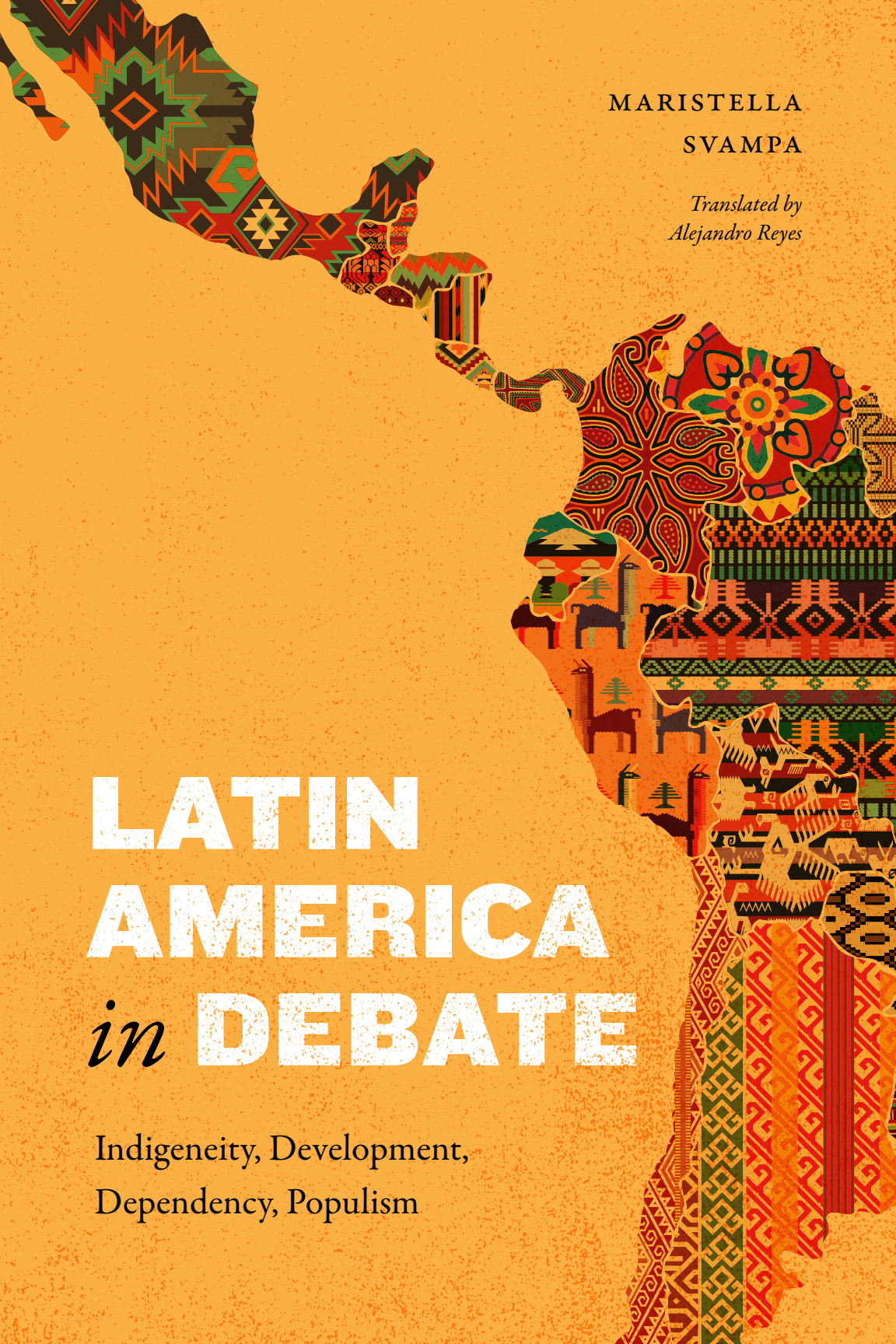




MARISTELLA
SVAMPA

*Translated by
Alejandro Reyes*

LATIN AMERICA *in* DEBATE

Indigeneity, Development,
Dependency, Populism

LATIN AMERICA
IN DEBATE

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LATIN AMERICA IN DEBATE

**Indigeneity, Development,
Dependency, Populism**

MARISTELLA SVAMPA

Translated by Alejandro Reyes

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In memory of Norma Giarracca

