



LENIN ²nd edition,
revised and
expanded

150

(Samizdat)

Hjalmar Jorge Joffre-Eichhorn (editor)
Patrick Anderson (language editor)
Johann Salazar (photography)

“A fascinating and surprisingly uplifting intellectual endeavour – analytically sharp yet wide-ranging. This collection of essays and images invites readers to reflect, from a multitude of perspectives and approaches, on one of history’s central revolutionaries. More importantly, it encourages us to reflect on our own time in revolutionary ways. Its academic readership should also be inspired by its samizdat creation – there are ways to engage in intellectual conversations outside of the mainstream publication business.”

– **Rebecca Selberg**, Lund University

“Wide-ranging, topical and sometimes provoking interpretations of Lenin reflecting different political standpoints.”

– **David Lane**, Emeritus Fellow, Emmanuel College, Cambridge University.

“This wonderfully designed book provides an original and insightful contribution to academic discussions on Lenin, one that does justice to his legacy.”

– **Joe Pateman**, University of Nottingham, UK

“A compelling volume for revolutionary-minded activists who are part of the radical ferment animating waves of dissent and protest sweeping the world – but also of genuine interest to anyone seeking information and ideas about one of the great political figures of the twentieth century.”

– **Paul LeBlanc**, Professor of History, La Roche University, Author of *Lenin and the Revolutionary Party and October Song: Bolshevik Triumph, Communist Tragedy, 1917-1924*

“What an exciting culmination of the recent Lenin editorial revival! This explosive mix between images of Soviet relics and thoughtful insights about Leninism brilliantly dusts off the legacy of the October Revolution leader...”

– **Adrien Minard**, Independent Researcher

“‘Consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it,’ Lenin wrote before the revolution. In analogy we might say, like Patti Smith once did: ‘We created it, let’s take it over!’ This book is a tribute to revolutionary thought on the one hand and pure rock ‘n’ roll on the other!”

– **Ronald Matthijssen**, Lifetime communist voter and actor, social justice advocate and writer in the making

“I am not an admirer of Lenin. However, as a historian I believe that it is impossible to understand the contemporary world without a renewed effort to understand the emergence of the Soviet Union and its global legacy, including in the formation of “Western” Europe. This book pleasantly brings us memorial landscapes from Kyrgyzstan, both built and lyrical, originally articulating the latter with a diversity of scholarly and activist perspectives on the figure of Lenin. It is an important step towards a postcolonial debate on the history of the Soviet Union.”

– **Tiago Castela**, University of Coimbra

“...an inspiring book, which gives a thought-provoking, prismatic picture of Lenin, both as a historic figure and an actual theoretician of change and revolution...”

– **Vesa Oittinen**, University of Helsinki

“I acquired this very unusual samizdat (self-published) 150th birthday present for Lenin as soon as I heard of it, and enthusiastically endorse its second edition. Not least because it is the product of one of my favourite countries, Kyrgyzstan, with many colour photos of Stalinist representations of Lenin (and Marx) taken in 2019 in the “Switzerland of Central Asia”; 22 chapters by authors from 15 countries, 4 from the USA, but also from the global South and 3 from Kyrgyzstan; poetry from a Kyrgyz revolutionary poet; and ending with a new translation of Bertolt Brecht’s thrilling ‘To Those Born After (An die Nachgeborenen).’ Vladimir Ilich would have been delighted.”

– **Bill Bowring**, Birkbeck College, University of London

“A great source of inspiration for those suffering from the corona dictatorships. Governments trying to freeze societies in their tracks will find revolution is around the corner.”

– **Kees van der Pijl**, Prof of International Relations (retired), latest book, *Flight MH17, Ukraine and the New Cold War. Prism of Disaster*

“[The editors have] found exactly the right tone and the right team to bring Lenin into 21st century discussions. It is self-ironic, humorous, unpretentious, serious, wide-ranging, and well designed. As intended, the authors, of usually short pieces, come ‘from all continents, from people of colour, different sexual orientations and gender identities.’ Here we are almost as far away from the doxa of “Marxism-Leninism” as possible.”

