

Zibechi, Raúl and Edgars Martínez, coords. 2020. *Repensar el sur. Las luchas del pueblo mapuche*. Chiapas: Cátedra Jorge Alonso – Universidad de Guadalajara – CIESAS / CLACSO / Cooperativa Editorial Retos, 249 pp.

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Indigenous resistance has existed in Wallmapu, the Mapuche territory that extends over the southern part of Chile and Argentina, since the arrival of the first conquistadors. The Spanish view of the continent as a reservoir of natural resources and labor, born of the notion of superiority and driven by the desire to pursue its own dreams of modernity, confronted the antagonism of the invaded indigenous peoples, who sought to negate colonial violence and defend their own nation and territory. With their indomitable power to resist the colonizers' efforts at subjugation, the Mapuche people (the people of the land) continued to nurture their spirituality, memory and care for their *mapu* (land) and thus managed to maintain their independence to some extent throughout three long centuries of Spanish colonization.

However, in the second half of the 19th century, in the aftermath of the declaration of creole independence from Spain, the brutality of the white settlers, materialized in the form of genocidal attacks of both, the Argentine and Chilean state, inappropriately named "Conquest of the Desert" and "Occupation of Araucanía," fundamentally changed the dynamics of life on both sides of the Andes. Those Mapuche who were not massacred by the *wingkas* (a non Mapuche form of power representing violence) were held in concentration camps, tortured and forcibly incorporated into the cycle of capitalist exploitation — the liberal Creole oligarchy with its politics of death was consolidated.

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Volume *Rethink the South (Repensar el sur)*, coordinated by Raúl Zibechi and Edgars Martínez, highlights two crucial elements. First, many of the logics from the times of settler colonialism, however hidden, still dominate Abya Yala.¹ Second, in an effort to transform these logics, the legitimate struggle for recuperation of the territories and culture in Wallmapu continues and intensifies.

The rich historical content of the book, which is its great strength, thus does not appear in the form of a linear listing of important moments, but constitutes a long-term dimension essential for understanding the current movements and conflicts raging in Wallmapu and Chiapas, regions resisting deepening structural violence. The authors rigorously show that the humanist and cultural ethos of the dominant world order —discursively priding itself on finding colonialism and racism unacceptable— needs to be challenged more firmly than ever, by asking where to place oppression, discrimination, exploitation, imprisonment and environmental destruction within these values. Such a framework then also makes it possible to rethink the overlay of violence (or even terrorism) from the traditional forms of dignified resistance that indigenous peoples use to oppose systemic oppression. In years of advancing neoliberalism, the power of spirituality and the collective strength that has saved indigenous peoples from oblivion has given rise to the development of a tradition of resistance through which they strive to liberate their nation.

And so, in the current social context marked by multiple and unprecedented crises, the book by Zibechi and Martínez brings hope, in more dimensions than one. On the one hand, it brings a testimony of resistance against the commodification of life, against a social system in which all behavior and relationships are determined by profit; a testimony to alternative forms of social, political and economical organization that restore the reciprocity between people and nature and that leave no one behind. On the other hand, it reveals a genuine Latin American militant academy that stands behind these seeds of a new humanity — an academy that builds a path for *rethinking the south*.

Before moving on to the actual content of the book, I will briefly introduce its coordinators, whose lives and work shows that they represent an important underpinning of resistance in the global South, for indigenous rights, and its projects for autonomy. Raúl Zibechi is a Uruguayan writer, journalist and a lifelong militant. He has accompanied a variety of Latin American social movements for more than 30 years. His knowledge of organizational processes is reflected in the authorship of over two dozen books, dozens of book chapters, and countless articles contributed to various media, for example, the Mexican newspaper *La Jornada*. In 2017, Zibechi received an Honorary Doctorate from Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in

1 Abya Yala was the name given to what is now known as America, before the European colonization. Without going into the complex details associated with this term, it is important to mention its significance on an epistemic level, where the term Abya Yala opens up an important space of maneuver not only for the visibility of oppressed voices, but more importantly expresses a form of resistance to hegemonic power structures directly from the territories. The term is also used in academic settings to raise awareness of the ongoing structural violence exercised against indigenous peoples.

