Centuries March the Streets

The Power of the Past in Bolivian Indigenous Movements, 1970-2000

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Qhiparu nayraru uñtas sartañani.
– Looking back, we will move forward. Aymara phrase.

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the ways Bolivian indigenous movements and activists utilized and produced indigenous histories of resistance to orient and strengthen their struggles for rights, political power, and autonomy. It focuses primarily on Aymara indigenous groups in the Western Andean region of Bolivia and their organizing work from the post-revolutionary 1970s to the start of the country's popular uprisings in the early 2000s. This work demonstrates how four leading indigenous organizations mobilized history to articulate and promote a radical vision for the transformation of Bolivian politics and society.

Indigenous activists and intellectuals operating largely in La Paz in the wake of the 1952 National Revolution spurred a resurgence of indigenous politics in the 1970s. Groups such as the Kataristas, named after eighteenth century indigenous rebel Túpac Katari, ran rural organizing efforts, and created manifestos and small publications that championed indigenous identity, historical consciousness, and the political model of past indigenous martyrs and a pre-conquest utopia. The Kataristas' greatest legacy was their role in the 1979 founding of the Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB), an indigenous *campesino* union that developed and popularized indigenous histories through speeches, road blockades, rallies, and political proposals. Their use of the past as a tool for mobilizing their members and fighting for social change was paralleled by the work of the Andean Oral History Workshop (THOA), founded in 1983 by a group of primarily Aymara scholars and students who met at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz. The THOA used oral history practices to gather testimonies and produce pamphlets, books, and radio programs on little-known histories of indigenous resistance, and distributed these materials throughout the rural highlands. The THOA's innovative research methods and accessible publications contributed to the

empowerment of a new generation of indigenous movements in the 1990s, most notably the National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ) and their efforts to reconstitute the centuries-old Andean community organizational model of the *ayllu*. The CONAMAQ and ayllu activists, often with the help of the THOA, conducted their own historical research and reflection into individual ayllu history, principles, and traditions, and created a national network of ayllus that collaborated to promote indigenous and ayllu community rights and self-governance.

This exploration of these indigenous movements and organizations points to the centrality of history and historical production to indigenous organizing efforts in Bolivia during this time. For these activists, narratives of the past were important tools used to motivate citizens to take action for social change, to develop new political projects and proposals, and provide alternative models of governance, agricultural production, and social relationships. These groups elevated and promoted indigenous identity and historical consciousness in Bolivia. Their revival of historical events, personalities, and symbols in protests, manifestos, banners, oral histories, booklets, and streets barricades set in motion a wave of indigenous movements and politics that still rocks the country.

Résumé

La présente thèse s'intéresse à la manière dont les militants et les mouvements autochtones boliviens ont utilisé et imaginé des histoires de résistance dans le but d'orienter et de renforcer leur lutte pour la défense de leurs droits, de leur pouvoir politique et de leur autonomie. La thèse se penche avant tout sur les peuples autochtones aymaras, présents dans l'ouest des Andes boliviennes, et sur leur organisation depuis la période post-révolutionnaire des années 1970 jusqu'aux premiers soulèvements populaires dans le pays au début des années 2000. Ce travail met en évidence la manière dont les quatre principaux mouvements autochtones ont utilisé le passé afin d'énoncer et de promouvoir une vision radicale en vue de la transformation de la politique et de la société boliviennes.

Des militants et intellectuels autochtones actifs en grande partie à La Paz au lendemain de la révolution nationale de 1952 ont redonné vie à la politique des communautés autochtones dans les années 1970. Des groupes tels que les kataristes, qui tirent leur nom du rebelle autochtone du dix-huitième siècle Túpac Katari, ont redoublé d'efforts pour organiser leur communauté. Ils ont également plaidé en faveur de l'identité autochtone et de la conscience historique à travers des manifestes et des petites publications. Leur modèle politique s'inspirait des martyres autochtones et de l'utopie de la pré-conquête. On se souvient principalement des kataristes pour leur rôle dans la fondation en 1979 de la Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB, Confédération syndicale unique des travailleurs paysans de Bolivie), un syndicat de *campesinos* autochtones qui ont élaboré et popularisé des récits concernant leurs communautés à travers des discours, des barrages routiers, des rassemblements et des propositions politiques. Leur utilisation du passé pour mobiliser leurs membres et lutter en faveur d'un changement social allait de pair avec le travail du Taller de Historia Oral Andina (THOA, Atelier de tradition

orale des Andes), fondé en 1983 par un groupe d'étudiants essentiellement aymaras qui s'étaient rencontrés à l'Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (Université supérieure de San Andrés) à La Paz. Le THOA utilisait la tradition orale pour rassembler des témoignages et produire des fascicules, des livres et des programmes radios divulguant des histoires peu connues de résistance autochtone. Ces écrits ont été distribués dans tous les villages des Andes. Les méthodes de recherche innovantes du THOA ainsi que leurs publications accessibles à tous ont aidé à renforcer l'autonomie d'une nouvelle génération de mouvements autochtones dans les années 1990, en particulier celle du Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ, Conseil national des *ayllus* et des *markas* du Qullasuyu). Ce travail a également permis de consolider leurs efforts afin de restaurer l'*ayllu*, un modèle d'organisation de la communauté andine vieux de plusieurs siècles. Le CONAMAQ et les militants *ayllus*, souvent aidés par le THOA, ont mené leurs propres recherches et réflexions sur l'histoire, les principes et les traditions de la communauté *ayllu.* Ils ont mis en place un réseau national d'*ayllus* qui ont agi en faveur des droits et de l'autonomie des communautés autochtones et *ayllus*.

Cette étude approfondie de ces mouvements et organisations autochtones montre clairement que l'histoire et les récits du passé ont grandement aidé les communautés autochtones de Bolivie à s'organiser au cours de cette période. Aux yeux de ces militants, les récits du passé fournissent d'importants outils pour motiver les citoyens à agir en faveur du changement social, à mettre au point de nouveaux projets et propositions politiques et à proposer d'autres modèles de gouvernance, de production agricole et de relations sociales. Ces groupes ont revalorisé les communautés autochtones de Bolivie et ont œuvré en faveur de leur identité et de leur conscience historique. Ils ont fait revivre des évènements, des personnalités et des symboles historiques à travers des contestations, des manifestes, des bannières, la tradition orale, des

brochures et des barrages routiers. Ils ont ainsi déclenché une vague de mouvements autochtones et de luttes politiques qui secouent toujours le pays aujourd'hui.

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I was unable to incorporate all of the suggestions and advice I received on this project, and I alone bear the responsibility of any shortcomings or mistakes in this dissertation.

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have loved to see this process come to fruition. I am sorry they did not live to see it, but their spirit has been with me each step of the way.

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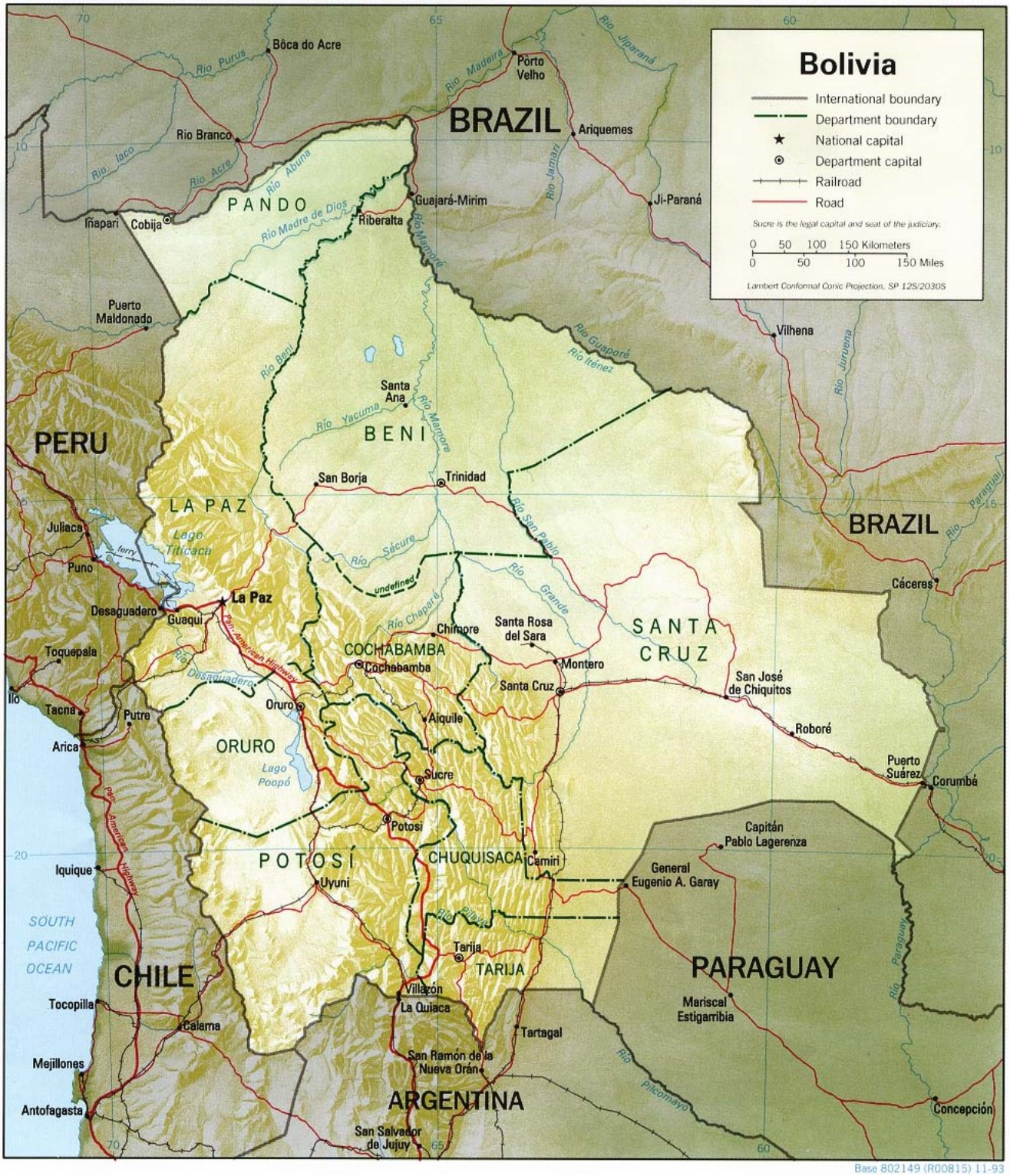
Map of Bolivia



Map of Bolivia courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

List of Abbreviations

COB – Bolivian Workers' Central, *Central Obrera Boliviano*

CONAMAQ – National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu, *Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo*

CSUTCB – Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia, *Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia*

MAS – Movement Toward Socialism, *Movimiento al Socialismo*

MNR – Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolutionario*

PMC – Military-Campesino Pact, *Pacto Militar-Campesino*

THOA – Andean Oral History Workshop, *Taller de Historia Oral Andina*

Chapter One

Introduction: Centuries March the Streets

A caravan of buses, security vehicles, indigenous leaders, and backpackers with Che Guevara T-shirts wove their way down a muddy road through farmers' fields to the pre-colonial city of Tiwanaku. Folk music played throughout the cool January 22, 2015 day as indigenous priests conducted complex rituals to prepare Bolivia's first indigenous president, Evo Morales, for a third term in office. His ceremonial inauguration in the ancient city's ruins was marked by many layers of symbolic meaning. "Today is a special day, a historic day reaffirming our identity," Morales said in his speech, given from in front of an elaborately carved stone doorway. "For more than five hundred years, we have suffered darkness, hatred, racism, discrimination and individualism, ever since the strange [Spanish] men arrived, telling us that we had to modernize, that we had to civilize ourselves… But to modernize us, to civilize us, first they had to make the indigenous peoples of the world disappear."[1]

Morales had been re-elected the previous October with more than 60% of the vote. His popularity was largely due to his Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) party's success in reducing poverty, empowering marginalized sectors of society, and using funds from state-run industries for hospitals, schools, and much-needed public works projects across Bolivia. "I would like to tell you, sisters and brothers," Morales continued, "especially those invited here internationally, what did they used to say? 'The Indians, the indigenous people, are only for

[1] *Ministerio de Comunicación, Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia,* "Ceremonia Ancestral de Posesión de Mando, Tiwanaku - La Paz," *Somos Sur*, January 21, 2015.

voting and not for governing.' And now the indigenous people, the unions, we have all demonstrated that we also know how to govern better than them."

For critics on the political left, the Tiwanaku event embodied the contradictions of a president who championed indigenous rights at the same time that he silenced and undermined grassroots indigenous dissidents, and who spoke of respect for Mother Earth while deepening an extractive economy based on gas and mining industries. Indeed, the way the MAS used the ruins of Tiwanaku for political ends, as it had in past inaugurations, appeared shameful and opportunistic to some critics.[2] But such uses of historical symbols by Morales were part of a long political tradition in Bolivia. From *campesino* (rural worker) and indigenous movements in the 1970s to the MAS party today, indigenous activists and leftist politicians have claimed links with indigenous histories of oppression and resistance to legitimize their demands and guide their contested processes of decolonization.

When Evo Morales walked through the doors of Tiwanaku amidst smoking incense and the prayers of Andean priests, for many Bolivians it was indeed a profound moment marking the third term in office for the country's first indigenous president. It was also just another day in a country where the politics of the present are steeped in the past. The Morales government typically portrays itself as a political force that has realized the thwarted dreams of eighteenth century indigenous rebel Túpac Katari, who organized an insurrection against the Spanish in an attempt to re-assert indigenous rule in the Andes. This was underlined in the recent naming of Bolivia's first satellite, Túpac Katari (TKsat 1). The launching of the satellite was broadcast live in the central Plaza Murillo in La Paz, an event accompanied by Andean spiritual leaders conducting rituals to honor mother earth. The government has also named state-owned planes

[2] Elizabeth López, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 16, 2014.

after Katari. As Bolivian air force commander Tito Gandarillas told the president at a celebration marking the official use of a new plane, "There you have it in front of you, our legendary 727-200 Boeing, that we are going to name Túpac Katari; he has returned converted in millions and this airplane is going to transport millions of Bolivian men and women, people with few resources."[3] That Katari's legacy could be put to use in such a way speaks to the enduring political capital of the indigenous rebel.

Over two hundred years before the Evo Morales government launched a satellite bearing his name, the Aymara indigenous rebel Katari led a 109-day long siege of La Paz in 1781 that rattled Spanish colonial rule. Katari's revolt was part of an Andean-wide indigenous insurrection launched in 1780 from Cuzco and Potosí, and was spread by Katari to La Paz in March of 1781. The essential demand of the revolts led by Tomás Katari in Potosí, Túpac Amaru in Cuzco, and Túpac Katari in La Paz, was that governance of the region be placed back into indigenous hands.

An Aymara commoner born roughly thirty years before the 1781 siege in the town of Sicasica, Túpac Katari lived in the community of Ayo-Ayo, spoke only the Aymara language, and was one of the many itinerant coca and cloth traders in the region.[4] His birth name was Julián Apaza, but he took on the name Túpac Katari to tie his legitimacy as a leader to the rebels in Cuzco and Potosí. Accounts from the era describe Katari as a poor man who was not necessarily handsome, and who had deformed legs and hands, "but his eyes" one scribe reported,

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[3] Yuri F. Tórrez and Claudia Arce C., *Construcción Simbólica del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia: Imaginarios políticos, discursos, rituales y celebraciones* (La Paz: PIEB, 2014), 122-123. Also see Vincent Nicolas and Pablo Quisbert, *Pachakuti: El Retorno de la Nación* (La Paz: PIEB, 2014); Nancy Postero, "Andean Utopias in Evo Morales's Bolivia," *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 2, no. 1 (2007).

[4] Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Túpac Amaru* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2013), 116-117. Also see Steve Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

"though small and sunken, along with his movements demonstrated the greatest astuteness [*viveza*] and resolution; of slightly whiter color than most of the Indians from this region."[5] Bartolina Sisa, Katari's wife and close ally during the rebellion, said that her husband's goal was to establish indigenous self-rule. She explained that Katari inspired troops with the promise that "they would be left as the ultimate owners of this place, and of its wealth." Rebels, she said, fought for a time in which "they alone would rule."[6]

On March 13, 1781, the residents of city of La Paz awoke to an assault of roughly forty thousand indigenous men and women entering the valley from the surrounding high plains of El Alto. The rebels planned to seize the city, cutting it off from its main access and trade routes. The geographical setting lent itself to this strategy, as El Alto, where the rebels were based, is located along the rim of the deep valley home to La Paz, making it easy to cut the city off from the highland.[7] The siege was held from various points, while Katari's army descended to make regular assaults and incursions against the Spanish in La Paz. Water sources were cut off by the rebels, and a lack of food forced city residents to eat mules, dogs, and cats.[8] Katari presided over his insurrection from the heights of El Alto, surveying the city below from a busy encampment out of which messengers, soldiers and spies came and went. Staged to inspire fear among the Spanish in the valley, this hive of constant activity was the logistical and symbolic heart of the

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[5] Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 184. For this quote, Thomson cites Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, EC 1788 [1788] No. 29, fol. IIV.
[6] Ibid., 10. For this quote, Thomson cites Archivo General de Indias, Buenos Aires 319, "Cuaderno No. 4," fols. 60v, 77.
[7] Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes*, 115-116.
[8] María Eugenia del Valle de Siles, *Historia de la rebelión de Tupac Catari* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2011), 179. For accounts of the siege, also see Ward Stavig and Ella Schmidt, eds. and trans., *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008), 227-237.

siege. Each morning, Katari's troops descended into La Paz, barraging the city with drums, mortar fire, flutes, and traditional *pututo* horns made of conches or cow horns.[9]

By the end of the siege, fifteen thousand people, roughly a third of the city's population, had died. On July 1st, Spanish reinforcements arrived in the city. As the army approached, Katari ordered his forces to retreat.[10] He fled to the nearby town of Peñas and then Achacachi to re-organize the resistance, but was captured. On November 14th, Katari was quartered alive in Peñas, his limbs tied to the tails of four horses. To inspire fear among his followers, the Spanish put his separated limbs on display throughout the region. The dismemberment of Katari represented the destruction and death of the rebellion, morbidly displaying the power of the Spanish over the vanquished rebels. Katari's head was exhibited in La Paz's main plaza, near Quilliquilli, where the rebel leader had hung his own enemies from the gallows.[11]

It is widely understood that moments before his execution, Katari promised, "I will return as millions."[12] Indeed, though his dream of overthrowing the Spanish and gaining indigenous self-rule was crushed, during the hundreds of years that have passed since his execution, this martyr and his struggle have been taken up as symbols of indigenous resistance by countless movement participants, activist-scholars, and union leaders in Bolivia. Activists have erected

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[9] Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule*, 209-210.
[10] Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes*, 130-131, 127-128. Also see Nicholas A. Robins, *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 49-50
[11] Sinclair Thomson, "Moments of Redemption: Decolonization as Reconstitution of the Body of Katari," *Rasanblaj Caribeño* 12, no. 1 (2015); Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule, 19;* Stavig and Schmidt, *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions*, 241-242; Lyman L. Johnson, ed., *Death, Dismemberment, and Memory: Body Politics in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2004).
[12] Though this is the widely-accepted phrase attributed to Katari, there is no historical evidence proving he said it. However, Farthing and Kohl point out that such reconstructed stories "neatly tie into powerful collective memories that promise the cyclical return of indigenous power and the sense of obligation to ancestors." Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl, "Mobilizing Memory: Bolivia's Enduring Social Movements," *Social Movement Studies* 12, no. 4 (2013): 368.

Katari statues, his name and portrait have graced placards and the titles of campesino unions, and his legacy has fueled dozens of indigenous ideologies, manifestos, and political parties. Katari's street barricade strategies have been taken up again by twenty-first century rebels, and the satellite named after him circles the globe.

Katari's symbolism travels well. In April of 2000, the specter of Katari returned in the form of a series of indigenous Aymara-led protests against water privatization and neoliberal policies. The protests involved road blockades that cut off La Paz from the rest of the country.[13] Marxa Chávez, an Aymara sociologist with rural roots, became involved in the uprising. She said that activists took turns maintaining the barricades, and established vigils along the highways to signal when locals, visitors, and the military were arriving. The very act of blockading roads to strangle La Paz recalled Katari's struggle. "The blockade is a form of remembering the siege," Chávez explained. The movement's organization of road blockades utilized practical knowledge which had been "transmitted basically by oral memory."[14] For example, "there was a form of convening people in the Túpac Katari uprising which was to light bonfires in the hills so that other communities would see them, and it was a symbol of alert." In the blockades of 2000, activists used the same style of fires to summon people. "That's why hundreds of people later arrived in [the highland town of] Achacachi to face off with the military, because they had seen the smoke." She placed the origins of the technique in the "unwritten memory in the communities."[15] Three years later, another siege would rock La Paz, this time led by the same highland communities and spreading to El Alto. For weeks on end, Aymara activists maintained barricades surrounding La Paz to protest government repression and a plan to privatize and

[13] Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).
[14] Marxa Chávez, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, February 19, 2015.
[15] Ibid.

export Bolivian gas. The protests ousted the neoliberal president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada and ushered in a new phase of grassroots organizing and leftist politics that paved the way for Morales' election in 2005.[16]

As a journalist, researcher, and activist, I have been personally involved in many of the dramatic political and social changes Bolivia has experienced since the turn of the century. I have written two books and dozens of articles about the cycles of protests in the early 2000s and the Evo Morales administration. From the tumultuous Gas War protests in 2003 to the political roller coaster ride of the Morales years, I have been continually struck by the discursive power and presence of historical narratives and symbols in Bolivia's social movements and political realm. As a journalist, I was forced to return time and again to the country's history to be able to begin to understand the constant references to pre-conquest civilizations, Katari's siege, and the hopes and betrayals of the 1952 National Revolution made in street protests and presidential speeches. Historical consciousness forged out of protests, oral histories, and popular depictions of the past coursed through these intense years of social protest and political transformation.

What explains history's hold on Bolivia? How did Bolivia get to the point of celebrating indigeneity and five hundred years of resistance with its first indigenous president in Tiwanaku? Why was the dream of a return to a pre-conquest indigenous civilization shared by millions? Why was Katari embraced so widely as a symbol of the indigenous struggle for justice and political power? How were these histories made to be so alive and have so much relevance in the social and political sphere, in spite of the silences in the academy and official histories of the country? Who produced and maintained these historical discourses, collective memories, and

[16] For more on the uprisings of the 2000s and the rise and presidency of Evo Morales, see Benjamin Dangl, *The Price of Fire: Resource Wars and Social Movements in Bolivia* (Oakland: AK Press, 2007); Benjamin Dangl, *Dancing with Dynamite: Social Movements and States in Latin America* (Oakland: AK Press, 2010).

oral histories at the street barricades, marches, and political rallies? These questions were raised again and again in conversations with activists and politicians in my fifteen years of work in the country. The work presented in these pages is the result of my search for answers.

This dissertation argues that the grassroots production and mobilization of indigenous people's history by activists in Bolivia was a crucial element for empowering, orienting, and legitimizing indigenous movements from 1970s post-revolutionary Bolivia to the uprisings of the 2000s. Movements' recovery and championing of histories of oppression and resistance increased their numbers and appeal, provided a way to analyze and understand neo-colonialism, and offered strategies and potent symbols for revolts. Such uses of history strengthened the rise of indigenous movements making their claims as heirs of centuries of struggle and rightful owners of Bolivian territory.

This work focuses primarily on Aymara-based indigenous movements and groups in the Andean highlands of Bolivia, largely in and around the capital city of La Paz. I highlight Aymara activists, leaders, and intellectuals in this region due to their striking production and uses of history in indigenous movements and political thought. This research therefore focuses on how the Kataristas, the Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia, CSUTCB), the Taller de Historia Oral Andina, (Andean Oral History Workshop, THOA), and the Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo (National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu, CONAMAQ) drew from and produced history to orient and strengthen their struggles. Their historical production and analysis fed into a collective indigenous vision for the transformation of Bolivian politics and society.

Over the three decades examined here, indigenous movements and intellectuals dramatically reshaped the political landscape of the country. The Kataristas, a group of indigenous activists and intellectuals operating largely in La Paz in the wake of the National Revolution, spurred an indigenous resurgence in the 1970s. They did so through manifestos, rural organizing efforts, and small publications that championed indigenous identity, historical consciousness, and the political model of past indigenous martyrs and a pre-conquest utopia. The Kataristas' greatest legacy was their role in the 1979 founding of the CSUTCB, an indigenous campesino union that developed and popularized indigenous histories through speeches, road blockades, rallies, and political proposals.

The use of the past by these groups as a tool for mobilizing their members and fighting for social change was echoed in the work of the THOA, which was founded in 1983 by a group of primarily Aymara scholars and students who met at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz. The THOA used oral history practices to gather testimonies and produce pamphlets, books, and radio programs on little-known histories of indigenous resistance. It distributed these materials throughout the rural highlands. The THOA's innovative research methods and accessible publications contributed to the rise of a new generation of indigenous movements, most notably the CONAMAQ and their efforts to reconstitute the centuries-old model of the ayllu, a wide-spread form of indigenous community organization in the Andes dating back to the pre-Incan period, and explored in more detail in chapter six. Key ayllu traditions which survived over the centuries include systems of rotational leadership, ethics of mutual aid, communal labor organization, and archipelago-like agricultural production spanning various ecological zones in the Andes. The CONAMAQ and ayllu activists, with the help of the THOA, conducted their own historical research and reflection into ayllu history, principles, traditions, and customs, which led

to the development of a national network of ayllus that collaborated to promote indigenous and ayllu community rights, autonomy, and political power.

This exploration of the work of these indigenous movements and organizations points to the centrality of indigenous history and historical production to their organizing efforts. For these activists, the past was an important tool used to motivate citizens to take action for social change, to develop new political projects and proposals, and provide alternative models of governance, agricultural production, and social relationships. These groups elevated indigenous identity and historical consciousness in Bolivia. Their revival of historical events, personalities and symbols in protests, manifestos, banners, oral history, pamphlets, and streets barricades set in motion a wave of indigenous movements and politics that is still rocking the country.

Mobilizing the Past

The indigenous movements examined here mobilized the past through marches, speeches, symbols, road barricades, and protests. Kataristas raised the symbol of Katari; the CSUTCB evoked the eighteenth century siege in their own road blockade campaigns; and the ayllu proponents elevated community traditions as a banner in their struggle for autonomy and rights. These various groups strengthened Bolivia's collective indigenous identity, and constructed an historical discourse out of a shared culture and a history of oppression and resistance. According to Bolivian social movement scholars Álvaro García Linera, Marxa Chávez León, and Patricia Costas Monje, this process helped to "bring the group together, legitimate their actions, identify their opponents and define their demands."[17] In the cases of the Kataristas, the CSUTCB, and the

[17] Álvaro García Linera, Marxa Chávez León, and Patricia Costas Monje, *Sociología de los movimientos sociales en Bolivia: estructuras de movilización, repertorios culturales y acción política* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2008), 22.

CONAMAQ, movements deployed shared visions of history in their speeches, organizational rituals, and collective actions that united movement members in their efforts toward a common goal. For these movements, a past struggle – most notably that of Katari – did not simply exist statically in history, but was a "productive symbolic force" for the future as well, something that could return through action in the present. In this way, "the past is living history which pushes toward the fulfillment of an emancipated future."[18] A "*memory of rebellion*" constantly orients the movements' identities, actions, and goals. "This memory," the authors write, "is permanently ritualized" in speeches, banners, placards, portraits of historical rebels in marches, posters in movements' offices, as well as their demands and manifestos.[19]

Bolivian sociologist Pablo Mamani similarly points to the ways in which sacred sites, symbols, and rituals have oriented collective memory and identity during moments of indigenous rebellion. The birthplace of Katari, the geographic site of his siege, in El Alto, checkered rainbow *wiphala* flags (representing indigenous nations of the Andes), pututos, and banners of indigenous martyrs, all help indigenous activists "define who we are."[20] Activists' assertion of indigenous identity helped to strengthen the wider indigenous community as a basis for mobilization, as well as to counter government denigration of indigenous people and culture. Movement leaders' technique of activating indigenous identity and the past through symbols,

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[18] Ibid., 199.
[19] Ibid., 200.
[20] Pablo Mamani Ramírez, *El rugir de las multitudes: La fuerza de los levantamientos indígenas en Bolivia/Qullasuyu* (La Paz: La Mirada Salvaje/Willka, Segunda Edicion 2010), 23-24. The use of symbols to define and mobilize social movements is explored in Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 106, 122.

rituals, and protest tactics to empower and unite movement members is a central theme of this dissertation.[21]

These movements also notably utilized the idea of a pre-conquest Andean utopia as a tool in their struggles. Influential Bolivian indigenous philosopher Fausto Reinaga championed the recovery of this civilization in his post-revolutionary writings and political propaganda. Kataristas called for a return to pre-conquest ideals and knowledge in their 1973 Manifesto of Tiwanaku. The CSUTCB sought to implement ancient indigenous agricultural models in their 1984 proposal for agrarian reform. Likewise, the ayllu reconstitution efforts of the 1990s sought to rescue and strengthen traditions of communal governance and labor production that pre-dated the Incan empire.[22]

Dreams of a return to a pre-conquest utopia were based on historical facts with concrete names and places, such as the crushed Incan civilization and the network of surviving ayllus which had historically spanned the region. As Peruvian scholar Alberto Flores Galindo wrote, when the concept of an Andean utopia was recovered for a renewed vision of the future among indigenous people in Peru during the colonial period,

> the ideal city did not exist outside history or at the remote beginning of time. On the contrary, it was a real historic fact that had a name (Tahuantinsuyo) [the Incan empire],

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[21] For more on such uses of the past, see Farthing and Kohl, "Mobilizing Memory"; José Antonio Lucero, *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008); Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, "*Ya es otro tiempo el presente: Cuatro momentos de insurgencia indígena,"* in *Ya es otro tiempo el presente: Cuatro momentos de insurgencia indígena*, Forrest Hylton et al. (La Paz: Muela del Diablo Editores, 2005), 8; Luis Tapia, "Bolivia: ciclos y estructuras de rebelión," in *Bolivia: memoria, insurgencia y movimientos sociales*, ed. Maristella Svampa and Pablo Stefanoni (Buenos Aires: El Colectivo, CLACSO, 2007), 185; Andrew Canessa, "The Past is Not Another Country: Exploring Indigenous Histories in Bolivia," *History and Anthropology* 19, no. 4 (2008): 355.

[22] Similarly, Franz Fanon, writing on strategies of anti-colonial struggles, discusses how people suffering under a colonial system "work away with raging heart and furious mind to renew contact with their people's oldest, inner essence, the farthest removed from colonial times." Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 148.

> and a ruling class (the Incas); and a capital (Cuzco). Andean people changed the particulars of this construction to imagine a kingdom without hunger, without exploitation, and where they ruled once again. It represented the end of disorder and darkness. Inca became an organizing idea or principle.[23]

He continues, "For people without hope, the Andean utopia challenges a history that condemned them to the margins."[24] This utopian model was utilized by indigenous activists throughout history, in varied manifestations. Theorist Aníbal Quijano explains that the model of Tahuantinsuyo could be destroyed, yet with parts of it persisting, rearticulated, through other power structures throughout time, in a non-linear fashion: "Historical change cannot be linear, one-directional, sequential, or total. The system, or the specific pattern of structural articulation, could be dismantled; however, each one or some of its elements can and will have to be articulated in some other structural model, as it happened with some components of the precolonial model of power in, for instance, Tawantinsuyu."[25] Visions of an Andean utopia were mobilized throughout centuries, from Katari's late-eighteenth century dream of restoring indigenous rule, to the formation of CONAMAQ in the 1990s.[26]

The idea of a return to a pre-conquest utopia, was, and still is, particularly strong in the Andean context because of the widespread embrace of a cyclical view of time. This view, according to Javier Sanjinés, refers "to the revival of an alternative, utopian, Andean social

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[23] Alberto Flores Galindo, *In Search of an Inca: Identity and Utopia in the Andes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 27.
[24] Ibid., 247; On this theme in Bolivia, see Tórrez and Arce, *Construcción Simbólica del Estado Plurinacional*, 38.
[25] Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Social Classification," in *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, ed. Mabel Moraña, Enriqué Dussel and Carlos A. Jáuregui (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 202.
[26] Similarly, in anthropologist James Scott's work on peasant resistance, he found that "a person may dream of a revenge or a millennial kingdom of justice that may never occur. On the other hand, as circumstances change, it may become possible to act on those dreams." James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 38.

order, with strong ideological ties to the old Inca order."[27] The conception of time as cyclical is based in part on the logic of the Aymara language, which, Bolivia scholars Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl write, "has no grammatical demarcation that distinguishes the present from the simple past, a characteristic that keeps the past discursively alive. As a result, multiple historical periods operate simultaneously, and the present articulates the past to the future…"[28] The past is considered to be ahead, because it is already known, and therefore visible to the speaker. "The unknown future is behind – out of sight. This suggests that returning to a known past is a means of moving forward, which in Aymara is expressed through the concept of *nayrapacha* – literally 'eyes in time/space.'"[29] Keeping this conceptual model of time alive was a political victory of indigenous intellectuals and activists in their defense and preservation of Andean worldviews. Such a vision was articulated through the recurring call for the recovery of past Andean civilizations, indigenous movements' references to Katari's "return," and the Aymara phrase the THOA used as a guiding principle for their work: "Qhiparu nayraru uñtas sartañani" – "Looking back, we will move forward."[30]

The recovery and utilization of the past by indigenous activists and scholars from below defied the wide-spread marginalization of indigenous histories in Bolivia. As sociologist Pablo Mamani explains, "The indigenous have always been treated as 'savages,' as non-men, as people

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[27] Javier Sanjinés C., *Mestizaje Upside Down: Aesthetic Politics in Modern Bolivia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), 5.
[28] Farthing and Kohl, "Mobilizing Memory," 365. In their discussion of cyclical time, the authors cite Ignacio Apaza Apaza, *Estructura Metafórica del Tiempo en el Idioma Aymara* (La Paz: Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos, 2008).
[29] Ibid. Also see Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón y Retazos, 2010), 54-55.
[30] Carlos Mamani Condori, *Los aymaras frente a la historia: Dos ensayos metodológicos* (Chukiyawu-La Paz: Ediciones Aruwiyiri/THOA, 1992), 14.

without history and without collective memory."[31] The movements and organizations discussed here took the production and championing of indigenous history into their own hands as a part of the process of decolonization, a concept that has become a tenet of indigenous groups in Bolivia and marginalized people around the world. [32] The work of the THOA and indigenous movements examined here were part of a larger international project of decolonization. Colonized people's recovery of their own history and memory was a tool used throughout the global south to resist the psychological effects of colonization, as decolonial writer Frantz Fanon argues.[33] Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o similarly advocates for the embrace of native languages in a process of linguistic decolonization.[34] In Bolivia, parallel efforts were made by activists conducting historical research, recovering their indigenous surnames, and promoting Aymara and Quechua languages, all of which is explored in more detail throughout this work.

"*Coming to know the past* has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization," Linda Tuhiwa Smith, a Maori indigenous scholar in New Zealand, writes. "To hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges. The pedagogical implication of this access to alternative knowledges is that they can form the basis of alternative ways of doing things."[35] In Bolivia, this process constituted, as one example, an alternative way of organizing political power through the ayllu and rotational leadership, and an alternative set of social relations based

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[31] Pablo Mamani Ramírez, *Geopolíticas Indígenas* (El Alto: Centro Andino de Estudios Estratégicos, 2005), 61.
[32] See Rivera, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa*, 62; Florencia Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language, and Narrative," in *Decolonizing Native Histories: Collaboration, Knowledge, and Language in the Americas,* ed. Florencia Mallon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 1-2.
[33] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 126; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 2008).
[34] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Portsmouth: Heinemann Educational, 1986).
[35] Linda Tuhiwa Smith, *Decolonizing Methodology: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 36.

on Aymara practices of reciprocity. The past provided raw materials to post-conquest indigenous communities for imagining a different world, for developing new ways of thinking and talking about alternatives, and a lens through which to critique and understand the present. "Decolonization must offer a language of possibility, a way out of colonialism," Tuhiwa Smith writes. This language, which "allows us to make plans, to make strategic choices, to theorize solutions imagining a different world, or reimagining the world, is a way into theorizing the reasons why the world we experience is unjust, and posing alternatives to such a world from within our own world views."[36] A first step in Bolivia was recovering indigenous histories. The gathering of oral history provided powerful resources to Bolivian indigenous activists building such alternatives.

For the THOA and other groups examined here, oral history offered a bridge between generations, a way to share stories of oppression and resistance, and, as a result, to move people to take action.[37] It was an avenue for the recovery of indigenous voices and histories that were not accounted for in the archives or existing written histories.[38] The written record typically favors the elite, those with power, while oral history, writes oral historian Paul Thomson, "makes a much fairer trial possible: witnesses can now also be called from the under-classes, the unprivileged, and the defeated."[39] As the THOA demonstrated, oral history's strength is typically not in the facts it provides, but its window into the meanings, motives, and emotions behind historical experience and how it was lived. Indeed, oral historian Alessandro Portelli argues that oral history's departure from fact may be one of its strengths, "as imagination, symbolism and

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[36] Ibid., 203-204.
[37] Also see Farthing and Kohl, "Mobilizing Memory," 364.
[38] Nathan Wachtel, "Introduction," *History and Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1986): 208.
[39] Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past: Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 2006), 28.

desire emerge" from the oral testimony.[40] For the THOA, this aspect of oral history provided a way to explore the relevance of myths within oral accounts of indigenous resistance.[41] While the THOA operated in a similar vein to other oral history groups throughout the world over this time, interviews with THOA members point to the extent to which the impetus, theory, and methods of their group were quite specific to Bolivia and the Andes.[42] As discussed further in the chapters on THOA, members' embrace of oral history could be linked directly to oral traditions in rural Bolivia, Aymara conceptions of cyclical time, and the relevance of historical consciousness to the era's indigenous movements.

Literature and Contributions

This work is indebted to, and in conversation with, many scholars that have worked on the politics of history and memory in the Andes. Brooke Larson, a noted scholar of Bolivia,

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[40] Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," in Perks and Thomson *The Oral History Reader*, 36-37.

[41] Myth was particularly relevant in the THOA's work on cacique apoderado Santos Marka T'ula: Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula: Cacique Principal de los Ayllus de Qallapa y Apoderado General de las Comunidades Originarias de la Republica* (La Paz: Ediciones del THOA, 1988).

[42] For further work on oral history, see Ciraj Rassool, "Power, Knowledge and the Politics of Public Pasts," *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 79-101; Bill Schwarz, "History on the Move: Reflections on History Workshop," *Radical History Review* 57 (1993): 203-220; Popular Memory Group, "Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method," in *Making Histories: Studies in History-writing and Politics*, ed. Richard Johnson et al. (London: Hutchinson, 1982); Michael Frisch, "Commentary: Sharing Authority: Oral History and the Collaborative Process," *The Oral History Review* 30, no. 1 (2003); Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices From the Partition of India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Alessandro Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Allesandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop*, no. 12 (1981); Ronald Fraser, "Politics as Daily Life: Oral History and the Spanish Civil War," *New Left Review* 75 (2012); Daniel James, *Dona Maria's Story: Life History, Memory and Political Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower Is Reborn: The Life and Times of a Mapuche Feminist* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

demonstrates in *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* how indigenous people defending themselves from liberal assaults on communal lands in the nineteenth century "tapped into deep customary and legal traditions, *ayllu* history and memory, and sacred meanings of their contested territories."[43] Larson's descriptions of how such histories and traditions were mobilized by activists in the nineteenth century served as a model for my own research in discerning the similar use of such tools in the latter part of the twentieth century, when ayllu activists in the 1990s recovered their own traditions and territories. Similarly, I found Larson's argument regarding the role of subterranean historical consciousness among indigenous communities to be very applicable to the characteristics of indigenous resurgence in the 1970s and 1980s in Bolivia. As Larson writes, "Collective peasant memories of rebellion and repression, although discontinuous and latent for much of the nineteenth century, lay buried just under the surface of quotidian consciousness until well into the twentieth century."[44] In my research, I demonstrate that such continuities did indeed persist, as illustrated by the success the THOA had in tapping into such memories about T'ula and other figures, and the extent to which the symbol of Katari resonated with activists in the 1970s.

However, it was not just indigenous movements that utilized the past as a tool to defend themselves and win political victories in the nineteenth century Andes. Rebecca Earle in *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* shows how, after independence, political elites constructed myths and histories of a utopian indigenous past in pre-conquest Latin America to build their "imagined communities" of new republics, while at the

[43] Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 54.
[44] Ibid., 5.

same time disinheriting contemporary indigenous people from their own past.[45] State-sanctioned histories claimed political elites carried on the legacy of a pre-conquest utopia, while the poor indigenous majority were said to have fallen from their former glory, thus justifying their continued exploitation and marginalization in the new nation.[46]

While the emphasis in this dissertation is on indigenous movements' uses of such Andean utopias, Earle's work helped me understand ways in which Bolivian governments have utilized some of the same historical symbols in order to bolster their power.[47] For example, Carlos Montenegro's book *Nacionalismo y coloniaje*, published in 1944, was an influential text for MNR leaders in the National Revolution.[48] His survey of Bolivian history and argument for a populist, national revolution against the ruling class ironically positioned the Bolivian creole and mestizo elite as the vanguard of the revolution, sidelining the indigenous majority. In an excellent essay on this topic, historian Sinclair Thomson points out how Montenegro's narrative of Bolivian history barely mentions Katari's revolt at all, and quickly moves on to the struggles against the Spanish. As Thomson explains, "the actual anticolonial content of Indian struggles was erased and replaced by a nationalist narrative…"[49] My research shows how Kataristas in the wake of the National Revolution rose up against this deliberate erasure of such histories of indigenous resistance.

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[45] Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).
[46] Ibid., 100-102.
[47] See Donna Yates, "Pre-Conquest Utopia and How a 'Republic' Becomes 'Plurinational': The Bolivian State in the 21st Century." Paper presented at the 110th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Montreal. (2011); and Postero, "Andean Utopias."
[48] Carlos Montenegro, *Nacionalismo y Coloniaje* (La Paz: Librería Editorial "Juventud," 2003, first published 1944).
[49] Sinclair Thomson, "Revolutionary Memory in Bolivia: Anticolonial and National Projects from 1781 to 1952," in *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Merilee S. Grindle and Pilar Domingo (London: Institute for Latin American Studies, 2003), 129.

Political elites' constructions of their ties to an idealized Incan past had impacts on the development of indigenous historical analysis and identities as well. As E. Gabrielle Kuenzli demonstrates in her book *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia*, following the Federal War of 1899, members of the Liberal Party began including Aymaras in their vision for the Bolivian nation by depicting them as the descendants of the Incan empire.[50] While disparaging contemporary Aymaras, liberals historically tied them to what they considered the more civilized Incan empire in a process, Kuenzli writes, "designed for Indian improvement from 'Aymara' to 'Inca.'"[51] One of the ways indigenous people in Bolivia engaged with such a construction of the past, Kuenzli shows, is through Aymara theater in the town of Caracollo, where plays in the wake of the 1899 conflict dramatized this narrative of the Incas and their confrontation with the Spanish. Kuenzli found that such Inca-themed plays, designed and performed by Aymaras, "render the Incas as the only Indian protagonists in the play."[52] She shows how this erasure of Aymara past reflected the dominant liberal discourse of the day, and how Aymara members of this community embraced an Incan identity to avoid the "stigma of being 'Aymara' – an unacceptable form of Indianness – and to mobilize for national inclusion."[53]

This fascinating book sheds an important light on the politics of the past at the turn of the century, and provides a helpful look into the Willka uprising and the rise of the caciques apoderados. In my research, however, I found that by the arrival of the 1970s, rather than a stigma, Aymara identity was being embraced as a symbol of rebellion and political resurgence.

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[50] E. Gabrielle Kuenzli, *Acting Inca: National Belonging in Early Twentieth-Century Bolivia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).
[51] Ibid., 11. An in-depth look at the Federal War and its aftermath is provided in Forrest Hylton, "Reverberations of Insurgency: Indian Communities, the Federal War of 1899, and the Regeneration of Bolivia" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 2010).
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 12

Indeed, my work on the Kataristas and the CSUTCB demonstrates how Aymara histories of resistance, symbolized most prominently by the narrative of Katari, were incorporated into political and cultural acts as a point of pride among Aymara people. Rather than downplaying their Aymara identity and aligning themselves exclusively with an Inca past, Kataristas of the 1970s challenged the state and the Bolivian nation as a whole to include Aymaras (and indeed, all indigenous nationalities in Bolivia) at the heart of their political project for decolonization and indigenous liberation.

The nineteenth and early twentieth century in Bolivia was a period of time marked by incredible rural mobilization on the part of indigenous communities. This wave of revolt paved the way for the 1952 National Revolution. Laura Gotkowitz's superb book, *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880-1952*, charts what she calls the "revolution before the revolution." She demonstrates how a series of indigenous struggles for equality, land, justice, and political power served as fundamental causes of the National Revolution.[54] I am indebted to this rich book as a source on an under-studied period of Bolivian history. In the case of my own research, Gotkowitz's book helped me navigate the complex history of the caciques apoderados as I delved into the THOA's work on Santos Marka T'ula. While Gotkowitz's book concludes with the National Revolution, my thesis begins with the story of the revolution and its aftermath. Just as Gotkowitz shows how rural indigenous revolts led to 1952, I demonstrate in my own work how under-studied cases of indigenous organizing in the wake of the National Revolution successfully created new political spaces and won victories for the indigenous majority.

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[54] Laura Gotkowitz, *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880-1952* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008), 1-16.

