

*****Draft*****
Comments Welcome

**The “African” Origins of Indianismo?
Fausto Reinaga, Frantz Fanon, and the Challenges of
Decolonization in Bolivia**

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“Let us decide not to imitate Europe and let us tense our muscles and brains in a new direction.”

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961)

“¿Qué podemos imitar del Occidente? ¿Que tiene el cholaje digno de ser imitado?... Que se puede imitar? ¿Su nacionalismo, sin nacion? ¿Su lucha de clases, sin clases? ¿Su fariseo anti-imperialismo, sostenido por el dólar yanqui? ¿Su utópica revolución comunista?”¹

Fausto Reinaga, *La Revolucion India* (1969)

“You taught me language, and my profit on’t/ Is, I know how to curse: the red-plague rid you,/For learning me your language.”

Caliban in William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*

Indianismo occupies a key but controversial place in the development of contemporary indigenous movements in Latin America (e.g. Albó 1994, 2002; Pacheco

¹ “What part of the West can we imitate? What does *cholaje* [Europeanized racial-cultural mixing] have that is worthy of being copied?...What can be imitated? Its nationalism without a nation, its class struggle with classes? Its far ¿Su nacionalismo, sin nacion? ¿Su lucha de clases, sin clases? ¿Su hypocritical anti-imperialism, sustained by yankee dollars? Its utopian communist revoluttion?” This and other translations from Spanish texts are my own.

1993; Calla 1993). A complete definition of the term is difficult, though many scholars agree that its most important founding voice is that of the Bolivian indigenous intellectual, Fausto Reinaga (Saavedra 2003). Reinaga, and those who have followed him, see indianismo as an anti-colonial, anti-Occidental ideology which comes from indigenous peoples themselves, as opposed to the state-led policies or mestizo-written literatures of *indigenismo*. It was also in Reinaga's view a revolutionary ideology, one that would one day displace the ideologies of *hispanidad* and *mestizaje* which had served to legitimize the internal colonial orders of Latin American states.

To its critics, however, indianidad was racist, fundamentalist, and anti-modern. As one examines the literature on indigenous movements, over time many writers seem to agree that the radicalism of Indianismo, like the black power movements with which it was contemporaneous, became outdated and ill-suited as a political strategy. In the Bolivian highlands during the 1980s and 1990s, the radical versions of indianismo—that sought to create indigenous projects “*sin Cristo y sin Marx*”—yielded to the more pragmatic and moderate form of Katarismo, the view associated especially with Aymara leader and intellectual Victor Hugo Cardenas that sought to see Bolivian reality “with two eyes”, one which saw indigenous people through the optic of class and the other through the lens of colonized and racialized subjects (Mancilla 1999, Albó 1994). Ricardo Calla (1993: 65-66) argues that Kataristas were more pragmatic politically and less prone to the Indianista “reductionism... in which the ethnic question is not just a central problem in Bolivia, but the *only* problem.” Reinaga's brand of indianismo was often dismissed in the 1990s. Mancilla (1999), for instance, referred to it as “politically, an irrelevant minority,” in reference to the fact that indianista parties and candidates had

very poor showing in electoral contests. The ideological importance of indianismo was never questioned, as both exponents of indianismo and katarismo cited Reinaga as a crucial influence (Hylton and Thomson 2005). Indeed, both new President Evo Morales and his vice president Alvaro García Linera cite Reinaga as among their most important formative influences. Remarkably, however, there is very small critical literature on Reinaga, who died in 1994. Marcia Stephenson (2005) and Esteban Ticona (2005) remark that, in Ticona's words, there is a great "need to investigate the relevance (*vigencia*) of the thought of Fausto Reinaga" especially since the social "wars" of the new century (over water, taxes, and gas) gave new political life to radical indianistas like Felipe Qusipe who explicitly followed the example of Reinaga. This paper is a modest effort to address that need.

As a point of departure, we can begin by addressing one important critique of Indianismo's rejection of Western impositions. Ibarra (1999) argues that indianismo rests on a paradox: "Paradoxically, this challenge to the West is made using western terms like nation and science. Thus, the creation of a new discourse is inscribed within the terms of the very discourse it is opposing." This is less paradoxical, however, if we place Reinaga within the broader tradition of the trans-Atlantic legacies of Caliban, which includes those writers and revolutionaries from the "Third World" who used the discourses of the West against the West (see Fernández Retamar 2003). This paper seeks to place Reinaga precisely in this context by examining his encounter with the thought of the Afro-Caribbean/Algerian psychiatrist and revolutionary, Frantz Fanon.

