

LALS 3733: *Locating the Andean Radical Tradition*

A Just Futures Seminar

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Spring 2024 ♦ Tuesday and Thursday 10:15-11:45am

Office Hours: McNeil 583, TBD and by appointment

DESCRIPTION

The Andean region, running along the western part of South America (Abiayala), has for centuries been home to countless expressions of resistance. Is it possible to collectively read the layers of forms and practices that have sought to transform the postcolonial realities of this region as a radical tradition?

When speaking of a radical tradition, one refers to an accretion or accumulation of modes of resistance and struggles that emanate from a particular condition. Thus, if one is to speak of an Andean Radical Tradition, one needs to first understand the temporal, political and social conditions of the Andean region to see how they inform movements seeking to transform the social and political order. With this purpose in mind, this course will survey key thinkers, writers, and political figures who have evoked and enunciated an ‘Andean Radical Tradition’ in different ways across Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia since colonization. From the written word to critical theorization, through to political mobilizations, this course will explore manifestations of a radical tradition not only as a form of refusing the colonial condition but as a proposition for liberatory futures predicated on everything from socialist and Marxist-rooted ideologies to Andean Indigeneity. Locating an Andean Radical Tradition requires us to trace the practices of resistance and critical inquiry premised on unique characteristics and traditions of the region.

SCOPE, LEARNING OBJECTIVES, AND FRAMEWORKS

This course will seek to understand how the various modes of resistance across Andean countries have in one way or another confronted the colonial condition. Drawing from Indigenous thinkers, this course is grounded in a reading of place—the Andes—as a method itself (Tuck and McKenzie, 2014). As an interdisciplinary course, we will be drawing from various frameworks, including those from political theory, sociology, and cultural analysis. Moreover, the course will rely on a mix of primary and secondary sources, and analyze radical expressions in various forms including performance, texts, art and social movements. In this way, students will not only be learning about this radical tradition but also learning with and from the Andean Radical Tradition. Course objectives include:

- Developing a general grasp of radical archiving and counter-reading

- Understanding the historical conditions that colonization created in the Andes.
- Collectively read the critical inquires and practices of refusal that took place over time as a radical tradition
- Analyze the ways in which different forms of expression become collective refusal or enunciation of difference
- Acquire a general understanding of the various ways the Andean Radical Tradition has been expressed, including anti-colonial, Marxism, and the politics of Pachamama.

IMPORTANT UPENN DATES

<u>Drop Period Ends</u>	February 27
<u>Spring Break</u>	March 2-10
<u>Advance Registration for Fall Term</u>	March 25 – April 8

SECTION REQUIREMENTS & GRADE DISTRIBUTION

Students will have the following specific requirements:

• Attendance	20
• Participation	20
• Thematic Group Presentation	10
• Five Thematic Essays	50

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Attendance

Our collective work depends on the active participation of us all. Therefore, all unexcused absences will need to be made up. Please email me as early as possible for any necessary accommodation and/or anticipated absences. If additional access needs are required, please reach out to me so that I may make the appropriate and necessary adjustments to our course.

Participation

Beyond the normative call and response Socratic model, our class will rely on a decentralized model or collective learning, meaning students will assume the role of co-facilitators. We all read material differently, based upon our experiential and formally acquired knowledges. Thus, your role as a co-facilitator will be to provide supplemental research, guiding questions and present on the readings of the week. The purpose of this structure is to provide students with invaluable experience to facilitate discussion, a skill of utmost importance for research groups, activist spaces and graduate school.

Thematic Group Presentation

The final presentation will be a critical comparative engagement with one of the thematic axes. Students will be split into groups at the start of the semester and synthesize our discussion in a short presentation at the end of the conclusion of the thematic axis. Students will draw from the theorists and readings to provide a critical overview, presenting key ideas, interventions, and concluding questions and thoughts from the readings.

Thematic Essays

Students will submit five 3-page minimum double-spaced essays in the semester. While each essay will be anchored in one thematic axis, essays should ultimately serve as interlocking elements of Indigeneity as understood by the student. Students will be able to choose from ten topics and submit essays on a rolling basis.

