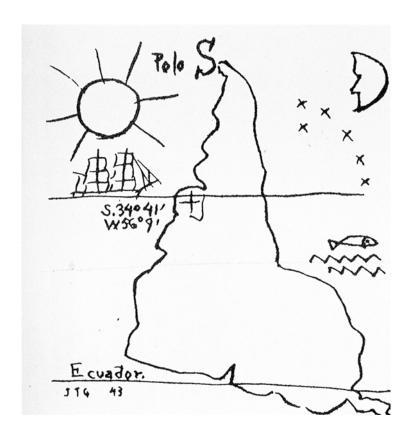
Introduction



Editorial – This Is Not an Atlas

Severin Halder, Boris Michel





Ever since the first map collections of the late l6th century carried the word "Atlas" on their covers, the notion of an "Atlas" has come with a promise: to show the world as it really is, and to produce true knowledge about the surface of the earth¹. But as we know, truth and knowledge are deeply linked to power and hegemony. It is no coincidence to find the *Atlas Minor* (see illustration bottom left), compiled by the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator in the early 17th century, being decorated with two white men surveying the world (sporting massive beards)². In turn, their object of interest – the globe – rests on the shoulders of Atlas, the Greek titan, and is surrounded by various religious and mythological symbols as well as fragments of ancient architecture. This mobilization of the power of scientific, religious and worldly authorities is characteristic for the rhetoric of maps and atlases.

Over time, atlases have changed: From being rare artefacts in the possession of the rich and powerful they have turned into everyday objects. With the rise of modern nation states and the establishment of geography as a school subject in the 19th century, school atlases have not only taught pupils how to read maps but also how to place themselves in the world as citizens-to-be. For this, the school atlas often deals with one's own nation first, cartographically exploring it with great diligence. Only after the "own" spaces have been dealt with, the "rest" can be understood, but often in less detail. This order fundamentally affects young people's worldviews. Supported by the authority and the resources of the state, the market and science, atlases do not only reproduce these dominant actors' worldviews, they also produce realities - such as the idea that the world is the sum of spatially distinct nation states and that this distinction is the natural order of things3. Atlases usually appear as very thick books declaring to present a more or less complete description of the world and claiming to show things as – and especially where – they really are. In other words, atlases proclaim truth, neutrality and objectivity and consequently invoke authority and gravitas. Therefore, atlases and maps rarely allow for ambivalence or contradiction. This can be advantageous when navigating home, for example. But as John Pickles reminds us it can also be dangerous:

"The lack of cartographic buts' and 'ifs' gave the cartographer 'much less leeway' to remind the map-reader of the interpretative nature of the mapping process, and, as a result, the map-reader easily falls into the habit of seeing 'the map as a precise portrayal of reality!" (2004: 35)

Not an Atlas?

We do not claim to present an all-encompassing, true-to-scale, and objective view of the world with the collection of maps, that are published in this book. Rather we follow the idea that maps are by no means just representations of reality. Maps articulate statements that are shaped by social relations, discourses and practices, but these statements also influence them in turn. Hence, maps (and atlases) are always political. "In this interplay between facts and perception, the cartographer is both witness and actor. [...] In order to create, or, more accurately: to invent, "his worlds", he finally arrives at a subtle mixture of the world as it is, and the world he desires" (Rekacewicz 2006). Thus, many of the maps presented in this volume are full of "ifs", "buts" and question marks but also of desired worlds.

For some time now, we can witness a growing presence and relevance of maps in art, activism and social movements. This certainly goes hand in hand with new ways of producing, distributing and using maps that lend new weight to them as a medium for communication. Never has it been easier to design and to publish maps online or on paper, even without formal cartographic training. Maps are probably more present in many people's everyday life than ever before. Many critical cartographers are delighted to find the old and institutionalized cartography of universities, publishing houses and the state lose its exclusive power over maps:

"Cartography Is Dead (Thank God!) Let's admit it. Cartography is dead. And then let's thank our lucky stars that after the better part of a century mapmaking is freeing itself from the dead hand of academia." (Wood 2003: 4)

Freed from academia's dead hand, more and more radicals and activists use maps as tools for their struggles – be it to protect indigenous territories, to visualize spatial injustices, or to organize protest and resistance. These new, diverse practices and styles of using maps for political and emancipatory means, and the political processes and social forces they contain, were the starting point for this collection of maps we do not call an atlas. We chose to call it Not-an-Atlas because we wanted to break with the conventions of traditional atlases. At the same time we wanted to build on other counter-atlases. This contradiction gave us the feeling of being on the right track. We wanted to be clear about what we do not want to be. At the same time we wanted to show respect to our sources of inspiration.⁴

The Three Cs: Critical, Counter and Cartography

For us, critical cartography is an opportunity to critically work with maps. The – mostly academic – debate of this name emerged in the late 1980s. In the beginning it focused to a large degree on criticizing maps or, more accurately, on the work done within the discipline of cartography. Cartography, in this sense, refers to a practice strongly institutionalized by the state and by capital. The resulting critique uncovers how maps were complicit in the history of colonialism and nationalism and how they contributed to their stabilization and legitimization. It also traced how maps make social conditions appear natural by connecting them to space. Cartography does not exist outside of power structures, and maps can be powerful devices in society. Not only do they locate and thereby spatialize the natural environment, they also put ownership, rights and social norms in their place.

Critical cartographers therefore critically scrutinized maps in various ways – both methodologically and theoretically – using semiotics, discourse analysis or deconstructivism. This approach is represented most notably by John Brian Harley's *Deconstructing the Map* (1989) and Denis Wood's *The Power of Maps* (1992), in which it is argued that maps should be understood as signs and texts and, by being signs and texts, they should be read critically.

This made many critical geographers and others skeptical regarding the use of maps as tools for the production and visualization of geographic knowledge. Critical geographers and other critical academics, it seemed, did not make maps anymore, as they were quickly labeled to be reductionist, reifying social relations and, accordingly, would be seen as "uncritical". They were frequently considered instruments of positivism as well as of technocratic thought and planning. Against this notion, other critical geographers began to call for Reclaiming the Map (Dodge & Perkins 2008). Jeremy Crampton and John Krygier argue to conceive of "critical cartography as a one-two punch of new mapping practices and theoretical critique" (2005: 11). With Not-an-Atlas we intend to follow this call. At the same time, we build upon a long tradition of counter-cartographies - or, rather, multiple traditions in a range of fields, such as the arts, academia or political activism. We understand counter-cartography as a political practice of mapping back.

It was especially artists who initiated the use of maps to criticize, provoke and challenge our ways of thinking about space, place and maps. Examples include the surrealist world map of 1929, or Joaquín Torres' America Invertida (see illustration on opposite page top) with its slogan "Our North is the South" from 1943 – both of which subvert the hegemonic, Eurocentric view of our world. This did not only aim at questioning familiar imagi-

nations of the world. Quite often, it was also about challenging the aesthetic customs and boundaries of what actually counts as a map. Just as Lewis Carroll has the bellmen of his 1876 poem "The Hunting of the Snark" (Carroll 1876: 17) present the "perfect and absolute blank" map (see illustration on opposite page) to his crew:

"What's the good of Mercator's North Poles and Equators, Tropics, Zones, and Meridian Lines?" So the Bellman would cry: and the crew would reply "They are merely conventional signs!

