A WIDE NET OF SOLIDARITY

ANTIRACISM AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM FROM THE AMERICAS TO THE GLOBE

ANNE GARLAND MAHLER

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RADICAL AMÉRICAS | *A series edited by Bruno Bosteels and Geo Maher*

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Cover art: Tina Modotti, *Untitled (Sand)*, 1929.

FOR THE ACTIVISTS AND ARTISTS WHO INSPIRED
THIS BOOK ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AAAIL	All-America Anti-Imperialist League
ANERC	Asociación de Nuevos Emigrados Revolucionarios Cubanos / Association of New Cuban Revolutionary Émigrés
ANLC	American Negro Labor Congress
APRA	Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana / American Popular Revolutionary Alliance
BC	Buró del Caribe / Caribbean Bureau
CNOC	Confederación Nacional Obrera de Cuba / Confederation of Cuban Workers
COMINTERN	Communist International
CPUSA	Communist Party of the United States of America
CSLA	Confederación Sindical Latino Americana / Confederation of Latin American Labor Unions
EDSN	Ejército Defensor de la Soberanía Nacional de Nicaragua / Army in Defense of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
HPU	Haitian Patriotic Union
IC	Internacional Comunista / Communist International
IIAAF	International Imagination of Anti-National Anti-Imperialist Feelings
IRA	International Red Aid
ITUCNW	International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers
LACO	League Against Colonial Oppression
LADLA	Liga Antimperialista de las Américas / Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas
LAI	League Against Imperialism and Colonial Rule and for National Independence
LCAEV	Liga de Comunidades Agrarias del Estado de Veracruz / Veracruz League of Agrarian Communities

LNC	Liga Nacional Campesina / National Peasant League
MAFUENIC	Manos Fuera de Nicaragua / Hands Off Nicaragua
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
OC	Oposición Comunista / Communist Opposition
OCMAL	Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros de América Latina / Observatory of Mining Conflicts of Latin America
PBL	Partido Bolchevique-Leninista / Bolshevik-Leninist Party
PCC	Partido Comunista Cubano / Cuban Communist Party
PCCR	Partido Comunista de Costa Rica / Costa Rican Communist Party
PCM	Partido Comunista Mexicano / Mexican Communist Party
PIC	Partido Independiente de Color / Independent Party of Color
PNPR	Partido Nacionalista de Puerto Rico / Puerto Rican Nationalist Party
POS	Partido Obrero Socialista / Mexican Socialist Party
PROFINTERN	Red International of Labor Unions
PRV	Partido Revolucionario Venezolano / Venezuelan Revolutionary Party
PSP	Partido Socialista Popular / Dominican Popular Socialist Party
SSA	Secretariado Sudamericano / South American Secretariat
TUEL	Trade Union Educational League
UNIA	United Negro Improvement Association
UP	Universidad Popular José Martí / José Martí Popular University
WP	Workers Party of America

INTRODUCTION

REDES

POLITICS AND AESTHETICS IN THE EXTRACTIVE ZONE

In the short film *Land of Friends* (2014) by Colombian American artist Carolina Caycedo, a fisherwoman and water rights activist repeatedly tosses out a fishing net while standing in the Suaza River (figure I.1). The film devotes more than a minute to this meditative gesture, representing the beginning of the artist's long-standing fascination with "the cast fishing net as an affective object."[1] In the final scene of this sequence, the fisherwoman (Zoila Ninco) pulls in an empty net before walking away defeated, introducing the film's focus on hydroelectric dams' detrimental impacts on local ecologies.[2] Caycedo has since incorporated the cast net into several projects about hydroelectric dams built for mining projects, including her impressive hanging sculptures that combine handmade nets and symbolic objects given to her by members of river communities. These *cosmotarrayas*—a neologism combining *cosmos* with *atarraya*, the Spanish term for "cast net"—imitate the conical shape of cast nets as they hang to dry from riverside trees.

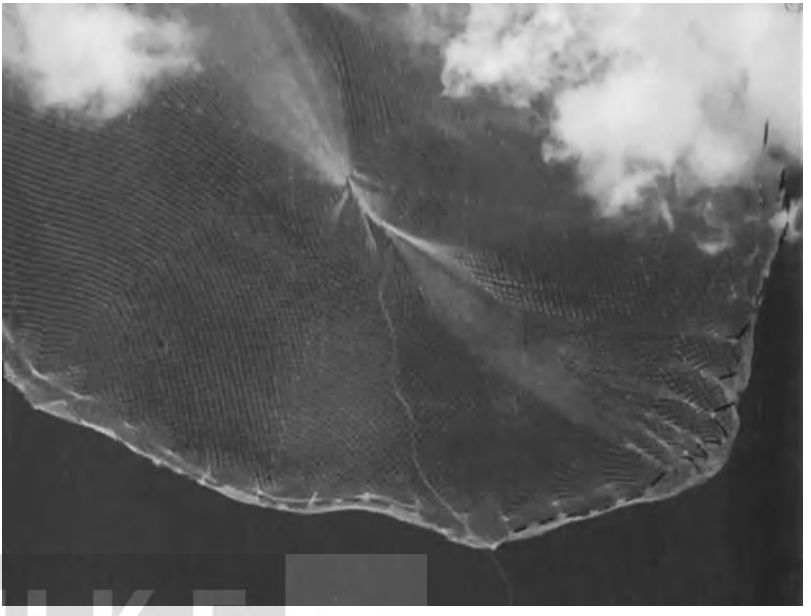
Caycedo's attention to the act of casting a net in *Land of Friends* recalls the opening scene of the renowned Mexican film *Redes* (1936), a collaboration between directors Fred Zinneman and Emilio Gómez Muriel with photographer Paul Strand. *Redes* begins with a medium shot of the protagonist, Miro, standing in the ocean and holding a net. After he casts the net, a low-angle shot captures it spread out across the sky before it falls onto the camera (figures I.2 and I.3). After Miro pulls in only one fish, the film then cuts to panning shots of wooden shacks, tattered clothes on a line, and drying drag nets hanging from poles. These images introduce

I.1 Film still, *Land of Friends* (2014).

the setting: a fishing village in Veracruz. The village is controlled by a local businessman who, allied with a politician and holding a monopoly on the region's commercial fishing industry, underpays the local fishermen. The film's title, *Redes*, references the fishing nets owned by the businessman, but an alternative translation of *redes* refers to "networks." The film meditates on the affective connections necessary for the fishermen to take control of the means of production to free themselves from poverty. Like the film *Redes*, to which I will return, Caycedo's *cosmotarrayas* contain a parallel double meaning, referring both to fishing nets and to the "networks of solidarity and resistance in the fight for . . . social justice" where "the everyday gesture of casting a net is a political act that affirms the river as a common good."[3]

Caycedo is one of many artists in recent years whose work critiques mining and other extractive industries. This body of work has emerged alongside a surge in environmental social justice movements in Latin America and around the globe. These struggles carry ties across space and time, and they draw on longer histories of political organizing. *A Wide Net of Solidarity: Antiracism and Anti-Imperialism from the Americas to the Globe* situates these trends in contemporary activism within a longer history of struggle in the American continent and beyond by unearthing networks of activists and artists in the 1920s–30s and examining the insights of their vision for a "rebellious humanity" today.[4]

I.2 Film still, *Redes* (1936).



I.3 Film still, *Redes* (1936).

While this book touches on a broad set of organizations, individuals, and cultural production, at its core is the highly influential, but undertheorized, movement called the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas (Liga Antimperialista de las Américas, LADLA). LADLA was founded in January 1925 in Mexico City but quickly grew to include fourteen national sections throughout the continent, and these national sections often oversaw additional subsections in local cities (including Spanish-speaking sections within the continental United States).[5] It joined urban trade unions, agrarian organizations, and cultural and artistic groups to combat US and European commercial and military expansion and eventually the rise of Depression-era nationalism. It directly linked its position of anti-imperialism to a critique of extractive and monocrop plantation economies and to the related land dispossession and exploitation of Black, Indigenous, and immigrant populations. Through unifying the communities most affected by extractive projects into a transnational and multiracial political community, LADLA sought to forge an alternative relation among peoples across national, linguistic, and racial borders and to denaturalize the commodification of territories and resources.

Within two years of LADLA's founding, at the 1927 Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism and for National Independence in Brussels, LADLA members joined with 174 delegates from thirty-seven countries to form the global League Against Imperialism (LAI). In Brussels, the LAI would officially name LADLA as its Americas section.[6] There, LADLA activists interacted with Black activists from the United States and anticolonial leaders from Africa and Asia, like India's Jawaharlal Nehru and Senegal's Lamine Senghor. *A Wide Net of Solidarity* provides the first account of how these exchanges impacted debates in radical circles in the Americas, specifically regarding the subjects of Black and Indigenous leadership in political organizing, immigrant rights, racial policing, and links between foreign intervention and internal forms of fascist governance. By connecting to issues in Africa, Asia, and the United States, LADLA devised a comparative approach to policing and racialized violence, particularly in extractive economies. With this lens, it theorized a relationship between labor exploitation, anti-blackness, and anti-immigrant sentiment in Latin American countries with high levels of Haitian and West Indian migrant labor, and it attempted to combat the rise of nativism in these contexts.

This book aims to situate LADLA in its rightful place among the most significant solidarity movements in the history of the American continent.

LADLA activists conceived of this movement in terms both practical and aesthetic, and several activist-artists shaped its core vision. If Caycedo, for example, seems to reference the cinematography of Paul Strand's *Redes* in her film, Strand himself drew inspiration from Tina Modotti, the Italian-born photographer based in Mexico City and one of LADLA's most active members. Modotti's 1929 photographs of drying drag nets, featured on the cover of this book, clearly reverberate in *Redes*. More importantly, Modotti's broader body of work, as I detail in the first chapter, attempted to capture aesthetically LADLA's worldview, visualizing an alternative social relation to extractive economies.

Beyond Modotti, several well-known artists, activists, and intellectuals counted among LADLA's core leadership in Mexico City. These included Mexican organizers Úrsulo Galván and Rafael Carrillo; Mexican visual artists Diego Rivera, Xavier Guerrero, and David Siqueiros; leaders of the Cuban anti-Machado resistance movement exiled in Mexico City, like Julio Antonio Mella and Sandalio Junco; Venezuelan activists Salvador de la Plaza and Gustavo Machado; and members of the so-called slackers from the United States who joined the Mexican Left when they evaded military conscription, like Manuel Gomez (aka Charles Francis Phillips) and Bertram and Ella Wolfe. Once LADLA joined the LAI in 1927, Swiss communist Fritz Sulzbachner (aka Federico Bach) became the LAI's representative in Mexico City. Bach was replaced in 1929 by the German economics professor Alfons Goldschmidt, who worked at the National Autonomous University of Mexico.[7] Although the members of LADLA's fourteen national sections would be too many to name here, they also included several poets and novelists, including Costa Rican author Carmen Lyra and Cuban writers Alejo Carpentier, Rubén Martínez Villena, Regino Pedroso, and Luis Felipe Rodríguez.