OTHER COURSE ELEMENTS

Online Forum

The course will rely on an open online forum where we will share follow-up questions, supplemental readings, respective commentaries and more. Keep in mind that your contributions to this forum will be considered when tabulating final grades.

Seminar

Following the Freirean model, this part of the class will be a critically engaging, student-driven dialogue with the topics and practices covered that week. Students are encouraged to bring forth personal experience as well as share any inquisitive explorations of the material at hand. Breaking from the conventional style of teaching, the goal here is to bring out a thinking “from below” by “flattening” the conventional spaces for knowledge sharing and informative exchanges. As a reminder, theory is intertwined with praxis, some argue it is part of the same, thus we will strive to cultivate a space which blurs the boundaries of “formal learning” and the personal.

COMMUNITY NORMS

In addition to the policies and procedures of the University of Pennsylvania, this section will uphold a tolerant and safe space for discussions, debates, and inquiry through set ground rules or community norms. There is zero-tolerance for intolerant or hateful speech against any person or group based upon their race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, sex, class, physical/mental abilities, or other marginalized identities. Individual expression will not come at the expense of the well-being of others.

A consensus on community norms will be established in the classroom. As a starting point, the following can be considered:

- ☐ Listen attentively -- value each speaker's input.
- ☐ Be conscious of your positionality -- recognize the place of privilege you're speaking from
- ☐ A classroom where many ideas can fit -- remember that there are many different ways of knowing
- ☐ Be careful of negating others' experiences
- ☐ Be aware of how much space you are occupying
- ☐ Think collectively -- we are not in competition with one another

CLASS SCHEDULE & ASSIGNED READINGS*

*Note: Readings subject to change upon instructor and class discretion

Thematic Axis I *Introduction*

The Andes is well known as the longest mountain range in the world. It runs alongside the western side of the south American continent, stretching from Venezuela down the spine of the continent into Argentina. Its name derives from the term *anti suyú*, the eastern edge of the Incan world. While resistance predates the arrival of the Spanish, the long conquest of the Incan empire (1532-1572) would ultimately produce a collective identity that would in turn inform an Andean Indigeneity. The shared historical struggles would engender an enunciation of difference behind the refusal to submit to the colonial condition.

We begin this course by presenting a historical and theoretical context of the Andes and the general framing for what make a radical tradition. We start this first week by examining some of the realities of the Andes' colonial condition before reviewing our general framework and key guiding questions.

WEEK 1: Radical Andes

Following our introductions, we will go over a snapshot of the Andes' historical and contemporary forms of resistance, posing questions about how to collectively read them

Key terms: Quechua, Wiphala, Aymara, Tawantinsuyu

18 January, Thursday Introduction to the Andes and Conceptualizing a 'Radical Tradition

Engaging with guiding frameworks and questions:

- What is the historical and contemporary colonial reality of the Andes?
- What do we mean by a 'Radical Tradition?'
- What do we mean by archiving? Are we actually archiving?

Case study: [Taki onqoy](#) [Revoluciones](#)

WEEK 2: *Qelqaysimta* as a Mode of Resistance

The encounter between the Spanish conquistadors and Incan society can only be summarized as an upheaval given that it upended the old order. The conquest was not simply a one-off event but a long process, full of contradictions and contesting narratives. We kick-off our exploration of the Andean Radical Tradition with what is considered to be the first account of the conquest as told by Tuti Cusi, the penultimate ruler of the resistance against Spanish Conquest.

Key Terms: Pachakutic, Ayllu,

23 Jan

Continuing the conceptualization of the Andes: Historical overview and profile of the Andes, including an account of conquest.

