not understand how protestors could set fire to the metro station. The mayor recently said in an interview, 'Why would residents destroy their own metro station? It serves the community, increases their connectivity, and makes their lives easier.' But these city officials don't understand how the metro controls our lives, but we don't control the metro. We didn't decide how it was built, its hours of operation, or its fare."

Unlike the metro, one neighbor explained that because over a hundred neighbors have contributed to building the cultural center, they also have the power to decide how the cultural center is run. Rather than soliciting municipal funds and therefore municipal involvement in the construction plans, the neighbors incorporate recycled and natural materials, which they continue to collect as construction advances on

the 1100 square ft. Casa Aymara. They based their design on the centuries old **Quincha** method: building a structure with a wood frame covered with adobe. Instead of the traditional reed insulation, the neighbors opted to use the refuse collected from around the neighborhood by filling plastic soda bottles with discarded candy wrappers and plastic bags. They sifted dirt from the parcel to get the fine-ground clay needed for adobe, which they adhered to chain link fence used for the walls' surfaces. **Quincha** constructions are low cost yet incredibly labor intensive. The **Casa Aymara** needs dozens of neighbors committed to the project, spending additional time and effort to gather discarded materials.



While capitalism attempts to flatten heterogeneous experiences into market sectors composed of interchangeable subjects. Against this, we see identity as a force capable of turning the world inside out.



1 The Sogorea Te' Land Trust Statement of Purpose:

Sogorea Te is an urban Indigenous women-led land trust based in the SF Bay Area that returns indigenous land to Indigenous people. Through the practices of reparation, cultural revitalization, and land restoration, Sogorea Te' calls on native and non-native peoples to heal and transform legacies of colonization, genocide, and patriarchy and to do the work our ancestors and future generations are calling us to do.

2 A parcel of UC Berkeley Land reclaimed from the university by community members, evicted twice, but a more or less continuous urban land occupation from 2010 to the present.

3 Pan-african agroecology organization.

\* More information about the Sogorea Te' Land Trust can be found at Sogoreate-landtrust.com. If you are considering moving to the SF Bay Area after graduation, consider participating in the Shuumi Land Tax, information about which can be found on their website.



Identity is a starting point for seeing and attacking the material and social forces flattening the differences between us into an "equality" that can be meted out or rescinded by judges, politicians, and the police.

### Indigenizing the SF Bay Area

The Sogorea Te' Land Trust<sup>1</sup> works to indigenize land within the existing urban fabric. The city now known as Oakland, CA, was once the Ohlone village of Huichin. The land trust tends a number of sites across Huichin, providing social space, garden space for both food and medicinal plants, and ceremonial space for the intertribal community.

The Ohlone people's lack of federal recognition was explicitly predicated on the value of land in the bay area. Were the Ohlone people given sovereignty over their ancestral lands, valuable real estate wouldn't be available for settler development. This historical dispossession echoes into the present day, when property speculation has led to massive displacement of long-term residents from across Huichin. The Sogorea Te' Land Trust represents only the latest incarnation of an unbroken lineage of resistance to exclusionary land speculation.

On a rainy day in January, we interviewed Nazshonii Brown of the Sogorea Te' Land Trust. She provided insight into their organization, work, and vision of land reparation.

**Nazshonii Brown\*:** I'm originally from the Navajo nation, but I grew up in Oakland, what we call Huichin, and that's all I've known as home. In our intertribal community, we're part of a learning process to get to know this land and its history.

We're a woman-led organization because the societies that we come from are matrilineal. Native communities value the knowledge that women have to offer and we want to honor the ways that tradition have taught us. Naturally, there are also men involved in our organization. And our decision-making is done together, without one person held above another. But we go to Corrina and Janella (Ohlone founders of the Sogorea Te' Land Trust) for counsel and wisdom for our work.

