

MARXISM AND EDUCATION

This series assumes the ongoing relevance of Marx's contributions to critical social analysis and aims to encourage continuation of the development of the legacy of Marxist traditions in and for education. The remit for the substantive focus of scholarship and analysis appearing in the series extends from the global to the local in relation to dynamics of capitalism and encompasses historical and contemporary developments in political economy of education as well as forms of critique and resistances to capitalist social relations. The series announces a new beginning and proceeds in a spirit of openness and dialogue within and between Marxism and education, and between Marxism and its various critics. The essential feature of the work of the series is that Marxism and Marxist frameworks are to be taken seriously, not as formulaic knowledge and unassailable methodology but critically as inspirational resources for renewal of research and understanding, and as support for action in and upon structures and processes of education and their relations to society. The series is dedicated to the realization of positive human potentialities as education and thus, with Marx, to our education as educators.

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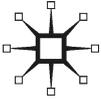
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Education and Social Change in Latin America

Edited by

Sara C. Motta and Mike Cole

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EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

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We dedicate this book to the memory of Hugo Chávez, who once described Venezuela as “a giant school” and to the countless—often invisibilised and undervalued—popular educators, educational visionaries and communities in struggle who give birth to and tenderly nurture the pedagogical innovations, emancipatory horizons and revolutionary educational practices that are at the heart of the reinvention of 21st Century Socialism in Latin America, and beyond.

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Series Editor's Preface

La lucha continua no terminará fácilmente! The struggle will continue. It will not be easily concluded!

Che Guevara, 1967¹

Let's make no mistake these are *interesting times*. Global capitalism is currently undergoing its deepest crisis since the 1930s. An international capitalist plutocracy has emerged and become entrenched, consolidating since the late 1970s, even more decisively so in the 2000s and its power and exclusivity grows exponentially. Today is therefore interesting too for democratic socialist renewal and inevitably for Marxism as itself a diverse body of reasoning and indispensable educative resources and inspiration for progressive *social change*. So long as there is capitalism there will be Marxism. We may thus preface this book remarking that the systemic economic and social problems of global capital are again becoming ever more widely appreciated (in the full senses of the term), analyzed, exposed and demystified *from below* in the development of politics for viable socialist alternatives. Political economy in contemporary neoliberal forms is challenged and historical materialist dialectics move on *with* Marxism and *as* education for making *really useful knowledge*.² Capitalism, despite its most evident power and multidimensional penetration through ravenous *commodification of everything*, reveals itself as structurally deeply flawed, wounded, stumbling perhaps, though hardly less strong. However, it is no longer beyond challenge as *the* modernizing *TINA*.³ Slogans such as the longstanding, perhaps timelessly meaningful in modernity, "Community not commodity" and more recently topical and equally pertinent Occupy Movement's, "We are the 99%," or on another note, the complementary situationist radical gastronomy of "Eat the rich" or more specifically "Eat the bankers,"⁴ spark activist political and analytical imagination for countering injustices of punitive austerity meted out to the victims of capital's immanent capacity

for destruction and collapse. Contradictions abound. Other ways and means of producing a humane world are necessary and available, indeed, have been available for some time for moving with ingenuity toward social renewal within ecologically sensitive and sensible boundaries of a humanizing nature for feasible growth and prosperity.

Arguably, no region is more vibrant in these terms as Latin America is today. Indeed, to many observers a veritable *pink tide* flows with inspiration, learning and popular Left leaning empowerment⁵ to engage, and develop our passages through varieties of mid-twentieth century New Left Marxism toward realizing possibilities of contemporary democratic socialism. In this broad context, I have approached the task of presenting this Preface by aiming to set the central theme of this book in relation to the Series; to the global economic crisis; and ongoing general issues in Marxism for popular education and socialism. I have also aimed to not preempt specific substantive themes and topics in the main chapters or repeat introductions, or indeed, to single out any specific contributions by suggesting they are especially noteworthy, except for the moment of poetic art, which is especially pertinent and timely. Each contribution is informative and engaging and the collection of chapters constitutes an integrated whole, the first with focused contemporary Latin American specificity on education and fits splendidly well with the spirit of the Series.

