The Indian Liberation and Social Rights Movement in Kollasuyu (Bolivia)
IWGIA – International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs – is a non-political and non-religious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries.

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Cover: Photograph taken during the massacre at Tolata, January 1974
Julio Tumiri Apaza (ed.)

THE INDIAN LIBERATION AND SOCIAL RIGHTS
MOVEMENT IN KOLLASUYU (BOLIVIA)

"I am only one and you can kill me, but tomorrow I shall return in the form of millions like me."
Tupac Katari (1781)
CONTENTS

The Liberation of the Indians in Kollasuyu (Bolivia).......................... 1

Manifesto of Tiwanaku............................. 20

Peasants Social Week............................. 31

MINK'A and the Granting of Official Status to the Aymara and Quechua Languages................................. 40

Tupac Katari and the Indian Liberation Movement.............................. 49

Kollasuyu: No to the Racist Invasion... 56

Proclamation of the "Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari" M.I.T.K.............. 64

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Map drawn by Jørgen Ulrich
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Julio Tumiri Apaza planned and edited the present Document during his stay in Denmark, October 1977 - January 1978, in close cooperation with the Documentation department of IWGIA. However, the Proclamation of the "Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari", promulgated early this year, was submitted to IWGIA after Julio Tumiri Apaza's departure from Denmark.

The International Secretariat of IWGIA is particularly pleased to have the privilege of publishing this Document exposing the historical background and the political viewpoint on which one of the strongest Indian liberation movements of our time is built in the face of indescribable suffering and human sacrifice.

Copenhagen, May 1978.

The International Secretariat of IWGIA
THE LIBERATION OF THE INDIANS IN KOLLASUYU (BOLIVIA)  

by Julio Tumiri Apaza
MINK'A

PREFACE

This document was compiled by the CENTRO DE COORDINACION Y PROMOCION CAMPESINA "MINK'A" to be considered by the "First Meeting of Anthropologists in the Andean Region", held from September 16-20, 1975 in the city of La Paz. The complete document was thoroughly discussed and finally adopted.

During their first meeting to discuss a basis for integrating anthropological studies within the framework of the Andrés Bello Agreement ("Convenio Andrés Bello"), representatives of the six countries of the Andean Group (Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela) stated their viewpoints regarding the scope of anthropology without taking account of the Indians, that great reality of this hemisphere. Thus it is deplorable that anthropologists, sociologists and other participants still consider the Indians to be simply a subject for their doctoral thesis, even though one of their many resolutions tries lyrically to plead for the granting of official status to the Aymara and Quechua languages. However, it is clear that they are unaware of the fact that for quite some time the Aymara and
Quechua have been adopting resolutions and putting in petitions to the relevant authorities.

In our opinion that meeting turned out to be yet another occasion where clear intentions were shown to plan and finance better research, systematic oppression and deliberate doing away with Indians in this continent.

However, our approach can in no way coincide with that of oppressive or academic anthropologists wearing neckties, because we want to establish an Indianist Anthropology as a way to liberate Indians in Bolivia and everywhere else, carried out by the Indians themselves in accordance with their concept of the universe and the cultural values inherited from their ancestors. For we, the Indians, are not zoological rarities that can be studied in social laboratories or confined to "native" reservations or parks.

INTRODUCTION

The intention of this document is to give a general outline to be considered by the "First Meeting of Anthropologists in the Countries of the Andean Region"\(^2\), of the most important aspects of the INDIAN LIBERATION AND SOCIAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in Bolivia and its implications for the continent called America\(^3\).

When we talk about the American people, we mean the Indians; when we talk of the Andean region, we recall the Tawantinsuyu of the past. To ignore consciously this reality we feel is an outrage, a lèse majesté.

We are aware of the racial segregation to which Indians are subjected by the "cholos"*; the degrading exploitation resulting from the mining and feudal system and economic dependence; poverty and hunger; malnutrition and death; public institutions and science serving the dual system; the

* The word "cholo" can mean "mestizo", and also a westernized or europeanized Indian. (Translator's note).
sectarian and slave-market-like party politics of the "cholos" of this Republic; discrimination and alienation in the education system - in other words, a deliberate rejection of the ancestral culture of the Indians and an unconditional submission of them to Western culture, for more than 150 years of "political independence from Europe". All of these factors have thwarted the development of our personality as a respectable people within the community of the nations of the world.

OUR CULTURAL IDENTITY: WE ARE INDIANS

In the Americas the word "indio" (Indian) did not exist before the year 1492. We got this designation from Christopher Columbus when he invaded us, as if we were inhabitants of India. To the Europeans, an Indian was an intermediate creature between man and the lower animals. Using this word they murdered, exploited, oppressed, and discriminated against the sages of Tawantinsuyu and the rest of America.

In the Republic we were still contemptuously referred to as "indios" until 1952 (Bolivian Revolution), a term used to classify the Amerindian nations or "ethnic" groups within the multicultural spectrum of our indigenous population. However, the word was no longer used in local politics after the so-called Bolivian Revolution, for purely political and demagogic reasons, and we are now called "peasant comrades", recently also "peasant brothers and sisters".

Because we are aware of our history and of all the political and demagogic machinations, we identify ourselves as "indios" and not only peasants. WE ARE "INDIOS", yes, descendants of a highly civilized, age-old culture, and members of an oppressed people numbering millions who are standing up for their rights and struggling for their liberation. The Indian is noble; he has a sense of justice; he is moderate and respectful, hard-working and deeply
religious, for the laws of his ancestors say: "Ama suá", "Ama llulla", "Ama Q'ella".

Our organization protests against the constant exploitation, humiliation and discrimination to which Indians are openly subjected by the "k'aras" (Europeanized half-breeds or mestizos). It is also they who exert pressure on us to refrain from being ourselves, by happily calling us "peasants".\(^5\).

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, SCIENCE AND THE LIBERATION OF INDIANS

All socially responsible institutions and scientists should make their contribution to the Indian liberation movements and support them in their claims, and show a similar solidarity with all other oppressed groups. If not, they serve and are accomplices of the oppressors who use Indians as study material etc.

Our institution MINK'\(^6\)A demands, as a matter of simple justice, the following steps:

1. The State should:
   a) Extend to all Indian groups a guaranteed right to live and remain within their cultural patterns.
   b) Recognize the right of the indigenous\(^7\) entities to organize and govern themselves in accordance with their specific cultural characteristics and self-determination\(^8\).
   c) Recognize and guarantee the ownership of each Indian community of its territory, by registering them properly and giving them a collective, continuing and inalienable right to a sufficiently large area to account for any population growth\(^9\).
   d) Give greater financial assistance to the Indian communities so as to enable them to play a decisive part in the economic, political, social and cultural development of the country.
2. The Church should:
   a) Leave behind its inherent Herodian attitude in connection with its mission work which functions as a tool for the colonialization, europeanization and alienation of the Indian communities.
   b) Proceed in a spirit of respect toward these cultures and put an end to the long and disgraceful history of despotism and intolerance which have been typical of the work of the missionaries, who rarely have shown any understanding of Indian religious sentiments and values.\(^{10}\).
   c) The Churches should not be afraid to give their active support to the formation of genuinely Indian organizations.\(^{11}\).
   d) Collect and publish information as well as undertake research on far-reaching schemes and projects which are directed by multinational companies against the Indian communities, whereby interethnic frictions are stirred up.\(^{12}\).
   e) Stop all measures to displace or concentrate Indians in villages for mission or assimilation purposes.
   f) Protest against such criminal acts as ethnocide and genocide.

3. Anthropologists should:
   a) Firstly, undertake all sorts of anthropological studies in the colonized communities and collect similar material from other sources, both about the communities and the society which oppresses them, in order to cooperate in the struggle for liberation.
   b) Secondly, correct the distorted image which pervades all of society as regards the Indian communities, by unmasking its colonialist character.\(^{13}\).
   c) It is up to anthropologists to cry out against cases of genocide and measures taken leading to ethnocide, through all means at their disposal. Likewise, they
should focus on everyday reality and base their theories on this, in order to overcome their subordinate position as mere exemplifiers of other people's theories.

d) Recognizing that all this research has been carried out based on a self-interest completely dissociated from the people that have been studied, the anthropologists should give back the results of their research activities to the Indian communities so that the latter can make use of them in their struggle for liberation and social rights. Our communities do not want and never have wanted to be research objects; we seek a road of self-determination and a development based in ourselves.

WHICH ALTERNATIVE WILL BE THE RIGHT ONE FOR INDIANS TO CHOOSE IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AND SOCIAL RIGHTS?

1. Reservations like those of Brazil or the United States?

   No. For the simple reason that we, the Indians, are not zoological rarities that people can go out to have a look at. Experience has shown us that reservations are created to manipulate their land better, giving them small and unattractive allotments in return, to ruin them more thoroughly and systematically to exterminate them by means of bacteriological warfare and/or fire arms. Fundamentally they are veritable concentration camps outside which ranchers, merchants and other extraneous elements lead Indians into slavery, to be kidnapped, raped, exploited economically and in many cases exterminated.

2. Religious missions?

   This is not the alternative, either, for the Indians' struggle for liberation and social rights. For these missions represent the forefront of the oppressing ethnic group in this country, i.e. the powerful ruling class. Their schemes
are aimed at teaching a new religion by destroying beliefs, standards and cultural values, and, at the same time, softening up the Indians to manipulate them better. As a matter of fact they busy themselves with destroying Indian culture by preaching conformism, resignation and false theories of fear; in the eyes of the missionaries, Indians spend their time roaming about disorderly, without religion and without any proper work to do\textsuperscript{16}.

They aim their activities at obtaining the greatest possible number of proselytes for their religion, forbidding people to attend Indian religious gatherings and praise their habits, or to smoke, or to drink. Religious fanaticism only allows them to see Indians as poor heathens that must be won for their creed\textsuperscript{17}.

3. Autonomous Indian communities?

Yes. Indians must play the main part in their struggle for liberation and social rights in solidarity with other oppressed groups. When elements from outside try to represent the Indians or take control over them it is colonialism because it deprives Indians of their unquestionable right to play the major part in their own struggle, and to take their defence in their own hands against the genocide and ethnocide policies of our colonial society. Indians need no tutors. They challenge society by asserting their social and cultural heritage, emphasizing all the historical significance of their systems of self-government, development, defence, etc.. The most effective contribution from society at large will come on the day when it accepts their different lifestyles and puts an end to economic and political exploitation, and its humiliating practices and racist social discrimination\textsuperscript{18}.

DISCRIMINATION, DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION MECHANISMS

1. Anthropology: an instrument of domination:

Ever since its creation anthropology has been an instrument of domination; it has openly and surreptitiously used academic terminology to rationalize and justify
situations where some nations impose their will on others. It has supplied technically expert knowledge of actions which help to maintain, strengthen or disguise the colonial relationship. The American continent has been no exception; with increasing frequency we see rather disastrous action schemes meant for the Indians which are full of stereotyped ideas and distorsions deforming and concealing the real situation of the Indians; also, they all claim to be scientifically based on the results of anthropological studies19).

