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Writing National Cinema

Jeffrey Middents

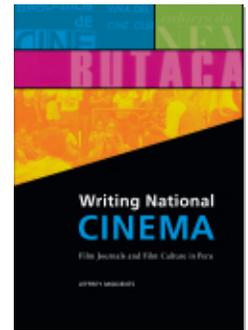
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NOTES

Introduction

1. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are the author's.
2. Throughout this book, I have used several Spanish nouns that denote the location where a person is said to be from, much like “New Yorker” or “Londoner” in English. The two most common used here are *limeño* and *cusqueño*, which indicate someone from Lima and Cuzco respectively. Similarly, a noun form identifying writers at *Hablemos de cine* has been left in the Spanish, *hablemista*, a term commonly used by Peruvian critics and film historians.
3. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), xx (my emphasis).
4. For this reason, governments also realized early the power and potential of cinema in fostering senses of nationalism and started funding the possibilities as a kind of “arming themselves” against Hollywood ideology/product. Extreme examples are Leni Riefenstahl and her Nazi propaganda films, Soviet cinema following 1917, Cuban cinema following the 1959 revolution, and the like.
5. Pierre Bourdieu, “The Field of Cultural Production; or, The Economic World Reversed,” in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 35–36.
6. Núria Triana-Toribio, *Spanish National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2003); Anna Everett, *Returning the Gaze: A Genealogy of Black Film Criticism, 1909–1949* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).
7. Alberto Elena and Marina Díaz López, eds., *The Cinema of Latin America: 24 Frames* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003). The book's introduction specifically

- states that “the main criterion of this work has been the *representativeness* of the films under study” (2; my emphasis).
8. Mikel Luis, “*La boca del lobo*,” in *Tierra en trance: El cine latinoamericano en 100 películas*, ed. Alberto Elena y Marina Díaz López (Madrid: Alianza, 1999), 360.
 9. Isaac León Frías, “*La boca del lobo*,” *Caretas* (December 12, 1988): 71.
 10. León’s review of *Misión en los Andes* for *Caretas* (September 7, 1987) might also apply to Lombardi’s film a year later: “The film is no more than a mechanical succession of dynamic episodes that operate on the most superficial levels of storytelling. These are aptly supported by elements which would be OK in an American production, but which are new for one made here: the use of doubles and special effects, which provides us with the novelty of seeing extensive car chases on our roads, a car falling off a cliff or a fistfight on top of a train going over a bridge” (60).
 11. José Carlos Mariategui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Barcelona: Linkgua, 2006); Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism*, trans. Kathleen Ross (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).
 12. Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, trans. John Chasteen (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996).
 13. It should be noted that the cinematic movement in Peru also began just after Mario Vargas Llosa’s literary marvel *La ciudad y los perros* (*The City and the Dogs*) won the 1962 Biblioteca Breve award in Spain, marking the start of the Latin American “boom” of novels that gained international attention. Though the best-known text from this movement remains Gabriel García Márquez’s 1967 novel *Cien años de soledad* (*One Hundred Years of Solitude*), the first works to gain traction (including Vargas Llosa’s work and Argentine Julio Cortázar’s 1963 novel *Rayuela* [Hopscotch]) were characterized by stylistically complex narrative structures that called attention to a postmodern style and notably urban settings, both also rejecting more “traditional” approaches to Latin American iconography in literature and receiving international attention for it.
 14. Ian Hayden Smith, ed., *TCM International Film Guide 2008: The Definitive Annual Review of World Cinema* (London: Wallflower Press, 2008).
 15. Ricardo Bedoya’s *100 años del cine en el Perú* (Lima: University of Lima Press, 1996) is the most complete work to date. Outside of Peru, the country’s cinema is discussed only fleetingly in several overviews of Latin American film as a whole. To offer some examples, one chapter in John King’s *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1990) devotes six pages total (246–250) to Peruvian cinema; Paulo Antonio Paranaguá’s section of the

Spanish-language *Historia general del cine* (Madrid: Catedra, 1995) devotes three pages (10:369–371); Zuzana M. Pick’s *The New Latin American Cinema: A Continental Project* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993) does not mention Peruvian cinema at all.

