

# PUSHING BACK ON NEOLIBERALISM AND PAVING THE ROAD FOR A BETTER WORLD: LESSONS FROM AMERICA LATINA

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ORIGINAL TITLE

Pushing Back on Neoliberalism and Paving the Road for  
Class Struggle: Decoloniality, *Buen Vivir*, and other lessons  
from *América Latina*

We are living in a time of global crisis when the transnational capitalist class seems to stop at nothing in its quest for capital accumulation at the cost of lives, the destruction of entire communities, and ecological disaster. War, poverty, racism, sexism, and other forms of violence seem to be the order of the day. The exploitation and immiseration that capitalism breeds have been exacerbated in the past four decades through a neoliberal emphasis on privatization and accountability that threatens to dismantle social service programs that are the lifeblood of the working class, including public education.<sup>1</sup>

It is no surprise that it is the Global South who experiences the bulk of these atrocities.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, even within the highly industrialized, hyper-capitalist, and Eurocentric U.S., people of color live out the legacy of *el poder colonial*<sup>3</sup> in segregated, impoverished, and persecuted communities. Although the relationship between colonization and

1 → Faith Wilson, Lilia D. Monzó, and Dave Hill “Neoliberalism and the New Common Sense in Education: A Marxist Critique,” in *The Solo Journal: Educational Foundations & Social Justice Education* (in press): 5.

2 → The Global South/Global North denotes the distinction between the economically “developed” and “developing” countries but can be a more useful category than that of West/non-West for decolonial scholars who seek to situate social, economic, and political forms of domination within the geo politic and the body politic.

3 → Anibal Quijano, “Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina” in *La Colonialidad del Saber* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: CLACSO, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2000), Section: Evolucionismo y dualismo. Retrieved <http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/ar/libros/lander/quijano.rtf>

capitalism is highly debated among scholars from different traditions, there is no doubt that currently capitalism and imperialism are highly aligned, each supporting and shaping the other.

Numerous scholars argue that unless stopped, capitalism will continue to churn the world into oblivion because, by definition, capitalism is based on a continuous growth imperative.<sup>4</sup> The question of if and how it will be stopped, however, is less clear. There has been escalating discontent and uprisings across the world in recent years as a result of the austerity measures and neoliberal policies that disproportionately affect the working class, including the Arab Springs, Occupy Wall Street, and mass demonstrations in Chile, Spain, Italy, and Greece.<sup>5</sup> This past year, here in the U.S., we have witnessed important uprisings in Ferguson and Baltimore in response to the killings of Black men by White police (Although in the case of Freddy Gray there were also Black Police officers involved). However, a global unraveling of the capitalist order will require massive dissent across the world, and especially against the wealthiest and most powerful transnational corporations and in the most politically powerful nations. Unfortunately, many of us go about our lives, seemingly unaffected, perhaps anesthetized to the pain and suffering of others by its omnipresence in the world and an ideological corporate campaign to hide the role that capital interests play in these atrocities against predominantly people of color across the world. We seem to have accepted that greed, violence, and prejudice are aspects of human nature<sup>6</sup>—that there is little that we can do to develop a world that can be more peaceful and more ethical, eroding our sense of social responsibility toward the welfare of our brothers and sisters and all life forms across the world, including the Earth that sustains us.

Of critical importance, then, is to examine the ideologies that keep us from rising against the capitalist class and their government

4 → Abel Collins, "Chomsky: Putting the Eco Back in Economy," *Huffington Post*, Feb. 13, 2014. Retrieved [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/abel-collins/chomsky-putting-the-eco-i\\_b\\_4757298.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/abel-collins/chomsky-putting-the-eco-i_b_4757298.html)

5 → John Harris, "Global Protests: Is 2011 a Year That Will Change the World?" in *Guardian*, Nov. 15, 2011. Retrieved <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/15/global-protests-2011-change-the-world>

6 → Yet various scholars have taken up the important task of discussing "human nature" as a social construction developed within a particular time and space.

allies and how these ideologies work to sustain the current capitalist structure of society and the relations of domination that can be traced back to colonial times. Toward this end, I draw upon Marx's historical materialist approach and dialectical method as well as the decolonial school of thought that derives from indigenous knowledges. I use these influences to make sense of how the social construction of what it means to be human, at this historical juncture, derives from the Western colonial expansion and supports capital relations.<sup>7</sup> My goal here is to begin to shake the very foundations of this Western capitalist order by questioning "common sense" notions about what it means to be human, why our social relations are structured in the ways that they are, and whether we can conceive of alternative ways of existing in the world. I then explore *buen vivir* as an example of the negation of the negation that allows us to produce new conceptualizations of existence in the world. I end with a critical pedagogy informed by Enrique Dussel's *La Pedagogía Latinoamericana* as a means to creating the dissent necessary to establish a socialist alternative, one that liberates the Other from the Western grip of "yearning"<sup>8</sup> toward a form of being that is more ethical and just for all.

## THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE NEOLIBERAL ORDER

Today's capitalism is increasingly transnational, as many corporations are multinational and their workers are often located in

- 7 → Although an important argument of the decolonial school is the need to decentralize established Western canons and give space and legitimacy to Indigenous and other colonized knowledges, I maintain that Western canons must be critically interrogated and weighed against the bottom-up theories of indigenous and Other oppressed groups but not dismissed solely on the basis of their Western roots. Further, I question whether Western knowledge rooted in the experience and support of domination and coloniality, can be attributed to those who work to challenge the structures that uphold these canons? Marx's historical materialist approach and dialectical method have acute explanatory power. In my view the important work of both Marx and decolonial scholars can co-exist.
- 8 → Maximiliano Valerio López, "The Empire of the Written Word: Modernity, Humanism, and Colonization," in *Lápiz 1* (2013), 64.

developing countries. Yet the coloniality of power remains with the Global North dominating international economic, social, and political structures, taking resources, accessing cheap labor, and maintaining a power matrix that establishes the worldwide dominance of White, heterosexual, Christian men (to name only a few of a long list of social categories of power).<sup>9</sup> Although transnational capitalism is diversifying the locus of capital, the defining social relation of ownership and domination remain as famously critiqued by Karl Marx—the mass of workers produce for the benefit of the few who own the means of production.<sup>10</sup> The owners of the means of production own the fruit of labor and the capital accumulated in the process of production for which only a portion of working hours is exchanged through wages.<sup>11</sup> In this relation of private ownership, the producers have no rights, except to the wages that they are given and therefore are dependent on the capitalist for their jobs and livelihood. This is a system of wage slavery.