~~“Chapter 7: Urban Baroque” in *A Very Short Introduction to Colonial Literature*~~

“Introduction” and “Contradicting the Chronicles of Conquest” in *Guaman Poma and his illustrated chronicle from colonial Peru* by Rolena Adorno

Letter to a King **Chapters TBD**

Further Reading:

Resistance Literature by Barbara Harlow

25 Jan

Pages 1 – 48 in *An Inca account of the conquest of Peru*

“Literacy as anti-culture” in *Exploring the senses in history and across cultures*

Thematic Axis II *Anti-Colonial Resistance*

Some of the first collective expressions of resistance in the Andes were anti-colonial struggles. As we saw in the previous week, the cataclysmic racial order brought about by colonialism inadvertently led to a collective identity expressed through struggle. The emergence of the racial caste, introduced to the region by the Spanish, upended the Andean world, folding the vast cultures of the region into *indios*. While this created a new subjugated racialized class of conquered peoples it also led to the emergence of a collective identity. Guiding Questions for this axis:

- What guiding forces drove these anti-colonial movements?
- What were their goals and motivations?
- How did they disrupt the social order?

WEEK 3: Bartolina Sisa and Tupac Katari (Historical)

For over one-hundred days, La Paz, the capital of Upper Peru (Bolivia), was besieged by insurrectionist rebels lead by Bartolina Sisa and Tupac Katari. The uprising led by these Aymara-Quechua rebels was the culmination of decades of insurrections and rebellions, many of which sought to overturn the colonial order. This week we examine the rebellion and later place it within the context of Bolivian Indigenous resistance today.

Key Terms: Tiwanaku, Aymara,

30 Jan

Chapter 1 and 5 in *We alone will rule: native Andean politics in the age of insurgency*

1 Feb

Chapter 6 in *We alone will rule: native Andean politics in the age of insurgency*

[“Roots and Resistance: The Bartolina Sisa Women’s Movement in Bolivia”](#)

Further Reading:

The Peasant Women’s Movement in Bolivia: “Bartolina Sisa” and COCAMTROP in *Rural Social Movements in Latin America*

WEEK 4: ALL EYEZ ON ME: The Tupac Rebellion

In 1780, the largest anti-colonial insurrection to take place in the western hemisphere began with the execution of a local authority. Over the next three years, the southern Andes played host to a long protracted struggle that sought to transform the region. Led by an afro-Indigenous military strategist, Bartolina Sisa, and her husband Tupac Amaru, the rebellion became an affront to colonial dominance, leaving behind a rich legacy of resistance.

Key Terms:

6 Feb

“Introduction” in *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*

8 Feb

Chapters 1 -3 in *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*

[“I WILL RETURN AND I WILL BE MILLIONS!” THE MANY LIVES OF TÚPAC AMARU](#)

“Conclusion: The Legacy of Tupac Amaru” in *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*

WEEK 5: The Long Memory of Anti-Colonial Resistances: A Gendered Perspective

Turning our focus to Andean feminisms, this week we look at the legacies and symbols of resistance that have been carried on by Andean women in struggle. We begin our exploration of examining the legacy of anti-colonial insurrections in collective memories and desires, serving as important tools in the repertoire of the politics of refusal. In our second class we center Andean feminism, bringing focus to the image and politics of Andean womanhood.

Key Terms:

13 Feb

“The Inheritance of Resistance Indigenous” by Manuela L. Picq

“Peasant women's agency in Bolivia during the global recession” in *Global Women's Work: Perspectives on Gender and Work in the Global Economy*

****Breakout Session****

[Examine La Trenza Insurrecta](#) and [MapaMundi](#)

15 Feb

"Anarchisms Otherwise: Pedagogies of Anarco-Indigenous Feminist Critique." By Macarena Gómez-Barris

Listen: [luzmila Carpio](#)

Watch: [MONTAÑAS](#)

Thematic Axis III

Political Expressions: Indigenismo and Andean Marxism

As in other places around the world, Marxism has been incorporated to express various forms of radicalism. Above all, Marxist thought and critique has played an influential role in defining Andean radical thought in the early 20th century. Applied to the Andean condition, political theorists in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru have drawn from it to understand the social, political and economic realities of their respective societies. For much of its early history in the Andes and broader Latin America, Marxism was transposed, that is, simply applied to the Latin American condition while recycling many of its categories and concepts. In the early 20th century, Marxist thinkers gave rise to the *Indigenismo* or Indigenism, a cultural, political and social movement that drew from ideas and notions of Indigenous struggles. This week we explore some of its central tenets and look at how ethnicity and class simultaneously inform indigenismo.

