

The roots of an elusive Andean identity: a brief history¹

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1. What does Andean culture mean?

When we speak about “Andean culture”, the massive Andean mountains come to mind or the image of an indigenous man with his *llamas* at the height of vast mountain ranges is evoked. However, when we try to define what “being Andean” means, we discover that it is complex.

Andean America is the setting of our past and our present. We know that it is there and that it encompasses us but it turns out to be difficult to define. Sometimes its reality and its limits do not seem to be evident to us and other times it eludes us altogether. There are some individuals that

1. This paper has been specially prepared for the Academia de la Latinidad based on a more extensive work by the author in “La experiencia andina en la historia: encuentros y desencuentros” that will be published in vol. 8 of the *Historia de América Andina*.

say it is a reverie of rhetoric, politicians or anthropologists. There are many that identify it with the indigenous or *altoandino*.²

Andean America is a reality with deep roots in history, and a strong identity, and a future in integration.

To answer the question: What being Andean means?, we could respond from the geographic setting.

However, the Andean culture does not exhaust itself in a single form of geographic determination. Its specific nature can be deduced by investigating its polysemic character that combines its oneness with plurality. That is to say that from one angle it recuperates the historicity of an age-old process that because of diverse factors renders oneness to the evolution of a group of nations facing a regional, continental and planetary reality. From a different angle, it expresses paradoxically not a unifying trunk but a unity that enables a plurality to another focused on diversity that does not simply disintegrate but integrates cultural and symbolic geographical and natural terms.³

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Being Andean is not just complex. It is also diverse.

To understand this, one must consider the different visions concerning what being Andean means over the course of centuries. In some cases, those visions have expressed efforts to reach a common goal and even a recurring utopia. Others have emphasized diversity.⁴ There are continuities and discontinuities in the historic Andean experience. To conjure up the past and the Andean identity is to look for our roots and try to understand the world to come that we face from our shared Andean space.

2. Enrique Ayala Mora, "Presentación general", in Luis Lumbreras, ed., *Historia de América Andina*, vol. 1, *Las sociedades aborígenes*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador, Libresa, 1999, p. 11.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

4. Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca, identidad y utopía en los Andes*, La Habana, Casa de las Américas, p. 23.

2. An Andean civilization: the Incas

Andean America was populated at least 10,000 years before Christ.⁵ In this extensive period of time, societies appeared, grew and disappeared in their struggle to dominate and adapt to their environment. For millennia they developed a civilization that, influenced by the High Andes, emerged as an expression of environmental, economic and cultural diversity and at the same time maintained common traits that persisted for centuries.

The axis of the evolution of Andean America was the development of agriculture by communities that managed the vertical control of their space ⁶ There was a *complementarity* of geographic space, productive activity and relations with the environment. “This system of pluri-ecological control permits the maximum exploitation of the Andean ecological conditions.”⁷ The Andean communities were also based on relations of *reciprocity* that promoted collective labor, solidarity, social relationships, daily life and political alliance.

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After several millennia, societies emerged with sophisticated systems of production, advanced cultivation techniques, irrigation and transportation, notable knowledge

5. Cfr. Gerardo Ardila, “El poblamiento de los Andes (10.000 a 7.000 a. C.)”, in Luis Lumbreras, ed., *Historia de América Andina*, vol. 1, p. 47.

6. The pioneer of the study of the structure of the Andean regions was John Murra. One of his basic works is: *Political and economic formations in the Andean world*, Lima, Institute of Peruvian Studies, 1975.

7. Franklin Pease G. Y., *Los incas, una introducción*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988, p. 76

of ceramics and metallurgy and a differentiated and complex social structure. Agricultural villages and major urban hubs grew.⁸ Complex tribal societies or *señoríos* emerged where authority was exercised by priests and shamans and social differences grew larger and larger. These societies were based on military conquests and political alliances. They formed incipient states or confederations. The most successful of these was the Incas that thrived in the 15th century from the south of Peru and covered territories of present Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina and Southern Colombia.⁹ At the beginning of the 16th century, the Inca Empire had reached its largest expansion.

82 The Inca Empire was the expression of the civilizing experience in Andean America. It was a great experience on the continental and world scale with a complex social and economic structure, roads and a sophisticated government made up of an absolute monarchy.¹⁰ The Incans, like the Romans in the Mediterranean, preserved social and technical advances of the Andean peoples they conquered,

8. L. Lumbreras, "Formación de las sociedades urbanas", *Historia de América Andina*, vol. 1: *Las sociedades aborígenes*, p. 223.

9. F. Pease, *Los incas, una introducción*, p. 50.

10. Under this "central government" was a complex hierarchy of *señores* or *caciques* that ruled over the entire territory. The Inca historian says: "The territorial growth created a vast sector of landlords with very distinct status and attributes. Innumerable administrators and state authorities whose responsibility was trusted on to direct the government were added to this 'provinciana' elite", María Rostorowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyo*, Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988, p. 181-2.

charged taxes and maintained peace. Under its rule, production, communication and commerce grew.

The Inca Empire was a complex and multi-ethnic state that covered a great part of Andean American *señoríos*. Because of that, “there was continuity and effective survival in the Inca State, consisting of agriculture, grazing and textile manufacturing that made the rural ethnic communities self-sufficient”. But “this community is clearly part of a more ample context of economic, social and political power”.¹¹ The Inca Empire was based on diverse industrious relations concerning production, with the communities or *ayllus* articulated by a strong and centralized state based on its military organization and some of its economic activity.

The Inca Empire was a unique experience.

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The merit of the Andean culture, whose last protagonist was Tahuantinsuyo, was that it succeeded in reordering the economy and the society up to refined state levels without being influenced by other civilizations in other parts of the world.¹²

The Inca Empire that came to be known as “Tahuantinsuyo” (which means four parts) grouped together four suyos. It was a true Andean experience.

3. The conquest of the Andean world

At the beginning of the 16th century, the European conquerors invaded Tahuantinsuyo and managed to dominate

11. John V. Murra, *La organización económica del Estado Inca*, México, Siglo XXI Editores, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978, p. 131.

12. Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, *Los Incas, economía, sociedad y Estado en la era del Tahuantinsuyo*, Lima, Amaru Editores, 1990, p. 497.

it in a few years. The Inca society was right in the middle of a transition, but this was not completed because of the European conquest. The fall of the empire and the relative ease that the conquerors experienced to subdue the Incas cannot be explained by their “superiority”, horses, weapons and written documents. The phenomenon can be better understood if we discover their conflicts, internal weaknesses and the diseases that were brought by the conquerors. The conquest was a civil war.¹³ The empire lost its morale from the inside.

