Paulo Drinot

Awaiting the Blood of a Truly Emancipating Revolution

Che Guevara in 1950s Peru

Ernesto Guevara de la Serna traveled through Peru twice in the 1950s, first between 24 March and 22 June 1952, corresponding to the trip with Alberto Granado recounted in the *Motorcycle Diaries* and in Granado's own diaries, published as *Traveling with Che Guevara*, and later for much of August and September 1953, as recounted in *Back on the Road*.[1] During the first trip, Guevara and Granado entered Peru from Chile and spent most of April traveling in the southern highlands, famously visiting Machu Picchu. In late April they arrived in the central sierra, and from there they moved on to Lima on 1 May, where they stayed three weeks and met Hugo Pesce, one of Peru's most eminent physicians who in the late 1920s had helped José Carlos Mariátegui found the Peruvian Socialist Party. Pesce took the travelers under his wing, feeding them and even giving them clothes (a white suit for Granado and a white jacket for Guevara). They then retraced their steps back through the central sierra and down into the selva, to the river port of Pucallpa, where they boarded the boat that took them to Iquitos. From Iquitos they went downstream to the San Pablo "leper" colony, and from there made their way, unknowingly via Brazil, to Leticia on the Colombian side of the border.

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The second trip through Peru began on the Peru-Bolivia border on 7 August 1953. Guevara undertook this trip with Carlos "Calica" Ferrer, an old childhood friend.[2] After a few days in Cuzco, during which Guevara visited Machu Picchu for a second time, Che and Calica embarked on a grueling three-day journey to Lima. They spent a few weeks in the capital, during which Guevara visited some of the people he had met on his first trip, including Pesce, and then headed north to the Ecuadorian border. Unfortunately, Guevara's diary includes very little information on this trip up the arid Peruvian coast, which the two friends appear to have covered in a great hurry, arriving in Piura after a single day. Although he passed through the cities of Piura, Talara, and Tumbes, Guevara had little to say about these places. It seems particularly surprising, not least in light of the anti-imperialist sentiment that his visit to Chuquicamata engendered (perhaps suggesting the formulation of those sentiments ex post facto), that he describes Talara, an oil enclave controlled by the International Petroleum Company, itself a subsidiary of Standard Oil, as a "rather picturesque oil port."[3] Guevara, who appears to have been suffering from particularly bad asthma attacks during much of the trip north, crossed into Ecuador on 27 September 1953.

The Peru that Guevara encountered in his travels and narrates in his diaries has received limited attention from historians. Peruvian historiography tends to end in the 1930s, when, typically, sociologists and political scientists take over, particularly for the period after 1968 and the so-called Peruvian Experiment of General Juan Velasco Alvarado.[4] It is undoubtedly through fiction that the decade has received its most profound analysis. Our understanding of the 1950s in Peru has been fashioned by the novels and short stories of Mario Vargas Llosa, José Maria Arguedas, and Julio Ramón Ribeyro to a far greater extent than any work of social science. Indeed, the dominant interpretation of that decade arguably remains encapsulated in the question that Santiago Zavala, "Zavalita," Vargas Llosa's main character in *Conversation in the Cathedral*, asks at the beginning of the novel: "At what precise moment had Peru fucked itself up"?[5] This phrase has become popular in Peru and has been interpreted in myriad ways.[6] It is, as several scholars have pointed out, a question that fits neatly into defeatist narratives of Peruvian history. Such narratives are clearly the product of particular readings of Peruvian history formulated, ironically, by historians of both the Left and the Right.[7] It is, as Gonzalo Portocarrero suggests, a particularly Creole (i.e., white/coastal) form of thinking about Peru's history.[8] However, the question arguably should be understood primarily in the context of the period in which the novel is set. According to Guillermo Nugent, the answer to Zavalita's question that the novel itself provides is that "Peru fucked itself up when the cholos arrived. To

of the novel: "At what precise moment had Peru fucked itself up"?[5] This phrase has become popular in Peru and has been interpreted in myriad ways.[6] It is, as several scholars have pointed out, a question

Lima, it is assumed, since Lima is Peru."[9] Zavalita's question points to a highly racist hegemonic reading of Peru's history based on the idealization of, and the reduction of all Peruvian history to, a largely imagined past in which Lima was a white city untouched and yet dominant over an Indian and "cholo" national hinterland.

Zavalita's question thus expresses the racialized way in which elite Peruvians made sense of the beginnings of mass internal migration in the 1950s, but also, more generally, their understandings of the nature of Peruvian society and history. But the question also proves revealing from the perspective of historical analysis because it indicates a demographic, social, and cultural point of inflexion in Peruvian history, rather than a political or economic one. In fact, such a demographic and cultural periodization of Peru's twentieth-century history is finding acceptance in some of the more recent master narratives or "national histories" of Peru. As historians of Peru refocus their gaze on new subjects and adopt new theoretical perspectives, they—in contrast to older "national histories," which favored political and economic turning points (the 1930s, 1968)—give increasing importance to the 1950s.[10] In large measure this has to do with the fact that from today's perspective, the changes that fashioned that decade, particularly what we may call the "peruvianization of Lima," seem to explain the country's contemporary challenges more compellingly than, say, the displacement of British merchant capital by U.S. monopoly capital or the rise of military corporatism.

The present essay explores the Peru of the early 1950s through the perspective of Guevara's diaries. As his biographers agree, Guevara's travels through Latin America in the 1950s had a profound impact on his worldview. According to Paul Dosal, "the poverty and injustice that [Che Guevara] observed struck a sensitive chord" vara's travels through Latin America in the 1950s had a profound impact on his worldview. According to Paul Dosal, "the poverty and injustice that [Che Guevara] observed struck a sensitive chord" while he came "to identify United States imperialism as the source of the injustices and poverty that he observed in South America."[11] The experiences lived in those travels and, just as important, the diaries that served as the medium to order and give meaning to those experiences, helped produce Che Guevara, helped create Che from Ernesto Guevara. As I will suggest, Peru provided plenty of examples of injustice and poverty, and Guevara's experience of them, framed by the experiences of an unforgiving environment (roasting deserts, freezing mountains, and mosquito-infested jungles), hunger, and asthma attacks, undoubtedly contributed to his radicalization. At the same time, like the European travelers that Mary Louise Pratt and others have studied and whose "travel and exploration writing *produced* 'the rest of the world' for European readerships," Guevara, with his writings on Peru and Latin America more generally, also produced a Peru and a Latin America—initially for himself and later for others.[12] Through a close reading of Guevara's diaries in conjunction with and in counterpoint to other contemporary travelogues, including Granado's, I critically examine Guevara's production of early 1950s Peru.

Political Silences in the Land of Flourishing Barracks

Guevara traveled in Peru during the middle years of Manuel Odría's eight-year dictatorship (1948–56). Odría's coup in 1948 ended one of Peru's few periods of democratic rule in the twentieth century, but also, according to contemporary commentators, one of the most chaotic.[13] Historians have tended to view Odría's coup as part of a general and unfortunate return to military dictatorship throughout Latin America after the democratic spring of the immediate postwar period. However, contemporary opinions on the character of the dictatorship, although certainly divided, were for the most part relatively favorable. Peter Schmid, a German traveler who crossed the entire continent from Mexico to Brazil in the first half of the 1950s, presented a somber picture of the dictatorship: "The country is . . . one of the most 'reactionary' in South America. Not only in the amiable patriarchal sense that Ecuador is conservative, but in the evil sense of a conspiracy of the dark powers: feudal lords, church, army and foreign capitalist companies."[14] But Schmid nevertheless amiable patriarchal sense that Ecuador is conservative, but in the evil sense of a conspiracy of the dark powers: feudal lords, church, army and foreign capitalist companies."[14] But Schmid nevertheless felt he had to concede that "Peru may have the atmosphere of a barracks parade ground, but paradoxically it is a flourishing barracks."[15] Although most foreign observers criticized the lack of political freedoms and the severe if selective repression that came to characterize the regime, most would have agreed with the *New York Times* journalist Tad Szulc's conclusion that "if Odría's political behavior may have left much to be desired, his administrative record was impressive."[16] *Time* magazine, for one, certainly agreed, and approvingly pointed out that "General Manuel Odría has ruled Peru

as a fatherly, sometimes Big Brotherly dictator" and that "the country has moved forward economically under honest, efficient Dictator Odría."[17]

Odría based his regime on three basic pillars: (1) the ruthless but selective elimination of political opposition; (2) liberal economic policies that benefited from a favorable international economic context; and (3) social reform aimed at the working and middle classes. Odría justified the coup by pointing to President José Bustamante's failure "to deal firmly with the APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] menace [that] was leading the country towards disaster and ruin."[18] One of his first measures was to outlaw both APRA and the Peruvian Communist Party, while simultaneously increasing the army's pay by 20 percent. Political opponents found themselves summarily arrested and subjected to court martial without a right of appeal. The regime formalized repression through the passing of the Law of Interior Security on 21 July 1948, which, as British diplomats noted, "deprives Peruvian citizens of most of the elementary democratic rights to which, on paper at any rate, they are entitled under the Constitution."[19] Yet although repression could take extreme forms (as well as absurd ones, such as attempts to link the APRA leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, with a gang of cocaine smugglers arrested in New York in mid-1949), it was for the most part selective.[20] For a time at least the regime even allowed newspapers deemed pro-communist, such as the satirical *Yá*, to continue operations, in part because they tended to be critical of the APRA but also because, "[Odría] realises that it is sound politics to allow people to let off steam and considers these small semi-Communist publications provide a harmless and even convenient medium for this purpose [sic]."[21] The British ambassador for one concluded that "it would be a mistake to picture Peru as being

Communist publications provide a harmless and even convenient medium for this purpose [sic]."[21] The British ambassador for one concluded that "it would be a mistake to picture Peru as being anything like a Police State of the Fascist variety. . . . The ordinary individual unless he is suspected of plotting against the regime is free to come and go as he likes (there is nothing in Peru equivalent to the Gestapo)."[22] But some would have been hard pressed to agree with this evaluation, not least aprista labor leaders such as Luis Negreiros, whose murder by the secret police brought about a formal letter of protest from the American Federation of Labor against "this latest crime committed by the Fascist-minded military dictatorship of Peru."[23]