2. Historians: accomplices in oppression.

Before the Europeans invaded our territory, our ancestors lived as a people with an age-old history who were highly civilized within their own cultural framework built on a philosophy of equality.

The colonial invaders did not try to understand, and certainly did not show respect. They set up a society based on individualism and exlusivism, endorsed by "the cross and the sword" and detrimental to the Indian people. The conquistadores from Europe, which was still in the final stages of the barbarian Middle Ages, trampled on our land, assaulted our cities, plundered our mines, turned our forests into deserts, shattered our empires and distorted our history.

In the area called South America, the Spanish and Portuguese obtained their affluence by means of the blood and sweat, hunger and death and forced labour of the Indians, and the grabbing of their land and property. However, this prosperous situation did not last long because the huge wealth accumulated from the mines, haciendas and "obrajes" (crafts and small industry), was wasted on the petty wars conducted by the monarchs. As a result of this, Spain and Portugal are today backward countries compared with the rest of Europe20).

The War of Independence was enthusiastically initiated,
kept up and won by the Indians, but the question of their freedom was dodged and again they were plunged into oblivion and coerced into forced labour.

For the Indians, the Republic does not stand for the liberty which has been so effusively praised, nor for equality, nor brotherhood, but simply for new masters and another Praetorioan Guard.

The aristocracy of mine owners and landowners of this Republic still rule despotically over the Indians and thus frustrate the development of a national family with dignity for all ethnic groups.

The Republic ought to be synonymous with revolutionary independence, i.e. not political independence but a true social and economic liberation of the people with complete respect for Indian cultural values. For the Indians independence will come on the day when they take the leadership and administration of their people into their own hands. This they are entitled to by right.

Official history has justified and glorified the great deeds of the oppressors while denigrating the oppressed. The history of Indians has been covered with a black mantle.

3. The economic system is based on duality.

"The Indians are the poor lot, and the rich lot are the whites". It is the Indians who produce the greatest percentage of the Gross National Product; however, their share in the goods and services of society is negligible, whereas the one per cent which owns the means of production receives 21% of the national income.

Those Indians who are employed in farming - the peasants - live in extremely precarious conditions. In the mines they suffer from the very hard work and their living conditions are generally very poor, sometimes even subhuman. The Indians living in the jungle - called "wild" by the whites - are practically unknown to society at large and almost totally disregarded. In the cities their economic
situation is characterized by poverty, leading them to build shantytowns where they carry on with their existence, deprived of the facilities connected with modern urban life\textsuperscript{22}).

The economy of Indians is clearly at subsistence level with an annual per capita income of 50 US$; real technical and financial assistance is non-existent. Bank credits for farming purposes have been channelled to the new landowners and privileged cliques who invest in cotton, sugar cane and cattle breeding in Eastern Bolivia\textsuperscript{23}). The credit policy can be summarized in this way: "More money for those who have; for those who have not, no money is available". Economic measures and constant inflation directly affect the economy of the Indian population.

The different institutions created to encourage the social and economic development of the indigenous communities have not achieved any positive results because their methods are based on imported ideas and reveal a slavish imitation of irrelevant concepts of development and growth. The dual economic system has given no consideration to such social, political and economic values as the MARKA, AYLLU, JILAQATURA, AYNI, MINK'A, etc., all of which are truly representative of Indian culture\textsuperscript{24}).

In view of this subsistence economy situation it is up to scientists and institutions, especially anthropologists, to formulate new outlines for applied anthropology, using Indian cultural values as their starting point, and with the direct participation of the Indian communities.

4. Politics: the majority is oppressed.

In practice, Indians have never really actively supported any political party because none of these have represented their true interests, nor have they been influenced by their cultural values\textsuperscript{25}).

The Indian is disguised as "peasant comrade" or "peasant brother", as a matter of lip service, by the politicians and limited to be a blind political tool for the benefit of
political parties\(^{26}\). In order to attract more votes, all the faults of urban politics have been introduced into Indian communities and pseudo-leaders have emerged, together with sectarianism, personal ambitions, false political bosses, political intrigues, nepotism, economic and moral corruption, lack of true representation and a deliberate ignorance of Indian government\(^{27}\).

The policy of "incorporating the indigenous population into the life of the nation" has been established; it is an authoritarian policy which does not encourage the creation of a truly multicultural State in which each ethnic group has a right to self-determination and to free choice between various social, cultural and political alternatives.

We no longer want this old game of politics with its improvised agreements and leaderships which have been created only to keep them all in government one after the other, causing so much bitterness and distress without giving the people any guarantee whatsoever.

The liberation movement of the Indians and their resulting self-determination is above all a political issue rather than a question of economics. Due to the fact that their living conditions are those of an oppressed people, Indians must have their own political organization inspired by their interests and cultural values, whose members are the miners, factory workers, builders, etc. and the peasantry in general, all of whom have the basic common feature of hands hardened by rough labour.

5. Education: instrument of alienation.

If "education is the formation of the human character in the service of society", for the Indian people the education system of Anglo-American origin which is predominant in our countries, means that we are brainwashed, domesticated and made unconditionally servile to European culture\(^{28}\). However, thanks to our authentic, living traditions which are passed on from generation to generation, thanks to the language of
our stone monuments, and the silent testimony of our snow-white mountain ranges and in the face of any infliction of ethnocide upon us, "we proclaim that our languages and culture have eternal value".

In accordance with the segregationist policy of the governments in our countries, our education system is discriminatory; for the Indians there is a basic curriculum, for the "cholos" a mediocre humanistic curriculum and for the whites an experimental curriculum, but teaching at all levels is of an alienating nature\(^{29}\).

Nonetheless we, the Indians, are criticized as being inferior and unworthy of Western culture. However, what have the governments of the Republic done for more than 150 years to help our Indians improve their cultural level? Who is to blame for the backwardness of a people? So we are inferior and unworthy? To our ears this sounds like racial discrimination and not like cultural differentiation and certainly not class distinction. With whom lies the incapacity? A backward people has a mediocre ruler; venal and powerless leaders, with superiority without responsibility - this is what our experience seems to indicate.


Socially speaking Indians are discriminated against, humiliated and abused. We have seen that they occupy the lowest stratum of society within the exploitation pyramid or class struggle. It has been said that Indians are incapable, uncultured, of an inferior race, etc., etc., etc..

They have been treated as objects and study material for social action schemes and research, all of which has been carried out from interests that have nothing to do with them and out of pure scientific speculation with the intention of exporting the results to some of the oppressing countries, in other words, in the service of the class which boasts of being of a superior race.

Until the present day, the Indians of the cities, just
like those living in the country, namely peasants and miners, have occupied the lowest ranking of the social and political structure at all times and in any place.


Great empires, rulers of audacious vision and a strong, vigorous people were the attributes of our glorious past. In those times no one had to suffer from hunger and malnutrition; in the big cities of today, however, almost everywhere one can see thousands of undernourished and starving children, old people in rags and invalids striving to keep their poor humanity afloat, in the presence of a handful of affluent people who have made themselves owners of lives and property without any right whatsoever except the law of the strongest.

Sectarian and racist rulers and European-minded industrialists have made our Tawantinsuyu into a continent of misery.

Ever since the Spanish invaders arrived, i.e. that "Day of Misfortune", and until this present day the Indian people of the whole continent have been subjected to a slow, systematic death, because uncontrolled diseases are the scourges especially of children, and chemists and doctors are still involved in the sinister imperialist campaign to sterilize Indian women and children and working class people.\(^3\)

In short, the European conquerors' desire for genocide has taken on various nuances. It has made them exterminate entire Indian nations by means of conquest wars, decimate millions by forced, unpaid labour in the mines, farming estates, and the "obrajes"; also, they have subjected our children to hunger, malnutrition and mortality, and now they have found a way to sterilize our women and children.


For the Indians, colonial society brought yet other aspects, such as a thorough evangelization with the purpose
of destroying the Andean concept of the universe which is deeply religious; it imposed a false God, baptism, and worship of the white saints, and gave Christian names to indigenous deities, etc., etc..

Certainly, mission activity has meant that a number of alien cultural criteria and standards have been imposed on Indian society; under a cloak of religion, they conceal economic exploitation, discrimination, submission and slaughter of Indians.

However, it is proper to mention that there have been well-meaning attempts to defend the oppressed. From the first years there have been monks with a romantic attitude to the indigenous population, who protested against abuses committed by Colonial authorities, and recently there are dissidents within the Church taking up self-criticism and proclaiming that mission work has been historically misguided.
NOTES

1) Since before the arrival of Columbus, the KOLASUYU has existed for us, it is nothing less than our PACHAMAMA (the good earth). Likewise, Indians have been subjected to exploitation and seen the entrails of their country being plundered for 5oo years (gold, silver, tin, oil, etc.), and the label "Bolivia" has simply been substituted for "Colony".

2) Gathering which took place in the city of La Paz from September 16-20, 1975. It was attended by social scientists from Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Argentina, and MINK'A.

3) Seen in the light of the Indian Rights movement, this name is actually quite questionable, since "America" is simply a tribute to a European colonialist.

4) "Ethnic group" or "ethnic minorities" are terms used for assimilation purposes, yet another form of softening the Indians in order to study them better from an anthropological angle. Besides, it is not in accordance with reality, for we as Indians are not a minority, but the majority; it is the small handful of Europeanized mestizos who are an ethnic minority.

5) For Bolivians, using the word "peasant" is just another way of calling the Indians "indios", but is also means killing them culturally and physically by confining them to being just a "social class", as if Indians and whites, Xaques and Q'aras had the same cultural background, the same ancestors, the same past, as if we never had been discriminated against and always are their "peasant brothers and sisters", making it look as if we are intellectually incapable of becoming doctors and only can aspire to eternally being farmers and wrongdoers. Reality appears to be rather different, for "peasant brothers and
sisters" is used when they are on their way up and then to sustain themselves in power; afterwards, we are just dirty, illiterate "indios" who hardly know how to wear a pair of shoes, and they will say to us: "What do you come to town for, you pig, why don't you go back to the country and work on the farm?", etc..

6) MINK'A is an Indian non-governmental organization whose aims are to encourage unifying approaches and activities so as to achieve complete respect for the ancient culture of the Kollasuyu. Its members are persons of Indian stock who have got together to work and to educate themselves for our struggle, and who are convinced that we shall overcome.

