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Dear Peter,

On the evening of 22 August, Bernardo Guarachi, a Bolivian mountaineering guide directing a joint Canadian-French expedition in the Andean range 80 kilometers northeast of La Paz, declared to officials of the Bolivian Ministry of Interior that he had narrowly escaped from a surprise confrontation with uniformed guerrillas armed with sophisticated automatic weapons and using walkie-talkies earlier that day. He had fled to report to officials that the mountaineers were in the hands of the guerrillas, in the region of Sorata, to the east of Lake Titicaca, near the Chachacomani River and Mt. Cotapatani, at an altitude of approximately 5,000 meters above sea level.

Guarachi's statement sparked immediate concern here in the capital, and the Interim Interior Secretary, Dr. Eduardo Pérez Beltrán, spent most of last week presiding over a body of conflicting claims and opinions regarding the possible presence of armed bands in Bolivia that might resemble the Maoist-inspired Peruvian terrorist group, Sendero Luminoso. The Minister first announced that the group of mountaineers had been found, safe and sound, and that Guarachi's flight to authorities had been the result of exaggerated fear and paranoia that sprang up when the expedition crossed paths with campesinos, or farmers, who had been merely hunting in the area. The Interior Ministry pointed out that the possession of automatic weapons by Bolivian civilians was prohibited and that there did not exist conditions on the Altiplano that would give rise to such a movement.

Nonetheless, the Interior Ministry was worried enough to despatch special Army Intelligence units to the Sorata area. Serious consideration was being given to the hypothesis that there was a link between the "irregulars" and drug-traffickers. The Canadian and French mountaineers were interviewed by their respective embassies, and according the daily newspaper Ultima Hora, the presence of an armed group was confirmed. Victor Balen, a Canadian mountaineer on the expedition, said that the expedition had been surprised while preparing to bivouac. The Interior Ministry admitted that a sweep of the area was being conducted, but officials were still undecided as to whether the encounter signalled the presence of an armed political movement in Bolivia.

Following on the heels of the attempt to blow up U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz's motorcade during his visit to La Paz earlier this month, the incident raises new questions about the prospect that the increasing terrorist violence extant in Peru might spill over Lake Titicaca and across the Altiplano to swell in Bolivia. Andean analysts have consistently told me that the chances of such a spill-over are remote, likening the Bolivian Altiplano to a "buffer zone" that would resist the introduction of any foreign terrorist movement from Peru because of the cultural differences between the Quechua-speaking Indians of the Puno Department in Peru and the Aymara-speaking Indians of the La Paz Department in Bolivia. These analysts contend that the Aymara Indian is more docile than his northern neighbor, more insular, and less prone to violence.

Analysts also insist that the Bolivians cannot lay claim to a personality like Abimael Guzmán, the mysterious leader of Sendero Luminoso in Peru, who went from writing a thesis on the Kantian philosophy of space to preaching cold-blooded violence to achieve social revolution. Perhaps the experts are correct. But it would be presumptuous to assume that there are not indigenous movements in Bolivia, that -- at least on paper -- do not bear an uncanny similarity to the philosophy of Sendero Luminoso in Peru.

The most radical, and potentially disruptive, indigenous movement that champions the cause of Aymara and Quechua Indians in Bolivia is a fairly obscure political party that goes by the name, "Ayllus Rojas," or the "Tupakataristas." "Ayllu" refers to the concept of communal labor that existed in the Pre-Columbian Aymara and Quechua societies, and survives in fragmented form today. "Tupakatarista" refers to those who look to the example of Tupak Katari, a Bolivian Indian who, in 1781, led the highland provinces of Bolivia in a rebellion against Spanish rule. Allied with Tupac Amaru, who had initiated a simultaneous revolt in the Cuzco region of Peru, the two Indian rebels wreaked havoc in the Andes for months, and before the rebellion of Tupak Katari was crushed in Bolivia, the rebel's dominion extended as far south as Salta, in what is modern-day Argentina. Informed sources tell me that the Ayllus Rojas first surfaced on 12 May 1986, at the 21st Congress of the Bolivian Mine Workers' Federation, (FSTMB). Held in the historic mining center of Oruro, the 21st Congress convened to consider the effects of the collapse in the international tin market on mine production and employment in Bolivia. [See WLM-1 & WLM-2] During the meeting of the Federation's Political Sub-Committee, Constantino Lima, a Bolivian "indigenista" long involved in the Indian movement, stood up and introduced a political platform proclaiming that social change was possible only through unrepentant violence directed against the "q'ara" (literally translates to "mestizo" in both Quechua and Aymara, but is slang for "blanco," or "white"). The q'ara had controlled Bolivia long enough. Lima claimed that he represented a miners' syndicate from the Catavi area. As it turned out, neither the mine nor the miners' syndicate had been in operation for some time. But the ploy was enough to garner an initial audience, even though a small group of delegates tried to oust Lima from the Congress, asserting that Lima had no right to participate without a constituency.