Bolivia. Among his most important book-length works is *Dispersing Power: Social Movements as Anti-State Forces* (*Dispersar el poder. Los movimientos como poderes antiestatales* [2007]), a detailed historical analysis of Bolivia's social movements, translated into English in 2010.

Edgars Martínez Navarrete is a Chilean social anthropologist, currently studying for his PhD at CIESAS CDMX. Besides having been a militant of the Mapuche autonomist cause and a member of Mapuche media AUKIN for many years, he has also accompanied various indigenous autonomous processes in Mexico. In addition to a number of academic articles and book chapters, focusing, in particular, on the autonomist indigenous processes and their antagonistic potential, he recently published a book entitled *The Roots of Dispossession. Stories and Memories of Cherán and its Forest* (*Las raíces del despojo. Historias y memorias de Cherán y su bosque*), in co-authorship with Daniela Rico Straffon (2022). The book was awarded the Best Children's and Young Adult Book of the Year 2022 prize at the CANIEM Awards.

The chapters in the book are by authors who came together in 2020 to participate in conferences and seminars dedicated to the Mapuche resistance and other experiences of indigenous insubordination in Abya Yala. The event was organized by *Cátedra Jorge Alonso*, a space for critical reflection and an ally of social movements in the Global South. It is this background that gave the organization of the volume a somewhat unusual character as it follows the organization of the conference. In essence, however, the volume can be divided into two main parts, preceded by forewords by each of the coordinators. The first main part is based on the keynote lectures, given during the conference, while the second part consists of chapters by the authors who presented their papers at the seminar entitled "Times of Weychan (Struggle): Resistance in Wallmapu and Mexico" ("Tiempos de weychan (lucha): las resistencias en Wallmapu y México").

The first foreword, entitled "Liberating the New World Beating at the Heart of the Movements" ("Prólogo: Liberar el mundo nuevo que late en el corazón de los movimientos"), is provided by Raúl Zibechi. By not limiting the opening pages to Mapuche resistance and restoring to a more general analysis of movements in the global South, he provides a guide to a deeper understanding of the book even for those readers who are not familiar with the intricacies of Latin American resistance. What stands out in Zibechi's description, given its importance, especially, as the author points out, in relation to the movements in the Global North, is the question of territoriality — a fundamental element for any project of social transformation in Abya Yala. As an incisive critic of the West, Zibechi portrays where the strength and inspiration of Latin American movements lies: the antisystemic communitarian logic has the power to dissolve the individualism of the capitalist world, historically derived from privatization of the indigenous lands.

The poem "I Dreamt that I Was Dreaming" ("Yo soñé que soñaba") links the coordinators' forewords. The verses, as stated in the book, were written in 2020 in Cherán, an indigenous community in northwest Mexico. A community, which,

in 2011, demonstrated its collective power and transformative potential by directly confronting organized crime and reversing the daily realities of the struggle for life created by decades of capitalist exploitation:

Sleep cannot be forced.	No se puede obligar al sueño.
But where capitalism is,	Pero allí en donde el capitalismo es,
Life is silenced.	la vida se silencia.
As in Chile and Mexico and in all	Como en Chile y en México y en
Latin America.	toda Latinoamérica.
We are killed from the root.	Se nos mata desde la raíz.
 I dreamt that I was dreaming:	 Yo soñé que soñaba:
that we were subjugated	que fuimos sometidos
and we were ruled by tyrants.	y nos gobernaban tiranos.
I go on hunger strike	Me pongo en huelga de hambre
to awaken the anger,	para despertar la rabia,
to take off the flight	despegar el vuelo
and to annihilate the dream.	y aniquilar el sueño.
(Lemus 2020, 19)	(Lemus 2020, 19)

4 The author of the poem and a member of the Cherán community, Juan Jerónimo Lemus, used his words to express support and solidarity to the Mapuche political prisoners, who at that time, were in the midst of one of the cruelest hunger strikes.²

■ Edgars Martínez follows with his foreword named “New Winds of Weychan in Abya Yala. A Preliminary Reflection by Way of Introduction” (“Nuevos vientos de weychan en Abya Yala. Una reflexión preliminar a modo de introducción”). By digging beneath the surface of the communal and popular outrage of 2019, he shows us that although the rebellions in Abya Yala were driven by a desire to transform the material and political conditions of poverty and exploitation that are rooted in decades of neoliberal capitalism, they should also be interpreted in the context of historical colonial structures. He, therefore, invites us to think about these events in the context of the settler colonial presence. After having peeled the label of Latin American *jaguars* from this noodly country, the author brings to light the unresolved tensions that have emerged in the nascent constituent process, particularly regarding repression, autonomy and pluralism.

