SPECIAL FORUM:
REVOLUTIONS AND HETEROTOPIAS

The Spatial Politics of Radical Change, an Introduction

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In February 2011, protesting Wisconsin public sector workers caught many an eye with their clever placards and signs. Particularly compelling were those extolling the revolutions of the recent "Arab Spring" as a model for the protestors' own struggles.[1] These were not simple statements of admiration or solidarity, of course. They were attempts to occupy the moral high ground those revolutions commanded for so many Western audiences—and not just metaphorically. With signs such as "Welcome to Cairo," they actively claimed that ground as the real, concrete stuff you can set your feet down and walk on: the sidewalks around Madison's Capitol Square.

Wisconsin protestors carved out a geographically-innovative space: relative, non-contiguous, but joined. Theirs was clearly an imagined community, if only one side of a projection thereof. Such reaching is not, as some Marxist commentators have hopefully read it, an emergent class solidarity hooking into globalized new media to get international, finally.[2] It belongs, instead, in a long line of imaginative projections questioning the prevailing wisdom that plots the spaces of revolution within too-neat national borders. Observers concerned with emancipatory projects, whether or not explicitly framed as "R"evolutions, must get at these issues of location.[3] The question is not so much "Where is revolution?" but rather "What *is* the 'where' of revolution?"

This special forum of the *Journal of Transnational American Studies* offers interdisciplinary takes on such sites of struggle dreamt by revolutionary actors and schemers. Revolutions generate, because they need, these visions of interconnected,

disconnected, and re-connected places with a particular relationship to the everyday. Michel Foucault offered a name for these places in a 1967 lecture:

> There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias.[4]

Foucault posits a "contrast" between heterotopias and utopias, but he also suggests a more complex relation. An "effectively enacted utopia" is a paradox, a utopia (from the Greek *ou*, "not," and *topos*, "place," so "no place") actually in the world. A heterotopia is able to contain such a contradiction because it contains a little bit of everywhere else. Containing, it reworks the others: representing, contesting, inverting.

Heterotopias might or might not be sites with happily transgressive implications—Foucault notes that "brothels and colonies are two extreme types of heterotopia," after all—but they are invariably transformative. They transmit, transport, and travel. They are oddly shaped, even queer. They reveal the arbitrary nature of scalar distinctions, for they are swept up by currents from every imaginable level: in heterotopic spaces, transnational currents eddy into regional or local spaces and vice-versa, mockingly muddying the supposedly concentric circles of geographic scale.[5] So heterotopias invariably contain fragments of the transnational, and moreover, are necessarily transnational fragments unto themselves. Little wonder that Foucault designated, as prototypical heterotopia, an object linked to the quintessential transnational phenomenon, the Black Atlantic:[6] "the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea . . . [thus] the boat has been . . . the greatest reserve of the imagination. The ship is the heterotopia par excellence."[7] The notion of heterotopia, therefore, standing as it does at the juncture of a series of important concepts—the transnational, the spatial, the potentially transformative or even revolutionary—deserves some generous attention. In this special forum, a series of interdisciplinary essays focused on the Americas think through a range of potential or extant heterotopias. This introduction considers the concept of heterotopia in modestly greater depth, suggesting that heterotopia is a

transnational formulation that can remove revolution from the bounds of nation and locate it instead in the multi-sited, relationally-constituted spaces where radical change takes place.

Given that triumphant revolutions litter the recent historical landscape, one of the most perplexing features of contemporary political life must be the widespread sense of the irrelevance or anachronism of revolution. Yet in the period since World War II, revolutions have reshaped the political contours of most every corner of the globe. From anti-colonial national victories in Africa and Asia to socialist upheaval in Latin America and the Caribbean to the separatism that has fractured European nations, postwar revolutions lend credence to the claim, if anyone would care to make it, that ours is another great revolutionary era. Even the 2011 Arab Revolutions, now coming into view as unstable and ambivalent in their outcomes, and the defeat of the Wisconsin protesters, echo other revolutions' limitations laid bare by dysfunctional political systems and the persistent forces of capital and institutionalized conservatism. Indeed, the 2011 Arab revolutions continue a postcolonial revolutionary era, particularly as the challenges of neocolonialism do not abate. Why, then, does a hope to foment rebellion seem so completely hollow, so foolishly head-in-the-clouds, so irresponsibly unrealistic? Whither the contempt for revolution, given the constant, frequent revolutions of the recent past?

