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Inca Sí, Indio No: Communicative Realities of Original Peoples' Experiences in Perú and American Indians in the United States

"This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou takest from me.
...
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king: and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' the island."
- *Caliban, The Tempest*

INTRODUCTION

Four hundred years before the international spotlight turned to the fight for indigenous rights, decades before the New World became a permanent fixture of common knowledge, William Shakespeare allowed for the perspective of the 'noble savage' Caliban to speak to his captors and to the Globe's audience. However, even this portrayal fell short, as Caliban became a drunkard who committed to the bumbling villains of The Tempest. By the end, Caliban's role is again relegated as secondary, written and performed by his captors.

This is a struggle indigenous communities know all too well. Many indigenous communities have seen themselves destroyed, diminished, or having to adapt within a new world that seems to offer no space for them. However, the full depth of this experience comes from exploring the communicative strategies surrounding the indigenous experience, as an exploration of just how socio-cultural and governmental actors rhetorically alter or preserve the existence of

indigenous populations. Therefore, it will be beneficial to explore, with Perú and the United States as models, just how the current context was created by communicative strategies beginning first as post-independence movements altered societal conceptions of indigenous peoples, then how more recently governments have capitalized upon that identity or acknowledged previous wrongdoings, and finally exploring current communicative strategies these peoples are using to fight back and reclaim the space that was once theirs, both metaphysical and rhetorical. We can discover, so to speak, how Caliban was constructed and what role we play in truly creating a space for Caliban the advocate, or conversely, propagating Caliban the fiend.

For the purpose of this paper, we will assume that epistemology presupposes metaphysics, in the sense of identity being constructed if one has learned or understands a specific concept of identity (so, in a cogito ergo sum way, if we doubt our identity as X it puts our existence as X in peril, and if we have never learned or conceived of being X, even if physically we have elements of X, we might not necessarily be X if the societal/epistemological conditions aren't there).

PERU CONTEXT

Before beginning the discussion on Perú, it is important to begin with another rhetorical reframing: that of changing the term indigenous or Indians, to original peoples (pueblos originarios). Though the story is well known, of how "the Spanish at the time of the Conquest, call these peoples – who were part of the Inca Empire and had with the empire a tribute-based relation – «indios»" (Remy 7), this is still a name ascribed upon them. During my personal interview with Ketty Marcelo Lopez of the Asháninka people, the president of ONAMIAP, the

National Organization of Indigenous Andean and Amazon Women, she asked me to not call them ‘pueblos indígenas’ but ‘pueblos originarios’ (Marcelo López). This allows us to, at least during my personal assertions within this paper in contrast to cited sources, remove the colonialist legacy of those who were named without a say, and transfer at least that much agency when reading about them.

When discussing the original peoples of Perú, this can mean two overarching groups: the Andean original peoples who had been more in contact with European forces, saw more overt domination, and attempts of integration to Peruvian society; and the Amazonian original peoples, which have remained more removed since the time of the Incas and the conquest, with around 13 tribes that still live outside of Peruvian jurisdiction. The Spanish forces that colonized Perú followed the same approach as the French in their approach to the peoples there, by going forward and intermarrying/procreating with them (Pauls). There wasn’t a strict social divide that forbade contact, and so this demographical aspect also present in other Latin American nations permeates even today.

Within Perú, the indigenous population represents “14% of the national population- or more than 4 million persons who belong to some 55 different indigenous peoples… 46.5 percent has no kind of health insurance, and 19.4 percent stated that they were unable to read or write” (“Indigenous Peoples in Peru”). The Peruvian original peoples’ experience as described above is similar to that of the rest of Latin America, since being part of this group “is equivalent to being amongst the lowest of the social strata and with the highest levels of poverty and societal delay, including educational delays” (Oliart). Numbers back this assertion up, as, in Perú, “the indigenous people of our country are the face of poverty. 75% of them are paid less than two dollars a day. This socioeconomic condition shows, according to the U.N, that being indigenous

means being poor" (Palacios). This poverty is deeply tied to legal issues that have marred the existence of original peoples, as they have seen their land (as their only source of income), be taken away from them:

> "the populations of indigenous communities constitute an extreme example of the country's social exclusion and fragmentation. Their rights to the land they occupy and resources in that land are affected majorly by policies that favor the presence of large private industries that in many cases invade those lands with no repercussions, eat up their natural resources and contaminate their water" (Oliart).

Their poverty and their lack of power has been crafted through social and governmental exclusion and racism.

Nonetheless, this hasn't precluded society at large or politicians from banking on the glorified past of the nation's history, as

> "Paying rhetorical homage to Peru's Incaic roots has long been prominent in the political discourses of even the most aristocratic and evidently non-indigenous Peruvian ideologues, nation-makers and indigenista intellectuals. Historian Cecilia Méndez aptly describes how the political elite has historically constructed Peruvian nationalism with constant rhetorical praise for the purity of the Inca past. Implicit in this, she perceptively adds, is the disparagement of assimilated present-day indigenous people. Peru's nationalist ideology, she says, is best captured in the phrase "Incas sí, indios no" ("Incas yes, Indians no")" (Greene).

This, then, will be the major crux of the Perú section of the paper, trying to ascertain how communicative strategies from the societal and governmental sides reframe the glorious Inca past as one to aspire towards, while also rejecting current original peoples' identity and experience.

POST-INDEPENDENCE AND ITS ALTERING OF COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

The origins of the communicated identity of original peoples comes in two ways: first, in the unofficial rhetorical/representational, "under the understanding that these representations are

not contrapositions to reality but rather symbolic strategies working to organize a social structure and construct the identities of various distinct groups within it," (Yvinec) and second, through the more official legal/governmental representation or recognition.

