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Old Myths, New Tradition: The “Spectacle of Power” in the Politics of Peru and Bolivia at the Beginning of the 21st Century

In the early 21st century, in countries such as Peru and Bolivia, political leaders used an “arsenal” of pre-Columbian symbols, creating the feeling of national unity and the beginning of a “new era” in a totally unique and spectacular way, and achieving the most important political purpose – the votes of the indigenous electorate and victory in the presidential election. The purpose of this article is to attempt to interpret the events that took place in 2001 (Peru) and 2006 (Bolivia) in the context of the interesting phenomena known as the “politicization of myths” and “spectacle of power,” which were used in the policies of these two countries during the election campaigns of Presidents Alejandro Toledo de Manrique and Evo Morales Ayma.

Introduction

Observing the political strategies and mechanisms of power throughout the world, one can be led to the conviction that authority, by means of appropriate ceremonies, directs its own political performance. A political agenda is consciously created, subject to symbolic manipulation, carried out in accordance with a strictly developed scenario. Each gesture, in addition to the particular costume and the appropriate attributes, as well as a particular set of symbols, all have a certain political significance and become a strategic tool to achieve particular political purposes. During an “inscenization” of a “political spectacle,” the rites and myths of a chosen group (usually the main part of the electorate) are used. The rituals serve as a legitimization of the political authority and the underpin of the populist rhetoric first of all, and secondly as a base in the process of creating a self-image among all members of society needed to sanctify the election of the people. However, “political myths” are a very relevant means of political discourse, which make use of a particular element

of the collective psyche – well-known themes such as the *golden age*, the *myth of eternal return*, or the *Promised Land* – as one of the key instruments of populist propaganda. “Political myths” are all elements of the history of each community (ethnic or national), by which members of this community express their unity, identity, fears and hopes. These are the “political myths” that create a self-image of the group that is perpetuated in the popular imagination, and are used to legitimize the new order of things (for example, the new government, the change of authorities, a new era of dependence or independence of the people).

The contours and the base of the “political myths” are specific symbols, or symbol-keys, carefully selected from the tradition and past of a given group, and no less carefully presented to the people according to the *motto* that all authority seeks a specific ideology and its own arsenal of symbols as arguments to gain power. The adequate conditions for creating “political myths” are during times of political confusion and social crisis. Especially significant moments, such as the collapse of a long-term authoritarian regime or resurgence of a state-nation after political non-existence, are circumstances which open the way for political manipulations used to give hope for a change and better times, often expressed as a promise to return to the days of the legendary *golden age* – the times before the crisis. The great credit of confidence given in such moments to the new authority is expressed in the form of the enthusiastic support of the electorate, manipulated with the symbols of the past and “political myths.” Thanks to a carefully prepared “spectacle of power” and the process of *politicization of myths*, the authority can control the collective imagination and collective emotions (Filipowicz; Jasińska 84; Karwat). This process is almost always accompanied by the presence of a charismatic leader who can even enter into contact with supernatural forces and who participates in traditional rituals, sanctifying his power.

The process of *politicization of myths*, in which myths are invented (sic!), created or restored by the authority for specific purposes, is a political reality in many countries of Latin America. The past is used, even the very remote times dating from the pre-Columbian era, in order to cover up the failures of modern times and win the support of the masses, especially representatives of the indigenous population. The use of pre-Columbian myths and symbolism of the pre-hispanic past as political instruments could be observed in the Republic of Perú during the presidential campaign carried out by the team of Alejandro Toledo Manrique in 2001. A few years later, the same process of politicization of the past (both the myth of the good government of *Tahuantisyuy*, and the myth of the indigenous “eternal struggle” against the Spanish during the colonial epoch) could be observed in the Republic of Bolivia during the time of the struggle of the *cocaleros* and the presidential campaign of Evo Morales Ayma.

Spectacle of Power: Machu Picchu and Tiahuanaco

Alejandro Toledo Manrique won the presidential elections in 2001. Faithful to his Inca image presented during his election campaign, he used the symbols of pre-Columbian times and evoked Andean tradition to celebrate his success. His swearing-in ceremony organized on July 29th in the Inca town Machu Picchu is

a good example of a “spectacle of power” – a performance with a carefully chosen stage, with particular actors, traditional costumes and exceptional scenery, all in the context of the change of the highest authority in the country. It was the first time in the history of the Republic of Perú that the president, after the official ceremony held the previous day in the Government Palace in Lima, began his term with rituals based on Andean religious codes and Andean tradition (*neo-inca*), in the presence of his wife, priests (*Amautas*), diplomats, presidents of nearly all Latin American countries (Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, Panama, Costa Rica and El Salvador), and special guests (including the Prince of Asturias Don Felipe de Borbón and Simón Pérez). The ceremony, known as a great *Hatun Haywa*, was scheduled for 8 o’clock in the morning, but the president showed up around noon, equipped with a baton of *Varayoc* (a symbol of authority in Andean tradition). The arrival of the president to the Machu Picchu ruins was solemnized by a band consisting of more than thirty *pututeros*, dressed in traditional Inca costume – *uncu*, *poncho* and *chullo*. They had come from the distant town of Qeros, in the province of Paucartambo. A priest, *Altomisayoc* (the priest of the *neo-inca* cult of highest rank, interpreted by the cusquenian anthropologist Aurelio Carmona Cruz) celebrated the Andean *pago a Pachamama* – the rite of a donation to Mother Earth and the *Apus* (gods of the surrounding mountains), communicating in this manner with the spirits of the ancestors and the spirits of the Inca rulers. During the ceremony, *Altomisayoc* also made a sacrifice of *chicha* (a light alcohol made of corn), with which he sprayed participants and purified the land and the air. The table for Mother Earth – *mesa de Pachamama* – included an offering of coca leaves, seeds and the wool of llamas and alpacas, as well as a tallow of flame, all prepared in clay vessels made in the Inca style. After the main part of the ceremony, four couples came up to the president as a symbolic group of envoys from the four parts of the pre-Columbian Inca *Tahuantisuyu* State: couples of the *Antisuyo* (East), *Contisuyo* (West), *Chinchaysuyo* (North) and a couple consisting of an Aymara man and Quechua woman from the *Collasuyo* (Southern Highlands), all dressed in typical costumes of their regions. They also made sacrifices – not to the *Apus* or *Pachamama*, but for the president. They also brought items characteristic for each province and offered them to the presidential couple: from the Amazonian province *Antisuyo* Alejandro and Eliane Toledo received *huachipaire*, an arrow that is used for hunting and fishing; from the province *Contisuyo* a basket full of ears of corn; from the province *Chinchaysuyo* replicas of gold jewelry in the style of the Moche culture, and from the province *Collasuyo* the *conopa* – a ritual container in the form of a llama, symbolizing the herds of llamas and alpacas in the Andean *Sierra* region. In addition, President Toledo received a blessing from the leaders of the Andean Community, represented by the Mayor of the Municipium Machu Picchu site, José Soto Vera. Eliane Karp de Toledo, undoubtedly the initiator of the event at Machu Picchu, made an emotional speech in Spanish and Quechua, thanking the god *Apus* and all the Andean deities for their benevolence, which ended the dictatorship and hard times in Perú and initiated a new era for the Andean people, a time of peace and return of democracy in the Republic:

“*Yaqtayay, Apu Machu Picchu, Apu Huayna Picchu, Apu Salcantay, Apu Ausangate!* Those who wished for a return of Tupac Amaru II Condorcanqui. Here for you and for your

memory. For the last resistant of Vilcabamba, [town] which is in the jungle, and from where the rebels tried to restore the Inca Empire. To all those who resisted for such a long time while keeping their tradition alive. For you, the Great *Misayuq* [the Great Priest]. For all those who did not allow the collective memory of our great people to disappear. For those who maintain the language, the feel of the *Pachamama* and the *Apus*, our clothes, our dances and our extraordinary music. To the great Nation of *Tahuantinsuyu*, united by the *Qhapaq Ñan* [the Royal Road] and projected toward the future integration of the people, the future democracy and modernity. The *chacana* time has returned. We have reached our goal. We have brought the time of the tenth *Pachacutec*¹, with fairness and equality for all people of the great *Tahuantinsuyu*" (*El Comercio* a3; see also: *El Peruano* 3).

The leaders attending the ceremony signed the document "Declaration of Machu Picchu" in the name of democracy, the rights of indigenous people and the fight against poverty. The Declaration recognized the richness of the cultural and ethnic diversity of the Andean region and stated the need to protect the existence and rights of indigenous people.² On the same day, just after the ceremony in the Machu Picchu ruins, the Municipium of Cusco organized the "Big Party of Democracy" – an Andean-style *fiesta* in the ruins of Sacsahuaman close to the Cusco, which lasted for more than 7 hours. On this occasion, Alejandro Toledo also gave a special announcement to all inhabitants of the Andean region, heirs of an ancient tradition of which they should be proud. "It was the time to recognize the rights of the Andean community and respect our traditions and customs," said the president-elect, emphasizing that all the resolutions of the "Declaration of Machu Picchu," and especially the recovery program of indigenous cultural values, will be fulfilled during his mandate (Montoya 30). The ethnic symbols, invocation of *Pachacutec* and the spectacular ceremony that took place in Machu Picchu – the site-symbol of Andean identity – symbolically sealed the presidential election, and at the same time served as an effective tool to build the image of a charismatic leader with power given from the Andean gods and Inca ancestors.

A few years later, a similar "spectacle of power" took place among the ruins of a pre-Columbian site, Tiahuanaco, in Bolivia. On January 22nd, 2006, Evo Morales Ayma was invested as *Jacha Mallku* (the Great Condor), the highest authority of indigenous people, and also the new president of the Republic of Bolivia at the same time. The ceremony of blessing the new president took place in the presence of close to 30,000 people, mostly representatives of the indigenous people of Bolivia, dressed in traditional costumes. There were also tourists and observers who had come specifically to Tiahuanaco to participate in this special, unusual event. Delegations of indigenous people made their entry with the sound of *pututus*. More than 3,000 *Jilakatas* (the local leaders) formed part of the communal guard responsible for ensuring safety during the ceremony. Prior to the arrival of the president-elect, the Mayor of the Community of Tiahuanaco, Lino Condori, spoke very excitedly to reporters: "All of my life I have hoped to see one of our brothers become president.

¹ Emphasis added by the author.

² Some of the resolutions of the "Declaration of Machu Picchu" are: the defense of the right to cultural identity, spiritual traditions, language, rights to intellectual property, and the right to maintain and develop historic cultural heritage, including the right to protect rituals and sacred places (<http://www.comunidadandina.org/documentos/actas/dec29-7-01.htm>).

Now all Bolivians are going to be equal" (Carrillo 8). In the commentaries of other participants, especially representatives of the indigenous people, great expectations were expressed: "We arrived so proud to greet Morales. We believe that his power will be emblematic of change on the entire continent. This is the first step towards a Latin American brotherhood, to recognize that we are different, but our indigenous roots unite us" (Carrillo 8).