Given the times in which Reinaga wrote his most influential works (the 1960s and 1970s), it is hardly surprising that he was keenly aware of the contributions of what Paul

Gilroy calls “the black Atlantic.” Reinaga noted the importance of black power movements in the U.S. and drew upon the writings of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Yet, of all the black or “African” influences, the greatest, I argue, was that of Frantz Fanon whose classic *Wretched of the Earth*, was published in 1961, translated into Spanish and English in 1963, and which Reinaga read and cited with care. It is not an overstatement to claim that Reinaga, quite literally, picks up where Fanon left off as the introductory chapter of *La Revolución India* included a lengthy selection from the closing chapter of Fanon’s classic text. Indeed, the longest quotation in Reinaga’s book, a book that cites a remarkable number of authors, is taken from (“el genial negro”) Fanon and extends, without interruption, for over three pages.

Reinaga’s encounter with Fanon, however, is not an unproblematic one and there are both commonalities and tensions in their work that are instructive to explore. Briefly, I will address Fanon’s influence on Reinaga’s views on colonialism, compare Fanon’s and Reinaga’s deployments of the concept of race, and contrast their views on nation and nationalism. I will conclude with some reflections on what a Fanonian reading of Reinaga can teach us about the contemporary impact of indianismo in Bolivia and beyond.

The World and the West²

The most noticeable imprint that Fanon leaves on Reinaga’s text is in the early pages of *La revolución india* where Reinaga cites the concluding chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth* in its entirety (Reinaga 1969: 67-71; Fanon 1963 [2004]: 235-

² “El Mundo y El Occidente” is the title of the first section of Reinaga’s *La revolución india*.

239).³ Without performing the same exercise here, the main message of that long passage is the need for colonized people to abandon the ill-fated efforts to mimic Europe and, importantly, the United States. “If we want to transform Africa, Asia, the Americas into a new Europe, we should entrust the destiny of our countries to the Europeans. They know how to do it better than the most able among us” (Fanon 1963: 239, cited in Reinaga 1969: 70). Fanon’s call to the Third World is not lost on Reinaga who argues that “the Indians of Bolivia cannot pass up the crisis that the West is suffering... We must take advantage of this crisis to liberate ourselves. The Indian revolution has an irrefutable logic on the terrain of ideas and in the phenomenology of the facts” (Reinaga 1969: 71).

Marcia Stephenson (2005) suggests that the affinity between these two anti-colonial writers reflects the psychological trajectories that they shared. In her view, both Fanon and Reinaga experience the humiliation of moving through colonial systems of education only to be made to feel inferior by broader colonial realities. Both Fanon and Reinaga experienced the contradictory nature of colonial societies that sought to assimilate colonized subjects yet at the same time could not do without hierarchical colonial categories where “Negro” and “Indio” were on the bottom. Reinaga writes that in his youth, despite being a descendant of the legendary indigenous leader Tomás Katari and the fact that he only spoke Quechua until his teenage years, he could not bear to be called “Indio:” “Not only did I feel a thundering slap on my face, but it was as if a hot, glowing piece of steel entered my conscience, my soul, my heart...Whosoever called me an Indian gave me a pain that burned my life... I wanted to die rather than hear the insult INDIAN (1967: 19).

³ Reinaga cites part of the same chapter in the last two pages of his 1967 book, *La intelligentsia del cholaje Boliviano*.

Also like Fanon, the experience of leaving the home country and passing through Europe created an increasing need in Reinaga to answer the question that haunts all colonial subjects: “Who am I in reality?” (Fanon 1961: 182). The beginning of the answer to that question is always found in saying who am I not. Reinaga found that he was not part of the Europeanized “cholaje” of Bolivia. He was part of that other Bolivia, the Indian Bolivia that was made to feel inferior despite the fact that it comprised the majority of the population. Reinaga thus knew exactly what Fanon meant when he described colonial societies as “Manichean and petrified, a world of statues: the statue of the general who led the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge” (Fanon 1961: 15). In a gesture to this very insight, Reinaga takes his reader on a tour of La Paz, from El Alto to Calacoto, and describes the statues that populate the capital city: “There are 36 statues of gringos, 36 of foreigners, versus 3 (THREE) from our langs: Murillo, Avaroa, y Busch... There isn’t a single statue of the great Indian heroes like Tomás Katari, Tupaj Katari, Bartolina Sisa...” (Reinaga 1969: 34).