Being an urban native, you're always balancing between what's sacred and what's necessary for survival. So we use modern means to acquire land because we have to. Official public spaces like the parks throughout Oakland, people were killed and displaced to allow those to exist. Some people, maybe people who don't have homes or maybe people who want to do their ceremonies and continue their traditions, don't feel comfortable in the city's public spaces. Our spaces balance a need for cultural survival while providing a welcoming space in the city. In the urban space, even though we don't have federal recognition, even though we aren't able to take back the land forcefully, we want to create public spaces where people that don't feel comfortable elsewhere can be all right.

Pl: Can you talk some about the land you maintain and how you consider your relationship to it?

We have a site in East Oakland where we plant food and medicine in collaboration with a group called Planting Justice. We have another site on the Gill Tract<sup>2</sup> alongside the Black Earth Farmers<sup>3</sup> and other community members, and we're working on building a ceremonial space there. We also have a long-term lease on another parcel of land in West Oakland; this parcel doesn't host a ceremonial space and is focused on providing access to food and medicine for people, especially younger people, in the neighborhood. We don't consider the

sites as property. We don't have power over the land, the land has power over us—we go back to the land when we die. We can't own the land, the water, or the air.

Pl: Your work is inspiring to us in how you connect to others working locally, nationally, and across the world. Can you describe those connections?

Within native communities, we have an intertribal identity. Many indigenous people were forcibly relocated or moved fleeing terror. Indigenous culture wasn't transmitted because of abuse and oppression through institutions like BIA boarding schools. So there's a strong connection to culture, often through a person's own tribe, but also often through a wider intertribal identity. This allows people to identify with their nativeness even if their connection to their culture had been taken away from them and their families.

Within the city, we make sure that we include non-native people in healing this trauma. And other people of color also have a part in this healing while having the opportunity to heal as well. When we consider our sites, we consider people who have been displaced recently and displaced historically, especially with recent increases in homelessness and food insecurity. We have a responsibility to these people in the process of returning the land to the way it was.

All of us are very involved in raising awareness and being there physically to support struggles to defend sacred sites. Recently, we've done a lot of work related to opposing the development on Mauna Kea. We've had demonstrations and events across the bay area. We also acknowledge Mauna Kea and several other struggles going on when we offer prayers. Three people from our organization went to Standing Rock to offer prayer and provide EMT services. Two of us recently traveled to support and connect with an all-women's indigenous village in Chiapas, Mexico. We also get a lot of questions about how we run our organization from other women-led or indigenous organizations so make a lot of connections across cultures that way as well.

Pl: The conception might exist that indigenous land is something outside the city, in some wilderness area or pastoral landscape. The land trust works in urban areas. Why?

We're in these urban areas because, before they were urban areas, these were the village sites. These are the places the Ohlone ancestors lived, not out in the wilderness somewhere. Beyond that essential fact, we also work in urban areas because visibility is important for indigenous peoples, especially those that lack federal recognition. If we're seen as invisible, our problems don't exist. So visibility is a big issue for us. Since we don't have federal recognition, we raise awareness of our existence through our work and the connections it creates.

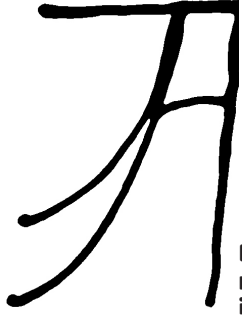
Pl: The Sogorea Te' Land Trust has put forward an idea of a Shuumi Land Tax, a voluntary contribution by non-indigenous people living on traditional Chochoeny and Karkin Ohlone territory, a practice that seems comparable to reparations. The land trust describes it as a "strategy for raising the capital required to buy back stolen Indigenous lands." Can you discuss the success of this practice?

Shuumi means gift, a voluntary contribution to allow us to continue our work on indigenizing the land. We have a variety of organization involved. There are a number of synagogues, for instance, that have committed to 100% member support for our work. We've had people from across the country whose grandchildren are going to school here and they donate on behalf of their grandchildren. Information has traveled

largely through word of mouth and Shuumi has increased the general visibility of our work.

