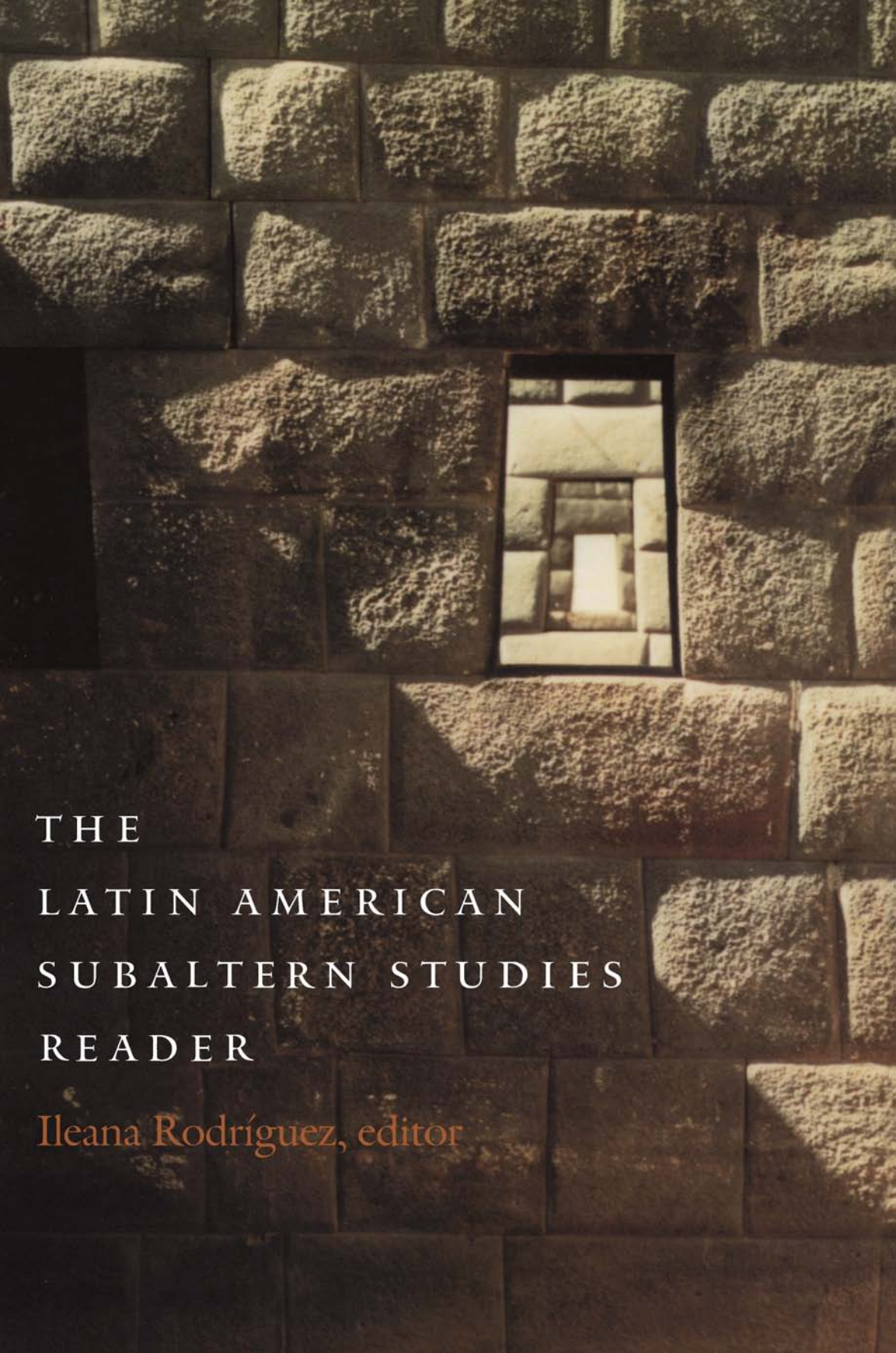

THE LATIN AMERICAN SUBALTERN STUDIES READER

Ileana Rodríguez, editor

The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader

A book in the series

Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations

Series editors

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The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader

Edited by Ileana Rodríguez

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To María Milagros López

(1950–1997)

In memory

Everything has to do with everything else

I lament the demise of my friend and colleague María Milagros López. Raised in Puerto Rico and educated in France, she had the grace of transforming everyday life occurrences and funny ready-made phrases into serious theoretical questions. I miss her sharpness of mind and her sense of pleasure and wit.

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Acknowledgments

This book was going to be edited by María Milagros López and myself. This book was going to be our book. One of the policies of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group was that of joining the efforts of social scientists to those of cultural critics. Milli, as we called her, organized the third Subalternist meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in 1994 where some of the papers included in this volume were presented. Sometime after the meeting Milli and I began reading the papers and exchanging ideas. I remember one of her comments particularly. Milli was adamantly opposed to the category of alienation. She thought that was the quintessential way of academicians to look down on the "poor." She also disliked "negation" and "revolution" for reasons she never made explicit to me. She wanted us to read the work of Antonio Negri. These were some of the exchanges we had over the phone.

From her work in this volume, we can gather the directions Milli was moving toward. She was working with very interesting concepts such as the "post-work" society, and the sense of history of marginal people. They had a pressing sense of present and very little sense of future. She certainly was moving in the direction of pleasure. In this, she was our link to other ways of looking at the field, to other colleagues. We were still much centered on pain. But pleasure is one of the fundamental tools that subalterns use to contest hegemony.

Unfortunately, our dialogue was interrupted around 1996 and totally severed with her death in 1997. She did not have time to see all the articles in this volume. I will forever miss her valuable input, but most of all, I missed her company during this journey. Milli's spirit, sense of humor, common sense, and solidarity were with me during these years of waiting. With her collaboration, this introduction would have been substantially richer.

I want to thank Robert Carr, Patricia Seed, Anupama Mande, Derek Petrey, and John Beverley for helping me with the rewrite of this introduction in English. John Beverley, however, did the final and most severe editing. All of them were very generous with their time, and without their editorial correc-

tions this manuscript would have never seen the light of day. I am also indebted to the readers of the volume who examined the manuscript very meticulously. Their thorough reading of the text and their insistence on having all the pertinent corrections made is fundamental to the intellectual success of this production. My editor, Reynolds Smith, has always been very supportive of our work. It was his faith in the manuscript and his patience in dealing with the particularities of intellectuals that ultimately allowed this text to come out in print. We all cherish the support he gives us and are grateful for his formidable friendship and sound advice. Finally, I am grateful to the contributors to this volume who endured the long delay in its production. In this they showed their commitment to Latin American subaltern studies. To me this proves that the source of our strength lies in our collective effort.

About the Series

Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations is a critical series. It aims to explore the emergence and consequences of concepts used to define "Latin America" while at the same time exploring the broad interplay of political, economic, and cultural practices that have shaped Latin American worlds. Latin America, at the crossroads of competing imperial designs and local responses, has been construed as a geocultural and geopolitical entity since the nineteenth century. This series provides a starting point to redefine Latin America as a configuration of political, linguistic, cultural, and economic intersections that demand a continuous reappraisal of the role of the Americas in history, and of the ongoing process of globalization and the relocation of people and cultures that have characterized Latin America's experience. *Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations* is a forum that confronts established geocultural constructions, that rethinks area studies and disciplinary boundaries, that assesses convictions of the academy and of public policy, and that, correspondingly, demands that the practices through which we produce knowledge and understanding about and from Latin America be subject to rigorous and critical scrutiny.

The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader, edited by Ileana Rodríguez, collects several significant papers emerging from almost ten years of work and debates generated by the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group. This volume brings a new perspective to intellectual and political work that indirectly refashions area studies as well as cultural studies paradigms. It also introduces new problems within the agenda shaped in the past thirty-five years by the Latin American Studies Association.

The volume is at the same time a landmark in the intellectual and institutional relations between North and South, a signal invitation to think Latin American Otherwise and to imagine different possible futures. Within our series, *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader* introduces a theoretical

dimension that we hope to pursue. At the very moment at which global reorganization is forcing regional reordering (NAFTA, MERCOSUR), and that thirty-three million "Hispanics" live in the United States, the necessity of imagining and theorizing Latin American Otherwise is more than a scholarly imperative. It is mainly an intellectual, ethical, and political necessity.

Reading Subalterns Across Texts, Disciplines, and Theories: From Representation to Recognition

ILEANA RODRÍGUEZ

Numerous voices, deriving specially from the liberal-conservative camp, have insistently argued that Western societies face a crisis of governability and the threat of dissolution at the hands of the egalitarian danger. — Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*

In the wake of the Sandinistas' defeat in the 1990 elections in Nicaragua, a small group of friends and colleagues who despaired over world politics, as well as the politics of public and academic institutions at a moment of changing paradigms, met in Washington, D.C. We were originally a group of five: John Beverley, Robert Carr, José Rabasa, Javier Sanjinés, and myself. With the assistance of Tom Moylan, we held our first meeting at George Mason University. We had met Tom at meetings of Fredric Jameson's long-lasting and fruitful Marxist Literary Group, which was so decisive for our generation. Gayatri Spivak, John Beverley, and I had also belonged to that group. To our first meeting we also invited anthropologists Carol Smith and Roger Lancaster; historians Patricia Seed and Charles Bergquist; Norma Alarcón, Lauro Flores, and Clara Lomas from Latino studies; Julio Ramos; and then-graduate students José Mazzoty and Robert Cohn, who were finishing requirements for doctorates in literature at Princeton. The rest of us were also in literature. What brought us together was a shared intuition that the project launched by the South Asian Subaltern Studies Collective in the 1980s was somehow relevant to our work as Latin Americanists. (Lack of institutional resources prevented us from inviting people from Latin America.)

On the model of the South Asian Collective we decided to be a decentralized and democratic collective with an academic project that would continue the legacy of politically committed scholarship. To this day we stand by our original commitment. All of the founding members of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group had been involved with the Left in the sixties, so we were used to participating in small study groups to discuss marxism, depen-

dency theory, ethnicity, and feminism. In the sixties the world seemed to be on the verge of revolution, and as students, our struggle was for the inclusion of marxist studies in university curricula. Specifically, we were determined to link literature to politics.