16. Pick, *New Latin American Cinema*.

Chapter 1. A History of the Peruvian Cinematic Tradition

1. I have relied heavily on Ricardo Bedoya’s thorough and detailed history of Peruvian cinema, *100 años de cine en el Perú: Una historia crítica* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1996) for the information in this section, especially concerning historical information before 1965. In this history, I have also used Bedoya’s *Un cine reencontrado: Diccionario ilustrado de las películas peruanas* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1997), an exhaustive chronological exploration of all films filmed in Peru from 1910 to 1997; José Perla Anaya’s *Censura y promoción en el cine* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1991), an examination of legal documents as they pertain to cinematic production and exhibition from 1897 to 1991; Giancarlo Carbone’s three volumes collected under the title *El cine en el Perú, 1897–1950* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1991), *Testimonios, 1950–1972* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1993), *El cortometraje: 1972–1992* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 2007); and selections from *Contratexto*, issue 9 (December 1995). Isaac León Frías also wrote an early film history in 1970 titled “Hacia una historia del cine peruano” for *Hablemos de cine* 50–51 (November 1969–February 1970).
2. Ricardo Bedoya, “La formación del público cinematográfico en el Perú: El cine de los señores,” *Contratexto* 9 (December 1995), 58–59. It is difficult to approximate today the class composition of other Latin American spectators: Emilio García Riera recounts that the first exhibition in Mexico of the Lumière cinematograph was held in the Grand Café where the public was “accommodated in plush theater seats,” but says nothing of the class makeup of the patrons; *Breve historia del cine mexicano: Primer siglo, 1897–1997* (Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía, 1998), 18. Likewise, Jacqueline Mouesca cites an anonymous 1896 review in Santiago, Chile, that focused on the dimensions of the screen and the images that passed on it, but overlooked the composition of the audience in the seats; *El cine en Chile: Crónica en tres tiempos* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Planeta, 1997), 113–114. For a comparative overview of early Latin American cinema that includes Peru in its analysis, see Ana M. López, “Early Cinema and Modernity in Latin America,” *Cinema Journal* 40, no. 1 (Fall 2000), 48–78.
3. Although the movie tents decreased as more sturdy (and less flammable) movie

theaters were built, the tents coexisted with the theatrical buildings until well into the 1930s.

4. Quoted in Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 97.
 5. Unfortunately, few of the movies made by Amauta Films are available to view. The description of this film is summarized from Bedoya's *Un cine reencontrado*. One of the last films made by Amauta, Cordero's *Conflicts* (*Los conflictos de Cordero*; Sigifredo Salas, 1940) was restored in 2002 by the Filmoteca de Lima. This was the second complete restoration project for the Filmoteca, the first having been the silent film *I Lost My Heart in Lima* (*Yo perdí mi corazón en Lima*, 1929), restored in 1995.
 6. This persona exists the world over under a variety of names. As detailed in a November 1938 review of the film in *Universal*: "France has its *gavroche* and *little man of Paris* [the *titi*]; Madrid, its *golfillo*; Chile, its *patacalata santiaguino*; Buenos Aires, its *canillita*. In all locations the childishness, combined with the striving for semi-manliness, demonstrates determined spirit and singular customs" (qtd. in Bedoya, *Un cine reencotrado*, 125).
 7. I am avoiding here a discussion of the film's moral suggestion that it is better to remain in your own neighborhood/class than to try to get ahead.
- A note should be made about the word "criollo." Ethnic studies have generally discussed "creole" as the intermingling of different racially and ethnically marked attributes into new attributes. Such is definitely true with what has been termed Peruvian criollo music, which indicates a blend of Spanish poetics with African rhythms that blended into Peru's most popular music on the coast. But the word "criollo" has a loaded, complicated significance in Peru. Originally used during the colonial period to distinguish white colonizers born in the New World from those born in Spain, the term has gained a connotation exclusively referring to the white, elite population, excluding all other racial identities. Intellectuals around the turn of the twentieth century who supported a more inclusive Peruvian identity, such as Manuel González Prada and José Carlos Mariátegui, spoke and wrote of criollo culture in derogatory terms.
8. Quoted in Perla Anaya, *Censura y promoción*, 63–64.
 9. Emilio García Riera, *Breve historia del cine mexicano*, 120. Michael Chanan also notes in his entry on early Latin American film in *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997]) that concentration on Mexican filmmaking "was boosted again in 1943 when the United States, angered by Argentina's neutrality in the war and suspicious of its links with Fascism, took measures which included cutting off its supplies of virgin film stock in favour of Mexico" (433–434).
 10. Paolo Antonio Paranaguá, *Le cinéma en Amérique Latine: le miroir éclaté* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), 65.
 11. Bedoya, *100 años de cine en el Perú*, 140.

