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FANON IN THE ANDES: Fausto Reinaga, Indianismo, and the Black Atlantic

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Abstract:

In the rise of contemporary indigenous movements in Latin America, indigenous leaders have acknowledged their debt to the Bolivian indigenous intellectual Fausto Reinaga (1906-1994), a major theorist of the anti-colonial and anti-Occidental ideology known as *indianismo*. His work, especially his 1969 classic *La revolución india* had a profound impact on the development of indigenous movements, intellectuals, and leaders including Bolivian President Evo Morales. Yet, curiously, his work remains sorely understudied. This essay examines the continuing relevance of Reinaga by exploring his 'Atlantic' encounter with the thought of the Martinican-Algerian theorist Frantz Fanon. Reinaga's encounter with Fanon, however, is not an unproblematic one and there are instructive commonalities and tensions in their work. This article addresses Fanon's influence on Reinaga's views on colonialism, compares Fanon's and Reinaga's deployments of the concept of race, and contrasts their views on postcolonial nation-building. Though in some ways Fanon is more attentive to the complexities and tensions of anti-colonial struggles than Reinaga, I argue that the work of Reinaga can be read in a Fanonian spirit, as a dialectical analysis in which the focus on the particular is necessary for universal projects of emancipation.

In 2005, Evo Morales won a historic victory, becoming the first self-identified indigenous person to be elected president of Bolivia, a country where indigenous peoples make up a majority of the population. Morales was (and continues to be) the leader of the powerful federations of coca growers, which has often come in conflict with the United States-supported eradication of coca plants. Coca leaves have been at the center of Andean diets and spiritual practices for centuries, and (more recently) provide the raw material for the production of cocaine. Before assuming the presidency, Morales had also been a Member of Parliament. However, when expelled from the Legislature for his opposition to eradication policies, he became a key figure in the wave of protests that forced two neoliberal presidents out of office. As the media began to devote more attention to Morales, one reporter asked him to name the first politician he admired. 'More than any politician,' Morales replied, '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' (La Opinión 2001). Similarly, Alvaro García Linera, the Bolivian intellectual chosen by Morales as his vice-president, identified Fausto Reinaga as one of his principal theoretical influences, along with Marx, Weber, and Bourdieu (Stefanoni 2005).¹

This praise of Reinaga, who died in 1994, represents something of a comeback for this understudied intellectual. Reinaga was both a prolific and marginal author. He wrote over 30 books on topics that included Bolivian politics, indigenous philosophy, and world politics. He was marginal in that many of his books were essentially self-published and today are more likely to be found in the informal booksellers of La Paz streets and plazas than in mainstream bookstores. Nevertheless, Reinaga has long been credited as being a founder of the important ideological current known as *indianismo* (Ticona 2005b). Reinaga and his followers see *indianismo* as an anti-colonial, anti-Occidental ideology which came from indigenous peoples themselves, as opposed to the state-led policies or mestizo-written literatures of *indigenismo* (Albó 1994, 2002; Pacheco 1992; Calla 1993; Hylton & Thomson 2005; Saavedra 2003; Stephenson 2005; Ticona 2005b).

Though *indigenismo* took a variety of forms in Latin America, from conservative to revolutionary, in practice it reinscribed the representational violence of Marx's *brumarian* formulation, Indians can't

represent themselves, they must be represented. Indianismo, in contrast, was a revolutionary ideology by and for indigenous people, one that would one day displace the Eurocentric ideologies of *hispanidad*, which celebrated purity of Spanish blood and *mestizaje*, which celebrated race mixture, though more in theory than in practice. Despite their differences, both *hispanidad* and *mestizaje* reproduced and reinforced the homogenizing logic of the nation-state, which stigmatizes the ethnic differences of the present, even while it glorifies the Incan and Aztec civilizations of the past. In a more radical way than indigenismo, indianismo was meant to challenge those ideas that served to legitimize the internal colonial orders of Latin American states. The many texts of Reinaga and his political party, the *Partido Indio de Bolivia*, helped radicalize generations of indigenous students and activists in the 1970s and 1980s.ⁱⁱ

