

Zibechi - Dispersing Power

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Intro:

Urban alternative to Zapatismo

force in, not above society (against divided society)

ex: water/gas wars

--everyday, no leaders

rev = midwife of history

--"rev helps give birth to the new world, but it does not create it"

--that world already exists, but need to be delivered (rev)

--paris commune --> "pregnant" society

----"set free" -- dormant (virtual) power

self, not spontaneous (own internal dynamics) [3-4]

--> "the political, social, and economic scenario does not affect the movement's potency. it conditions its expansion, multiplication, and proliferation, but the potency remains intact, or not, depending on other variables that do not relate strictly to the political scenario."

what does matter? connect, cultivate, intensity, convert 'potencies' [5]

*(a2) movements only good for one half (disrupt but not good at managing)

--two ways of doing pltx: "based upon limits or based upon people's power"

--'political scenario' (ie: st8-based, etc) = quantity, ppl = quality

(potency)

---cannot transform into exchange value, etc

*"in movement, not movements as institutions" [6]

Zapatismo: struggles from below

-learning collectively = (learning as an axis of the mvmt)

-time diff = (internal time, not system time)

The 'community machine' of Aymara: [7]

*social mechanisms that are de-territorialized / "de-communalized"

*focus below, not above

-"for those of us who struggle for emancipation, the central and critical challenges are not from above but from below. There is not point in blaming the governments or issuing calls of "betrayal.""

--everyday struggle

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Chapter 1: Community as Social Machine - 11

"During moments of insurrection, mobilizations dissolve both state and social movement institutions. Societies in movement, articulated from within quotidian patterns, open fissures in the mechanisms of domination, shred the fabric of social control, and disperse institutions. In short, societies in movement expose social fault lines, which are uncovered as society shifts away from its previous location. Time in which there is an intensely creative outpouring - during which social groups release huge amount of energy - act like a bolt of lightning capable of illuminating subterranean molecular cooperation, hidden by the veil of everyday inertias that are imposed in time and space through domination and subordination."

"To take lightning - insurrectional - moments as epistemological moments is to privilege the transience of the movement and, above all, its intensity, in order to encounter what lies behind and below the established forms. During the uprising, shadowed areas (that is, the margins in the eyes of the state) are illumined, albeit fleetingly. The insurgency is a moment of rupture in which subjects display their capacities, their power as a capacity to do, and deploy them, revealing aspects hidden in moments of repose, when there is little collective activity."

--Elites/indigenous people organize differently (bullshit...)

--Cochabamba (ok)

--"act from below", disarticulates the institutional (12)

///

Introduction of El Alto (13)

--"grassroots"

--local councils (neighborhood)

--'micro-governments' "each neighborhood stands as a small power"

--all walks of life

--"without planning" -- territorial occupation

-----"Actions of this magnitude cannot be consummated without the existence of a dense network of relationships between people -- relationships that are also forms of organization." (vb13)

----"community-based relationships have an enormous power and movements or insurgencies are forged in the bosom of those relationships" (14)

"community does not merely exist, it is made" "it is not an institution, not even an organization, but a way to make links between people."

--practical.. "but it is less important to define the community that to see how it works."

WTF: three parts i tend to disagree w/

(1) economy of non-exploitation

"the economy of the communal system ... excludes the exploitation or appropriation of the work of others, because the collective goods are usufructuary in private and familiar form. Therefore, alienated labor does not exist, as the family and its members control modes and rates of production, and are not subject to control other than that of the community." (14-5) BULLSHIT!

--> ex: "ayllu economic system"

(2) alternative form of political representation

"in the sphere of political power the figure of community representative is different from that we know in traditional politics."

--against Weber ("master of his own conduct") (15)

--"In the communal system that kind of autonomy is unthinkable, so the word 'representation' is just a semantic loan that, as we shall see, in the Aymara logic can be extended to other words such as state. This idea of representation, understood as 'to lead by obeying,' does not exist in modern Western political logic." (15)

(3) representation not voluntary, but compulsory and rotation

-not most capable, learned, etc - just whomever turn it is

"we are therefore not dealing w/ a democratic method, but what Patzi defines as 'authoritarianism based in consensus.'" (16)

"social machinery that prevents the concentration of power or, similarly, prevents the emergence of a separate power from that of the community gathered in assembly." (16)

--Clastres

"The state is 'the consummate symbolic of the social division, as it is a separate organ of political power. From that moment, society divides between those who wield power and those who endure it.'" Archaeology of Violence (74-5, spanish version)

non-division:

"a good example is the non-division manifested during the insurgency: confrontation, even armed, does not require a special body separate from the community. in fact, the same bodies that sustain everyday life sustain the uprising (the neighborhood assemblies in the local councils of El Alto). The rotation of tasks and the obligatory character assures everyday community life - which we will look at in more detail later - just as it guaranteed the task of blocking roads and streets. The appearance of this type of social mobilization in urban zones indicates that urban communities have been born."