7) The term "indígena" (native) is part of the ethnocide politics of this country, and anthropologists have given great importance to this concept in their reports. However, Indians have not been oppressed as natives but as "INDIOS". For this reason, "indios" is the very name they use in the struggle for their rights. Moreover, the europeanized mestizos also talk about "indígenas" and not of "indios". Another example is the so-called "Instituto Indigenista Interamericano" which is "indigenizing" all these "indios" and killing off Mayas, Aztecs and other Indian peoples.


9) However, in respect of the resolutions passed by various conventions and conferences of Indians, it should be added: "...Indians are, with or without title deeds, the only real owners of their land...".


11) Idem.

12) "Interethnic friction" in the sense of confrontation between industrialized society - in this case white
society - and non-industrial societies - like Indian society; the danger of extermination of the latter and facing up to this danger. See The Declaration of Barbados, 1971. (IWGIA Document, No 1).

13) Idem.


16) In "Situation of the Indians in South America" (Barbados Documents I) it says: "Our century has seen a great number of disgraceful examples which with hair-raising clarity show us how all existing means of power are used in an attempt to impose certain political and economic models on non-industrial societies, without refraining from repression, deportation and exterminatory means".

At the different Congresses of Indians, protests have also been voiced against other forms of extermination, such as sterilization of women, on the initiative of Governments and so-called philanthropical organizations.

See Jürgen Riester, IWGIA Document No 18, 1975.


18) Idem.

19) Despite the fact that those anthropologists who signed Barbados I (1971) reported that "...increasingly, the true situation of the Indian population is distorted and concealed by sinister anthropological schemes", many anthropologists are against this declaration and carry
on working by out-of-date theories.

20) It has been said often enough that "with all the silver that has been extracted from the rich hill of Potosí, it would have been quite easy to build a bridge from gold and silver extending from Potosí (Bolivia) to Madrid (Spain)". But Spain let these riches go astray all over Europe, and nowadays Spain is a backward country.

21) "Manifiesto de Tiawanaku", 1973 (MINK'A mimeo).

22) Pastoral Letter. Concluding document of a meeting of high ranking clergy of the Catholic Church.

"Semana Social Campesino", 1973 (MINK'A mimeo)

24) However, from the oppressors' viewpoint these projects and schemes are really positive because they are sucessfully achieving their goals of breaking down organizational systems, customs and technology, i.e. killing off Indian culture. Now we see Indians having joined the modern consumer society; alienated, poor Indians wearing neckties and mechanically repeating Marxist slogans or memorizing verses of the Bible; occasionally cheering and acclaiming the names of their oppressors, etc., and some of these become morally and economically corrupt leaders.


26) Idem.

27) Revista Indicep No 6, Oruro, Bolivia.

28) All Bolivia's Education Acts are essentially the same; only formal changes are introduced by each government in turn.

29) Education in Bolivia is structured in the following way:
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors and percentage of population</th>
<th>Budget Education</th>
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<tr>
<td>a) Private Education, mainly</td>
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<td>for the white population,</td>
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<td>which makes up .................. 1.5%</td>
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<td>b) Urban Government Education</td>
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<td>for the europeanized</td>
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<td>mestizos, who make up ........... 13.5%</td>
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<td>c) Rural Government Education</td>
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<td>(until 1953: &quot;Educación</td>
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<td>Indígena&quot;), aimed at the</td>
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<td>TOTAL............................100.0%</td>
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30) See "Presencia" 20-6-1974, La Paz, Bolivia.
"Presencia" 27-6-1974, La Paz, Bolivia.
"Expreso" 9-3-1975, La Paz, Bolivia.
MANIFESTO OF TIWANAKU

INTRODUCTION

"A nation which oppresses another nation cannot be free" the Inca Yupanqui told the Spaniards. We, Quechua and Aymara peasants, together with the people of other indigenous cultures in this country, say the same. We feel exploited economically and oppressed both culturally and politically.

In Bolivia there has been no cultural integration, but rather a superimposition and domination that have made us remain in the lowest and most exploited stratum of the pyramid. Bolivia is going and has gone through terrible frustrations. One of these, perhaps the most widely felt of all, is the lack of real participation of Quechua and Aymara peasants in the economic, political and social life of the country. We think that without radical change in this aspect it will be absolutely impossible to create national unity and a balanced and dynamic economic development which could be proper and suited for our reality and needs.

Bolivia is entering a new stage in her political life, one of its outstanding features being the awakening of a peasant consciousness. Now that we are approaching another pre-election period we are again going to see professional politicians addressing themselves to the peasants in order to woo them for their votes, and once again they do so with
deceptions and by giving false promises. Our peasantry should have real political participation and not a fictitious one. No party will be able to build up this country on fraud and on the exploitation of the peasants. Being peasants ourselves and far from any motivation derived from party politics, we only care for the liberation of our people and wish to express in this document the thoughts that we find are essential regarding the economic, political and social set-up of this country.

OUR CULTURE IS OF FUNDAMENTAL VALUE

A real social process is founded on a cultural basis because this is the deepest value of a community. Our national frustration has its origin in the fact that the Quechua and Aymara cultures have constantly been subjected to systematic attempts at destroying them. The politicians of the ruling minorities have wanted to create development exclusively based on a slavish imitation of development in other countries even though our cultural resources and traditions are totally different. Moreover, guided by a practical materialism they have come to believe that progress is exclusively based on the economic sides of life.

We peasants want economic development but starting from our own values. We do not want to lose the noble virtues inherited from our ancestors in honour of pseudo-development. We fear this false development concept imported from abroad because it is fictitious and does not take our deepest values into consideration. We want the stale paternalist attitudes to be left behind and no longer to be treated as second class citizens. We are foreigners in our own country.

No respect has been shown for our virtues nor for our own ideas about life and the world. School education, party politics and technical assistance have not helped bring about any significant change in the rural areas. No peasant participation has been achieved because their culture has
been disregarded and their mentality has not been understood. We peasants are convinced that there will be no development in the rural areas and in the whole country until we ourselves become responsible for our progress and masters of our destiny.

Due to its methods, curriculum and language rural education has no part in our cultural reality. Not only does it seek to turn Indians into some kind of mestizos without a clear identity or personality but it also strives to assimilate them to Western capitalist culture. Rural development projects are planned within a framework of individualism despite the fact that our history is essentially marked by communal spirit and ownership. The cooperative system is inherent in the people who created modes of production based on mutual aid such as the Ayni, MINK'A, Yapanaco, Camayo, etc. Private property, political sectarianism, individualism, class distinction and internal fights came to us together with the "Reforma" and have got worse under the regimes of the Republic. Our Land Reform was also conceived within this framework.

Economic and political power is the basis of cultural liberation. We must modernize our traditional system and adapt it to technology, but we will under no circumstances break off with it. All attempts at europeanizing or "americanizing" us, for example in the way it has been tried through education and politics, are doomed to fail like the previous ones. Any political movement that really intends to liberate the peasants must organize itself according to a scheme which takes our cultural values into consideration. An Indian is noble; he has a sense of justice; he is moderate and respectful, hardworking and deeply religious. But this great treasure which the Indian soul possesses has never been understood nor respected. The policies of the colonial period and the different governments of the Republic have been notably destructive causing some of us
to adopt serious faults of corrupt and corrupting party politicians. We have been treated as platforms and stepping-stones for others to fight out their worst passions and vilest ambitions. We are no longer willing to follow this road of subjugation and corruption. The disastrous results of it are clear for everyone to see. Those Indians who no longer want to be Indians owing to bad education and false party politics, have adopted the worst faults of other races and have made themselves new exploiters of their own brothers and sisters. We call on them fraternity to unite with us in a movement for our rights and our culture and to all work together for the economic and political liberation of our people.

Our governments, politicians, economists and educators should all realize that the so-called "promotion" of Aymara and Quechua peasants has been a complete failure because the methods applied have been wrong. In this document we will endeavour to outline the general features of a liberating peasant policy.

OUR HISTORY SPEAKS

Before the Spanish conquest our people had an age-long history with virtues that evolved within a highly socialized structure. The colonial rulers neither bothered to respect nor recognize our culture which instead was crushed and subdued. Independence brought no liberty for the Indians; on the contrary, it came about under liberalist principles which meant that Indians were considered and treated as a passive social element only fit for being used in the constant wars as cannon fodder. For the Indians the Republic was simply a new way of labelling the policies of the ruling cliques. Indian liberation in the shape of Tupac Katari and his freedom fighters was laid into irons. Belzú's indigenist policy gave rise to a short upsurge of hope in the peasant
masses, but among Indians life was to continue dragging itself along under ignominy, exploitation and contempt. Busch and Villarroel wanted to do something to change this state of affairs but were kept from doing anything by the reactionary handful of ruling families in the country. With the Revolution of April 9th two great liberating laws arrived: Land reform and universal suffrage. The Land Reform Act enabled us Indians to liberate ourselves from the dreadful yoke of the landowners. It is a pity that this Act has not had all the positive effects that it was hoped to bring, the reason for this being that it was excessively individualist in its scope, and also because certain right-wing groups within the MNR were responsible for this Act's not being implemented together with other Acts favouring investment, technical modernization and marketing of agricultural products. Universal suffrage should not exclude the participation of the organizations of indigenous communities in the political life of the country. It is also regrettable that it often has caused our own politicians to feel a boundless appetite for power. For this reason suffrage for the Indians has not brought about any liberation but only new forms of fraud and exploitation. When politicians of the old style approach the peasants they do not want to be of any use to them but only to make use of them. Some bad peasants have betrayed our history and our people by introducing these corrupt ways of party politics into our peasant union movement. By their double-faced conduct and degraded servility they have stained our name and our ancestral traditions. We must humbly recognize this, generously forgive and carefully learn from the experience. The important thing is to take again the road of nobleness which our forefathers showed us.

Likewise, we give no credit to the harangues of the self-proclaimed left-wing parties which cannot see that the peasants should be given responsibility for their own life.
In order to become an instrument of liberation for the peasants a political organization must be created, run and supported by us. Our political organizations should reflect our values and our real interests.

ECONOMY

Despite the fact that we, the peasants, produce 78% of our gross national product, we only receive 34% of the national income; at the same time the 1.7% which is made up by the major capital owners of this country receives 21% of the national income. It is a fact that Bolivia is one of the countries with the lowest per capita income in the world since it only just amounts to 120 US$ per inhabitant per year, and even so the majority of our peasants can scarcely organize 50 US$ per year. Our diet is one of the poorest in the world in terms of vitamin content. The mortality rate in our communities is just as high today as it was 50 years ago. Our economy is a subsistence economy. We work exclusively to stay alive and in many cases we do not even achieve that.

However, nobody can claim that our peasants do not work. The farming policies of our different governments have been most unfortunate. We are totally abandoned to our fate. The country spends over 20 million US$ on importing agricultural produce from abroad even though we could produce it all ourselves. They prefer to pay foreign farmers instead of paying our own peasants. Whenever bank credits for farming have been given, the only beneficiaries have been the new landowners and the rich few who invest in cotton, sugar cane and cattle breeding.