However, it is impossible do justice in full measure to the range of problematics and substantive topics that the present conjuncture realizes and my remarks in this respect will be superficially indicative at best. Most importantly, is it impossible to pay any detailed attention to US economic regional and military dominance over Latin America, to the subtle and/or gross transformations, emergent during the twentieth century in the Monroe Doctrine and ideological re-imaginings of 'Manifest Destiny,' and for the 'Washington Consensus' and *Pax Americana* today. Nor can we examine the ramifications of the *global financial system* itself, where for instance despite indications of emergent pluricentrism, it serves to articulate and underpin US Federal Reserve capacities for deploying the US dollar as the reserve currency for co-optation of baseline 'market sentiment,' 'confidence' and 'credibility' on a global scale, and as a means of disciplining flows of monetary volumes and values in the global politics of emerging 'credit' transactions. The US military/industrial/financial mega-state is, in effect, the global trend regulator for corporate taxation, as well, setting standards for corporate compliance in terms most favorable for the international capitalist class in relation to their own subaltern,

neo-comprador national contexts of accumulation and avoidance/evasion in paying their fair dues. Only brief mention can be made of the interconnected impacts on the economies of emergent nation states, through IMF and World Bank mechanisms, etc., along with their own susceptibility to potentially ruinous competitive deflationary undercutting among each other racing to the bottom in support of their own capitalist economies.

In turn each of these mechanisms organically tend to reinforce US corporate global 'private' interests in the names of 'freedom,' creativity and modernizing for 'progress.' Thus we see that language colludes in the global class struggle, providing vocabulary for mediating and legitimating processes of non-productively shifting around huge tranches of unemployed capital for acquisitions, mergers and asset stripping often into reinflating commodity bubbles of various kinds, as well as working more productively into the dynamics of the 'real' economy; not least, investing in all manner of capitalizing possibilities for profit generation on 'well-being' and social regulation, in privatizing health care, welfare, education services and prisons, too, as 'modernization.'

Together these items provide some indication of the systemic background to the focus of the present book. In turn they should be set alongside patterns of relations among the emerging world powers in capitalization, especially those of China apparently rosy in its prosperous state capitalist global future while locked in a financial/political clinch of immense proportions with the US economy, but also India and Brazil, and more specifically with the Latin American members of the BRICS.⁶ We may note in this frame that they have gathered into formal recognition of their constituting a newly emergent collective force and potential authority consolidating for inter-regional cooperation through the CELAC Santiago Declaration (January, 2013).⁷ While probably doing little to significantly undermine systemic neoliberal *capitalism*, as such, the global order in economic production, distribution and exchange (the reverse, most likely), this is significant not least for possibly checking US global and more specifically its Latin American regional hegemony.

We can therefore refocus and recognize national and international movements and consider policies in Latin America as being distinctively at the forefront of practical resistance to neoliberal demands on the poor, working classes and precarious. There we see political forms and movements that effectively set their faces, bodies and energies against years of successful dominant global capital class formation, *in and for itself*, and can detect in effect Latin America's

shifting toward mounting clear opposition to *practices of the global war of position from above*.⁸ Latin America thus demonstrates resistance to the growing empowerment of the international ruling class's continued building on its subaltern national ruling classes' deep histories of effectively appropriating unmerited benefits through their state's fiscal and monetary regulations, corruption and direct capital accumulation, modernized feudalism and repression. Progressive moments in Latin American nationalism and internationalism provide critical models, in effect educative *texts* for working to hold back dominant class free-riding on emergent capital-in-collectivity and empowerment through its voraciously enclosing by capitalization each possible element that constitutes the *productive commons*, rendering these into private property to make yet more private property and items of consumer interests and identities. Challenging the power bases of debt repayment hegemony, for instance, and opposing strangulation of redistribution policies supportive of extending social equity, democratic citizenship and popular social progress *in order to reinspire the local, national and regional commons* have once more become realities in Latin America. Much debated, the symbolically reinvigorated spirits and historical reputations of Simon Bolivar (despite Marx's trashing Bolivar's reputation, perhaps) and José Carlos Mariátegui live on in continuing productive tensions⁹ while doing effective service, with Gramsci and Freire, along with our contemporary countless others; all organic activist/intellectuals in *educating the educators in, with and about their own conditions for changing the future* (Marx, 1845).