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Dogma allows a course, a geographic map: it is the only guarantee of not, under the illusion of advancing, covering the same ground twice, and of not landing in an impasse because of bad information. . . . Dogma is not an itinerary but a compass on the journey. To think with freedom, the first condition is to abandon the preoccupation of absolute liberty. Thought has a strict need for direction and objective. Thinking well is, in large part, a question of direction or orbit.—JOSÉ CARLOS MARIÁTEGUI, *Defensa del marxismo*

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—BUENOS AIRES, OCTOBER 28, 2015

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Introduction

I.

One of the major problems of Latin American social theory is a deficit of accumulation, resulting not only from occasional and cyclic erasures caused by dictatorships and exile but also from a recurrent depreciation and neglect of our own production in these latitudes—that is, a disdain for the conceptual contributions, debates, and topics examined by theoretical and social reflection in Latin America. There is therefore an internal difficulty in building a legacy, related to a very significant weakness of academic and extra-academic transmission, not only in regional terms but also across generations, aggravated by the tendency of many Latin American scholars and intellectuals to exercise *tabula rasa*—in tune with political shifts and epistemological turns—thus discarding, through a dialectic without a synthesis, debates and categories that in other times were an important part of critical thought.

On the other hand, that deficit of accumulation is also related to Latin American culture's anthropophagical vocation, historically expressed in an urge to incorporate other lexicons, other philosophical and political vocabularies. Nothing foreign is strange to us, which, as the Brazilian Oswald de Andrade pointed out in 1928, illustrates our capacity to devour all things foreign and incorporate them, thus creating a complex, new, and constantly changing identity. However, the flip side of this restless and omnivorous intellectual spirit, of this constitutive hybridity and this artistically, culturally, and intellectually cosmopolitan vocation, is greater intellectual dependence.

The processes of epistemic expropriation should also be underscored. In this regard, it is worth recalling an anecdote. At the World Social Forum in Tunisia in March 2015, as I awaited my turn to speak, a Brazilian colleague and I listened

to a renowned French economist speak of globalization and its critics. During his talk, the good man spoke of dependency theory and stated without hesitation that its founders were Samir Amin and Andre Gunder Frank. My Brazilian colleague and I looked at each other with surprise; there is no doubt that the African thinker Samir Amin is *not* one of the founders of dependency theory (although he adopted its hypotheses), and while it is true that the German Frank is one of its representatives, there are many others—all of them Brazilian—who have played a central role in it (Fernando H. Cardoso, Theotônio dos Santos, Ruy Mauro Marini, and Vânia Bambirra, among others). But what cannot be denied, in addition to the Latin American character of dependency theory, is its importance in the debates of a whole era in the subcontinent, as well as its capacity to radiate to other parts of the world. And yet the French economist ignored these origins and placed them elsewhere, omitting other authors, naming—*en passant*—only those who were not Latin American. I have no doubt that behind this omission there was an act of epistemic appropriation, a gesture naturalized in the dominant academic habitus.

Before continuing, I would like to clarify that I do not intend to shut myself off in a sort of chauvinist vindication on a regional scale, nor to give in to essentialist temptations so strongly associated with the Latin American essay. I merely wish to underscore that in my many years in academia and militant spaces in several latitudes, I have observed that many intellectuals and scholars from central countries have participated in that omission, which, rather than building avenues for a North-South dialogue of knowledges, contributes to epistemic expropriation and the consolidation of asymmetries.