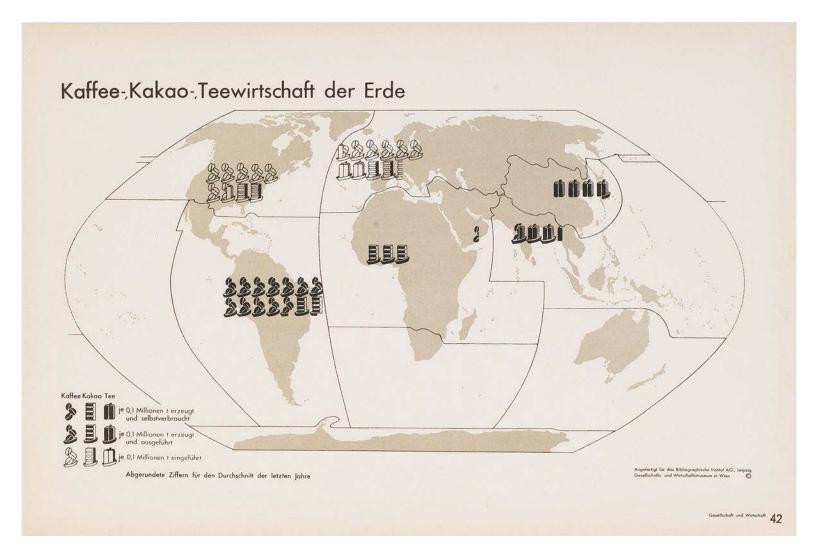
"Other maps are such shapes, with their islands and capes! But we've got our brave Captain to thank (So the crew would protest) "that he's bought us the best – A perfect and absolute blank!"

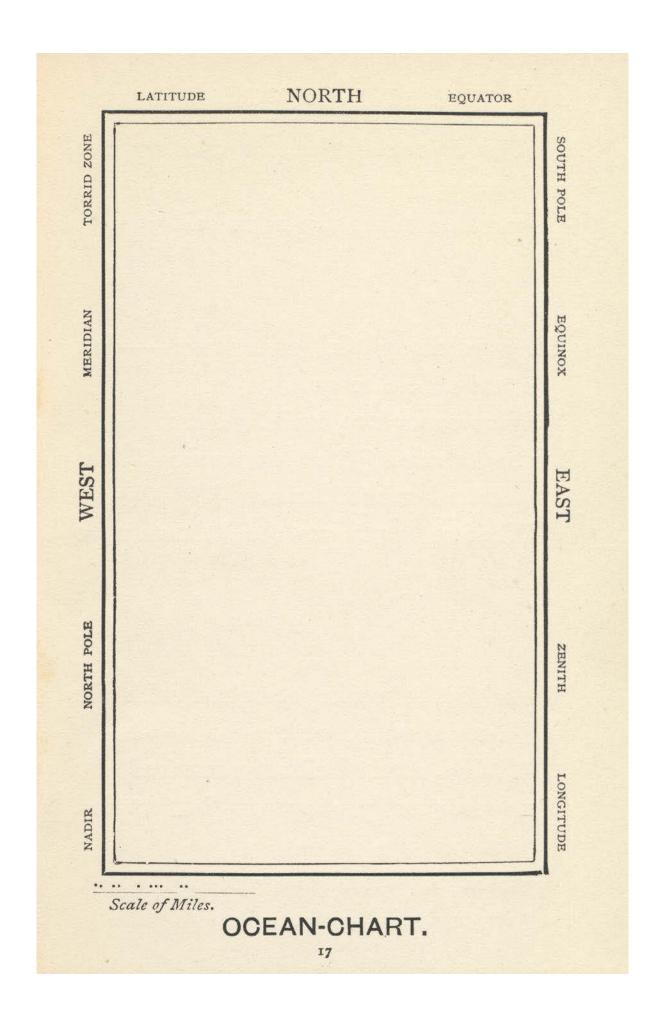
Milestones for the fusion of art maps and counter-cartography are, among others, the works of Öyvind Fahlström (since the 1970s) and Mark Lombardi (1990s) (see article page 26). These artists notably contributed to the new wave of counter-cartographies that emerged with the new millennium. They included, for example, the Bureau d'Études (see article page 26) and hackitectura.net⁵. Currently, the Argentinian art and research duo Iconoclasistas plays a major role in the dissemination of counter-cartographies.

Accordingly, they are one of our central sources of inspiration (see second map at the end of the editorial and articles pages 86 & 183). They in turn are influenced by indigenous drawing traditions of Latin America as well as Gerd Arntz's and Otto Neurath's pictograms and mappings. Arntz's and Neurath's work does not only influence present day graphic design. In its core, it was also a project of developing a revolutionary and internationalist tool for communication (Neurath 1933) (see illustration below and on following spread left).

The social and political conflicts around land and place between Patagonia and Alaska actually seem to be a particularly fertile ground for this kind of combination of art, activism and counter-cartography, as groups like the Counter Cartographies Collective (see articles pages 26 & 212), Arte Callejero⁶ or the Beehive Collective (see first map at the end of the editorial) impressively indicate.

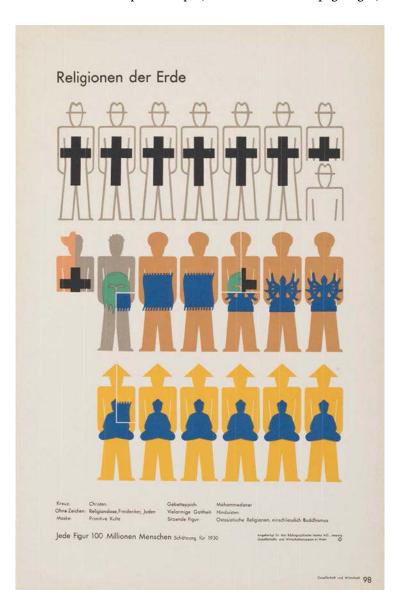
Counter-maps also grow from a long tradition of post-colonial practices of mapping back. These practices can be traced back to the struggles of First Nations political organizations in Canada and Alaska in the 1970s. The idea behind indigenous counter-cartography is as simple as it is good: "More indigenous territory has been claimed by maps than by guns. This assertion has its corollary: more indigenous territory can be reclaimed and defended





by maps than by guns" (Nietschmann 1995: 37). The mapping of indigenous biographies played a crucial part in the First Nations campaigns for autonomy in the North of the Americas. This was eventually successful: not only did it lead to the establishment of Nunavut, a self-governed Inuit territory of two million square kilometers in northern Canada (see illustration on opposite page top); it also initiated a spreading of indigenous counter-mappings all over the world (see articles pages 46, 110, 130 & 144). Mapping struggles for indigenous territories and rights are a central chapter in the history of counter-cartography. Even the term "counter-mapping" was coined by Nancy Lee Peluso (1995) working with the Dayak in Indonesia, using maps for (re)claiming their land.

Beyond appropriating western map practices for indigenous purposes, however, there have always been other forms of spatial representation—incongruent with western cartography. Some Aztec codices could be seen as an example of these (see illustrations on opposite page bottom). At times, these geographies of words and images, songs or handicraft even merged with colonial maps, as in the case of Tupaia's map' (see illustration this page right).



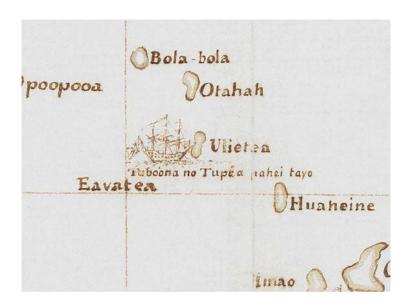
Just by the simple fact of their existence, indigenous geographic representations challenge dominant cartographic imaginations and methods that exclude all non-European modes of knowledge and representation. By reflecting dominant notions of territoriality and shedding light on different human-space interactions, indigenous cartography serves as inspiration for non-hegemonic worldviews and emancipatory practices.