Surrounded by the crowd, Evo Morales Ayma approached the *Akapana* pyramid, where *Amautas* (spiritual leaders), attired in white *uncus*, embroidered with the symbols of the tiahuanacota culture, received him. The priest who presided over the rite (Valentin Mejillones) gave Morales a red *uncu*, woven of alpaca fibre, with a gold symbol of the sun embroidered on the front. Before entering the *Akapana* pyramid, the priests asked Morales to kneel on an *aguayo*, where he took off his shoes and put leather sandals on in order not to offend Mother Earth. Inside the pyramid priests gave Morales a baton; also before entering the pyramid he had received other staffs. These staffs were made of wood and stone, inlaid with gold, silver and copper, and it is believed that they were replicas of those which, according to legend, the god *Inti* (Sun) gave to Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, the legendary founders of the Empire of the Incas. Another hypothesis associated the staffs with symbols of power or the ceremonial batons that can be seen in the hands of the "Lord's gate" - a figure engraved in bas-relief in the middle of the famous "Gate of the Sun" in Tiahuanaco. Thus, at that moment they symbolized the power of the new President over the 36 Bolivian nationalities. The priest placed on Morales's head the tiwanakota *chucu* (cloth cap), the four corners of which symbolize the four cardinal points of the World and the four parts of the Empire *Tahuantinsuyu*. During the ceremony of a *pago a Pachamama* (an offering of alcohol, incense and coca leaves), Evo Morales received the blessing of the priests and kissed the floor of *Akapana* in a symbolic gesture of sacrifice to the gods. Leaving the pyramid, Morales showed attendees two batons that he had received from the *Amautas* and turned to the *Kalasadaya* platform for another blessing with flowers and coca leaves. Then, from the "Gate of the Sun," the president greeted all those who were present, first in Aymara and then in Spanish. Referring to the revolution of the hero Tupac Katari from the 18th century, he announced the end of the struggle for justice of the indigenous people of Bolivia. He also announced the beginning of a new era, a new millennium for all indigenous people in his country, and appealed to the unit of all the inhabitants of the Republic of Bolivia - the Indians Aymara, Quechua, Guaraní and others.

All the representatives of the indigenous people of America (not only from Bolivia, but also from Perú, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Brasil, México, and even the Navajos from the United States of America), as well as the representatives of the Latin American governments (presidents, diplomats and authorities from Chile, Perú, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay, Paraguay, among others) who attended the event delivered small, symbolic gifts for the new president. The Aymara people gave him a large collar made of gold; the representatives of the Mayan people from Guatemala offered him a blue tunic in the color of the *Movement for Socialism* party led by Evo Morales. The Navajos offered eagle feathers and the Quechua Indians a multicolored scarf. The representatives of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo gave him a blue-white flag of Argentina. It was the first time that a president of Bolivia received power in an archaeological zone from the hands of the Aymara priests,

and in reference to that symbolic act all political commentaries were related to the pre-hispanic past, an indigenous tradition and the idea of revival of indigenous culture and values. All unusual activities on the site of Tiahuanaco were performed a day before Evo Morales formally received power in an inauguration ceremony in La Paz, attended by many representatives of Latin American States. In his inaugural speech, he described his presidency as marking a new era in Bolivia.

The process of the *politicization of myths*

How can we interpret those two events – a *spectacle* organized among the ruins of Machu Picchu in 2001 and the one that took place among crowds of spectators in the Tiahuanaco archaeological site in 2006?

I propose considering the events that took place in Peru and Bolivia in the context of the above-mentioned process, known as the *politicization of myths*, in this case the myths of the *golden age of the Incas* and the *myth of eternal return*. As we know, this process does not require scientific evidence; it does not require proof that the rites, symbols, gestures or words are historically documented. The staging of the Great *Hatun Haywa* in Machu Picchu and the blessing ceremony of “enthronement” at the Tiahuanaco site were only inspired by the myths, and merely made reference to the Andean tradition and Inca or pre-Inca times. They were an evocation of an image of the pre-Columbian epoch that was undoubtedly deeply rooted among the residents of the Andean *sierra* region.

According to the tradition that survives thanks to chroniclers from colonial times, the ceremony of enthronement of the new ruler in the Inca State was carried out in the main square of Cusco (*Aucaypata*), and was honored with offerings of gold, silver, ceramics and precious fabrics, as well as with the sacrifice of animals and two hundred children. The key moment was fulfilled with the placement of *mascaypacha* on the head of the new ruler – a symbolic gesture of the “coronation.” Certainly, in 2001 no children or animals could be sacrificed, but the particular elements of the Inca ritual were appropriately selected, and an “invented ceremony” was held with well-recognized attributes (baton of *Varayoc*, *mascaypacha*, offerings of ceramics and coca leaves) and the traditional prayers to deities *Pachamama* and the *Apus*. The gestures, the scenery of the Machu Picchu ruins – so important for the Inca tradition and the image of imperial power – as well as the invocations addressed to the ancestors and in particular to the Inca Pachacutec, the Great ruler of *Tahuantinsuyu*, were a form of appropriation of the symbology of the Incas to modern times and the way to gain specific political purposes: to win the favor of the electorate of the *sierra* region and legitimize the power of the new president.

On the other hand, we do not know much about the act of “taking power” in the Tiahuanaco Empire. Therefore, I assume that the ceremony of 2006 was a “demonstration of power” specially invented and organized for the inauguration of President Evo Morales, a classic example of the phenomenon known as the “invention of tradition,” in the sense proposed by Eric Hobsbawm (1992). In the comments of the press related to the ceremony, it was possible to read that “blessing of the gods in Tiahuanaco” was done with rituals never seen before, invented for this particular moment on purpose, in order to sanctify the result of the election and the decision

of the people. It is worth noting that when the archaeologist Javier Escalante, an employee of the National Directorate of Archeology in La Paz (DINAR), admitted that both the *wiphalas* rainbow flags that flew on the ruins of Tiahuanaco and the “ceremony of power,” which was attended by the president, were only an invention and did not have any confirmation in ethno-historical sources or archaeological research, the representatives of the various indigenous groups did not hide their outrage at his statements and did not spare offensive language against the archaeologist. This situation shows how the manipulation of the past, evocation of tradition and, above all, the use of myths and symbols that are seen as “eternal” involve a great emotional commitment.

