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PERUVIAN NATIONALISMS

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to explore nationalism in the work of some contemporary Peruvian writers, namely, Augusto Salazar Bondy, Alberto Flores Galindo, Francisco Miró Quesada, Stéfano Varese, and Cecilia Méndez. The comments are focused primarily on the contributions of each author to the issue of national identity. The selection of authors represents an initial sample of a more ambitious project oriented to investigate the intellectual development of the idea of “the nation” in Peru. The idea of the Peruvian nation is not singular nor static. As the article shows, the conception of the Peruvian nation has changed through time and currently there is a plurality of definitions of what the nation constitutes. A major component in the definition of the idea of the Peruvian nation has been the dialectic between the creole and the Indian.¹ For Miró Quesada the conflict between creoles and Indians was established with Spanish conquest. Flores Galindo and Méndez believe creole nationalism has been the dominant view of the idea of the Peruvian nation at the expense of the Indian identity. Salazar Bondy frames the idea of the nation in the context of internal and external relations of exploitation. Varese believes that it is time for the Indian nations that inhabit the Peruvian territory to go their separate way.

II. TYPES OF NATIONALISM

In this section, three types of nationalism will be discussed. They are: creole nationalism, nation-building nationalism, and plural nationalism. The tension between whites and Indians is central in all three types.

The tension between Hispanics and Indians is an endemic component of the Peruvian identity. During the wars of independence and first years of Peru as an independent republic, the first formulations of *patria*--fatherland--and *Peruvian* among the American creoles were associated with the defense of Spain against the invasion of Napoleon. Both terms meant all Spanish and Americans fighting against the French invader. Even when the hatred against Spanish increased as the wars of independence continued, the American creoles fought Spain "without negating the language, religion and social institutions of the Spanish colonization."² Although the wars of independence were ostensibly fought by creoles and mestizos, the Indians were still the majority population of Peru. This presented two kinds of interrelated problems for the creoles: one ideological, the other military. Ideologically, the creoles sought to integrate the Indian as a means of providing two essential components to the idea of nation: people and past.³ More importantly, the integration of the Indians was required because they were making a significant contribution to the Spanish army as soldiers, thus delaying the final triumph of the independence camp.⁴

The distance between creoles and Indians --manifested in the latter's participation in the wars of independence on the side of the Spanish army-- will eventually develop into creole formulations of the idea of the nation, excluding the Indian component. Alberto Flores Galindo argues that there are three conceptions of the nation that developed at different historical moments and among different social groups. First, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the "intellectuals of the Peruvian upper class" defined the nation as a cultural unity the roots of which had to be sought in the past.⁵ In the 1930s, an important representative of this current was historian Raul Porras Barrenechea who made Francisco Pizarro, the Spanish conqueror and founder of Lima, the "founding father" of the nation. Unity around the Spanish tradition and the idea of *mestizaje* were imposed against the obvious cultural differences.⁶

Cecilia Méndez calls this first conception of the nation "creole nationalism."⁷ In Méndez's argument, "creole nationalism" was not only the dominant conception of the nation at the beginning of the twentieth century but it is the current dominant "ideology" in Peruvian society. Two important elements of creole nationalism are: contempt for everything "Indian" and, somewhat paradoxically, the celebration of the myth of the Inca Empire. The contempt for everything Indian was a way of affirming modernity and *peruanidad* (Peruvianess). Méndez further argues that contempt against Indians has existed since the conquest and was reinforced after the 1781 defeat of rebellion of Tupac Amaru. It continued after the consolidation of Peru as a state and was visible in the third decade of the nineteenth century during the defeat of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation.⁸

The celebration of the myth of the Inca Empire has its origins in the 1780 rebellion of Tupac Amaru, organized and led by the Inca nobility. After the defeat of the rebellion, "it would be the creoles themselves who would assume the reproduction of the Inca traditions and symbolism."⁹ For the creoles, the appropriation of the Inca tradition was politically necessary to preempt real existing Indians from developing a sense of identity that could fuel their claims for power. Ideologically, as argued by Basadre, it provided the historical component of the idea of the nation, which the creoles could not produce based on their own tradition because that would have taken them back to Spain or to some convoluted notion of the wars of independence as a rein vindication in the name of the first conquistadors against the encroachment of the Spanish Crown. Once appropriated, the Inca traditions could be used as a tool against real existing Indians: the glories of the Inca empire could be contrasted to the laziness and brutishness of present day Indians.