Odría's economic policies stand out in the Latin American context of this period because Peru fulfilled, as Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram suggest, "the dream of orthodox development economists" at a time when many neighboring countries were moving toward increasing state intervention in the economy.[24] The economic achievements of this period of free-market policies, which included the reduction of barriers to capital flows and the encouragement of foreign direct investment, are notable: between 1948 and 1951 exports rose 6 percent a year and then, buoyed by the effects of the Korean War, increased to 10 percent a year from 1951 to 1959. Gross national product, meanwhile, increased by 4.7 percent annually, although in per capita terms the increase proved more modest, at only 2.4 percent per annum, a consequence of considerable demographic growth.[25] No doubt mindful that political repression and economic growth alone would not undermine widespread support for APRA among Peru's middle and working classes, Odría also implemented highly visible if not necessarily highly effective social reforms. Whether purely political considerations or a higher ideal motivated him remains unclear, although he was certainly not the first dictator seeking relations with organized labor through statist social action.[26]

Like Augusto B. Leguía (1919–30) and Oscar Benavides (1933–39) before him, Odría introduced a series of social measures, described as an "avalanche" by the British ambassador, including a revamped social insurance scheme for employees, a substantial increase in indemnities paid to workers for accidents and professional illnesses, a controversial profit-sharing scheme for workers and employees, and improved pensions.[27] In addition, the government embarked on an extensive program of reform and expansion in housing, public health, and education. The extent to which these

employees, and improved pensions.[27] In addition, the government embarked on an extensive program of reform and expansion in housing, public health, and education. The extent to which these reforms succeeded in their objectives remains unclear. Early on, British diplomats, convinced that Peru was "economically . . . not ready for it," noted that Odría's "ambitious" social program had been met with apathy, "for the people would prefer cheap bread to the promise of social benefits to come, while General Odría, who is not really successful as a demagogue, has not managed, like Perón, to kindle the imagination of the masses."[28] Some of the infrastructural measures were certainly followed through. According to one source, the Odría government built 217 primary schools and created

691 new teaching positions in 1953 alone.[29] But whether the regime succeeded in co-opting labor and undermining the appeal of APRA remains less clear: Odría's progressive social program may have tamed militancy among the working classes, but the regime still occasionally had to turn to full-on repression to bring labor unrest under control, as happened during a general strike in Arequipa in early 1953, believed to have been instigated by Bolivian-influenced Trotskyites, during which some sixty "minor" labor leaders "were picked up."[30]

With the end of the Korean War, however, the economy started to weaken. Favorable trade balances became unfavorable ones and inflation, which had presented the Bustamante government with one of its biggest problems, resurfaced.[31] By early 1954, though they believed that the government remained in a strong position, British diplomats were forced to admit that "there is discontent in the country. The curtailment of the public works program (one of the measures designed to protect the currency) has led to unemployment; corruption is rampant; and the War Minister Noriega, is heartily disliked by many army officers."[32] In early 1955 the British ambassador explained to his superiors that critics of the regime, both inside and outside Peru, "are becoming bolder and more vocal." He pointed to growing discontent in the provinces, particularly in Arequipa, at the overcentralized character of the regime, and among "sections of the middle-classes—a class which is rapidly becoming more social and politically conscious—which believes that it would benefit from a policy of exchange controls, quotas, and increased import tariffs, in contrast to the Government's declared policy of interfering as little as possible with trade and finance." Yet he concluded that "as yet no party exists to serve as a focus for their interests. There is no sign at all of the development of party policy of interfering as little as possible with trade and finance." Yet he concluded that "as yet no party exists to serve as a focus for their interests. There is no sign at all of the development of party politics as we understand them."[33] But in the period leading up to the 1956 elections two fresh political forces emerged in representation of new, largely middle-class sectors; both had benefited from the political and economic stability of the Odría regime, but now they clamored for political representation. Fernando Belaúnde's National Front of Democratic Youth and the Christian Democratic Party (based in the provincial city of Arequipa) were unable to defeat Manuel Prado's National Coalition, which brought together the oligarchy and APRA in opposition to Odría. But we can locate the birth

of a new form of expanded and more inclusive politics in the emergence of Belaúnde and the Christian Democrats and in the radicalization of younger sectors of APRA as a result of the party leaders' willingness to consort with the oligarchy.[34]

This, in broad strokes, was the political and economic context that Guevara encountered in Peru during his two visits in the early 1950s. Yet in contrast to his relatively extensive comments on, and keen interest in, political developments in Bolivia and Chile, Guevara left little of his impressions of Peru's regime or of the political situation in the country in his diaries. Despite spending time with Pesce, who had represented Mariátegui in Argentina during the meetings of the Comintern in 1928, Guevara's diaries remain silent on the Peruvian Communist Party that Pesce and Mariátegui established that same year (originally as the Peruvian Socialist Party). In Walter Salles's film, *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004), Pesce gives Guevara a copy of Mariátegui's *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality* (first published in 1928), and Guevara is portrayed reading this book on several occasions, as if to suggest that his reading of Mariátegui hastened his political awakening. Yet Guevara makes no reference to the book or to Mariátegui in the diaries. According to the memoir of Hilda Gadea, Guevara's first wife and a former APRA militant, she, not Pesce, introduced Guevara to Mariátegui's writings, in Guatemala.[35] Guevara acknowledged Pesce's influence on him in the dedication he wrote into the copy of his first book, *Guerrilla Warfare*, which he sent to the Peruvian: "To Doctor Hugo Pesce: who without knowing it perhaps, provoked a great change in my attitude toward life and society, with the same adventurous spirit as always, but channeled toward goals more harmonious with the needs of America." Pesce may indeed have tutored Guevara and Granado in Marxist theory as Anderson suggests, but Guevara did not much remark channeled toward goals more harmonious with the needs of America." Pesce may indeed have tutored Guevara and Granado in Marxist theory as Anderson suggests, but Guevara did not much remark on this in his diaries.[36] Guevara remained similarly silent on APRA. During his first trip he claimed to be ignorant of what the party stood for. When he and Granado met a schoolteacher from Puno, "whom the government had sacked for being a member of the APRA party," Guevara noted that the fact that the man was an *aprista* "meant nothing to us."[37] Similarly, while in Lima, Guevara alluded to Haya de la Torre's "exile" in the Colombian embassy, as if he did not really know what was going on: "An interesting fact was the number of police surrounding the Colombian embassy. There were

no less than 50 uniformed and plainclothes doing permanent guard duty around the entire block."[38] According to Gadea, Guevara met several *aprista* leaders during his second trip, at the home of a "leftist nurse" in Lima.[39] But Guevara does not mention this meeting in his diary.

Yet during his second trip the politics of the country can be gleaned through Guevara's experience at the border with Bolivia, where the police confiscated some of his books: "On reaching Puno, I had two of my books confiscated at the last customs post: *El hombre en la Unión Soviética*, and a Ministry of Peasant Affairs publication, which they loudly accused of being 'Red, Red, Red.' After some banter with the main policeman, I agreed to look for a copy of the publication in Lima."[40] Ricardo Rojo, who traveled from Bolivia to Peru with Guevara, also discusses the altercation at the border post.[41] Rojo suggests that the Peruvian authorities worried that Bolivian agitators were seeking to export the revolution to Peru: "We lost a lot of time before we could convince the guards that our intentions were harmless and that we didn't plan to contaminate the Indians of Peru with the germs of the agrarian revolution. Actually, these crude border guards had learned to see the problem correctly, and inadvertently they gave us a free lesson in history: political frontiers never succeed in dividing human masses faced with the same problems; an agrarian revolution that flares up among the Indian masses of one country does not burn out at the political limits fixed by white men in faraway cities. The winds of Indian rebellions were blowing on the Peruvian border in 1953, and the customs men suspected that we were bringing more fuel in our shabby packs."[42] Perhaps Guevara viewed the incident in similar terms, but little in his diary indicates that he did. Apart from this episode, Guevara does not narrate much about police repression in Peru during the early 1950s. In fact, Guevara appears quite chummy with the police during both trips.[43]

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Guevara's failure, or refusal, to discuss APRA is intriguing. Although it had been driven underground shortly after the 1948 coup, as contemporary travelers noted, the party still very much formed a part of the political landscape. According to Karl Eskelund, a Norwegian who traveled in Peru at the same time as Guevara, "In every town and hamlet, we saw large, red letters on the walls and fences: APRA—HAYA DE LA TORRE, TORRE, LIBERATOR OF PERU. Sometimes the word 'liberator' had been crossed out and replaced by 'murderer' or 'bandit.' These unflattering terms had again been corrected to 'leader' or 'hope'."[44] Perhaps Guevara decided not to write about APRA for fear that his diary would fall into the wrong hands. Eskelund, for example, was told: "APRA has been outlawed . . . it's wiser not to talk politics."[45] It is equally possible that Guevara's silence on APRA owed to the fact that he saw in Haya de la Torre's party a Peruvian version of Juan Perón's Justicialista Party, about which he had serious misgivings. Certainly contemporary commentators often made the link between the two parties. Szulc, the *New York Times* journalist, for example, noted that had APRA reached power, "Peru would have been turned into something akin to a Justicialista state, with all its fascistoid and mob-rule characteristics."[46] But contemporary commentators also compared the Odría regime to Peronism, noting the strong parallels in both governments' claims to implant "another type of so-called democracy," although in the Peruvian case, "on a less spectacular scale and without the spirit of ultra-nationalism which pervades the Argentine experiment."[47]

According to Gadea, Guevara viewed Haya de la Torre and some other reformist leaders—Juan José Arévalo of Guatemala, Víctor Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia, and Rómulo Bétancourt of Venezuela—as traitors: "Ernesto said that these men were traitors to the Latin American revolution; they had sold out to Yankee imperialism, and that the road to follow was a different one: to fight directly against the imperialism that supported the oligarchies."[48] According to her narrative—which may not be fully reliable, given that she was a disaffected *aprista*—Guevara had a far more positive evaluation of Perón than of Haya de la Torre. Whereas he held that "Perón has done something; he has protected the workers; he has done something to take away economic power from the oligarchy and, to some extent, from the imperialists," Guevara believed that Haya de la Torre had turned his back on his initial program. According to Gadea, Guevara "did not believe that APRA was a revolutionary party, [he believed] that Haya de la Torre had gone against his first anti-imperialist platform of 1928, that he no longer spoke of fighting the Yankees or for the nationalization of the Panama Canal, and that if he ever took power he would not carry out the People's revolution."[49] It is unclear whether Guevara in fact reached this conclusion. It was certainly the conclu-

sion reached by disaffected *apristas* such as Gadea and others who left the party to form more radical political movements, as I discuss below. Possibly Gadea therefore attributed it to Guevara for self-interested reasons. If it was Guevara's own view on Haya de la Torre, we do not know if it formed while he was still in Peru or once he had met several *aprista* exiles (including Andrés Townsend, Nicanor Mujica, Hipólito Alfaro, Jorge Raygada, Ricardo Temoche, and Carlos Malpica) in Guatemala.