Capitalism functions as a capital generating machine that must continually amass surplus value (profit), demanding the continuous development of new markets. It faces crisis if surplus production and re-investment are blocked. Yet there is an internal contradiction in capitalism that does just that—a rise in the rate of production, as a result of labor-saving technology, has the long-term effect of lowering surplus value as a result of greater investment of capital necessary for new technology in the production process.<sup>12</sup> Up until now, the capitalist class and their government allies have been able to step in and rescue capitalism from this internal crisis. Neoliberalism is

9 → Ramón Grosfoguel, “Decolonizing Post-colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy: transmodernity, decolonial thinking, and global coloniality,” *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World 1* (2011): Section: Coloniality of Power as the Power Matrix of the Modern/ Colonial World. Retrieved <http://dialogoglobal.com/texts/grosfoguel/Grosfoguel-Decolonizing-Pol-Econ-and-Postcolonial.pdf>

10 → Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), 20-51.

11 → *Ibid.*, 20-51.

12 → Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 3 (New York: International Publishers, 1967/1894), Chapter 2, “The Rate of Profit.” Retrieved [https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx\\_Capital\\_Vol\\_3.pdf](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Capital_Vol_3.pdf)

the latest concerted effort to respond to this repeated crisis. David Harvey explains:

My view is that it is a class project that coalesced in the crisis of the 1970s. Masked by a lot of rhetoric about individual freedom, liberty, responsibility and the virtues of privatization, the free market and free trade, it legitimized draconian policies designed to restore and consolidate capitalist class power.<sup>13</sup>

Neoliberalism refers to the set of policies that reflect the assumption that the free market is more efficient and moral than other economic systems and that it is driven by unfettered individual property rights and competition. Under the neoliberal order, freedom is defined as the ability to pursue fully one's own economic interests.<sup>14</sup> Neoliberalism is thus opposed to state interventions and public services, viewed as lacking the competition and accountability that pushes individuals to maximum productivity and efficiency that is inherent in the market. Neoliberalism took hold in the 80s during the Thatcher and Reagan administrations. Since then, neoliberal policies and ideologies have become prominent across the capitalist world, attacking the effectiveness of "big governments," privatizing public services, creating competition among nations for world markets, establishing free trade agreements that generate great profits for the developed world while exploiting the "developing" world, including NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and the proposed TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) and TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership). Neoliberalism creates new markets and increases production and profits for the capitalist while simultaneously lowering the value of the commodity and the value of labor power, creating conditions that support lower wages and production costs. It, thus, serves to reset the capitalist process of accumulation until the next inevitable crisis.<sup>15</sup>

13 → David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crisis of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 10.

14 → Wilson, Monzó, and Hill, "Neoliberalism and the New Common Sense in Education," 3-6.

15 → *Ibid.*, 3-6.

Neoliberal policies must be accompanied by an ideological campaign to make workers assume a state of economic crisis, which promotes resignation and acceptance among the working class that austerity measures, including wage loss, social service cuts, and higher levels of unemployment, are unavoidable; Meanwhile, the capitalist class significantly increases their capital. For example, in the United States between 2000 and 2007, the wealthiest ten percent of the population received 100% of the average income growth.<sup>16</sup> Thus we have evidence across the world and in our own society of continual immiseration and unfathomable extremes in the wealth gap. According to the Credit Suisse Global Wealth Report, 1% of the world's population owns 48.2%, almost half, of the world's wealth whereas the bottom half of global population owns less than 1% of the world's wealth.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, a report by the National Bureau of Economic Research shows that here in the U.S., the wealth gap is the widest it has been in three decades with the top 1% of Americans in 2012 owning 22% of American wealth. These include 160,000 families each with total net assets of more than \$20 million. The bottom 90% collectively owns only 23 percent of total U.S. wealth.<sup>18</sup>

Of course, the hierarchies established within the working class and across workers and capitalists reflect the coloniality of a power matrix, with women of color consistently placed at the bottom end of the hierarchy and White men at the top. Ideological constructions that are used to justify why some people fare far worse than others contribute to our common inertia and are so entrenched in the American "structural unconscious" that even in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the majority of people remain loyal to them.<sup>19</sup>

16 → Peter McLaren and Mike Cole, "Austerity/Immiseration Capitalism: What Can We Learn from Venezuelan Socialism?" in *Truthout*, June 11, 2014. Retrieved from: <http://truth-out.org/news/item/24264-austerity-immiseration-capitalism-what-can-we-learn-from-venezuelan-socialism>

17 → Credit Suisse Research Institute, *Global Wealth Report* (Switzerland: Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2014), 11.

18 → Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, *Wealth Inequality in the United States Since 1913: Evidence from Capitalized Income Tax Data* (Cambridge, Mass: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2014), 1.

19 → Richard Lichtman, "Richard Lichtman: The Violent Disorder of Our Public Mind," in *Truthout*, March 25, 2013. Retrieved <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/>

One of these ideologies is the myth of meritocracy, the belief that anyone can achieve whatever their heart desires if they are sufficiently skilled and motivated. This ideology serves to blame those whose opportunities for success are structurally limited even though there is ample evidence that economic disparities, racial discrimination, and other forms of structural limits are very real and have a significant impact on life opportunities. Relatedly, a Darwinian survival of the fittest ethos supports a competitive spirit that allows some of us to feel that we have every right to claim greater advantages than others.

