

Indian separatism in Ibero-America: the politics of 'fang and claw'

by Gretchen Small

In the world of today, there are two systems, two different, irreconcilable "ways of life." The Indian world—collective, communal, human, respectful of nature and wise—and the Western world—greedy, destructive, individualist and the enemy of Mother Nature. . . .

Distilled to its basic terms, European faith, including the new faith in science, equals a belief that man is god. . . . American Indians know this to be totally absurd. Humans are the weakest of all creatures. . . . Humans are only able to survive through the exercise of rationality since they lack the abilities of other creatures to gain food through the use of fang and claw. But rationality is a curse since it can cause humans to forget the natural order of things. . . .

Statement on Indian Philosophy,
1981 U.N. Conference on Indigenous Peoples
and the Land,
Geneva, Switzerland

The characteristic trait of Latin America today is the broad incorporation of the indigenous masses into the liberation movement. . . . The solution to the Indigenist problem should not be put off until the victory of socialism. The struggle has already begun, and only in its course will it be possible to create a broad front of democratic forces capable of opening the way to resolve the Indian problem, and other nationalist questions, within the framework of a single multinational state.

Anatoli Shulgovski, Director, Political and
Social Problems Division, Latin America Institute,
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences,
December 1982

On Jan. 12, 1984, a gang of Sendero Luminoso terrorists entered the home of the mother of the mayor of Colcabamba, Peru. The woman's son, Mayor Victor Espinoza Arevalo, had refused to resign his post following several demands

that he do so by Sendero Luminoso. Sendero responded: His mother was tied to her chair, set on fire, and burnt alive.

Such bestiality is the hallmark of the new phase of the Nazi-Soviet-sponsored "liberation movement" rapidly expanding across Ibero-America today: the politics of "fang and claw," in the name of "Indian separatism."

Eighty million immiserated Indians in Ibero-America have been targeted for recruitment as cannon-fodder for a war against Western civilization led by the Nazi International and allied Russian imperialists. The unifying principle behind this alliance is a common hatred of Western civilization; its logistical and operational base is the empire of "narcoterrorism" seizing the region. Its goal is the destruction of any sovereign nation-state on the continent.

"The Shining Path of Jose Carlos Mariategui" of Peru, Sendero Luminoso, is exemplary. Sendero Luminoso surfaced as an active terrorist movement in 1980, initiating operations in the feudal-structured rural area of Ayacucho, Peru—an area which produces coca leaves for some of the highest grade cocaine in the world. Peruvian government officials charge that Sendero Luminoso is funded and armed by drug-runners; many of its operations have been directed at defending drug operatives and capabilities. Peruvian intelligence officials point to the magnitude of Sendero's actions—at times some 2,000 Senderistas have carried out actions simultaneously around Peru—as demonstrating an in-depth capability which only the drug-trafficking apparatus maintains in Peru.

The origins of Sendero trace back to the anthropology and sociology departments of the University of Huamanga, in the capital of the Ayacucho province. The university maintained an activist "outreach" program infiltrating radical anthropologists into the social structures of every town and village where Sendero Luminoso later appeared. Abiel Guzman, the alleged founder of Sendero, taught for years in the university's anthropology department.

The ideology of the group is a curious mixture of communist thought and the belief structure of the pre-Inca Wari Indian empire, the latter replicated in magical death-cult rituals. Sendero terrorist raids are timed to correspond to

both the Wari lunar calendar and the cocaine growing season, Peruvian intelligence agencies report. Proclaiming themselves followers of Pol Pot, the radical Maoist under whose dictatorship nearly one-half the population of Cambodia was exterminated, Sendero Luminoso asserts that its goal is to defend the "poor and oppressed Indians" of Peru.

By 1983, Sendero's terrorist operations had expanded to include the majority of Peruvian territory, with isolated actions also reported in Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia under their name. In Lima, 262 terrorist actions were carried out in 1983, and in two separate instances, Sendero struck simultaneously at the key points of the country's electrical grid, blacking out up to one-third of Peru, including the capital, for nearly 24 hours.

Indian Council of South America

The same year that Sendero Luminoso surfaced as a terrorist movement, 1980, an umbrella organization for continental "Indian liberation" was founded, the Indian Council of South America (CISA); its battle-cry was war against the nation-state. Representatives from Indian separatist and activist groups from around the continent, including Mexico and Central America, met in Ollantaytambo, Peru to plan a strategy to "seize power."