Pl: What are some goals that the Land Trust is working towards?

We want to establish a cultural center where people can learn about the land and its people. We want to support a fulltime historian to gather stories and practices to ensure cultural survival and transmission. And we want to provide housing to people in our organization, our supporters, and to people who are at risk of being displaced by development. Land, cultural spaces, and housing are essential to our project of sovereignty. ★



Escaping the poverty of capitalist conceptions of identity, we use it as a starting point to describe new forms of life within, against, and beyond the city.

### Pour Vida? No Thanks My Cup Is Full Mayra Mundo\*\*

Boyle Heights is a working-class and low-income Latino immigrant neighborhood. It sits east of Downtown LA, but west of East LA, and is divided by the LA river. In the summer of 2016, Boyle Heights Alliance Against Art-washing and Displacement (BHAAAD), an anti-gentrification coalition was protesting gentrifying businesses like galleries and coffee shops— "Investments in the community" driven by real estate development.

BHAAAD worked to find *chisme* (gossip) that implicated certain businesses and galleries in this gentrification by connecting them to real estate projects. This informal research was the force behind many of BHAAAD's victories in closing art galleries. In the summer of 2017, the group got *chisme* that *Vida*, a STARZ comedy drama, was going to be filming in the Boyle Heights neighborhood. By gathering *chisme*, BHAAAD found inflammatory details involving the creator of *Vida*, Tanya Saracho. Tanya, it was found, was represented by UTA, a gallery targeted by BHAAAD because it had opened in the Boyle Heights "gallery district" against the wishes of Boyle Heights residents.

BHAAAD posted about Tanya's association with UTA to their Instagram along with screenshots of Saracho's Pinterest mood boards for *Vida*. Saracho had "pinned" images of BHAAAD's public actions as well as its members' personal lives—heated demonstrations outside of a hipster transplant coffee shop, a member on a megaphone with "Fuck White Art" tagged behind her, another member DJing a vinyl set at an unrelated BHAAAD event, public anti-gentrification community gatherings in Boyle Heights, banners and all. In time, these mood boards were appropriated frame by frame on *Vida*, turning these real lives and labor into fodder for a television network's cynical entertainment. Saracho re-authored the narrative of the anti-gentrification resistance. In true Hollywood fashion, she capitalized off the work and struggle of residents and activists in Boyle Heights for her and her boss' profit.



What does it mean to have "representation" in the media and what makes this representation authentic? In the narrow world of popular media, representation is applauded because it shows difference from whiteness. You could say BHAAAD had achieved representation on Saracho's *Vida*. This representation, though, didn't arouse pride. Instead, it was directly opposed to the work of the Boyle Heights community and BHAAAD to defend the neighbor-

hood from evictions and raids. To them, these identities are just an aesthetic that supports whiteness while claiming to subvert it.

In fact, what got "represented" are codes that are used to commodify the other, their behaviors, and the way they dress. These codes seduce the audience into thinking that they are viewing something different even though they're not. These visual codes of the *Vida* mood boards are recuperated forms of identity that make one latina interchangeable for any other for easy consumption on the screen. On Tanya Sarocha's mood boards, identity is reduced to a code used to simulate authenticity by actors who portray a mood, a fantastic idea of identity.

Far from the authenticity that shows like *Vida* claim, mood boards are tools that creatives use to visualize their next capitalist pursuit. Tools like ARE.NA are a way to visualize threads on threads of hoarded cultural capital stolen from real lives. These highbrow versions of scrapbooking are used everywhere—Balenciaga hoards references for its next FW collection, some anecdote stolen from the other that will become Yeezy's next color palette. A moodboard: where culture goes to die and get reanimated as capital.



While we are clearly opposed to identity practices without a wider liberatory vision, we equally loathe those who would say that there is a single correct position or way of organizing.