Another ideology that is sustained is that the greatest atrocities happen “*over there*” where the people have not been able to secure the “democracy” that we enjoy. Following John Dewey, democracy involves the free and equal participation of each person in society in social, political, and economic life.<sup>29</sup> This definition, based on the false assumption that majority rule is always just, is fraught with complexities; Still, even a superficial notion of democracy as voting rights is unattainable when candidates can buy their way into office with their own funds, the lobbying of corporate-backed interest groups, and/or a corporate media looking out for its own capitalist interests,

Indeed we are currently living in turbulent times in the U.S. as a result of what seems to be not only greater media coverage (spawned by technological innovations such as social media and readily available video-cameras) of human rights violations against communities of color (the crimes themselves are not new), but also an apparent White supremacist arrogance and fearlessness to act with impunity toward the Other. Consider the string of unarmed Black men who were killed in 2014-15 by White police officers who did not even face indictment, including Michael Brown who was shot at least six times, Eric Garner who was choked to death even though he repeatedly warned police, “I can’t breathe,” and a 12-year-old boy, Tamir Rice, who was shot within two seconds for pointing a toy gun at police. These killings brought the communities of Ferguson and Baltimore and their allies across the country to their feet as they protested and marched demanding justice. The police response to an entrenched racial hatred amidst the pain and suffering

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item/15304-the-violent-disorder-of-our-public-mind

20 → John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Co, 1916), 457.



of a community was to deploy military-grade gear and tear gas to control those presumed “unmanageable”<sup>21</sup> communities. Lest we believe these senseless killings a result of inadequate police training alone rather than a deep seeded racial hatred toward the Other, only a few months later, a Black community gathered in prayer at a Charleston AME Church was gunned down by a White man claiming “You are raping our women and taking over the country.”<sup>22</sup> He was invoking the common tropes against Black men and the presumed purity of White women to justify his attack against Blacks as was often done in the lynching of Black men during the Jim Crow era.

If we fail to see that the Other is not just Black, but anyone who is a member of a non-dominant group, although with different sociopolitical dimensions of repression (e.g. religion, immigration status) then we must remember the killings of three Muslim students in the North Carolina city of Chapel Hill.<sup>23</sup> The most insidious racism found in the negative stereotyping of the Other, is exemplified in Donald Trump’s targeting of Mexican immigrants whom he publically labels as criminals and rapists, blatantly throwing around his white supremacist power and arrogance.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed predatory practices are institutionalized within the U.S. in ways that support the maintenance of a White supremacist capitalist order. Consider the school to prison pipeline that targets predominantly Black and Latino communities from very young ages. Also, consider the well-documented government practices (sometimes murderous) against national and international liberationist movements. A few of the most notorious activities with which the CIA and

21→ Lilia D. Monzó and Peter McLaren, “Red Love: Toward Racial, Economic and Social Justice,” in *Truthout*, Dec. 18, 2014. Retrieved <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/28072-red-love-toward-racial-economic-and-social-justice>

22→ Nick Corasaniti, Richard Pérez-Peña, and Lizette Alvarez, “Church Massacre Suspect Held as Charleston Grieves,” *New York Times*, June 18, 2015. Retrieved [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/19/us/charleston-church-shooting.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/19/us/charleston-church-shooting.html?_r=0)

23→ Jonathan M. Katz and Richard Pérez-Peña, “In Chapel Hill Shooting of 3 Muslims, a Question of Motive,” in *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 2015. Retrieved [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/12/us/muslim-student-shootings-north-carolina.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/12/us/muslim-student-shootings-north-carolina.html?_r=0)

24→ Henry Giroux, “The Racist Killing Fields in the US: The Death of Sandra Bland,” in *Truthout*, July 19, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/31945-the-racist-killing-fields-in-the-us-the-death-of-sandra-bland>

FBI have been associated (although never found guilty of) include the murders of Che Guevara, El Salvador's Archbishop Oscar Romero, and Black Panther leader Fred Hampton.<sup>25</sup> While these were very different liberation movements, they shared the commonality of fighting for the rights of peoples facing racialized subjugation in support of the White supremacist, imperialist, and capitalist order. These movements make the interrelationship between class and race quite apparent.

## CAPITAL, EMPIRE, AND EXISTENCE

Marx's historical materialism has often been attributed a class reductionism and determinism that belies his dialectical method. Although he argued that social relations of production were a key point of departure in examining social, economic, and political life because they provide the basis of life subsistence, he recognized the important internal relation between material and ideational reality.<sup>26</sup> For Marx, political economy, the exploitation of workers, and the organizing practices that could one day lead us toward a socialist alternative were directly related to the agency and moral character of human beings.<sup>27</sup> From a Marxist humanist perspective, capitalism is a totality within which ideologies, values, and beliefs are produced and these in turn continually maintain capitalist social relations and the process of exploitation that leads to accumulation.<sup>28</sup> An important outgrowth of this dialectical relation between ideational and material reality is what Erich Fromm has termed the "having mode of

25 → Michael Ratner and Michael Steven Smith, *Who Killed Che?: How the CIA Got Away with Murder* (NY: Or Books, 2011); Tom Gibb, "The Killing of Archbishop Oscar Romero Was One of the Most Notorious Crimes of the Cold War. Was the CIA to Blame?," in *The Guardian*, March 22, 2000; "The Assassination of Fred Hampton: How the FBI and the Chicago Police Murdered a Black Panther," Democracy Now. Retrieved [http://www.democracynow.org/2009/12/4/the\\_assassination\\_of\\_fred\\_hampton\\_how](http://www.democracynow.org/2009/12/4/the_assassination_of_fred_hampton_how)

26 → Jose Porfirio Miranda, *Marx Against the Marxists* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980) 4-7.

27 → *Ibid.*, 152-155.