Finally in this opening context, we should bear witness in celebration and with deep regret to the passing of Hugo Chávez and the contributions, not without ambiguities, of his life and leadership in material and symbolic forms. His legacies are currently being debated, fought for, with and over at each level of political practices, not least concerning popular and more formal education. His was a life in struggle that has been outstanding, inspirational for Latin America and beyond, amply demonstrating that *it is not going to be concluded easily and there is a very long way to go!*

However, this arresting title and its subtitle—*What If Latin America Ruled the World?: How the South Will Take the North into the 22nd Century*—and elaborated contents of Oscar Guardiola Rivera's recent book does vigorous preface duty for us as backdrop for this book.¹⁰ He offers an indepth historical review with engaging synthesis of *American*, north and southern hemispheres' potential in global transformation, a narrative en route to humanitarian renewal drawing

creatively on key elements of Marxist methodology, ontologically and epistemologically for substantive descriptive analyses. It is thus deeply serious in its dynamic penetrating account and notable in its playful forms, too. With Guardiola-Rivera we might reflect, for instance, on the United States' own increasingly significant Latina/o population and that if combined with Mexico the most populous in the world in this regard. We should reflect that while demographics, language and cultural forms are significant, are *necessary* certainly, alone they are *insufficient* as decisive currency or *determinate* mediators in progressive social transformation.

In historical terms we might pause to note specific ironies springing to mind, while glimpsing the geo-historical twist of Iberia's current fate; once the fifteenth-century European instigator of globalization but today fully implicated in the economic and financial insecurity of the European Union, itself regional victim as one of the PIGS,¹¹ reminding us with Marx that "all that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned."¹² Thus, Iberia's young generations of 'over-educated poor' are now trammled in *austerity*, in effect blame worthy and useless (quite literally, it seems) as redundant elements of labor power in neoliberal capital logic terms¹³ and implicated moreover in the serious risk of triggering further destabilization of the global economy by tilting Europe yet further, possibly toppling into ever-widening ripples in financial melt down.

Yet more irony for Iberia, when considering how it did so much to establish the pre-conditions for mercantile capital's systemic existence, through pillage, piracy, slaving, colonialism and eventual imperialism while trading at an advantage, whereas now it serves as a site for reinvigorated class struggle by *educating a new generation of potential grave-diggers* for the dominant world of capital it once served to inaugurate. Thus, we might note more specifically, as scholar activists, that Spanish silver funded the material conditions of historical possibility of Marx's and Engels' own lives and work as leading participants in the emergent nineteenth-century international labor movement, activists and theorists of finance and productive capital's emergence, its immanent structures and its potential demise. The specter Marx and Engels identified continues to hunt down the vampire of globalized political economy.¹⁴ Moreover, perhaps more than just another straw in the wind, we should also note that at the moment of this writing there is rioting across Sweden, thereby bringing the scandal of confusion to liberal hopes by tainting the aura of progressive Scandinavian social democracy, now continuing to shift into the neoliberal gear it once seemed to be so effectively able to

resist, while modeling for the starring role in mediating contradictions of capital in humanity and with evident humility and decency. At the other end of the 'European' social, cultural and geographical spectrum, perhaps, current manifestations of 'Islamic neoliberalism' is arguably provoking a Turkish 'Occupy' movement into life resisting authoritarian repression. Furthermore, while simultaneously demonstrating the contradictions within itself, Europe's political institutions are themselves at a loss to cope while struggling to devise democratic mechanisms for moving forward; in fact not so unlike the constitutional chaos in congressional gridlock for the current Obama administration in the United States. Thus, democracy itself is in crisis. With Hegel and Marx we might reflect idiomatically in transgression: "What comes around goes around."

In this broad and dynamic context, *Education and Social Change in Latin America* is a timely, pertinent, groundbreaking, challenging and most welcome contribution-in-collectivity to the Marxism and Education Series. In broad terms it marks a sharply focused moment in recognition and celebration of the achievements of Latin American radical popular education practices for emergent socialist progressive movements. It is deeply historical as well as dynamically contemporary in form and content; combining vibrant materialist analysis with graphic description and delicate moments of truth in creative cultural, indeed *practical* forms. It dramatizes and instantiates integrated scientific, philosophical and moral imagination in play for the restless work of *generating socialist theory and research as educative*, pedagogic (and andragogic) *practices*. Its primary focus is action, *praxis* in forming regenerative pathways toward better futures for freedom and equity.