The first task at hand, for both authors, is to shake their readers, to shake off the powerful yet degrading effects of colonialism and imperialism. These effects are as psychological and epistemological as they are physical (if not more so). In a particularly Calibanesque passage from a later work (*Podredumbre Criminal del Pensamiento Europeo*), Reinaga shows that he has mastered the art of the anti-colonial curse, he explains that knowledge from the Metropole comes to the Periphery “as a reflection, a shadow, an echo, or flatulence” (Reinaga 1982: 92-93, cited in Stephenson 2005). Only in ridding these imperial distortions and pollutants, could the colonized escape alienation and achieve full humanity and create what Fanon called a new humanism.

Yet beyond rejecting European and North American models and influences, there was much more work and innovation to be done in achieving the goal of decolonization. The last sentence of Fanon's classic work reads (in Philcox's English language translation): "For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must make a new start, develop a new way of thinking, and endeavor to create a new man" (239). Those words undoubtedly called out to Reinaga, who was writing after Che Guevara's effort to create a "New Man" had ended tragically in Bolivia, due in no small part to el Che's neglect of the Indian realities he encountered there. This passage was perhaps even more powerful in the Spanish translation of Fanon that Reinaga read closely as the last line speaks not to the need to "make a new start" but rather "*cambiar de piel*" (quoted in Reinaga 1969: 70). Metaphorically, Bolivia and its leader had to shed the skin of white and mestizo supremacy and accept the power and promise of Indianidad. Interestingly, it is on the question of race that there are some interesting tensions between the anti-colonial visions of Fanon and Reinaga.

Encountering Negritude and Indianidad

There is no question that race is a central theme in the work of both Fanon and Reinaga. Together, these two thinkers provide a formidable introduction into the hazards of race in the Atlantic World. Fanon had experienced and theorized race in Martinique, France, and Algeria, and Reinaga sought to explode the "Indian problem" that Andean intellectuals had themselves helped create. However, in their transnational thinking each of these authors had different experiences in their encounters with blackness and

Indianness. In my judgment, Fanon's ambivalence to the politics of negritude contrast with Reinaga's insistence on the centrality of indianidad.

Both negritude and indianidad, in the eyes of critics and followers, look longingly back to pre-colonial times when indigenous traditions and practices held the promise of a future that colonialism would violently disrupt. Césaire, an important influence on the young Fanon, captures this sense well:

The wonderful Indian civilizations—and neither Deterding nor Royal Dutch nor Standard Oil will ever console me for the Aztecs and the Incas... [for] extraordinary *possibilities* wiped out.... For my part I make a systematic defense of the non-European civilizations... They were communal societies, never a society of the many for the few (Césaire 1972: 20, 22, cited in Parry 1999: 231).

This is the grounding for Césaire's negritude, a call back to African traditions, to resistance during a long night of oppression. Parry (1999: 234) suggests that this reading of the past allows Césaire to “derive a common ethos [one is tempted to say ethnos] to all blacks out of which an anti-colonial and ultimately anti-capitalist identity can be constituted.”

Such a view is very compatible with Reinaga's view of indianidad. For Reinaga (and for the revolutionary indigenistas like José Carlos Mariátegui), indianidad is a consciousness forged through a rediscovery of the Inca civilization which produced the “most developed and most harmonious communist system” (quoting Mariátegui, Reinaga 1969: 78). Indianidad also drew on centuries of indigenous rebellions in the face of European and North American imperialism (59-63). Interestingly, for both Reinaga and

Césaire, their racialized politics are extensions of their landscapes. Compare the following:

My negritude is not a/ stone, its deafness hurled against the clamour of the day.../ my negritude is neither tower nor cathedral/ it takes root in the red flash of the soil/ it takes root in the ardent flesh of the sky (Césaire 1983: 67, 69, cited in Parry 1999: 294).