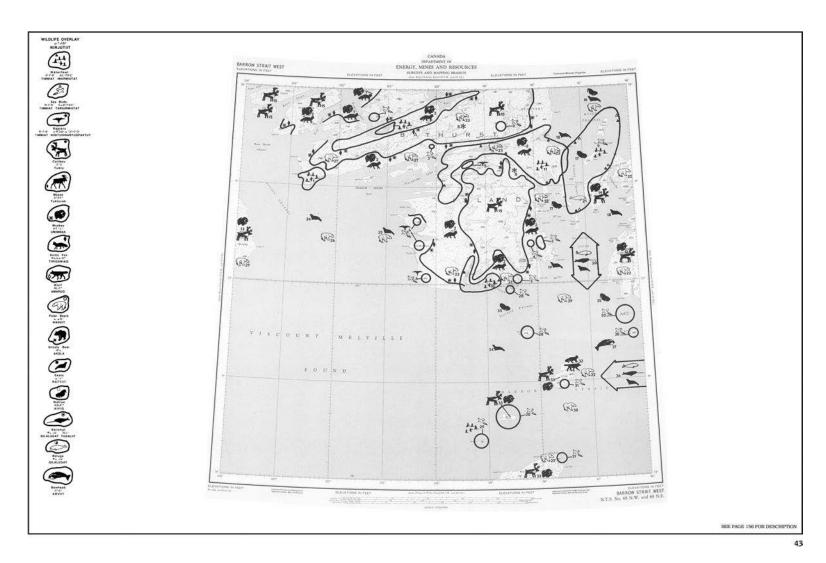
At the same time, indigenous counter-mappings often contain a paradoxical element: In order to be heard and recognized, the claim for territory and empowerment has to translate indigenous cosmovisions into dominant cartographic tools. Hence, there is always the danger of distorting original messages or intentions, and to become instrumentalized by those in power. Precisely because maps are powerful tools, it is necessary to keep questioning and reinterpreting them in order to make sure they are still useful for emancipatory purposes.

"The fact that groups across the political spectrum create these sorts of maps illustrates that counter-mapping itself is not necessarily politically progressive, but that geographical imaginations are important sites of struggle." (Wood cited from Counter Cartographies Collective, Dalton & Mason-Desee, 2012: 443)

When dealing with geographical imaginations in an emancipatory way, William Bunge's work is an important reference (especially for us as geographers). His geography from below emerged in Detroit's periphery and aimed at building cartographic tools for marginalized communities. This type of counter-cartographic culture utilizes simple and vivid cartographic language in order to promote geographical alphabetization¹⁰ and the self-determination of local communities (see illustration on following spread).

Today the battle over geographical imaginations is very much alive and well. In that sense, Not-an-Atlas is our contribution to this contested practice. At the same time, it is necessary to stress that counter-cartographies can only be "a departure point or a tool that can aid in analysis but do not speak for themselves" (Paglen 2007: 43): the map can never be the territory (see article page 86) and the struggles will not be decided on paper.









This Is a Global Collection of Counter-Cartographies

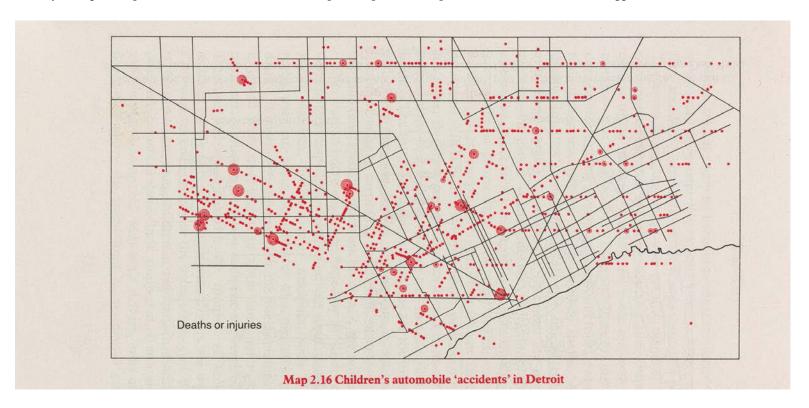
The current panorama of counter-cartographies is as diverse as the roots of critical mapping. Accordingly, Not-an-Atlas collects a very broad range of different contributions, originating from various contexts, and utilizing diverse methods of creation and presentation. Our aim is not to tell a coherent story of counter-cartography, or to provide a simple template for critical mapping. Rather, we would like to give an impression of how open and diverse the field has become, especially due to the practices of people without formal cartographic training. However, with Not-an-Atlas we do not only intend to show but also to contribute to this opening up of actors, topics and forms of map-making. We would like to give space to counter-hegemonic worldviews and at the same time hope to support practices of resistance. And we intend to inspire you to pick up this practical, powerful tool – without losing sight of its pitfalls. Not-an-Atlas deals with counter-cartographies from different contexts and regions, with maps that were produced for various reasons with a wide range of techniques, practices and people. These counter-cartographies largely exist beyond the traditional spheres of cartography, and in most cases their creators are primarily activists, critical educators, militant researchers, artists and/or part of social movements. They see mapping as a means to an end: They map for a cause.

To get some form of order into this heterogeneous field, which at the same time challenges order, we tried to cluster the maps of Not-an-Atlas into chapters – a challenging task. There could have been other chapters. At the end we decided to group the maps and projects around their causes and motivations even if most of the maps have more than just one reason to exist. After defining the chapters, we ordered the maps within them, as far as possible, from concrete "maps" to abstract "mappings".

In the first chapter the maps are used as a **Tool for Action**, to directly change the space around us. In the second chapter maps

are used to Tie Networks for fostering dialogue and exchange among them. In the third chapter maps serve to uncover social problems and to **Create Political Pressure**. In the fourth chapter Counter-Cartography is Education: maps can be part of critical educational work, not only serving to criticize hegemonic cartographic images, but also as an invitation to Become an Occasional Cartographer through self-organized mapping processes as can be seen in the fifth chapter. As chapter six shows, counter-cartographies Create Visibility for "invisible" groups and processes, breaking the cartographic silence. In chapter seven counter-maps Show Spatial Subjectivity, empowering people to visualize their personal geographies and perceptions of space. This goes hand in hand with their potential to initiate and support processes of **Self-Reflection** shown in chapter eight. In the final chapter, counter-cartographies articulate Critique of society, of dominant cartographic imaginations and of critical maps themselves. The collection in your hands wants to reflect these various approaches and aims.

Not-an-Atlas focuses on discussing the practical aspects of mapping projects. This includes not only a presentation of various methods and techniques for creating maps, but also an exploration of different political topics and regional contexts in which maps matter. It becomes clear that a convergence of critical-cartographic and political actors can lead to productive interactions. Not-an-Atlas understands itself as colorful panorama, displaying the range of possibilities for using critical maps for political struggles and emancipatory education. Not-an-Atlas seeks to inspire, to document the under-represented and to be a useful companion when becoming a counter-cartographer oneself. This is how we would like to encourage a critical reflection of dominant spatial imaginations. We want to support social struggles by presenting maps as a useful tool for these struggles.



How to Edit and Reflect Counter-Cartographies Collectively as Activists and Academics?

Both our activist experiences with collective and critical mapping workshops as kollektiv orangotango" as well as our individual and academic engagements with maps served as starting points for Not-an-Atlas. In the spring of 2015 we released a Call for Maps in English, German and Spanish, inviting everyone engaged with practices of critical mapping to send us ideas, texts, photos and, of course, maps. We were overwhelmed by the resonance! Nearly 150 submissions found their way to us. Some of them came from places, struggles and activists we had not heard of before; others came from long-time companions and friends. Among them were contributions from well-known critical cartographers, activists, and social movements who have been working with maps for many years; but even more emerging mapmakers sent us their proposals. What followed were exciting three years of discussing, selecting and editing the various maps and projects. Again and again we had to ask ourselves: What actually makes a map (not) critical? And what do we (not) have in mind when working on a counter-atlas? We also had to continually negotiate between more activist and more academic modes of knowledge production – be it in regards to the content of the maps or in regards to our own mode of working and living. With the large number of submissions, Not-an-Atlas quickly outgrew its initial frame in terms of involved languages, time and resources. The resulting process of collective learning therefore included various challenges, personal fluctuations and surprises.

The exciting insights we were able to gather regarding various processes connected to mapping and resistance, as well as growing as a network, are the fruits of this labor. With Not-an-Atlas, we hope to strengthen and to contribute to this kind of processes and networks in analog and digital ways (see notanatlas.org).