With the arrival of the Spanish, the original peoples' identity was lost: though it was back then based upon language and tribes, Amazon and Andes, the Spanish moved to alter this reality: from the Spanish placing the name (or misnomer) 'Indios', to a tribute system of working the fields that amounted to slavery, to Spanishizing the original peoples by forcing them to not speak their tongue (Marcelo López), the original peoples of Perú had neither the Inca past to keep going, nor an updated or independent identity. Instead, it's the fathers of the independence movement who initially revive the "indio of the past", by calling back to an identification with a shared past that is in contrast to rule/identity under the Spanish crown. This, then, becomes the first example of how the Inca sí axiom is communicated as a rallying cause, but the actual 'indio' reality is rejected or misunderstood. Born out of revolution and war, that communicative strategy will continue to be used in later decades:

> "In the political sphere, this appeal to the Inca past is constant in the partisan press, not just the patriotic press of the War for Independence as many historians have already stated, but also in the opinion newspapers of previous years, which would appear counter-intuitive. In the years 1830-1840, the caudillos in power used references to the «soil of the Incas» in international conflicts to exalt nationalism – while their very enemies bunkered down in the territory of the ancient *Tawantinsuyu* [Inca kingdom] – just as they also would reference the «wise laws of the Incas» in national conflicts to justify their projects – whether they were conservatives (Gamarra, Salaverry) or liberals (Orbegoso)… the return to hispanicism didn't impede the frequent resurgence of an appeal to the Inca past, in particular during the war against Spain in 1865, or during any national ceremony" (Yvinec).

The Independence movement sees initial hopes to transform the existence and identity of original peoples, though it is not as effective. Days after the success of the independence movement, "[José de] San Martín decreed that «no longer would they be denominated

aborigines, indians, or natives» but rather «Peruvians», as they were «children and citizens of Perú»… which brought together then white and indigenous populations into a singular nation" (Yvinec) Simon Bolivar similarly participates in this attempt to create a new national, unified identity that reinvents original peoples. "Basing it off the modern concept of the citizen-individual… they promulgated a series of decreed suppressing all colonial difference between indios and non-indios: abolition of forced work, of the tribute system… reinstatement of private property" (Yvinec).

These initiatives seem to be beneficial and egalitarian, but are in fact disastrous. In regards to the tribute system, "that contribution was 80% of the money the State used to pay off its debts" (Remy 8) as well as wresting away the little legal safeguards original peoples might have over the land that was once theirs. Similarly, the rhetorical reframing of 'indios' as 'Peruanos' comes from an already dangerous place: during colonial times, for example,

> "so the priests didn't have to learn 17 tongues to indoctrinate those indios», since all the 'pueblos' had preserved their original tongues under the *Tawantinsuyo*, a general language is imposed: quechua. The entire territory is quechua-ized, with the exception of the aymara 'pueblos', who arrange a special treatment" (8)

So not only do original peoples see a loss of their heritage as communicated through their original tongues, now they are not even allowed to be recognized as fundamentally different from anyone of European blood. This, then, begins the framework of the appeal to the Inca past (as seen during the fights for the independence movement), while subsuming the 'indio' to the new nation.

Around fifty years after the independence movement, there come more changes that further entrench this idea of the 'Inca si, indio no'. Though the tribute system had been re-imposed after Bolivar left Perú, in 1851 president Castilla, when Perú is wealthy thanks to the exporting of guano from its islands, ends the colonial continuity of the tribute system. "At that

point, communal lands stop being protected and indigenous people experience a complex time, in which they're pressured – voluntarily or involuntarily – to sell their lands", or in other words, "the indigenous people stop being abused by small-time officials, and their lands begin to be absorbed almost entirely by the haciendas" (9). The idea of subsuming the identity of original peoples fails as it doesn't move from the surface level 'remove the name indio' reforms, and so leaves a population that, communicatively, isn't supposed to exist sociologically but does. Now, in the legal sense, this community's existence is also communicated to be finished with, but with no legal protections against discrimination, what are seen as beneficial reforms to end a colonialist legacy becomes just a way to legally wrest the little power away from the original peoples.

It is around this time that "those 'pueblos' end up encased in the national territory of a State they've never seen or cared for, a State they don't know and whose laws they are unaware of. The territory that was once theirs is now part of the nation-state and they become usurpers" (13), heading to a bloody conclusion during the rubber boom in Perú. Towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the collection of rubber from the Amazonian rainforest becomes a major enterprise for European investors. However, the majority of the labor force comes from indigenous populations which are rounded up, placed into slavery, and killed at a massive scale. Near La Chorrerra, in Perú, a Peruvian firm tapped rubber from 1912 to 1929, killing up to 100,000 people and devastating communities ("Colombia Apology for Devastation in Amazon Rubber Boom"). This all happens at the same time that Hiram Bingham makes his discovery for National Geographic of Machu Picchu and this lost Inca history is proudly proclaimed. As before, the romanticized history of the 'Inca sí' becomes a matter of national pride to export, whereas their descendants are slaughtered with no rights in collecting rubber.

Perhaps worst of all, “these stories aren’t told, the youth of the country don’t learn about it” (Marcelo López), which propagates the lack of awareness and responsibility.

Only as indigenous communities towards the first decade of the 20th century begin to revolt does President Augusto B. Leguia,

> “faced with the evidence that interests have been working only for the big companies, the big industries, the marker, gives [original peoples’] communities legal recognition. In other words, those indigenous communities – that had been recognized during the time of [viceroy] Toledo, that had been maintained in registries and censuses during the whole tributary republican period – are again recognized by the Peruvian state. Then, there is an official inauguration of a registry for indigenous communities” (Remy 10).

This legal recognition takes shape in the form of “the Constitution of 1920 [which] declares the inalienability, imprescriptibility, and unseizability of communal lands” (10). Unfortunately, many of these legal gains are anything but, since

> “when the State recognized the right to vote of the indigenous communities, though they were illiterate, the right to vote meant almost nothing. In place was a mechanism of indirect voting and the indigenous people, illiterate, couldn’t be elected and could only vote to choose bottom-level electors, who would themselves choose mid-level electors, who then would choose representatives in Congress. It’s in that context that their right to vote is recognized. Later, when that indirect voting is eliminated and the citizen now has the ability to elect a mayor, a president, or a congressperson, that’s when they remove suffrage for illiterates. What I’m trying to say is that rights aren’t recognized for indigenous people, and when they are, their content of those rights is massively cut down or their identity as indigenous people is questioned” (7).