In the sixties there was nothing in the curriculum that could meet our intellectual and political needs. John Beverley and I had done our graduate studies at the University of California, San Diego, whose faculty included Fredric Jameson, Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Herbert Marcuse, and the late Joseph Sommers. Both John and I worked closely with Jameson, and we joined him in founding the Marxist Literary Group (MLG) in the mid-seventies; John was co-coordinator of the MLG for some years. I took a position at the University of Minnesota in 1974, where some years later, stimulated by the spirit of California, the Institute of Ideologies and Literature (II&L) was founded through the efforts of Hernán Vidal and Antonio Zahareas. The work of the institute provided an enormous and decisive impetus to what, for lack of a better name, we can call in retrospect marxist studies of Latin American culture. The institute's project became one of the most structured attempts at linking politics, culture, and literature. At the institute's symposia we had the opportunity to gain firsthand knowledge of the work of Francoise Perus, Jean Franco, Jaime Concha, Roberto Marquez, Clara Lida, Iris Zavala, Alejandro Losada, and Osvaldo Zunkel. We also met scholars working in institutions such as FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales) and CEPAL (Centro de Estudios para América Latina). Javier Sanjinés was a graduate student at Minnesota during the institute's heyday. I would say that, professionally, the MLG and the II&L were sister structures that formed three of the founders of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group. The MLG was ad hoc and voluntary, organized and sustained by the prestige and dedication of Jameson; the II&L was affiliated with the University of Minnesota and was organized and sustained by the prestige and dedication of Vidal and Zahareas. José Rabasa came out of the History of Consciousness program at the University of California, Santa Cruz, which was a continuation of similar efforts in the areas of transdisciplinary and multicultural studies. Sanjinés, Rabasa, and I were all at the University of Maryland in 1991–1992. One of Rabasa's students was Robert Carr, who was working toward a Ph.D. in English. Our past struggles with academia can explain why we were attracted to the work of the South Asian group and established with them a kind of unmediated recognition and spiritual affinity. It was what Ranajit Guha calls "a convergence of times" that enabled us to establish a bond with them. Our past had also been one of situated knowledges and participation in the praxis of theory. We started to adamantly oppose the traditional categories of our own academic

practices and expressed our discontent with the pervasive role of "statism," both liberal and leftist.

But there is more to it than this. In the nineties, we perceived in the South Asian group a new kind of social sensibility that, coupled with a theoretical stubbornness and a spirit of academic militancy, was very much in agreement with what we called a "new humanism." By "new humanism" we meant a postrevolutionary sympathy with the struggles of the poor at a time when the collapse of socialism had made that posture very unpopular. Many around us had already realigned themselves with the winners. That is why we agree with the views of Florencia Mallon in her article "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," in which she reviews the state of the profession and discusses how major narratives came undone. We also agree with her claim that this undoing triggered a political and intellectual crisis that made us post-marxist intellectuals doubt "a belief in progress and modernity, a commitment to revolution as forward-looking, linear, developmentalist transformation" (1492).[1]

The Latin American Subaltern Studies Group saw subaltern studies as what Spivak calls "a strategy for our times," with two essential postulates. One was to continue placing our faith in the projects of the poor. The other was to find ways of producing scholarship to demonstrate that in the failure to recognize the poor as active social, political, and heuristic agents reside the limits and thresholds of our present hermeneutical and political condition. Like the South Asian Collective, we were also dissatisfied with the realization that the poor had not been recorded in a history of their own, but rather had been subsumed in a narrative which was not exactly their own. Ethnic studies in the United States would label such recording and writing as racist discourses. The ventriloquized nature of the representation of the subaltern (spoken for and spoken about, as Spivak has pointed out) in narratives of the state is particularly and unfortunately pervasive not only in liberal nationalist projects but also in those organized in the name of socialism. In socialist projects the ideology of modernization, the lack of ethnic and feminist criticism and awareness, or even simple sensibleness resulted in postponing people's pressing agendas and contributed to the fragmentation of movements, as well as the defeat of revolutions and revolutionary states. The realization of this absence or neglect was in a way the basis for Antonio Gramsci's analysis of Italy in terms of South and North, of peasants and workers, and the idea of the "passive revolution," which made Italy "not-France" (that is, the noncoincidence of people and [formal] nation in the project of the Italian Risorgimento). Current studies of modernism and modernization in Latin America will state that Latin America is not-Europe. While the South Asian Subaltern

Collective was criticizing the postcolonial liberal state and the nationalist independence and anticolonialist movements from the Left, we were criticizing leftist states and party organizations for their liberalism. It was the same question attacked from pre- and postrevolutionary fronts.

Florencia Mallon, observing the tension in the work of subaltern studies, claims that we are trying to ride the "four horses of the apocalypse"—namely, Derrida and Foucault to underscore technique and genealogy, and Gramsci and Guha to highlight subaltern consciousness and agency. She says, quoting David Hardiman, that "one road leads towards greater concentration on textual analysis and a stress on the relativity of all knowledge; another, towards the study of subaltern consciousness and action so as to forward the struggle for a socialist society" (1498). The point is of considerable importance for the positioning of the South-South, North-North, or South-North debates. Indeed, elucidation of this tension appears to be a major point of her article. Have we, as she argues, reduced subaltern studies "to half of its complexity: the methods and techniques of postmodernism" (1504)? In other words, has our political project been buried beneath our postmodern vocabulary? Are we really capable of "marshalling semiotics and postmodern techniques for emancipatory purposes" (1498)? Can we combine "the politically positive, liberating potential of subaltern histories" (1498) with poststructuralism and deconstruction? Are we capable of maintaining "the irresolvable tension . . . between technique and political commitment, between a more narrowly postmodern literary interest in documents as 'constructed texts' and the historian's disciplinary interest in reading documents as 'windows,' however foggy and imperfect, on people's lives" (1506)? That is what, for Mallon, is at the center of subaltern studies.

The intervention into the historiographical debate by the South Asian Subaltern Studies Collective was triggered by tensions generated within South Asian marxism and leftist parties and organizations. They were unable to account for the realities of an anticolonialist nationalism that had betrayed the masses. Our context has been that of a marxist tradition that was being called into question not only by the collapse of socialist societies but by the unresolved questions raised by the indigenous people and women within the anti-imperialist movements and left-leaning nationalist revolutions. Were we all, in effect, rethinking the nature of popular front politics? Is it possible that for each alliance there is a corresponding betrayal? In other words, both South Asian and Latin American subaltern studies were cases of criticism from the Left undertaken at different moments of our modern and postmodern histories. The fact that some of us in the Latin American group, like some in the South Asian group, have had direct experience with nationalist political practices and also with the academies of the West is yet another point of con-

vergence that very few critics have mentioned. A key point of the subalternist intervention has been to stress the "politics of location," which now means the relations between North-South and South-South. The convergence of Latin American and South Asian subaltern studies is a case of South-South dialogue, but paradoxically it passes through the North.

Of the members of the Latin American group, Robert Carr, Michael Clark, and I had firsthand experience with governments that attempted to be popular and democratic: Michael Manley's government in Jamaica, and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. We all had lived the paradoxes of a politics that demanded a rethinking of theory. Javier Sanjinés defines himself not as an observer, but as an active scholar who has been engaged with questions of politics and representation in Bolivia in the wake of the deterioration of its "national" revolution of 1954. John Beverley had been involved in other types of struggles: in the antiwar movement and New Left in the United States, in Central American solidarity groups, and most recently, in academic politics regarding the content, form, and philosophy of cultural studies. José Rabasa participated in the independent *grillas* (political groups) fighting for the future of the university in Mexico City and the provinces. Patricia Seed also has a history of student activism in Mexico. María Milagros López was involved in the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican women's movement. We all were already immersed in the debate over the legacy of the Amerindian and African American populations, and were moving into the hard task of disciplinary and institutional criticism. Most of us had been marxist and were coming from marxist formations. Although we were primarily based in the United States, none of us were happy with what Coco Fusco and bell hooks call the "triumphant multiculturalism" that spoke little to "the decentralization of wealth and the democratization of political power" (2).[2]

The concept of the subaltern itself marks the insufficiencies of, and dissatisfactions with, the concept of class. Class is what Laclau and Mouffe refer to as the "determination in the last instance," the straw that breaks the camel's back. It has been well established that within the realities of peripheral modernities, the concept of class cannot override the categories of ethnicity and gender. The question of ethnicity is very similar to the sense of the subaltern within the South Asian Subaltern Studies Collective. The tension within political movements that mobilize around the notion of class while simultaneously subordinating ethnic and gender agendas creates a theoretical faultline for a revolutionary theory based on emancipation. It begs the question of who belongs and who does not belong to which class. Our question concerns the necessity of redefining the concept of oppression to make it more comprehensive. "Subalternity" seemed a more all-encompassing term than "class" in expressing the fullness of the disenfranchised community. It also seemed a more politicized

concept than the sanitized concept of difference promoted by U.S.-style multiculturalism. At this theoretical juncture, our choice as intellectuals was to make a declaration either in support of statism (the nation-state and party politics) or on behalf of the subaltern. We chose the subaltern.

The Latin American Subaltern Studies project involved a radical critique of culture as such and also of its forming, informing, and deforming disciplines in relation to representations of the subaltern. Regarding the relationship between methodologies and politics—the two pairs of horses to which Mallon refers, with Derrida and Foucault on the methodological side and Gramsci and Guha on the political—the question is not one of privileging the political over the cultural but precisely the opposite: of demonstrating the impossibility of disengaging one form of representation from the other. In a critique of postcolonial reason, Spivak sharply demonstrates the limitations of deconstructive technique when it lacks awareness of situational politics. If we take this question seriously and rephrase it, what it entails is the relationship between postmodern, postcolonial, and cultural and subaltern studies. If Gramsci is invoked at this point, it is because his work marks the moment of the slippage of culture and "the history of the subaltern classes" into politics. In turn, this slippage, which results in the blurring of the borders of disciplines, accounts for the appeal of subaltern studies to those engaged in academic politics.