Following the devaluation of our currency ordained by the government last October, our wretched economy has seriously deteriorated. Nobody has given the peasants a thought. Workers living in the cities, school-teachers,
public servants, etc., have all received their family bonus and a higher salary. Being real outcasts in our society, the peasants have not received the slightest compensation nor any small incentive whatsoever. Those of us who sell farm produce retail have only seen a negligible increase in prices over the years. This increase in no way makes up for the transport costs which have gone up 40%. Whereas the things we buy - sugar, noodles, rice, agricultural implements, chemical fertilizers - have gone up 30-80%, the things we sell have only slightly improved their price level; moreover, there is a total lack of price control in the rural areas. In such an uncontrolled situation it is always the peasants who are the losers since they are the weakest group. This injustice cannot drag on any longer.

What we propose in order to improve this situation is no further paternalist intervention by the government nor by well-meaning individuals. We believe that the only solution is to be found in authentic peasant organizations. The disparity of prices between the rural products which we sell and the goods we have to buy in the towns is a result of the power relations. Peasants are weak because they do not stand united, nor organized, nor mobilized. Our present departmental and national organizations do not properly safeguard the peasantry's interests.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PEASANTRY

The peasantry of Bolivia has never really been affiliated to any political party because none has represented its true interests nor have they proceeded out of inspiration from its cultural values. However, we must recognize that the MNR more than any other party has represented peasant interests by introducing land reform bills and universal suffrage. The MNR was the first party ever to be sensitive enough to become an instrument for peasant liberation, but
all this was brought to a standstill because reactionary, rightist elements without any social sensitivity penetrated into the ranks of this party and managed to stop our on-going liberation process.

Neither the MNR of today nor the partisans of Barrientos, nor the traditional left-wing parties, have any peasant roots. When peasants have voted for them it is because they had no alternative, because we have had no party of our own. These parties have utilized the peasant vote as a means for reaching power and remaining in it. For the sake of attaining a balance of interests and representation, peasants should have their own party to represent their social, cultural and economic interests. This will be the only way to achieve a real and positive political participation and the only manner to make possible an authentic and all-embracing development of rural areas. It is a grave mistake to think that economic and political progress in Bolivia will be possible without the direct participation of the peasantry. The peasants have been a passive political force because they have always been encouraged to remain in total passivity. Politically speaking, the peasantry is what our politicians have wanted it to be: nothing but a stepping-stone to be used for their own ambitions. It will only start to move when it is free to act as an autonomous, aboriginal force. Within the economic, political and cultural framework of our country it is impossible for the peasants to gain true political participation because they are always left out.

The Armed Forces of our nation are basically composed by peasants and hence they should also reflect this fact in their culture and ideas.
THE PEASANT UNION MOVEMENT

Notwithstanding that the peasant union movement at grass roots level and in many provincial organizations is an authentically representative peasant organization, at departmental and national level it has been exploited more than once for the benefit of interests that have nothing at all to do with our class. All the faults of urban party politics have spread to rural areas thanks to pseudoleaders who act as self-proclaimed representatives of our people. They have been and still are corrupters of our people. They are the ones who have sown sectarianism, political intrigues, nepotism, economic and moral corruption, personal ambition, hatred within families, false rule by military strongmen and lack of real representation all over the rural areas. Perhaps nothing, however, has been so harmful to us as paternalism, ingenuously hoping for solutions to come from outside and from above. The development of this country, especially of the rural districts, has got to be brought about by ourselves, by the peasantry. Politically speaking we have mostly been treated like children, and governments and bad leaders have always tried to make the things which we had a right to obtain look like "gifts" or "charity".

For our limpid Inca history it is disgraceful that our alienated peasant leaders have successively proclaimed all recent presidents of the Republic "Peasant Leaders". The best thing which our governments and political parties could do would be to let us freely and democratically elect our own leaders and give us an opportunity to elaborate our own socio-economic policies based on our cultural background.

Our past – and even present – experience tells us that when the peasants of the Altiplano are free to elect their "hilacatas", "hilancos" and other community authorities, they do so in a democratic spirit and with the greatest courtesy and respect for other people's opinions. The
present internal conflicts among peasants have been a result of the ambitions of outsiders throughout.

RURAL EDUCATION

We face two extremely serious problems in rural education. One is that of curriculum content and the other is the serious shortage of financial resources.

It is no secret to anybody that the rural school system has never been based on our own cultural values; the curricula have been prepared by government officials and reflect ideas and methods imported from other countries. Rural education has been a new form (the most subtle) of domination and immobilization. Rural teacher training is nothing but a brainwashing system for the future teachers in these areas. The education given bears no relation to everyday reality, both in terms of the things taught and the methods used by the teachers. It is not only the language which has nothing to do with our daily life but also the history, heroes, ideals and values conveyed.

In terms of practical organization, rural schools are not far from being a NATIONAL CATASTROPHE. The education budget is insufficient and the allocated funds are unevenly distributed with a much greater share for urban than for rural areas. Even today 51% of the children living in the rural areas cannot go to school for the simple reason that no school is located near their homes. The countryside not only is short of classrooms but also of books, blackboards, desks, and teaching materials, and above all it lacks teachers who really appreciate and love our oppressed people.

We could go on pointing out all aspects of peasant life to show how it is lived amidst the most appalling misery and in total neglect from our authorities. In the countryside the revolution has got nowhere; it is yet to be done.
However, it has to be done by raising once again the banners and great ideals of Tupac Katari, Bartolina Sisa, Willca Zárate, etc.. It has to be done starting from ourselves.

On our legendary Altiplano, infrastructure works are non-existent; there are no roads, no electricity, no hospitals, no progress. Transport facilities are poor, trading systems out of date, technical training not worth mentioning. In the countryside an undue number of rural schools are being set up as compared with the total lack of technical schools. Virtually everything remains to be done. We do not want anybody to do it for us; we only want to be allowed to do it ourselves.

We do not wish to finish this document, which undoubtedly will be the origin of a powerful, autonomous peasant movement, without inviting the press, the radio and all institutions which sincerely want to improve our peasants' living conditions, to encourage this noble desire to struggle for an authentic advancement of our people and of all Bolivia.

The miners, factory workers, builders, transport workers, and the impoverished middle classes are all our brothers and sisters, victims in different ways of the same exploitation, descendants of the same race and united in solidarity for the same ideals of struggle and liberation. Only united can we achieve a great future for our country.

Also we invite the Roman Catholic Church (to which the great majority of peasants belongs), together with other Evangelical churches, to cooperate with us for this great ideal of liberation for our Aymara and Quechua peoples. We wish to incorporate into our lives all our cultural values without despising the cultural treasures of other peoples.


Signed: Centro de Coordinación y Promoción Campesina MINK'A Centro Campesino Tupac Katari Asociación de Estudiantes Campesinos de Bolivia Asociación Nacional de Profesores Campesinos.
PEASANTS SOCIAL WEEK

The organizations which signed the "MANIFESTO OF TIAWANAKU" (July 30th, 1973) became aware of the need for arranging a meeting of evaluation. This initiative materialized in the city of La Paz and there were six days of discussions (October 15-20, 1973) under the auspices of the "Centro Campesino Tupac Katari", "Centro MINK'A" and the "Comisión Justicia Y Paz". More than 40 Indians attended, all of whom were outstanding peasant leaders of communities located at great distances from the urban centres of the Altiplano. The majority of participants were bilingual or trilingual (Aymara-Quechua or Aymara-Quechua-Spanish) and Aymara was agreed upon as official language. A critical and careful analysis was made of the problems and very important conclusions were reached similar to those of the aforementioned Manifesto.

RESOLUTIONS:

I. RESOLUTIONS ON THE CREATION OF A REAL PEASANT EDUCATION

1. We demand the setting up of an INSTITUTE FOR HIGHER
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES to carry on research on our ancient culture. This Institute should be organized and directed by the eminent learned people that we have in our society.

2. At the present time we feel that the use of the two terms "indio" (Indian) and "campesino" (peasant) gives rise to a certain confusion around us. When we call ourselves peasants we dissociate ourselves from the worldwide group of Indians, but when we use the name of "indios" we fully identify ourselves with other social sectors such as the miners, factory workers, workmen, etc..

3. Peasant education should be based on the cultural values of this social group, and for this purpose we demand the history of this country to be taught as an element in the personality formation of the peasants. The most appropriate subjects would necessarily have to be: the Aymara and Inca cultures of pre-colonial times, the "mita" (forced-labour draft), the "encomienda" (concession), the "reducción" (Indian settlements set up under ecclesiastical or royal authority), and the "repartimiento" (grant of Indian forced labour) of the colonial era, the social upheavals of the indigenous population, the feudalism or "latifundio" (the large estates), the "colonato" (tenant farming system) and the "pongueaje" (obligatory domestic service) until the revolution of 1952.

4. Education facilities for training engineers in the fields of agriculture, cattle raising and industry as an essential base for our own development.

5. Teaching of the geography of our nation in order to shape a full physical, economic and human consciousness in the pupils, for the purpose of facilitating the development of this country.

6. Teaching of arts such as handicrafts, pottery, etc..

7. Teaching of our indigenous languages without class distinction.
8. Inclusion of health classes at all stages of the curricula of government schools, especially in rural districts, in order to train the pupils in giving first aid, and to counteract diseases.

9. Teaching of cooperative systems on the basis of indigenous institutions like the AYNI and MINK'A, for the purpose of reconstructing our communities which are in process of destruction.

10. The teaching of morals should be based on our traditional principles (AMA SUA, AMA LLULIA and AMA KELLA).

11. In order to effectuate the above proposals, a superior institution should be created to become the CENTRE OF HIGHER STUDIES OF ABORIGINAL BOLIVIAN CULTURES. Its members shall be Indian peasants and in due course candidates shall be selected according to their suitability or intellectual capacity; this selection should take place in each province of the departments of this republic. Such a CENTRE would undertake to carry out the following tasks:

1) Setting up teacher training colleges based on our cultural values, since the young teachers graduated from the training colleges in the cities only go out into the countryside to meet the one year's teaching requirement at a provincial school.

2) At present technicians of all branches act as teachers of secondary education despite the fact that they have to improvise completely in various subjects. This situation is highly detrimental to the pupils.

3) Reconstruct the indigenous languages of Bolivia and unify the writing or script of Aymara and Quechua because it is of urgent importance for the teaching of how to read and write these two languages.

4) Promote aboriginal culture in all aspects by the methodical use of the communication media for the purpose of instructing the peasantry and raising its consciousness, and the same applies to the working people of the cities all over
the country.

II. RESOLUTIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES SPoken IN OUR MIDST

1. It is a fact that two completely separate cultures exist in our country; one is that of the Indians and the other that of the urban population. We, the Indians, are determined to demand educators who can impart our cultural values through the different communication media for the purpose of preserving our language and enabling us to face the real situation of this country.