Much of the existing literature on the National Revolution often downplays the role and radical power of the indigenous sector in post-revolutionary Bolivia. For example, in historian Herbert Klein's canonical and extremely helpful survey of Bolivian history, he writes that after the National Revolution, "Satisfied with the land question, the Indians initially became a relatively conservative political force in the nation and grew indifferent to their former urban worker colleagues."[55] However, my research and that of other scholars, discussed below, shows that indigenous movements were actually a radical and transformative force over this period, and developed critical alliances with urban workers, particularly through the formation of the CSUTCB. Historian James Dunkerley, in his classic and indispensable work on the National Revolution, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952-1982*, similarly downplays the role and political power of the rural indigenous sector after the revolt. He writes that indigenous communities after the National revolution "appeared to be broadly disposed to accept a malleable clientelist relationship with the new regime."[56] My work fills this gap by tracing the critical contributions of the Katarista movement during the post-revolutionary period, demonstrating the ways in which their rural organizing, and historical production and analysis in speeches, union demands, manifestos, and pamphlets contributed to the rise of the most important twentieth century indigenous campesino movement in Bolivia, the CSUTCB. This dissertation further expands the historiography of Katarismo and the CSUTCB in this period by examining in richer detail the movements' uses of history as a key tool of organizing efforts.[57]

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[55] Herbert S. Klein, *A Concise History of Bolivia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 215.
[56] James Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952-1982* (New York: Verso, 1984), 65.
[57] Another extensive scholarly work on the National Revolution and its aftermath is Robert Matthew Gilder, "Indomestizo Modernism: National Development and Indigenous Integration in

Many works have challenged the dominant narratives of the National Revolution and its aftermath that downplay the role of the indigenous sector. The classic surveys of Bolivian indigenous and campesino movements by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui and Javier Hurtado highlight the historic role these movements played and are absolutely essential reading on this topic. *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos": Luchas del campesinado aymara y quechwa, 1900-1980,* Rivera's groundbreaking survey of indigenous struggles spanning nearly a century, includes an examination the pitfalls of the MNR and the aftermath of the revolution, with a focus on the rising discontent and radicalization of the indigenous sector following the revolt.[58] In this work, Rivera points to the ways in which memory operated within these movements, with activists' use of a "long memory" of pre-conquest civilizations and centuries of oppression and resistance, and the "short memory" of more recent indigenous rebellions and the failures of the National Revolution.[59] Javier Hurtado's *El Katarismo* meticulously charts the rise of Katarismo and its grappling with the impact and legacy of the MNR in the countryside.[60] My work is indebted to the framework established by Rivera and Hurtado on this period, and complements their scholarship with new contributions drawing from primary archival sources and oral testimonies. In addition, while their books end with coverage of the early 1980s, this dissertation provides an overview of the evolution of key movements and their historical analysis and production beyond this period and into the late 1990s, drawing from new sources, and expanding the scope of this history to include the birth and work of the THOA and the movement to reconstitute the ayllus.

Postrevolutionary Bolivia, 1952-1964" (PhD dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2012).

[58] Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos": Luchas del campesinado aymara y quechwa, 1900 – 1980* (La Paz: Aruwiyiri: Editorial del Taller de Historia Oral Andina, 2003).

[59] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*," 179-180.

[60] Javier Hurtado, *El Katarismo* (La Paz: Instituto de historia social boliviana, 1986).

The uses and productions of the past that I examine in this dissertation created a sense of a shared history and common historical discourse which helped forge unity among indigenous movement participants. Across the organizations discussed in this work, organizers and participants deployed their historical narratives as strategies for bringing together disparate groups and building a common agenda for change. As Joanne Rappaport found in her work on historical production in indigenous Nasa communities in Colombia, "in cases in which a broad-based organization is needed, a universal history will begin to surface."[61] Similarly, in the groups examined here, a grand, heroic narrative was needed by Bolivian activists in order to unify diverse indigenous communities and participants and to bring them into the fold of the movement; differences were often therefore cast aside for the sake of a united, collective struggle. The concept of such a grand narrative, elaborated by historian Ajay Skaria, utilizes a "denial of difference" for the sake of the larger, unifying history.[62] In my work on Bolivia, I found that the construction of such a unifying narrative was critical: the Kataristas sought to forge it through their publications and manifestos; the CSUTCB developed a national discourse of indigenous liberation which sought to include all indigenous communities in the country, not just the Aymara in the highlands; and activists engaged in the development of the ayllu network in the 1990s constructed a discourse emphasizing a unity across the diverse ayllu communities.

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[61] Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 24; Joanne Rappaport, *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 5; Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos Pacho, "Collaboration and Historical Writing: Challenges for the Indigenous-Academic Dialogue," in Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories,* 123.
[62] Ajay Skaria, *Hybrid Histories: Forests, Frontiers and Wildness in Western India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

Indeed, indigenous and political movements across Latin America have utilized the past to build bonds between communities and strengthen movements' claims and legitimacy.[63] Much like Katari's rebellion and the indigenous movements that strengthened his legacy in Bolivia, Augusto Sandino, who fought a guerilla war in Nicaragua from 1927-1933, was used by the Nicaraguan thinker Carlos Fonseca in the intellectual building of the Sandinista Front of National Liberation (FSLN). Sandinistas "worked on" the history of Sandino, pulling him out of obscurity, and writing him into the trajectory of the FSLN, which positioned itself as the rightful heir of Sandino's legacy and unfulfilled struggle.[64] Just as indigenous intellectuals re-wrote Bolivian history from an indigenous perspective, new indigenous history connected with the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico appropriated the history of Mexican Revolution leader Emiliano Zapata as their own symbol of struggle, and positioned Maya peoples as protagonists, rather than victims, who were united through a pan-Mayan identity.[65] This dissertation demonstrates how such processes were put to use in Bolivia, where indigenous activists and scholars mobilized history from the street barricades to the radio waves to build a national movements for rights, land, and political power. A handful of key works on Bolivia look at one decade or group over the period examined here, providing, for example, critical perspectives on development issues,

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[63] On this topic, also see Suzana Sawyer, *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Florencia Mallon, *Courage Tastes of Blood: The Mapuche Community of Nicolás Ailío and the Chilean State, 1906-2001* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Kay Warren, *Indigenous Movements and the Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
[64] Steven Palmer, "Carlos Fonseca and the Construction of Sandinismo in Nicaragua," *Latin American Research Review* 23, no. 1 (1988): 94-96.
[65] Thomas Benjamin, "The Time of Reconquest: History, the Maya Revival, and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 423; Robert S. Jansen, "Resurrection and Appropriation: Reputational Trajectories, Memory Work, and the Political Use of Historical Figures," *American Journal of Sociology* 112, no. 4 (2007).

neoliberalism, indigenous identity, and the politics of protest.[66] This dissertation, by comparison, provides an original and detailed account of the political uses of history within various prominent indigenous movements and organizations over three decades, providing a new level of focus and breadth on the topic.

In Bolivia, the memory of indigenous resistance was critical to groups organizing over the three decades I focus on here. As noted scholars of Bolivia Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson explain in their work on this topic, "Insurrectional indigenous culture had inspired itself in the memory of previous uprisings and has nourished itself from the practical experience accumulated by those who had participated in past processes of struggle."[67] Indeed, in my interviews with CSUTCB leaders and activists involved in the uprisings in the 2000s, it was clear how much the very act of organizing road blockades and seizing the city of La Paz was tied to the memory and "practical experience" of rebellions in the Bolivian highlands. Thomson and Hylton, in their work *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics*, a crucial overview of centuries of indigenous resistance in Bolivia, explore the ways in which "re-remembering and re-animating Andean history incites dreams visions of a different, better

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[66] See Kevin Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate: Multicultural Grassroots Development in the Andes and Amazon of Bolivia* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2001); Benjamin Kohl and Linda C. Farthing*, Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal Hegemony and Popular Resistance* (London: Zed Books, 2006); Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics* (New York: Verso, 2007); Lucero, *Struggles of Voice*.

[67] Hylton and Thomson, *"Ya es otro tiempo el presente*," 8. On how such accumulations of experience feed into rebellions, also see Adolfo Gilly, "Historias desde adentro: La tenaz persistencia de los tiempos," in *Ya es otro tiempo el presente,* Hylton, et al., 22; and Luis Tapia, "Bolivia: ciclos y estructuras de rebelión", in *Bolivia: memoria, insurgencia y movimientos sociales*, ed. Maristella Svampa and Pablo Stefanoni, (Buenos Aires: El Colectivo, CLACSO, 2007), 176, 185.

future; visions that inspire collective action."[68] I found such analysis useful in my own research on the Kataristas and the CSUTCB: both groups, as I explain in subsequent chapters, recalled Andean utopias and insurrections in order to orient their own political proposals, manifestos, demands, and calls to action.

The question of ritual was central to the development of historical consciousness within groups examined in this dissertation, particularly among the Kataristas and the CSUTCB. In my own research on ritual in the movements themselves, I found several key texts focusing on memory in the Andes helpful. Anthropologist Thomas Abercombie's book *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People* looks at how myth and social memory was preserved largely through oral traditions in the k'ulta indigenous community in the Bolivian altiplano.[69] His work draws from this community's history, which is preserved, enacted and remembered through geography, oral history, rituals which re-enact the past, architecture, and drinking ceremonies in which participants remember and pay homage to past events, places, and figures.[70] This meticulously researched book helped point to the ways in which memory and historical consciousness was preserved and reproduced in Bolivian indigenous movements in my own work. For example, the collective memory of Katari is strengthened and reproduced by the very geography of La Paz; the fact that the city is based in a valley cradled by the altiplano and the city of El Alto – made up primarily of Aymara working class residents – regularly evokes the history of Katari's siege, a memory utilized by indigenous activists in their own blockade-based sieges of the city. While Abercrombie looks at the preservation and reproduction of memory

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[68] Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 30. Also see Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule*, an essential work on the Túpac Katari rebellion.
[69] Thomas Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998).
[70] Ibid., 124.

among the K'ulta community, in my own work, I expand the view toward a national perspective in Bolivia, focusing on how indigenous movements reproduced collective memories within nation-wide movements, through speeches, pamphlets, banners, statues to martyrs, and the production of oral history-based booklets.

The interpretation and construction of the past by indigenous intellectuals is another prominent theme in my dissertation. On this topic, I was aided by the critical work of Joan Rappaport in *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*. In this book, Rappaport looks at the Páez indigenous community in Colombia and their use, manipulation, and interpretation of their own history to suit the political and social needs of the time.[71] For Nasa indigenous intellectuals, Rappaport writes, "chains of transmission of historical knowledge are only important insofar as they help their recipients to elicit powerful images of the past, images which move people to action."[72] A similar technique was utilized by the groups I focus on here; the Kataristas and CSUTCB leaders consciously developed the history and figure of Katari as a symbol of their movements, and selectively chose examples from a pre-conquest indigenous society to hold up as political models in the present. In each case, the past was put to use by activists as a tool to mobilize citizens and win contemporary political victories.

While most scholarship on indigenous politics and history in Bolivia references the important work of the THOA, surprisingly few works have offered a comprehensive overview of the rise, philosophy, methods, development, production, and impact of the organization itself.[73]

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[71] Rappaport, *Politics of Memory*.
[72] Ibid., 23.
[73] See Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, "El potencial epistemológico y teórico de la historia oral: de la lógica instrumental a la descolonización de la historia," *Voces Recobradas: Revista de Historia Oral* 8, no. 21 (2006); Marcia Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere: The Taller de Historia Oral Andina in Bolivia," *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 2 (2002);

This dissertation seeks to provide such a much-needed resource with two chapters on the THOA. The chapters are based primarily on interviews with nearly all THOA members, and closely explore the organization's publications. The reconstitution of the ayllus by indigenous communities in the 1990s has similarly received little scholarly attention. Various authors provide small case studies regarding this movement, but more often than not, the ayllu efforts are sidelined by emphases on workers' resistance to neoliberalism in the era and the rise of the coca farmers' unions and Evo Morales in the 1990s.[74] This dissertation takes a different approach by drawing from CONAMAQ member interviews and publications to cover in detail the development of the ayllu movement and its embrace of the past as a guide and inspiration for organizational strategies in the present.

This dissertation's focus on indigenous historical production and discourse is also significant in light of the political climate in Bolivia from the 2000s onward, during which indigenous histories have taken on renewed importance. In the Bolivian uprisings of the 2000s, protesters incorporated the symbol of Katari and modeled their blockade strategies after those used during his eighteenth century siege. Under Bolivia's first indigenous president, indigenous histories, symbols, and consciousness have taken on new prominence through the rewriting of

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Felipe Santos Quispe, "Una Mirada Autocrítica a la Historia del THOA: 1980 al 1997," in *XXI Reunión Anual de Etnología I* (La Paz: Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, 2008).

[74] See Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*; Pablo Mamani Ramírez, "Reconstitución y Cartografía del Poder del Ayllu: Experiencia Organizativa y Lucha del Movimiento de los Ayllus en Qullasuyu/Bolivia," in *Sistematización de Experiencias de Movimientos Indígenas en Bolivia* (La Paz: UMSA, 2009); María Eugenia Choque and Carlos Mamani Condori, "Reconstitución del *Ayllu* y Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas: El Movimiento Indio en los Andes de Bolivia" in *Los Andes Desde Los Andes*, ed. Esteban Ticona Alejo (La Paz: Ediciones Yachaywasi, 2003); Lucero, *Struggles of Voice*; Donna Lee Van Cott, *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000); Kohl and Farthing*, Impasse in Bolivia*; Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*; Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

the country's constitution, rescuing the model of the ayllu and indigenous justice, championing a state-led process of decolonization, and elevating the works of prominent indigenous historians and thinkers. The seeds of these twenty-first century political uses of the past can be traced to the twentieth century post-revolutionary movements and organizations examined here.

Research and Sources

This dissertation also makes a significant contribution to the scholarship through to its unique source base. I conducted dozens of interviews with Bolivian indigenous activists, intellectuals, politicians, historians, and movement organizers. (See the Appendix for more information on interview methods.) I sought out people involved in the post-National Revolution indigenous resurgence, current and former members of the CSUTCB, nearly all members of the THOA, and leaders involved in the CONAMAQ and the ayllu reconstitution efforts. Many of the interviewees live in La Paz where these organizations are based. I therefore visited relevant offices to seek out interviews and drew from the wide array of contacts that I have developed through over a decade of work as a journalist covering social and political issues in Bolivia. I prepared extensively for all of the interviews, reading widely on the people I interviewed and the history and work of any organizations with which they were affiliated. I then developed a list of questions for the interviewee to expand on this known and published base of knowledge, and add their own versions, personal reflections, and analysis on key topics and events. The conversations often turned away from the prepared order and list of questions, yet this preparation enabled me to enter into discussions with interviewees with an appropriate level of knowledge on key topics. All of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, with the exception of one interview conducted in Aymara with Gregorio Barco Guarachi, Santos Marka T'ula's son.

The majority of interviews were conducted with one or two interviewees at once. In the case of the THOA, one interview was conducted in a group format with various THOA members. I sought out people who could speak to the historical production examined here, prominent events and protests in movement history, and the meaning and personal experiences behind key periods of political change. I came in contact with some interviewees by seeking them out based on references to their name in newspapers, historical accounts, and archives. Others were based on recommendations from colleagues, friends, scholars, and movement participants. Some interviewees I met by chance at the many union meetings, marches, and press conferences that I attended as part of the research for this dissertation.

The interviews I gathered complemented my archival and written sources, filled in silences with direct accounts from movement participants, and helped guide my research, pointing me to new resources. They helped to shape my narrative and understand what events, people, and historical periods to emphasize in this work over others. While the archival trail left behind by the movements examined here provided a rich account of movement activities and demands, the interviews with protagonists brought documents and key events to life. Perhaps most importantly, the interviews helped me to understand and portray how participants felt as they lived through different moments in history. Such personal accounts expanded on what was available in written sources authored by professional scholars, and movement and union leaders. Written sources and formal political histories typically did not incorporate individual voices or the emotional experiences of participants. The accounts provided by interviewees of their experiences, emotions, and views deepened my understanding of the personal impact of resurgent indigenous politics and major political events. For example, intellectuals who came into the indigenous movement in the 1970s spoke of the racism they suffered in La Paz and the

profound influence of Bolivian philosopher Fausto Reinaga's discussions and writings. Members of the CSUTCB related experiences of participating in road blockades that evoked Katari's siege and the importance of the legacy of CSUTCB founder Genaro Flores. THOA members offered emotionally-charged accounts of their political awakenings in the THOA and the satisfaction they felt when seeing the results of their work in rural Bolivia. And the CONAMAQ members spoke of the personal importance of rotational leadership in their ayllus and the control of their own ancestral territory.

I gathered and drew from many rich and original archival sources, much of which had never been utilized by scholars before. I relied on small publications, communiques, pamphlets, meeting notes, manifestos, magazine and newspaper articles, and archived audio and video recordings of movement rallies and gatherings. This material was largely from the Bolivian Archivo Histórico de La Paz, Archivo y Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, Biblioteca Fundación Xavier Albó, Biblioteca Pública Municipal de La Paz, and the Biblioteca y Archivo Arturo Costa de la Torre. These sources helped me provide more detail where other scholarly accounts were more general. For example, in researching indigenous movement-produced documents in the 1970s, I went beyond well-known manifestos to explore small pamphlets and magazines produced by Kataristas as expressions of Katarista thought and political vision. Video and audio recordings of early CSUTCB rallies and national congresses helped bring important gatherings to life and provide an understanding of the context in which communiques were authored and union decisions were made. Newspaper accounts of CSUTCB road blockades pointed to the ways in which the press and the government, as well as the union, raised the fear of Katari's siege when referring to the 1979 blockade campaigns. Documents from THOA's archives and their historical productions,

pamphlets and books provided an invaluable wealth of resources which complemented the interviews I conducted with THOA members.

Chapter Summaries

The second chapter of this dissertation focuses on Katarismo, a current of political thought and campesino movement organizing that originated in the late 1960s and 1970s with young Aymara union leaders in the province of Aroma in the department of La Paz. Kataristas held that colonialism never ended, and that the National Revolution (led by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement party, MNR, in 1952) and the military regimes that followed it constituted a new form of neo-colonial domination. As such, Kataristas sought to overturn what they saw as the paternalistic and racist yoke of state hegemony in the countryside, and forge an independent campesino union movement that served the needs and values of the indigenous majority, rather than the political power of the MNR and military governments that dominated the 1960s and 1970s. The philosophy of Katarismo was articulated by its proponents largely through the struggle for and creation of campesino unions that tried to break with the Pacto Militar-Campesino (Military-Campesino Pact, PMC) between rural communities and post-MNR military regimes lasting from 1964-1978. The Kataristas' main avenue for organizing and raising consciousness was the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (National Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia, CNTCB), started by the MNR government in 1953. Kataristas organized within the CNTCB to make the union independent from the government. They successfully developed an independent campesino union that broke with the PMC and defied the paternalism of the state by forging a new organizational front to represent and champion campesino causes in the political and socio-economic realm. The lasting result of

Kataristas' efforts in the 1970s was the 1979 formation of the Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB).

The Kataristas notably lifted up indigenous identity, history, traditions, and culture, and positioned the multi-cultural indigenous peoples at the core of their vision for a new society. This had the result of expanded historical consciousness, wider use of the wiphala and indigenous dress and music, and the rediscovery of pre-conquest indigenous civilizations and technology as agricultural and political models. Kataristas glorified the concept of a pre-conquest indigenous utopia in which equality reigned, and where there was no robbery, lying, or exploitation. Katarista publications and a 1973 manifesto called for the strengthening of past indigenous agricultural models, codes of ethics and reciprocity, and the rescue of the Andean community organizational model of the ayllu. Katari was used as a founding symbol by the Kataristas, who researched and discussed the history of the martyr and championed his legacy in radio programs, pamphlets, and portraits. Their public acts and statues commemorated the leader at his birthplace in Ayo-Ayo and his portrait was raised as a banner for the Katarista cause in public marches. They celebrated ancestral ties to Katari's home in Aroma and his name was used in Katarista campesino unions. Katarista publications evoked Katari as a metaphor for the divided political body of Bolivia's indigenous people who were to be reunited under the Katarista political project. The impact of the Kataristas' historical work rippled through indigenous and campesino movements for decades to come, as similar groups embraced Katari or aspects of Katarista thought and historical analysis.

The third chapter examines the emergence and activity of the CSUTCB during an intense political transition to democracy, roughly from 1979-1983. The union championed the interests of small-scale farmers, pressuring government officials for access to land, technical and financial

support, and a direct role in rural policy development. Aside from following the birth and rise of the CSUTCB, this chapter describes the central role of historical consciousness in the union by exploring three key aspects of the union's strategy, analysis, and vision. The first theme is the way in which the CSUTCB, immediately after its founding, was re-organized by Katarista leaders, most notably the young Aymara Genaro Flores, to reflect the needs and identity of its historically oppressed base of largely indigenous campesinos. This was accomplished through the restructuring of the union to make it more democratic, and the use of direct action to win concessions, land, resources, and political power from the government for the campesino sector. The CSUTCB also began to celebrate and embrace indigeneity in its public gatherings and marches. Indigenous CSUTCB members wore ponchos, indigenous dress, used wiphalas, required leaders to speak Aymara or Quechua, and played indigenous music at gatherings. Kataristas within the CSUTCB also developed a method of analyzing the world with "two eyes," seeing society both as exploited campesinos, bound together with the wider oppressed working class of Bolivia, *and* as exploited Aymara and Quechua community members, connected to the indigenous peoples of Bolivia.

The second major theme explored in this chapter is the role of historical consciousness within the CSUTCB's road blockade campaigns against a 1979 military coup and subsequent economic austerity package. The power of the past was evident in CSUTCB actions in which they leveraged their demands and legitimacy by highlighting the centuries-long roots of their struggle in public statements released in the midst of blockade efforts. The physical and rhetorical evocation of Túpac Katari's 1781 siege was prominent in these cases as the strength and breadth of the blockades echoed the intensity of the eighteenth century rebellion: the CSUTCB issued communiques linking their efforts to Katari's, the blocking off supplies to the

city raised the collective memory of the colonial siege, and Bolivian press and state officials made ties between blockaders and Katari to inspire public fear and demonize protests. As a result, middle and upper class neighborhoods in La Paz armed themselves against blockaders, highlighting the enduring colonial view toward rural indigenous masses in revolt. This chapter also examines how the CSUTCB's very tactics in their road blockades – such as Plan Quti, mobile blockades, and Plan Taraxchi, a strategy to strangle the city – drew explicitly from strategies deployed by Katari. The CSUTCB's 1983 Political Thesis and its view toward a pre-conquest Andean civilization further oriented the union as an historic political and agrarian model. The CSUTCB, reflecting Katarista philosophy mentioned previously, saw pre-conquest Andean society as one made up of a "communitarian people" with no social ills or evils. Union leaders called for agricultural, livestock, political, metallurgic technical knowledge to be recovered in order to build a productive society without exploitation. Alongside visions of pre-conquest Andean utopia, the view of centuries-old cycles of oppression and indigenous resistance served its members as both a measurement of injustice and reason to continue the struggle in the CSUTCB.

While indigenous movements were organizing in the streets and barricades for political power and rights, the Andean Oral History Workshop (THOA) was fighting intellectual battles to put indigenous people back on the historical map of the country. Chapter four focuses on the formation and methods of the THOA, which was founded in 1983 and was made up of largely Aymara indigenous activist-scholars. This chapter explores the birth and trajectory of the THOA, examining how and why it emerged, its methods, and how these methods were practiced in historical production, pamphlets and books, radio program, and distribution. The THOA founders and early members were professors and students at the public Universidad Mayor de

San Andrés in La Paz who were largely indigenous people from the rural highlands who had migrated to La Paz for studies. In their discussions and reading of Bolivian history, they found a void when it came to indigenous people's history and sought to correct this by producing publications based on oral history. The THOA collected oral histories primarily in rural Aymara communities and complemented this material with archival documents to produce booklets and radio programs on indigenous histories of Bolivia to strengthen historical consciousness and self-awareness among Bolivia's indigenous people.

Many of the THOA's members were from the same rural communities in which the organization gathered histories. Therefore, their historical research was in a sense one of self-investigation. The THOA's research process allowed for a "*collective exercise of disalienation*," according to founding member Silvia Rivera.[75] Members worked alongside the communities, developing a process in which the group interviews were conducted in indigenous languages, and with interviewees leading the questions, organization of speakers, and themes. The THOA's research methods and distribution was guided by a principle of Aymara-influenced, academic reciprocity, demonstrated in their commitment to return the final product of their research to rural communities. In the early years, they produced pamphlets and booklets on indigenous rebels of the early twentieth century and women's avenues of resistance in indigenous movements. Their early booklets also focused on the history of the ayllu, a time-line of important dates pertinent to resistance and oppression in Bolivian history, and works on popular traditions and children's stories with indigenous protagonists in rural Aymara communities. The THOA organized radio programs and public discussions that brought debates on indigenous culture and

[75] Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico," 20.

politics out of the university and into the wider public of La Paz and in rural communities in the highlands.

Chapter Five continues the exploration of the THOA's work by focusing on its recovery of the history of Santos Marka T'ula, an early twentieth century *cacique apoderado*, an indigenous leader empowered as a legal representative to his community. Caciques apoderados were chosen by their communities to legally represent them in court and government. In the case of the caciques apoderados of the early twentieth century, this network used the nineteenth century Disentailment Law which enabled indigenous leaders to be legally recognized as mediators between the government and the communities they represented. Caciques apoderados fought the dispossession of indigenous lands by hacienda owners through bureaucratic means and developed a widespread network of indigenous leaders which prefigured groups like the CSUTCB and CONAMAQ. The story of T'ula, according to the THOA, was unknown in the 1980s outside of a few rural communities in the Bolivian highlands. When, in the early 1980s, the research organization learned of the cacique apoderado struggle of the early twentieth century, they decided to create a history of T'ula. Some eleven members of the THOA were involved in this process of research, which included visits to various rural communities to collect disparate oral histories on T'ula by interviewing his living descendants, collaborators, neighbors, and contemporaries. The research also involved travels to the National Archive in Sucre, where THOA members gathered fragmented archival evidence. The result was a small booklet on T'ula's life. The initial pamphlets were accessible and affordable, and widely distributed to Aymara communities, where they were used in numerous rural primary schools. The THOA also turned their work on T'ula into a widely popular radio novella, which was broadcasted nationwide in Aymara. The work of the THOA spurred on public discussions about indigenous

peoples' movements in Bolivia, the role of oral history in historical consciousness, and brought the largely unknown history of T'ula and the caciques apoderados to life.

What is of specific interest in this chapter are the unique ways in which the THOA discovered, researched, and championed T'ula's history. The THOA's methodology, focused on oral testimonies, enabled the group to uncover this largely unknown history and helped them piece together fragmented histories and accounts. Their collective research techniques—which pooled efforts, archival resources, land titles, and testimonies—strengthened the group's capacity to create a rich historical work. The THOA's embrace of the mythical interpretations of T'ula's life helped the researchers discover elements and meanings in oral accounts that were absent in the archival record. Finally, the THOA's emphasis on returning the booklet and radio novella to the communities they worked with, and reflecting on the history with community members, contributed to the popularity and impact T'ula's history.

The THOA expanded its work in the 1990s by accompanying a national indigenous movement to "reconstitute" Bolivia's ayllus, a form of indigenous community organization in the Andes dating back to the pre-Incan era. This chapter examines the reconstitution efforts of the 1990s and how, why, and to what extent elements of the ayllu endured over critical moments in history, from the Spanish conquest and Toledo reforms, to the Disentailment Law of 1870s and the National Revolution of 1952. By the 1990s, most ayllus were greatly diminished in their organizational capacity and geographic presence. Others, on the margins of state and commercial influence, or operating within the structure of the rural union, remained remarkably intact. Reconstitution in the 1990s involved recovering and strengthening the centuries-old ayllu model of community, rotational leadership, collective labor, communal ethics of reciprocity and mutual aid, and the organization of agricultural production and local indigenous governance. The

process of reconstitution required grassroots historical research, reflection on past customs and traditions, and documentary investigation to recover the ayllu model and win governmental support and legitimacy. Reconstitution also meant gaining legal recognition from the state for ayllus to receive political power, funding, and autonomy to manage and govern indigenous territory. The recovery of this form of community governance was an attempt to revitalize indigenous leadership, labor, and relationships to the land that had been under recurring assault since the Spanish conquest of the Andes.

By looking back to the ayllu in its pre-conquest form and following its transformations through key moments in the colonial and Republican period into the twentieth century, it is possible to the trace ways in which ayllus were maintained and defended by their members. This long history took on renewed relevance during the period of ayllu reconstitution, which culminated with the 1997 founding of the ayllu network of the National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ). The CONAMAQ embodied, in its very political structure, ayllu governance models and systems of leadership and decision-making. The CONAMAQ specifically recovered rotational leadership models, governing activities such as making *muyu* rounds, and the traditional organization of authorities, and communal agricultural labor and production. In the midst of this process of reconstitution, the government pushed forward a series of neoliberal policies which undermined workers' rights and unions, privatized services and resources, and enacted austerity measures promoted by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. This economic overhaul of the country led to a wave of protests at the turn of the 2000s. The reconstituted ayllus, along with many other indigenous organizations, unions, neighborhood councils, and social movements, filled the streets in uprisings which would

overturn the neoliberal model in Bolivia and lead to the election of Bolivia's first indigenous president in 2005.

Chapter Two

Katari's Return:
Indigenous Resurgence in the Shadow of the National Revolution

The small K'illi K'illi park sits at the top of one of the hillsides cradling the valley home to La Paz, and gives a striking view of the city below. To the east lies Illimani, a towering, snow-covered mountain. Below and to the west is the tree-lined Plaza Murillo, home to the seat of government and the site of dozens of coups and countless protests. Across the valley, set on the sweeping plains of the *altiplano,* is El Alto, a booming home to millions of largely Aymara working-class people. La Paz itself is a dense mass of winding streets, high rise apartments, and colonial-style buildings with orange tile roofs. From K'illi K'illi, the sounds of the city are car horns, the buzz of construction, and fireworks echoing out of daily marches. At nearly thirteen thousand feet, the valley and the plains surrounding it bear the dramatic weather of high altitude. The powerful sun can scorch the city in one moment, and a windy storm of hail and rain can rip through the next, giving way to a brilliant blue sky or clear canopy of stars.

The hills hold the rich past of this city in the clouds. Túpac Katari launched crucial assaults on La Paz from K'illi K'illi during his army's 1781 siege. After his brutal quartering by the Spanish, Katari's head was put on display on this same hill to terrorize his followers. On a moonlit night over a century later, in 1952, rebels crisscrossed the hillsides to launch the National Revolution. A short walk up from the K'illi K'illi park is the home of indigenous philosopher Fausto Reinaga. An unassuming gate opens from the street to a steep stairway, lush with greenery. At the landing, a small pathway, bordered by flower gardens and a narrow grassy areas where dogs leap and bark, leads up to his office and library. In the mid-1960s, dozens of

indigenous union leaders and Aymara youth from the militant province of Aroma met here with the older Reinaga to discuss indigenous history, government paternalism toward indigenous people, and the development of an independent indigenous movement and political force. The roots of the pro-indigenous philosophy of Katarismo can be traced back to the rural province of Aroma, a short bus ride from the city. But it was in La Paz where many young Aymara students became Kataristas.

Katarismo was a current of political thought and campesino movement organizing created in the late 1960s and 1970s by young Aymara union leaders in the province of Aroma, in the department of La Paz. Kataristas held that colonialism had never ended and that the National Revolution and the military regimes that followed it constituted not liberation from empire and colonialism, but rather simply a new form of neo-colonial domination. As such, Kataristas sought to overturn the paternalistic and racist yoke of state hegemony in the countryside and forge an independent campesino union that served the needs and values of the indigenous majority, rather than the political power of the MNR and military governments that dominated the 1960s and 1970s.

The philosophy of Katarismo was articulated by its proponents largely through the struggle for, and creation of, campesino unions that sought to break with the Pacto Militar-Campesino (Military-Campesino Pact, PMC), a formal political alliance between military regimes and campesino communities declared in 1964 and lasting until 1978. The Kataristas' main avenue for organizing and raising consciousness was the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (National Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia, CNTCB), started by the MNR government in 1953. Kataristas organized within the CNTCB to make the union independent from the government.

The overarching impact of Katarismo during this period was twofold. The Kataristas successfully developed an independent campesino union that broke with the PMC. This union defied the paternalism of the state and forged a new organizational front to represent and champion campesino causes in the political and socio-economic realm. The Kataristas built a bridge between the campesino sector and organized labor in the main workers' union, the Central Obrera Boliviano (Bolivian Workers' Central, COB). The COB was created by union leaders after the National Revolution and crucially brought together the militant mining sector with workers in manufacturing. The COB had representatives in the MNR government for over a decade following the revolution, and was a powerful force in Bolivian politics until neoliberal economic policies and mine closures weakened it considerably in the 1980s. The unity between the campesino union and the COB in the late 1970s helped topple the dictatorship of General Hugo Banzer and subsequent military coup governments, leading to the return of democracy in 1982. The lasting result of Katarista efforts in the 1970s was the 1979 formation of the Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB), the focus of the next chapter.

Secondly, Kataristas lifted up indigenous identity, history, traditions and culture, and positioned a politically-empowered network of multi-cultural indigenous peoples at the core of their vision for a new society. These efforts expanded historical consciousness, popularized the cultural use of indigenous symbols, and championed the rediscovery of indigenous technology and civilizations as agricultural and political models. A profound contribution of Katarismo, writes Bolivian intellectual and politician Álvaro Garcia Linera, was the "reinvention of

indigeneity, but now not as a stigma, rather as a subject of emancipation, as historical model, as political Project."[1]

In order to trace the birth and development of Katarismo, this chapter begins with an examination of the pitfalls of the MNR revolution for the campesino sector, from 1952, at the dawn of the revolution, to 1964, at the revolution's institutional close with the military coup of General René Barrientos. From 1964 to 1978, a string of military regimes controlled the Bolivian government, basing their rule partly on the PMC. Throughout this period, the Kataristas, led by Genaro Flores, a young union leader from Aroma, successfully aimed to break with the PMC and help to bring the country back to a democratic system of government. The political use of the past was a critical tool for Kataristas building their body of thought and action in the midst of military rule. Meanwhile, also in La Paz, Indianismo, a parallel political and intellectual current among indigenous activists, took a different tack, focusing less on class-based domination and more specifically on racial oppression. Indianistas were a small group of intellectuals and activists in La Paz who organized almost exclusively through small political parties that rarely received significant support. Unlike the Kataristas, who focused on the development of an independent campesino union allied with the wider left, Indianistas refused to join with the "mestizo-creole" left, arguing that doing so perpetuated the style of neocolonialist, racist relationship that existed between the MNR, subsequent military regimes, and the indigenous people of Bolivia.[2] While Indianismo was an important current of thought which influenced Kataristas, particularly through Reinaga, as illustrated below, charting the evolution of

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[1] Álvaro García Linera, "Indianismo y Marxismo: El desencuentro de dos razones revolucionarias," in Svampa and Stefanoni, *Bolivia: memoria, insurgencia*, 155.
[2] Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 87. For more information on Indianismo, see Diego Pacheco, *El Indianismo y Los Indios Contemporáneos en Bolivia* (La Paz: HISBOL/Musef, 1992); Luciano Tapia, *Ukhamawa Jakawisaxa - Asi es Nuestra Vida: Autobiografía de un aymara* (La Paz: HISBOL, 1995).

Indianismo through its various political parties is beyond the scope of this chapter. Instead, my emphasis is on Katarismo, its profound and direct impact on the campesino union and the path it created to the empowerment of a resurgent indigenous movement in the 1970 and 1980s through the CSUTCB.

Katarismo Roots

The Kataristas' historical analysis argued that the oppressive political and economic system of colonialism continued for indigenous people and had been perpetuated by creole elites throughout the nineteenth century and into the MNR era of the 1950s and 60s. The Kataristas perceived a continuous oppression over centuries, Silvia Rivera writes, "[y]et they recognized the structural impact of the 1952 revolution, and viewed peasant unions as the most important arena for building a multi-ethnic society based on 'unity in diversity.'"[3] The contemporary failures of the National Revolution were thus understood as a continuation of centuries of oppression, in which "the collective memory of the 1952 revolution signifie[d] only just a partial rupture with the past..." Rivera writes that "short memory," based in the "revolutionary power of the campesino unions and militias since 1952," oriented the indigenous struggle at this time. With the Kataristas, short memory combined with "long memory," a view toward "anticolonial struggles, pre-Hispanic ethical order," and centuries of oppression.[4] The alchemy of long and short memory, explored in more detail below, took hold among Kataristas seeking to build an independent union movement.

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[3] Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, "Aymara Past, Aymara Future," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 5, no. 3 (1991): 19.

[4] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos,"* 180, 179. Rivera's work is a key text on indigenous movements in the 20th century and is rich in its detail on this post-revolutionary period in Bolivia.

As previously stated, the Kataristas wanted to reform the CNTCB, the state-dominated campesino union founded by the MNR in 1953, and make it autonomous from the state. But the union also served as an important space for the development of local and political leadership. Through the union, young people came to learn more about leading politicians, the details of state policy, the art of union speech, and the relationship between the union and the state. It also notably operated as a channel for political ambition within the campesino sector.[5] Aside from this educational and professional purpose, the union already served as tool for the Katarista struggle. As Bolivian historian Esteban Ticona explains, Kataristas used the "campesino union as a special instrument of struggle. Even though it belong[ed] to the State of 52 [the post-revolution MNR government] and was created in the new form of state domination, the Kataristas had the ability to extend their influence and spread their ideas through the union…"[6]

Kataristas embraced the symbol of their namesake and his history as a strategy to highlight the contemporary need to carry on Katari's unfinished revolution. Kataristas developed social and political spaces to explore and strengthen indigenous traditions and culture, promoting indigenous music, the rainbow-checkered wiphala flag, and the celebration of Katari and other past indigenous rebel leaders.[7] In addition to the creation of an independent campesino union, a key part of the development and popularization of Katarismo's thought and political project was the use and dissemination of the symbol and history of Túpac Katari himself. To the Kataristas, Katari's history and actions embodied both the dream of a renewed indigenous social order as well as the power of indigenous resistance. It was no accident that a symbolic Katari emerged in

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[5] Esteban Ticona Alejo, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara: 1979-1996* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2000), 81.
[6] Esteban Ticona Alejo, *CSUTCB: Trayectoria y Desafíos* (La Paz: Centro de Documentacion e información, 1996), 14.
[7] Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 170.

the wider Bolivian political culture in this way: his resurrection was part of a deliberate effort on the part of activists, leaders, and thinkers who strategically utilized and historically constructed the rebel and his history for political ends in the post-revolutionary period.

A combination of political and social factors contributed to the rise of Katarismo. The frustrations of the revolution and the PMC pushed Kataristas to fight for campesino unions that were independent from the state. In addition, as migration from the countryside to the cities increased, the urban-rural ties that developed in the indigenous communities and La Paz allowed for crucial exchanges of experiences as well as solidarity between the city and the countryside. Many Kataristas of the time were children of the 1952 National Revolution: their parents had been hacienda laborers before the MNR took power and were protagonists of the revolution, while the new generation benefitted from recently expanded access to education and rights.[8] The indigenous peoples of this new class and era were empowered by MNR policies, but frustrated by the incomplete land reform and assimilationist stance of the government, which encouraged indigenous people to leave their traditions in order to blend in. Examples of such assimilation policies include the government imposition of state-controlled unions over ayllu community structures, and the denigration of indigenous languages in rural public schools. This friction fed the development of resurgent indigenous politics from the 1960s onward. Because the gains of the revolution were incomplete, Ticona writes, "they generated a frustration which revived the long memory, of a centuries-old confrontation with the state."[9] The dissatisfaction with unfinished agrarian reform among rural communities was articulated in part through urban-rural

[8] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 70. Healy's book on rural development in Bolivia is an excellent source for on-the-ground reporting and analysis of this period. Also see Nicolas and Quisbert, *Pachakuti*, 41.
[9] Ticona, *CSUTCB,* 14.

connections.[10] Younger Aymara migrants to La Paz had a foot in both worlds. They were aware of the revolution's failures through their parents' experience of agrarian reform, as well as through their own confrontation with structural racism in the city – in low paying jobs and racial oppression in the educational system, for example. In the countryside, discontent toward the assimilationist state and the PMC was articulated most notably through the development of an autonomous rural union, spearheaded by Flores.[11]

Young Aymara migrants in La Paz experienced discrimination more acutely in school and work than their rural counterparts, and came into direct contact with what they perceived as a neocolonial, racist society – challenges that had supposedly been overcome by the revolution, but which were actually still very much present. By 1976, roughly 48 percent of the population of La Paz was Aymara, either born in the city or who spoke the language, with about 25 percent of that total constituted by recent Aymara migrants from the countryside. As young Aymara people confronted racism in La Paz, in the workplace and at primary school, many also attended university as a part of a new generation of indigenous students, thanks to the educational reforms of the National Revolution. This access to education, writes Rivera, "permitted the rise of a strata of intellectuals who [sought] to give ideological expression to this sentiment of acute frustration that accompanie[d] their urban experience."[12] The potent encounters with urban racism, university education, and networks among Aymara students in La Paz contributed to the formation of new indigenous currents and organizing. Aymara youth from the countryside attending high school and university in La Paz developed student groups which provided space for students to reflect on the shortcomings of the MNR government, structural racism in the

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[10] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos,"* 181.
[11] Hervé Do Alto, "Cuando el nacionalismo se pone el poncho," in Svampa and Stefanoni, *Bolivia: memoria, insurgencia*, 29.
[12] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos,"* 150.

schools, the PMC, and the limits of the National Revolution. These groups, discussed below, constituted the early networks that gave rise to Katarismo.

The frustrations and hopes of young urban and rural Aymara activists and critics of Bolivia's neo-colonial, post-revolutionary society during this time were further expressed through an array of small publications, cultural centers, Aymara radio programs and organizations that emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Places in La Paz like the Mink'a Center for Peasant Coordination and Promotion (the term Mink'a refers to a form of Andean reciprocity), and the Túpac Katari Campesino Center in the early 1970s, created spaces for cultural activities, indigenous music performances, historical research, and the discussion of indigenous issues on the radio. These initiatives provided support to help Aymara political participants with clandestine work and safe havens during periods of government repression. According to its organizers, in the early 1970s, the Katari Campesino Center had some ten thousand volunteer members and generated funds out of small membership dues, helping to fund its radio station, among other activities.[13] The Mink'a Center was founded in 1969, largely by people from rural communities, including Mario Gabriel, Genaro Flores' brother-in-law.[14]

The Work and Influence of Fausto Reinaga

Other important sources for the rise of Katarismo include the writings and influence of indigenous intellectual Fausto Reinaga. Though Reinaga is more identified with the Indianista current, early Katarista activists met regularly with Reinaga in La Paz in the 1960s.[15] This prolific author was known as a great orator and debater. Portraits of him give the impression that

[13] Ibid., 153.
[14] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 393.
[15] Verushka Alvizuri, *La Construcción de la Aymaridad*: Una historia de la etnicidad en Bolivia *(1952-2006)* (Santa Cruz: Editorial El País, 2009), 107-108.

he was a deep thinker with a philosophical bearing. Reinaga's books were widely read and referenced throughout his lifetime and continue to be popular to this day, selling commonly in street book stalls across Bolivia.[16] Born in 1906, Reinaga grew up in a poor indigenous farming family and, through personal sacrifice and the aid of his parents, was able to attend school and university while working various jobs. Through an integration of Marxist and indigenous worldviews, his writing reflected his own lived experience as an indigenous man living through the tumultuous periods of the Chaco War of 1928-1935 and the National Revolution.[17] Reinaga and his work touched not only his contemporaries, but was a catalyst for subsequent generations; dozens of leading Aymara youth activists from Aroma, many of whom would go on to become key campesino union leaders, met regularly with Reinaga in the 1960s and 1970s. Aymara youth who arrived in La Paz to attend secondary school and university came together at Reinaga's home to discuss and develop a contemporary project for indigenous liberation. This group dug into their own indigenous people's history and launched various initiatives linked to Reinaga's thought.

Hilda Reinaga, the writer's niece, described various conferences and talks given in the 1960s by her uncle Fausto. Aymara students from the countryside studying in La Paz would often arrive to these gatherings. In addition to the discussions taking place with Reinaga at his home, his vast library was available to the students. According to Hilda Reinaga, the books her uncle authored were widely circulated among rural campesino unions during this period.

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[16] The information regarding sales is based on the author's observations over a fifteen year period up to the point of this writing, during which Reinaga's books continued to sell widely among book street vendors in La Paz, Cochabamba, and Sucre.

[17] For more information on the Chaco War, see Klein, *A Concise History,* 178; Kohl and Farthing, *Impasse in Bolivia,* 45; Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 68-70; Gotkowitz, *A Revolution for Our Rights*, 103-111.

Campesino readers would arrive to Reinaga's home and "they would bring potatoes, eggs, and exchange them for books."[18]

In engagement with Reinaga, some indigenous youth at the Gualberto Villarroel secondary school began the November 15th Student Movement (named after the date Katari was executed) in secondary schools, and the Julián Apaza University Movement (MUJA) at the public Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz.[19] Reinaga himself launched the Partido Indio Boliviano (Bolivian Indian Party, PIB), which drew from views of a utopian pre-colonial past and indigenous culture to envision a new society.[20] Reinaga's most popular book *La Revolución India* (The Indian Revolution), published in 1970, was at once a comprehensive history, a condemnation of colonialism and neocolonialism, and a call to reconstruct the lost nation of Tawantinsuyo, the pre-conquest indigenous society spanning the Andes.[21] Such influential texts and thought served as fundamental sparks in the early 1970s that ignited political fires across the resurgent indigenous movement. Young activists influenced by Reinaga began to develop a deeper sense of their own identity, political orientation, and a shared a feeling of being "foreigners in their own land."[22] Such a sentiment expressed the view that Bolivia was composed by two nations, divided by race, in which the indigenous majority was historically oppressed.

