

Acknowledgments

Acknowledgments perform the essential intellectual task of situating the production of an individual work in a long chain of influence, collaboration, and encouragement. I've worked over this section several times, more than any other part of the book, so I'll just stop here, apologize to anyone I may have missed, and start at the beginning.

Originally from Bolivia and having spent most of my life in La Paz, I had the good fortune to have first been taught the connection between politics and history by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Ivonne Farah, Julio Mantilla, Hugo Bedregal Romero, and Danilo Paz Ballivian while at the University of San Andrés. Aymara scholars and activists such as Julian Ugarte, Clemente Pimentel, Anaclleta Ventura, Prudencio Peña, and Ricarda Torricos first introduced me to the complicated history of Andean indigenous activists. I also benefited from extensive academic discussions on the topic with Tomas Huanca, Carlos Mamani of the Taller de Historia Oral Andina (THOA), and Roberto Choque.

In 1998 I began my journey toward earning my PhD at Carnegie Mellon University, where I had the privilege to work with outstanding scholars such as Tera Hunter, who first taught me about the history of race. Soon thereafter, however, I received an offer to continue my studies at Georgetown University. Having only recently left Bolivia, I felt unsure about making the move, but friends like Forrest Hylton convinced me that Georgetown and Washington, DC, would offer me a rich intellectual

and personal experience. Indeed, I used the opportunity to take several classes at Howard University with Professor Emory Tolbert to expand my knowledge of the history of race. Beyond thanking them for their contributions, I want to take this opportunity to appreciate the friendship of Erick Langer, Joanne Rappaport, Thomas Klubock, John Voll, and Jo Ann Moran-Cruz. They helped me to understand this work in relation to larger issues of government and power in Bolivia and Latin America.

I owe my greatest intellectual debt to Erick Langer, Thomas Klubock, and Joanne Rappaport. Every good thing about this work is a result of their observations, criticism, and support. Erick Langer read early versions of this work not only repeatedly but meticulously, and Joanne Rappaport inspired me with her incredible knowledge of indigenous activists in Latin America and the world, pushing me to reach beyond clichés, facile observations, and easy critiques of past work. It has been an honor and a privilege to work with such impressive and generous scholars. But, more than this, Erick, Tom, and Joanne formed a network of creative support and encouragement.

Regarding my research, I have accumulated many debts over thirty years of researching the *Alcaldes Mayores Particulares* (AMP). A number of people in Sucre, Bolivia, made research and writing possible. Above all are indigenous teachers and friends in the Yachaywasi literacy program, religious groups such as the Hermanos Espirituales, and the Central Agraria de Marawa, Cantar Gallo, Jatun Mayu, Pampawasi, and Marapampa. In particular, I'd like to thank Nabil Saavedra, Ezequiel Orieta, Juan Carlos Saavedra, Agapito Ponce Mamani, Julia Rivera (the best *papawaykus* and dinner in all of Chuquisaca), Elena Limachi, and Petrona Luque. These friends made returning to Tarwita, Cantar Gallo, and Tarabuco feel like coming home, no matter how long I had been away.

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I owe particular thanks to a group of institutions and friends who made it possible for me to return to American academia and publish this book. In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, I was prevented from assuming my post at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln from 2005 to 2007. I have never received an official explanation as to why. After the U.S. Customs and Immigration Services failed to take action for two years on my visa application, there was much speculation that this stemmed from ideological issues due to my indigenous background, my association with indigenous movements, and the political situation emerging in Bolivia on the eve of the current transformations that have reshaped Bolivian society. The American Historical Association, especially presidents Linda Kerber and Barbara Weinstein, stood up and protested on my behalf. The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) and American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) were also crucial in this struggle. I also cannot forget the wonderful contributions of Michael Maggio, a prestigious immigration lawyer who took my case pro bono and pressed for it to be resolved. Only after his efforts made my case public did it begin to move. Of all those who worked to bring me back, I especially want to mention Diana Negroponte of Georgetown University, who fought like a *crusada* for justice to be done. Her work was crucial, and I will never have the words to express

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Finally, this work is dedicated to my mother because, in her own way, she was the first one to teach me to be persistent and stay strong in life's difficult moments. It is thanks to her that I am now publishing this book.