Emerging from the shadow of this murky beginning, the Ayllus Rojas movement seems to have grown in strength since 1986. Whereas the Ayllus Rojas numbered only Lima and an assistant in 1986, by the time the Extraordinary Congress of the Bolivian Farm Workers' Confederation met in

Potosí during late June of this year, the Ayllus Rojas were organized enough to send approximately 50 delegates. The delegates succeeded in posting their platform on the voting calendar of the Confederation's (CSTUCB) Political Sub-Committee. In a show of solidarity and support that surprised delegates unsympathetic to the movement, the Ayllus Rojas came in second out of ten party platforms presented to the Congress. Said one delegate, "When we heard the clapping and whistling, we thought that the Ayllus Rojas were going to win. But there was a last minute shift in the mood of the delegates, and they had to settle for second place." The Ayllus Rojas platform, one of three approved by the Congress, now forms part of the official political ideology that the CSTUCB must work to realize in the upcoming year. And second place in an organization that represents more Bolivian farmers than any other is no small feat. The CSUTCB first banded together in June 1979 when fuel prices (petrol, oil, & kerosene) rose 120% during the presidential administration of Lidia Gueiler Tejada, the female president of Bolivia who served briefly after the repressive regime of General Hugo Banzer ended in 1978. The CSUTCB is part of the larger umbrella union, the Confederation of Bolivian Workers (COB). The COB also includes the miners' union, the FSTMB.

Indigenous political movements are by no means new to Bolivia. In 1962, Fausto Reinaga's "Partido Indio" called upon Aymaras and Quechuas to defend their heritage and promised death to those who betrayed the Indian cause. In the early 1970's Julio Tumiri Apaza formed the indigenous party MINK'A, named for the communal work prevalent in the Aymara and Quechua populations. By the end of General Banzer's government, MINK'A had become the Movimiento Indio Tupak Katari (MITKA). Constantino Lima first gained public attention when he split from MITKA in 1978, complaining that it was too moderate. Though little is known about Lima, one writer has characterized him as a "caudillo," or Latin American bossman, who, even in 1978 was playing on racism to appeal for violent change in Bolivian society.

It is important that Lima and the Ayllus Rojas address Bolivians on Bolivian terms. Historians will recall the failure of Ché Guevara to organize his People's Revolution from the Nancahuazú region of Santa Cruz in 1967. Then Ché Guevara was guilty of operating in a region that showed no great interest in supporting his cause; the Cuban revolutionary ignored the miners. Ché might have had problems with the miners in any case. Though violent dissent in the mines has been endemic since the Spanish Conquest, the years 1966-68 were fairly good ones for the tin mining sector in Bolivia. As U.S. involvement in Vietnam deepened, tin plate consumption in the U.S. grew from 125,030 standard tons in 1966 to 227,309 standard tons in 1968, necessitating increased imports of tin concentrate. At the same time, mine production of tin in Bolivia rose steadily from its 1966 level of 25,522 standard tons to 29,101 standard tons in 1968. Since tin prices remained fairly steady, there were no drastic labor cutbacks. There was however, the massacre at the Siglo XX mining camp near Oruro in April 1969, and that has stayed in the collective memory of groups like the Ayllus Rojas that seek to influence miners today. Considering that 30,000 miners (or more) lost their jobs after the tin crisis in 1985, it would be no shock if the Ayllus Rojas found a more receptive audience than Ché.

The appearance of the Ayllus Rojas comes at a crucial time in Bolivian politics. The estimated 500,000 farmers who depend for their livelihood on coca cultivation in the Yungas, Alto Beni, and Chapare are opposed to the

Paz Estenssoro government's cooperation with the U.S. in an effort to eradicate the coca crop. Julio Rocha, leader of the CSUTCB, has complained publicly that the money set aside by the Bolivian government (and received from the U.S. as part of the aid package here) to recompensate farmers for the loss of their coca crop never finds its way into the farmers' pockets. Several mining executives I have spoken to also wonder what will happen if the coca-dollar is somehow removed from the Bolivian economy. The Ayllus Rojas are adamant in their proclaimed defense of the right to cultivate coca, and with unemployment unofficially estimated at 25%, it seems logical that a farmer dependent on coca cultivation might respond to the Ayllu Rojas promise to defend the coca crop at any cost. This is to say nothing of the drug-traffickers who might find a covert alliance with the group a cosy marriage of convenience.

Earlier this month, when discussing the possible influence of Sendero Luminoso in Bolivia with a foreign diplomat here, the diplomat remarked, "There is a big difference between violent rhetoric and actually setting up cells, putting guns in [terrorists'] hands, and getting them to go out and kill policemen." True enough, but a close reading of the attached Ayllu Rojas political platform suggests that the group is in no hurry. The Aymaras and Quechuas are exhorted to take up the brilliant path of violence and death that will lead to joy and utopia. (In the original Spanish document, the Ayllu Rojas use the phrase, "brillante camino," which is a pretty close synonym for "sendero luminoso.") In fact, the counsel to delay the armed struggle strikingly resembles the chilling strategy developed by Abimael Guzman and his colleagues while at the University of Huamanga, in Ayacucho, Peru, in the mid-1970's. Compelling is the millenarian approach to history, which emphasizes the superiority of the Aymara and Quechua civilizations over the imported European "trash" emulated by the "q'ara." And the appeal to recover a mythicized past could capture the imagination of a studious, though alienated, university student. Central to the thesis of the Ayllu Rojas platform is the concept of the "ayni" (Aymara for help, or work, that returned to the donor by the recipient); "mink'a" (Quechua for work that is reciprocal); and "jayma" (Quechua for help, or favor).