The constant uprisings that shook the empire exposed the discontent and the state of rebelliousness that existed among many *señores* étnicos before the power of Cuzco. In this way, the arrival of the Europeans—in reality, the vanguard of a much more organized invasion—must have meant the much-anticipated liberation (from Incan rule) that many local groups had waited years for.¹⁴

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Apart from the subduing, the deaths caused by diseases brought by the conquerors and the mechanisms of exploitation, the conquest meant the end of the Andean world and the expulsion from history of the indigenous peoples. Conquerors, presidents, bishops and notables fill the pages of books for four centuries, during which time, invisible

13. Guillermo Bustos Lozano, “La conquista española”, in Enrique Ayala Mora, ed., *Manual de Historia del Ecuador*, vol. I: *Épocas aborígenas y colonial, independencia*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador, Corporación Editora Nacional, 2008, p. 47.

14. Carmen Gómez Pérez, Juan Marchena Fernández, “Las sociedades indígenas y los conquistadores Apus y Supays”, in Manuel Burga, ed. *Historia de América Andina*, vol. 2, *Formación y apogeo del sistema colonial*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador, Libresa, 2000, p. 19-20.

but somehow present, the Indians were recognized to have continued to be fundamental historical actors. The appearance of “Andean Utopias”, with diverse manifestations that witnessed reality from the perspective of the defeated, confronted this situation in various instances.

For the natives, the world was the space they inhabited. For the elite Incans, this was Tahuantinsuyo. “The cosmos were divided in two; the celestial world and the underworld, the sky and the earth were named *hananpacha* and *huirinpacha*. *Pacha* means universe. The order of the cosmos repeats itself in other levels.” When defeat came, it meant “for many Andean men that the conquest was a *pachacuti*, which is to say the inversion of order”.¹⁵ It was the transition of one era to another in a history that tended to repeat itself. That is why, although some accepted the defeat as a punishment from their gods and collaborated with the colonists, others assumed that the conquest was that transition and continued the resistance. The Europeans did not have a clear idea of the world either. When they arrived to these lands they confused them with Asia and called them the “Indies”. It took them several decades to figure out that this was another continent. But they continued calling it the “Indies”.¹⁶

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15. A. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, p. 42.

16. The name “American territories”, or simply America, came later, after Vespucci’s maps were published, but it did not become widely known. In the first colonial centuries, the official name that the Spanish bureaucracy gave to the American colonial empire continued being “the Indies”.

The conquerors were ambitious for wealth and power but they also thought that they could gain a new world for Christianity. Among the chiefs and the few priests and *mestizos* of the New World that identified themselves with the Indians, they saw the Inca past as a structured and harmonic society and as an ideal world destroyed by the Spanish invaders. That is what Garcilaso de la Vega thought.¹⁷ The vision that identified Andean society with the Inca past began to spread. The Andean culture, defeated and colonized, endured in the collective consciousness.

4. The “Andean space” in colonial times

86 After the wars of the conquest, the aborigine societies were controlled by the Spanish conquerors based on agreements with the *caciques* that conserved power over their communities in exchange for their collaboration.¹⁸ But during the first years, the colonizers confronted each other and the authorities that came from Spain. In the end, the Spanish Crown won.

The main centers of colonization were established in the territories of the major empires: the Aztec and the Inca. They were organized around mining centers in Mexico and Potosí.¹⁹ Other territories produced food and textiles.

17. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los incas*, Lima, Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, 2007.

18. Frank Salomon, “Crisis y transformación de la sociedad aborígen invadida (1528-1573)”, Enrique Ayala Mora, ed., *Nueva Historia del Ecuador*, vol. 3, Quito, Corporación Editora Nacional, 1990, p. 111-22.

19. Frédérique Langue y Carmen Salazar-Soler, “Origen, formación y desarrollo de las economías mineras (1570-1650): nuevos espacios económicos y circuitos mercantiles”, in Manuel Burga, ed., *Historia de América*

To rule the American empire, the Spanish Crown divided it into two *virreinos* (viceroalties)—in North and Central America, “Nueva España” and in the Andean region of South America, Peru. The *cabildos* (town councils), *audiencias* and *gobernaciones* were created within these subdivisions. Religious authorities were also established. In the 16th century, the Peruvian Viceroyalty covered a good part of South America. Its backbone was the Andean territory from Bogota and Quito in the north to Potosí and Chile in the south, with its capital in Lima. Twentieth-century historians named it the “Peruvian Space”. A major portion of the population was concentrated in the High Andes. There was little occupation on the coast. The Amazon region was religious mission territory.

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The Andean culture and society determined colonial organization. Although the colonial authorities and the Church tried to eliminate some of the indigenous cultural traits, they took advantage of some of them in order to dominate. They used religious worship sites for Catholic saints, retained these feasts with new content, and tried to give meaning of continuity to authority by presenting the colonial leaders as legitimate successors of the Incan governors. In the religious celebrations they represented the great events of the past like Huayna Cápac’s victories or the defeat and subsequent death of Atahualpa.

After the conquest, the cruelty used by the Inca rulers disappeared from the indigenous memory but the violence they suffered at the hands of European invaders was not forgotten. They reminisced about a harmonic Tahuantinsuyo governed without authoritarian rule or violence. Some protests and anti-colonial movements renovated the “Andean Utopia” and a “return of the Inca”. They conserved oral testimonies concerning myths like the “Incarri”.²⁰ Millennialism took root again and they spoke of the appearance of sovereign Incas that announced the reinstatement of Tahuantinsuyo. But these were not just simple visions:

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The idea of a return of the Inca didn't appear spontaneously in the Andean culture. It didn't try to be a mechanical answer to the Colonial domination. They had re-constructed the Andean past in their memories previously and it transformed itself and was converted into an alternative to the present. This is a distinctive feature from the Andean Utopia. The ideal city doesn't remotely stay out of history at the beginning of periods. On the contrary, it is a historical contribution. It has existed and it has a name: Tahuantinsuyo. Its rulers: the Incas. And a capital: Cuzco. The content that retains this construction has been changed to imagine a kingdom without hunger or exploitation and where Andean men return to govern. The end of disorder and darkness. Inca means idea or main organizer.²¹

The Andean-Inca elements determined the colonial reality even though they were subordinated. The millenarian utopias were strong and there was a continuity and consciousness concerning Andean culture or a return to some of the Inca realities. The “Peruvian Space” was a continu-

20. Mercedes López Baralt, *El retorno del Inca rey: mito y profecía en el mundo andino*, Madrid, Editorial Playor, 1990, p. 77.

21. A. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, p. 51.

ity of the “Andean Space”. The colonial scheme based on the extraction of precious metals was in crisis in the 18th century because of the decline in production in Potosí.²² The Spanish Crown changed hands and gave way to the “Bourbon Reforms”.²³ One of them was a readjustment in the administration that affected the Viceroyalty of Lima and the “Peruvian Space”.