28 → Teresa Ebert, *The Task of Cultural Critique* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 195-196.

experience.”<sup>29</sup> This is a mode of experience in which all social processes are reduced to the common denominator within capitalism—a social relation based on private property—the social relation between the capitalist class who owns the means of production and the workers who produce surplus value for the capitalist class.<sup>30</sup> This is a relation of wage labor in which the workers are made dependent on the capitalist class for their very survival and are necessarily exploited and alienated. What is exchanged for wages under capitalism is not labor (this would be a direct exchange) but, rather, labor power—the potential to produce surplus value for the capitalist.<sup>31</sup> Exploitation of the worker is an inherent aspect of capitalism since production costs (wages, materials, equipment) equal only a fraction of the working day, leaving the rest of the day for the production of profits. Furthermore, only the capitalist owns the means of production, the commodities produced, and all profits from production.<sup>32</sup> Marx clarifies that “though private property appears to be the source of alienated labor, it is really its consequence [...] and later this relationship becomes reciprocal.”<sup>33</sup> While a value for personal belongings predates capitalism, it is under capitalism and the production of value that private property and continuous capital accumulation at a compound rate becomes an end in itself.<sup>34</sup>

Capitalism requires the circulation of capital. In the U.S. and all capitalist industrialized nations we experience a strategic corporate

29 → Erich Fromm, *To Have or To Be?* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 1976), 17-35.

30 → Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), Chapter 2: “Proletarians and Communists.” Retrieved <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/>

31 → Surplus value is the profit that is made after the cost of the subsistence of the worker has been recovered. It is maximized by increasing the number of hours in the working day or demanding greater production from the same amount of time.  
→ Karl Marx, *Capital, vol I* (Moscow, USSR: Progress Publishers, 1887), 557-567. Retrieved <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch16.htm>

32 → Ibid., 114.

33 → Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, 80.

34 → David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crisis of Capitalism* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 58.

campaign to make the commodity seem indispensable.<sup>35</sup> This campaign has created a *shopping mall politics* in which people go shopping as a means to assuage the alienation, insecurities, and sense of incapacity that capitalism breeds. Fromm explains:

The having orientation is characteristic of western industrial society, in which greed for money, fame, and power has become the dominant theme of life. Less alienated societies—such as medieval society, the Zuni Indians, the African tribal societies that were not affected by the ideas of “modern” progress—have their own Bashos.<sup>36</sup>

Examining the development of language, which both reflects and produces values and practices in society, Fromm points out that the having mode of experience has risen alongside the demand for capitalist private property. He notes that “to have,” indicates an expression of possession that is not common to all languages. For example, he remarks that in Hebrew, “it is to me” is the closest translation and that the expression is absent in societies built around “functional property” (for use-only). Further he states that the use of “I have” has grown in usage since the inception of capitalist production. For example, an idea is now conceived of as a possession, “as in I have an idea.” However, the reverse development has not occurred.<sup>37</sup>

Indeed, the value for individual property and *having* has come to define the very ways in which we think of almost all aspects of our world. Our worth as individuals has become tied to what and how much we have and in comparison to what others can claim to have. Thus, we live our lives constantly seeking to amass private property, particularly wealth and the things that society has come to consider, or made to be, “necessary”—a bigger house, a new car, and to develop fetishes that exploit our purchasing power. Some psychologists recognize that this need for more, bigger, and grander *things* has

35 → William Leach, *Land of Desire* (Toronto, Canada: Vintage Books, 1994), xiii

36 → Ibid., 16-17. Fromm’s claim that non-western industrial societies have their own “Bashos” is a reference to Matsuo Basho who was a 17th century Japanese poet and writer.

37 → Ibid., 16-17.

become an epidemic wherein people are buying beyond what they can afford as a means to assuage personal fears that who we are is not worthy enough in the eyes of society. Rarely do we deny or critique the notion that this hoarding mentality and desire for never ending acquisition is not an individual right. In Fromm's words:<sup>38</sup>

To acquire, to own, and to make a profit are the sacred inalienable rights of the individual in the industrial society. What the sources of property are does not matter; nor does possession impose any obligations on the property owners. The principle is: "Where and how my property was acquired or what I do with it is nobody's business but my own; as long as I do not violate the law, my right is unrestricted and absolute.

This kind of property may be called *private* property [from Latin *privare*, "to deprive of"] because the person or persons who own it are its sole masters, with full powers to deprive others of its use or enjoyment.

Together, the demand for commodities to keep capital circulating and our developed "need" for possessions has come to mean that almost everything is commodified. Processes, defined as internally or externally mediated social activity,<sup>39</sup> are increasingly reified into things that can be marketed and sold as individual possessions, including ideas, education, and relationships (e.g. with a spouse). For example, consider the way we think about education as a something acquired once we graduate with a diploma, or the way marriage becomes a contract, where one spouse's love becomes a possession of the other. This reification of processes and people into things that can be possessed is especially true with respect to women and people of color, whose exploitation has been especially acute as commodities.

Of course those who lack the "right" possessions and enough of them are believed "unsuccessful" to others and to themselves. Thus people work harder and harder to amass possessions to buffer against potential losses, which creates more surplus value for the capitalist. Extending this analysis to a national level, many people

38 → Ibid., 57.

39 → Lev S. Vygotsky, *L. S. Vygotsky, Collected works Vol. I.* (R. Rieber & A. Carton, Eds; N. Minick, Trans.). (New York: Plenum, 1987/1934).

believe that we must continue to amass greater power by expanding our global reach through the conquest of other nations. Like the individual who fears the loss of her identity *sans* her things, the people too fear the loss of security that being the most powerful nation in the world ensures, thus we readily support greater military funding, international intelligence-gathering, and unjustified wars. An important point that Fromm's analysis makes clear is that in the having mode of existence or under capitalism, war is not, as we are often told, something we wage to secure peace or for our own protection, but rather is a perpetual state within which we sometimes take short respites of peace in order to recharge and plan our next conquest and plunder.<sup>40</sup> While wars have been waged since the beginning of time, Henry Giroux points out that we are now living "in a time of permanent war."<sup>41</sup>

A critical point that must not be lost in this discussion is that we do not condemn consumption of things per se, but rather the reification and commodification of human beings and processes. It is not our purchasing habits that must be eradicated but the process of production, which is based on private property and which produces ideologies and desires to amass things. Human exploitation, alienation, and suffering begin in the process of production. My goal here is to encourage us to think critically about the values that a capitalist society breeds, and how we can begin to recognize these as the pillars that hold up the structure of our society.