These three words recall the Pre-Columbian concept of work among the Aymara and Quechua before the arrival of Pizarro in the 16th Century. The Inca chronicler, Garcilaso de la Vega, has left us with a fulsome and detailed description of the ayllu, the agricultural and land distribution system that encompassed this practice of communal labor. The ayllu was the center of Pre-Columbian Andean life. Rural communities functioned as organic bodies in which families were allowed tracts of land in accord with their role in maintaining and serving the community. For example, each family was guaranteed two llamas, which could not be killed for any reason, but were to be used to breed larger herds for fleece and meat. In addition to the land set aside for family sustenance, there were parcels reserved for the state. Some authors have argued that the Spanish used this concept of "imminent domain" to their evil advantage after the Conquest, taking up the best lands for themselves in the name of the Spanish king. This is not to say that there did not exist a class structure in the Pre-Columbian societies. Greater quantities of fecund land were held for the Inca and the royal elite. Also, the average Aymara or Quechua was not allowed the luxury of coca nor was he allowed to wear extragant vestments. These privileges were signs of rank. Nevertheless, the ayllu did function so well that the chroniclers marvel that there were no famines during the

Inca administration of Andean society, but rather, regular periods of agricultural surplus.

Integral to the success of the Ayllu and these Pre-Columbian peoples was the relation of the Aymara or Quechua to the Cosmos. There existed the "Pachamama," the concept being derived from the Quechua word meaning "earth," and "mama," which means "mother" in both Quechua and Spanish. The Aymara and Quechua Indians enjoyed the protection of this cosmic force, the Pachamama exercising divine care not just over crops, but with the harvest, gave life to the Andean Indian as she watched over the "dwellings carved out of her domain." Michael J. Sallnow, author of Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco, (Washington, D.C., 1987), writes that the Pachamama is best understood as a "matrix," corresponding to a fluid interaction between the Aymara or Quechua and his natural environment. Sallnow goes a bit further though:

There is another side to this spiritual fertility and the benevolence of the earth Crags, boulders, fissures, caves, clefts, gullies, ravines, the places that can never be claimed for the purposes of human subsistence or residence, are seen as scars of barrenness and sterility on the domesticated terrain. Similarly, places where untoward events have occurred -- the site of a fatal accident, for example, ora house abandoned by its owner, who was haunted there by dreams of devils -- these places are likely to become taboo, closed off from human activity and left for nature to reclaim. These pockets of wilderness in the midst of the predial are manifestations of Pachatira (tira from the Spanish "tierra," or land), the earth in its resistant, untamable, or dangerous aspect. There exists, so to speak, a negative image of the domesticated environment, consisting of the uncultivable, uninhabitable, or abandoned places that lie in the interstices of human occupation and husbandry.

For the Tupakatarista of the Ayllus Rojas, his vision of the modern world could be likened to this darker side of the Pachamama. Technology, money, and his perception of a capitalist economy that enslaves rather than liberates: these are the crags, caves and clefts of the 20th Century. As one Aymara from the Altiplano explained to me, in a conversation entirely unrelated to violence, "My people, we are often described as poor. But it is the bureaucrat in La Paz, the city-dweller, who is poor. He must rent a house; he must work inside a building, closed off from the Pachamama. On the Altiplano, we toil, surrounded by the Aymara mountain gods, the "achachilla," and cultivate our lives under the Aymara sun, the "willka." We are the wealthy, we are the children of the Pachamama."

Instead of continuing with my own interpretation, I think it only fair at this point to let the Ayllus Rojas speak for themselves. Their platform is long, and in places, repetitive. But I do not think it just to present simply excerpts. From the Ayllus Rojas point of view, the "q'ara" has said enough about Bolivia. The time has come to listen to the children of the Pachamama.

RED OFFENSIVE OF THE AYLLUS TUPAKATARISTAS

Political Program Presented to the Extraordinary Congress of
the Confederation of Bolivian Farm Workers (C.S.U.T.C.B)
Potosí, BOLIVIA July, 1988

Aymaras, Quechuas, and Tupiwaranies:
WE ARE AN OPPRESSED NATION!

1. Our Aymara nation, which appeared at the very beginning of human history, is composed of Tiwakinis, Waris, Qulla-Aymaras, and other indigenous groups. During the epoch of its independence, our culture had already advanced, through Ayllus, to the point where we administered a sophisticated system of agriculture, livestock raising, weaving, astronomy, science, etc., etc. These gains were realized though a system of communal work known as "ayni," "mink'a," and "jayma," etc., etc.

This is the material base that permits us to speak to and debate the future of our Aymara nation. We should point out that the heritage of our Nation has been refined and polished by our grandfathers. They have maintained our unique history, our land, our religion, our cosmos, our culture and ideology of "amaw'ika," in short, all of our communitarian customs.