The uneven inability to imagine revolution has several pieces. Certainly the complications and eventual collapse of the Soviet bloc, with its echoes in the defeat of the Sandinistas and the beginning of Cuba's Special Period, diminished enthusiasm for a particular kind of revolution by the early 1990s. Too, without the Cold War's checks and balances, the U.S. imperial state and its network of kin and prostheses have become the profoundly intimidating structures of governance that sharply contain rebel dreams today. Louis Althusser would cower at these stunningly powerful sovereigns—daunting neoliberal splicings of state and market that dwarf the concepts he coined to comprehend overpowerful states. Imperial hegemony has concrete and discursive structures to spare, *viz.* the gorgonian prison systems that absorb all dissidents, even as their ideological justifications effectively mystify their political character. And if the enervation of revolutionary imagination is geographically specific (the first world being more susceptible), no part of the globe is immune. Where there seem to be postcolonial states, the coloniality of power extends the abuses of colonial rule. Where there seems a "left turn," deep uncertainty saps the political imagination so that, as Fernando Coronil argued in a nuanced consideration of the contemporary Latin American *coyuntura*, few dare to envision systemic change as a real possibility.[8] Everywhere the forces of containment are massive but agile. Hopeful observers have responded by attempting to trust the dreams emerging within recent struggles (Coronil) or to theorize equally deft behemoths in counterpart, such as Hardt and Negri's hydra-headed multitude that must, surely, somewhere? refract and reject its adversarial matrix, empire.[9] Yet none of these projections go so far as to prophesy actual revolution.

Scholars have suffered the debilitation of revolutionary imagination, too. Some of this has to do with their reluctance to reckon with the political violence identified with revolutions, even as they bring critical insights to the brutal histories and legacies of counter-revolutionary terror. In his introduction to a recent anthology attempting to correct this imbalance, Greg Grandin describes how comparative studies of national revolutions (and their violent moorings) fail to address "how sequential crises rooted in specific national conflicts generated waves of radicalization that extended spatially . . . across the region." Yet he concludes with an emphasis on counterrevolutionary "killing unleashed to contain the threat," the overdetermined catalyst behind the ways "Latin America's revolutionary century broke and rolled back."[10] The variants of structural Marxism that captured scholars' attention in the 1960s and 1970s have been engulfed by widespread intellectual dissatisfaction. Historical studies of global protest have assessed 1960s revolutionary politics as limited if not failed, undermined by the compromises of the Cold War.[11] Our bookshelves these days are heavy with pessimistic titles: "The Future in Question," *No Future, Freedom Not Yet, In Defense of Lost Causes*.[12] What happened?

The embrace of Foucault, who left little room for revolution in his scholarship, is one part of the waning of revolution as scholarly commitment. Rather than specifying the conditions of possibility for revolution, Foucault concentrated on capillary power and governmentality in a way that laid bare the mechanisms of concealed and indirect power—mechanisms more likely to constrain than encourage radical change. Despite an explosion of studies that sought to recover popular agency and challenges to oppression, interest in "everyday forms" of resistance drew attention away from more exceptional and transformative examples of popular action.[13]

Crucially for this forum, revolution also suffers in scholars' estimations from having been tethered relentlessly to the nation form. Nationalisms have fueled or subtended most of the recent flock of revolutions, certainly the anti-colonial ones but also their anti-*neo*colonial cousins (think Nicaragua, Cuba, etc.). Nation and revolution have appeared to be fused, each other's necessary means and end (revolution as means: nation, as end). Even Marxist revolutions that dreamt of transition to world socialism accepted the nation form in temporary compromise. Even Black and other ethnic nationalisms, which often did not hope to govern a definite geographic territory, chose the term *nation* to name and promote their solidarity. Certainly, nationalism is implicated in the failures of many anticolonial revolutions.[14] Revolutions both political and theoretical have been hogtied not only by imperialism and the hegemony of global capital, but also by the national frames in which so many of them were cast. Indeed, in this moment dominated by fascination with transnational flows and phenomena, nation seems not just a poor vessel for utopian hopes but altogether passé. Its political partner, revolution, suffers by association.[15]

It doesn't have to be this way. Granted, a successful revolution must have a body politic, both concrete and abstract. Potential recruits to the cause must be able

to envision a "we" they might fortify with their allegiance. Granted as well, since the late eighteenth century, the world's premiere form of imagined community has been the nation. We insist, however, that it is possible to uncouple the nation form from rebel dreams. Doing so will require a new conceptualization of the space of liberation.