If Guevara had little to say about APRA, his observations regarding the Odría dictatorship remained similarly limited, with the exception of one telling remark included in a letter sent to his friend Tita Infante shortly after arriving in Lima from Cuzco: "I think that for Peru Yankee domination has not even meant that fictitious economic prosperity which can be seen in Venezuela, for example."[50] Perhaps Guevara was unimpressed with the new hospitals and public buildings, such as the grandiose Ministry of Labor or the brand new national football stadium, erected in the capital. He certainly felt unimpressed with some aspects of the consumer culture emerging in Lima, such as films projected in 3D, of which he observed, curmudgeonly, "it doesn't seem at all revolutionary to me, and the films are the same as before."[51] Most likely, his observation reflected that few of the social reforms and infrastructural developments of the Odría dictatorship, or indeed of the gains from the commodity-driven export boom, had had much of an impact beyond Lima. As the British diplomats recognized, although urban workers were beginning to benefit from the social reforms, "it is as well to remember, in order to keep a sense of proportion about these things, that Peru's population is some seven million, of whom more than half are Indian, illiterate and voteless as well as gaining their living from the soil. These are not yet as extensively cared for in General Odría's legislation."[52]

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The Indian

If Guevara had little inclination to write down his impressions of the political scene in Peru, the opposite holds true for his impressions of Peru's indigenous peoples. Guevara felt genuine empathy with the Indians he encountered, and he was clearly overwhelmed by what he understood to be a racist and violent social order that barely recognized the humanity of the indigenous. But Guevara's observations also point to his limited capacity to understand the society he encountered in Andean Peru. During his first trip Guevara claimed a moral and intellectual distance between himself and "tourists," suggesting that because of their comfortable travel arrangements, tourists "could only glean the vaguest idea of the conditions in which the Indians live."[53] At the same time, he seems to have believed that as a South American, he was better placed to understand Peru's indigenous population than other foreigners: "North American tourists, bound down by their practical word view, are able to place those members of the disintegrating tribes they have seen in their travels among these once living walls, unaware of the moral distance separating them, since only the semi-indigenous spirit of the South American can grasp the subtle differences."[54] But in reality Guevara reproduced most of prejudices about "the Indian" expressed by other travelers and by many nonindigenous Peruvians of the time. Moreover, he replicated an interpretation of the Andes as a static world in which nothing had changed since the colonial period just at a time when social and demographic forces were beginning radically to transform that world.

Guevara likely first encountered Andean Peru in the pages of Ciro Alegría's novels. As Jon Lee Anderson notes, Guevara spent much of his teenage years immersed in literature, and he read the works of Alegría but also Jorge Icaza, Rubén Darío, and Miguel Angel Asturias, whose "novels and poetry often dealt unprecedentedly with Latin American themes—including the unequal lives of marginalized Indians and mestizos—ignored in fashionable literature and Ernesto's social group."[55] That Guevara felt drawn to the work of Alegría seems unsurprising. Contemporary critics hailed Alegría's third novel, *Broad and Alien Is the World*, as "to date the finest and most full bodied example of the *novela indianista*."[56] Indeed, the impact of Alegría's novels in shaping contemporary views of Peru should not be underestimated. In 1945, Madaline W. Nichols of Duke University noted of the English translation of *Broad and Alien Is the World* that it was "most welcome as a general introduction to the field of Latin America's modern sociological novel" and recommended its use in the classroom, since it was "a novel which portrays American landscape and presents its appeal for justice for the Indian [but] which lacks the excessive stress on sexual depravity

Ernesto's social group."[55] That Guevara felt drawn to the work of Alegría seems unsurprising. Contemporary critics hailed Alegría's third novel, *Broad and Alien Is the World*, as "to date the finest and most full bodied example of the *novela indianista*."[56] Indeed, the

unfortunately present in many [similar] novels."[57] Scholars came to see the depiction of the Andean world in Alegría's novels in the same light as other more conventional sources. In an article published in 1952, for example, Robert J. Alexander, in footnoting a point about how in Peru and Bolivia "the ancient system of oppression [of the Indian] has hardly been cracked," draws the reader's attention to Alegría's *Broad and Alien Is the World*, "a very graphic source," which he places alongside more conventional ones, such as his conversations with Haya de la Torre.[58] Most famously, François Bourricaud based much of his sociological analysis of Peruvian society in the 1950s and 1960s in his *Power and Society in Contemporary Peru* (originally published in 1963) on Alegría's novels (as well as on those of Arguedas).[59]

However, though compelling and doubtless of great literary merit, Alegría's portrayal of rural society in northern Peru was far from accurate. As Lewis Taylor has suggested in a detailed study of the northern sierra that the novelist depicts in *Broad and Alien Is the World*, Alegría represented the region as characterized by conflict between great landowners and peasant communities, but such conflicts were rare both in the northern sierra and in the central highlands. Similarly, Alegría's idealized representation of the peasant community, in particular his idea of a highly developed peasant communal consciousness, is wide of the mark. By contrast, Taylor concedes, Alegría's representation of brigandage and sociopolitical change, particularly the rise of APRA, provides a much fairer reflection of the historical record.[60] Yet it was the idea of landowners exploiting indigenous peasants, coupled with the notion of a glorious Inca past whose source may have been Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1609), that seems to have stuck in Guevara's mind and that predisposed him to a particular interpreta-

ous Inca past whose source may have been Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1609), that seems to have stuck in Guevara's mind and that predisposed him to a particular interpretation of what he saw in Peru. Indeed, the direct influence of an earlier literary encounter with Peru on Guevara's and Granado's physical encounter with the country is clearly indicated by Granado in his diary entry of 30 March 1952: "I'm itching to get there and see the life of the exploited Quechua Indians at first hand, to really feel the wonders of the Inca civilization. To see for myself, not through the prose of Inca Garcilaso or the novels of Ciro Alegría, what remains of the Inca kingdom and its splendors, destroyed by the avarice of Pizarro and the Spanish Empire and exploited today by Peruvian

landowners."[61] This passage proves revealing: although Granado explicitly states that he wants to see things for himself and "not through the novels of . . . Ciro Alegría," he already knows what he desires to see: on the one hand, the exploited Indians and, on the other, the wonders of the Inca civilization and "what remains of the Inca kingdom and its splendors." What Granado, and it is fair to assume, Guevara, expected to see in Peru is in fact what they had read in Alegría's novels.

That Guevara understood Peru in the dichotomous and somewhat Manichaean terms expressed by Granado, those of past wonders and present exploitation, is also palpable in Gadea's memoirs. Gadea claimed to be impressed by Guevara's knowledge of Peru's Indians, but the very language she uses to express that admiration points to the dominant dichotomous interpretation they shared: "[Ernesto's] love of archaeology had taken him into the indigenous cultures of America, and he already knew something about the Inca, Maya, and Aztec societies. Also, his travels had brought him into contact with the Indians."[62] According to Gadea, she and Guevara "talked widely about the Inca civilization and the present-day misery of the Indian. He surprised me with his knowledge and sensitivity. He knew about the exploited state in which our Indians lived, he understood the psychological barriers between Indians and mestizos and whites, who had been exploiting them for many centuries."[63] The dichotomy extended to a perception of the Indian as being outside the nation and the market: "These people retained their customs; as a whole they were not integrated into the economic system of the West but only suffered its repercussions."[64] Although Guevara and Gadea clearly sided with the Indians and sought to end the exploitation to which they believed them subject, in effect their vision of the Andean world differed little from that of the U.S. traveler Anne Merriman Peck who exclaimed in 1940: "How different was this mountain land of austere beauty, with its primitive Indians and apathetic cholo people from Lima and the coast! This land which bears a weight of history, whose people are gentle, slow-moving, steeped in tradition. There is a long way to go before Peru of the mountains and Peru of the coast become one country."[65]

In his travelogues, Guevara reproduced an essentialist vision of the Indian and his world: Guevara constructs a highly infantilized, superstitious Indian resigned to his fate. The indigenous, Guevara

tells us, are "simple people."[66] Guevara speaks, for example, of "the timid kindness of the cholos" and of "the enigmatic soul of the true Andean peoples."[67] Similarly, after describing the terrible conditions of a hospital that he and Granado visited in the town of Huambo, Guevara suggests that those conditions "could have been borne only by the suffering, fatalistic spirit of the Peruvian mountain Indians."[68] Although he clearly feels empathy with the indigenous, Guevara nevertheless reproduces highly racist views, comparing some of their behavioral characteristics to those of animals: "The somewhat animal-like concept the indigenous people have of modesty and hygiene means that irrespective of gender or age they do their business by the roadside, the women cleaning themselves with their skirts, the men not bothering at all, and then carry on as before. The underskirts of Indian women who have kids are literally warehouses of excrement, a consequence of the way they wipe the rascals every time one of them passes wind."[69] Rojo's memoirs take the animalization of the indigenous further. The author recalls how, during the journey from Bolivia to Peru, he, Ferrer, and Guevara decided to sit in the back of a truck and not in the cabin, "the only possible place, the cholo [he is referring to a ticket clerk] insinuated, for three young white men, who could not be expected to mix with the Indians." However, the back of the truck is then described as a "hostile world" in which the three travelers are "trapped between bundles and people who looked like bundles." Although their decision to sit with the indigenous travelers signaled their rejection of racist conventions, Rojo reproduces a highly racialized view of the indigenous as barely human: "We discovered that it was impossible to try and show the sympathy we felt before those scrutinizing, metallic eyes, those lips clamped together forbiddingly, refusing to answer our questions. From time to time, a mouth would gape open and let out a foul breath of chewed coca, a breath it didn't seem possible could have fermented inside a human body."[70] The three young men held strongly to their views. Despite being asked "thousands of questions about our country and its way of life" by some "cholos," Guevara condescendingly concluded: "We were like demigods to these simple people: Alberto brandished his doctor's certificate for them, and moreover we had come from the wonderful country Argentina, where Perón lived with his wife Evita, where the

to try and show the sympathy we felt before those scrutinizing, metallic eyes, those lips clamped together forbiddingly, refusing to answer our questions. From time to time, a mouth would gape open and let out a foul breath of chewed coca, a breath it didn't seem possible could have fermented inside a human body."[70] The three young men held strongly to their views. Despite being asked "thousands of questions about our country and its way of life" by some "cholos," Guevara condescendingly concluded: "We were like demigods to these simple people: Alberto brandished his doctor's certificate for them, and moreover we had come from the wonderful country Argentina, where Perón lived with his wife Evita, where the poor have as much as the rich and the Indian isn't exploited or treated as severely as he is in this country."[71]