2. As a consequence of the bloody Conquest and Spanish usurpation of our ancestral nation, Qullasuyana, is today called Bolivia by the remaining elements of the original European invaders. This, despite the fact that Bolivia finds itself made up of distinct, and ancient, Indian nations. For 500 years we have lived under the bloody scourge of oppression and exploitation. We face discrimination of every kind: racial, cultural, spiritual, economic and political. This exploitation has been carried out by a small colonial minority that illegitimately took political power and illegitimately retains it. In the Conquest we witness the conflict of Pizzaroists vs. Aimagristas; during the Republic we witnessed the conflict of the conservatives and liberals vs. the republicans. Today we witness the conflict of the Right and Left. These latest groups are nothing more than the same "patrones" of the past -- whether they be bourgeois, businessman or landlords. The contemporary struggle [for power] is nothing more than an avaricious conflict directed by personal interests with the aim to suck our blood, in other words, a conflict of vampire bats vs. lazy men who live off of others' work. These bloodsuckers come, generation after generation, to drain our blood until they leave us -- the Aymaras, the Quechuas, the Tupiwaranis -- as a dried carcass of human offal.

3. This is the motive that obliges us to present this document, with the clear thought and elegant style of [our hero] Tupak Katari. Today appears the fight of our oppressed Nations as a part of the general reawakening of our cultures, sleeping giants for the last five centuries. It is a fight against capitalist exploitation, bourgeois civilization, and the tyrannical foreign oppressor: the United States. We, the Aymaras and Quechuas, express the need to form separate and independent worker states, distinct from the bourgeois Bolivian state. We are in the midst of a recovery, a movement to construct the future reorienting ourselves to the past, to revive and reissue the call to violence and arms that [should have] never died out in the first place. [We must move beyond] the time since our Ayllus were first subordinated to the will of the oppressive and discriminatory city [populace]. [Our document] expresses the coming of a giant tempest that will hail down upon our executioners. It expresses the maturation of a will to make war, to smell the smell of blood, to witness the purifying fire -- that from our communities, from our hearts -- prepares itself to destroy this capitalist civilization and the damned

bourgeois society.

4. Actually, the fight of our oppressed Nations against the [bourgeois] state and capitalist-driven Bolivian nation of "q'aras" and landowners rises up from the earth like a powerful volcano from the Andean cordillera. The Left must tremble in fear at the prospect of encountering death at its hands. [Because of this fear, the Left] tries to domesticate and control the rural and worker movements that are born in the Altiplano, the [Cochabamba] Valley, and the Oriente (Santa Cruz/Beni region). They have clothed themselves in the fashion of traditional Stalinist and Trotskyite parties (and even in the cloak of social democracy) to speak about our [indigenous] Nations and nationalities. They speak with duplicitous skill and the left hand. They even raise our "wiphala" in their political meetings, our "wiphala" of seven colors -- replacing the imported flags with their hammers and sickles. But these pseudo-Leftists try to dominate us, holding us at a distance as if we were a dirty rag, making us appear not like nations, but simply as savage cultures and [backward] ethnic groups that must be civilized by the bourgeois state. For the Left, we are not a Nation of workers that has the right to our own government, our own state and independent Nation. Rather, we are a mass of small property-owners, part of the legend of Bolivian folklore that must be transformed in [their fashion] to become a proletariat that will fatten up the bourgeois state. For the Left, our communities and forms of work are not the seeds of communitarian socialism, but signs of backwardness and savagery that must disappear in order to make way for Western and capitalist technology. For the Left, the word that they give to the ancient indigenous communities is only that -- a word -- to win our vote in the next general elections. Thus a handful of Leftists feed like pigs in Parliament, producing laws contrary to the interests of campesinos in the countryside and our character as an [indigenous] Nation -- all in the name of progress!

We [the indigenous campesinos] who labor and cultivate "Pachamama" from dawn to dusk with complete dedication and care, do so in order to subsidize and maintain the cities with our agricultural products. It is worth saying that we do so in order that sweet drinks and fine dishes are always on the table of the potent, bourgeois "patron" and so that the little bourgeois brats can eat with both cheeks full of food in their comfortable and posh suburbs.

We want to emphasize and hold up the theme of our original and oppressed Nation, because until now, no one has known how to give us priority when considering the problems of the country. This has been the downfall of all parties, whether from the Left or the Right. All they have done is reign with their empirical dogmatism, thus impeding the emergence of the indigenous movement into the public light, in its proper dimension and with its own ideology about the struggle between nations.

5. We, the Aymara and Quechua workers -- as the original owners and dwellers in this land -- we cannot, nor should we, renounce our responsibility to be the standard bearers of the [Peoples' War] (Naciones Originarias), nor of the right to form independent Aymara and Quechua Nations and states, as in the past. Except now, we must embark on a war to the death and separate ourselves from the bourgeois Bolivian state. History shows us that if we do not inaugurate this struggle, our proletarian brothers from the diverse [indigenous] nations will not be able to liberate themselves and will continue to be exploited, to be the objects of racial

economic discrimination. Neither will we be able to develop our own Socialist Revolution, in which we will be liberated from capitalist exploitation and free to form our own Aymara-Quechua civilizations.

Only the rural poor, in conjunction with their proletarian brothers -- acting as a historic majority, and rising from oppression and suffering -- can begin the new war of Tupak Katari, the Tupak Katari War of the 20th Century. The War will plant the seeds of Collective Horizontal Socialism, or, the Ayllu of Ayllus. We must garner the will and support of all the oppressed [indigenous] Nations and proletariat, since we consider that the miners and factory workers that have been forced to leave our campesino communities in search of work have become the cheap tools of the rich capitalists.