Indianidad is...like the color of his skin or the color of his soul: an inalterable formation, an eternal presence like the Andes (*una perennidad inalterable; una eternidad como los Andes*) (Reinaga 1969: 326).

Given its eternal quality, indianidad can be constantly re-discovered, and conversely lost by wayward souls. Reinaga's book is peopled with intellectuals and politicians that are "scientifically" Indian, but have been "Occidentalized." Among those who he claims as Occidentalized Indians are both writers he admires like José Carlos Mariátegui and those he despises like Alcides Arguedas. Reinaga himself recovered his Indianidad after long trying to deny it. Yet, Reinaga still makes clear that not all Andeans are equally capable of attaining true political indigeneity. In a curious note devoted to a discussion of the Quechua-speaking and writing Peruvian José Maria Arguedas, Reinaga cites Mario Vargas Llosa who describes Arguedas as an orphaned mestizo that was Indianized as he lived with indigenous servants as a child. "Culturally speaking," Vargas Llosa writes, Arguedas became Indian. Reinaga responds with the following:

What I want to underline is that to know what the Indian is, one must be

Indian. Because he who is only ‘culturally’ Indian can only *reveal* that which is Indian. But he who is Indian of flesh and heart, cosmos and race, does not only *reveals* what is Indian but also *rebels* as Indian! (emphasis in original, Reinaga 1969: 455 n. 1)⁴

Like negritude, indianidad is an ideology, a way of thinking and acting in the world. The Indian Revolution, Reinaga writes, will be first and foremost “a revolution of consciousness. It will burn on the brain before descending to the hands” (Reinaga 1969: 76). Yet, curiously, soon after this declaration, Reinaga insists (quoting Michel Conil Lacoste), though with little support, that “indianidad is more than the African ‘diaspora’, more than negritude which ‘encompasses the historical, social and cultural, development of the black world’” (1969: 77).⁵ Why Reinaga feels it necessary to compare indianidad and negritude in this way is unclear, and one can only speculate why he held this view. Perhaps Reinaga had in mind the disruptive effects that the slave trade had on African peoples, especially on the preservation of language, a subject to which he devotes significant attention. Language is both culture and knowledge, he argues (Reinaga 1969: 320-322). Whatever their differences, indianismo and negritude are more similar than they are different in giving pride of place to the question of race. And it is here that Fanon parts company.

First, Fanon is wary of putting too much weight on the glories of past empires in the light of current suffering. While acknowledging the power of history in shaping

⁴ The contemporary Indianist leader, former congressman, and head of the CSUTCB, Felipe Quispe, took this passage as the epigraph to his slim 1999 biographical work *El indio en escena*.

⁵ Reinaga provides a longer quote from Lacoste in a note in which negritude is equated with hispanidad. Note 10, p. 461.

consciousness, Fanon remarks that “the actual existence of an Aztec civilization has done little to change the diet of today’s Mexican peasant” (Fanon 1963: 148). Writing elsewhere, Fanon is even more damning in regards to negritude (an ideology, he admitted to Sartre, in which he had once “lost himself”):

The discovery of the existence of a Negro civilization in the fifteenth century confers no patent of humanity on me. Like it or not, the past cannot guide me in the present moment...I am a man, and what I have to recapture is the whole past of the world. I am not responsible solely for the revolt in Santo Domingo... I do not have the right to be mired in what the past has determined. I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors... The body of history does not determine a single one of my actions. I am my own foundation (Fanon 1967a: 225, 226, 230-231).⁶

The confidence and conviction with which these lines were written should not obscure the fact that Fanon understood how important historical memory and narrative were to politics. He himself notes that as an empirical matter, in liberation struggles “the plunge into the past is the condition and the source of freedom” (1967b: 43). Yet, his commitments are very different from Reinaga’s. One cannot imagine (at least I cannot) Reinaga echoing Fanon’s belief that for liberation struggles, the tendency to “racialize claims...leads African intellectuals into a dead end.” At the end of the day, Fanon looked at each instance of anti-colonial struggle as necessarily particular; the problems of Richard Wright and Langston Hughes, he noted, were not the same as those of Jomo

⁶ The chapter of *Black Skins/White Masks* from which this passage comes has as its paragraph the otherwise very historical Karl Marx: “The social revolution... cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future.”