In the 1990s, however, strong objections were made by a number of critics arguing that Reinaga-style indianismo was too single-minded in its racialism, marginal in its politics, and contradictory in its discourse. Ricardo Calla warned of the Indianista 'reductionism... in which the ethnic question is not just a central problem in Bolivia, but the *only* problem' (1993, 65-66; emphasis in original). Mansilla, looking at the political parties that embraced indianismo, referred to it as 'politically, an irrelevant minority' as historically indianista parties had performed poorly in electoral contests (Mansilla 1999; Van Cott 2003). Finally, Ibarra (1999) argued that indianismo was trapped in a paradox: '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.' The political partnership between neoliberal Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada and Aymara *katarista* leader Victor Hugo Cárdenas, president and vice-president respectively of Bolivia during the neoliberal *and* multicultural reform period of the 1990s, seemed to confirm that the radicalism of Reinaga was a thing of the past.ⁱⁱⁱ

Recent events in Bolivia, however, have forced a needed reconsideration. In a Benjaminian "flash of danger," the social 'wars' of the new century over water, taxes and gas have given new political life to anti-neoliberal indigenous ideologies and leaders and highlighted the 'need to investigate the relevance of the thought of Fausto Reinaga' (Ticona 2005b).^{iv} Evo Morales and his *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) party successfully articulated indigenous themes with populist economic ones that resonated across racial and ethnic lines. Contrasting this broader coalitional strategy with more traditional indianistas like Felipe Quispe, a prominent indigenous leader who had spoken openly of a separate Aymara state, Morales revealed how politics could be inspired by the spirit of indianismo but not constrained by its radicalism. Yet, a more cynical reading holds that Morales' use of Reinaga's legacy is purely cosmetic, masking what is essentially a reformist government, not a revolutionary one.^v This would seem to update Ibarra's charge that indianismo articulates an already compromised anti-Occidental message in the language of the West. As one way to explore this claim, I suggest we place Reinaga within an Atlantic tradition of Calibanism, a movement which includes writers and revolutionaries from the 'Third World' who used the discourses of the West against the West (Fernández Retamar 2003).^{vi} 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 that Reinaga wrote his most influential works in the 1960s and 1970s, it is hardly surprising that he was keenly aware of the contributions of 'the Black Atlantic' (Gilroy 1993). 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.

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 politics of indianismo and decolonization in Bolivia and beyond. Though in some ways Fanon is more attentive to the complexities and tensions of anti-colonial struggles than Reinaga, I argue that the work of Reinaga can be read in a Fanonian spirit, as a dialectical analysis in which the focus on the particular is necessary for universal projects of emancipation.

The World and the West^{vii}

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* quotes the concluding chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth* in

its entirety (Reinaga 1969, 67-71; Fanon 1963 [2004], 235-239).^{viii} 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. But if we want humanity to advance a step farther, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries. *If we wish to live up to our peoples' expectations, we must seek the response elsewhere than in Europe.*' (Fanon 1963, 254, 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; emphasis in original).

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*' (racial mixing) 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 lands: 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 work toward 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 Che's neglect of the Indian realities he encountered there (Wickham-Crowley 1992, 150-151). This passage is even more powerful in the Spanish translation of Fanon that Reinaga read, as the last line speaks not to the need to 'make a new start' but rather '*cambiar de piel*' (quoted in Reinaga 1969, 71). Metaphorically, Bolivia and its leaders 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 notable 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 to 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 author had different experiences in their encounters with blackness and Indianness. Fanon's ambivalence to the politics of negritude contrasts 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.^x Parry 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' (Parry 1999, 234).

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' (Reinaga 1969, 78, quoting Mariátegui). 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 ideologies 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 flesh 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' (i.e. biologically or phenotypically) Indian, but have been 'Occidentalized.' Among those who he claims as Occidentalized Indians are both writers he admires like the Peruvian philosopher José Carlos Mariátegui and those he despises like the Bolivian conservative Alcides Arguedas. Reinaga himself recovered his Indianidad after long trying to lose it. Yet, Reinaga still makes clear that attaining true political indigeneity is no simple matter. In a curious note devoted to a discussion of the great Quechua-speaking and -writing Peruvian writer and anthropologist José María Arguedas, Reinaga cites Mario Vargas Llosa's description of Arguedas as an orphaned mestizo who 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, not only *reveals* what is Indian but also *rebels* as Indian! (emphasis in original, Reinaga 1969, 455 n. 1)^x