The indigenous resistance maintained the defense of its territories, customs, community structures, feasts, language and other forms of identity. When the “Peruvian Space” crisis occurred, indigenous, mestizo and slave uprisings multiplied.²⁴ Some of them vindicated the return of Tahuantinsuyo, believing that the past would resuscitate Andean utopias. The rebellion of Tupac Amaru gained several victories that laid siege to Cuzco. The Spanish authorities were confronted with great violence. Another rebellion by Tupac Catari immediately appeared in Upper Peru.²⁵ The confrontation reached major proportions, with much

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22. Enrique Tandeter, “Economía minera en el espacio andino”, in Margarita Garrido, ed., *Historia de América Andina*, vol. 3, *El sistema colonial tardío*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador, Ljubljana, 2001, p. 73-6.

23. John Lynch, “El reformismo borbónico en Hispanoamérica”, in Agustín Guimerá, ed., *El reformismo borbónico*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1996, p. 40-5.

24. Segundo Moreno Yáñez, “Motines, revueltas y rebeliones en Hispanoamérica”, in *Historia general de América Latina*, vol. IV, *Procesos americanos hacia la redefinición colonial*, p. 423.

25. Humberto Vásquez Machicado, José de Mesa, Teresa Gisbert, Carlos D. Mesa Gisbert, *Manual de Historia de Bolivia*, La Paz, Editorial Gisbert, 1994, p. 260.

bloodshed. These two uprisings became references to Andean indigenous millenarism. In 1781 the “Revolution of the Comuneros” in Socorro, Viceroyalty of Santa Fe of Bogotá, was led by the Creole elite against the reforms of Carlos III.²⁶ It was subdued by the authorities of the Viceroyalty and its leaders were pursued, but its radical questioning of authority matured in the following decades.

5. Independence: consciousness of an ambiguous identity

90 At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the crisis of the Ancient Regime occurred. A revolution broke out in Spanish America at a critical turning point, feeding off the weakness of the monarchy and the expansion of the Napoleonic conquests. In the beginning, *juntas* or local councils formed by Creoles tried to govern in the name of the King. This started the process of Hispanic-American independence that began as a Creole attempt to form autonomous governments maintaining links with the Spanish monarchy. Afterwards it radicalized and finally put an end to ties with the metropolis.

The Independence Movement was successful when it became a continental action, integrating diverse districts and jurisdictions and convoking diverse social actors. The most important leader was Simón Bolívar, who realized that the only way to gain independence was with a collective effort from the entire subcontinent and with the incor-

26. John Leddy Phelam, *El pueblo y el rey, la revolución comunera en Colombia, 1781*, Bogotá, Carlos Valencia Editores, 1980.

poration of social groups who could look after their own interests.²⁷

The progression of the War of Independence developed a collective American identity. Simón Bolívar said in 1815: “We are just a small human genre; we possess a world apart, isolated by dilated oceans, new in almost all arts and sciences even though old concerning civil society.”²⁸ The “patriots” facing the “royalists” defended their continental cause and saw the necessity of uniting the entire South-American continent in order to be able to defeat them. A sense of unity developed among the old colonial territories. The newly-formed independent nations liberated by Bolívar’s army had a strong Andean cultural presence.²⁹ One of the unifying elements was the sense of being Andean. 91

Black people played an important role in the Wars for Independence; they were warriors who fought for their own personal liberty. The indigenous, in turn, had little participation; they knew that the interests of Creole elites were not their own.

27. Simón Bolívar, *Pensamiento fundamental*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador, Corporación Editora Nacional, 2004, p. 31.

28. Simón Bolívar, “Contestación de un americano meridional a un caballero de esta isla”, iSimón Bolívar, *Discursos, proclamas y epistolario político*, Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1975, p. 156.

29. The predominance of the Andean culture in Peru, Upper Peru and Quito was notorious. In Colombia, it became obvious in later years. An example was that Bolívar and his army had to “cross the Andes” from Venezuela to liberate Nueva Granada. In Venezuela, the weight of the population of the regions marked by the High Andes was of enormous importance in the Independence and the subsequent republican history.

But the effort for unity in the war and the formation of the states sometimes led to an interpretation of independence as a grievance from the indigenous people. José Joaquín Olmedo wrote his grand poem about the Independence of America highlighting Simón Bolívar, who had won the Battle of Junín in August of 1824.³⁰ Later, Sucre outdid him and won the final Battle of Ayacucho. To unite these two events, Olmedo introduced the figure Huayna Cápac, who remembers the cruelty of the conquerors, calling them “usurpers”. He identifies the patriots as warriors taking revenge for indigenous atrocities and for their sons:

Oh fields of Junín!...
Oh favorite son and friend
that takes revenge for the Inca!
Oh people that form one people
and a family and all that are my sons!
Live, triumph...³¹

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But the fact is that:

Through the poem “Canto a Bolívar”, Olmedo openly expresses the tension between the concepts of ethnicity and nationality that are resolved in his poem with the adoption of aborigine traditions that were eliminated by the Spanish, creating, in that way, a proper identity for the recently liberated continent.³²

Bolívar didn’t like the presence of the Inca. He said:

30. José Joaquín Olmedo, “La victoria de Junín, Canto a Bolívar”, in Biblioteca Mínima Ecuatoriana, José Joaquín Olmedo, *Poesía, prosa*, Puebla, Ed. Cajica, 1960, p. 113-23.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

32. Regina Harrison, *Entre el tronar épico y el llanto elegíaco, simbología indígena en la poesía ecuatoriana de los siglos XIX y XX*, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Abya-Yala, 1996, p. 51.

We aren't European; we aren't indigenous; but a species between the aborigines and the Spanish. Natural-born Americans and Europeans by right, we find in fiction the act of disputing our designation as naturals and it is this right that states that we were born to support the opposition of said invaders.³³

Bolívar did not feel that he represented the indigenous people or that his efforts were to restore Tahuantinsuyo. This was not Olmedo's purpose either. He used the Inca to justify independence but not to return to the Indian past. Bolívar's mission would not be to return to the past but to "make laws" and guarantee liberty for the people.³⁴ On the other hand, accusing the Spanish of oppressing the indigenous, Olmedo exempts the Creoles and *mestizos*, that is to say, he exempts his people of acts that they still continued committing amidst the Independence Movement.