Reinaga's home and library is still occupied and maintained by Hilda Reinaga, who typed up much of her one-armed uncle's work and provided crucial economic support for him in his later years. In a 2015 interview at the Reinaga library, Hilda Reinaga emphasized the importance

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[18] Alvizuri, *La Construcción de la Aymaridad*, 107-110. Alvizuri cites Hilda Reinaga, interview with Verushka Alvizuri, La Paz, Bolivia, July 17, 2005.
[19] Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 168.
[20] Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins,* 213.
[21] Fausto Reinaga, *La Revolución India* (La Paz: Fundación Amaútica, "Fausto Reinaga," 2014).
[22] Ticona, *CSUTCB,* 13. Quote, cited here by Ticona, draws from phrase in the 1973 Tiwanaku Manifesto.

of the pre-conquest indigenous civilization of Tawantinsuyo to her uncle's philosophy. "This was a civilization in which there was no hunger," she explained, "there was no fratricide."[23] Fausto Reinaga's objective was radical, but simple: Indigenous power. "This meant taking power and returning to become owners of this land and territory." The goal was to "introduce Incaic socialism, which is to say, the socialism that our ancestors had already lived; there was a socialism. Therefore, we do have our own system of government, which is the ayllu, the community."[24]

In his 1971 *Tesis India* (Indian Thesis), Reinaga outlines a narrative of pre-colonial society that would take hold in decades to come in the CSUTCB and the ayllu reconstruction efforts of the 1990s. When Pizarro arrived to the indigenous civilization of Tawantinsuyo, Reinaga writes in his thesis, he found "stocks of food that could last for hundreds of years; palaces of gold," a place where everyone, from the "Inca to the last able subject worked in perfect harmony; no one lied, no one robbed, no one exploited." This vision of utopia, what he calls the "first socialist republic in the world," inspired a generation of activists building a new indigenous politics in the 1970s.[25] Reinaga's philosophy was "forged through a rediscovery of the Inca civilization," writes Andean scholar Antonio Lucero. To Reinaga and his readers, this past and place was not imaginary, but was a historical realization, "a stable community,

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[23] Hilda Reinaga, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, March 10, 2015.
[24] Hilda Reinaga, interview with Pablo Mamani Ramírez, La Paz, Bolivia, January 20, 2011, included in Pablo Mamani Ramírez, "Entrevistas a los luchadores kataristas e indianistas," *Willka* 5, no. 5 (2011): 154. On this topic, also see works by Peruvian intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui: Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker, eds. and trans., *José Carlos Mariátegui: An Anthology* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011).
[25] Fausto Reinaga, *Tesis India* (La Paz: Fundación Amaútica "Fausto Reinaga, 2014), 15.

historically formed, and which emerged from a linguistic, territorial, economic, psychological, and cultural community."[26]

Reinaga's concept of "two Bolivias," one made up of indigenous people and the other with those with European ancestry, took hold among Aymara activists of the time, as expressed in documents such as the Kataristas' 1973 Manifesto of Tiwanaku. Within this view of two Bolivias was the nation of creoles and mestizos, with their own language (Spanish) and the Bolivian national flag. The other nation consisted of indigenous people with various languages and the wiphala flag.[27] This view, alongside the conceptual rescue of Tawantinsuyo as a model and rallying cry, was essential for a political revolution led by and for indigenous people.[28]

While Indianistas focused on developing small political parties as Kataristas emphasized the construction of an independent campesino movement, Indianistas and Kataristas shared the political objective of recovering models from pre-conquest indigenous societies. While not a key focus in this chapter, I would like to introduce the historical analyses of two key Indianista leaders as examples of this worldview and political current.

One Aymara activist who met regularly with Reinaga was Constantino Lima. Lima was involved in the Indianista current during this period, and his life story and historical analysis reflects many of the debates that took place between Reinaga and younger indigenous activists and thinkers. Lima carries his history with him. He walks with a limp because he was shot three times during his participation as a conscripted soldier in the National Revolution; later, he was

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[26] José Antonio Lucero, "Fanon in the Andes: Fausto Reinaga, Indianismo, and the Black Atlantic," *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 16, 18. Lucero quotes Reinaga from Fausto Reinaga, *La revolución india* (La Paz: Partido Indio Boliviano, 1969), 168.

[27] Máximo Quisbert Q., "Hay Líderes Indianistas o Kataristas para Futuras Elecciones Presidenciales?" *Willka,* 50.

[28] García, "Indianismo y Marxismo," 159.

imprisoned and tortured under various dictatorships. But the injuries have barely slowed him down. At age eighty-five, he speaks fluently on a wide range of topics, sprinkling jokes and humor into almost every account, emitting a charisma that likely aided him in his many roles as a dissident, politician, and ground-breaking indigenous leader and thinker.

When talking of the racism he and his family faced when he was young, however, he bristles with anger as though the wounds were fresh. "All of the native Indians, we were born amidst thorns because of the terrible racism we faced," Lima recalled. "People would call us *shitty Indians* right to our face; they would beat us up when they wanted to."[29] His mother did not speak Spanish, and as a child, Lima himself worked taking care of the family's sheep. When he was about seven or eight, he remembered asking his father why racism existed against his family and against indigenous people in general in Bolivia.[30]

> 'Why all of this abuse?' I asked my father. 'Why is this happening?' And so my father brought all of his children together. I was the youngest, and he made us sit down in a circle, and on the wall he first drew Europe, then the ocean and the Abya Yala continent [indigenous territory spanning Latin America with pre-conquest roots], which is our continent that is now called America. He explained to us that, 'people with white skin came from here, from Europe, they are not from here. We are owners of this land, they are not. They came from there [Europe] and invaded us, and so now we are their imprisoned slaves.' This lesson, that these people abusing us were not from here, got inside of me and never left, never left my mind or my heart. This is the ideological doctrine that my father imparted to me, and it is why I grew up as a rebel.[31]

As an indigenous activist organizing in the wake of the National Revolution and meeting regularly with Reinaga, Lima's political objective was to rebuild Bolivian society under indigenous self-rule. "With very few variants, nearly everyone has always fought for the reconstitution of our ancestral states," Lima told me of his militant colleagues during an

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[29] Constantino Lima, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 15, 2014.
[30] Constantino Lima, interview with Pablo Mamani Ramírez, El Alto, Bolivia, February 17, 2011, included in Mamani, "Entrevistas a los luchadores kataristas e indianistas," 131-132.
[31] Constantino Lima, interview.

interview in downtown La Paz. He continued, "the view was that with this power, one day Bolivia could go in a different direction, soon [to] reconstitute itself as the National State of [the ancestral indigenous civilization] Qullasuyu."[32]

Such debates spurred on deep personal reflections among many indigenous activists in Bolivia in the 1960s and 1970s, many of whom looked to their own pasts and experiences as guides for political orientation and action. For Luciano Tapia, an Indianista and key protagonist in the indigenous movement during this time, his ideology and identity was tied directly to his challenges as a poor farmer and indigenous dissident who faced marginalization, repression, and poverty. Tapia, born in 1923 in Pacajes province, was raised in an Aymara ayllu. He combined lessons from his life experience with a view of Andean history as a way of developing an identity-based project for indigenous liberation. As a longtime indigenous leader and politician, he bore witness to the rise and activity of the indigenous movement's resurgence after the National Revolution. His autobiography, *Ukhamawa Jakawisaxa (Así es Nuestra Vida): Autobiografía de un Aymara,* written and recorded by Tapia himself starting in 1985 and completed in the mid-1990s, reflects on this political trajectory with an eloquent reflection on rural life in Aymara communities during periods of political transformation, most notably the Nation Revolution.[33]

As Tapia explains in his popular autobiography, "By creating an awareness of my identity, I understood that the cultural expressions of my ancestry, the personality of my people and its millenary history, were the key on which to base and sustain a struggle for liberation."[34] Tapia's political orientation was a direct result of his lived experience as a self-made intellectual.

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Tapia, *Ukhamawa Jakawisaxa*.
[34] Ibid., 188.

He writes, "I did not need to read any book or embrace the dogmas of the oppressor as orienting guides, because I myself was an open book with the contents of experiences and live realities, of irrefutable truths that surpassed all theoretical, alienating, and colonizing fantasy."[35]

He was clear that this past and personal experience helped him feel part of a united, living culture, which he saw as the basis for a project of indigenous liberation.

> I understood that, far from feeling as though I were a beggar and foreigner in my own ancestral land, rather, I should instead feel proud of being a descendant of the great and glorious civilizations from this part of the world. From this comes the reason to maintain that, beyond being a simple campesino class, we are fundamentally a living historical reality, a people made of flesh and bone, a real Nation…[36]

Tapia's political objectives were rooted in a push to revitalize the crushed indigenous movement, and strengthen the indigenous nations of "flesh and bone" in the face of what he saw as structural racism and neo-colonialism. Lima and Tapia's views reflect debates with Reinaga, and Reinaga's own conceptions of an Andean utopia. In turn, Lima founded the Partido Autóctono Nacional (National Indigenous Party) and Tapia started the Movimiento Indio Tupaq Katari (Tupaq Katari Indian Movement), political parties which sought to promote indigenous power through the ballot box.[37] Meanwhile, young Kataristas took a different approach by emphasizing the transformation of the campesino union as an instrument of indigenous struggle.

The young Aymara activists from Aroma who met with Reinaga soon emerged as Katarista leaders and focused on turning the state-dominated CNTCB into an independent campesino union.[38] Operating in the shadow of the National Revolution and under subsequent military regimes, young activists successfully challenged the PMC and its allies among the older generation of union leadership. The next section details the emergence of Katarismo within this

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., 329-373; Pacheco, *El Indianismo*, 21-86.
[38] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 390-391.

campesino union struggle in the wake of the National Revolution and under the various military regimes that followed.

The Shadow of the Revolution

The political arena in which Katarismo emerged was shaped by the National Revolution, an event which made a dramatic entry onto the Bolivian stage in 1952. Leading up to the revolt, the MNR party ran Víctor Paz Estenssoro, a popular, pro-worker congressman and party leader who was then in exile, as its presidential candidate in 1951.[39] He won a resounding victory at the ballot box, but the military placed General Hugo Ballivian in the presidential palace instead. The MNR decided that their only option was armed revolution.[40] On April 10, 1952, Ballivian called for the lights to be put out in La Paz in order to impede the advance of the MNR rebels – many of whom were factory workers – as they descended into La Paz from the neighboring city of El Alto. Yet a full moon lit the way, providing the rebels with guidance in their march down the steep hills from El Alto into the capital city. Many MNR rebels were members of the working class neighborhoods in El Alto, and so they knew the terrain well. These forces, with miners from Oruro providing crucial support, effectively cut off Ballivian's troops by blocking key routes and rail lines on the outskirts of the city. Conflicts flared up in the night, leaving wounded and dead on both sides. But news of the MNR rebels' victory spread throughout countryside,

[39] The following interviews helped me understand the events, impact, and aftermath of the National Revolution: Pedro Portugal, interview with author, La Paz, Bolivia, March 31, 2014, and October 14, 2014; Gonzalo Colque, interview with author, La Paz, Bolivia, January 27, 2015; Contantino Lima, interview with author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 14, 2015.
[40] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 206-208. For a comprehensive overview of the rural rebellions and indigenous movements that led up to the National Revolution, see Laura Gotkowitz, *A Revolution for Our Rights*.

inspiring similar uprisings across the nation. Three days later, with over six hundred dead from the battles, the MNR vanquished the Ballivian regime and took power.[41]

Euphoria was high in the early days of the MNR's leadership. Estenssoro flew into the El Alto airport from exile in Argentina on April 15, 1952. When he entered La Paz he was met by a crowd of some seven thousand people waving signs that read "Nationalization of the Mines," "Agrarian Reform," and "Welcome, Father of the Poor." The crowd was so massive that it took Estenssoro a full thirty minutes to arrive at the presidential palace half a block away. He greeted the assembled people in Aymara, the language most members of the crowd spoke: "*Jaccha t'anta uthjani*," he said—"There will be much bread."[42] Soon after, largely as a result of pressure from labor organizations and miners, the MNR signed a decree on October 31, 1952 that nationalized the country's tin mines. In August of 1953, the MNR passed the Agrarian Reform Law which sought to abolish *pongueaje* (a form of obligatory servitude forced on the indigenous tenants of haciendas), expropriate hacienda land and redistribute it to landless farmers and indigenous communities, support agricultural development, and ensure the recognition of indigenous communities' labor and organizational traditions.[43] The reform was limited, however, as it ultimately only affected 28.5 percent of large landowners.[44]

The National Revolution made historic gains with expanded rights for Bolivian workers, land reform, and national economic sovereignty, but the effect was less positive in the area of indigenous identity, culture, and political inclusion. In fact, the MNR government sought to erase indigenous identity, re-categorizing this segment of the population as peasants or workers to be

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[41] Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins,* 38-40. Also see Mario Murillo, *La bala no mata sino el destino: Una crónica de la insurrección popular de 1952 en Bolivia* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2012).
[42] Ibid., 41-42.
[43] Ibid., 72-73.
[44] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos,"* 104-106.

incorporated as a base of party support, and into the MNR's economic vision for the development of Bolivia. The government brought indigenous people into the fold as part of its attempts to create a more egalitarian and modern society, but the MNR's mission to integrate indigenous people into the revolutionary state and nation required they give up their indigenous identity.[45] Such policies involved replacing ayllus with unions, promoting Spanish language education over indigenous languages, and repressing the use of ponchos and indigenous dress, which were considered by the MNR to be symbols of life on the hacienda. From beginnings of cooptation and assimilation, in time this paternalistic government treatment of indigenous people gave way to state-led massacres, for example, the 1967 military attack on mining families at the Catavi-Siglo mines, and the 1974 killing of campesino protesters outside the city of Cochabamba. Such state violence and oppression of dissident indigenous movements and leaders pushed indigenous activists further from the MNR.

MNR President Victor Paz Estenssoro's policies were decidedly anti-indigenous. In his address announcing the MNR's land reform law to some two hundred thousand indigenous people in Uruceña on August 2, 1953, he told the crowd, "From now on you will no longer be Indians ('indios') but rather peasants!"[46] The MNR saw the erasure of indigenous identity as progress, as doing away with an oppressive social structure based on the subjugation of indigenous people through the hacienda and the formerly-oppressive Bolivian political system. They hoped to transform this history of oppression through land reform, rural education, and indigenous voter enfranchisement. As noted Bolivian scholar of Katarismo, Javier Hurtado explains, "The MNR had an unrealistic and inappropriate image of peasants in blue overalls

[45] Xavier Albó, "The 'Long Memory' of Ethnicity in Bolivia and Some Temporary Oscillations," in *Unresolved Tensions: Bolivia Past and Present*, ed. John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 21.
[46] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 14.

driving tractors within the new social and economic order they were setting out to construct. They wanted the indigenous to stop wearing ponchos and turn their backs forever on traditional agriculture."[47] Politically, this translated into forcing indigenous communities to forsake communal land holdings and the ayllu in exchange for individually held land managed through the MNR rural union structure.

While the 1953 reform did grant significant parcels of land to small producers, these plots were divided among generations of family members, making tracts progressively smaller over the years – now roughly just three hundred square meters in many areas. Such limited land resources contributed to mass migrations to urban areas.[48] Most of the rural Bolivian peasantry at this time was based in the highland, Andean areas, with high density in La Paz (where roughly one third of the total lived and was mainly Aymara), Potosí, and Cochabamba. A majority in these areas were subsistence farmers producing edible crops for daily consumption, with some links to the wider market. Another part of this group, primarily in Cochabamba, was more directly inserted into the region's market, with some subsistence activity. The other sector of peasants, roughly 20 to 25 percent, were entirely dependent on the market, particularly in areas closer to urban centers, such as the semi-tropical Yungas region, outside of La Paz.[49]

Campesino Unions and Military Regimes

The CNTCB was founded in La Paz on July 15, 1953 by the MNR government as part of the Agrarian Reform program. The CNTCB was the coordinating body of a national network of unions based in small rural communities of farmers throughout Bolivia. Its members were from

[47] Ibid., 11.
[48] Kohl and Farthing, *Impasse in Bolivia*, 63.
[49] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 387.

the MNR's impoverished and largely indigenous rural base. The union crucially channeled the government's land distribution to campesino families, provided an avenue of political representation for the campesino sector, and was used by the government to concentrate and manage MNR support in the countryside. From the beginning, MNR functionaries held high positions in the union, underlining its adherence to MNR power.[50] The MNR replaced ayllu governing structures with the CNTCB, a process explained in more detail in subsequent chapters, establishing the state union as the central place to manage agricultural production and rural education[51] While co-opting political structure in the indigenous communities, the MNR won rural support by doling out land titles through the redistribution of land under the Agrarian Reform. They gave out food coupons, established schools, and offered faithful peasants positions in rural unions – all of which contributed to the consolidation of support in the countryside. As the Agrarian Reform progressed, very few in the rural sector questioned the MNR.[52] In this way, the campesino sector was utilized by the MNR as a faithful voting mass from 1953-1964.[53]

Katarista protagonist Genaro Flores recalled how, as a boy, he witnessed MNR officials replacing indigenous *hilacata* leaders of the community with younger, less experienced and less respected union leaders. Anti-indigenous perceptions of what modernization meant were translated into blatant acts of racism on the part of MNR government officials, which included cutting the braids off indigenous men, and spraying indigenous people with DDT chemicals (to ostensibly prevent the spread of lice) before they were able to attend government meetings. Rural

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[50] Roberto Choque Canqi, *El Indigenismo y los Movimientos Indígenas en Bolivia* (La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración del Convenio Andrés Bello, 2014), 231.
[51] Félix Patzi Paco, *Insurgencia y sumisión: Movimientos sociales e indígenas, 1983-2007* (La Paz: Ediciones DRIVA, 2007), 33-34.
[52] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 383-384.
[53] Choque, *El Indigenismo y los Movimientos Indígenas*, 238-239.

schools provided curriculum which was at odds with indigenous culture, and focused on spreading Spanish while blatantly discouraging indigenous languages.[54]

To many indigenous people, this constituted a continuation of the policies of oppressive pre-MNR governments. Indeed, in the decades leading up to the revolution, the Bolivian state had used rural schools primarily as a space to teach indigenous people basic skills for the labor force.[55] Rural education initiatives thus emphasized manual labor over literacy, to produce what historian Brooke Larson terms an "unlettered Indian" – an ignorant but efficient worker.[56] Such classes involved instruction in soil work, brick making, textile and carpentry labor. The educational projects emphasized loyalty to the Bolivian state and nation. The central goal, Larson writes, was to erase "indigenous communal memories, traditions, political culture, and mobilizations" for the sake of shaping subjects to contribute to the modern Bolivian nation.[57]

At the same time, the National Revolution also abolished rural servitude on haciendas and so freed up time for young people in the rural sector to actually attend school. The MNR expanded access to education, and school attendance did rise in rural areas. From 1950 to 1970, national literacy rates rose from 31 percent to 67 percent.[58] However, indigenous language, history, traditions, knowledge and values were left out of public school curriculum. The schools served as a key avenue for spreading the MNR's historical narrative of Bolivia as one common

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[54] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 15.
[55] Brooke Larson, "Capturing Indian Bodies, Hearths and Minds: The Gendered Politics of Rural School Reform in Bolivia, 1920s-1940s," in *Natives Making Nation: Gender, Indigeneity and the State in the Andes*, ed. Andrew Canessa (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005); Brooke Larson, "Forging the Unlettered Indian: the Pedagogy of Race in the Bolivian Andes," in *Histories of Race and Racism: The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Laura Gotkowitz (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
[56] Larson, "Forging the Unlettered Indian."
[57] Larson, "Capturing Indian Bodies," 35.
[58] Herbert Klein, *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 264.

nation and an homogenized culture, leaving indigenous identity and culture firmly in the past Like the spread of the MNR's rural unions as a tool of control and subjugation of indigenous ayllus and autonomy, the government used educational reform to transform indigenous people into Spanish speakers and campesinos, subjugating indigenous identity and culture.[59] In addition to not including indigenous languages in the classroom, the MNR's education code continued past policies aimed at converting indigenous students into workers, emphasizing that in rural education, a key objective was, according to Manuel E. Contreras, to "teach him [the student] to be a good agricultural worker." At the same time, higher school attendance did create a new generation of formally educated indigenous Bolivians. This, in turn, contributed to their rising enrollment in the country's university system.[60]

The various military regimes which succeeded MNR rule in 1964 marked a shift in the relationship between the state and the rural sector, articulated largely through the CNTCB. From 1960-64, MNR President Victor Paz Estenssoro increased the power of the military, putting General René Barrientos on the campaign ticket as his Vice President in 1964. Just a few months after Paz won the August 1964 election, Barrientos led a brief coup that overthrew Paz, beginning an era in which the military would remain in power until 1982. Barrientos moved the government further to the political right, working actively to eradicate leftist sectors, particularly the mining movement and the COB, the country's main labor union. Under his watch, the workers movement suffered constant assaults, including the infamous massacre of San Juan in

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[59] Aurolyn Luykx, *The Citizen Factory: Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 47-48. Also see Andrew Canessa, "Reproducing Racism: Schooling and Race in Highland Bolivia," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 7, no. 2 (2004).
[60] Manuel E. Contreras, "A Comparative Perspective of Education Reforms in Bolivia: 1950-2000," in *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Merilee S. Grindle and Pilar Domingo (London: Institute for Latin American Studies, 2003), 260-263.

June of 1967, in which government troops murdered mining families during a night of celebration.[61]

In order to prevent the development of an organized leftist bloc, Barrientos aimed to drive a wedge between the labor movement, largely organized by the COB, and the campesino sector, still under the auspices of the state-controlled CNTCB. While repressing the labor movement, Barrientos strengthened his ties with the campesino sector through the CNTCB. As a military leader in the MNR government, he developed ties between the MNR state and rural communities, connections he used to prop up his own military rule. Barrientos deepened the government grip on the countryside through what was called the Military-Campesino Pact (PMC), a formal political alliance between the military regime and the CNTCB that was made on April 9, 1964 in Uruceña, the same site of the announcement of the MNR's Agrarian Reform in 1953.[62]

The success of the PMC as a tool of Barrientos' subjugation can be credited to three factors. First, the campesino sector tended to see the relationship as an avenue to ensure that the distribution of land to small farmers proceeded. Indeed, land redistribution, a cornerstone of MNR popularity in the countryside, continued under Barrientos. Second, the hegemonic presence of the state established through the CNTCB under the MNR remained intact under Barrientos, creating a foundation for the PMC. And finally, Barrientos himself maintained strong ties to the countryside in the style of the MNR government. He spoke Quechua fluently, drank *chicha* beer (a corn-based alcoholic drink disdained by upper-class Bolivians) with rural communities, participated in festivities, handed out gifts such as televisions, bicycles, and soccer balls, and rewarded allies with rural union posts. In this way, Barrientos consolidated the regime's hold

[61] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 222-225.
[62] Do Alto, "Cuando el nacionalismo se pone el poncho," 27.

over the countryside through the PMC, even while violently crushing organized labor in the mines.[63]

However, Barrientos' hegemony in the rural sector began to reveal some considerable cracks which prefigured the development of a campesino union movement that was independent of the state. Campesino dissent against Barrientos emerged after the president announced the imposition of an unpopular tax on individual land titles, including those which had been redistributed to small farmers as part of the MNR's Agrarian Reform and under Barrientos. Campesinos from La Paz and Oruro, as well as the eastern province of Santa Cruz, organized protests against the tax. This discontent led to the formation of the Independent Campesino Bloc (BCI), which allied with the COB. The BCI was the first articulation of an organized campesino movement that sought to break with the PMC under Barrientos.[64] However, the BCI was an organization essentially wed to the COB and did not emerge out of mass campesino demands: the majority of the campesino sector still supported Barrientos and the PMC at this time.[65] Other campesino organizations in the departments of Santa Cruz, Beni, and Cochabamba developed as alternatives to the state-led unions and PMC, and protested large scale, commercial agriculture and the competition small producers faced within the national market. A wide array of small federations and groups emerged out of these concerns in the eastern part of the country in the late 1960s and were organized under one umbrella in February, 1971 as the National Confederation of Rural [campesino] Settlers of Bolivia (CNCB), also linked to the COB. However, the position

[63] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 385-388; Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 83-84.
[64] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos,"* 145.
[65] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 25.

of these defiant groups remained in the minority, as the rural masses still largely embraced the PMC.[66]

The death of Barrientos in a helicopter crash in April, 1969 heralded a shift in Bolivian politics. From 1969 to 1971, two different military leaders created new openings for the Bolivian workers' movement and, to a limited extent, for the campesino sector. These administrations revived the national sentiment and policies of the early MNR rule, but largely continued the subjugation of the campesino movement through the CNTCB.[67] General Alfredo Ovando Candia took power in a military coup on September 26, 1969. Ovando and his successor, General Juan José Torres, participated in the platform of the National Revolution and revived some of the discontinued leftist policies of the revolution. For example, Ovando nationalized Gulf Oil in Bolivia and strengthened ties with the leftist groups and the COB.[68] However, Ovando did not have the national or military support he needed to remain in power, leading to his replacement by General Juan José Torres, Ovando's former chief of staff. The leftist Torres ran the country from October of 1970 until August of 1971, encouraging, rather than repressing, leftist labor unions, building a tin smelter to lessen reliance on US and European smelters, accepted aid from the Soviet Union, and ended US mining contracts. In June of 1970, Torres organized the Popular Assembly, a leftist gathering of representatives from unions, political party leaders, and peasant organizations from around the countryside, convened to develop a leftist policy agenda for the government. Roughly 218 delegates were present, largely from labor unions, with only twenty-three delegates from campesino confederations. Though no clear project emerged from the

[66] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*,*"* 148-149.
[67] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 388.
[68] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 41-42.

gathering, it underlined the Torres government's efforts to break with the rightwing tendency that had dominated Bolivian politics for nearly decade.[69]

With the death of Barrientos and the openings provided by the leftist governments of Ovando and Torres, a new generation of campesino leaders began displacing union leaders allied with the PMC and Barrientos. This new wave of leaders struggling to build an independent campesino union was led largely by Raimundo Tambo and Genaro Flores, the two Aymara youth from the province of Aroma who were critical founders of the Katarismo movement. Following the trajectory of these two men's lives, particularly that of Flores, helps to outline the rise and significance of Katarismo during an era of military rule.

Kataristas Rising

The fact that the militant struggle for campesino union independence arose in Aroma is no accident. In many ways, the province is a national crossroads of campesino movement history. Aroma has a deep experience as a site for state and private development projects aiming to transform agriculture in the region, such that it acutely experienced the MNR's impact on rural life. Aroma also holds particular geographic importance for campesino-led road blockade campaigns. The Pan-American Highway passes through the region, linking La Paz with Oruro and Cochabamba, and passes through main provincial towns of Ayo-Ayo, Calamarca, Sica-Sica, and Lahuachaca. As a major traffic hub, this region holds high importance as a strategic site for road blockades. All of these factors contributed to making Aroma a potent site of campesino organizing.[70]

[69] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 226-228.
[70] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 31.

Aroma is also notably the birthplace of Túpac Katari, and his legacy was often evoked by twentieth century leaders from the province to embolden their claims to prominent positions in union elections. Next to Genaro Flores and other leaders from Aroma, Hurtado writes, "No one could better claim to be the direct heirs of these struggles." In addition to Katari's critical roots in the province, ayllu traditions of rotational leadership were still being practiced by Aroma community members up to 1952 and beyond. In the post-MNR era, such traditions existed alongside the state-led rural union. A mixture of such a legacy of resistance, based in the actual claim the province had to Katari's legacy, and the endurance of ayllu traditions, helped to set Aroma apart from other provinces as a hotbed of campesino organizing. As Hurtado explained, "Unlike other Aymara regions, the indigenous campesinos of Aroma have not erased from their memory these traditions of struggle that live on as legends that the elders transmit to the young, as part of their community education …"[71]

Raimundo Tambo was one of Katarismo's first champions. He was born in Ayo-Ayo, the same Aroma community as Katari, and was supposedly a blood relative of the eighteenth-century rebel.[72] He organized against Barrientos' tax on land titles, was closely tied to the union bases in Aroma, and devoted the bulk of his political efforts to the independent campesino union struggle.[73] Like many other Aymara youths from Aroma at this time, Tambo studied in the Gualberto Villaroel High School in La Paz, where he was a founder of the previously mentioned November 15th Student Movement. In the mid-1960s he worked closely with Fausto Reinaga and was involved in the early years of Reinaga's PIB.[74] Tambo and other young Kataristas

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[71] Ibid., 29, 32.
[72] Ibid., 276.
[73] Javier Hurtado, "El Movimiento Aymara Contemporaneo 1962-1985," *Temas Sociales*, no. 9 (n.d.). Cited in Pacheco, *El Indianismo*, 36n10.
[74] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 276.

participated in the Julian Apasa University Movement (MUJA) as well. Ramón Conde Mamani, a member of MUJA, recalled that the organization had, at its peak, approximately forty members, and was made up primarily of students who had migrated to the city but maintained their ties to rural homes. MUJA sought to spread awareness of indigenous culture and championed indigenous identity and rights. At the university level, members tried to impact scholarships and entry to university to benefit indigenous students. Their wider activism extended into attending campesino union meetings, where they promoted an indigenous-based analysis aligned with Katarismo in a space where a narrow class analysis and the paternalism of the PMC still reigned.[75] Tambo and others in the MUJA were influenced by Reinaga, circulated his writings, and met regularly with the writer.[76]

Aside from Tambo, one of Katarismo's greatest and most effective proponents, Genaro Flores, was also a product of Aroma's vibrant political and historical culture. A moving speaker, Flores was a charismatic union leader who inspired his followers early on with both his soccer-playing skills and his political convictions. In union rallies and meetings, he spoke with the confidence and sharp analysis of a seasoned union leader.[77] Flores was born in the community of Antipampa in 1942. His mother, who labored on the hacienda of Culli Culli until the hacienda was abolished in 1952, was a descendant of the late nineteenth century indigenous rebel Zárate Willka.[78] During Bolivia's 1899 Federalist War, the Aymara cacique apoderado Willka led his

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[75] Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 168.
[76] Alvizuri, *La Construcción de la Aymaridad*, 107-110. Alvizuri cites Hilda Reinaga, interview with Verushka Alvizuri, La Paz, Bolivia, July 17, 2005.
[77] "Homenaje a Genaro Flores, Universidad UT-K, 1998" disc file 1108, DVD. Consulted at the archive of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia. This is a video produced by the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore on a 1998 event organized in homage to Flores, which Flores attended. It covers the marches and celebrations, speeches, and provides a useful audio and visual source on Flores as a speaker and participant in the event.
[78] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 266.

indigenous army against the Conservatives, who were taking over indigenous land. Before Willka was betrayed by Liberals, his indigenous revolt spread across the highlands in what was the most extensive indigenous uprising in the region since that of Katari.[79] Such lineage elevated Flores' stature as a leader. Flores' father was a descendent of caciques, worked in the Caracoles mines, and was well known for his knowledge of astronomy and Andean agricultural traditions, including his expertise in planting and harvesting at distinct altitudes. This agricultural knowledge and notable ancestry contributed to Genaro Flores' prestige in his community.[80]

While these rural roots were necessary for Flores' later rise to prominence, the connections he made and the experiences he had in urban La Paz were critical for shaping him as a trailblazing campesino organizer of his generation. After graduating from primary school, Flores' parents sent him to the Gualberto Villarroel secondary school in La Paz. There was a particularly large number of Aymara students from rural areas in the Villarroel school, especially from the province of Aroma. Ticona writes that many Aroma parents sent their children to this school because the high number of other Aymara students made for an easier transition for their Aymara-speaking children moving to the city from the countryside. The other likely reason for the Aroma connection was Hernando Guarita González, a leftist school teacher who included indigenous issues and culture in his curriculum. In addition, the director of the school was from the Aroma town of Ayo-Ayo.[81] It was here that Flores first came into contact with other crucial early leaders of Katarismo, most notably Tambo, and became involved in the November 15th Student Movement. In 1964, the year of Barrientos coup, Flores graduated from school and

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[79] Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 237, 253; Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 157.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ticona, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*, 51n2.

began his military service, where he served under General Gary Prado Salmón, who led the military actions against Che Guevara in 1967. Flores also witnessed a massacre of miners in Milluni. These experiences pushed Flores to be further critical of the PMC and the Bolivian military in general. After leaving military service, he entered the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz to study law and there made contact with the Julián Apaza University Movement.[82]

In 1966, Flores married Nieves Velasco and returned to his home of Antipampa. Shortly after his return, he was hired by a research group from the University of Wisconsin and the National Agrarian Reform Service of the Bolivian government, which was conducting part of its work in Antipampa.[83] The research focused on the relationship between the CNTCB union leaders and their bases at the provincial, departmental, and national level. Flores' experience in this project further informed his critical stance toward the older generation of union leaders whom he came to see as corrupt and subservient to the state rather than answerable to the campesino bases. This view was fundamental to the Katarista desire to break with the PMC and develop an independent union movement. As Flores recalled, "In all of this research work, the only thing I saw was the corruption of the leaders, who were servants of the bosses, of the landowners, and they received bribes. This is why people said 'the leaders are a bunch of gangsters,' because they were servants of MNR of this era, and in addition, were leaders of the military-campesino pact."[84]

Facing what they perceived as institutional corruption and subservience to the state among the CNTCB leadership, Kataristas such as Tambo and Flores organized for change within

[82] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 267-268.
[83] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 391.
[84] Ticona, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*, 53-54. Ticona cites Genaro Flores, interview with Esteban Ticona Alejo, La Paz, Bolivia, 1994.

the union itself, as well as through public acts which spread consciousness about indigenous history and the legacy of Túpac Katari among rural communities and union members. Katari served as a banner for the Kataristas. In their early years, Katarista groups organized public acts to commemorate and lift up indigenous rebel leaders and a history of resistance, and to, in the words of Hurtado, "refresh the collective memory of their own past." As part of this process, one Katarista group celebrated Katari and Willka on the anniversaries of their deaths in Ayo-Ayo and Imilla-Imilla in the Aroma province.[85] Flores explained that he and others constructed a monument of Katari in Ayo-Ayo in 1969. In the statue, broken shackles cling to Katari's wrists and ankles, and his arms reach into the air defiantly. The statue symbolically signaled the shift away from the state domination of the campesinos. As the Kataristas famously claimed, "We are no longer the peasants of 1952."[86]

Meanwhile, gains were being made by Flores and others in their struggle for an independent union movement. Flores was elected the general secretary of the rural union of Antipampa in 1970. His election was due to his family connections to cacique lineage and his own education, military service, and status as a married man. But his victory also notably had to do with a generational divide. Flores himself recalled that, upon returning to his community in this period, the younger community members were upset with the older union leaders for their lack of support for the youth soccer team. When the election for the local union took place, the young soccer players chose Flores as their candidate because of his enthusiasm for the sport.[87] This anecdote speaks of a generational divide which would prove critical to Flores' trajectory as

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[85] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 30.
[86] Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 170-171. Yashar cites Xavier Albó, "El retorno del indio." *Revista Andina* 9, no. 2 (1991): 312. Statue information from photo of Katari monument in Centro de Coordinacion y Promocion Campesina "Mink'a," *Mink'a*, no. 7 (1977): 7.
[87] Ticona, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*, 52. Ticona cites Genaro Flores, interview with Esteban Ticona Alejo, La Paz, Bolivia, 1994.

a young, rising union leader who came to represent an increasingly militant generation of youth in Aroma who wanted to displace the old generation of union leaders.

Flores quickly proved himself as an able union leader and a vocal critic of the CNTCB. After his election to the leadership the Antipampa union, he was chosen as the head of the larger regional union of Lahuachaca. Though the union network was still ostensibly controlled by the state as an avenue for state distribution of land and construction of schools, Flores spoke out against state subjugation and carved out spaces for union activity that better reflected the community bases. For example, the championing of soccer as a union-organized sport defied the older generation of leaders and embraced the youth. Flores also proved his competency early on by winning lower transportation costs from bus drivers who were abusing their monopoly in the rural area by demanding high fares.[88] Six months after his election to the leadership in Lahuachaca, Flores attended a provincial union meeting in Ayo-Ayo, where his youth support and critiques of the PMC helped him win the election as a provincial CNTCB union leader for Aroma, an important step in the rise of Katarismo within the state union network.[89]

Flores spoke simply, in part due to the fact that Aymara was his first language. Yet this style of talking was also taken as a sign of his proximity to the base. Such a rhetorical approach was demonstrated in a phrase he coined as a provincial leader in Aroma: "All of the land to the campesinos," which served as both a slogan for his leadership style as well as a call to action. It was a simple but radical demand, and harkened back to the militant early days of the MNR government.[90] The phrase was a rallying cry for Flores' technique of occupying hacienda land, unused land, and land the agrarian reform had not reached, and claiming it for campesino use.

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[88] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 269.
[89] Ticona, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*, 53-54; Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 270.
[90] Ticona, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*, 55-56.

Such a strategy helped to define Flores as a leader who used the union as a tool to meet the needs of the base, and to put land into campesino hands through direct action. Largely due to such bold moves as a leader critical of the PMC, Flores was elected executive secretary of the departmental campesino union of La Paz in March, 1971. To mark the La Paz federation's independence, Flores and the congress which had elected him decided to add Túpac Katari to the end of the union federation's name.[91]

Popularizing Katari's History and Struggle

A number of different groups and activists popularized Katari's history and struggle during this time, lifting the martyr up as a symbol of their struggle. In this vein, the work of the Kataristas and their allies demonstrates how indigenous activists constructed and mobilized symbols to define their movements. "Symbols are taken selectively by movement leaders from a cultural reservoir and combined with action-oriented beliefs in order to navigate strategically among a parallelogram of actors, ranging from state and social opponents to militants and target populations," social movement theorist Sidney Tarrow argues. "Most important, they are given an emotional valence aimed at converting passivity into action."[92] Indeed, my research demonstrates that Kataristas recovered Katari's life story as a symbol to mobilize indigenous activists, in this case to encourage their participation in the movement for an independent campesino union. Kataristas consciously constructed and popularized Katari in an example of how, as Tarrow explains, "cultural symbols are not automatically available as mobilizing symbols but require concrete agents to turn them into frames of contention."[93] The development

[91] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 392-393; Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 271.
[92] Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 112.
[93] Ibid., 122.

of Katari statues, portraits and placards, and speeches, manifestos, communiques, and radio programs which evoked the leader, were meant to galvanize supporters, frame indigenous resistance and critiques, and unite indigenous activists in the movement.[94]

A range of actors contributed to the development of Katari as a symbol. Katarista activists benefitted from support from NGOs with international connections. Organizations such as the Instituto de Desarrollo, Investigación and Educación Popular Campesino (Institute of Grassroots Campesino Development, Research and Education, INDICEP), with participation from Chilean and Argentine scholars, offered critical support and funding to Kataristas and their spaces and publications. The Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (Center for the Study and Promotion of the Peasantry, CIPCA), a social science research organization, in which Catalan scholar Xavier Albó has been deeply involved to this day, offered critical research help and direct aid to leaders like Flores. Both INDICEP and CIPCA championed the Katarista cause with public events and publications aimed at raising historical consciousness about past indigenous martyrs like Katari.[95] INDICEP itself printed and distributed a portrait of Katari, widely used by campesino groups in the early 1970s.[96] The recovery of indigenous history, conducted in part by such research organizations and Kataristas, went against the scholarly and historical grain of the era. As described below, Kataristas spread Katari's image and phrases

[94] In the case of the Kataristas and the CSUTCB, I am interested in the debates and processes that went into the construction of such historical discourses and symbol. As Leslie Witz, in his work on the production and politics of history during apartheid in South Africa, writes, "there are many producers, at various sites, who utilize different historical methodologies to process a range of pasts." Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 7.
[95] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 69-70.
[96] For more on INDICEP, see Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 395.

attributed to him in banners, posters, pamphlets, and statues, and championed his history in speeches and radio shows.[97]

The use of Katari was further strengthened by a nexus between activist-scholars and Katarista campesino organizers. Trailblazing Aymara historian Roberto Choque Canqui had regular contact with Flores over this period. Choque, born in 1942, was raised in a poor, rural Aymara family, and took on a critical role as an historian and archivist in La Paz who produced indigenous-centered history. Choque made waves in La Paz where indigenous historians were uncommon in the 1960s and 1970s. He has produced numerous books and countless articles, the most notable being surveys of indigenous oppression and resistance spanning centuries.[98] He is known as a meticulous archival researcher, and his empirically-rich works expanded awareness and scholarship regarding indigenous history of the country. Choque was also involved in the management of a new archive of judicial records of land disputes founded in the 1970s, and which later greatly aided the THOA's research.[99]

In the early 1970s, Choque's scholarship took on more explicitly militant aspects as he collaborated with the rising Kataristas. Choque was a university student in La Paz at this time, was involved with the Centro Mink'a, and provided indigenous movement leaders with the bibliography for the study of Katari and his rebellion.[100] The Aymara historian met with Flores and taught him about Bolivian history, particularly regarding Katari's struggle. "I did try to orient Genaro regarding who Túpac Katari was," Choque stated in an interview. "Because Túpac

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[97] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 69-70.
[98] See Choque, *El Indigenismo y los Movimientos Indígenas*; Roberto Choque Canqui, *Historia de Una Lucha Desigual: Los contenidos ideológicos y políticos de las rebeliones indígenas de la Pre y Post Revolución Nacional* (La Paz: Unidad de Investigaciones Históricas UNIH-PAKAXA, 2012).
[99] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 86.
[100] Choque, *Historia de Una Lucha Desigual*, 208

Katari was also a politician, the struggle is political, the struggle is against Spanish domination, so [Katari was] a political actor…" He explained, "Genaro Flores totally identified [with Katari], the struggle, and because of this, Katarismo entered in this way into the [campesino union], it was more *Katarized*." Choque said, "Yes, Katari was mythologized. 'I will return and be millions,' becomes the myth. […] That is more or less oral history," he said. "We recovered [Katari]; we utilized the figure as a slogan of the struggle."[101]

Katari's re-emergence was the result of conscious intellectual and political labor. For example, in a march on May 1st, 1971, in La Paz, the government handed out posters with portraits of President Torres. In a symbolic act against the state's subjugation of indigenous culture and history, indigenous activists participating in the march hid Torres' pictures beneath their ponchos, while publicly, outside the ponchos, they bore portraits of Katari and his wife, the rebel leader Bartolina Sisa. "In this way Katarismo began to convert itself into a mass movement," Hurtado writes. The enthusiasm of the defiant marchers – who also distanced themselves from the president when he sought to lead the march – was so great that they bore Raimundo Tambo and Genaro Flores on their shoulders for part of the parade, and did not want to stop marching through the streets. These portraits of Katari and Sisa were distributed widely through indigenous organizations of the time, appearing in schools and homes next to pictures of the Virgen de Copacabana (the Bolivian apparition of the Virgin Mary), and alongside portraits of the creole heroes of independence distributed by the Ministry of Education. As they had in 1781, the Aymara people, Hurtado writes, "again raised their own flag."[102]

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[101] Roberto Choque Canqui, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 16, 2014. This interview took place at the La Paz Archives, where Choque worked for many years and continues to conduct much of his research.

[102] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 49. Hurtado notes that the posters of Katari and Sisa were printed by the organization INDICEP and painted by Vargas Cuéllar.

Flores' rise reached a new height on August 2, 1971, at the IV National Congress of the CNTCB in Potosí. Here, the efforts of Flores and other union leaders critical of the PMC were rewarded with Flores' remarkable election as the executive secretary of the CNTCB.[103] In a few short, intense years, Flores had moved through the union ranks at an incredible pace. His election as the leader of the national union marked a high point mark for the struggle for an independent union. However, the Katarista gains were cut short just weeks later when General Hugo Banzer took power in a military coup on August 21st, sending Flores and other dissident campesino union leaders, leftists, and labor union activists into exile in Chile, where they found temporary safety under the short tenure of the socialist Salvador Allende's government.

Banzer's coup was the result of a number of factors. The leftist shift of Ovando and Torres created a backlash within the military, and among middle class and commercial elites of the country, particularly in the Santa Cruz region of eastern Bolivia. Private business groups in this region in the gas, coffee, and sugar industry banded together to undermine the Torres government to prevent their industries from being nationalized by his administration. This sector organized a rightwing front against Torres, with Banzer as the leader. The so-called *Banzerato*, the rightwing military rule of Banzer, lasted from 1971 to 1978, and involved a reversal of the leftist, nationalist direction of the Torres government. Banzer's dictatorship coincided with the regional crackdown on leftist dissidents under Operation Condor in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Banzer ignored the needs of the impoverished rural sector, and instead rewarded land to elites in Santa Cruz, supported the large-scale commercial agriculture sector of that

[103] Do Alto, "Cuando el nacionalismo se pone el poncho," 28.

department, and offered large government subsidies to the cotton growers association while small-scale indigenous farmers suffered.[104]

In Chile, Flores, in discussion with other leaders, came to a deeper realization of the importance of an alliance between the campesinos, the miners, and the COB. He returned to Bolivia in 1972, due to the death of his father, and began, alongside Tambo, reorganizing the Katarista movement underground. During this time, the Túpac Katari Campesino Center and the Association of Aymara Professors were critical allies for Katarista efforts, and through these and other networks, the 1973 Manifesto of Tiwanaku was launched.[105]

The Tiwanaku Manifesto: "We are foreigners in our own country"

The wind was strong and the blue sky was cloudless on September 15, 1973, as some thirty-six Aymara men and women dressed in ponchos and colorful shawls hurried past crowds of tourists and entered the ancient city of Tiwanaku, an archeological site near Lake Titicaca. They walked over the ruins, through a courtyard dotted with sculptures, and climbed the stairs of the Gateway to the Sun, a prominent stone doorway decorated with winged figures including Virocha, the rain deity. Above the gathered crowd, at the symbolic center of Aymara culture and power, an Aymara man among the group read for roughly twenty minutes from the Manifesto of Tiwanaku, a document which denounced neo-colonialism, the failures of the National Revolution, and championed the Katarista struggle. When he finished, the activist crowd cheered, and quickly scattered from the scene.[106]

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[104] Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 85-88. Also see John Dinges, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism To Three Continents* (New York: The New Press, 2005).
[105] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 272-273.
[106] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 64-66.

In this way, Kataristas presented their key document. The Manifesto would serve as the cornerstone for indigenous political ideology, parties and movements for years to come, and is perhaps the best synthesis of Katarista thought and vision. The participants chose to issue their Manifesto for the first time at the ruins of Tiwanaku because it represented the heart of Aymara spirituality and culture.[107] Though the site itself was prominent, the creation of the document, much like the hurried reading itself, was the result of many clandestine meetings among Aymara activists in La Paz, who organized in secret to avoid repression from the Banzer dictatorship. The police state had been jailing, torturing, and murdering dissidents organizing for democracy, and the indigenous activists involved with the Manifesto took every precaution to make sure they could launch their declaration safely. Among those who had helped to create the Manifesto were noted indigenous leader Raimundo Tambo and the Catholic priest Gregorio Iriarte, as well as Aymara intellectuals, students, school teachers, and farmers involved with the Mink'a Center for Peasant Coordination and Promotion and the Túpac Katari Campesino Center, crucial spaces in La Paz for clandestine indigenous organizing in the era.[108]

In spite of state repression and the lack of media attention, the document was distributed widely thanks to the help of progressive NGOs, peasant unions, and allies in the Catholic Church. The Manifesto was translated into Aymara, Quechua, and Guarani, and circulated throughout the country, particularly in the highland provinces, from Potosí and Oruro to Jesús de Machaca and La Paz.[109] It was also used by Flores and Tambo to develop younger leaders in the movement. Throughout Bolivia, small groups of people would gather to discuss the document secretly. In La Paz, such meetings were often held in the Túpac Katari Campesino Center. The

[107] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 58.
[108] Ibid., 58; and Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 66.
[109] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 60; Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 66.

manifesto served as a vehicle for discussing the political and economic problems of the day in terms of the challenges and hopes of the Katarista movement.[110]

The Manifesto itself, in just a few pages, analyzes five hundred years of oppression and resistance, neocolonialism, the contradictions of the National Revolution, and the vision of the "Children of 1952." It also notably denounces Banzer's regime and calls for an alliance between the campesino sector and workers' organizations across the country. A central argument weaving throughout the document concerns the persistence of colonialism in the country: "There has been no integration of cultures in Bolivia; it has been a question of imposition and domination."[111] The document critiques the MNR and subsequent military regimes, the PMC, and paternalism of the state toward the indigenous majority. The Kataristas call for socio-economic development oriented around indigenous culture and protest the standard approach toward development of the era, stating that government officials sought to "create a type of development based solely on a servile imitation of the development of other countries, while our cultural heritage is totally different." Instead, they call for development that "must spring from our own values," the Manifesto continues. "We want an end to state paternalism and we no longer wish to be considered second class citizens. We are foreigners in our own country."