Transnational perspectives are key to this endeavor. To see outside the bounds of nation ought to turn floodlights onto potentially emancipatory ways of thinking and organizing. Transnational scholarship offers ways around revolution fatigue. After all, the transnational turn marks not only the triumph of multinational capital and imperial domination, but also the reinvigorated possibility of deft forces of contestation. Many people—especially those most disenfranchised by neoliberal (dis)order—dream in transnational color, avoiding forms of revolution prominent through the black-and-white era. Some find inspiration instead in early anti-imperial and diasporic movements for radical change, historical traditions still amply available for today's dreams of liberation because they were always in part organized in opposition to nation. Today's dreamers are sophisticates by virtue of their desperation, survivors who have relinquished only the structure of their structuralist hopes while continuing to feed insistent, emancipatory imaginations. Understanding that the revolution will not be national, not state-based or even territorial, they turn from that utopia to the possibilities already within. As the essays in this collection suggest, they surprise us by reinvigorating the most familiar places. That is to say, they turn us to heterotopia.

If the champions of revolutionary nationalism in its heyday understood the nation form to undergird the notion of revolution, today theorists of the transnational see the forces of history operating in registers both greater and smaller than the nation-state. This is not only true in the era of what has come to be called globalization. Transnational phenomena have always pushed those who live them to configure the insistently present, liminal spaces of heterotopia as places of the possible. It is historians and political theorists who have only recently caught on.

Perhaps this explains why the adoption of the concept of heterotopia is a latent one: first sketched by Foucault in lecture notes in 1967, it was not circulated in print until 1984 and in English somewhat later, and never experienced the hullabaloo that accumulated around other Foucaultian concepts. The few early invocations of heterotopia in the 1990s attempted to describe artistic renderings, often less concerned with transnational frames than with spaces and forms putatively within cultures.[16] To challenge this notion of contained cultural entities, the spatial turn in the social sciences and humanities needs transnational method, because transnational scholarship refuses the boundedness of objects of inquiry. The recent vogue for transnational scholarship should propel an invigorated engagement with the concept of heterotopia. As transnational methods reveal, heterotopia is at heart a spatial concept: a *where*.

Attention to spatial scaffolds is one of the gifts the concept of heterotopia can offer. After too many seasons of "posts" taking us after and after again while eternally failing to arrive, we are ready for some "trans" to move us to another place. It is in the context of this search for revolutionary geographies that readers are turning to the work of political theorists such as Jacques Rancière and Alain Badiou. Both have plenty of space in their time. Rancière is particularly exciting for his insistence on egalitarianism in pedagogy, in art, and in politics. His theory of politics embraces "limitless" democracy defined first and last by this ethos of egalitarianism. The word he uses for the best bits of democracy is "heterotopy," as he writes: "Democracy is not a modern 'limitlessness' which destroys the heterotopy necessary to politics. It is on the contrary the founding power of this heterotopy, the primary limitation of the power of forms of authority that govern the social body."[17]

Why *heterotopy* rather than *heterogeneity*, one wonders? Is this not simply an emphasis on generative multiplicity? More likely is that this choice has to do with Rancière's mindful engagement of the concept of space. Rancière is excited about people who refuse to stay "in their place," so to speak, and who evade the categories applied to them. He defines heresy as speech out of place: "a popular voice that refuses any clear assignation of place."[18] "For Rancière," one commentator observed, "politics is not primarily the exercise or struggle for power but the emergence of a certain type of space and time."[19] In his view, "everything in politics turns on the distribution of spaces," as power lies in delimiting particular grounds, deciding who occupies them, and what gets done in each.[20] Politics *is* the contestatory configuration of space.

For Alain Badiou, space matters in a rather different way. Badiou has suggested that people become political subjects by experiencing, together, an exceptional moment, a break: an *event*. The two quintessential examples in Badiou's work are not national revolutions but the Sixties of the Paris barricades and the conversion of Saint Paul. The protagonists in both cases re-situate themselves by embracing a collective project. No *a priori* identity or position is required; the kernel of radical change is immanent, available to everyone who enters this transformative, even revolutionary, space.[21]

Events, for Badiou, have a necessary spatiality, critical to their ability to communicate. The event creates a space, an "event site" (*site événementiel*), out of which a truth emanates, carried along by people who become subjects of that truth.[22] This event site, not "local" but profoundly located, depending on its site at the beginning but not in its implications ("truth effects," in Badiou's term) is both specific and transcendent: translocal.[23] Badiou explains that the event "will generally be located close to the edge of whatever qualifies as 'void' or indistinguishable."[24] As such, it is a heterotopia.