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Olmedo first gives the Incas a voice against the Spanish and exhorts Bolívar to maintain unity in the countries that fought for independence but finishes by justifying future republican domination. Transforming insurgents into those that take revenge for the indigenous atrocities was frequent in the discourse of the freedom fighters. The return to the Inca past that had been a colonial Andean utopia served as a justification for independence and a unifying element for the forces that started it. The Liberator was the most important propagandist for integration. That is why being "Andean" and being "Bolivarian" are identi-

33. Simón Bolívar, "Discurso pronunciado ante el Congreso de Angostura el 15 de febrero de 1819, día de su instalación", Simón Bolívar, *Discursos, proclamas y epistolario político*, p. 219.

34. J. J. Olmedo, "La victoria de Junín, Canto a Bolívar", p. 120-1.

fied as being one and the same. In Olmedo's poem we find encounters and failed encounters in the quest for an American identity. Independence brought light to several Andean roots in our countries, roots which projected themselves in the republican existence.

6. The 19th century: national consciousness

94 After independence, the Nation-State emerged in Andean America. The effort to construct the Great Republic of Colombia failed. After that, the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation was formed and dissolved. The region finally opted for five separate countries (Venezuela, New Granada—which later adopted the name Colombia—Ecuador and Peru).³⁵ Chile was considered an exception concerning the national constitution.

The Andean Nation-States, a continuation of the colonial State in many aspects, were characterized by deep ethnic, regional and socio-economic differences. A long process of constitution and consolidation, full of conflicts, contradictions, progress and setbacks began in the 1820's. They were based on regionalization and land property, the reinstatement of legal power and the exclusion of the majority (women, Indians, blacks and non-landowners). Their founders, landlords and powerful merchants, set up national projects such as the continuation of Hispanity, adopted

35. Along with these countries can be added the Republic of Panamá in 1903, after it that had broken off from Colombia.

republican institutions and monarchical continuities.³⁶ They retained practices such as ethnic discrimination and class societies similar to the colonial period that supported institutionalized inequality. At the same time, they confronted each other in regional disputes.

The Creole elite imposed their national vision. They considered that “universal” values eliminated cultural diversity.³⁷ The “mestizos” became the most active participants in the identity of the nations which they considered *patrias*. The newly-formed States penetrated society with their administrative infrastructure. It was the action of the States that consolidated the Nations and not vice versa.³⁸ But popular visions also were incorporated in the Nation.

The Catholic Church was recognized as the official “State Church”. It maintained its role as an agent of ideological conservation and socio-economic domination. Armies that were formed during the Independence Movement conserved their force and influence. They were frequent arbitrators between dominant groups. The States that had consolidated themselves in the 19th century with their conflicts and contradictions now found themselves in positions of very critical regional importance. In Bolivia, Ec-

36. Germán Carrera Damas, “República monárquica o monarquía republicana”, *Historia de América Andina*, vol. 4, *Crisis del régimen colonial e independencia*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador, Libresa, 2003, p. 357.

37. Josep Fontana, *La historia después del fin de la historia*, Barcelona, Crítica, 1992, p. 109.

38. Tomás Pérez Vejo, *Nación, identidad nacional y otros mitos nacionalistas*, Oviedo, Ediciones Nobel, 1999, p. 129.

cuador and a good part of Colombia, the various axes of political power and the majority of the population concentrated in the Upper-Andean region. In Peru, although the political center was Lima, the majority of the population was in the Highlands. In Venezuela, there was a strong presence of politicians who came from the Andean region.

In the beginning, international borders were not precise and subject to long confrontations, wars, complaints and losses. But the occupation of the territory was for the most part Upper-Andean. One characteristic of regionalization in the 19th century was the conflict between the elite groups that lived on the coast and in the Highlands, which in many cases turned into civil war. The “Andeans” could be identified with economic protectionism and political conservatism. However, it was also a characteristic of the general identity of the new States. In various cases, it emphasized elements of national symbols like the condor, so emblematic of the High Andes, or the indigenous sun.³⁹

Attempts at intervention by European powers (especially Spain) trying to recover their colonies provoked strong reactions from Andean countries. That occurred with the expeditions of General Flores in the 40’s,⁴⁰ or the seizure of the Chincha Islands and the bombardment of Lima by

39. The national emblems of Colombia, Ecuador and Peru include the condor, the Andean bird *par excellence*. Besides the condor, the last two countries have the indigenous sun and the Andes mountain range as national emblems. Peru has the llama, the well-known Andean camel.

40. Cfr. Ana Gimeno, *Una tentativa monárquica en América: el caso ecuatoriano*, Quito, Banco Central del Ecuador, 1988.

a Spanish fleet in the 60's. Both episodes caused protests, meetings between government delegates and proposals of alliances between the Pacific countries.⁴¹ But these projects did not prosper. The idea that began to be accepted was "Latin America". Later, "Pan-Americanism" was created and became an instrument of predominance of the United States in the continent.

7. Andean Indigenism: indigenous consciousness

The beginning of the 20th century brought important changes in Andean American countries. The growing link to the world market, the modernization of some aspects of economic and social life, the increase of population and the growth of cities brought phenomena like the extension of middle sectors and the development of the working class, organization and protest. Left-wing intellectual activists founded new parties and socialist movements. Art and literature promoted themes of denouncement and insurgency.

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With influence from earlier years, Indigenism took root in the 20's, especially in Peru. It was seen as an "anthropological reflection that indigenous cultures had been rediscovered after the storm caused by political liberalism".⁴² But it was more: it was a questioning of national projects

41. Aimer Granados García, "Congresos e intelectuales en los inicios de un proyecto de una conciencia continental en Latinoamérica, 1826-1860", in Aimer Granados y Carlos Marichal, comp., *Construcción de las identidades latino-americanas: ensayos de historia intelectual, siglos XIX y XX*. México, El Colegio de México, 2004, p. 39.

42. Manuel M. Marzal, *Historia de la Antropología Indigenista*, Barcelona, Anthropos, 1993, p. 35-6.

and identities. “Indigenism emerged first as a literary movement that idealized the Inca Empire”, but later “it was also understood as the construction of a new national identity whose center was the native culture with a pre-Columbian origin that had survived centuries of adversity”⁴³

Manuel González Prada was the most important figure of Indigenism. There were various writers and educators, among them Luis Eduardo Valcárcel, whose ethnocentrism postulated the elimination of everything not indigenous. They were stimulated by the “andinista” movement that would integrate itself “in a conception of Indian America, where the people of Cuzco would be a species of ‘chosen people’ and the unique elite capable of directing
98 the andinista movement.”⁴⁴

Indigenism or the pro-Indigenism political movement prepared the path for socialist reflection on Andean reality. José Carlos Mariátegui, the most original and important of its ideologists, proposed to rethink the country and transform it.⁴⁵ Based on the principles of Marxism, he reevaluated the indigenous community as a foundation of historical society and the axis of Peru’s future without falling into Indianist fundamentalism, setting the framework of his vision in the analysis of a class society subject to the power of

43. Carlos Contreras y Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo*, Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2007, p. 246-7.