The beating heart of this manifesto is a view of a glorious Andean past. "Even before the Spanish conquest, we were an ancient people whose character developed within a highly socialized environment," the Manifesto continues. This culture was repressed, crushed under the

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[110] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 272-273, 60.

[111] "Manifesto of Tiwanaku, 1973," in Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oppressed But Not Defeated: Peasant Struggles Among the Aymara and the Qhechwa in Bolivia, 1900-1980* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1987), 169-77. I use this version of the Tiwanaku Manifesto as a primary source, though it is also available in other formats. For example, Centro de Coordinacion y Promocion Campesina "Mink'a," "Manifiesto de Tiwanacu," *Mink'a*, no. 7 (1977): 34-40.

boot of colonialism, while Katari is put forth by the authors as a leader of true independence. "Liberation as embodied in Túpac Katari's struggle for Indian freedom remains shackled." The authors write that the path ahead needs to be shaped by rescuing historical lessons, and the legacies and examples of indigenous martyrs. "There has been no revolution in the countryside; it has yet to be achieved. But there must be a revolution, one which holds up once again the banners and ideals of Túpac Katari, Bartolina Sisa, Zárate Willka... The starting point of the revolution should be our people."[112] The authors state that the tools of liberation are in indigenous people's hands, in the rescuing of the ideals of past martyrs, and in the revalorization of indigenous history, culture, and identity.[113]

The Manifesto is, in perhaps the most concise terms possible, an indictment of the official history of Bolivia at that time and a rewriting of history from the indigenous people's perspective. The authors glorify a pre-colonial past as a superior civilization, they portray colonization as totally destructive, while Katari's dream "remains shackled." They describe independence from Spain as freedom for but a few, while the same system of exploitation continued. In the Manifesto, history and ancestral legacies are used as lenses to analyze both the past and contemporary challenges, and the fodder for building a better future. In the context of post-revolutionary Bolivia, the Manifesto's vision was profound. It condemned assimilationist policies and the reduction of social struggles to only class and economic terms, and placed

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[112] Ibid.

[113] The authors of the Manifesto were developing a historical discourse as a tool to meet the political needs of their movement, using a pre-conquest civilization and the examples of past indigenous rebel leaders as tools for their narrative and political proposal. In this sense, they were drawing from what Arjun Appadurai calls the "scarce resource" of the past, and were constricted by what historian Jennifer Cole argues "what constitutes a compelling historical narrative as well as the raw materials available for construction." See Arjun Appadurai, "The Past is a Scarce Resource," *Man* 16, no. 2:210-19; Jennifer Cole, *Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 26.

indigenous culture at the core of its politics.[114] It wedded an alternative political vision to a rich vein of identity shaped by centuries of struggle. Rescuing the history, lessons, and symbols of that long struggle was a cornerstone of Katarista thought which continued to spread over the next decades of indigenous movement organizing.

Katari's Symbolic Return

The content of the Manifesto reflected other historical consciousness-raising efforts within Katarista publications of the time. For the authors, like many people involved in these projects, the idea of rescuing the model of a pre-colonial indigenous civilization was critical. This meant recovering and strengthening the governing structures and social order of a past society.[115] Alongside this recovery stood the objectives of reconstructing a lost indigenous state, and the rescuing of indigenous values, ethical codes, and models for equitable social relationships – many of which had endured for centuries and took on new meaning in this era of clandestine indigenous resurgence.[116] Many of the concepts, traditions, and ethics promoted in the Manifesto would be taken up in decades to come in the agricultural models advocated by the CSUTCB, and the ayllu reconstruction efforts of the CONAMAQ, discussed in subsequent chapters.

Restoring elements of this social order was central to publications produced by Mink'a, a key Katarista group. In a 1973 issue of their magazine, *Mink'a* had a photo of the Aymara founders of the first indigenous school in the highland community of Warisata on its cover,

[114] Ticona, *CSUTCB,* 14; Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 58.
[115] Tórrez and Arce, *Construcción simbólica del Estado Plurinacional*, 38.
[116] Quisbert, "Hay Líderes Indianistas," 54.

accompanied by a drawing of a student next to a book opened to a page titled "Freedom."[117] The school was founded in 1931 on August 2nd. Since then, that date has been celebrated in Bolivia as "Indian Day."[118] In one article in the magazine, author René Mario Gabriel A. explains that many ancestral forms of organization among Aymara and Quechua people have been preserved, in spite of colonialism. He lists, among other concepts, that of *ayni*, a form of "direct cooperation," "collective work," and "mutual aid" which was "one of the laws that regulated the life of the Aymara and Quechua people, that signified a form of direct aid, in agricultural and livestock work…"[119] These were the building blocks that activists in the 1970s used for their proposal of a renewed political order. Another form of cooperative work, Gabriel explains, is

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[117] Mink'a, *Mink'a*, no. 3 (1973). Consulted at the library of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia. This was one of various Katarista and Indianista publications available at the Archives and Library of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore. The primary sources cited here are the most relevant to this dissertation focus and time period under examination. I consulted many other Katarista and Indianista documents for this dissertation. However, their focus and content falls outside the current scope of this study. Other Katarista and Indianista documents consulted for this work at the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore archives and library for the 1970s and 1980s include: Centro de Formación e Investigación sobre las Culturas Indias, *Boletín Chitakolla* 3, no. 23 (1985); Centro de Formación e Investigación sobre las Culturas Indias, *Boletín Chitakolla*, no. 29 (1986); Ofensiva Roja de Ayllus Kataristas, *Propuesta de Tesis Política al III Congreso de la CSUTCB* (Cochabamba: Ediciones Ofensiva Roja, 1987); Colección de Folletos Para La Formación Indianista, *Algo Sobre El Socialdemokatarismo o Movikatarismo* (Chukiyawu: Ediciones "Muju," 1985); *Viva el Glorioso Katarismo Revolucionario* (n.p.: Ediciones Ofensiva Roja, n.d.). Additional primary sources published by various Katarista and Indianista groups were consulted for this work at the National Archives in Sucre, including: *Aymar Marka: Vocero del grupo Mallku* 1, no. 1 (1986); *Katarismo: Vocero del eje social nacional*, no. 1 (1986); *Katarismo: Vocero del eje social nacional*, no. 2 (1987); *Q''antati* 1, no. 1 (1985); Comité Bicentenario Tupaj Katari, *Homenaje a Tupaj Katari* (1981). I also consulted a series of pamphlets at the National Archives in Sucre made up of testimonies with anonymous indigenous campesinos including: Editorial Respuesta, "Los Derechos y El Campesino," *Los Campesinos Opinan*, no. 3 (1979); Editorial Respuesta, "Perspectivas," *Los Campesinos Opinan*, no. 4 (1979); Editorial Respuesta, "Situación Económica del Campesinado," *Los Campesinos Opinan*, no. 6 (1979); Editorial Respuesta, "Nuestra Cultura," *Los Campesinos Opinan*, no. 7 (1979); Editorial Respuesta, "Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos," *Los Campesinos Opinan*, no. 8 (1979).

[118] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 415n15.

[119] René Mario Gabriel A., "Los Pueblos Aymaras y Quechuas y El Cooperativismo," *Mink'a,* 6.

mink'a, which is one of the "most advanced laws" guiding cooperation and administration of the Aymara and Quechua people. "It consists in a diversified assistance" in which "some conduct agricultural work while others work in astronomy or architecture, artisanal work…." In this way, "the aid was an equitable form of production exchange."[120]

Such forms of cooperation, Gabriel continues, were based in the ayllu, which used the code of "Ama Sua, Ama Llulla, Ama Kella (*no seas flojo, no sea mentiroso, no ser ladrón)*" (do not be lazy, do not be a liar, do not be a thief), which the author said were "destroyed during the colonial period." Gabriel explains that Katari, Sisa, and Willka had tried to build an indigenous government based on these laws, with "a government of our own, like our ancestors built."[121] Here was an example of an ethic of cooperation with a precedent in the Andes that served as one basis to rebuild indigenous politics.

Lifting up Katari took on other forms as well. The cover of the first issue of a movement pamphlet called "Ayllu," published by Mink'a in 1974, has a drawing of a man in a poncho.[122] One article by Julio Tumiri A. notably calls for unity among Aymara people, stating that the revolts of Katari and Willka, "aren't just left in history; but rather the sleeping giant is awakening with signs of a new form of expression, the pride of being an indigenous Aymara."[123] A need for resurgence after centuries of exploitation is highlighted in another piece, where the author writes, "with our dignified, dirty, and calloused hands, [we] raise the sacred banners of our indigenous and anonymous heroes that died to see us as free and dignified people."[124] The

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[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Centro de Coordinacion y Promocion Campesina "Mink'a," *Ayllu* 1 (1974). Consulted at the library of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.
[123] Julio Tumiri A., "Pueblo Aymara," *Ayllu*, 2.
[124] T. Antawalla, "Pido La Palabra," *Ayllu*, 4.

motif of martyrdom and recovery of a lost glory underlines the centrality of the symbol of Katari among Mink'a and other similar groups of the era.

In this way, Katari's body itself is transformed by the authors into a metaphor for the political body of indigenous activists, who consider themselves the living legacy and spirit of Katari. This theme is continued in a 1977 issue of *Mink'a*, which includes a brief history of Katari's life and struggle. The authors recall Katari's quartering by horses, and how he has returned as millions in the forms of the many indigenous peoples fighting together for liberation: "Túpac Katari, without having any stone monument, has remained in the Heart of his people, and his spirit, today more than ever, shines in the four winds of Tawantinsuyo."[125] The labor of conceptually resurrecting Katari and popularizing his legacy by activists and intellectuals helped to make Katari's symbolic return a reality.

The End of the *Banzerato*

While Katarista groups struggled clandestinely to organize for an independent campesino union, the Banzer regime clamped down on the countryside with bloody repression and austerity measures that debilitated campesino communities. In January, 1974, the Banzer government eliminated government subsidies on basic goods, raising the price of eggs, rice and meat at an average of 219 percent. Protests in La Paz immediately followed the move, with workers in factories and mines launching a nation-wide strike. The countryside was hit hard by the measures and responded with massive protests. Beginning with a march organized by workers at the Monaco Shoe Factory in Quillacollo (outside the city of Cochabamba) on January 22nd, protests

[125] Centro de Coordinacion y Promocion Campesina "Mink'a," "Tupac Katari y el Dia Internacional de Indio," *Mink'a*, no. 7 (1977): 8-9. Consulted at the library of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.

spread throughout the region, with blockades set up on the road to Santa Cruz and around the Cochabamba valley. Dialogue between the government and protesters came to a standstill; Banzer refused to meet the activists for negotiations, dismissing their demands. Instead, he sent tanks and armored cars to break down the blockades, resulting in the January 29th Massacre of the Valley, which began in the town of Tolata, outside of Cochabamba. Tanks approached the protesters, while military officials ordered the crowds to disperse. A tense silence was broken by a female protester, who threw a stone at one of the tanks; the military responded with a brutal ground and air assault that left dozens of protesters dead.[126]

The Massacre of the Valley, as the above event became known, as well as ongoing Katarista advocacy for the development of an independent rural union, deepened the fractures in the state's hold on the countryside and the validity of the PMC. In the wake of the Tolata massacre and ongoing resistance to his regime from the labor unions and campesino sector, Banzer sought to further undermine rural union autonomy by replacing union leaders with new a leadership selected by his regime, closing the Túpac Katari Campesino Center and suppressing the public use of Katari's image and name.[127]

A Campesino Thesis produced by a 1976 CNTCB congress convened by Banzer in Tarija toward the end of this re-consolidation of his hold on the union, points to the historical battles taking place at the time, and underlines key differences between the PMC-dominated union and the Kataristas in their representations of the past. While the Kataristas championed Katari and denounced Banzer around the country, the pro-Banzer 1976 Campesino Thesis made only a small mention of Katari as nothing more than a precursor to the Independence War, a "martyr" to

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[126] Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins,* 210-212. On this massacre, also see Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos de Bolivia, *La Masacre del Valle: Cochabamba, Enero 1974* (La Paz: APBHB, 1979).
[127] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*,*"* 159-162.

the cause of national independence carried forth in 1809. In addition, Banzer is portrayed in the thesis as a national hero and friend of the campesinos, and the PMC is cited as a "powerful instrument" for improving the plight of campesinos.[128] In spite of such historical constructions and repression, as well as the untimely death of Tambo in 1975 in a traffic accident, the Katarista and wider pro-democracy efforts would go on to win the day.[129]

On November 15th, 1977, Flores publicly appeared at a celebration in Ayo-Ayo commemorating the death of Katari. At the event, Flores was designated as the rightful leader of the CNTCB by other campesino and union leaders. He took the helm of the national organization, in clear defiance of Banzer's repression and cooptation of the union, and added Túpac Katari to the end of the CNTCB's name to signal its Katarista orientation.[130] The leader then organized a series of clandestine CNTCB departmental congresses across the country, galvanizing the campesino union movement as an independent and militant force to topple Banzer.[131]

Pressure for Banzer to step down was mounting. The US government, under President Jimmy Carter, encouraged the Banzer administration to hold elections. Nationally, civic and workers' groups clamored for amnesty for the hundreds of political dissidents exiled from the country by Banzer. The wives of four exiled miners began a hunger strike on December 28, 1977, demanding amnesty as well as the withdrawal of the military from the mines. The hunger strike quickly gained wide national support, taking off as a mass movement with more than one

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[128] CNTCB, "Tesis Campesina, 1976," in *Los Campesinos en el Proceso Político Boliviano, Documentos de la CNTCB,* ed. Daniel Salamanca Trujillo (Oruro: Editoria "Quelco", n.d.), 81, 85. (The book is dedicated by Salamanca to Banzer and Busch.) Consulted at the Arturo Costa de la Torre Archives and Library, La Paz, Bolivia. I am grateful to Gabrielle Keunzli for recommending that I visit the Arturo Costa de la Torre Archives and Library in La Paz.
[129] Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 272-273.
[130] Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*," 164-166.
[131] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 397.

thousand participating by January 18, 1978, when Banzer capitulated to the all the strikers' demands except the removal of troops from the mines. This hunger strike proved a crucial breaking point for the Banzer regime and an important step in the wider push toward democracy.[132]

Elections were held in July, 1978, but were deemed illegitimate due to widespread fraud. Days later, Banzer was forced from office by another military coup, one which initiated a period of instability from July, 1978 through July, 1980, during which the country went through five presidents and four coups.[133] It was in the crucible of this political chaos and agonizing transition to democracy that the independent union Flores had struggled for, the CSUTCB, was born on June 26, 1979. The founding and activity in the early years of this union is the focus of the next chapter.[134]

The overview provided here highlights the rise and impact of Katarismo in the wake of the National Revolution and subsequent military regimes. Under Flores' leadership, Kataristas made considerable gains toward the development of an independent campesino union that reflected the needs and demands of the union's base. They defied the PMC and built crucial ties with the COB and wider workers' movement, alliances which proved to be decisive in battling Banzer and later military governments. In this way, Kataristas were able to organize the largely indigenous rural sector into a national union network that they built into the CSUTCB, a militant union led by Flores for nearly a decade.

The historical analysis promoted by the Kataristas served as a critical lens for indigenous activists in Bolivia to understand and challenge forms of neocolonialism as embodied in the

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[132] Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins*, 238-241.
[133] Ibid., 248-249.
[134] Do Alto, "Cuando el nacionalismo se pone el poncho," 31-32.

paternalistic stance of the MNR government and the PMC. Kataristas championed an indigenous people's history of Bolivia, putting the spotlight on indigenous traditions and worldviews, and recovering political and ethical models of a pre-conquest civilization. The popularization of Katari and his struggle helped craft the image of the eighteenth century leader into that of a heroic martyr contemporary indigenous people could identify with and be inspired by. They installed him enduringly as a Katarista banner which celebrated the legacy of indigenous resistance in Bolivia. The Katarista efforts and dreams to build an independent campesino union and revitalize indigenous historical consciousness blossomed in the CSUTCB, which would in turn establish the country's rising indigenous movement as a formidable political force in Bolivia.

Chapter Three

The Power of the Past in the CSUTCB Indigenous Campesino Union

The offices of the La Paz Department's Túpac Katari Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB) is located on a side street among a steep web of winding roads leading up to El Alto, the rim of the valley from which Katari himself laid siege to La Paz. The well-worn steps and furniture of the federation speak of the building's heavy use over decades as perhaps the most militant organizing space in Bolivia's campesino movement. When I visited the offices in April of 2014, confetti left over from Carnival celebrations littered the floor. While a handful of men in customary indigenous-style fedoras clutching papers waited outside the leadership's office, a secretary fielded calls and greeted newcomers.

Suddenly, a group of men arrived in a truck and rushed into the building, waving aside the secretary's pleas to wait and pushed open the door into the executive's office. The men waiting patiently outside the offices were as startled as the secretary as a physical fight quickly broke out in the next room, chairs and tables were knocked over, and sharp words exchanged. The conflict appeared to be regarding the misuse of money from the country's Indigenous Fund, which finances development projects in rural communities. Moments later, in hushed tones, an agreement was reached, and the men walked out of the room as breathlessly and quickly as they had entered.

After the men in fedoras conducted their business in the office, the CSUTCB leaders asked me to enter. The attitude with which they welcomed me suggested that the scuffle was nothing out of the ordinary, but part of business as usual in a movement marked by conflicts, heightened tempers over political power and strategy, and critical decisions that could affect

hundreds of communities across the altiplano. The leaders were dressed in outfits common among Aymara leaders in the La Paz region: leather jackets, brimmed hats, and ponchos.

As Katari and Sisa gazed over the office from portraits hung above the multicolored wiphala flag, the leaders described the role of historical consciousness in their movement. "When colonialism arrived to our continent, we had an Aymara state, as well as a Quechua state, a Guaraní state," said Jorge Choque Salomé, the General Secretary of the Túpac Katari Federation. These states thrived, he explained, but the colonizers "arrived and quartered them."[1]

Choque's un-prompted use of the phrase "quartered" to describe the impact of the conquest on indigenous society is a metaphor, obvious to any member of the movement, directly referencing Spanish soldiers' literal treatment of Katari's body during his execution in 1781. Similar violence was committed by the Spanish authorities and their successors against indigenous societies, Choque explained: their political body was dismembered. Reuniting the quartered indigenous political body in a struggle that renews Katari's dream has been the CSUTCB's objective for over 35 years.[2]

Positioning Katari at the heart of this struggle for the recovery of indigenous power and identity both evokes the martyr as a potent symbol of resistance, action, and sacrifice, and is a call for unity among various indigenous groups – a reuniting of the indigenous strength of the Andes. Katari's quartered body itself has come to symbolize this dismemberment and reunification. As legend has it that, with his last breath, the martyr promised to return, not as just one man, but as millions of indigenous rebels.

This historical overview presented by Choque reflects the central role of historical consciousness in the CSUTCB as a tool for its organizing efforts. This chapter examines the

[1] Jorge Choque Salomé, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, April 4, 2014.
[2] Ibid.

emergence and activity of the CSUTCB during an intense period of political transition to democracy, roughly from 1979-1983. The CSUTCB, founded in 1979 with Genaro Flores at its helm, was, and remains, an independent union whose members are largely indigenous campesinos based around the entire country. Over the first years of its operation examined here, the CSUTCB helped topple various military regimes and paved the way for a return to democracy. At its core, the union championed the interests of small farmers, pressuring government officials for land, technical and financial support, and a role for the union in the development of government policy toward the rural sector.

Though the Agrarian Reform of 1953 had positive benefits for the campesinos, government rural development from the rise of Banzer in 1971 and onward typically empowered just a small group of wealthy large-scale commercial farmers.[3] In the early 1980's, 44 percent of Bolivia's economically active population was employed in agriculture, most on small plots of land which had been divided up into smaller holdings, often around three hundred square meters, over generations following the Agrarian Reform.[4] The highlands of Bolivia, home to La Paz and a majority of the Aymara communities, depended more on subsistence farming than other regions of the country. The quality of the land in the hands of small farmers was generally poorer than elsewhere, and this region significantly lacked basic services, schools, and the government's technical and financial aid. The poverty and neglect from the state meant that campesino demands for land and support from the government was a matter of survival as well as economic viability for the subsistence farmers.[5]

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[3] Kevin Healy, *Sindicatos Campesinos y Desarrollo Rural, 1978-1985* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1989), 9-10.
[4] Kohl and Farthing*, Impasse in Bolivia*, 63.
[5] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 387-388; Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 167n27.

This situation led to nearly constant campesino protests. As militant and poor Aymara communities in the highlands were crisscrossed by major roads running into major urban centers, blocking roads was a common and effective tactic for pressuring the government and making campesino voices heard. While the CSUTCB membership spanned the country, including the Quechua and Guarani indigenous populations in the eastern and tropical lowlands, the emphasis here, as with the previous chapter, is to focus primarily on the concerns and participation of Aymara campesinos in the highlands of Bolivia, as their role in the union was the most critical in this early period.

Aside from following the birth and rise of the CSUTCB, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the centrality of historical consciousness in the CSUTCB by exploring three key aspects of the union's strategy, analysis, and vision: the reorganization of the union, historical consciousness in road blockades, and the union's 1983 Political Thesis. Each thread outlined here will be explored under various circumstances of the CSUTCB work below.

The first theme is the way in which the CSUTCB, immediately after its founding in 1979, was re-organized to reflect the needs and identity of its historically oppressed base of largely indigenous campesinos. This was accomplished through Flores' leadership in the democratization of the union leadership structure, and the union's focus on direct action to win concessions, land, resources, and political power from the government for the campesino sector. In addition, the CSUTCB began to celebrate and embrace indigeneity in its meetings, rallies, and marches. Finally, Kataristas within the CSUTCB developed a unique historical analysis which reflected the makeup and objectives of the union.

Whereas the MNR had tried to erase indigenous identity, and hardline Indianistas promoted a vision of the world in purely ethnic terms, Kataristas rejected the reduction of their

struggle to a binary class *or* solely indigenous paradigm. With the rise and consolidation of the Katarismo current in the CSUTCB throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, Kataristas analyzed the world with "two eyes," as early Katarista activist and intellectual Víctor Hugo Cárdenas put it, seeing society both as exploited campesinos, members of the wider oppressed working class of Bolivia, *and* as exploited Aymara peoples, connected to the more than three dozen nations of indigenous peoples in Bolivia.[6] This vision is reflected in the Kataristas' organizing strategies within the union, their alliance with the COB, and in their political analysis as presented in theses and speeches, accounts which documented their identification with the wider working class, as well as their defense of indigenous culture and identity.

The second theme explored in this chapter is the role of historical consciousness within the CSUTCB's road blockade campaigns against a 1979 military coup and subsequent economic austerity package. The power of the past was evident in CSUTCB actions in the extent to which they leveraged their demands and legitimacy through evoking the centuries-long roots of their struggle in public statements released through newspapers in the midst of blockade efforts. The physical and rhetorical evocation of Katari's 1781 siege was also prominent in these cases, as the intensity and breadth of the blockades echoed that of the eighteenth century rebellion. Finally, this section looks at how the CSUTCB's very strategies for conducting road blockades drew explicitly from strategies deployed by Katari.

The third theme of this chapter examines the contents of the CSUTCB's 1983 Political Thesis in the context of Bolivia's troubled return to democracy. The Thesis was a distillation of Katarista thought within the CSUTCB that reflected both the political moment of 1983 in

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[6] Xavier Albó, "And from Kataristas to MNRistas? The Surprising and Bold Alliance between Aymaras and Neoliberals in Bolivia," in *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*, ed. Donna Lee Van Cott (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 55; Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 174.

Bolivia, as well as a consciousness of the nearing anniversary of five hundred years since the start of Spanish colonization. This chapter therefore examines the CSUTCB's view toward a pre-conquest Andean civilization for agricultural models and political orientation in their union. The CSUTCB's perception of five hundred years of oppression and resistance served members as a measurement of injustice and a reason to continue the struggle.[7]

The Founding of the CSUTCB

The birth of the CSUTCB in 1979 through its alliance with the country's main labor union, the COB, was characterized by four different organizational actions based on corresponding political principles. The first was the restructuring of the union under Flores' leadership to make the organization more democratic and representative of the needs of its rural base. The second was the embrace of indigenous identity and culture within the COB and in the CSUTCB's own congresses and marches. Third, the motto of analyzing society "with two eyes" as both workers *and* indigenous people, in their speeches and proposals, was a defining characteristic of the union. Finally, the CSUTCB tactic of using direct action to pressure government officials, gain attention for their demands, and impact rural policies, established the CSUTCB as a militant political force shortly after its founding.

After the fall of Banzer in 1978, Flores and Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia - Túpac Katari (National Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia-Túpac Katari, CNTCB - TK) he continued organizing efforts to build an independent union.

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[7] Also see Victor Hugo Cárdenas, "La CSUTCB: elementos para entender su crisis de crecimiento (1979-87)," in *Crisis del sindicalismo en Bolivia* (La Paz: ILDIS and FLACSO, 1987), 225; and Iván Arias Durán, "Bolivia: Congreso de la CSUTCB, Una lección aprendida," in *ALAI Servicio Mensual de Informacion y Documentacion*, no. 107 (1988): 22. Consulted at the library of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.

Campesino union members were especially eager to gain acceptance into the COB for the support, solidarity, and legitimacy the country's largest labor union would offer their platform. The CNTCB-TK and Flores had proven themselves as militants clandestinely resisting the Banzer regime, breaking with the PMC, and developing a pro-indigenous leftist union independent of the state and political parties.[8] Their next step would be broadening their base of support by allying with the COB.

On June 25, 1979, the COB organized the First Congress of Campesino Unity in La Paz for the sake of uniting a broad-based campesino union movement. In speeches at the start of the congress, leaders heralded the meeting as an historic move toward the critical unification of the campesino sector.[9] In attendance were thousands of campesino representatives, including those with the Katarista current from the CNTCB-TK of Flores, the recently formed Julián Apasa Confederation, linked to the Revolutionary Nationalist Party of the Left party (MNRI), a leftist party splinter of the MNR, and the Independent Peasant Bloc (BCI), a union representing campesinos within the COB, but which lacked the level of mass support of the CNTCB-TK.[10]

The Congress resulted in the establishment of the CSUTCB, a union that united all of the various campesino unions around the country. Genaro Flores was elected the Executive Secretary of the CSUTCB, a position he would hold for nearly ten years. Flores' election, as well as the presence of other Katarista leaders in high positions of the CSUTCB, underlined the union's formation as a victory for the Katarista political project. Though Katari's name was left out of the new union name in order to reflect the broader participation of the national campesino

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[8] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 403-404; Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*,*"* 172.
[9] "Inauguración de congreso campesino: Lechín insta a 'romper con el Pacto Militar-Campesino,'" *Presencia*, June 25, 1979, 11.
[10] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 403-404; and Rivera, "*Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*,*"* 172.

sector, Katari's image remained on much of the literature of the CSUTCB and in the name of the La Paz, Oruro, and Potosí CSUTCB departmental federations.[11]

Small-scale indigenous farmers made up the base of the CSUTCB, and the union was organized around defending the livelihoods of the campesino sector. Members did so through a mixture of political pressure, direct actions, and the development of political proposals and policies that promoted their interests. As its leader, Flores' restructured the union so that rural communities could directly elect their union representatives, rather than having union leaders imposed from outside by the state, military, or central union hierarchy.[12] As such, in the new CSUTCB, military and state-appointed union leaders were replaced with democratically-elected leaders, a move marking the union's new direction as an independent structure guided by its base.[13]

The CSUTCB also indigenized the COB, in the sense that, alongside the standard suits and western dress of the union meetings and offices, there were now members dressed in ponchos and colorful woven *lluch'u* hats with earflaps. Similarly, indigenous dress became more prominent at the annual May 1st rallies in La Paz. One interview I conducted pointed to the meaning and significance of indigenous dress at such gatherings. Ismael Quispe Ticona, a leader in the CSUTCB Túpac Katari Federation in La Paz, was dressed in a poncho and lluch'u himself during our interview at the union's offices, and explained that "the clothing that we are wearing is our armor, our mandate."[14] He said that each community has its own rules and traditions in terms of dress codes, and that for him, and in his community, each piece of clothing has a practical and symbolic purpose. Beyond protection from the elements, for example, wearing the

[11] Ibid.
[12] Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 177-178.
[13] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 71.
[14] Ismael Quispe Ticona, interview with author, La Paz, Bolivia, April 4, 2014.

poncho means to Ticona that "we embrace all of the bases [community members]," he explained. "It is important to take care of them, because anything can happen." He described other pieces of clothing, including his hat, which is like a "shade" or a "blanket." "Someone can be so sad in their life, a shadow. But [the hat] can alleviate it in this way, brother… the hat is going to calm them. Now, the whip [carried by many Aymara leaders] is really to purge the crimes that a person has committed." Regarding the style of dress as designated in each community in the Department of La Paz, Quispe said, "it is our cape which no one can take from us. No one. It is the respect that we have for the twenty provinces that we compose."[15] In rural meetings during the early years of the campesino union, when COB members met with the CSUTCB members to discuss their common problems, leaders in local communities in some cases required COB members speak in Aymara or Quechua. Such exchanges underlined the impact that the CSUTCB had in expanding the indigenous presence physically, symbolically, and culturally within wider union activity.[16]

The internal CSUTCB congresses – crucial moments of gathering for major decision-making, strategizing, organizational elections and debates – were other sites where indigenous culture was put on display and celebrated by the union under Katarista leadership. The congresses, held in cities on both the regional and national levels, typically began with a boisterous march through main streets of the city hosting the event, with loud music, wiphala flags, drumming, pan flutes, and the sonorous call of Andean pututo horns.[17] Such marches,

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Rivera, "*Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*," 172-173.
[17] As one audio recording of a June 26, 1987 CSUTCB Congress in Cochabamba demonstrates, this gathering began with indigenous music involving pan flutes and drums. See "III Congreso de Unidad Campesina," digital audio file, number 1780, side B, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia. Similar scenes occur throughout the recording of a

historian Esteban Ticona writes, were a "demonstration of the strength of the indigenous and campesino movement; in addition to a symbolic idea of the 'taking of the city by asphalt.'"[18] In these cases in Bolivia, the taking of the city is a reference to the siege of Katari, a figure who permeated the gatherings. The CSUTCB congress "sieges" of the city, although peaceful and symbolic, embodied the power of the indigenous campesino sector and their concerns as well as the threat Katari had posed to his oppressors, a threat that lingered on in the contemporary consciousness of both indigenous people and elites in the La Paz region.

As one account written by a visitor to a 1988 CSUTCB congress relates, "When [congress participants] speak of their future, they always do it with reference to their past and present. The short and long memory are constant parameters for delineating a future society."[19] Indeed, in an audio recording of one 1987 CSUTCB congress, Javier Condoreno, the Executive Secretary of the Túpac Katari Federation of La Paz, referred to the past in his argument for a strong alliance among members within the union. He explained that the oppression faced by all congress participants points to the need for unity in resistance, "because we're an exploited nation, humiliated and oppressed, in our own land. And because of this, today more than ever compañeros, we should be conscious of our cultural identity, as a people, as a nation…"[20] Meanwhile, drum and flute music continues in the background, as congress-goers cheer, "Glory to Túpac Katari! Glory to Bartolina Sisa!"[21] At the conclusion of the gathering, one unidentified

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later CSUTCB meeting: "Congreso Campesino," digital video file, number 322, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.

[18] Ticona, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*, 105.

[19] Iván Arias Durán, "Bolivia: Congreso de la CSUTCB, Una lección aprendida," *Alai: Servicio Mensual de Informacion y Documentacion*, no. 107 (1988): 22. Consulted at the archive of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.

[20] "III Congreso de Unidad Campesina," digital audio file, number 1766, sides A and B, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia.

[21] Ibid.

speaker declared that everyone in Bolivia, from the north to the south, should "hear the cry of organization and resistance, that every one of the extremities of our beloved Túpac Katari are joining together to initiate the liberation march toward the second and definitive independence of Bolivia, to create a multinational fatherland that is free and with justice."[22]

The CSUTCB also championed a unique political and historical analysis which permeated their speeches, demands, and theses, and drew from members' identity as indigenous campesinos. The Katarista method of "seeing with two eyes" as exploited peasants *and* exploited Aymara communities, together with their compañeros in the mines and the Quechua communities in the lowlands, was clearly present in the July 26, 1979 Thesis of the Campesinado that was produced by the CSUTCB under Flores' leadership.[23] The Thesis touts the Kataristas' historic role in the development of the independent union, their struggles against military regimes, and breaking with the PMC. While the struggle is articulated through the campesino

[22] See "III Congreso de Unidad Campesina," digital audio file, number 1780-1785, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia. Examples of such speeches and discourses occur throughout the recordings and videos of the CSUTCB gatherings in the 1980s and 1990s that I accessed at the archives of the Museo de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz. One example is an audio recording of the 1990 March for Territory and Dignity. This long indigenous march from the lowlands of Bolivia eventually culminated in a historic arrival at La Cumbre, a peak outside of La Paz that marks the geographic and symbolic arrival to the Andean highlands. This was where many indigenous groups and CSUTCB leaders from La Paz and the highlands greeted the marchers from the lowlands. The event marked a momentous coming together of Bolivia's indigenous nations. The jubilant emotion in participants' voices was clear in these recordings. In the speeches made at the event, there were constant references to unity and, as pututo horns and drums sounded, to the common struggles over five hundred years of indigenous resistance to Spanish and neocolonial rule. The recording includes a speech from one CSUTCB leader greeting the marching crowd over a loudspeaker: "Brothers, we have been oppressed for five hundred years, five hundred years of resistance. And now we are reunited, as Aymaras, as Quechua, as Tupiguaranies, in the Republic of Qullasuyo, brothers!" As the snow fell, the march continued to La Paz accompanied by the quickened beat of the drums and blasts of horns. See "Marcha por el Territorio y la Dignidad de 1990," digital audio files, numbers 586–593, 01854_1435_04_08_A, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia.

[23] CSUTCB, "Tesis del Campesinado Boliviano," in Hurtado, *El Katarismo*, 332-333.

union, the document states that indigenous identity has not been, nor will it be, lost. In the coming months and years of the CSUTCB struggle, on the surface, many of the organization's demands on the state were economic, or solely based on rural production issues. However, the union explained in the Thesis that their movement was, at its core, indigenous. As the Thesis illustrates in the following passage, the elevation of both indigenous and working class identity, without focusing on one at the expense of the other, was essential.

> In this liberation struggle, our personality as Aymaras, Quechuas, Cambas, Chapacos, Tupi-Guaranies, etc. did not and does not disappear. [Our goal is] to achieve our liberation without losing our cultural and national identity, without being ashamed of what we are, and raising on high the restitution of our dignity. Our struggle is not only economic, but rather also the liberation and development of our oppressed nationalities. We do not believe in race war, nor racism, nor the superiority of races, but we do revindicate our cultural identities. We fight so that there will not be exploitation and also so that, as Aymaras, Quechuas, Cambas, Tupi-Guaranis, we will not be oppressed by dominant systems. We want to be free as nationalities.[24]

This argument was both a repudiation of the MNR's erasure of indigeneity in favor of a class-based analysis, and an embrace of the intersectional identity of its base as both indigenous and workers, as well as an understanding of the pragmatic need for unity with the COB in order to create a political body capable of exercising the level of force necessary to win radical change.

With the charismatic Flores at the helm, the CSUTCB placed demands on the government for the needs of the campesino sector, utilizing a toolbox of grassroots strategies.[25] Using protests, hunger strikes, and road blockades as key tactics, the CSUTCB made demands on the state regarding price controls of agricultural products, access to imported seeds, water rights and management, access to education and loans, transportation assistance, and a general

[24] Ibid.
[25] Healy, *Sindicatos Campesinos*, 9-10.

extension of services to the rural sector.[26] Moreover, the CSUTCB called for a comprehensive reconstruction of the failed 1953 Agrarian Reform.[27] Campesino-led sit-ins in the offices of public officials were another common CSUTCB strategy used to gain support and attention. A goal of this approach was to demand that campesinos be involved in the management and execution of public policies and projects directed at rural development. Still, the most popular and successful direct-action tactic was the road blockade, which involved a massive level of participation from male and female members. This tactic was utilized as a last resort, and was effective in many cases, either to push for the creation of a new government policy or law, or pressure officials into actually implementing an existing or declared one.[28]

From its founding into the mid-1980s, the CSUTCB organized to benefit the campesino sector, conducting direct actions in La Paz and surrounding regions. For example, it called for the firing of corrupt officials at the National Agrarian Reform Agency (who demanded bribes from campesinos for the processing of their land titles), successfully prevented the hiring of unqualified people for positions within the Ministry of Agriculture and Peasant Affairs, and pressured authorities in charge of the Tiwanaku archeological site to set aside funds for local communities. Other actions pressured government authorities into providing farming equipment to small communities. The CSUTCB occupied offices in protest of various World Bank development projects, criticizing lack of local participation in the projects or clear benefits for rural communities.[29] Flores said of these tactics: "We were protesting the way past development

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[26] Bret Gustafson, "The Paradoxes of Liberal Indigenism: Indigenous Movements, State Processes, and Intercultural Reform in Bolivia," in *The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States,* ed. David Maybury-Lewis (Cambridge: DRCLAS/Harvard University, 2002), 271-272; Healy, *Sindicatos Campesinos*, 12-13.
[27] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 406.
[28] Healy, *Sindicatos Campesinos*, 17-20, 31-33.
[29] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 72-73.

programs and military dictatorships had excluded our participation and [we] wanted the new democracy to begin rural development anew. The functionaries of these official programs not only had little understanding of life in the countryside, but frequently neither spoke our language nor showed any respect for our cultural practices and traditional way of life. It is no wonder then that the programs were mostly failures."[30]

From the early years of the union, the CSUTCB had allies in the Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas de Bolivia "Bartolina Sisa" (National Federation of Women Rural Workers of Bolivia "Bartolina Sisa," FNMBC-BS). While not a central focus in this dissertation, this organization's history runs parallel to the story of the CSUTCB. The organization was formed in 1980 as a sister to the CSUTCB, and the federation took up the name of Bartolina Sisa, Túpac Katari's wife, in recognition of Sisa's legacy. Like Sisa to Katari, the Bartolinas, as they typically referred to themselves, were wed to the structure and activity of the CSUTCB from the beginning; the women's group operated "in the shadow" of the larger union.[31] Flores was an early proponent of the idea of forming a women's federation. The resolutions from the first Bartolinas national meeting in 1980 called for broader women's participation in politics and union activity, protested abuses and injustices against campesina women, and demanded access to better education, healthcare, and basic services for rural communities.[32] Such demands and objectives echoed the fundamental concerns of the CSUTCB to address poverty, and the lack of services and political representation for the largely indigenous rural sector.[33]

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[30] Ibid., 72.
[31] García, Chávez, and Costas, *Sociología de los movimientos sociales,* 504-505.
[32] Blanca Muñoz, "La Participación de la mujer campesina en Bolivia: un estudio del Altiplano," in *Bolivia: la fuerza histórica del campesinado*, ed. Fernando Calderón and Jorge Dandler, (Geneva: UNRISD, 1986), 390-395.
[33] Also see Rosario León, "Bartolina Sisa: The Peasant Women's Organization in Bolivia," in *Women and Social Change in Latin America*, ed. Elizabeth Jelin, (London: Zed Books, 1990),

The Bartolinas positioned themselves as heirs to Sisa's struggle. As the historical analysis of one of the group's foundational documents declared, women "were the most utilized" throughout these centuries of oppression. "Now we find ourselves in the 502nd year of forced colonization, but at this time we are conscious of our rights…"[34] As with the CSUTCB, members of the Bartolinas who traveled to rural communities to organize their bases recalled the hold Sisa's story had on campesina women. "Because of this, in some provinces they already considered us as the second [reincarnated] Bartolinas who wanted to re-start the struggle," one leader recalled.[35]

A vision of equality between men and women from the perspective of the Bartolinas is described by some in the movement as representative of the Andean concept of *chachawarmi*. As Bartolinas leader Bertha Blanco explained, this term refers to the participation of both men and women alongside each other in the struggle, and in the Bartolinas, draws from the example of Katari and Sisa as a model. Within this vision, Blanco explains, "the woman does not just stay in the kitchen, or just take care of the family – though this as well – but she is also someone who has ideological principles of struggle, of dignity and identity."[36] She said this philosophy was passed down from her ancestors as a part of the ethics of "living well" and a "political path of equality, equity, and reciprocity, in which we all grow. Where it's not just a few leaving others behind, but all of us moving forward together…"[37]

138; Cecilia Salazar de la Torre and Lia van Broekhoven, *Movimiento de Mujeres en Bolivia: La Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas "Bartolina Sisa" y Los Clubes y Centros de Madres* (La Paz: Servicio Holandés de Cooperación al Desarrollo, 1998), 35.

[34] Álvaro Diez, ed. *Las Mujeres del Campo y Su Palabra: Testimonios de los 22 anos de vida de la FNMCB "BS"* (La Paz: Centro de Servicios Agropecuarios, 2002), 43-44.

[35] Javier Medina, ed. *Las Hijas de Bartolina Sisa* (La Paz: HISBOL, 1984), 37.

[36] Fanny García Forés, *El Proceso de cambio en Bolivia: Una Mirada desde las 'bartolinas'* (La Paz: Veterinarios Sin Fronteras, 2011), 81-82.

[37] Ibid., 81-82.

However, the hegemony of the CSUTCB was evident in recordings of early Bartolinas conferences, where men from the CSUTCB often took over the mic to berate the women in condescending tones about their lack of organization and unprofessionalism as leaders.[38] Contemporary Bartolinas leader Anselma Perlacios commented in an interview in 2014 that in the early years, "the men didn't give sufficient space to the women."[39] Even as they negotiated for fair space and just treatment, the Bartolina participants formed an essential arm of the CTSUCB, organizing food and childcare, but also staffing blockades and adding voices to the organization's demands. The Bartolinas' incarnation of Sisa complemented the CTSUCB's adoption of Katari as their hero. Together, Sisa and Katari symbolized archetypal ancestors whose legacy of heroic feats of resistance was both the birthright of movement members, as well as paragons who union members of both sexes could aspire to emulate.

The Power of the Past in CSUTCB Road Blockades

The CSUTCB took to the streets almost immediately after its 1979 founding, mobilizing itself as a union with militant grassroots support representing the indigenous campesino majority. Their effectiveness would be put to the test that same year in their resistance to another military coup and economic policies that assaulted campesinos' livelihoods.

Historical consciousness strengthened campesinos' actions in one critical CSUTCB road blockade campaign against the short-lived military coup of Colonel Natusch Busch in November, 1979. During these efforts in the town of Sullkawi, in the province of Aroma, women took charge of the blockades in shifts by day, and the men by night, as recalled by blockade

[38] For example, "III Congreso de la Federación de Mujeres en Bolivia," September 3, 1988, digital audio file, number 1798 -1799, side A and B, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia.
[39] Anselma Perlacios, interview with author, La Paz, Bolivia, April 4, 2014.

participant Lucila Mejía. This rotation allowed some residents to take care of the children and prepare food, while others stood their ground on the highway. The social pressure to participate was intense, Mejía explained. If residents of the community refused to engage in the rotational blockade maintenance, they were labelled traitors and ostracized from the community.[40]

Sullkawi was in an important geographical position due to the heavy use of the area's highways and the threat of repression from Busch's military regime. "[W]hen the danger [of military intervention] increased, we placed a sentinel on a nearby hill. They alerted us with dynamite," Mejía said. "When the explosion signaled us to action, we ran out from all directions to occupy the road." Activists were well-aware of the recent government repression during the Massacre of Tolata, and fear coursed throughout their ranks. During periods of heightened risk, the children were kept away from the barricades, and the men and women worked together. "In this way, we shared the danger," Mejía recalled.[41]

Throughout their maintenance of the blockade, the activists were inspired by stories they told one another about past rebellions. "At night we had our meetings. In the dark, we remembered other blockades. In 1974 only Raymundo Tambo, Daniel Calle, Antonio Quispe were the story-tellers, because they knew," Mejía said. But during the period of this action, there were "radio programs which even the children listen[ed] to. This is why we remembered Túpac Katari, Zárate Willka and others. This took away our fears. Because the planes can fly overhead, and the swindlers can only come and go, but we are always here."[42]

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[40] Medina, *Las Hijas de Bartolina Sisa*, 17.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid. In a 1990 interview, Lucila Mejía de Morales affirmed that the participation of women in this blockade was critical. However, she recalled that more was demanded of the women than the men. Speaking of her experience during this blockade campaign, she explained, "We campesina women participated actively day and night, we worked as guards at night, we brought [supplies] to our compañeros, and not so much [was brought] to the women." The men had the support of

This anecdote points to the power of the past in the CSUTCB road blockade campaigns in 1979 and beyond. As we will see, in its efforts against military regimes and harmful economic policies, the CSUTCB deployed historical consciousness as a tool in movement and morale building amongst its members, the leveraging of its demands and legitimacy, the physical and rhetorical evocation of Katari's siege during blockade campaigns, and in the literal strategies the CSUTCB used in their blockades, which explicitly drew from Katari's tactics.

Road blockades and strikes orchestrated by the COB and CSUTCB were critical to ending the short-lived military coup of Colonel Busch, which lasted from November 1-16, 1979, during which time the CSUTCB quickly proved itself as a capable force through its resistance.[43] Their blockades, coordinated through the alliance with the COB forged just months earlier, were critical to Busch's downfall, and highlighted the power of their collaboration with the COB in the wider struggle for democracy in Bolivia. The CSUTCB historically contextualized its protest within the written demands it placed on Busch.[44] In a public statement released by the CSUTCB parallel to its road blockade campaign, the union embraced Katarista historical consciousness to leverage its proposals and defend its legitimacy. The union's statement, published in a newspaper in the midst of the blockade efforts, demanded that Busch step down, but notably

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the women, for food and reinforcements, she explained, but the women did not enjoy the same backing from the men. "So, with our babies, we lined up on the road, and we fought that way," she said. See "Mujer Aymara: Luchas y Conquistas," 1990, digital audio file, number 605-606, 01898_1381_01_02_A, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia.