Finally, both the invisibility of Latin American theoretical production and the process of epistemic expropriation strengthen the notion that there are no general theories in Latin America but rather a “specific gaze,” a sort of “local production.” In other words, the concepts that compose Latin American philosophy and social sciences, rather than being generally applicable or comprising theories with a certain universal relevance, are encapsulated in the specific, a discourse about and from the margins, characterized by a local color and an obsession with identity and case studies. Latin American social sciences, especially those currents or perspectives related to popular thought, are thus confined, as Alcira Argumedo argues, to the “suburbs of reflection, where viscous and irrelevant eclecticism are examined” (2009, 10).¹

Several authors have recently attempted to examine and reconstruct these intricacies of Latin American social theory. For example, in his history of Latin American thought, Chilean author Eduardo Devés Valdés (2003) argues that it wavers between the search for identity and an urge for modernization, which

has led to the emergence of different cycles and spirals, fads, generations, and schools in the past two centuries of Latin American culture. Based on this alternating movement, the author draws a line that separates Sarmiento from José Martí, Rodó from José Carlos Mariátegui, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe; CEPAL) from the advocates of dependency theory, neoliberals from decolonial thinkers. This, however, does not imply that there is a cosmopolitan pole and a particularist or Americanist pole. Devés Valdés's second—and most interesting—thesis is that many thinkers who defend one dimension do not radically deny the other; rather, they have (often unsuccessfully) attempted to reconcile both sides. Furthermore, throughout their lives, many authors have adopted different options with different emphases. In other words, without implying a contradiction, Latin American thought can be understood as a history of the explicit and implicit attempts to reconcile that ever-desperate urge for modernization with an unwavering obsession with identity.

On the other hand, Argentine sociologist Marcos Roitman (2008b, 5–10) argues in *Pensar América Latina: El desarrollo de la sociología latinoamericana* (Thinking Latin America: The development of Latin American sociology) that we Latin Americans have tended to “define ourselves negatively.” We have therefore tended to read our reality in relation to Europe and have thus concluded that that which is most characteristic of Latin America is its deficit, its shortfalls, its incompleteness. Latin American reality is therefore accursed because it was part of colonial capitalism and because we have an ingrained frustration about not being European, about not having European virtues and grandeur, about remaining outside of history, about being marginal in that sense. “We have been incapable of making history” (8). This sentence is the quintessence of the notion of deficit. Latin America is therefore reflected on as a sort of appendix of a central body basically consisting of Europe and the United States. The curse thus defines our condition as subaltern, and our modernity as forever incomplete.

This feeling of inferiority permeates Latin American philosophy in particular. The latter has traditionally been founded on an awareness of our insufficiency and rupture and has been devoted to the search for Latin America's singularity in the context of epistemic dependency. Several authors have re-created the original core of this philosophical outlook, among them the Mexican Leopoldo Zea and Argentinean Arturo Roig. While Zea (1965), a great historian of ideas, proposed a recurrent reflection on the search for singularity, Roig ([1981] 2009) preferred to insist on the foundational role of the experience of rupture in Latin American thought. But both of them believe that the point of departure of Latin American philosophy is an inquiry into the concrete, the peculiar, that

which is original to America, the very possibility of philosophy, revealing in this roundabout way an awareness of the fact that its existence is a marginal and mestizo consciousness. From this standpoint, the great topic of American thought is the specific—and not universal—subject of American culture (Zea 1965, 48). There is no question that, in its essay version, philosophy has asked questions about our historic specificity with an excessive emphasis on the other's gaze, on how the other names us, which has deeply influenced the process of constructing Latin American thought, marked by an awareness of our marginality, our rootlessness, and thus our obsession with reflexivity.

Different from philosophy, sociology commits other sins related to the classical normative heritage. The weight of the normative model is such that, conceptually, Latin American political reality is stuck halfway, thus constituting a recurrent example of an “anomaly.” To understand this, it suffices to think of the ways populism has been defined. Yet it is not only modernity and democracy that appear as lacking and unfinished but also the social subjects themselves. So much so that, in general, Latin American sociology has found it difficult to reflect on the diversity of social players as full social actors. The bourgeoisie, the working class, and the middle classes are considered “only halfway” players in the context of the structural conditions of peripheral societies and the reality of dependency, but also that of the heterogeneity of Latin America's social universe—in terms of origin—where other categories of people who are not considered full actors abound, including indigenous people, peasants, informal workers, and the unemployed.² In a renowned article on social classes, Brazilian sociologist Florestan Fernandes (1973) suggested that these classes are no different in Latin America; what differs is the way in which capital materialized itself and irradiated historically as a social force. This “difference,” he argued, explains why Latin America has neither the “conquering bourgeois” nor the “restless peasant” nor the “rebellious worker.”