While it was partially funded by organizations with affiliations to the Communist International (1919–43), LADLA maintained an ideologically fluid vision based on the Comintern's "united-front" approach of the 1920s, joining a broad range of social classes and leftist ideologies behind a position of anti-imperialism.[8] Many of LADLA's central leaders belonged to communist parties and were heavily influenced by Marxism-Leninism, but they actively resisted labeling LADLA as a communist organization and intentionally propagated a flexible political platform. LADLA operated as a node in a broader network of leftist organizing and aimed to cast a wide net, bringing together varying perspectives, including those from anarcho-syndicalism

and local traditions of anticolonial struggle.[9] LADLA's history challenges the proliferation of scholarship on Latin American communism, particularly Cuban and Mexican communism, by providing an alternative and more ideologically flexible perspective that gets buried in the predominant tendency to focus on the region's more orthodox communist parties.[10]

The networks studied in this book traverse a wide-ranging geography from Mexico City to Berlin, Brussels, Buenos Aires, Havana, Managua, Montevideo, Moscow, Santo Domingo, San Juan, and New York City. Its central actors include people born in Cuba, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Italy, Mexico, Peru, the United States, and Venezuela. Tracing such a multinational constellation of individuals, held together around the shape of their shared political ideals, constitutes a core aim of this book. Some of the figures studied (like Afro-Cuban union organizer Sandalio Junco or African American miner Isaiah Hawkins) are little known. Despite the transnational sites of exchange in which these actors came into contact, their work is often kept separate in the scholarly record due to the linguistic and regional patterns through which we tend to organize scholarship. To tell the story of LADLA is to tell the story of these weavings—of ties at once political and artistic, and often romantic, erotic, or adversarial.

If LADLA's political project linked actors across national, linguistic, and racial borders, its artists' aesthetics also forged an entwined imagination. This study combines the analysis of personal papers, government records, speeches and resolutions, and trade union, Comintern, and anti-imperialist periodicals with related poetry, photography, illustrations, novels, and ephemera in both Spanish and English. The analysis of archival materials and rare newspapers alongside literary and artistic works reflects an understanding of cultural and artistic texts not as mere expressions of their historical reality but as works that help shape that reality. My training and experience in cultural studies and archival methods means an approach to archives that takes seriously the content of a political activist's letter and also the illustration on the letterhead and the poem enclosed within. Although the artists and activists discussed in these pages are frequently studied apart from one another, these individuals did not view their artistic and political realms as separate. This book, in turn, follows their lead.

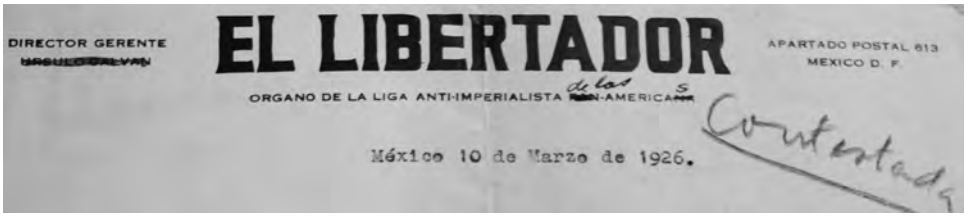
A Wide Net of Solidarity ultimately argues that LADLA made three lasting contributions that are useful to social movements today. First, LADLA provides an early twentieth-century example of transnational political organizing across extractive economies, which it used to theorize the relationship between differing oppressions and to imagine a new global political

community. Second, LADLA analyzed the relation (but not conflation) of differentiated experiences of capitalist exploitation suffered by Indigenous, Black, and immigrant communities. In doing so, it advanced a multiracial and hemispheric analysis of racialized capital accumulation. And third, LADLA serves as an important case study for thinking through the promises and limitations of transnational and multiracial solidarity movements.

LADLA FROM THE AMERICAS TO THE GLOBE

A Wide Net of Solidarity is the first book-length study of LADLA published in English. Because it uniquely brings together personal papers from LADLA's Latin American and US sections with LAI archives, it adds significantly to the historiography of LADLA and the LAI. The book moves in new directions by tracing LADLA's theoretical contributions, the broader debates that its members engaged, and the impact of its networks in interwar radical cultural production. The existing scholarship on LADLA, with which this study is closely engaged, has mostly framed it as a regional, Latin American organization with connections to the LAI and Comintern.[11] This includes the only prior book-length study of LADLA, Daniel Kersffeld's *Contra el imperio: Historia de la Liga Antimperialista de las Américas* (2013), which has been foundational to my understanding of the organization's inner workings and its place within Latin American leftist politics. The present study is indebted to Kersffeld's thorough and insightful work, to Ricardo Melgar Bao's painstaking digitization of LADLA's periodical, *El Libertador,* and to prior articles on LADLA's Continental Committee and individual national sections written by historians Barry Carr, Lazar Jeifets and Víctor Jeifets, Melgar Bao, Sandra Pujals, and Tony Wood.[12] I am also in conversation with studies of the internationalism of the Mexican Revolution, anti-imperialism in Mexico City, and interwar communism in Mexico and the Caribbean.[13]

Despite the regionalist framework through which LADLA has been understood, it was not a regional, Latin American organization. Rather, it had an explicitly hemispheric vision from the outset, maintaining an active section (and several subsections) in the United States and collaborating with US citizens, especially Jewish and Black activists. Through joining the LAI, LADLA's initially hemispheric vision would become more global in scope. By drawing on my research in special collections in Havana, Los Angeles, Mexico City, New York, and Palo Alto and in digital archives held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APARTADO POSTAL 613
MEXICO D. F.

México 10 de Marzo de 1926.

Contestada

I.4 Salvador de la Plaza to Jaime N. Sager, March 10, 1926, box 1, BDW Papers.

in Amsterdam and Moscow, this study brings the personal papers of US activists into better conversation with Latin American and LAI archives.

LADLA was originally called the Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League but changed its name, within a few months of its founding, because of the association between US dominance and the project of "pan-Americanism." The symbolic importance of this name change is emblematized in the March 1926 letter from LADLA Continental Committee member Salvador de la Plaza to the head of the Puerto Rican section, in which Salvador de la Plaza scratched out the word "pan-Americana" and replaced it with the more appropriate phrase "de las Américas" (of the Americas) (figure I.4).[14] Whereas LADLA-US consistently translated the organization's name as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League (AAAIL), I use the more direct translation Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas, since it better captures the movement's hemispheric imagination.[15]

Emphasizing LADLA's transnational and hemispheric nature, this book joins a growing body of hemispheric Américas scholarship that approaches hemispheric studies from the perspectives of Caribbean and Latin American thinkers, practicing what Josefina Saldaña-Portillo calls "a hemispheric studies from below."[16] LADLA was founded in Mexico City and then expanded both northward and southward. Although LADLA is not yet a reference point for scholarship produced within the framework of hemispheric studies or transnational American studies, it modeled a hemispheric analysis and vision of political community that took Latin America and the Caribbean as its point of departure. LADLA activists would eventually expand their initially hemispheric connections with worker and minority struggles in the United States to embrace an interdependency and solidarity with anticolonial, anti-imperialist, and antiracist movements around the world. In this sense, recovering LADLA's vision offers a historiographical basis for interdisciplinary connections between hemispheric Américas

scholarship and global comparatist models, like postcolonial studies and Global South studies.[17]

A closer look at LADLA's history challenges the Afro-Asian (and predominantly anglophone and francophone) lens through which global twentieth-century anticolonial politics are often understood.[18] Anticolonial history frames the 1966 Tricontinental Conference in Havana, Cuba, which founded the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), as the first time that Latin American activists entered into a global movement with a longer history in Afro-Asian anticolonialisms.[19] The prevailing narrative has positioned the 1955 Asian-African Bandung Conference as an origin point for the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), which Cuba later joined to form OSPAAAL, uniting Latin American anti-imperialist movements with prior Afro-Asian formations.[20] While this accounting from 1955 to 1966 is accurate, beginning this anticolonial history with the 1955 Bandung Conference elides the much longer history of Latin American engagement with Afro-Asian anticolonialisms through the LAI in the interwar years. In this sense, LADLA set an important precedent for the cold war networks studied in my previous book, *From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity* (Duke University Press, 2018).[21]

Although the 1927 Brussels Congress, which founded the LAI, is widely viewed as a precursor to the Bandung Conference, scholarship on the LAI tends to neglect LADLA's presence and contributions.[22] The scholarship of Michael Goebel, Daniel Kersffeld, and Thomas Lindner, each of whom has focused on Latin Americans' participation at the Brussels Congress, represents an important exception to this tendency.[23] Even so, scholarship on the LAI often either ignores LADLA entirely or presumes that the LAI created an anti-imperialist platform and network that eventually extended to the Americas.[24] In fact, the opposite is true since LADLA preceded the LAI by two years. When the LAI named LADLA as its Americas section, LADLA's already established sections became the LAI's connection to the American continent. That is, the LAI simply absorbed networks and political frameworks already created by LADLA.[25] Since existing scholarship on the LAI has focused on the history of Afro-Asian-European networks, it has reified the false impression that the 1966 Tricontinental Conference represented the first entry of Latin American movements onto a global stage.

A Wide Net of Solidarity is invested in recovering understudied histories of twentieth-century anticolonial and anti-imperialist internationalisms

and in underscoring the often forgotten role of Latin American thinkers in these histories. Centering Latin American thinkers is important because two of the most well-trodden models of comparative analysis—postcolonial theory and world-systems analysis—emerged alongside each other in the 1970s in response to midcentury decolonization in Africa and Asia. These bodies of theory aimed to better understand global patterns of inequity through drawing parallels between the economic, political, and social circumstances of formerly colonized nations. Whereas Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems analysis was concerned primarily with the economic continuities from the colony to the post-colony, postcolonial theory sought to address the enduring cultural and social legacies of colonialism after decolonization.[26] Both these comparative models focused mostly on the experience of European colonization in Africa and Asia, largely overlooking the Latin American context. The marginal position of Latin America within this scholarship has generated much debate about its relevance for addressing sociocultural relations following the nineteenth-century decolonization of Latin America as well as for addressing the role of twentieth-century US expansionism in the region.[27] These concerns led to the development of Latin American "decoloniality" theory in the 1990s.[28] Many have traced the roots of the comparative analysis found in world-systems and postcolonial theory to key moments of Afro-Asian anticolonial history, such as the 1927 Brussels Congress and 1955 Bandung Conference, even as scholars like Aijaz Ahmad have argued that academic assimilations of anticolonial politics share little ideologically with the movements that inspired them.[29] The role of intellectuals from the Americas, and especially from hispanophone and lusophone Latin America, is mostly sidelined in studies of the historical moments and movements that serve as the basis for these comparative analytics. In this sense, centering LADLA's involvement in the LAI helps reframe global twentieth-century anticolonial history, and thus the roots of these comparative frameworks, moving away from a focus on the enduring legacies of European colonialism in Africa and Asia.