WEEK 6: Introduction to Indigenismo

Indigenismo is arguably one of the most influential and longest lasting political, social, and cultural movements in the Andes and Latin America. In some ways the critical consciousness of mestizaje, as it blends cultural and political expressions. This week we open with a general overview of the movement to look at its foundation, aims, and vision of social transformation.

Key Terms: Marxism, Class, Indigenismo,

20 Feb

“Pan-American Indigenismo (1940–1970)”

“Indigenismo”

22 Feb

“Indigenism in Peru and Bolivia.” in Latin American and Latinx Philosophy: A Collaborative Introduction

Watch/listen:

[On Indigenous philosophy and Marxism](#)

WEEK 7: *Indigenismo Pt2: The Problem of Representing the Other*

Taking a critical look at Indigenismo, this week we examine the Indigenista gaze or Indigenous representation in cultural production. While a form of empowerment, what is the impact of speaking for the other?

Key Terms: Politics of Recognition, Subaltern,

27 Feb

The Andes Imagined: Indigenismo, Society, and Modernity **Chapters TBD**

29 Feb

“Conclusion” in “The Andes Imagined: Indigenismo, Society, and Modernity”

Watch: *Utama* and *Winaypacha*

Further Reading:

Red Skins, White Masks by Glen Coulthard

"Can the Subaltern Be Heard?": Political Theory, Translation, Representation, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

*****Spring Break March 2-10*****

WEEK 9: Jose Carlos Mariategui

Despite only living until the age of 35, Mariategui produced an immense amount of work. His writings on the Peruvian reality, Latin America, Marxism and Imperialism have been highly influential and are still read today. This week we dive into his work and how he understood the role of Indigenous people in Latin America's social and political transformation.

Key Terms: Inkan Socialism, Amauta,

12 Mar

“José Carlos Mariátegui Was the Great Pioneer of Latin American Marxism” and “*The Contributions of Jose Carlos Maritegui to Revolutionary Theory*”

Watch: [Filosofía Aquí y Ahora](#)

14 Mar

José Carlos Mariátegui: An Anthology Chapters TBD

“*Mariátegui and Gramsci in “Latin” America*” in *The Postcolonial Gramsci*

Thematic Axis IV

Andean Power

The notion of power is at the core of any radical tradition. How is power defined? Who wields it? What relationship should one have to power? In this axis we explore the question of power from the Andean perspective. This week we look at how the Andean thinkers preoccupied with these questions how generally frame it around the state, the political entity most associated with power. We examine the case of Bolivia as the “first” Indigenous state in the Americas. Later, we explore some contradictions, debates, and nuances to dive deeper into the nature of power as it relates to Andean Indigeneity.

WEEK 10: Decolonizing the State?

In 2005, Evo Ayma Morales became the first Indigenous-Aymara president of Bolivia. A former leader of the *cocalero* movement, the ascendance of the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) represented a kind of break from neoliberalism. Along with his running mate, Alvaro Garcia Linera, a mestizo Marxist intellectual, they sought to redefine the state along principles that brought together marxism with indigenismo.

Key Terms: Decolonization, MAS,

19 Mar

Plebeian Power: Collective Action and Indigenous, Working-Class and Popular Identities in Bolivia Chapters TBD

“Introduction” in *Bolivia's Radical Tradition: Permanent Revolution in the Andes*

21 Mar - Guest Speaker: New Amauta

[New Amauta on Plurinationalism](#)

“The Emergence of Indigenous Nationalism in Bolivia” in *The Indigenous State*”

WEEK 11: Katarismo

Drawing from the “long memory” of anti-colonial struggle, the Katarista movement in Bolivia represented a new way of doing politics. With various branches and political projects, it used the symbolism of Tupac Katari’s movement to inform a new Indigenous reality and relationship to power. This week we explore the Katarist movement, outlining some of its critical foundation, goals, and political projects

Key Terms:

26 Mar

Pg 149 -178 in *Mestizaje upside-down: aesthetic politics in modern Bolivia*.