The first main section entitled “Part One: Keynote Lectures” (“Primera parte: conferencias magistrales”) consists of contributions by Moira Millán and the

2 The hunger strike launched on May 4, 2020 by Mapuche spiritual leader Machi Celéstino Córdoba, was in response to the events of January 2020, when more than 100 police officers raided the homes of families in the Elikura Valley, during which six Mapuche men were detained. After 106 days, when 27 Mapuche political prisoners had already participated in the protest, over 200 intellectuals, academics, political leaders from different parts of the world, including Verónica Mendoza or Noam Chomsky, expressed their support for their demands. To find out more, see: <https://terceravia.mx/2020/08/chomsky-se-suma-a-lista-de-apoyo-con-los-presos-politicos-mapuche-en-huelga-de-hambre/>. The hunger strike is discussed in more detail by Carlos Alonso Reynoso and Jorge Alonso in the chapter entitled “The Hunger Strike of Mapuche Political Prisoners in 2020” (179-205).

mentioned Raúl Zibechi, both of whom are first briefly introduced by Jorge Alonso. In his portrayal of Millán, Alonso draws on her novel *The Train of Oblivion* (*El tren del olvido* 2019), and thus presents not only the *weichafe* (Mapuche warrior) herself, but also some of the essential elements of the Mapuche cosmovision as well as the historical significance of the role of Mapuche women as captured in the book. Millán herself, in her chapter called “Terricide,³ Borders and Pandemic” (“Terricidio, fronteras y pandemia”), speaks from the heart of the Movimiento Mujeres Indígenas por el Buen Vivir, a movement of Argentina’s indigenous women, who come together to wage a dignified struggle against capitalist patriarchy. In her text, she offers an important insight into the persistence of the colonial state and its multiple forms of violence. In describing the closure of her community in the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic at the behest of the state, which led to significant price increases and food shortages, it becomes clear that while the Argentine state turned the situation into an opportunity to create a new repressive conflict, the communities fell victim to police abuse, institutional aggression and racism.

The following article by Zibechi, “Chaos and Resistance during the Pandemic” (“Caos y resistencias durante la pandemia”), which analyses pandemic events in the light of neoliberal politics, can be read as a critical mirror of the dominant Western image of the pandemic. When reflecting on the state’s measures, he shows us their grounding in patriarchy, racism, and capital, allowing the state to be seen as a power tool of the dominant class. Placing the current “situation of chaos” in a historical context, he invites us to perceive the pandemic as “the war of our times” (62). These reflections allow him to frame it as an accelerator of pre-existing trends established by neoliberal capitalism, which he argues are leading to the collapse of the current world system. Also the cycle of protests that began in 2019, gains a special dimension under Zibechi’s scrutiny when he traces its beginnings to the expansion of the Zapatista Caracoles, the struggles for land recuperation in Chile and Brazil, and the numerous experiences of growing autonomy. Zibechi invites us to read the pandemic as a further opening of the path for a non-capitalist economy, relations and “new ways of doing politics” (16).

The second main part of the volume called “Times of Weychan (Struggle): Resistance in Wallmapu and Mexico” (“Tiempos de weychan (lucha): las resistencias en Wallmapu y México”), opens with a chapter titled “Self-Determination, Colonialism and Decolonization in Mapuche-Chilean Relations. Utopia or Historical Continuum?” (“Autodeterminación, colonialismo y descolonización en las relaciones mapuche-chilenas. ¿Utopía o continuum histórico?”) Its author, Pablo Marimán Quemenado, a prominent scholar in the field of Mapuche history, raises stimulating, if disturbing, questions through insights into the complex historical

3 Terricide (terricidio) is a concept that originated in the Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas por el Buen Vivir and, as explained in the volume, refers to the assassination of Mother Earth, understood as a consequence of global capitalism. It is a term that makes it possible to analyze and respond to the processes of extermination taking place in the indigenous territories directly from the territories themselves.