A prominent ideologue of "creole nationalism," very influential in defeating the Peru-Bolivia Confederation (1836-1839), was Felipe Pardo y Aliaga. Pardo y Aliaga called on Peruvians to oppose the project of the Confederation because it was going to bring with it the rule of the "Indian" General Santa Cruz and his followers. In the writings of Pardo y Aliaga, Méndez also finds evidence of how the myth of the Inca Empire was used against the Indian.¹⁰ During the war against the Confederation, Peruvian nationalism was used to deny legitimacy to General Santa Cruz because he was a foreigner and an Indian (Santa Cruz was the son of an *Aymara cacique* woman). The affirmation of Peruvianness was at the same time a rejection of everything Indian and the affirmation of a glorious past of honorable Inca warriors, divorced from any relation to the devious and barbarian Santa Cruz.

In its affirmation of the nation as a cultural unity already formed, creole nationalism was highly susceptible to racism and xenophobia. The Indian was not the only group in Peru that suffered exclusion in the name of the creole nation. In the 1930s, while the anti-Indian component of nationalism was under criticism by the *indigenista* movement, Peruvian nationalist ideology exhibited a strong xenophobic turn. Foreigners were commonly accused of causing the ills of the Peruvian nation. Among foreigners, people of Japanese descent became a special target of nationalist exclusion. The aggression against people of Japanese descent, which included burning and looting of stores, culminated in 1942-43 with the expulsion of "1,771...men, women, and children to internment camps in the United States to be exchanged for American civilians interned in Japan."¹¹ The anti-Japanese campaign was orchestrated by a number of local and national newspapers and was echoed by elected politicians. United States' suspicions of Japanese economic imperialism in the area only helped to reinforce the belief among Peruvian nationalists that Japanese products and people were a danger to the nation. The powerful National Agrarian Society took advantage of the anti-Japanese atmosphere and argued that "Japanese were responsible for agricultural unemployment and higher food prices." In response to the pressure, the government of Benavides passed legislation in the second half of the 1930s limiting to 16,000 the number of people of each foreign nationality in Peru, suspending the naturalization of foreigners, and denying registration of children of foreigners born in Peru.¹² Even the populist APRA party was caught by the anti-Japanese fever.

A second conception of the nation in Peru is one that sees the nation as a project. In this conception, the nation should be sought in the future, not in the past. Nationalism understood as

nation-building has different variants in Peru. Flores Galindo and Miró Quesada emphasize the idea of nationalism as the search for the unity between whites and Indians, or conquerors and conquered. Salazar conceives nation-building as a struggle to liberate the Peruvian nation from external domination. These ideas have much in common with the conceptions of "left nationalism" discussed by Jorge Castañeda.¹³ For Castañeda, the "Latin American left" also defines nationalism as nation-building. The unfinished task, for the left, means to give back the nation to the people. Nationalism is the history of the people recovering what once was stolen, expropriated by foreigners and anti-nationalists. In the left's reading of history, imperialist forces of diverse origin have systematically expropriated the Latin American people of its natural resources. However, the most valuable thing taken away from the people throughout history has been their dignity, their desire to live and be productive and contribute to the rest of the world. Nationalism thus becomes the task of liberating the national identity held hostage.¹⁴