12. L. Lunders, “Office Catholique International du Cinéma,” in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, *Mos to Pat* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 655. Lunders notes that heightened cinematic interest in Latin America precipitated the opening of a regionally oriented office in Lima in 1963.
13. As a point of comparison, Scott MacDonald notes that New York’s Cinema 16 cine-club featured nearly seven thousand members “at its height” between 1947 and 1963; MacDonald, *Cinema 16: Documents Toward a History of the Film Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 1.
14. Giancarlo Carbone, “Entrevista con Andrés Ruszkowski,” in *El cine en el Perú: Testimonios, 1950–1972*, 38.
15. Pius XI, “Vigilanti Cura,” in *The Papal Encyclicals, 1903–1939*, comp. Claudia Carlen (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 520.
16. Pius XII, “Miranda Prorsus,” in *The Papal Encyclicals, 1939–1958*, comp. Claudia Carlen Ihm (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 363. This confluence of church and film was not unique to Peru: critic and historian Paulo Antonio Paranaguá has in fact noted that the easy embrace of Italian neorealism in Latin America was a “‘historical compromise’ [that] took place in the *cine-clubs*, a confluence of Marxists and Christians. . . . Both sides agreed that film has a messianic mission to fulfill: Marxists could project their desire for transparency onto Neo-realism while Catholics could see their own aspirations to immanence reflected there. We can consequently assume that the quasi-religious political films of the sixties have their origins in the debates unleashed in the fifties’ “*cine-clubs*.” See Paulo Antonio Paranaguá, “Of Periodizations and Paradigms: The Fifties in Comparative Perspective,” *Nuevo Texto Critico* 21–22 (January–December 1998), 41.
17. For more on defining “art cinema,” see Steve Neale’s “Art Cinema as Institution,” *Screen* 22, no. 1 (1981), 11–40.
18. See Carbone’s interviews with Desiderio Blanco (60–69) and Juan Bullitta (71–88) in *El cine en el Perú: Testimonios, 1950–1972*.
19. Asked in an interview whether he was a founding member of *Hablemos de cine*, Blanco replied, “Yes, without actually being one. I sparked the *Hablemos de cine* movement. But they surprised me with the journal already completed. . . . One day they decided to publish [their opinions]. And I, coming back from a vacation, found that they had dedicated the first issue to me. It was a surprise” (qtd. in Carbone, *El cine en el Perú*, 62).
20. See chapter 6 for more commentary on Lima’s reaction to the Cuzco school.
21. Ricardo Bedoya, *100 años de cine en el Perú*, 145 n. 7. In an interview, Manuel Chambi noted humorously that Sadoul not only referred to him as an “Inca” but also mistakenly called him “Jorge.” See “Manuel Chambi López,” in Carbone, *El Cine en el Perú: Testimonios, 1950–1972* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1993), 105.

22. Peruvians writing about the film laws established in 1962, 1972, and 1994 generally shorthand each law by referencing the law's number (in this case, 13936). As this referencing has little resonance outside Peru, I have chosen to instead refer to them by the year they became law (in this case, the Film Law of 1962).
23. See chapter 3 for a discussion as to how all of these films that took advantage of the Film Law of 1962 were evaluated and used as examples of "poor quality" cinema by *Hablemos de cine*.
24. See chapter 4 for an in-depth examination of the Viña del Mar Film Festivals, particularly with an eye to *Hablemos de cine*'s evaluation of Latin American cinema. See also festival director Aldo Francia's recollections of the festival in *Nuevo cine latinoamericano en Viña del Mar* (Santiago de Chile: CESOC Ediciones ChileAmérica, 1990).
25. "Towards a Third Cinema" was originally published in the Cuban journal *Tricontinental*. *Hablemos de cine* published it in issue 54 (July–August 1970), 49–55. In English the manifesto first appeared in *Cinéaste*, translated by Julianne Burton-Carvajal and can now be found in *New Latin American Cinema*, vol. 1, *Theory, Practices and Transcontinental Articulations*, ed. Michael T. Martin (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 33–58.
26. Pick, *The New Latin American Cinema*, 23. Paulo Antonio Paranaguá notes that both Lombardi and Ruiz were students of the Santa Fé (Argentina) film school run by Fernando Birri, ironically one of the filmmakers that inspired Cine Liberación ("América latina busca su imagen," 336–337).
27. "Información: La sociedad peruana de cinematografía," *Hablemos de cine* 34 (March–April 1967), 30: emphasis in original.
28. Carbone, *El cine en el Perú: Testimonios, 1950–1972*, 188–189.
29. See Paulo Antonio Paranaguá's comparison of these three film laws in "América latina busca su imagen," *Historia general del cine*, ed. Carlos F. Heredero and Casimiro Torreiro (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 366.
30. José Perla Anaya, *Censura y promoción*, 181.
31. *Ibid.*, 184.
32. The new boon of short films even attracted veteran auteur Armando Robles Godoy away from feature films to concentrate on developing his Film Workshop and directing films in the shorter format. Following the implementation of the law in 1972, the only feature he would direct again would be *Sonata Soledad* (Sonata of Loneliness, 1987), which was never given a general commercial release.
33. Ironically, this was a review of Truffaut's *The Bride Wore Black* (81–82).
34. Bedoya, *100 años de cine en el Perú*, 249.
35. José Carlos Huayhuaca, et al., "Francisco Lombardi: 'Hacer cine en el Perú es para mí poner los pies en la tierra,'" *Hablemos de cine* 67 (1975), 30.

