

The transnationalization of resistance memory using the example of zapatista mural painting and its worldwide reception through emancipatory movements

In this article, I analyze the interwoven memory between the indigenous Zapatista movement in Southeastern Mexico with that of other emancipatory movements in other countries through the medium of murals and graffiti and investigate whether this has created a collective transnational memory. I examine this question based on various approaches to memory and their interconnection with theories of transnationalization. The theory of Maurice Halbwachs on the collective memory is of considerable importance for questions about transnational memory. In his book "The Collective Memory" (Halbwachs, 1991) he argues that memory emanates from a collective framework: individual memories combine within time and space to form a collective memory. The present community determines what is remembered and what is not remembered from the past (Halbwachs, 1985). Halbwachs refers in particular to memory related to family, cities, and nations. The question then arises concerning the globality or transnationality of this collective memory. How is it possible to conceptualize the expansion of local, family and national spaces into a global form of memory?

Jan and Aleida Assmann have distinguished between "communicative", meaning everyday memory, and "cultural memory", i.e. institutionally mediated memory (Assmann and Assmann, 1988, 1991). The difference is firstly in the time horizon and secondly in the mediation agencies involved. While "everyday memory" is passed from actor to protagonist and from recipient to recipient, unstructured and without political hierarchy, "cultural memory" is relayed through the media and institutions and moves within the mode of political interpretation. Through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments, public art) and institutional communication (recitation, inspection and contemplation), events of the past become "time islands" of identity within contemporary society and contribute to its integration. The good functioning of collective memory depends largely on the broad agreement between "communicative" and "cultural memory". In this theory, too, the question arises as to how the correspondence between "communicative" and "cultural memory" is possible at a transnational level? If "communicative memory" exists in direct exchange, the local and temporal framework is of great importance. The subsequent question is once again whether communicative memory in the global context is at all possible? This question brings to mind immediately new media that allow you to exchange information and coordinate with each other in no time at all, from one end of the earth to the other. This can, of course, take place between Facebook friends, connecting scattered family members and friends through the new media, creating a kind of collective transnational memory. But what about "cultural" memory? Since "cultural memory" has a strong administrative and institutional component and takes place predominantly within the framework of nation states and regions, communication through the new media goes beyond the scope of "cultural memory" and transcends it. Globalisation has therefore also captured collective memory. But if one takes into account the trend-setting power of the large transnational companies, then one can assign them a formative cultural power, which in turn both strengthens "cultural memory" and influences "communicative memory". In "global cultural memory" one can observe that there is a shift of the memory agencies from political and nation-state institutions to global business enterprises. The worldwide influence of Coca-Cola is an example of this.

In general, transnationalisation means global relations that take place below or above the threshold of nations, and that overstep what is known as "international relations" between nation-states. These can be connections between large companies that are increasingly emerging as transnational corporations. But it may also mean global relationships between groups moving in spheres of culture, environment, migration, crime or drug trafficking. Historian David Thelen has written that transnational history asks, "how people, ideas, institutions, and cultures moved above, under, through, around, and within the nation-state; it analyses how well national boundaries span and explain how people experienced history" (Thelen, 1999). Wolfram Kaiser goes even further and defines transnational history as an exchange "across borders in *all* their dimensions" (Kaiser, 2004). History is not synonymous with memory, even if the two are closely linked. International memory can be a fixed point, for example the United Nations used the Stockholm Holocaust Conference in 2005 as an opportunity to declare January 27th International Holocaust Remembrance Day (Kroh, 2008). Here Halbachs' category of "collective memory" and Aleida and Jan Assmann's "cultural memory" both come into play. However, as far as our question is concerned, two further variables are introduced in the question of "transnational memory". On the one hand the question of space, i.e. the emergence of transnational memory spaces, as well as the question of resistance and emancipatory movements and autonomous alternative spaces that refer to the local, non-state level and resistance. In other words, the question of transnational history and transnational memory (already accepted by many historians) is extended to include the question of space, transnational autonomous spaces and resistance. The theory of space as developed by Henry Lefebvre, David Harvey and Stuart Hall locates spaces not only geographically but also culturally and socially. Lefebvre pointed out that social spaces were constructed socially (Lefebvre 1991). He wrote that the capital creates spaces, but that it leaves the spaces again. When space is abandoned by capital, there is the possibility to erect a non-capitalist culture, the protagonists of which are especially student, squatter, and anti-racist movements, to some extent absorbed by the 1968 generation. David Harvey and Stuart Hall have built on this work on space, developing the thesis of the connection between the "universality" and the "local". All spaces are affected through the neo-liberalisation, but this in a different matter. Therefore, the universal globalized world splits in various spaces, which developed with different patterns. I argue that for my analysis of alternative autonomous spaces with references to grassroots-democracy, self-determination, non-capitalist production, gender equality, and nature protection, these theoretical considerations offer special insight. I ask whether these spaces have their own memory, and whether they can develop into transnational spaces of alternative memory. I grapple with these questions by drawing on the example of Zapatista mural painting and the formation of autonomous transnational spaces linked to them.