Few things are as characteristic of Latin America's sociological outlook as the will to inscribe interpretation in broad sociopolitical models that nonetheless are permanently imbued with both an excess and an interpretative deficit. One such excess: these sociopolitical models conceal what is probably one of the main particularities of peripheral modernity, that is, the fact that analyses of the principles of the political rarely (and always partially) coincide with the actors' lived experience. One such deficit: Inscribing action in significant totalities obliterates the analysis of political experience, whose main role is to interpret the nature of the links established by individuals with the political system (Martuccelli and Svampa 1997).

In recent decades, Latin American critical thought has examined the issue of epistemic dependency in depth. I would like to highlight three of these critical perspectives, which share the same elective affinities. First, the subaltern and postcolonial perspective questioned the national or nationalist and Marxist paradigms and proposed thinking the subaltern as such, as something that cannot be reduced and whose voice we cannot fully grasp, in a context in which identities are always migrating and changing.³ Not only are the popular sectors heterogeneous, but there is a multiplicity of different universes (“motley societies,” according to René Zavaleta Mercado), often refractory (in terms of ontological necessity) to being interconnected—the peasant world, indigenous people, formal and informal workers, the unemployed, and so on. In other words, there is in fact a popular, subaltern, migrating, and ever-changing subject defined in the plural, who must be approached in its diversity, without, however, depriving it of its own voice. This historical and anthropological current, which sought to identify the moments when the subaltern has emerged in the various historical cycles in Latin America, can make significant contributions when analyzing self-proclaimed progressive governments, examining the avatars of the dialectic between the emergence of the subaltern and the processes of re-subalternization. The work of Bolivian theorist and historian Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui stresses these very aspects, focusing once again on the issue of internal colonialism, understood as a form of domination internalized in subjectivity (Rivera Cusicanqui and Santos 2015, 83). Examined in the long term, internal colonialism is conceptualized as a “structural framework of identities” (León Pesantez 2013, 140).

The second critical current is the decolonial perspective, condensed in the concept of *coloniality of power* proposed by Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano, which underscores the economic/political dimension of coloniality as a pattern of general domination with an ethnic/racial character derived from colonial heritage. Revisiting this definition in a widely read book published in 2000, Edgardo Lander coined the concept of “coloniality of knowledge” as an extension of the former, based on the epistemological dimension: Our social sciences have thus naturalized the concepts and categories of the social sciences that developed with the expansion of colonialism. Furthermore, this naturalization of the various dimensions of modernity is founded on the defeat of our traditional and popular or plebeian cultures and the triumph of a new (capitalist) reality that organized time and territories in a different manner. Examples of this are the naturalization of the idea of progress, with its entire

hierarchy of peoples, stages, nations, historical experiences, and continents; the naturalization of the very idea of human nature as derived from Europe's liberal experience; the naturalization of the process of social differentiation; and, as a consequence, the naturalization of the superiority of some forms of knowledge over others. This process of naturalization has been aggravated with the professionalization of the social sciences. The ideas of civilization, development, and modernization thus gradually configure a paradigm of normality (Lander 2000, 9–11). Lander's proposal is part of a long search "for perspectives of non-Eurocentric knowledge," which recovers valuable contributions by authors such as José Martí and José Carlos Mariátegui, as well as more recent ones by Aníbal Quijano, Walter Dignolo, Enrique Dussel, and Catherine Walsh, among others (5). In short, coloniality has two faces—colonialism not only is a historical fact but also expresses itself in the denial of different realities and of the knowledge produced by those realities. To these two dimensions, Colombian author Santiago Castro Gómez (2012) adds the "coloniality of being," understood not as yet another dimension of the process of coloniality but emphasizing the existence of three distinct axes that allude to a diversity of logics. There is therefore not one single pattern but different dimensions: economic/political, epistemological, and ontological, which refer to how capitalism has become the way of life of millions of people.