Beyond shifting our understanding of the LAI and anticolonial movement history more broadly, *A Wide Net of Solidarity* intervenes in the recent proliferation of scholarship on global twentieth-century anticolonial writings and aesthetics that developed alongside anticolonial movements in the interwar and cold war periods.[30] As much of this scholarship on comparative anticolonial aesthetics (and closely related scholarship on the aesthetics of communist internationalism) elides Latin American writers

and artists, this book represents my persistent insistence that the region has been at the heart of not only global twentieth-century anticolonial and anti-imperialist political movements but also their intersecting aesthetic forms.[31] Latin American–led anti-imperialist movements, like LADLA and OSPAAAL, do not simply illustrate the extension into the American continent of ideas that originated elsewhere. Rather, these movements represent sites of theoretical and cultural production that have had profound influence on political movements and aesthetics worldwide. *A Wide Net of Solidarity* helps reframe the history of twentieth-century Afro-Asian anticolonialisms to call attention to the contributions of intellectuals from the Americas, to understand how intellectuals from the Americas were influenced by anticolonial thinkers from elsewhere, and to suggest a rethinking of comparative models of analysis from the perspective of such histories.

If studies of twentieth-century anticolonial movements often overlook LADLA and Latin America more broadly, scholarship on twentieth-century Latin American radicalism tends to have a regional focus that does not situate these activists in the global, anticolonial milieus they inhabited. The scholarship on Latin Americans' engagement with the Comintern is an important exception, but this work is consistently framed within a narrative of global communism rather than the more ideologically fluid anticolonial politics found in Latin Americans' involvement from the LAI to OSPAAAL.[32] The tendency to apply a regionalist lens to Latin American radical politics is especially the case for the interwar period, which was characterized by the emergence of Latin America's regionalist ideologies. In response to post–World War I disillusionment with Western Europe and increasing US dominance, interwar Latin American writers and political figures defined the region through ideologies like *hispanoamericanismo*, *indoamericanismo*, *mestizaje*, and *indigenismo*. Many interwar Latin American intellectuals spent time in Western Europe, and these experiences influenced the distinctions they drew between European and Latin American contexts. Although there has long been a recognition of interwar Latin American cosmopolitanism in Europe, their anticolonial networks reaching Africa and Asia remain undertheorized and underexamined.

A closer look at LADLA shifts our understanding of interwar Latin American intellectual history. Contrary to the regionalist lens through which interwar Latin American political thought has been understood, LADLA members rejected interwar regionalisms for what I call a *hemispheric globalism*, wherein LADLA expanded on its initially hemispheric connections with worker and minority struggles in the United States to embrace an

interdependency and solidarity with anticolonial, anti-imperialist, and antiracist movements around the world. While LADLA did not employ this term, I use *hemispheric globalism* to describe, first, an ideological tenet that self-determination for "oppressed, colonial, and semicolonial peoples" in Latin America could be achieved only through transnational alliances with similar struggles in the American continent and beyond, and, second, a practical strategy to foment systems of mutual support by facilitating communication between resistant movements across the American hemisphere and expanding those connections, through the LAI, to global horizons.[33]

There is a substantial body of scholarship on the relationship between aesthetics and politics in interwar Latin American literary and cultural production, and I am in close dialogue with that work.[34] Within Latin American literary studies the interwar period tends to be associated with regionalist literary genres, like the "identity essay," which described national culture and heritage. During this period appeared the "Spanish American regional novel," also called *novela de la tierra* (novel of the land).[35] These experimental socialist realist novels set in rural settings captured the region's unique essence and "autochthonous literary expression."[36] However, the proliferation of 1930s-40s Latin American proletarian novels that form the *novela de la tierra* genre directly engage the global questions central to LADLA, the LAI, and related organizations, like the Caribbean Bureau. Such novels are not the only example of links between LADLA's political project and literary aesthetics. For instance, the Afro-Chinese-Cuban poet Regino Pedroso is rarely read outside of Cuban studies, even though LADLA published his first book of poems, *Nosotros* (Us, 1933). *Nosotros* treats the very global subjects of anti-Blackness and immigrant labor that were central to the 1927 Brussels Congress and to the LAI. This book offers new readings of these and other texts within the transregional and multilingual political context in which they were produced.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

A Wide Net of Solidarity is organized in two parts made up of a total of seven chapters, each of which emphasizes an individual, conference, or political organization as a site of hemispheric and global encounter. Across the book's arc, I trace transnational debates about Indigenous dispossession, Black and Indigenous labor, immigrant rights, racial policing, extractive

capitalism, and solidarity politics during the interwar period. Although LADLA had sections throughout the American hemisphere, I zoom in on the region that LADLA framed as the Greater Caribbean since this is where LADLA was most active.

Rather than arranging the book chronologically, I have arranged it in two thematic parts, each of which follows a loose chronological order. The first part (chapters 1–4), "Weaving a Wide Net: Relational Solidarities and Hemispheric Globalism," maps LADLA's contributions and traces its evolving thinking on racial capitalism and political community, focused first on Indigenous communities and later expanded to Black and immigrant populations. The second part (chapters 5–7), "Knots in the Net: LADLA's Limits and Entanglements," turns to the limitations of LADLA's project and the lessons that these problems can teach us about transnational and multiracial solidarity politics today.

The first chapter, "A Photography of Relation: LADLA, Indigeneity, and Tina Modotti's Visual Language of Liberation," positions Modotti as a key node connecting the international community of activists that founded LADLA. Using Modotti's life and work in Mexico City as an anchor, this chapter tells the story of LADLA's multinational origins, especially focusing on the early influence of Indian anticolonialist Manabendra Nath Roy during his exile in Mexico City. It expands on this history by addressing how Modotti's work would engage LADLA's organizing across extractive economies and depict its focus on Indigenous communities. Using her photography, personal papers related to Modotti and other LADLA activists, LADLA's newspaper, *El Libertador*, and illustrations by Diego Rivera and Xavier Guerrero (Nahua artist-activist and Modotti's partner), "A Photography of Relation" studies how LADLA understood Indigenous communities' disproportionate experience of the most negative consequences of extractive capitalism. As I show, Modotti's work is overwhelmingly focused on the connections between subjects, and this chapter reinterprets her images of extractive and agricultural economies and of Indigenous agricultural workers, alongside LADLA's ideology, to argue that Modotti's "relational aesthetics" serve as an artistic expression of her political vision. Modotti's photography wrestles with the visual language needed for LADLA's effort and contains many of the same tensions and contradictions found within LADLA itself.

Building on LADLA's foundations in Mexico City, the second chapter, "Against Latin American Regionalisms: The 1927 Brussels Congress and LADLA's Hemispheric Globalism," examines the encounter between

LADLA organizers and African American, African, and Asian anticolonial intellectuals at the 1927 Brussels Congress. It argues that a closer look at LADLA's participation in the LAI shifts the traditional understanding of interwar Latin American regionalist ideologies, showing how LADLA members rejected these ideologies for a hemispheric globalism. If the Brussels Congress offered LADLA organizers the chance to see more clearly the connections between their struggles and those of colonial contexts in Africa and Asia, it also helped them draw deeper connections with non-Spanish-speaking communities that were closer geographically, like US Black activists and organizations from the francophone and anglophone Caribbeans. LADLA's global-mindedness enhanced its hemispheric connections and vice versa. The encounter with Black activists from francophone and anglophone contexts in Brussels influenced LADLA to eventually expand its initial focus on Indigenous movements to think more critically about Black and immigrant struggles in the Americas. It would also influence LADLA to theorize white supremacist and fascist ideologies as an integral part of imperialist domination.

The expansion of LADLA's vision at the Brussels Congress impacted the later positions held by Afro-Cuban LADLA secretary Sandalio Junco. The third chapter, "'Por la igualdad de todos los seres': Sandalio Junco's Afro–Latin American Perspective on Black, Immigrant, and Indigenous Struggles," follows Junco from Havana to the Soviet Union to Mexico City, positioning him as a pivotal, yet understudied, figure of Black radical thought. Although Junco was not present at the 1927 Brussels Congress, he would subsequently call into question a core assumption of its "Common Resolution on the Negro Question" regarding the supposed absence of anti-Black racism in many parts of Latin America. His arguments on this issue would become key for advancing anti-imperialist thought in Latin America, especially regarding the position of Black Latin American communities and Black immigrant labor.

From LADLA headquarters in Mexico City, Junco traveled in 1929 to two conferences in Buenos Aires and Montevideo where he exchanged ideas with African American organizer Isaiah Hawkins and renowned Peruvian intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui. The limited available scholarship on these conferences tends to recognize them for their contributions to an examination of Indigenous organizing through the interventions of Mariátegui.[37] However, it was in this same context that Junco presented a little-known yet foundational text of Black internationalism that analyzed the conditions faced by Black workers in the Americas. In his speech "The

Negro Question and the Proletarian Movement" and subsequent comments, Junco challenged Mariátegui's strict differentiation between Black and Indigenous experiences and rejected some of the conference participants' dismissal of the presence of anti-Black racism both among Latin American working classes and in Latin American societies more broadly. In contrast to these positions, Junco drew comparisons (but not equivalences) between Black Latin Americans' experiences of racialization and those of other racialized populations throughout the hemisphere, such as Indigenous peoples, US African Americans, and Haitian, West Indian, and Chinese migrant workers. Through these comparisons, he theorized the overlap between anti-Blackness and anti-immigrant sentiment faced by Black immigrant workers in Latin American contexts. Most important, Junco articulated an argument, from an Afro-Latin American position, for a Black internationalist politics situated between a race-based and a class-based subjectivity.

The fourth chapter, "Relational Poetics: LADLA-Cuba and Regino Pedroso's Afro-Chinese-Cuban Writings," examines LADLA's Cuban section and Junco's ongoing impact in Cuban anti-imperialist writings. It focuses on the work of Afro-Chinese-Cuban poet Regino Pedroso Aldama, who was an active member of LADLA's Cuban section. Pedroso would take up Junco's analysis of multiple oppressions and his pro-immigrant politics and significantly expand them. Similar to Junco's 1929 statements, Pedroso's poetry positions Black workers as exploited through an integrative relationship between race and class and is especially attentive to the experiences of immigrants, including Chinese immigrants. Beyond outlining the history of LADLA-Cuba, this chapter uses Pedroso's poetry as a case study for the nuanced visions of multiracial solidarities that emerged out of LADLA. Similar to the treatment of Modotti's photography, it takes seriously Pedroso's poetry as political discourse, especially considering that his poems often appeared in the pages of *Masas*, LADLA-Cuba's magazine.