Here, we see a communicative shift that will carry on into the next section of the paper: no longer are power figures erasing the original peoples identity or trying to subsume it to a larger Peruvian one, but they are actively demarcating their existence. Moreover, they are doing so through governmental ones, through clearly-demarcated rights afforded to them. It’s thanks to this that “communities begin to approach the State to negotiate with it: to have their communities and their land be recognized, to have schools; they fight, they solicit, they negotiate the opening

of schools, for example. This is a catalyst, of sorts, that modernizes the Andean regions" (11).

But this effort to improve the governmental communicative strategies still doesn't change the societal ones that Otherize original peoples. In fact, latent in all of the above discussion have been the many ways in which that implicit Other identity is being constructed, even as there is a hope to remove distinctions to create a singular Peruvian identity. "In sum, if the 'indian' past is re-vindicated, it doesn't appear to match up with the image of the 'indio' under the Republic" (Yvinec). Initially,

> "The conception of the indigenous person as a possible citizen implies a wish to be transformed. If, as in fact there were, projects of European immigration, in Peru they didn't happen in a large scale until the end of the 19th century. Because of this there weren't any grand projects to «whiten» the population. Rather, what was postulated was the «civilizing», in other words the Europeanizing, in particular through education projects… [and] the construction of railroads to open up the Andes and bring civilization to the indigenous communities. All this allows for the highlighting of the indian-citizen project: homogenization. It shows that the Peruvian community that was imagined was actually a «disindianized» nation, not in the sense of eliminating the indigenous person physically, but in the sense of Europeanizing them" (Yvinec).

It is this sense, that there is a lack of civilization within the original peoples, that becomes the first implicit aspect of what is communicated when original peoples are to be subsumed into a larger Peruvian identity.

Rhetorically, this appears in the writings of the time. For example,

> "in writings about traditional holidays associated with the colonial past that should disappear ('corridas', determined religious feasts), the indigenous person is always mentioned, whereas in regards to civic festivities, associated with the republican present, there's no talk about the «indio» but rather the «people»" (Yvinec).

This example gives us a glimpse of just how, communicatively, prejudice against original peoples is displayed:

> "The 'indio' doesn't stop being considered an Other. The biggest way this manifests is, obviously, the hatred evident in most writings (press, fiction of the

> time…). The Otherness is constructed through a fixation of a type (or stereotype). The 'indio' is dirty, poor, drunk, ignorant, passive… This representation is, in part, handed down from the colonial times and, on the other hand, similar to the representation of the peasant in European societies of the 19th century (comparable to, for example, the representation of the people in the novels of Michelet or Zola)" (Yvinec).

And, similarly, this becomes most powerful when 'indio' is distilled into an insult:

> "Whether in the press or in some essays, we see how people get offended when they're referred to as 'indios' (people from Lima don't like being considered 'indio' by foreigners, the 'serrano', or person from the mountains, doesn't want to be considered 'indio' by people from Lima). Because of this «indio» was a recurrent way of attacking a political enemy: there are many examples, from Gamarra or Santa Cruz whose indigenous origins were ready-made punchlines, to lesser-known local characters like a Mr. Valentin Orihuela whose nickname was «valent-indio-rihuela»" (Yvinec)

So the rhetorical dichotomy comes full circle: 'Inca sí' is a matter of pride that should stand not just separate from Peruvian identity but as its direct and glorious forerunner, whereas 'indio no' is a current reality that should be subsumed, rejected, or unofficially recognized as a matter of shame and an insult. As Ms. Marcelo Lopez told me during our interview, there is a value placed upon dead culture, as the word 'indio' recalls those who worked the fields, while Inca recalls the mighty empire; in other words, Inca comes to mean powerful, while Indio comes to mean slave.

The next part of the paper will jump ahead a few decades, first because it's only after the 20s that we begin to see any shift in the situation of original peoples since "it's only after the economic boon (the exports of guano) and the relative political stability (the time of R. Castilla), when there was any sort of preoccupation over indigenous peoples" (Yvinec). Similarly, it's only in the last few decades that the U.N. passes official declarations on the rights and definitions of original peoples, and those identities across Latin America begin to band together thanks to increased globalization and the after-images of the armed conflicts of the latter half of the 20th century.

CURRENT EXAMPLES OF COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES, PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS, AND FORMS OF RETALIATION

As mentioned earlier, this latest "context is shaped by the so-named International Movement for Indigenous Rights, which has an important forum for its official appearance at the United Nations, and which boasts the "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention C169"" (Oliart), as well as a context in which the World Bank and the IDB demanded of nations like Perú to better the treatment of indigenous populations. In theory, this would mean governments would no longer be able to skirt around the issue but truly treat it. In practice, their policies and behaviors show us the latest incarnation of the societal and legislative legacy of the 'Inca sí, indio no' dichotomy. Initially, President Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000) begins by attacking original peoples, playing a large role in

> "the weakening of organizations, and of various types of autonomous social activities. This was accomplished through various legal "emergency" decrees with which he for example suspended Congress, or the anti-terrorism law, which was used for various arbitrary ends, with the explicit end-goal of drowning out voices advocating for civil rights" (Oliart)

Knowing he could not outwardly attack original peoples, though this didn't stop him from ordering the forced sterilization of 200,000 women, most of them original peoples (Puertas), Fujimori's policies ensured he was technically making good on the requests by the IDB and World Bank, but investing the money and effort that should've gone to strengthening the institutions around indigenous organization, and placing the support into other non-indigenous initiatives (Oliart). For Fujimori, it presents a besieged perspective towards original peoples, like they are a necessary burden to work upon but not one that is imperative.