Guevara's failure to see in his "cholo" interlocutors' questions anything other than evidence of their simplicity resulted from more than just an essentialist view of Peru's indigenous people. Guevara also framed his interpretation of the indigenous population's present condition in a broader historical interpretation of Peruvian society. In describing the southern town of Tarata and its Aymara residents, Guevara noted: "The people before us are not the same proud race that repeatedly rose up against Inca rule, forcing them to maintain a permanent army on their borders; these people who watch us walk through the streets of the town are a defeated race. Their stares are tame, almost fearful, and completely indifferent to the outside world. Some give the impression that they go on living only because it's a habit they cannot shake."[72] Here, the population's negative traits, their tameness, their fearfulness, and their indifference appear not as innate characteristics but rather as the product of historical defeat. The proud race of old is the defeated race of today. The agent of transformation is colonialism. In Guevara's narrative the Spanish colonizers appear in an entirely negative light. In various discussions of Peru's colonial history, Guevara establishes a contrast between the Incas, a "sober race," and the "bestial," "unbridled," "abhorrent," and "sadistic" Spaniards, a "rabble" motivated by greed. He illustrates the Incas' superiority with reference to architecture: whereas colonial buildings crumble every time there is an earthquake, the Inca foundations on which these buildings are set remain unaffected: "Every so often, the heart of America, shuddering with indignation, sends a nervous spasm through the gentle back of the Andes, and tumultuous shock waves assault the surface of the land. Three times the cupola of proud

of America, shuddering with indignation, sends a nervous spasm through the gentle back of the Andes, and tumultuous shock waves assault the surface of the land. Three times the cupola of proud Santo Domingo has collapsed from on high to the rhythm of broken bones and its worn walls have opened and fallen too. But the foundations they rest on are unmoved, the great blocks of the Temple of the Sun exhibit their gray stone indifferently; however colossal the disaster befalling its oppressor, not one of its huge rocks shifts from its place."[73] Yet, contradictorily, in trying to explain how such a clearly savage group of Spaniards could overcome the Inca Empire, Guevara also points to technology: "What use was the patient labor

of the Indians, builders of the Inca Roca Palace, subtle sculptors of stone angles, when faced with the impetuous actions of the white conquistadores, and their knowledge of brick work, vaulting, and rounded arches?"[74]

Guevara held largely inconsistent ideas about the indigenous. In historicizing the present condition of the Indians, for example, he echoed some *indigenista* ideas about *mestizaje* as a source of racial degeneracy.[75] While describing a religious procession (in honor of the Lord of the Earthquakes) in Cuzco, Guevara established a hierarchy between what he considered "real" Indians and acculturated ones (he makes reference to the idea of "true" Indians or "the true Andean peoples" on more than one occasion).[76] On the one hand, Guevara approvingly pointed to "the many-colored clothes of the Indians, who wear for the occasion their best traditional costumes in expression of a culture or way of life which stills holds on to living values." At the same time, however, he equated acculturated Indians with treason and blamed them for the wretchedness of the Indian "race": "A cluster of Indians in European clothes march at the head of the procession, carrying banners. Their tired affected faces resemble an image of those Quechuas who refused to heed Manco II's call, pledging themselves to Pizarro and in the degradation of their defeat smothering the pride of an independent race."[77] Yet Guevara also appears to have sympathized with ideas of indigenous redemption through education (and therefore with their supposed acculturation). He approvingly narrates a meeting with the curator of Cuzco's archaeological museum: "He spoke to us of the splendid past and the present misery, of the urgent need to educate the Indians, as a first step toward total rehabilitation. He insisted that immediately raising the economic level of Indian families was the only way to mitigate the soporific effects of coca and drink and talked of fostering a fuller and more exact understanding of the Quechua people so that individuals of the race could look at their past and feel pride, rather than, looking at their present, feel only shame at belonging to the Indian or mestizo race."[78]

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Guevara's attempt to explain the contradiction between the glorious Inca (and indeed, pre-Inca) past and the wretchedness of contemporary Indians echoes a common theme in other travelogues of the time.[79] George Sava, like Guevara a physician, traveled in Peru at more or less the same time. He expressed the conundrum in explicit terms: These very people, the descendants of that proud and accomplished race, are "perhaps the greatest mystery of all. On the one hand they destroy the legend of Inca greatness; on the other they raise new problems. For they are dull-eyed and lethargic, slow of speech and obtuse of understanding. Is it possible that these people were really those who constructed the Temple of the Sun or brought together the great fortress? Could men and women such as these be responsible for that brilliantly conceived pottery which is now the greatest treasure of many a museum? To watch them as they amble along beside their laden llamas, it seems incredible that the answer to these questions can be in the affirmative."[80] In seeking to resolve this problem, Sava concluded that those who "survived" the Spanish conquest were the slaves of the Incas, while the Incas themselves disappeared: "The engineers, the architects, the artists, who made these relics of civilization, were of a race of which no trace remains, an alien people, no more like those we call their descendants than those descendants are to the Spaniards who overcame them."[81] Like others, such as the Guatemalan historian Francisco de Paula García Peláez, who could not bring himself to accept that the Maya ruins had been built by the ancestors of his country's indigenous people and believed that they were the work of a mysterious people whose "very name is unknown," Sava could not admit that Peru's indigenous people were capable of great works of architecture or pottery. He felt such feats beyond their natural capabilities. It followed that other, superior beings had been responsible.[82]

Other interpretations also located the reasons for the decline of the indigenous in Peru's colonial past but arrived at very different conclusions. The Norwegian Eskelund, for example, in trying to understand why the Peru that he encountered in the early 1950s was, as he put it, so poor and backward, noted that the whites blamed the

conclusions. The Norwegian Eskelund, for example, in trying to understand why the Peru that he encountered in the early 1950s was, as he put it, so poor and backward, noted that the whites blamed the

Indians: ' "It's the fault of the Indians' say the whites. 'They are so lazy and unreliable—it would be best to castrate the lot of them or exterminate them in some other way. They're the ones who hold us back.' "[83] Yet Eskelund disagreed: he had visited Machu Picchu, "and here one can see what the useless Indians were capable of doing before the white man came."[84] For Eskelund, the explanation was historical and structural, rooted in the colonial system that the Spaniards had constructed: "It would be interesting to take an Indian, or a mestizo, or a white South American and bring him up in, say New

England. I believe that he would grow up to be an average American child, without any of the unfortunate characteristics such as unreliability and incompetence, which so many associate with the Latin Americans. These traits are not innate. They are the natural result of the Spanish colonial system, a system which destroyed master and slave alike. The pillars of this system still stand firmly established, and as long as they are permitted to remain, Latin America will continue to reap the bitter harvest which the Spanish conquerors sowed."[85] According to Eskelund, given the correct environment (preferably one devoid of unreliability and incompetence), Peruvian Indians could become just as advanced as New Englanders. Sava's and Eskelund's views, respectively, reflect what David Theo Goldberg has called naturalist and historicist interpretations of racial difference. One can trace these interpretations, Goldberg suggests, back to the early modern period.[86] They have resurfaced in various forms since then, not least in eugenics and in ideas of "hard" and "soft" inheritance.[87] Both interpretations are discernible in the ways in which Guevara sought to understand Peru's indigenous peoples.

Guevara's understanding of the indigenous experience provoked a desire for action. Reflecting on the Inca fortress of Sacsayhuamán that overlooks the city of Cuzco, Guevara remarked: "The vision of this Cuzco emerges mournfully from the fortress destroyed by the stupidity of illiterate Spanish conquistadores, from the violated ruins of the temples, from the sacked palaces, from the faces of a brutalized race. This is the Cuzco inviting you to become a warrior and to defend, club in hand, the freedom and the life of the Inca."[88] Guevara's vision of himself as a warrior defending the Inca against Spanish exploitation is consonant with an obvious feeling of indignation at the way in which Indians are treated by non-Indians. He perceived exploitation and injustice as something deeply ingrained

Spanish exploitation is consonant with an obvious feeling of indignation at the way in which Indians are treated by non-Indians. He perceived exploitation and injustice as something deeply ingrained in the belief systems of the rich and powerful: "In the mentality of the district's rich people it's perfectly natural that the servant, although travelling on foot should carry all the weight and discomfort."[89] Guevara understood that exploitation was based on non-Indians' capacity to deny the indigenous their full humanity. Thus he noted how Indians were treated like animals: "In these type of trains [to Machu Picchu] there are third class carriages 'reserved' for the local Indians: they are like the cattle transportation wagons they use in Argentina, except that the smell of cow shit is ever more pleasant than the human version."[90] But he also seems to have come to the conclusion that as far as non-Indians were concerned, the lives of Indians were worth very little. Recalling an incident in Andahuaylas during which Granado tried to defend an Indian woman insulted by some Civil Guard soldiers, Guevara noted: "His reaction must have seemed completely alien to people who considered the Indians were no more than objects, who deserve to live but only just."[91] However, Guevara's desire to "defend the life of the Inca" also suggests a less charitable reading of his understanding of Peru and of the Indians' exploitation.

Guevara's ideas about "the Indian" made it difficult for him to see anything other than a static world peopled by a "defeated race." In a particularly telling passage in Granado's travelogue, Guevara's travel companion narrates a meeting with an indigenous man who explains to them "in modest Spanish" how a landowner had pushed him off land that he had been cultivating for several years and how, faced with this situation, he had had no choice but to move his family further up the mountain. Granado and Guevara aim their reaction more at the Indian than at the landowner: "Pelao and I looked at each other, hardly knowing whether to be appalled or enraged in the face of such fatalistic submission. How meekly the man told the story of this immense, unpunished justice."[92] From this it is only a short step to Granado's revealingly juvenile pipe dream to marry a young girl he had recently met ("I am going to marry Maria Magdalena. Since she's a descendant of Manco Capac II, I'll become Manco Capac III") so as to lead the Indian masses to their emancipation: "Then I'll form a pro-Indian party, I'll take these people to the coast to vote, and that'll be the start of the new Tupac Amaru revolution, the American Indian revolution!"[93] Guevara's reaction to Granado's comment ridicules his travel companion's disingenuousness at believing a nonviolent revolution possible: "Revolution without firing a shot? You're crazy, Petiso." But Guevara seems to have shared Granado's belief that the Indians needed to be led to their freedom. Guevara's Peruvian Indians, as I have suggested above, were "timid," "fatalistic," "fearful," hardly capable of defending themselves. It followed that they could only be defended by others.