I. Who are the Zapatistas?

The Zapatistas are an insurgent movement of indigenous peoples in Chiapas, formed on January 1, 1994 in opposition to the government's neo-colonial and neo-liberal policies and calling for "democracy, justice and freedom". This was the starting point for the development of a new resistance culture in Chiapas, especially amongst those displaced from their homes. It was characterized by an emphasis on self-protection, grassroots democracy, collective property, and diversity. In addition, left-wing intellectuals had come from the cities in the 1970s and 1980s to build the guerrilla movement in Chiapas. The convergence of these two factions led to the foundation of the EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) in 1983.

What followed was the creation of an insurgent group that was both a guerrilla army and social movement and can be characterised as "ritornello" (refrain, return), in the sense used by Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 1977). The Zapatistas are guerrillas in the sense that the group is armed; and a social movement inasmuch as it rejects the takeover of power. The military procedure serves primarily defensive purposes. Classic guerrilla tactics such as abductions, armed provocations and territorial occupation are rejected. The focus theory of Régis Debray (Debray, 1975) and Che Guevara (Che Guevara, 1990) also does not apply. Their resistance is both local and at the same time global in the form of an international movement of supporters.

In the first half of the 2000s, the Zapatista movement encountered an urgent search for new forms of resistance by those disadvantaged by neoliberalism. Old forms of resistance of large social movements such as the workers' trade union and agricultural workers movement of the time of Fordism and the protest movements and new social movements of the sixties and seventies in the West no longer launched attacks under neoliberal conditions. Not only did neoliberalism place new forms of capitalist globalisation and global domination of nation-states on the agenda of large corporations, but a new political culture was breaking ground. Although the call for democracy, justice, and freedom was made by both the old and new social movements, there were no longer any contact points between them and the old resistance ebbed away in the intangible neoliberal structures of cross-border free enterprise, with lobby groups employed by national governments, the logic of transnational capital accumulation and business friendly international arbitration all making up this financialised international world. Resistance and protest, mostly organised nationally, had lost their traditional arenas of struggle. The failures of the non-capitalist path of state socialism and national liberation movements in the global South as counterpart to the capitalist world led to anti-capitalist forces experiencing great hopelessness and loss of power to act, a phenomenon described by Herbert Marcuse as "leaden age" for the "one-dimensional man" (Marcuse 1967). This discovery increased as a result of neoliberal strategies of equalisation by left-wing thinkers who historicise revolutions, elevate narcissism to the level of individual liberation and recognise capitalism as the "end of history" (regulation theory, Neo-Gramscianism, post-structuralism) due to its supposed inexhaustible potential for renewal.

The Zapatista uprising of 1994 as the first insurrection against neoliberalism bursting into this fatalistic intellectual edifice, loosened up the corresponding inertia by taking concrete action. Thwarting the "leaden age" and the loss of voices of protest and resistance around the world, the "first uprising against neoliberalism" slowly leaked into the consciousness of those who were damaged, disadvantaged, and excluded by neoliberalism. Protest movements against neoliberalism from 1999 and the following decade onwards were reenergised and given a new direction by the Zapatistas. Many Zapatista attitudes have been adopted by anti-neoliberal protest movements worldwide, one of the main slogans being: "Another world is possible", which was adopted by the alter-globalisation, Anti-G8-summit and Occupy movements.