Conversely, after Fujimori comes a candidate going back towards the 'Inca si' rhetoric:

> "Peruvian President Alejandro Toledo entered office in July 2001 raising ethnic banners to mobilize the masses against the corrupt and authoritarian regime of his predecessor, Alberto Fujimori. Labeled as a modern-day Pachacútec—the Incan emperor widely credited with expanding and renovating the ancient empire—and waving the rainbow-colored flag of the Inca, Toledo configured his place within a centuries-old mythology still lodged in the popular Peruvian consciousness: the return of the Inca. But he mixed these strategically deployed images of his Incaic ancestry with the adoption of a coastal and urban cholo status, thanks to the clear signs of upward mobility afforded to him by a prestigious education at Stanford University. In the Peruvian imagination his popular nickname, "El Cholo," connotes someone who has emerged from humble Andean roots to achieve a less provincial, and thus—according to Peruvian racial logic—an implicitly less "Indian" status" (Greene)

Nonetheless, Toledo is called out for the use of this rhetoric, forcing him to create CONAPA, as an official organization to deal with issues of original peoples. And yet, from the start the organization is embroiled in scandals and malpractice, mainly because there never arises a person of original peoples descent to actually head the organization.

Toledo, unfortunately, is the best of the batch, as conditions do not improve much after him; President Alan Garcia sees original peoples killed during a protest with armed forces over the exploitation of their land by foreign companies (Cabitza), and later President Ollanta Humala who continues many of these killings while muddling up the definition of original peoples in Perú claiming that only those not yet contacted and living in the Amazon are considered indigenous peoples (Palacios). In fact, "The natives that haven't been contacted are coming out of the virgin jungle, because they're being corralled by a State that is planning an entire paradigm of development benefitting large resource-extracting companies" (Palacios).

The only beneficial change would appear to be in 2010 with the creation of the Ministerio de Cultura y el Viceministerio de Interculturalidad in 2010, which lists under the Ministry of Culture all indigenous issues ("Base De Datos De Pueblos Indígenas U Originarios"). However, this is a dangerous communicative strategy, because with Toledo's CONAPA there was at least

an attempt to make a separate department on original peoples issues, whereas having those issues be subsumed under the Ministry of Culture would appear to rhetorically suggest that the original peoples' identity is a culture, similar to the Inca archetype. They are not citizens who are separate from Peruvian and "normal" culture, they are a subset of this.

The question arises, then: if these gave been the government's actions and failings, what has happened on the side of the original peoples? Guided by what we have explored of the societal context and more recent governmental examples, we can now explore how that has led the original peoples of Perú to act the way they are. The way in which original peoples were to be subsumed, ignored, or eradicated creates a sense where you are: not 'indio' but Peruvian, not existent, or hated for being 'indio'. This means, epistemologically, that original peoples were told they either had become something different, they had vanished, or being what they were was hated. They were never given the space to simply be, and so a different metaphysical reality was created, built upon internalized racism and a lack of pride for their unadulterated roots. As an example, Ms. Marcelo Lopez told me that today, as the various tongues were lost, as the oral traditions and knowledge stopped being transmitted, many of these cultural referents were lost so that now, if someone is asked what 'pueblo' they come from, they won't say "I am Quechua" but "I am from Ayacucho"; even here, there is a metaphysical shift of 'pueblo' as tribe to 'pueblo' as city, which signifies a regression in the way epistemologically we learn about terms and spaces they occupy. After all, how can a group band together if it doesn't see itself as that identity? Therefore, the retaliation on behalf of original peoples is one that has to be built up first from an epistemological crafting of an 'indio' identity, before carving out a metaphysical space guided by this as-of-yet not fully present identity.

"Only since the 1990s have the political projects of Andean and Amazonian Peruvians started to converge. Key sectors of the peasant leadership are exploring the potential of an alliance based on sharing a distinct form of ethnically and culturally defined citizenship. The indigenous umbrella organization COPPIP, which resulted from a 1997 human rights meeting in Cusco, seeks to realign the Andean "campesinos" with the Amazonian "natives" under an explicitly indigenous political program" (Greene). However, those efforts weren't as powerful as they could've been because of the way governmental and societal after effects have weakened any efforts.

In regards to governmental efforts, developing policies has been hard since

> "just as is the case with other Latin American countries up until the 90s, in Peru there aren't any precise and updated estimations on the indigenous population since there's no effort to collect ethnic autoidentification data. The census of the population based off of racial autodescrtiption hasn't been done in Peru since the 1940 census" (Oliart)

This combination of legislation come too late, a lack of reliable data, and Government Ministries that subsume the identity of original peoples, make it much harder to gave quantifiable, government-created initiatives to not only celebrate the 'Inca sí' heritage but actively fight for the real original peoples still alive in Perú. This lack of consolidation, however, is also deeply tied to the way internalized racism has made the 'indio no' belief permeate:

> "The existence of a burgeoning national movement moving toward the consolidation of Andean and Amazonian interests under an ethnic banner may take some by surprise. Many observers continue to insist that there is no significant indigenous movement in the country. In fact, Peru is often cited as a notable exception in the Latin American context, an aberration from general trends of the regionalizing and globalizing ethnic-based political claims now trumping class-based politics. Explanations for this vary but they inevitably assume that the Peruvian national context is somehow peculiarly insulated from today's global indigenism and Latin America's growing grassroots indigenous mobilization" (Oliart)

To explain this phenomenon,

> "Some prominent Peruvian thinkers have provided an impressively deep historical and cultural analysis to explain what they perceive as a lack of ethnic identity-based movements among Peru's Andean communities. In this view, "indigenous" identity remains a highly devalued political currency for native Andeans. Instead of appropriating their indigenousness as an appealing political tool, the argument continues, Andean peoples in Peru still articulate political projects for progress by utilizing other, non-indigenous ideologies. They adopt the symbols of ethnic hybridity and social mobility implied by mestizaje and "cholofication." Or when staking explicit political claims, they identify themselves as agrarian campesinos, utilizing a class-based rather than ethnic paradigm. Considering the explosion of ethnic politics during Toledo's presidency, it might be time to rethink these assumptions. It is important to note not only the emergence of new ethnic-based organizations that integrate Andean and Amazonian leadership, but also the realignment of older "campesino" organizations that now seek solidarity with ethnic organizations" (Oliart).