– **Göran Therborn**, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Cambridge University

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“I will return and I will be millions.”
Tupac Katari

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5. Lenin from Latin America – Towards a Reactivation of the Marxism of Political Organisation and Strategy

Mauricio Sandoval Cordero

Confronting reactivation: Welcome to interesting times

We are currently going through a civilisational crisis threatened by a possible collapse on a global scale,¹ with varying socio-economic consequences in different parts of the world, further impacted by the ongoing health and climate crises as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and the large-scale devastation repeatedly caused by hurricanes, flooding, droughts etc. At the time of writing, the overall situation in Latin America is one of intense socio-political effervescence marked by a series of acute conflicts in places like Bolivia, with the return to power of the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) a year after having been deposed by a coup d'état; Chile, where a popular uprising and the demand for the re-writing of the dictatorial constitution of the Pinochet times is challenging the status quo; and countries like Colombia, Peru, Brazil, Guatemala and Costa Rica, among others, which have witnessed confrontations between repressive state forces and the popular masses.

This tumultuous scenario of class struggle allows for the affirmation that we live in what Slavoj Žižek calls “interesting times,” that is, situations of crisis that simultaneously open up new opportunities for much-needed political intervention. Yet, it is not just any type of intervention we need, but one that effectively engages with the particular historical moment we live in. In order to do this, we believe that the time has come to reactivate² and bring (in)to the 21st century the best that the history of the internally diverse Left has to offer, and especially the legacy of two realms of revolutionary theoretical and practical production, that of K. Marx and V.I. Lenin.

To start off, it is important to emphasise that the exercise of reactivation is by no means easy. First and foremost, it implies the need to confront the historic sedimentation of defeats suffered in the 20th century, which provide for a general situation of short-term impossibility: the breakdown of actually existing socialism in the former Eastern Bloc and the defeat of the Left in many other parts of the world, all of which led to the disappearance of a horizon of global transformation that found its most condensed expression in the advent of the so-called “end of history” in the 1990s.

On the other hand, in Latin America, we were reminded as early as 1994 that history had in fact not ended, when the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN) rose up in arms in the south of Mexico explicitly denouncing neoliberal capitalist globalisation. In the years after, a number

¹ See Vega 2019.

² As suggested by the edited volume *Lenin Reloaded: Toward a Politics of Truth* (2007). Editor's note: The book was published in Spanish as *Lenin reactivado: Hacia una política de la verdad* (2010).

of socio-political conflicts, revolts and mobilisations began to inflame and repoliticise the region, eventually resulting in the emergence and consolidation of political forces that made up the first “wave” of progressive and Left governments in the 21st century, in countries like Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil and Ecuador.³

This first wave lasted for approximately 15 years and allowed for a series of crucial experiences full of advances and setbacks, but finally interrupted by a conservative reaction emboldened by the rise of a new, global extreme Right and a reinvigorated imperialism, leading to right-wing governments in Honduras, Brazil and Argentina,⁴ though the situation in the latter was reversed when Alberto Fernández and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner won the general elections in 2019.

By and large, the political changes of the past few years imply that Left forces in Latin America have passed from a situation of being on the offensive to one of once again having to resist, a scenario that provides for the heightened possibility of a sense of paralysis, defeatism and “left-wing melancholia” emerging among large parts of the militant and popular sectors. Following Enzo Traverso, this development is to be avoided and combatted, because this type of melancholia prevents us from connecting and responding to the political present,⁵ with serious consequences for theoretical and political action.

Therefore, we intend to contribute to the politico-intellectual engagement with this issue and how to confront it by proposing the following two urgent ways of intervention:

1. “Unthinking”⁶ Marx and Lenin by understanding them not as distinctly defined and closed political and theoretical bodies of work, but rather as spaces for intervention, i.e. as critical projects under construction, which develop with every new work aimed at continuing their legacy. This responds to the so-called crisis of Marxism of the 1980s, when it was affirmed that Marxist theoretical production was no longer able to adequately analyse the present.⁷
2. Thinking Marxism-Leninism “in reverse,”⁸ i.e. the adoption of a radically different perspective to that provided by the Soviet manuals of historical and dialectical materialism and the official ideology developed and propagated by the Soviet state. In short, we do not need a dead and mystified Marx and Lenin,⁹ but figures that are alive, haunting

3 See García Linera 2017.

4 Ibid.

5 See Traverso 2019.

6 Following the contribution made by George García’s (2018) engagement with the theoretical work of unthinking Marxism by Immanuel Wallerstein as well as the proposition made by Bolívar Echeverría to understand Marx as a theoretical and political project under construction.