Fromm argues for a more ethical mode of experience—the *mode of being*. In this mode, *having* is limited to actual things, rather than processes, people, land (that which ought not to be thought of as things to be sold for a profit), and only to the extent that these are necessary for subsistence, including those things that allow us to be creative beings and to develop individually and for the good of society. These might include food, shelter, clothing, musical instruments, and books. In the mode of being there is no need to fear loss because most things are understood as processes that come and go rather than static things that belong to one person or another. The notion

40 → Fromm, *To have or to be*, 92.

41 → Henry Giroux, "Hope in a Time of Permanent War," in *Truthout*, Sept. 4, 2013. Retrieved <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/18578-hope-in-a-time-of-permanent-war#>

of monitoring what someone has or doesn't have, or who has more or less, is not important in this mode of being because people, and I would add other living things, have intrinsic worth, and are valued simply because they exist in the world—rather being valued in relation to what or who they own.

Further, Fromm demonstrates that the ideas for interdependence and fellowship, against the having mode, can be found in the spiritual teachings of Buddha, Jesus Christ, and Karl Marx.

The Buddha teaches that in order to arrive at the highest stage of human development, we must not crave possessions. Jesus teaches, "For whosoever shall save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it. For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself or be cast away?" (Luke 9: 24-25). Master Eckhart taught that to have nothing and make oneself open and "empty," not to let one's ego stand in one's way, is the condition for achieving spiritual wealth and strength. Marx taught that luxury is as much a vice as poverty and that our goal should be to be much, not to have much.<sup>42</sup>

Being refers to more than identity but rather to existence. *To be* connotes that one exists in a particular way and in a particular historical moment and focuses value on human beings, relationships, and personal and collective development for the good of society, rather than individual competition for the purposes of capital accumulation. In the being mode, knowledge is not something that we acquire but an active process of knowing *more deeply* and it involves an understanding of the limits of our ability to know something fully. Knowing in the being mode, according to Fromm, is the "shattering of illusions" created by a common sense that is socially constructed: "Knowing means to see reality in its nakedness."<sup>43</sup> In my own interpretation, in the being mode we strip away the ideological lies that surround us to support the hegemonic order and are able to recognize the reality of

42 → Fromm, *To Have or To Be*, 3-4.

43 → *Ibid.*, 28.

our oppression. This oppression is understood and experienced differently among the workers of the world and deeply influenced by our positions as people of color, as women and women of color, as members of the LGBTQ community, as Muslims, and as other marginalized groups. Fromm argues that the *being mode* refers to a process of *becoming*, which implies constant change and movement and the recognition that we are on a continual path of learning and development.

An important critique of this theory of becoming, however, is that this analysis of *becoming* has been used as an instrument of colonization wherein indigenous communities have been marked as sub-human savages who have yet to *become* a civilized people on par with the European rational and objective true human being.<sup>44</sup> This argument is a critically important one stemming from an analysis of the concept of humanity and its Western colonial roots. However, the critique is based on a faulty assumption that development is necessarily linear and singular. Neither Marx nor Fromm claimed a linear, singular or deterministic path to development. I deal with this misconception in the next parts of the paper.

## POSITIONED RATIONALITY, COLONIALITY, AND THE MAKING OF THE OTHER

The having mode of existence can be traced as far back as the colonial period when the North conquered the South to extract riches and slave labor from indigenous communities. In this mercantilist period, the theft and exploitation of indigenous communities from which capitalism spawned was already present. That the indigenous were characterized as “Other” is of critical importance. According to decolonial scholars<sup>45</sup> *el poder colonial* was established by the White, heterosexual, Christian men who landed in the Americas and forcefully normalized their own Western episteme as the objective and rational

44 → López, “The Empire of the Written Word,” 10-17.

45 → The leading figure of the decolonial school is Enrique Dussel. Prominent decolonial scholars who have pushed his ideas further include Ramón Grosfoguel, Walter Mignñolo, and Anibal Quijano.



essence of what it means to be human.<sup>46</sup> This “thinking” human being was said to perceive reality objectively and detached from his self-interests but was established in the White man’s image and thus served to mark the indigenous peoples as subhuman, incredulously justifying the violent history of genocide and *epistemicide* brought about by the invasion and colonization of the Americas.<sup>47</sup> Specifically, the *ego cogito* (I think therefore, I am) that constitutes Descartes’ modernity replaced the prior Christian dominant perspective of the West with a secular but still God-like, objective and monolithic politics of knowledge, attributing this episteme to the White man. This mind over matter ideology discredited the body politics and our felt emotions from rationality and dissociated the geopolitical positioning and material realities of the subject as crucial to the process of knowing. In this way the knowledges of the indigenous communities who suffered at the hands of the conquistadores was delegitimized and made to be irrational and self-serving in an unbelievable twist of reality wherein the actual self-serving interests of the conquistadores for capital were concealed as objective and “natural.”<sup>48</sup>

Ramon Grosfoguel argues that violence was foundational to establishing the Cartesian logic of Western epistemology. Specifically, the ideology of the *ego cogito* (I think, therefore I am) was made possible by the historically specific conditions created by the *ego conquiro* (I conquer, therefore I am) and the *ego exterminus* (I exterminate you, therefore I am). The *ego conquiro* was the foundation upon which the “Imperial Being” developed the sense that to conquer was a “natural” aspect of being human and, thus, legitimized colonial expansion as the primary purpose for the European invasion of the Americas. The *ego extermino* became the logic for genocide and *epistemicide* that mediated the “I conquer” with the “I think” and, therefore, defined

46 → Walter D. Mignolo, “Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 7-8 (2009): 174.

47 → Ramón Grosfoguel, “The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities: Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the long 16th century,” *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* XI, no. 1 (2013): 77.