The South Asian project was intended to dismantle the colonial reason permeating all academic fields in order to restore subalterns to their condition as plural, decentered subjects on which the archive of state citizenship and governability was constructed. Subalterns were something alien, different, and preexistent to the Western world, forming a heterogeneous and elusive "civil society." The work of the South Asian group reinforces the possibility of a "history from below" that hears the voices of the oppressed and sees its central task as listening to their concerns. But under colonialism, or in the postcolonial world (and despite the century and a half of independent life that distinguishes most, but not all, Latin American countries from India, Latin America is still, we believe, postcolonial), history from below, is somewhat different from that proposed by E. P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm. Knowledge of the colonial subject must take notice first and foremost of colonialism. History from below must be able to register all the diverse and continually changing strategies and to master epistemologies of colonialism in the forms of positivism, modernism, racism, as well as to explain, as Laclau and Mouffe advise, the difference between people and the people. The significance of subaltern studies cannot be limited to its contribution to research methods; its uniqueness lies in its philosophical approach as an inflexion that tries to discern how the world looks when stood on its head.

The Latin American Subaltern Studies Group has had three stages. The foundational moment occurred when the group attended the first meeting at George Mason University, which constituted the historical core. A second stage at Ohio State brought Walter Mignolo, María Milagros López, and Michael Clark to the group. The third stage was formed by the affiliation of new members with the group in Puerto Rico: Alberto Moreiras, John Kraniauskas, Gareth Williams, Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, Abdul Mustafa, Fernando Coronil, Marsh Stephenson, and Sara Castro-Klarén. The Ohio State group introduced the discussion of postcolonialism and insisted in revising issues pertaining to "the determination in the last instance," urging us to move away from theories of alienation and into the living cultures of the quotidian.

The Latin American Subaltern Group has been the object of criticism. One of these criticisms claims that by taking the idea of subaltern studies into the Latin American field, we were disregarding the specificities of Latin America itself. But, as we all know, Latin American studies has always borrowed from European and U.S. theory, and not so long ago was heavily invested not only in following but even in elevating French theory to canonical status. Given, too, almost a century of heavy borrowing from marxism, it was strange, to say the least, to be rejected on the basis of borrowing from the South Asian subalternists. In another version of the same criticism, the tag "traveling theory" was used to mean pan-Americanism, or domination of the Latin American field from North American academic centers. It was implied that we were imperialist because we were trying to impose models from other realities on Latin America. Here, the new normative regulations for knowledge production and the weakening of Latin American academic institutions under the pressure of neoliberal reforms play a fundamental role. To hold a self-subsistent academic collective responsible for a trend that had been restructuring education on a global scale was to totally miss the point. On the basis of these and similar misunderstandings, the idea of the dialogue between North and South was discarded, discredited, and chastised. The idea of a South-South dialogue was proposed in its stead. Thus, in the first Spanish translation of the work of the South Asian group, edited by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui and Rossana Barragán, *Debates post coloniales: Una introducción a los estudios de la subalternidad* (1997), the editors state that "against the grain of the multidisciplinary postulates of the Indian Group, the North American debate seems only to follow disciplinary lines: from history the theoretical pretensions of literary and cultural studies are criticized. These are the traits of an invisible localization, which the Northern mediation can induce, in the South-South historiographical debates, empowering their theoretical and methodological horizon" (14).[3]

Aside from expressing a desire to discuss the works in Spanish, the views of Rivera and Barragán (to whom I am particularly grateful for including marx-

ism as "one of our traditions" [16]) and our own readings seem to coincide along major lines. For example, the argument that "the works of the [South Asian] group attempt to dismantle that type of enlightened and colonial reason by the simple fact that they attempt to restore to the subaltern (groups, classes) their conditions as plural and decentralized subjects" (11) is also applicable to our work. We also view the subaltern as a heterogeneous and pre-Western subject. Nevertheless, instead of pointing out similarities between the work of the South Asian and Latin American groups, Rivera and Barragán refer to Florencia Mallon's criticism of the "literary character" of the work of the latter. They also express their impatience with what they characterize as North American agendas involved in our project. Hugo Achugar argues that the geographic location of the intellectual influences the meaning, concepts, and interpretation of the text.[4] The perspectives of postcolonialism and subaltern studies are located in the North American academy, or the "new theoretical Commonwealth." Achugar claims that the "terms of the discussion about postcolonialism as well as Subalternity do not have the same meanings" when they are generated "from or in Uruguay or the Rio de la Plata region and even southern Brazil." To use these terms within Latin American fields without paying attention to their specific meanings in local realities is what Achugar means by "the new Pan-Americanist agendas" (386). He concludes that "it is misleading to characterize the Americas following the wars of independence as postcolonial. In short, the Americas were neither Asia nor Africa. Mexico is not India. Peru is not Indonesia. And Latinos in the U.S., although tragically opposed by an exclusionary will, are not Algerians" (385). The claim is echoed by Mabel Moraña, who argues that the "boom of the subaltern" is linked to a market where that notion affirms itself as an ideological trademark of a product incorporated through diverse strategies of promotion for globalized cultural consumption (52).[5]

There are real points of contention we can identify in this type of criticism. The most important concerns our own positionalities as intellectuals. Achugar and Moraña are, like us, located on both sides of the North-South continental divide. They may claim to speak for Latin America, but that claim is rhetorical. Let me partially respond to their geopolitical perplexities with Ranajit Guha's words on the local. In his article in this volume, Guha explains that as knowledgeable as he is of the vast diversity of regional or local materials, his project never claimed a universal validity. He also disclaims comparisons by analogy that are reduced to "a touch of resemblance there and a suggestion of parallelism in yet another respect to produce at best what Wittgenstein has called the 'experience of comparison.'" But he believes there is another kind of comparison that "combines with reflection and abstraction to generate concepts in

the process of understanding," which thinks its way through to the ground which is "nothing other than an overarching temporality subsuming local times." It is that temporality, and its connection to the problem of governability, that is the central ground of "convergence."

As Latin Americanists, we cannot be oblivious to the work of scholars in Latin America and other parts of the world who offer radical critiques of Enlightenment and of orthodox marxist paradigms. Jesús Martín Barbero, Nelly Richard, Ernesto Laclau, Néstor García Canclini, Renato Ortiz, Silvia Rivera, Josefina Ludmer, and George Yúdice, among others, have highlighted the pervasive influence and limits of European and North American theoretical paradigms in research. Clearly, their contributions must be acknowledged. Their work has, indeed, enabled us to mark the distinction between an emerging discourse of what might be called Latin American cultural studies and subaltern studies.[6]

Subaltern studies is not, as it has been wrongly presumed, a study of subalterns. Much less is it, as Mabel Moraña has claimed, a "theoretical trafficking which attempts to totalize the Latin American hybrid empirical facts with universalizing and leveling concepts and principles" (2). Latin American subaltern studies aims to be a radical critique of elite cultures, of liberal, bourgeois, and modern epistemologies and projects, and of their different propositions regarding representation of the subaltern. Subaltern studies are postmodern and postrevolutionary attempts to understand the limits of previous hermeneutics by challenging culture to think of itself from the point of view of its own negations. Another goal is to recognize that in the history and culture of "societies' Others" we can find, paradoxically, new ways of approaching some of the riddles created by the incapacity of bourgeois culture to think about its own conditions of discursive production. Subaltern studies positions itself as a radical critique predicated on cross-, trans-, and multidisciplinarity, as well as on a commitment to comparative studies between different post-(neo)colonial situations, in an effort "to provincialize Europe," as Dipesh Chakrabarty puts it.[7]

In "Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography," Guha defines the conditions of radical criticism as follows: "To commit a discourse to speak from within a given consciousness is to disarm it insofar as its critical faculty is made inoperative thereby with regard to that particular consciousness. For no criticism can be fully activated unless its object is distanced from its agency. Since the paradoxes characteristic of the political culture of colonialism testify to the failure of the bourgeoisie to acknowledge itself the structural limitations of bourgeois dominance, it is hardly surprising that the liberal historical discourse too should be blind to those paradoxes" (216).[8] Guha locates this idea

at the intersection of politics and culture within post(neo)colonial nations to underscore the lack of critical distance between the indigenous elite intellectual and the ruling class. The condition, however, for a radical critique from the point of view of the subaltern is not only to speak from a variety of subject positions, but also to speak in reverse or against the grain—to take into consideration the principle that "no discourse can oppose a genuinely uncompromising critique to a ruling culture so long as its ideological parameters are the same as those of that very culture" (220). Thus, the paradox of knowledge is that one has to learn to think from its own negation, "from outside the universe of dominance which provides the critique with its object" (220). One has to think within the context of an ideology that "is antagonistic towards the dominant culture and declares war on the latter even before the class for which it speaks comes to rule" (221).

Before we move on to the nexus between hegemony and domination, we must turn to the thorny question of the intellectual's role in the constitution of subalterns. In the restatement of "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason,* Spivak takes the poststructuralist scrutiny of the sovereign subject to task.[9] For Spivak, it is impossible to separate the agent from its object. Her point of departure is the positionality of the speaking subject as intellectual alongside a critique of a "concealed Subject" of the West that has pretended to have "no geo-political determinations" (272), however much it may have been narrativized by law, political economy, and ideology. I will highlight three points in her argument in order to explain the paradoxical representation of a problematized Western subject in relation to a Third World subject, and of intellectuals in relation to subalterns. First, Spivak reintroduces the mediation of ideology in the Althusserian sense; second, she distinguishes between representation (*Vertreten* [—as proxy]) and re-presentation (*Darstellen* [—a portrait]); third, she differentiates between descriptive and transformative class consciousness. Keeping the mediation of ideology as part of the analysis allows her to reintroduce "constitutive contradiction" and positionality as a means to reinscribe politics into culture, and to "admit that a developed theory of ideology recognizes its own material production in institutionality" (274). It follows that the condition for a criticism of the subject must include both the complicity of the intellectual and the state, and the intellectual's role in reproducing the international division of labor. The "best prophets of heterogeneity and the Other" (272), Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, proposed to unveil the concreteness of the oppressed subject, which led to their desire to decenter the sovereign subject and propose a theory of pluralized "subject-effects." But this proposition fails because, although it provided the illusion of undermining the sovereign subject (S), it also furnishes a

cover that masks this subject (s) of knowledge—that is, their own position of "centrality" and privilege in "allowing" the subaltern to speak.