John Holloway, when asked what was new about the Zapatista movement, said: "In 1994, it seemed as if there was no possibility of rebellion anywhere. For me, the new aspect is above all wanting to change the world without seizing state power. This is a clear break with global revolutionary traditions" (Holloway, 2017). This is especially true of the old social movements, national liberation movements, the "new social movements" since the 1960s, and the state socialist countries. Even though "new social movements" did not seek to take power after 1968 and the seventies, the Zapatistas again differed in their fundamental critique of capitalism and the intention to develop a new non-capitalist type of society. Above all, "new social movements" dealt with problem solutions affecting a specific group. This option has been transformed by the Zapatistas. They aspire to change the world in Habermas' words as a "major social project" without "taking power", as described by John Holloway (Holloway 2002). The originality of the Zapatistas is therefore derived from the combination of rejection of power and the claim of building an alternative non-capitalist society. Not only are they a protest movement, but they also create an autonomous alternative space characterised by participatory democracy, the decision-making power of civil society, gender equality, the sustainable use of nature, collective ownership and self-government. Here, destruction is connected with construction. Especially important in the reconstruction of society is the basic democracy of the Zapatistas according to the principle of "Mandar Obedeciendo" ("lead by obeying"). New rules are created in contrast to the old system. Similar to the indigenous office system, each member of the Zapatista communities pledges to assume political office at least once in his life, which can also withdraw. In his interview with Laura Castellanos, Subcomandante Marcos said that for the Zapatistas, "politics is not ... a matter for professionals, nor a career or way of life." He said, "This is one of the few places in the world where a member of the government returns home with the same needs and work at the end of his tenure"(Subcomandante Marcos, 2010). All political decisions are taken by the General Assembly in the

different political administrative units, which must be implemented by the governments. The military arm is also committed to the decisions of the General Assembly. This originality of Zapatista decision-making has influenced the ideas of protest movements and alternative habitats throughout the world.

Another characteristic of the Zapatistas is a new form of civil society culture. From a perspective of shared concern, the Zapatistas networked with civil society, of which they considered themselves a part. The Zapatistas are close to, but go beyond the Western understanding of civil society, as defined by Jürgen Habermas: "Its institutional core is formed by non-governmental and non-economic associations and associations on a voluntary basis that anchor public communication structures in the social component of the environment civil society is made up of more or less spontaneously created associations, organisations and movements, which find, take up, condense and amplify the resonance of social problems in private life, and pass it on to the political realm or public sphere" (Habermas 1997) And further: Civil society "does not take the place of a great philosopher-class major subject, which should bring society under its control as well as legitimacy for it." (Ibid.) For the Zapatistas, civil society means that part of the population that is not part of the government, political parties, the military and major capitalist enterprises. Civil society is for them the opposite of power and is in permanent contradiction to this. Civil society, unlike Habermas, does not have to be politically active, but is first and foremost made up of the losers of neoliberal globalisation and capitalist society. The seizure of human and natural life through capital and the neo-liberal policies of the rulers plays a fundamental role. From this situation arises the need and political responsibility for the re-appropriation of life and nature by civil society. The Zapatistas are concerned with the self-empowerment of those affected by neoliberal exploitation and marginalisation; and that, in their view, is the majority of society. They regard themselves - indigenous peoples, peasants and poor - as a prototype for the oppressed and excluded civil society and hence derive their right to resist. But that does not mean taking an avantgarde position. The Zapatistas contradict the impetus (according to Habermas) that civil society "as a major subject" cannot "bring the entire society under control" and "act legitimately" for it in two ways. On the one hand, the Zapatistas strictly reject the "control" of society according to their rejection of power. Secondly, they see it as a necessity for civil society to act "legitimately for society". An essential link connecting the Zapatistas and civil society is the joint action of the EZLN with the National Indigenous Congress (CNI). It was founded on the initiative of the Zapatistas in 1976 and today includes 33 indigenous peoples and, in addition, a number of rural areas, neighbourhoods and tribes (Congreso Nacional Indígena 2018). In many areas of Mexico, the indigenous peoples are a minority with less than 10 percent of the population, but in rural areas such as Oaxaca and Chiapas and many metropolitan areas, their share is up to 85 percent (Esteva 2012). Thus, a large part of the Mexican population is a member of the Indigenous Congress or is close to it. The National Indigenous Congress (CNI, from 1996) formed an Indigenous Government Council (CIG) in 2017 and established the indigenous healer María de Jesús Patricio Martínez as its own candidate for the presidential elections in Mexico in 2018 (National Indigenous Congress 2017). Since - unlike all other candidates - she was not tied to a party but a spokesperson responsible for the CNI and the CIG, she undercut the political culture of Mexico's ruling system. It was about countering the logic of capitalist culture and domination with a different logic of participation, solidarity, collective action and diversity. Despite the failure of the candidacy, the indigenous candidate's election campaign sparked a broad national discussion about the state of Mexican society and possible social alternatives. It raised the concerns of Mexicans who are particularly affected by extreme social, racial and gender and social differences, the destruction of nature and endemic violence.