Finally, in this line of thought, it is important to highlight the contributions of *Epistemologies of the South*, by Portuguese essayist Boaventura de Sousa Santos, who has maintained a constant dialogue with Latin America, its struggles, and its intellectual spaces for decades.⁴ According to Santos, "the epistemologies of the south point to the search for knowledge and criteria for the validity of knowledge that give visibility and credibility to the cognitive practices of classes, peoples, and social groups that have historically been victimized, exploited, and oppressed by colonialism and capitalism" (2009b, 12). The author aims at replacing the indolent Reason of hegemonic knowledge, whose temporal conception is founded on a contraction of the present and an expansion of the future, with a cosmopolitan Reason that expands the present (in order to understand and value the current social experience) and contracts the future and that must be founded by means of three meta-sociological procedures: the sociology of absences, the sociology of emergences, and the task of translation (100–101). The premises of *Epistemologies of the South* are therefore the ecology of knowledges and intercultural translation. While the ecology of knowledges is "a horizontal dialogue between different knowledges, including scientific knowledge, but also peasant, artistic, indigenous, popular, and many other knowledges that are dismissed by traditional scholarship," intercultural translation is a procedure

that enables the creation of a reciprocal understanding between the various experiences of the world. For Santos, knowledge is constructed in the context of struggles, and concepts and theories are developed in the process of such struggles, often by the social movements themselves. It is therefore a matter of constructing not only an ecology of different knowledges, shedding light on those knowledges that have been suppressed—vernacular knowledges or those produced by indigenous peoples—but an epistemological proposal, a way of conceiving knowledge production in the context of social struggles.

3.

This book was born as a political, intellectual, and pedagogical challenge slightly over seven years ago when I participated in a roundtable discussion during a sociology conference at the National University of La Plata (Universidad Nacional de La Plata; UNLP) (in December 2008, before becoming a professor at that university), and I wrote an article on the current state of certain Latin American debates in Latin America's political scene at the time. In it, I referred to three central debates with a long and rich history in the region, located at the porous border between the intellectual and political fields. The first one alluded to the advancement of indigenous struggles and inquired into the place of indigenous peoples and the communal matrix in the process of nation building; the second one examined the revival of populism in several Latin American regimes and inquired into the meaning and interpretation of this line of historical accumulation; the third one referred to the full-fledged return of a borderline concept of Latin American thought, development, through the expansion of various forms of extractivism, and inquired into the return of a certain “developmentalist illusion” (Svampa 2010a).

In the same article, I argued that the epochal change observed since 2000, based on the denaturalization of the relationship between globalization and neoliberalism, had led to a transitional situation that exhibited a clear trend toward a reconfiguration of the relationship between the populist tradition and neo-developmental extractivism. From that standpoint, I wondered how these three trends could or did coexist or, more simply stated, what would happen with indigenous peoples' project of autonomy, expressed in the challenge of creating a plurinational state and the rise and proliferation of collective resistances of an eco-territorial nature.

I presented that introductory paper at various academic meetings and spaces, including in a short course I taught at the PhD program in Latin American studies at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (Universidad

Nacional Autónoma de México; UNAM) in 2010, which convinced me that if I really wanted to achieve a certain conceptual density and narrative consistency in those debates, I had to dive into the history of Latin American thought and social sciences. I attempted to do so in the course Latin American Debates, which I started teaching that year at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the UNLP, which was part of the sociology program and which I continued teaching with the new title of Latin American Social Theory until 2021.

It is worth noting that in 2009 I also had the opportunity of participating with other Latin American colleagues in an encounter at the University of Costa Rica devoted to “Latin American sociology today.” Some of the questions posed were: Can we speak of a *Latin American sociology*? Does *Latin American sociology* have certain specificities? What is the role of sociologists and the discipline of sociology in Latin America today? Of what use is sociology in our region? That encounter was unquestionably one of the triggers for this research.⁵

The years I have been teaching that course at UNLP convinced me that I had to deal with three major challenges. The first and fundamental one is that there is an immense number of archives and libraries on the topic of indigenous people in Latin America. It suffices to travel to countries like Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia, Peru, or Ecuador, to cite only a few, to understand the magnitude of the contributions from different disciplines, the incommensurate multidimensionality of the topic, its unavoidable complexity in regional terms, the wealth of the history of struggles and generations, visible both in organizational experience and in social, philosophical, and literary reflections present in books, declarations, manifestos, and articles, as well as the important contributions of Latin America’s oral tradition. I therefore had to make certain choices regarding the work of historical reconstruction and to justify the selection of certain countries over others. As I explain in chapter 1, the result of this effort was to focus on four countries when examining the indigenous question: Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, and Argentina.