48 → Enrique Dussel, “Anti-Meditaciones Cartesianas: Sobre el Origen del Anti-Discurso Filosófico de la Modernidad,” *Tabula Rasa* 9 (2008): 162-167.

what was rational with the knowledges and ways of being of the White, heterosexual, and Christian conquistadores. Grosfoguel notes the four *genocides/epistemicides* of the 16th century which were carried out

- 01 Against Muslims and Jews in the conquest of Al-Andalus in the name of “purity of blood.”
- 02 Against indigenous peoples first in the Americas and then in Asia.
- 03 Against African people with the captive trade and their enslavement in the Americas.
- 04 Against women who practiced and transmitted Indo-European knowledge in Europe burned alive accused of being witches.<sup>49</sup>

Clearly the material conditions that lay the foundation for the monstrous greed that exists, and the Western project that justifies it, are dialectically related. As such any attempt to challenge capitalism, racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression must be conjoined. In my view, racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression will not cease to exist as long as capitalism continues to churn. Capitalism needs to maintain a highly exploited class of workers because it serves the ideological function of justifying oppression. At the same time capitalism will not cease to exist as long as people continue to remain divided on ideological and epistemological grounds that keep them from uniting against capital. A conjoined effort is needed. The negation of the negation takes the dialectic into account and suggests a pedagogy of liberation.

## THE NEGATION OF THE NEGATION: LOOKING TO THE SOUTH

Walter D. Mignolo has argued that to speak (know, act) from the geopolitical position of the South requires that we commit “epistemic disobedience.”<sup>50</sup> It requires that we interrogate the “naturalness”

49 → Grosfoguel, “The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities,” 77.

50 → Mignolo, “Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom,” 163.

and “superiority” of Western knowledges and their claim to humanity. It requires that we begin to listen to, and learn from and *with* the silenced voices and ways of knowing of the colonized. However, we ought not fall prey to a similar mindset of the oppressor and claim indigenous and marginalized knowledges superior to a Western episteme nor assume that a geopolitical positioning of the South always embeds indigenous or other suppressed knowledges. The idea is to create the conditions that allow for the recovery of, and value for, indigenous and other marginalized epistemologies, and to legitimize them such that they may join the ranks of Western knowledges and can speak with and to them, interrogating and dismissing (what/who is interrogated/dismissed?)when appropriate. It is important to recognize that non-Western knowledges can refer more broadly to what Antonia Darder refers to as “border intellectuals:” indigenous groups, racialized groups, women, and radical critical scholars (including White men) who interrogate Western knowledges and seek to theorize about, and articulate solutions to, Western hegemony, capitalism, and other forms of oppression favored by the capitalist class.<sup>51</sup>

An important argument has been made that at the heart (lessness) of the Western epistemological campaign for wealth, power, and privilege, is the Western conception of humanity, where human beings were dissociated from other animals as having reached a more advanced state of development that marked us rational and logical, as opposed to “nonhuman” animals.<sup>52</sup> This separate categorization and distancing as well as the linear and unilateral progression to full development that it presumes became the basis for differentiating peoples. The White man was made to be fully human, whereas those who had different practices, values, and knowledges were made to be less developed, less rational, less logical, with subjective experiences, grounded in experience rather than having the ability to abstract and develop objectivity—in short, more like animals, subhuman.<sup>53</sup> This belief would then have served to justify the genocides and epistemicides that

51 → Antonia Darder, “Neoliberalism in the Academic Borderlands: An Ongoing Struggle for Equality and Human Rights,” *Educational Studies* 48, no. 5 (2012), 419.

52 → López, “The Empire of the Written Word,” 10-17.

53 → *Ibid.*, 10-17.

were forged upon so many communities. The infantilizing of indigenous communities, based on a development model of continuous growth, thus accounted for the process of indoctrination of Christian views and Western ways of being. Lopez suggests that this narrative of development employed the concept of “*not yet*,” to create a “yearning” for the Western man for an ideal human to which they would aspire but never be able to reach.<sup>54</sup>

This is an important analysis and contribution that sheds light on the narratives that justified and brought about massive genocide and epistemicide, while also providing the impetus to begin thinking of new ways to define what and who we are – ways that recognize the value inherent in our existence as diverse life forms that are all interdependent. Marx’s dialectical approach can be quite useful in augmenting this approach. Marx argued that phenomena must be recognized in their historical specificity. His dialectical method involved understanding concepts as defined by a unity of opposites in which each was present in the other. Unlike Hegel who argued that objective reality was manifested through our thoughts and ideas, Marx believed that our concepts reflected or responded to our material conditions under capitalism. As such the internal relation between these two parts are always in tension, with one in a position of dominance over the other.<sup>55</sup> Liberation leads from the negation of the negation. The first negation negates its subjugation, and affirms itself equal worth to the dominant. This first negation however remains dependent on defining itself in relation to the object of its initial tension. The second negation disavows itself of the initial categories that had been established to define it, such that a new way of conceiving itself, on its own terms, can develop.<sup>56</sup>

Dialectics do not support a linear formation in which becoming human presumes greater linear development of “human” characteristics and leaving behind remnant “animalistic” aspects. A dialectical approach to

54 → Ibid., 31.

55 → Paula Allman, *Revolutionary Social Transformation* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1999), 61-64.

56 → Peter Hudis, “Marx Among the Muslims,” *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 15, no. 4 (2004), 53-57.

the concept of humanity and what it means to be human would recognize that this concept involves a tension in the ways we define “human” and “animal.” Indeed the concept of being human exists only because we have the concept of non-human animal and vice-versa. Aspects of each of these are present in the other, such that the distinction has been purposefully made antagonistic. The first negation involves the negation of the Western definition and treatment of the non-human animal as having less value than the human animal and affirms fully it’s equal rights to that of humans within the world. However, this negation remains dependent on the original binary defined by Western dominance. The second negation disavows the initial premise upon which oppression occurs—allowing for a redefinition of what it means to exist as a life form with qualities altogether different from those that currently define human and animal as having opposite qualities under the Western paradigm. It is in the disavowal of what developed under specific material conditions of oppression that liberation ensues.

Although Fromm’s distinction between having and being fall into the trap of defining what can be in the language of capital, with the definition of being juxtaposed against having. This is a function of our inherent capitalist arrangement. That is, we can only draw upon what exists in this specific historical context but we can theorize about what can be. This is the reason for which Marx asserted that laying out a blueprint for our liberation was not possible, that it needed to be developed in the process of becoming.