A third idea of the nation, according to Flores Galindo, comes about in the middle of the twentieth century with the increasing realization of Peru as plural. "The study of Stéfano Varese about the *campa* shows the existence of another history which is neither part of Spanish nor of the Indian time."¹⁵ This discovery led to the question: "Why should there be only one nation in formation? Why not many?"¹⁶ In this context, the Andean identity should be seen as one among several diverse identities unfolding within the territory of Peru. The work of Varese about "Indian nationalism" is representative of this current. Stéfano Varese argues that since the 1970s Indian groups in Latin America have become increasingly organized and active. In March 1984 "five Indian organizations from the Amazonian countries of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and

Peru founded an international organization: "the Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indigenas de la Cuenca Amazonica."¹⁷ "In July 1990 the representatives of 120 Indian nations met in Quito, Ecuador, to celebrate "500 Years of Indian Resistance."¹⁸ Varese witnesses in these manifestations the continuation of the long struggle for Indian self-determination. Varese that "Indian nationalism" has existed in Latin America since the first forms of resistance against the Spanish conquistadors.

III. NATION AND DOMINATION

Domination and liberation are central concepts in the definition of nation among Peruvian thinkers. Nation-building is conceived as a long march away from domination and towards liberation. For many, the story of this march began with the Spanish Conquest. The conquest meant the establishment of a differentiation between conqueror and vanquished, superior and inferior, European and Indian. This initial condition marked the project of nation-building. In the words of Francisco Miró Quesada: "The initial renting has inevitably imposed a historic destiny: the need to reintegrate the two constitutive strata of the nation into one inseparable unity."¹⁹ In the thinking of liberationist nationalism, instead of movement away from domination, the history of Peru appears as the culmination of domination. Political independence from Spanish colonialism was not really independence but the redefinition of relations of domination in favor of the *criollos*. Industrialization was not the path to material progress but a new form of exploitation of the labor force and the transfer of natural resources to foreigners. For Augusto Salazar Bondy, at the base of all forms of domination is the peripheral condition of the Peruvian

nation, its relation of domination first with European powers and then with the United States.

External relations of domination, however, cannot exist without internal relations of domination.²⁰

In the thinking of Salazar Bondy, domination appears in two different and interrelated contexts. First, in the international context there are dominant nations and dominated nations. Second, inside the nation, relations of domination exist between genders, classes, and regional and ethnic groups. In Latin American nations, men dominate women, the urban centers dominate the rural areas, and whites dominate Indians. A dominated nation, thus, is not a nation in any meaningful sense. A dominated "nation" has no external sovereignty and no internal sense of community. The condition of domination imposes on the philosophers of dominated societies the task of finding routes to liberation. More importantly, relations of domination are manifested in the culture. Relations of domination cause underdevelopment and this, in turn, shapes values and attitudes. The marks of domination on Peruvian culture are, according to Salazar Bondy, readily visible in the acceptance of mythical views about Peru, such as being immensely rich, having a glorious past, or living under a democracy. The great consumers of myths are the defenders of the "genuinely Peruvian," "tradition," or "*criollismo*."²¹ These groups shy away from the challenge of contributing to the world high quality science and art, instead seeking refuge in cultural relativism, arguing that Peru has a distinct culture. Although Salazar Bondy is in favor of a liberating struggle against external domination, he disagrees with cultural relativism:

In our times, no acceptable path for a society can deviate from the realizations and spirit of the civilization based in the rationality provided by the West, because that rationality is the guarantee for the rigorous understanding of the world and control over the real forces.²²

More specifically, Salazar Bondy sees the United States as the dominant nation oppressing Third World nations. A nationalist fight, then, would consist in a struggle to liberate the Third World nations from the oppression of the United States. For this task, the concept of "Third World" is valuable because it provides a common base of political action against a formidable enemy. The concept Third World reinforces the common condition of dominated nations and increases the power required to defeat the common enemy. Due to the magnitude of the task of national liberation, one nation cannot do it alone. "There can be no national liberation but in the context of the Third World movement...He who fights in favor of the liberation of his own people...fails in his effort in the same measure as he fails to show solidarity to the liberation of other nations in the same condition."²³

Thus, Salazar Bondy argues that the structural condition of being a dominated nation in the international system shapes cultural manifestations of the national identity. One manifestation is the mythical formulation of what the nation is, derived from the lack of awareness of the condition of domination. Salazar Bondy is highly critical of these manifestations for the numbing effects it produces on consciousness and creativity. A second manifestation results from the realization of the condition of domination and thus, to the inevitable struggle against such a condition. A dominated has no identity of its own. More precisely, a dominated nation is nothing and can only start being something after the relation of domination is superseded. History and culture have meaning only after the nation is free from domination.