Perhaps this is why Badiou bucks the scholarly consensus that revolution is no longer feasible. His understanding of politics seems downright optimistic. He condemns the "ultra-skeptical attitude that nothing can be done, that no political

alternatives are thinkable beyond the 'laws' laid down by the global market," insisting, "those who believe that revolutionary politics is finished – because the government pays no heed to what people think – do not understand what politics is and what it is capable of today."[25]

By attending to the spatial side of politics, Rancière and Badiou reinvigorate the range of political possibilities from tepid democratic participation to radical revolt. The authors in this special forum do something similar. They explore the ways protagonists rely on and build spaces for their deeds and dreams in multiple struggles: regime-changing upheavals such as the Nicaraguan and Cuban Revolutions; movements such as Black Power, gay liberation, or the counterculture; and aesthetic innovations such as that of the jazz age. They notice the heterotopias already present in the scenes they describe, even the less savory, decidedly reactionary elements. Heterotopias are not necessarily emancipatory, they remind us; for that quality, see utopia, the non-existent cousin. Indeed, spaces constructed as "other" have ample opportunity to incorporate all the violence of colonial social hierarchies. The prison, recall, is also one of Foucault's examples of heterotopia.

This special forum shows some of these processes of identification and differentiation, elaborating upon the concept of heterotopia and also subjecting it to useful revision. The essays enlarge upon the feminist critiques of heterotopia that have pointed out the gendered dimensions of Foucault's "everyday" spaces.[26] They add the critique allowed by anti-imperial transnational perspectives, noting that Foucault's *heres* can too easily become normativized—as "Western," as national—against a panoply of colonized *theres*. There remains terrible potential for oppression in linkages across national borders, in great distances rendered as collapsed distinctions between here and there, and in transnational encounters; all of these can as easily feed inequality as counter it.[27] A heterotopia reconceived in this light might follow theorists of transnational space who refuse the simplest scalar definition (the transnational as the global, that is, everything) and see transnational phenomena instead as things that simply fail to fit national borders, whether they therefore swallow, cross, or lie within them. This insight would encourage thinkers for whom heterotopia is appealing to emphasize its fluid character, to treat it as a plurality of intersecting, asymmetrically-organized spaces.[28] With this sort of heterotopia as lens, as guide, revolution reveals itself: ¡*presente*!

The articles in this forum take up the political, social, and cultural relationships forged across the Americas in the twentieth century through art, activism, and travel. The ideas about place and space undergirding these various modal relationships range from juxtaposition to kindred connection to outright opposition. In each case, the dynamics involve movement across spaces understood as related, yet different, yet mutually constitutive. Revolutionary projects, these pieces show, have thrived on and may even require heterotopic political dreamspace. Multiple spaces within the hemispheric Americas have provided enduring sources for such imaginaries.

The intersection of time and heterotopia is conceptually nuanced in Anne Dvinge's piece, "Keeping Time, Performing Place: Jazz Heterotopia in Candace Allen's *Valaida*." Paying attention to time in motion, in music, and in the radical remaking of tempo, Dvinge launches the forum with the aesthetics of heterotopia. "Keeping Time" looks at mobile actors—in this case Black jazz musicians—who nevertheless do not move in and out of revolutionary spaces. They carry the alternative themselves (reminiscent of Badiou's St. Paul), projecting the desired emancipatory space around their bodies through music as they travel to places all indelibly marked by racist injustice. The heterotopic space of the musical performance serves as contestation, Dvinge argues, through the work of tempo. Her intriguing observations on time's ability to warp space enrich an understanding of race, alienation, and emancipation. For Dvinge, the jazz age's transnational performances may constitute a heterotopia. While it offers no clean exit from the grinding racism of the everyday, its very existence constitutes a potent oasis for embattled actors and a cultural reservoir for ongoing struggle.