The difficulty of producing counterhegemonic ideologies leads Spivak to distinguish between representation as "speaking for" ("within the state and political economy") as opposed to representation as "speaking about." One might describe her position thus: that theories of representation offer the only means of making a radical critique of a theory which, under the pretext of valorizing "the oppressed as subject . . . 'to establish conditions where the prisoners themselves would be able to speak,'" argues that the masses can speak for themselves because they "*know* perfectly well . . . [that] they know far better than [the intellectual] and they certainly say [what they want] very well" (274). For Spivak, this is tantamount to allowing the signifiers to "look after themselves" (275) and to sever "theory's link to the signifier" (275)—in other words, to efface the relationship between the intellectual and the state, and excuse culture from its participation in politics. To underscore the difficulties of producing a counterhegemonic discourse and to show that the historical machine moves in a dislocated way, Spivak makes the distinction between a descriptive and a transformative class consciousness. Class consciousness is not individual; it is a feeling of community—of the nation, the public arena, the collectivity, the party.[10]

In "Discipline and Mobilize," Guha studies the relationship between the metropolitan imperialist powers and the new nationalist insurgent movements. He uses the distinction between hegemony and domination to introduce the question of a national popular democratic subject as subaltern to show how its political practice constituted itself into a radical critique of elite nationalism. He defines imperialism as the subjugation of one nation by another based on the universal values of reason. He defines nationalism as the ideology of indigenous ruling groups in their struggle for hegemony and their attempt to establish a state that protects their economic, cultural, and political interests. He defines hegemony as rule by consent.[11] For Guha, the critique of elite liberal nationalism lies within postcolonial politics, parties, movements, social projects, and common popular fronts. Dominance is predicated on the double articulation of two types of governance: one by the British and the other by Indians. "Double articulation" is what inexorably ties the politics of the local (national) to the global (international, colonial, imperial). Thus hegemony and domination present themselves as an adjustment to the dysfunctional evolutionary, totalizing, and lineal paradigm of modernity. Because of the constitution of an elite (oligarchic) nation, liberation demands a double disarticulation: one from the colonial power and another from the masses. The question is, does the logic of dominance and hegemony work in tandem

with the logic of imperialism (colonialism) and nationalism, and does it explain the relation between classes and subalterns? Guha's criticism of nationalism is that it erases the distinction between hegemony and domination, and focuses on mobilization while still representing domination with the vocabulary of premodern traditions.

Whereas for Guha the notion of hegemony brings up the schooling of the indigenous by the alien, for Laclau and Mouffe it explains the differences between two historical articulations that call into question what is necessary and what is contingent to theory. From the very outset, the logic of hegemony presents itself "as a complementary and contingent operation, required for conjunctural imbalances within an evolutionary paradigm whose essential or 'morphological' validity was not for a moment placed in question" (3). Hegemony, which begins by explaining a disjuncture, ends by becoming a radical critique that reformulates the theory of universal reason and "determination in the last instance." In other words, it constitutes the radical critique of the marxist idea of underlying morphologies of history, of "intelligible totalities constituted around conceptually explicable laws" (3). To formulate new conceptions of politics, we must grasp the logic of this double articulation of power and theory—Guha's within the politics of nationalism, and Laclau and Mouffe's within the politics of internationalism. But there is more to it than this. Once the "determination in the last instance" has been removed, the subject of history is pluralized. The fragmented and disaggragated social groups (the masses, the multitude) will come to constitute the subaltern. The term "subaltern" is employed not because the critical intellectual wants to subalternize the masses, but because s/he wants to point out how in the logic of hegemony and domination, the popular-democratic project becomes subordinated.

How do these questions relate to Latin America subaltern studies? In theory, hegemony is a conceptual device that permits a reading of the national question in transnational terms. In Latin American studies, Julio Ramos calls this disjuncture *desencuentros* with modernity; Beatriz Sarlo, "peripheral modernities"; Roberto Schwartz, "ideas out of place."[12] All of these terms are foreshadowed by Andre Gunder Frank's theories of under- or uneven development.[13] In keeping with the argument of Latin American critics of modernism, Guha questions the "universal" character of bourgeois and socialist theories and categories and highlights the particular. If in India the elite renders the European Enlightenment opaque, in Russia workers' strikes render classical marxist theories of social organization inoperative. This reading of European Enlightenment is very much in agreement with that of Néstor García Canclini. For him, modernity in Europe is the transnationalization of the emancipatory

spirit of the Enlightenment. In contrast, in Latin America modernity, the economic strategy adopted by the liberal elites (oligarchies) was to constitute themselves and their nation "by taking care of the intersection of different historical temporalities and trying to elaborate a global project with them" (46).[14] In India, the liberal elite paradoxically used the authorized language of premodern traditions to effect its transition to modernity and thus dimmed "the luminosity of the so-called . . . Renaissance to considerable extent" (17). The liberal elite "makes one wonder whether Indian liberalism, thanks to the rather peculiar condition of its development within colonial power relations, did not indeed belong to an ideological and cultural category altogether distinct from its Western prototype" (16). Laclau and Mouffe's radical critique of marxist epistemologies centers equally on representation of the subalternized masses, whose dislocated position in economic and philosophical theory traces what Spivak calls "the archaeology of silence" (7).[15] This dislocation illustrates for them the transition from the Second to the Third International, from trade unionism to revolution, from classes to masses, and from economic necessity to the politics of contingency and popular fronts.

Guha observes that what is new in (postmodern) studies of peasant insurrections is how theorists connect them not to the nation-state but to colonialism; how they take subaltern agency as a subject of its own history and not the history of something transcendental; how they make evident that subaltern agency becomes a matter of the security of the state; how they link that to the production of history, mainly to the history of bureaucracy; and finally, how they negate the character of spontaneity attributed to it and thus revise accepted notions about peasant consciousness, knowledge, and political organization.[16] The act of recognizing subaltern consciousness moves insurrection away from the terrain of criminality into the political. Guha's debate with Hobsbawm over the rebel as bandit and the bandit as a prepolitical consciousness dovetails with the Communist Party's criticism of peasant insurgencies as spontaneous and disorganized acts.

In resituating the subaltern at the center of his/her own struggle, Guha debunks several mediations simultaneously—those of the intellectual, the party, and the disciplines—calling into question the very concept of the pre- or subpolitical. To this end, he highlights how the subaltern, by altering the logic of order and the syntax of domination and governance, has the power to turn the world upside down. Popular movements must not be "one hundred percent conscious . . . [and] governed by plans worked out in advance to the last detail or in line with abstract theory" (4). Of the many peasant insurrections discussed in his work "there is none that could be said to have been altogether leaderless. Almost each had some sort of central leadership . . . although in no

instance was it fully in control of the many local initiatives originating with grassroots leaders whose authority was as fragmented as their standing short in duration. One is dealing here with a phenomenon that was nothing like a modern party leadership but could perhaps be best described, in Gramsci's words, as 'multiple elements of "conscious leadership" . . . no one of them . . . predominant' " (10).

Although Guha continues using words such as feudalism and peasantry, he is using them already within a different space, on the threshold, so to speak, of postmodernity, in the sense Néstor García Canclini gives to this term: "not as a stage or tendency that replaces the modern world, but rather . . . a way of problematizing the equivocal links that the latter has formed with the traditions it tried to exclude or overcome in constituting itself" (9). One way to understand subaltern history is to think of ungovernability as insurrection, disobedience, or indiscipline. Insurrection implies that the subaltern is negating his/her own negation within the established order, inviting punishment through his/her counternegation. The insurgent can lose everything, from his/her sense of self to his/her own body; therefore, rebellions must first pass through the filter of consciousness.

Politically, the disarticulation of elite and subaltern within national insurrections is labeled "mobocracy" or "spontaneism." In India, the Mahatma, who "shared with the colonialists a prejudice common to all elites in regarding any mobilization of the masses on their own initiative as indiscipline" (37), used "mobocracy" to describe the "uncouth, unruly, unheeding to all advice" (35) behavior of the crowds. Discipline—which is the beginning of coercion and authoritarian hegemony (domination)—is the way of regulating, harnessing, instructing, or excising obedience from the people; it is the beginning of subordination. Gandhi, who did not want to "conquer undiscipline by force" (37), believed it is important to "harness" and appropriate the politics of the people

> to a nationalism which would allow the bourgeoisie to speak for its own interest in such a way as to generate the illusion of speaking for all of society. To regulate what defied control, to discipline the undisciplined was to subject it to a critique. The undiscipline Gandhi complained of would seem to amount to a particular style of popular mobilization. . . .
>
> By denouncing such mobilization as "habitual undiscipline" Gandhi was simply owning up to his failure to make the traditional forms of mass mobilization compatible with the new forms which were evolving at the time within the nationalist movement . . . [and that] would resist assimilation to the other domain so long as its immediacy remained intact. (38, 39)[17]

Citizenship and Ungovernability: Latin American Subaltern Studies

If you want your children to become communists, send them to study in a capitalist country.
—a popular saying

The purpose of this volume is to examine the relationship between citizenship and governability through a critical study of dominant cultures and ideologies. In Guha's essay for this volume, I want to highlight his criticism of reason and "its function as a paradox," which "arises out of an iron necessity for reason to have its universalistic drive curbed by history," when "the notion of progress itself comes under question." Guha also considers the "three salient aspects of modernity's intersection with colonialism" that render visible the convergence of temporalities of the South Asian and Latin American fields. These aspects simultaneously illustrate that "since the Enlightenment, in every serious contest with a critique that has belonged to its own time, it is the claims of pure reason that have taken a beating." Guha's three salient aspects are "firstly, that the phenomenon of post-Enlightenment colonialism is constitutive of and presupposed in modernity even if it is not always explicitly acknowledged to be so; second, that postmodernism as a critique can never be adequate to itself unless it takes colonialism into account as a historic barrier that reason can never cross; and third, that the colonial experience has outlived decolonization and continues to be related significantly to the concerns of our own time."