36. Federico de Cárdenas, “Una constación y una repuesta,” *Hablemos de cine* 69 (1977–78), 21.
37. Isaac León Frías, “Cine peruano: La búsqueda de una voz propia en el largometraje peruano,” *Hablemos de cine* 29 (1977–78), 17.
38. Federico de Cárdenas, “Una constación y una repuesta,” 21.
39. In an article summarizing the events in national cinema over this period, Federico de Cárdenas acknowledged that the delay is attributable to “the always precarious economic situation of this publication” (“Una constación y una repuesta,” 21).
40. Javier Proetz, “Grandez y decandencia del espectáculo cinematográfico,” *Contratexto* 9 (December 1995): 121–122.
41. Also an exception: three Argentine co-productions attempted to bring comedian Tulio Loza (of *Nemesio* fame) to an international audience: *Contacto en Argentina* (Contact in Argentina; Saraceni, 1980), *Abierto día y noche* (Open day and night; Ayala, 1982), and *Compre antes que se acabe* (Buy before it’s gone; Galettini, 1983), none of which succeeded.
42. Durant’s admission into Sundance comes less than six months after a tribute to the Sundance Film Festival made at the 2003 *elcine* (Encuentro Latinoamericano de Cine) Film Festival sponsored by Universidad Católica’s cultural center; Caroline Libresco, a programmer for Sundance, represented the festival along with feature director John Cameron Mitchell (who debuted *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* in Peru at the festival) and Gail Dolgin (*Daughter from Danang*). Since then, Claudia Llosa’s *Madeinusa* (2006) and Ricardo de Montreuil’s *Máncora* (2008) have also competed in the feature section of the festival.
43. René Weber, “El Grupo Chaski: Una película sin ‘Happy End,’” *Butaca sanmarquina* 1 (July–August–September 1998), 22–24. Weber also writes a second firsthand article about the experience of shooting and distributing *Juliana* in “La pared que habla: La fascinante experiencia de la Difusión Popular del Grupo Chaski,” *Butaca sanmarquina* 2 (October–December 1998), 8–9. For more information about the practices of Grupo Chaski in the 1970s and in the re-formed version in the 2000s, see Sophia McClennan’s “The Theory and Practice of the Peruvian Grupo Chaski,” *Jump Cut* 50 (Spring 2008), <http://www.ejumpcut.org/currentissue/Chaski/text.html> (accessed June 2, 2008).
44. There is a common misconception, even by Peruvian filmmakers, that D.L. 19327 was repealed at the end of 2002. José Perla Anaya’s interview in Carbone’s *El cine en el Perú: El cortometraje, 1972–1992* counters this argument with the explanation offered in the text (36).
45. Christian Wiener F., “Los cazadores de la ley perdida,” *Contratexto* 9 (December 1995), 108.
46. The issue of governmental concern with regard to cultural exception continued

over the twelve years it would take until the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions would be ratified in 2005. René Weber compiled a dossier on local concerns on the topic in *Butaca sanmarquina* 20 (June 2004), 37–43. See also the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (Paris: UNESCO, October 2005), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001429/142919e.pdf>.

47. The Peruvian features released in 2003 are more fully detailed in chapter 7.
48. Sarah Barrow, “Peruvian Cinema and the Struggle for International Recognition: Case Study on *El destino no tiene favoritos*,” in *Contemporary Latin American Cinema: Breaking into the Global Market*, ed. Deborah Shaw (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 185–186. For more on the influence of Ibermedia on Latin American cinema, see Tamara Falicov, “Programa Ibermedia: Co-Production and the Cultural Politics of Constructing an Ibero-American Audiovisual Space,” *Spectator* 27, no. 2 (Fall 2007), 21–30.