Becoming, then, from a Marxist perspective is not a deterministic result of a linear progression that would presumably lead to full humanity. Becoming is an altogether new path, the result of the negation of the negation that gives us new ways of being, based on what is developed collectively in the process of asserting our liberation. It is a path defined on our own terms rather than dependent on the definitions imposed by a Eurocentric, capitalistic, male paradigm.

## ***BUEN VIVIR***

As a result of the increased poverty experienced in América Latina and cut backs across all forms of social services brought on by the neoliberal policies of the 1990s (with the exception of Cuba), América

Latina has become “the weakest link in the neoliberal chain,<sup>57</sup> with the greatest number of left and center-left governments of any continent or major region and numerous smaller social movements growing. A pushback to the repressive regimes that endorsed neoliberalism began to take hold with the election of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela in 2001 and has been followed by other progressive regimes in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay.

Strong organized social movements, such as the Zapatistas of Chiapas, Mexico, are notable for their affirmation of indigenous rights and their ability to develop ideologies and policies that turn neoliberal and capitalist ideology on its head. They challenge the very foundations of what is perceived natural and inevitable, such as wealth disparities and private property and they point us toward alternatives previously considered impossible within our current world. Here, I highlight changes in the Andean region and the concept of *buen vivir*.

*Buen vivir* (or *vivir bien* as used in Bolivia) is a Spanish translation for a set of values and/or practices of the indigenous peoples of the Andean region in South America. The Aymara people refer to this concept as *suma qamaña*; the Quechua, *sumak kawsay*; the Amazonian groups of Peru, *ametsa asaiki*; and the Guaraní, *ñandereko*.<sup>58</sup> It is often translated into English as “the good life.” However, the indigenous version of this concept is significantly different from the Western one that emphasizes affluence. The central principles of *buen vivir* include:

- A A belief that human beings are only one part of a larger organic world that includes other animals, plants, and the Earth that we live in.
- B The recognition that all living things are interdependent and that we all have the social responsibility to care for one another.
- C Pluriculturalism, which recognizes and values different cultures and knowledges of all peoples and seeks

57 → Emir Sader, “The Weakest Link: Neoliberalism in Latin America” in *New Left Review* 52, July & Aug. (2008), 6.

58 → Admin En, “Notes for the Debate: Vivir Bien/Buen Vivir,” in *Systemic Alternatives*, July 30, 2014. Retrieved <http://systemicalternatives.org/2014/07/30/1099>

to decolonize against Euro-American imperialism and Western epistemology.

- D Equilibrium or harmony between the various aspects of one's life, including our social, economic, and spiritual needs.
- E A new approach to development that recognizes what is sufficient for the good life and a belief that everyone has the right to have their needs met and to live with dignity. At a national level this value translates as sustainability rather than a continual growth development model.<sup>59</sup>

In Bolivia and Ecuador, aspects of these central elements have been incorporated into these countries respective constitutions. These countries have high percentages of indigenous populations who have been able to mobilize sufficiently to bring to power leaders who are particularly interested in progressive social change.<sup>60</sup> However, each of the countries seem to emphasize different aspects of *buen vivir* and each has developed different policies.

In Bolivia, Presidente Evo Morales has declared a strong alliance between government and social movements and enjoyed mass support for his democratic approach. Here the pluricultural principle is emphasized.<sup>61</sup> The Bolivian constitution recognizes 36 different indigenous languages, most of which are spoken by fairly small groups of people. Presidente Morales' most notable achievement is the country's economic redistribution strategy that includes a bonds program, "Programa de Bonos de Desarrollo Humano," that distributes cash bonds to the neediest families, ranging from approximately \$30 to \$350 per year. The strategy also includes greater access to education and healthcare. Although these amounts seem small, these can be very helpful to families that sometimes only earn a few dollars a day. Approximately 30 percent of Bolivians benefited from this program in 2011.<sup>62</sup>

59 → Ibid.

60 → It is important to note that there is also strong indigenous opposition to the Governments in the Andean region.

61 → Lorenza Fontana, "Plurinational Citizenship in the Making," in *Politics in Spires*, Feb. 19, 2015. Retrieved <http://politicsinspires.org/plurinational-citizenship-making/>

62 → Sara Shahriari, "Bolivia's Economy Grows, but Challenges Still Persist," in *Indian*

However, the transition to a philosophy of *vivir bien* in Bolivia is only in its infancy and thus faces significant inconsistency and internal strife. The diversity of Bolivia and the fact that many Bolivians identify by city, profession, peasant or other organizations, presents the problem that these groups sometimes have different interests and different ideas about what *vivir bien* means. Furthermore, although the Bolivian constitution includes an entity for the protection of “Mother Earth,” it also supports Western development models of growth, such as the industrialization and commercialization of natural resources. Obviously the extractive industry is a complete contradiction to the rights of Mother Earth.<sup>63</sup>

In Ecuador, *buen vivir* has taken the form of a set of rights, including rights to water and food, rights to housing, health, education, rights to work and to protest, and the rights of nature. Unlike President Evo Morales of Bolivia, President Rafael Correa critiques the lack of organization and effectiveness of grassroots organizations and has himself been critiqued for “making a citizen’s revolution without citizen participation.”<sup>64</sup> However, he had enormous support from a wide range of groups when he was first voted in to office and has fought for, and made important social policy changes, in support of the people.<sup>65</sup> An important aspect of Ecuador’s constitution is that it recognizes “diverse families” and speaks to women’s rights, in line with Presidente Correa’s claim that his citizen’s revolution would have “a woman’s face.”<sup>66</sup> Indeed new legislation regarding women’s rights, gender identity, and homosexuality has been introduced. However, Correa himself has publicly come out against abortion rights and

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Country Today Media Network, May 10, 2012. <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/05/10/bolivias-economy-grows-challenges-still-persist-111906>

63 → Ibid.