All this sits well with the aims and spirit of the Marxism and Education Series, of course, where it is about openly renewing dialogues for generating materialist immanent and ideology critique and opposition to *political economy* in all its 'liberal' and potentially fascist manifestations, *both* romantic and bureaucratic. Thus, this book reports on themes that are analytically *transgressive*, working across long familiar dichotomies as themselves powerful 'boundaries,' borders constituted in tension. They are moments for realizing *both/ands* in what appear to be irreconcilable *either/ors*; sites in ambiguity for new contexts to be deconstructed, challenged, *struggled with and within* to rearticulate and realize constructive *praxis, and always with respect as appropriately due*. Thus, several dualist themes are indicative as interconnected areas of contention for realizing pedagogies of Marxist critique and devising socialist strategies and collective

identities in empowerment in social transformation: *public/private, state/civil society, leaders/followers, schooling/education, educators/educated, personal/political, ethics/politics, abstracted professionalized expertise/grounded demotic practices, ... dual power/unitary power, reform/revolution, ... with armed struggle/nonviolent resistance rejecting armed struggle.*

Across and systematically connecting each focus much remains open for continued discussion regarding longstanding dimensions of contention on relations, for instance, between Marxism and anarchism on the one hand, and Left social democracy on the other, as well as the progressive potential in religious and faith-related practices and alternative cosmologies, and including legality and human rights discourses serving as tools, topics and resources in progressive struggles. Simultaneously each moment is indicative of ongoing meta-theoretical themes in ontology and epistemology, methodologically vital for under-laboring our understandings of social class for Marxism, and for conceptualizing political relations in each identity-forming moment of social segmentation in movements for socialist regeneration. Each of these themes remain critically *open*, just as they do in the necessarily uncompleted and restlessly productive 'totality' of Marx's own writing, analyses and practices, and material historical legacy; *in struggle... to be remade for our own real time.*

In these terms the contributions to the book are realist and realistic, historical materialist in contextualizing what we may regard as specificities of the breaking wave of Latin American ways of enacting the golden threads of Marx's own pivotal work, the perspectives elaborated and critically distilled originally while ever to be 'completed' as practices for articulating confluences in the European Enlightenment *Rationalist* with the *Romantic* traditions and thus synthesized for specific understanding and moments in struggle, material *practices* for real situations. Especially so perhaps when we reaffirm with Marxism in what we might regard as the brilliant critical *articulation of reason and romance, technique and joy* that put the *social relations of capitalist production at stake*. Importantly then, these analyses are intimately connecting in/as *science and in/as humanity* for the central theme of Marx's critique of political economy, namely that capital is not simply thing-like, and 'objective' (though it has these characteristics, emergent in structuration, of course) but "a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things." Thus such art and science is concerned with addressing social relations specifically where they are *fetishised as commodities*.¹⁵ Emergent

here are glimpses of the role of moments of 'magic' echoing, for the context of this book, Latin American specified versions of reality in 'illusion.' The time/spaces of *solitudes* are *evocative of* critical analysis of reality in all manner of *sublime* instances, of science/art as praxis challenging representational forms in service of *ideology critique of/as* class struggle. Thus, with Marquez and with Marx we can appreciate the notion of recognizing the integrative practical wisdom of the person who "repeated until his dying day that there was no one with more common sense, no stone cutter more obstinate, no manager *more lucid or dangerous*, than a poet" (Garcia Marquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*).¹⁶ Continuously implied, therefore, is the *complementarity* of scientific and artistic practices for humanely changing our world. And that herein are vital modalities in *educating the educators, critiquing and negating oppression and structures of social relations in inequity and creating inversions in fatalist TINA representational practices*. Such de/reconstructing of social reality thereby serves in *regenerating ourselves, individually and collectively*, and reminding us of those 'men' (individualized collectives/collective individuals in Marx on *capital*, above) captured in fantastical, fetishized social forms, as *selves*. Moreover, invoking and seizing the *instantiating critical moments of opportunity for opening, for negating constraints and thus reconstituting communities of knowledge and resistance for material collective well-being*.¹⁷