44. Miguel Rojas Mix, *Los cien nombres de América*, San José, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1991, p. 282.

45. José Carlos Mariátegui, *7 ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*, Lima, Biblioteca Amauta, (1928) 1995.

landowners and the bourgeois, where regional tension and ethnic confrontations occur.

Mariátegui made proposals for all of Latin America and its unity. “Spanish America, he said, presents itself as practically fragmented, split and balkanized. However, its unity is not utopia, it is not an abstraction.”⁴⁶ That unity will make them popular actors. “Those timid toasts of diplomacy will not unite those people. They will be united in what is to come, the historic vote of the masses.”⁴⁷ Unity has enemies, especially North-American policies toward the subcontinent that imposed its submission in the name of Pan-Americanism. The new Hispanic-American generation “must define clearly and precisely the reason for its opposition to the United States”, that is not against its people but against leaders like T. Roosevelt, the “representative of the Imperial spirit”.⁴⁸

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Another Peruvian thinker that put forth the indigenous question from the social and political standpoint was Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre. He saw the indigenous question not as racial but rather socio-economic: a class exploited by dominant local classes and imperialism. He used the term “Indo-America” for Latin America and promoted the “American Revolutionary Popular Action” (APRA), a pop-

46. José Carlos Mariátegui, “La unidad de la América indo-española”, in José Carlos Mariátegui, *Obras*, tomo 2, La Habana, Casa de las Américas, 1982, p. 249.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

48. J. C. Mariátegui, “El ibero-americanismo y el pan-americanismo”, in *Obras*, tomo 2, p. 253.

ulist movement that had influence in Peru. He thought that the State, an instrument of oppression of one class over another, becomes a weapon of our governing national classes and keeps our people divided. Consequently, the struggle against our governing classes is indispensable; political power must be captured by its producers; production must be socialized and Latin America must construct a Federation of States.⁴⁹

The APRA proposed the unity of Indo-America with “action against Yankee Imperialism”. Latin America, it was said in 1923, could be considered to be divided into four sectors. The first sector is the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, Panama and Antilles or West Indies. 100 “The second sector is the one that is called Bolivarian Republics: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia where Imperialism action can be found in the Period of the Loan, of the great construction and of the treaty.”⁵⁰ Third, the Republics of Plata and Chile, and fourth, Brazil. Very early, Haya de la Torre grouped the countries that formed the “Andean Group” into a differentiated group inside the subcontinent.

Indigenism was developed in other countries too. The Bolivian Alcides Arguedas published *Raza de bronce* (*Bronze race*), considered as the precursor of the *indigen-*

49. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, *Antimperialismo y la APRA*, Lima, Editorial Amauta, 1972, p. 81.

50. Luis Alan Castro (selection, introduction and chronology), *The dream of the liberator, Haya de la Torre and the unity of America (Anthology)*, Lima, Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Peru, 2004, p. 53.

ista novel in Latin America.⁵¹ In Ecuador, Pio Jaramillo Alvarado inaugurated a rich tradition with *The Ecuadorian Indian*.⁵² In Colombia, Antonio García posed the question in *Pasado y presente del indio*.⁵³ Studies also appeared about nation, *mestizos* and Afro-Colombian culture. The indigenous question was not a national priority in Chile, but the social question was developed.⁵⁴ Between the 20's and the 40's, writers and politicians drafted reform proposals that accompanied the mass movement.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, social themes flourished, especially the land and popular figures. Notable writers were the Colombian José Eustacio Rivera and the Venezuelan Rómulo Gallegos. The *indigenista* novel enjoyed its peak with *Huasipungo* from Ecuadorian Jorge Icaza.⁵⁵ The “vanguards” highlighted the value of liberty and the fight for independence, such as *Las lanzas coloradas* by Venezuelan Arturo Úslar Pietri.⁵⁶ From Venezuela

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51. Alcides Arguedas, *Bronce Race*, La Paz, Editores González y Medina, 1919 (definitive edition: Buenos Aires, Editorial Lozada, 1945).

52. The work was initially edited in 1925. Currently in circulation is this edition: Pio Jaramillo Alvarado, *El indio ecuatoriano: contribución al estudio de la sociología indo-americana*, Quito, Corporación Editora Nacional, 1983.

53. Antonio García, *Pasado y presente del indio*, Bogotá, Ediciones Centro, 1939.

54. Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Historia de las instituciones políticas y sociales de Chile*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Universitaria, 1991, p. 191.

55. Jorge Icaza, *Huasipungo*, Quito, Imprenta Nacional, 1934 (the text has been modified in other editions).

56. The work was published for the first time in 1931. A very well-known edition is: Arturo Úslar Pietri, *Las lanzas coloradas*, Barcelona, Salvat Editores, 1970.

and Colombia surged a tendency that praised the action of heroes and invoked common ties among countries liberated under the leadership of Bolívar.

Right-wing politics were also concerned with the indigenous question and interpreted reality from a racist and paternalistic perspective. They did so because they were, according to Flores Galindo, “the most refined Hispanist intellectuals from oligarchies and *ultramontanes*—those associated with the Sevilla historical school and tributaries during the 40’s and 50’s of pro-Franco authoritarianism”.⁵⁷

102 By questioning what is a nation, re-evaluating the indigenous presence and gauging the social struggle just by calling the subcontinent “Indo-America”, Indigenism opened paths that led to the definition of an ample common identity of our people and countries, especially the Andeans.

8. Rediscovering the Andes: historical conscience

Several studies that contributed to other views about the past and social history came after the writings of the Indigenists. The vision of the “Hispanists” and intellectuals linked with the oligarchies was opposed to the studies of

a posterior cosmopolitan intelligence influenced by North-American anthropology and worried about finding alternatives to the challenge of the propagation of Marxism. The Indian that for some Indigenists threatened to besiege Lima, according to Flores Galindo, was converted into the “Andean Man”. A figure outside of history, unalterable, living in an eternal return of his self that was necessary in order

57. A. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, p. 5.

to maintain distance from whatever modernity he should find. Immobile and passive. Singular and abstract.⁵⁸

Since the 50's, there was a development of anthropology, archaeology and ethnohistory in the Andean countries. There were several economic and Inca studies published in Peru. There were also studies by North Americans and Europeans. These new realities generated the need for a sense of "rediscovering the Andes". The works of John Murra reached a great audience.⁵⁹ Academics held meetings like the "Peruvian Congress of Man and Andean Culture", where many advances were presented that circulated in several countries. An important development of the social sciences occurred too. Some of those studies were not free of an idealized and immobilized vision that Flores Galindo criticized.