2. We demand the term "Indianism" to be used rather than "Indigenism" because we think that there are no pure Indians in the cultural sense owing to influences coming from outside with no relation to our traditions, and thanks to the social, political and economic assimilation policies of the small ruling cliques.

3. Consequently it is important to create research facilities in the fields of anthropology and archaeology so that Indians can again feel a deep identification with their own culture.

4. We want to be considered as human beings and citizens of a country - and not to be looked down upon because of the colour of our skin - in order to be a part of the same social complex as all other citizens.

5. We demand real political participation which at least should be reflected in a factual participation of the Ministry of Peasant Affairs as a means of establishing closer relations between Indians and the decision making process of this country.

III. RESOLUTIONS ON LAND REFORM

1. The Land Reform Act has not done away with exploitation of the Indians. It would be more correct to say that it has
given rise to new forms of exploitation. It is the traders and the authorities who exploit the Indians besides the landowners and companies who were strengthened by the Land Reform Act. The latter has also brought new forms of cultural, social and political oppression by not allowing Indians to handle their own affairs but rather subjecting them to the political and cultural domination of other groups.

2. As a result of the Land Reform arose the great problems connected with the "minifundio" (small holding). This is not only a question of the plots getting smaller as a result of the hereditary system, but it also is connected with a lack of agricultural mechanization since the size of the plots makes the use of machinery difficult. Moreover, in spite of all the promises made to the Indians by all our governments there is a complete lack of credit facilities from the part of the State institutions; these have preferred to channel their resources into the capitalist sector of our agriculture (stockbreeders, cotton growers, etc.).

3. Due to the fragmentation of plots caused by the Land Reform, our communities, especially those of the Altiplano, are now divided and in process of disintegration with resulting individualism and depersonalization. Farm houses are scattered and without any prospect of improvement such as electrification and provision of drinking water. For these reasons it is absolutely necessary to restructure our communities in a well-arranged way as a measure that can pave the way to a cooperative farming-system based on that of our Inca tradition.

4. Also, we find it necessary to make a complete reorganization of the Consejo Nacional de Reforma Agraria, Desarrollo de Comunidades, Instituto de Colonización and other institutions in order to ensure that they serve the people who really need them and to stop them being run by persons who have no relation to our problems whatsoever.

5. We demand that no further vast extensions of land be
awarded to capitalist companies since this policy allows a few to accumulate great wealth by means of underpaid jobs for a great many.

6. Finally, we demand the Land Reform Acts to be re-considered in accordance with the actual situation, which now exists more than twenty years after they were passed, and to be put on the statute book.

IV. RESOLUTIONS ON THE RELATION OF INDIANS TO THE POLITICAL POWER STRUCTURE

At the present time Indians have no real participation in politics since we are used by the representatives of the power institutions who are the only beneficiaries.

The situation has got worse after the introduction of the well-known "PACTO MILITAR CAMPESINO" (Peasants Military Agreement) which hardly represents the people and only aims at:

a) Making sure that Indians are kept as a reserve at the disposal of the military authorities in order to be used in the service of the minority cliques and against the large, impoverished sectors of this country like the Indians and working people in general.

b) The Agreement is a form of domination exercised by the imperialist system on the majority of the population using the unifying, common racial factor for this purpose.

Consequently, we propose the following in order to create a true political participation:

1. That the Indian peasant movement, particularly on the trade-union, front should break the bonds of submission under the political authority of the government. It should cease to be directed by an administrative section of the Ministry of Peasant Affairs and be transformed into a really popular movement which obeys the guidance of the common people and defends their true interests.
2. We shall only participate in a government when it really represents the people's power of which Indian power is a part. In this case the government becomes a true instrument for liberation which Indian peasants should use for their benefit and for the protection of their interests.

3. For this purpose we must organize ourselves at two levels which are completely united and interrelated:

- Firstly on the trade-union level we have to tackle the labour problems of Indians as opposed to their employers and the general exploitation to which Indians are subjected by society at large (prices, living conditions, health, etc.).

- Secondly, on the political level, which means a higher degree of organization because it implies political power, we must orient the struggle which the Indians must carry on so as to gain control of the country as a whole. Thus we can solve right from the base its present political, social, economic, cultural or educational problems.

4. In their political scope, Indians cannot limit themselves to the problems of the countryside only, but they must take an overall view of the country as a whole. In this respect its political instrument, whether it be termed movement or party, should also have a national scope because of the sectors of which it consists, and because of the claims that it raises. The Indian peasantry should create a great political organization and unite with other social groups fighting for their rights, especially the working people, the impoverished middle classes, the intellectuals, the students and the soldiers, in order to form a national Indian movement.

5. Both in their unions and political organizations, Indians should not lose sight of the fact that they, because of their very nature and conditions, are one of the basic factors in the unity of the people of Bolivia which is a necessity for starting a process of national and social liberation.
V. RESOLUTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MOVEMENT

From the beginning to the end of its evolutionary process, the Tawantinsuyu Empire came to cover a territory of four million square kilometres with a population of 15 million.

The Inca Empire rose as a centralized political system with a well-established organization; its government was democratic and with strong collectivist features, without social classes.

It was established in a geographical area abundant in natural resources which were not exploited thanks to the rudimentary nature of their technical skills, the basic productive force being human labour used primarily in agriculture and cattle raising. Farmland was divided into three parts: one for the Inca, one for the religious organization, and one for the people. However, this division was never intended to create a relationship of exploitation.

But with the Spanish conquest the democratic government of the Inca was completely shattered, and the Indians living in these regions were considered as simple beasts of burden.

Ever since the Conquest, the exploitation of the Indians has been increasingly systematic: their land has been taken away from them, they have been torn away from their homes in order to be coerced into working in the mines (mitayo), in crafts and small industries, on the "encomiendas", etc.

When Independence came, injustice committed against the Indians was not abolished but rather became more systematic in accordance with the interests of Creoles and mestizos and was now of a semifeudal nature. It is on this background that the continual Indian uprisings against the governments of the Republic must be seen.

In this way the Aymara, Quechua, Camba, Chapaco, Guarani and Chiriguano, with their own cultural heritage and a language different from that of the ruling social class, had no share in the different forms of social and cultural life
during four and a half centuries.

Indians are now seeking their own solutions based on their social, cultural, political, religious and economic structure in order to emerge from underdevelopment. Bolivia is an underdeveloped country with an illiteracy rate of 75%. This chronic disease is a consequence of the racial discrimination exerted by the governing class.

All the plans, programmes, projects and schemes are modelled on those of Europe or the U.S.A.. Hence the Indians find themselves cheated by Bolivian society in all their aspirations since the peasant leaders of the Confederation and the Federation work according to the existing patterns in this society, and nothing is said about their economic, social and political independence.

Likewise, it is important for us all to seek the necessary channels of communication, not only within the peasant community but also to unite with other social groups in order that we may join efforts and together achieve our liberation and development.

Again, we want to add: No more paternalist attitudes! The only thing that is achieved in that way, (we have seen it throughout our own history), is that the system is upheld, we become bewildered and our organizations are destroyed.

La Paz, October 20th, 1973
MINK'A AND THE GRANTING OF OFFICIAL STATUS TO THE AYMARA AND QUECHUA LANGUAGES

After five hundred years of racial segregation, social discrimination, economic exploitation, cultural alienation and political oppression we STAND UP to invoke Pachamama (the good earth) and celebrate another anniversary of the heroic annals of the Indian People of the Kollasuyu region.

Being proud of our Indian culture, we recall with admiration our glorious past, and taking a close look at our present situation we direct our destiny towards a better future: PACHACUTI.

We rejoice in paying a warm tribute to the Aymara, Quechua, Chipaya, Mojo, Chiquitano, Guarayo, Chiriguano and all other children of this dark-skinned Pachamama, who by the sweat of their brows and their hardened hands provide resources and means in abundance for the institutions of Bolivia to sustain themselves.

Based on the spirit of the "MANIFESTO OF TIWANAKU", consistent with the resolutions of the grand Indian conferences and in accordance with the Council of our Mallcus and Amaut'as, we now bring to the attention of public opinion
in the free nations of the world the essence of a 500 year-old injustice for which neither Bolívar the Liberator nor Sucre the "sublime avenger of the Incas", let alone the presidents of Bolivia and the peasant leaders, have ever bothered to make amends in favour of the Indians who risk their lives in times of war and give their work in times of peace.

Meanwhile, Paraguay has two official languages: Spanish and Guarani. However, we realize that the Guarani speaking Indians have been exterminated owing to integration, and only their language remains as a trophy for the Paraguayans: both the conquistadores and later the Republic have committed genocide.

The government of Velasco Alvarado in Peru has taken the fortunate step of dignifying millions of Quechua by granting official status to their language which is an ancestral legacy of the legendary Inca culture. Besides, this is a recognition of the fact that both in colonial times and in the Republic, Indians have always been disadvantaged in terms of equality before the Law, since they have an alien language imposed on them.

Many countries throughout the world are proud of being multi-lingual. Thus the Soviet Union recognizes 160 languages spoken by her national minorities, continental China 54 languages and nationalities, Switzerland 4 languages, the Philippines 3, Belgium 2, etc..

And none other than Spain itself has come to realize that the language of the provinces of Castile is not that of the whole country, because half a dozen Iberian nationalities have for a long time been fighting for devolution and self-determination and never accepted having Castilian Spanish imposed on them. So now the new King has given official approval to the use of vernaculars or regional languages, for the direct benefit of millions of Catalans, Galicians, Basques, Valencians and Majorcans who together make up one third of the total population of the country.
Bolivia, however, presents a different picture. 95% of the population is of Indian descent, speaking Aymara, Quechua and other indigenous languages of Arawak and Tupi-Guarani origin. Ever since the days of the Colony we have had to put up with the muzzle of legalized discrimination from the 20% which utilizes Spanish (Castilian) as a "diploma of Culture and Civilization", but even more as an instrument of oppression in our educational establishments, agricultural affairs offices and Courts of Justice, and at the offices of lawyers, general medical practitioners or hospitals, because the people working there do not admit their own inability to learn the language of their pupils, clients or patients; but they are prejudiced enough to assume that we are backward, uncultured or even savage, either because we do not speak Spanish or because we are not very fluent.

ARE THE INDIANS TO BLAME FOR THE BACKWARDNESS OF BOLIVIA?