The following 330 pages aim to inspire current debates about maps, and to promote counter-mapping practices. Not-an-At-las wants to contribute to emancipatory transformations on the ground by supporting counter-cartographies within and beyond these pages. Finally – and maybe most importantly – we see this book as a guide pointing at many possible worlds, and as an invitation to create more of them: on paper, online and in space.

Special thanks to Laurenz Virchow, Karl Heyer and Philip Boos for their help with editing and translating this text.

P.S. Kollektiv orangotango+ would like to thank those who supported and accompanied us during this journey: Special thanks go out to Christian Bittner, Matze Jung, Dirk Neumann and Verena Schreiber, who helped to put this project on track. We want to express special thanks to Steffen Kühne from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Christa Müller from anstiftung, Karin Werner from transcript, Jens Marquardt from ASA FF e.V. and Markus Mender from Le Monde Diplomatique for their support and trust. We want to give shout-outs to Sebastian Hilf from kollektiv orangotango, Cornelius Sutter from Nachbarschaftshaus Urbanstraße e.V., Handlungsspielraum Berlin, Jon Richter from TransforMap, the Jugendbildungsnetzwerk of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Jonathan Wright and Carla Guerrón-Montero for providing practical help when we needed it. We also thank our fellow counter-mappers Julia Risler and Pablo Ares from Iconoclasistas, Tim Stallmann from the Counter Cartographies Collective and countless critical cartographers and geographers who guided us throughout the last decade. Last but not least, we want to show our respect to all the social movements, activists and academics gathered in this book. Without your daily struggles this Not-an-Atlas would be pointless.

Endnotes

- I. In its German edition the *Atlas Minor* is a "short but thorough description of the entire world and all of its parts" (Mercator, 1651).
- 2. At this point it should not be concealed that the authors of this text are white European males as well, one of which is also bearded. This is why we would like to distance ourselves as much as possible from the claim of being able to measure out the world of counter-cartographies since this would be presumptuous. We seek to trade assumed objectivity and mathematical precision for respect and modesty towards all actors who take care of their daily territories by defending them against destruction, capitalism, colonialism, nationalism, racism, sexism also with the help of maps.
- 3. Maps are powerful since they are not only a product of societal structures but also a producer of social realities. Maps do not only represent realities by building symbolic orders and hierarchies; they also create realities while being part of the interaction between people and their environments (Pickles, 2004).
- 4. This is why we would like to refer to atlases, which break with the traditional image of an atlas, for example: An Atlas of Radical Cartography (Mogel & Bhagat, 2007), Everything sings: Maps for a Narrative Atlas (Wood, 2010), The Nuclear War Atlas (Bunge, 1982), Atlas der Globalisierung (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003-2015), The Nunavut Atlas (Riewe, 1992), The Maya Atlas (Toledo Maya Cultural Council, 1997), Food: An Atlas (Jensen & Roy, 2012), We Are Here Map Archive (see mapsarchive.wordpress.com) and antiAtlas of Borders (see antiatlas. net). So even if we consider Not-An-Atlas to be a counter-atlas, it is not the counter-atlas. "Rather, it is one of many possible atlases, given the abundance of artists, architects, and others using maps and mapping in their work" (Mogel & Bhagat, 2007: 6).
- 5. Hackitectura (2002-2011) was a group of architects, programmers, artists and activists. In their work, they created a fusion of theoretical research with emerging territories of physical and digital movements. Their famous counter-cartography of the Straits of Gibraltar draws an alternative image of the Moroccan-Spanish border. The map shows the existing networks and flows of migration, communication and capital in in a heavily monitored border region with the idea to reshape it (see hackitectura.net).
- 6. The Argentinian Grupo de Arte Callejero is composed of artists, photographers and designers. They work closely with social movements like H.I.J.O.S (an organization created by the children of the victims of the military dictatorship). With their series of maps Aqui Viven Genocidas (2001-2006) the Grupo de Arte Callejero actively participated in the escraches, which translates into acts of public shaming to condemn the injustice, violence and genocides committed during the military dictatorship (see grupodeartecallejero.wordpress.com).
- 7. Some examples for relevant indigenous mapping projects and groups from different regions are The Nunavut Atlas (Riewe, 1992), The Maya Atlas (Toledo Maya Cultural Council, 1997), Aboriginal Mapping Network (nativemaps.org) and Nova Cartografia Social da Amazonia (see article page 46). It seems that China is the only region around the world with an indigenous population but without an indigenous counter-mapping culture (Rundstrom, 2009: 316).

- 8. In the meantime a lot of different concepts that have been interlinked with other counter-cartography besides counter-mapping, such as alternative cartography, bioregional mapping, collective mapping, community mapping, counter-hegemonic mapping, ethno cartography, ethno mapping, green mapping, mapping back, participatory rural appraisal, public participation geographic information system, (public) participatory mapping, radical cartography, subversive mapping and remapping.
- 9. In 1769 the legendary Polynesian sailor Tupaia, son of a preacher family from Raiatea, accompanied James Cook on the *Endeavour* and drew the cartographic representation of the region Pacific islands (Eckstein & Schwarz 2015). Tupaia's chart of 74 islands can be seen as a fusion of Oceanic geographical imaginations like star compasses with European cartography. Di Piazza and Pearthree (2007) propose such a reading for Tupaia's drawing. "Tupaia's chart, while having the appearance of a map, is in fact a mosaic of sailing directions or plotting diagrams drawn on paper, similar to those made by master navigators tracing lines in the sand or arranging pebbles on a mat to instruct their pupils" (Di Piazza & Pearthree, 2007: 321). This means that Tupaia was applying a cartographic technique with the center point or island of departure as a "subjective coordinate". This geographical imagination contrasts with the coordinates in Cartesian space where islands are defined absolutely and not in relation to the navigator (Di Piazza & Pearthree, 2007: 326).
- 10. The term alphabetization is used by Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968) to describe an emancipatory learning process. As kollektiv orangotango, we see our own collective mapping practice as a continuation of the popular education of Freire and Bunge and as a collective process of geographical alphabetization in spaces of everyday action (Halder, 2018: 308).
- 11. Kollektiv orangotango was founded in 2008. Since then it has been constantly developing through a network of critical geographers, friends and activists who deal with questions regarding space, power and resistance. With our geographical activism, we seek to support processes and oppositional actors who instigate social change by prefiguring social alternatives. We conduct emancipatory educational work as well as concrete political and artistic interventions. These are supposed to enforce reflections on and changes of social conditions. Since 2010 we have been engaged in processes of collective and critical mapping within the fields of right to the city, (urban) agriculture, critical pedagogy, alternative housing and solidarity economy, mostly in Europe and also in Latin America. But kollektiv orangotango also functions as a platform for different actions. In the case of Not-an-Atlas, its publication was realized by kollektiv orangotango in cooperation with other activists and academics. That is the reason why it was named kollektiv orangotango+.

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Illustrations

page 12 top: Joaquín Torres, America Invertida, 1943, Museo Juan Manuel Blanes, Montevideo, Public Domain (according the Uruguayan Law)

page 12 bottom: Gerhard Mercator & Jodocus Hondius, Cover of the Mercator-Hondius Atlas Minor, 1607, Statens kartverk Sjø, Public Domain

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page 16 right: Tupaia, Detail of Raiatea from Tupaia's Chart, Indigenous intermediaries: New perspectives on exploration archives, page 151, circa 1769, all rights reserved British Library, BL Add Ms 21519 © British Library Board

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page 17 bottom: unknown author, Codex Borgia / Codex Yoalli Ehecatl, page 44 & 36, pre-Columbian era/1898, FAMSI, Public Domain