Kenyatta (154). Failure to appreciate the importance of these specificities was for Fanon a liability of negritude. One might say something similar about Reinaga's indianismo. Yet, they were both committed to rebuilding the nations of the post-colonial world, both in individual countries and as an international project. What Parry writes about Fanon is perhaps also applicable to Reinaga: his "writing functions at a point of tension between cultural nationalism and transnationality, without resolving the contradiction and without yielding an attachment to the one or the aspirations to the other." To explore this further, it is worth considering both Fanon and Reinaga's view of post-colonial nation building.

Nation, Culture and Decolonization

Colonialism has disfigured the national trajectories of many peoples. Both authors seem to agree on this score. Yet, they predictably differ on the shape that post-colonial nationalisms may take, especially as they connect to pre-existing indigenous traditions and to transnational solidarities. Let us begin with Fanon. Perhaps the greatest worry that Fanon has about the liberation struggle concerns not Europeans, but the various fault-lines of post-colonial nationalism. The new nationalist bourgeoisie offers the nightmare of substituting black oppression for white oppression (a fear that was all too prophetic in many cases).⁷ Fanon also worries about the centrifugal pull of alternative identifications:

Instead of being the coordinated crystallization of the people's innermost aspirations, instead of being the most tangible immediate product of popular mobilization, national consciousness is nothing but a crude, empty, fragile shell. The cracks in it explain how easy it is for young independent countries to switch back from nation to ethnic group and from

⁷ "Some blacks can be whiter than whites" (Fanon 1963: 96).

state to tribe—a regression which is so terribly detrimental and prejudicial to the development of the national consciousness and the national unity (Fanon 1963: 97).

All too aware of the way that indirect rule turned indigenous leaders into colonial collaborators, Fanon seeks to look forward to a new national synthesis, not a return to precolonial traditions.

Reinaga also seeks to remake his Bolivian nation, but this necessarily is unimaginable without the Indian nation. Reinaga explains that his notion of nation is not simply mimicry of a European model. Europeans have failed to create both nations and states in the developing world and Bolivia is proof: “Bolivia is a false nation a state without power” (Reinaga 1969: 74). Like other Latin American countries, Reinaga argues, Bolivia is really two nations: “the Indian is of an oppressed nation. The *cholo* is of an oppressor nation” (1969: 168). The task for Bolivia is to make one nation, which in contrast to Fanon, meant looking back, looking to Tawantinsuyu.⁸ What is needed is the removal of colonial oppression to reveal the oppressed nation that is already in existence. Reinaga’s real nation is quite different from Anderson’s (1991) “imagined community”: “The Indian nation is real because ‘it is a stable community, historically formed, and which emerged from a linguistic, territorial, economic, psychological, and cultural community’” (Reinaga 1969: 168).

Interestingly, however, the Indian nation of Reinaga shares the Fanonian concern with fractionalization. For this reason, Reinaga emphatically rejects the idea of

⁸ Reinaga gives the question of nation-building considerable attention. He contrasts European, Afro-Asiatic, and Indigenous paths. While I do not discuss these paths in detail here, briefly the European case is one in which a state grew out of a nation, the Afro-Asiatic case is the reverse in which a state formed a nation, and the Indian nation is a nation that is oppressed, already constituted and in need of a state (167-70).

indigenous nationalities (an idea that is currently very much in favor among indigenous organizations in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru). The idea that Bolivia is made up of various indigenous nationalities (“aymaras, keswas, chiquitos, moxos, y chirguanos...”) is “*error e ignorancia; ignorancia y error*” (169). The Andean bias of Indianismo is palpable, and Reinaga says very little about how the “white Indians” of the oriente lowlands fit into the new Tawantinsuyo. Yet, for Fanon, the crucial fact of Bolivian indianidad is that the Indian nation makes up the majority. Recognizing the power of this indigenous multitude is the beginning of the Indian revolution, which ultimately, he suggests (but does not explain how) will lead to a continental revolution of “IndoAmerica” (171).

Fanon, as a transplanted Afro-Caribbean in Algeria, certainly shares the internationalist sentiment that Reinaga articulates, but he focuses his theoretical energies on producing national consciousness, transnational solidarity, but not necessarily continental communities. Attaining national liberation will be hard enough.