At this point, I would like to speak of my personal trajectory. Although I am a native of Patagonia, I stepped into the indigenous universe the first time I visited Argentina’s Northeast in 2000, to teach a course, Modernity and Social Theory, at the National University of Jujuy. The following years I conducted a series of research studies and wrote several books on social movements in Argentina, especially on unemployed people’s organizations, which also allowed me to engage in the world of popular resistances and plebeian struggles, while redefining myself as an amphibian intellectual (Svampa 2008).

Starting in December 2003, after the fall of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, I took a road of no return toward insurgent Latin America, toward

indigenous and anti-neoliberal struggles, through recurrent visits to Bolivia, which allowed me to reflect on and experience other rationalities and political relationalities through intense indigenous mobilizations and, years later, the discussion of novel concepts such as the plurinational state, autonomies, and Good Living (*Buen Vivir*). Visits to other Latin American countries such as Mexico, Ecuador, and Peru further fueled my interest in writings and debates on the place of indigenous people in the Americas.

However, many of these debates are unknown in Argentina, a country that constructed a narrative on national identity based on the original genocide (Lenton 2011) and the denial of all things indigenous. “The fear of being ourselves,” as Rodolfo Kush (1976) put it, translated into the stereotype of the racial melting pot that aimed the spotlight at the immigrants who descended from the ships, leaving in the dark all those who, in the name of Progress—and with a Remington in hand—had been dismissed and swept over by state power. Indigenous people, as David Viñas (1982) added, thus became “our first disappeared persons” . . .

The second challenge I had to deal with was to accept the necessarily incomplete and arbitrary nature of such reconstructions, not in terms of depth regarding each of the debates examined, but in relation to other equally important debates throughout the region’s history and present in today’s political scenario. In this respect, I made the decision to exclude some of them, such as the campesino question—a topic with an unquestionably specific importance in Latin American history. Its extraordinary breadth and evident complexity led me to that decision, even as I am aware that we can learn something from it through its connection—at some points—with the indigenous question and the issue of populism. However, I do realize that this unforgivable absence is a matter still to be examined, especially considering my own rural family origins—or perhaps because of them. I also chose to include another classical debate, that of dependency. There is no doubt that in spite of the emergence of a Latin American space; in spite of the existence of a “new defiant regionalism” (Jaime Preciado Coronado’s [2013] beautiful expression)—clearly illustrated by the events at the Summit of the Americas in Mar del Plata in 2005, when Latin American countries turned their back on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); in spite of the proliferation of Latin Americanist and progressive blocs (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America [Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América; ALBA]) and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños; CELAC), among others); in spite of the deployment of a strongly anti-imperialist and emancipatory discourse, structural dependency is—and, more important, as everything indicates, will continue to be—an integral part

of our future as peripheral nations. That is why I decided to include the debate on dependency, a category and approach that—as has been repeatedly stated—had a significant theoretical and political impact in the 1960s, in order to examine its relevance in present-day Latin America.

The third challenge was material, regarding my access to the literature. Unlike Mexico, Argentina does not stand out for cultivating a Latin Americanist tradition, and this is reflected in our public and university libraries as well as our bookstores. For that reason, visiting other countries in the region and speaking to Latin American friends and colleagues were essential to gain access to the literature. Particularly productive were my feverish visits to the extraordinary used bookstores on Donceles Street in Mexico City's historic downtown near the Zócalo Plaza, where I found some of the books cited in this research. Another important part of the texts consulted is available on the internet, and, finally, a small number of books that at some point I believed inaccessible were provided to me by friends, or I was able to purchase them online.

The resulting book is structured in two parts that examine four essential debates, in the following order: the indigenous question, the issue of development, the question of dependency, and the question of populism. The first part, "Latin American Debates and History," as its title indicates, proposes a voyage through and a historical reconstruction of each of the debates in four chapters. The second part, entitled "Scenarios, Contemporary Debates, and Disputed Categories," consisting also of four chapters, provides a personal interpretation of the relevance of each of these debates in today's Latin American scene.