The second part of this book considers the limitations of LADLA's project, providing a counterpoint to the emphasis thus far on its contributions. The fifth chapter, "Ethnic Impersonation and Masculine Erotics: James Sager / Jaime Nevares and LADLA–Puerto Rico," examines problems that can arise within a political project focused on bridging differences. It studies how solidarity discourses can obscure disparities and frame disparate experiences of oppression as interchangeable. This chapter tracks the history of LADLA's Puerto Rican section, relying on the personal papers of its founder, a Boston-born Jewish activist named James Sager. In his efforts to

attract members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party to LADLA–Puerto Rico, Sager assumed the false identity of a man of Puerto Rican descent named Jaime Nevares. Many LADLA activists used aliases to avoid political persecution, but ethnic impersonation within the movement was unique to Sager and to Charles Francis Phillips, another US Jewish activist. Phillips, who sought exile in Mexico City to avoid conscription during World War I, became one of LADLA's founding members. On returning to the United States, where he directed LADLA-US, Phillips took the name Manuel Gomez (he dropped the accent in Gómez) to avoid detection by US authorities. While Phillips was claiming to be a Mexican American man in the United States, his LADLA colleagues in Mexico expressed frustration about the US section's limited financial contributions and Phillips's paternalistic meddling in which his communications falsely claimed to direct LADLA as a whole rather than just the US section.[38] LADLA's Continental Committee would eventually accuse Phillips of embezzling money, leading to his removal from his position.[39] The cases of ethnic impersonation by US activists studied in this chapter evince the disproportionate mobility of Sager and Phillips in comparison to their Latin American counterparts and suggest they made false equivalences between the conditions of Jewish minorities in the United States and those faced by their Latin American and US Latinx colleagues. These cases indicate the potential for LADLA's networked solidarities across difference to become entangled in overidentification and enmeshment.

Letters to James Sager reveal that he was, according to many, a strikingly handsome man, and this chapter includes an analysis of love letters sent to him by a Puerto Rican girlfriend. Sager's appearance is consistent with LADLA's leadership, dominated by young, often attractive, able-bodied individuals. While this movement consisted of a nationally and ethnically diverse group of people and focused on Indigenous, Black, and immigrant organizing, several of its core leaders' ease of travel through international borders was enabled through white, mestizo, and light-skin privilege. Moreover, as the individuals involved in LADLA circulated at political conferences and worked in close proximity, they often formed romantic and sexual relationships that were asymmetrical in terms of the individuals' level of access. This chapter sheds light on the history of the masculine erotics of the radical Left in the American hemisphere, considers how the affective politics of solidarity can veil rather than clarify differences in the way we experience the world, and highlights how solidarity movements have often been built through the mobility and connections afforded to a few key players.

While LADLA steadily grew across the American continent from 1925 to 1927, its growth exploded after January 1928 when it created its Manos Fuera de Nicaragua (MAFUENIC, Hands Off Nicaragua) campaign to support the insurgency of Augusto César Sandino. The sixth chapter, "Hands Off Nicaragua and the Sandino Fantasy: Navigating Nationalism, Internationalism, and Anti-fascism," studies how LADLA used this financial and propaganda campaign to tie together a range of different struggles under the banner of *sandinismo*. The Nicaraguan case helped LADLA solidify links between anti-imperialism, the fight against authoritarian dictatorships, and antifascism. It had particular success in unifying a Greater Caribbean movement (which included Central America and the coasts of Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela) around the Sandinista cause. In this Greater Caribbean, LADLA used the Nicaraguan struggle to underline connections between the United Fruit Company's transnational holdings, the US government's actions in the Panama Canal zone, and the racial policing of labor by local authoritarian and fascist governments. These links were pivotal to LADLA's "united front" approach, which joined a broad coalition of social classes, and which LADLA maintained long after the Comintern shifted to its sectarian "class against class" platform.

Maintaining such unity represented a complicated effort that required merging LADLA's internationalist commitments with nationalist struggles. This commingling had significant implications for the region as leaders of its Nicaragua campaign would later attempt failed copycat revolts in Cuba and Venezuela. This chapter thus uses MAFUENIC to outline how LADLA understood the connections between anti-imperialist internationalism and nationalist struggles against authoritarian and fascist dictatorships as well as the complications it faced in balancing those commitments. It builds on existing historical scholarship on MAFUENIC, including its relationship to the 1929 Second LAI Congress in Frankfurt, but moves in new directions by focusing on the campaign's discursive and aesthetic aspects. Although LADLA presented an image of Sandino that perfectly harmonized all its positions, the real Sandino was more complicated. Such fantasy and projection around Sandino undergirded MAFUENIC and represented both the reason for its widespread expansion and its most severe shortcoming. MAFUENIC ultimately relied too heavily on the individual figure of Sandino, whose nationalist commitments did not align neatly with LADLA's fierce opposition to nativism and authoritarianism. The campaign contained a fundamental contradiction between a relational, transnational movement and a nationalist project centered around an individual male hero. While

MAFUENIC led to LADLA's rapid expansion, LADLA eventually collapsed due to the Mexican government's intense repression of LADLA organizers in the early 1930s. Nevertheless, the conflictual ideologies balanced in the campaign continue to play a central role in Latin American social movements to this day.

Due to a crackdown against radical elements in Mexico, much of LADLA's central leadership was deported or jailed. This led to the dissolution of its Continental Committee in Mexico City. However, some of LADLA's key leaders reconvened in the Comintern's Caribbean Bureau (Buró del Caribe, BC), established in 1931 in New York City. Because of the Comintern's "class against class" approach, which abandoned the broad alliances on which LADLA was based, the communist-controlled BC began to eclipse LADLA in influence in the early 1930s. During this sectarian period, which began in 1928, several of LADLA's core leaders, like Sandalio Junco and Diego Rivera, were ousted from their local communist parties for their non-orthodox positions. Despite these changes, the BC would continue much of LADLA's ideological project, especially by uniting movements across the Greater Caribbean through drawing parallels between extractive economies. In uniting these movements, the BC relied on networks initially forged through LADLA's MAFUENIC campaign.

Thus, the final chapter, "Remembering LADLA: The Caribbean Bureau and the Rise of Latin American Extractive Fictions," studies the BC's activities alongside the emergence of a set of 1930s–40s novels and short stories that take place in Latin American and Caribbean extractive economies, such as banana, sugar, tobacco, and rubber plantations, as well as oil fields. I refer to these works as *Latin American extractive fictions*. Unsurprisingly, Latin American extractive fictions were mostly written by writers with leftist politics, some with direct connections to LADLA. For example, Carmen Lyra, author of *Bananos y hombres* (*Bananas and Men*), became a member of LADLA–Costa Rica and led its MAFUENIC campaign.[40] Lyra published *Bananos y hombres* in 1931, the same year that she and other members of LADLA–Costa Rica founded the Costa Rican Communist Party, which fell under the BC's direction.[41] Using the case studies of Lyra's *Bananas y hombres*, the famed *Mamita Yunai* (1941) by Carlos Luis Fallas Sibaja (a prominent Costa Rican communist), *Marcos Antilla: Relatos de cañaveral* (Marcos Antilla: Tales from the canefield) (1932) by LADLA-Cuba member Luis Felipe Rodríguez, and especially focusing on the sugarcane novel *Over* (1939) by Dominican writer Ramón Marrero Aristy, this chapter considers how some interwar Latin American extractive fictions can be under-

stood as meditations on LADLA's project and on the difficulties of forging transnational and transracial political collectivities. It sheds light on how the region's writers would come to understand, remember, and narrate LADLA's vision. Ultimately, it argues that these Latin American extractive fictions would draw on key elements of LADLA's worldview but obviate its furthest-reaching antiracist politics.

The BC ceased all activities by 1936 in the lead-up to the US-Soviet alliance in the Second World War. All national sections of LADLA closed around the same time, and the global LAI dissolved in 1937. Although many interwar Latin American extractive fictions are not widely read outside their immediate national and regional contexts, these works influenced the literary production of some of Latin America's most well-known writers. Works by Nobel Prize winners—like Pablo Neruda's "La United Fruit Co." (1950), the novels in Miguel Ángel Asturias's Banana Trilogy (1950–60), or the depiction of the 1928 United Fruit massacre of Colombian banana workers in Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967)—clearly demonstrate the prolonged influence of these works on the writings of subsequent generations. These literary works provide perspective on how LADLA's history has been represented for broader consumption, what elements of its history have been remembered, and which of its key contributions have been forgotten along the way. Finally, the epilogue, "Twenty-First-Century *Redes*," explores how recent social movements against extractivism in the Americas rely heavily, if subconsciously, on LADLA's political vision for the hemisphere.

LADLA AND EXTRACTIVISM

The American continent today remains a hotbed of political thinking on extractivism, and LADLA's attempts to organize across extractive economies were ahead of its time. LADLA focused much of its critique on what it referred to as *industrias extractivas* (extractive industries), a phrase that dates in Latin America to the early twentieth century. In the first issue of *El Libertador* (March 1925), LADLA described the organization as an effort "to organize all the anti-imperialist forces of Latin America, to unify them in a continental unity, to ally them with natural allies that exist in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and WITHIN THE UNITED STATES ITSELF; to awaken the sleeping masses of workers and farmers, of Indigenous, mestizos, and whites that groan under the yoke of imperialism (since the master of our

industries is the same Yankee capitalism, and a strike in the plantation or in the mines, in the refinery or the mill, in the salt or oil fields, is always a strike against the foreign master)."[42] Here, LADLA conceived of imperialism as a mechanism tied to extractive industries: plantations, mines, refineries, mills, salt production, and oil fields. What united LADLA's community of workers and farmers was their connection to this shared extractive geography. Fighting for one's labor rights within these industries represented a fight against their common "foreign master."

LADLA's reference to "extractive industries" was arguably a misnomer since the extraction of natural resources does not involve an industrial process of production.[43] "Extractivism," a term of more recent coinage, refers to the removal of large quantities of raw materials primarily for the purpose of export. Extractivism is not synonymous with the act of removing raw materials, but according to Eduardo Gudynas, it has three core characteristics: the removal of an extremely high volume of material, exportation of 50 percent or more of that material, and lack of accompanying industries to process it.[44] Maristella Svampa's definition includes these characteristics but adds an emphasis on the "vertiginous expansion of the borders of exploitation to new territories, which were previously considered unproductive or not valued by capital."[45] Extractivism ranges from open-pit mining and oil and energy industries to the construction of hydroelectric dams and overexploitation of fisheries and forests. It also includes large-scale monoculture agriculture, which is similarly high-volume and exported with little to no processing.