To understand the meaning of the “spectacle of power” which took place within the walls of the Machu Picchu ruins in 2001, we have to go back to the beginning of 1990, when the Peruvians, desirous of stability and peace after ten years of bloody struggle against the left-wing guerrilla Shining Path, in the presidential election chose an agronomist, the former rector of the National University of Agriculture in Lima, and the son of Japanese immigrants: Alberto Fujimori. No one could have imagined then that the choice was a result of voluntary submission to the control of authoritarian power, and the disruption of the democratic system. Alberto Fujimori instituted a military dictatorship almost until the end of the decade and – strangely enough – was supported by the majority of the population of Peru almost to the end of his reign (Vidal 40-41; Flindell Klären 399-424; Pajuelo Teves 102-105; Contreras, Cueto 367-401). He probably could have been one of the greatest presidents of Perú. His presidency saved the country from the economic ruin and severe political crisis left as a “legacy” by his predecessor, President Alan García Pérez. It is due to the Fujimori government that Perú began neoliberal reforms, inflation was under control, and the country returned to foreign trade. In October 1992, Abimael Guzman, leader and main theorist of the Shining Path, was captured and imprisoned, shown from time to time in the news behind prison bars. In 1998, peace agreements between Peru and Ecuador were signed, putting an end to the conflict on the borders of the Amazon region that dated from the 19th century. Unfortunately, during this decade, the policy and decisions of Fujimori leaned towards an authoritarian way of rule, and year after year it became clear that democracy in Peru was merely a farce. The armed forces and secret police became the pillars of the Fujimori government, often designated as “the authoritarianism of choice” or a “hybrid regime.” In the year 2000, when Fujimori aspired to power for the third time by changing constitutional regulations, Peruvians took to the streets of Lima. They already had enough of being submitted to authoritarian and military order and economic reforms. The presidential election in 2000 turned out to be fraudulent. Opposition grew in strength and organized protest marches in the capital. In an atmosphere of accusations of corruption, extortion and violation of human rights, Alberto Fujimori went to an International Conference in Brunei and then to Japan, from where he sent a fax to Lima with his resignation. The Peruvian Parliament did not accept it, but at a special meeting announced the resignation of the President “for moral reasons.”³

³ Starting in 2000, Alberto Fujimori was accused of violation of human rights and corruption. In 2005 he was arrested in Chile, and in 2009 he was sentenced to 25 years in prison in Lima.

After the trauma of intimidation by the Fujimori regime and the radical struggle against terrorism, the Peruvian nation needed a revival. After the horrors of the massacres of the civilian population (especially in the *sierra* region)⁴, and a series of scandals that destroyed the authority of the state and demonstrated that the government of Peru was democratic in name only, the time of regeneration had come. After years of suppression of civil liberties, the impunity of those in power and the terror of fear, which had caused a profound social and political crisis, it was time for a... *pachacuti*. This mystical conception, deeply rooted in the Andean tradition, is based on the belief in the advent of *pachacuti*, a catastrophe of cosmic dimensions which overturns the natural order of things. The idea is that with the destruction (of this world, the era of evil) a new beginning will come, another epoch that will bring better times for all people (indigenous) and just rulers. In Peru, at the beginning of the 21st century, it was necessary to reconstruct everything, not only the political structures, but also the public's confidence in authority and the image of the country on the international stage. Old Peru, Peru of corruption, nepotism and violence, had to disappear. It was going to be a new age.

In the presidential campaign in 2000, which began in an atmosphere of scandals that revealed the hypocrisy of the government of Alberto Fujimori, Alejandro Toledo Manrique, candidate of the Peru Possible Party, mainly focused on the poorest of the electorate and on the victims of the civil war – the indigenous population of the province (Śniadecka-Kotarska 2006: 274). Commentators pointed out that at that moment the mechanism of confidence functioned again, the same which had been given ten years before to Alberto Fujimori: with the country on the brink of a political and economic abyss, the people needed a charismatic leader, even a priest, who was going to perform a miracle and pull the country out of the deep crisis. The official image of Toledo's party, and the image of himself that he created, resorted to the use of symbology based not only on the indigenous roots of the candidate, named "cholo," but also on elements of the Andean cosmovision and the myths of the great era of the Incas. There is no doubt that the person who was in charge of promoting the use of the Andean symbolism was Alejandro Toledo's wife, anthropologist Eliane Karp de Toledo.⁵ Karp speaks Quechua and Aymara, knows the history and the indigenous religion of the Peruvian *sierra* region, and she added a repertoire of Andean traditional symbols to the political rhetoric, introducing them in the electoral political struggle (Vilcapoma 291-292; Pajuelo Teves 108-109; Molinié 250-251).

⁴ In 1980 the *sierra* region became the main scenario of the armed conflict that pitted the Sendero Luminoso against the Peruvian state. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (*La Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación*, 2003), approximately 70,000 Peruvians lost their lives. The vast majority – more or less 75% of the total – were indigenous Quechua from the poorest areas of the central and southern *sierra* region. The conflict between Sendero Luminoso guerrilla fighters and the Peruvian state is usually considered the most violent, fierce and bloodthirsty event throughout the history of Peru. The violence of the massacre has left its mark on the consciousness of the inhabitants of the *sierra* region for years (Pajuelo Teves 102; Contreras, Cueto 374-377).

⁵ Eliane Karp and Alejandro Toledo met in 1975 at Stanford University. They married in 1979, but in 1986 Toledo denounced Eliane for abandoning the family, and for misappropriating and damaging marital property. They divorced after 1990. However, on the eve of the elections of April 2000, they re-married.

The *chacana Inca* – Andean cross – became the emblem of the Peru Possible Party.⁶ The photos showed Alejandro Toledo with the staff of *Varayoc* in his hands, to which the adviser of Toledo added the *chacana* symbol on the tip. Another ethnic symbol widely used by the toledistas was the *wiphala*, the flag of the seven colors of the rainbow, supposedly the flag of *Tahuantinsuyu* from the time of the Incas. But undoubtedly the most attractive symbol and the most effective evocation (which achieved the greatest success) was that of the ruler Inca Pachacutec. In campaign propaganda, Alejandro Toledo was identified with this legendary Inca who is considered to be the creator of the rise and power of *Tahuantinsuyu*.⁷ Before the second round of elections, a special brochure was published titled *Toledo Son of People. Life and Passion*, in which his closeness to the powerful Inca Pachacutec was presented. On the first page of the brochure, just at the bottom of the picture of Toledo, one could read: *The Pachacutec of the Third Millennium*. According to the propaganda rhetoric, Toledo embodied the promise of a new nation, the time of *pachacuti* and the era of King Pachacutec's rule in the Andean region. Like the ninth Inca king in pre-hispanic times, nowadays Toledo had a mission to save the country, as well as to fight with the enemies of Peru and restore Andean land.