That Guevara reached such conclusions should not surprise us. They were shared by many, not least by the anthropologists who in the 1950s set out to find and study those "wretched" Indians that

were "not integrated into the economic system of the West but only [suffering] its repercussions" and "that . . . go on living only because it's a habit they cannot shake." But even a cursory examination of the archives of the Ministry of the Interior, and of the thousands of letters and petitions from indigenous communities throughout the early twentieth century, reveals that "the Indian" was far from remaining nonintegrated. Thus in 1948, the same year that Odría took power, Antonio Contreras, Ramón Palomino, Heraclio Minaya, and Carlos Zamora made their way to Lima as representatives of the indigenous communities of Tintay and Lucre in Apurimac to denounce the abuses of the owners of the Pampatamba Baja Hacienda, who were encroaching on their communal lands and "contributing, through these acts, to the shortage and high prices of subsistence goods, which Peru needs in large numbers," thus demonstrating a rather clear understanding of the workings of Peru's internal market.[94] Similarly, far from being fearful, resigned to their fate, or unappreciative of the gift of life, Cupertino de la Cruz, Pablo Ayala, Benedicto Prado, Máximo Quispe, Leoncio Cárdenas, and Cristobal Cisneros wrote that same year to the minister of the Interior in representation of the 1500 *colonos* (peons) of the Hacienda Ccaccamarca in Cangallo, Ayacucho, to complain that the *arrendatarios* (tenants) of the hacienda treated them in a "cruel and inhuman manner."[95] In the southern department of Puno, Carlos F. Belón, a local hacendado and parliamentarian, noted already in the mid-1940s that Indians had undertaken a reconquest of the hacienda.[96] By the mid-1950s, the workers on the Hacienda Maco, in the central highlands, had successfully resisted attempts to proletarianize the workforce.[97] By the late 1950s most of Andean Peru was experiencing a de facto, if not yet de jure, agrarian reform as a result of pressure from below, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of

workforce.[97] By the late 1950s most of Andean Peru was experiencing a de facto, if not yet de jure, agrarian reform as a result of pressure from below, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of peasants taking over land.[98]

Guevara saw little of these various forms of "insurgent citizenship," or if he did, he did not accord them any significance.[99] But some of his contemporaries were keenly aware of coming and in all likelihood irreversible change. Writing in 1951, the newly arrived British ambassador noted: "The members of the Peruvian oligarchy, although they hesitate to admit it, are worried. Peru is still essentially a colonial country. Overshadowing Lima and the other coastal cities, with their gracious, old-world way of life, are the slopes of

the Andes beyond which lies a vast hinterland inhabited for the most part by the illiterate Indian peasants. At the moment no trouble threatens from this quarter; but in the cities whose population swells steadily with the influx of peasants from the Sierra the process of industrialization goes on and there is growing up a politically conscious proletariat which, under the leadership of APRA and to a lesser extent that of the Communist Party, constitutes a potential threat to the interests of the ruling class."[100] Two years later the ambassador reprised his warning, suggesting that "judged by European standards, nine-tenths of the 8 million inhabitants of Peru, mostly Indians and half-breeds, still live in conditions of medieval poverty, squalor and ignorance, finding some solace in the chewing of coca and bouts of drinking. . . . The Indian problem remains therefore constant and hard to solve and if at any moment control of the rate of progress slips from the hands of the Government trouble such as now characterizes life in Bolivia will ensue."[101]

A Colonial City in a Colonized Country

"Trouble" of the Bolivian kind never properly materialized in Peru. But social and demographic pressures in the Andean provinces (or *departamentos*) were leading to a radical transformation of the relationship between the coast and the highlands. If in 1940 the urban population stood at 35 percent of the total, by 1960 it had risen to 50 percent. In 1950 the population of the city of Lima reached 1 million, fed by large-scale migration from the highlands. As pressure on housing reached unbearable levels, the population spilled out of the city, first, onto the hillsides of the various hills that pepper the eastern tip of the city and, later, onto what was often private agricultural land. This is what happened, for example, on Christmas

out of the city, first, onto the hillsides of the various hills that pepper the eastern tip of the city and, later, onto what was often private agricultural land. This is what happened, for example, on Christmas day 1954, when several thousand people left Lima and "set up overnight a shanty town of straw-matting huts in a desert area a few miles outside the city. After a day or two thousands more had joined them and the new township had been christened La Ciudad de Dios (The City of God)."[102] Although many of the initial "invaders" left after they realized that there was no water or sanitation, others remained, and the following year a study found that some nine hundred families were living there.[103] But Lima's City of God was only one of a rapidly expanding number of new settlements. A study

from 1956 of Lima's population growth noted that already in 1949 some twenty-five thousand people lived in what were then still called *barriadas clandestinas* (clandestine neighborhoods) but would later be referred to as Lima's *pueblos jóvenes* (young towns). By 1955 that figure had risen to one hundred thousand and represented 10 percent of Lima's total population.[104] These were the changes that led Vargas Llosa's character Zavalita to ask when Peru had fucked itself up and Arguedas to proclaim: "We have arrived in the enormous town of the masters, and we are shaking it up. . . . We are squeezing this immense city that hated us, that despised us like the excrement of horses."[105]

Travelogues from the 1940s and 1960s neatly illustrate these changes. Until the 1940s travelers typically pointed to the stark differences between Lima and the Andes. In their narrative of travels through South America, Heath Bowman and Stirling Dickinson recall a priest in the port of Mollendo expressing the difference between Bolivia and Peru: "Geography is fact, and is more durable than politics. . . . Now take Bolivia. You and I have seen Indians not only in the mountains there, but in La Paz. Of course, no capital is a perfect expression of its country, but La Paz has the advantage of being in the mountains, with a large Indian population. In Peru the difference is that Lima is on the coast. You cannot show me a face there with even half pure Indian features. Lima is Spanish and its psychology is still colonial. It is as if Bolivia had chosen Trinidad in the Beni for its capital. Lima is that cut off."[106] Perhaps to further emphasize, or render intelligible to their readers, Lima's non-Andean character, travelers stressed its tropicality, even if the weather was often quite untropical. Christopher Morley, for example, noted: "It is odd to see a city evidently tropical in humor and construction set in a cold London gloom."[107] George Woodcock chose a Scottish comparison: "Lima lies in the tropics, nearer to the Equator than such sweltering cities as Aden, but the morning into which we stepped was as bleakly untropical as a Glasgow dawn."[108] Writing in the late 1940s, the anthropologist Frances Tor similarly painted a tropical portrait of Lima: "I stepped out of the celebrated Hotel Bolivar to find myself in a pleasant world of singing colors, of women in light summer dresses, of men in white suits, a world of warm noons and refreshing evenings."[109]

In describing her first impressions of the city she encountered in the late 1940s, Tor noted that "today one sees few Indians in the city."[110] Staying at the Hotel Crillon, not too distant from the Hotel Bolivar where Tor had stayed, W. Byford-Jones encountered a very different scene in the 1960s. The tranquil tropical and colonial atmosphere had been replaced by a chaotic juxtaposition of the modern and the traditional. As Byford-Jones noted, "surely there is nothing so revolting as a confusion of glass and steel skyscrapers, at times smothered with jarring colours, alongside proportionately built houses for one family which reveal the work of real craftsmen."[111] Even more strikingly, whereas "few Indians" could be seen in Tor's Lima, Indians were the only inhabitants of Byford-Jones's capital city: "When I looked down into the streets the only upturned faces I saw, and these covered with bewilderment, were those of the descendants of the Incas. These pathetic survivors of empire had been forced to walk from their remote smallholdings in the high Sierra, still barefoot and wearing pathetically picturesque garb, because drought had ruined their crops. They wandered about like ghosts, too proud to beg and not knowing where to turn for help."[112]

In fact, some of these changes had already become apparent to Tor in the late 1940s. She noted that "most of the inhabitants of Lima are whites, descendants of Spaniards, known as criollos or creoles." But she added, "it is also a melting pot with a large percentage of Mestizos or Cholos (mixed white and Indian), a few Indians, Negroes, mulattos, Zambos (Negro and Indian), and a mixture of Europeans and Orientals. It is a composite of rich and poor, palaces and hovels, but a community that has through the centuries blended into a harmonious whole, one of the most attractive, liveable cities of South America."[113] Tor saw increasing dynamism and the seeds of democratization in a growing integration between the capital and the Andean provinces: "During recent decades a great change has taken place. There is an ever-growing group of liberal intellectuals working in the interest of the Indians. With new means of transportation, more Limeños are travelling to the Sierra, more Indians and cholos coming to the capital. Lima is beginning to take on a friendlier, more human attitude. In spite of recent military events, it is becoming a more democratic Lima, a more truly Peruvian city, made up of all kinds of people of all Peru."[114] Painting a somewhat less

idealized picture, Eskelund noted in the early 1950s: "Lima is one of the finest towns on the Pacific coast; the slums are not so pretty, but they lie on the outskirts and are seldom seen by tourists."[115]

Guevara seems to have been one of these tourists. Despite spending some time in Lima during both trips, he had little to say about the changes afoot. His main considerations of the city were aesthetic. He appears to have been rather disappointed by Peru's capital, noting that "Lima is quite unlike Córdoba, but it has the same look of a colonial, or rather provincial, city."[116] He found the colonial architecture unimpressive for the most part and seems to have been far more enthusiastic about the well-to-do suburbs: "Lima as a city does not live up to its long tradition as a viceregal seat, but its residential suburbs are very pretty and spacious and so are its new streets."[117] But, interestingly, he also found it difficult to come to terms with the city's ambiguous character. On the one hand, perhaps to rationalize his disappointment with Lima's aesthetics and architecture, he suggested that its colonial past was dead and buried: "Lima is a pretty city, which has already suppressed its colonial past (after seeing Cuzco it seems more so) beneath new houses."[118] But at the same time, he identified this very same colonial legacy, which of necessity remained very much alive, as the source of the injustice he had encountered in his travels through the Andean provinces. In what appears at first to be a merely descriptive passage on Lima's baroque cathedral and churches, Guevara suddenly changes register: "This wealth enabled the aristocracy to resist the liberating armies of America until the last moment. Lima is the perfect example of a Peru which has not developed beyond the feudal condition of a colony. It still waits for the blood of a truly emancipating revolution."[119]