Mapuche-Chilean relationship in the 19th and 20th centuries. How to ensure that the Mapuche nation's autonomy and territorial justice does not remain a discourse and, rather, truly enshrine plurality as a valid form of relations? How to transform the path to a democratic utopia without historical precedent into a genuine collective project? By exploring these issues, Marimán illustrates that horizons depicting a possible change in hegemonic and power relations that would bring about a reconstruction of forms of political, legal, and institutional order have always been interrupted by grim colonial realities, and that multicultural discourse has so far failed to change the relations of hegemony and power, if it has ever sought to do so.

The final words of Marimán's text are imbued with hope stemming from the political conjuncture of 2019 —triggered by the long-standing indignation of both the Mapuche nation and the Chilean people over the neoliberal model—, which in many ways, marked a turning point in the history of Mapuche-Chilean relations and allowed the country to take on a new historical significance. Today, with some hindsight, we can state that the experience of the first year of the government of Gabriel Boric, together with the rejection of the draft new constitution in September 2022, leaves the horizon of a pluralist Chile in the lurch, and the country continues on a path of political strategies and programs of structural adjustment and strengthening of the colonial regime.

Next is a comprehensive chapter by Edgars Martínez entitled “Pu Lavkenche ñi weychan:⁴ accumulation, colonialism, and resistance in Lavkenmapu” (“Pu Lavkenche ñi weychan: acumulación, colonialismo y resistencia en el Lavkenmapu”). On the basis of a materialist understanding of the Mapuche situation in the Chilean social structure, and with regard to capital intrusion, the author consistently and carefully exposes the weaknesses of those positions that tend to interpret the processes of Mapuche resistance and territorial recuperation through *weychan*, as paradoxical acts of indigenous peoples, or as mere practices of reactionary antagonism, to paraphrase the text. The author employs a concept of *colonial matrix of dispossession* to explain why the forms of *weychan*, practiced during the full flowering of Chilean neoliberalism by hundreds of families in the province of Arauco cannot be seen but as a dignified and legitimate action intended to negate and transform the long history of capitalist subjugation and colonial violence that resulted in a climate that undermines the living conditions of Mapuche communities. To illustrate his claim, Martínez then moves to the province of Arauco and introduces the complex events that occurred in the area during the Pope's visit in 2018, when Lov (Mapuche social structure) Peleco sabotaged the head of the Catholic Church's speech, in an attempt to reappropriate property controlled by Catholic institutions. By analyzing this experience alongside the historical processes of colonial subjugation and the Church's legitimizing discourses, Martínez reveals the multiple layers of domination and forms of power that compel the Mapuche people to resist such reality.

4 Translated from Mapudungun, the sentence means “Rebellion of the people of the sea.”

As shown to this point, there are many forms of domination and dispossession that are being exercised to subjugate the Mapuche and to control their territory. In their article “Consolidation and Challenges of the Mapuche Movement” (“Consolidación y retos del movimiento mapuche”), two prominent Mexican scholars, doctor and research professor Carlos Alonso Reynoso and professor emeritus Jorge Alonso, offer a systematic description of these forms. It is clear from their text that Mapuche resistance cannot be seen as an isolated act—a shortcoming of many modern theories dominating the West—but as a complex and legitimate struggle against the annihilating strategies of capitalism. The part of their contribution that should be highlighted is the in-depth description of the violent repression and illegal judicial processes conducted against Mapuche communities on both sides of the Andes for choosing not to leave Patagonia at the mercy of multinational corporations. The tragic events triggered by both states point to the impunity, illegalities and downplaying of Mapuche deaths. The authors also note the trend of increasing violence and criminalization against the communities, seeing the causes in the increase of recuperated lands that do not go along with the plans of the forestry industry.

However, this chapter by Alonso and Alonso Reynoso did not exhaust the issues they wanted to cover. Their second chapter, “The Hunger Strike of the Mapuche Political Prisoners in 2020” (“La huelga de hambre de los presos políticos mapuche en el año 2020”), is devoted, as the title suggests, to a form of resistance where the body is the main tool: the hunger strike. In the words of the authors, “a tool of peaceful social struggle under the extreme conditions used by those at the bottom to defend their rights” (179). The importance of the chapter stands out all the more because, as I write this review, yet another hunger strike by Mapuche political prisoners is underway, as an attempt to stop the continued violation of their rights in prison, as is repeatedly the case under the current allegedly leftist government of Gabriel Boric.