John Beverley's essay, "The Im/possibility of Politics" examines the difference between cultural and subaltern studies. His thesis is that this difference expresses the tension between culture and politics. From the beginning, Beverley recognizes that subaltern representation is very problematic in the context of neoliberalism, and that neither liberal nor leftist nationalisms take into account what Dipesh Chakrabarty calls "radical heterogeneity." Of the three definitions of the subaltern that Beverley revises (Gramsci's, Spivak's, and Guha's), Guha's definition seems to be the only one to open the possibility of representation, simply because it allows construction of the subaltern within the parameters of popular-front politics. Although Beverley believes that both subaltern and cultural studies recognize the limits of the nation-state and converge in thinking of the popular as mass culture, they split in the theoretical and political relevance they assign to consumption.

Beverley believes that cultural studies tends to perpetuate "unconsciously the modernist aesthetic ideology it supposedly displaces by transferring the formalist program of dehabitualization of perception from the sphere of high culture to the forms of mass culture." In recognizing the multiple logics in civil

society and in privileging one of its loci—that of a community of consumers (Canclini) separated from national or territorial referents—cultural studies applies the Gramscian concept of the popular to crisis. This makes it impossible to articulate the elite/subaltern opposition through mass culture, to construct the counterhegemonic. Beverley argues instead for the possibility of a radical multiculturalism based on subaltern positionalities, and its political articulation in what he calls a "postmodernist version of the Popular Front."

For Beverley, ungovernability is tied to the construction of the counterhegemonic, which consists partially of the radicalization of "situations of ungovernability through grass root resistance" at a "sub or supra national level," or in the reconstitution of the "people" as a potentially hegemonic bloc. One of the main questions he raises in his essay concerns the possibilities of rethinking the state from the point of view of the subaltern. He argues that culture, as political identity, impedes thinking of subalterns as the people, a precondition for the constitution of popular-front politics. In revising the history of leftist debates about the popular, Beverley finds them to be overdetermined by liberal ideology; the only way of constituting alternative hegemonies is by reproducing the logic of what is already hegemonic. Thus, elite thinking wins even in defeat. The problem is then how to unify subaltern identities into a block, "the people," to oppose the structure of power, grounded in the ungrounded figure of the "nation." As do Laclau and Mouffe, Beverley calls for a "radical democratization." If this could be done, it might still be possible to produce the people/power bloc antagonism, precisely because the subaltern positionalities come to understand that the possibility of realizing their specific demands depends on entering into an alliance with others. This amounts to recognition of heterogeneity as the new image of the nation-state or "people-state."

María Milagros López's contribution, "Solidarity as Event, Communism as Personal Practice, and Disencounter in the Politics of Desire," is an attempt to articulate the relation between intellectuals and subalterns within the thorny question of citizenship and governability. If ungovernability is predicated on the opacity of a social subject, with whom there is no possibility of dialogue because there are no common interests, subalterns are situated beyond the codes of communicative rationality, and ungovernability remains located within negativity. If that is true, subaltern studies must focus on state forms of persuasion rather than on coercion—on the links between pleasure and social justice. Ungovernability permits us to hold on to unedited forms of optimism, which the politics of neoliberalism has negated, and to keep on looking for the places from which contestation is possible.

López engages the notion of contradiction in postmodern rather than modern forms of ungovernability. She thinks not within the sixties-style of insurgency theory but within the contradictory manner in which insurgency inserts

itself in a "post-work" society such as contemporary Puerto Rico (where about half the adult population is structurally unemployed). López argues for postmarxist ways of disassembling domination as a precondition for working toward social justice and the end of human suffering. She claims that alienation, false consciousness, and class consciousness for and in itself are the only places where Marx and Engels speak about subjectivity and agency. But theories of consciousness do not lead to democratic devolutions, and even less to insurgency. She therefore welcomes Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's displacement of the base-superstructure dichotomy and the "determination in the last instance." She thinks subaltern studies should relate ungovernability to the postfordism, flexible accumulation, and globalization that generate the new contradictions. As the penetration of capital increases, so do the points of contestation. Subalterns are not docile subjects. Docility and alienation are ways of seeing them from the outside, from domination—evident in her invocation of the "*jíbaro's ajá*"—a popular phrase that expresses a form of subalterns' empty acquiescence to elite commands.

Alberto Moreiras's work, "A Storm Blowing from Paradise: Negative Globality and Critical Regionalism," examines several new paradigms of Latin American studies: Antonio Cornejo Polar's notion of heterogeneity or contradictory totality; Beatriz Sarlo's anatomy of different types of intellectuals; Silviano Santiago's need to rethink cultural enjoyment and his call for a new approach in education; Jorge Castañeda and Néstor García Canclini's idea of "regional federalism"; Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's "*ayllu* democracy"; and Chela Sandoval's "differential consciousness." Moreiras points out the contradictions in each of these paradigms and comes back to his original focus: the "possibility of Latin American cultural studies as an enterprise of productive and not simply reactive knowledge." How does one incorporate "Latin American subaltern difference in the global context"? He then returns to the question of heterogeneity and the systematic effort to account for it as the mark "of a paradigmatic shift in knowledge production." His thesis, which dialogues with Beverley's assumption of identity politics as a form of subaltern agency, is that cultural heterogeneity seems to have been the question of modernity as well, with the difference that heterogeneity today seems to be produced and consumed at the same time, and hence does not "by itself guarantee an appropriate teleology for Latin American cultural knowledge." He offers in its place his idea of "critical regionalism" "as a thinking of cultural consumption from regional perspectives . . . as the thinking of the singular resistance to consumption from within consumption, through which regional and local identity formation happens in global times." For Moreiras, the concepts of "negative globality" and "narrative fissure" are useful for theorizing critical regionalism: "narrative fissure" designates the dialectics of global integration according to

processes of modernization and the reversal of its expectations, which produce what he calls "negative globality." For Moreiras, there is no postmodern global integration; globalization rather produces its own counterimage.

In the second part of this volume, Marc Zimmerman's essay, "Rigoberta Menchú After the Nobel: From Militant Narrative to Postmodern Politics," approaches the question of ungovernability as the failure of the state "to totalize all the social relations constituting the nation." In this situation "the state . . . required to maintain and extend given international and local socioeconomic power relations has to exert such pressure over one or more social sectors or social configurations." This type of state agency "strains the government's legitimacy and leads to further oppositions and . . . [the] unglueing of the social fabric." By controlling multiple social contradictions, the state may create the conditions for its opposition and resistance to the given construction of hegemony. His essay focuses on the career of Rigoberta Menchú and her participation in Guatemalan politics, especially her role after winning the Nobel.

The question is, as Menchú moves beyond her identification with the armed struggle and the marxist Left in Guatemala and develops "a propensity for independence of thought" (as well as being interested in "the Lacanian construction of the collective subject and the formation of postmodern movements in search of a radical democracy") can she represent the subaltern social forces in the postmarxist era? His answer is yes. Menchú cannot be boxed into previous marxist or traditional Guatemalan categories but is a mobile signifier that tends to spill beyond the signified. Zimmerman's thesis is that the Indian postholocaust, the military penetration of the indigenous territories, the growing indigenous entrepreneuralism, and the move to military rule gave Menchú her prominence. She has already played a significant role in reconfiguring forces and possibilities, structuring a new period beyond the revolutionary 1980s, a period also characterized by struggles such as those of Zapatistas, which the Italian political theorist Antonio Negri calls "emergent movements of constituent power."

In Patricia Seed and Sara Castro-Klarén's essays, indigenous people's knowledge and the coloniality of power are the inflections that serve to pierce the unity of the universal categories of knowledge, reason, nations, and citizenship, and compel us to look at them from the point of view of subalternity. These two scholars propose hermeneutical models for rearticulating local histories as a condition of possibility for the construction of subaltern globalities. Patricia Seed's essay, "No Perfect World: Aboriginal Communities' Contemporary Resource Rights," is a comparative study of legislation that governs the use of natural resources and defines the identity of indigenous peoples. Her point of departure is a contrast between English and Iberian traditions regard-

ing property, legal soil and subsoil rights, hunting and fishing grounds, and cultural uses of natural substances. The appeal of her analysis lies in the multiplicity of symbolic repercussions it radiates. Legislation on natural resources constitutes the indigenous subject as subaltern (his status as a minor, his identity as a male hunter, the exclusion of women as cultivators of land) and defines and organizes the notions and structures of civic rights from which indigenous people are excluded. It also distinguishes the subject positions of colonial agents and their respective occupations, and territorializes identity, delimiting the place where indigenous and colonial practices can be performed. Seed substantiates aspects of Guha's point about "an overarching temporality subsuming local times" by showing the patterns, consistencies, and inconsistencies of colonialism within a transnational space that includes Australasia, Canada, the United States, and Iberoamerica. The value of her study is its demonstration of how modern nation states reproduce in their practices of governance the legacies of colonialism. In her own words, "Colonial pentimenti are the traces of the original colonizations: outlines from the past that show through the contemporary national law codes, administrative and judicial decisions. Such colonial pentimenti become clearly visible when we look at contemporary aboriginal communities' access to natural resources."

In contrast to Seed's and Zimmerman's concerns about the current situation of indigenous peoples in the Americas, Sara Castro-Klarén's work, "Historiography on the Ground: The Toledo Circle and Guamán Poma," details the workings of the circle of intellectuals created by Viceroy Francisco Toledo to work out the model for colonial government in viceregal Peru. Toledo's strategy was to first organize a coherent group of lawyers, historians, and informants to describe the nature of Inca rule and to conceptualize it as tyranny. These intellectuals were charged with processing the information provided by "native" informants about Inca society and then reframing it according to the assumptions of Spanish-European jurisprudence. The Andean subjects, such as the Inca Garcilaso, Guamán Poma, or "the mysterious anonymous Jesuit Blas Valera," contested Toledo's model of governmentability in turn. They all undertook a tacit or explicit defense of "the Inca and the pre-Inca knowledge and experience in the arts of governing," which implies an Andean rationality "worth preserving and even imitating by the Spaniards," a fact that infuses European categories of governability with a sense of negation.

In part 3, Doris Sommer's piece, "Slaps and Embraces: A Rhetoric of Particularism," engages the "humanist" logic of universalizing readers, readings, and epistemologies—a logic that must be confronted with the limits of the "particular" of ethnically or culturally marked texts. For her, rhetoric is a technology of offense and defense, and she illustrates that, for some writers, a rhetoric of secrecy "is a safeguard to freedom."