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 in 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).^{xi} These comparative statements on indianidad, one which questions the indigeneity of the Peruvian scholar Arguedas and a second which seeks to elevate indianidad over negritude, pose challenges for any interpretation of Reinaga. Why would he diminish the “cultural” indigeneity of Arguedas and the importance of negritude? Wrestling with these questions helps clarify Reinaga’s revolutionary project. His critique of Arguedas seems based on a distinction between a view of indigeneity that is academic, folkloric, and reformist, ostensibly the kind embodied by the novelist, anthropologist and state official Arguedas, and a view of indigeneity as politically rebellious (the kind presumably embodied by the self-identified descendant of an Aymara rebel, Reinaga). While this distinction is debatable, Reinaga’s insistence on the link between political resistance and indigenous identity continues to resonate into the present. Reviewing recent waves of mobilization, anthropologist Les Field (1994, 239) notes that political protest has become a ‘primary characteristic of Indian ethnicity.’

The seeming dismissal of negritude is also challenging, but there are some potential explanations for his elevation of indianidad over negritude. First, it may reflect the importance of land and territory to indigenous politics, found not only in Reinaga’s work but in a wide range of indigenous claims about the sacred place of land to indigenous lives and livelihoods. In the Andes and beyond, mountains and volcanoes form part of sacred landscapes of deities (Apus). While Césaire also invokes the land and sky in his poetic portrait of negritude, Reinaga may see the connection of diasporic peoples to “their” land as diluted in comparison to the claims of Andean indigenous peoples who inhabit the land of their ancestors. Second, Reinaga may have also had in mind the disruptive effects that the slave trade had on the preservation of African languages, as language is, as he writes, both culture and knowledge (Reinaga 1969, 320-322). While these claims, too, are subject to debate, one hears echoes of them in the language of some activists today. In a 2002 interview, a well known Peruvian Amazonian indigenous activist compared the political claims of Amazonians, Andeans and Afro-Peruvians and argued that Afro-Peruvians were disadvantaged by the fact that ‘the black peoples are not a people, do not have identity, do not have language’ (quoted in García 2005, 171).

Nevertheless, whatever their differences, indianismo and negritude are more similar than they are different in giving pride of place to the question of race. However, Fanon parts company with Reinaga and Césaire in that he 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 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).^{xii}

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. It is hard to imagine Reinaga echoing Fanon’s (1963, 153) belief that for liberation struggles, the tendency to ‘racialize claims...leads African intellectuals into a dead end.’ Such claims are of little help with internal complexities (‘exploitation can wear a black face; or an Arab one’) or with international differences (‘freedom rides [of the U.S]...have little in common with the heroic struggle of the Angolan people against the iniquity of Portuguese colonialism’) (ibid, 144, 154). Ultimately, Fanon looked at each instance of anti-colonial struggle as necessarily particular; the problems of Richard Wright and Langston Hughes, he notes, were not the same as those of Jomo Kenyatta (154). At the same time, though, he realized that it was through national struggles that one advanced and articulated international ones. One might say something similar about Reinaga’s indianismo. Yet, both Reinaga and Fanon were 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’ (Parry 1999, 236).

To explore this further, it is worth considering both Fanon and Reinaga's view of post-colonial nation building.

Nation, Culture and Decolonization

Fanon and Reinaga argue that colonialism derailed the 'national' trajectories of many peoples. Yet, they differ on the shape that post-colonial national identities 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.^{xiii} 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 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 the Inca Empire, Tawantinsuyo.^{xiv} 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 specific 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). What matters to Reinaga is what we might call the *longue durée* of Indianness that goes back to the Incas. The Andean highland bias of indianismo is palpable, and Reinaga says very little about how the 'white Indians' of the eastern Amazonian lowlands fit into the new Tawantinsuyo. Yet, for Reinaga, 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 and transnational solidarity. For Fanon, attaining national liberation will be hard enough, and the "fact of blackness" must be understood so as to not become an obstacle for that goal.

Concluding Thoughts

Indigenous intellectuals and leaders throughout Latin America echo Evo Morales in recognizing the role that Reinaga played in shaping the contemporary discourse of indigeneity. Curiously, though, Reinaga's work has been sorely understudied. The relative dearth of critical studies on Fausto Reinaga 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 what has been called (rightly or wrongly)

'critical Fanonism' (Gates 1991; cf. Gordon 1995) and contribute to the small but 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 the works of Fanon and Reinaga 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 continue to be required reading for understanding the challenges of colonialism and the promise of decolonization (Ticona 2005a, 2005b). 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 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' (Sekyi-Otu 1999, 4-5). 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 MAS-ismo of Evo Morales displaced them both (Sanjinés 2005; Hylton & Thomson 2005). The current debate over the 'menace of multiculturalism' (e.g. whether official multicultural reforms co-opt movements or provide openings from dramatic change) provides us an additional opportunity to revisit dialectical possibilities and dangers (Hale 2002; Van Cott 2006).