Chapter 2. Publication, Authority, Identity

1. “Proyecto de revista cinematográfica,” Preliminary outline of journal project (Filmoteca de Lima/Museo de Arte Edubanco, Lima, Peru, (January 2, 1965), 2.
2. Marijke de Valck and Malte Hagener’s fascinating edited collection *Cinephilia: Movies, Love and Memory* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005) collects contemporary perspectives of cinephilia in the age of video and digital technology. In particular, Thomas Elsaesser’s “Cinephilia; or, the Uses of Disenchantment” (27–44) provides brief historical context going back to France in the 1920s, though the concentration of his piece (and the rest of the volume) is on the years after the 1980s.
3. Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 12.
4. Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989). Since its original publication, Mulvey’s argument on “visual pleasure” has been hotly debated and contested, with Mulvey herself stepping back from some of her most damning claims. I am making the distinction between *cinephilia* and *scophilia* here because the latter term is still primarily used and thought of in Mulvey’s context.
5. *Ibid.*, 16.
6. Paul Willemen, *Looks and Frictions: Essays in Cultural Studies and Film Theory* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 232.
7. Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 17.

8. Willemsen, *Looks and Frictions*, 237.
9. Roland Barthes despairs of the photographic image throughout most of the second half of *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981). At the heart of the text (Barthes's last and written soon after his mother's death), a photograph of his mother as a young girl only reconfirms her death for him.
10. The inability to get beyond the solitary voyeur is the major problem with Norman K. Denzin's premise of *The Cinematic Society: The Voyeur's Gaze* (London: Sage, 1995), which finds the film spectators as a group doomed to individual, objectifying perversity rather than exploring the notion that those who have had the same experience might share it with one another.
11. Several publications, particularly those with an expressed international focus, like *Close-Up* in the 1920s and 1930s, did not or could not be local; such journals logically were also not concerned with questions of "national cinema," instead dealing with the medium itself. (See Anne Friedberg's dissertation on *Close-Up*.) With the advent of globalized communities, particularly through the Internet in the 1990s, cinephilia has another opportunity to move away from its dependence on the cine-club, as evidenced by chat rooms, message boards, blogs, and webpages — all allowing multiple interactions with movies and a large potentially international community.
12. See particularly chapter 2, "Defending and Defining the Seventh Art: The Standard Version of Stylistic History," in David Bordwell's, *On the History of Film Style* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).
13. Interestingly, Bernadette Plot's examination of the original *Revue du cinéma* (1928–1930) does not specifically mention a particular cine-club as being instrumental to the journal's formation, though the cultural climate she describes indicates the early journal was debated among the cine-club climate. The journal was reconfigured following World War II and is seen as the primary precursor for *Cahiers du cinéma*. See Plot, *Un manifeste pour le cinéma: Les normes culturelles en question dans la première Revue du cinéma* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1996); de Baecque, "Incipit: la scène primitive," *Les Cahiers du cinéma: Histoire d'une revue* (Paris: Editions Cahiers du cinéma, 1991), 1:13–20.
14. Olivier Barrot, *L'Ecran Français, 1943–1953: Histoire d'un journal et d'une époque* (Paris: Les Editions Français Reunis, 1979), 11–13.
15. See de Baecque, "Contre-culture cinéphilique," *Les Cahiers du cinéma: Histoire d'une revue* (Paris: Editions Cahiers du cinéma, 1991), 1:20–26; Jim Hillier, ed., introduction to *Cahiers du cinéma, The 1950s: Neo-Realism, Hollywood, New Wave* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 1–5.
16. Iván Tubau, *Crítica cinematográfica española, Bazin contra Aristarco: La gran*