This presents an interesting communicative shift: the issues of original peoples, as per the tribute system, have always been deeply tied to the land. But in Latin American nations where the agrarian realities are that much more important to the economy, this move from 'indígena' to 'campesino' plays a large role in an alternative 'euphemism' to avoid being called 'indígena'. "It is true that use of the term 'indígena' remains uncommon in many Andean communities when compared to 'campesino' or provincial forms of self-identification. But the increasing circulation of 'indígena' in peasant and ethnic movement organizations suggests something about the impact of global ethnic politics in Perú and the possibility of a rediscovery of indigenousness in the Peruvian Andes. Many commentators alleging the "insignificance" of Peruvian indigenous movements have failed to perceive how this broader global context is transforming Perú, as it has many other Latin American nations" (Oliart).

This mix of governmental and societal failings, then, means that many efforts so far have fallen short. "Policies of social inclusion started by the Executive have been based on "the western, white man paradigm". This "limited model"… supposes, on one hand, unlimited and irrational consumerism, and on the other hand, the erosion in the man and nature relationship"

(Palacios) Whereas the ‘campesino’ and ‘indígena’ dichotomy would separate man and nature, it is argued that “we need to expand our conception of methods of development. And, one suggested by indigenous peoples is that of a direct link with the earth, something the urban world has lost” (Palacios).

This percolates, similarly, into the lack of any intersectionality on discussion of original peoples in Perú, because, even though “it’s the female rural and indigenous population that occupies the lowest rung on the poverty ladder. It’s a total of 3,451,000 women that live in rural areas, constituting 50.2% of the total population of rural areas” (Oliart), there aren’t any other, more concrete statistics available on the indigenous woman (Marcelo López) and even the story of Fujimori’s forced sterilization of women came to light only recently.

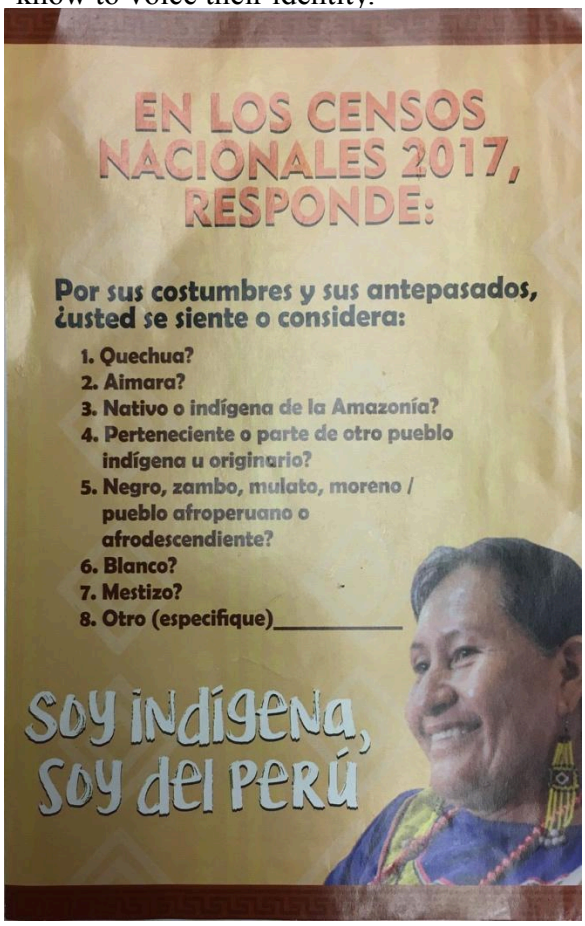
The combination of international (UN, World Bank, IBD) efforts, attempts by the government to act, and larger discussion facilitated by globalization and global media on indigenous identity, have led these communities to begin to act. Beyond their attempts at protest which have ended in violence in the last few years, these communities recognize their biggest needs now are

> “judicial safeguards to the ‘pueblos’, intercultural policies (health, education, participation in politics), violence and justice-related topics (being cared for in hospitals and courtrooms in our respective languages, the reinstating of our health services (there’s no desire to treat us), the end to criminalization of protests, the end to our state-sponsored killings, the repeal of laws that take away our lands.” (Marcelo López).

Along with protests, organizations like AIDESEP (Interethnic Association of Development in the Peruvian Jungle) have begun the process of suing the Peruvian government for not protecting tribes. In this communicative shift, there is the transformation from the time of the rubber boom when indigenous populations were at the mercy of external corporations and had no recourse to advocate for themselves, to current times when they are better organized, have

some legal resources domestically and internationally, and can act. In fact, during my interview with Ms. Marcelo Lopez, we paused the interview for ten minutes as she was interviewed by a radio station, where she advocated for the continued fights for their rights and against the malpractice of the Peruvian government.

Finally, in regards to the societal recognition of current original peoples identity, another seismic shift is coming: 2017 will be the first year since 1940 where the census will have a question of ethnic autoidentification, which previously was based solely on the languages one spoke. This is being widely communicated, as during my interview I was given this pamphlet letting the Peruvian population see the measure as it would appear on the census and letting them know to voice their identity.



(Source: Front of the 2017 Census Pamphlet)



(Source: Back of the 2017 Census Pamphlet)

This not only creates that quantifiable evidence of the existence of these populations, it also rhetorically reclaims the identity of original peoples for them to proudly wear again.

U.S.A CONTEXT

For the discussion on the United States, we will instead use the term American Indian, as it was the term chosen by the leadership of various tribes when creating the National Museum of the American Indian.

To be an American Indian is a dangerous reality: The U.S. Census in both 1990 and 2000 indicates that poverty has prevailed on reservations; to this day, Native Americans have the highest poverty and unemployment rates in the United States of America. The poverty rate of Native Americans is 25% (*Selected Population Profile in the United States: 2012 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates*), they have higher rates of disease, higher death rates, and a lack of medical coverage than other racial and ethnic groups ("American Indian/Alaska Native Profile"). This is but the latest chapter of a sorry and disgraceful history, as Sen. Daniel Inouye explains:

> "Many Americans have no idea that historians and anthropologists suggest that prior to European contact, there were a minimum of 10 million, and as many as 50 million native people residing in the land that subsequently became the United States. And because the period known as the Indian wars era is not typically documented in basic history primers, it may well be that most Americans are unaware that the effort to control areas of land then occupied by the Indians decimated the Indian population so effectively that there were approximately only 250,000 Indian people remaining in the United States at the end of the Indian wars era… Nor is the fact well known that Indian people once exercised dominion over 550 million acres of land, and that through conquest, and all too frequently misrepresentation, those lands were systematically taken from the Indians, so that today they are left with less than 50 million acres" (Matthiessen ix)

The question, of course, is not if these events happened, because they did and their effect reverberates even today. The question, however, is how exactly this experience has been

communicated, how it compares/contrasts to the Peruvian one, and what we can draw from it.

