## **Presentation by Jeffery Paige**

# At Event: Indigenous Movements in the Andes: The Discourse of Revolution Woodrow Wilson Center May 20, 2013

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/ andes\_indigenous\_revolution

### LATIN AMERICA'S "LEFT TURN"

1998 Hugo Chávez, Venezuela
2002 Lula de Silva, Brasil
2004 Néstor Kirchner, Argentina Tabaré Vázquez, Uruguay
2005 Evo Morales, Bolivia
2006 Michelle Bachelet, Chile (2010) Daniel Ortega, Nicaragua Rafael Correa, Ecuador
2008 Fernando Lugo, Paraguay (2011)
2009 Mauricio Funes, El Salvador
2011 Ollanta Humala, Peru

### ECUADOR

1990 June, The Uprising
1992 April, The March
1994 June, The Mobilization
1997 Overthrow of Abdalá Bucaram
2000 January Overthrow of Jamil Mahuad
2002 Coalition victory with Lucio Gutiérrez
2005-2006. Fall of Gutiérrez, election of Rafael Correa





BOLIVIA 2000-2001 January-April/ September 2000, "Water War" in Cochabamba April/September 2000; June/July 2001, Aymara Protest Highlands

2003 February, Police Mutiny September-October, Aymara Protest Highlands, "Gas War" El Alto. October 17, Fall of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada

2005 May-June, Second "Gas War." Resignation of Carlos Mesa December Election of Evo Morales (Reelected 2009)







A revolution is a rapid, fundamental and violent domestic change in the dominant *values and myths* of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership and government activity and policies. Samuel P. Huntington (1968)

Social Revolutions are rapid, basic transformations of a society's state and class structures; they are accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below. Theda Skocpol (1979)

A revolution is a rapid and fundamental transformation in the *categories of social life and consciousness*, the *metaphysical [ontological] assumptions* on which these categories are based and the power relations in which they are expressed as a result of a widespread popular acceptance of a *utopian alternative* to the current order. Paige (2003)

EXISTENTIAL CRISIS. Categories of everyday life and consciousness conflict with the conditions of everyday existence.

ONTOLOGICAL BREAK. The ontological assumptions that underlie the categories of everyday life collapse and new assumptions are revealed.

UTOPIAN RESOLUTION. The new ontology generates images of a utopian future.



### ECUADOR: KAWSAK SACHA

Little by little we will decolonize, Our formation has been colonial and we need to write new terms, because this is a task of mental liberation . . . We are Shuar. We can say Shuar people, the Shuar nation. Ampam Karakras. Interview, 2011.

The *living jungle*, [kawsak sacha] that is a new category of spaces that the indigenous people inhabit . . . We are generating a new category with a conceptualization of our life and also as we interpret it in regard to the jungle . . . It cannot enter the market. This jungle generates life through the present connection and for future generations. Marlon Santi. Interview, 2011





### ECUADOR: SUMAK KAWSAY

For us economic goals do not exist. How do you measure an economic goal that includes perhaps a car, a nice house, a good education, some dollars in the bank—no, no. For us what is important is life—that a human being has consciousness and lives in harmony, lives in peace, tranquility. Humberto Cholango. Interview, 2011.

We need the harmony between mother nature and human beings . . . Everyone has the same right to live and this principle of equality and this principle of solidarity—to aid one another mutually. Also the communal. The communitarian. Delfin Tenesaca, Interview, 2011





### BOLIVIA: COCALEROS

Before in law 1008 it [coca] was satanized. But today it is not. Our sacred leaf is constitutionalized . . . Now reduction, but before there was violence, deaths, wounded, detained, jailed. Leonilda Zurita. Interview, 2009.

All the governments have massacred us, so many deaths, so many wounded, but this has been the fault of imperialism. They had their military base in Chimore, the American DEA operated from Chimore. Julio Salazar. Interview, 2009.

But that didn't bring results. It brought blood, sorrow, orphans. We lost the right to be people. Felipe Martinez

The State shall protect native and ancestral coca as cultural patrimony, a renewable natural resource of Bolivia's biodiversity and a factor of social cohesion; in its natural state it is not a narcotic.





# TAS TORIS INDÍGENAS A RESTORTANDA A Fausto Reinaga







LUGAR: Salón de Honor Gobernación Cbba plaza 14 de sep. FECHA: Viernes 17 de diciembre 2010 44AD TTAC **HORA: 18:30 ORGANIZAN: LLAJTA INSURGENTE , MOVIMIENTO INDIGENA PACHAKUTI** Presentación: 2º Número de la revista Awga Pacha





### BOLIVIA: AYMARA UTOPIA TUPAC KATARISM

To once again constitute our nation Kollasuyu, Tawantinsuyu. . . To once again have our own nation with our own state. Our own law, to have our police, our armed forces . . . With whom did inequality enter—with colonialism. I believe that the communitarian economy, a communitarian state . . . It is not as cruel as the capitalist system. Felipe Quispe. Interview, 2009

We are Aymaras above all in this region, then the Aymaras say the reconstitution of Kollasuyu, to reconstruct our own forms of doing politics, our own forms of making our economy, our values, our religion and above all the territory and the government. From there arose why—we are millions—why can we not govern ourselves. Eugenio Rojas, Interview, 2009





It is a time of luchas (struggles) and of options. Latin America was the original space of the emergence of modern/colonial capitalism; it marked its founding moment. Today it is, at last, the very center of world resistance against this pattern of power and of the production of alternatives. Anibal Quijano (2008)

... [revolution] is typically "the end of the world as we know it,' an extreme social and cultural disjuncture in which dramatic events reshape the relations of many individuals at once to history.

Previously taken-for-granted understandings of 'how things are" break down. Historically new possibilities are revealed, awesome enough to undermine normal perceptions of reality for those involved, thereby leading people to act in unprecedented ways, outside their normal routines John R. Hall (2009) Relational ontologies [worldviews] are those that eschew the divisions between nature and culture, individual and community, us and them that are central to the modern ontology (that of liberal modernity). Arturo Escobar (2011).