In the 1960s and 1970s, after the Cuban revolution and under the influence of *dependencia* thinking, liberation nationalism was at its apex. However, currently in Peru, as well as in Latin America, the pursuit of national identity as a struggle against external domination, or more precisely, U.S. imperialism, has lost much of its appeal.²⁴ Two main reasons may be offered as explanations for this change. First, the results of the military strategy for pursuing such goals have been disastrous. In most of the cases, armed revolutionary movements produced a counter military response that engulfed the nations in bloody civil wars. In the case of Nicaragua, where the anti-imperialist Sandinistas defeated the U.S. ally, the Somoza regime, the results were equally disastrous. Second, the use of nationalist anti-imperialism as a tool for obtaining economic concessions has lost credibility in a context of increasing economic interdependence. Extracting economic concessions from the U.S. by force does not work. The threat of breaking economic relations is not credible because increased economic interdependence has made this option too costly. International negotiations in a cooperative framework produce better economic results in terms of trade, loan, and investment agreements.

Nationalist discourse of the style of Salazar Bondy's definitely do not inspire economic policies in the 1990s in Peru and Latin America. Instead of antagonistic relations with the United States and other capitalist nations, most Latin American states are pursuing increasing economic ties with them. Monetary policies in several states are anchored in a fixed parity between the national currency and the U.S. dollar. Free trade policy is the norm and increasing international trade is perceived as a positive sign of specialization and increasing productivity. Foreign firms are welcomed; in some cases, constitutions have been changed to allow access of foreign firms in

sectors from which they were previously banned for reasons of national security. Increasing economic integration is visible in the daily life of Latin American cities. Many people in Lima today do their shopping at a chain of stores owned by Chileans (where they can find all kinds of imported goods). *Limeños* call their friends and family through a phone network owned and managed by a Spanish firm; thousands of them work for foreign firms, watch CNN, and pay and get paid in dollars.

What meaning, if any, does nationalism have in the context of increasing economic internationalization? At first, it would appear that the ideas of Salazar Bondy would be irrelevant for such redefinition. However, this is not the case. Nationalism was for Salazar Bondy, first and foremost, a struggle for liberation. In the present context of economic internationalization, liberation still has a strong meaning if it is understood as liberation of the constraints imposed by material poverty and of the oppression of individual freedom and creativity. If it is true that economic internationalization has progressed to a point that U.S. anti-imperialism has lost its mobilizing potential, it is also true that sharp economic gaps still exist across Latin America, together with gross violations of individual rights.

IV. NATION AND CULTURAL PLURALISM

As stated previously, Varese argues that an increasing number of indigenous groups in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru are demanding self-determination. To assess the relevance of this issue for nationalism it is important to review some ideas of the *indigenista* movement.

For Francisco Miró Quesada, the *indigenista* movement in Peru went through three phases. In the first phase, the *indigenista* movement emerged as a reaction to the Conquest. Indigenism meant isolationism and rejection to cooperate and assimilate the new culture. Indigenism at this stage produced no sense of community. Slowly, the initial isolation was transformed into rejection. Indigenism then entered into a full blown phase of rejection. Everything European and everything Western was negative. "The Indian is the only owner of Peru. The essence of Peru is Indian. America is all Indian. The Latin, Western is only secondary."²⁵ As rejection, Miró Quesada argues, indigenism adopted a utopian and demagogic form. The *utopian indigenism* elevated Indian values to the highest level and rejected everything European in an honest effort to vindicate the Indian. Demagogic indigenism blended itself with anti-imperialism as a strategy to conquer power. "The white man is the exploiter, the usurper, the cause of all evils. As long as the Indian does not recover what is his, the nation will continue to struggle in a sea of calamities. The order founded on the exploitation of the Indian by the white man needs to be destroyed and a new nation reconstructed."²⁶