- controversia de los años 60* (Barcelona: Publicacions Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 1983), 33–43.
17. Mouesca, *El cine en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 1997), 58, 94–96.
 18. Willemen, *Looks and Frictions*, 239.
 19. *Ibid.*, 233.
 20. Gender is mentioned only in passing in the published interview with Nora de Izcúe in issue 67 (1975). She noted that she was a housewife with no real future to speak of before coming to filmmaking: “My life, like that of so many women, was for the most part predestined. It seemed as if my future was already planned, but occasionally one can construct her own destiny” (37). Women have developed a slightly more significant presence in Peruvian film culture in the 1990s. Marianne Eyde has also emerged as a significant director, having produced three feature films in the last fifteen years. In criticism, Rafaela García Sanabria became one of the primary editors of *Hablemos de cine*’s successor *La gran ilusión*, having been a critic at the large daily newspaper *El Comercio* since 1980; Monica Delgado is a younger critic now writing for *Tren de sombras*.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. Spanish critic Iván Tubau’s *Crítica cinematográfica española* gives an excellent account of the debate between the two journals, complete with numerous interviews with staff members of both magazines. *Nuestro Cine* writer and *Hablemos de cine* contributor Miguel Marías noted in an interview that he was at first “disgusted” with the idea of writing for a journal he had always detested, having affiliated himself as a reader of *Film Ideal* (263–264).
 23. The *Nuestro Cine* contributors who ended up on the masthead at *Hablemos de cine* were Jesús Martínez León, Augusto M. Torres, and Vicente Molina Foix. Other collaborators included José María Carreño, José María Palá, Ramón Font, Jos Olivier, Marcelino Villegas, and Miguel Marías. Most of this last group were primary contributors to the retrospective of American cinema published between issues 39 and 46 (January–February 1968 to March–April 1969).
 24. A note about the rating system at *Hablemos de cine*: according to a document written by the editors during the original planning stages of the journal (“Proyecto”), films would be reviewed and given a rating between 0 (abysmal) and 5 (extraordinary). The Peruvians based their rating system on the one established by the Spanish film journal *Film Ideal*, though they argue in this document that their system allowed a greater range.
 25. Federico de Cárdenas, “La mujer de paja,” *Hablemos de cine* 1 (February 15, 1965), 14.
 26. “Presentación,” *Hablemos de cine* 1 (February 15 1965), 1–2.

27. André Bazin, “On the *politiques des auteurs*,” in *Cahiers du Cinéma*, ed. Hillier, 248.
28. Ethnomusicologist Mark Slobin coins this term in “Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach,” *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 1 (Winter 1992), 1–87.
29. Marsha Kinder, *Blood Cinema: The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 3–4, 22–26.
30. Tubau, *Crítica cinematográfica española*, 52; emphasis in original.
31. For example, in Chile, the very first issue of *Ecran* in 1930 listed two editors-in-chief: Roberto Aldunate in Santiago and Carlos Borcosque in Hollywood, the latter of whom provided a connection with U.S. film activity during the first eight years of the publication (Mouesca, *El cine en Chile*, 58–60).
32. See Isaac León’s fawning review of Corman’s *Tomb of Ligeia* (1964), an adaptation of a Edgar Allan Poe story, in issue 18 (September 1, 1965), 54–56. Corman would, in fact, later co-produce a number of films in Peru directed by Luis Llosa, including *Hour of the Assassin* (1987), *Crime Zone* (1989), *Fire on the Amazon* (1991), and *800 Leagues Down the Amazon* (1993).
33. Tavernier’s connection with *Hablemos de cine* ended before he achieved his own success as a director. León and de Cárdenas discuss Tavernier and other European correspondents in their published dialogue “Un oficio del siglo XX,” *Contratexto* 9 (December 1995): 153–160.
34. Isaac León Frías, personal interview, November 1998. León’s trip is announced in issue 42 (July–August 1968); de Cárdenas’s is announced in issue 48 (July–August 1969).
35. See chapter 3 for more on the journal’s Latin American identity.
36. That other French film magazines (including *Positif*, *Telcine*, and *Revue du cinéma*) also printed major articles with a similar politics at this time seems to imply that the self-assessment of *Cahiers* concerning its readership was accurate.
37. Federico de Cárdenas, personal interview, July 9, 2003.
38. Though most of the photographs included in the journal appear to have been photographic stills provided by distribution companies, it is unclear precisely where the journal obtained their images. In addition to possibly being frame enlargements, the existence of several images from films that were not distributed in Peru — such as Pier Paolo Pasolini’s *Decameron* (1971), an image from which was printed in issue 63 (January–March 1972) — indicate that some images might have literally been cut and pasted from other periodicals from abroad.
39. De Cárdenas’s other major accomplishment for the journal from this festival was covering a press conference with Polish director Roman Polanski (no. 47, May–June 1969, 65–67).
40. See chapter 4 for an in-depth discussion of Viña del Mar 1969.