### Child of Resistance Yasmina Price\*\*\*

**Child of Resistance** (1972) is a cinematic hallucination, inspired by a personal dream of Ethiopian filmmaker Haile Gerima after he saw images of Angela Davis on trial. Gerima is part of the L.A. Rebellion, Black image-makers at UCLA in the 1970s. Their work was a militant, anti-colonial, Third Worldist project that was politically and aesthetically invested in liberation.

**Child of Resistance** deploys a spatial strategy to channel these ideological forces through different forms of containments. The film's central figure, an incarcerated Black woman (played by Barbara O. Jones, otherwise unnamed) moves through three different spaces. The first is the stark reality of her solitary jail cell. The smallest unit of the prison, it carries the force of a shorthand for the violent isolation and exclusion of the carceral complex. The system which bars incarcerated people from participation in the social world and political agency is of course the same system which withholds necessary social infrastructures and rigs the mechanisms of criminalization. The second space is an intensely artificial counter-type to the first: a surrealist stage that theatricalizes the film's political message. The third space, a long corridor, which might have seemed like a natural intermediary between the two, in fact leads nowhere. The corridor appears twice, a long stretch of unmarked grey walls with lurid orange fluorescent lights and a musical soundtrack mixed in with the sound of clinking chains. In a chilling sequence, shots of her running down the corridor start and stop on a loop, with no indication that she is progressing in her movements. It comes to stand in for the horror of systems which are engineered to be inescapable.

The film opens with a pan to a close-up of her face, followed by a shift to a point-of-view shot as she looks around the jail cell: a discarded shoe, a toilet, a derelict sink, a blank wall, the guard walking by. His uniform is accented with the colonial markers of tall boots and a pith helmet. He codes for the legalized practices of racism by the colonizer who went to the African continent and his inheritor in the enforcer of U.S. state brutality, be it prison guard

or police officer. Throughout the scenes in the jail cell, we hear the protagonist's inner monologue, which serves as a historical overview of entangled systems of oppression and repeated theoretical statements on their structural, self-perpetuating nature: "My people and me, Black men and women, prisoners of a long fight. I look at history: constant war. Since the day I was snatched, abducted from my mother's land, I've been prisoner of war." She makes the point that war tactics deployed in external territories serve the same function as the walls of the prison: they maintain the power of the state: "Keep you away from the reality of these walls. Historical walls [The Man] has surrounded you with."

The second location in **Child of Resistance** externalizes this inner monologue. Her work of re-telling history is made visible within a theatricalized space, physically placing her within a dense history of collective struggle. There are Black people dancing, chatting and drinking on a set arranged to look like a bar. As the camera pans across the bar, we see a Black nun having a drink, a Black man intently watching a blank television screen, a coat of arms with the U.S. flag, a white man in a top Hat and walking around on stilts also painted with the U.S. flag (the message is clear, the violence of the US state apparatus is also a cruel circus of pageantry). Finally, a close up of one of the patron's shoes reveals chains, which are around the ankles of every Black person in the bar. You wouldn't know if you didn't look in the right place, but everyone is imprisoned: as she says earlier, "I live my life between these walls. But who's not? That's the whole thing. Brothers and sisters out there running loose, they're chained too. Inside, outside, it makes no difference."

The theatrical procedures of this part of the film have an interpretative flexibility which serve the broader political project. The artificial elasticity and iconographic markers of this constructed space is used to collapse times and territories of subjection. Gerima's film schematizes the historical continuity of colonialism and capitalism, imbricated systems of racialized exploitation and resource extraction. **Child of Resistance** presents in miniature a way to think through these as spatial projects which operate through occupation and territorial fragmentation. The film scrambles chronology and the boundaries between interior dreamscape and exterior realities, suggesting also that the realities of coloniality, carcerality, white supremacy and the impossible catalogue of violence against Black peoples push against the limits of what can be represented. Narratively, the film ends with a prison break. However, the last visuals appear after the credit: walls marked with a quotation from George Jackson's **Soledad Brother**.<sup>4</sup> This is not a metaphorical reclaiming of the material violence incarnated in the walls of this film. The prison is still the prison and must be abolished, not reformed. However, these final images can be read as a reminder that even within dominant enclosures, it is possible to leave traces and perhaps even produce counter-space of survival. The walls of the prison carry words of the collective possibilities and imaginaries of liberation.