[43] Rivera, "*Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*," 173-174.

[44] It was first by considering Joanne Rappaport's work on Colombian indigenous movement appeals to the government that I realized the relevance of these 1979 CSUTCB communiques to my dissertation. In Rappaport's research, she analyzes indigenous movement letters to the government which wove histories of centuries' old events from the colonial period with contemporary legal arguments in defense of indigenous territory. In considering Rappaport's analyses of such documents, I realized the CSUTCB was conducting a similar strategic deployment of historical narratives to strengthen their own legitimacy and claims in a contemporary political struggle. See Rappaport, *Cumbe Reborn*, 101-106.

devoted the first half of the statement to establishing the CSUTCB's struggle within the longer arc of history since the Spanish conquest. The authors of the statement contextualized Busch in the list of their "long memory" of colonial and neo-colonial governments which had negated indigenous identity and attempted to "destroy our customs and our millennial culture, for the sole crime of being authentically American…"[45]

This attempt to demonstrate the CSUTCB's legitimacy as representatives of the historically oppressed, original inhabitants of the Andes, was coupled in the statement by a Katarista analysis "with two eyes," shown in their denouncement of the exploitation, under Busch and other leaders, suffered by workers in the mines, in the factories, and on haciendas. Such abuse was met, the authors write, with constant resistance as the collective experience of suffering among workers accumulated. "The past and present sufferings, the blood we have spilled yesterday as we do today, the oppression itself, have been the fecund fertilizer in which our class consciousness has germinated and matured…"[46] Carrying on the historic struggle against the yoke of colonialism and labor exploitation was the CSUTCB's stated goal of its alliance with the COB. Their united struggle against economic and cultural oppression was expressed in this political moment in their resistance to Busch, with strikes in the mines to

[45] "Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia, 'Afiliada a la Central Obrera Boliviana,'" *Presencia*, November 10, 1979. Of emphasis here are the ways in which CSUTCB members described how the basic elements and structures of colonialism had remained intact. CSUTCB members' historical and political analysis, in this sense, reflects what anthropologist Andrew Canessa has argued in his own work on Bolivia. Canessa writes that indigenous people in Bolivia should not be understood simply as "cultural survivors clinging onto a quaint, particular but atavistic culture, but, rather, as inheritors of a colonial situation which has continued over time even though the symbols of power and oppression may have changed considerably." Andrew Canessa, "The Past is Not Another Country: Exploring Indigenous Histories in Bolivia," *History and Anthropology* 19, no. 4 (2008), 355.
[46] "Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia, 'Afiliada a la Central Obrera Boliviana,'" *Presencia.*

cripple export earnings, and road blockades to halt transportation of all kinds. In the end, their combined resistance forced the downfall of the regime.[47]

With another dictator gone, the CSUTCB and its members faced disastrous economic policies enacted by Busch's successor. Following Busch's departure, Parliament president and MNR party member Lidia Gueiler became Bolivia's interim president. Austerity measures encouraged by the IMF and decreed by Busch were enacted by Gueiler in December of 1979, and their impact on the campesino sector was severe.[48] The policies froze the sale prices of basic food stuffs produced by campesinos, while simultaneously raising the prices of gas and transportation. The CSUTCB protested the measure with widely coordinated road blockades, and with support from the COB, which organized a two day strike in solidarity.[49] On December 3rd, the CSUTCB sent a letter to President Gueiler listing their demands, which included having direct control over the prices and distribution of their products in order to eliminate costly intermediaries, a state budget for technical support and training for farmers, increased funding and credit reserved for the campesino sector, the distribution of land for collective ownership and labor through the CSUTCB, lower transportation costs for agricultural products, and more direct involvement from campesinos in rural development projects.[50] As Bolivia scholar Xavier Albó writes, beyond the political demands for lower gas prices, the CSUTCB's fundamental, unspoken demand was "to have the peasants respected and listened to in reality, as first-class citizens..."[51]

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Rivera, "*Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*," 173-174.
[49] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 404.
[50] "Campesinos piden comercializar directamente todos sus productos," *Presencia*, December 4, 1979.
[51] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 404.

In terms of the role of historical consciousness in the CSUTCB's rhetoric and action, the anti-austerity road blockade effort was notable for four reasons. First, it was a response to economic measures which disproportionately affected the campesino sector because of its impact on agricultural product prices and rural transportation costs. For the CSUTCB, the measure pointed to a continuation of the government's historic neglect of the campesino sector. Second, the length and intensity of the CSUTCB's road blockade physically raised the specter of Katari's siege among elites and campesinos alike. Third, the CSUTCB publicly positioned their contemporary blockade efforts as reenactments of the legacy of Katari. Fourth, the CSUTCB blockade tactic itself demonstrated the use of a technique explicitly utilizing Katari's strategies.

In its efforts and demands, the CSUTCB made clear that the economic package they protested was just another sign that the Bolivian government was not concerned with the campesino sector. At an enormous concentration of COB and CSUTCB members at the central Plaza San Francisco in La Paz on December 4, 1979, speakers denounced the government's austerity measures and pledged their commitment to the struggle.[52] To the gathered masses, Flores expressed the CSUTCB's view that "the campesinos are the most exploited, and those who suffer the most with the latest measures," leading them to blockade.[53] In the community of Rio Abajo outside of La Paz, where some thirteen road blockades were being maintained by local campesinos, CSUTCB members denounced the low prices set for their goods which, in this particular area, included onions, corn, potatoes, cherries, and apples. As previously mentioned, transportation costs had also risen, in some cases more than doubling since the application of

[52] "Masiva concentración y desfile desaprobó medidas económicas," *Última Hora*, December 5, 1979.
[53] "COB plantea anulación de medidas económicas," *Presencia*, December 5, 1979, 1.

Guelier's economic package.[54] According to one blockader speaking to the press, the government had forgotten the campesinos existed at all, "and one more time, they think that we, the campesinos, do not need to eat."[55]

The anger of the CSUTCB members was matched only by the fear their blockades inspired among political elites. The physical presence of the CSUTCB road blockade evoked the memory of Katari's siege for both blockaders and the blockaded. The CSUTCB coordinated local affiliates in each department in the country in order to block some thirty roads, bringing the country to a standstill for a week. It constituted what is considered to be the largest campesino uprising since the National Revolution.[56] Communication between road blockade participants was maintained through locally run low-power radio stations, in which broadcasters used indigenous languages alongside Spanish.[57]

With transportation and the flow of the goods blocked by the campesinos, major Bolivian cities were literally cut off from the rest of the world. In addition, dozens of tourists were stranded by the CSUTCB blockades in Copacabana, a town on the shores of Lake Titicaca. The drama of the stranded tourists was widely sensationalized and reported on by the Bolivian press. The focus on the tourists trapped by the CSUTCB siege further emphasized the motif of the indigenous masses rising up against creole elites, in the style of Katari against the Spanish. When the Red Cross and media asked Flores to stop the blockades because the travelers had been

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[54] "Campesinos exigen aumento en los precios de sus productos," *Presencia*, December 4, 1979, 9, 12.
[55] "Continuó ayer el bloqueo en carreteras de La Paz," *Presencia*, December 5, 1979, 9.
[56] Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship*, 178-179.
[57] Healy, *Sindicatos Campesinos*, 13-14.

waiting to leave the town for four days, he replied defiantly, "We have been waiting for four hundred years!"[58]

The road blockades also created a notable response in La Paz. Middle and upper class neighborhoods in the south of La Paz organized armed defense units to protect them from the indigenous protests. Silvia Rivera writes, "What greater evidence of the profound colonial attitude of creoles toward the indian, than this show of subconscious collective memory trapped in the recollection of the siege of Katari, Willka and other indian rebels!"[59]

The legacy of Katari in the road blockade effort was also raised by the CSUTCB in its communiqués. Roughly a week after the action began, the CSUTCB announced a temporary lifting of the blockades during which goods could be transported and the union could negotiate with the government. The communiqué, issued by the CSUTCB leadership to the various road blockades around the country, and printed in the Bolivian newspaper *Presencia* on the front page, called for the suspension and celebrated the historic nature of the mobilization, linking their struggle to the rebellion of Katari. Their revolt, the communiqué explained, was "a new expression of the great struggle for the emancipation of the great national majorities, initiated with the magnificent uprising of Julian Apaza Tupaj Katari in 1871 in order to achieve the liberation of the campesino class and do away with the exploitation that today the privileged minorities subject us to."[60] The CSUTCB road blockades highlighted the union's massive organizational strength, as well as bound its present political struggle to Katari's eighteenth century rebellion.

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[58] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 404-405.
[59] Rivera, "*Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos*," 175n47.
[60] "Confederación Campesina dispuso suspensión temporal de bloqueos," *Presencia*, December 8, 1979, 1.

The CSUTCB's embrace of the road blockade as a tactic was indeed a literal use of Katari's strategies. In modern day Bolivia road blockades remain a key tactic of social movements to force demands upon the government. The highway system of Bolivia has historically been very limited, with roughly 10 percent of the country's roads paved even today; until the 1990s not a single paved road left the nation, so blocking certain major national and international highways could bring the country to a standstill for weeks.[61] To maintain road blockades over long periods of time against the pressure of the police, military, and bus and truck drivers, required a high level of organization. In the highland region surrounding La Paz, nothing evokes the memory of Katari's siege more than a road blockade that circles the city.

According to various CSUTCB leaders, when discussing this popular tactic, contemporary blockades drew explicitly from Katari's techniques and philosophies. "We all know very well that Túpac Katari organized a siege of La Paz," Máximo Freddy Huarachi Paco of the CSUTCB said in a 2015 interview.[62] "It's the same with us," he explained. "Our weapon is the blockade and hunger strikes, and we always think, in whatever meeting, in whatever gathering having to do with revindicating our interests, we are always talking about strategies that our legendary Túpac Katari and Bartolina Sisa have created." He referenced different contemporary road blockade strategies such "plan quti" involving moving blockades quickly from one place on the road to the next, and the "plan taraxchi," deployed to surround a city with blockades. "Therefore, these kinds of strategies came from our ancestors; no one has brought [us] this kind of strategy, neither from the West nor from anyone."[63]

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[61] Kohl and Farthing, *Impasse in Bolivia*, 65.
[62] Máximo Freddy Huarachi Paco, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, March 24, 2015.
[63] Ibid.

During moments of insurrection, Katari's legacy took on new meaning and relevance. Felipe Quispe, a former leader of the CSUTCB, explains that blockades are an action that relies upon memory. He elaborates on techniques used to sustain effective blockades day and night. "The plan *taraxchi* was to invade the cities," Quispe explains, speaking of besieging the cities from the highlands, "entering the cities and taking political power."[64] The call would be sent by leaders out through various radio stations to thousands of men and women "so that they would gather near the cities, and, in this way, surround and strangle them." A living memory of historical figures was critical for movement leaders and members in such moments. "Tupak Katari has educated us, has disciplined us, and Zárate Willka has taught us to take the most honest, most revolutionary, most Aymara, most Qhechua route, and this is the route that we are now taking," Quispe writes.[65] By applying such models in periods of rebellion, the CSUTCB proved itself to be an undeniable force in the Bolivian political landscape of the 1970s and 80s.

"Hunger Doesn't Wait:" The CSUTCB and the Return to Democracy

The indigenous sector's anger was palpable on August 2nd, 1984, Bolivia's annual Indian Day. The date had been celebrated with renewed meaning in the country since the 1953 passage of the MNR's Agrarian Reform. Yet on that August 2nd, the plazas of the city of Cochabamba were empty. The campesinos of the region declared they had nothing to celebrate. Instead of

[64] Felipe Quispe, "La Lucha de los *Ayllus* Kataristas Hoy," in *Movimiento indígena en América Latina: resistencia y proyecto alternativo*, ed. Fabiola Escárzaga and Raquel Gutiérrez (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2006), 73-75.
[65] Ibid.

embracing the legacy of the National Revolution's 1953 Agrarian Reform, campesinos called for an overhaul of the agrarian system, and demanded as much through road blockades.[66]

Bolivia, as a whole, was experiencing a painfully slow transition back to democracy in the early 1980s. After the progressive Democratic and Popular Union party (UDP) democratically won elections, General Luís García Meza Tejada, who made his career during the *Banzerato,* led a military coup against the government on July 17th, 1980. The regime targeted the wider left, violently repressing campesino and labor union leaders. Meza's regime took its lead from the stridently anti-communist Argentine military junta (1976-83), utilizing paramilitaries and death squads to kidnap, torture, and disappear people as a way to intimidate and silence any opposition, and it was effective in momentarily crushing the left. Meza and his Interior Minister, Luis Arce Gómez, publicly sought the tutelage of former Nazi Klaus Barbie, known as the Butcher of Lyon, and others involved in Italian neo-fascism, to train Bolivian death and torture squads.[67] Washington punished Meza's government with a fifteen month boycott, which contributed to the overall decay of the administration, as it simultaneously faced a severe fiscal crisis and political disarray.[68]

When Meza's crackdown on dissidents first centered in urban areas, protests from miners and campesinos flared up far from major city limits. Resistance was particularly fierce around the highland mines of Potosí and Oruro, where workers, armed with dynamite and rifles, and with support from the CSUTCB, pushed the army back on numerous occasions. On June 21,

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[66] CSUTCB, *CSUTCB Después de Cuatro Siglos de Opresion: Las Conquistas Economicas de las Mayorias Nacionales logradas con la lucha de los explotados del campo* (La Paz: CSUTCB, 1984), 38. Consulted at the library of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.
[67] James M. Malloy and Eduardo Gamarra, *Revolution and Reaction: Bolivia, 1964-1985* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988), 143-147.
[68] Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins*, 292-293.

1981, Genaro Flores was shot by Meza's hit squads. Pressure from Amnesty International and the French government helped to keep him safe, but the Meza government sent him into exile in critical condition, delaying his necessary surgery and leaving him wheelchair-bound for the rest of his life. The injury did not stop Flores from his near constant union work, and it had the effect of elevating him as a martyr in the eyes of supporters.[69] Indeed, when Flores returned to Bolivia from exile in 1982, he tied his own martyrdom to that of Katari: "I have returned to continue the struggle of our people and to follow in the footsteps of Túpac Katari."[70]

Resistance in the streets and internal divisions within the government deepened and, to avoid a civil war, the Catholic Church fostered a dialogue which helped facilitate Meza's departure from power on August 4, 1981.[71] However, two military regimes linked to Meza followed the dictator. General Celso Torrelio Villa and General Guido Vildoso Calderón held power until October of 1982, when protests orchestrated by the COB contributed to their downfall. The Bolivian Congress, which had been democratically elected in 1980, was reconvened to choose a president, and it quickly elected the National Revolution leader, Hernán Siles Zuazo, as President and Jaime Paz Zamora of the UDP as Vice President. At this time, Siles was a part of the Revolutionary Nationalist Party of the Left (MNRI), the left wing of the MNR.[72]

The military's power was neutralized, and democracy had returned. Siles Zuazo sought alliances with the COB, CSUTCB, and other leftist party leaders, a great relief to a sector which had been facing near constant state repression for over a decade. Siles quickly dismantled the

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[69] Ibid., 295, 298.
[70] El Comite Ejecutivo de la CSUTCB, "CSUTCB Tesis Politica 1983," in Rivera, "*Oprimidos pero no vencidos,"* 204.
[71] Malloy and Gamarra, *Revolution and Reaction,* 148-149.
[72] Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons,* 90.

vestiges of dictatorship, ridding the military of authoritarian leaders, and deporting Argentine and German officials involved in the Meza regime.[73] Crowds receiving Siles when he took office booed any military official present at the event. Siles assumed the presidency to applause, as he had in 1952. The historic significance of the returning National Revolution leader, evoking the still potent memory of the revolution and its revolutionary goals, was evident.[74] The moment held particular importance for the CSUTCB, which saw Siles' presidency as a crucial opening in which they could leverage their demands.

After overthrowing military regimes in 1977, 1979, and 1982, the wider left, including the COB and CSUTCB, had high expectations for their leftist ally in power.[75] Hope surged as unions, civil society groups, and the broad left made many demands on the government. Such union and civil activity was reflected in the high level of strikes and protests from 1982-1985.[76] The democratic opening and possibilities perceived by social movements within the Siles administration led the CSUTCB to place profound demands on the government for agrarian reform. However, Siles struggled with a failing economy and could not enact sufficient changes to placate the demands from the streets.

Though civilian rule had returned, Bolivia's economy was in crisis in the early 1980s. At the start of the decade, the ever-important tin industry dropped into a serious decline from which it would never recover. Economic growth in the early 1980s declined by -2.3 percent (compared the average rise of 4.7 percent in the 1970s), and inflation skyrocketed at 1,969 percent annually.[77] In his second presidency, Siles proved to be inept at political and economic

[73] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 239-240.
[74] Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins*, 344.
[75] Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 90.
[76] Healy, *Sindicatos Campesinos*, 9-10.
[77] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 241-242.

leadership. Infighting and a lack of consensus dominated his relationships with other politicians, parties, and unions. His economic policies were uneven and ineffective, and his inability to create a strong political front led him to call for early elections in 1985.[78]

In addition to the economic crisis, the altiplano, home to the base of the CSUTCB spanning from La Paz to Oruro and Potosí, suffered a terrible drought in 1983, the worst seen in the highlands in a century. The situation was so severe that water had to be transported by train to Potosí. Small farmers bore the crisis acutely as the drought ruined both harvests and the quality of the soil for future crops. The government's inability to confront this crisis in the countryside underlined the ongoing challenges facing campesinos, in spite of the return to democracy. The main avenue for campesinos seeking solutions to such calamity was the CSUTCB.[79] In response to the economic crisis and the lack of government support for campesino communities devastated by the drought, the CSUTCB organized eighteen major road blockade efforts between 1982 and 1984, again demanding support, services, and a direct role in rural development projects.[80]

While Siles tried to help Bolivia weather the economic crisis, the CSUTCB pressured his administration from the countryside. From April 22 to 26 of 1983, in the midst of the drought, a CSUTCB blockade campaign was launched in protest of the lack of attention from the government. The CSUTCB stated that the roots of the crisis lay with the rural policies of the Banzer and Meza regimes, but that a lack of attention from the Siles administration forced their union back into the streets.[81] CSUTCB blockaders said they were tired of being ignored by the

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[78] James Dunkerley, *Political Transition and Economic Stabilisation: Bolivia, 1982-1989* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1990), 26.
[79] Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins*, 347.
[80] Dunkerley, *Political Transition,* 26.
[81] CSUTCB, *Bloqueo de Caminos*, (n.p.: CSUTCB, 1983), 5. Consulted at the

government, and that "hunger doesn't wait, due to the disaster of the drought in the Altiplano." In this case, the CSUTCB's familiar list of demands included just prices for their products, loans and financial support, participation in rural development projects, basic services such as electricity, and land distribution to small farmers. Flores told the government that a solution to the crisis was in their hands, and again situated the CSUTCB's efforts within a larger struggle spanning centuries: "Since 1825, all the governments have offered solutions to the campesino, but they have never put them in place."[82]

It was in the midst of this agricultural, economic, and political crisis that the CSUTCB produced its 1983 Political Thesis. The document reflects the concerns of the context in which it was produced. It also responds to a longer view of history, encompassing not just the political moment of 1983, but five hundred years of oppression and resistance. Indeed, a dominant argument running through the thesis holds that, for much of the rural indigenous majority – then facing disastrous drought, government neglect, political turmoil, and still recovering from over a decade of military rule – many of the basic oppressive elements of colonialism remained intact at that moment.[83]

The CSUTCB's 1983 Political Thesis is a fifteen page document outlining the history, struggle, objectives, and political beliefs of the indigenous campesino movement as represented

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Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia; El Comite Ejecutivo de la CSUTCB, "Tesis Politica del CSUTCB," 204.

[82] "Huelga y bloqueo de caminos se amplió al departamento de Oruro," *Presencia*, April, 1983. Also see CSUTCB, *CSUTCB Después de Cuatro Siglos*; CSUTCB, *Bloqueo de Caminos*.

[83] In speeches and communiques, CSUTCB members regularly made connections between what they perceived as centuries of oppression and their contemporary plight in the 1980s. Similarly, historian Thomas Benjamin argues regarding the role of shared experience and memory in the Zapatista uprising, "People who experienced persecution, expulsions, jailing, violence, and worse offenses as a reality of their lives had little difficulty understanding the conquest that their ancestors in the late 1520s suffered." Thomas Benjamin, "The Time of Reconquest: History, the Maya Revival, and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 417-450.

by the union.[84] The thesis provides a historical account of five hundred years of oppression and resistance, calls for updating the agrarian reform of 1953, and champions the indigenous cultures of Bolivia. The process of developing and ratifying this thesis involved various steps. The document that first placed these ideas together within the framework of the independent campesino union was the Political Thesis of March, 1978, which was created at the VII National Congress of the CNTCB-TK, then under the leadership of Flores. The document was further discussed and ratified at the First Congress of Campesino Unity, organized by the COB in La Paz in June of 1979. The 1983 Political Thesis discussed below was debated, revised, corrected, and expanded at the II National Congress of the CSUTCB, which took place in June, 1983.[85] Approximately four thousand delegates from all departments of the country gathered for the 1983 meeting to ratify the Thesis. Participants produced the final version collectively, after a week of meetings. The document defines itself as "the result of the concern, work and discussion of the campesino workers."[86]

Two elements of the Thesis stand out for their allegiance to the Katarista current in the CSUTCB: the first is the use of a pre-conquest civilization as a source of orientation and legitimacy, and the second is an indigenous, as opposed to strictly working class-oriented,

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[84] El Comite Ejecutivo de la CSUTCB, "CSUTCB Tesis Politica 1983." This thesis is an excellent example of the type of historical discourses utilized in this period by the CSUTCB. Such narratives and historical analysis were also present in other CSUTCB congress documents and resolutions which I consulted at the Bolivian National Archives including: CSUTCB, *Plataforma de Lucha de Lucha de Los Explotados Del Campo en su Segundo Congreso de Unidad Campesina. 26 de Junio al 1º. De Julio de 1983* (n.p.: CSUTCB, 1983); CSUTCB; CSUTCB, *V Congreso CSUTCB, Documentos y Resoluciones, Sucre, 26 de junio al 3 de julio de 1992 La Paz, Bolivia* (n.p.: CSUTCB, 1993); CSUTCB, *VI Congreso, Documentos y Resoluciones, Cochabamba, del 27 de enero al 2 de febrero de 1994, La Paz, Bolivia* (n.p.: CSUTCB, 1994); and CSUTCB, *Conclusiones del 8vo Ampliado Nacional, Sucre* (n.p.: CSUTCB, 1986), consulted at the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.
[85] El Comite Ejecutivo de la CSUTCB, "Tesis Politica del CSUTCB," 195.
[86] Ibid., 194

historical analysis of the centuries of indigenous oppression and resistance which served to highlight injustice and embolden the CSUTCB's struggle.

A starting point of this political proposal holds that the pre-conquest Andean civilization was destroyed through colonial oppression. The CSUTCB defined its political program in relation to the rescue of this civilization, with the goal of rebuilding it in the present. As the document explains, "Before the arrival of the Spanish, we were [a] communitarian people. In our land, hunger, robbery and lies were not known."[87] This vision of a past utopia is both a compass and a legitimizing claim for the CSUTCB, whose members are framed as the rightful heirs of their land, and qualified to carry on the promise and work of rebuilding this lost society. "These great civilizations developed high levels of knowledge and productivity in the fields of agriculture, livestock, in engineering projects, goldsmithing, the textile industry and metallurgy." After the conquest, the Thesis states, such knowledge was destroyed or ignored. "For that reason, it is necessary to recuperate and refresh these scientific understandings, combining them with modern technological advances to construct a highly productive society, but without hunger or exploitation." The task at hand is therefore to "adapt and renovate our methods of struggle, without losing [touch with] the continuity of our historical roots."[88]

For the CSUTCB, just as the model of a pre-conquest civilization endured into the present, so too did certain systems of oppression suffered by the indigenous majority. The Thesis thus covers the colonial exploitation of indigenous people and their forced labor in the mines, all of which, it states, "fractured our society." The revolts of 1781 are highlighted as "demonstrating that the colonial power was not invincible," while gaining independence from Spain, write the authors, "did not have any benefit for us." The Thesis dismisses the customary nationalist heroic

[87] Ibid., 198
[88] Ibid., 205-206.

treatment of creoles in charge of the Republican government disdaining the result of their reign as the construction of "only … the caricature of a republic, maintaining the colonial structures and the same relationships of exploitation and oppression." The authors cite the examples of the tribute taxes indigenous communities were forced to pay, and the extension of the *latifundio* system, which took over indigenous lands and forced indigenous people into servitude.[89]

The Thesis describes the victories and pitfalls of the National Revolution, the PMC, and the Katarista struggle for an independent union. It celebrates Katarista sacrifices in the struggle against Banzer and other military regimes in the fight for a return to democracy as part of the longer history of the development of the union that became the CSUTCB. In the Thesis, the CSUTCB positions itself as a key protagonist against the military regimes and in the struggle for democracy.[90]

Katarista thought, distilled in this document, had already been put into action by CSUTCB members in their road blockades, political proposals, and activism. In their speeches, communiqués, lists of demands, and public statements, the CSUTCB leaders spread their unique "two-eyed" style of historical and political analysis. Leaders and members placed their struggle not just in the contemporary political moment, against the nightmares of dictators and droughts, but within a longer struggle that spanned centuries. As the CSUTCB explained in their 1983 Thesis, "We are heirs of great civilizations. We are also heirs to permanent struggles against any kind of exploitation and oppression."[91]

Such historical recovery was evident in a subsequent document produced by the CSUTCB: The 1984 Fundamental Agrarian Law. The final version of this proposed law was

[89] Ibid., 199.
[90] Ibid., 202-203.
[91] Ibid., 195-196.

passed in the 1984 CSUTCB national congress in Cochabamba.[92] This document is relevant to this dissertation due to its historical analysis and highlighting of past indigenous agricultural and labor practices. For example, echoing the tone of the CSUTCB's 1983 Thesis, the document frames its proposals in historical terms: "The indigenous communities are those that since time immemorial occupy lands in the geographic space that constitutes the Bolivian State, living in accordance to their uses, customs, and common law norms."[93] The proposal notably highlights indigenous traditions of communal labor and land use. A part of such work management in rural communities involves, the proposed law states, "rescuing their ancestral traditions of reciprocity, redistribution and economic complementarity in a way that gives space to their own forms of agricultural, fishing, artisanal and industrial productive development for the benefit of all their members."[94] An integral part of this vision is a strengthening of communal bonds and cooperation, caring for the land, forests, and rivers, and empowering communitarian labor and governance.[95] Though the proposal was not ultimately accepted by the government, the document provides a window into the CSUTCB recovery of indigenous traditions and historical consciousness as a part of its vision for rural and agrarian policies. Many of the same proposals in this CSUTCB document would be taken up by the ayllu reconstitution efforts in the 1990s, discussed here in a later chapter.

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[92] Kevin Healy, *Sindicatos Campesinos y Desarrollo Rural, 1978-1985* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1989), 53-54.
[93] CSUTCB, *Ley Agraria Fundamental*, *Congreso Nacional de Cochabamba, del 16 al 20 de enero de 1984* (n.p: CSUTCB, 1984), 23. Consulted at the Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado Library in La Paz.
[94] Ibid., 25-26.
[95] Ibid. Also consulted on the CSUTCB work on this agrarian proposal was the CSUTCB, *Documentos de Trabajo de Coraca* (La Paz: CEDOIN/Ediciones Gráficas "E.G.", 1989). Consulted at the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia.

The CSUTCB, from its founding through the first intense years of its activity, utilized historical consciousness as a tool in its organizing efforts. In seeing the world "with two eyes" and promoting indigenous identity and culture, leaders and participants expanded the political horizons of their movement. In evoking Katari's siege both physically and symbolically, the CSUTCB deepened the impact and legitimacy of their blockade efforts. By basing their militancy in a historical view that reached back to a pre-conquest civilization and indigenous resistance movements spanning centuries, the CSUTCB developed a political project which would orient the campesino and indigenous movements for years to come.

Chapter Four

The Andean Oral History Workshop: Producing Indigenous People's History in Bolivia

At the top of a winding street in La Paz, heading up from the city's downtown toward El Alto, lies an inconspicuous brick building that, at first glance, is exactly like most of the others in this working class neighborhood. A small metal sign reads: Taller de Historia Oral Andina (Andean Oral History Workshop, THOA). Behind the doors of the building are the organization's offices, libraries, archives, and meeting rooms. A vast mural depicting the altiplano covers one wall, and bags of coca sit on the long table where the THOA holds its meetings. This is the headquarters of a grassroots research group that sought to create an alternative to the standard Bolivian historiography by tapping into the wellspring of oral history in indigenous communities.

This chapter focuses on the formation, methods, and historical production of the THOA. Founded in 1983, the organization was formed by nearly a dozen indigenous activist-scholars, and still operates.[1] The founders and early members were professors and students at the public Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA) in La Paz. The majority of the members were largely indigenous people who had recently migrated to La Paz for studies from the rural highlands. In discussions and reading of Bolivian history, founding members encountered a void when it came to indigenous people's history and sought to correct this by expanding the

[1] See THOA member Felipe Santos Quispe's overview and analysis of the organization's work: Santos, "Una Mirada Autocrítica," 169.

historiography with the production of histories of indigenous resistance, using oral history as their primary source.

Throughout this chapter and the next, the central question that I address is why and how the THOA worked to decolonize Bolivian history and historical research. This chapter aims to explore the emergence and trajectory of the THOA. It examines its founding and methods, and how these methods manifested themselves in historical production, texts, and media. Alongside the resurgent indigenous histories of the period, the THOA challenged prevailing intellectual currents in the university and embraced oral history as a tool for the reconstruction of silenced and fragmented indigenous histories. In both its theory and methodology, members of the THOA broke new ground in historical research in Bolivia. The THOA's political and social commitment to recovering and championing indigenous culture and history were reflected in the gathering, production, and distribution of its histories. Their work throughout the 1980s and beyond not only made use of new techniques of and strategies for gathering history, but also created a previously absent historiography on the majority of the country's residents, and contributed to transforming historical consciousness in Bolivia.

THOA member Felipe Santos Quispe outlines the organization's intellectual program in the following way:

> The central objective of the institution framed itself in the accompaniment and empowerment of the indigenous communities, based on the strengthening of indigenous identity through the investigation, dissemination [of the histories we gathered], formation [of researchers] and education [based on the histories produced]. The THOA generated a space of reflection on and analysis of hot-button issues about national needs and the indigenous communities. Lastly, the community recuperated the organic model of reciprocity in relation with the communities. This made it easier to implement the oral history method in interactive investigations.[2]

[2] Ibid., 161.

The THOA collected oral histories primarily in rural Aymara communities and complemented this material with archival research to produce booklets and radio programs on indigenous histories of Bolivia. With this work, they sought to fill in the public silences surrounding indigenous pasts, rebels, and uprisings, and in so doing, strengthen historical consciousness and self-awareness among Bolivia's indigenous people. Many of the THOA's members were from the same rural communities in which they gathered and synthesized histories. In these cases, the act of conducting historical research was, in a sense, one of self-investigation. Researchers worked alongside the communities and developed a process in which the interviewees set up the parameters of the interview, research, and historical production.

The significance of the THOA's work can be understood in the context of the political uses of anti-colonial indigenous history conducted over roughly the same period by the Kataristas and CSUTCB. Protagonists in these currents, as detailed in previous chapters, recuperated and distributed indigenous history to indigenous and working class Bolivians through unions, speeches, protests, manifestos, and the establishment of monuments to Katari. Similarly, the THOA promoted the history and cause of the previously unknown cacique apoderado movement of the early twentieth century, the role of women in twentieth century indigenous resistance movements, and the revitalization of indigenous community politics and identity.

The THOA's work has an important place in the landscape of indigenous organizing in Bolivia of the 1980s. Its historiographical efforts rippled throughout the consciousness of CSUTCB leaders and members. As the early THOA member, UMSA history professor and Aymara scholar Carlos Mamani wrote in 1989, "until just a few years ago, the name of Santos Marka T'ula was practically ignored, even in the community and province where he was born.

Today the provincial campesino sindical federation carries his name and they are contemplating the possibility of changing the current name of the province [from Gualberto Villarroel] to that of Marka T'ula."[3] Indeed, to this day T'ula's named is regularly referenced alongside Katari and Willka in campesino union and leftist politicians' speeches, a testament to the success of the THOA's work. The most notable and lasting impact of the THOA on the country's indigenous movement was their critical role in the formation of the CONAMAQ, a national ayllu federation examined in chapter six of this dissertation.

The THOA was a product of the same debates and radical fervor that gave birth to the Kataristas and CSUTCB movement. Its emergence onto the socio-political scene in the early 1980s was part of a national shift toward indigenous organizing and politics. While movements fought in the street to change the course of history, the THOA worked to produce indigenous histories and transform the way the country's indigenous majority saw themselves, their past, and their future in the nation it wanted to rebuild.

Through the collection of oral histories, the THOA sought to recover the silenced indigenous past of the Andes.[4] Members saw the Spanish conquest and colonialism of the Americas as forces that had destroyed and fragmented indigenous history. For Carlos Mamani, the long duration of colonialism had inflicted a political, economic and social trauma on indigenous Bolivians, a trauma that fractured people's historical memory and consciousness,

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[3] Carlos Mamani Condori, *Metodología de la historia oral* (La Paz: Ediciones del THOA, 1989), 22.

[4] The THOA's reasoning behind its embrace of oral history as a source echoes what many other oral history proponents have advocated. British historian Paul Thompson, who played a key role in the spread of oral history collection as a research technique from the early 1970s with the British Oral History Society, argues that oral history "can give back to the people who made and experienced history, through their own words, a central place." Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past: Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London: Routledge, 2006), 26.

relegating Aymara history to the underground. “From this moment [of conquest],” Mamani writes in a booklet on the methods the THOA used in their research, “our historical memory was destined to survive clandestinely and to manifest itself in myths and oral traditions.” Oral history provided a way to weave together the indigenous histories that were fractured and displaced by colonialism and neocolonialism, and to rescue indigenous history, and therefore identity, from imminent disappearance. “If we do not care to know our own history and to recuperate our own historical destiny, very soon the aymaras, quichwas, urus, guaranis will be converted into museum artifacts,” Mamani writes.[5]

The THOA’s publications were widely distributed to rural areas, and had a direct political and social impact. In the early years, member-investigators used their research to produce short and inexpensively produced works for distribution in rural communities. As mentioned, themes included histories of indigenous rebels of the early twentieth century, women’s avenues of resistance in indigenous movements, the history of the ayllu, a collection of important dates in Bolivian history on resistance and oppression, popular indigenous traditions, and children’s stories set in rural Aymara communities.

The THOA also organized radio programs and public discussions which brought debates on indigenous culture and politics out of the university and into the wider public, in La Paz and rural highland communities.[6] Beyond its publications and radio shows, the THOA organized groundbreaking cultural events in university spaces where, for the first time, academic debaters spoke publicly and intentionally in Aymara and, instead of wine, shared coca leaves in the

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[5] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral,* 6-7, 9.

[6] Similarly, Fernando Garcés, writing about a Quechua newspaper which began in the late 1980s in the Bolivian department of Cochabamba, described how the paper served “as the repository of memory and as an instrument of reflection for the peasant political movement.” Fernando Garcés, “Quechua Knowledge and Writings,” in Mallon *Decolonizing Native Histories,* 89-90.

communal act of *acullicu*, the ritual "chewing" of coca. THOA publications were available in Spanish, but most notably, were also published in Aymara and Quechua, an act that was rare at the time for history publications.[7]

The THOA's work was ubiquitous in the communities it worked in. In 1993, rural community members reported to external investigator Virginia Ayllon that THOA publications were accessible and widely read. In her review of the group's work, Ayllon concludes that the organization excelled in its publishing and distributing operations.[8] The impact of the THOA's work is easy to measure. Traces of their research and historical production can be found across the Bolivian political and intellectual landscape today. From their recovery of the life and actions of Santos Marka T'ula, the cacique apoderado who led a historic indigenous network fighting for land rights in the early twentieth century, to the path-breaking publication on ayllu history and reconstruction which served the CONAMAQ so well in later years, the THOA, more than any other historical research organization in the country at its time, made lasting contributions to the indigenous cause in Bolivia.

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[7] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 87. In this important work on rural development in Bolivia, scholar Kevin Healy provides a brief yet extremely helpful look into the work of the THOA. Healy examines the organization as a part of his wider look at rural development and indigenous politics and organizing in late 20th century Bolivia.

[8] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 110-111. Stephenson cites Virginia Ayllon S., "Evaluación externa del Taller de Historia Oral y Andina. Proyecto: Investigación, formación, y difusión" (report presented to the Inter-American Foundation and Semilla, La Paz, Bolivia, 1993). Stephenson's essay on the THOA is a critical resource on the organization. In it, she argues that the THOA constitutes a "counterpublic sphere" for Aymara intellectuals to collectively promote indigenous histories and political worldviews. This essay oriented my own work on the THOA and pointed me toward crucial sources. It also helped me expand on the overview provided by Stephenson with further research, additional analysis of THOA publications, a broader base of interviews with THOA members, and a contextualization of the THOA's work within the wider span of Bolivian history, politics, and activists' mobilization of historical consciousness over three decades.

The THOA emerged out of a period in which indigenous organizations challenged the racist and assimilationist policies of the state, and sought to build political power and open new spaces oriented toward indigenous liberation and cultural empowerment. Such a shift was reflected in the country's universities, where Aymara students and committed professors promoted discussions and research methods to elevate indigenous history and culture. The creation of the THOA began in the halls of one of the country's most important public universities, the UMSA. Located in the very center of downtown La Paz, on the city's main street, the UMSA has long been a site of student protests and organizing. In the early 1980s, a new generation of indigenous students and professors sought to promote and research indigenous histories of Bolivia.

The THOA was a generational expression of the influx of indigenous students from rural parts of the country, heirs of the educational reforms of the 1952 National Revolution, into the university system. Indigenous students found allies among indigenous university professors. The seeds of the THOA were planted in the classrooms where indigenous issues were newly included in the curricula and openly discussed. For the first time within Bolivia's ivory tower, indigenous professors and students addressed what they saw as the ongoing colonization of Bolivia, and found indigenous histories which existed on the margins of society, in the oral testimonies and archival fragments that remained of this past.

Shifts in Academia and the Streets

The THOA was the result of both the academic and political changes in Bolivia at the time. Just as Bolivian governments and elite intellectuals in previous decades had subjugated or erased indigenous culture and identity from depictions and discussions of the country's historical

narrative and social landscape, in the university classroom of the 1980s, many professors' dominant Marxist analyses sidelined the lived experiences and dynamic culture that indigenous students carried with them to the university. UMSA professor, activist, and THOA co-founder Silvia Rivera remarks that, in the university, questions of neocolonialism and indigeneity were pushed aside by a Marxist approach which considered everything in narrow class terms. Rivera contextualizes the university and political setting in which the THOA was created: "We [the THOA] were in a context in which we left the dictatorship, the university went back to having its autonomy, but still I saw a very strong, let's say Marxist, hegemony."[9] This analysis perceived the communities from which many indigenous students were from as "primitive." Rivera elaborates on the implications of this trend in the university and in Bolivian society at large: "theory and social investigation served to cover up new paternalistic and colonial practices facing the ethnic question, [and] the leftist elites, with their roots in western creole culture, had a strictly instrumental vision of the ethnic demands: they were useful only as long as they would not autonomize the popular mobilization controlled by the left."[10]

In the early 1980s, groups of women, youth, and most importantly here, indigenous Andeans, contested this view. At a time when indigenous issues were not widely discussed, an influx of Aymara students brought other perspectives to the mix, including, writes Rivera, "the memory of their community and their rural family and a whole series of vital experiences of

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[9] Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, *THOA: Taller de Historia Oral Andina*, Online Video, 15 Minutes, September 17, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P5iGTO0TjQM. This is a video produced by the Bolivian research organization the Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia (PIEB) on the occasion of the PIEB's granting the THOA the Premio Nacional de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas "Fundación PIEB," a prestigious annual award. The video provides an overview of the THOA's work and history, and includes interviews with many of the organization's members.

[10] Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico," 14-15.

great value..." [11] Such indigenous histories and experiences converged in the UMSA classrooms, leading to the creation of the THOA.

Rivera explains that, as they worked against political power brokers for self-determination and rights, indigenous movements also reclaimed their "right to generate their own ideological and political systematizations, displacing the role of intermediaries assumed by the intellectuals and social scientists of diverse disciplines."[12] Such political mobilizations demanded a rethinking of anthropological methods and research approaches practiced by academics on indigenous people and culture. This shift, Rivera writes, came "Thanks to the fact that indian mobilizations and organizations assumed a growing and critical control in the face of the researchers' and leftist politicians' attempts at instrumentalization [of their movements]."[13]

The THOA fused the demands, ideologies, and organizational strategies of the new indigenous movements with a historical research approach that placed the power of investigation into the hands of the indigenous subjects themselves. Rivera writes,

> Obviously, the emphasis on history is central to all these movements. The past acquires new life in being the central foundation of cultural and political indian identity, and a source of radical criticism to the successive forms of oppression that *q'ara* [western] society exercises on the indian. It is in this context that the oral history projects of the THOA emerge, as an attempt to put the indian movements' demands for historic recuperation into practice.[14]

The THOA's work contributed to the shifts in historical consciousness, both within and outside of the academy, that were taking place thanks to a new generation of indigenous leaders.

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[11] Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, *THOA: Taller de Historia Oral Andina*, online video.
[12] Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico," 15-16
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 18.

The Urban-Rural Connection

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Silvia Rivera's work at the UMSA put her in touch with a new generation of young Aymara students hailing from rural areas and urban migrant communities. They became allies in the project to rebuild indigenous politics and scholarship.[15] Like the growth of Katarismo, newly established political parties and campesino unions, the THOA was one of many initiatives and organizations that emerged from the growing ties between the countryside and the city. As THOA member and historian Esteban Ticona writes, "Note that what enriches the debate and the proposals is the mutual relationship between those who arrived from the country and [those with] greater insertion in the city. If this exchange is missing, those from the countryside tend to be too pragmatic and immediatist, and those from the city, too theoretical."[16] The intellectual combination of these two worlds fused in the THOA, embodied directly in the young indigenous migrants that made up its core, resulting in a potent combination of life experiences and politics that fed the organization's work and vision.

The group of students who joined the THOA had a shared history. Most had grown up in the countryside and migrated to the city to work, study, or live with their families. According to a number of THOA members, their participation in the founding and the early years of the organization reflected their experiences in the countryside, their debates in secondary school, the racism they faced in the city, and their drive to explore their own identities and histories as indigenous people.

Felipe Santos, an eloquent long-time member of the THOA who remains active in the organization to this day, was part of the generation of students who migrated from the countryside in the 1970s. The Bolívar secondary school he attended in La Paz had a high number

[15] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 85.
[16] Ticona, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*, 154.

of indigenous students, and there he formed bonds with other Aymara and Quechua youth. This new flow of indigenous students into the secondary schools and universities was a direct result of the expanded access to education enabled by the National Revolution. Santos said that the political and ideological direction he developed in his youth was emboldened by a reflection among his peers about their rural roots, the dictatorships, and the gains and pitfalls of the National Revolution.[17]

Such discussions paved the way to what would become the THOA. Santos recalls,

> In secondary school we were already reflecting on these themes and when we got to the university, then the idea was already to form debate and study groups, and we entered into the sociology major and we formed study groups, call the 'Amautas' [Quechua term for scholar]. And we debated with the 'Sophists', who were from a more middle, higher class. So there was already a debate about the problematics of the indian, or indigenous person, however you want to say it.[18]

Later, in the university, Santos and his friends carried on these discussions in the Julian Apaza University Movement (MUJA), the same group which had influenced leaders such as Raimundo Tambo and Genaro Flores. Santos also studied with Fausto Reinaga, as did many of his contemporaries.[19]

These young indigenous activists felt a need to return to their past, to their historical and cultural roots, to the ayllu. "So we said, 'we have to go back to reclaim, to investigate what is actually our reality,'" Santos explains.[20] These students found willing and eager allies in university professors Silvia Rivera and Tomás Huanca. Huanca, a co-founder of the THOA alongside Rivera, was involved with this group of Aymara students at the university early on, and had lived until he was twenty in a small community near Lake Titicaca. He worked as a rural

[17] Felipe Santos Quispe, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, March 31, 2014.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

teacher until he went to the UMSA to study sociology under Rivera's guidance.[21] With support from Rivera and Huanca, discussions deepened among a new generation of activist-scholars at the UMSA, and the collective process of moving toward what would become the THOA was set in motion.

The philosophy of the THOA was directly oriented by the lived experiences of recent migrants to the city. "We came from the communities," early THOA member Filomena Nina told me in the THOA offices. Nina had become a member of the THOA as an interview transcriber, and still worked at the organization decades later while also teaching Aymara classes. Though soft-spoken, she was matter-of-fact about the profound experience of racism that she and other indigenous students were living in the early years of the THOA: "When we arrived in the city from communities, we suffered discrimination just because of our language, just because of our appearance."[22] Early THOA members like Nina were drawn to the organization as a haven from the marginalization they felt as indigenous students and recent migrants to the city.[23]

Indigenous students felt acute discrimination in the halls of the university. Early THOA member Marcelo Fernández Osco, speaking to me in downtown La Paz at one of the municipal traditional medical centers he now directs (in addition to his work as an indigenous law professor), arrived to La Paz from the shores of Lake Titicaca to study sociology. "That process of getting the bachelor's degree was tremendously chaotic because first, I mean, you could not speak [Aymara]… in that moment, I'm talking about the late 70s and early 80s, the university

[21] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 85-86.
[22] Filomena Nina, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 16, 2014.
[23] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 86.

did not allow you to say that you were indian, that I am Aymara. Speaking Aymara was almost a crime…."[24]

The odds were stacked against students' early initiatives to reflect on and study indigenous culture and history. Indigenous students had to officially change their indigenous surnames to Spanish ones in order to enter the university. But in the early 1980s, Nina recalled, students began to refuse to change their names. They expressed a growing sentiment among indigenous students at the UMSA that, as Nina explains, "We can't go on this way, right? We are also part of this nation, so we have all the liberty of, well, expressing ourselves."[25] Early THOA members such as Nina, Fernández, and Santos collaborated with Rivera and Huanca to confront this structural racism within the academy.