Critiques of extractive industries within Latin American political thought are generally associated with 1960s–70s dependency theory. LADLA anticipated these interventions by several decades, arguing that "extractive industries" and "the exploitation of the land" had profoundly negative consequences for Latin American societies.[46] LADLA claimed that reliance on an economic model based in resource extraction prevented the region from developing manufacturing, resulted in the poverty of communities forced to work in extractive industries and purchase imported products, threatened the national sovereignty of countries "that have the misfortune of possessing natural riches" and that are inundated by foreign investment capital, and required the cooperation of local "autocratic governments" friendly to foreign corporations.[47] Dependency theorists later referred to this condition as "subordinate dependence" on foreign capital and foreign manufacturing, leading to the perpetual "development of underdevelopment" in Latin America.[48]

These long-standing critiques of extractive industries in the region would undergird the pink tide Latin American governments that emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century and that arose alongside a boom in the prices of raw materials. Pink tide governments distanced themselves from the Washington Consensus, or the neoliberal model of austerity, privatization, and trade and finance liberalization that had dominated Latin American economics since the 1970s.[49] Instead, they practiced a "radical resource nationalism" (Riofrancos) or "progressive neo-extractivism" (Svampa), seeking to overcome long-standing relations of economic dependency through strategies like the nationalization and collective ownership of natural resources, use of extractive revenues to fund social welfare programs, and development of Latin American regional economic cooperation.[50] Even in conservative states, Latin America witnessed "the passage of the Washington Consensus, characterized by structural adjustment and the predominance of financial capital, to the *commodities consensus*, based on the large-scale export of primary goods, economic growth, and the expansion of consumption."[51] Since the commodities consensus left intact Latin America's subordinate position within the global division of labor, progressive governments sought to address poverty by capturing and redistributing profits generated by the export of raw materials.

The "progressive neo-extractivism" practiced by pink tide governments fostered a complex relationship with socio-environmental and Indigenous movements. Argentine sociologist Maristella Svampa has described this relationship as occurring in different phases. In the first phase, prior to 2008 and at the height of the commodity boom, the pink tide agenda largely aligned with Indigenous and ecological platforms. This was especially the case in Bolivia and Ecuador, which modeled "strong participatory processes . . . the construction of a plurinational state, indigenous autonomies, and the orientation to *Buen Vivir*" and recognition of the Rights of Nature.[52] The second phase, however, was characterized by extractive expansion through the creation of large-scale projects, like the Growth Acceleration Plan in Brazil, the Great Industrial Leap in Bolivia, or the beginning of open-pit mega-mining in Ecuador. This post-2008 expansion only intensified with the fall in raw materials' prices, prompting Latin American governments to increase extractive projects after 2013. The fall of raw materials' prices exposed inherent problems with funding social welfare programs through extractive economic growth models, which can exacerbate social inequities as these funds radically fluctuate with the commodities market.

The expansion of extractive projects led to an explosion of socio-environmental and territorial conflicts, especially involving *campesino* (farmer) and Indigenous groups since many of these projects are located in rural and Indigenous territories. Organizations like the Latin American Observatory of Environmental Conflicts and the Observatory of Mining Conflicts of Latin America (OCMAL) have documented these conflicts. As of August 2023, OCMAL documented 284 active mining conflicts affecting almost every country in the region.[53] Currently, Latin America is the most dangerous place in the world for environmental activists. In 2020, for instance, three-quarters of the 227 murders worldwide of these activists occurred within the region.[54]

Although progressive governments in Latin America waned amid a conservative backlash in the mid-2010s, they have become resurgent in the early 2020s. Experience of recent decades demonstrates that in the name of extractive revenues, both the region's progressive and neoliberal governments have attempted to roll back Indigenous rights of informed consultation and communal property and responded to territorial conflicts with violence. This has led many grassroots movements to critique progressive governments for corruption, authoritarianism, and failure to deliver on the demands of the very movements that put them in power. This has also contributed to the criminalization of environmental activism and to dangerous conditions faced by the region's *defensores de la tierra* (land defenders).

Alongside these critiques, a position of staunch "anti-extractivism" has emerged, which "rejects extraction entirely and envisions a post-extractive society" based on more harmonious relations between humans and nature.[55] The position of anti-extractivism is rooted in a "relational paradigm based on reciprocity, complementarity, and care" and draws from anti-capitalist, Indigenous, ecofeminist, antiracist, and environmental justice movements.[56] From the Colombian anti-dam activism featured in Caycedo's *Land of Friends* or the defense of the Rights of Nature by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador to protests at the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in the United States, recent socio-environmental movements throughout the American continent are predominantly led by Indigenous activists. Indigenous communities are not univocal, and some accept economic compensation for extractive projects or associate such projects with positive notions of development. However, overwhelmingly, it has been Indigenous activists who have put forth alternative visions to extractive capitalism, captured in terms like *sumak kawsay* in Quechua, *suma qamaña* in Aymara, *penker pujustin* in Shuar, or *ñande reko* in

Guaraní.[57] In Spanish, these concepts are often referred to in shorthand as *buen vivir* (good living), which envisions a socio-ecological relation based on "reciprocity, solidarity, concordance, interconnectedness, drawn from the Andean and Amazonian traditions."[58]

A parallel body of anti-extractivist scholarship has arisen, and researchers like Alberto Acosta, Gudynas, Svampa, and others directly oppose progressive governments' practice of the so-called extractive model and its accompanying environmental pollution, dependence on foreign capital, and destructive impacts on rural, Black, and Indigenous communities.[59] Critics of anti-extractivism characterize it as an unrealistic position of anti-development, pointing out that Latin America's progressive governments face a "cruel paradox" in needing to exploit natural resources to address historical inequities and improve the lives of poor and marginalized citizens.[60] While both sides of this debate agree that alternative forms of development would better serve marginalized communities in the long run, several attempts to advance such alternatives have been curtailed by external factors.[61] Marxists like Argentine sociologist Atilio Borón or former Bolivian Vice President Álvaro García-Linera have criticized some anti-extractivists for practicing an environmentalism void of anticapitalist critique. It is the capitalist mode of production that has caused our present ecological crisis, they argue, and "a *sumak kawsay* worthy of that name can only be so inasmuch as it is radically anti-capitalist."[62]

LADLA's critique of extractive industries anticipated key elements of both these progressive neo-extractivist and anti-extractivist positions. Although LADLA's critique of imperialism went beyond extractive capitalism and it did not view these two systems as synonymous, LADLA was an anti-imperialist organization that focused on organizing within, and theorizing the relationship between, extractive economies. LADLA necessarily directed its critique at foreign-owned corporations that dominated Latin American landholdings in the early twentieth century, and it would have differentiated between those corporations and national governments' use of resource extraction for self-determination. But even as it shared some commonalities with the progressive, neo-extractive position, LADLA was not a statist movement, and it linked its critique of extractive corporations to a rejection of populist nationalism and local, authoritarian governments.

Contemporary anti-extractivism has been characterized as distinct from prior "emancipatory visions in Latin America . . . which fused class analysis to a horizon of anti-imperial liberation" since, as Thea Riofrancos argues, it "centers the territories and communities directly affected

by extractive projects."[63] Whereas Riofrancos frames contemporary anti-extractivism as quite different from earlier anti-imperialist projects, this framing in many ways aptly describes LADLA's vision. LADLA did not articulate its critique in environmental terms, but it did focus on the communities directly affected by extractivism, maintained that extractive industries led to an overreliance on foreign capital that perpetuated inequities, and looked to Indigenous organizing as key to a future ecosocial relation alternative to extractive capitalism. Thus, it provides an important historical backdrop to contemporary anti-extractive struggles.

LADLA AND RACIAL CAPITALISM

LADLA used phrases like "white terror" and "tropical fascism" to refer in shorthand to the ways that land dispossession, racism, and policing inhered in the logic of extractive capital. It reflected an understanding that extractivism has historically functioned in tandem with racial capitalism, which Jodi Melamed (following Ruth Wilson Gilmore) describes as a "technology of *antirelationality*" based on the "disjoining or deactivating of relations between human beings (and humans and nature) . . . needed for capitalist expropriation."[64] As LADLA constructed its political community across extractive economies, it prioritized agrarian populations as core to the anti-imperialist movement since these populations live in extractive regions and disproportionately experience its most negative consequences. In its early years, LADLA focused on Indigenous movements, but after the 1927 Brussels Congress, it expanded to address Black and immigrant struggles in the Americas. LADLA's initial focus on Indigenous communities is significant in that it anticipates contemporary critiques by Indigenous studies scholars of theories of racial capitalism for the way those theories center racial slavery and the process of proletarianization rather than the dispossession at the heart of settler colonialism.

LADLA provides an early twentieth-century example of hemispheric and multiracial organizing against racial capitalism. Although the term "racial capitalism" has become associated with Cedric Robinson, the concept has roots in 1970s South Africa, especially in the work of anthropologist Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane, and many other scholars have elucidated the relationship between racialization and capital accumulation.[65] Robinson reworked Marx's notion of primitive accumulation, referring to the process by which the privatization of land (enclosure of the com-

mons) eventually creates a class of workers forced to enter the labor market (proletarianization), to better account for the role of racism in ordering internal relations among European peoples. Robinson argued that the violent process of primitive accumulation within Europe was facilitated by the racialization of some Europeans by others. As European capitalism expanded to other territories, it relied on racialization to legitimize dispossession and the superexploitation of enslaved labor. This interrelation between capital accumulation and racialization did not end with the abolishment of slavery, and racism continued to be used to extract greater value from wage labor. Robinson's work has served as a platform for a recent wave of innovative scholarship that both expands on and deviates from his theories.[66] This scholarship overwhelmingly studies the US context and a US intellectual genealogy. In studying LADLA, I aim to present earlier transnational thinking on racial capitalism, focusing especially on views that emerged from Spanish-speaking Latin America and in dialogue with African and Asian activists.