-diff btween rural + urban (communities formed differently, but communities the same) -17

-----AC: question of "mobilization" -- how mobilize, what mobilize, etc

--El Alto = neighborhoods (like ag unions)

""""""""""as a hypothesis developed throughout the work, I will argue that such an analysis frames the community as an institution and not as a relationship, which also occurs in the treatment of social movements""""""""

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=====Neighborhood Cohesion, a Form of Survival - 18

Urban settlement of Aymara = three waves

--"arriving and setting up en masse in the city was a collective act" (19)

*****"communalizing" "a process in which social bonds take on a communitarian character, thus strenghtening reciprocity, collective ownership of common spaces, '_ayllu_ democracy,' and the role of family units in social life, among the most immediate examples" - 20

[skip demographic/historical matter]

--various example of forced 'communal' sharing of resources

summed up: (24)

- 1) shared material conditions (often labor, security, threat -- james c scott "communities of destiny" (dom/arts of resist
- 2) live in rx isolation (under same authority, etc, req mutual aid
- 3) collective suffering

=====Urban Communities - 24

'Andean (Andes mountains) logical of reciprocity'

--most work in informal sector (25)

--FEJUVE (Fed of Neigh Councils) criteria !!! (26)

"small little governments"

-Patzi's explanation for the nomralization of this behavior

***** ANTI_NGO

--USAID contrast -- they think there's an "infinite" "problem" (30)

---group solidarity, etc etc

---dispersion

--idea of 'complex interiority' v/v Foucault?? (31)

Chapter 2: The Self-Constructed City: Dispersion and Difference - 33

-USAID's "rapid evaluation" of El Alto

*'difference' as a problem (34)

*wants to consolidate, sees dispersed neighborhoods as problem

"what you have is an analysis that looks at dispersion as the main problem for the elites to combat the popular insurgency in El Alto" (35)

"The entire study commissioned by USAID is tainted by the attack on dispersion because dispersion makes it hard to exert social control. it impedes the creation of an urban-political panoptic - political but also social, cultural and organizational - that could encapsulate broad population under the same umbrella of control. In other words, fragmentation or dispersion implies face-to-face relations in the villas, articulated among the people themselves and with other urbanizations based on forms developed in everyday life. What they seek in instituting larger neighborhoods is to open up space to representation - meaning the absence of representatives - under the euphemism of 'participation and democracy. This is the best way the capitalist system has found to control large concentrations of the population. Larger territorial units give way to massive social organizations that inevitably cannot function through direct democracy based on family units. Assemblies of villas with 200 or 300 families can't operate the same way as neighborhoods that embody the resolve of 10,000 or more inhabitants." (36)

...

"The objective in the long term is to 'deliver' the services necessary to the population, but to do it in such a way as to produce cultural and social homogeneity. Thus, educational and health services should be in the hands of the state but on the condition that there is a 'minimal threshold' of population, to be administrated by a state bureaucracy separated from the fragmented urban 'islands.'" (36)

--report criticizes self-management

--"chaos" -- urban chaos / social chaos (37)

**capitalist dispersion --> informal work (37)

-possible 'advantages' of informal work (38)

--no internal division of labor, no sep of worker/object produce, labor performed communally... (AC: not necess that great!!

-rest of short chapter = family/work rx as autonomous, etc

**claim of compensation for inequalities... (40-1)

Chapter 3: Everyday Life and Insurrection: Undivided Bodies - 43

--"communal ethos has replaced union ethos"

"But the communal ethos of the revolt goes further, given that what is emerging is another society: the objective is power, not state power, but for people to organize themselves as power in a different social context. And far from the spaces of state control and the gaze of the media and the elites, the insurrectionaries strategize in their self-controlled spaces." (44)