The construction of Zapatista autonomy was characterised from the beginning by a distinctive symbolic representation. This is an important part of the Zapatista self-assurance and defensive structure in conditions of uncertainty as well as pressure from the government's counterinsurgency strategy and paramilitary attacks. The Zapatistas decided to go the peaceful path, not to operate like a classic guerrilla but to replace armed conflict by other means, namely an "armed pacifism". The construction of autonomy was accompanied by a whole network of self-protection that included both non-violent and violent elements; the weaponry of the EZLN was only part

of this equation. Another was the production of a counter publicity campaign: symbols, images and texts replaced the armed struggle in the confrontation with the government, achieving a high level of efficiency. Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge already pointed out the importance of "counter-publicity" in connection with the 1960s and 70s student movements, which was as much about the exposure of the "rulers" as well as the movement's self-image. "Counter-publicity" in the context of the Zapatistas is to be understood as in opposition to official institutionalised publicity with its own non-institutionalised public sphere, and as a different publicity or representation (Habermas 1998), both against the rulers and also against the former traditional leftists and the classic guerrilla.

II. Meaning of memory for the Zapatista movement

To connect world change with the rejection of power, the Zapatistas return to historical figures and events in order to fashion the materials for a new movement. One of the most important figures is Emiliano Zapata, the social revolutionary leader of the Mexican Revolution who fought for "land and freedom" (Womack, 1972). He stands for the reappropriation of the land by the peasants and for their liberation from bondage. Emiliano Zapata also refused to take over power, as did the Zapatistas. At the same time he stands for the resilience of the oppressed who had to fight their country in an armed struggle. Other historical figures such as the Virgen de Guadalupe, Mother Earth, Che Guevara and Subcomandante Marcos all contribute significantly to the intellectual foundations of the Zapatista ideology. The Virgen de Guadalupe stands for resistance, but also pacifism, for self-determination and respect for indigenous people. Finally, Guadalupe as the brown Madonna of Mexico symbolising the symbolic rebirth of the indigenous goddess Tonantzin as a Christian Madonna. In the war of liberation, she gained constitutive significance as a leading symbol against the former colonial power of Spain and in the bourgeois democratic revolution of 1910. The image of the Virgen de Guadalupe was borne as a standard before the troops; she received the title of "Captain General" in the War of Independence and her likeness was awarded as an honor to fighters in the form of a medal. To this day, they carry her standard with them on marches of landless workers movement. Che Guevara, on the other hand, is understood by the Zapatistas as a symbol of resistance and protest. Even if the form has changed, the Zapatistas feel themselves to be in the tradition of national liberation struggles of Latin America against imperialism and for independence. In recent years Emiliano Zapata, the Virgen de Guadalupe, Che Guevara and finally Subcomandante Marcos as the spokesman for the EZLN have developed a great symbolic power in the resistance movements of other countries and stand for their specific local goals. They understand the past and memory as a learning process. For them, collectivity and community in all areas of life are indispensable necessities to overcome the current conditions of a deeply divided society. Subcomandante Marcus, the former spokesman of the movement said as early as 1995:

Collective work, democratic thinking, subordination to majority decisions are more than just a tradition of the indigenous territory ... this wind from below, the wind of rebellion, of dignity, is not only the answer to the wind imposed from above. It is not only an angry response, it also contains a new blueprint: meaning more than just the destruction of an unjust and arbitrary system, it is above all an expression of hope, the hope that dignity and rebellion will turn into freedom and dignity (Subcomandante Marcos, 1996).

Marcos understood his role as spokesman and commander-in-chief of the EZLN as a historic mission: "As the heir to the glory of the best of the Villa and Zapata troops, and inspired by the spirit of Hidalgo, Morelos and Guerrero, the armed forces of the EZLN hold the conviction that it is ultimately necessary to eventually become useless and superfluous" (Subcomandante Marcos, 1996).

This is an indication of the double mission of the Zapatistas that is committed to both the past and the future. Through them, the leaders of the Revolution for Independence of 1810 and the Mexican Revolution of 1910 became symbols of resistance, independence, freedom and justice, bearing a common character.

III. Zapatista murals as places of remembrance

In particular, one can see the explicit attitude towards memory and remembrance in the Zapatista murals. In almost all the communities of the Zapatistas, the walls of public buildings such as schools, hospitals and administrative buildings, as well as private houses are painted with murals. These are part of the symbolic representation of this rebel community. The murals contribute to the creation of an identity with the community and represent the objectives of the Zapatistas to the outside world.