Toledo skillfully used the emotions that accompanied the fall of the government of Alberto Fujimori, referring to the "offended race" (the indigenous) and to "hurt and battered Peru." He wrote his *mestizo fisis* so that everybody could learn about his "indigenous roots" and his strong connection with Inca ancestors. Toledo's image was based on the "cholo," or "almost-Indian," who had reached success through hard work and education. Toledo's advisers exploited his biography, which sounded like the American dream. He belonged to a family of poor peasants of the district of Pallasca (Department Ancash). His family cultivated quinoa, broad beans and wheat. When Alejandro was born, his entire family moved to Chimbote, on the coast, where it was easier to obtain work in fish-processing.

⁶ The *chacana* is an idealization of the astronomical symbol in the constellation of the Southern Cross, a natural symbol of religiosity and equity. The symbol was taken as the emblem of political organizations in Peru in the 1980s and 1990s, for example Renacimiento Andino of Ciro Gálvez and Organización de Comunidades Aymaras, Amazonenses y Quechuas OBAAQ. In the case of Peru Possible, the *chacana* symbol was imposed as the official party emblem, associated with the image of the leader, Alejandro Toledo (Vilcapoma 292; Karp de Toledo 117-125).

⁷ Pachacutec was the nickname of Cusi Yupanqui, son of the great Wiracocha and Mama Runto. He easily overthrew his brother Urco and seized power in *Tahuantinsuyu*. The triumphs which led him to this position were the defense of Cusco, an occasion in which he was able to, with the support of the caciques of Canas and Canchis, overcome the Chancas. According to tradition and historians of the colonial epoch (Cieza de Leon, Las Casas, José de Acosta or Sarmiento de Gamboa), after the victory, the young general added to his name the nickname of Pachacutec – man of the new era, who will reverse the world and give it a new beginning, the one who will change the political and military destiny of Empire. The aforementioned succession would have occurred in 1438. The ninth Inca monarch boasted and further developed the most extensive and organized Empire of all the pre-Columbian Americas, thanks to many of his cultural reforms, as well as expansive and decisive war campaigns. Several historians state that with Pachacutec, the Inca Empire was established, since before him there had only been the Cusco regional state (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 2002: 53-62; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 2006: 78-81; Vilcapoma 283-284).

In Chimbote he was employed as a shoeshine boy, but at the same time he was receiving a formal education and was a corresponding journalist for *La Prensa*. He was lucky – he was under the care of the American Peace Corps, and in 1966 he went to the USA on a scholarship. He studied at the University of California in San Francisco (Diploma in Economics in 1970), then at Stanford University (MA and Phd in Economics in 1976). Over the years he developed his international career: he worked at the Inter-American Development Bank, World Bank and United Nations. In 1981 he returned to Peru and worked as an advisor of the President of the Central Bank and Labour Minister during the government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry. During the presidential campaign in 2000, seeking support among the Quechua majority of the Andean population, he presented himself as a “cholo,” a “fighter” for democracy and better times, and a ... descendant of the Incas. On November 4th, 2000, taking advantage of the anniversary of the uprising of Tupac Amaru II (1780), he organized a spectacular Andean ceremony in the ruins of Sacsayhuaman (near Cusco) and was anointed as “President of the Tahuantinsuyu Parliament” by the Council of the Q’eswa Nation (Quechua). At the meeting, Alfredo Inca Roca was present, perhaps the most famous interpreter of the role of the Inca Pachacutec during the annual ceremony of the *Inti Raymi* in Cusco. The Inca Roca put a special headdress on Toledo’s head – a band with two tassels and two pens at the center, a symbol of Inca power, called *mascaypacha*. *Mascaypacha* on the head of Alejandro Toledo became a symbol of the anointing of the candidate for President of the Republic, a true ruler of Peru. On this occasion, Toledo stated excitedly: “It is an honor and enormous responsibility and I take it with humility” (*La República* 4). The location of the meeting, the symbolic gestures, the traditional costumes, the prayers of the representatives of the *neo-inca* cult, the sound of the *pututu* shells – all of these elements were used to gain the favor of a specific group of voters (cusqueños, inhabitants of the *sierra* region) and to achieve the primary objective of the campaign: the creation of the myth of the arrival of *pachacuti*, the rebirth of the Andean world and the return of the *golden era* of the reign of the Incas, whose successor (i.e. Toledo) had been chosen by the will of the gods and the people of the *sierra* region.

Nevertheless, the image of the Indian, or “cholo,” based on Andean tradition and a medley of symbols of the Inca epoch, was a strategy in order to campaign in the province, out of Lima. It is necessary to point out that the indigenous population gave to Alejandro Toledo an advantage over other candidates. In provincial areas, Toledo dressed in traditional costume (*poncho*, *chullo*), emphasized his ethnic origin, did not hide from terms such as “Pachacutec,” sang and danced the traditional *huaynos* songs and promised work, social care, health insurance and better education for all. But in Lima, in confrontation with the Creole society and white electorate, he appeared dressed in elegant suits and presented himself as a modern candidate and statesman who represented the values of a true *caudillo*, debating on fiscal discipline, macroeconomic stability and the political responsibility of the government. On the coast it was out of the question to sing or dance in *poncho*. The result of that Janus-faced campaign was that his opponents began to consider him a political chameleon (St. John 29). In this dichotomy of the image which appeared during the electoral campaign and continued almost until the end of Alejandro Toledo’s presidency in 2006, the instrumental manipulation of symbolism and *politicization*