Certainly not. "Nowadays it is the peasants who get the blame for the backwardness of Bolivia, but it is not acknowledged that the real blameworthy ones are the very same people who utter such accusations because they represent the ruling social sectors who for centuries have imposed their culture based on the Castilian language ("Presencia", 31.7.77)

Speaking our mother tongues for us is equivalent to breathing or eating, and this does not mean that we cannot learn other languages whenever the necessity and possibilities are there. One example to prove this is that of the people living in the northern part of Potosí province who are generally bilingual; a great many Aymara-Quechua and Chipaya are trilingual: Chipaya-Aymara-Spanish, not to mention the large number of Aymara and Quechua-speaking professionals living in the cities.

In this Yankee and European-loving country, people show
respect for and promptly offer their services to any "gringo" who comes to Bolivia only being able to babble some elementary Spanish; however, Indians will be criticized for their faltering Spanish anywhere since they are treated as foreigners in their native land.

The rights of our communities were trampled underfoot and their national traditions were violated when a language with a different phonetic system and structure and of a different family, namely Castilian, was imposed on them.

IS THE CASTILIAN LANGUAGE MORE WIDELY USED AS A CULTURAL VEHICLE IN SPAIN THAN IN BOLIVIA?

This would be an exaggerated claim. When people talk about the Spanish language they are effectively imposing it on an entire nation despite the fact that it is not widely spoken outside Castile; the different peoples of the Iberian Peninsula have never accepted Castilian as their language, and now they are legally entitled to use their own. Thus Castilian is not the only means of expression for culture in Spain. What an example our Spanish mother country is giving us!

If we define culture as the expression of man's creative capacity in its material and spiritual aspects, "the so-called BOLIVIAN CULTURE is a fiction invented by those who take a selfish interest in it".

"An intellectual minority - a poor imitation of the European intelligentsia - which forms part of the ruling sectors of our society, think they represent culture in Bolivia, as if anything Bolivian were uniform and well-defined", without taking Indian culture into account.

There are various oppressed peoples... which have nothing to do with that Bolivian culture; what is more, they are even trampled on by the latter. Our country is an interesting example for an observer of how a minority imposes
its "culture" on the majority under the pretext of integration, without having succeeded in this attempt for 150 years of republican rule and with resulting damage to the multicultural development of our country.

There have been no serious attempts at criticizing this or taking up self-criticism, for fear of discovering that this minority represents nobody except itself.

However, "when someone dares to criticize them, they either keep quiet, or get angry, or make fun of him, taking their time to point out grammatical mistakes; but generally they have no weighty arguments to present and have to disguise themselves under the cloak of silence of the untouchables" (TRASLUZ 1976). Evidently the Castilian language is not the most widely used means of cultural expression in Bolivia.

WHY DO WE DEMAND THAT AYMARA AND QUECHUA BE GRANTED OFFICIAL STATUS?

When our territories were incorporated into the colonial domain of Spain it followed that Castilian took the place of Aymara and Quechua as the instrument for communicating culture and rules of government.

Since the first schools for the indigenous population ("escuelas indigenales") were founded in rural areas, based on a reduced curriculum, the well-known hispanization of the Indians simply meant that the harsh, underlying reality of their existence was concealed with trivialities.

Ever since that DAY OF MISFORTUNE (October 12th, 1492) Indians have lived muzzled and their demands for liberation have not been heard, because their languages have fallen into the hands of the go-betweens serving their oppressors, to be turned into instruments of:

(i) Access to the indigenous population in order to find out its secrets.
(ii) Contact for the missionaries with the indigenous population in order to convince it of the virtues of patience, humility and suffering, all of which have been presented as necessary for obtaining grace in the great beyond; and

(iii) Infiltration of anthropologists and other social scientists in order to investigate the intimate lives of indigenous communities.

If our languages are granted official status by the Government of Bolivia, it will:

Morally speaking mean a liberation of the people and consolidation of national consciousness;

Socially speaking be an opening of opportunities for us Aymara and Quechua to express ourselves fluently and clearly in our own tongues, after five hundred years of being left out in the cold;

Technically speaking these languages offer wide possibilities in terms of meeting the communication needs of the people; evidently they have so far been confined to the oral and rural spheres. However, just as the Romans took advantage of a vast Greek terminology by latinizing it, and the Visigoths in Spain did the same by castilianizing it, in a similar way, we shall have no difficulty in "aymarizing and quechuizing" terms borrowed from other languages. And besides strengthening the circulation and enrichment of both of these languages, their lexical variety will be recovered.

WHO OPPOSES THE GRANTING OF OFFICIAL STATUS TO AYMARA AND QUECHUA AND FOR WHAT REASONS?

That aforementioned little circle of intellectuals was frightened when it was announced that Aymara and Quechua would obtain official status on the DAY OF THE INDIANS; this intention had already been warmly received even by public opinion abroad, but it did not materialize. Grabbing this
opportunity but missing the point, they have put forward the following childish arguments:-
- "I didn't know that those languages were not legal."
- "In any case the peasants ought to learn Castilian as a compulsory language."
- "Those languages should only be used as a means of teaching Spanish to the Indians."
- "Shall we have to devise special printing characters for Aymara and Quechua, have editors who were born and raised in the countryside, and print newspapers in three languages?"
- "I wonder if the native leader-writers already have sufficient technical and scientific terminology at their disposal."
- "Will the native majority segregate or eliminate Spanish?"
- "Thank God I am not an Indian any more and I can speak Castilian."
- "Such a step (granting of official status) would have been a setback to the present progress of the country."

All of these absurdities are a result of fear of a great underlying reality in this country; and at the same time, they reflect elitist attitudes which are harmful and opposed to any effort leading to the unity of all our citizens.

ARE THE AYMARA AND QUECHUA LANGUAGES INFERIOR?

In urban circles Aymara and Quechua are thought to be inferior languages and far from adequate for communication in the world of the "civilized", because they are only used in the Indian communities, and they are poor culturally speaking and clearly in decline. It is often maintained that the refined aspects of Western culture and the complexities of science and technology are incompatible with these languages which have little public esteem.
Our languages are in no way inferior and we reject all the biased comparisons with the Castilian language for the simple reason that they do not enjoy the same prerogatives. They are human and cultured or developed enough to convey the deepest and most intimate sentiments and to explain the most complicated problems. It is quite a different thing that the languages which once were simply colloquial forms of Latin have been cultivated and imposed upon many countries, and that now they are legally protected against being corrupted, strictly upheld by would-be aristocratic groups in Latin America and zealously cultivated in the Royal Academies. For these reasons, such languages are unquestionably bearers of universal culture.

Quite the opposite has been the case of our Aymara and Quechua languages. Despite their value as bearers of the Tiawanaku and Inca cultures they have been banished to rural areas; hampered in their circulation and in being enriched and endowed with a proper terminology in accordance with modern life, science and technology; left without any form of legal protection and academic support; not given any literary promotion; scorned in formal education, and the majority of the people speaking them despised. However, they have NEVER been rooted out nor at any time disappeared from the deepest consciousness of our people.

WHAT IS THE OPINION OF THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE INVOLVED WITH THE INDIGENIST CAUSE?

However, we are not the only ones interested in obtaining official status for our mother tongues; there are many organizations which have pronounced themselves in favour, but we believe that some opinions are yet to be heard from those affected by the monolingual bias of our society. Now is the time for groups and movements, schools, organizations and individuals to come together and take up the problems of
spelling, grammar, semantics, etc., etc., of our indigenous languages, forming a great stream that will lead us to mutual understanding and responsible, joint participation in the making of the future of this country.

Chuquiago, August 10th, 1977

Amaut'as Council
Centro de Coordinación y Promoción Campesina "MINK'A"
La Paz, Bolivia.
TUPAC KATARI AND THE INDIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

HISTORY

JULIAN APAZA later known under the name of Tupac Katari, was born at Sulloawi, in the Ayo Ayo district of the Sicasica territory. He grew up in full awareness of the suffering of his people caused by the chief magistrates, priests and chiefs of the Spanish colonial rule. These were supposed to be faithful "servants of God" but were more like cruel "masters of the Indians", whom they decimated by the million in the mines, on the haciendas, through taxation, etc..

Being a common Kollasuyu Indian and without having any ancestry or title of nobility, such as Tomás Katari of the stock of the Chayanta chiefs and Tupac Amaru II of the Inca royal family, he engaged in a liberation war for his people under the name of TUPAC KATARI, as a synthesis of the political thinking of the leaders of Cuzco and Chayanta who had preceded him on the battlefield.

Having mobilized over 40,000 Indians for the struggle against the Spaniards, although they had no weapons, he intensified the fighting, won the battle of Sicasica and besieged La Paz, city of the oppressors, in order to conquer
it by means of starvation, disease and death. If treason and bribes for the leader's head had not intervened, together with desperate reinforcement from colonial troops of the "Real Audiencia de Charcas (Chuquisaca)", the Indian Liberation Movement could have swept over the whole continent.

The heroic death of Tomás Katari, who was hurled from a height in Chataquilla, and the quartering of Tupac Amaru II in Cuzco were compounded by the martyrdom of Tupac Katari in the village of Peñas on November 15, 1781.

At that critical point when human beings show who they really are, his unyielding moral make-up and iron will forbade him to confess any sin against God or reveal any political plotting against the King, let alone to make any compromise with those who did not wear homespun, ponchos and "lluch'u". However, before they cut off his tongue he challenged his executioners in the face of posterity:
"I AM ONLY ONE AND YOU CAN KILL ME, BUT TOMORROW I SHALL RETURN IN THE FORM OF MILLIONS LIKE ME."

Francisco Tadeo Díez de Medina passed the death sentence on this leader for his "insolence" in rebelling against "the very Catholic and Fatherly King of Spain". For this reason he was to be quartered in order to atone for his offences against God and disrespect for the King of Spain.

When the savage execution was over, the martyr's head was fastened onto a pillory and placed on the K'illi K'illi heights near the city of La Paz; his right arm was exhibited in the village of Ayo Ayo and the left arm in Achacachi; his right leg was taken to Chulumani and the left leg to Caquiaviri. After a long time the limbs were put together, burnt and the ashes strewn in the wind.

**SYMBOL OF LIBERATION**

"I shall return in the form of millions like me"; until yesterday this meant a reference to the Aymara, Quechua,
Uru-Chipaya, Mojo, Guarayo, Chiquito, Ayoreo and Chiriguano. Today it includes Indians everywhere because we are those TUPAC KATARIS and there are millions of us.

They cut off his tongue; this symbolizes the everlasting muzzle of alien language that our oppressors have imposed on us and which has resulted in introversion and inferiority complex.

Four horses from Tucumán running in an X to tear the hero's body in four parts represent the Jesus-like humiliation to which the Indians were subjected before they were exploited and finally exterminated in apocalyptic war.

The Leader's head on the K'illi K'illi heights is the brain that guides the people towards a new awareness of a brighter future.

The arms and legs exhibited in four major Indian towns of the Kollasuyu region, are an allegory of the Tawantinsuyu Empire of the Incas throughout which, and as an irony of destiny, Tupac Katari was present even after dying to be seen by his mournful people who took due note of that barbarous and devilish atrocity.