Bolivia was changing, and so too was the university. Rivera's classes, the debates she helped foster, and her relationships with Aymara students were all critical points of convergence where the rising indigenous politics of Bolivia found fertile ground. The UMSA, a home for this nexus, created the first department of sociology in its halls during the 1970s, but it was not until the 1980s that an anthropology department was founded.[26] Students' and teachers' efforts to build new avenues to explore indigenous culture, history, and politics converged and grew during this period, paving the way to the independent entity that was the THOA.

Change from Inside the University

Many THOA members recall the classroom and discussions at the UMSA as spaces which led to the THOA's creation. Some of the early debates came out of Rivera's

[24] Marcelo Fernández Osco, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 11, 2014.
[25] Filomena Nina, interview, October 16, 2014.
[26] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 82-83.

"Superestructura Ideológica" course. Longtime THOA member Lucila Criales, who holds a leadership role at the THOA producing publications for the organization, recalls that at the time in the university, Marxism was the hegemonic theory in the classroom. "They talked about *Imperialism, last phase of capitalism*, all the history of the Russian Revolution, the famous seventeenth of October, [Marx's] Eighteenth of Brumaire, and the Asian modes of production…" One teacher told them, "'the primitive peoples enter in the Asian mode of production.' And to us, it wasn't convincing," Criales says. This Marxist view of the past and political change did not fit with Criales' experience in the world as an indigenous person.[27] She wasn't alone; many students who felt such worldviews silenced and disparaged the experience and histories of indigenous societies found their way into the THOA.

The predominance of Marxist thought in UMSA classrooms was a consequence of the fact that a number of the faculty were trained in European and Latin American social science institutions where Marxism reigned. Historian René Arze, a student at the UMSA during this period, explains,

> It was an era very much influenced by the Cuban revolution, when everyone talked in orthodox Marxian terms of the 'proletariat,' the 'national bourgeoisie,' and the 'theories of labor surplus,' while those interested in, say, the Chaco's indigenous peoples were still seen as a bunch of wierdos, totally out of touch with mainstream intellectual and political thinking.[28]

Dependency theories of André Gunder Frank and Fernando Enrique Cardoso were embraced enthusiastically by many in the university seeking to understand the roots of poverty, the lack of development in Bolivia within a global economic context, and how Western nations profited

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[27] Martín Cúneo and Emma Gascó, "Bolivia - Taller de Historia Oral Andina: 'Despertamos al descubrir nuestra propia biografía,'" *Upside Down World*, February 3, 2014, accessed December 9, 2015, http://upsidedownworld.org/main/en-espatopmenu-81/4682-bolivia-taller-de-historia-oral-andina-despertamos-al-descubrir-nuestra-propia-biografia.

[28] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 83.

from Bolivia's under-development. Yet the long-time scholar of Bolivia Kevin Healy writes, "While useful corrective lenses, in some respects, neither the Marxist nor the dependency paradigm gave any importance to the positive role of indigenous culture. Gunder Frank went so far as to say that the Indians 'lacked culture.'"[29] Students grasping for answers about their own indigenous identity and culture rejected these reductive and racist ideologies and offered alternative approaches.

Such tensions and debates deeply marked the early THOA members. Marcelo Fernández, for example, says he and his friends read Marx and Lenin as young radicals, but that these authors did not help them understand their reality as indigenous people or build alternatives to neocolonialism. They read the classics, he explains, "but it turned out that this reading, in instrumental terms and conceptual terms, did not make sense when we were analyzing our reality; that was the great deficiency. We said, 'something [else] is happening;' it was like having a machete that doesn't cut."[30] This sentiment pushed many young indigenous activists and thinkers to explore their own histories and projects for social change.

The efforts among indigenous students at the UMSA to build intellectual alternatives percolated up, and assisted in crucial changes in the university curriculum. The sociology faculty and a handful of historians in the UMSA began to incorporate indigenous issues and culture into research methods and political discussions. Rivera was a key trailblazer during this period. Healy writes, "The daughter of a prominent medical doctor, Rivera was unusual in having a second surname that was indigenous. Cusicanqui revealed bloodlines of Aymara hereditary chieftains

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[29] Ibid., 83-84. Healy cites André Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Modern Reader, 1969), 136.
[30] Marcelo Fernández Osco, interview.

(*caciques*) from the La Paz-based aristocracy active during the colonial period."[31] Rivera conducted fieldwork in the Pacajes province where Katarismo flourished, and studied anthropology in Peru in an MA program with noted Bolivian scholar Jorge Dandler. Rivera was working at the UMSA when members of the 1980 García Meza military regime in Bolivia confiscated her personal library and pushed her into exile in Mexico, where she wrote the classic and influential work, *"Oppressed But Not Defeated,"* which provides a broad overview of indigenous movement struggles in twentieth century Bolivia. She returned to Bolivia in 1982 and co-founded the THOA shortly after.[32]

The tumultuous era, including the García Meza regime's crackdown on leftist and indigenous politics, had a direct influence on Rivera's thinking around memory and oral history. As she recalls:

> I started with Oral History because they stole all of my documents. When the García Meza dictatorship sacked my library with all my documents, which were "subversive," in so much as they were thought of as documentation of politics in that moment, in the 80s, but …, well, they were very ancient questions. But the fact that they stole them from me and they left me with only my memory reminded me very much of what I had seen and heard. From there it was very impressed upon me that they can steal everything from you, but not your memory.[33]

Rivera's thinking around the power of memory and oral history shaped debates in her classroom, and were received enthusiastically by a new generation of students at the UMSA.

Early THOA member Lucila Criales recalls finding something different in Rivera's class than with other professors: "Silvia started [the class] with her speech about oral history, of

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[31] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 85.
[32] Ibid., 85-86. An insightful view of this period is also provided by Brook Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 322-347.
[33] Sergio Di Nucci, "Entrevista con la socióloga e investigadora boliviana Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui: 'La historia escrita no habla del papel indígena en las protestas sociales,'" *Tiempo.Infonews.com*, September 13, 2012, accessed December 9, 2015, http://tiempo.infonews.com/nota/125763.

learning the history of the Indians." When inquiring about what indigenous people in Bolivia did during different periods of history, however, the class ran into a silence. The archives, the books, the libraries, barely contained any histories from the point of view of indigenous people. It was then, says Criales, that they chose to take another direction: oral history. The students and professors of the THOA sought to populate that silence by interviewing elders in indigenous communities, leaders of past revolts and forgotten rebellions, and those who had heard stories passed down from generation to generation about indigenous struggles.[34]

"Who Are We?" The THOA as an Avenue for Self-Reflection and Decolonization

The THOA offered an avenue of self-reflection and self-investigation for many members. For Filomena Nina, it was a profoundly personal experience to address and discuss the fundamental question: Who are we? It was pivotal for her to know that "our ancestors had struggled, but that this was not even recognized by [the official] history." The THOA sought to uncover these histories. "So, in this sense, I think that yes, history contributes a lot, because if we did not know, we would not have had a trajectory, we would not know who we are, because we have to have all this to fortify ourselves as well as our identity."[35] THOA members were passionate about their work because it fed their own sense of dignity, of belonging within the social struggle.

The activities of the THOA were unprecedented in Bolivia. Indeed, historical research in the universities at the time was dominated by amateur scholars, and people working in politics and law who ignored the role of indigenous people in Bolivia's history.[36] Mary Money, Bolivian

[34] Cúneo and Gascó, "Bolivia - Taller de Historia Oral Andina."
[35] Filomena Nina, interview, October 16, 2014.
[36] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate,* 86.

historian and ex-director of the La Paz Historical Archives, explains that the THOA opened up a new focus and direction for Bolivian history.

> Before, history [consisted of] administrative acts, or memorizing battles where they eulogized the figure of the elite classes that governed the country. These Aymara intellectuals turned to oral history, which consists of visiting the countryside, interviewing the live actors who had participated in the indigenous emancipation movements… retaking the course of their history in rejection of that history of the European and North American elite that was transmitted in the universities.[37]

The dominant narratives about Bolivian history in secondary school text books relegated indigenous heroes and their rebellions to the margins. Carlos Mamani, current UMSA history professor and a former THOA member and director, was deeply involved in the ayllu reconstruction efforts in the 1990s and helped to produce of many of the THOA's influential works. Mamani critiqued mainstream Bolivian versions of history in which the revolts of Túpac Katari were mentioned as a mere footnote to the more elaborated-upon War of Independence from Spain and Republican era.[38]

In this literature, according to Mamani, the pre-colonial period is simplified, Katari's struggle is painted as simply a precursor to Independence, and the National Revolution of 1952 is portrayed as a glorious turning point for the country. He explains, "In the whole Republican period, our people, in spite of our weight as making up the majority of the population, were practically erased from the map."[39] The THOA members had to find a way to "return to ourselves," says Marcelo Fernández. "It's not because we have read Lenin or Marx, nor because we've read western historians," he explains. "It was when we returned to our own history [that

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[37] "THOA por 30 años recoge la historia oral de los pueblos," *Erbol*, November 22, 2013, accessed December 9, 2015, http://www.erbol.com.bo/noticia/cultura/22112013/thoa_por_30_anos_recoge_la_historia_oral_de_los_pueblos.

[38] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral,* 15-16.

[39] Ibid.

we asked] 'Who was Túpac Katari? Who was Julián Apaza? Who was Bartolina Sisa?'" Fernández says. "We have flipped history over and it turns out that they were important builders of the country, but in the historiography absolutely nothing is said about that history."[40]

A starting place for THOA members was piecing together the few historical sources available. "So what we needed to make was also the reconstitution of a minimum bibliography," Fernández says. They read Reinaga, books from the US on black power, Franz Fanon, oral histories from the Franco period in Spain. "So this literature… has given us the conceptual *background* to understand or analyze the reality, in addition to the oral memory of the elders, because the oral memory of the elders was also like talking with a philosopher or with a historian."[41]

It was the drive to confront the silences surrounding indigenous history that led students like Fernández to dig deeper, to look down other avenues for answers, for hidden histories. He explains,

> As students, we said, 'What is happening? Why isn't Bolivian [indigenous] history being debated in university classrooms? What has happened? We don't have heroes? We don't have forefathers? We don't have protomartyrs? There's no history, no civilization? So at the root of that entire process … in reality is a racism that is still alive and practiced in the university, and we decided to research ourselves, and the Andean Oral History Workshop comes from there.[42]

Decolonizing Historical Research Methods

The THOA's methodology was bound up in the organization's political and intellectual commitments, which aimed to decolonize research and historical production. The THOA

[40] Marcelo Fernández Osco, interview.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

members' closeness to the communities and cultures they were researching helped their work immensely. Their horizontal research methods aided the recovery of communal memory and knowledge. The THOA's efforts to piece fragments of memory and historical traces together into a whole helped fill in silences and re-weave the fabric of a historical narrative of indigenous resistance.

THOA members were not strangers waltzing into an indigenous community from afar; they were considered part of the same community, albeit part of the wider Aymara diaspora triggered by migration to cities. When THOA members conducted their interviews, they approached their work from a space of intimate understanding: they spoke the same language and many had lived in rural communities as children. "The fact of being indigenous, indigenous researchers, made us part of the same community," Felipe Santos explains.[43] For many THOA researchers the experience of gathering testimonies was like an extended family reunion.

The THOA's work was a process of mutual reflection and collective remembering; the line between the researchers and the researched was blurred. Members were investigating themselves, their own identities and pasts. "It was a kind of self-reflection, and we shared this self-reflection with the communities," Santos said. There was no lack of trust, he says, "We woke up together in the communities conversing, debating."[44] The activist-researchers and community members were getting to know their ancestral history, culture, and worldview, but also getting to know themselves.[45]

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[43] Felipe Santos Quispe, interview, March 31, 2014.
[44] Ibid.
[45] The THOA was fundamentally oriented in their work by the people and communities in which they gathered testimonies. In this sense, their methods were similar to the approach used by anthropologist Audra Simpson in her ethnographic work on the Mohawk. Simpson writes, "I consider what analysis will look like, or sound like, when the goals and aspirations of those we talk to inform the methods and the shape of our theorizing and analysis." Audra Simpson,

Many of the THOA participants, or their immediate family members, had lived in the rural regions the group worked in. Carlos Mamani, for example, lived into his teenage years in a highland community in which local resistance had prevented the arrival of the hacienda. This personal experience, as well as his first-hand knowledge of the culture and traditions of his community, assisted in his research in the region where he grew up.[46]

The fact that the THOA members spoke Aymara offered another bridge into the areas they worked in. Speaking an indigenous language was a requirement for early THOA members. These were the languages of trust, of confidence, in the communities. Marcelo Fernández reflected on language's essential role in their early work: "When we speak in Aymara, when we *acullicamos* [chew coca], when we talk in the evenings, a deep history arises, and it is a deep history that comes from long ago."[47] Researchers would not have been able to access the same stories, the same meaning and sentiment, without speaking the languages of the communities.

Just as the language provided an inroad, sharing coca – a leaf used widely throughout the Andes for medicinal and spiritual purposes – during conversations helped ground the discussions in the rituals and the cultural foundations of the community. "Coca is an element in making a dialogue," Nina explains. "It is a way of saying 'let's chat.' It's not necessarily *saying*, but rather *showing*, and giving coca, so that already has another significance, which is to say, we already know the symbolic language of the communities."[48] When the THOA conducted their research, they typically brought coca with them for just this purpose.

Mohawk Interuptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 98. On this topic, also see Mallon, *Decolonizing Native Histories*; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

[46] Carlos B. Mamani Condori, *Taraqu, 1866-1935: Masacre, Guerra y "Renovación" en la biografía de Eduardo L. Nina Qhispi* (La Paz: Ediciones Aruwiyiri/THOA, 1991), 7.

[47] Marcelo Fernández Osco, interview.

[48] Filomena Nina, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, April 3, 2014.

The THOA audio files from the early 1980s bring THOA's methodologies in the communities to light. In various recordings, where Aymara is predominantly spoken, one can hear the rustle of participants grabbing at piles of coca leaves and chewing the leaf during the interviews. In other THOA recordings, snippets of rural daily life are present in the sound of chickens clucking, birds singing, or the wind whipping over the microphone during an outdoor conversation.[49] Hours and hours of such recorded interviews and conversations in rural communities were the base of the THOA's historical productions.

The THOA deployed various techniques to help many elders recall the past with precision and fill in incomplete historical accounts. In the case of interviewees who had traveled extensively during the period under investigation, such as in one of their projects on the scribes of caciques apoderados, THOA members took interviewees to visit places related to their past during interviews in order to help them recall significant events with more detail.[50] The THOA also sought out extended interviews with people who were not necessarily tied to historical events important to the community, but were superb narrators or had a deep knowledge of local history and culture. With such people, the THOA conducted repeated interviews to gather a wider view of history than just simple historical facts. Such life histories, Carlos Mamani explains, helped "enrich our vision of what the common cultural rules are and the individual variants are in a society like ours."[51]

The fact that the investigators and those who provided testimonies shared much of the same culture and lived experience, identified with each other and spoke the same language,

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[49] Selection of THOA audio recordings in archives at Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia. For example, THOA, "Homenaje 45 Aniversario a Santos Marca Tula," (n.d.), digital audio files, 01550_0291_01_03_THOA - 01550_0291_03_03_THOA.A, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia.
[50] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral,* 31-32.
[51] Ibid., 27.

provided the foundation for a participatory and horizontal production of history. This process decentered the power of the researcher and focused on a genuine collaboration that the THOA members say decolonized their methodology. This style of research was evident in the ways the interviews were organized by the THOA. In Rivera's reflections on the THOA's early work, she describes how the interviewees themselves decided on the research approach and topics, how the interviews would be formatted and conducted, how the transcriptions would be returned, evaluated and discussed by the community, and how the final product of the work would be used.[52]

The THOA researchers were not, in a top-down manner, instituting the elements of participation and production in the research process, and in this way, reproducing western research methods which oppressed indigenous peoples, Rivera explains. THOA's approach, she writes, was "a *collective exercise of disalienation,* as much for the researcher as for the interlocutor." This active and collaborative participation on the part of "investigated communities and movements [aimed] toward the disalienation and decolonization of history."[53] In such a process, the interviewee is not considered an "object of study," but rather a participant in a collective reflection.[54] Through such collaborations in interviews and discussion, Rivera explains, "one will discover the complexity and richness of the ways of thinking and visions of history that the actors themselves generate in their lived experience."[55]

The THOA's interviews were not solely about collecting facts, but were often investigations into the past's role in the transformation of society. Such an approach enabled rich discussions, for example, about the persistence of colonialism in contemporary times. "This

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[52] Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico," 21.
[53] Ibid., 20-22.
[54] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral,* 28.
[55] Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico," 22.

allows us to reflect on the present in light of the past: to ask ourselves, for example, if we are living the same reality, or if some change has been produced," Mamani writes. "In this way, in some communities, collectively or individually, we have generated a reflection about the permanence of the colonial situation as a system of domination of our peoples, and this reflection has enriched the consciousness-raising of the syndical, communal and other organizations."[56]

The ideal of such research methods guided the THOA's work at every stage of the organization's historical production. From the collection of testimonies, to the shaping of the narrative and piecing together fragmented histories, this non-hierarchical relationship was an essential part of their work to rebuild an indigenous people's history of Bolivia. A look at specific interview techniques and two key publications by the THOA, one regarding the history of the caciques apoderados, and another on a rural highland indigenous community, illustrates much of this research process in action.

Group Interviews

Group interviews were central to the THOA's methods of gathering testimonies from indigenous community members. When interviewing community elders, the THOA developed the discussion as a group conversation; many of their recordings reflect this technique, in which a discussion is guided not so much by the THOA researcher as by the interviewees themselves. Such an approach is on display in a THOA book produced out of interviews with contemporaries of T'ula and other early twentieth century caciques apoderados entitled *Jilirinaksan Arsüwipa: "Testimonios de nuestros mayores,"* compiled and produced by THOA members Carlos Mamani

[56] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral,* 29.

and Tomás Huanca.[57] The group interview process that went into this work helped interviewees reflect as a community, complement one another's views, and fill in gaps in historical memory. When a group of elders from various communities shared their stories for this work, their combined memory produced a richer, more complete version of the past than could be drawn from any single narrative. A group interview not only assisted in drawing from individual memory, but as more community members spoke and shared stories, the process lent itself to the generation and experience of a collective memory, where the shared historical knowledge of the community was brought into sharper focus.

Jilirinaksan Arsüwipa documents how THOA researchers gathered testimonies from the first meeting of a group of elders who shed light on the caciques apoderados movement. The meeting took place in La Paz during the first week of September in 1988.[58] As Huanca, the editor of the book, explains, the testimonies gathered aimed to fill in the silences in the archival record regarding the caciques apoderados network. The elderly men interviewed included Don Leandro Condori Chura, the main *escribano* (scribe) of cacique Santos Marka T'ula, the cacique apoderado who led an historic indigenous network fighting for land rights in the early twentieth century, and another scribe of the caciques apoderados, Don Plácido Jacinto, as well as children and grandchildren of the caciques themselves. In the text, Huanca explains that, after searching in vain in the archives for more material on the caciques apoderados movement, he and others in the THOA realized they needed to go to these men, the living archives of their memory, as they

[57] Tomás Huanca L., *Jilirinaksan Arsüwipa*: *"Testimonios de nuestros mayores"* (La Paz: THOA, 1991).
[58] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral,* 39-41.

were "the most direct custodians of the thought and knowledge" of the caciques apoderados, particularly of T'ula.[59]

Open discussions and collective reflections were central to the group interview which was organized over the course of various days. The THOA invited the *mayores* (elders) themselves to decide how to proceed with the testimony. As a group, participants elected presidents and secretaries to guide the discussion, and chose the order in which the interviewees – ten in all, from various communities – would speak. "Between them they chose three moderators to run the meeting. […] After a brief discussion (between those chosen), they came to an agreement about how to move the meeting forward," Huanca writes.[60]

The interviewees decided that each person would speak about his experiences and knowledge, and that they would then talk about the themes of the land titles, school, education and religion, one after the other, as a way to clarify and deepen the history of the caciques apoderados movement. Toward the end of the encounter, they decided to additionally talk about the contemporary "difficulty and the importance" of these issues in the communities.[61] The text of *Jilirinaksan Arsüwipa* itself reflects the democratic nature of the interviews. After the order of the discussion is established in the text, the book includes a selection from the testimonies that follow. In the booklet, there are two columns on each page, one in Aymara on the left and the other in Spanish on the right. There are also photographs of each of the speakers at the gatherings, helping to bring the conversation to life on the page.

Throughout the histories shared by the men (no women were interviewed in this case), the testimonies include regular comments from the speakers on the order and organization of

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[59] Huanca, *Jilirinaksan Arsüwipa,* 7. The story of T'ula himself, THOA's historical production around his life, and the impact of these histories are dealt with in detail in the next chapter.
[60] Ibid., 9-10.
[61] Ibid.

their reflections. This was a process of constant deliberation and decision-making, in which the people giving testimony were in complete control, without interference or direction from Huanca. The elected president of the conversation, Don Andrés Jach'aqullu, leads the discussion at the start by introducing the meeting and stating that each participant will explain their story. "He gave the word to each one of the guests, in such a way that each of them would explain their knowledge about life, the fight and thought about the *comunarios* and *caciques*," Huanca explains.[62] After Lucas Miranda relates the story of his father's claims to land in the Chuquisaca department, and the promises made to his community by various presidents, Juan Condori follows, beginning his account of labor exploitation on an hacienda with "That's good, brothers, I will also take a turn to speak…".[63] Such a process of reflection is repeated by the men throughout the conversations. While the discussions operate based on the logic established by the speakers, the elder with the most knowledge – in this case, T'ula's scribe Condori – often dominates the conversation.

The narratives are rich with emotion as the men relate tales of oppression, injustice, and their labyrinths of struggle. As Juan Condori explains, on the hacienda, indigenous people were treated "like dogs. Because of this, for us there was only injustice." As the discussions go forward, the colonial and republican period blend into one another, and the past bleeds into the present; the dates and facts are less important to these speakers than the sentiment behind the memories, the conviction that colonization never stopped. "Brothers, once more we reflect together," Qullu, the elected president of the discussion summarizes, "we continue suffering for the last 500 years, in spite of the fact that we are the legitimate owners [of this land]."[64] Such a

[62] Ibid., 11.
[63] Ibid., 13.
[64] Ibid., 14-15, 78.

group interview process was typical of the THOA and sheds light on the methods they established in their interviews. Rather than ignoring or sidelining the community's strength in favor of a single narrative, the THOA's approach helped bring collective memories to the center of the stage.

Uniting Fractured Histories

As in the case of the Santos Marka T'ula project, using oral testimonies helped the THOA uncover histories and memories that were not accounted for in the country's archives. The THOA picked out the traces of written evidence in land titles and newspaper articles from the National Archive in Sucre and the departmental archive in La Paz, and wove them together with oral histories to produce a more cohesive whole out of the scattered fragments. As silences and gaps were filled, individual testimonies and collective memories all fed into the THOA's reconstruction of a whole.

The THOA's process of collecting oral and archival history sources, early THOA member Humberto Mamani recalls, "was like gathering different parts of a letter torn into many pieces, and when it was put together, we could read all of them and say, 'this is our history.' This is the history that we did not know, that was divided in many parts."[65] Not only was this history divided into fragments, but many of the fragmented pieces had been scattered throughout the country and beyond, and putting pieces back together required extensive traveling. The search for documents took THOA members to archives in La Paz, Sucre, and Potosí, but they often came up empty handed. So they began to search out the communities of some of the historical

[65] Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, *THOA: Taller de Historia Oral Andina*, online video.

figures they were researching, such as Santos Marka T'ula and Eduardo Nina Qhispi. THOA member Carlos Mamani explains in a 2015 interview,

> We knew where [T'ula's] community was, so we went to his community and we talked with the sons and daughters of his people, we even had the good luck of speaking with some actors, such as [T'ula's scribe] Leandro Condori Chura, who was still fairly strong at that time. He was the one who had learned to write on a typewriter and so wrote everything that the caciques apoderados asked him to.[66]

By speaking with people like Condori, the THOA was able to expand its base of knowledge, dates, and events, which guided both their archival research and their additional interviews with living witnesses and descendants.

Following the trail of certain rebel leaders led the THOA researchers to crisscross the country's unpaved roads, going into La Paz archives for information on land struggles and out into the highland countryside to chase leads. In an undated recording with Leandro Condori, almost certainly from the early 1980s, the interviewer tries to get more information from the caciques' scribe about the location of certain letters and documents he referred to, when they were produced, and what government office they may have been directed to, so the THOA could find them in archives.[67]

At the same time, when gathering testimonies, the THOA found that individual memories were also incomplete. "Individual memory was found to be fractured," THOA member Felipe Santos writes in a 2008 article about the group's work. The THOA strove to make up for these gaps by collecting a wide array of testimonies. The older generations were dying, however, and so they also had to rely on the "family memory" – the recollections and stories from leaders' relatives. It was through this process that the prominence of collective memory in indigenous

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[66] Carlos Mamani, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, February 5, 2015.
[67] Selection of the THOA audio recordings in archives of Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia. For example, THOA, "Homenaje 45 Aniversario a Santos Marca Tula."

communities emerged for the THOA researchers. Santos continues, "After a half-decade of investigation, we realized that the construction of memory in the indigenous sphere is collective, the permanent confrontation of the individual memory with the communal one, brought new life to its transition to the new generations."[68]

A THOA book on the highland community of Taraqu exhibits how such historical fragments, archived documents, individual first-hand narratives, as well as collective and second-hand narratives, were pieced together by the organization. In this 1991 book *Taraqu 1866-1935: Masacre, guerra y 'Renovacion' en la biografia de Eduardo L. Nina Qhispi*, author and THOA member Carlos Mamani focuses on the question of producing the history of an individual versus that of the individual's community. Marcia Stephenson, a researcher on the THOA, writes that Mamani seeks to focus in his work on the "reciprocal relationship among territory, identity, and social memory."[69] Originally, Mamani had planned to write a biography of Qhispi, but scarce archival records on the figure forced him to ask the following question: "In what documents could we investigate the life of an Indian? From the beginning, the only thing we had was the date of his birth and that of his death." He sought to fill these silences by reaching out to the history of Qhispi's wider community. This research approach, Mamani writes, "allows us to recognize the history of the person in the history of the *ayllu*, of the *marka* [ayllu network], and of the other Indians of the republic and, in this way, address the other face of Creole history, so carefully hidden by traditional historiography."[70]

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[68] Felipe Santos Quispe, "La memoria comunal y la historia oral: el caso de la experiencia del THOA," in *XXI Reunión Anual de Etnología* (La Paz: Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, 2008), 650.
[69] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 108.
[70] Mamani, *Taraqu*, 160

Mamani conducted oral histories on Qhispi's life only to find that, in order to write about Qhispi, he had to also write about Qhispi's ayllu and neighboring ayllus.[71] Stephenson writes, "By decentering the individual subject, Mamani Condori was able to uncover an alternative history that criollo official histories had ignored or dismissed as irrelevant."[72] Mamani explains that his initial attempts to write a standard biography of Qhispe were based on a western tradition of holding up single leaders as protagonists of history. "Attracted by a western tradition, we tried to individualize the leader and separate him from the community, in an eagerness to equate the thinking heads and the noted men of indigenous history with the pantheon of heroes and great men of the creole historiography," he explains. Yet, as he moved forward with the research and writing, Qhispi's biography came to make up only one chapter of the book.[73]

The resulting publication, *Taraqu 1866-1935,* is largely a history of the ayllu Ch'iwu. Mamani writes, "We realized that the history of aggressions and resistances through which this collectivity travelled was not an isolated case, and its necessary model was the *marka* of Taraqu, which was one of its eight component ayllus." The research process Mamani went through reflects the experience of many THOA members as they conducted their work. Mamani writes, "Our methodology of investigation was then the result of a process of searches and estimates, through which we understood – returning to an old communal wisdom – that the history of an individual is no more than a thread in the fabric of the collective history."[74] Putting the threads of this historical fabric back together was an objective of the THOA in each of its projects.

Reflecting the ethics of the THOA, Mamani shared his work with the community and used the publication to spur on further discussions, political organizing, and historical reflection.

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[71] Ibid., 12
[72] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 108.
[73] Mamani, *Taraqu,* 9.
[74] Ibid., 9, 12.

Shortly after the publication of *Taraqu 1866-1935*, a weekend seminar based on the book was organized by the THOA and the Taraqu Agrarian Center. The seminar was called "La Lucha Anticolonial de los Comunarios de Taraqu" (The Anticolonial Struggle of the Community Members of Taraqu), and aimed to "return" the book to the community, and to reflect on indigenous people's history "without paternalistic criollo-mestizo mediation."[75] The return of the publication to the community was a part of THOA's commitment to using their work to support and stand alongside the country's rising indigenous movement.

While indigenous movements were struggling in the streets and barricades for political power and rights, the THOA was fighting intellectual battles to put indigenous people on the historical map of the country. They used oral history techniques as tools to recover the silenced and fragmented past of indigenous people, and produce histories for political action in an era of indigenous resurgence. In their efforts to decolonize historical research and history, they helped to inspire and orient historical awareness around Bolivia's indigenous culture and histories. Much of the THOA's most innovative and influential historical research and production techniques were showcased in their work on cacique apoderado Santos Marka T'ula, which is the focus of the next chapter.

[75] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 109. Stephenson cites "Seminario sobre 'Lucha anticolonial de los comunarios de Taraqu,'" *Presencia*, May 15, 1992.

Chapter Five

Recovering the History of Santos Marka T'ula and the Caciques Apoderados

At the turn of the twentieth century, a renewed expansion of the hacienda in Bolivia led to the breakup of indigenous-owned land. In response, a network of caciques apoderados rose up to resist this land grabbing and defend besieged indigenous communities from abuses. These leaders were empowered by late nineteenth century laws allowing them to legally represent their communities in court, as well as to use colonial land titles in defense of their territories. Caciques apoderados were appointed by their communities and sought out such titles as a tool in their struggle. They coordinated their efforts and strategies, and shared lawyers, the titles they recovered, and scribes in what would become a national network of nearly one hundred leaders, representing some four hundred communities across the departments of the eastern high plains of Bolivia. As previously mentioned, one of the most prominent leaders of the caciques apoderados was Santos Marka T'ula, a figure whose life story was recovered by the THOA in the early 1980s, largely through the collection of oral histories.

According to the THOA, the story of T'ula was unknown in the 1980s outside of a few rural communities in the Bolivian highlands. Once the research organization heard in the early 1980s of the cacique apoderado struggle, however, they gathered fragmented archival evidence and disparate stories on T'ula from his living descendants, collaborators, neighbors, and contemporaries to produce a history of the leader. Some eleven members of the THOA were involved in this research process, which included visits to a number of rural communities to gather interviews, and trips to the national archives in Sucre. The result was a small booklet on

T'ula's life originally published in 1984 and titled *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula: Cacique Principal de los Ayllus de Qallapa y Apoderado General de las Comunidades Originarias de la Republica*.[1] The initial booklet was accessible and affordable, and widely distributed to Aymara communities, where it was used in numerous rural primary schools. The THOA also turned their work on T'ula into a widely popular *radionovela* (serial radio program) which was broadcasted by radio stations nationwide in Aymara in the mid-1980s. The work of the THOA helped spur on discussions about indigenous people's movements in Bolivia and the role of oral history in historical consciousness.

The story of T'ula provides a particularly interesting case study on the political uses of history in Bolivian indigenous movements. What is of specific interest in this chapter are the unique ways in which the THOA discovered, researched, and distributed this history. In the first place, the THOA's methodology, focused on oral testimonies, enabled the group to discover the largely unknown history of T'ula and the caciques apoderados. Secondly, its collective research techniques which pooled efforts, archival resources, and testimonies strengthened the group's capacity to create such a rich historical account. Thirdly, the THOA researchers' embrace of the mythical accounts of T'ula's story helped them discover elements and meanings present in oral versions of this history that were completely absent in the archival record. Finally, the researchers' emphasis on reciprocity, returning the booklet and radio novella to the communities they worked with, and collectively reflecting on the history with community members, contributed fundamentally to the popularity and impact of their history of T'ula.

[1] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula*.

The Rise of the Caciques Apoderados

A brief look at the historical circumstances and rise of the caciques apoderados helps to understand the world in which T'ula lived and fought. A renewed grab for indigenous land at the turn of the twentieth century, triggered in part by the expansion of the national railroad network, besieged indigenous communities facing hacienda expansion. The caciques apoderados, chosen by their communities to fight the land grab through bureaucratic means, developed a network to legally resist incursions onto indigenous land and champion communities' rights and demands in government and in court. The caciques apoderados themselves drew from two laws passed in the late nineteenth century. The 1874 Disentailment Law enabled indigenous leaders to be legally recognized as mediators between the government and the communities they represented, hence the term caciques apoderados.[2] The passage of the Law of November 23, 1883 stipulated that land titles acquired by indigenous people during the colonial period could be used as proof of legal ownership. The goal of the caciques apoderados was to locate and use such titles for proving ownership in their defense of indigenous land.[3]

At the time, a small class of Spanish-speaking elites maintaining political and economic power at the expense and labor of the indigenous majority. Fifty-one percent of the population was indigenous in 1900, 73 percent of its population at the time was rural, and the Spanish language was spoken by a minority.[4] The implications of such a social divide for indigenous land ownership were stark. Liberal party leaders prioritized completing a rail system connecting Bolivia to Chile and its Pacific ports. From 1905 to 1915, the rail construction raised the accessibility, and therefore prices, of land in rural areas in the departments of La Paz and Oruro

[2] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral*, 17.
[3] Choque, *Historia de Una Lucha Desigual*, 62.
[4] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 148.

where the hacienda had not yet reached, contributing to increased elite interest in acquiring indigenous-owned land.[5] Overall, from 1900 to 1930, a boom in hacienda agriculture placed a disastrous stranglehold on indigenous land. In 1880, indigenous communities still held half the land in Bolivia; but by 1930, just a third of the land was in their hands. This contributed to a disintegration of many rural communities, and led displaced indigenous people to migrate to urban areas.[6]

The caciques apoderados fought against this elite land grab and developed the highest level of national coordination among indigenous movements of their time, with leaders based throughout the departments of La Paz (where activity was widespread), Oruro, Cochabamba, Potosí, and Chuquisaca. The network petitioned the government for land ownership, education, and rights, in what was a well-coordinated movement.[7] The struggle against land expropriation was fierce; in many cases, communities physically prevented government authorities from entering indigenous-controlled regions to survey land or hand out individual titles, particularly in northern Potosí.[8]

While the 1874 Disentailment Law broke up communal indigenous land-holdings and divided them into private parcels to be sold off, it also allowed indigenous community leaders (the caciques) to gain government recognition as legal representatives (apoderados) of their community to negotiate with the government in land disputes.[9] The Law of November 23, 1883

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[5] Gotkowitz, *Revolution for Our Rights*, 45-46. In this section of her essential book on Bolivian indigenous movements from 1880 to 1952, Gotkowitz places the struggle of the caciques apoderados as a critical force in the indigenous mobilizations that constituted what she calls the rural "revolution before the revolution" of 1952.
[6] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia,* 147.
[7] Gotkowitz, *Revolution for Our Rights*, 45-46.
[8] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula*, 15-16.
[9] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral*, 17; Andean Oral History Workshop and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, comp., "Indigenous Women and Community Resistance: History and

stipulated that land titles dating back to the colonial period could be used to claim ownership of land.[10] This law established the legitimacy and legal power of colonial property titles from the sixteenth century certified by colonial officials which indigenous people had purchased or acquired through the *mita*, forced labor during the colonial period.[11] For the indigenous communities seeking to defend their right to land in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the first step was to find the colonial titles that named colonial caciques as owners. In some cases, this required travel to archives in colonial administrative centers as far away as Lima and Buenos Aires. Then, the descendants of the cacique listed in the title had to be found to confirm them as the rightful owners of the land. Next, the descendant had to be named an apoderado by the community so that they could defend their rights in court.[12]

The passage of the 1883 law recognizing colonial land titles produced an "exegesis of the archival documents," Rivera explains. The caciques traveled widely to gather these titles over decades. "And based on these titles, four hundred markas – we are speaking of the marka, the federation of ayllus – reorganized themselves, and they recuperate[d], let's say, the memory of their territory," she says.[13] The testimonies that the THOA gathered described instances in which

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Memory," in *Women and Social Change in Latin America*, ed. Elizabeth Jelin (London: Zed Books, 1990), 153; Roberto Choque Canqi and Cristina Quisbert Quispe, *Líderes Indígenas Aymaras: Lucha por la defensa de tierras comunitarias de origen* (La Paz: Unidad Investigaciones Históricas, UNIH-PAKAXA, 2010), 27.

[10] Choque, *Historia de Una Lucha Desigual*, 62.

[11] Gotkowitz, *Revolution for Our Rights*, 43; Waskar Ari, *Earth Politics: Religion, Decolonization, and Bolivia's Indigenous Intellectuals* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 33. In this excellent book, Ari provides a fascinating look at the Alcaldes Mayores Particulares (AMP), a group of indigenous activist-intellectuals that defended indigenous land and fought for indigenous education in the decades preceding the National Revolution. The AMP utilized practices and discourses Ari calls "earth politics," based in native religion, and an indigenous relationship with the earth and Aymara gods.

[12] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula*, 21.

[13] Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, *THOA: Taller de Historia Oral Andina*, online video.

the four hundred-year-old documents were used as tools of resistance in the twentieth century. Rivera recalls one such occasion in which the Bolivian government, in 1918, took the papers of a cacique from Pacajes. The documents were from the sixteenth century and demonstrated that the communities had "already gone to the mita, that they had paid tribute, that, for this reason, they had no reason for their lands to be usurped. And that was subversive. So this seemed key to us, right? To see how history, it is used in the present, in this present of the 1920s."[14] Caciques apoderados in many communities at the turn of the century made similar claims based on hereditary lines and developed a wide network of leaders.[15]

The network of caciques apoderados, during this period of heightened activity from roughly 1910-1935, spread across the country. In 1913, ninety-six caciques apoderados were based in four departments, with forty-six in La Paz, twenty in Oruro, fourteen in Potosí, and sixteen in Cochabamba.[16] As the political capital, La Paz was a center of activity, the point of encounter where many caciques apoderados met to discuss common needs and strategies, and to coordinate shared legal defense.[17] The title of apoderado, legally recognized by the state and justice system, enabled leaders to access various levels of judicial, legislative, and executive power. With the support of lawyers, scribes, and receptive politicians, the caciques apoderados

[14] Ibid. For similar cases of grassroots historical research conducted by indigenous intellectuals in Colombia, see Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory*; and Rappaport, *Cumbe Reborn*.
[15] Olivia Harris, introduction to "The Indian Santos Marka T'ula, Chief of the ayllus of Qallapa and General Representative of the Indian Communities of Bolivia," Andean Oral History Workshop, trans. Emma Gawne-Cain, *History Workshop Journal* 34 (1992): 102-103.
[16] Choque and Quisbert, *Líderes Indígenas Aymaras*, 27n14. Authors cite ALP/PC. 1914. Boletín de actualidad, diciembre 25 de 1913.
[17] Marta Irurozqui, "The Sound of the Pututos: Politicisation and Indigenous Rebellions in Bolivia, 1826-1921," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32, no. 1 (2000): 104.

navigated bureaucratic labyrinths in their defense and advocacy of the communities they represented.[18]

Their efforts focused on restoring land ownership to communities whose land had been taken by hacienda owners, but also encompassed a wider array of demands including an end to obligatory military service, the establishment of rural schools for indigenous students, and indigenous leadership in local government.[19] Other causes the caciques apoderados took up were denouncing abuses of hacienda owners, including labor exploitation, physical abuse, and land and livestock theft.[20] The very legitimacy of the caciques apoderados, in the eyes of the communities they represented, depended on demonstrating clear gains. Such victories often included winning the approval for rural schools, retrieving land titles, and gaining government land surveys which benefitted indigenous communities' claims to ownership.[21]

The caciques apoderados at this time enjoyed varied political support – depending on the region – from leftists, workers' unions, and politicians. Most notably, the Republican President Bautista Saavedra was an occasional ally to the caciques apoderados, even while violently repressing and criminalizing other indigenous rebellions and leaders.[22] Such Republican support for the caciques' cause was part of a political strategy to undermine Liberal politicians who were involved in dispossession of indigenous land at the time. In some cases, Republicans therefore built alliances with caciques where high profile Liberals owned land. Indeed, two of the biggest buyers of land in the early twentieth century land grab were Liberal presidents José Manuel Pando (1899-1904) and Ismael Montes (1913-1917). Saavedra, in 1916 and 1917, before

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[18] Choque, *Historia de Una Lucha Desigual,* 68.
[19] Irurozqui, "The Sound of the Pututos," 104.
[20] Leandro Condori Chura and Esteban Ticona Alejo, *El Escribano de los Caciques Apoderados*, (La Paz: Hisbol/THOA, 1992), 67.
[21] Gotkowitz, *Revolution for Our Rights*, 56.
[22] Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 60-61.

becoming president, gave legal advice to T'ula on land issues and criminal charges, and in 1919 sponsored legislation that defended indigenous people from fraudulent acquisition of their land.[23]

When Saavedra won power in 1920, expectations were high. Saavedra championed a certain level of legislative protection for indigenous communities, and approved cacique requests for schools. However, he also sought to make indigenous people obedient and productive subjects through the military and industrial labor, and segregate them from creole society through a 1925 decree that barred indigenous people from walking on sidewalks and entering the governmental plaza in La Paz.[24] It was out of this conflictive era that T'ula rose as an indigenous leader. To recover T'ula's story and that of the wider cacique apoderado network, the THOA utilized their toolbox of unique research approaches.

THOA's Recovery of T'ula's History

In the 1980s, many indigenous groups and campesino unions in Bolivia were reviving and celebrating histories of anti-colonial struggles. But little beyond the actions of indigenous rebel leader Zárate Willka was known about indigenous movements around the turn of the twentieth century.[25] The THOA set out to complement the histories of Willka by producing a history of Santos Marka T'ula and the wider cacique apoderado movement.

The THOA members first gathered every trace of information they could find on the leader's life, as well as that of other participants in the wider cacique apoderado network in the early 20th century. The archival and oral history work was conducted, Rivera explains, according to the "technique of an *olla común* [shared pot]," in which all researchers contributed their

[23] Gotkowitz, *Revolution for Our Rights*, 58-59
[24] Ibid., 61-62.
[25] Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, *THOA: Taller de Historia Oral Andina*, online video.

efforts and research into one collective set of files. They began meeting to "generate the lines of investigation, above all looking for the descendants of the caciques apoderados."[26] Some of the THOA members went to the Gualberto Villaroel province, where T'ula was from, and looked for contemporaries of the leader, people who had stories about his struggle, while other THOA members searched for documents in the prefect documentary collection at the La Paz Archives, the library at the UMSA, and in newspaper archives to find reports from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[27] Everything went into the shared pot files on the caciques apoderados.

THOA member Felipe Santos elaborates on the process of the shared pot:

> The construction of knowledge in the THOA was and is communal…all reflection is shared collectively, through it each one feeds their own reflection, giving place to the system of *aynnoqu* (themes of work). On this understanding, the operative and logistical work of the THOA applies the "Shared pot" [theory] which consists of the support of the individual for the central project. This is to say, through the strengthening of the central topic, the subthemes of the work are generated, in this way the member and the collectivity cooperate among themselves reciprocally.[28]

Collectively working in this way, the THOA set out to organize meetings among elderly people from the Gualberto Villaroel province to gather stories and connect the historical dots. Rivera explains that through such meetings,

> these fragmented memories started to connect, and [we discovered] that there was a great movement that was behind the rebellions, because until then, the idea that official history had was that there were rebellions which were explosions of irrational violence, which came like a species of already pushing off the oppressor above, but with no program, no proposal.[29]

But the THOA found that the caciques apoderados – ignored by most historical accounts of the era, according to the THOA – were a very sophisticated network of indigenous leaders who

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Santos, "Una Mirada Autocrítica," 161-162.
[29] Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, *THOA: Taller de Historia Oral Andina*, online video.

utilized a variety of legal and political tools in peaceful defense of their communities. Rivera speaks of how this discovery highlighted the ways in which "the official version of history always shows when the indigenous rise up in a violent way, but never shows the peaceful struggle, the legal struggle…"[30] This research approach by THOA helped its members, Rivera notes, to re-interpret supposedly spontaneous rebellions "as the culminating point of a process of subterranean ideological accumulation, that emerges cyclically to the 'surface' to express the continuity and autonomy of indian society."[31] The story of T'ula provided fertile ground for the THOA to apply such historical practices and analyses.

In their approach to researching and producing histories around the caciques apoderados, the THOA tapped into what they saw as a vein of continuous indigenous historical memory that spanned centuries. "THOA members began with a working hypothesis positing that despite the ongoing history of colonialism and repression, an autonomous indigenous historical memory and subjectivity persisted throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries," scholar Marcia Stephenson writes.[32] Such a theory echoed the role of "long memory" in indigenous resistance, as developed by Rivera. Similarly, the historian Brooke Larson writes on indigenous movements and memory in the Andes, "In moments of political crisis and rupture, local indigenous peoples might tap into those long-term historical memories, or they might conjure Inca or Andean utopias, as armament in local struggles for land and justice."[33] The THOA explored such memory and utilized it as a historical source.

The THOA found that subterranean histories of resistance persisted among indigenous communities and were revived by the search for information about the caciques apoderados.

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico," 20.
[32] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 105.
[33] Larson, *Trials of Nation Making,* 5.

"The search for colonial titles permitted in this way the opening of a horizon of collective memory that legitimized the legal and violent actions and bestowed an ethical sense of restitution of justice to the struggle of the *comunarios*," Rivera writes.[34] Katari's struggle similarly inspired and oriented the caciques apoderados' efforts, according to T'ula's scribe Leandro Condori Chura. In a book of his testimony, Condori recalls that the caciques he wrote for would say, "'Tupaj Katari has risen against the Spanish, considering that the Spanish had wanted to finish off the indians at any cost; that's why Tupaj Katari had risen against the Spanish, to defend himself and that's why the Spanish had killed him,'" they said. "'That's why we have to fight'"[35]

The caciques apoderados of the era not only recovered Katari's history and connection to their struggle, they also tried to literally recover a part of Katari's quartered body. In an interview Rivera conducted with Julián Tanqara, a grandchild of a cacique apoderado, Tanqara describes how the caciques involved in the struggle in Pacajes searched a hill near Caquiaviri for Katari's buried arm.[36]

Once the shared pot was full, the THOA's explicit goal was to produce a history of T'ula for the people. The THOA created the T'ula booklet in 1984 in very readable form, ready for broad distribution in rural areas. It is a short booklet, at fifty-five pages, and includes drawings on every other page that accompany the narrative, bringing dominant themes and characters to life. For example, illustrations depict an angry judge sentencing a humble indigenous man. Other drawings depict Tula's long, tiring journeys, meetings of caciques apoderados, and everyday scenes of farming and llama herding.[37]

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[34] Rivera, "*Oprimidos Pero no Vencidos*," 86
[35] Condori and Ticona, *El Escribano*, 64.
[36] Rivera, "*Oprimidos Pero no Vencidos*," 86.
[37] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula*.