When we, as Aymaras, Quechuas and Tupiwaranis, plant the seeds of war against the capitalist civilization and struggle to construct our own Aymara and Quechua states -- separate and distinct from the bourgeois Bolivian state -- the ultra-reactionary chauvinists and Rightists will tell us that we are anti-Bolivian, that we are guilty of infamy. The pseudo-Leftists will tell us that we are wrong, that we are crazy utopian dreamers, that we are dividing the country. But to these cosmopolitan gentleman dressed in suit and tie we respond: THE COUNTRY IS DIVIDED! It is divided because in one part of the country live the rich in their opulent suburbs, and in another part sit the villas of misery. On the one hand, there is the colonized Bolivia, with its completely Gringo-cized and Yankee-cized currency. On the other, there is the "Qullasuyu," that stands firm in its support of the original and ancestral indigenous Nations. For the [rich] there is the Bolivian flag of three colors (green, yellow, red), that promises peace, wealth and happiness. For the poor, the Red Flag of the Ayllus flies with its seven colors, these being the hope of peace and liberty. There is the so-called Bolivian national anthem -- it is a song for the "q'aras" and the "ricachones" (rich). Our indigenous music must sound as a battle hymn in order that the workers stand up and fight until our liberation is complete and total. [Bourgeois] Bolivians invoke as our founding fathers the foreigners Murillo, Bolivar, Sucre, Olañeta, Santa Cruz, Melgarejo, Busch, Villaroel, and Barrientos. We the workers invoke as our martyrs and heroes Tupak Katari, Bartolina Sisa, Tomas Katari, Zarate Willka, and the other great men and women who have offered their lives for our liberation and the preservation of the Indian heritage.

6. The truth of truths is that the descendents of European invaders have only shown themselves incapable and inept when it comes to the conduct and administration of our Republic and our ancestral heritage. 163 years of the Republic have passed and they have succeeded only in dismembering our country and abusing our Indian rights. [These] descendents have turned our country into an extension of the Yankee state -- with the sad characteristic that all of our natural riches are turned over to the voracious imperialists. Against this background, we, the rural workers -- if we want to be men of dignity worthy of our past, if we want to win happiness and liberty for the poor, if we do not want to see our children die of hunger, if we want to resist and raise to the highest summits of history our gods and "manes," our heroes, our Nations, our ancestral communities -- then we have no other option but to wage war -- take to the path of blood and fire. That was the path of Tupak Katari and Zarata Willka. This is the only way to tear off the yoke of oppression and exploitation.

THE MNR-ADN GOVERNMENT: A Handful of Cocain Addicts, Assasins, and Blood-Suckers!

1. The businessmen and directors of EMUSA, COMSUR, and GRACE, etc., and the entire Confederation of Private Enterprise have captured political power using the "beautiful" ethic of nationalism and democracy, with the aim to exploit us until the last drop of blood falls. With our efforts, [they] fill their pockets, and those of their imperialist lovers, with profits. These pseudo-nationalists continue to believe that Bolivia is a foreign colony. These "q'aras" from the MNR continue to think that their mother country is the U.S. or in Europe. They even continue to bring over their racist brothers from Hong Kong so that they may suck our blood also. They want to keep on deceiving us with the AGROPODER of the ex-Minister Mauricio Mamani Pukuwaka. This is, for us, no more than another trick to burn us off and dispossess us of our ancestral lands and turn us over to the "patrones." We will be in the same dire straits as in 1952, or perhaps, even worse off than before.

In the countryside, the "q'aras" have furiously launched a political program bent on the over-exploitation and destruction of our rural communities. With the [MNR] free import policy, they are forcing us to hand over each day more products [at lower prices to compete with these imports] so that we must produce and work more in order to satisfy the same minimum needs. Having imposed this policy, we are forced to surrender more unpaid work to the landlords, to the commercial traders, and to the businessmen: all of whom are getting fat and accumulating riches like has never been possible before. With the free import policy, with the Tax Reform, with the Education Reform, the drug-addicted caste ruling the government is trying to debilitate our communities. They are trying to atomize and individualize our [communal] family structures, and trying to civilize us to fit their bourgeois mold. In this way they hope to destroy us, the bulwark of the Socialist Revolution. They want to destroy our way of life, our system of communal work, and the Aymara-Quechua civilization built upon these values.

With the eradication of coca, they hope to destroy our cultural values and customs. In the process, they will throw off the land thousands of farmers to transform them into beggars living in misery on the city streets. In the name of competition, they cheapen our lives even more; just look at the salaries of our worker brothers.

2. At the same time, the plans of the MNR, the ADN, and the MIR have put forth as their objectives the juicy profits for great private enterprises. In order to put a halt to the temporary [budget and balance of payments] crises, their plans look to reduce certain sources of loss that hinder the bourgeois state in order to qualify for new foreign loans. These same loans will be divided later among the leading government and business strongmen. In order to achieve this goal, the great majority of salaries has been reduced (mining), subsidies on foodstuffs have been cut, and thousands of miners and factory workers have been thrown out to face misery and hunger -- all in the name of "readjustment and relocalization."