The authors return to the pain that the Mapuche nation has continuously experienced since the military defeat in the 19th century and show that the 21st-century democracies continue their cruelty as they keep reserving the rights to commit crimes by invoking anti-terrorism laws. The text analyses the causes that led prisoners to go on hunger strikes in 2010, 2011 and especially in 2020. The unjust use of the law, the unauthorized prosecution, and the refusal to implement the adopted International Labor Organization Convention 169, which, in brief, is intended to protect indigenous peoples from discrimination and to recognize their right to self-determination within a nation-state, are just some of the many manifestations of the racist, discriminatory behavior of the Chilean state.

The chapter that concludes the volume, “War of Extermination vs. the Zapatista and Mapuche Resistances” (“Guerra de exterminio vs. resistencias zapatista y mapuche”), is the result of the joint work of Xochitl Leyva Solano, founder and member of Red Transnacional Otros Saberes, and Patricia Viera-Bravo, an author with a long-standing focus on indigenous autonomy processes in Latin America. By reflecting on the experiences acquired by both authors over the long years of

accompanying the Zapatista and the Mapuche struggles, they have aimed not to resort to a comparative analysis, but rather to mirror two “emblematic struggles of global importance” (207). In their contribution, they described and analyzed the exploitation and violence faced by communities in Wallmapu and Chiapas in south-east Mexico by interpreting the key characteristics inherent in both struggles in light of history and the present. In addition to reflection on the wartime context in which both nations find themselves, the authors have also brought reflection on the actions and experiences that both communities have gained during the pandemic.

About two and a half years since the publication of the volume (2020) that is the subject of this review, the continuing indigenous resistance faces escalating violence, oppression, discrimination, criminalization and imprisonment,⁵ increasing militarization of their territories often under the pretext of combating internal enemies, strategies that are in fact necessary to advance the extractivist interests of capitalism (Nahuelpan *et al.* 2022). Such political strategies appear to be the only option for a collapsing (as evidenced by growing economic, health, social and especially climate crises), yet still recovering, capitalist system not only in Wallmapu but also in other parts of Abya Yala.⁶

It is against this background of the deepening crisis of global capitalism and the continued oppression of indigenous peoples, that the value of *Rethink the South* stands out. As discussed in this review, the volume offers different perspectives on the *weychan* as a form of indigenous resistance seeking to negate multiple forms of oppression, to protect their territories, to transform the everyday realities of subjugation and colonial violence that prevents the communal reproduction of life and the life itself. By offering historical insights into the relationship between the Argentine and Chilean states and the Mapuche nation, the volume discusses how the neoliberal state has stood in the way of any attempt to transform power and hegemonic relations in order to overcome persistent colonial realities.

Beyond the book’s undoubted contribution regarding the historical content and description of the social realities of Wallmapu in particular and Chiapas to a lesser extent, the volume also offers a number of political concepts and theoretical frameworks that offer a possible analytical key to understanding the struggles described. And it is because of this that the volume also stands out for its emancipatory potential. Indeed, it provides resources that could serve as a solid foundation for the emancipation of the territories themselves from the multilayered and persistent historical oppression, which, as stated in the preface, was one of the intentions of the authors themselves, and thus for the much-needed recognition of indigenous peoples’ rights and their legitimate demands.

5 Members of the Mapuche nation are imprisoned on both sides of the Andean cordillera (“Héctor Llaitul...” 2022; Guerrero 2022). For a general overview, see, for example, Arellano and Sierra Praelien (2022).

6 Just to briefly underline at least some of the recent events, we must mention the current situation in Peru (Durand 2023; Fuentes 2023); Bolivia, which at the turn of the year 2023 faced strong manifestations of racism and hatred, especially in La Paz and Santa Cruz (Katz 2023); the 2021 uprisings in Colombia and 2022 in Ecuador (Hidalgo 2022); or the horrific situation in Amazonia (Romo and Alvitres 2022).

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