His cremated body, turned into ashes and blown to the wind, means that this martyr is bound for victory and only can be compared with the fate of the Greek and Roman warriors of the past. The death trophy of our Great Mallcu, "a condor that flies so high", could not have been contained within the narrow bed of a graveyard; his death lead him to immortality; it was a sublimation of his spirit towards the glory where only the great benefactors find a place; the epic of his heroism became the beginning of the Indian Liberation Movement.

Because they tend to be easily forgotten, many would-be heroes have to be quickly carved in granite or cast in bronze, and what is more, these same persons while alive usually take the initiative in having statues of themselves erected. However, without having any stone monument of any king, Tupac Katari throughout these many years has remained in the
hearts of his people, and today more than ever his spirit shines brightly from the four corners of Tawantinsuyu.

To wear homespun, poncho and "lluch'u" is the greatest expression of true nationalism; to use them with dignity and pride is to be sons and daughters of a universally famous race which has astonished the world by its age-old TIAWANAKU monuments; it is a challenge to the "shame-faced Indian" and the "necktie-wearing anthropologists" who are on the side of the oppressors. Those who use these clothes without being Indians do so for demagogic reasons; those who accept being disguised as Indians are simple puppets, and those who for any kind of reason make non-Indian people wear them, are servile and have confused values.

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF THE INDIANS

During this session, the Second International Conference of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples held at Kiruna, Sweden, has adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS

all social groups observe a certain date to commemorate the glorious events of their past;

on the 15th of November, 1781, the Great Mallcu Tupac Katari of the Kollasuyu region (Bolivia) was cruelly tortured and sadistically quartered by the murderers of the Spanish colonial authorities,

this grand Conference

RESOLVES

to declare November 15th to be the INTERNATIONAL DAY OF THE INDIANS, commemorating this day as an appropriate homage to the heroic Tupac Katari in all Indian communities everywhere.

Granted in the town of Kiruna, Sweden, on the 27th day of August 1977.
FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL INDIAN PEOPLES

This resolution has been recognized and ratified as to its content and scope by the International (NGO) Conference On Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations, held in Geneva, Switzerland, in September 1977.

Having triumphed over both time and space, Tupac Katari has now acquired international importance, because from this year onwards: " from the arctic territories of Canada to the southernmost extremity of Patagonia; from the nesting places of the condors in the Andes to the tropical jungles of the Atlantic coast; in Scandinavia as well as in the islands of the South Pacific: STANDING UPRIGHT all Indian and other indigenous peoples shall recall the greatness of their glorious past, in honour of the memory of Tupac Katari and the martyrs of each people, and they shall swear to stand up for their rights and take pride in their dignity as INDIANS and INDIGENOUS PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF THE INDIANS!
JALLALLA KOLLASUYU M A R C A!
JALLALLA TO ALL INDIAN PEOPLE EVERYWHERE!
GLORY TO THE APU MALLCUS: TUPAC KATARI, TUPAC AMARU and TOMAS KATARI!
GLORY TO ALL INDIAN AND INDIGENOUS MARTYRS OF ALL NATIONS AND OF ALL TIMES!

Chuquiapu (La Paz), November 1977.

M I N K ' A.
The CENTRO DE COORDINACION Y PROMOCION CAMPESINA "MINK'A", in commemoration of the 196th anniversary of the heroic and tragic immolation of the supreme leaders of the INDIAN PEOPLE OF KOLLASUYU (Bolivia), who in their lifetime were husband and wife:

TUPAC KATARI

and

BARTOLINA SISA

1750 - 1781

and on the occasion of the 15th day of November being institutionalized as the INTERNATIONAL DAY OF THE INDIANS by the Second Conference of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, held in Kiruna, Sweden, and ratified by the International (NGO) Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations in Geneva, Switzerland, has the great honour to call on the Centro Campesino "Tupac Katari" and other valid organizations of the INDIAN PEOPLE OF KOLLASUYU (Aymara, Quechua, Chipaya, Mojo, Guarayo, Chiquitano, Ayoreo and Chiriguano); on the Asociación Indígena of the Republic of Argentina, Indian People of Brazil, Asociación de Parcialidades Indígenas of Paraguay, the Mapuche People of Chile, Movimiento Indio of Peru, Federación de Centros Shuar of Ecuador, Centro Regional Indígena del Cauca of Colombia, Federación Indígena of Venezuela, Asociación Nacional Indígena of Panamá, the Mísquito People of Nicaragua, the Maya People of Guatemala, the Nahua-Aztec People of Mexico, the Indian Movements of the U.S.A., National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, the Inuit People of the Arctic, the Sami People of Scandinavia, the Maori People of New Zealand, the Aboriginal People of Australia and on other groups which make up the WORLD COUNCIL OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, to celebrate the INTERNATIONAL DAY OF THE INDIANS in their own fields of struggle for liberation by reasserting their faith in the most authentic Indianist movement, founded in the late 18th century, which developed in the very heart of Indian
America against European colonial rule, and by observing one minute's silence and meditation on the Promethean epic of Tupac Katari.

In all parts of the Kollasuyu region and with special solemnity in the village of Ayo Ayo, mass homage to Tupac Katari and Bartolina Sisa will be paid.

"I SHALL RETURN IN THE FORM OF MILLIONS LIKE ME"

Tupac Katari

Chuquiapu (La Paz), November 1977.
KOLASUYU: NO TO THE RACIST INVASION

The timely publication by brave people in the oral and written media and the statements made by intellectuals concerned with the Indian and mestizo peoples of the Kollasuyu region, warn us against the sinister conspiracy, the countless shady deals and contemptuous remarks set forth by our European-minded enemies who, in order to save their distant racial cousins who are finding themselves in hot water in Africa because of their racist intolerance, want to transplant "apartheid" onto the very heart of this dark skinned continent, thus worsening our social and economic situation by sending us the burden of the most hard-line racists in the whole world.

This new assault by the inheritors of the times of hatred on the Indians (peasants, miners and factory workers) forces us to raise our voice in protest, calling on public opinion in the free countries of the world, on international organizations who watch over human rights, on public and patriotic institutions, on students and academics of this country, asking them to express their viewpoint and say if this is not an invidious new invasion by racist Europeans.
Nature has arranged for every ethnic group to have its place of origin and every colour its continent: America belongs to the American Indian, Africa to the black man, Asia to the Mongol and Europe to the white man.

Being the inheritor of the slave based Roman Empire, Europe has produced monstrous racial theories and invented death machines; its thinking is ethnocentric and racist, its science is the nuclear bomb, and its culture, wars.

The Mongolic peoples, directed wisely by people of their own race, have become considerable powers in a short time, being able to sing hymns of victory over their white European and North American oppressors.

The peoples of Africa show us another example of great physical and spiritual struggle for their total liberation from European racism.

However, the peoples of indigenous America have had a very different experience, because ever since that DAY OF MISFORTUNE occurred we have been living between the Devil and the deep, blue sea; either relegated to indigenous reservations (anthropological parks) or assimilated with the white minority, impotently mourning the physical extermination of our people, the destruction of our monuments and the murder of our "malocus" and "amaut'as".

For the indigenous people of the Kollasuyu region, the War of Independence, which has been so effusively praised, was no more than a pantomime civil war between Creoles and Spaniards, in other words between children and their parents. Thus, the foundation of the Republic of Bolivia meant a mere change of label to the Colony and imposition of new masters, with the resulting senseless bloodshed of Indians and half-breeds on the battlefields. In fact, to the Creoles it was enough to declare political independence from Spain, and the Republic has not, for over a century, begun to see the social and economic liberation of our indigenous and mestizo people.

For more than 300 years of colonial rule and over 150
years of Republic, in other words for 500 years of exploitation and robbery, racism and genocide, the Spaniards and the would-be Spaniards have kept our country in a shameful state of backwardness; and now, to cover up their total incapacity, this "ruling class so proud of its white Spanish ancestors" is brazenly granting itself another span of between 400 and 500 years to develop Bolivia by the arrival of 150,000 Anglo-German families from Southern Africa.

To this generation of outsiders, who once more have released their hatred against the Indians, we say:

1. IS BOLIVIA BACKWARD BECAUSE THE INDIANS ARE LAZY?

These gratuitous slanderers of ours know nothing of the history of the Kollasuyu region and Bolivia; they do not know that it was the Aymara and the Quechua who built up great empires based on a philosophy of equality, and that Spanish barbarity demolished them. They are unaware of the fact that the "mit'ayo\(^1\), "yanacuna\(^2\) and "obrajeros" (craftsmen) have accumulated wealth for colonialist Spain and for the mine owners and feudalist landowners of the Republic. At present, we, the Indians, are forced to work at the bottom of the mines, are scattered all over vast cotton fields, exploited in the sugar-cane plantations, kept in confusion in the factories, segregated in the cities and confined to inhospitable border tracts.

The Indians living in the cities make the machines go round in the factories, pave the streets, build the roads, sports grounds, skyscrapers, villas, etc., enabling others to use and take unfair advantage of the fruits of our constantly underpaid labour. To tell the truth, IN BOLIVIA THE INDIANS ARE THE ONLY ONES WHO WORK. So what is then the

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1) Indians conscripted for work in the mines.
2) Indians conscripted for work at the farms and plantations of the conquistadores.
reason for the backwardness of Bolivia? - It is the constant surges of COLONIALISTS who have come to this country as "TECHNICAL EXPERTS" to plunder our rich resources and take advantage of our extremely cheap labour.

2. "INDIANS COST MORE THAN BEASTS, FOR THEY EAT MORE AND WORK LESS?"

Another example of incredible ignorance, another insult made up by some racist colonizers who are handling public affairs in this country as if it were their personal property. Anywhere in Bolivia it is only too easy to watch ordinary people, seeing the pain of men and women who are always hunger-ridden, starving and undernourished children and old people striving to keep their humanity afloat begging alms of those they happen to meet. Evidently the Indians are in no way favoured by the State, so - who is spending money on them? Why do some people boast about keeping well fed but lazy Indians? The Indian peasant has been the object of economic exploitation and fragmentation of his farmland, and the Indians living in the cities constantly face underemployment and undernourishment - can't they see that the Indians subsist only thanks to coca leaves and papaya, bread and bananas?

3. "THE IMMIGRANTS WILL BRING NEW BLOOD TO THE HUMAN CAPITAL OF THIS COUNTRY?"

Those Anglo-German potential immigrants from Africa are not going to contribute with one drop of their blood to the human capital of this country, for ethnically speaking they are fanatical RACISTS, in social terms they are a CASTE, politically they mean APARTHEID, and on the moral level, South African laws punish with imprisonment mere sexual relations between persons of different races.
4. WHY DO SOME WANT TO GIVE THE EASTERN PARADISE TO STRANGERS?