POST-INDEPENDENCE AND ITS ALTERING OF COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

Before independence, there is already one major difference communicated in regards to the value of American Indian life. Unlike Latin America, where there was more intermingling with the population there, "The English, by contrast, sought territorial expansion; focusing their initial occupation on the mid- and north-Atlantic coasts and Hudson Bay, they prohibited marriage between British subjects and indigenous peoples" (Pauls). Similarly, though American Indians played a role in the independence movement, there wasn't as much overt focus on them that we know of compared to Perú, where Bolivar made it a point to include them in the fighting and wish for them to be integrated into the nascent nation.

Now, interestingly, the history of the American Indian has been communicated to us through the creation of a specific archetype:

> "the Indian, simultaneously noble and barbaric, man of nature and bloodthirsty savage, and destined for tragic extinction. The epic of the Indian wars added color and grandeur to the saga of national expansion: in their apparent savagery, Indians dramatically underscored Euro-Americans' notions of civilization, while their repeated military defeats seemed unchallengeable proof of the white man's technological and moral superiority" (Bordewich 18).

The first example that we get of how this attitude was codified comes from the Supreme Court:

> "In 1831 the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, had attempted to define their status. He declared that Indian tribes were 'domestic dependent nations' whose 'relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian'. Marshall was, in effect, recognizing that America's Indians are unique in that, unlike any other minority, they are both separate nations and part of the United States. This helps to explain why relations between the federal government and the Native Americans have been so troubled. A guardian prepares his ward

> for adult independence, and so Marshall's judgement implies that US policy should aim to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream US culture. But a guardian also protects and nurtures a ward until adulthood is achieved, and therefore Marshall also suggests that the federal government has a special obligation to care for its Native American population. As a result, federal policy towards Native Americans has lurched back and forth, sometimes aiming for assimilation and, at other times, recognizing its responsibility for assisting Indian development" (Boxer)

This gives us one of the first communicative differences between Perú and the U.S. The U.S., with an example like this, is much more overt with a paternalistic attitude towards the American Indian, feeling itself the ward of the 'noble savages', with the job of the Europeans and then Americans to 'kill the Indian, leave the man'. Perú, on the opposite end, never sees any of this overt paternalistic rhetoric. For Bolivar, the original peoples of the continent can be part of the new nation, so long as the Indio identity is erased. And there is the similarity through the difference: though one has an overt paternalism, both see the attitude towards American Indians be one of civilizing and altering their identity.

This example of civilizing can be compared to another component of Perú's:

> "Between 1887 and 1933, US government policy aimed to assimilate Indians into mainstream American society. Although to modern observers this policy looks both patronizing and racist, the white elite that dominated US society saw it as a civilizing mission, comparable to the work of European missionaries in Africa. As one US philanthropist put it in 1886, the Indians were to be 'safely guided from the night of barbarism into the fair dawn of Christian civilization'. In practice, this meant requiring them to become as much like white Americans as possible: converting to Christianity, speaking English, wearing western clothes and hair styles, and living as self-sufficient, independent Americans" (Boxer)

Just as the Spanish attempted to eradicate traces of the language, as well as shift the Indio from their existence to a more Westernized one, so is the case in the United States.

The next example we get comes from the governmental side, since throughout the 19th century "they had been deprived of much of their land by forced removal westwards, by a succession of treaties (which were often not honored by the white authorities) and by military

defeat by the USA as it expanded its control over the American West" (Boxer). More specifically,

> "Federal policy was enshrined in the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887 which decreed that Indian Reservation land was to be divided into plots and allocated to individual Native Americans. These plots could not be sold for 25 years, but reservation land left over after the distribution of allotments could be sold to outsiders. This meant that the Act became, in practice, an opportunity for land-hungry white Americans to acquire Indian land, a process accelerated by the 1903 Supreme Court decision in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* that Congress could dispose of Indian land without gaining the consent of the Indians involved. Not surprisingly, the amount of Indian land shrank from 154 million acres in 1887 to a mere 48 million half a century later" (Boxer).

Similar to Perú, land plays a pivotal role in issues of American Indians, though here it differs from the tribute system in Perú. While there it continues being a matter of economic subsistence (and thus offering a degree of power to owning and working land), in the U.S. the communicative aspect is more national: these lands represent the lives of the various tribes, and so do become the last bastions of the different nations. The exploitation of land, then, also differs: in Perú, the land is open to be exploited by foreign companies. In the U.S., wealthy landowners can steal it, or create projects okayed by the U.S Federal government on that land.

Apparently, some reforms are attempted in bettering the legal position of the American Indian. For example,

> "The 1924 Citizenship Act granted US citizenship to all Native Americans who had not already acquired it. In theory, this recognized the success of the assimilation policy, but the reality was different. Indians were denied the vote in many Western states by much the same methods as African-Americans were disenfranchised in the South. The Meriam Report, published in 1928, showed that most Indians lived in extreme poverty, suffering from a poor diet, inadequate housing and limited health care. Schools were overcrowded and badly resourced" (Boxer)

This, then, is another similarity with Perú, where the veneer of legal power is put in place, while in reality, the laws are non-existent or if they are present, they are so woefully unsuccessful they

do nothing for the American Indian population but continue their subjugation in an institutionalized way.

It is under the publication of the Merrian Report, which "rejected 'the disastrous attempt to force individual Indians or groups of Indians to be what they do not want to be, to break their pride in themselves and their Indian race, or to deprive them of their Indian culture'." (Boxer), that we get one mostly-positive development that does attempt to transform situations for American Indians much earlier than we ever saw with Perú.