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The name "the Andes" was established internationally in the vocabulary of social sciences. It referred to the land first developed by Indian *señoríos* and later articulated by the Inca Empire and its continuity in the "Colonial Peruvian Space". When "the Andes" was mentioned it meant the Peruvian Viceroyalty, including the republic, extended to the current Republics of Ecuador and Bolivia. Peru was considered an axis of "the Andes". For example, "the Northern Andes" were what is now Ecuador, when in reality the northern Andean mountains reach close to

58. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, p. 5.

59. Among the most outstanding authors of that era were Murra and his disciples. Several of the most important Peruvian authors of those years have already been cited in this study.

the Caribbean in Colombia.⁶⁰ The Andes, being Andean or part of the indigenous culture, have always been identified with Peru.

The steady stream of studies about “the Andes” lasted several decades. Even when it was called the “Andean Area”, some writers maintained its Peruvian tradition and certain “Latin-American Studies” included the idea of the Andes: “what are now territories of the Republics of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia and fractions of the highlands of Colombia and the northeastern sections of Argentina and Chile”.⁶¹ That reduced vision has sometimes lasted until the present. But studies exist that incorporate “being Andean” with a more ample vision.

104 The concern about the colonial and Indian past, together with the struggle of workers and peasants, surged in parallel with the popular movement. It was a cultural and academic consequence of political realities. The “Peruvian Revolution”, started in 1968 under the leadership of General Juan Velasco Alvarado, carried out agrarian, industrial and banking reforms and settlements on nationalist bas-

60. Ecuadorian historians accepted the denomination for Indian and Colonial history. Only later was adopted the name “Equatorial Andean America” adopted, as it is more appropriate. Cfr. Segundo Moreno, “Época Aborígen”, Enrique Ayala Mora, ed., *Manual de Historia del Ecuador*, vol. I, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar Sede Ecuador, Corporación Editora Nacional, p. 13.

61. Heraclio Bonilla, “El área andina como situación y como problema” (1976), in Heraclio Bonilla, *El futuro del pasado: las coordenadas de la configuración de los Andes*, tomo I, Lima, Fondo Editorial del Pedagógico San Marcos, Instituto de Ciencias y Humanidades, 2005, p. 34.

es. He proposed: “Proclaim national sovereignty as a principle. Reject foreign intervention in internal affairs and respect the position of others.”⁶² The Peruvian Revolution named its fundamental governmental guidelines the “Inca Plan” and adopted Andean symbols and Indian images to identify its most important programs. Figures like Túpac Amaru were symbols of the process. In this way, “being Andean” started to have a new political meaning.

9. Bolivarianism: consciousness of common roots

Since the foundation of our Republics, the figure of Simón Bolívar has always been praised. In Bolivia, it was tied to its foundation and the name given to the country.⁶³ Bolívar became a national symbol very early. In Ecuador, “loyalty” to the Liberator constituted an element of identity and political force that invoked diverse tendencies during its history.⁶⁴ In Colombia, the adhesion to the figure of Bolívar became a reference to the Conservative Party that maintained the Bolivarian tradition. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, was identified with its opposers. In Peru, Bolívar was recognized as one of the generals of in the In-

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62. Augusto Zimmermann Zavala, *El plan inca, objetivo: revolución peruana*, Lima, Empresa editora del diario oficial *El Peruano*, s.f., p. 107.

63. An Assembly met in 1825, resolved to establish an independent country with the name “Bolivarian Republic” and declared the Liberator “Father of the Homeland”. In a very short span of time it changed the country’s name to “Bolivia” (cfr. Humberto Vásquez Machicado y otros, *Manual de Historia de Bolivia*, p. 336).

64. Cfr. Enrique Ayala Mora, *El bolivarianismo en el Ecuador*, Quito, Corporación Editora Nacional, 1991.

dependence Movement but also as an invader or dictator. His influence there has been limited. In Venezuela, after the early Republican years in which the Liberator was pursued and denigrated, he was converted into a national icon and the “Bolívar cult” was transformed into a central state ideology.⁶⁵

106 In our countries, especially in Venezuela, state and education entities, armed forces, local powers and social institutions have cultivated the cult of the Liberator as a gesture of liberty and justifier of power, with “Bolivarian societies” (*sociedades bolivarianas*) being created in many places. With their ceremonies and publications they have promoted the study and recognition of the action of the Liberator but also revived the unilateral praise of his figure, which in certain cases became a type of “secular canonization”.⁶⁶ The figure of Bolívar has thus become a personage on the same level as gods and saints.⁶⁷

It is important to reclaim the figure of Bolívar, his fights, ideals and pioneering proposals that orient the national his-

65. G. Carrera Damas, *El culto a Bolívar*, Caracas, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Instituto de Antropología e Historia, 1970.

66. For example, see the *Revista de la Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela* that contains the specific section: “Testimonios de la devoción bolivariana” (cfr. Volumen XIX, números 63 y 64, Caracas, 1960).

67. The image of Bolívar and his “Liberator Court” evolved to form part of syncretism cults, especially in Afro-Caribbean regions, with altars dedicated to the Liberator and rituals in which his spirit “possessed” mediums that predicted and cured. The Liberator is part of the cult of María Lionza (Yolanda Salas de Lecuna, *Bolívar y la historia en la conciencia popular*, Caracas, Instituto de Altos Estudios de América Latina de la Universidad Simón Bolívar, 1987, p. 93-134).

torical construction of our countries. The iconoclastic posture that destroys the image of heroes and distorts the Independence is negative. We must cultivate historic memory as an element of identity. Several traditional studies have contributed to this goal. But the Bolivarian cult is pompous, unilateral and non-critical; it is not positive. As Carrera Damas notes, it was transformed from a spontaneous *culto del pueblo* (public cult) into an organized *culto para el pueblo* (cult for the people).⁶⁸ It has been manipulated by the governments.

The Bolivarian institutions maintained very tight links with each other. They held national meetings with historians, military groups and Bolivarian societies. They promoted national and international conferences, publications and contests. This Bolivarianism had major strength in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Colombia. It became a strong cultural and political bond among countries whose independence was led by the Liberator. The denomination “Bolivarian countries” was an element of common identification.

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At the continental level, Bolívar was considered a pioneer of unity. Additionally, the “Inter-American Conferences” summoned in the framework of “Pan-Americanism” promoted by the United States to consolidate its continental dominance invoked the figure of Bolívar.⁶⁹ In 1948, the

68. G. Carrera Damas, *El culto a Bolívar*, p. 232.

69. The governments of the United States promoted “Pan-Americanism” as a “continental front” that permitted furthering the interests of its influence in Latin America. They held conferences that defined some common

Organization of American States (OAS) was founded, with its headquarters in Washington, one of whose main sites adorned the image of Bolívar. Pan-Americanism had support but this was not unanimous. It was questioned by those who defended the Latin-American identity and those who saw Bolívar as an opposer to the dominance of the United States in Latin America.