28 Mar

[“The manifesto of Tihuanaco”](#)

“Horizons of Memory” and “In the Time of the Pachakuti” in *The Bolivia Reader*”

WEEK 12: Fausto Reinaga and Indianism

Not to be confused with Indigenism (indigenismo) of the earlier century, Indianism was an idea put forth by the Aymara-Quechua thinker, Fausto Reinaga. Indianism reclaimed and reaffirmed the cultural practices and ways of being Indian. In many ways it was an anti-colonial movement to reclaim Indigeneity through self-determination not through the voice of others. This week we explore Indianism and locate its radical elements.

Key Terms:

2 Apr

“Iconoclast and Prophet” in *The Bolivia Reader*

"Fanon in the Andes: Fausto Reinaga, Indianismo, and the Black Atlantic."

4 Apr

[“The Legibility of Fausto Reinaga”](#)

“Nationalism and revolution in Fausto Reinaga’s Bolivia: Indianism, decolonization, and ‘Two Bolivias’”

Thematic Axis V

Beyond Philosophy: Andean Lifeways and

Pachamama Politics

We conclude with the work of Andean thinkers who have taken a critical rupture from universalism and drawn from ancestral practices to forge different kinds of political expressions as a form of resisting the colonial condition. Many of them draw and develop terms from Aymara and Quechua to introduce various expressions and practices of resistance premised on a uniquely Andean worldview. In this axis we profile a few Andean thinkers through which we study and analyze Andean proposals and critical expressions of difference.

WEEK 13: Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui

One of the most influential thinkers of anti-colonial and critical thought, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has thought from her own positionality as mestiza (mixed) woman. She was presented a critical inversion of political thought to not only contextualize the Bolivian reality but subjugation more broadly. Her work draws from Quechua, Aymara, and Western Worldviews to articulate the modern political condition.

Key terms: Ch'ixi,

9 Apr

"Everything is Up for Discussion: A Conversation with Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui: VOLUME 40, ISSUE 4, 2009."

11 Apr

"Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: A Reflection on the Practices and Discourses of Decolonization1." in *Key texts for Latin American sociology*

Watch: [Historias debidas VIII: Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui](#)

Further Reading:

Cusicanqui, Silvia Rivera. "Amo la Montaña/I Love the Mountain." *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry* 44.1 (2017): 144-149.

Grosfoguel, Ramón. "Epistemic Extractivism: A Dialogue with Alberto Acosta, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui." *Knowledges born in the struggle*. Routledge, 2019. 203-218.

WEEK 14: Hugo Blanco

One of the forgotten revolutionaries of the late 20th century, Hugo Blanco embodies the Zapatista practice of 'caminar preguntando,' or walking while asking questions. Beginning his political life as a campesino organize during the time of the haciendado, Blanco's political journey took him through Trotskyism, electoral politics, and, in his latest evolution, the politics

of pachamama. This week we examine his life as a lens from which to see the development of autochthonous an organic politics while drawing lessons for struggles today.

Key Terms: campesino, pachamama, agronomy, Sendero Luminoso

16 Apr

“Walking Alongside an Andean Radical in Times of Revolt in Peru.”

We the Indians: The Indigenous Peoples of Peru and the Struggle for Land. Chapters TBD

18 Apr

Watch: *Rios Profundos*

WEEK 15: Mujeres Creando, Maria Galinda and Final Thoughts

Before wrapping up our course, we turn to the anarcho Indigenous collective Mujeres Creando and the work of Maria Galindo in Bolivia. Reclaiming the public domain for political self-expression, Mujeres Creando disrupts various dominant narratives, most notably the male-centric state and political system. We then wrap up the course we a recap and coda.

Key Terms:

23 Apr

[“Evo Morales and the Phallic Decolonization of the Bolivian State.”](#)

“The Homogeneity in Feminism Bores Us; Unusual Alliances Need to Be Formed”

Watch [Global Art Mujeres Creando](#)

Further Reading:

25 Apr Wrap up on the Andean Radical Tradition

Final Due

APPENDIX

RESOURCES AND ACCOMODATIONS