> "This new approach to Native Americans was enthusiastically endorsed by John Collier, who became Commissioner for Indian Affairs in 1933. Collier, a white American, believed that Native American community life and respect for the environment had much to teach American materialism, and he became passionately determined to preserve as much of the traditional Indian way of life as possible. In particular, he wanted Native American reservations to be permanent, sovereign homelands. The centrepiece of his new policy was the 1934 Indian Reorganisation Act (IRA) which ended the policy of allotment, banned the further sale of Indian land and decreed that any unallotted land not yet sold should be returned to tribal control. It also granted Indian communities a measure of governmental and judicial autonomy" (Boxer).

Though not the most successful measure, it was at least something put in place back in the 30s, a time during which Perú is still recovering from the exploitation and killing of the original peoples for the rubber boom.

In a similar governmental vein, to begin the process of terminating reservations, is 1946's

> "Indian Claims Commission to hear Indian claims for any lands stolen from them since the creation of the USA in 1776. The Commission was initially supported by the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), a pressure group formed in 1944, because they welcomed a federal initiative to deal with long-standing grievances. However, it was clear that the Commission would provide only financial compensation and not return any land. The federal government regarded the Commission as the first step to 'getting out of the Indian business'. This was clearly how President Truman saw it: 'With the final settlement of all outstanding claims which this measure ensures, Indians can take their place without special handicaps or special advantages in the economic life of our nation and share fully in its progress.' The original intention was for the Commission to sit for 5 years, but there were so many claims that it remained in existence until 1978" (Boxer)

Similarly tied to this measure is,

> "In August 1953, Congress endorsed House Concurrent Resolution 108 which is widely regarded as the principal statement of the termination policy:
> It is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship" (Boxer).

These three efforts, from the IRA to the NCAI to Resolution 108, all have analogues in efforts like CONAPA and the Department of Culture handling the affairs of original peoples. The difference, of course, is that these are enacted much earlier, most likely because the paternalistic attitude was most overt so for the government and society at large the 'Indian American question' was one to be tackled (compared to Perú where, say, under the myth of all people being part of one Perú no one really wanted to admit any wrongdoing until the 90s).

Unfortunately,

> "These remarks were, of course, self-interested. Termination would open up yet more valuable Indian land and resources to white purchasers. This explains why, in the Congressional committee hearings on termination, there was considerable controversy over the future of the first reservations selected, especially those of the Menominee of Wisconsin and the Klamath of Oregon who had large land holdings and valuable forestry and timber resources" (Boxer).

Perhaps this becomes a good point to recall a specific aspect of the history of American Indians as tied with the government:

> "The Indian nations entered into 800 treaties with the United States. These were solemn and sacred documents which promised the Indians that "as long as the rivers flow, and the sun rises in the east," the lands and resources that had been secured to them would be protected in perpetuity. In exchange for the cession of vast amounts of land, the Indians were promised that the Great White Father in Washington, D.C., would provide them health care and education for all the generations to come… However, those 800 treaties were only honored unilaterally. The United States Senate refused to ratify 430 of them, even though the government charged the Indians with having to live up to the terms of those treaties. Even more tragically, of the 370 treaties that were ratified, the United

States proceeded to violate provisions in every single one" (Matthiessen x).

We will explore an aspect of this breaking of treatises below as it has evolved communicatively, but for now we understand the lesser value put upon the belongings of American Indians and their standing. In Perú, at least a sense of the importance of original peoples existed for those who wanted to 'civilize' or 'subsume' them, but in the United States they are viewed so much more as persona non-grata that can be abused and challenged.

CURRENT EXAMPLES OF COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES, PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS, AND FORMS OF RETALIATION

Perhaps the biggest difference to emerge in the United States is that there is no equivalent to 'Inca sí, Indio no' rhetoric. From the lack of intermarrying and procreating between white and indigenous peoples, to there being no 'glorified' past to extol, the United States explores much more of a cherry-picking of Indian American culture:

> "it is almost as if a culture that is literally saturated with allusions to fictional Indians had no interest in living Indians at all. We drive "Cherokees," "Winnebagos," and "Pontiacs." During the Gulf War, American troops flew "Kiowa" and "Apache" helicopters and shot down Iraqi planes with "Tomahawk" missiles… New Age bookstores are chock-a-block with spiritualizing treatises on supposed traditional native beliefs, while gurus urge repressed modern males to flee to the woods, to become "real" men by howling and drumming, by becoming "warriors." By acting "like Indians," it would seem, we may become noble, free, authentic: we may discover our true selves" (Bordewich 17).

This, then, is how that rhetoric evolves in the States. The U.S., whether the government or society, want Indian American land. They may want the mission of civilizing them, or the words that are used today in everyday speech. But calling back to the 'Inca sí' equivalent history is an admittance of wrongdoing, and is not a topic many want to approach. Cultural appropriation exists, but there are even less attempts to communicatively approach the past history (of any

kind) of American Indians in the States.

Much like Perú, the 90s precipitates a time of change for indigenous rights movements, spearheaded mainly by the U.N Declarations reaffirming the rights of Indigenous populations. From thence comes the sovereignty movement:

> "In its broadest sense, the sovereignty movement carries within it the hope of regeneration not just for tribes as political entities but also for many thousands of men and women whose lives have been diminished by the lack of opportunity and by social pathologies that have resisted the best efforts of mainstream institutions. On the cultural plane, it represents the struggle of peoples who have been flattened out into cliché and myth to regain dimension and to shape an identity that is simultaneously more traditional and more modern, more conscious of history and less dominated by it, and, ultimately, both more Indian and more American. Furthermore, it offers tribes the most promising opportunity in generations to cope in their own way with the effects of the centuries-long collision with European civilization and to restore both the viability and the dignity of economically crippled communities. It means the revitalization of tribal languages, faiths, and traditions and, at least potentially, a foundation for the birth of a more vigorous tribal citizenship" (336)

Here, then, is the fighting back component in America. Because of the more divided existence, these separate tribes and nations always had a stronger and prouder conception of their identity, so unlike Perú there was never any need to challenge internalized racism to band together. However, what is offered is the chance to bring the fight out into the open, and change discourse and force it to include these conversations, and languages, and histories. Almost opposite to the 'Inca sí', this is the point at which we get any sort of callback to the past American Indian history, and the push is initiated by those peoples.