7 See Ortega 2019.

8 Here we follow the proposal made by Bruno Bosteels (2018) to think Marx in reverse, based on the theoretical works of Oscar del Barco.

9 See Concheiro 2016.

us like spectres to remind us that it is possible to make the revolution and to enhance people’s power everywhere.

Based on these two premises we can formulate a perspective¹⁰ that responds to the times we live in, taking as its starting point the singular multiplicity of Latin America, and aiming to contribute to theoretical and political debates and battles of global relevance, since it is possible for Latin America to project itself as a political space of a universal character, which at different moments generated the most advanced transformations – that is, those with the most revolutionary potential – as in the case of the Cuban or Bolivarian Revolutions, both of which continue to resist despite the intense onslaught waged against them by the forces of counter-revolution.

Now, what most interests us among the different possible theoretical ways of engaging with the above premises is addressing the issue of political organisation and strategy, as one of the main challenges we face is the currently prevalent anti-organisational and “unstrategic” common sense¹¹ partially inherited from the disappearance and/or radical change of approach adopted by many Left organisations in Europe, Latin America and the world in general.¹²

What is needed, therefore, is a re-engagement with the question of political organisation and strategy aiming at the emergence of new Left waves of revolutionary transformation. Who better to support us in this task than the political leader and thinker par excellence and one of the monumental protagonists continuing the work of Marx: V.I. Lenin?

Lenin: The return of strategic perspective and political organisation

The type of reactivation we propose consists in the thinking of politics as a strategic art, as formulated by the French Marxist Daniel Bensaïd, one of the forerunners of the ongoing development of Marxist theorisations about the political in the wake of the difficult defeats suffered over the course of the 20th century.¹³ In this sense, we depart from Bensaïd, but what is of particular interest to us is to integrate the contributions made by Lenin as a crucial “nucleus of political desire,” in order to re-think the organisation and strategy of revolutionary transformation.

At its core, this conception of politics as a strategic art¹⁴ implies the

10 This perspective should be seen as part of the renewed interest in the theoretical practice of Latin American Marxisms, promoted by the experiences of the revolutionary first wave of the 21st century. By way of example, we mention the numerous Marxist working groups of the *Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales* (CLACSO); the series of seminars and publications, *Pensando el mundo desde Bolivia*, supported by the Vice Presidency of the Plurinational State of Bolivia; and the *Premio Libertador al Pensamiento Crítico*, an award given by the Bolivarian Revolution for the most outstanding theoretical production of Marxist and/or critical thought in the region.

11 See Jameson 2010.

12 See Catanzaro and De Gori 2019.

13 See Bensaïd 2017.

14 It is worth remembering that on the political Left there exists an ample tradition of politics as a strategic

reactivation of the thinking and exercising of the power of transformation – whether as part of an immediate, radical or a more gradual temporality – and its direct or indirect link to the structure and system of the state. This involves a reinterrogation of the old debate about the revolutionary subject, which for us centres around the question of the different forms of political organisation (the party, the movement, the collective), the different concrete processes of political practice (direct action, parliamentarianism and institutional administration, armed struggle, communal and sectorial organisation, etc.) and the creation of political power via institutional sedimentation.¹⁵

The different possibilities to create organisational forms and strategic routes depend on the concrete political conditions as well as the corresponding expanding or contracting margins of potentiality. What is important to recognise is that each organisational form is in itself capable of organising the popular masses and therefore no one organisational form is a priori better than another. Besides, in each strategic coordinate one can discern and prioritise the most adequate and relevant options in order to achieve one's political objectives, granted that it is understood that these are neither exclusive nor excluding of one another, that is to say, that they are not absolute options, but that they can be changed. Also, the strategic coordinates must be conceived of by the political organisations themselves and should be operationalised in concrete and innovative propositions for all existing social spheres, with the aim of materialising these in coherent political programs.