CISA's Alternate Coordinator Salvador Palomino Flores, claiming to represent some 30 million Indians, told the International U.N. Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land, in Geneva, Switzerland in Sept. 1981: "We, the Indian peoples in South America, are beginning to organize ourselves . . . to be a political force, to make a program in order to take power. . . . We have not had independence yet. That independence [gained in the 1820s—ed.] did not mean freedom for us, the Indian peoples, but rather greater repression."

At the March, 1983 Second Congress of South American Indian Peoples, an organization sponsored by CISA and held outside La Paz, Bolivia, CISA representatives reported the successful completion of initial phases of organization. Expansion operations across the continent, recruitment of youth and training for both urban and rural "liberation" movements were announced as the next phase of "Indian" operations.

Warfare on the nation-state was declared at that Congress. "We do not recognize borders, in order to gain the unity of our nations and peoples divided by them," declared the Commission on Territorial Rights from the Second CISA Congress. "The alternative is: the taking of power by the Indian in the countries where we are the majority, and the conquest of national and cultural autonomy where we are the minority."

The most violent statement against the nation-states of the region was presented as a motion before the CISA Congress by a Peruvian organization calling itself "Amaro Runa." Raising the banner of Tupac Amaru, the 18th-century Jesuit-controlled Inca warlord who led a racial uprising, Amaro Runa, called for the "the banners of the Andean, Incan,

Fatherland, and Nation" to be raised, inviting "all political groupings to form a broad front of Andean Nationalists." The motion described the nations of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador as "*criollo* [mixed-blood] colonialist states, raised upon the sacking of the Incan Nation," and stated that "the U.S., as all the rest of the *criolla* republics of America, whether Anglo-Saxon or Latin, are mere colonial instruments of Western or Euro-Asiatic imperialism" which should be "liberated."

Amaro Runa called for two strategies to implement the needed "process of national Andean restructuring": the creation of "resistance zones" in the Andean highlands, and the "process of national Andean Liberation which takes place primarily in the cities created by the *criollo* colonialists . . . the Revolution of Workers-Communards and Peasants."

The CISA Congress defined the terms of Indian separatist coordination with other "liberation" movements: "Indian liberation is intimately linked to the liberation battle which all Indian and non-Indian peoples wage. There is only one path: unity of all the oppressed and humiliated forces," concluded the Organization and Policy Commission of CISA at the Congress.

Alliances with the "honest Marxist-Leninist left" were welcomed, provided the left rejects "the paternalism of the West," with its technological-industrial orientation. This the communists were only too happy to do, opening the door for full Soviet backing for the separatists.

The fascist concept of *Indianidad*

"Let us organize and prepare ourselves physically and ideologically so that when we install our peoples in power, we totally change the juridical and governmental system: In power, we will change the Western System and Thought." That battlecry, expressed by the Territorial Rights Commission, was repeated in virtually every commission of the Congress.

The *Indianidad* counterposed as the alternate "civilization" to the Western system is premised upon a rejection of human reason; man is nothing more than an animal, less powerful than his fellows. In large part, the Conclusions of CISA's Commission on the Philosophy and Ideology of *Indianidad* are lifted from the above-cited declaration of "fang and claw" presented at the 1981 Geneva International Conference. It is pagan worship of Mother Earth. "Man owes his existence and condition to Mother Nature . . . all the vital cosmic force is 'father and mother' of man, and all living beings are: brother plants, brother animals, and similar brother men," CISA states. "Religion as a mode of being or line of individual spirituality does not exist and will never exist for us Indians. For the Indian, religion lies in respect and comprehension of the environment which surrounds us."

Indianidad, as there defined, is an ideology appropriate for mass brainwashing of bestial terrorism as practiced by Sendero Luminoso: "Life and death are for us only a constant change between the simple elements (inorganic) and the complex elements (organic), and vice versa, in Mother Earth.

Death is no terror for us Indians, many of us wait for it with great joy as a return to Mother Nature to emerge once again forming new lives."

Indianidad's glorification of peasant backwardness provides the ideological cover for the genocidal austerity policies being imposed on Ibero-America, and on Indian communities there in particular, by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Indians must reject "the uncontrollable development of destructive and anti-human technology," declares CISA, and must struggle instead "for the defense and recovery of Mother Earth and the development of communitarian and collectivist culture."