of myth of the Inca epoch were a strategy to achieve a specific purpose – to win the electorate of the *sierra* region. The announcement of a "new era" and the return of a just government based on the traditions of the Incas was an excellent field for the populist rhetoric that led to the desired result. In the 2001 elections, Alejandro Toledo Manrique won thanks to the support of the provinces (almost 70% of all the votes cast in his favor), and became the first president of Peru of indigenous descent. The importance of the acts of *incaísmo* in the electoral campaign culminated in the ceremony of the "anointing of the ruler of Peru," a great *Hatun Haywa* in the main square of the Inca city of Machu Picchu after the official ceremony in the Government Palace in Lima. From the expression "tenth Pachacutec," which was used by the First Lady in her speech in Machu Picchu, it can be assumed that she was alluding to the information contained in the work *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Políticas del Perú* by Fernando Montesinos from the 17th century, to the idea of the arrival of a decisive moment in the history of the Andean region (*pachacuti*), and the myth of the eight leaders, called Pachacutec. They were always implying a disorder of their current times, a moment of change which would lead to the overcoming of all evil (time, government) and the advent of new, better times. The ninth Pachacutec was the Inca Yupanqui, governor of Cusco and creator of the power of the Inca Empire. The "tenth Pachacutec," the successor of the previous Inca government and the one who would raise a new era in the history of Peru, was the elected President Alejandro Toledo Manrique. The message of the First Lady did not have, therefore, political meaning strictly, but its strength was a symbolic reference to the past, the *myth of eternal return* and the *myth of a new beginning*, concepts that have existed for centuries in the Andean region.

The number of commentaries, newspaper articles and television programs that appeared in relation to the activities in the Cusco and Machu Picchu site in July of 2001 exceeded everything that had been published and commented on in the indigenous community (its culture, traditions, needs or economic and social situation) throughout the entire period of the regime of Alberto Fujimori. A return to the *sierra* region and its inhabitants was an attempt to draw attention to the Andean region among the inhabitants of the coast of Peru. It is well known that for them the world usually ends at Lima, and the rest of Peru is almost like a "foreign country." During the years of civil war and the Shining Path guerrillas, the region of the *sierra* was perceived as a source of violence, the origin of evil and backwardness. This image was also reinforced by the growing wave of poor immigrants from the provinces which had come to the cities of the coast (particularly to Lima) during the previous two or three decades. In the opinion of representatives of the creole society, uncontrolled immigration was the cause of every social and economic problem in the capital and a threat to the social order. Meanwhile, in July 2001, for the first time all Peruvians could see their president participating in the particular ceremony-ritual, bringing the blessing and the offerings of the hands of priests, local authorities and... *Apus*. They were witnesses of activity which was conducted in Quechua at the national level (Echeandía a4). In this context, the presidency of Alejandro Toledo started with great expectations indeed. The "spectacle of power" that took place in Machu Picchu was the perfect beginning for a new era that was announced during the election campaign. It was a symbolic end of the era of evil and the arrival of *pachacuti*.

Bolivia: the motive of the *eternal struggle*

In the case of Bolivia and the aforementioned ceremony at the Tiahuanaco site, the interpretation of the event seems to be very similar to the one in Peru. More than 30,000 people in the ceremonial complex of pre-Columbian times were witnesses of what the politicians, journalists and citizens of Bolivia regarded as the symbolic start of a new era for the indigenous population. The name *Alaj Pacha* (New Time) was given to the election of President Evo Morales Ayma. A member of the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) in the region of Tiahuanaco, Leandro Chacalluca Mamani, stated firmly: "It is a historical fact. After 500 years of subjugation now we are those who have the destiny of our country in our hands" (Kolkichuima P'ankara 22). The victory of Evo Morales in the presidential elections was seen as the fulfillment of hopes and aspirations for indigenous people in Latin America. In Bolivia, the victory of Evo Morales was considered in particular by the indigenous people as the *pachacuti* – the "new dawn" of the Andean world, an act of rebirth and return of the times of Indian power.

The term *pachacuti* appeared in the politics of Bolivia already in the 1980s, when the post of vice-president was occupied for the first time by the leader of the indigenous party, Aymara Victor Hugo Cárdenas (for four years, 1985-1989). In 1985 Hugo Cardenas began his term with discourse partially in Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní, saying: "Today, we arrive at the time of a new *pachacuti*, of a fundamental change. United Bolivians have begun to transform these 500 years of exclusion and marginalization" (Makaran 68). For four years several pro-indigenous initiatives were promoted under the name of "Plan of All," such as, for example, the Act of Participation and Educational Reform. Looking back at the proposal, it must be admitted that those initiatives were insufficient to improve the situation of indigenous people in Bolivia. But it should be noted, however, that the political use of Andean tradition and the evocation of the past in general had appeared in the Bolivian political discourse much earlier with the *Kataristas* movement, which has its origins in the years 1960-1970. The *katarismo* is a movement of Aymara intellectuals and of urban indigenous people with access to higher education. The ideology is based on the concept of the recovery of ethnic identity and indigenous tradition in opposition to the liberal vision of the State and the western values of culture. The symbol and the hero of the movement is, of course, Tupaj Katari (Julian Apas), the leader of the rebellion against Spanish rule in Alto Peru in the 18th century.⁸ The *katarismo* Aymara, led nowadays by the *Mallku* Felipe Quispe, who in 2000 founded the Pachacuti Indigenous Movement (*Movimiento Indígena Pachacuti*, MIP), is one of the most important trends on the political scene of Bolivia. According to the leader of the MIP, the indigenous struggle is going to reach the *pachacuti* – a new Andean cycle, a time of change and return of the ancestors. In his political discourse, the *myth of the golden era*, or "the time of *Qullasuyu*," is frequently evoked and is based on the concept of a return to the historical past of the indigenous people, a time without Spanish colonizers, and a utopian era of Inca power, "where there was no poverty, there was no hunger. [...] With work and the preparation of our brothers, the Quechuas, Aymaras

⁸ The ideology of the *katarismo* was presented in the "manifesto of Tiwanaku" in 1973 (Makaran 62-65; Andersen 97-98).

and other nations can return to the original *Qullasuyu*, with its symbols, with all of the old emblems."⁹