Chapter 3. Shaping Peruvian Taste

1. “Presentación,” *Hablemos de cine* 1 (February 15, 1965), 1.
2. “Nace el cine nacional,” *Hablemos de cine* 3 (March 18, 1965), 3; my emphasis.
3. For a brief overview of Argentine cinema in the first half of the 1960s, see John King, *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1990), 79–84; Timothy Barnard, ed., *Argentine Cinema* (Toronto: Nightwood Editions, 1986).
4. In part because I discuss the quality of films produced from 1972 onward in later chapters, I have limited my discussion within this chapter to Peruvian films made before the Film Law of 1972.
5. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (London: Routledge, 1979), 466.
6. Christian Keathley, *Cinephilia and History; or, The Wind in the Trees* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 16.
7. The same may be true today. Consider that very few critical reviews and no book-length critical works on Gordon Douglas as an auteur are available in English, Spanish, or French, whereas many such works are available on Bergman.
8. Howard Thompson, “Lively, Tough Western Has Premiere Here,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1964, 38.
9. I have chosen to translate *acercamiento* as “analysis,” although to do so loses some of the connotation of the word. Literally, the word refers to an “approach”; hence, these analyses are not meant to be definitive treatises on these artists-impossible, given that most of these directors’ films were still not viewable in Peru at the time — but rather, informed and critical analyses of directors as auteurs. While it is tempting to call these analyses “introductions” to the artists, the editors seemed to imply that their readers would have at least some referential knowledge of the directors/films. As the journal continued to move away from single-artist toward nationally oriented *acercamientos*, “analysis” functions as a more consistent translation.
10. “Acercamiento a Gordon Douglas,” *Hablemos de cine* 2 (March 1, 1965), 28.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Isaac León Frías, “Murallas de sangre,” *Hablemos de cine* 2 (March 1, 1965), 32.
13. “Acercamiento a Vicente Minnelli,” *Hablemos de cine* 6 (May 1, 1965), 41.
14. The title refers to a slightly altered verse from Mark 10:17: “And as [Jesus] was setting out on his journey, a man came running and knelt before him and asked him, ‘Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?’” The passage continues with Jesus telling the man that he should sell all his possessions and give the money to the poor, at which point the man walks away troubled. Elsewhere, in France and in other Spanish-speaking countries, the film was released under the title *Como una tormenta / Comme un torrente*, translated as “Like a deluge.”

- In Peru, distributors inexplicably changed the title to *Dios sabe cuánto amé*, translated as “God knows how many I loved.”
15. “*Some Came Running*,” *Variety* (December 24, 1948). In *Variety Film Reviews*, vol. 9, 1954–1958 (New York: Bowker, 1983).
 16. “The New Pictures,” *Time* (January 12, 1959), 72.
 17. Although nominated, MacLaine did not win the Oscar for this film in 1958. Also nominated in 1960 for *The Apartment* and 1963 for *Irma la Douce*, she did not win until 1983 for *Terms of Endearment*.
 18. Percy Gibson, “*Dios Sabe Cuánto Amé*,” *El Comercio* (April 24, 1965), C1.
 19. Philippe Demonsablon, “Scènes de la vie de province,” *Cahiers du Cinéma* 97 (July 1959), 50.
 20. *Ibid.*, 51.
 21. Carlos Rodríguez Larraín, “*Some Came Running (Dios sabe cuánto amé)*,” *Hablemos de cine* 6 (May 1, 1965): 52–53.
 22. *Ibid.*, 56.
 23. Desiderio Blanco, “*Some Came Running (Dios sabe cuánto amé)*,” *Hablemos de cine* 6 (May 1, 1965): 50.
 24. Larraín, “*Some Came Running*,” 53.
 25. Blanco, “*Some Came Running*,” 48.
 26. Estudios Roselló had also produced the last major (failed) feature made in Lima, *La muerte llega al segundo show* (Death Comes to the Second Show, Roselló y Beltrán, 1958). Editorial director Fernando Samillán Cavero published a critical obituary for Radovich, “Vlado, en el recuerdo,” in *Butaca sanmarquina* 3 (1998), 28–29.
 27. Isaac León Frías and Federico de Cárdenas, “Armando Robles Godoy: Un director peruano,” *Hablemos de cine* 4 (April 1, 1965), 15.
 28. *Ibid.*, 13.
 29. *Ibid.*, 14.
 30. “*Ganarás el pan*,” *Oiga* (July 16, 1965). In Ricardo Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado: Diccionario ilustrado de las películas peruanas* (Lima: University of Lima, 1997), 169.
 31. León Frías and de Cárdenas, “Armando Robles Godoy,” 10.
 32. Juan Bullitta, “*Ganarás el pan*,” *Hablemos de cine* 11 (July 15, 1965), 38.
 33. Carlos Rodríguez Larraín, “*Ganarás el pan*,” *Hablemos de cine* 11 (July 15, 1965), 43.
 34. Isaac León Frías, “*Ganarás el pan*,” *Hablemos de cine* 11 (July 15, 1965), 44.
 35. Federcio de Cárdenas, “*Ganarás el pan*,” *Hablemos de cine* 11 (July 15, 1965), 45.
 36. Bullitta, “*Ganarás el pan*,” 42. Carlos Rodríguez Larraín began his review with “*Ganarás el pan* is a film that by virtue of its *intentions* deserves all of our