It is a fundamental Indian "right," says CISA's Cultural and Scientific Rights Commission, not to "use artificial fertilizers and insecticides because they degenerate and denaturalize food products. . . . Implementation of soft technologies with low ecological impact, intensive use of local natural resources and manpower whose utilization does not demand specialized knowledge" is presented as a maximum right for those who live on the Guajira peninsula by the Yanama organization. Modern medicine is considered a threat to *Indianidad*. Needless to say, the assault on nuclear energy is considered a central issue for this Indian movement.

Yet mixed in with its anti-technology diatribes, CISA proclaims it an urgent necessity "to accelerate projects to install radio transmitters with international reach" in CISA centers, calling the possession of "our own radio . . . an indispensable instrument or weapon in the fight for liberation."

Perhaps this has something to do with the logistics of the drug trade, and CISA's defense of the coca leaf as "one of the cultural values most immersed in the Andean ceremonial and ritual world." CISA justifies the mass addiction to coca leaves in the Andean highlands, introduced originally to dull the hunger of the Indian slaves working the mines during the Hapsburg reign and continuing to do so today, with the same arguments used then: Coca serves as "an energizer for work, as a medicine, to combat fatigue, to kill hunger." The "cultural" argument is then used to justify violent opposition to those proposing the elimination of the coca and cocaine crops in the highlands.

CISA's origins

CISA's parents were the "action anthropologists" of the Nazi International's Society for Endangered Peoples and its collaborators in the Soviet Union's Latin American and Ethnography Institutes. The Society for Endangered Peoples, based in West Germany, combines "left-wing" ideologues with self-professed fascists, and describes itself as dedicated to "advancing the struggle of indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities." It coordinates separatist movements in Europe ranging from the Basques to the Armenians.

CISA functions as the South American branch of these "action anthropology" networks. Its delegates regularly attend the international meetings of the Indian terrorist movement: the International Indian Treaty Council, a series of

United Nation's sponsored International Conferences on Indigenous Peoples and Land, the American Indian Movement, the Canadian-based World Council of Indigenous Peoples. The American connection to the Society for Endangered Peoples, Cultural Survival, states outright that it "provides the core support, plus funds and technical assistance" for the Ecuadorian Indian confederations represented on CISA's Coordinating Council.

Soviet imperial model

Soviet official state support for the Indian separatism movement in Ibero-America is based precisely on its violent rejection of Western civilization, the central subject of the December 1982 article by Anatoli Shulgovski cited at the opening of this article.

In his piece, appearing in the Latin America Institute's monthly magazine, *America Latina*, this top Soviet "Latin-Americanologist," argues that an "affinity" has existed between Latin American "advanced and progressive" thinkers and Soviet socialism since the 1920s, centered around their similar roots as *communal-based* feudal societies, equally rejecting Western capitalism. Mexican fascist philosopher, José Vasconcelos, who in his famous work *La Raza Cosmica* argued the superiority of the emerging "mestizo race" in Ibero-America, and the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, Jose Carlos Mariategui, a follower of Italian fascist philosopher Benedetto Croce, best represent this communal, race-centered tradition, Shulgovski states.

Shulgovski targets for destruction the opposing historical current in Ibero-America, the idea of a community of principle of republics associated, on the U.S. side, with the Monroe Doctrine of John Quincy Adams. Two conceptions of Latin American integration have existed historically in the region: 'Bolívarianism' and 'Monroe-ism,' *America Latina* argues. Simon Bolívar, in Shulgovski's definition, is "Latin America's Robespierre," and "Bolívarian" integration, a model of loosely-united "nationalities." The resolution of the nationalities question of the Russian Empire through the creation of a "single multinational state" in the U.S.S.R. is presented as a model by Shulgovski for Ibero-America to resolve its own "nationalities question."

Cited is Alejandro Lipshutz, a Chilean-Latvian communist, in his 1974 book *Marx and Lenin in Latin America and the Indigenist Problem*: "Our *mapuches*, *quechuas*, and *aimaras* in Peru and Bolivia, the diverse Indian groups in Mexico and in many other republics, will follow the same path as the nations or tribes in the soil of the ancient czarist Empire. There will be in our America '*comarcas*,' or autonomous republics of *araucanos*, *quechuas*, *aimaras*, *mayas*. . . ."

It is no surprise, then, to find Shulgovski singling out Nilo Cequeyano, a founding member of the Executive Committee of CISA, for praise as a leading figure within the Indian movement arguing for a "frank and honest dialogue with the Marxists."