108 The Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL) (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean), led by Raúl Prebisch, was founded to represent the Latin-American perspective. The CEPAL promoted economic reform, substitution of importations, industrial growth and agrarian reform. This concern for the development of the countries emphasized the necessity of cooperation and mutual aid. A new Latin-American consciousness emerged. It promoted unity and joint action in the socio-economic field. Thus, it is “an awareness of conscience taken to higher levels: the discovery that a Third-World country exists and that Latin America forms part of it”, says Halperín.⁷⁰ The new Latin-American conscience was a modern tendency of experts and functionaries who applied CEPAL proposals for development and promoted international cooperation and integration among coun-

policies and established a mechanism of coordination, the predecessor of the Organization of American States (OAS).

70. Tulio Halperín Dongui, *Historia contemporánea de América Latina*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1972, p. 442.

tries. A new generation of social scientists developed critical thought, rethinking economy, society and the State.⁷¹

10. The Andean Pact: consciousness of integration

Latin America has developed regional integration since the 50's. Economic cooperation and integration was proposed beyond declaration with the formation of a customs union and a common market following the example of European integration. In the 1960's, the Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio (ALALC) (Latin American Free Trade Association) was set up but had limited impact. This led countries to sign sub-regional agreements. The first was the "General Treaty of Central American Integration" in 1961.⁷² After intense preparation, on the 25th of May 1969 the "Acuerdo de Cartagena" was signed. It constituted the "Andean Group"⁷³; Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile, Colombia and Peru were the founders; Venezuela was incorporated in 1973; Chile abandoned the group in 1976. The initiative of the Andean Group did not come from Peru, the geographic and historic "center" of the sub-region, where, as we have seen, there were concerns about

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71. Among those that can be mentioned is the important Bolivian thinker René Zavaleta Mercado. Cf. René Zavaleta, *El Estado en América Latina*, Cochabamba, Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, 1990.

72. The "Multilateral Treaty of Free Trade and Central American Economic Integration" was signed in 1958..

73. Comunidad Andina, Secretaría General, *28 años de integración andina: un recuento histórico*, Lima, Secretaría General de la Comunidad Andina, 1997, p. 8.

the “Andean” identity. The momentum came fundamentally from Colombia, Chile and also from Venezuela. The will to integrate was more evident in countries with constitutional regimes.

As far as we know, the name “Andean Group” was adopted because it had been used in prior negotiations and because of the geographical and historical affinity of its members,

countries that have as one of their common characteristics the geographical unevenness that the Andean Mountain Range has from Chile to Venezuela; five of those countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela) have a particular likeness of sharing the epic achievement of the historical *independentista* past led by Bolívar and three of them (Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela) were part of Gran Colombia; these circumstances favored and facilitated, in principle, a process of sub-regional economic integration...⁷⁴

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The idea of calling it the “Bolivarian group” had surfaced during the negotiations, but the name did not include Chile and might have been rejected in Peru, which is why they adopted a name linked to the geography. However, “being Andean” was not only marked by the surrounding territory but also because of Bolivarian thought and a common vision of the future. At the moment the Andean Pact was founded, the memory of the founding fathers and freedom fighters was invoked. The ideas and proposals of Bolívar inspired the process and have oriented it until today. Names like Hipólito Unanue, Simón Rodríguez and An-

74. Domingo Felipe Maza Zavala, *Vida económica en Hispanoamérica*, vol. 25, *Historia General de América*, Caracas, Academia Nacional de Historia de Venezuela, 1996, p. 227.

drés Bello pointed out aspects like health, work, education, science and culture in sub-regional agreements.

Two points of view came together in founding the Andean Pact. On one hand, aborigine and colonial roots were identified as part of “being Andean”, as well as its geographic factors, civilizing background and regional projection. On the other hand, there was Bolivarianism, a basic characteristic of the foundation of our countries and republican roots. These two points of view converged in a new reality which was the integration project that led to major political development of “being Andean”.

The process of integration invigorated the countries’ economies and amplified the idea of “being Andean”. Andean integration went beyond any historical antecedent: the “altoandino”, Tahuantinsuyo, the Peruvian Viceroyalty or the actions of the Founding Fathers. It started to be seen not only as a historical and cultural unity, but above all as a political unity. It was more than its countries’ components and it extended from the Caribbean all the way to Patagonia, integrating the coast and the Amazon region. The Andean Pact reinforced the idea that already existed before: Andean-Amazonian *complementarity*.

111

The Andean Pact had advances and setbacks.⁷⁵ In 1997 it was reorganized and renamed the “Andean Community” (CAN). It was unable to consolidate the customs union and the common market, but it did intensify relations between coun-

75. Cfr. Héctor Maldonado Lira, *30 años de integración andina: balances y perspectivas*, Lima, Comunidad Andina, Secretaría General, 1999.

tries, especially commercial relations, and it formed an integrationist institutionality. In the national and international sphere it identified member-countries with “being Andean”, starting with the name of the group, but it did not develop a common and vigorous identity among its populations. It did make advances, but there was also a deficit of Andean citizenship.

11. Andean America: consciousness of unity and diversity

112 Perceptions of what being Andean means suffered a shake-up in the 90’s with the indigenous movement’s emergence, bursting onto the political scene with demands and the purpose of resisting neo-liberalism. This emergence had diverse expressions, such as the cultural and political-rights movements in Ecuador or the Indian participation in the armed insurgency in Peru.⁷⁶ The peasant-indigenous movement in Bolivia, together with other social movements, helped elect the first indigenous President.

The indigenous movement strongly questioned the Andean national states and their uniform and exclusionist structures. They demanded the recognition of collective rights of the peoples, “nationalities” or indigenous “nations”. In some cases there was a resurrection of the “Andean utopia”, with ethnic visions that proposed Indian states and the resurrec-

76. There are studies about this subject but the “Indigenists” or “Andean” fundamentalist dimension of the “Shining Path” has not been very clear (cfr. Carlos Iván Degregori, *Qué difícil es ser Dios: el Partido Comunista—Sendero Luminoso y el conflicto armado interno en el Perú: 1980-1999*, Lima, IEP, 2010).

tion of Tahuantinsuyo. These approaches were diverse and sometimes contradictory. The extreme indigenous millenarisms that proposed the return to Andean utopias were not the majority, but they do have social influence, in the visions of the indigenous peoples and in the proposals of “decolonization”. Since the beginning of the 90’s, Andean constitutions have defined countries by their cultural and ethnic diversity and recognized indigenous rights; the CAN even established an Indigenous Consultive Council.