The Zapatista murals are not created by professional artists, but by the members of the communities themselves, acting as artists. Human rights observers and activists living in the Zapatista communities also participate in the production of these paintings; they are therefore integral and collective works. Sometimes professional artists give the Zapatista painters like Gustavo Chavez Pavón technical instruction (Museo Pincoyano 2015), but the subjects and forms are decided by the Zapatistas themselves. It is regarded as participatory and communal art.

Zapatista murals cannot however be described as Pop Art (Kastner, 2011), as this label is more or less used to describe alternative groups within a society. The concept of Pop Art, developed in the context of capitalist society, displays significant differences to participatory Zapatista art. Within the Zapatista communities, it is not the art of "minorities" and their subcultural marketing, as described by Deleuze and Guattari in their investigations of pop, but the art of majorities (Deleuze & Guattari, 1975), who nonetheless define themselves as coming "from below" (Sixth Declaration, 2005). Compared to the surrounding society in Mexico, this can be called popular art, but with the consolidation of the Zapatista autonomous regions it is developed more and more into an independent form that no longer coincides with the concept of popular art as the art of the oppressed. The painters are not oppressed within the Zapatista communities or a social minority but come from the very centre of the community. The supporters from outside the Zapatista communities are integrated into this group and share the same motives as the members of the community. These are evidently the representatives of a transcultural and translocal space in which the painter activists are not exploited minorities, but come from the centre of this space and recreate it with their murals.

Suzana Milevska of the Vienna University of Arts and Arts says that in participatory art the hierarchical separation between artist and audience is overcome and social injustices in cultural, social and political structures are made visible (Milevska 2015). Following Agamben, she points out that the legal structures of the neoliberal art industry are being undermined. She distinguishes between two functions of "participatory art": firstly, the hierarchies between "mass" and "high culture" are to be deconstructed, going beyond "individual-centered art" and "aesthetic-centred authority"; and secondly, the function of "participatory art" is to create a democratic society which has the aim of fundamental political and social change. Milevska states however that the main goals of participatory art have mostly failed because they cannot function within present neoliberal societies and the internal contradictions of contemporary democracies, especially through commercialisation. She writes, "...to put it more directly, the larger socio-political and economic context in which art is produced and practiced overrides the ambitious goals." (Milevska, 2015)

I would now like to examine Milevska's thesis that participatory art cannot achieve its ambitious goals in relation to Zapatista mural painting. The political, social as well as socio-economic context of Zapatista mural paintings is different from that described by Milevska. This is not about the official art business in neoliberal societies that supports "participatory projects," following the mainstream of "justice and equality ideology", then discovering a new source of profit and commercialisation without letting the actors participate. Zapatista autonomy cannot be compared to neo-liberal societies because, even if it exists within a neoliberal framework, it

has retained a great deal of autonomy. Here neoliberal patterns are largely disengaged. The participatory murals of the Zapatistas correlate to a participatory society and an alternative autonomous space. The neo-liberal art establishment does not exist. Here community members decide themselves what and how they want to paint and what then happens to the paintings.

According to the theory of Jan and Aleida Assmann, communal and participatory art directly intertwine individual everyday memory with collective cultural memory (Assmann, A. & Assmann, J, 1988, 1991), so that a collective memory emerges, displaying a high degree of identity with the community.

The Council of Municipal Zapatista governments commented on the objectives associated with communal mural painting: "A mural is very important to the Zapatista communities, (to) learn something about those who are often forgotten today or tomorrow and remain unseen. For us the communal paintings are like a mirror, reminding us to act politically, to never forget our history, to remind us of our heroines and heroes of yesterday and today; and to tell our dreams, so that future generations will know about them. " (Junta de Buen Gobierno, 2013)

A particularly impressive example of the connection between past, present and future is the mural on the walls of the Guadalupe hospital in Oventic, one of the largest and oldest murals showing an iconic depiction of the Zapatistas. In the centre of the picture there are two groups: the original Zapatistas from the Mexican revolution of 1910 and the present-day Zapatistas. Both groups are fighting for the same thing - land and liberty - but both can also be easily distinguished. The older Zapatistas seem like a war machine, a mass of people with the same faces and sombreros; they are not individuals. By contrast, the new Zapatistas wear *pasamontañas* that underline their common cause, but the color of the faces and the eyes differ; each one has their own individuality. At the same time the mouths in the *pasamontañas* are open, means that they speak according to the Zapatista slogan, that they conduct "a war of words". The modern-day Zapatistas distinguish themselves from their predecessors by the principles of diversity and the peaceful and civil methods of resistance.