Furthering our understanding of the aesthetic morphology of heterotopias is Amy Sara Carroll's "Global Mexico's Coproduction: *Babel*, *Pan's Labyrinth*, and *Children of Men.*" Carroll compares three recent films released by teams of Mexican filmmakers working in conjunction with counterparts located elsewhere. This transnational filmmaking instantiates, in both process and product, a certain kind of global Mexico. Carroll plots a theory of coproduction as "both an aesthetic response to, and an effect of, neoliberal and alter-globalizations." Coproduction constitutes a node for the intense politics of spatial demarcation diagnosed by Rancière. These neo-realist coproductions employ a common range of techniques to shape the space of the film, Carroll argues, most strikingly through the very quality of light and color. Carroll shows how this heightened aesthetic awareness of "reality" links the work of light and color to the social structure of the films. Specifically, white women and children are at once missing and messianic, and possibly revolutionary. Light and color frame certain social figures as pivotal in struggles against the devastations of capitalist modernity. Carroll suggests that it is in this aesthetic framing that these films generate and become heterotopias. Coproduction's disruption of national film industries and ostensibly national films generates a critique of late capitalist globalization. Like transnational jazz performance in Dvinge's analysis, heterotopia for Carroll is not simply a product of the relational constitution of normative and alternative spaces. It is rather a new space, often temporally marked as messianic revolution, produced by linking disparate locations.

Bringing the transformative aesthetics of heterotopias back around to explicitly political projects, the next article offers an intriguing demarcation of transnational revolutionary space. In "Transnational Zapata: From the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional to Immigrant Marches," Stephany Slaughter identifies heterotopic spaces for cultural and political actions that transgress national boundaries. Slaughter considers the transnational travels of the iconic figure of

Zapata, an image mobilized to make demands upon states by staking claims that register on multiple fronts. Connecting Zapata's own body to the abstract martyred body to the immigrant body politic that transcends nation, the author shows how mediated spaces intersect with and foment the spatial politics of protest. Her attention to the workings of media, defined broadly, in nearly one hundred years of Zapata imagery, points to ways of looking at media's elastic material spatiality as a kind of heterotopia itself, and one vital to emancipatory politics.

Continuing in the realm of formal politics, three of the seven essays in this forum, perhaps unsurprisingly, focus on the most striking postwar revolutions in the Americas, those of Nicaragua and Cuba. The research here suggests ways in which these revolutions became crucial heterotopias (as events in Badiou's sense) for the Americas. The first of these, Emily Hobson's "'Si Nicaragua Venció': Lesbian and Gay Solidarity with the Revolution," considers the sources of revolutionary drives. Where did they come from, and how were difficult political struggles sparked and sustained in ways that required activists to see new kinds of connections across space? Hobson offers a vision of transnational solidarities as activists from US California in the 1980s worked in Nicaragua and in US cities to support the Revolution. Hobson invokes Herbert Marcuse's concept of eros as political force to identify a dynamics of desire connecting political with other drives, and her evidence clearly points to the ways in which the Nicaraguan Revolution offered a heterotopia for US-based leftists yearning to live revolution. Their political work drew on and fed the synergy between the period's coeval, interdigitated sexual and anti-imperialist revolutions. Though Hobson does not explore the reverse projection, the ways in which places such as San Francisco may have served as a heterotopia of sexual emancipation for Nicaraguan queer revolutionaries, she provides provocative groundwork from which others might gaze in that direction.

Moving from collective activism to the highly contingent transnational alliances forged by iconic revolutionary figures, Sarah Seidman's "Tricontinental Routes of Solidarity: Stokely Carmichael in Cuba" evokes the simultaneous proximity and distance implicit in heterotopia. Stokely Carmichael and Fidel Castro implicitly agreed to bracket issues of Cuban race politics in order to forge a pact they called *tricontinentalism*, framed around geopolitical issues, where explicitly revolutionary resistance to imperialism and colonialism created common cause. Divergent and perhaps incompatible definitions of race threatened this alliance between US black activists and Cuban revolutionaries. This case belongs in the long history of African Americans looking abroad for alternative racial configurations, the heterotopic nature of which depended on ignoring the shattering racisms there.[29] Seidman's research suggests that heterotopias can be useful for talking about political heterogeneity in spatial terms. Specifically, figuring spaces as heterotopic to one another allows revolutionary political actors and polities to sustain ideological differences even as they forge vital connections.