"The usual form assumed by Latin American social movements presupposes the creation of organizational bodies that are separate from the group they represent and assume the state form. For over a century, anti-systemic movements have developed their organizational structures in parallel to capital, the state, the military, and other institutions of the system they fight. Although there are a great variety of working-class, popular, and peasant "organizations" arising out of and reflecting the vicissitudes of daily life, the political left and social movements chose to build structures that are separate. In doing so, they show not only that they have little use for the forms and structures of the everyday life of the oppressed in their effort to make a revolution and change the world, but they also - a paradox of social struggle - replace them with structures that are modeled on those of the oppressors." (45)

"These state power present in the left and social movements seem to have two sources that ultimately spring from the same genealogy: the military machine of the state apparatus and the Taylorist organization of work. Both share the creation of a centralized and unified body separate from everyday life in order to lead society, impose homogeneity from outside, and shape it according to the wishes of those who occupy the space above. Lenin anticipated Taylorism in *What is to Be Done?*, proposing the construction of a partisan political apparatus based on the centralized state, to which he added a division of labor between leaders and led, intellectual and manual workers, and the specialization of functions:

BLOCK QUOTE OF LENIN: "lack of specialization.. strong organization of tried revolutionaries.""

...some history stuff...hegelian...militaristic...etc

"In this rationalistic and instrumental notion, the central concepts are organization, leadership, and planning, which they believed would resolve

the problems posed by revolutionary struggle." (45-6)

What we found in the Aymara world, both rural and urban, during the insurrection, were non-state power. In these movements, the organization is not separate from everyday life; daily life is deployed as an arena for insurrectionary action. The division of labor is minimal because there is no separation between those who give orders and those who receive them, nor between those who think and those who do, because collective meetings fulfill these functions. The leader has no power and when exercising his or her function, is in a position "where only institutional weapon is his or her reputation, whose only means is persuasion, and whose only rules it to oversee the wishes of the group: the leader looks more like a movie star than a man of power, and always runs the risk of being repudiated and abandoned by his own people."¹² [Deleuze quoting Clastres] This is how Clastres describes primitive societies in which the leaders has no power,¹³ [invest and anthrop ologica] so different from the "men of state" of institutional politics." (46)

u/Q of El Alto - first indian city on the planet (Aymara city) (47)

"The separation between leadership and power was clearly visible during the insurrection, when - as at decisive moments in the life of a society - power is exercise directly and, as Garcia Linera points out, "over' or "to the side" of the authority of the neighborhood council.¹⁶ The fact is that in this type of society the group, the urbanization, neighborhood, and community " is both complete and united."¹⁷ This feature is not so clearly visible in everyday life, because each urban member of the Aymara group is working ad embedded in the capitalist market, which atomized people, reduces them to commodities (in the labor market) thus striping the community of its character. but if we take a broader perspective, we see that Clastres' description of primitive society - based on the mode of domestic production - is more akin to the Aymara reality than what Lenin described in _What Is to Be Done?_

****Block quote****

Outside of that derived from the sexes, in primitive society there is no division of labor whatsoever: each individual is versatile in a sense, all men know everything that men should know, all women know all the tasks a woman must do. In the realm of knowledge, and know-how, there is no individual that falls behind the others, no matter how skilled or talented these might be.¹⁸[[clastres]]." (47-8)

=====The Community War - 48

*arg of specialization vs unity (i find it a bit specious)

-empirical description of the "undivided" body during the Oct 03
insurrection

..."If the neighborhood councils were overstepped, it is because they were more used to organizing[sic] marches and strikes - the type of activities planned by a small core of leaders joined by a considerable part of the inhabitants. This is what is usually understood as a social movement. What happened in October was that "a sea of people" based on "forms of intra-neighborhood cooperation" improvised new methods and forms of struggle "that exceeded previous forms of authority and social organization."" (49)

"The image of "a sea" of citizens is appropriate because people acted as a multiplicity and not in a one-directional form. not only were they many, but they also came from everywhere. They did not just form one huge column, which could have been easily suppressed; they were like water that comes in waves and struggles, crashes down, and adapts to the terrain, appearing in the most unlikely places: implacable, obstinate, and incomprehensible." (49)

--more empirical stuff

=====The Micro View - 50

"Everyday Life Pierces the Fragile Heart of the Metropolis"

On the other hand, it is clear that before the magnitude of the September-October [2003] events [of the Bolivian Gas War, which rode on the coattails of the 2000 Cochabamba water war], institutionalized forms of social action had not succeeded in curbing the sale of gas. To be on top of the events, the neighbors had to create and invent something new, and to do so they had to go out into the streets en masse, dig themselves into their barrios, and overstep the very types of social action that they had executed in the decades before. These days the El Alto community spread out over the territory, neutralizing the armed repression by seizing areas that the army needs to pass through in order to deploy The El Alto social machine was able to disperse the state's military machine, and to do so had to overstep their own organization and leaders not only because they were ineffective at defending and fighting, but also because these leaders and organizations had already formed part of that "other" that needed to be dispersed, as we shall see further on.