3. In order to carry out these savage capitalist plans, the government has recognized no limit, nor has restricted its measures used to achieve its ends. The Parliament, like all government institutions, is nothing more than an office to rubber stamp the laws that benefit big business. Judges

and lawyers write laws like prostitutes in order to pocket Bolivian pesos -- always to the benefit of the "patrones." Television and radio stations, including those that call themselves "popular" are also in the hands of big business, existing for no other purpose but to adorn this offensive of the "patrones." The Army -- that damned medicine of death (owned by big business) -- converts itself day by day into the most efficient tool charged with carrying out anti-Aymara, anti-Quechua, and anti-Indian policies.

The MNR-ADN government, the Parliament of thieves, and the capitalist class -- [Bolivian bourgeois society] in its entirety then -- has brought us only suffering: death and massacres to our families, raids against our lands, taxes on our work. And we endure these sacrifices just to buy bread and linger in slavery before the powerful. What more can we hope from them? Death at our door: that is the only gift we will be promised by the MNR-ADN government. This cannot continue any longer. Unless we want to live like beasts bearing the burden of the MNR policies [something must be done]. Who wants to live like a human being? Who wants to find happiness for his family and his community? We are compelled to tear off the yoke of this damned government of "q'aras" -- to burn it, to destroy it, so that it may never again return to rule this land and people now humiliated under crush of its barbarity. The path is one of struggle, of confrontation, of rebellion against all that might be bourgeois, against all of the "patrones." Whether they be of the Right or Left, it does not matter....

OUR COMMUNITARIAN TUPAKARISTA STRATEGY

1. The historic moment has arrived, and we must not commit the errors of the past. Negotiation, the dialogue of traitors, the begging on hands and knees to the "patrones" who direct Parliamentary negotiation -- this path of pacifism and legalism has gone awry. With dialogue we have only come away with defeat and the death of our brothers. If we are going to die, it is better to die fighting as dignified men, worthy of the name: sons of Tupak Katari. But not begging from the "patrones!" The best [solution] is to follow the brilliant path of war and struggle. It is the only path that has helped us before and will continue to help us now. The path of war, confrontation, and rebellion is painful and long, but it is the only path that will bring us to victory. The path is sacred and belongs to us -- the Aymara and Quechua. We will not begin the armed struggle quite yet, for we must first prepare ourselves for the struggle. The preparation began the moment the government began to kill our relatives. We must begin from the ground and work our way up, from the small to the great, from the simple to the complex. Protest marches no longer need be peaceful. No longer can we enter the city like herds of llamas bearing signs that claim, "El pueblo unido nunca será vencido." If we do not touch the hair of the rich citizens, even if we march peacefully 1000 times, the government will not listen to us. The government's answer will always come in the form of tear gas and assassins' bullets.

Comrades: our marches must be violent and armed. We have to affect the interests of the rich. We have to sack and burn cars, we have to break the windows of skyscrapers -- until we make them feel that they are our oppressors. This is the new style of communitarian and radical warfare that awaits us. This is the same [strategy] employed by our forefathers against the Spanish, and later, against the liberal-republican landlords. This is our model and example for new generations. With this type of warfare, we are going to make heard the just clamor of our worker brethren.

2. Another tactic we must employ is identical to that employed by Mallku Tupak Katari during the war in 1781: we must not let pass even one agricultural product into the cities until [the city-dwellers] are eating dogs and cats, even horses -- until they eat their children. This is the only path left to us. We must begin to prepare ourselves now and organize ourselves to throw out and expel from our communities the traitors and "llunk'us" that pertain to the reactionary right and fascist oppressors. These sell-outs are those that harm us, get us massacred, and leave us as prisoners to be killed by executioners.

3. The Central Bolivian Workers' Union (COB) tells us to engage in non-violent resistance. What are they saying? They are telling us that we must blee like paralyzed sheep. The head of the Bolivian Communist Party, (PCB), Simón Reyes Rivera, wants to relocate us just like the 30,000 miners. This wheeler-dealer wants to put the dirty hands of the traitors and reformers into our mouths; he wants to stab us in the back, but we already know him from his days of treason with Ché [Guevara's] Army. In order to shake the dirty hand of Pope John Paul II, he lifted his last hunger strike. Comrades: you cannot trust peaceful dialogue. Dialogue and legal maneuver -- this is the path of defeat. For the poor, the right path and the Indian path is the path of violence and revolt. [We must fight] from our communities against the law, against the supreme decrees that the government imposes. [Violence is] the path we must follow to defend the cultivation of coca, education. [We must fight] against abusive transporters and taxes to get the best prices for our agricultural products. Thus, when the UMOPARES, directed by the Pentagon and DEA come to our communities wanting to eradicate [our coca fields] and spray herbicide on our coca, we cannot just sit down and protest peacefully, screaming only at Heaven as we watch these disgraceful perverts burn our fields and throw us off our land. No, comrades. When they come we have to be waiting organized and ready. We must not engage in dialogue; they will only shoot us as in Villa Tunari. They must be confronted violently. We have to stop them. We have to burn their cars and trucks; we must block the roads. We must burn their houses. They must be destroyed no matter what. The community, our "Pachamama," is in danger and we, the sons of "Pachamama," must defend her with fire and blood. If we do not, then in three years there will be 100,000 farmers joining the 30,000 miners without work, reduced to selling sweets on the sidewalk or asking for change in order to buy their daily bread.