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The apparent contradiction in his characterization of Lima, both postcolonial and simultaneously epitomizing a colonial, even feudal, society, in fact points to Guevara's broader interpretation of Lima's relationship with the rest of Peru, and of Peruvian society more widely. Lima may no longer be the formal colony of a foreign power, but, Guevara seems to suggest, it operates, and relates to the rest of Peru, according to a colonial and feudal logic. In fact, in a passage on the history of Cuzco, Guevara makes explicit what he sees as the almost parasitic role played by Lima with respect to the rest of the country: following the Spanish conquest, Guevara explains, "slowly Cuzco languished, pushed to the margins, lost in the

cordillera, while on the coast a new rival emerged, Lima, growing with the fruits of the taxes levied by clever intermediaries on the wealth flowing out of Peru."[120] Granado's travelogue makes the parasitic nature of all cities, not just of Lima, explicit: "Everywhere we saw how Indians are exploited by whites. We realized that the parasites living in the city are taking advantage of the hard-working Indians, forcing them to sow crops higher and higher in the sierras."[121] Thus Guevara's interpretation of Lima fits well with his broader reading of Peru: a dual society characterized by deep injustice and exploitation, in which the legacy of colonialism has produced a parasitic elite that feeds off a once proud but now defeated "race." Much of this interpretation may have held true, but it was an interpretation that made it difficult for Guevara to see the profound changes happening before his very eyes.

The Amazon

Guevara showed similarly little awareness or interest in the structural changes beginning to transform the Peruvian selva or Amazon region, which he and Granado crossed from Pucallpa all the way to the Colombian border between late May and late June 1952. Beginning in the 1940s, a sustained and, from the 1950s on, accelerating process of colonization by Andean settlers had profoundly reshaped the region demographically and economically.[122] Guevara notes in a letter to his father that "the great riverbanks are full of settlements."[123] But for the most part, the Amazon depicted in Guevara's and Granado's travelogues is marked by the "exotic," including sexually available women, copulating dolphins, irate homosexuals, and "savage tribes . . . deep in the interior."[124] Guevara and Granado seem to have found little of interest in the region save for the "Yagua

sexually available women, copulating dolphins, irate homosexuals, and "savage tribes . . . deep in the interior."[124] Guevara and Granado seem to have found little of interest in the region save for the "Yagua tribe" that they visited and whose "way of living was fascinating," even if the men appear to have been disappointed that "the women had abandoned their traditional costume for ordinary clothes so you cannot admire their jugs." Their interest in the Yagua is rendered as a disturbing mix of adolescent sexual curiosity and a medicalized and sociologized gaze expressing a racialized understanding of culture: "The kids have distended bellies and are rather scrawny but the older people show no signs of vitamin deficiency, in contrast with its rate among *more developed people living in the jungle*. Their basic diet

consists of yucca, bananas and palm fruit, mixed with the animals they hunt with rifles. Their teeth are totally rotten. They speak their own dialect but some of them understand Spanish."[125]

Much has been made, as in Salles's film, of the time Guevara and Granado spent at the San Pablo "leper" colony.[126] Much has been made, in particular, of the speech that Guevara made and recounted in his diary, in which he declared that "we believe, and after this journey more firmly than ever, that the division of [Latin] America into unstable and illusory nations is completely fictional. We constitute a single mestizo race, which from Mexico to the Magellan straits bears notable ethnographic similarities. And so, in an attempt to rid myself of the weight of a small-minded provincialism, I propose a toast to Peru and to a United Latin America."[127] But like many of his contemporaries, and despite his genuine empathy with the poor, the indigenous, and the marginalized, Guevara was unable to escape precisely the sort of small-minded provincialism that made it possible for him to claim a belief in a single mestizo Latin American race while still classifying peoples according to their level of "development." This contradiction appears all the more striking given the genuine empathy evident in Guevara and Granado's attitude toward the patients in the San Pablo colony, and, more generally, toward people affected by Hansen's disease, as their diaries reveal. As Guevara wrote to his father, his and Granado's willingness to play soccer and shake hands with the patients they had met in the Lima leprosarium "may seem like pointless bravado, but the psychological lift it gives this people—treating them as normal human beings instead of animals, as they are used to—is incalculable and the risk to us is extremely unlikely."[128] Salles's film uses this empathy as a melodramatic device (witness the scene with the young girl). Yet it feels genuine enough in Guevara's and Granado's diaries.

us is extremely unlikely."[128] Salles's film uses this empathy as a melodramatic device (witness the scene with the young girl). Yet it feels genuine enough in Guevara's and Granado's diaries.

In San Pablo, as in the Lima leprosarium, Guevara and Granado as physicians in the making were more predisposed, and possibly prepared, than most to interact, through conversation or (an important part of their trip) through impromptu games of soccer, with those whose condition rendered them social outcasts par excellence. It is difficult to avoid reading this episode in exegetical terms. As in the Bible, in San Pablo the lepers could be seen as both literal and metaphorical. By treating the San Pablo patients as humans, Guevara "healed" them (as he could "heal" all other outcasts: the poor, the indigenous, the marginalized) like Christ healed the lepers in the Bible. Like Christ, this episode seems to suggest, Guevara held the power to right wrongs. Perhaps this episode, like the photograph of a dead Guevara taken in Vallegrande, Bolivia, has contributed, more or less unconsciously, to the transformation of Che into a Christ-like figure, if not into Jesus Christ himself, in the eyes of many. Certainly Guevara demonstrated an unusual degree of empathy, as revealed by the extraordinary autobiographical testimony of a patient at San Pablo.[129] Although toward the end of her stay at San Pablo conditions improved and although, on occasion, the camaraderie between patients made life at the colony tolerable, the experience of this anonymous female patient was marked by the extreme precariousness of the living conditions and the medical facilities, as well as by the general fear of infection among relatives of patients and even among doctors. It was a fear reproduced by Hank Kelly, the U.S. vice-consul in Iquitos, and his wife Dot. In their memoir the pair pointed to the conflicting reports on San Pablo. Some described it "as a place of horror and death—a concentration camp where the unfortunate wretches were doomed to die a lingering death from their disease or a more rapid death from starvation and insufficient care."[130] Others claimed it was characterized by "splendid" service achieved with meager funds. But the Kellys were certainly concerned by the prospect of infection from a "contagious leper" in Iquitos who earned a living "[whittling] sticks for raspadillas, the frozen sherbet suckers that Iquiteños devoured by the thousands every day!" According to Hank, "after hearing of the leprous whittler, Dot and I lost our stomach for raspadillas and squeezed what comfort we could from the thought that leprosy is not easily transmitted."[131]

we could from the thought that leprosy is not easily transmitted."[131]

Conclusions

Peru, wrote Guevara in 1952, "still waits for the blood of a truly emancipating revolution." As this quote and his comments to Granado suggest, Guevara had already concluded while in Peru that effective political change could be brought about only through a violent revolution led by people capable of emancipating those who could not emancipate themselves. That belief strengthened, particularly in Bolivia and Guatemala, as Guevara made his way to Mexico and eventually to Cuba. It continued to shape Guevara's

worldview and political action following the victory of the Cuban revolutionaries and until his death. It came to shape how others, inspired by Guevara and the Cuban Revolution, came to view political action for at least a couple of generations. It was a view, as I have tried to show in this essay, to some extent shaped by how Guevara interpreted the situation of Peru's indigenous peoples. It was a view ultimately derived from how Guevara sought to make sense of the complex demographic, economic, and cultural changes shaping Peruvian society at midcentury, changes he barely perceived, by enclosing them in a largely preestablished interpretative framework. The point, naturally, is not to blame Guevara for his simplistic interpretation of Peruvian reality. True, other perspectives, such as Eskelund's, were possible. But they were clearly not possible for Guevara. My intention is merely to provide further elements for understanding the ideas that came to shape Guevara's view of the world, a view that would have a decisive influence on the course of world history, and, of course, Peruvian history.

Since 1952 Peru has to some degree experienced "the blood of a truly emancipating revolution" three times. Two of the revolutions have been moderately bloody, one extremely so. None have proven truly emancipating. The first revolution came in the mid-1960s, but it was soon aborted. It was led by not one but two Guevarist groups eager to fulfill Fidel Castro's call to turn the Andes into a hemispheric Sierra Maestra and to build on the apparent success of Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyite, in mobilizing the peasantry of La Convención, Cuzco.[132] Luis de la Puente Uceda, the leader of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), a group that agglutinated young radicalized APRA cadres and members of the Peruvian Communist Party, came into contact with Guevarista ideals though Gadea during a visit to Cuba in the late 1950s. Javier Heraud, a young poet, joined the ranks of the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), a group that split from the Peruvian Communist Party and was equally inspired by the Cuban Revolution. The Peruvian armed forces in 1965 swiftly eliminated both guerilla groups (Heraud was killed in 1963). Three Peruvians, Juan Pablo Chang Navarro (codename "Chino"), Lucio Edilberto Galván ("Eustaquio"), both of the ELN, and Restituto José Cabrera Flores ("Negro"), a physician who studied in Buenos Aires and practiced medicine in Cuba, would join Guevara in his own doomed revolutionary venture in Bolivia. None

radicalized APRA cadres and members of the Peruvian Communist Party, came into contact with Guevarista ideals though Gadea during a visit to Cuba in the late 1950s. Javier Heraud, a young poet,

survived. But the guerrilla experience had a deep impact on subsequent Peruvian politics. The military coup of 1968 led by Juan Velasco Alvarado was in many ways a direct response to the guerrillas of the mid-1960s. This second "revolution" *from above* was aimed at addressing the problems that Peru's reformist military officers believed had created the conditions for the guerrilla insurgencies. This revolution, too, although in some ways more successful than the revolutions of 1965, was aborted by 1975.