The counterrevolutionary aspects of heterotopia are as visible as the revolutionary in Devyn Spence Benson's "Owning the Revolution: Race, Revolution, and Politics from Havana to Miami, 1959-1963." Benson considers the role revolutionary discourses about racial privilege played in the first wave of Cuban exile. Strong feelings about racial integration, she argues, centrally shaped the ways Cubans across the social and political spectrum understood the 1959 Revolution. For those emerging as counterrevolutionaries, the immediate resolution of tensions around the conjuncture of race and revolution was a spatial fix: exile. Cuban Miami, forged in constant contrast to revolutionary Cuba, became a counterrevolutionary heterotopia where bodies racialized themselves as white through auto-exile. Benson's research suggests that in Cuba, the state's discourse posed black bodies as heterot(r)opes in relation to the national space of the revolution, bodies racialized to mark the space of the nation as revolutionary even as their political incorporation attenuated. Benson's research thus suggests ways in which heterotopias help dissect dominant bodies politic in relation to minority (body) politics. Competing claims to represent the nation-state were staked on two embodied spaces, exile Miami and the anti-racist island. Both spaces worked transnationally, even when mobilized in the name of the nation, underscoring the instability of national space.

In "Journeys to Others and Lessons of Self: Carlos Castaneda in *Camposcape*," Ageeth Sluis cautions against a too-literal emphasis on Foucault's assertion that heterotopias are "real" spaces. She points out instead that all understandings of place and spatial relationality require vivid imaginaries. Casteneda's depiction of travelling to shaman Don Juan's space of transcendence is a perfect example. Sluis dubs this space a *camposcape*, a heterotopic imaginary at the intersection of psychedelic drugs and "indigenous" northern Mexican travel-tourism. Such was the enthusiastic work of revolutionary countercultural tourists seeking freedom through altered mental states. These seekers were willing to enter Casteneda's camposcape by engaging in the suspension of disbelief on multiple fronts: the nature of Mexican indigeneity, the material existence and relationship of Casteneda and Don Juan, the pharmacology of the substances involved. Sluis argues that, in Casteneda's heterotopia, drugs allow one to transcend the body and, in effect, to enter camposcape. Sluis pointedly argues that Casteneda's masculinist re-situating of himself, Don Juan, and the camposcape, though paradigmatic for the Sixties' cultural revolution, in fact not only hampered its revolutionary possibilities, but also indexes the myriad political limitations of this camposcape as a neo-colonial heterotopia. Particularly suggestive in this article is the implication that a book can work as a heterotopic space. The camposcape contained in the book was a central, even iconic one for Sixties radicals. Moreover, for self-fashioning revolutionary subjects eager to use their minds to transcend their bodies, the book worked materially as a portable heterotopia, that is, a heterotopia that could be entered by carrying it around, fantasizing and talking about it, or even simply reading it.

These articles map transnational (dis)encounters of actors entangled as allies or opponents who cross spaces posed in counter-distinction, often mutually heterotopic to one another. It is not surprising that these contrasts between spaces get mapped with a temporal inflection in which revolution can signal linear (think pre- and post-1959 Cuba) or cyclical time (as in countercultural elites' views of indigenous cultural reserves). Stuttered temporalities distinguish heterotopias from normative places.

This forum as a whole expands the utility of heterotopia, a land of Oz but the studio-built version, a place with a spatiality both concrete and present, but still best rendered in terms of color, tone, light, tempo, and pitch. Despite our heightened attention to the aesthetic morphology of heterotopia we do not propose, *pace* Frederick Jameson, a single aesthetic for the transnational. The dense sites of representation explored here, from musical performance to feature film to protest march, function heterotopically precisely because they emerge within transnational landscapes criss-crossed by geopolitical conflicts and alliances.

Taken together, the articles in this forum explore heterotopic aspects of aesthetic-political phenomena, suggesting an expanded understanding of revolution and/as/in space. They offer a refined sense of revolution as praxis, that is, as conviction (theory/ideology) plus action, an application with little regard for judgments of efficacy. Revolutionary praxis entails political projects that are both emancipatory in aiming to redistribute resources and in questioning the framing logics of power. Such projects require concentration on spatial relations, and for scholars, a transcendence of literal notions of place to more robustly spatial analyses. Consider the mirror, which Foucault posits as a "real" heterotopia. Real, yes; virtual, maybe; literal, no.

Of all the kinds of heterotopic transformative spaces explored here, perhaps most provocative are the examples of heterotopias that serve as revolutionary containers of radical potentiality. Indeed many of the articles account for moments when the opened cultural container becomes action-full revolutionary space, the site for an event: the countercultural book carried from cafes to protests; film coproduced; song performed; the body engaged (in bed/accompaniment/exile); and the political icon channeled or inscribed anew. In all cases, the key that opens their transformative, indeed transcendent, implications seems to be the transnational.