In these chapters we can recognize that social, cultural and economic inertias, pitfalls and false starts abound by which neoliberalism can reenter, often subtly, disguised as 'progressive' individualized forms, in 'liberty' fitted for comfortably controlling the marginalized in 'freedom' and in fact reproducing their marginality, precarity and worse. Notable here, 'meritocracy' as *the* high-powered modernist ideology of control *par excellence*, the beguiling and continuously updated untruth that social mobility contingent on formal educational provision is *the* primary systemic mechanism that will settle the future in conviviality and social justice.¹⁸ It is evident that contemporary patterns of widening inequalities of wealth and income, as well as the full armory of social capitalizing opportunities this entails for the well positioned, gives the direct lie to messages of benign possibilities of liberal equities arising simply by *trickle down*, let alone social structural opening via *merit*. The underlying message abstracted here is that success in achieving progressive social change requires strategic transformations that run culturally and structurally deep in order to secure the future of yet more humane practices where we can look forward to recognizing and dealing with necessary freedoms *and* in

the future problems emergent on horizons of democratic socialism, itself. The aim must be to create contemporary forms of participatory democracy, 'state' forms that prefigure and support forward movement dispersing existing inevitable reactionary state and cultural mechanisms.¹⁹

By the same token such realism asserts that there is very little room for swift, fluent and immediately decisive transformations in the context of current 'democratic' forms despite some distinct strides and quickening of pace being made, especially within Latin America. As these chapters ably document, regenerating productive alliances and social movements, formulating policy and moving to collective practices through which we recognize that benign cycles of transformative learning in organization are always in context, always marked by contingency in specificity. They are always emergent, structurations in complexity, uncertain, risky moments in struggle. Thus progressive movement is inevitably constrained, not least by the state of politics, and by the politics of the state, involving the competing strengths and interests of the urban and rural working poor, along with those of indigenous groups, of labor movement alliances and divisions, as well as liberal progressive professionals, middle classes and, of course, by fully self-affirming capitalist ruling class elites and all the obvious and disguised powers and institutional arrangements they can muster in reaction, often effectively populist in their form. Furthermore, complexities of progressive capital generating practices arise in relation to gendered and ethnic social dynamics themselves not least in the context of economic power elites and apologetics of dominant class formations, both national and international. It will not be easy. Rarely do *wars of maneuver* from below succeed in direct confrontation alone, while *war of position*²⁰ requires patient building in united fronts with passive resistance as well as cultural criticality, with leaning against the pressures as well as strategic actions potentially striking in exuberant confrontation across and against long horizons of reaction and inevitable setbacks. Poignant contemporary case in point is, perhaps, where once again we watch intently, reflect upon and try to relearn difficult lessons in relation to the currently stalling Arab Springs, or as mentioned earlier, we cannot but anticipate with caution for progressive renewal in Turkey today (May/June, 2013), and with alarm more generally the ongoing intractable and ever heating cauldron of the Middle East.

To sum up our preface, capitalism is real and very well entrenched in a variety of forms across Latin America. It is historically constituted while emergent in complexity, uneven, variable, plural and

arguably just now coming into its turbo-modernizing own. It is being challenged, nationally, regionally and locally, in all its manifestations whether direct, indirect and/or ambiguous across myriad ideological dimensions. Importantly, for *Marxism as education* and the practical scholarship that is *really useful knowledge*²¹ some of its challenges come in the guise of recognizing modernized forms of *premodern popular capital formation* in small-scale networking and traditional cultural forms of security in communal trust practices that are deeply embedded in histories of local-level survival, which may be reinvented in forms of petite capitalisms. Arguably, these are *nascent socialist practices*, for instance, in peer-to-peer microfinancing, credit unions and other microforms of cooperation. Nevertheless realism dictates that, in these practices, there is always potential for ambiguity in their resourceful but possibly inward looking identity boundary forming nature; narrowly self-serving for survival *in exclusivity*, as well as potentially so in acquiescence to wider and ever present powers of repression and exploitation of master/slave relations. In dual-power terms all such forms are emergent on culturally embedded historical arrangements in mutuality, vital 'social capital' to be deployed for contemporary building communities of survival and resistance to corporate capital and its states. These are delicate issues then, and there is no easy and obvious formula. In this context technology most especially as materialized ingenuities of knowledge practices, whether in communications and progressive networking or in all manner of forces of material production in relation to eco-security, for instance, *remains double-edged* (if not triple, quadruple, etc.), as sources of social facility that underpin potential opportunities for success in humane transformation and also available to be deployed and deeply implicated in exploitation, contexts of social disciplining and displacement, along with repressive surveillance and control as well.

