## Contents

**Acknowledgements**  xi

**Introduction**  1

1  *Utopia and the Dialectic as Contested Terrain*  
 **II The Present Moment**  5

**III Origins—Dunayevskaya and the Dialectic of Organization and Philosophy**  8

**IV Structure of the Present Study**  10

### PART 1

**Philosophic Foundations**

1  *The Meaning of Utopia in Latin America*  15

**I “The Right to One’s (Latin America’s) Own Utopia”**  15

**II “Utopia as Space (Place) of Social Resistance”**  17

**III Utopia and Latin American Thinkers**  20

2  *Dialectical Thought—from Hegel to Marx, from Lenin to Dunayevskaya. What is the Power of Negativity for Our Day?*  25

**I Moments in the Hegelian Dialectic**  25

**II Marx-Hegel—from “Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic” to *Capital***  33

**III Lenin-Hegel—Philosophical Preparation for Revolution?**  37

**IV Dunayevskaya-Hegel—Reading Absolute Negativity “As New Beginning”**  45

3  *Are There Emancipatory Threads between Utopia and the Dialectic in Latin America?*  57

**I Preliminary Note: The Dialectic of *Universal-Particular-Individual* Reaching toward *Utopias-Projects-Masses***  57

**II The Challenge in Practice and in Theory: Will Latin America Arrive Only on the Threshold of a New Society, or Enter into the Realm of Absolute Liberation?**  58

**III How Do a Latin American Concept of Utopia and the Dialectic of Absolute Negativity Speak to Each Other?**  63
PART 2
The State and Social Movements in Latin America

4 Haiti, 1986–1993: The Uprooting (Dejoucki), the Flood (Lavalas) and the Repression 75
  I Haiti was the First: A Brief Note on the Significance of the Haitian Revolution, 1791–1804 75
  II Haiti in Books and in Life 76
  III Theology of Liberation in Concrete Practice: Aristide’s Sermons and Actions 83
  IV Epilogue: Post-the Jan. 12, 2012 Earthquake 88

5 The Revolutionary Process in Venezuela—Advances, Contradictions, Questions 95
  I The Passing of Hugo Chavez 95
  II Preliminary Moments: The Oil Addiction; The First Period of the Chavez Government 96
  III Under the Whip of the Counter-Revolution a Revolutionary Process Begins 98
  IV Chavez’s Call to Build “21st Century Socialism”—What is Its Meaning? How Can It Move “Beyond Capital”? Who are the Social Subjects of Revolutionary Change? What is the Role of the State? The Unions? The Party? 100
  VI Is There a Missing Ingredient in Venezuela Today? 116

6 Mexico’s Revolutionary Forms of Organization: The Zapatistas and the Indigenous Autonomous Communities in Resistance 119
  I Indigenous and Zapatista Organizational Praxis—The Building of Autonomy in Rebel Lands 119
  II Anti-Capitalist and from the Left: The 6th Declaration and La Otra Campaña 127
  III Once Again, the Building of Autonomy in Rebel Lands: The Second Encuentro of the Zapatistas and the Peoples of the World—The Power of Indigenous Voices in Rebellion 132
  IV The Zapatistas and Mexico’s Left Intellectuals 135
PART 3

Revolutionary Processes in Latin America: Voices from Below

8 Social Movements in Argentina 171
  *Francisco T. Sobrino*

  I  Background 171

  II  The Movement of the Unemployed 172

  III  The Movement of "Recovered Factories" 175

  IV  The Meaning of the Protests of December 2001 and the Mobilizations of 2002 178

  V  The Local Assemblies 179

  VI  Attempts by the New Government and the Dominant Classes to Resolve the Crisis 182

  VII  The Co-optation of Sectors of Intellectuals, Human Rights Organizations and a Part of the Left 184

  VIII  Other Measures Used by the Ruling Classes in order to Solve the Crisis of Legitimacy 186

  IX  In a Way, a Provisional Conclusion 186

  Appendix: Excerpts from an interview with Paula, an Argentine feminist and member of the Gay, Lesbian, Transvestite, Transgender, and Bisexual (GLTTB) Collective 188

9 Indigenous Struggles for Territory, Autonomy and Natural Resources 195

  I  The Meaning of Autonomy in Mexico: The Case of the Autonomous Municipality of San Juan Cópala 197

  *Brenda Porras Rodríguez and Fernando Alan López Bonifacio*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The Nasa: Subjects of Dignity</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix: Interview with Nasa Activists</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>The Community Police in Guerrero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An Interview with Marciano, an Indigenous Mixtec, on His Work and Experience</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Women as Force and Reason of Social Transformations</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feminisms and Liberations in Our America [Nuestra América]</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Francesca Gargallo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Role of Women in the Struggle for Autonomy in Mexico</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raquel Vázquez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix 1: Women in the Montaña Region of Guerrero: The Other Arm of Community Justice</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix 2: Political Statement of the Xinka Communitarian Feminist Women: There is No Decolonialization without Depatriarchalization!</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Youth, Popular Education, Teachers</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The TIPNIS March: New Horizons for Popular Education</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benito Fernandez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edison Villa Holguín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Battle for Oaxaca: Repression and Revolutionary Resistance</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eugene Gogol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix 1: Yo Soy #132</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix 2: Chilean Student Protests</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camila Vallejo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix 3: The Books of the Zapatista Little School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zapatistas from the Indigenous Communities in Resistance</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>PART 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Battle of Ideas and Practices; Conclusions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Horizontal-ism, State-ism, Marxism and the Indigenous Dimension—Raúl Zibechi, Álvaro García Linera, Hugo Blanco</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

I  Raul Zibechi, Chronicler of Latin America in Social Rebellion  375
II  The Statist Marxism of Álvaro García Linera  380
III Hugo Blanco—Peruvian Revolutionary: From Trotskyism and the Peasantry to the Indigenous Movement for Land and Mother Earth  385

Appendix 1: The Organization and Building of Mass Power: Horizontalism and Verticalism, Utopia and Project  389
Rubén Dri

Appendix 2: The “Top-Down” State and the “Bottom-Up” State  399
Guillermo Almeyra

13  The Zapatistas and the Dialectic  402
I  “The Time of the No and the Time of the Yes”  404
II  The Zapatista Concept of Time  404
III The Rewinds: Our Dead, the Living, Biographies, Diversity, Stories, Our History, and Other Subjects  406

14  Marx, Hegel and Dunayevskaya—Toward a Dialectic of Philosophy and Organization in the Context of Latin American Liberation  414
I  Marx and the Present Moment in Latin America  414
II  Hegel’s Revolution in Philosophy—From Master Slave to Absolute Negativity  416
III Dunayevskaya’s Reading of the Dialectic in Marx—Its Significance for Today  419
IV Conclusion: Toward a Dialectic of Organization and Philosophy  424

Bibliography  431
Index  438