

Argentina, a Tale of Two Utopias

Anarchism, Soccer, Neoliberalism

Tomas Rothaus • Foreword by Gabriel Kuhn

Argentina, a Tale of Two Utopias takes us through the outsized and unexpected remnants of the influence of anarchist ideas and practice on modern-day Argentina—from the names of popular pastries to the foundation of numerous soccer clubs—until we arrive at the explosive intersection of anarchism, football, and the crisis of neoliberalism.

This is a thrilling first-person account of the December 2001 uprising in Argentina that marked the end of the neoliberal experiment of the 1990s, narrated by an anarchist participant in the clashes that laid siege to the presidential palace and forced the president to resign and flee on a rooftop helicopter. *A Tale of Two Utopias* weaves together two simultaneous yet seemingly unrelated events of those “days which contain decades” of Buenos Aires in December 2001: the uprising and the first championship in 35 years of the popular football club Racing Club de Avellaneda.

Alternating between urgent narration and historical account, and accompanied by over 150 photos and illustrations, *A Tale of Two Utopias* leads the reader through the streets of a burning Buenos Aires while also finding the time to take us on a lovingly traced tour of the rich history of Argentina’s anarchist movement of the early twentieth century, then among the largest in the world. It is also a compelling account of the trauma inflicted by Argentina’s numerous dictatorships.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Tomas Rothaus is a lifelong anarchist and antifascist as well as an athlete and a father. He was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and has led a nomadic life. He has been involved with a broad range of organizations including the CNT-Vignoles, Collectif Anti Expulsions (Anti Deportation Collective), Barricada Collective, Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists, Antifaschistische Linke International, and Acción Antifascista Buenos Aires. Over the past twenty plus years he has been an active participant in militant demonstrations and antifascist mobilizations ranging from the 2001 Bush inauguration, the FTAA summit in Quebec, the 2007 G8 summit in Rostock, and the 2011 mobilization to stop the march of several thousand neo-Nazis in the city of Dresden. PM Press published his first book, *Another War Is Possible*, in 2025.

Gabriel Kuhn is an Austrian-born writer and translator living in Sweden. His numerous authored and edited books include *All Power to the Councils! A Documentary History of the German Revolution of 1918–1919*; *Turning Money into Rebellion: The Unlikely Story of Denmark’s Revolutionary Bank Robbers*; *Liberating Sápmi: Indigenous Resistance in Europe’s Far North*; and *Soccer vs. the State: Tackling Football and Radical Politics*.

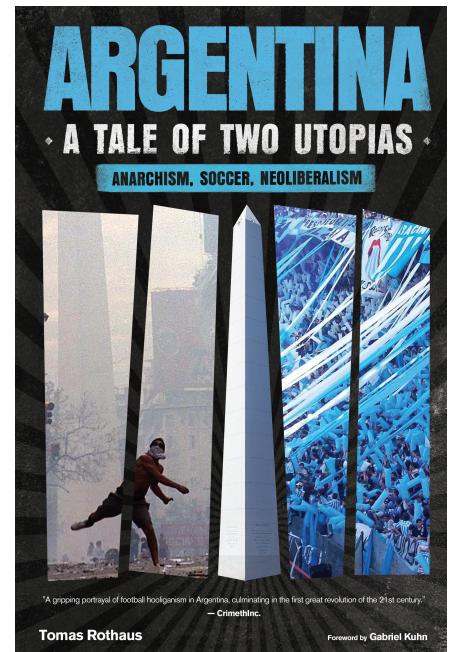
ACCOLADES

“Argentina, a Tale of Two Utopias weaves complicated histories of anarchism, football, resistance, and everyday life in Buenos Aires into an artful narrative of youthful exuberance and political turmoil. As opposition boils up again today in Argentina, this riveting snapshot of popular outrage from below presents readers with a fascinating point of inflection to connect general strikes and dreams of revolution, past and present.”

—Mark Bray, author of *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook*

“Nothing excites stronger feelings than sports and politics. If you are passionate about one of them, read this book: it will help you understand why people are so passionate about the other.”

—CrimethInc. Writers’ Bloc



SUBJECT CATEGORY

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