> Ludwig Wittgenstein may not have had precisely these readers in mind when he exhorted us to "Look, don't think," because propositions (of universality, in this case) are "queer things"; they let one make sense of data, but they also eliminate the details (ethnically marked particularities, for example) that don't fit into propositional patterns. Nevertheless, his advice can yield a recognition of language games that are played alongside and against the game of universalizing the particular into the familiar, games of distantiation and coy seduction that refuse assimilation and that worry privileged readers who may be left with open, but chaste and empty, arms.

The ethical corollary to hermeneutics lies in the relationship Sommer establishes between law and order and the production of cultural artifacts, which enables the reader to read culture in state policies and politics, and state policies and politics in cultural production. This analytical frame constitutes her strategy for crossing the divides between cultures to warn readers against the transparency of texts, to caution them against the productivity of telling secrets, and to suggest that the most productive alliances are premised on respect. What the subaltern invites us to, she suggests, is "not a heart-to-heart but a tête-à-tête."

In "Beyond Representation? The Impossibility of the Local (Notes on Subaltern Studies in Light of a Rebellion in Tepoztlán, Morelos)," José Rabasa approaches the question of the subject positions of dominant and subaltern intellectuals by analyzing his own intervention in the reporting and theorizing of rebellions—in this case, the Zapatista insurgency. In his opening remarks he includes his family in his narrative to translate life into theoretical language. Rabasa then moves to a discussion that is very pertinent to our volume—namely the transition of the notion of subalternity from fascist Italy (Gramsci) to postcolonial India (Guha/Spivak) to postrevolutionary Latin America. He argues for four moments, which, in his opinion, map the transformation of the concept of subaltern in this sequence: "(a) the idea of the organic intellectual in Gramsci functioned as the consciousness and theory of what subalterns did instinctively in the process of acquiring a modern mentality; (b) the intellectual in decolonization history makes allowances for the specific practices of subalterns but still retains the task of furnishing a mirror for the subaltern—that is, to recover the place in history for subalterns; (c) subaltern studies expounds the inadequacy of elite models of intellectual and political protagonism; (d) but this implies the need for a new ethics and sensibility." Rabasa argues that the concept of the subaltern should travel further. In his opinion, subaltern studies has much to learn from the tactics and strategies displayed by subaltern groups in their interactions with the Mexican state.

Abdul-Karim Mustapha's "Questions of Strategy as an Abstract Minimum: Subalternity and Us" raises the question of the place and role of intellectuals within globalization as the referent for a series of discussions aimed at ordering the beginning and ending of the so-called end of communism, an element of a much larger specter, the long Cold War. By bringing the questions of strategy and populism to the pressing dilemmas of politics in a post-Cold War context, Mustapha invites us to discuss how we might begin to think strategy of political futures and their place in the immense theater of democracy. Like Moreiras, Mustapha anticipates a new project on the critique of hegemony, as if hegemony were something like a screen onto which intellectuals project their anxiety about being displaced by the "radical heterogeneity" of an emergent heterogeneous popular subject, what Negri calls "the multitude."

In part 4, Robert Carr, Michael Clark, Gareth Williams, and Javier Sanjinés, approach ungovernability in both authoritarian and democratic hegemonies by bringing the question of the "double articulation" of the national and international to bear on what disengages elite from subaltern in the epoch of neoliberalism.

Robert Carr's essay, "From *Glory* to *Menace II Society:* African American Subalternity and the Ungovernability of the Democratic Impulse under Super-Capitalist Orders," tracks the history, ahistoricity, and historiography of African Americans through the representation of citizenship and ungovernability in two U.S. films. In *Glory,* which is about a regiment of black soldiers in the Union Army during the Civil War, Carr argues that the subjects, once categorized as "slaves," come to assume categorization as "soldiers" as part of the promise of inclusion of blacks as citizens. *Menace II Society,* about gang violence in contemporary Los Angeles, presents the inversion of the paradigm of inclusion proposed by *Glory.* If in *Glory* the antagonism of the state is ubiquitous and directly related to the status of the black population—represented as ungovernable even when the state is acting as a war machine—in *Menace* hope of citizenship is lost, with the newest generation of African Americans still caught up in a war zone. The impossibility of citizenship has led this new generation of ungovernables to devour themselves.

Carr wonders what intellectuals and cultural analysts must do to face the burden of history and "to speak out in the name of democracy as equal rights in human rights." He starts by asking what has happened to the hopes of democracy and equality posited by the Civil Rights movement and the promise of Enlightenment rhetoric, and ends by demonstrating how promotion of the image of a hidden yet public menace to society in the form of war or gangs is the media's contribution to the representation of people as noncitizens. His thesis is that the U.S. Constitution establishes "the equation of democracy with a new kind of oligarchic [global] capitalism" that legalizes violence to

protect property and the wealthy against the threat of enemies, "defined in local laws as 'Negroes,' 'Mulattos,' and/or 'Indians.'" Hence, contemporary media and film address two notions of public: one inside (citizens) and one outside ("the struggling coloreds who constitute the global majority"). Carr argues that competing definitions of the state as either "(a) a sovereign body responsible for the welfare of the population living within its borders; or (b) a sovereign body expanding the economy . . . has been resolved in terms of the latter," and that globalization has meant the impoverishment of the people.

In Michael Clark's essay on Haiti, "Twenty Preliminary Propositions for a Critical History of International Statecraft in Haiti," he attempts to interrogate the discipline of "political science" from the disposition of subaltern studies. He also undertakes a radical critique of the discourses of modernization, development, and democratization, studying their displacement in the new project of "postconflict peace building." Clark studies the 1994 international intervention in Haiti by the joint United Nations-Organization of American States International Civil Mission, which was celebrated by the international community as "an effort to support indigenous movements in the struggle for democratization." Its nominal purpose was to help reconstruct the political institutions of the Haitian national state and civil society. Clark argues that the state does not stand apart from social relations; it is not a thing within a structure, governing that very structure but escaping structurality, but a pervasive social field constructed in and through discursive practices. The nature of the state is always international. The outside world is an active and continuous presence trying "to impose its will through an endless variety of modalities—repeated invasion, embargo, indemnity, denigration." Thus, in Haiti, the venality of public officials cannot be understood as "an unbroken chain of bad people, bad policies, and bad luck," but as the ability of tyrants and criminals to comprehend, use, and manipulate existing legal structures and state resources to serve their own needs. In Haiti, poverty, underdevelopment, and ignorance are the products of a strategy of a double articulation of governance that began with the blockade of the Haitian revolution and that has been sustained for two centuries. Haitian ungovernability—that is, precisely the "disorder" of civil society that UN-OAS intervention was intended to correct—can be seen as "a heroic refusal to be overwhelmed," "a protracted struggle to persevere in the struggle for liberty against tremendous natural and human opposition."

Gareth Williams's essay, "*Death in the Andes:* Ungovernability and the Birth of Tragedy in Peru," is a critical approach to what he calls "Creole rationality." Within the panorama of neoliberalism, the Latin American state is disinterested in social and national integration and dedicates its energies to maintaining the marketplace. Williams believes that the intellectual task now is "to

engage in an affirmative deconstruction of the epistemological and political limits of neoliberal cultural politics and state practices." Using Mario Vargas Llosa's novel *Lituma en los Andes* (*Death in the Andes*) to examine the question of "agency and cognitive failure and hegemonic inability to reflect upon a zone of epistemic breakdown that nevertheless remains foundational to the successful application of neoliberal thought." *Manchay tiempo,* the "time of fear" invoked by Vargas Llosa, is pivotal to construction of his critique because it refers to the subaltern knowledge of the loss of state legitimacy and the breakdown of the myth of cohesion and unity promoted by the post(neo)colonial Republican state. In Vargas Llosa, says Williams, this is when Peru got "fucked up." He lists the erosion in terms of mass labor, shantytown mobilization, foreign debt, hyperinflation, corruption, guerrilla warfare, and narcotrafficking. The migration of the rural masses to the city gives rise to new identity formation; the hybrid *cholo,* an "outsider within," becomes the new social actor that makes the system fall apart.

An important point argued by Williams is the nature of José Carlos Mariátegui's intervention, in which the figure of the Indian is viewed "as a modernizing revolutionary force." The Indian proletariat was to give Peru its "life-affirming revolutionary spirit." This spirit now inhabits Mario Vargas Llosa's reading of manchay tiempo, the "Andean nether world and the indigenous system of belief, or 'cosmo vision,' that structures the cultural landscape." This world is the "lost object of Creole reason . . . namely the *apus, huancas, chancas, pishtacos* and *nacaqs.*" The struggle of the Dionysian and the Apollonian, reminiscent of Nietzsche's influence on Mariátegui, is in Vargas Llosa the opposite—namely, it is not the "underlying spirit of the Peruvian social classes, but rather the Indians' apparently barbaric relationship to enjoyment" that turns the Creole world upside down and constitutes "an oppositional or subversive relationship with historically constituted hierarchies."

Javier Sanjinés's essay, "Outside In and Inside Out: Visualizing Society in Bolivia," reviews the work of social scientists based on macrodiscursive models of modernization, development, and state formation. He contrasts this with the work of Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, William Carter, and Javier Albó on "rotating democratic organization." Like them, Sanjinés is interested in "the collision between the concepts of citizenship and ethnicity, and the interaction between modern and premodern categories of thought." In agreement with López's idea of pleasure as a modality of subaltern agency, Sanjinés's positioning of the popular subaltern foregrounds new social movements and their new aesthetics, which are linked not to European or Latin American modernist high art but to the "antistructural" nature of social marginality that erases the center/periphery dichotomy. For the social scientists, governability "relies heavily on the modernization of the political party system," but for commu-

nally-oriented intellectuals such as Albó and Rivera, it must be studied in relation to the incomplete modernity of the Bolivian state. Modern citizenship, he argues, is predicated on individual performance and self-determination, at odds with ethnic and cultural commonalities; modernity does not erase subaltern visceral rebelliousness tied to the "long memory" of communal traditions and ethnic pasts. The nation-state is alien to the ideology of community. It undermines the autonomy of the *ayllus* (the smallest unit of social and territorial organization under Inca rule), and denies their territoriality as a jurisdictional space for political representation. Modern citizenship cannot be conceived independent of the centrally administered nation-state disciplined by the rule of law, which lays the foundation for ethnic and cultural homogeneity.