"Pages 29 through 46 of the codex constitute the longest section of the codex, and the most enigmatic. The pages refer to different veintena festivals. Together these images represent a 20-day period for the veintena cycle. The glyphs refer to dry and rainy seasons. They apparently show a journey but the complex iconography and the lack of any comparable document have led to a variety of interpretations ranging from an account of actual astronomical and historical events, to the passage of Quetzalcoatl – as a personification of Venus —through the underworld, to a "cosmic narrative of creation". (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Borgia)

page 18: William Bunge, Children's Automobile "Accidents" in Detroit, Nuclear War Atlas, 1988, Basil Blackwell, licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0) Unported License, Cornell University – PJ Mode Collection of Persuasive Cartography. "This map suggests that the high rate of injury of inner-city Detroit school children by automobiles shouldn't really be attributed to 'accident', but to the callousness of officials who allow dangerous conditions to persist in 'the geography of the streets' where the poor go to school, as opposed to suburban 'cul-de-sacs'. [...] A 1971 version of this map was more bluntly entitled 'Where Commuters Run Over Black Children on the Pointes-Downtown Track'.'' (digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:19343514)

"A young black woman, Gwendolyn Warren, from Fitzgerald in Detroit ... was filled with hatred towards me because I did not notice the children being murdered by automobiles in front of their homes or children starving in front of abundant food." (Bunge, W. cited from Barnes, T.; Heynen, N. 2011: William W. Bunge (1971) Fitzgerald: Geography of a Revolution. Cambridge, MA. Schenkman Publishing Co. Progress in Human Geography, 35 (5): 712-715)

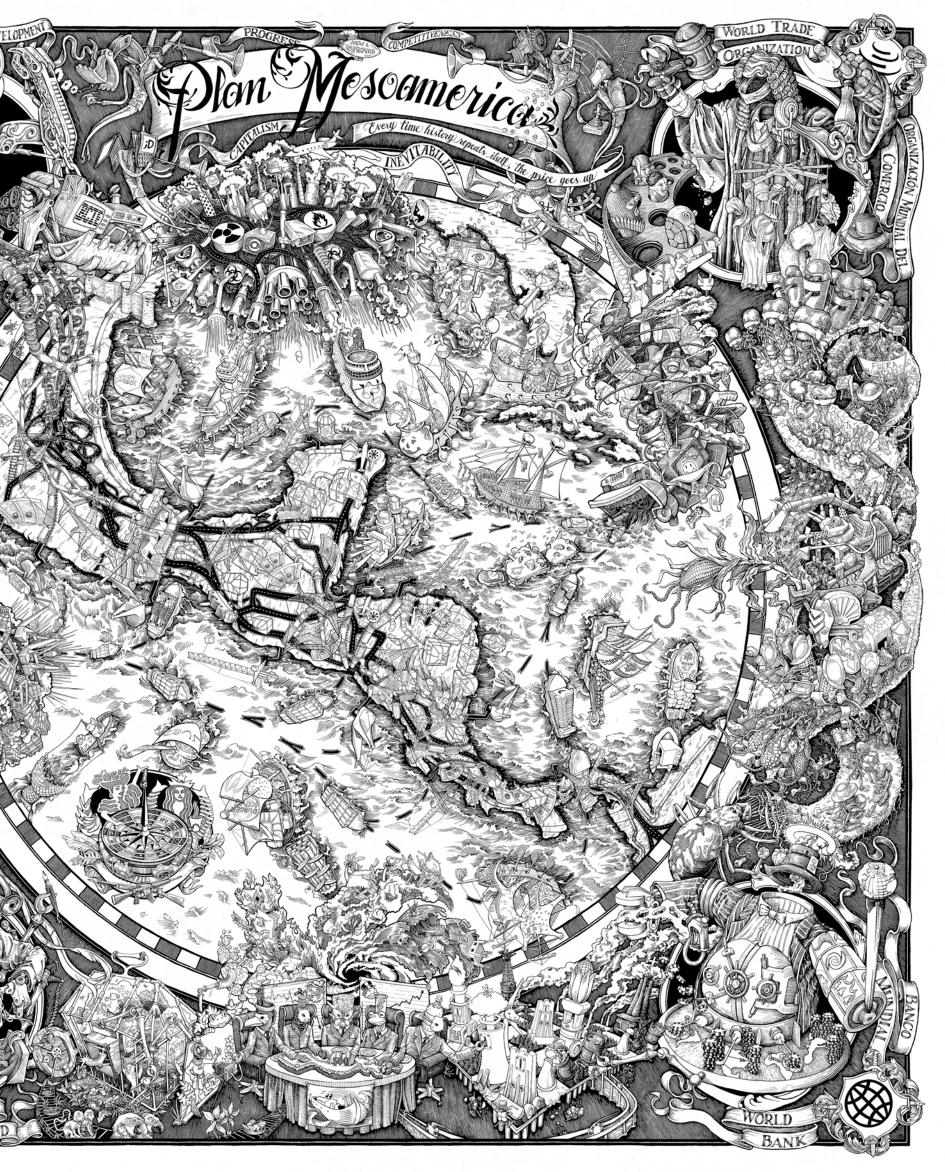
page 22-23: Beehive Design Collective, The Colonizer's View from Mesoamérica Resiste

"With the shutters closed, the outside of the poster resembles an old Spanish conquistador's map of Mesoamerica. The map is a top-down look at the region and draws parallels between colonial history and modern-day capitalism. Outsiders who have no connection with the land have drawn this map, with motives of extraction and profit."

(beehivecollective.org/graphics-projects/mesoamerica-resiste/) "The Beehive Design Collective is a wildly motivated, all-volunteer, activist arts collective dedicated to "cross-pollinating the grassroots" by creating collaborative, anti-copyright images for use as educational and organizing tools". (beehivecollective.org/about-the-hive/who-we-are/)

page 24-25: Iconoclasistas, ¿A quién pertenece la tierra? / Who owns the land? - Mapa Mundi / World Map, 2017, licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) International Public License.







Megaciudades y crisis ambiental

En 2007, por primera vez en la historia, la población residente en ciudades es mayor a la población campesina. Aún así, en las zonas rurales viven unas 3.400 millones de personas que se dedican a producir alimentos y más de la mitad son mujeres. Ellas sostienen prácticas de reciprocidad, preservan las memorias y saberes ancestrales, trabajan y cultivan la tierra en equilibrio con los ciclos de la naturaleza; y aportan una solución a la crisis ecológica y a los desastres climáticos, cada vez más frecuentes en el mundo.

Megacities and environmental crisis

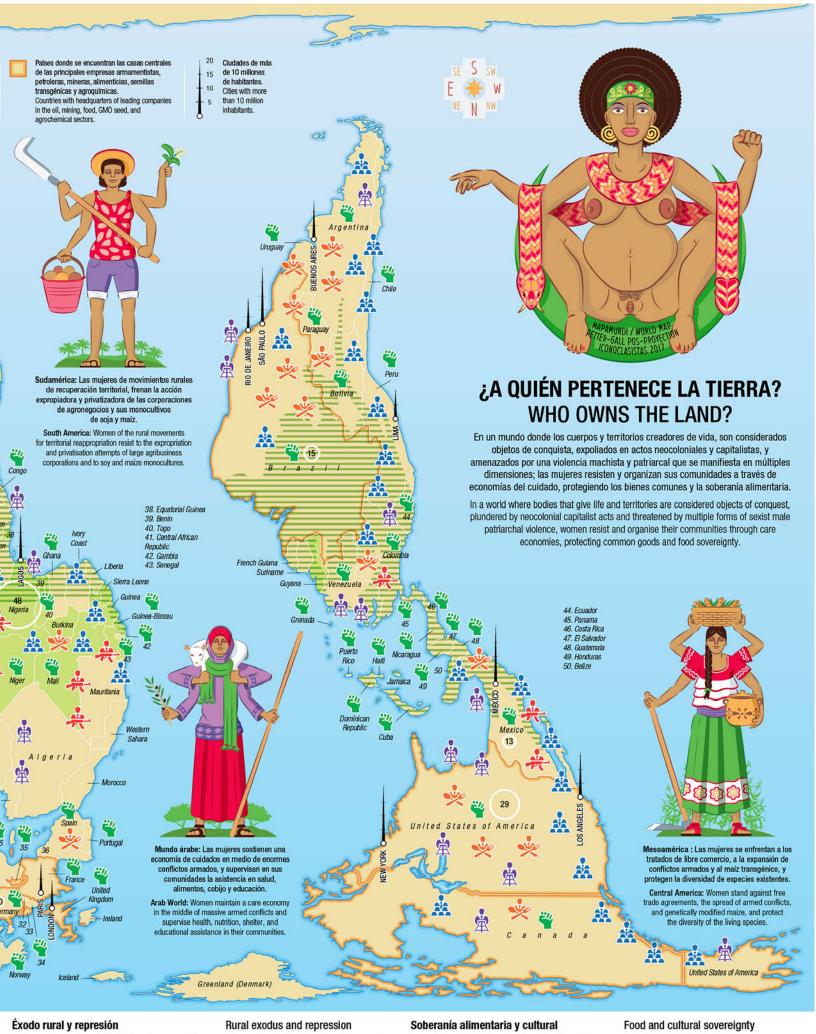
In 2007, for the first time ever, the population living in cities surpassed the one living in the countryside. However, some 3.4 billion people still live in rural areas and work in food production—more than half of them are women. They support reciprocity practices, preserve ancestral memories and know-how, work and cultivate the land in harmony with the cycles of nature, and provide a solution to the environmental crisis and the increasing climate-related disasters worldwide.