But how does this dispersal or inhibitory machine work? And how, if it does work, does it work in everyday life? Here are some examples. First of all, there are the "tactics" invented and used by the movement to defend and attack: pulga, sikititi, taraxchi, and wayronko are among the most prevalent. To summarize: the pulga [flea] is a tactic utilized to block roads and streets at night, quickly, and to withdraw instantly - similar to

a flea bite - and occurs simultaneously at thousands of different locations.ⁿ²⁴ The wayronoko [ground beetle] tactic consisted of "lightning marches and blockades to distract the forces of repression," without a route or prior plan, like the flight of the beetle, which seems to lack any predictable direction.ⁿ²⁵ In the sikititi [red ant] tactic, the communities march "in line."ⁿ²⁶ Finally the taraxchi [plumed bird] tactic is a massive mobilization intended to shut down the cities.ⁿ²⁷

All of these action plans are rhizomatic in character, just like the lives of the animals upon which the tactics are based.ⁿ²⁸ In effect, these plans have no centralized control, and are not carried out with any kind of command structure, since the implementation of these tactics depends on the communities and the mandatory system of rotation deployed with planned actions. These tactics, of which only the pulga was widely implemented, were activated after the organizations decided to blockade streets, and after extensive consultations with the communities and agricultural unions. When the blockades started, "everyone mobilized, because we are in our communities and know the strategic locations and can easily beat the enemy."ⁿ²⁹ Communal brigades oversee the plans or, to put differently, communards organized into groups for each specific task. The whole community participates, making and executing decisions. It is the "ayllu militarized": the "community structures beginning to prepare for confrontation."ⁿ³⁰

n24: Felipe Quispe, "La lucha de los ayllus kataristas hoy." in *Movimiento indio en América Latina: resistencia y proyecto alternativo* (México: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2005), 73-4.

n25: Gómez, *El Alto de pie*, 70.

n26: Alvaro García Linera, *Sociología de los movimientos sociales en Bolivia*, 157.

n27: Felipe Quispe, "La lucha de los ayllus kataristas hoy," 74.

n28: Different from a centralized system like the tree/root binary system, the rhizome of the *_raicilla_* system is multiple heterogeneous, and its bodies undifferentiated. For Deleuze and Guattari, the rhizome "is acentric, non-hierarchical, and non-significant, without General, without organized memory or central automaton, defined solely by a circulation of states." It does not conform to external or transcendent ends, but "in a plan of immanence" and acts "by variation, expansion, conquest, capture, injection." Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mil mestas* (Valencia: Pre-Textos, 1994), 26.

n29: Felipe Quispe, "La lucha de los ayllus kataristas hoy," *ibid.*, 74.

m30: Alvaro García Linera, *Soicología de los movimientos sociales en Bolivia*, 158.

THE PIGS WILL DROWN IN A SEA OF STONES

It should be noted that the road blockades constructed by rural farmers materialize in a different way than traditional workers' barricades. While these [worker's barricades] are more or less compact fortifications, in which demonstrators are ensconced to defend themselves (military-style), rural blockades are like a carpet of stones spread over 500 meters along the road. This means that there is no one place to defend but a large extended area, which does not require the presence of people to be effective. The compesinos are dispersed in the surrounding hills from which, based on their territorial advantage, they can harass the state's forces, making it difficult for them to advance as a result of their inability to concentrate their forces on one point of resistance. At [traditional workers'] barricades, the human presence is crucial to their effectiveness, because otherwise the enemy will take them easily, but [the rural approach of] the tapestry of stones itself delays and impedes the forces of repression. Meanwhile, as the security forces are held up, rebels move to make another stone barricade further up the road, wearing down their opponents. Sometimes barricades are constructed to form part of the road blockade, as one more component of the tapestry of stone. 51-2

// EVERYBODY TOGETHER NOW.... o/` o/`

The system of taking turns - which ensures that the entire community or neighborhood is involved - allows the action to be maintained indefinitely. This system does not require specialized bodies that are separate from the group, like other forms of collective action such as assemblies, supplies, aptapis [communal meals], or sanctions, but are part of the same group assuming different tasks or taking on different roles. This is precisely what characterizes a rhizome. As forms of action that are part of everyday life of the community, employed for production or in the daily routine, the action plans do not require the creation of a special or separate structure or even specialization or division of labor. Everyone already knows what to do and what is expected from each person and, above all, from each family.