The middle groups are framed by two groups of saints: the old gods on the left-hand side like Kukulcan, the god of sun, wisdom, peace and the sunrise. Just as Kukulcan appears as a peace-loving god, the Zapatista movement sees itself as a peaceful movement that relies on dialogue. Next to him Chaac, the god of water and war, stands for resistance. On the right is Emiliano Zapata, the leader of the 1910 Mexican Revolution; and the brown Madonna of Mexico, the Virgen de Guadalupe, as a symbol of peace. She wears the headscarf of the Zapatistas over her face, which means that the national saint has been transformed into a Zapatista. These two groups of figures make the struggle of the Zapatistas holy and show the diversity of the historical and cosmopolitan roots of the Zapatistas.

One of the most common figures besides Zapata, Subcomandante Marcos and Che Guevara is the Virgen de Guadalupe, the dark-skinned Mexican variant of the Virgin Mary, the national saint of Mexico. She is integrated by the Zapatistas in their struggle against their degradation as indigenous people, their struggle for recognition as equal members of Mexican society, and their pacifism. The Virgen de Guadalupe is usually depicted as a Zapatista.

With the consolidation of the Zapatista communities between 2003 and 2005, the historical motifs, reference figures from history and copies of classical murals gave way to present and future motifs. In recent times, themes of learning, nature protection, children at play and gender justice predominate. One can also see typical Zapatista subjects like the snail as a symbol of slow persistence. The other symbol is maize which represents the resistance against exploitation by transnational companies. These pictorial motifs have also become symbols for resistance, but also for the construction of autonomous alternative spaces.

IV. The transnational character of the Zapatista murals

On the one hand the Zapatistas consider themselves as part of the oppressed indigenous peoples in Mexico; and on the other hand as typical of the excluded and disadvantaged of the contemporary world. Thus, they combine the local with the global. This determines their historical mission and their future social vision. As indigenous people, they can look back on experience of collective resistance over centuries, which made survival as a group possible. From this they derive the conviction that they have found a way out of the current crisis of neoliberal, global and criminalising capitalism; and a left-wing movement that has fallen into crisis without considering itself as an avant-garde. This is the basis of the transnational entanglement between the different memories.

The transnational character of Zapatista mural painting and the cross-linked transnational memory created a “commemorative regime”: firstly, through the direct participation of foreign supporters in mural paintings in the Zapatista communities; secondly, the reproduction of historical motifs of the Zapatistas in other parts of the world and their intertwining with images of other left-wing movements; and thirdly in the international Zapatista art festivals and international art schools in the Zapatista communities. The transnational effect of the Zapatista murals is expressed by the statement of the Zapatista autonomous government: “The visitors take this picture with them and so the municipal mural reaches to the horizon.” (Junta de Buen Gobierno, 2013)

An impressive example of this transnational memory regime is the reconstruction of the painting by Taniperla. This painting, created by Tzeltals in 1998, depicts the life and organisation of the communities and their cosmic vision (Taniperla Project, 2001). Only a day after the completion of the painting, the Mexican military occupied the community, detained some of painters and destroyed the artwork. After its destruction, the picture has been repainted in various places around the world by activists and artists in Argentina, Brazil, Spain, Italy, Ireland, Germany, the USA, Mexico City and Canada (Gervais, 2001); in San Francisco, on the walls of the Lawrence Ferlinghetti's *City Lights* bookstore (Contant, 2013); on the US border between Arizona and Sonora (Prendergast 2014); in Spain in Valencia, Barcelona in Catalonia, in Cologne, Germany made by the Mexican muralist Checo Valdez Rubalcaba. In Cologne, the painters framed the reconstructed image of Taniperla within another image titled “*Life and Dream in the Perla Valley, Love and Rage*,” which is a visual depiction of leftist utopias in Europe (Taniperla Project, 2001). A huge gale blows out of the earth like a whirlpool, giving birth to a red star, thus visualising the interwoven memory of European utopias with that of Chiapas.

After the departure of the Mexican military from Flores Magon in Chiapas in 2005, the Taniperla painting was recreated by the community. Material and artistic support by foreign sympathisers such as the Chiapas Solidarity Commission of the Spanish CGP Union, the Chiapas Solidarity Committee in Greece and Sergio Valdez of Mexico City (Indymedia Chiapas, 2005) made the transcultural nature of memory concrete. The multiple reproduction of the Taniperla mural in other parts of the world and its reproduction in Chiapas with international support conveys the symbolic message that through the material, transnational transformation of remembrance such left utopias cannot be forcibly destroyed.