Although Robinson and Magubane's ideas largely echoed each other, Robinson ultimately arrived at different conclusions by using his reworking of primitive accumulation to argue for the insufficiency of Marxist class analysis for explaining racism. Since he believed that racism preceded capitalism, he contended that "racism is not extrinsic to capitalism; it does not merely exacerbate or justify class-based inequalities" and thus cannot be overthrown through anticapitalist struggle alone.[67] This aspect of his work has been the subject of significant critique, particularly from proponents of Black Marxism who acknowledge that the roots of racism precede capitalism but argue that racism in its present-day form must be understood through capitalist relations of production.[68] Similarly, some critics have argued that adding the modifier *racial* to *capitalism* is unnecessary since racial oppression results from "processes of class rule" within capitalism and thus is implied.[69]

Although LADLA did not use this terminology, I use racial capitalism here because it draws our attention to the intimate link between racialization and capital accumulation. Multiracial anticapitalist movements have a long track record of not being attentive enough to the voices of racialized peoples and to the ways that capitalism produces racial oppression. Experience has shown that recognizing capitalism as the root cause of various kinds of oppression is not sufficient. We must also understand how those oppressions are produced and experienced differentially. "Racial capitalism" speaks to the urgent need for multiracial, anticapitalist organizing

that foregrounds issues facing racialized peoples, a kind of organizing that LADLA exemplified.

LADLA anticipated contemporary critiques by Indigenous studies scholars of the racial capitalism framework. For example, Glen Coulthard finds fault with Robinson's reliance on the concept of primitive accumulation because of how this concept frames violent dispossession as a mere stage in the development of capitalism rather than a process that remains ongoing for Indigenous peoples. Even if Marx later revised his more limiting and Eurocentric positions regarding colonial and semicolonial contexts, the very notion of a Marxist proletarian revolution and creation of a socialist state is facilitated in those contexts by the violent displacement of Indigenous peoples through settler colonialism.[70] Coulthard also questions the primacy of racial slavery and the category of labor in theories of racial capitalism since Indigenous struggles remain overwhelmingly focused on the question of land rather than labor rights.[71] Shona N. Jackson launches a similar critique, writing that a focus "on modern labor (even the development of a language of resistance within it) ultimately reflects an investment in an idea of time as progress (read development)" and the relegation of Indigenous peoples and their struggles to a precapitalist past that becomes replaced by wage labor.[72] Lisa Lowe writes, "Because ongoing settler projects of seizure, removal, and elimination are neither analogous to the history and afterlife of racial slavery, nor akin to the racialized exploitation of immigrant laborers, the discussion of settler colonialism cannot be simply folded into discussion of race without reckoning with its difference."[73] Lowe explains that it is more productive to think about "relation across differences rather than equivalence."[74] The dispossession of settler colonialism and the creation of a racialized labor force occur not in a sequential fashion but in a complex intertwined relation, or what Jodi Byrd has called a "cacophony" of colliding historical processes.[75]

Because of LADLA's efforts to bring together a broad range of social classes, it focused not only on industrial labor but also on agricultural communities, Indigenous farming collectives, and artist groups. LADLA viewed Indigenous dispossession as an ongoing process, calling for "the restoration of stolen lands."[76] As it expanded its project to better consider issues facing Black and immigrant populations, it provided an early theorization of racial capitalism that addressed the racialization of labor *and* accounted for the ongoing process of violent dispossession faced by Indigenous peoples. It framed Indigenous dispossession, anti-Black and anti-immigrant racism, and racial policing as core elements of extractive

capitalism, wherein police and military enforce dispossession of resource-rich lands and racism is used to extract additional value from racialized labor. Importantly, these were posed not as processes that occur in a sequential fashion but as concomitant and interrelated processes that differentially impact different communities. Although scholarship on racial capitalism has largely focused on the racial oppression of Black peoples within the United States, LADLA provides a model for a *multiracial* analysis of racial capitalism within a *hemispheric* context. I find this energizing and useful, especially as LADLA's concerns remain relevant to political organizing today.

REDES AND RELATIONAL SOLIDARITIES

The history of extractivism in the Americas cannot be understood solely through mapping its geographies or changes to ecological life. Rather, as Macarena Gómez-Barris argues, the "extractive zone" also encapsulates a history of anti-Indigenous and anti-Black racial logics used to occupy resource-rich lands, dispossess communities, employ coerced and unsafe working conditions, and construct populations as barriers to capital flows. From monoculture plantations to mines, extractive capitalism is rooted in a value for the singular resource being extracted and in vertical perspectives that place humans over nature, the wealthy over the poor, and capital over all else.[77] Counterperspectives to the logic of extractive capital, as Gómez-Barris describes, seek to provide alternative visions to this singularity and verticality by rendering a "relational field of multiplicity."[78] Such alternative perspectives are central to my understanding of the views of LADLA's activists and artists.

If Indigenous communities stand at the forefront of socio-environmental struggles in the Americas today, these movements are also largely organized by women and have gained visibility through the use of mass communications technologies and far-reaching solidarity networks across national and linguistic boundaries.[79] From the *marea verde* (green tide) of feminist activism in Latin America to the Movement for Black Lives, the twenty-first century has marked a new era in both transnational solidarity politics and feminist organizing. Linking diverse struggles across a wide-ranging geography has been key to the expansion of these movements. Regarding the success of the *marea verde*, for example, scholar-activist Verónica Gago explains that it was the way that abortion rights demands were "woven

together with other feminist struggles," including "the murders of female environmental and Indigenous activists in rural areas," that transformed a national, Argentine struggle for reproductive rights into a transnational feminist movement.[80] As these movements link critiques of different forms of capitalist, patriarchal, and environmental violence, they also envision alternative human and human-nonhuman relations: valuing horizontal over vertical organizational structures, emphasizing reciprocal political community over individual charismatic leaders, and forging new ways of understanding our connection to one another and to the planet.[81] These interwoven struggles draw on longer histories of political organizing, including LADLA.

LADLA resisted extractive capitalism through the practice of a politics and aesthetics of *redes* (nets / networks), meaning it used the transnational extractive zone as the site for theorizing the relation between oppressions and for imagining a new global political community. Here, I allude to the connections drawn in the 1936 Mexican film mentioned previously, in which *redes* references an Indigenous fishing tool, a tool of resource extraction used in large-scale commercial fishing, and the relations and affective networks needed to subvert the logics of extractive capitalism. I also reference the work of anthropologist Arturo Escobar, who does not translate the term *redes* in his *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes* (2008) since "the Spanish redes, more than the English term networks commonly used to translate it, conveys more powerfully the idea that life and movements are ineluctably produced in and through relations in a dynamic fashion ('assemblages' would be a better translation)."[82]

By approaching LADLA through the framework of *redes*, strands interwoven and knotted, I emphasize the intimacies interlacing a diverse set of individuals across a geographically sprawling web of connections. LADLA had a central Continental Committee based in Mexico City, but this committee remained in constant flux since it was mostly composed of activists living in political exile who moved frequently across national borders. The directorship of its periodical, *El Libertador*, changed hands five times over a four-year period. LADLA's membership was heterogenous and its decision-making largely decentralized across the various national sections. This was so much the case that individual national sections continued to operate for several years after the 1929 dissolution of its Continental Committee.

It would not be a stretch to describe LADLA's organizational structure as similar to the "leaderless" (or "leader-full") social movements of our contemporary era that reject the authoritarian leanings of previous move-

ments organized around singular, charismatic individuals.[83] In contrast to these contemporary "horizontalist" movements, LADLA took a more open posture toward collaboration with state governments, but similar to these movements, it did not aim to take state power nor to create a political party. LADLA described its para-institutional formation and networked structure as follows: "The League is no one—it belongs to everyone; veterans of the struggle and new fighters; organizations and individuals, unions and towns."[84] It characterized *El Libertador* similarly: "It is not the publication of any individual or intellectual, nor of all intellectuals together. Instead of a personal publication, it aims to be a movement's publication. The seed, sowed by all those and many more, now begins to sprout, and its fruit is 'organization.'"[85]

Despite this vision of collective leadership, horizontalist social movements (both then and now) do not lack power differentials. Although the primary strength of a weaving lies in the ties that bind together its fibers, some knots are thicker than others. In any network, there are nodes better connected to resources with stronger influence in deciding and applying the protocols for membership, as well as individuals with higher levels of mobility and access.[86] This is certainly true of LADLA. Despite the transnational and multiracial nature of the movement, the relative power of its individual activists had close links to the access afforded by each person's citizenship, race, gender, class background, able-bodiedness, linguistic expertise, and education. Exploring the limits of a project built on forging relation across difference, and the inequities that can become veiled within such solidarity discourses, represents one of this book's central concerns.

In seeking to understand how capitalism differentially impacted Indigenous, Black, and immigrant communities, LADLA modeled a form of *relational solidarity*. I use this concept, following prior theorizations of "relationality," to capture a vision of solidarity based on the relations (but not conflations) of differing forms of capitalist exploitation.[87] Although LADLA was more intent on building political affinities across racial divisions than it was concerned with gender or sexuality, it would be a mistake to attempt to describe LADLA's integrative thinking across differentiated experiences of oppression without the frameworks that Black and women-of-color feminists have provided to social movements since the early nineteenth century. Within this body of thought, I have chosen not to rely on the ubiquitous "intersectionality" framework, because I hope to better reference Black Marxist feminist thought, such as "super-exploitation" (Claudia Jones), "triple oppression" (Jones), "double jeopardy" (Frances

Beal), and "triple jeopardy" (Third World Women's Alliance).[88] As scholars like Delia Aguilar, Martha Giménez, and Barbara Foley have explained, these Marxist feminist positions are distinct from intersectionality, which frames sexism and racism as different systems of oppression rather than differing effects of the capitalist system.[89]

LADLA viewed capitalism as the root cause of diverse forms of exploitation, including anti-Black racism and Indigenous dispossession. If LADLA had given more thought to gender, and particularly to the experiences of women of color, it likely would have allied with the perspectives of Black Marxist feminists in maintaining that "superexploitation under capitalism lends content to racial and gender oppressions . . . and capitalism is constructed as the system that gives rise to the other two."[90] Alternatively, it is possible that LADLA would have nuanced the argument that "oppression is multiple and intersecting but its causes are not" by analyzing the root causes of patriarchy and racism differently.[91] Although LADLA activists participated in conferences and adjacent organizations that demanded equal pay for equal work and that discussed women's intensified labor exploitation and marginalization from labor unions, LADLA itself was resoundingly silent on the position of women within its movement. Despite this serious shortcoming, LADLA provides an early example of a movement that analyzed differential and integrated experiences of oppression under capitalism, and this contribution should be highlighted.