This book assembles ample evidence, reasoning in multidimensional cogent analysis of potential for continuous expanding movement, in hope and expectation for struggles in socialist transformation; *movements from below*, toward reinforcing upward spirals of socialist structures, morale and reinvigorating spirits of 'magical' conviviality *as educative practices*. Fun too, for and in ongoing progressive struggles in Latin America today! There is no doubting however: "La lucha continua no terminará fácilmente!"

Anthony Green
July 2013

Notes

1. Che Guevara in a letter to Fidel Castro on leaving Cuba in 1967 to continue the struggle in Bolivia.
2. See R. Johnson (1979), "Really Useful Knowledge: Radical Education and Working Class Culture," in Clark, Critcher and Johnson (eds.), *Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory*, London: Hutchinson.
3. TINA: There is no alternative. Often attributed to Margaret Thatcher signaling her advocacy of economic liberalism with individualism in domestic familial forms.
4. "Eat the rich" is a slogan I first saw written on the railway bridge, Main Street, Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1978. "Eat the Bankers" associated with Professor Christopher Knight, Marxist situationist activist for Financial Fools' Day/G20 Meeting in London, May 1, 2009.
5. Referring to leftist, politically 'pink' rather than 'red,' Latin and South American states in terms of recent experiences of relations with the United States, internal democratic reforms with inclusivity and empowerment from below, plus economic redistribution. See for discussion and recent literature P. Kirby (2010), "Probing the Significance of Latin America's 'Pink Tide,'" *European Review of Latin America and the Caribbean Studies* 89(Oct.): pp. 127–133; and G. Prevost et al. (2012), *Social Movements and Leftist Government in Latin America: Confrontation or Co-optation*, London: Zed Books.
6. BRICS: shorthand for emergent association of states in cooperation and potential global influence, namely B (Brazil), R (Russia), I (India), C (China), S (South Africa).
7. Find at <http://www.gobiernodechile.cl/media/2013/01/Declaracion-of-Santiago-engl.pdf>.
8. War of maneuver/position from above: while I am taking these terms from Gramsci on class struggle, where he drew on military strategic and tactical thinking in making the broad distinctions between maneuver as movement for immediate and direct assault on the state for outright victory, distinguishing this from war of position, which refers to struggles that are relatively long drawn out (siege-like, perhaps) and potentially immensely complex involving cultural forms in relation to state institutional apparatuses (including ethics and identity politics, along with monetary and fiscal policy, employment, religion, welfare, education, legality, etc.) as terrains and modes of struggles for influence and legitimacy for domination in hegemonic leadership, rather than armed struggles to win dominance through establishing monopoly of power of force, though this too, is always in play, lurking, threatening where and if possible and deemed likely to be effective. Thus class war of position from above, that is, by the (global) ruling class refers to the complex of mechanisms that bear

down on any aspects of political economy within any sovereign state that supports the interests, with continued and expanding hegemony of both internal and external subaltern positions, and global capitalist plutocratic elite 'state' power. Excellent contemporary case in point is the emergent powers in combination with the tax avoidance possibilities available to international corporations using legitimate facilities of tax havens freeing capital from responsibilities to the nation state's context of production. The Holy Grail being Apple's capacity to pay tax where and almost if it chooses thus avoiding/evading huge volumes of such foregone revenue in line with their legal obligations to shareholders. Or, all the forms of elite exclusive access to elite educational institutions at any level. All this in relation to the simultaneous effects of articulating with the class politics of securing a beneficial position through 'legitimate' means: (i) application of labor regulations hampering organized labor's attempts to maneuver their collective power in unions to weaken effective collective bargaining; with class media identity politics of (ii) demonizing of labor leadership, and class media identity politics through (iii) vilification of welfare recipients/glorification of entrepreneurial responsibility in 'creating jobs,' etc., in those state jurisdictions. See for effective introduction to war of position: P. Thomas (2009), *The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy, Hegemony and Marxism*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, pp. 141–150.