While archival sources and documentation are regularly cited, much of the text consists of block quotes in both Aymara and Spanish from testimonies from T'ula's contemporaries or community and family members. Though the focus is on T'ula, his life is contextualized both within his community as well as the wider span of Andean history, from brief summaries of pre-colonial civilizations and the suffering under colonialism and the Republican state, to indigenous resistance in the twentieth century through the 1930s Chaco War. T'ula's life is the vehicle of the narrative, positioned as a crucial step in a much longer journey toward justice.

Santos Marka T'ula: Struggle and Myth

Santos Marka T'ula was born in approximately 1879 in the community of Ilata, in what is today the Gualberto Villaroel province. According to THOA members, he was known as a quiet person who never raised his voice.[38] During his political organizing work, T'ula spent months and months waiting and demanding attention at the doors of lawyers, and judicial and political offices. He walked a lot, quietly, carrying his papers, THOA member Lucila Criales explained in a 2008 film on T'ula's life.[39] His scribe, Leondro Condori Chura, recalls that he was kind, "calm and humble." T'ula dressed as other indigenous men of the highlands did, in "thick woolen pants and a lead colored poncho" and used a *ch'uspa* bag which held his coca leaves.[40] He was remembered fondly by those who knew him closely.[41]

[38] "Santos Marka T'ula," directed by Demetrio Nina, (Fundación Nina Santos, 2008), DVD. This film, produced in Bolivia, covers T'ula's life, and includes many interviews with THOA members and dramatizations of T'ula's struggle
[39] Ibid.
[40] Choque and Quisbert, *Líderes Indígenas Aymaras*, 195.
[41] Based on interview with one of Tul'a's sons: Gregorio Barco Guarachi, interview with the author, El Alto, Bolivia, March 25, 2015. Translation from Aymara by Jaime Mejia.

As an indigenous youth, T'ula did not have access to school, and as a result, was illiterate. Despite this, T'ula knew all of his documents and land titles by heart and could recite them.[42] "Santos Marka T'ula's only school was experience," the THOA booklet on him states. He was a man marked from a young age by the oppression his community faced in attacks on their land and rights.[43] He was very likely a young adult participant in the Willka uprising of 1899.[44] Later, as a leader organizing the wider cacique apoderado network and pressuring officials on behalf of the communities he represented, he lived a life of constant travel, persecution, and flight. Though he was regularly jailed, he maintained close relationships with the communities he fought for until the end of his life.[45]

T'ula's involvement in the caciques apoderados network can be traced largely back to 1914, when, after a railroad line arrived in Pacajes, in the province that is now Gualberto Villaroel, a hacienda owner encroached on ayllu land in Ilata. In response, local indigenous member Martín Vásquez traveled to Lima in search for colonial land titles which could establish the community's right to its land.[46] In Lima, he found a title from his region that went back to an old line of caciques from the Marka T'ula family.[47] The title was in the name of Juan Marca Tola, who served the community as a cacique roughly between 1578 and 1580.[48] After Vásquez made the contemporary Santos Marka T'ula aware of this connection, T'ula was named a

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[42] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula*, 36.
[43] Ibid., 20.
[44] Andean Oral History Workshop, "The Indian Santos Marka T'ula," trans. Gawne-Cain, 103-104.
[45] *Santos Marka T'ula*, DVD.
[46] Gotkowitz, *Revolution for Our Rights*, 47-48.
[47] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula*, 21-23.
[48] Choque and Quisbert, *Líderes Indígenas Aymaras*, 195. Authors cite Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, "Relaciones geográficas de Indias-Perú" in *Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes, Biblioteca de autores españoles, Tomo CLXXXIII*, Pedro de Mercado de Peñalosa (Madrid, 1965), 334.

cacique apoderado by his community. Vásquez was jailed shortly afterwards for his subversive activities and T'ula carried on the struggle. T'ula's parents, facing repression for their own fight to defend land, had switched their family name to Barco. "But Santos," the THOA writes, "in entering into the struggle, had decided to take up again the original surname of his ancestors." The THOA's research methods, particularly the gathering of testimonies from elders, helped them piece together this history. Indeed, many of the details on Vásquez's role in the struggle are known to the public only because of THOA interviews with Vásquez's nephew, Celestino Vásquez.[49]

Almost immediately upon assuming the leadership of the community, T'ula worked to recover land titles that had been seized from Vásquez by authorities. A document from 1914 in the La Paz Prefect Archive mentions T'ula's request for the sixteenth century titles. During his search for and recovery of the titles, he and other leaders built up and strengthened a network of caciques apoderados largely through meetings held in La Paz, where they pressured elected officials and advocated for their communities in court.[50]

Beyond uncovering the little known, but documentable history of T'ula and the caciques apoderados, the THOA also used mythical elements from interviewees' stories on T'ula as a guide to the deeper meanings of the history. Such mythical versions of T'ula's struggle were not represented in archives and written sources, and had only been passed down through oral history. Using oral history was therefore an important avenue to explore this vein of indigenous historical consciousness. "For us," writes the THOA's Carlos Mamani, "the dichotomy between myth and history is very relative, because we recognize the value of the myth as a category of historical

[49] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *El Indio Santos Marka T'ula*, 19, 21-23.
[50] Ibid., 23-25.

thought in our communities."[51] In the case of T'ula, the attention to myth as a part of the historical narrative helped to uncover versions of events which took on extraordinary tones. Mamani writes, "None of this would have been possible without the resource of oral history, and without the intent to replant the history from our own perspective."[52]

Rivera writes that in the case of indigenous histories, myth operates as an "interpretive mechanism" which helps to "understand the form in which indian societies think and interpret their historical experience." Mythical history, she continues "puts us back to long time, to slow rhythms and relatively immutable conceptualizations, where what is important is not so much 'what happened,' but rather why it happened and who was right in the events: which is to say, the worthiness of the events in terms of the justice of a cause."[53]

In many of the oral accounts the THOA gathered on T'ula's life and struggle, his activities and character were described in mythical terms. Many of his relatives and contemporaries recalled that T'ula would speak with animals and plants, and that, on his journeys, T'ula often asked them for protection. In a documentary about the leader, THOA member Felipe Santos states that T'ula "spoke with nature and the spirits, and when leaving his house, he always spoke in a manner to request protection, to ask for clarity in knowledge for the legal fight."[54] This is one way that communities explained his ability to sustain such long journeys and endless harassment: he drew from the spiritual world for aid in surmounting political and legal hurdles.

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[51] Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral*, 20.
[52] Ibid. On this topic, also see Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).
[53] Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico," 19. Rivera cites Silvia Rivera C., *Política e ideología en el movimiento campesino colombiano: el caso de la ANUC*, (*Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos*) (Bogotá: CINEP, 1982).
[54] *Santos Marka T'ula*, DVD.

To protect him on his journeys and work on behalf of the communities, the THOA writes that T'ula "turned to the guardian spirits of the indian communities, asking them to protect the documents in their laborious progression through the chambers of the creole legal system. In return, the documents had to be purified in order to protect their bearers from any evil forces which they might harbor."[55] One testimony recalls this process: "Whenever anyone arrived at the house, the first thing that they would do was to make offerings for the documents, and if they failed to do this someone would fall ill," the interviewee recalled. Once he left with the purified documents, "we did not see Santos Marka T'ula for years."[56]

Incredible stories followed T'ula wherever he went. Many remember him as much for his political efforts as for his invincibility. His son, Gregorio Barco Guarachi, now an impoverished ninety-six-year-old man living in El Alto, Bolivia, told me of the various circumstances in which T'ula defied threats on his life. At one point, when his father was arrested by soldiers, Barco recalled how the assailants tried to burn T'ula alive. "But Santos was not affected by the fire, so the soldiers doubted themselves, they said, 'what do you have so that you do not burn?'" Barco said that only parts of his body were burned, that he somehow resisted fire. The cacique could not burn, so the soldiers sought to drown him in a nearby river. "But they were unsuccessful there, too, because the river was very cold and frozen, they could not drown him." Barco explained. "Then suddenly, a change in the wind, the wind blew, so they had to go elsewhere." In Barco's version of events, T'ula, was able to summon protection from his alliance with the natural world.[57]

Another of T'ula's sons recalls that authorities

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[55] Andean Oral History Workshop, "The Indian Santos Marka T'ula," trans. Gawne-Cain, 109.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Gregorio Barco Guarachi, interview.

> carried him to a lake, and they watched him from a distance with a telescope. They threw big stones at him, enough to destroy him. They also pierced him on all sides with spears cut in the jungle. They still kept watching him with their telescope, saying: 'This is no mortal. This is he who grieves for all people, for the poor throughout the world. One part of him [the left side] is the moon, the other [the right side] is the sun. He is like God, we should keep our distance.' That is how my father escaped.[58]

Such descriptions of T'ula's mythical powers provide an explanation of how of the leader survived persecution by the authorities.

T'ula's long journey of struggle, suffering and imprisonment came to end in 1939 when he became ill, was captured, and died shortly thereafter in La Paz on November 13th, at the approximate age of 60. After T'ula's death, the cacique's son relates, "they cut Santos Marka T'ula open. They saw his heart; they put it in a dish, and it blossomed, he said. My father saw his heart blossoming. Many people still remember it." T'ula's last words, as recounted by his son, echoed the popular version of Katari's promise before his own death: "'You can kill me, but I shall have a thousand thousand descendants.'"[59]

The Promotion of T'ula's History

THOA members worked concertedly to promote their booklet on T'ula's life, returning to the communities where they gathered testimonies on T'ula to share the history. In addition to the booklet, the THOA produced an immensely popular radio program titled *El indio Santos Marka T'ula* (the same title as the booklet) in Aymara which was broadcast throughout the country. As discussed below, the wide reach of the publication and radio program generated not only more awareness about T'ula, but helped spur discussions about the role of oral history and memory in

[58] Andean Oral History Workshop, "The Indian Santos Marka T'ula," trans. Gawne-Cain, 117.
[59] Ibid., 116-117.

indigenous communities, and the need for greater understanding of such little-known histories of indigenous resistance in the Andes.

One of the THOA's most notable promotional events of their work on T'ula took place on the forty-fifth anniversary of his death. On November 13, 1984, indigenous community members from dozens of ayllus gathered to celebrate the memory and legacy of T'ula in Ch'uxña of Ilata Baja, the community of T'ula's birth. It had been forty-five years since the rebel's death, and the large crowd, which included T'ula's relatives and contemporaries, members of the CSUTCB, and representatives from some forty communities in the region, demonstrated the rich meaning of the gathering, which was made material by the distribution of THOA's booklet.[60]

"It was not just an act of remembrance," THOA member Esteban Ticona recalls,

> but the beginning of the strengthening of the historical identity of the original people of the Andes and the spreading of struggle through hundreds of originario ayllus and ex-haciendas, which, together in the movement of the caciques apoderados, were protagonists of the indigenous resistance in the face of expanding hacienda and state aggression. [T'ula's caciques apoderados movement] was the most important indigenous mobilization in the first fifty years of the twentieth century. [61]

THOA members handed the T'ula history booklet out to the crowd. Ticona, who worked on the publication, explains, "this act helped to awaken the ethnic conscience of the new leaders and indigenous comunarios [community members] of the 1980s."[62]

As a part of the event, various descendants, family members, and contemporaries of T'ula were present. T'ula's son, Gregorio Barco, gave a speech in Aymara:

> Esteemed Mallkus [community leaders], I appreciate your company, I appreciate you very much. What is the motive for this enormous concentration of people? We gather the

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[60] "THOA por 30 años recoge la historia oral de los pueblos," *Erbol.*
[61] Esteban Ticona Alejo, *Memoria, política y antropología en los Andes bolivianos: Historia oral y saberes locales* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2005), 86-87.
[62] Ibid.

> experiences of our grandfathers and our own thought, for this we are meeting here, brothers… There are many things I do not understand because I am illiterate, this is how I was raised because my father was persecuted. Brothers that are present here, my father spoke of many things and I would like to speak to you about them. My father said, 'my son will defend our rights, if he does not, then my grandson will, and if he does not then someone from the community will. And if this person from the community of the nine ayllus does not do it, then others will arrive from other distant markas, because our rights are recognized,' he said. Thank you. Today this is being achieved.[63]

The THOA's principles were reflected in their involvement in the commemoration, and in their distribution of the booklet in the community where its protagonists were based. Ticona notes, "It was something entirely atypical at that time, that an investigation was presented in a community." The custom was to present the results of academic research only in an urban university setting.[64] Thanks to the THOA's distribution and radio program efforts, the booklet on T'ula was read widely in indigenous communities and used as an educational tool in rural schools.[65]

THOA members also recall the sometimes intense and emotional impact the diffusion of T'ula's history had in rural communities. As a part of the MNR's policies, indigenous histories and culture had been dismissed by state unionization efforts and attempts to erase indigenous identity and encourage assimilation to creole culture. As such, the T'ula publication fought this tendency and helped promote indigenous politics and histories in rural communities. In the passage below, Rivera speaks of one community's strong reaction to the 1984 presentation of the booklet in Ch'uxña, T'ula's birthplace. At the event, the elders accused the younger generation, their children, those who had embraced the MNR's syndicalism, of silencing the community's history of struggle. But it was the grandchildren, Rivera recalls, a new generation, who had

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[63] Ibid., 87.
[64] "THOA por 30 años recoge la historia oral de los pueblos," *Erbol.*
[65] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 106.

helped to make this history visible again.[66] Therefore, following the event surrounding the presentation of the booklet on T'ula, emotions were running high, as Rivera explains:

> So it produced a stampede of the people, just like that, everyone to the tomb of Santos Marka T'ula, to a forgotten cemetery, all swept by the wind, a tomb without name, and the children, Celestina Barco y Gregorio Barco, there, standing on the tomb, made a kind of restitution of dignity of the struggle, accusing the [MNR] syndicalism of having wanted to erase them from the map, right? And this drove the people, let's say, to question the syndical system, above all, for its dependency on clientalizing with the political parties, and to search for their own autonomy, their own philosophy of organization and their own authorities.[67]

In addition to such reactions to the printed history of T'ula, the THOA went beyond the written page and on the radio airwaves. The THOA produced a ninety-episode radionovela on Tula's life. It was broadcast in Aymara three times across Bolivia. According to Bolivia scholar Kevin Healy, "the Santos Marka T'ula story climbed to the top of the popularity charts of rural radio programming in the altiplano towns and hamlets."[68] The radio program ran throughout the week and on Saturdays, and the THOA organized on-air discussions to engage with Aymara listeners about their own memories, community histories, and reflections on Tula's life. In some cases, people called in with corrections to the story, or with more documents to share with the THOA.[69] The THOA is still well known today for this radio novella work in the 1980s. As the THOA's Marcelo Fernández explained**,** "if you go to a community and say to a campesino, 'Did you ever hear the radio novella of Santoa Marka T'ula?' Ah yes…"[70]

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[66] Fundación Para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, *THOA: Taller de Historia Oral Andina*, online video.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 87.
[69] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 106-107.
[70] Marcelo Fernández Osco, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 11, 2014. For more information on the THOA's 1990s work regarding theatre, beyond the scope of this dissertation, see Kuenzli, *Acting Inca*, 136-138.

In the creation of the novella, the THOA was participating in what was already a relatively established Aymara tradition on the radio waves. In the 1970s, the social justice oriented Center for the Study and Promotion of the Peasantry (CIPCA) produced an Aymara language history of the life of Túpac Katari. Under the Banzer dictatorship, for example, the use of Aymara on the airwaves camouflaged the political nature of the program content from the predominantly Spanish-speaking centers of political power. In addition, the metaphorical messages of apparently simple stories could hide deeper political meanings. In the case of *The Stories of Achachila*, a show broadcasted under Banzer's regime, animals acted out moments in the lives of campesinos. The veneer of the program hid a critique of Banzer's regime. For example, a lion in the stories represented Banzer, dogs symbolized the military, and the campesinos were portrayed as sheep, controlled by the more powerful animals.[71]

The THOA's decision to produce a radio novella on T'ula came in part out of THOA member Carlos Mamani's own experience with the radio novellas produced by the CIPCA in the 1970s, particularly the novella on Katari. He recalls that the written histories on Katari were not well known, "but the radio novella had an impact… it was important for me." Mamani also had a younger brother who was proud of being involved in the production of the Katari radio novella. "And so for me, this really served me personally as an example, in order to support the production of radio novellas with historical documentation."[72] As a part of their work on the program, the THOA members collaborated with Florentino and Inocencia Cáceres who had been involved previously in Aymara radio novella production, most notably with the CIPCA's work

[71] Mamoru Fujita, "Radionovelas aymaras entre la oralidad y la escritura," in *Anales de la Reunión Anual de Etnología I, La Paz XXV* (La Paz: Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, 2011), 575-576. Fujita cites Vera Gianotten, *CIPCA y poder campesino indígena: 35 años de historia* (La Paz: CIPCA, 2006), 70-71.
[72] Carlos Mamani, interview with the author in La Paz, Bolivia, February 5, 2015.

on Katari.[73] Radio provided a clear avenue for wide distribution. The show played on various radio stations, including a number of smaller community radios, but most notably on the popular Radio San Gabriel, an evangelical station reaching across the country, and which, since 1955, had been broadcasting a mixture of religious and indigenous-centered programming in Aymara.[74]

The THOA was concerned about finding all the best avenues to return the T'ula story to the communities, and the radio program was an ideal format to do so, Mamani recalls.[75] The THOA's decision to broadcast a show based on T'ula also grew out of their previously discussed commitment to returning their completed histories to the communities in which they had conducted research. Rather than just publish the material without sharing it with the communities – as was the custom with most academic work, according to the THOA members – they wanted to return the final product in an act of reciprocity.

As a part of this exchange, Mamani recalls, the THOA worked in the ayllu of Jiscaco Llana, near Lake Titicaca, where they produced shows every Saturday. The THOA invited members of local ayllus to go on the air and speak about what they knew of the caciques apoderados' history. Many people arrived to share their stories. Soon, Mamani recalls, "they began to bring in documents, to fill in the information more, and memory was becoming more complete."[76] In response to the radio program, the THOA offices in La Paz were visited regularly by people from rural Aymara communities who brought in documents relating to their

[73] Fujita, "Radionovelas aymaras entre la oralidad y la escritura," 576
[74] Genaro R. Condori Laurta, "Experiencias Comunicacionales de la Asociación de Radioemisoras Aimaras de La Paz," in Ticona, *Los Andes Desde Los Andes*, 83.
[75] Carlos Mamani, interview.
[76] Ibid.

family's or community's land struggle, to share with the THOA in the event they could use the documents for further historical research.[77]

The radio novella also had the effect of helping people embrace their Aymara identity instead of wanting "to be someone else," as THOA member Filomena Nina puts it.[78] In sharing a largely unknown history of indigenous resistance, the THOA was honoring and revindicating indigenous culture and political power. The THOA's Marcelo Fernández explains, "in reality, the THOA has been structured to counter what's unsaid in the academy, or rather, to argue that another society exists, another culture that has knowledge, that has struggles, that has its contributions..."[79] This other culture, other society, came together around the THOA's work and continued producing its own historical awareness and narratives about indigenous resistance. The radio program, through the collective reflections it generated, "wasn't a simple act of recollection," Esteban Ticona and Xavier Albó write, "but rather the beginning of a process of revalorization of the historic identity and diffusion of the struggle of hundreds of indigenous and ex-hacienda communities."[80] For this reason, the THOA members believe the T'ula radio novella had an even wider impact than the text itself.[81]

The radio novella was educational, but it also brought the wider Aymara-speaking communities together to listen to, reflect on, and discuss T'ula's history and relevance to contemporary times. At the end of each show, THOA member Felipe Santos explains, the THOA announcer asked the listeners for their reactions and invited T'ula contemporaries into the studio,

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[77] Filomena Nina, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, April 3, 2014.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Marcelo Fernández Osco, interview.
[80] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 107. Stephenson cites Esteban Ticona Alejo and Xavier Albó, with Roberto Choque Canqui, *Jesus de Machaqa: La marka rebelde* 3 (La Paz: CIPCA and CEDOIN, 1996), 255.
[81] Felipe Santos Quispe, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, March 31, 2014.

bringing people from various generations into discussions about history and memory. Community leaders would often cry when listening to the program. “The radio novellas had a huge impact,” Santos says. Through the process of reflection, “history would come to life.”[82]

The booklet and radio program had reverberations throughout the country and put T’ula on the political map. In subsequent decades, it was common to hear T’ula’s name evoked at political and indigenous movement gatherings alongside those of Katari and Willka, as evidenced by audio and textual archives of speeches, as well as references made by contemporary indigenous and campesino leaders in Bolivia. For example, many indigenous activists and students were in attendance at one of the THOA’s presentations of their booklet in the mid-1980s. According to an audio recording of the event, Zenovio Alavi Patzi, an indigenous leader from Tula’s province, told the crowd that T’ula was a symbol of the struggle against neocolonialism**.** “To remember Santos Marka T’ula signifies teaching ourselves, and making the [political] project ourselves, so that we manage ourselves, and we decide what to do,” he told the crowd, before folk music rose in the wake of his speech. “For this reason, we already have the example of Santos Marka T’ula: what’s left is to follow his path and in his footsteps.”[83]

The THOA put its trailblazing theories and methodologies to use in its work on T’ula with impressive results. THOA researchers uncovered a silenced history of resistance in Bolivia and, using oral history and their perception of enduring collective memory in indigenous communities, were able to piece together the fragments of T’ula’s story. They popularized the rebel leader in accessible formats and distributed their histories widely throughout rural Bolivia. Thanks to the THOA’s work, T’ula’s history lived on for generations. The research

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[82] Ibid.
[83] THOA, “Homenaje 45 Aniversario a Santos Marca Tula,” (n.d.), digital audio file, 01550_0291_01_03_THO, Archives of the Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia.

organization's efforts would take on new political significance in the 1990s with their participation in the movement to reconstruct a national network of ayllus, one legacy of T'ula's struggle.

Chapter Six

The Enduring Ayllus

In the 1990s, indigenous people in Bolivia developed a movement to reconstitute ayllus, a form of community organization in the Andes dating back to before the Incan empire and which survives, though not unchanged, to this day. Within the movement, ayllu advocates, through historical reflection and research, sought to recover and strengthen the history of the ayllus and their traditions of governance, rotational leadership, and consensus-based decision making. They were encouraged in the 1990s by political openings and new legislation which guaranteed indigenous rights, autonomy, and territory. This work culminated in the 1997 founding of the Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu, CONAMAQ), a national network of ayllus.

This chapter looks at how Andean ayllus have endured and changed, from their pre-conquest forms to the late twentieth century. It focuses on how ayllu reconstitution efforts recovered and strengthened ayllu history and political organization in a neoliberal era, and demonstrates how indigenous grassroots historical research by ayllu proponents and the THOA successfully aided ayllu reconstitution. The ayllu movement and the historical consciousness it championed fed into a larger series of worker, social, and indigenous uprisings which overturned imposed structures of neoliberalism in Bolivia in the early 2000s.

The Long History of the Ayllu

"We live in ancestral and millennial territories. We have been here since before the [conquest]," explains contemporary CONAMAQ leader Nilda Rojas, a young mother from Potosí, in a 2015 interview. "The struggle comes from our grandfathers, from our grandmothers; they always fought, and have given their lives, to defend the territory where we live."[1] This sentiment speaks to the power of historical consciousness in the struggle articulated through the creation and platform of the CONAMAQ. A look to the long history of the ayllu illustrates why its political capital is based partly on its antiquity.[2]

Ayllus were the basis of the pre-conquest Andean world through which many rural community members organized their land, labor and social relations. Ayllu members sustained themselves as farmers in pre-colonial society by spreading their networks over various ecological zones in "vertical archipelagos" to diversify production in areas of extreme geography and climate.[3] Organized through real and fictive kinship ties, these communities spanned from the

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[1] Nilda Rojas, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, March 29, 2014.

[2] Raúl Prada, "La fuerza del acontecimiento," in *Tiempos de Rebelión*, cont. Álvaro García, Raquel Gutiérrez, Raúl Prada, Felipe Quispe, Luis Tapia (La Paz: Comuna/Muela del Diablo Editores, 2001), 112-113.

[3] A very brief sketch of centuries of ayllu history, based on secondary literature, is presented here to trace certain general changes and continuities in ayllu organization and traditions. John V. Murra's pioneering work in the 1960s and 1970s on the ayllu and "vertical archipelagos" in the Andes set the stage for much of the scholarship to come on this topic. See John V. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State* (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980). Scholars have explored the nature of reciprocity between ayllus, how power distribution between communities varied, and ayllus' diverse adaptations to both Incan and Spanish rule. For more, see David Lehmann, ed., *Ecology and Exchange in the Andes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1988); Brooke Larson, Olivia Harris, Enrique Tandeter, eds., *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); William Carter and Xavier Albó, "La comunidad Aymara: un mini-estado en conflicto," in *Raices de América: El Mundo Aymara*, ed. Xavier Albó (Madrid: UNESCO, 1988); Florencia Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860-1940* (Princeton: Princeton

highlands, where livestock grazed, to the fertile and warmer lowlands, where agricultural production was more robust and varied.[4] The network of dispersed households maintained crops and livestock, which were shared and exchanged for the common good of all ayllu members.[5] The agricultural production of the ayllu itself was based on communal labor and shared resources. Members were bound together through traditions of reciprocity and mutual obligations. Ayllu authorities, whose legitimacy depended on the well-being of the ayllu, managed the social organization of the communities and upheld norms to protect the livelihood of everyone who shared in the community's labor. Leaders organized communal projects, celebrations, and the production, distribution, and storage of agricultural goods.[6] The ethic of mutual aid within the ayllus guided cooperation between ayllus in shared work projects to build bridges, irrigation projects, and terraces. The term *ayni*, which in Aymara and Quechua is the root word for measured reciprocity, speaks to this tradition of pooling labor and resources. For example, the Quechua adage *aynillmanta llamkakuni* means "to work the same for another, as him for me."[7]

Under Incan rule, subjugated ayllus were required to pay tribute and work on behalf of the empire in return for protection, infrastructure, and supplies for periods of drought and

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University Press, 1983); Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Herbert Klein, *Haciendas and Ayllus: Rural Society in the Bolivian Andes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[4] Larson, *Cochabamba*, 19.

[5] Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 6.

[6] Larson, *Cochabamba*, 21-23. On this topic also see Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power*.

[7] Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples.* Stern cites Diego González Holguín (1608), *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada qquichua o del Inca* ed. Juan G. N. Lobato (Lima, 1901), 41. Also see Xavier Albó, *Desafíos de la solidaridad aymara* (La Paz: CIPCA, 1985); Frank Solomon, *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

famine. This tribute in the form of labor and goods never drew from the fundamental labor and agricultural production needed for subsistence; this was essentially surplus labor and goods. However, in the colonial period, the demands placed on ayllus by the Spanish increased demands exponentially, sapping the communities' abilities to survive.[8] Following the Spanish conquest of the Andes, colonial authorities sought to extract constant and arduous mining labor and a stream of goods as costly payments to the crown from ayllus, but kept the ayllu system intact and under indigenous management. The legitimacy of ayllu leaders was respected by Spanish authorities; in return, the leaders coordinated the Spanish exploitation of labor and goods much as they had done under Incan domination.[9] However, unlike the Incan empire, the colonial state provided little in return besides the ayllu members' tenuous right to work their own land.[10]

Soon, though, the Spanish wanted more control over indigenous labor, and the make-up of ayllus went through a profound transformation under the Viceroy Francisco Toledo Reforms of 1572-76. The Toledo Reforms aimed to more effectively extract indigenous labor in mining and agricultural production. To do this, Toledo took the clusters of small ayllus spanning various ecological zones and regrouped them into larger centralized towns. Such centralization made it easier for Spanish authorities to standardize the collection of taxes, evangelize, and extract labor

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[8] Carter and Albó, "La comunidad Aymara," 454. Also see Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *Ayllu: Pasado y Futuro de los Pueblos Originarios* (La Paz: Editorial Aruwiyiri, 1995), 19.
[9] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 34; Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008); Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570* (New York : Barnes and Noble, 1977); Spalding, *Huarochiri*; Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Ricardo A. Godoy, "The Fiscal Role of the Andean Ayllu," *Man* 21, no. 4 (1986); Ricardo A. Godoy, "State, Ayllu, and Ethnicity in Northern Potosí, Bolivia," *Anthropos* 80 (1985).
[10] Carter and Albó, "La comunidad Aymara," 454.

efficiently. This reorganization became pervasive throughout much of the Andes.[11] In addition to the taxing labor demands, Toledo's reforms weakened ayllu self-sufficiency by curtailing their territorial expanse over ecological zones, thus diminishing their economic and agricultural capacity.[12] However, Toledo's goal was not to destroy the ayllus and their system of operation entirely. The Spanish reformer understood that if the indigenous subjects were to produce agricultural products, sustain themselves as laborers, and pay tribute, they would have to rely to a certain extent on their own traditions and institutions.[13]

Many ayllus, because of their isolation and the limited reach of the colonial state, remained intact for hundreds of years, both in their vertical territorial presence and in the organization of their members and leadership.[14] By the time of the late colonial period, for example, six ayllus in Chayanta, in the department of Potosí, were still remarkably dynamic. Research by scholar Tristan Platt found that the enduring traditions and self-sufficiently of the ayllus had been preserved through communities' dependence on dispersed agricultural production spanning the mountains and valleys of their region. Much like former ayllus, these communities crossed various ecological zones, producing, for example, potatoes in the highlands and corn in the valleys. Members' shared labor was coordinated based on traditions of reciprocity between communities and individuals.[15]

Ayllus in northern Potosí, Platt found in 1982, crossed three geographic levels, including herding areas in high altitudes of 4,200 meters or more, *puna* (high Andean plateau) agriculture

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[11] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 35-36. Also see Mumford, *Vertical Empire*.
[12] Carter and Albó, "La comunidad Aymara," 454.
[13] See Mumford, *Vertical Empire*.
[14] Lucero, *Struggles of Voice,* 40.
[15] Larson, *Cochabamba*, 304-205. Larson draws from the work of Tristan Platt: See Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: tierra y tributo en el Norte de Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); and Tristan Platt, "The role of the Andean *ayllu* in the reproduction of the petty commodity regime in Northern Potosí (Bolivia)," in Lehmann, *Ecology and Exchange*.

at 3,500 meters and up, and valley agriculture, at 2,000 to 3,500 meters. The higher altitudes were dedicated to herding, and potato, quinoa, and wheat production. The mid-range could include the production of additional fruits and corn, while the valleys produced sugar cane, chili peppers, squash, and corn. Ayllu members maintained small parcels, often far from one another across these zones. Such dispersion helped prevent extreme weather from destroying all crops at once. In addition, the mutual aid and the sharing of crops and labor between ayllu members meant that farmers did not have to maintain a constant presence in each zone in order to enjoy a diversity of crops. For example, some members could produce chili peppers, corn, and squash in the valleys, while other ayllu members focused on llama grazing in the highlands, contributing to the overall self-sufficiency of the wider community. Fertilizer from grazing animals on the highlands was used for fields in the puna, and oxen in the valleys were brought up to sow seeds and transport harvested goods. The sharing of ayllu labor among families based in different tiers also corresponded to such vertical agriculture: as the agricultural calendar varied in each zone, with the puna sowing and harvesting taking place months before that in the valley, laborers could work in alternating zones throughout the year.[16]

Such agricultural models helped ayllus survive in marginal regions of the country. After independence, the Bolivian government allowed the remaining ayllu communities to continue intact for much of the first half of the nineteenth century in order to guarantee crucial indigenous tax revenue streams to the state. Ayllus faced a renewed assault, however, with the late nineteenth century Disentailment Law, explained in the previous chapter, which aimed to break up indigenous communal lands into individual plots to aid the spread of the lucrative hacienda model of agricultural production. Around the turn of twentieth century, hacienda landholdings in

[16] Platt, "The role of the Andean *ayllu*," 30-35,

Bolivia doubled, and ayllu members subsumed by the hacienda were forced into brutal conditions of servitude which were not abolished until the 1953 Agrarian Reform. However, ayllu community resistance movements, such as that of the caciques apoderados, as well as the fact that the hacienda did not reach all parts of rural Bolivia, helped to keep a certain number of ayllus and their territories intact in the first half of the twentieth century.[17]

The roots and structure of the ayllu persisted through the National Revolution and the CSUTCB unionization efforts.[18] "In spite of the presence of the campesino union, the ayllu continued expressing itself by means of symbolic representation, territorial unity through [land] titles, and the structure of organization and authority that lay beneath the syndical form," explain Maria Eugenia Choque and Carlos Mamani, THOA members who were actively involved in ayllu reconstitution efforts.[19] For example, rotational leadership, a hallmark characteristic of the ayllu, was often maintained within the union structure, and the *jilaqata* (ayllu authority) was often also the union leader. When the MNR sought to replace ayllus with unions, the large *marka* (a network of ayllus) of Machaqa, for example, was broken into seventy-two unions by the MNR government. However, many ayllus maintained their structure under the union label and operated clandestinely in the communities.[20] The union never completely replaced the ayllu authorities in

[17] Carter and Albó, "La comunidad Aymara," 454-455.
[18] Also see I. S. R. Pape, "Indigenous Movements and the Andean Dynamics of Ethnicity and Class: Organization, Representation, and Political Practice in the Bolivian Highlands," *Latin American Perspectives* 36, no. 4 (2009).
[19] Choque and Mamani, "Reconstitución del *Ayllu*," 155.
[20] Lucero, *Struggles of Voice*, 66, 158. For the history of Jesús de Machaca, also see Roberto Choque Canqui, *Jesús de Machaqa: La marka rebelde, Volume 1: Cinco siglo de historia* (La Paz: CIPCA, 2003); Esteban Ticona Alejo and Xavier Albó, *Jesús de Machaqa: La marka rebelde, Volume 3: La Lucha por el poder comunal* (La Paz: CIPCA, 1997).

Jesús de Machaca, according to extensive research by Xavier Albó. By the 1970s, the community's union and ayllu leadership were fused together.[21]

In his travels and work through the THOA in the ayllu reconstitution efforts in the 1990s, former THOA member and history professor Carlos Mamani recalls hearing complaints regarding union leadership from residents of the Ingavi province, outside of La Paz, who approached him and the THOA for assistance in recovering the community's ayllu structures. Leaders from Ingavi arrived one day in La Paz and told Mamani,

> 'Look, it turns out that the priests are owners of our lands, they build where they want […] and the cement factory that poisons and exploits us any way they want, because this is the Ingavi province and it turns out that the union does not have a response to that, no response. You have started talking about rights, you have mentioned to us the International Labor Organization Convention 169 [which the Bolivian government had signed onto to pledge their respect for indigenous rights and territory] and so what we want is to return to how it was before, we don't want the union, because we are not campesinos, we are *originarios*.' This was like a shock for me personally, because all the education that I received was a developmentalist education in which if the country had to change, well, we had to accept social change and stop being Indians then, and we had to modernize ourselves and the key to success was to be found in modernization.[22]

The THOA found other instances in northern Potosí which lacked a union presence and where *Jilacatas* and *Mallkus* (indigenous community leaders) were still the respected authorities.[23] In many cases, the names and roles of the positions of authority had remained the same over centuries. Research conducted by the THOA in the 1980s on the organization of eight ayllus in the centuries-old Chayanta marka in the department of Potosí demonstrated how complex governance structures had remained intact over time. Chayanta's political structure included nine *Segundas Mayores* – a name based on a colonial term for leaders who, in that

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[21] Xavier Albó, *Movimientos y Poder Indígena en Bolivia, Ecuador y Peru* (La Paz: CIPCA, 2008), 55. Also see Choque, *Jesús de Machaqa: La marka rebelde, Volume 1*; Ticona and Albó, *Jesús de Machaqa: La marka rebelde, Volume 3*.
[22] Carlos Mamani, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, February 5, 2015.
[23] Ibid.

region in pre-colonial times, were called *Mallkus* or *Kurakas* – for its eight ayllus. These leaders, who were elected on a rotational basis, handled issues across the Chayanta territory regarding land use, spiritual rites, and relationships with the Bolivian central government. Below this position was the *Jilanqu*, a leader who dealt with internal familial and land conflicts at the ayllu level and handled issues relating to crop cultivation and communal labor. The *Alcalde Comunal* dealt with similar issues at a more localized level, and *Autoridades auxilares* assisted with ceremonies and rituals as well as agricultural tasks, depending on the time of the year. This over-arching structure was held in place in part by rotational leadership, which prevented abuses of power, and decision-making through consensus, which allowed the community to hold leaders' power in check. Both practices helped maintain a flexible political structure which could adapt to changing circumstances and community needs.[24]

In a THOA pamphlet on the structure of ayllus in the Ingavi province, the authors describe how a patchwork of ayllu networks endured across Bolivia:

> Today there are only the ayllus divided into communities left, some conserving their ancestral names, but there are also ayllus and communities with strange names, and many ayllus have converted themselves in pieces, others are at the point of disappearing and finally, various ones are in the hands of new owners. Huge catholic temples, constructed with the blood and sweat of our ancestors are witnesses of ideological subjection, for example: San Andrés and Jesús de Machaca Santiago de Guaqui, Santa Rosa de Taraqu, San Agustín de Viacha and chapels in all the communities that were a tremendous economic, personal and obligatory burden.[25]

Though many ayllus were diminished and weakened, the reconstitution efforts sought to turn back this tide. Just as rural communities responded to the MNR's agrarian reform by embracing

[24] Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui y Equipo THOA, *Ayllus y proyectos de desarrollo en el Norte de Potosí* (La Paz: Ediciones Aruwiyiri, 1992), 102, 114-116, 121.
[25] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *Federación de Ayllus – Provincia Ingavi: Estructura Organica* (La Paz: Ediciones Aruwiyiri, 1993), 7.

rural unions, ayllu reconstitution efforts in the 1990s responded to political, legislative, international openings that made it politically opportune to strengthen the ayllu.[26]

Political Openings

The ayllu reconstitution efforts took place during a period of neoliberal rule, leaving indigenous activists with an unusual set of political allies in power, politicians who championed policies aiding ayllus and empowering marginalized sectors of society, while privatizing services and natural resources, and dismantling workers' rights. In 1993, the MNR's Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada became president of Bolivia. He was part of a new generation of right-wing politicians in Bolivia and a graduate of the University of Chicago, the home of the father of neoliberal economic policy, Milton Friedman. Sánchez de Lozada enacted neoliberal policies in the country through reforms oriented around the decentralization of political power. In order to win more of the indigenous rural vote, the MNR party ran indigenous intellectual and politician Víctor Hugo Cárdenas as their Vice Presidential candidate under Sánchez de Lozada. Cárdenas's position helped the Sanchez de Lozada administration develop policies related to indigenous communities, but also helped to legitimize a neoliberal regime that would go on to sell off the country's infrastructure and natural resource riches, and disempower the same indigenous communities that celebrated his election.[27]

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[26] Lucero, *Struggles of Voice*, 117-118. Also see Choque, *Jesús de Machaqa: La marka rebelde, Volume 1*; Ticona and Albó, *Jesús de Machaqa: La marka rebelde, Volume 3*.

[27] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 261. The office of Vice President Víctor Hugo Cárdenas notably collaborated in the production of a special issue of *Memoria* magazine in 1996 which focused on a gathering of ayllu communities in the department of Chuquisaca, Bolivia. In this issue, the Cárdenas touts his government's new legislature which aided ayllu reconstitution efforts. In his introduction to coverage of this regional gathering of ayllu leaders and members, Cárdenas writes, "The ayllu is the principal cell, one of the foundations for the construction of a multiethnic and pluricultural democracy." Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, "El Encuentro de los Ayllus de San Lucas," *Memoria*, 1996, 2.

In 1991 under President Jaime Paz Zamora, before Sánchez de Lozada's first presidency, Bolivia became one of many countries to ratify the Labor Organization Convention 169 (ILO 169), an agreement which bound nations to recognize and uphold the collective rights of indigenous people's cultures, languages, identities, local governing institutions, labor, and territories.[28] The Sánchez de Lozada administration developed a package of policies and legislation to ensure such rights were protected. The Bolivian constitution was amended by the Sánchez de Lozada government in 1994 to declare Bolivia a "free, independent, sovereign" nation that was also – and this was unprecedented in Bolivian history – "multiethnic and pluricultural." A hallmark of the Sánchez de Lozada administration was the passage of the Law of Popular Participation (LPP), which gave more political and economic power to municipalities, creating 311 new municipal governments, whereas before there had only been a few dozen. Through the LPP and the 1996 Land Reform, indigenous communities were granted legal standing, upholding their right to land, communal property, and traditional practices and customs.[29]

An objective of the LPP was to bring indigenous communities into the governing and political sphere of the country. The LPP worked toward this goal by distributing federal government funding directly to local, municipal governments, which extended new fiscal power to the peripheries of the country. The LPP also created new frameworks for local organizational participation in politics through what it referred to as Organizaciónes Territoriales de Base

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[28] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 94.

[29] Klein, *Concise History of Bolivia*, 261. Also see Pablo Regalsky, "Territorio e interculturalidad: la participación campesina indígena y la reconfiguración del espacio andino rural," in *Movimientos indígenas y Estado en Bolivia*, eds. Luis Enrique López and Pablo Regalsky (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2005), 107-141. One issue of the small pamphlet *El Ayllu* was dedicated to promoting information about the LPP, including reprinted newspaper articles from *Presencia* on the basic functions of the new law. *El Ayllu* 4, no. 9 (1994). Consulted at the Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.

(Grassroots Territorial Organizations, OTBs). Under the new legislation, OTBs were defined as community structures such as ayllus (though notably OTBs could not include rural unions allied with the CSUTCB) that could now work closely with the newly empowered municipalities. In addition, Tierras Comunitarias de Origen (Original Communal Lands, TCOs) established by a new land reform law, encouraged rural people to identify as members of an indigenous community. Specifically, the legislation defined TCOs as spaces where indigenous people lived and relied on traditional social, economic, and cultural organization to survive.[30] This led to soul-searching in some regions where residents had to thus choose between organizing themselves into unions or ayllus. "Given these new political, economic, and cultural benefits," Andean scholar José Antonio Lucero writes, "many communities that previously identified as peasant communities (in line with the 1953 agrarian laws) now opted for re-constituting themselves as ayllus."[31]

The TCO concept was seen by CONAMAQ member Vicente Flores as "an instrument to recover the original lands of indigenous peoples; it is [a] reencounter with cultures, uses and customs; it is reparation for five hundred years of injustice and oppression; it is synonymous with life and development."[32] Besides the funding and legal status, TCOs, following the framework of ILO Convention 169, emphasized the importance of indigenous territories. This was significant for indigenous communities in Bolivia interested in protecting their natural resources, preventing pollution of their land, and utilizing communally-managed territory rather

[30] Lucero, *Struggles of Voice*, 134-137.
[31] Ibid., 166-167.
[32] Robert Andolina, Nina Laurie, and Sarah A. Radcliff, *Indigenous Development in the Andes: Culture, Power, and Transnationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 106. The authors cite Vicente Flores' quote from Patricia Almaraz, *Las Tierras Comunitarias de Orígen, son un instrumento para recuperar el derecho sobre sus tierras*, CIPCA working paper, 2005.

than depending on individually-owned plots of land.[33] TCO status enabled ayllus to define their territories beyond the borders of a municipality or department, and instead spread as a mosaic across ecological zones, just as the ayllus had done historically. The status also reflected ILO Convention 169 in that it established that community resources needed to be distributed and used by the community according to traditional uses and customs, such as the collective ownership of land and the required ayllu communal labor and service. Finally, TCOs enshrined the right of prior consultation, a mandated consultation with the community before an outside entity could exploit resources or land within the ayllu's domain.[34]

The CSUTCB protested the laws because they specifically and strategically excluded and de-incentivized indigenous participation within campesino unions. CSUTCB leaders claimed that the government, through such legislation, sought to sideline leftist unions while encouraging indigenous organizations aligned with the state.[35] Proponents of ayllu reconstruction filled some of the political void left by the fall of the Soviet Union, the rise of debilitating internal divisions in the CSUTCB, and the closure and privatization of many mines in Bolivia, which devastated the Bolivian Workers' Central (COB). Sánchez de Lozada's policies opened up spaces for indigenous organizations which did not contest the neoliberal direction of the government outright. However, leaders like Evo Morales of the coca farmers' union and Felipe Quispe of the CSUTCB refused to embrace Sánchez de Lozada's projects due to their neoliberal nature, emphasis on privatization of public services and natural resources, and anti-union approach. The

[33] Carlos Mamani, interview.
[34] Andolina, Laurie, and Radcliff, *Indigenous Development in the Andes*, 106.
[35] Kohl and Farthing*, Impasse in Bolivia*, 100.

policies divided the movements, which various scholars argue may have been the government's intent.[36]

At the same time, pro-ayllu indigenous activists used new laws provided by the government to rebuild their ayllus. As *mallku* Don Marcelo explained about the LPP, "The law grabbed us, and we grabbed the law."[37] Due to international and national support, the 1990s were an opportune moment for strengthening ayllus in Bolivia. The legal openings provided by a 1996 Land Reform Law and the ILO, and direct financial aid provided to communities by decentralizing federal funding coincided with a collective desire in many rural areas to rebuild past governing structures, rescue traditions and customs from obscurity, and to gain new rights recognized by the government.[38]

Reconstitution of the Ayllus

Within the indigenous political sphere, the 1990s movement to reconstitute ayllus can be traced back to earlier efforts in the 1980s. Ayllu federations were formed by indigenous communities in the 1980s in Oruro and Potosí as a way to survive the impact of a major drought and harmful economic reforms of the era. These efforts toward self-sufficiency led to the creation of the Federación de Ayllus del Sur de Oruro in 1987, and the Federación de Ayllus del Norte de Potosí in 1988.[39] The 1988 reconstitution of the ayllus of Quillakas Asanaki, which span the departments of Potosí and Oruro and are part of the Federación de Ayllus del Sur de

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[36] Lucero, *Struggles of Voice*, 124-125. Also see Gustafson, "The Paradoxes of Liberal Indigenism."
[37] Lucero, *Struggles of Voice*, 168.
[38] Pablo Mamani, "Reconstitución y Cartografía del Poder del Ayllu"; Carlos Mamani, "Memoria y Politica Aymara," in *ARUSKIPASIPXAÑASATAKI: El Siglo XXI y el Futuro del Pueblo Aymara*, ed. Waskar Ari Chachaki (La Paz: Editorial Amuyañataki, 2001).
[39] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 112.