With less force than the indigenous peoples, Afro-Andeans also demanded recognition and collective rights. The ethnic wake-up call that questioned national states provoked a questioning of the identity of the *mestizo* population, at this height already a majority in the sub-region. “Mestizos” found themselves once again trapped in their ambiguity. The complex and diverse character of Andean America was highlighted again, with more depth than before.

113

Diversity is one of the most important aspects of Andean countries.

Beyond certain geographic or restricted cultural visions, what is Andean is not limited to the Upper Andean region but integrates all of the plurality from the high plateaus to the coast and Amazonia and from the prairies or *pamba* until the beaches of the Caribbean. From this ample point of view, Andean America is a territory that includes the Andes as its backbone but embraces the diversity of a large portion of South America.⁷⁷

Diversity is also the central element of a unit of the Andean world whose characteristics have to do with comple-

77. E. Ayala Mora, “Presentación general”, *Historia de América Andina*, p. 15.

mentarity. It can be found in geographical space and in society. It is important to observe that

starting with the ecological diversity that includes the coastal region until the moorlands and High Andean plateau or *puna*, without forgetting the foothills of Amazonia woodland, “being Andean” brings together a complementarity in its differences. In a similar way in the human and social field, one cannot understand what is “criollo”, “mestizo”, “cholo”, “negro”, “pardo” or “indio” by themselves. It is only in one’s relation with ‘the other’ that this can happen.⁷⁸

Large groups of Andean population moved to other territories. The coast, the Highlands and Amazonia come together when people move and trade products and services.

114 Andean diversity also expresses itself in the way that distinct social actors have perceived it throughout history and according to their interests and experiences. Flores Galindo highlighted the reactionary discourse of Hispanism and the neutralizing vision of the “Andean man” found in some modernizing intellectuals. For the author, “being Andean” is not only a justifying discourse of the Indian situation, it also

permits, for example, the ability to free itself from the racist connotation that the word Indian implies, it evokes the idea of a civilization and does not limit itself to peasants but also includes the urban and *mestizo* population, taking in environments of the coast and highlands, transcending current national borders and helping to find links between Peruvian history along with Bolivian and Ecuadorian.

The author asks: what is Andean? And he responds:

First of all, it is an ancient culture that should be thought of in terms similar to those that were utilized for the Greeks, the Egyptians or the Chinese but to do that we must relinquish this concept of any trace

78. *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

of mystification. History offers a path: look for links between ideas, myths, dreams and objects and the men that consumed, produced, lived and praised them. To abandon the calm territory of non-incarnate ideas, to come into contact with struggles and conflicts with men in plural, with groups and social classes, with problems concerning the power and violence of a society. Andean men have not gone through history locked up in an impossible museum.⁷⁹

It ends up being very clear that “being Andean” is not a passive entelechy (pipe dream) but a reality in movement plagued by contradictions and conflict. There is not one “Andean man”, even if it were the Indian. There are “Andean men” in the plural. And maybe we should say “Andean people” or “Andean persons” to correct the exclusion of women and the chauvinism that has dominated us for centuries. And also to be able to highlight the entire scope of what is Andean, which has been increasing throughout history.

115

Andean people are diverse. There are more than just the Incas or important Indians. However, it is undeniable that there have been numerous and important Indian contributions during the quest of being Andean. The “minga” or “collective-labor” Indian, for example, is a current practice adopted by everyone. There are alternative ways to assume our reality in a globalized world without losing sight of our Andean roots.

The idea that we must force ourselves to “live better” has been proposed in our societies, that is, to reach standards of welfare that advanced capitalist countries enjoy.

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

However, this implies that we continue the rhythm of abuse and waste of our resources, pillaging our environment and leading a lifestyle marked by competition and lack of solidarity. That would mean that we accelerate the destruction of the planet and prolong the predominance of capitalism with its huge level of injustice. But in the Andean roots there is another way to conceive life. It is not a matter of “living better” in relation to the culture of waste and overexploitation of resources which in the end do not bring happiness, but rather of “living well”, that is to say, carrying on with dignity, without misery, exercising fundamental rights, without opulence and without the anguish caused by the need to accumulate and compete. In other words, 116 looking for a simple lifestyle and in harmonic solidarity as regards the manner one conducts one’s life and satisfies one’s needs, not trying to reach the model that the richest world powers set.⁸⁰

The idea of “living well”, or *sumac kausay*, is one of the important contributions that the Indians of Andean America have given the world. It has been developed mainly in Bolivia.⁸¹ The *sumac kausay* is important but it should be taken into account that we live in peripheral societies

80. Enrique Ayala Mora, *Ecuador, Patria de todos*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Sede Ecuador, Corporación Editora Nacional, 3ra. ed., 2009, p. 81.

81. Fernando Huanacuni Mamani, *Vivir bien/Buen vivir: filosofía, políticas, estrategias, y experiencias regionales*, La Paz, Convenio Andrés Bello, Instituto Internacional de Integración, 2001.

where capitalism predominates as a system of exploitation and inequality.

“Being Andean” will always be a permanent rediscovery of our roots. But it will also be, after the experience in the Andean community, a proposal of integration. This implies that we must consolidate the advances of the process and at the same time consider the Andean Community as a “stepping stone toward the integration of South America”, as Germánico Salgado lucidly saw it.⁸² With this huge objective, it is important to involve the CAN in the construction of the UNASUR, which will be slow and difficult, even more so if the two processes are carried out in an isolated manner. South American unity will not be viable without the Andean component, not only because of the need for the member-countries to participate or the development of community institutionality, but also because unity in diversity is a way to join together to achieve integration. 117

But this paper is to deal with the past, and we are already talking about the future. We must conclude confirming that whatever may come in the future of the Andean Community, its member countries will not be the same after having participated in it. Their processes as nation-states have experienced irreversible changes, above all during the integrationist process that never gave in to opposition between what is national and what is Andean, between

82. Germánico Salgado, *El Grupo Andino de hoy: eslabón hacia la integración de Sudamérica*, Quito, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar/ Corporación Editora Nacional, 1998.

sovereignty of the states and progress of the supra-national. Latin America is the place where there have been two sides of the same reality. “Being Andean” is now and in the future will remain incomprehensible without integration. But as a geographic, historical, identitary and human fact, “being Andean” will be more than the CAN or any type of institutionality.

118 “Being Andean” is many things at the same time. It is a complex reality with elements of continuity and change at the same time. The question of what being Andean means will always be pending, not because it has not been answered but because at the moment of answering it, new questions arise. The Andean experience, with its encounters and failures, permeates the history of our identity. In one way or the other, it is part of all of us. It unites us in its diversity.