Trabajo rural y doméstico

Estas 1.700 millones de mujeres representan un 25 % de la población mundial, y alimentan a un 70% de los habitantes del planeta. Las mujeres rurales, además del cuidado de sembradíos, la obtención de agua y leña y la cría de animales; realizan un trabajo invisible y no remunerado: el doméstico, el cual incluye el cuidado de los hijos y de personas enfermas, la limpieza del hogar y la elaboración de alimentos, todas labores consideradas como una extensión (obligada) de sus tareas de reproducción biológica.

Rural and domestic work

These 1.7 billion women represent 25% of the world population and feed 70% of the world population. Aside from tending crops, gathering water and firewood, and raising animals, they perform invisible work. They are not paid for their domestic work, which includes caring for children and the sick, cleaning the home, and preparing food—all activities that are considered an (obligatory) extension of their biological reproductive functions.



El sistema alimentario agroindustrial, basado en monocultivos y dominado por trasnacionales, alimenta a un 30% de la población mundial, y emplea en condiciones miserables a una infima parte de los trabajadores rurales. Destruye el medio ambiente, empobrece y expulsa a los pobladores originarios, mientras se expande a través de la militarización y la represión, generando la pérdida de los derechos colectivos sobre los bienes naturales, y transformando lo común en propiedad privada.

The agro-industrial food system, based on monoculture and dominated by multinational firms, feeds 30% of the world population and employs—in appalling conditions—a minuscule portion of rural workers. It destroys the environment, impoverishes and drives out native populations, and thrives through militarisation and repression—thus causing the loss of collective rights over natural assets and turning public goods into private property.

Las mujeres rurales, mediante prácticas de defensa de los bienes comunes, de protección de la cultura popular y solidaria, y de respeto hacia la naturaleza; aseguran la agrodiversidad frente al avance del despojo neocolonial. Custodian, además, las más de 6 mil lenguas vivas en todo el mundo, cada una desarrollada durante siglos de costumbres y portadoras de tradiciones y prácticas riquisimas, mayormente desconocidas, lo que las convierte en guardianas de las memorias de la tierra.

Through practices that defend public goods, protect shared traditional culture, and respect nature, rural women ensure agricultural diversity in the face of neocolonial dispossession. They are also guardians of the over 6000 languages spoken across the world, which developed over the centuries, bear rich traditions, and are mostly unknown. As a result, these women are the keepers of the memories of the Earth.

Counter-Cartographies

Politics, Art and the Insurrection of Maps

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Tracing out complex systems. Comprehending conflicts, networks, territories, borders and situations which were previously invisible. Sharing techniques and new technologies. Producing autonomous knowledge. These are some of the strategies that characterize the practices of critical cartography. Up to which point do these maps succeed in going beyond conventional maps, opposing impartial representations and objectives followed by corporative, military and governmental interests? In which way can arts and activism employed by cartographers and insurgent artists contest these dominant powers? What are the possibilities for participating in these movements?

We might be used to thinking that maps are exact representations of reality. But neither does neutrality exist in the production of maps nor does it exist in their use. In the hands of capitalism and its institutions, mappings have been instrumentalized in many ways: for installing order and executing domination of colonizers over the colonized, for consolidating economic blocks, for justifying private control over public spaces, for legitimizing borders, for exploiting natural resources and common goods. Yet the proposition I want to discuss here is the following: parting from their history as instruments of domination, maps can also be transformed and thus used by the hands of those who resist state control and capitalist domination. This transformation becomes possible due to the fact that cartography – as the discipline of the creation of maps as well as the study and reflection of their political and social role – suffered from a substantial change in the twentieth century, in that it was and still continues to be widely subverted by artists and activists. This contribution elaborates on some examples of artists and collectives that promoted this change. I will explore their struggles to position themselves in the capitalist art world and point out the renewed relevance of counter-cartographies.

The resistance against capital's cooptation of culture calls for the production of new radical imaginaries, spaces of political autonomy and shared invention. This is also the case for the regulation of the forces of cooperation which tend to be captured, absorbed, and neutralized by corporative, military and commercial mechanisms. It also calls for the elaboration of conceptual and analytical tools that enable the visualization of the ever more sophisticated structures of capitalism which provoke new situations of opposition and political engagement. Mappings realized by collectives of art activism – such as the Bureau d'Études (France)¹, the Counter-Cartographies Collective (United States)² (see article page 212), Iconoclasistas (Argentina)³ (see articles pages 86 & 183) and many others presented in *Not-an-Atlas* – are examples of open and process-oriented tools proposing to map regional and global

flows of power systems, monopolies and administrative networks. The maps of these collectives give us an idea about which forms of counter-power we need to create and what social struggles are, as they are much more than mere representations. In order to create counter-cartographies, their practices invert sovereignty of a cartography of control. And, in fact, these maps can also be seen as starting points for subversive actions.

Making Domination Visible

In this contribution counter-cartographies are understood as maps that break with the scientific tradition and specialization of cartography as well as with its mere technical or essentially positivist view of the world. This type of transgression goes against official geopolitical maps while exposing relations of domination over and exploitation of a territory as well as revealing concealed networks of power. With an anti-capitalist orientation, one of the aims of counter-maps is to make obscure and established powers more perceptible in order to confront them. Counter-cartographies can be used in a tactical manner over the duration of an action and in a strategical manner for analyzing networks and spaces in order to generate social change from below. Another task is to deconstruct the political and economic logics of mechanisms, organizations and social hierarchies so as to reveal its contradictions. This type of experiment also makes arts political, not only due to the approach of a "political issue", but because its sensitive and intuitive expression is capable of enunciating the violence going on behind the scenes.

Articulations between artistic practices, pedagogic alternatives and militant investigations make it possible to formulate questions concerning the experiences of counter-cartographies in relation to protocols and dilemmas of collaborative work. While mapping with communities and social movements, the artists/collectives mediate a continuous process in which the act of listening, the systematization of data as well as decisions regarding the means to make the maps are constructed, negotiated and decided upon collectively. Through collective mapping, the language, tools and techniques of cartography formerly restricted to "specialists", are socialized and reinvented. They are shared freely and thus expanded to non-conventional uses.

The transformation of cartography by practices of art activism over the past decades has made it possible to explore alternative models outside of the academic context and beyond purely scientific activities. This includes historical references going back to artistic vanguards at the beginning of the twentieth century (such as

Dadaism and Surrealism) as well as maps created by Situationists⁴, feminist artists and groups such as Fluxus.⁵ One of these artists to anticipate some of the nuances of the political practices of counter-cartographies was the Swedish-Brazilian Öyvind Fahlström (1928-1976). He brought forward the critical necessity and revolutionary urgency for prefigurating another world as possible. This was done by challenging the rigidity of maps which portrayed a planet dominated by the instability of imperial power disputed between the United States and the Soviet Union.