In the 1980s Peru experienced a third revolution. This one proved extremely bloody but hardly emancipating, led by a movement, the Shining Path, that drew its inspiration not from Guevara or the Cuban Revolution but rather from Mao Zedong and the Chinese Revolution.[133] By the late 1970s most of the Guevarist Left in Peru had opted for supposedly bourgeois politics. A few, however, feeling that the Shining Path had stolen a march on them, opted for revolutionary insurgency. In the event, the MRTA (Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru) would play a bit part in the internal war that brought Peruvian society to near collapse in the 1980s and 1990s. Unlike Guevara, or indeed de la Puente and Heraud, Abimael Guzmán, or "Presidente Gonzalo," Shining Path's leader and ideologue, was not a charismatic man. Yet this dour philosophy professor proved far more successful in mobilizing support for his revolutionary project. Prior to his capture in 1992 and the swift disarticulation of the insurgency, many in Peru believed the Shining Path to be on the verge of taking power. What Guevara would have thought of Shining Path's revolution is difficult to say. Guzmán, by all accounts, thinks little of Guevara. But like Guevara, Guzmán believed that revolutions could not be won "without firing a shot." For the Peruvian, the revolution would only be won once a "quota of blood" had been achieved. That quota, which Guzmán put at a

believed that revolutions could not be won "without firing a shot." For the Peruvian, the revolution would only be won once a "quota of blood" had been achieved. That quota, which Guzmán put at a million deaths, was mercifully never achieved, but the war that the Shining Path initiated, and to which the Peruvian armed forces responded with extreme violence in an often indiscriminate way, left a toll of some seventy thousand victims.

As elsewhere in Latin America, Guevara can be seen regularly on mudguards and T-shirts in Peru. But in a country in which revolutionary projects have delivered little and in which the most recent revolutionary experience took the form of a genocidal internal armed conflict, Guevara's revolutionary message has little reso-

nance. And yet, despite all their shortcomings, Guevara's youthful writings on Peru maintain a tragic relevance. Guevara may have simplified the experiences of Peru's indigenous peoples and denied them agency through his characterizations, but the indignation contained in Guevara's remark about those Peruvians who "considered the Indians were no more than objects, who deserve to live but only just," perfectly condenses the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission's conclusions (published in 2003) about the structural causes of Peru's "time of fear" and about the deep racial prejudice that underpins the country's entrenched inequalities. This indignation plays a key role in Salles's film, where it becomes a somewhat melodramatic device to flag Guevara's awakening social consciousness and revolutionary commitment. Its continued relevance because of the continued existence of that which provoked it—the wretched existence of that half of the Peruvian population, mostly indigenous, that, by virtue of its manifold exclusions from full citizenship, is reduced to "bare life"—points to the failure of the political projects that Guevara inspired, but also of those that claim to have superseded them.[134] At the same time we should not lose sight, as Guevara did in the 1950s, of myriad "insurgent citizenships" that challenge and destabilize the exclusionary character of Peruvian society.

Notes

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1 See Ernesto Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries: A Journey around South America*, trans. Alexandra Keeble (London: Harper Perennial, 2004); Ernesto Guevara, *Back on the Road: A Journey to Central America*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Vintage, 2002); Alberto Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara: The Making of a Revolutionary*, trans. Lucía Álvarez de Toledo (New York: Newmarket Press, 2004).

2 This trip is also recounted in Ferrer's book, *De Ernesto al Che: El segundo viaje de Guevara por Latinoamérica* (Buenos Aires: Marea Editorial, 2005).

3 Guevara, *Back on the Road*, 19.

4 The 1950s have been particularly badly served by social scientists, although one should not overlook some key sociological and anthropological studies produced during that decade by scholars from Peru and beyond. See Ramón Pajuelo, "Imágenes de la comunidad: Indígenas, campesinos y antropólogos en el Perú," *No hay país más diverso: Compendio de antropología peruana*, ed. Carlos Iván Degregori (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2000), 123–79. Yet few social scientists, including historians, have explicitly focused on a decade that, ironically, many increasingly see as a key point of inflexion in Peruvian history. There are exceptions, of course, such as David Collier's study of squatter settlements, which looks in some detail at the 1950s, or Baltazar Caravedo's dependency-inspired regional history of Arequipa during Odría's "ochenio." David Collier, *Squatters and Oligarchs: Authoritarian Rule and Policy Change in Peru* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Baltazar Caravedo Molinari, *Desarrollo desigual y lucha política en el Perú, 1948–1956: La burguesía arequipeña y el estado peruano* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978).

5 See Yolanda Westphalen, "La mirada de Zavalita hoy: ¿En qué momento se jodió el Perú?," *Estudios culturales: Discursos, poderes, pulsiones*, ed. Santiago López Maguiña et al. (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2001), 315–35, and, particularly, the "Comentarios" by Carlos Iván Degregori, 337–41, in the same book. See also Mario Vargas Llosa, *Conversación en La Catedral* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1969).

6 Some social scientists, such as the contributors to a book published in 1990 with the phrase as its title, have even tried to date Peru's "fuckup," most apparently choosing to date it to the colonial period. It is easy to see how the question could be seen as applicable to all of Peruvian history. Carlos Milla Batres and Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, *En qué momento se jodió el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1990).

7 On this point, see Magdalena Chocano, "Ucronía y frustración en la conciencia histórica peruana," *Márgenes*, no. 2 (1987), 43–60; Cecilia Méndez, "Incas Sí, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28:1 (1996), 197–225, esp. n. 3; Paulo Drinot, "Historiography, Historiographic Identity, and Historical Consciousness in Peru," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 15:1 (2004), 65–88.

8 Gonzalo Portocarrero, "Las relaciones estado-sociedad en el Perú: Un examen bibliográfico," http://www.pucp.edu.pe/departamento/ciencias_sociales/, accessed 26 November 2009.

9 Quoted in Degregori, "Comentarios," 339.

10 See Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo* (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 1999).

11 Paul Dosal, *Comandante Che: Guerrilla Soldier, Commander, and Strategist, 1956–1967* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2003), 28–29.

12 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 5.

13 Gonzalo Portocarrero, *De Bustamante a Odría: El fracaso del Frente Democrático Nacional, 1945–1950* (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1983).

14 Peter Schmid, *Beggars on Golden Stools: A Journey through Latin America* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1956), 209.

15 Ibid., 218.

16 Tad Szulc, *Twilight of the Tyrants* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1959), 189.

17 *Time*, 25 April 1955.

18 National Archives, UK, Foreign Office [FO], 371 68292A/AS6297, Roberts to Bevin, 5 November 1948. I draw on foreign diplomatic reports in part because, similar to Guevara's diaries, they provide an outsider's perspective.

19 FO 371 74802/AS4540, Chancery to South American Department, 29 August 1949.

20 FO 371 74802/AS4540, Chancery to South American Department, 31 August 1949. On this episode, see Paul Gootenberg, "The 'Pre-Colombian' Era of Drug Trafficking in the Americas: Cocaine, 1945–1965," *Americas* 64:2 (2007), 133–76.

21 FO 371 74802/AS4540, Chancery to South American Department, 29 August 1949.

22 FO 371 81372/AF 1011/1, Dodds to McNeil, 3 February 1950. Arriving in Peru 1951, his successor agreed with him, noting that "as dictatorships go in this Continent, that of General Odría does not strike one as being oppressive and though the smart looking police force is much in evidence there is no feeling of living in a police state." Yet Ambassador Scott went on to remark that "it needs something of an effort of the imagination to remember that the gaols are packed with political prisoners and that many Peruvians are in exile; yet this is, of course, the case. Of the 221 prominent persons listed in this embassy's 1951/52 Personalities Report no less than 56 live under a political cloud." FO 371 90684/AF 1015/8, Scott to Morrison, 17 October 1951.

23 *Inter-American Labor News*, monthly bulletin issued by the Inter-American Confederation of Workers, 3:6 (1950), quoted in FO 371 81397/AF 2181/2, Murder of Luis Negreiros by secret police.

24 Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, *Peru, 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London: Palgrave, 1978), 205.

25 Ibid., 205.

26 British diplomats saw these measures as essentially political, describing them as "a determined attempt to replace the popular appeal of the APRA and Communist Parties by means of an ambitious programme of social and labour legislation which, conceived on more or less Peronista lines, is clearly designed to win over the working class and white-collar employees, from whose support both APRA and the Communists derive most of their strength." FO 371 74802/AS 1261, Marett to South American Department, 17 February 1949.

27 FO 371 74802/AS 187, Marett to Bevin, 1 January 1949.

28 FO 371 74802/AS 3681, "Peru: Political Review for 1947 and 1948" (Dodds to Bevin, 28 January 1949); FO 371 74802/AS3016, Dodds to Bevin, 27 May 1949.

29 Stuart A. Anderson and Chester W. Wood, "Public Elementary Education in Peru," *Elementary School Journal* 56:4 (1955), 164.

30 FO 371 103337/AF 2181/2, Scott to Eden, 6 February 1953.

31 Frederick Pike, *The Modern History of Peru* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1967), 293.

32 FO 371 108909/AF 1015/3, Montagu-Pollock to Garvery, 3 May 1954.

33 FO 371 114158/AF 1011/1, Montagu-Pollock to Eden, 25 February 1955 (annual review for 1954).

34 Pike, *The Modern History of Peru*, 293–96.

35 Hilda Gadea, *Ernesto: A Memoir of Che Guevara*, trans. Carmen Molina and Walter I. Bradbury (London and New York: W. H. Allen, a division of Howard and Wyndham, 1973), 5.

36 Jon Lee Anderson, *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: Grove, 1997), 85–86.

37 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 96.

38 Ibid., 138. Following Manuel Odría's coup in 1948, APRA's leader was granted political asylum by Colombia. However, the Peruvian authorities refused him a safe conduct out of the country, so Haya de la Torre was forced to live in the embassy until 1955.

Was granted political asylum by Colombia. However, the Peruvian authorities refused him a safe conduct out of the country, so Haya de la Torre was forced to live in the embassy until 1955.

39 Gadea, *Ernesto*, 16.

40 Guevara, *Back on the Road*, 10.

41 This is disputed by Ferrer, who claims that Rojo met up with them in Peru, but that they did not undertake the trip together (*De Ernesto al Che*, 113).

42 Ricardo Rojo, *My Friend Ché*, trans. Julian Casart (New York: Dial Press, 1968), 33–34.

43 In his memoirs Ferrer notes that they were struck by the extent to which Peru was "militarized" and that even in the smaller towns they came across heavily armed soldiers (*De Ernesto al Che*, 151).