4. Many will say we do not have weapons. True, we do not have arms, we agree. If the bourgeois society has weapons, it is only because that society has taken advantage of our daily work and effort while our sons are pressed into obligatory military service -- in which they must point their guns at the very workers and fathers that are their own campesino and Indian brethren. Is it not the case that they are our sons, those who make up the National Guard? Is it not the case that they have left our communities only to leave behind their wives tending the land? When they leave the police, when they take off the uniforms, they come back to our communities in order to till the earth anew, like any other Indian campesino. Brethren of all classes and races -- Aymaras, Quechuas, Tupiwarmis: this is the moment that exhorts us to complete a sacred task. We must teach and guide our sons so that they do not shoot us, we who are their own fathers, mothers and grandfathers, when we go out to claim our rights, whether with a roadblock or with a campesino march.

This means that we must commence the task of arming ourselves and form militias in each agrarian syndicate, in each sub-central, until we reach the provincial, then departmental level. This is the only way out for the poor. What more can we think about before we make ourselves respected? Should we think about saviors? No. We, ourselves, must be ready to sacrifice in order that we not be sacrificed, as in the cases of Tólatá, Parotasi, Watajata, Villa Tunani, etc., etc. Only when we have power, when we are armed and ready to fight in a 1000 different ways -- with clubs, with rocks, with dynamite, and with rifles -- only then will the bourgeois q'aras respect us. Only then will our voice be heard like the rumblings of a volcano. Our fight will be like lava that burns everything in its path. Only then will the "patron" get on his knees before us and in that moment we will lay claim to our revenge to make up for the bourgeois and colonial savagery [we have endured] for the last 500 years. Only then will they stop treating us like animals. We will be human beings because we will take into our own hands the course of our own destiny and that of the entire country. But this will be possible only with organization and violence.

5. The struggle to defend our land and work against the very capitalism that wants to take away our land and work with [its own brand of] violence, is part of the struggle to defend our culture, our community, our forms of life. In the defense of community lies the possibility and necessity of the Socialist Revolution in "Qullasuyu." With the layoff of our fellow miners and factory workers, we, the Aymaras, the Quechuas, and the Tupiwaranis, we who live and work in concert, we must turn ourselves into the principal force -- the great bulwark -- of the Revolution and the possibility of Socialism in these lands of Qullasuyu. Together with our proletarian brethren and communal workers, we represent the needs of a new society, antagonistic and superior to this savage, capitalist society and civilization. We, and our ancestral community, we represent the [advance-guard] and point of departure to lead the Revolution and construct communitarian socialism [here]. This will not be anything new to us, but rather, the simple maturation of collective work we already know and have in our communities. It will be the resurrection, in superior terms, of the Socialism of the Ayllu in our past, the Ayllu of centuries and millenia past.

6. The ideologues and project-workers that have graduated^{from} our Westernized universities will find fault^{with} the Indian campesinos for wanting to defend the community of life and work that we have in the countryside. [They will say] that we would be walking backwards like crabs. Some thinkers will tell us that we are archaic "Indianistas" and behind the times. What we want is to return to our communal society, the Ayllu collective, where work is the fruit of [communal] efforts, and happiness exists equally for all and not just some minority of blood-suckers. This lifestyle and civilization was constructed and shaped by our forefathers who lived in millenia past. The history of all of man was directed toward this goal. The future is not anything more than the acceptance, and return, to superior conditions of the past. If we know what we are looking for and what we want, then noone -- not one single doctor or sociologist -- will be able to lead us like an ass to the "chicheria" and make us drink the beer or "chicha" under threat of punishment. This ass will never again drink the beer or "chicha" but prefers to give up his life [to remain sober for the struggle??]. Thus, we are the Aymara "janiwa" (those who say no), to be joined equally by our Quechua and Tupiwarani brethren. We want to

return to the past, but this will be a transcendental return, with our own form of communitarian work, the "ayni," the "mink'a," the "jayma," etc., etc. Modern society we will reject for a superior way of life drawn from the ancient distribution of property and collective production of the Ayllu, the Ayllu that resisted the Conquest, the Spanish colonialization, the Republic, the Agrarian Reform of 1952, to survive until these very days in our ancestral communities.

This communitarian work will not be difficult for us. We will pass easily into a new Socialism in these lands of ours, because we are essentially communitarian. Noone is big-headed or individualistic, nor do we possess the capitalist mentality. Pizarro brought the notion of private initiative to our lands from Europe. The MNR, under Victor Paz Estenssoro, individualized and reduced to minifundia the lands we rescued from the "patrones." Bourgeois civilization brought us individualism, theft, and capitalist exploitation. Community, on the other hand, we developed ourselves; it is a part of our ancestral heritage and is the root of our Aymara and Quechua Nations. Our proletarian brethren bring it to the struggle. In this sense, Socialism -- the civilization of work -- stops being a [bad] dream for the Conquistador, or the present-day Right and Left. The Socialist Revolution has rescued itself from the realm of dream, now, in this age, to be a real possibility and an obvious necessity to insure the [continued] existence of our community.