With his World Map (1972), Fahlström confronted established limits and dominant powers individually in order to construct a counter-cartography as a tool for political sensitization and pub-

lic indignation. The synoptic view the World Map in a collection of events and in the narration of short chronicles shows the progression of political and economic power of North American imperialism during the Cold War, from the end of World War II to the beginning of the 1970's. Fahlström collected and organized data referring to different scales of analysis on the global economic situation, on exploitation, repression and struggles in the so-called "Third World". Statistics, thoughts, extracted texts and periodicals of the left as

well as historical facts were compiled, registered on color-coded sheets and inserted into the continents of the World Map.

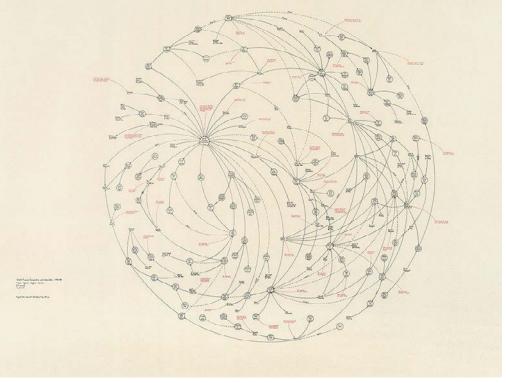
The world that pulsates, expands and contracts itself in the World Map does not register an exact mapping of the physical geography of the planet. Rather it is the quantity of information that shapes the forms of the continents in accordance with the

intensity of their crises. Its topographic malleability suppresses, transforms and recreates institutionalized borders in order to make space for fragments of stories. Oceans were practically abolished and are more narrow now. Like cracks they are swallowed by the collision of territories. The de-naturalized forms of the continents portrayed in the World Map try to support the weight of the facts describing a planet taken by greed and violence.

Another example of how counter-cartographies of artists can illuminate common territories between past and present which are generally hidden by official cartography, are the "narrative structures" built by Mark Lombardi (1951-2000) (see map

this page).6 In 1994, Lombardi decided to give a new direction to his art work systematizing the practice of an archivist obsessed with documenting a continuous flow of information on political, economic and corporative powers. Lombardi shows us data and connections in a network of trajectories, designed in the form of circles and arcs that take up great spaces on paper. We find appointed identities in the names of institutions, presidents, bankers, mafia bosses, terrorists and soldiers cited within small circles

and soldiers cited within small circles that make us remember their polemical stories once shown in the media. We are taken by a disconcerting reality seeing individuals connected to wars, drug trafficking and crimes. An interlaced swarming of the financial and corporative world emerges with multiple causalities. Exorbitant numbers link individuals and companies through dashed lines.



Fahlström's maps were elaborated in the troubled moments of the 1970s, while Lombardi configured narrative structures during the exponential development of global and financial networks two decades later. Both are important historical and conceptual precedents for a posterior generation of artist-activists. Fahlström and Lombardi worked with particular methods to manually compile and archive precise and verifiable data on political, social and economic processes, organizing it in maps or diagrams to analyze situations of the present. Evidently, the work of these two artists has gradually been incorporated into the permanent archives of museums, banks, galleries and collectors. As museums, collectors and companies have turned into the contemporary guardians of these artistic cartographies that reveal the access to power, the access to these works is even more restricted.

Use Value and Artistic Autonomy

It is necessary to point out some escape strategies that mark the history of artistic cartography. In the essay "Resymbolizing Machines: art after Öyvind Fahlström" the Bureau d'Études (2004) examines how Fahlström tried to gradually leave art institutions and gained relative autonomy through a system of alternative distributions of his maps and games. A version of the World Map [Sketch for World Map Part I (Americas, Pacific)] was printed, and distributed through a new left journal of the seventies [Liberated Guardian] to disseminate the political content of this work and reach a wider public (Bureau d'Études, 2004).

The Bureau d'Études uses Fahlström as a reference to examine failures and advances of artists when their projects depend on the authority and the discourses of the art world. For example, this may include the endorsement of curators, critics, collectors, etc. to be legitimized or even suppressed when trying to leave this system. Investigations by the Counter-Cartographies Collective also show that, at present, when companies, institutions and clusters of so-called "creative industries" capture the power of inventions of students and cultural workers, a trend to exclude these groups from the networks of production must be observed. At the same time there is an enormous distrust concerning the forms of expression that circulate via official channels — may those channels be museums, governments, universities, marketing agencies or media conglomerates.

By conducting interviews and workshops with students, the Counter-Cartographies Collective produced a DisOrientation Guide (2006, 2009) (see map on opposite page) on the campus of its University of North Carolina, localized in the "Research Triangle" formed by the cities of Durham, Raleigh and Chapel Hill. The guide shows diverse maps and diagrams connecting student struggles in their institutions with demonstrations that have occurred in other countries. The Counter-Cartographies Collective considers that universities are not a "privileged bubble", an "isolated space" or an "ivory tower" separated from the world but rather a fabric that concentrates flexible work markets, knowledge economies, corporative research, financial capitalism and gentrification. In these initiatives of counter-mapping lies a necessity to seek not a romanticized redemption of an autonomy from society or a repetition of gestures or formulas, that, in the best case, will be considered as acts of institutional critique. Rather they call for the reformulation of this criticism to other disciplines regulated by neoliberalism in the face of the production of spaces of artistic autonomy.

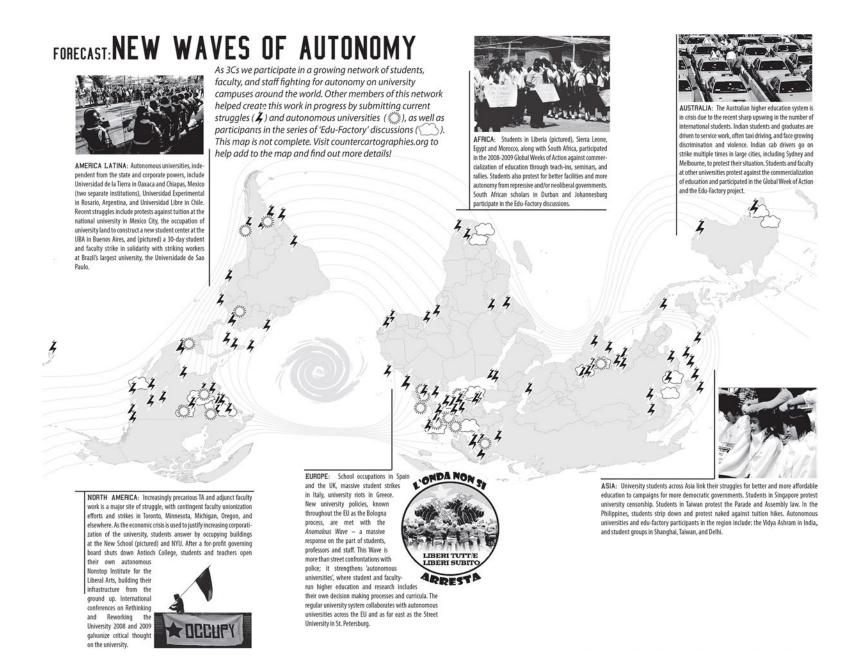
In its most basic sense, autonomy signifies "self-legislation". It is the capacity of a group, of an occupation or community to establish its proper institutions and to self-organize according to its agreements. The term artistic autonomy, fundamental for the Bureau d'Études, indicates the decision of aesthetic producers to restructure themselves in order to seek new ways of acting, prioritizing alternative experiences of publication, reception and distribution. In this sense, the maps of the Bureau d'Études (see map at the end of the article) problematize in detail and exhaustively the almost inaccessible links between institutions as well as known and unknown individuals. In order to do so, they start with mapping the power concentration of corporate media, the system of food production, global vigilance, military technologies, prisons, financial networks and economic crises among other topics. For this collective autonomy is a fundamental point of their existence. They thus seek to visualize the lines of production and the resulting meanings of official systems through their maps. It is necessary to decode the capitalist machinery in order to intervene in it, and to thereby situate insurgent strategies and actions.