Solidarity movements can be powerful agents of change, moving beyond empathy and creating complicity and collaboration. Yet they are also characterized by a core problematic wherein bridging the struggles of diverse groups can risk flattening differences between them, leading to misinterpretations, overidentification, and enmeshment. Such a problem is central to LADLA's history and will be at the heart of the analyses developed in subsequent chapters. Terms like *relational solidarity*, "coalitional solidarity," and "thick solidarity" attempt to capture—as Roseann Liu and Savanna Shange have written—"a kind of solidarity" that recognizes a diversity of goals and that does not "gloss over difference, but rather pushes into the specificity, irreducibility, and incommensurability of racialized experiences."[92] On a similar note, Janet Jakobsen explains that the use of analogy to "show that one form of political oppression and or struggle is like another . . . may actually undercut, rather than enable, alliances among movements."[93] Analogies can simplistically frame "the relation between oppression to one of similarity," exploiting those whose experiences are "invoked as the stable ground" of that comparison.[94] Jakobsen calls instead

for a politics of "relation" over analogy, in which "*both* likeness *and* difference could be the basis for connection and collaboration."[95] LADLA's focus on the relation between oppressions rather than their conflation is key to understanding its contributions to contemporary solidarity politics.

LADLA's interrogation of the relation between oppressions—its politics of *redes*—represents one of the key footholds that its history provides for social movements today. In my attention to the interconnected *redes* of LADLA's political project, I draw inspiration from Lisa Lowe's polysemantic use of "intimacies" in her study of the contact between enslaved and indentured laborers in the nineteenth-century Americas.[96] The intimacies that Lowe traces between four continents also represent historical intimacies, or connections between different historical moments of settler colonialism, slavery, and the introduction of indentured Chinese and Indian labor into the Americas. LADLA was deeply interested in these historical intimacies and sought to understand how prior colonial regimes overlapped with more recent imperialist forms.

LADLA can be described as a movement of *redes* in terms political, interpersonal, aesthetic, and historical. It formed political networks across a broad geography and over linguistic, ethnic, and racial borders. Those political networks were composed of webs of interpersonal relationships. Its aesthetics expressed a relational vision for a new global political community emerging out of extractive economies, and its ideology addressed historical links among different experiences of racial and capitalist oppression. The chapters that follow pull on these various threads. Ultimately, this book contends that future efforts to build transnational movements against extractive capitalism will require strong ties to the histories of similar movements that have come before them and necessitate as much attentiveness to those movements' errors as to their triumphs.

NOTES

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A note on translation: If the source is a newspaper or archival document, I provide the original Spanish in the endnotes. If the source is a published book or online resource, I provide the page number for the original Spanish. All translations mine unless otherwise indicated.

INTRODUCTION

1 Caycedo and De Blois, "The River."

2 Caycedo and De Blois, "The River"; Svampa, *Neo-Extractivism*, 36.

3 Acevedo-Yates, "Carolina."

4 "Humanidad rebelde." LADLA, "El Congreso Antimperialista de Bruselas," 3.

5 "The All-America Anti-Imperialist League: Its Opposition and Aims," CS Papers, box 1, file 2; August 11, 1926, letter, RGASPI, f. 542, o. 1, d. 19. Other documents date its founding to the end of 1924. Mella, "Informe," RGASPI, f. 542, o. 1, d. 19. In December 1926, LADLA reported fourteen national sections, in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Venezuela, and the continental United States. Julio Antonio Mella to Jaime Nevares Sager, December 18, 1926, BDW Papers, box 1. However, the number of sections and their locations fluctuated over time. Within the US national section, the Chicago and New York branches were the most active, but US section documents from 1929 also mention branches in Chicago, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, and Seattle, as well as a "Midwestern section." "Summary," RGASPI, f. 542, o. 1, d. 35. An article in *El Libertador* describes Spanish-speaking chapters in "Los Angeles, Kansas, Colorado and Pittsburgh." Ruis, "Actividades," 4.

6 Technically, the LAI Executive Committee named LADLA as its organizing bureau for Latin America. I describe LADLA as the LAI's "Americas" section because LADLA was a hemispheric organization and

maintained chapters in the United States, and the LAI's US chapters were synonymous with LADLA's US chapters. LADLA, "Última," 12.

7 Jeifets and Jeifets, *América Latina*, 66, 257; Petersson, *Willi*, 345–47.

8 LADLA had ongoing problems with funding and mostly relied on membership contributions. In its beginnings, LADLA leadership expressed frustration with the Workers Party in the United States for not upholding its financial commitment to LADLA. After it joined the LAI, LADLA leadership consistently tried to advocate for funding from the LAI, and it appears that LAI contributions were quite minimal. See "Auszug" and F. to Willi Münzenberg, August 15, 1927, both in RGASPI, f. 542, o. 1, d. 19; F. Bach to Willi Münzenberg, January 16, 1928, RGASPI, f. 542, o. 1, d. 28; Rafael Carrillo and Xavier Guerrero to Bertram and Ella Wolfe, August 10, 1925, BW Papers, box 4, folder 11. For a detailed discussion of how LADLA conceived its relationship to communist parties—wherein the communist party had representation in the league but did not control it—see transcript from dialogue on the Leagues Against Imperialism at the First Latin American Communist Conference in Buenos Aires in June 1929. SSA, *El movimiento*, 320–30.

9 The first issue of *El Libertador* described its political community as follows: "It will not close its ranks to any genuinely anti-imperialist tendency nor will it open them to any opposing tendency. It will provide news about the anti-imperialist movement throughout the world, about Russia and China, Persia and Morocco, Egypt and India; about the anti-imperialist movement in the United States; about the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America; about union organizations from both continents and about agrarian organizations; nothing and no one that can serve in the struggle against Yankee imperialism will be external to its ranks" (No cerrará sus columnas a ninguna tendencia genuinamente anti-imperialista ni las abrirá a ninguna tendencia contraria. Dará noticias sobre el movimiento anti-imperialista en todo el mundo, sobre Rusia y China, Persia y Marruecos, Egipto y la India; sobre el movimiento anti-imperialista en los Estados Unidos; sobre el movimiento anti-imperialista de la América Latina; sobre las organizaciones sindicales de los dos continentes y sobre las organizaciones agrarias; nada y nadie que puede servir en la lucha contra el imperialismo yanqui será ajeno a sus columnas). LADLA, "El peligro," 2.

10 Scholarship on Cuban and Mexican communism is extensive. For studies of the Mexican Communist Party, see, for example, Carr, *Marxism*; Herman, *The Comintern*; Márquez Fuentes and Rodríguez Araujo, *El Partido*; Neymet, *Cronología*; Peláez, *Partido*; Spenser, *Stumbling*; Spenser, *The Impossible*. For studies of the early history of the Cuban Communist Party, see García Montes and Ávila, *Historia*; Massón Sena, "Evolución."

11 Kersffeld, *Contra*; Melgar Bao, "El universo"; Melgar Bao, "The Anti-Imperialist." Kersffeld uses documents from the LAI archive and RGASPI but mostly relies on archival sources in Mexico, Cuba, and Argentina.

Wood, "Indoamerica," includes documents from RGASPI. In her study of LADLA–Puerto Rico, Pujals's "Becoming" and "¡Embarcados!" uniquely rely on the BDW papers held at the New York Public Library. Hatzky, *Julio*, includes information on LADLA based on RGASPI documents. Lindner, *A City*, which studies anti-imperialism in Mexico City in the 1920s, including LADLA, does use the Hoover Institution's Wolfe and Shipman Papers.

12 Carr, "Pioneering"; Jeifets and Jeifets, "La Comintern"; Jeifets and Jeifets, "Jaime Nevárez"; Melgar Bao, "The Anti-Imperialist"; Melgar Bao, "El universo"; Pujals, "Becoming"; Pujals, "¡Embarcados!"; Wood, "Indoamerica." Beyond Kersffeld's *Contra*, see also Kersffeld, "El Comité," "La Liga Antiimperialista de Costa Rica," and "La Liga Antiimperialista de las Américas."

13 In particular, I refer to Becker et al., *Transnational*; Heatherton, *Arise!*; Lindner, *A City*; Rivera Mir, *Militantes*; and Stevens, *Red*. See also Bosteels, *El marxismo*; Caballero, *Latin America*; Carr, *Marxism*; Concheiro et al., *El comunismo*; Gronbeck-Tedesco, *Cuba*; Kent-Carrasco, "México"; Melgar Bao, *La prensa*; Power, *Solidarity*; Spenser, *Stumbling*; and Spenser, *The Impossible*; as well as the scholarship of Sandra Pujals.

14 Salvador de la Plaza to Jaime N. Sager, March 10, 1926, BDW Papers, box 1.

15 Melgar Bao also uses this more direct translation in "The Anti-Imperialist."

16 Saldaña-Portillo, "Hemispheric Literature," 209. For hemispheric Américas scholarship that takes the Caribbean and Latin America as its point of departure, see, for example, Castellanos et al., *Comparative*; Cohn, *History*; Feinsod, *The Poetry*; Lomas, *Translating*; Luis-Brown, *Waves*; and Saldaña-Portillo, *Indian*.

17 For an overview of stakes and key texts of Global South studies, see Armillas-Tiseyra and Mahler, "Introduction."

18 There is a growing trend toward better accounting for Latin American engagement with twentieth-century transnational anticolonialisms, such as Lewis and Stolte's *The Lives of Cold War Afro-Asianism*, which in spite of the title discusses how Havana became an important site for the development of Afro-Asianisms, or Manela and Streets-Salter's *The Anticolonial Transnational*, which includes a chapter on LADLA in Mexico City.

19 See Young, *Postcolonialism*, 192; Young, "Postcolonialism," 17.

20 Here I draw from historiography provided in Mahler, *From the Tricontinental*, 73–78.

21 For how LADLA anticipated Tricontinental solidarities, see Mahler, "Global."

22 Louro, in *Comrades*, discusses Mexico's role in LAI, but the treatment is limited since her study centers on Nehru. Petersson, in *Willi*, does not mention LADLA, instead focusing on the US-based All-America Anti-Imperialist League (aka LADLA's US section). Although he discusses the creation of Latin American sections, particularly in Mexico, his otherwise excellent and thorough study does not reflect an understanding that LADLA preceded the LAI by two years or that the LAI's Latin American sections were synonymous with LADLA sections. In an edited volume

about the LAI, Goebel, in "Forging," does provide an in-depth look at Latin American participation in Brussels. See also Brückenhaus, *Policing*.

23 Goebel, *Anti-Imperial*; Goebel, "Forging"; Kersffeld, *Contra*; Lindner, *A City*.

24 Petersson, *Willi*.

25 May 1927 report, RGASPI, f. 542, o. 1, d. 16.

26 Robbins, "Blaming"; Lee, "Modern," 28.

27 Latin Americanist historian Steve J. Stern, for example, points to sixteenth-century labor in silver mines in Bolivia and in sugar mills in Brazil and Hispaniola as case studies for how "the fundamentals of Wallerstein's interpretation are severely flawed when viewed from the American periphery." Stern, "Feudalism," 858. He employs these case studies to point to problems in Wallerstein's division of labor into free-wage labor in the core states of Western Europe, forced labor in the periphery, and intermediate forms such as sharecropping in the semiperiphery. Ultimately, Stern calls for closer engagement with Latin Americanist scholars who have led the way in theorizing colonial modes of production in the Americas. For in-depth discussions of Latin Americanist debates on postcolonial studies, see Acosta, *Thresholds*; Coronil, "Elephants"; Lund, *The Impure*. See also Seed, "Colonial," and responses to this essay in Adorno, "Reconsidering"; Mignolo, "Colonial"; and Vidal, "The Concept." These problems are discussed in more depth in Mahler, *From the Tricontinental*, 25–36.