Finally, every organisational form and strategic route must be rooted in actually existing historical experiences, thereby transmitting and projecting the people's desires for collective transformation and providing guidance and direction to those sectors and movements in a state of political confusion.¹⁶

Having established the basic parameters of what we are dealing with, what is needed now is to think politics as a strategic art deeply informed by the organising of political desires¹⁷ in the action of theoretical production, i.e. utilising Lenin as a “nucleus of desire” that allows us to (re-)think organisation and strategy in order to intervene in concrete political situations. This nucleus consists of the following contributions made by Lenin:

- **Political contingency:** One of the most germane ways to understand Lenin's theoretical production is to recognise that he thought the issue of politics based on an understanding of the contingency of any political action, without guarantees or teleologies, but always in the direction of the Communist horizon.¹⁸ Embracing contingency is in clear contrast

to the orthodox Marxist-Leninist philosophy of history that affirmed the inevitability of historical progress and World Socialist Revolution. What interests us, however, is to reclaim a Lenin audacious enough to understand that each and every moment in time and space requires its own particular response, thereby allowing for a precise political analysis and the subsequent opportunity to intervene correctly in different political situations, always subject to the possibility of winning or losing, and all the while continuing the revolutionary Communist struggle through leaps, leaps, leaps. In sum, the first lesson for the reactivation of Marxism starting from Lenin is the permanent creation of strategic routes towards the Communist horizon.

- **Political analysis:** With the exception of people like Antonio Gramsci, Hồ Chí Minh, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and a few others, 20th-century Marxism and Left culture(s) witnessed few examples where a great political leader was also an intellectual giant. This was precisely the case of V.I. Lenin, who – from the margins of the world system – engaged with Revolution both on the theoretical and practical level. He did so thanks to developing his intellectual capacities in the heat of socio-political struggle, listening to the people and diagnosing concretely the different forms of domination and exploitation present in Imperial Russia on the national level, but also by linking these to the global situation via his critique of imperialism and colonialism. What is key to point out here is that Lenin's capacity to connect with the people and to translate this encounter analytically is based on his relating directly to the political actions of the proletariat and other popular sectors in their concrete historical context. Therefore, the second lesson for the reactivation of Marxism starting from Lenin is that without theoretical practice one cannot influence political practice and vice-versa.
- **Time and political conjuncture:** Another contribution made by V.I. Lenin is the importance given to understanding and taking advantage of the times of politics, in accordance with the existing power relations. What can be highlighted here is the relevance of engaging with moments of crisis by determining the “weakest link,” the central political conflict, and taking advantage of the ensuing opportunities based on the composition of the different political forces (government, political parties, movements, etc.), the correct identification of the political moment (of advancement, retreat, stagnation, etc.) and the struggle for the administration and change of institutionality in a revolutionary direction. The third lesson for the reactivation of Marxism starting from Lenin is hence that political organisations must adapt their tactics and strategies in accordance with the political pulse of each specific context, thereby avoiding the dogmatism and sectarianism that has historically beset the global Left. This approach also provides us with a

art, starting with Marx and of course with Lenin himself, both of whom referred to the art of insurrection (see Lenin 1917b).

¹⁵ See Sandoval 2020.

¹⁶ See Dean 2017 and Garo 2019.

¹⁷ What Bini Adamczak (2017) calls the “desire for another world that is possible.”

¹⁸ See Dean 2013.

much-needed theoretical orientation about what is at stake in situations in which revolutionary forces find themselves either fighting for or exercising power, as for Lenin the concrete experiences of struggle and (being involved in) the running of the state constitute a qualitative leap in all processes of transformation. This orientation is of great importance as such theoretical reflections are relatively rare on the Left.¹⁹

- **Organisation and militancy:** V.I. Lenin was undoubtedly a master of political organisation and revolutionary practice, a recognition that is very important in an overall scenario where Left common sense(s) have increasingly moved towards “folk politics”²⁰ (especially in the Anglo-Saxon world) and “autonomism”²¹ (in many parts of Europe and Latin America). Both currents postulate that political parties and state power constitute forms of domination and co-optation of social movements and are hence non-desirable. We therefore reiterate our esteem for organisation and militancy revolving around three central issues: First, the capacity to connect with and unite militant sensibilities and popular movements via dynamic political organisations;²² second, the possibility of institutions such as parties, unions or cooperatives that produce types of collective political power with the capacity to create situations that resemble what Lenin called “dual power;”²³ and third, the need to resuscitate the question of the revolutionary power of the state as a not-to-be neglected area of political struggle, given that it offers the possibility of great institutional reach that can afford security and better living conditions for the majority of the people and which can also serve as a dynamising engine for the popular movements and organisations.²⁴ Here we have the fourth lesson for the reactivation of Marxism starting from Lenin: the importance of organising our desire to struggle collectively with the aim of creating an institutional struc-