This can be formulated differently: the system of rotation, the assemblies, and the other forms of action are community social relations, of labor and organization, deployed in rural and urban areas. These are non-capitalist, non-centralized, and self-articulated relations. This "other" society that is set in motion also has other relationships and other ways of organizing itself. (52)

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DISPERSED COMMUNICATION

The logic of dispersal means that there is no single, prioritized form of social action, but a wide range that is activated in a decentralized and natural manner, without waiting for orders from a nonexistent central command. A good example is that of unplanned street blockades outside of the neighborhood, based on forms or traditions of everyday life. This happened in the strike in March 2001, when "women created a blockade by sitting down in the middle of the avenues, chewing coca and chatting in Aymara or Spanish." By doing so, they made the main street and junctions "a sort of group assembly where even the children are involved."³¹ The same tendency to organize by streets and blocks, the use of hundreds of bicycles to communicate between barrios and districts, as well as flooding radio shows with calls so that the message or call to action goes out over the air, show the existence of not just one single channel of communication (top down) - as happens in traditional organizations - but a multiplicity of channels and forms of intercommunication and action. (52-3)

*****Barracks = "communities in a state of militarization" (53-6)

So what are we talking about when we say "barracks"? They are social relationships: organizational forms based on collective decision making and the obligatory rotation of duty, but in a militarized state or, in other words, adapted to cope with violent assault. While function and structure, and the type of tasks undertaken are different, the organization remains the same because it is always constituted by community ties.³⁴ In response to an emergency situation, work and action groups are formed to execute different and diverse tasks; they are not permanent bodies but created for just those actions. They are transitional arrangements for an armed/military action in a given area. This means commanders, who are also transient, and specialized groups break down the foot bridges on the major avenues, groups which are linked to a specific activity and then later disperse back into everyday life relations. Even larger "military" action like the derailment of train cars in La Ceja to block the highways were basically community actions, involving entire families. (53-4)

³⁴: Maturana and Varela distinguish "organization" from "structure": a system characterized by organization is the set of relationships among its components; while the structure of the system is the physical manifestation of the organization. A type of self-manage organization which is a living system in which the product of its operations is its own organization. (Alberto Maturana and Francisco Varela, *Machines and Living Things* (Santiago: Universitaria, 1995)). In the case we are looking at, we can say that the organization of Aymara society is the community, while the

structures are neighborhood committees, peasant federations, barracks, etc.

interview:

"found our own barracks: found our own government: like a professor with a gun" (54)

diff btwn armies (indian vs govt)

--democratic

--potentially 'militarized' social relation (55)

--STILL ROTATIONAL LOGIC

rotation/split of military command and leadership*** (54-5)

community = dispersal machine

****WAR MACHINE -- def!!

In this area, the community continue to function as a dispersal machine, always avoiding the concentration of power, and by allowing everyone to be a leader or commander, it inhibits the emergence of leaders with power over the long term. In short, we see a set of mechanisms in play that strengthen non-division by preventing any single apparatus from becoming detached from the community framework. These mechanisms also inhibit the formation of a permanent leadership by means of the rotation system. We can speak then of how the Aymara have established "war machines" - that are dispersion machines, bot outwardly and inwardly, because they [56] combat the state and break it up but without creating a centralized or unified apparatus to replace it. Or, we could say, they disperse the state without re-creating it. That is precisely why they can disperse it. Simply put: the way to disperse the state is by not creating a state. (55-6)

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city planning = informal, patchwork

- sports + plaza

---> need a plaza (big backyard!). if you don't have one, you close off a street and make one! (57)

--summary/connectoin (58)

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Communication in Movement - 58

-long history of own communication/media

....