28 Latin Americanist scholars like Enrique Dussel, Aníbal Quijano, and Walter Mignolo began developing the notions of "modernity/coloniality/decoloniality" in the 1990s. This body of scholarship arose largely in response to Wallerstein's limitations on the history of Latin America and the perceived privileging within postcolonial studies of anglophone and francophone contexts as well in an attempt to consider the relationship between older forms of colonial power and the post-Soviet context. While the founding text for this intellectual movement was Quijano's "Colonialidad y modernidad/racionalidad," the project began to emerge primarily through two panels with Fernando Coronil, Quijano, and Mignolo and then with Wallerstein, Quijano, and Dussel in the late 1990s. Mignolo, "Introduction," 10. For an overview of this body of scholarship organized around a shared conceptual corpus, see Escobar, "Worlds."

29 Chakrabarty, "The Legacies"; Lee, *Making*; Prashad, *The Darker*; Weiss, *Framing*. See also Ahmad, *In Theory*.

30 Baldwin, *Beyond*; Djagalov, *From Internationalism*; Elam, *World*; Feldman, *On the Threshold*; Kalliney, *The Aesthetic*; Glaser and Lee, *Comintern*; Lee, *The Ethnic*; Popescu, *At Penpoint*.

31 Glaser and Lee's *Comintern Aesthetics* does include a chapter on Brazilian modernism. For work on the relationship between anticolonial aesthetics and internationalist political structures that takes Latin American intellectuals into account, see, for instance, Bournot, "Négritude"; Djagalov,

From Internationalism; Lee and Mahler, "Bandung"; Locane, "On the World"; and scholarship that has proliferated since 2018 on OSPAAAL.

32 See the works of Carr, Kersffeld, Lindner, Melgar Bao, and Pujals.

33 "Pueblos oprimidos, coloniales y semi-coloniales." LADLA, "El frente," 9.

34 See, for instance, Delpar, *The Enormous*; Flores, *Mexico's*; Legrás, *Culture*; Rosenberg, *The Avant*; Smith, *The Power*.

35 It is commonly referred to under other monikers like *novela criolla*, *novela regional*, and novela rural. Alonso, *The Spanish American*.

36 Morse, "The Multiverse," 50; Alonso, *The Spanish American*, 75.

37 Becker, "Mariátegui."

38 The LAI archive reveals consistent complaints by members of LADLA's Continental Committee about Gomez's attempts to control LADLA from the United States. See "Auszug"; Mella, "Informe"; 10 mayo 1926 Informe; "The Question," all in RGASPI, f. 542, o. 1, d. 19.

39 Hatzky, *Julio*, 285.

40 Kersffeld, "La Liga Antiimperialista de Costa Rica," 109.

41 Kersffeld, "La Liga Antiimperialista de Costa Rica," 110–11.

42 "Organizar 'todas las fuerzas' anti-imperialistas de la América Latina, de unificarlas en una unidad continental, de aliarlas con los aliados naturales que existen en Europa, en Asia, en África, y DENTRO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MISMOS; de despertar a las masas somnolientas de obreros y campesinos, de indígenas y mestizos y blancos, que gimen bajo el yugo del imperialismo (pues el dueño de nuestras industrias es el mismo capital yanqui, y la huelga en la plantación o en la mina; en la refinería o el ingenio, o en el campo de salitre o de petróleo, es siempre huelga contra el amo extranjero)"; emphasis in original. LADLA, "El peligro," 2.

43 Wolfe (Audifaz), "¿Qué es," 5; Carrillo, "El imperialismo," 9; Gudynas, *Extractivismos*, 10, 188.

44 Gudynas, *Extractivismos*, 17.

45 Svampa, *Neo-Extractivism*, 7.

46 "Las industrias extractivas"; "la explotación de la tierra." Wolfe (Audifaz), "¿Qué es," 5; Carrillo, "El imperialismo," 9.

47 "Que tiene la desgracia de poseer riquezas naturales"; "gobiernos autocráticos." Wolfe (Audifaz), "¿Qué es," 5, 6.

48 Frank, *Dependent*, 2. Although dependency theorists agreed on the source of economic dependency, they were divided on potential solutions, with some arguing for nationalization and protectionism and others for the overthrow of capitalism. Riofrancos, *Resource*; Svampa, *Neo-Extractivism*.

49 Beverley, *Latinamericanism*, 7; Stahler-Sholk et al., "Introduction," 4–5.

50 Riofrancos, *Resource*, 6; Svampa, *Neo-Extractivism*, 6.

51 Svampa, *Neo-Extractivism*, 12.

52 Svampa, *Neo-Extractivism*, 16.

53 OCMAL, *Conflictos*.

54 Linares, "The Deadliest."

55 Riofrancos, *Resource*, 12, 3.

56 Svampa, *Neo-Extractivism*, 41.

57 Acosta, "Living," 101.

58 Acosta, "Living," 106.

59 Riofrancos, *Resource*, 12.

60 Borón, *América Latina*, 122; Losurdo, *La izquierda*. According to this perspective, progressive states' reliance on extractivism is caused by factors outside their control, requiring them "to look for a point of equilibrium, being conscious, at the same time, that no government, and much less a leftist one, can turn a blind eye to the necessity of promoting the development of its economy." Borón, *América Latina*, 147.

61 For instance, former Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa's efforts to cease oil extraction in exchange for subsidies from wealthier nations and Ecuador's Plan Nacional Para el Buen Vivir, which envisions a gradual transition to an economy based in ecotourism and *bioconocimiento*, have suffered from wealthier nations' unwillingness to finance their apparent environmentalism. Borón, *América Latina*, 141.

62 Borón, *América Latina*, 164; García Linera, "Geopolitics."

63 Riofrancos, "Extractivism."

64 Melamed, "Racial Capitalism," 78.

65 Kelley, "Foreword," xiv; Robinson, *Black Marxism*; Magubane, *The Political*. See also Ralph and Singhal, "Racial Capitalism," and the work of Oliver Cox, W. E. B. Du Bois, C. L. R. James, Claudia Jones, Orlando Patterson, Eric Williams, and Aníbal Quijano.

66 For an overview of scholarship on racial capitalism in last ten years, see Ralph and Singhal, "Racial Capitalism," 857–58. See also Burden-Stelly, "Modern"; Boyce Davies, *Left*; Kelley, *Freedom*; Koshy et al., *Colonial*; McDuffie, *Sojourning*; Issar, *"Theorising"*; Melamed, *Represent*.

67 Koshy et al., *Colonial*, 1.

68 They also reject Robinson's argument for the incommensurability of Marxism and the Black radical tradition, disagreeing with his claim that Marx and Engels overlooked the question of racism and accusing Robinson of conflating the analytical method of class analysis with the class reductionism practiced by particular communist parties.

69 Meyerson, "Rethinking," 7.

70 Kohan, *Marx*.

71 Coulthard, "From Wards."

72 Jackson, *Creole*, 4.

73 Lowe, *The Intimacies*, 10.

74 Lowe, *The Intimacies*, 11.

75 Byrd, *The Transit*, xxxiv.

76 "La restauración de las tierras robadas." Wolfe (Audifaz), "Apreciaciones," 3.

77 Gómez-Barris, *The Extractive*; Kröger, *Extractivisms*.

78 Gómez-Barris, *The Extractive*, 9.

79 Cirefice and Sullivan, "Women"; Muñoz and Villareal, "Women's Struggles."

80 Gago, "What Latin."

81 Edwards, *Charisma*; Hardt and Negri, *Assembly*.

82 Escobar, *Territories*, 25–26.

83 Hardt and Negri, *Assembly*, 3–14.

84 "La Liga no es nadie—es de todos; veteranos de la lucha y nuevos luchadores; organizaciones e individuos, sindicatos y pueblos." LADLA, "El peligro," 2.

85 "No es el órgano de ningún individuo ni de ningún intelectual, ni de todos los intelectuales juntos. En vez de ser órgano personal, trata de ser órgano de un movimiento. La semilla que todos ellos y que muchos más han sembrado empieza ya a brotar y su fruto es 'organización.'" LADLA, "El peligro," 2.

86 Castells, "A Network"; Escobar, *Territories*, 283; Galloway and Thacker, *The Exploit*; Grewal, *Network*.

87 For the concept of relationality, see Figueroa-Vásquez, *Decolonizing*; Lowe, *The Intimacies*; Weheliye, *Habeas*.

88 Other similar concepts include "multiple jeopardy" (D. K. King), "interlocking oppressions" (Combahee River Collective), and "matrix of domination" (Patricia Hill Collins). These concepts are not equivalent to one another nor to Kimberlé Crenshaw's more recognizable notion of "intersectionality." For an overview of these concepts and their differences, see Carastathis, *Intersectionality*.

89 Carastathis, *Intersectionality*, 35. For instance, Foley writes, "Although intersectionality can usefully describe the effects of multiple oppressions, I propose, it does not offer an adequate explanatory framework for addressing the root causes of social inequality in the capitalist socioeconomic system." Foley, "Intersectionality," 11.

90 Carastathis, *Intersectionality*, 35.

91 Meyerson, "Rethinking," 2.

92 Liu and Shange, "Toward," 190. For "coalitional solidarities," see Murib's analysis of queer Indigenous activists' proposal to replace a commitment to "coalitional unity" with one of "coalitional solidarity" that would address diverse goals and incommensurable experiences. Murib, "Unsettling." In discussing "coalitional solidarity," Murib relies on O'Brien, *The Politics*. Scholarship on the concept of solidarity is extensive. See overviews in Featherstone, *Solidarity*; Sangiovanni and Viehoff, "Solidarity"; Stites Mor, *South-South*.

93 Jakobsen, "Queers," 65–66.

94 Jakobsen, "Queers," 69, 71.

95 Jakobsen, "Queers," 80, 79.

96 Lowe's use of "intimacies" to describe the relations between ethnic groups draws from Édouard Glissant's earlier theorization of the Caribbean as born out of creolization, wherein cultures and communities do not simply come into contact or become forged into a neat synthesis but rather engage in a "limitless" relation. Glissant, *Poetics*, 34.