Part 5 continues to analyze the category of citizenship. Marcelo Bergman and Mónica Szurmuk argue in their essay that one cannot expect the nation-state to proffer its promised benefits of citizenship in the form of civil and social rights and services. Neither can it be expected to "channel [social] pressures via deliverable laws, and to then act under the guidelines of those laws." Latin American nation-states can be conceived as functioning within the logic of discipline and coercion (or authoritarian hegemony). The popular democratic national subjects—*cholas, chinitas,* indigenes, rural migrants, *gauchos, jíbaros, turbas*—are theorized as the community. The history of subalterns is then read in any and all other cultural texts, such as the microdiscourses that organize everyday life: households, hygiene habits, clothing styles, foods, and preparations for holidays. The proposition is that only the culture of the everyday—in interaction with popular, industrial, and elite cultures—can express diversity.

The essays in this last section also focus on production of legislation in disciplining the social body. Citizenship is constituted through discipline and coercion, through the mediation of political and pedagogical institutions in charge of changing the habits and customs of urban populations through the correct use of words. These acts of cleansing—often involving submitting popular cultures to criticism through ridicule, derision, and mockery—ensure the viability of the modernizing project. Disciplinary texts are the foundational narratives of the modern. The desired model of civilization demanded by the new urban space is, according to Beatriz González Stephan, predicated on compliance with behavioral rules as yet unknown to illiterate users, whose unrestrained habits must be inhibited: no more hooting, urinating, defecating, or farting in the public space, which demands silence and a sensibility that looks down on the public expression of intimacy and manifests phobias against dirt, disease, and bodily contact.

González's essay, "The Teaching Machine for the Wild Citizen," shows how nineteenth-century programs of compulsory hygiene were combined with a

severe and contained morality supported by advances in medicine and biology and aided by grammar. A general hygienic attitude toward bodies and souls is expressed in language. Good habits and health are plotted as the flip side of the struggle against illness and dirt, the physical deterioration of social space, the indeterminacy of vernacular Spanish, the vagrancy of migrant workers, and criminality. González argues that this conjunction shows the workings of a new ethic based on commercial values, which seeks to redirect social energies toward production of profit. González establishes the link between bodies, language, and archives as legality and constitutions constitute them. The anxiety about cleanliness ties legality to culture in manuals of good conduct, grammar books like Andrés Bello's, and "Bibles, hagiographies, almanacs, brochures, and perhaps a book on national history." This "body" or canon of writing comes to form a body of politics policing the human body and, at the same time, the new bibliographies of Latin American studies. Cleanliness, the purging from language of "indecent words," the control of body functions, and circumscription to enclosed spaces are all equated with citizenship. The boundaries established for the body and speech acts measure the boundaries of governability.

In my essay, "Apprenticeship as Citizenship and Governability," I study the tension between masters and slaves, which is exacerbated by the effects of soil deterioration on local agricultural production, the end of British protectionism, and the nature of the slave trade itself. The habits and customs of the subaltern, whose sense of identity and positionality are in transition between slave and free laborer, become strained. Habit and habitat are conflated, and travel literature plays the same role of disciplining the people that grammar, hygiene, and behavioral manuals play in González's work. The difference is that English etiquette is more indirect, carried out through mockery and ridicule. Culture (that is, local culture, or the absence of propriety and/or conscience) is represented through the comic and the picturesque. The picturesque is that physical space in which the magnificence of the natural landscapes, narrated by Christopher Columbus in the high mimetic language of the Bible, and in the nascent tropes of Golden Age literature as the enchanted gardens of Andalusia in April, has become soiled and disorganized by a popular subject. In painting, this space is reduced in size and represented in miniature. In nineteenth-century travel narratives and plantation diaries, this space is narrated as the world of the "barbaresque." The areas of everyday life, mainly those concerning services (lodging, washing of clothes, preparation of food) and public festivities, are submitted to severe scrutiny and harsh criticism. Free blacks engaged in laissez-faire practices are chastised or sneered at. The discussion on freedom as problematic citizenship is collapsed into the discussion of land tenure systems, soil deterioration, and labor. Thus, the literature of travelers and commission-

ers to the "islands" is the predecessor of "scientific" narratives of research and development. Freedom for the slaves underscores the double disarticulation of national and popular-front politics. Ungovernability, as mobocracy, is "a cultural behavior that does not conform or submit to the norms"; it is, to paraphrase Spivak, "the place where history is narrativized into culture." It is also the moment of cognitive failure, an area that escapes the control of dominant hermeneutics and hence represents an epistemological break. The essay looks for those narrative spaces where "the object of contemplation and understanding renders itself ambiguous to [the master's] gaze." In "disorder" and transgression (in [un]discipline), what is at stake is decolonization, "the possibilities of breaking colonial patterns by contradicting—however mildly, however incompletely, and however topically—the presuppositions of a relationship that are not necessarily unwavering."

In the same vein, Marcia Stephenson studies the space of the house (and the figure of woman and mother) as the troping of state power. In "The Architectural Relationship between Gender, Race, and the Bolivian State," home or the domestic space "constitutes the fundamental core of womanhood." Womanhood and motherhood are "inextricably linked to the socio-spatial arena that is the home." She then links the domestic regime (and the space of the house) to the political regime through the *testimonio* of a domestic worker, Ana María Condori. Condori's work illustrates the ideology of home and family, of the familiar unfamiliar. The crossing of thresholds reveals the relation between property and propriety, which divides people across ethnic lines and perpetuates the subjugation of ethnicities. The distribution of space inside the house is a useful tool to read the relationships "between governability, citizenship, and discourses of modernity in the context of Bolivia." The house is a spatial manifold in which the "unruly play of representations" can be disciplined or domesticated. The house defines the limits between outside (the racially heterogeneous) and inside as a metaphor of the modern/civilized and the uncivilized. "'Normative' houses domesticate individual bodies and families, forcibly bringing them into the realm of the familiar." The "normative" house represents the *criollo* elite order, which Stephenson indicts: "The practices of enclosure are made viable through hegemonic discourses of modernity and citizenship. The underlying architectural rhetoric of the house, in conjunction with the image of the Western white mother depicted as inhabiting this idealized space, functions as the organizing principle of modernity." Criollos recreate identity through the state; Stephenson's wish to delink civilization from the positivist rhetoric that equates participation in the liberal market system with citizenship. Through specific forms of constructing houses, the state constitutes itself and reproduces a tradition that oppresses women and ethnicities.

In "Gender, Citizenship, and Social Protest: The New Social Movements in

Argentina," Bergman and Szurmuk describe the body of an Argentinean woman (a *chinita* — a pejorative expression for a lower-class nonwhite woman) who is raped and discarded, her body polluted by drugs injected after her death, as an example of state abuse that triggers new forms of protest along the lines of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. *El caso María Soledad* and the Marches of Silence it gave rise to question the capacity of local government to deal with social conflict, which sought to supersede that local government when it failed to react. This case is presented as a new social movement in which subalterns struggle for citizenship and demand not only the protection of the law but the accountability of those in power. The narrative of this crime transcended the local papers. The trial of the culprits was nationally televised, and a mistrial was declared "when every single provincial judge was declared incompetent to preside . . . due to suspicious connections to the indicted." In this way, the case of *la chinita,* who "smells of fish," contested the relationship between government and the people, establishing democracy as the only game in town. Martha Pelloni, a charismatic Catholic leader who organized the marches — which grew from 7,000 to 30,000 in a city of 122,000 people — referred to the victim as *la nena* or "Sole." María Soledad's image became that of a teenager who, despite any mistakes she might have made, deserved equal protection under the law and respectful treatment as a citizen. The authors argue that peripheral groups feel entitled to unmet rights; "their struggle represents the counterpart to the state's weakness." Cases such as that of María Soledad "are neither prodemocratic nor antidemocratic, but clearly prorights." They represent the new challenges of new social actors to weak states, and the mobilization of civil society and their new agendas and strategies of resistance attempting to disturb traditional patterns of social control. They are the heirs to the tradition of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo. Bergman and Szurmuk thus show how a crime becomes a political event, and how self-defense and solidarity press community into justice.

Finally, Josefina Saldaña-Portillo's work, "Who's the Indian in Aztlán? Re-Writing Mestizaje, Indianism, and Chicanismo from the Lacandón," is concerned with the discourses of development and globalization as they interpellate immigrants to the United States from Central America and southern Mexico. Her purpose is to expose the logic of developmentalism. She is interested in the critique of mestizaje and *indigenismo* as the basis for an identity. She argues that in Mexico, citizenship rights and democratic representation involve the concept of mestizaje, which has helped to construct not only the "national" Mexican identity but that of Chicano migrants as well. Her recognition that mestizaje has had moments of radical appropriation throughout the Americas compels her to reconsider the transnational deployment of mestizaje as it intersects the Mexican and Chicano/a indigenous identities. Her

thesis is that in mestizaje there is an inherent developmentalism, which in turn is inviable as a model of citizenship: "Mestizaje has served as the biological metaphor for the corporativist government policies of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), policies that held sway in the country from the establishment of corporativism." The uncritical appropriation of mestizaje by Chicanos/as presumes access to indigenous identity, a tenuous claim of kinship with indigenous populations on both sides of the border. In the works of Gloria Anzaldúa and Richard Rodríguez, she finds a move "toward a more postmodern and politically viable model of Chicano/a identity, albeit they continue to rely on a biologistic interpretation of mestizaje for easy access to 'the Indian within.'"

Zapatismo, she argues, is not an "Indianist movement," although most of its supporters are indigenous peoples. What kind of movement is it then? Saldaña argues that it is a national type of movement defending its supporters' rights as citizens and refusing biological definitions because both indigenismo and mestizaje have proven damaging. One of the important points in Saldaña's essay is her underscoring of the use of technology within social movements that are called premodern but which are indeed modern, and even postmodern, to the degree that they occur within the space of the economic strategies of the neoliberal world order in the NAFTA period. She also makes the point that the Zapatistas' claim is derived not from a position of ethnicity but of citizenship.