44 Karl Eskelund, *Vagabond Fever: A Gay Journey in the Land of the Andes* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1954), 156–57.
45 Ibid., 157.
46 Szulc, *Twilight*, 161.
47 FO 371–74802/AS 3681, Dodds to Bevin, 28 January 1949.
48 Gadea, *Ernesto*, xv. Gadea repeats this point several times in her memoir: "The position of Betancourt, [Guevara] went on to say, was the same as that of Haya de la Torre, Figueres, and Paz Estenssoro. 'They all represent complete submission to imperialism; they are afraid to seek the support of the people to fight it' " (4); "Guevara, however, felt that [the Bolivian revolution] was not a true revolution, that the leadership was corrupt and consequently would end up surrendering to Yankee imperialism" (10); "The only way, said Ernesto, was a violent revolution; the struggle had to be against Yankee imperialism and any other solutions, such those offered by APRA, Acción Democrática, MNR (National Revolutionary Movement, of Bolivia), were betrayals" (12).
49 Ibid., 49–50.
50 Guevara, *Back on the Road*, 18.
51 Ibid., 15.
52 FO 371 74806/AS 5533, Dodds to Bevin, 28 October 1949.
53 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 117.
54 Ibid., 111.
55 Anderson, *Che Guevara*, 38.
56 Bertram Wolfe, "The Novel in Latin America," *Antioch Review* 3:2 (1943), 195.
57 Madaline W. Nichols, "A Prize Novel," *South Atlantic Bulletin* 11:3 (1945), 13.
58 Robert J. Alexander, "The Indians of Latin America," *Phylon* 13:1 (1952), 41.
59 Surprisingly, at the time of its publication, some historians saw little wrong with such a clear reliance on fictional sources. Peter Klarén, for example, noted that Bourricaud's major contribution "is his incisive analysis of the political behavior as motivation; of the middle saw little wrong with such a clear reliance on fictional sources. Peter Klarén, for example, noted that Bourricaud's major contribution "is his incisive analysis of the political behavior and motivation of the middle classes which he draws from an imaginative and brilliant examination of the characters who populate the novels of Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas." Klarén's review of Bourricaud's book appears in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51:1 (1971), 164–66, quote on 165.
60 Lewis Taylor, "Literature as History: Ciro Alegría's View of Rural Society in the Northern Peruvian Andes," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, 10:1 (1984), 349–78.
61 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 75.
62 Gadea, *Ernesto*, 11.

63 Ibid., 33.
64 Ibid., 11.
65 Anne Merriman Peck, *Roundabout South America* (New York: Harper, 1940), 114.
66 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 91.
67 Ibid., 114, 92.
68 Ibid., 122.
69 Ibid., 116–17.
70 Rojo, *My Friend Ché*, 32–33. Ferrer's account reproduces this trope. The indigenous are "simple people" who "very often were ignorant of who their leaders were, or had a clear idea of their nationality" (*De Ernesto al Che*, 130–31).
71 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 91.
72 Ibid., 93.
73 Ibid., 106–7.
74 Ibid., 107.
75 See Marisol de la Cadena, "Silent Racism and Intellectual Superiority in Peru," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17:2 (1998), 143–64.
76 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 114.
77 Ibid., 113. The idea that acculturated Indians or mestizos are somehow inferior to "real" Indians extends to seeing them as particularly cruel to the latter group. According to Granado, "we noticed that the half castes are the ones who treat the pure Indians with the greatest cruelty" Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 84.
78 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 117.
79 This seems to have been one of Guevara's key preoccupations. According to Ferrer, "[Guevara] always talked to me about the impotence and anxiety that he experienced when he saw the contrast between the glorious indigenous past, as in Machu Picchu, and the modern reality of the indigenous descendants, the poverty, exclusion and oppression in which they lived" (*De Ernesto al Che*, 58).
80 George Sava, *Surgeon under Capricorn* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), 230–31.
81 Ibid., 231.
82 On García Peláez, see Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 133.
83 Eskelund, *Vagabond Fever*, 184.
84 However, the idea that Machu Picchu confirmed the Incas as a great civilization was not shared by all. As Eskelund noted, someone had written in the guest book of his hotel: "Machu Picchu is okay, but have you ever been to Texas?" Ibid., 184, 186.

85 Ibid., 194–95.
86 David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (London: Blackwell, 2002).
87 On eugenics in Latin America, see Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). On "hard" and "soft" inheritance, see Peter Wade, *Race, Nature, and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (London: Pluto, 2002), chap 3.
88 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 104.
89 Ibid., 123.
90 Ibid., 116.
91 Ibid., 124.
92 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 90.
93 Ibid., 94.
94 Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Ministerio del Interior (MI), Prefecturas 513, Cp No 372, 15 July 1948.
95 AGN, MI, Prefecturas 513, Cp No 241, 11 May 1948.
96 José Luis Rénique, *La batalla por Puno: Conflicto agrario y nación en los Andes peruanos* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004), 136.
97 Fiona Wilson, "Conflict on a Peruvian Hacienda," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 5:1 (1986), 65–94.
98 E. J. Hobsbawm, "A Case of Neo-feudalism: La Convención," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1:1 (1969), 31–50; José Matos Mar, ed., *Hacienda, comunidad, y campesinado en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1976).
99 I draw here on James Holston's useful concept and his understanding of insurgence as "a process that is an acting counter, a counterpolitics, that destabilizes the present and renders it fragile, defamiliarizing the coherence with which it usually presents itself." James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 32.
100 FO 371 90684/AF 1015/8, Scott to Morrison, 17 October 1951.
101 FO 371 103317/AF 1012/4, Scott to Marquess of Salisbury, 15 Septom[illegible]
100 FO 371 90684/AF 1015/8, Scott to Morrison, 17 October 1951.
101 FO 371 103317/AF 1012/4, Scott to Marquess of Salisbury, 15 September 1953.
102 FO 371 114159/AF 1015/6, Montagu-Pollock to Macmillan, 1 June 1955.
103 Jean-Claude Driant, *Las barriadas de Lima: Historia e interpretación* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/DESCO, 1991), 53.
104 J. P. Cole, "Some Town Planning Problems of Greater Lima," *Town Planning Review* 26:4 (1956), 247.
105 Quoted in Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk, eds., *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 255.

106 Heath Bownman and Stirling Dickinson, *Westward from Rio* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1936), 326–27.
107 Christopher Morley, *Hasta la vista; or, A Postcard from Peru* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1935), 181–82.
108 George Woodcock, *Incas and Other Men* (London: Travel Book Club, 1959), 17.
109 Frances Tor, *The Three Worlds of Peru* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1949), 21.
110 Ibid., 34.
111 W. Byford-Jones, *Four Faces of Peru* (London: Travel Book Club, 1967), 136.
112 Ibid.
113 Tor, *The Three Worlds of Peru*, 22–23.
114 Ibid., 40.
115 Eskelund, *Vagabond Fever*, 158.
116 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 134.
117 Ibid., 138.
118 Ibid., 133.
119 Ibid., 134.
120 Ibid., 113.
121 Granado, *Traveling with Che Guevara*, 90.
122 See Fernando Santos and Frederica Barclay, *La frontera domesticada: Historia económica y social de Loreto, 1850–2000* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2002).
123 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 145.
124 Ibid.
125 Ibid., 149; emphasis added.
126 On the San Pablo colony, see Marcos Cueto, "Social Medicine and 'Leprosy' in the Peruvian Amazon," *Americas* 61:1 (2004), 55–80.
127 Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 149.
128 Ibid., 146.
129 The testimony is reproduced in Marcos Cueto and José Carlos de la [illegible]
Guevara, *Motorcycle Diaries*, 149.
128 Ibid., 146.
129 The testimony is reproduced in Marcos Cueto and José Carlos de la Puente, "Vida de Leprosa: The Testimony of a Woman Living with Hansen's Disease in the Peruvian Amazon, 1947," *História, Ciências, Saúde, Manguinhos*, no.10, supplement 1 (2003), 337–60.
130 Hank Kelly and Dot Kelly, *Dancing Diplomats* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950), 146.
131 Ibid., 147.
132 A useful overview of the literature on the Peruvian guerrillas of the 1960s, albeit one that reproduces the idea of the Indian's "fatalistic outlook on life in general" (62), is Leon G. Campbell, "The Historiography of the Peruvian Guerrilla Movement, 1960–1965," *Latin American*

Research Review 8:1 (1973), 45–70. For a more recent analysis, see José Luis Rénique, "De la traición aprista al gesto heroico—Luis de la Puente y la guerrilla del MIR," Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe 15:1 (2004), 89–114.

133 The literature on the Shining Path is vast. For an excellent introduction, see Steve J. Stern, ed., Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980–1995 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

134 See Giorgio Agamben, Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Malcolm Deas

"Putting Up" with Violence

Ernesto Guevara, Guevarismo, and Colombia

Ernesto Guevara's motorcycle did not reach Colombia. He and his companion entered the country in June 1952 at the Amazon river port of Leticia, and from there they flew to Bogotá. They stayed a few days and then departed overland for Venezuela. The *Motorcycle Diaries* have little to say about Colombia, and that little is of no exceptional interest. What there is, occurs in Che's letter to his mother from Bogotá, dated 6 July 1952: "There is more repression of individual freedom here than in any country we've been to, the police patrol the streets carrying rifles and demand your papers every few minutes, which some of them read upside down. The atmosphere is tense and it seems a revolution may be brewing. The countryside is in open revolt and the army is powerless to suppress it. The conservatives battle among themselves and cannot agree, and the memory of April 9, 1948, still weighs heavily on everyone's minds. In summary, it's suffocating here. If the Colombians want to put up with it, good luck to them, but we're getting out of here as soon as we can."[1] Perhaps what is interesting in the diaries is precisely the little curiosity about politics that the author shows. If the entries are meant to show signs of a political awakening, it is one of unusual torpor. A

Perhaps what is interesting in the diaries is precisely the little curiosity about politics that the author shows. If the entries are meant to show signs of a political awakening, it is one of unusual torpor. A text subsequently revised by Guevara himself, by his widow, and probably by the Cuban government—not usually careless in this sort of editing—contains little that foreshadows Guevara's later revolutionary career: a poor old lady dying in Valparaiso, an encounter with a cold and disgruntled copper miner, a passing verdict that Chile would be better off without the United States, and the defeated mien of the Indians of the Peruvian sierra. A proper political awakening had to await his experiences in Guatemala.[2]

Be that as it may, this brief intersection of Guevara and Colom-