64 → Thomas Fatheuer, *Buen Vivir: A Brief Introduction to Latin America’s New Concepts for the Good Life and the Rights of Nature*. (Berlin, Germany: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2011), 27. Retrieved [https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/endf\\_buen\\_vivir\\_engl.pdf](https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/endf_buen_vivir_engl.pdf)

65 → Ibid.

66 → Ami Lind, “Revolution with a Woman’s Face? Family Norms, Constitutional Reform, and the Politics of Redistribution in Post-Neoliberal Ecuador,” *Rethinking Marxism* 24, no. 4 (2012), 536.



same-sex marriage. These contradictions undermine the possibilities for gender equality that come out of *buen vivir*, with its focus on Mother Earth and life.<sup>67</sup> In a similar vein as the Bolivian government, although the constitution upholds the rights of nature, the implementation of these rights in a country whose economic development has been based on the extraction and sale of natural resources is fraught with difficulties amplified by both internal and external pressures. For example, indigenous groups have not been given a say in development projects that extract oil and other resources from their lands and that dramatically affect their lands and ecosystems. In addition, although the constitution grants the right to protests, speaking out against the state or mining has been criminalized.<sup>68</sup>

Despite these challenges, *buen vivir* has the potential to disrupt and challenge Western superiority, coloniality, capitalism, and the having mode of existence. It champions the right of every life form to co-exist, recognizing that all life forms are interdependent. It functions in some ways as the negation of the negation in that not only does it negate the object of critique but as totality for a new philosophy of existence seems to be a new creation, rooted in indigenous thought but open to being shaped by all those living it in the moment. (this claim deserves further development, seems very important). However, as we consider the various central elements of *buen vivir*, perhaps as we seek the language with which to describe it, we cannot help but notice that many aspects are steeped in the old categories of development and therefore remain at the stage of the first negation.

As evidenced above, state intervention (constitutional rights) is no guarantee that policies (which policies) will automatically align, and this points to both internal and external conflicts that affect implementation and interpretation of *buen vivir*. Nonetheless, we can perceive the inclusion of *buen vivir* into these constitutions as a first and very important step in challenging neoliberalism and in creating

67 → Ibid., 537-541.

68 → Cecilia Chérrez, "Ecuador: Criminalization of the Social Protest in Times of the "Citizen Revolution", in *Upside Down World*, Sept. 27, 2011. Retrieved <http://upsidedownworld.org/main/ecuador-archives-49/3234-ecuador-criminalization-of-the-social-protest-in-times-of-the-citizen-revolution>

an alternative to capitalism. Indeed, both the governments of Ecuador and Bolivia publicly claim to be anti-capitalist and moving towards an alternative. Scholars and activists from all over the world are watching closely to learn how *buen vivir* plays out in future policy.

## REVOLUTIONARY CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND TEACHING AS AN ACT OF FREEDOM

Of critical significance, especially in hypercapitalist countries such as the U.S. and other highly industrialized nations, is to devise ways in which to recover subaltern knowledges that have either been exterminated or hidden by years of hegemonic rule and the illusion of benevolent and democratic institutions. This is where we as teachers and educators step in—this is our task in the changing of common sense—to create the conditions in our schools and in our classrooms that set the stage for creating new values and a new vision for the world. Paulo Freire argued that teaching was an act of freedom and an act of love. Following Freire, gaining a critical clarity about the conditions that define our existence as oppressed and oppressors is the first step in developing a revolutionary praxis, acting in accord with our growing understandings and demanding our liberation.<sup>69</sup> Revolutionary Critical pedagogues<sup>70</sup> point to a curriculum that interrogates and challenges capitalist social relations and the numerous antagonisms that it breeds, including racism, sexism, homophobia, Islamophobia, etc. Complicit with the capitalist mode of production is the Western epistemic dominance that has both justified and perpetuated the coloniality of power matrix that defined the White, heterosexual male as “human” and all Others as sub-human. Thus, an important first step in challenging the growth and accumulation imperatives of capitalism is to question the given nature of the way our society and our lives are structured and to conceive of new ways of engaging in the world. Dussel’s *La Pedagogía Latinoamericana*

69 → Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. (New York: Continuum, 1970), 70-71.

70 → Save the work of Paula Allman, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren.

aligns well with the Marxist revolutionary approach that I have discussed in this paper. Dussel takes an analectic approach, as opposed to Marx's dialectical approach (discussed above), in which the teacher (the oppressor in the teacher/student relation), "*siendo conducido por la revelación de discípulo*" (having been led by the revelation of the disciple) steps outside the system and becomes the Other who leads the path to liberation.<sup>71</sup> Dussel reaches the same Hegelian conclusion that new categories must be created so that we are not confined to the language and structures of the oppressors and can develop instead concepts for engaging (engaging what?) that are not in contrast to existing ones (the "ones" refers to what?) but rather are based upon "*lo nuevo, lo que falta*" (what is new, what is missing).<sup>72</sup> Dussel argues that *lo pedagógico* (the pedagogical) refers not just to teaching or what is "discovered" in that process but to "*lo que se recibe de otro*" (what is received from the Other) in intimate, "*cara a cara*" (face to face) interaction.<sup>73</sup>

A revolutionary critical pedagogy also asks us to teach with our hearts—to love our students, seeing them as bounties of strength, courage, and possibility. When we really see them this way, our teaching will necessarily be transformed into contexts for critical reflection, epistemic diversity, and solidarity—all of which are necessary for our students to see themselves as the change agents they can be.

An important aspect of a critical pedagogy is to interrogate the foundations of our education system and to recognize and transform its hegemonic role. This is the fundamental task for the critical teachers who will bring up the next generation of leaders in our world. An important question we need to ask ourselves as educators is whether we wish to prepare students to succeed in an unethical world where our vision extends only as far as our own self-interests, or shall we dare to teach our students to work diligently to transform the world into a place that is socially just and in which we recognize

71 → Enrique Dussel, *La Pedagogía Latinoamericana* (Bogota, Colombia: Editorial Nueva America, 1980), 53. Translations of Dussel's work are my own.

72 → Ibid.

73 → Ibid., 11.

our interdependence and learn to love and care for one another and for all life forms. I would hope that as critical educators we would want nothing less. ■