Maturana and Varela argue that in communication there is no "information transmitted" but only a linkage of behaviors. They question the so-called

"metaphor of the tube," according to which 'communication is something that is generated in one spot, carried by a conduit (or tube), and delivered to another at the receiving end.'" Based on field experience and research with birds and mammals, they conclude that the communication is "coordinated behavior in a domain of structural linkage."⁵⁰ In the case of the October 2003 insurrection and other times of intense social activity, there is no unidirectional communication, but something different - the propagation of a stream [AC: or flow!] (collective actions, the circulation of voices and feelings, etc.) through a set of links, each of which activates the next. Scientists call this process "circular causation" or "feedback."⁵¹

I postulate that a kind of communication without central emission - and therefore without passive recipients - has been critical to moving the whole of Aymara society, and keeping it mobilized until the fall of Sánchez de Lozada.⁵² In effect, during those weeks, the message was of crucial importance - as much what was said on air on the radio, as what was happening to those receiving the information. The hunger strike at Radio San Gabriel by a group of social leaders, including Felipe Quispe, functioned more as a mode of inter-communication than as a command center giving order to the base. Moreover, the rural and urban Aymara communities took over radio stations and transmitted their own messages, but above all, they communicated - in the deeper meaning of the term - moods, experience, and emotions that were shared by those listening to the radio. This produced a very emotional effect similar to those who were airing it live. Thus there was a link that blurred the separation between emissaries and receivers.

...

The process of concentration/dispersion is territorialized in much of the city, in an immanent and interior manner, creating nodes and links that bind but do not unite. parallel to this, the nodes are [62] dissolved in a multitude of initiatives agreed to at the time of the meeting, during the assembly. The plaza is the place of collective decisions making and the church is that of ritual acts, but after decisions have been made and "starting with the inter-relation of information" they are dispersed by establishing neighborhood committees that organize the pickets and barricades without a fixed general criteria because "in certain moments they had to make decisions on a collective basis" without the possibility or the need to consult all mobilized.⁵⁴ The concentration/dispersion mechanism, now territorialized, reproduces itself almost infinitely, encompassing the entire urban arena.

The mechanisms of this double pulse -- the succession of beats of the multitude -- generate an incredibly and diverse collective social energy: [block quote]

Power networks of action and systems of communication were activated. The different radio stations transmitting direct coverage of the events were

-tons of emp/history

***** barrios vs neighborhood councils (when same = democ, when not = bad)

=====Movement as Institutions and as a Moving-of-itself - 82

There is a large body of work dealing with social movements that focuses, as a whole, on three questions: organization, collective identity, and codes of mobilization.⁴⁹ This view is hegemonic in the sociology of social movements and, accordingly, gives priority to aspects of the movements like structure, cohesion, and definition of objectives.⁵⁰ To be considered in this way, movements must have an organization that is different from that which preceded its emergence, because social relations immersed in the daily lives of the people are not regarded as organization per se. They should have a common [83] goal (García Linera); minimum standards of cohesion (Sandoval et al); and finally, present strategic (García Linera) or well-defined objectives (Sandoval et al).

Movements are therefore framed as homogeneous, collective actors, with defined interests and rational forms of action appropriate to the aims pursued. In this formula has ever functioned, it was during the period when mass-trade unions and centralized syndicates dominate, but it is doubtful that the miners who participated in the 1952 revolution had been inspired by the *Tesis de Pulacayo* - which surely the vast majority had not read before the events, despite the clear value of the work.

A kind of epistemological earthquake occurs when those who have occupied the depth of society for centuries - Indians and women, etc. - emerge as subjects, which calls into question the subject/object relationship, one of the more pernicious legacies of colonialism.⁵¹ This relationship is reflected, among many others, in what Guha Ranajit defined as "the univocity of statist discourse" that "sees a particular set of contradictions as dominant or central and the need to resolve them as a priority or more urgent than all the others."⁵² It is because of this argument that those of "the low voices" (women, Indians, etc.) were not taken into account for centuries. It brings to mind the recuperation of a vision of the world very similar to that of the Indian and indigenist elite of the Movement for Socialism (MAS).

...

Some of the neo-colonialist modernist discourse that applies a Gramscian model that Zibechi doesn't like.

...

There is, of course, another way of addressing the social movements of the oppressed; it is not a gaze from above - taking the state as its start point - in a colonial form. It consists of beginning with social relationships created from below for basic survival, meaning the "pre-modern" or familial relationships, and assuming as a starting point the

movements of that society, their flow, their faults. Because what is a movement but this -- self-movement? "Every social movement is configured by those who wish to rupture social inertia and move themselves, which is to say _they change places_, refusing the place they have been historically assigned within a given social organization, and broaden their spaces for expression." Porto Gonçalves reached this conclusion after working for years with the _seringueiros_ (rubber extractors) from the Amazon jungle, together with Chico Mendes, who was their adviser. [85]

We are talking about giving priority to the shift over the structure, or the mobile over the fixed, to the society flowing as opposed to the state, which seeks to codify and control the flow. In this analysis, the movement's objects do not derive from the place they occupy in the society (worker, peasant, or Indian, etc.) nor the program advanced, nor the statements or intensity of the mobilizations. It does not judge the movement according to its organizational "solidity," its degree of centralization or homogeneity - things that would speak about the strength of its [hegemonically, Gramscian] organic structure.