During the Perú section, we touched upon how the lack of this original peoples' culture has a metaphysical change that transformed the Peruvian original peoples by Otherizing them, even amongst themselves. In the United States, the situation is different, since there is more of an epistemological dissonance. As Donald Fixico explains in his book The American Indian Mind in a Linear World,

> "Thinking Indian or Indian thinking is the native logic of American Indians, based on their tribal cultures and how they see the world and the universe… Indian thinking is argued in this book to be visual and circular in philosophy. Imbedded in an Indian traditional reality, this ethos is a combination of the physical reality and metaphysical reality" (xii),

the American Indian mind's conception of reality is transformed by its language and socio-cultural elements: there is a lot more circularity and collectivism to the way they view the world. The danger, then, came with attempts to 'civilize' American Indians, since this would attempt to strip them from their language and conception of the world. In Perú, this was so successful that the original peoples there were changed without their knowing. In the United States, their experience is one of two communicative strands, one being the 'normal' American culture and the other being that of their respective tribe. These dueling conceptions of normality challenge every bit of learned information, and so create a more jarring existence in the world, one where there is a back and forth between the American and Indian parts.

Perhaps because of this we get the sovereignty movement in the 90s, and we see more examples of the fighting back from American Indians. A first great example of this comes from the existence of the National Museum of the American Indian. The second most recent to open of the Smithsonian Museums (followed only by the National Museum of African American History and Culture), it is a proud hub for all things American Indian. From the curved architecture based off stone and trees to simulate the importance of the land, to a topmost floor that begins the trip with the different creation myths of various American Indian tribes, the museum is a place for any American to experience the American Indian history in a building that communicates this as well.

The most powerful element of the museum as it currently stands, however, is a direct challenge to the earlier-mentioned reneging of treaties. Half of the entire third floor of the

museum is devoted to these treatises, but from the first exhibit the description mentions it to be one of the treaties that wasn't followed. A video screen after this one similarly shows an explanation of just how the reneging of treaties allowed the federal government to mistreat American Indians, and the remainder of the floor's exhibit goes into detail of when the treaties were written, under whose administrations (or during the time of the crown if it was pre-independence), and just how they were violated or never signed on the government's side (Ramirez Uribe, *Visit to the National Museum of the American Indian*).

Barring the National Museum of African American History and Culture which I have not yet visited, this would appear to be the first case in any Smithsonian museum to openly admit wrongdoings on the part of the government. For comparison, D. C's Holocaust Museum has two similar descriptions in its exhibit of the Holocaust's history, one for the St. Louis and one for aerial photographs taken by Allied forces of concentration camps; these two descriptions were updated at some point in the past eight years to acknowledge failings on the part of the United States government at the time (Ramirez Uribe, *Visit to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*). The museum, then, carves out a space that the American Indian identity and embattled history can occupy, communicatively forcing the nation to acknowledge it.

Another example of this comes from recent national discussions on Christopher Columbus and the praise placed upon him.

> "There are three main sources of controversy involving Columbus's interactions with the indigenous people he labeled "Indians": the use of violence and slavery, the forced conversion of native peoples to Christianity, and the introduction of a host of new diseases that would have dramatic long-term effects on native people in the Americas. Historians have uncovered extensive evidence of the damage wreaked by Columbus and his teams, leading to an outcry over emphasis placed upon studying and celebrating him in schools and public celebrations" ("Columbus Controversy").

Specifically for American Indians,

> "very little effort has been made to voice formal apologies, make reparations, or pass political mandates about education. Yet this country was founded in part by genocidal policies directed at Native Americans and the enslavement of black people. Both of those things are morally repugnant… We cannot afford to sugarcoat the dark chapters of our history, as we have for decades upon decades" (Treuer 31-32).

In response, a movement has grown demanding that Columbus Day be changed to Indigenous Peoples' Day. This, again, is a rhetorical way of occupying space, a metaphysical exertion of American Indian identity, as it were.

This fight back has, most recently, taken the national stage in regards to the Dakota Access Pipeline. Beyond the project itself, the biggest element of the controversy has been how

> "The Standing Rock Sioux tribe and their allies have been rallying in camps near the pipeline construction alignment since last April in Cannon Ball, N.D. Opponents on the ground today number between 800 to 1,000 people. They are from Indian nations all over the country and world, and their supporters. The encampment is said to be the largest gathering of Indian people in North America in the past century. The pipeline's opponents argue the Standing Rock Sioux tribe was never adequately consulted on the project, which threatens their water supply, as well as that of millions of people downstream from the pipeline's proposed crossing under the Missouri River. Construction has already damaged the tribe's sacred and cultural sites, including burial sites. The tribe demands a stop to further destruction of its cultural heritage" ("What You Need to Know about the Dakota Access Pipeline.")

Unlike Perú, the American Indians in the States have always fought as sovereign nations against the U.S. Federal government, but with this latest example there is a greater recognition of their issues and allies who wish to fight for their rights as well.

Therefore, the fight for American Indians will appear a bit more advanced: rather than having to restate their metaphysical existence to themselves and others, American Indians will rather be further carving out their existence with greater strength and visibility than before.

CONCLUSION

History and human nature have been unkind to those who originally occupied these lands. The differing histories of colonization and post-independence have shaped their existence and very conceptions of themselves, but the 21st century brings a new era. With a recognition of their existence and issues, and a greater global connection to showcase similarities, the fight is being revived in Perú and the United States. Perhaps Caliban's outbursts four hundred years ago were meant as a premonition, and we must now assume the role of Prospero, ready to fight for the freedom of Ariel, Caliban, and the memory of all the Sycoraxes who have seen their existence, physical and ideal, vanish "into air, into thin air… As dreams are made on."

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