Oruro, involved authorities walking the boundaries of their territory, from ayllu to ayllu, to "make visible their own territorial structures defined within the Quillakas Asanaki 'nation,'" Aymara sociologist Pablo Mamani explains. The strengthening of these ayllus involved meetings between local leaders regarding the history of the ayllus and a gathering in 1989 in the town of Quillacas to celebrate and mark the reconstitution with a parade, cheers, and wiphalas. In some cases, the structures of the ayllus in this region were still intact. For example, ayllu leader Eusebio Pizarro, said, "In the community of Pampa Aullagas… we do not use the word reconstitution. Why? Because historically my community has remained in the same [ayllu] form that was left to us by our ancestors."[40]

Cancio Rojas, an indigenous leader from northern Potosí, was involved in the reconstitution efforts starting in 1992. In 2015, when he himself was the leader of the CONAMAQ, he reflected on the importance of the reconstitution work in the 1990s, a process to which he had "given nearly all of his life." For him, the reconstruction of the ayllus was critical to the survival of indigenous communities because "the indigenous authorities, the structure of the ayllu, signified having our own power, territorial control, self-governance, free determination, [and] to do the same with our cultural identity, because this was negated for centuries in this country."[41]

THOA members observing this transformation considered using the phrase "to return to the ayllu" to describe the process, but discarded it because they felt that it referred too specifically to a return to the past. They decided that the term "reconstitution" was more appropriate. As Carlos Mamani recalls,

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[40] Mamani, "Reconstitución y Cartografía del Poder del Ayllu," 124-126. Mamani cites interview with Eusebio Pizarro conducted by Pablo Mamani Ramírez in Sucre, Bolivia, July 11, 2007.

[41] Cancio Rojas, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, February 11, 2015.

> [I]f we said *we are working on the reconstitution*, it was specifically because the organizing indigenous structures had been begrudgingly handed over by the process of colonization that did not end with independence, but rather is still in place, right? So we said that the reconstitution is precisely to return, to put together all the pieces and strengthen them.[42]

But, more than simply describing the process of ayllu reconstitution, the THOA promoted the ayllus during this period with its production of historical narratives and informational support for reconstitution efforts.

The booklets and radio programs produced by THOA members on the caciques apoderados and Marka T'ula helped spur debates about the ayllu history and traditions.[43] THOA member Filomena Nina recalls that, following THOA radio broadcasts, people often called in or visited the THOA offices with questions, looking for documents and information on land ownership, the boundaries of land holdings, historical information regarding how the land was worked and held communally within the ayllu, and which families were a part of a given community throughout its history.[44] According to scholar Marcia Stephenson, ayllu members raised such questions because the reconstitution of ayllus required also a reconstitution of indigenous history, culture, and traditions.[45] The THOA helped ayllu members find and organize their land titles, and spread awareness about ayllus, their traditions, histories, and rights. THOA members also offered legal assistance to help communities gain Original Communal Land (TCO) status, and generally strengthen their organizational capacity.[46]

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[42] Carlos Mamani, interview.
[43] Choque and Mamani, "Reconstitución del *Ayllu*," 163.
[44] Filomena Nina, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, April 7, 2014.
[45] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 111.
[46] María Eugenia Choque, "La reconstitución del ayllu y los derechos de los pueblos indígenas," in *Las sociedades interculturales: un desafío para el siglo XXI*, ed. Fernando García (Quito: FLACSO, 2000), 28. Another type of grassroots historical recovery of ayllu history is illustrated in a small pamphlet produced by Martín Callisaya C. in collaboration with local students on the history of the rural community of Ch'ama in the province of Ingavi. This twenty-six page

Many people in rural indigenous communities approached the THOA seeking help regarding the legal use of their land titles to claim land and gain the federal recognition of their ayllu. People arrived to their offices in La Paz, Mamani explains, and said, "'Just as you say that Santos Marka Tula, Nina Quispe and all these people were successful in the defense of the lands of the ayllus, with the backing of the titles obtained from the Crown of Spain, well, ok, here we have [titles], now what we want is for you to help us.'"[47] The documentary evidence illustrated the extent to which ayllu members had labored and paid to maintain titles to their land. A 1646 colonial document referenced by the THOA from the ayllu network of the Marka Sora, for example, explained that ayllu members had gone to the mita in Potosí, paid their taxes, and thus gained titles to their land from Toledo, maintaining their territory "from the Inca until today."[48]

The common history of this defense of ayllu territory was also preserved orally by ayllu members. In the ayllus, CONAMAQ activist and advisor Elizabeth López explains, often "[community members] tell you about how the cacique so-and-so had travelled so many days, to such-and-such a place, with so much money to buy the territory. So those are the elements of

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booklet covers the history of the town from pre-colonial times to the time of its publication, in 1990. While it is difficult to say the extent to which this text was used in the national ayllu reconstitution efforts, the tone and style of the history echoes other similar publications produced by the THOA and the CONAMAQ on ayllu histories. Indeed, it cites the work of the THOA and Aymara historian Roberto Choque Canqi. Martín Callisaya C., *Ch'ama: Nuestra Fuerza Invencible (Breve Relato Histórico)* (n.p: n.d, 1990). In another sign of the importance of ayllu history during this decade, the Bolivian government's National Secretary of Popular Participation and the government of Denmark supported the publication in Bolivia of a small, accessible booklet in Spanish on ayllu history in the northern region of the department of Potosí. Produced by British anthropologist Olivia Harris, this work includes drawings accompanying text on ayllu history and traditions, and cites the THOA as well as the work of Tristan Platt and Xavier Albó. "Somos los hijos de los ayllus," *Historia y Actualidad Norte de Potosí* no. 7 (1997). Both documents were consulted at the Archivo Histórico de La Paz in La Paz, Bolivia.

[47] Carlos Mamani, interview.

[48] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *Ayllu: Pasado y Futuro*, 14-15.

owning. Once they have done this, what is left in the imagination is that it is *our* territory; they did not buy the ground, they bought the territory."[49]

Ayllu members also turned to other historical sources to recover the history of their communities. In the town of Umala, in the Aroma province, for example, the revitalization of ayllus involved the community's reading and discussion of their colonial land titles and boundary surveys from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[50] Yura indigenous people in Potosí drew from the dissertation by scholar Roger Rasnake on the Yura Community, which had been translated from English to Spanish, and published as a book in Bolivia. Yura leaders utilized the research to gain legal recognition for the historic boundaries of their ayllu, which leaders said had been encroached upon for centuries.[51] Similarly, Sora indigenous people used a reference to Sora as a "pre-Incan" nation from the 1582 *Memorial de Charcas* to prove their status as a *suyu*, a large territory of ayllus, and cited it in their case for recognition and inclusion in the CONAMAQ network.[52]

On January 16, 1993, in Desaguadero, a town bordering Peru next to Lake Titicaca, approximately seven hundred people from around the Ingavi province gathered to discuss ways

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[49] Elizabeth López, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, October 16, 2014.
[50] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 113.
[51] Healy, *Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate*, 119; Roger Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance, Authority and Power Among an Andean People* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988).
[52] Mamani, "Reconstitución y Cartografía del Poder del Ayllu," 126-127; Also see Waldemar Espinoza, *Temas de etnohistoria boliviana* (La Paz: CIMA 2003); "El Memorial de Charcas (1582)," *Ciencia y Cultura*, no. 27 (2011): 37. On related questions of utilizing the past and memory for the political needs of the present, also see Jennifer Cole, *Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Ajay Skaria, *Hybrid Histories: Forests, Frontiers and Wildness in Western India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Donna Lee Van Cott, "Indigenous Struggle," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 2 (2003); Suzana Sawyer, *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

in which they could strengthen their ayllus, culture, language, and regional networks.[53] It was no random coincidence that this meeting of ayllu leaders took place in Ingavi. The province is home to Jesús de Machaca, where the ayllu system of leadership had survived intact in spite of the unionization of the rural community. Indigenous authorities at the meeting decided to focus on recuperating the ayllu as a form of government and to more forcefully reject the campesino union.[54] They formed a commission of sixteen people, two per canton, to study ayllu governance, customs and traditions. Their goal was to produce a document that could aid ayllu reconstitution efforts nationally.[55] In the months following this historic meeting, ayllu authorities, dressed in their traditional clothing, regularly traveled to La Paz to represent their communities in meetings with government and NGO officials. Ayllu leaders often converged together in the capital city on such trips, became better acquainted with each other, and began forming a national network of ayllus.[56]

The network of leaders and researchers from the Desaguadero meeting published the results of their study in April of 1993 in their Estructura Orgánica, which outlines the organization and traditions of the ayllus of Ingavi. The document was approved by the ayllu network of the region, and presented and distributed as a text published by the THOA to be utilized and adapted by other ayllus depending on their needs and traditions.[57] According to

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[53] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 113.
[54] Choque and Mamani, "Reconstitución del *Ayllu*," 165, 147-149.
[55] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 113.
[56] Choque and Mamani, "Reconstitución del *Ayllu*," 166.
[57] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *Federación de Ayllus*, 5. I focus on the Estructura Orgánica here as it is an excellent source on the objectives and organizational vision of the ayllu reconstitution efforts at this time. On this topic, I also consulted another statute from CONAMAQ in 2009 which was meant to provide a similar model for ayllus across its network during this period: CONAMAQ, *Estatuto Modélico Para Autonomías Indígenas Originarias Campesinas*, La Paz: CONAMAQ, 2009). Consulted at the Biblioteca Fundación Xavier Albó in La Paz, Bolivia.

Stephenson, "Disseminated widely by THOA, this booklet has served as a useful guide for other communities wanting to strengthen their traditions and reconstitute customary forms of governance."[58] The publication was read and utilized by other, largely Aymara, highland communities in northern La Paz, Loayza province, Inquisivi, Omasuyus, Los Andes, and beyond.[59]

The Estructura Orgánica of the Ingavi Province outlines important elements for the organization of the ayllus in this region. It describes, for example, that the goals of the ayllus are to defend their territory, language, natural resources, and culture, and the ruins of Tiwanaku (located within the province). They also pledge to work for the economic development of the region, and the extension of services, e.g. improved roads, electricity, and water irrigation. The positions of leadership are described as well. According to the Estructura Orgánica, leaders can seek positions of authority only if they have leadership experience, do not have union or political ties, and are honest and responsible in the community. The *Mallku Provincial* is described as the highest position of leadership, and involves convoking other leaders for general meetings, resolving conflicts, and working for the well-being of the province. Other positions include the *Yapu Kamani*, who oversees agricultural and livestock issues, the *Yati Kamani*, who focuses on education and children's health, and the *Chaski Kamani*, who is dedicated to communicating with the wider community regarding ayllu news, events, and decisions. Ayllu rules in the document outline possible infractions committed by leaders, such as corruption, not following through on promised projects, and not participating in organizational marches. The punishments range from fines to removal from leadership positions.[60]

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[58] Stephenson, "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere," 113.
[59] Choque and Mamani, "Reconstitución del *Ayllu*," 165.
[60] Taller de Historia Oral Andina, *Federación de Ayllus*, 70-85.

The need to formally coordinate between ayllus and articulate a common agenda deepened throughout the mid-1990s. Ayllu members wanted to build a stronger national network to enable communities to more effectively assist each other and pressure elected officials. They wanted to build an organization that could mobilize members for resources, rights to self-governance, and services. Out of this desire, and following many coordinating meetings among ayllu leaders and eight smaller ayllu and indigenous regional networks, ayllus from across the country founded the CONAMAQ, a national ayllu organization, in Challapata on March 22nd, 1997.[61]

Through the CONAMAQ, ayllu members sought to advocate for increased rights, services, governmental support, and protection of their autonomy and self-governing structures.[62] The objectives and goals of the CONAMAQ spoke of their historical mandate and connection to past indigenous struggles for land, rights, and sovereignty.[63] As Fidel Condori of the Qara Qara nationality of Chuquisaca and Potosí, and a Mallku leader from 2012-2013, explains, "the objective of the CONAMAQ is to recuperate our mother organization as it was before, before the Spanish, who arrived since 1553 or 1492. […] the CONAMAQ has to recuperate its ancestral territoriality."[64]

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[61] García, Chávez, and Costas, *Sociología de los movimientos sociales*, 323; and CONAMAQ, *Plan Estratégico del CONAMAQ, 2008-2013* (La Paz; CONAMAQ, 2008), 37.
[62] García, Chávez, and Costas, *Sociología de los movimientos sociales*, 338-339.
[63] CONAMAQ, *Plan Estratégico*, 37. Regarding the organization and proposals of the CONAMAQ in later years, see CONAMAQ, *Bases de la Constitución del Estado Plurinacional* (n.p.: CONAMAQ, 2005). Consulted at the Biblioteca Fundación Xavier Albó in La Paz, Bolivia.
[64] Fidel Condori, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, April 2, 2014.

Governing Traditions in the CONAMAQ

A look to the various governing structures and traditions among the communities of the CONAMAQ illustrates the ways in which individual ayllus have maintained their historical roots in the administration of communal politics, meetings, labor, and votes within the network. The CONAMAQ is organized from the smallest, local level, in the ayllu, to the largest territorial body of ayllus, the suyu. The network includes primarily Aymara and Quechua communities in the departments of La Paz, Oruro, Cochabamba, Potosí and Chuquisaca. At the local level, each ayllu has its own representatives, and each region has its own unique structures, traditions and forms of governance specific to that area. The structure of the CONAMAQ itself reflects the ayllu and suyu governing systems with its rotational leadership, term limits, and consensus-based decision-making.[65] This dispersal of authority helps to prevent the monopolization and abuse of power by leaders.[66]

Organizational structures vary across the communities of CONAMAQ's broad network, given that the ayllus, suyus and markas in each department often have distinct characteristics. In the case of Suyu Jach'a Carangas, the elected *Máximas Autoridades Originarias* (Maximum Indigenous Authorities) serve two years, and the longest term for authorities of the ayllus is one year. Other communities, like the Jatun Killakas Azanajaqi suyu, establish different leadership positions to deal with issues including relations with international entities, the management of the development of the suyu, and authorities who can replace the maximum leader during absences. In the Consejo de Ayllus Originarios de Potosí, ayllus maintain different names for authorities and systems of organization in distinct communities within the ayllu network. For

[65] García, Chávez, and Costas, *Sociología de los movimientos sociales*, 326.
[66] Marcelo Fernández Osco, ed., *Estudio sociojurídico: Práctica del derecho indígena originario en Bolivia* (La Paz: UPS Editorial, 2009), 62.

example, the organizational structure of Talina includes *Autoridades Ancestrales* (ancestral authorities), and the correlating terms and types of office, as well as authorities "imposed in the colonial period" such as *Segunda Mayor*, involved with communal work, and the *Tesoro*, which originates in the union structure and is involved with administrating communal funds. Other systems are based entirely on ancestral forms of governance and titles, such as *Curacas* and *Jilakatas*. All have the same legitimacy within the CONAMAQ.[67]

Regardless of the technicalities of the leadership role or its historical roots, the rotational aspect of leadership at each level of the CONAMAQ is critical to the network's functioning and balance of power, from the local ayllu to the wider suyu level. Longtime CONAMAQ advisor Elizabeth López explains that the rotation of traditional leadership positions within the ayllu oblige authorities to care for and respect ayllu members and their territory:

> Why is there turn-taking? First, it is the sense of authority, as they call it, the 'sense of service.' So, more than service, it is like the obligation that you have to assume and the responsibility of your suyu [region in which the ayllu is based]. So, more than being at service, you become like a father, a mother, and you have the real obligation of solving the problems of the territory.[68]

According to former CONAMAQ leader Renan Paco Granier, the nature of the organization dictates that one may become a leader only after serving the community from the ground up in a variety of positions – in schools or water management, for example – obtaining more responsibilities the higher one climbs in new positions. Within this cycle, Paco explains, reaching higher positions of authority requires great effort and sacrifice, involving an "enormous trajectory of bureaucratic work."[69] Through such traditional systems of hierarchy, leaders thus gain authority and command respect through hard work and by gaining the support of colleagues,

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[67] Ibid., 62-64.
[68] Elizabeth López, interview.
[69] Renán Paco Granier, interview with the author, Potosí, Bolivia, February 26, 2015.

other leaders, and the community base. An ayllu leader's tenure then, according to López, becomes part of the way that the community records and remembers its own history and events, "because if you talk with the people, in the historical memory of the people, they are going to say to you 'there was a flood when such-and-such authority was there, and such-and-such happened.' So the physical, climactic phenomena [is related by community members to] the authorities who have come and gone."[70]

Ayllu practices carried on in the CONAMAQ network are built to ensure transparency and direct ties with the grassroots level of the community. *Tantachawis*, or assemblies, are convoked by the CONAMAQ to bring together representatives from the national network of ayllus. At this "parliament of the ayllus," as sociologist Pablo Mamani describes them, members discuss pressing political and social issues of the day, the needs of their communities, and come to decisions through a process of consensus.[71] In local ayllu meetings, CONAMAQ leader Gregorio Choque explains, the leadership must decide what to prioritize, and how to help and guide the community. Meeting participants might discuss, for example, the production in the agricultural community, the economic well-being of the ayllu, how to better support indigenous languages, or help a neighbor who is ill.[72] In a consultation process called *muyu*, ayllu authorities such as *mallkus* and *jilaqatas* make rounds to each house in the community to see how people are behaving, producing, interacting – to see that all is in order – and issue penalties and suggestions accordingly. For example, a leader may inquire at one household if the family is dedicating sufficient time to farming or livestock care, if they have enough food in the house, how the weaving is going, and if the children are conducting themselves well and completing

[70] Elizabeth López, interview.
[71] Mamani, "Reconstitución y Cartografía del Poder del Ayllu," 104-105.
[72] Gregorio Choque, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, March 24, 2015.

their chores. Within the muyu process, leaders also receive feedback from the community about what is needed.[73]

The Gathering Storm

The 1990s offered new openings for indigenous communities, but, as previously noted, it was also an era of privatizations and attacks on workers' rights that would shake the country to its core, resulting in an economic crisis and a series of uprisings which would reshape Bolivian politics forever. The national railroad, electricity, airline, telecommunications, oil and gas businesses were privatized between 1995 and 1997.[74] The government's assault on workers, its privatization efforts, embrace of IMF and World Bank policies, and violent crackdown on the *cocalero* (coca growers) movement, paved the way for massive revolts in the early 2000s. These protests at the turn of the century were against the privatization of natural resources, human rights violations resulting from the US-led war on drugs, IMF-backed austerity measures, and government repression against indigenous protesters. In the 1990s, like other neoliberal leaders of the time, Sánchez de Lozada touted his policies as a way to lift people out of poverty and give marginalized sectors of the country a political voice. Yet the effect on the majority of the population was devastating as the poverty rate soared and protests filled the streets of Bolivia.[75]

Sánchez de Lozada's policies in Bolivia were examples of "neoliberal multiculturalism," a political philosophy that involved granting a minimum of cultural rights to indigenous people, while expanding neoliberal reforms in the economy and in governance. This model, according to anthropologist Charles Hale, provides a way for neoliberal states to "'manage' multiculturalism

[73] Choque and Mamani, "Reconstitución del *Ayllu*," 159.
[74] Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*, 99.
[75] Kohl and Farthing, *Impasse in Bolivia*, 84-85, 88.

while removing its radical or threatening edge."[76] Neoliberal multiculturalism, Hale writes, was an effort to appease calls for reforms from marginalized sectors of society. These reforms did in fact open up new opportunities and spaces for some subjugated citizens, in terms of rights and recognition, educational reform, political inclusion, and anti-racist legislation.

In Bolivia in the 1990s, Sánchez de Lozada's reforms did indeed grant indigenous communities new rights and spaces to articulate demands and strengthen traditional structures of ayllu organization. At the same time, the government undermined unions, privatized national industries and services, and removed safety nets for poor communities. Anthropologist Nancy Postero writes that, under the Bolivian neoliberal model, rather than protesting large resource extraction plans or contesting neoliberalism and economic policy head-on, "civil society organizations were encouraged to engage in decisions over small development projects at the local level, with limited or shared funding."[77] This led to the government integration of some demands from indigenous sectors, in order to placate them, while moving ahead with more structural changes to the economy.

In this sense, Sánchez de Lozada's policies sought to create what Silvia Rivera has labelled the "permitted indian," a domesticated subject whose voice is elevated through

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[76] Charles Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 3 (2002): 507. Also see Mark Goodale and Nancy Postero, eds., *Neoliberalism, Interrupted: Social Change and Contested Governance in Contemporary Latin America* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2013); Edward Fischer, introduction to *Indigenous Peoples, Civil Society, and the Neo-liberal State in Latin America,* ed. Edward Fischer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); Kay Warren and Jean Jackson, eds. *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Kay Warren, *Indigenous Movements and the Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Charles Hale, *Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894-1987* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[77] Nancy Grey Postero, *Now We Are Citizens: Indigenous Politics in Postmulticultural Bolivia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 16.

multicultural policies, but only if they do not contest the government's neoliberal agenda.[78] However, Bolivia's wide and diverse indigenous movement did not, in fact, succumb to the strict parameters of neoliberal multiculturalism or that of the permitted indian. Various social movements, including the cocalero movement, the MAS political party, the neighborhood councils of El Alto, and the ayllus in the CONAMAQ, used the openings for political leverage. They also, as Postero points out, used neoliberalism's language of participation, multiculturalism, and promise of rights, to demand deeper, structural reforms, pushing beyond the contradictions imposed by the permitted indian paradigm. Postero argues that the protests of the 2000s emerged in Bolivia because of the failure of neoliberal reforms that "often reinforced the structures of exclusion that keep Indians poor and powerless."[79] In this sense, neoliberal multiculturalism had the result of mobilizing movements that contested neoliberalism from the late 1990s into the early 2000s.

Even as newly reconstituted ayllus gained recognition under the LPP, indigenous communities continued to remind the central government that new reforms were only the latest in a half-millennium of broken promises, and threatened to use their reclaimed organizational power. In 1994, shortly before the passage of the LPP, President Sanchez de Lozada traveled to Jesús de Machaca, a site of historic indigenous resistance and ayllu organization, to promote his new legislation. Upon the president's arrival, Saturnino Tola, the *jach'a mallku* of Jesús de Machaca, gave a speech. Tola's words evoked the power of the past in his community and pointed toward the insurrections to come.

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[78] See John-Andrew McNeish, "Beyond the Permitted Indian? Bolivia and Guatemala in an Era of Neoliberal Developmentalism," *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2008): 34, 45-46. On the related question of political recognition and decolonization in indigenous movements in Canada, see Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
[79] Postero*, Now We Are Citizens*, 6. Also see McNeish, "Beyond the Permitted Indian?" 53.

> For more than 500 years, we, the campesinos of Bolivia, have seen ourselves submitted to a series of injustices, which translates to the imposition of a foreign culture, in the plundering of our lands, in the death of our dearest children, trying to destroy our traditions and our own history, trying to convert us into compulsory citizens in our own lands. They have never allowed us to remember our heroes […] we have always had to make homage to our martyrs clandestinely…[…] What we are hoping for today is that all the offers that they make us be fulfilled fully, because we are tired of receiving promises that they never fulfill. If not, as campesino authorities we will find ourselves obligated to take the means that the case demands, because we cannot wait anymore […] Mr. President, you have in your hands the staff of power of the country, on the other hand, we have the whip to make sure everything you promise us is fulfilled.[80]

Nearly a decade later, in 2003, Sánchez de Lozada was dramatically ousted from his second term in office by popular protests.

The revolts of the 2000s point to anything but a population of neoliberal subjects standing idle while their natural resources and services were sold off. Instead, indigenous communities and wider social and labor movements across Bolivia challenged the neoliberal model with an array of insurrections, protest tactics, and grassroots pressure that overturned water privatization efforts, IMF structural adjustments, and foreign corporate exploitation of gas reserves. Among the many social forces that contributed to this cycle of popular resistance to neoliberalism were members of Bolivia's enduring ayllus.

[80] Saturnino Tola, "Discurso con motive de la visita del Sr. Presidente y del Sr. Vicepresidente de la República a Jesús de Machaqa, 12 de marzo de 1994," in Ticona and Albó, *Jesús de Machaqa: La marka rebelde, Volume 3*, 283, 368-239.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: "Looking Back, We Will Move Forward."[1]

Road blockades led by Aymara activists strangled La Paz during protests in 2000 and 2003. These revolts rejected neoliberal policies, toppled presidents, and ushered in a new era in Bolivian politics. The barricades in La Paz and the Bolivian highlands harkened back to indigenous rebel Túpac Katari's 1781 siege of the city. Bolivian activist and sociologist Marxa Chávez said that when people at the road blockades and protests evoked Katari, they were recovering not just "empty words" but "an idea of collective power," a living memory put to practice in the streets. "It was truly a rebel memory, a recollection that you, yourself, were performing through the assemblies, through the meetings, through the control that you demanded of your leaders."[2] The indigenous people's histories explored here were not transformative on their own; they were made powerful by people who activated them in the streets, gave them meaning at the barricades, and wielded them as a tool to change their world.

This dissertation has demonstrated that the production and mobilization of indigenous people's histories of resistance by activists and intellectuals was a critical tool used in indigenous struggles from 1970 to 2000. The revival of historical events, personalities, and symbols in speeches, manifestos, banners, oral histories, and road blockades motivated citizens to take action for social change, develop new political projects and proposals, and embrace alternative models of governance, agricultural production, and social relationships. Such uses of the past

[1] Translation of Aymara phrase, *Qhiparu nayraru uñtas sartañani*. See Mamani, *Los aymaras frente a la historia*, 14.
[2] Marxa Chávez, interview with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, February 19, 2015.

oriented and empowered indigenous movements, expanded their appeal, and helped activists develop an indigenous vision for the transformation of Bolivian politics and society.

In the shadow of the National Revolution, Kataristas lifted up indigenous history and identity in a struggle for rights, political power, and dignity. Challenging the assimilationist policies of the National Revolution and the repressive dictatorships that followed, Kataristas held up the wiphala, pre-conquest Andean utopias, and the historic martyrs of Katari, Sisa, Willka, Marka T'ula, and others, as banners for an indigenous resurgence. This intellectual and historical labor was articulated most visibly in the CSUTCB independent campesino union, founded in 1979. The group used Katari's strategy of holding La Paz siege through road blockades to force governments to meet the union's demands for political power, land, services, and self-determination. Both Kataristas and the CSUTCB indigenized civil society and politics during this period. They elevated and popularized indigenous historical consciousness and awareness of centuries of resistance in Bolivia. Kataristas and CSUCTB members opened up new discursive and political spaces to imagine and work toward indigenous liberation in a neoliberal era.

The THOA was created in these spaces by largely Aymara professors and students in La Paz in 1983. The THOA gathered oral histories from elders in rural Aymara communities in the Bolivian highlands to piece together little-known histories of indigenous resistance. They filled in the silences in the archives and official accounts of Bolivian history by drawing from a wellspring of oral traditions in rural areas. Their collaborative research methods and horizontal relationships with interviewees helped them produce ground-breaking histories which were widely distributed as pamphlets and radio programs. One of the THOA's most impactful projects was a history of the early twentieth century cacique apoderado Santos Marka T'ula. Their work on T'ula brought together dozens of interviews with contemporaries and relatives of T'ula, and

resulted in a popular booklet and nationally broadcasted radio program. The THOA's work on T'ula and other indigenous people's histories of rebellion helped promote indigenous pride and spurred people to action within the movements of the era.

The THOA was also instrumental in the 1990s movement to reconstitute the ayllu, a centuries-old form of local communal governance, decision-making, and agricultural production in the Andes. Ayllu advocates in this era conducted their own historical research and reflections to recover the histories and traditions of their ayllus. They utilized political openings to gain rights, autonomy, and political power. In this process, indigenous activists revitalized and strengthened ayllu forms of governance, labor organization, and traditions. The grassroots historical investigations and discussions conducted by ayllu members culminated in the 1997 foundation of the CONAMAQ, a national ayllu network which contributed to the defeat of the reign of neoliberal governmental policy in Bolivia in a wave of protests in the early 2000s.

Over these decades, the indigenous movements of Bolivia grew from a force that was undermined by the MNR and subsequent dictatorships, to a political power that toppled presidents, rejected corporate globalization, and reshaped the socio-economic landscape of the nation. These groups paved the way to the election of Bolivia's first indigenous president, Evo Morales, in 2005, and continue to play a pivotal role in the development of alternatives to neocolonialism and capitalism in Bolivia.[3]

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[3] Literature on the movements of the 2000s in Bolivia includes Dangl, *The Price of Fire*; Pablo Mamani Ramírez, *Microgobiernos Barriales: Levantamiento de la Ciudad de El Alto (Octubre 2003)* (El Alto: Centro Andino de Estudios Estratégicos, 2005); Raúl Zibechi, *Dispersing Power: Social Movements as Anti-State Forces* (Oakland: AK Press, 2010); Hylton and Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons*; Gutiérrez, *Rythms of the Pachakuti*; Oscar Olivera, *Cochabamba! Water War in Bolivia* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2004); García et al., *Tiempos de Rebelión* (La Paz: Comuna/Muela del Diablo Editores, 2001). On the relationship between Bolivia's diverse movements and the Evo Morales administration, see Dangl, *Dancing with Dynamite*;

This work has provided a unique contribution to the existing literature on this topic by piecing together indigenous movement history spanning three critical decades of indigenous organizing. It has followed the analytical framework established by leading Bolivian thinkers and writers including Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Javier Hurtado, Esteban Ticona, Carlos Mamani, Pablo Mamani, and THOA members to describe what Rivera calls the "decolonizing practice" of producing and utilizing indigenous people's history.[4] This dissertation has combined material from classic works of Bolivian history and theory with an original source base including dozens of interviews with indigenous movement participants and intellectuals, and pamphlets, articles, videos, manifestos, and magazines produced by indigenous organizations. The chapters on the THOA provide a much-needed overview of one of the country's most innovative indigenous research organizations. The history of ayllu reconstitution presented here fills in crucial gaps in the literature with its focus on the importance of grassroots historical research and the recovery of traditions and governance to this dynamic movement. By illustrating the ways in which history was made and put to use by these movements and organizations, this dissertation creates a narrative about how indigenous movements develop, organize, and work for social and political change in the Andes. Finally, the histories and acts of historical re-creation examined here help to explain the roots of contemporary uses of the past by movements and politicians in Bolivia in the new millennium, from the revolts of the 2000s to the Evo Morales administration.

Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl, *Evo's Bolivia: Continuity and Change* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

[4] This phrase is from following view expressed by Rivera: "There cannot be a discourse about decolonization, a theory of decolonization, without a decolonizing practice." Rivera, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa*, 62; Key works by Bolivian scholars guiding this dissertation include Rivera, *"Oprimidos Pero No Vencidos"*; Hurtado, *El Katarismo*; Pablo Mamani, *Geopolíticas Indígenas*; Carlos Mamani, *Metodología de la historia oral*; Esteban Ticona Alejo, *Organización y Liderazgo Aymara*; Rivera, "El potencial epistemológico."

In 1987, Bolivia scholar Xavier Albó wrote that he was "hacking open a trail" with a critical essay on twentieth century Bolivian indigenous and campesino movements. "Without a doubt, the open path holds many more surprises and lessons for anyone who chooses to pursue it," he concludes.[5] This dissertation has followed in the paths Albó and other activists and scholars have forged, and I hope it, in turn, has indicated additional paths for further investigations. Fruitful topics for future research could include the various political parties the Kataristas developed, the current of Indianismo thought, and the rise and impact of the Bartolina Sisa women's campesina organization, which exists to this day alongside their partner organization, the CSUTCB.[6] The groups examined here have remained vital players on Bolivia's political and social stages, and have newer histories to communicate: the CSUTCB continues to have a major role in civil society, the THOA continues to produce books based on oral history research, and the CONAMAQ has entered a crucial period under the Morales government.[7]

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[5] Albó, "From MNRistas to Kataristas," 413.

[6] On Indianismo, see Diego Pacheco, *El Indianismo*; Tapia, *Ukhamawa Jakawisaxa*. On the Bartolina Sisa organization, see Medina, *Las Hijas de Bartolina Sisa*; Rosario León, "Bartolina Sisa: The Peasant Women's Organization in Bolivia," in Jelin, *Women and Social Change in Latin America*, 135-150; García, Chávez, and Costas, "Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas de Bolivia "Bartolina Sisa," in García, Chávez, and Costas, *Sociología de los movimientos sociales*, 503-540; Alvaro Diez, ed., *Las Mujeres del Campo y Su Palabra: Testimonios de los 22 años de vida de la FNMCB "BS"* (La Paz: Centro de Servicios Agropecuarios, 2002).

[7] On the contemporary dynamics between some of the movements examined here and the Morales administration, see Pablo Solón, "Algunas reflexiones, autocriticas y propuestas sobre el proceso de cambio en Bolivia," *América Latina en Movimiento*, February 25, 2016, accessed January 13, 2017, http://www.alainet.org/es/articulo/175633; Bill Weinberg, "Indigenous Anarchist Critique of Bolivia's 'Indigenous State': Interview with Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui," *Upside Down World*, September 3, 2014, accessed January 13, 2017, http://upsidedownworld.org/archives/bolivia/indigenous-anarchist-critique-of-bolivias-indigenous-state-interview-with-silvia-rivera-cusicanqui/; Benjamin Dangl, "The Politics of Pachamama: Natural Resource Extraction vs. Indigenous Rights and the Environment in Latin America," *Upside Down World*, April 25, 2014, accessed January 13, 2017, http://upsidedownworld.org/archives/international/the-politics-of-pachamama-natural-resource-extraction-vs-indigenous-rights-and-the-environment-in-latin-america/.

Additional research directions could include following the threads of how Katari and the National Revolution were evoked in the 2000s protests, and how the theme of Andean utopias has been raised once again by Evo Morales as a political compass for his administration. In every direction, the past remains a crucial tool for today's indigenous movements and politics in Bolivia.[8]

Many of the same histories, discourses of indigenous resistance, and symbols of revolt which were championed from below by indigenous movements over the period examined here are now celebrated as a part of official state policy under Morales. The administration has a Vice Ministry of Decolonization, has made the wiphala part of the official national flag, has granted new rights and power to indigenous communities, named a satellite after Katari, and published new editions of the works of Fausto Reinaga and other formerly dissident thinkers and historians.

Government-led rituals now take place every November 14th to mark the death of Túpac Katari. Yet, Aymara sociologist Pablo Mamani asks, why remember Katari only every November 14th, as though he is dead? "We must put this kind of ritual behind us to enter a more everyday rituality," he explains. Mamani sees no need to remember Katari just one day a year because "Túpac Katari has returned and is among us, and we, ourselves, are the thousands of men and women that we have in these territories, and we are on our feet, walking."[9]

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[8] On this theme, see Esteban Ticona Alejo, ed., *Bolivia en el Inicio del Pachakuti: La Larga Lucha Anticolonial de Los Pueblos Aimara y Quechua* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2011); Tórrez and Arce, *Construcción Simbólica del Estado Plurinacional*; Nicolas and Quisbert, *Pachakuti*; Postero, "Andean Utopias"; Svampa and Stefanoni, *Bolivia: memoria, insurgencia*; Farthing and Kohl, "Mobilizing Memory"; Marisol De La Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond 'Politics,'" *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 2 (2010).

[9] Pablo Mamani Ramírez, interview with the author, El Alto, Bolivia, February 2, 2015.

Appendix:
A Note on Interview Methods

I prepared for the interviews completed for this research in a number of ways. If I was interviewing someone who had published any textual documents at all, from articles to books, I read that material, or all of the relevant content, to prepare for the interview. I also conducted research on any particular groups or events in which the interviewee was involved in order to prepare questions. In addition, I consulted any available interviews that the interviewee had done in the past. I came to the interview with specific questions prepared, but also with an open mind. In the interviews, I was careful to not be a controlling force in the discussion, try and fit the interviewees' narratives and responses into a pre-conceived box, or try and shape the narratives or responses to fit the arguments of my thesis. I worked hard to remain open to all responses and, if their time allowed, to let the speaker continue speaking as long as they wished on a certain topic, even if it was not apparently relevant to my work. With these interview techniques, I sought to create a space in which the speaker could be self-reflective about their own histories and views, as well as to allow room for them to share connections, information or perspectives outside my frame of reference and knowledge.

Part of my relationship with interviewees involved first establishing my own story. In some cases, this involved an interview in which I was the first to answer questions regarding who I was, how I came to study this topic, and about my experience in Bolivia. In my answers I typically introduced myself as both a student of history as well as a journalist who had been working in the country off and on since 2003. The fact that I had reported from Bolivia on many events and political changes helped show many wary interviewees that I was informed about contemporary issues. It also demonstrated that this was not my first research trip to Bolivia, and

as such, the interview would not be spent explaining to me basic details of Bolivia's political landscape and history. The fact that an edition of my first book was published in Spanish by a Bolivian publisher also helped prove that I was committed to returning the results of my research to Bolivia. I explained to interviewees that this was something I intended to do with this dissertation. This had the discernable result of gaining more trust and respect from a number of people. Many interviewees shared a common perception that that American and European academics often arrive in the country out of the blue, with no prior experience, and disappear after an interview, never to return to share the results of their research. In my research on the THOA and discussions with members of this organization, I also realized how critical it was to the THOA to return the final product of their investigations to the communities they worked in, either in print form or via radio programs. This encouraged me to do the same with this work.

In addition, following McGill University's Research Ethics and Compliance guidelines, I shared and discussed a consent form with all interviewees which outlined the focus of the dissertation and how I planned to use the interview. The form explained that the interviewee could refuse to answer any questions, and withdraw their interview from use in this research at any point. Each person I interviewed consented to these terms, and many chose to retain a copy of the form for their records. Many interviewees said they appreciate the document's clear explanation of the research and uses of the interview.

These interviews on the relevance of historical production and consciousness in indigenous movements took place at a time in which such political uses of the past were on prominent display at the state level, within the government of President Evo Morales. As discussed in this dissertation, the president and his party regularly evoked Katari and his legacy in their speeches and public events, held inaugurations at the ruins of the ancient city of

Tiwanaku, spoke of decolonizing the state, and overturning five hundred years of oppression. In the case of interviews for this dissertation, which focuses on the thirty years leading up to the current political era in Bolivia, the Morales government's uses of the past served more as a backdrop to discussions. Many, if not all, of the interviewees were well aware of the ways in which the past was utilized by indigenous movements over this thirty year span. As active participants in these movements and historical research organizations, they were clear that the Morales government represented only a recent case of a long history of such political uses of the past. As such, the interviewees here were able to provide helpful views and memories that aided me in my reconstruction and analysis of indigenous production and mobilization of history from 1970 to 2000.

While it was not the focus of this work to analyze the Morales government, the fact that Bolivia has had its first indigenous president for over a decade now is a major historic and political event. The current administration's recognition of indigenous history, politics, language, technology, art, and culture casts these past movements in a more glorious light, as precursors to the Morales presidency. At the very same time, many of the interviewees I spoke to were extremely critical of the Morales administration, the homogenizing indigenous narrative used by the government, and the silencing of a plurality of indigenous voices and leaders from various indigenous nations within the country. However, few denied the symbolic power of the Morales presidency and the economic and political gains his government has made for the country. While the time in which I conducted research in Bolivia was fraught with political conflicts (many of which intersected the groups and interviewees I worked with for this research), the fact that I was seeking information on prior events, rather than the contemporary scene, often made interviewees more willing to talk. Indeed, rather than dwelling on the complex present, many of

the people I spoke with were more than happy to talk at length about their own involvement in these movements and processes in their younger years.

In terms of the technical aspects of the interviews, I recorded all interviews on a digital recorder and took occasional notes. The majority of interviews took place in the offices where the speakers worked, at the CSUTCB, the CONAMAQ, and the THOA offices in La Paz, as well as coffee shops, parks, archives around this city as well as in Sucre and Potosí. As soon as possible after each interview, I wrote notes on salient points and impressions from the interview to help myself remember key details.

While I did not use all of the interviews in the form of quotes in this dissertation, each and every one of my discussions informed my work. These experts helped shape the contours of the narrative and arguments present here. As mentioned in the introduction, I would not have been able to navigate the complex histories of this thirty year period without the nuanced views of these interviews. In addition, the interviews helped me understand the meaning and personal experiences behind major political events, and shed light on the intimate and quotidian experiences of working in the unions, movements, and research organizations discussed here. The testimonies helped me understand not only what happened, but the why and how of historical events, and how they were felt and experienced by these participants.

List of Interviews Conducted for Dissertation

Ancieta Orellana, Juanita. (Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas de Bolivia "Bartolina Sisa") Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 14, 2014. Length of interview: 21:44.

Ávila, José Oscar. (Federación de Juntas Vecinales – El Alto) Interview with author. El Alto, Bolivia. February 2, 2015. Length of interview: 16:13.

Barco Guarachi, Gregorio. (Son of Santos Marka T'ula) Interview with author. El Alto, Bolivia. March 25, 2015. Length of interview: 53:57.

Burgos, Isabel Elena. (Lawyer) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. January 20, 2015. Length of interview: 1:29:45.

Calisaya, Oscar. (Investigación Social y Asesoramiento Legal *Potosí*) Interview with author. Potosí, Bolivia. February 25, 2015. Length of ISALP group interview: 47:27.

Cárdenas Aguilar, *Félix*. (Vice Minister of Decolonization) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. February 11, 2015. Length of interview: 35:30.

Castro, Marco Antonio. (Investigación Social y Asesoramiento Legal *Potosí)* Interview with author. Potosí, Bolivia. February 25, 2015. Length of ISALP group interview: 47:27.

Chambilla Mamani, Beatriz. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia, October 16, 2014. Length of group interview with THOA members: 1:51:43.

Chávez, Marxa. (Sociologist) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. February 19, 2015. Length of interview: 51:36.

Choque Canqui, Roberto. (Historian) Interview with author. Archivo de La Paz, La Paz, Bolivia, October 16, 2014. Length of interview: 1:17:14.

Choque Salomé, Jorge. (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 4, 2014. Length of La Paz federation group interview: 16:38.

Choque, Gregorio. (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 24, 2015. Length of interview: 48:30.

Colque, Gonzalo. (Fundación Tierra) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. January 27, 2015. Length of interview: 44:27.

Condorena, Cristóbal. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 30, 2015. Length of interview: 51:23.

Condori, Fidel. (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo Orgánica) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 2, 2014. Length of interview: 25:21. And October 10, 2014. Length of interview: 8:14.

Cruz Canaviri, Paulino. (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 14, 2014. Length of interview: 15:26.

Fernández Osco, Marcelo. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 11, 2014. Length of interview: 40:16.

Guarachi Morales, Joel. (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 3, 2014. Length of interview: 8:52.

Guarayo, Humberto. (Nación Yampara) Interview with author. Sucre, Bolivia. February 24, 2015. Length of interview: 52:46.

Gutiérrez, Agustín. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 25, 2015. Length of THOA group interview: 48.04. And March 30, 2015. Length of interview: 51:23.

Huarachi Paco, Máximo Freddy. (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 24, 2015. Length of interview: 28:34.

Huata Manza, Alberto. (Traditional Medicine Practitioner) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 10, 2014. Length of interview: 10:20.

Ilaquita Marka, Alejandro. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 25, 2015. Length of THOA group interview: 48.04.

Lima, Constantino. (Indianista Thinker and Leader) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 14, 2015. Length of interview: 2:08:01.

López, Elizabeth. (Advisor to Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 16, 2014. Length of interview: 1:12:01.

Mamani, Carlos. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. February 5, 2015. Length of interview: 1:18:44.

Mamani, Pablo. (Sociologist) Interview with author. El Alto, Bolivia. February 2, 2015. Length of interview: 23:42.

Nina, Filomena. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 3, 2014. Length of interview: 1:03:33. And October 16, 2014. Length of group interview with THOA members: 1:51:43.

Ortega, Isabel. (Vice Minister of Indigenous Justice) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. January 19, 2015. Length of interview: 30:01.

Paco Granier, Renán. (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo) Interview with author. Potosí, Bolivia. February 26, 2015. Length of interview: 20:09.

Peralta, Justino, (Vice Ministry of Decolonization) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 9, 2015. Length of interview: 41:46.

Perlacios, Anselma. (Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas de Bolivia "Bartolina Sisa") Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 4, 2014. Length of interview: 18:27.

Portugal, Pedro. (Editor of Pukara Magazine) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 31, 2014. Length of interview: 1:01:37. And October 14, 2014. Length of interview: 51:12.

Quisbert, Rodolfo. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 7, 2014. Length of interview: 45:15. October 16, 2014. Length of group interview with THOA members: 1:51:43. March 12, 2015. Length of interview: 37:37.

Quispe Ticona, Ismael. (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 4, 2014. Length of La Paz federation group interview: 16:38.

Quispe, Zenón (Historian) Interview with author. El Alto, Bolivia. January 19, 2015. Length of interview: 1:19:53

Quito Mamani, Apolinar. (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 4, 2014**.** Length of La Paz federation group interview: 16:38.

Reinaga, Hilda. (Fundación Amautica Fausto Reinaga) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 10, 2015. Length of interview: 29:46.

Rojas, Cancio. (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo Orgánica) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. February 11, 2015. Length of interview: 15:54.

Rojas, Nilda. (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo Orgánica) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 29, 2014. Length of interview: 49:35.

Santos Quispe, Felipe. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. March 31, 2014. Length of interview: 1:13:55. October 16, 2014. Length of group interview with THOA members: 1:51:43. And February 20, 2015. Length of interview: 1:07:40.

Saqueli Huaranca, Tomás. (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyo Orgánica) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. April 1, 2014. Length of interview: 48:52.

Valencia Zentero, Juan Carlos. (Central Obrera Regional – El Alto) Interview with author. El Alto, Bolivia. February 11, 2015. Length of interview: 12:54.

Vega Sillo, Elisa. (Vice Ministry of Decolonization) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 14, 2014. Length of interview: 19:50.

Villalobos, Vique. (Taller de Historia Oral Andina) Interview with author. La Paz, Bolivia. October 16, 2014. Length of group interview with THOA members: 1:51:43.

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