19 Of course, the various revolutionary projects from the Paris Commune, the USSR and the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe to China, Vietnam and Cuba carried out numerous critical reflections about their experiences running the state in the direction of socialist transformation. Nonetheless, these reflections often remained within the boundaries of the local without larger international repercussions, and today, due to the hegemony of the Western liberal democracies, they have largely been forgotten. Also, the recent experiences in Latin America made by the first wave of progressive governments in the 21st century have had great difficulties in producing theoretical reflections that account for the achievements and challenges faced in the political transformation of the state. Some notable exceptions include Rauber (2012, 2017), Harnecker (2013), Cadahia (2019) and García Linera & Errejón (2019).

20 For a critique of “folk politics”, see *Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a World Without Work* (Srnicek and Williams 2017), one of the pioneering works of the so-called “accelerationist” current of the Left.

21 A critical debate about “autonomism” can be found in Díaz and Romano (2018).

22 One interesting example of thinking about this question is the experience of the so-called party-movements (“partido-movimiento”) as in the case of the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) in Bolivia, and in a similar vein the experience of the Spanish left party *Podemos* with the so-called citizen circles (“círculos ciudadanos”). While both of these examples can serve as starting points for the rethinking of organisational forms, they also provide crucial lessons regarding the limitations of such forms.

23 According to Lenin (1917a) a situation of dual power arises when the power of the bourgeois state is opposed by the alternative power created by a revolutionary organisation.

24 See Cortés and Tzeiman 2017.

ture that allows for the planning and carrying out of revolutionary transformations informed by the approach adopted by Lenin – without recipes and equipped with both imagination and realism in order to widen the horizons of possibility and thereby intensify our powers of intervention and political decision-making. Furthermore, in Lenin we find the value of the most crucial aspects of political organisation: comradeship combined with militant practice, consisting of the desire to struggle collectively and the creation of social bonds of a Socialist character, thereby confronting the ongoing processes of the colonising of modern subjectivity in the form of a liberal individualist sociability.²⁵

In summary, each of these four lessons make up the nucleus of political desire called Lenin, which today presents itself to us as the best way to reactivate Marxism, as well as the desire to make possible the impossible, that is, to make the revolution.

Lenin from Latin America: The example of René Zavaleta Mercado

Finally, it is time to anchor the above exercise of reactivation in the concrete political translation V.I. Lenin has received within Latin America, i.e. our aim is to situate Lenin as an important theoretical nucleus of and moment in Latin American politics.²⁶ In order to do this, we must refer to those intellectual-militants²⁷ who carried out their theoretical production based on and together with the nucleus of political desire called Lenin, and in particular the case of René Zavaleta Mercado (1937-1984),²⁸ who in our mind represents the most creative and prolific moment of this constellation.

25 See Selci 2018 and Dean 2019.

26 See Ortega 2017.

27 Following Ortega (2018) and without claims to completeness, we mention the work of Rodney Arismendi *Lenin, la revolución y América Latina* (1976) dealing with the relationship between the Latin American Communist parties and the Comintern throughout the 20th century; Roberto Fernández Retamar’s “Notas sobre Martí, Lenin y la revolución anticolonial” (1970) about the experiences of the Cuban Revolution; the work of Tomás Moulian describing the revolutionary experience of the *Unidad Popular* government in Chile “Acerca de la lectura de los textos de Lenin: una investigación introductoria” (1972) and *Cuestiones de teoría política marxista: una crítica de Lenin* (1980) and Roque Dalton’s *Un libro rojo para Lenin* (1973) written in the heat of the Salvadorian struggle and the internationalisation of the revolutionary Left in Central America and the Caribbean. Martha Harnecker’s *La revolución social: Lenin y América Latina* (1986) also engages with the Centralamerican conflicts while the *Obras Completas* (2011-2015) of René Zavaleta and Alvaro García Linera’s *Las condiciones de la revolución socialista en Bolivia (a propósito de obreros, aymaras y Lenin)* (1988) analyse different moments of the Bolivian revolution. Finally, there is Atilio Borón and his “Actualidad del ¿Qué hacer?” (2004) written in the midst of the emergence of the first wave of progressive governments in Latin America at the start of the 21st century.