6. The Aymara, Quechua, and Tupiwarani workers, supported by our worker brethren in the city, will raise on high the "WIPHALA" of LIBERATION, which will signify that our struggle -- as sons of the oppressed nations of millenia past -- is a struggle that will liberate us from the slavery to which we have been submitted for the last 500 years. Our struggle then, is a struggle to win the liberty of our Aymara and Quechua nations (along with other oppressed indigenous nationalities). For that reason we say that our fight is a struggle for national self-determination; that is, a fight for the construction of an independent Aymara and Quechua workers' state. Only having won our national independence will we witness the disappearance of the racial, cultural, social, spiritual, economic, and political discrimination [perpetrated] over the last 500 years. Then we can set about constructing a Fraternal and Voluntary Union of the diverse and oppressed Nations that had no recourse before but to submit to the creoles and capitalist colonialists.

Let us reject and oppose firmly all the types of trash that pass as bourgeois civilization, this trash with which [the capitalists] wish to control, and thereby, cause to disappear our original national conscience. Thus, for example, in place of the tri-color rag that presently waves in our schools and plazas, we must raise to whip in the wind our sacred and beloved communitarian "wiphala." In place of the portraits of Bolivar, Sucre, and other oppressors of creole origin, we must put up our own portraits of our great heroes and revolutionaries like Tupak Katari, Zarata, Willka, and others. In place of creole and bourgeois history, in place of imported traditions, instead of [imported] symbols, our own history must rise up. Our own symbols must resurface, the Aymara and Quechua symbols that are full of war, full of a communitarian lifestyle and happiness. We must oppose the egoistic bourgeois civilization that has sold out to money. We must oppose it with Aymara and Quechua communitarianism. We owe nothing to this q'ara civilization. It has brought nothing good to this land -- only darkness, misery and suffering. We can hope for nothing good from the capitalist trash. No other

path is left but to destroy [capitalist Bolivia], to reject it, to bury it in the ground from all of our communities so that it may never again return to humiliate us. Only then will the God Inti come out into the light and bring a new joy to our work. This will be the beginning of our Revolution.

PLATFORM OF THE STRUGGLE

1. To put up armed resistance, in each community, in each zone, in each province, and in each department to defend our sacred coca from the tyranny of the MNR-ADN government and imperialism. It must be a fight to the death. We must also fight against the Tax Reform that will throw us off our lands and convert us into beggars.
2. To fight for the defense of our communities with their ancestral heritage. We must prepare ourselves to convert -- by blood and fire -- all that is Qullasuyu, and transform it into a giant community of work and life. This will be the Revolution and Socialism.
3. To fight against the introduction of religious sects. These sects come to divide us and throw us off track with their imperialist political ideology and thought.
4. To fight against the manipulation and purposeful division of Mothers' Clubs and Womens' Centers (and other similar organizations) or any efforts that negatively affect the interests of women, syndicalism and the unity of all.
5. The bourgeois Parliament is a hide-out of thieves and cocaine-addicts that only serves to produce laws contrary to the interests of the poor. The Parliament is a trench from which the rich defend the interests of Yankee imperialism. Our task as Aymaras and Quechua is to burn it down from all four sides. This path we have come to from experience and we will teach it to our sons.
6. To replace the corrupt cantonal mayors and provincial sub-prefects with our own original authorities, such as "Mallkus," "Jilaqatas," and "Amawt'as." These mayors and sub-prefects are nothing more than thieves who live off of our blood and charge [unjust] bills and fines against the campesinos.
7. There are hundreds of projects that arrive [here] in the Indians' name, but that are administered and directed by persons unconnected to the campesinos. All of these projects must be controlled by the rural communities themselves..
8. The institutions that work in the name of the campesino -- CIPCA, QHANA, INDICEP, ACLO, etc., etc., must pass into the hands of the campesinos, because the financing that comes [here] in the Indians' name is not managed by the Indians. Instead, cosmopolitan foreigners enrich themselves at the expense of the campesinos.
9. We must not respect the obligatory military service for Indians. It is a new "pongeuaje" and serfdom mandated by q'ara officers, who only teach us to kill and assassinate our own campesino brethren.
10. To revindicate our own religion of "Cósmo-Telúrica" dedicated to the "Pachamama" and "Tata-Inti." No to Western Religion, to which we have been

obligated since the Conquest. With its Bible and cross, it teaches us to make confession and learn catechisms solely to get married and be baptized.

11. To fight for the right to use our original and ancestral surnames. We will no longer allow them to impose surnames that are Westernized, Yankee-cized, or the result of "mestizaje."

12. To fight for self-determination and free and independent worker communities.

13. To bury the Old Left, with its Stalinists (false Communists), Trotskyites who come transplanted from Europe. We shall construct from the ground up a new and original TupaKarista organization in order to execute a new Revolutionary War of Ayllus that aligns itself with the rural and urban poor.

FEAR COMES FROM BELOW -- DAMN IT!

TUPAK KATARI RETURNS!

LONG LIVE THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE C.S.U.T.C.B.!

"JALLALLA AYMARA-QHISWA RUNA!"
(Long live the Aymara-Quechua Peoples!)

Potosí, July, 1988

Translation by: William L. Melvin

As ever,



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