9. Simon Bolivar, eighteenth- or nineteenth-century influence, and progressive, contemporary inspiration in ambiguity, e.g. hostile biography by Marx (in *The New American Cyclopaedia*, Vol. III, 1858, Marx-Engels Internet Archive); Bolivarism, however, identifies elements of progressive forms in today's terms, especially so in the interpretations associated with Hugo Chávez's stellar political career; and interesting for prefiguring earlier twentieth-century politics of collectivist democratic struggles in relation to José Carlos Mariátegui's (1894–1930) perspectives on the role of indigenous peoples in liberation struggle and progressive modernism. Also interesting for recognizing the dialogical 'openness' of Marxism, especially so when set alongside the range of positions Marx himself took in relation to Russian pre-capitalist collectivist forms and nascent communism, for instance (see Anderson, 2010), and illustrating the critical theme that Marx writings as a totality are not a fully finished form to be appropriated as dogma, but a developing corpus across the real materiality of his biography in authorship to be dialogued with; including addressing the abstraction that historical materialism is a theory of staged historical sequences into the future. This brings us full circle here therefore, and is important to contemporary struggles in Latin America for identifying modernist progressivism in relation to indigenous cultures and Mariátegui's 'Gramscianism,' see

- José Carlos Mariátegui's (1928) *Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana*, Lima, 1984, and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz reviewing Marc Beckers' (2009), "Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movement," *Monthly Review* 61(04).
10. Oscar Guardiola-Rivera (2010), *What If Latin America Ruled the World?: How the South Will Take the North into the 22nd Century*, London: Bloomsbury.
 11. PIGS: P (Portugal), I (Italy), G (Greece), S (Spain).
 12. K. Marx and F. Engels (1848), *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, section 1, para. 18, available at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm#060>.
 13. In late May/early June, 2013, unemployment rates are reported by BBC (May 31, 2013) sourced at Eurostat:

	Total %	Youth % (under 25s)
Portugal:	17.8	42.5
Italy:	12	40.5
Greece:	27	62.5
Spain:	26.8	56.4

14. See D. McNally (2011), *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 113/114, 171–173.
15. See K. Marx (1867), *Capital*, I, London: Penguin (1976), pp. 163–164.
16. With Gabriel Garcia Marquez this complex moment in/as solitude works by depiction in depth ontology, with dialectical multi-leveled, poly-scalar textuality and is materialist in this relational form (not unlike Marx representations in historical materialist 'irony,' perhaps; see fn 17, too). It is ruthlessly challenging while delicately poised between reification and hypocrisy, for practices of surviving embedded histories of 'One Hundred Years' of oppression, realizing solitude without and within. It echoes too Franz Fanon's life and work, perhaps a foil for posing existential problems for radical practices, namely who can come through untainted, and how, except through varieties of self-knowledge in social alchemy of potential self deception? Thus it refers to 'magical' practices of managing the negations, the unreal in the being and nothingness of 'fetishized' social relations achieved (or acquiesced to) only by embracing insanities of either super controlled rationality or 'privacy' in breakdown? See for dramatic depiction of Fanon's problematic in the text (or better still a performance) of Cheryl Churchill's 1972 play *The Hospital at the Time of Revolution*. For an attempt to review and throw light on this kind of theme in Marx's own biography see Mary Gabriel (2011), *Love and Capital: Karl and*

- Jenny Marx and the Birth of a Revolution*, New York: Littlebrown; and Dienst (2011), *The Bonds of Debt: Borrowing against the Common Good*, London: Verso, pp 137–153.
17. See discussion of critical tropes for dialectical methods and engagement across Marx's analyses by Humphrey McQueen (2005), "Reading the 'unreadable' Marx" written for "Marx Myths and Legends," <http://marxmyths.org/humphrey-mcqueen/article.htm>.
 18. See Michael Young's (1958) classic text in critical irony, *The Rise of the Meritocracy*. There is plenty of contemporary evidence to indicate that social mobility has stalled and that neoliberalism has put paid to the mythology on all fronts despite liberal 'soft' right-wing media working overtime on repairing the myth; or recent treatment by S. Themelis (2013), *Social Change and Education in Greece: A Study in Class Struggle Dynamics*, New York: Palgrave. See for Latin America: "Special Report: Gini back in the bottle," in the *Economist* (October 13, 2012), and Luis F. Lopez-Calva and Nora Lustig (2010), *Explaining the Decline in Inequality in Latin America: Technological Change, Educational Upgrading and Democracy*, Brookings Institute, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/press/books/2010/declininginequalityinlatinamerica/declininginequalityinlatinamerica_chapter.pdf.
 19. See for discussion George Ciccariello-Maher (2009), *Dual Power in the Venezuelan Revolution*, <http://kasamaproject.org/international/1106-38venezuela-a-different-kind-of-power>.
 20. See n 8.
 21. See n 2.

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