An interesting aspect of the process of the *politicization of the past* in Bolivia can also be seen in the ideology of the Quechua owners of the coca plantations (*cocaleros*) and the movement represented by the Movement for Socialism Party (*Movimiento al Socialismo*, MAS) led by Evo Morales Ayma. In the early 1980s, the coca-growers blocked roads and paralysed the country to demand agrarian reform and the abolition of the government's policy against coca cultivation. They organized the "March for territory and dignity" in 1990 and popular uprisings in the years 2000 and 2003 named the *war of water*, and the *gas war*. The party led by Morales was intended to represent the movement of *cocaleros* and enter the Parliament. In 1997 they gained only 3.8% of the votes, but in the general election of 2002 they became the second political force in the country, with 20.94% of the votes (Ługowska 165-170; Makaran 52; Powęska 19-21; Andersen). Starting in the 1980s, opposition to the eradication of coca crops became a form of cultural and ethnic resistance. The slogans of the growers began to rely on the defense of coca leaves as a fundamental element of the culture of native people (Quechua and Aymara) and at the same time the defense of the "sacred plant" cultivated and used according to the deeply-rooted tradition from the times of the Incas. It should be noted that, unlike the *Katarista* movement, *cocaleros*, and even Evo Morales himself, did not intend to restore the State of the Incas or create a republic of indigenous people.¹⁰ However, as a "mantra," the motto of the defense of *Pachamama* was repeated, and desire for a return to the epoch when there was no misery or famine and everything had its place – the idealized past of Inca times. These constant allusions to *Pachamama* and the aforementioned indigenous struggles (especially the insurrection of Tupaj Katari) created a particular character for almost all indigenous movements, based, above all, on the specific symbolism of the Andean tradition.

In his presidential campaign in 2005, Evo Morales continued and even developed these principles, based on the theme of recovery of the rights of indigenous people and the fight against racial prejudice, and presented himself as a representative of the poor, the downtrodden and a member of the suppressed population.¹¹ His com-

⁹ Declarations in 2001 (Ługowska 169-170; Makaran 73). The term *Qollasuyu* means an indigenous republic in the Aymara-majority regions of Bolivia, based on tradition from the pre-hispanic epoch. With the radicalisation of the MIP program and conduct of its leader (the demand of the revolutionary struggle), in the parliamentary elections in December 2005 the Indigenous Movement Pachacuti did not achieve the minimum of 3% of the votes, and thus did not enter parliament.

¹⁰ The "nostalgia" for the Inca past (as a time of indigenous rule) was only one element in the ideology of MAS, alongside anti-neoliberalism, anti-globalism, protection of the environment, biodiversity, social justice, health and social security (more: Makaran 80-83).

¹¹ Evo Morales was born in the tropical zone of Cochabamba, an area of coca cultivation and coca growers' violent fights with the government. During many years of social and political activity, his image was created as a leader of coca growers, (*cocaleros*) and a staunch leader of the struggle against US imperialism. During the presidential campaign in 2005, however, Morales stressed his Aymara origin and talked a lot about the poverty in which he lived when he was a child (most of his siblings died from malnutrition; his mother almost died in childbirth due to hemorrhage; he worked as a pastor of flames, and also traveled with his father as a seasonal worker in Argentina). Such a biography attracted voters, referring to the experience of the majority of Bolivians.

ing to power was not without difficulties, and undoubtedly broke the codes of social exclusion in Bolivia. In the 2005 campaign he achieved something that seemed impossible: he joined the trade unions, peasants, urban middle class and workers as a representative of the Aymara, Quechua, and Guaraní indigenous peoples, and in the first round gained an absolute majority of the votes (54%), beating his main rival, the former liberal president Jorge Quiroga (Makaran 52; Powęzka; Postero 15). On January 22nd, 2006, he became president of the Republic of Bolivia, and thus became the first indigenous president of Bolivia, arousing great expectations in the popular sector of the country (Makaran 52; Powęzka; Postero 4-5).

The motif of the *eternal struggle* of the indigenous people against abuse and social injustice, the *mythologization* of the rebellions of the 18th century – these are the constant elements of the contemporary political discourse in Bolivia, next to the *myth of the return* or myth of *pachacuti*. It is a traditional way to consider the indigenous movements (such as *Kataristas* or *cocaleros*) as a direct continuation of the rebellions of the colonial era. I suppose that it is precisely due to these references to the past that the contemporary indigenous movements acquire their *raison d'être* and can legitimize their demands, presenting themselves as rooted in a long tradition with an almost messianic character, so exceptional in comparison with other social movements in Latin America.

Final Considerations

The process of the *politicization of the myth of the golden age* of the Incas, as well as the *myth of eternal return*, is not a new phenomenon in the politics of the republics of Peru and Bolivia. The image of Pachacutec or faith in *pachacuti* has exceeded any historical consideration to be reinterpreted as an ideal symbol in order to compare the current social and political condition of the State (Vilcapoma 292). The conquest was one of the moments of *pachacuti*, which led to the annihilation of the indigenous. Throughout the colonial period, indigenous people expected “the return of the Inca” – the arrival of Pachacutec, the restoration of the old order and the return of the Empire of the Incas. Thus the Inca tradition was used for political purposes already during the colonial era. During republican times, reference was made to the past in order to camouflage the problems of contemporary societies or as a critical way of appraising the present. The evocation of myths of the past was seen as a way to overcome the difficulties of the political and economic crisis of the republics after the defeat of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). It is worth mentioning that in the process of *politicization of the myth* of the Inca Empire it was a fair system of government, and the welfare state considered the indigenous people in the Andean region as symbols of power. The authoritarian government of the Incas, perpetual wars, a mandatory system of work for the state and persistent conflicts between political fractions are parts of history that were rejected or far seldom mentioned. No less important was the strategy referring to the selected elements of the region's past in order to justify the struggle for power (this mechanism can be noticed in the messianic ideology of the great revolts of the 18th century, such as that of Tupac Amaru II in Peru or Tupaj Katari in High Peru). In the 19th century, at the dawn of independence, the liberators, as well as the founders of the new republics, were looking for values and symbols

to define the identity of the new nation-states. In relation to the mythical past and the *golden age* in Peru, the *incaísmo* became an emblem of the Peruvian indigenism movement, both the romantic one, exalted, from the beginning of the 20th century, as well as the contemporary one, related to indigenous messianism and the demands of social justice. In Bolivia, the symbol of the fulfillment of the indigenous expectations was the election of Evo Morales Ayma for president and his announcement of the end of the "internal struggle" and the arrival of a "new era" of the redemption of the Andean world.