In the beginning of the 2000s, the maps of the Bureau d'Etudes began to serve the group as a means to orient themselves in reference to networks of control which needed to be surpassed as well as political autonomy which needed to be created. The protests of the Global Days of Action and the use of technological networks by artists and social movements delineated a new topology of the planet that needed to be understood and situated. Even more so, since after September 11, 2001, the disproportional increase of intelligence services and private companies exploring programs of vigilance and monitoring channels of communication needed to be verified. The internet opened up countless possibilities to conduct critical mapping investigations of contemporary capitalism. For these investigations the map productions and the new cognitive tools have become essential to close a gap regarding the means of analysis. This approximates them to demonstrations and other forms of direct action.

Artistic autonomy crosses habitual dichotomies of inside/outside of art institutions. The question to be answered by collectives of art activism continues to be the following: how can the subordination under official institutional models be escaped and a way of non-mediated autonomy be found? In other words, how do counter-cartographies find a political space in which to formulate their compositions of this "outside"?

While a diagram such as Lombardi's is a unique work of art, the works of collectives of counter-cartographies are produced and shared like common goods in order to deepen knowledge, to inform, to inspire and to be engaged with. An example of these dynamics can be found in the works of the Iconoclasistas. Formed in Buenos Aires in 2006, the Iconoclasistas have since then combined theoretical research and graphic arts in mapping workshops with students and social movements (see second map at the end of the previous article).

For Maribel Casas-Cortés and Sebastian Cobarrubias, members of the Counter-Cartographies Collective, maps become more heterogeneous when they are produced in a collective way.



Through collective processes they create instances for popular participation, its information and icons can be added more easily, and other people can suggest different relevant data for the map. This data may include information about a specific corporation or a set of work relations, and it often enables the development of new aesthetics of cognitive mapping as well as the discussion of new issues to be mapped (see Casas-Cortés and Cobarrubias, 2007, p. 120). Collaboration and cooperation increase the complexity of the power and critical grasp of a map based upon different perceptions. Counter-cartographies are an essential element of the repertory of the forms of artistic activism. They are one tool within a variety of tactical actions and artistic interventions carried out in public space, each corresponding to specific situations. Regarding the circulation and multiplication of their maps, the Iconoclasistas, the Bureau d'Études and the Counter-Cartographies Collective count on electronic distribution of their projects

on web pages, blogs and digital communities. Printed versions can be paid for with the budget of an exhibition or with money from one's own pocket. This enables the map's circulation in autonomous spaces, schools, workshops, open classes and activist meetings while being distributed for free and from hand to hand. All this permits immediate, open and unlimited public access to these works, ascribing them a use value that cannot be achieved through a circulation which is restricted to the spaces of galleries and museums

Through these maps a new sense is conferred to cartography. Cartography is not only a particularized activity or a restricted knowledge but can also be seen as a possible project that disseminates as much as possible – a type of information which was usually related to a specific public and specific sources. These maps result from an effort of collective intelligence offering free knowledge to any person interested in researching them in order

to initiate their own investigations. They represent practices that point to the fact that the moment has come to rethink the means of production and the emergence of a political counter-history of arts and culture (Sholette, 2011, p. 3). The work with counter-cartographies does not only reveal systems of power as it gives a new sense to the notion of "maps producing territory". Moreover, this territory produced by the map is multiple, not only spatial, but also temporal and social: it extends from the place where the maps are produced – with its stories, reports and vestiges – to the countless situations in which they are distributed, accessed and used.

Mapping or Being Mapped

The politicized appropriation of the mapping practices by artist-activists in the last decades has helped to transform cartography into a tool of criticism and counter-power. Nevertheless, we live in a totally mapped era in which our expectations, gestures and itineraries are registered all the time, be it while circulating in the streets, exchanging messages and documents via the internet, or crossing physical or symbolic borders. Why then produce more maps in a mapped world? My response is that we need to make and remake maps not only in order to confront the forms of control but also so we can expose the underlying mechanisms. Most of all we need to produce counter-maps in order to create actions that might affect our perceptions of social space and its different vectors, to change our modes of looking at the world and create new dialogues and discoveries. Counter-cartography is less a visual object that accumulates information than the opportunity to go beyond the "proper" representation of traditional maps. Mapping in a different way means redefining maps critically. This redefinition of cartography is an expression of dissent against the power executed by privileged groups who seek to dominate others. At the same time, it is an opportunity to democratize the techniques and the practices of the creation of maps beyond the figure of the artist, activist or specialist. A statement cited from an interview I did with the members of the Counter-Cartography Collective seems to summarize the spirit of this proposal in other words: "To map systems of oppression, not oppressed people!"

Special thanks to Julia Ruiz Di Giovanni for her help with the editing of this text.

Translation by Timo Bartholl

Endnotes

- 1. bureaudetudes.org
- 2. countercartographies.org
- 3. iconoclasistas.net
- 4. The Situationist International (1957-1972) was an organization of artists and theorists searching for ways to criticize and transform the conditions in capitalist cities while superating the concept of art through subversive everyday practices and artistic interventions.
- 5. Fluxus was an international, multidisciplinary group of artists, poets and composers initiated in the early 1960s. The group realized works, performances and artistic projects with an emphasis on processes and actions that encouraged the active participation of its spectators.
- 6. Mark Lombardi describes his "narrative structures" as follows: "In 1994 I began a series of drawings I refer to as 'narrative structures.' Most were executed in graphite or pen and ink on paper. Some are quite large, measuring up to 5x12 feet. I call them 'narrative structures' because each consists of a network of lines and notations that are meant to convey a story, typically a recent event of interest to me, like the collapse of a large international bank, trading company, or investment house. One of my goals is to explore the interaction of political, social, and economic forces in contemporary affairs." (Lombardi, 2001).

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Illustrations

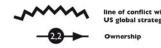
page 27 Mark Lombardi, World Finance Corporation and Associates, c. 1970-84, Miami, Ajman, Bogota-Caracas (Brigada 2506: Cuban Anti-Castro Bay of Pigs Veteran) (7th version), 1999, Colored pencil and graphite on paper, 69 1/8 x 84 inches, Private collection, Courtesy Donald Lombardi and Pierogi Gallery

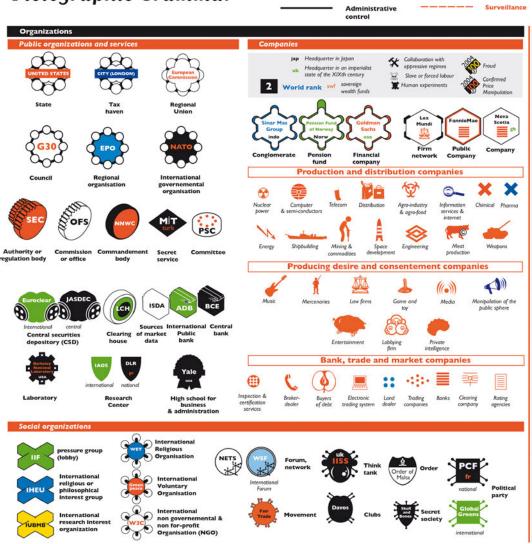
page 29 Counter Cartographies Collective, disOrientation Guide 2.0, 2009 page 35-39 Bureau d'Études, World Government, 2013, Courtesy Bureau d'Études

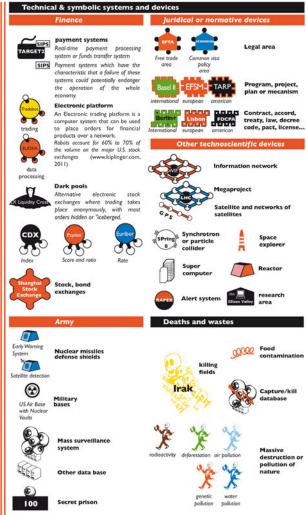
Pictographic Grammar











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