Thus this forum makes a case for "the transnational" as a quintessential aspect of heterotopia. Disregard for scale unsettles the hegemonic frame of the nation-state as locus of struggle. Granted, mid-twentieth-century anti-imperial revolutions were still largely national-popular movements and often shared the hegemonic political presuppositions of state and empire. They prioritized nation-state formation through the patriarchal developmentalist logic outlined by María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, among others.[30] But within them are heterotopic fragments, potentials disrespecting the directions of the directing nation-state. These insights will help us rethink the ideological contours of our own emancipatory

landscapes. US left lesbian activists and Nicaraguan revolutionaries, Fidel Castro and Stokely Carmichael, Madison and Cairo protestors created platforms for alliance that did not require either to fully adopt the other's political project. Thus, in looking at the relationships among sites of revolutionary transformation, conceptualizing connections as heterotopic allows us to appreciate their political efficacy and significance. No longer need we denounce such revolutions as ostensible failures because certain alliances were incompletely coherent in ideology or strategy. Every revolution worth its salt brims with heterotopias galore, all, indeed, transnational.

In a moment when phenomena identified as globalization and the War on Terror, platitudinous or not, redraw the boundaries of politics, scholars find currency in Rancière's optimism about the creation of spaces—the scene(s) of politics—that constitute and enable what he calls a "revolution in the forms of sensory existence."[31] They (and we) embrace Badiou's insistence not only on the possibility but the necessity of revolutionary change. Following Badiou, we recognize the utility of a spatially-rooted experience for constituting political subjects, for only in such a landscape can prevailing paradigms erode. The existing, vital counter-sites for such politics forego, transcend, and chasten the boundaries of nation. Perhaps they will not foster worldwide revolution but these transnational spatial projections—these heterotopic reserves—are replete with possibilities modeled and contradictions sustained.

Notes

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[1] "The Best Wisconsin Protest Signs," *Huffington Post*, Accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/21/best-wisconsin-protest-signs_n_826265.html#s243900&title=GPA_Fail; "Best Wisconsin Protest Signs," About.com, Accessed July 22, 2011, http://politicalhumor.about.com/od/Funny-Protest-Signs/ig/Wisconsin-Protest-Signs/; "Wisconsin Protest Signs," *Cristian Science Monitor* online, Accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.csmonitor.com/CSM-Photo-Galleries/In-Pictures/Wisconsin-protest-signs.

[2] S. Charusheela, "Rethinking Marxism in Times of Turmoil," paper delivered at the "Marxism and Cultural Studies" conference, Bloomington, Indiana, April 1, 2011.

[3] In invoking emancipation as a desired outcome of revolutions, we do not intend specific political contents for revolutions or social movements. Indeed, definitions and understandings of emancipation, like those of revolution and heterotopia, are necessarily unstable and shaped by their historical contexts. See Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(s)* (London: Verso, 2007).

[4] Michel Foucault, "Des espaces autres," *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* (October, 1984 [lecture 14 March 1967]); available in English as "Of Other Spaces (1967), Heterotopias," trans. Jay Miskowiec, Accessed July 22, 2011, http://foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heteroTopia.en.html.

[5] Sallie A. Marston, John Paul Jones III and Keith Woodward, "Human Geography without Scale," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, no. 4 (2004): 416-432; see also responses, and these authors' reply, comprising this issue of *Transactions*.

[6] Following Paul Gilroy's suggestion in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 4.

[7] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias."

[8] Fernando Coronil, "The Future in Question: History and Utopia in Latin America (1989-2010)," in *Business as Usual: The Roots of the Global Financial Meltdown*, ed. Craig Calhoun and Georgi Derluguian (New York: NYU Press, 2011), 231-264. See also Alvaro Reyes, "Revolutions in the Revolutions: A Post-Counterhegemonic Moment for Latin America?" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 1 (2012): 1-27.

[9] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), and *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

[10] Greg Grandin, "Living in Revolutionary Time: Coming to Terms with the Violence of Latin America's Long Cold War," in *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War,* ed. Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 29. Grandin (6-7) acknowledges a tradition of Latin American(ist) scholarship that takes on questions of revolutionary violence, although that tradition has "operated within the hermeneutic rather than the analytical wing of the humanities and social sciences." Indeed, a focus on "suffering" in lieu of "exploitation" replaces "analytical categories with metaphysical ones."