Considering the events that took place in Peru in the years 2000-2001 and in Bolivia in 2006 in the context of theories of political myths, rites of power and the process of politicization of the past, we have an almost classic example of each of their functions and their associated phenomena: the serious socio-political crisis and the collapse of the structures of the social order that facilitate the creation of "myth-political stories"; the legitimacy of power through the symbolic form of the reincarnation of the Inca Pachacutec; the use of myths and rituals as political attractions to gain the emotions of the crowd. Alejandro Toledo appeared before the Andean people as the heir to Inca power in Peru. Toledo's intentions were clear: with the help of a very important symbol of Andean identity, such as the Machu Picchu site, he created a new vision of the state, and he based the integration policy of the Peruvian Nation on the official program of *incaísmo*, directed in particular to the indigenous population. The ethnic origin of the president, the use of ethnic symbols by the Peru Possible Party, and the actions of First Lady Eliane Karp de Toledo allowed him to propagate and consolidate the "indigenist image" of his government.

At this moment an essential question appears: was the political strategy demonstrated during the election campaign carried out during Toledo's presidency? He won with promises of a million new jobs, a fight against corruption (and its elimination), restoration of the democratic system and the economic development of the country. In July 2001 he assumed the post with 59% of support. But the following months showed a defeat of the *indigenismo* politics. The popularity of Alejandro Toledo began to weaken already in the first year of his presidency. In the same year, 2001, the president had to deal with a serious political crisis and declare a state of emergency in the southern provinces of Peru. Contrary to the expectations of voters, the socio-political situation of the country did not improve. His administration was under fire due to its incompetence, arrogance and failure at putting into practice its electoral promises. There were accusations of financial embezzlement, nepotism, and corruption, including scandals related to the personal life of the president (cocaine consumption, an illegitimate daughter, etc.). Many Peruvians suspected that the government of Toledo was more corrupt than that of the epoch of Alberto Fujimori. In July 2002 the entire cabinet resigned. Demonstrations of workers, trade unionists, peasants, teachers, farmers, and businessmen marched through the streets of Lima. All expressed their discontent with the policies of the government and the direction in which the country was going. In the spring of 2003, no one spoke of the "Tenth Pachacutec." Support for the president was below 11.7%, and in February 2004 was only 7.3%. Some even began to doubt whether Toledo could fulfill his entire mandate. He left office in July 2006 without prospects for reelection (Śniadecka-Kotarska 2006; St. John 121-122). The promises of the election campaign

– a million jobs, elimination of corruption and the eradication of poverty – had not been fulfilled. Announced with the accompaniment of *pututus* shells and *huaynos* songs, the rebirth of the indigenous people's land did not produce any real results. The declaration of the arrival of the *pachacuti* and the renewal of the Andean world was not met. Commentary on the presidency of Toledo pointed out that he was introduced as an indigenous president, but he was not the president of the Indians. In my opinion, Alejandro Toledo, despite his Indian image presented during the presidential campaign, in fact did not identify himself with those who were represented. He only played the role of charismatic leader of the indigenous people. He chose the appropriate elements of an "arsenal of *incaísmo*," but it was a totally artificial and invented image. Alejandro Toledo won the presidential election, but he lost the presidency.

Meanwhile, Evo Morales, the Aymara Indian, did not have to create the image of an Indian. His identification with the indigenous segment of the population of Bolivia has become a main argument for the undisputed leadership of the indigenous people and members of indigenous movements. In the decisive moments, Morales also made allusions to myths from the past (the *myth of return* and the *eternal struggle* in particular), in order to initiate a revival of the Andean world. In addition, since the beginning of the 21st century a very interesting phenomenon has been noticeable: a process of *aymarization* of the Bolivian nation, inspired no doubt by the rise of the indianist movement and the events organized at Tiahuanaco during recent years, such as ceremonies connected with the New Year of the Indians, the Sun Solstice and the re-election of Evo Morales as president and the leader of Plurinational State of Bolivia in January 2010. This process of a visible revival of ethnicity can be observed among Bolivians of the middle class, urban residents, many of whom formerly were, and wanted to be seen as, *Mestizos*. They are now discovering their "Andean roots" and emphasizing their adherence to Aymara tradition (Śniadecka-Kotarska 2011; Andersen).

In 2006, at the initial stage of Evo Morales's presidency, there were many discussions about the separatist tendencies in Bolivia, not only on the part of the indigenous population, but in the Creole society of eastern Bolivia, as well. A lot has been said about the division of Bolivia into two or even three separate states. Meanwhile, in 2009 the Constitutional Assembly adopted the draft of the new Constitution that transformed the Republic of Bolivia into a multiethnic state (Plurinational State of Bolivia) and the unit has been preserved until today. In December 2009 Evo Morales again won the presidential elections in the first round (64.22% of the votes) and began his second term (2010-2015). And like in the year 2006, a formal ceremony at the Presidential Palace was preceded by a "traditional" ceremony held in the archaeological complex in Tiahuanaco. On 21 January, 2010, thousands of people gathered from the early morning hours in the pre-Columbian site and attended the ritual during which the president renewed his investiture as a leader of the indigenous people in Bolivia and – in a symbolic sense – of all indigenous people of Latin America. Dressed in special attire with traditional tiahuanacota adornments, Morales received the baton of power and the blessing of several *Amautas*. The ritual was completed by a turn to the four cardinal points of the pyramid of *Akapana*, as well as by offerings and prayers to the Andean deities, with the intention to provide energy for the second term of the *Mallku* Evo Morales.

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