Another example of transnational memory is the support of the reconstruction of the Zapatista community of La Realidad. In 2014, several buildings such as the hospital, the school, a cultural centre and a shop as well as their murals were destroyed by paramilitaries and the teacher Galeano was killed. Subsequently Subcomandante Marcos was symbolically transformed into “Subcomandante Galeano”. A group of 40 artists from 12 countries, collaborating within the context of the “Schools for Chiapas” project, painted the newly built buildings. Copenhagen's *Krogerup Højskole* (Krogerjup Folk High School) also participated in the reconstruction and painting of the buildings of La Realidad (Schools of Chiapas, 2018).

An essential pillar of the “commemorative regime” of transnationally intertwined Zapatista murals are those Zapatista motifs that appear in public spaces in other places of the world - murals, graffiti, book covers, posters - which are often associated with symbolic figures of other leftist movements. The Zapatistas are a popular

subject especially in street art. English street artist Banksy and the American Shepard Fairey have repeatedly used Zapatista motifs in their murals, posters or graffiti. Shepard Fairey's picture of a Zapatista woman in the Andy Warhol Museum in New York alongside Angela Davis, and a female activist of the Arab Spring at the Cargo Bar in Shoreditch, London has become particularly well-known. Banksy's painting of a Zapatista footballer wearing a *pasamontaña* was copied in other parts of the world. Both street artists stand for an alternative way of life in their countries, opposing traditional rules and striving for the freedom of the individual. These images are, however, not communal images, but the work of specific artists emerging from the Pop Art and Underground Art, acting commercially and appear as individual artists. The situation is different with unclassifiable images such as the murals of Marcos, Emiliano Zapata and the Virgen de Guadalupe in New York; graffiti with Zapatistas in Los Angeles; or the mural of Marcos together with Gandhi, Emiliano Zapata, Che Guevara, Benazir Bhutto and Bob Dylan in the Wicker Park district in Chicago. The linking of these historical figures shows the internalisation of the "alternatives" living in the district, for whom rebellion against the traditional capitalist order as well as the isolation of the people represents a focus. At the front of the Atztlán Cultural Center in the Pilsen district of Chicago the heads of Subcomandante Marcos are displayed next to Emiliano Zapata, Che Guevara, Frida Kahlo and Benito Juárez, all shown as important figures of reference for the Chicano community. This area is populated by many Americans of Mexican descent and Latin American refugees, for whom cultural diversity and self-determination are of great importance.

In the European street art there are murals with direct reference to the Zapatistas whose artists are unknown, such as in the Kernstrasse in Zurich, showing the paramilitary raid on the Zapatista community in Realidad 2014 and bearing the inscription "Todos somos La Realidad" ("We are all La Realidad"). Other examples are the mural painting on the Café Libertad collective in Hamburg St. Pauli and the large mural of Emiliano Zapata with the logo of the EZLN on the house wall in the alternative neighborhood of Christiania in Copenhagen, Denmark. Emiliano Zapata is a strong symbol of self-determination, resilience and rejection of power (in the sense of dominance) for the neighborhood's alternative inhabitants.

In many parts of the world, you can see a lot of small graffiti, mostly showing Marcos. As a small symbol, his image covers the walls of many buildings and walls in cities around the world, carving out the emblem of emancipatory resistance in the old cultural space. The cultural space of the transnationally entwined memory of the Zapatistas is increasingly expanding into Eastern European countries, Russia, China, Sweden, New Zealand and across the Arab world. Zapatista images can be seen especially on the internet and on posters, which are predominantly reflexive and hardly connected to their subjects, but refer both to sympathies with the Zapatistas as well as messages of their own protest.

Since 2016, the phenomenon of the "commemorative regime" of the transnational intertwining of Zapatista memory emerged through the cooperation of the Zapatistas with international scientists and artists. At the Comp-Arte art festival, both Zapatistas and foreign artists exhibit their works at the "University of the Earth" in Chiapas and discuss their contents and forms and organise "international painting schools" in the Zapatista communities. The expansion of the Comp-Arte Festival into digital space now encompasses a much wider range of resistance artists and contributes to the intensification of the transnationalisation of memory.

V. Conclusion

The various forms of merging Zapatista visual art contribute to the transnational memory and the symbolic artistic marking of a transcultural alternative space that both binds past and present and opposes capitalism and neoliberalism. As a result, participants aspire to a society characterised by participatory democracy, gender equality, environmental compatibility, diversity and collectivity. With the murals, alternative local and global spaces of artistic reception and self-assurance are constructed through a transnational mediation in the sense of

Halbwach's "collective memory"; which, according to Francois Jullien, leaves an "in-between" between the different spaces of international and Zapatista art open but makes the "common" visible (Jullien, 2011).