The northern part of the province of La Paz, the Chapare region of Cochabamba, the Izozog and other regions of the eastern paradise, all of which have been made accessible thanks to the unpaid labour of our Indian soldiers and equipped with the resources produced by our brothers working in the mines, factories, agriculture, the oil industry, together with Indian and half-breed professionals - THAT LAND IS OURS, it was defended by our fathers in wars with other nations; that land is in store for us and for our children and NEVER for other undesirable people to come and set up their own garden of Eden in the territory that we have made sacrifices for.

5. DO WE NEED RACIST COLONIZERS?

The English Mennonites who have a colony in Vallegrande have been given a vast farmland area on which they are making a fortune. What have these people with their anachronistic and racist lifestyle done to deserve being presented with this "promised land"? They have transferred no technology and certainly made no capital investments to develop Bolivia; they exclusively employ their earnings in making it possible for their fellow Mennonites to come over and settle down as they are thrown out of other parts of the world.

"Thanks to the Japanese to whom we owe the virtue of having become consumers of our own rice" - To those alienated groups who believe this kind of thing we say: the Aymara, Quechua, and others have colonized Caranavi, Santa Fe, Chapare, Alto Beni, Yapacaní and many other regions without any protection whatsoever, and now we are able to enjoy a great variety of products; what great achievements could we not reach if only we had the moral and material support! For
how much longer are we going to hear foreign virtues being praised and only contempt of the creative and productive capacity of our people?

The invidious colonization of South Koreans in our cities, who monopolize the black market, and the few German immigrants who are fortunate enough to be endowed with large cattle ranches and farming estates in the eastern part of Bolivia where our Indian brothers and sisters are being exploited (Camba, Mojo, Chiquitano, Guarayo, Ayoreo, Chiriguano, etc.).*

How can the Bolivian Government continue to allow dangerous SMALL STATES OF EXPATRIATES to be established in these territories which are notoriously coveted by the sub-imperialists of Brazil? At this present time they still want colonization to take place with none other than those distinguished REPRESENTATIVES OF APARTHEID that are the Anglo-Germans who are to receive the eastern paradise pretending to be AGRICULTURAL EXPERTS.

6. WHY IS NOTHING DONE TO MAKE RETURN POSSIBLE FOR THOSE OF OUR PEOPLE WHO ARE LIVING IN FOREIGN LANDS?

Thousands of Bolivian families have emigrated to neighbouring countries, to the U.S.A. and Europe, due to lack of farmland, places to work and to the absence of guaranteed civil rights, and so they create shanty towns and offer their cheap labour in factories, on building sites, at sugar harvests, etc.. Instead of facilitating an invasion of undesirable people, the Bolivian Government should seriously endeavour to bring our people back to the place where they belong.

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The Altiplano (high plateau) and the valleys are overpopulated, and in agriculture a total fragmentation of the farmland into tiny lots has taken place as an effect of the Agrarian Reform, and the only hope lies with a systematic transfer of the labour force to Eastern Bolivia. Why have the requests of those peasant organizations which have applied for the permission to colonize land there been turned down? What have citizens of foreign countries done to deserve being presented with extensive farming estates in the hot valleys and in Eastern Bolivia?

7. IF BOLIVIA HAS VAST UNPOPULATED REGIONS AND DOES NOT HAVE A SUFFICIENT POPULATION, WHAT AIM IS BIRTH CONTROL THEN MEANT TO FULFIL?

We know the Anglo-racist policy of McNamara, President of the World Bank, who has expressed the following opinion: "THE POPULATION EXPLOSION (of Indians and half-breeds ?) IS THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS IN LATIN AMERICA", and he goes on to announce that "IN ITS GRANTING OF LOANS THE WORLD BANK WILL GIVE PRIORITY TO THE COUNTRIES WHICH IMPLEMENT BIRTH CONTROL SCHEMES". So we know why McNamara and Kissinger visited Bolivia and later decided to lend millions of dollars to our country.

In fact we do know that Bolivia does not have a sufficient population, but why then can the dismal hosts of the Peace Corps, Friends of the Americas, Food for Peace as well as other groups and religious Protestant sects, operate as they wish and please in the campaigns to sterilize women and children under the labels of vaccination and philanthropy?

We have had enough of GIFTS FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, such as vaccines, food, and especially sterilizers about which Lyndon Johnson in his wisdom stated, "FIVE DOLLARS INVESTED AGAINST POPULATION GROWTH ARE MORE EFFICIENT THAN A HUNDRED DOLLARS INVESTED IN
ECONOMIC GROWTH".

To the best of our knowledge it has been scientifically proved that all mankind (including the racists) are born with a creative ability; only the white racists, however, think that their race has the key to cultural development, or that we, only by intermarrying with them, can improve our quality as human beings. This way of thinking is a totally outrageous offence to the dignity of our people.

AMERICA IS AMERINDIAN - there is NO ROOM HERE FOR THE WHITE RACISTS.

REMEMBERING TUPAC KATARI, WE SAY: BETTER DIE THAN CARRY ON LIVING ON OUR KNEES.

Chuquiapu, June 1977

Council of Amaut'as
Centro de Coordinación y Promoción Campesina MINK'A

La Paz, Bolivia.
PROCLAMATION
OF THE
"MOVIMIENTO INDIO TUPAC KATARl"
(M.I.T.K.)

In remembrance of the barbarous massacre of peasants at Tolata, committed by the fascist military oligarchy of General Banzer on January 29-30 1974, the "Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari" issues the present Proclamation. It is meant as a gesture of posthumous homage to our brothers and sisters who, attempting to use their legitimate rights, protested not only against the poor economic conditions of the Indian peasant population, but against those of the entire Bolivian people. This was a reaction against the anti-working class measures of the fascist tyrants who, by means of devaluing the peso without an adequate and fair adjustment for the economy of the common people, condemned the latter to miserable living conditions and starvation. This devaluation was combined with a number of advantages for the perpetual exploiters and parasites who make up the ruling class, and the reactionary process helped these gluttons to take more and more. They then adopted arrogant attitudes at the expense of the great masses of workers, whose hunger and misery never cease to become more acute. This painful experience of working people was the background for the
valiant outcry of Tolata, whose echo was choked in blood - silenced by the racist, fascist policemen of our anti-Bolivian rulers.

Indian brothers and sisters, peasants, miners and factory workers! This "Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari" has begun. Moved by a penetrating sorrow produced by the blood of the peasants, we declare that the atrocious massacre of Tolata shall not go unpunished; the noble blood of our brothers and sisters has not been shed in vain. Instead, it will turn the wheel of history towards a new society, based on justice, social progress and civilization; inspired by the moral values that we inherited from our ancient cultures, with their communal spirit.

Now the woolves are disguising themselves as lambs in order to continue their fascist policies, aided by U.S. imperialism. They try to cast a cloak of oblivion over the numerous political assassinations, massacres, and persecutions. Thousands of people live in exile. The peso has been devaluated at the expense of our starving people, while it maintains the privileges of civilian and military ruling cliques, and serves foreign interests. There has been a treacherous sellout at the negotiations on the Pacific coastal territories; mining centres have been transformed into concentration camps; funds borrowed abroad have mortgaged our country frustrating future development, and are justified with a crude story about our "capacity for incurring debts". Sterilization campaigns among Indian women (by means of birth control schemes) have been followed by a sinister colonization project for white racists from South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. The political Constitution of the nation has been violated by means of the State Security Act, ordinances of 9th November, the Compulsory Civil Service Act, the Foreign Capital Investment Act, etcetera.

As a result of all this, the human rights of citizens have been trampled down, and the domination of U.S. capital-
ism and imperialism has become even more noticeable. At the same time, there has been an unforeseen setback in the so-called constitutionalization of the country as the dictator-ial government tried to grant a deceptive and limited amnesty, while watching over its interests as oppressor. However, this demagogic policy was met by a response from the Bolivian people as a group of heroic miners' wives resolutely engaged in a hunger strike from the end of 1977 to the beginning of 1978.

In view of the indifferent attitude of the corrupt regime, the strike is being followed by hundreds of patriotic citizens. It has reached an importance which goes beyond our frontiers; it is noticed abroad. Faced with this situation, the fascist government has no alternative but to respond to pressure by granting a wider amnesty.

We feel that it will still try to put many obstacles in the way of citizens attaining their legitimate rights. However, any political frauds attempted by a handful of members of the oligarchy and the reactionary groups of the Armed Forces will certainly be thwarted by the watchful attitude of our people: Indian peasants, factory workers, miners, students, and those honest intellectuals.

The "Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari" condemns declarations supporting the authorities produced by means of corruption, tricks, and a humiliating utilization of such humble population groups as: market vendors, street sweepers, municipal workers, civil servants, and so on. We also condemn fictitious popular organizations with their pseudoleaders, who are called coordinators; for example, the semiofficial "Comité de Base", or the "Confederación de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia" (Confederation of Bolivian Peasant Workers), which is manipulated by the treacherous coward named Oscar Céspedes.

Consequently, the "Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari" calls on all working people to support the legitimate and popular
organizations representing peasants, miners, factory workers and students: i.e., the "Confederación de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia", elected in 1971 under the chairmanship of Genaro Flores; the "Confederación Nacional de Colonizadores de Bolivia", elected in 1971 and chaired by Clemente Rodríguez; the "Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia", elected in 1971 at Corocoro. Finally, we call on all to fight for the return of the top organization of our working people, namely the "Central Obrera Boliviana" (C.O.B.).

PEASANT BROTHERS AND SISTERS, INDIAN PEOPLE OF BOLIVIA, LET US HAVE NO FEAR OF FREEDOM! DEATH IS BETTER THAN SLAVERY. WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE AND A COUNTRY AND A FUTURE TO WIN.

JALLALLA QULLASUYU TAYKA MARKA
JALLALLA AYMARA AND QUECHUA PEOPLE OF AMERICA
JALLALLA FACTORY WORKERS, STUDENTS, MINERS AND PEASANTS
GLORY TO THE APU MALLKUS TUPAC KATAR
TUPAC AMARU
TOMÁS KATAR
GLORY TO THE QULLANA T'ALLAS BARTOLINA SISA
MICÄELA BASTIDAS
GLORY TO THE PEasant BROTHERS AND SISTERS MASSACRED AT TOLATA
GLORY TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN FOR OUR LIBERATION
NAYAWA JIWTXA NAYXARUSTI WARANQA WARANQANAKAWA KUTANIPXA
BY THE SACRED MEMORY OF TUPAC KATAR
LET US FIGHT UNTIL WE OVERCOME OR DIE
Q'ISPIÑANITI JAN UKAJ JIWAÑANICHA
AMA SUA AMA LLULLA AMA KELLA
"MOVIMIENTO INDIO TUPAC KATAR"

(M.I.T.K.)
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