Beginning with the indigenous question is not arbitrary; furthermore, coloniality is the framework that allows us to understand and integrate the rest of the—more canonical—debates on Latin America. I argue that these nodal questions have been present in an important part of Latin American humanities and social sciences, regardless of the various theoretical and methodological traditions and argumentative styles. The debates present in this book are located at the intersection of several theoretical fields, especially those of social theory, the history of ideas, and Latin American social thought. For that reason, they include a broad range of disciplines, such as political economy, political sociology, anthropology and history, philosophy, and cultural studies.

Finally, as Roberto Briceño León and Heinz Sontag argue, "Two trends have oriented social science in Latin America: to respond to the people and their society in their singularity and their urgent needs; or to respond to the times, to the requirements of scientific rigor and universal knowledge. The great promise of Latin American thought was summarized a century ago by José Martí when he wrote that both trends should be attended to and that [social scien-

tists] should be persons of their time and their people” (1998, 246). There is no doubt that Latin American critical thought derives its topics, theoretical approach, and potency from the social and political conflicts of its time and the analysis of the dynamics of capital accumulation and the forms of social, racial, territorial, and gender inequalities in our societies. This book belongs to that critical tradition of Latin American thought, which seeks to reconcile a global outlook and a concrete analysis, associated with the notion of a public and political intellectual committed to change.

In short, the different modes that coloniality of knowledge (Quijano, Lander) or internal colonialism (in Silvia Rivera’s terms) has assumed have tended to erase and render invisible local theoretical production and other ways of seeing and interpreting the world that question the notion of a single or universal form of modernity. Thus, “epistemic blindness” (Machado Aráoz 2012), intellectual dependency, colonial heritage, the difficulties of institutionalization, the thematic diasporas related to the various forms of national development, and political ruptures explain this difficulty in consolidating a tradition of regional thought that can be passed on to different generations and countries. This book seeks to combat those erasures and constant attempts to subalternize local theoretical production and its main debates. It is an attempt to explore certain lines of historical/conceptual accumulation in the construction of a Latin American critical tradition in terms of ideas and theories, critical concepts, and horizon-concepts immersed in intense theoretical and political debates. It is therefore an attempt to accomplish what Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2009b) called “a sociology of absences” and “a sociology of emergences”—a contribution that seeks to recover and shed light on certain lines of accumulation of critical thought that once again speak to us as Latin Americans, at the ever-porous borders of the intellectual and political fields.

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. All quotations originally in Spanish are translated into English, except when there is an English version available, in which case we employ the text of the English translation published. [Trans.]

2. Although strictly speaking the term *campesino* differs from the term *peasant*—which refers to agricultural laborers in a European context—we chose to translate it as such for the sake of clarity and simplicity. [Trans.]

3. Postcolonial critique has been developed by other authors from the South, that is, Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, and Gayatri Spivak, among others. The inaugural manifesto of subaltern studies was published in 1993, promoted by Latin American scholars living in the United States. The manifesto argued for the need to reflect not only on the new dynamics or problematics derived from globalization but also on the subaltern sectors in Latin America. It proposed finding the locus from where such subalterns speak as political and social subjects. See Castro Gómez and Mendieta (1998, 70–83).

4. The proposal of these critical dialogues is outlined in his interview/conversation with Silvia Rivera. See Rivera Cusicanqui and Santos (2015).

5. The encounter was organized by the Costa Rican Jorge Rovira.

CHAPTER 1. THE DEBATE ON THE INDIGENOUS AND *INDIANIDAD*

1. In 2012 a new census conducted in Bolivia resulted in different data on the indigenous population, that is, that only 40 percent of the population over fifteen years of age considered itself a member of Indigenous Peasant Native Peoples. In this regard, see the chapter on the topic in Nicolas and Quisbert (2014). For a historic perspective on the topic, see Lavaud and Lestage (2009).

2. In 2006 Toledo counted 671 indigenous peoples “directly or implicitly recognized by States” in public policy instruments (CEPAL 2007, 160, citing Toledo 2006). As mentioned above, by 2012 the number had risen to 826 peoples.

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