The Zapatista murals have been transnationalised by paintings which bring together Zapatista and international supporters, copying Zapatista murals elsewhere, using Zapatista motifs and interweaving them with their own symbols and subjects drawn from grassroots movements; and conducting international art encounters leading to the transnationalisation of memory in the field of emancipatory movements. Zapatista motifs and images recollecting Zapatista struggle have often emerged as an initial trigger for the reconstruction of anti-capitalist movements, ranging from the "new social movements" of 1968, the movements of the 1970s to the 1980s, the state socialist countries and the National Liberation movements precisely through their transnational differences. The autonomous alternative spaces are not directed primarily at governments and states but serve the self-assurance in the effort of the construction work of another, predominantly grassroots society in which the recipients and actors re-appropriate their own life and nature.

The typology of transnational memory expressed in Zapatista murals and their reception throughout the world is not an official political and cultural form, but a participatory form of memory implementation "from below". The characters Kukulcan, Chaac, Morelos, Zapata, Che Guevara, the Virgen de Guadalupe and Subcomandante Marcos found their way into murals, graffiti, book covers and placards all over the world, constructing a new future reality in which democracy, justice and freedom are the highest principles.

Unlike professional painting and as the so-called "popular art" in capitalist societies, Zapatista painting corresponds to the social form of the Zapatistas, characterised by grassroots democracy and collective forms of property and distribution. Just as with the collaboration with civil society, Zapatista mural painting is a resistance and defensive strategy, replacing gun violence and countering the Mexican government's logic of violence with the logic of peaceful resistance. The grassroots logic of participatory Zapatista mural painting, which has found its way into many projects in countries around the world, undermines commercial art work in capitalist societies, which is geared towards consumption and value creation, and positions itself politically and culturally as an alternative.

The strategy corresponds to the strategy of grassroots movements that are non-hierarchical and pacifist and that reject power, political parties and institutions. This can be seen in the murals and the connection of Zapatista motifs with those of other social movements, alternative autonomous spaces or even individual professional artists around the world. Memory comes from the transnational collective and individual memory. It is not based on predetermined or staged acts of remembrance by political leaders, political parties, governments or art enterprises, as described in mainstream science and interpreted as "cultural memory." Here, "cultural memory" (Aleida and Jan Assmann) is not created through the institutional implementation of art, but through the joint agreement of grassroots associations and groups. "Communicative" and "cultural" memory interpenetrate. The "memory activists" are those painters who come from the Zapatista communities, their supporters, social movements and actors in various places in the world. By extending the local space of the Zapatista murals with their underlying memory images towards the global level, a memory of global character emerged.

The question of whether "communicative" and "cultural" memory is possible in a transnational way on a global scale can be answered as follows: under the principle of the global networking of local resistance, common codes and symbols emerged between various emancipatory movements spread throughout the world, such as the alter-global movement, Occupy, solidarity-based economy, Degrowth, environmental movements and peace and migrant movements, but also autonomous alternative spaces, such as the Zapatistas in Chiapas, "Longo Mai" in Switzerland, France, Austria, Ukraine, Costa Rica and Germany (Buess 2013); the "zone à défendre" in France and "Christiania" in Denmark, the self-governing Nasa people of the Cauca in Colombia (Campo Palacios 2018) and the Dalit and Adivasi Movement in India (Roy 2002): a transnational and global emancipatory memory that

can be broadly referred to as "transnational memory". Memory thus moves over, under, through, around, and within the nation state, the autonomous spaces and movements act within states. Since these movements and alternative autonomous spaces are mostly located locally, one could also introduce the concept of "translocal memory". In accordance with the theory of space, which locates spaces not only geographically but also culturally and socially, I would like to introduce the concepts of "transient memory space" or "translocal memory space". Since it concerns the global networking of local resistances, one could speak of "transnational emancipatory memory space" or "translocal emancipatory memory space". These spaces of transnational and translocal memory were produced in our example through the medium of the Zapatista murals.

All in all, one can reiterate the initial question whether, based on Zapatista murals and graffiti, a transnationally interwoven memory between the indigenous Zapatista movement in south-eastern Mexico and that of other emancipatory movements in many countries of the world has emerged. But more concrete and adequate is it to call this kind of memory as transspacially interwoven transnational memory.

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