51% of border patrol agents identify as Hispanic or Latino.

### Mexicali Resiste\*\*\*\*

For the last three years, Mexicali Resiste has fought against the construction of a multimillion dollar brewery established by Constellation Brands. The struggle continues to this day in Mexicali.

**Mexicali Resiste:** The whole Mexicali Resiste movement grew organically but was also very convoluted. It started in January 2017 around the 'gasolinazo' when the federal government raised gas prices. Nationally, people began protesting the gas hikes. In Mexicali, citizens took over a gasoline distribution plant called La Rosita, the hub for gasoline in the region. It was very tense. As long as the plant was blocked, you had to go to the US to get gas. It brought the city to a standstill. January is always a crazy time in Mexico, because people brace for the government to issue some sort of crazy price increase. While La Rosita was being blocked, a motorcycle club occupied the state offices to protest some new motor vehicle taxes. Remember that Mexicali is the capital city for the State of Baja California, housing all federal, state and municipal government offices, so essentially the entire state was shut down.

There was a huge call for people to join both protests. Responding to this call, a bunch of farmworkers came to town with tractors to block the government halls. The farmworkers alerted everyone to the plans for Constellation Brands' massive brewery. The farmworkers said they barely have enough water for our crops but that this brewery's plans were going to affect way more people than just farmworkers. The license plate tax was eventually repealed but this was just the beginning of the fight against Constellation Brands.

Pl: There was definitely a lot of shady dealing around the deal Constellation Brands had made and a lot of the wells they were planning to get water from were publicly owned. But they also promised to bring something like 750 jobs to the region. How did people respond to that?

Mexicali resistance groups established research and communications committees and found out that another Constellation Brands brewery was set up in the state of Coahuila. The mayor in Coahuila had announced that Constellation Brands had stolen all the town's water. And the jobs didn't exist. In Coahuila, a large percentage of the tasks in their factory were automated, with GPS-operated forklifts and other machinery. They hired almost nobody from the region, stole the town's water, and shipped the beer to the United States. These brands are all sold on their Mexican-ness but are actually predatory of the people and the land there.

Pl: That's when the struggle in Mexicali started to take off?

That's when Mexicali Resiste came together. All kinds of people came together, suspended their everyday lives, spent their time monitoring and reporting on what Constellation Brands and the government were trying to do. There were also eviction threats and police oppression. People were blocking the physical construction of the plant, blocking container shipments to the building site. The most notorious clash with police forces occurred at Rancho Mena just days after Mexicali Resiste had been commemorating its one-year anniversary. Water defenders attempted to stop construction machinery by throwing rocks, police entered the ranch and a fierce confrontation with protesters ensued. It felt like some fucked up movie—there were a lot of serious arrests many members were intimidated by the police, break-ins to our offices and slander campaigns.

Pl: That's a major contrast with how Constellation Brands sells itself as authentic Mexican beer to US consumers and promotes events related to Mexican culture. How did solidarity develop between people organizing in the United States and in Mexicali?

Solidarity groups in the US took to social media and an English language website was set up. There



Sequential frames from Child of Resistance (t-b)

1 "I'm not the first. All my people in this plantation dungeon. I'm not the only one."

2 Constellation Brands is a Fortune 500 company behind quintessentially Mexican beers like Corona. The brewery would be expected to use around 20 million cubic meters of water a year—the volume of about 8000 Olympic swimming pools—from an already overlapped aquifer.

\* Nazshonii Brown is in Huichin.

\*\* Mayra Mundo is in New Haven, CT.

\*\*\* Yasmina Price is in New Haven, CT.

\*\*\*\* Mexicali Resiste is in Mexicali, MX.