The second phase, "integrationist indigenism," began with the realization of the positive contributions of the Western culture and the impossibility of negating everything that came from Spain without negating the whole Peruvian nation. "Integrationist indigenism" rejected all forms of oppression and advocated the full absorption of the Indian into the Western culture. However, Miró Quesada argues that accepting the value of Western culture should not imply accepting the dominant/subordinate relationship of integrationist indigenism. "Any person who believes that she has the right to show contempt for those who have made our history possible, cannot be a Peruvian."²⁷

Finally, the last phase is a “scientific indigenism” that proclaims integration, not as assimilation but as cooperation. In this stage, Miró Quesada argues that studying Indian culture becomes crucial to understanding its specific contributions. It is not a matter of all Indians being transformed into Westerners, but allowing them to develop to their full capacity. In such a process, the Indian will take from the Western culture what is valuable and make a positive contribution to the nation.

Although scientific indigenism is the last and current phase, Miró Quesada argues that indigenism should move to a higher plane. This last phase of indigenism should be its demise, because as long as it exists it will be a recognition of superiority and inferiority, of the division between whites and Indians. This last phase would be the withering away of Indian as a category, because the category was born with a discriminatory meaning. "Once the human value of the Indian is recognized, it should only be called man."²⁸

Following Miró Quesada's stages of indigenist thinking it could be argued that the work Alberto Flores Galindo (1994) is in the scientific stage. Flores Galindo uses the discourse of identity as a form of empowerment. He searches for an Andean identity that could help rescue Andean people from oppression. Andean identity is hidden in a Peruvian society composed of different classes, races, or ethnic groups invariably linked in relations of domination. The Andeans have no reference in the national image because everything related to their identity has been suppressed or denigrated. Flores Galindo wants to change this by raising the value of the Andean identity. In the past, the Andean utopia encouraged people to rebel. Is this utopia as powerful today as it was in the past?

For Flores Galindo, Peru has yet to resolve the problem of collective identity. There is yet too much inequality and frustration. In this context, the Andean utopia is used to question the history of marginalization. Flores Galindo is aware of the risks of fanaticism that inciting the Andean utopia may produce. This risk materialized in the eighteenth century with the revolution of Tupac Amaru and in 1980s with the revolution led by *Sendero Luminoso*. Thus, he advocates cultural pluralism. It could be argued that Flores Galindo sees the current violence in Peru as the result of the effort to impose unity by force onto a number of diverse ethnic groups. His plan is to recover the value of cultural identity or pluralism. The risk is that cultural pluralism needs the reevaluation of oppressed identities. Flores Galindo wants to go down the road of cultural pluralism without ending in fanaticism and separatism.

Not every scientific indigenist, however, shares Flores Galindo's program of cultural pluralism. Stéfano Varese agrees with Flores Galindo and Miró Quesada in the need for Indians to appropriate the culture of the oppressor. However, he advocates Indian nationalism. Stéfano Varese argues that increasing organization and mobilization of Indian groups in Latin America is the continuation of the long struggle for Indian self-determination. Varese argues that "Indian nationalism" has existed in Latin America since the first forms of resistance against the Spanish conquistadors. "This continuous search for an ethnic identity that would both satisfy the need for communal belonging and express affinity/solidarity with all those who shared the colonial experience has characterized the long history of ethnic resistance of the indigenous people of Latin America."²⁹ A central demand of "Indian nationalism" has been the protection of the environment against the exploitation of intruders.