We do not discount these fragmented or dispersed movements but rather propose to address these characteristics from an immanent gaze. Again and again, non-articulated and non-unified movements have been capable of doing many things: toppling governments, liberating large regions from the state's presence, creating different ways of living beyond the hegemonic, and waging important daily battles from the survival of the oppressed. Social change, the creation and recreation of social bonds, does not need articulation, centralization, or unification. Moreover, emancipatory social change goes against the type of articulation proposed by the state, academia, and political parties.

A first question revolves around the significance of dispersion or fragmentation. What is our vantage point when we use these terms? We are dealing with a perspective that is external, distant, and on top of everything, from above. To speak about a movement, a social subject, or a society as fragmented, does this not imply perceiving it within a state-centered logic, one that presupposes the unity-homogeneity of the social realm and thus its subjects? Moreover, to be a subject supposes some degree of unity or at least non-fragmentation. supposedly the state-party-academic perspective already knows the role of subjects and can even define when they exist and when they do not.

Secondly, proponents of the articulation of the movements - who are generally those with a state-centric policy - leave it to the side the need to take stock of the past one hundred years of socialism and the labor movement. That accounting can be summarized like this: "A controlled and organized transition tends to involve some continuity of exploitation."61

[Wallerstein] Again, it is not a theory but just a reading of one hundred years of socialism. however, the left and the academics assure us that without articulation there is not the slightest chance of victory, or the triumphs are merely ephemeral, and that a disarticulated and fragmented movement marches toward certain defeat. Was it not the unification and centralization of past movements that [87] enabled the state and capital to neutralize or domesticate them? On the other hand, how can the popular uprisings in Latin America be explained, at least since the Caracazo of 1989, which garnered very significant victories and yet were not convened by formal and established structures?

...

short paragraph on El Alto

...

We have seen that the separation (inside the movement) intensifies with demobilization since it implies impotence, the movement in which the movement-disengagement reaches its limits and then the movement-institution wagers on reigning in the leaders. but talking of leaders supposes going into the field of representation. For Weber, everything related to representation goes into the chapter "types of domination" and he insists that representation implies the absence of solidarity. For "below" the FEJUVE and the neighborhood councils, there is a large tapestry, a true society in movement that is what we call the social movement. The panorama presented by the El Alto society is one of the pendulum swinging between dispersion and regrouping, disintegration and unification. We can understand it as struggle, although not necessarily a struggle in the classic sense but rather a fight to encode/decode flows, or social relations in movement.

...

skip some empirical stuff

...

The image is of a permanent space-time dispute between movements/communities and the state/political parties: the latter to create division, to divide power, to co-opt, to dominate and consolidate its hegemony; the former, to deconstruct dominance, to re-unite and prevent separation. One way to avoid co-optation is to advocate fragmentation and dispersal, rather than advocating large movements or institutions, thus enabling the movement to acquire spaces of autonomy - gaps through which they can resist, because the state/party system does not enter into these gaps. When the FEJUVE leaders criticize the grassroots for their "indifference," we are witnessing a silent struggle to avoid subordination.

It should be added, following Foucault, that this struggle between two poles is not one of an exteriority relationship, but rather [90] that the party/state logic lives in the bosom of the community and the movement; it permeates them, not as something that comes from the outside but rather something that exists in an immanent relationship, as "manifold

relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production - in families, limited groups, and institutions - are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole."⁶⁶ [F's H0Sv1]

Chapter 5: Community Justice and El Alto Justice - 91

It seems impossible to travel on the streets of El Alto without coming across hanging dolls. Whether in the main avenues or the more secluded and quiet neighborhood streets, the figures are testament to a peculiarity that distinguishes the Aymara city. Some display posters ("Death to thieves," for example), but most of the dolls made and hung by the residents simply have their heads turned sideways, simulating death by beheading. Other are covered in red paint symbolizing bloody, signifying punishment and death. "The hanging dolls mean that here is a house that has been robbed."¹ But at the same time they deliver a warning to thieves, saying:

[block quote]

The people who live on these streets have come together and have decided that when they catch a thief they are going to kill him." In short, the neighbors are organized, they have their own system of vigilance, like their warning whistles to summon people to defend the distinct or any affected family. The hanging doll symbolizes the local self-defense organization. In some cases, when residents catch thieves in the act or identify culprits, they have killed them. Soe people speak of up to 900 such deaths per years in the city of El Alto, though surely that figure is exaggerated.