[11] Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year That Rocked the World* (New York: Random House, 2005), George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (New York: South End Press, 1999), Tariq Ali and Susan Watkins, *1968: Marching in the Streets* (New York: Free Press, 1998), Paul Berman, *A Tale of Two Utopias: The Political Journey of the Generation of 1968* (New York: Norton, 1997). For a counterargument, see Lessie Jo Frazier and Deborah Cohen, "Defining the Space of Mexico 1968: Heroic Masculinity in

the Prison, and Women's Participation on the Campus and Street," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no.3 (2003): 617-660.

[12] Coronil, "The Future in Question"; Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Kenneth Surin, *Freedom Not Yet: Liberation and the Next World Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); and Slavoj Žižek, *In Defense of Lost Causes* (London: Verso, 2009). For a fuller consideration of this scholarly trend, see Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo and David Sartorius, "Revolution," *Social Text* 100 (2009): 223-229.

[13] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

[14] Étienne Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991), 37-85.

[15] Scholars even question whether the supposedly "new" transnational activism can escape dead-end, nationally-derived political models. Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[16] Early invocations of heterotopia that applied the term to art, exploring not conventional political realms but aesthetic spaces, included Robert Reid-Pharr, "Disseminating Heterotopia," *African American Review* 28, no. 3 (1994): 347-357, and Johannes Biringer, "Makrolab: A Heterotopia," *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 20, no. 3 (September 1998): 74. Others engaged with leisure culture; see Kevin Murphy, "'Secure from All Intrusion': Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century American Resort," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, nos. 2/3 (2009): 185-228; and Aditya Nigam, "The Heterotopias of Dalit Politics: Becoming-Subject and the Consumption Utopia," in *Utopia/Dystopia: Conditions of Historical Possibility*, ed. Michael D. Gordin, Helen Tilley, and Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 250-276. A notable exception that addresses art but embraces the transnational is Ronni Armstead, "Las Krudas, Spatial Practice, and the Performance of Diaspora," *Meridians* 8, no. 1 (2008): 130-143.

[17] Jacques Rancière, *The Hatred of Democracy*, trans. Steve Corcoran (London: Verso, 2006), 45.

[18] Peter Hallward, "Politics and Aesthetics: An Interview with Jacques Rancière," trans. Forbes Morlock, *Angelaki* 8, no. 2 (2003): 192.

[19] Michael O'Rourke (poster), "Conference on Aesthetic Education," Jacques Rancière blogspot, Accessed May 20, 2011, http://ranciere.blogspot.com/2011/02/conference-on-aesthetic-education.html.

[20] Hallward, "Politics and Aesthetics," 201. Here, helpfully for transantional scholars, Rancière notes that "national mediation remains effective, yes, because it's there that

the relation between a structure of inclusion and what it excludes plays itself out," noting how the plight of undocumented aliens exposes the contradictions of an ostensibly global economy.

[21] A position not unlike that of anti-essentialist feminist theory; see Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press 2003).

[22] "Alain Badiou – Biography," The European Graduate School Faculty webpages, Accessed May 20, 2011, http://www.egs.edu/faculty/alain-badiou/biography/.

[23] Alain Badiou, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 22-23.

[24] "Alain Badiou – Biography."

[25] Jason Barker, "Translator's Introduction" to Alain Badiou, *Metapolitics*, trans. Jason Barker (London; NY: Verso, 2006 [1998]), x, xvi.

[26] Mary McLeod, "Other Spaces and 'Others," in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, and Leslie Kanes Weisman (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996), 15-28.

[27] For a recent critique of the centrality of self-other binaries to European thought, see Vanita Seth, *Europe's Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500-1900* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[28] Thanks to Claudia Breger for this phrasing suggestion.

[29] See, for example, *African-American Reflections on Brazil's Racial Paradise*, ed. David J. Hellwig (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Hellwig, "A New Frontier in a Racial Paradise: Robert F. Abbott's Brazilian Dream," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 25, no. 1 (1988): 59-67; Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham: Duke 2009); Frank Andre Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Nancy Mirabal, "Scripting Race, Finding Place: African Americans, Afro-Cubans, and the Diasporic Imaginary in the United States," in *Neither Enemies nor Friends; Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos*, ed. Anani Dzidzienyo and Suzanne Oboler (New York: Palrave Macmillan, 2005), 189-208; and Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[30] María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); see also Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[31] Jacques Rancière, "Lyotard and the Aesthetics of the Sublime: A Counter-reading of Kant," in *Aesthetics and Its Discontents* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009 [2004]), 99.

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