Third, both authors lend support to the view that decolonization should be thought of as a set of on-going epistemological and political processes. 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 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' (1996, 107). 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 cautions and 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 (Hooker 2005). 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 (Spivak 1990). 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 'Negro' politics since the colonial conditions that created 'Negroes' 'are witnessing the demise of their economic and cultural supremacy' (1963, 169). The eruption of indigenous politics in Latin America provides us valuable opportunities to rethink the legacies of both thinkers as contemporary indigenous movements have emerged in a variety of forms that defy Reinaga's rigid *indianidad* but also reveal that Fanon may have overestimated the demise of (neo)colonial conditions. Yet both thinkers, attuned as they were to the contradictions and challenges of their times, remain invaluable resources in understanding the dialectical possibilities of the present.

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ⁱ I am grateful for the helpful comments of María Elena García, Andrew Canessa, the journal reviewers, and the students of Comparative History of Ideas 390 at the University of Washington. All translations from Spanish language sources and any errors of interpretation are my own.

ⁱⁱ For an overview of his impressive if uneven intellectual production see the site devoted to Reinaga and maintained by his daughter Hilda Reinaga: www.faustoreinaga.org.

ⁱⁱⁱ Katarismo is a political movement that takes its name from Tupaj Katari, the fallen leader of the great Aymara uprising of 1781. Katarismo was clearly inspired by indianismo, but it relaxed its anti-Western language especially in embracing much of Marxist class analysis. In the influential phrasing of Cárdenas, katarismo saw with 'two eyes': one saw class struggle, the other (anti-)colonialism (Pacheco 1992; Sanjinés 2005).

^{iv} Walter Benjamin (1969: 255) famously made his point this way: "To articulate the past historically does

not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger." In the wake of the moments of danger that convulsed Bolivia from the 2000 Water War to the 2005 election of Morales, Esteban Ticona has been at work on a major and much-anticipated study of Reinaga's political thought. For some of his initial evaluations of Reinaga see Ticona (2005a, 2005b).

^v As Morales has been in office just over two years (at the time of this writing in May 2008), it is too early for a definitive evaluation of the government's claims of dismantling the neoliberal and colonial state. One example that is telling is the 'nationalization' of the hydrocarbon sector which unlike the expropriations that occurred in earlier eras in Latin America was essentially a renegotiation of contracts with foreign companies. For some, this was a pragmatic way to gain greater revenues for the state; for others it was a broken promise. For a preliminary view see Hylton and Thomson (2007).

^{vi} The original formulation was Shakespeare's, expressed in Caliban's reply to Prospero in *The Tempest* (Act 1. Scene 2, 366-368): "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."

^{vii} 'El Mundo y El Occidente' is the title of the first section of Reinaga's *La revolución india*.

^{viii} Reinaga cites part of the same chapter in the last two pages of his 1967 book, *La intelligentsia del cholaje boliviano*.

^{ix} Some commentators have noted that the negritude of Césaire was more culturally complex than the essentialist version ('an eternal black soul') associated with the former Senegalese president and poet, Léopold Senghor. Given Césaire's surrealism and Senghor's political trajectory, there is much more to say, but this is not the place to say it. For the present, I focus only on the nostalgic sensibility that both Césaire and Senghor share. For a more nuanced discussion see Parry (1999).

^x The contemporary Indianista leader, former congressman, and former head of the main highland campesino confederation, Felipe Quispe, took this passage as the epigraph to his slim 1999 biographical work *El indio en escena*. One of the ironies of this quotation is that Reinaga relies on Vargas Llosa, an outspoken critic of indigenous movements, in his critique of Arguedas, an outspoken proponent of indigenous rights, languages, and cultural production.

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

^{xii} The chapter of *Black Skins/White Masks* from which this passage comes has as its epigraph the otherwise very historical Karl Marx: 'The social revolution... cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future.'

^{xiii} 'Some blacks can be whiter than whites' (Fanon 1963: 96).

^{xiv} 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).