[/block quote]

The existence of thousands of ominous hanging dolls is a symptom of a powerful territorially based local organization and it seems clear that this form of collective self-defense "is based on communal justice."² Or, to put it differently, it is one more urban manifestation of Aymara society, albeit somewhat different - because while community justice seeks, as we shall see, to reintegrate the criminal back into the community, in El Alto they seek to identify the culprit in order to eliminate him. (90)

--it's later noted that "State justice" in El Alto is quite corrupt. And people no more than a generation or two from rural life have a strong memory of a life without state protection, so they look for forms of justice that allow community-control that actively wards off "State justice."

==A Non-State Justice - 94

---- not super excited about this "justice" stuff....

****"to lead obeying"

The stamps [that make up the 'signatures' t the Achacachi Manifesto] appear next to each other, without hierarchies or synthesis, and yet the seal of the central providence - the most "important" according to Western logic - would not have even the smallest value in the absence of the other stamps, the seals of all the provincial communities - or at least a significant number of them. This consensus of horizontal seals, this rainbow of stamps/communities, could e seen as an expression of Aymara society in movements (like a non-state in session without representatives). (101)

....

dissipative structures:

It is not an institution, nor even a permanent or fixed body, but rather a temporary, mobile one. It is an unstable articulation. it is a matter of thinking, the social field, about the possibility of an articulation capable of combining the stability of the structure with the fluidity of change, something Prigogine defines as "dissipative structures," which are the union between stillness and movement, time suspended and time in flux.n1

In the social field, "dissipative structures' appear in small groups of youth, women, and others, and can be viewed as areas where there is an unstable equilibrium. n2 However, the existence of larger spaces of dissipative structures" - covering hundreds of thousands of people and entire regions, bringing together the contradictory characteristics of stability and change, order and dissipation - seems a challenge, and remains far off, if it is possible at all.

n1: Ilya Prigogine and Isabelle Stengers, *La nueva alianza, Metamorfosis de la ciencia* (Madrid: Alianza 1990). According to Prigogine the dissipative structures are islands of order in a sea of chaos, but that order emerges spontaneously and is maintained at a steady state far fro equilibrium. See also Fritjof Capra, *La trama de la vida* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1998), 193-205.

--look at Capra's web of life --> dissipative structures

--making it's alt context (state-i-fied) distorted (even the rotation, etc)
--'transplanting' bad!

(2) indig autonomy _precedes and creates the conditions for the construction of a larger unit_ [121]

(3) the state _cannot contain plurality and multiplicity_ [122]

--wants to go beyond but not necessarily preclude a st8 [123]

-avoid st8 as 'locus's that 1-condenses 2-structures 3-normalizes etc 124

"the state is unable to contain plurality and multiplicity, unless it integrates them as a homogenized unit. Similarly, counter-powers cannot be converted into power without annulling their multiple potencies.

Centralized state power forces the movement to delegate to a handful of representatives and professionals the defense of their interests in the state. by doing so, it disarms the movement, under-[126] mining its strength: the intensity of the experience is neutralized by representation.

Institutions codify social relations, and to counteract this process, all that is left is individual and collective flight, a multiple desertion - the intensity of an action that cannot be represented." [125-6]

(4) pursuing multicultural state = accepting logic of st8 pwr, = 'goes hand in hand' w/ unification and centralization of the social movement, thus annulling its capacity for dispersal. [126]

-growth --> burden of rep imposed from outside [127]

(5) participation --> 'a faction of indian official separated from their communities' --> another functional elite [128]

--NGOs, etc

(6) aymara subject doesn't have an oppressor (not dialectical) [131]

=====Aymara Ambiguities - 132

-flow and motion, not pure opp to st8

-autonomous creation of self from the inside, not some pure outside

--undivide self again

Epilogue (By Situaciones Colectivos

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==Apropos of Dispersing Power

-Movement as Anti-State Forces

1.

2.

3.

4.

- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.