In the concluding essay, Walter D. Mignolo brings up the differences between two moments of what he calls the coloniality of power. One of these moments refers to time, the other to space. In turn, they mark the difference between discussing the subaltern project from the position of temporality and modernity, as it has been discussed by modernism and postmodernism, or discussing it from the position of space, as it has been discussed by colonialism and postcolonialism. While the former belongs to the industrial moment of capitalism, the latter belongs to its mercantile stage. These two moments come to explain why the South Asian project is marked by two hundred years of solitude, whereas the Latin American project is marked by five hundred years of solitude.

The time-space distinction also marks the domains in which South Asian and Latin American scholars have contributed to the polemic on subalternities produced by the coloniality of power. Among the distinctions, we can take into account those mentioned above as well as the longer temporal path trodden by Latin America. Space is also important to signal the creation of identities such as those of Indian, Creole, and black as variants of the native that do not exist in the Asian context. Perhaps the notion of caste represents such a division. Tied to this question is the idea of internal colonialism.

The theoretical matrix that articulates these conditions of subalternity, based on domination without hegemony, places us in front of two nondialogical epistemologies marking the divide between two different types of knowledge, one elite and the other subaltern. It is only from the position of the subaltern that hegemony and subordination can be understood. This type of double vision opens up the possibilities of taking people out of their position as victims and Calibans and locating them within the struggle for meaning and the production of knowledge. Mignolo's strategy is to take us back into our own field to retrieve the Latin American discussion on colonialism, dependency theory, and world-systems. From there we can come back to renegotiate theories that, produced by peripheral scholars, come to constitute a kind of subaltern knowledge. This knowledge, with its double take or vision, incorporates, as Mignolo puts it, the concepts of modernist improvement and those of *danda* (punishment by law), two idioms central to the notion of both foreign and indigenous domination.

In this volume, citizenship and ungovernability are indissolubly tied to subaltern positions and positionings. The essays address a wide variety of issues, from the theoretical dilemmas of subaltern and cultural studies, to theories of modernity, to indigenism, Creolism, and mestizaje; from the elite philosophies of hygiene to the carnal and skeletal metaphors used by contemporary social theory, to food, sexuality, and consumption as new ways of organizing societies. One intent of this volume is to see how subalterns live, enjoy life, and organize despite all of the efforts to negate their being. The focus of the volume is, on one hand, the problem of representation, and on the other, what Jesús Martín Barbero would reveal as the desire for recognition. The question is, are we moving away from the politics of representation to those of recognition? That is one inquiry we wish to raise in this volume and with it, to open a debate within the Latin American field. One final word on María Milagros López. She was very correct in thinking that the problem of governability was not a problem of the subaltern but a problem of the state; to this I must add the reverse, that all questions of citizenship are the unmet claims of subalterns.

The impulse behind this book comes out of the brief history of the Latin American Subaltern Studies group (dissolved in 2000) and both the achievements and the limitations of that history are deeply implicated in it. As I stated above, the group came into being in 1992 at a meeting at George Mason University near Washington, D.C. About a dozen or so people participated, most of whom knew personally at least one or more of the other participants. We adapted from the project of South Asian Subaltern Studies not only the idea of subaltern studies as such, but also the organizational model of a small,

interdisciplinary academic "affinity group" that would meet together to discuss each others' work and to plan a publication series similar to *Subaltern Studies*. But as the work of the group began to attract more attention, both favorable and negative, in the mid-1990s, it became increasingly difficult to maintain that model.

As this collection demonstrates, many different agendas, some complementary, some competing, crossed the space of the group. We thought and still think of that heterogeneity as a kind of advantage, because it deflected us from the disciplinary or epistemological monism of our own individual projects, always a danger in academic life. We saw the group as representing a kind of unity in difference, and we found that in working together collectively, the impact of what we were doing was more than simply the sum of our individual projects.

At the same time, however, precisely because of that impact, we began to be taken as representing or claiming to represent the implications of subaltern studies for Latin American studies. On one hand, we attracted the interest of scholars who wanted to affiliate themselves with the group, and on the other hand, we increasingly came under attack (sometimes from competing models of what Latin American subaltern studies should be, sometimes from critics hostile to or skeptical about the idea of "traveling theory"). We never thought of ourselves as more than a small part of a much larger paradigm shift taking place around the issue of the subaltern in Latin American studies—and elsewhere, but we came to embody the project as a whole.

The last meeting of the Latin American Subaltern Studies on "Cross Genealogies and Subaltern Knowledges" took place at Duke University and was organized by Walter Mignolo and Alberto Moreiras. After that, the Group as a whole never reconvened again, and although many attempts were made to find a new organizational form that would accommodate the new directions (some members subsequently met at Rice University), all of them were unsuccessful. Two years later, in November 2000, Gayatri Spivak organized a conference at Columbia University around the presence of Ranajit Guha, the founder of the South Asian Subaltern Studies group, bringing together some members of the South Asian group and the Latin American group, together with scholars representing the implications of subaltern studies for other disciplines (including African studies and Near Eastern studies). The title of the conference was "Subaltern Studies at Large," suggesting, among other things, that the project of subaltern studies had begun to escape its former area studies boundaries. One of those boundaries was perhaps the form of the Latin American Subaltern Studies group itself, so it is appropriate to use that event to mark the formal end of the historical group. There is a sadness in this as in all endings, but also a hope: that the work of subaltern studies is indeed, now, as Spivak's title signaled, "at large."

Notes

1 Florencia Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 1491–1515.

2 Coco Fusco, *English Is Broken Here: Notes on Cultural Fusion in the Americas* (New York: New Press, 1995).

3 Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui and Rossana Barragán, *Debates post coloniales: Una introducción a lost estudios de la subalternidad* (La Paz: Editorial Historias, 1997).

4 Hugo Achugar, "Leones, cazadores, e historiadores, a propósito de las políticas de la memoria y el conocimiento," *Revista Iberoamericana* 180 (1997): 379–387.

5 Mabel Moraña, "El boom del Subalterno," *Revista de Crítica Cultural* 14 (1997): 48–53.

6 Mabel Moraña, ed., *Nuevas Perspectivas desde/sobre América/Latina: El desatío de los estudios culturales.* (Santiago de Chile: Cuarto Propio, 2000).

7 Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader,* ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1995), 383–389.

8 Ranajit Guha, "Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography," *Selected Subaltern Studies VI* (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), 210–309.

9 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

10 "Full class agency . . . is not an ideological transformation of consciousness on the ground level, a desiring of identity of the agents and their interest. It is a contestatory replacement as well as an appropriation (a supplementation) of something that is 'artificial' to begin with. . . . [For Marx] the projects of class consciousness and of the transformation of consciousness are discontinuous issues" (Spivak, 278).

11 For Guha, hegemony stands for a condition of Dominance (D), such that, in the organic composition of the latter, Persuasion (P) outweighs Coercion (C). "Hegemony operates as a dynamic concept and keeps even the most persuasive structure of Dominance always and necessarily open to Resistance. At the same time, it avoids the Gramscian juxtaposition of domination and hegemony (a term sometimes used in the *Prison Notebooks* synonymously with leadership) as antinomies, which has, alas, provided too often a *theoretical pretext* for the fabrication of a liberal absurdity—the absurdity of the idea of an uncoercive state. Since hegemony . . . is a particular condition of D [dominance] and the latter is constituted by C [coercion] and P [persuasion], it follows that there can be no hegemonic system under which P [persuasion] outweighs C [coercion] to the point of reducing it to nullity. Were that to happen, there would be no Dominance, hence no hegemony. In short, hegemony, deduced thus from Dominance, offers us the double advantage of pre-emptying a slide towards a liberal-utopian conceptualization of the state or representing power as a concrete historical relation informed necessarily and irreducibly both by force and by consent" Ranajit Guha, "Discipline and Mobilize." In *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997). 100–151.

12 Julio Ramos, *Desencuentros de la modernidad en América Latina: Literatura y política en el siglo XIX* (México: Fondo de Cultura, 1989); Beatriz Sarlo, *Escenas de la vida posmoderna: Intelectuales, auge, y videocultura en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1997); Roberto Schwartz, *Ao Vencedor as Batatas* (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1992).

13 Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

14 Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
15 Spivak, op. cit.
16 Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).

I. CONVERGENCE OF TIMES: SUBALTERN STUDIES — SOUTH ASIA / LATIN AMERICA, MODERN / POSTMODERN

Subaltern Studies: Projects for Our Time and Their Convergence

RANAJIT GUHA

When the first volume of *Subaltern Studies,* the journal named after our project, was published in 1982 in Delhi, we did not count on any readership abroad. For throughout the long period of colonial rule we were always represented by the colonizers, and it is through them—their academics and other intellectuals, their publications and other media—that the West had come to know about us. The fact that the colonized in the subcontinent had been writing about themselves not only in their own languages but also in English since the beginning of the nineteenth century made little difference, and the legacy of that alien representation seemed destined to continue even after decolonization. We had accepted this as a sort of fate. It was therefore with a degree of genuine surprise and delight that I came to learn of the interest taken in our work by scholars concerned with Latin American studies in Latin America and the United States. Some of them have done our project a singular honor by allowing it to take its place alongside theirs under a common designation. It is gestures like these which, more than anything else, make it possible for us to break out of our containment in two hundred years of solitude. I am deeply moved and dedicate this essay to my colleagues of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group as a token of our solidarity.[1]

Our project, Subaltern Studies, had its genesis in the South Asian experience. Informed by the immediacy and urgency of the subcontinent's political and social conditions, it identifies itself by such names, thematizes itself according to such problems, chronicles itself in terms of such events, and expresses itself in sentiments that are all unmistakably South Asian. This may, of course, make one wonder whether it is at all possible to make something so area-specific comprehensible to those who do not belong there. Doesn't the very concreteness of its regionality make this project useless to scholars, such as Latin Americanists, with no specialized interest in that part of the world? The answer, I think, is no. For it is not territoriality that relates our project to theirs in a bond of mutual relevance, but temporality.