The discourse of Indian nationalism is identical to the discourse of any other nationalist movement: "recovery of the territories lost after the colonial and Republican occupation,...respect for the sovereignty of Indian nationalities and the right to self-determination and political autonomy."³⁰ In the words of the Declaration of Quito: "without Indian self-government and without full control of our territories there is no autonomy."³¹ Varese argues that the main task in the construction of Indian nationalism is

the formation of a clear ethnic and class consciousness that will serve as a basis for transforming ethnicities with implicit (or local, parochial) economic and cultural aims into ethnicities with explicit (or national) political ones--turning corporative ethnicities into hegemonic ethnicities. Crucial here is the transition from a corporatist consciousness focused on demands that the ruling class and its state are willing to yield to a hegemonic collective will... This arduous task implies...the capacity for understanding, appropriating, and reformulating in indigenous terms the culture of the oppressor."³²

Varese's version of nationalism clearly questions the integrity of Peru as a nation; Flores Galindo's does somewhat, and Miró Quesada's does not. For Miró Quesada and Flores Galindo, as well as for Salazar Bondy, the struggle to liberate the Indian is part of a larger struggle against all forms of domination, including imperialist domination. The relationship between Varese's indigenism and anti-imperialism is not as obvious. A possible scenario of Varese's version of indigenism may look something like the 1980s conflict between Miskitos and the Sandinista government. In its effort to gain autonomy from a nationalist government, an Indian nationalist movement establishes an alliance with the imperialist nation that is supposed to be the oppressor

of the Nicaraguan nation. Other paths that subvert the sovereignty of existing nation-state certainly may be imagined. Varese cites the formation of transnational alliance of Indian groups who demand self-determination. What new social formations may result from such fragmentation and reintegration is hard to determine. In any case, it would be a mistake to discount Indian nationalism in the formation of future political communities in Latin America.

V. CONCLUSIONS

This review of a sample of Peruvian writers shows four basic ideas about Peruvian nationalism: the roles and contributions of theories integration, separation, liberation, and pluralism. Each idea informs a certain conception of the Peruvian identity. One way of conceiving these ideas is to see them as alternative definitions of the Peruvian identity, that is, as revealing how different authors identify the Peruvian nation. I do not think this is the most productive way of approaching the issue. It implies that a Peruvian nation exists and that it may be discovered. Instead of following this essentialist route, I believe that the ideas about Peruvian identity espoused by the authors discussed here should be seen as potentially available tools of nationalist mobilization to groups and actors.

Currently, nationalism in any form is not inspiring political mobilization in Peru, at least not with the same intensity and consequence that in Eastern and Western Europe or the former Soviet Union. However, that does not mean that Peru has developed beyond nationalism. Under

the proper favorable conditions, a resurgence of nationalism is still possible and when nationalism comes it will be articulated using the existing wealth of ideas about national identity.

The government of General Velasco Alvarado in the 1970s led a movement of reform inspired by what could be called liberation and integration nationalism. Nationalist political mobilization was inspired by anti-imperialist ideas as well as by the need to reintegrate the Indian into society. Foreign corporations were nationalized and *Quechua* (the language spoken by a significant majority of people in the Andean region) was given the category of an official language.

A version of separatist Indian nationalism is clearly espoused by Stéfano Varese. There is not much evidence of separatist political mobilization among Indian groups in Peru to date. However, a mix of environmental crises with political scandals resulting from contracts signed with foreign corporation to explore the Amazon region, combined with a well publicized international campaign by non-governmental organizations, could spark a separatist nationalism, or at least a movement demanding autonomy. In this context, it is also important to include the weakening of the institutional capacity of the state as a contributing factor.

A pluralist conception of Peru may be an acceptable alternative given the number of different ethnic groups inhabiting the same territory. However, as Flores Galindo pointed out, the danger of cultural pluralism is that marginalized groups need to develop a sense of identity, which in an exclusionary system, may easily turn violent.

ENDNOTES

¹"Creole" designated a Spanish person born in America. "Indian" is a controversial concept due to its racist and ideological connotations.

²Basadre, Jorge 1968 *Historia de la República del Perú, 1822-1933*, Sixth Edition, vol. I, Lima: Editorial Universitaria, p. 261. All translations from Spanish are mine.

³Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, p. 263.

⁴Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, p. 265.

⁵Flores Galindo, Alberto 1994, *Buscando un inca. Identidad y utopía en los andes*, Fourth edition, Lima: Editorial Horizonte, p. 339.

⁶Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca*, p. 340.

⁷Méndez, Cecilia 1993 *Incas sí, indios no: apuntes para el estudio del nacionalismo crillo en el Perú*, Documentos de Trabajo # 56, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

⁸Méndez, *Incas sí, indios no*, ps. 30-31.

⁹Méndez, *Incas sí, indios no*, p. 32.

¹⁰Méndez, *Incas sí, indios no*, pp. 15-21.

¹¹Ciccarelli, Orazio 1982 "Peru's Anti-Japanese Campaign in the 1930s: Economic Dependency and Abortive Nationalism," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 9 (1): 113-133.

¹²Ciccarelli, "Peru's Anti-Japanese Campaign in the 1930s," p. 120.

¹³Castañeda, Jorge 1993 *Utopia Unarmed. The Latine American Left after the Cold War*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

¹⁴Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed*, ch. 9. Castañeda's argument that the Latin American left conceived nationalism as nation-building is correct. However, the Latin American left was not the only political group that conceived nationalism in such a way. Nation-building can also be understood as promoting industrialization to achieve a modern capitalist status.

¹⁵Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca*, p. 340.

¹⁶Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca*, p. 340.

¹⁷Varese, Stéfano 1996 "The Ethnopolitics of Indian Resistance in Latin America," *Latin American Perspectives*, 89 (2): 58-71, p. 61.

¹⁸Varese, "The Ethnopolitics of Indian Resistance. . .," p. 68.

¹⁹Miró Quesada, Francisco 1992 *Hombre, sociedad y política*, Lima: Ariel Comunicaciones para la cultura, p. 11.

²⁰Salazar Bondy, Augusto 1995 *Dominación y liberación. Escritos 1966-1974*, Edited by Helen Orvig and David Sobrevilla, Lima: Facultad de Letras y Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

²¹Salazar Bondy, *Dominación y liberación*, p. 79. *Criollismo* here refers to the expression of popular culture predominantly in Lima among the middle class.

²²Salazar Bondy, *Dominación y liberación*, p. 81. In a similar fashion, reflecting on Mexican nationalism in the 1950s, Octavio Paz said that "if our nationalism is not a mental sickness or idolatry, it must lead to a universal search." With these words, Paz was calling on his fellow Mexicans to end their long years of living in their "labyrinth of solitude" and enter universal civilization by contributing towards a world in which "lies, bad faith, pretense, greed with no scruples, violence, and feigning will not reign. . . A human society." Paz, Octavio 1964 *El*

laberinto de la soledad, Fourth edition, Mexico and Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, p. 159.

²³Salazar Bondy, *Dominación y liberación*, p. 190.

²⁴See Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed*, ch. 9. For Castañeda, the left should keep a reformed nationalism as part of its political strategy if for no other reason than there is no alternative mobilizing myth. However, it should be a nationalism without anti-Americanism. A nationalism that promotes state policies that do not exacerbate regional confrontation but, on the contrary, promote regional integration. A nationalism, finally, that subordinates the state to global policies in favor of economic justice, environmental protection, and defense of human rights.

²⁵Miró Quesada, *Hombre, sociedad y política*, p. 13.

²⁶Miró Quesada, *Hombre, sociedad y política*, p. 14.

²⁷Miró Quesada, *Hombre, sociedad y política*, p. 15.

²⁸Miró Quesada, *Hombre, sociedad y política*, p. 17.

²⁹Varese, "The Ethnopolitics of Indian Resistance. . .," p. 58.

³⁰Varese, "The Ethnopolitics of Indian Resistance. . .," p. 68.

³¹Varese, "The Ethnopolitics of Indian Resistance. . .," p. 69.