28 For a deeper engagement with the thinking of Zavaleta, see the edited volumes of Giller and Ouviaña (2016b, 2018).

Zavaleta Mercado pertained to the group of exiled Latin American intellectuals living in Mexico in the 1970s and 80s, who during the exercise of living with and thinking themselves in exile, began engaging in the reactivation of Marxism in our region through the reading of the works of José Carlos Mariátegui (1894-1930).²⁹ However, in contrast to many of his comrades, Zavaleta thought this reactivation not only via Mariátegui but also through a re-reading of the writings of V.I. Lenin, thereby swimming against the tide of dominant perspectives towards Lenin at the time.³⁰

In this sense, the work of Zavaleta is fully aligned with the nucleus of political desire called Lenin, as all four lessons mentioned above can also be found in his thinking:

- **Political contingency:** the thinking of Zavaleta is a thinking of contingency and singular multiplicity. For instance, his proposition that the different Latin American socio-economic formations are “motley formations,” meaning that various modes of production converge in a single formation, thereby emphasising the heterogeneity and structural diversity of every country on the continent and the corresponding heterogeneous forms of resistance waged by the popular masses. For the Bolivian author, this implies the creation of adequate, always context-specific strategic responses.
- **Political analysis:** Zavaleta’s work is the result of the influence of a number of revolutionary experiences in our region, especially the Bolivian National Revolution (1952-1964), the Unidad Popular government in Chile (1970-1973) and the Cuban Revolution (1959-ongoing). Engaging with these different experiences obliged him to learn from both their victories and defeats in order to be able to develop new theoretical inputs for the Bolivian and Latin American Left. For this he developed a creative, complex and robust analytical apparatus that includes concepts such as the apparent state, motley formations, the State of 52, irradiation, dual power, social equation, primordial form and the constitutive moment, among many others.³¹
- **Time and political conjuncture:** In Zavaleta we encounter a perspective of temporal multiplicity and the need to think and take action in accordance with the prevailing circumstances: from the concrete situation for the concrete situation.³² This is how he thought the revolutionary processes, based on a perspective both strategic and tactical, identifying the potentialities and limitations of the different organisational and governmental experiences to then organise and project the diverse popular desires for change.

29 See Giller 2018.

30 See Concheiro 2016.

31 See Giller and Ouviaña 2016a.

32 See Concheiro 2016.

- **Organisation and militancy:** What we find in Zavaleta is fundamentally a type of theoretical practice vis-à-vis the question of the proletarian organisation of miners in Bolivia, of the different organisational methods of Chilean workers and of the attempts to promote popular power in Cuba. In short, Zavaleta re-engages the challenge of Left political organising, in particular concerning the importance of thinking those types of organisation directed at the creation of “dual power” as a distinguishing trait of every revolutionary process.³³

In conclusion, Zavaleta Mercado is one clear example³⁴ of how Latin American Marxism has been reactivated via the nucleus of political desire called Lenin, perpetually informed by an irreverence towards any type of dogmatism and the search for a Latin American Marxism in the tradition of the *amauta*³⁵ José Carlos Mariátegui: a fruitful and creatively situated analysis of the relationship between the concrete political problems of our highly diverse region and the theoretical output produced by the various Marxisms, allowing us to affirm that there indeed exists a Marxist way of thinking specific to and from Latin America and the Caribbean.³⁶ It is from within these coordinates provided by Zavaleta that we desire to continue the process of reactivating V.I. Lenin, audacious political leader and thinker, militant of the revolution and unwavering comrade of the people of the Global South.

Translated from the original Spanish by Hjalm(ar) Jorge Joffre-Eichhorn

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33 Ibid.

34 The ongoing influence of Zavaleta could be witnessed in the political leadership and theoretical practice of Álvaro García Linera while serving as Vice President of the so-called Process of Change (“Proceso de Cambio”) in Bolivia between 2006 and 2019.

35 *Amauta* is a Quechua term that means wise person or teacher, and that also has been used to name José Carlos Mariátegui.

36 See Martínez-Heredia 2010.

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The Politburo

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Patrick Anderson loves words – their sound, look, meaning, origins – and has been a student of language throughout his life. He is unsurprisingly an aficionado of cryptic crosswords, and spends far too much time perusing etymological databases. Patrick has lived, worked and studied in five continents, and devotes most of his professional life to supporting people and communities to navigate the world with courage, dignity and passion.

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