Concluding Thoughts

When asked who was the first politician he admired, the new indigenous president of Bolivia, Evo Morales, responded: “More than any politician, I admired a writer, Fausto Reinaga and his works like *La revolución india*...He allowed me to understand who we are as Quechuas and Aymaras” (*Opinión* Abril 15, 2001). Indigenous intellectuals and leaders throughout the region would echo Morales in recognizing the role that Reinaga played in shaping the contemporary discourse of indigeneity. Curiously, though, Reinaga’s work has met the definition of a classic all too well: a book that everyone cites, but few (academics) actually read. The relative dearth of critical studies on this

unquestionably important figure also stands in sharp contrast to the explosion of attention paid to Reinaga's Afro-Caribbean contemporary, Frantz Fanon. This paper has sought to take some inspiration from "critical Fanonism" (Gates 1991) and contribute to the slowly emerging field of "critical Reinaguismo." In reading Fanon and Reinaga together, I suggest that we can take four broad lessons from their convergences and divergences.

First, there is the sociological importance of these two works as works that were passed around, read, and discussed by those actively involved in politics. It is no accident that Reinaga's foreword is dedicated to "*la juventud*" (the young people) and no surprise that young Aymara Katarista intellectuals in La Paz used his text as a touchstone for their early efforts at organizing. In Bolivia, Fanon and Reinaga were and, I argue, continue to be required reading for understanding the challenges of colonialism and the promise of decolonization. These are authors that wrote to provoke, to awaken, and to stimulate the asking of new questions.

Second, though both Fanon and Reinaga have been dismissed as radical voices or apologists for violence, it is crucial to appreciate the breadth of their intellectual and political agendas. As documents of race-making in the Atlantic world, manifestos of political action, and theories of postcolonial nation making, few works are as thrilling as the ones these two authors produced. Moreover, we should take seriously Sekyi Otu's (1999) suggestion in reading not only Fanon, but also Reinaga: we should read their work "as though they [each] form one dramatic dialectical experience" instead of seeing their words as "irrevocable propositions and doctrinal statements." Their encounters with race, with the West, and with "new humanism" were dynamic processes of decolonization that were constantly being revisited by these two "*Amautas*." As Fanon wisely noted:

“because decolonization comes in many shapes, reason wavers and abstains from declaring what is true decolonization and what is not” (1963: 21). In Bolivia, the dialectic of indianidad has played out in fascinating ways as the moderate Katarismo of Victor Hugo Cardenas and the radical version of Felipe Quispe jostled against each other before the cocalero katarismo of Evo Morales displaced them both (Sanjines 2005; Hylton and Thomson 2005). The current debate over the “menace of multiculturalism” provides us an additional opportunity to revisit dialectical possibilities and dangers (Hale 2002, Van Cott Forthcoming).

Third, decolonization should be thought of as an on-going epistemological and political process. Reinaga’s vivid suggestion that revolution burns in our heads before it reaches our hands could have just as easily been made by Fanon. And contemporary scholars have recognized the complex and multiple nature of decolonization as an emancipatory project. Lisa Lowe (1996: 107), for instance, explicitly follows Fanon in writing that decolonization “is a multi-faceted and multi-centered assault on those specific forms of colonial rule...” and is the “ongoing disruption of the colonial mode of production and representation.” Both Fanon and Reinaga emphasize the power of disruption as an important part of the search for new paths to more just social orders.

Finally, both Fanon and Reinaga provide us with important insights as we continue to theorize blackness and indigeneity in the Americas (and beyond). Reinaga’s unflinching sense of the superiority of indianidad over negritude can still be heard in the tensions between indigenous and Afro-Latin American leaders who are often forced together by World Bank and state ethnodevelopment agendas. Fanon’s skepticism about the centrality of race and Reinaga’s insistence upon it are still heard in debates over

strategic essentialism and postmodern critiques of identity politics. In different ways, Fanon and Reinaga ask us to take a broader view of the world-historical conditions that make racial projects possible. Reinaga believed that indianismo, like a geological force, would eventually and naturally emerge. Fanon voiced skepticism about the “Negro” politics since the conditions that created “Negroes” “are witnessing the demise of their economic and cultural supremacy” (1963: 169). While I find myself looking at the Andes more with Fanonian eyes, it is hard to avoid also acknowledging that the current moment is one in which the volcano of indianismo also seems to be erupting.

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