- praise” and ended it with “if *Ganarás el pan*, with regards to the execution, deserves a ‘o’ (we must be fair as much as it goes against our desires), with regards to its intentions it deserves a ‘s’ for its sincerity with which it has tried to express an authentically national theme” (43, 44). Isaac León stated: “it must be noted that this [film] is a great effort and Robles Godoy is a true pioneer who has much more land to explore. I sincerely congratulate him and I wish him the best of luck” (44).
37. Armando Robles Godoy et al., “Cine peruano: ‘En las selva no hay estrellas’ en un polémico debate,” *Hablemos de cine* 33 (January–February 1967), 15.
 38. *Ibid.*, 16–17.
 39. *En la selva no hay estrellas* was rereleased in 2007 to considerable accolades, programmed as part of a tribute to Peruvian cinema, at the Cine-Club Cinematógrafo in Barranco. The present acceptance of the film indicates the shift in ideological perspective of the new critics in the twenty-first century.
 40. The journal cited his influence only once in reference to one of his most prominent students, Nora de Izcué, and even then it was to show the progression from the Robles-oriented aesthetics of her first short, *Filmación*, to a much clearer, determined style in her second major work, the medium-length *Runan Caycu* (1974). See her entry in the short-film retrospective *HdC* 70 (April 1973), 23.
 41. Alfonso Delboy, “Intimidación de los parques,” *La Prensa* (February 21, 1965). In Ricardo Bedoya’s, *Un cine reencontrado: Diccionario ilustrado de las películas peruanas* (Lima: University of Lima, 1997), 167.
 42. Isaac León Frías, Juan Bullitta, Carlos Rodríguez Larraín, and Federico de Cárdenas, “Intimidación de los parques,” *Hablemos de cine* 3 (March 18, 1965), 41, 42.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. *Ibid.*, 42.
 45. “Nace el cine nacional,” *Hablemos de cine* 3 (March 18, 1965): 4.
 46. The thirteen coproductions produced and exhibited in Peru between 1962 and 1970 (listed with the country producing with Peru and alternate titles where applicable) were: *Operación Ñongos* (Operation: Kiddies), also released as *Un gallo con espolones* (A Tough Guy with Spurs), Mexico, Zacarías Gómez Urquiza, 1964; *Intimidación de los parques* (Intimacy of the Parks), Argentina, Manuel Antín, 1965; *A la sombra del sol* (In the Shadow of the Sun), Mexico, Carlos Enrique Taboada, 1966; *Taita Cristo* (Daddy Christ), also released as *La espina de Cristo* (Christ’s Thorn), Argentina, Guillermo Fernández Jurado, 1967; *Mi secretaria está loca, loca, loca* (My Secretary Is Completely Crazy), Argentina, Alberto Dubois, 1967; *Seguiré tus pasos* (I Will Follow Your Footsteps), Mexico, Alfredo Crevenna, 1967; *Bromas S.A.* (Jokes, Inc.), Mexico, Alberto Mariscal, 1967; *La Venus maldita* (Damned Venus), Mexico, Alfredo

- Crevenna, 1967; *El tesoro de Atahualpa* (Atahualpa's Treasure), Mexico, Vicente Oróná, 1968; *Pasión oculta* (Dark Passion), Mexico, Alfredo Crevenna, 1968; *Las sicodélicas* (The Psychodelics), Mexico, Gilberto Martínez Solares, 1968; *Annabelle Lee*, United States, Harold Daniels, 1968; *Milagro en la selva* (Miracle in the Jungle), also released as *Terror in the Jungle*, United States, Andy Jaczk, 1969. Gabriela Alemán writes about how these types of films contribute to Ecuadorian cinema of this period in "An International Conspiracy: Ecuadorian Cinema in the 1960s and 1970s," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (March 2004): 97–113.
47. Both of these reviews were placed in the section titled "En pocas palabras" (In brief). *Taita Cristo* can be found in issue 34 (March–April 1967), 61; *El tesoro de Atahualpa* in issue 39 (January–February 1968), 93. Ironically, the former appears in the same issue with the summary of the 1967 Viña del Mar film festival (see chapter 4.)
 48. "Nace el cine nacional," 3.
 49. This expectation was ultimately frustrated. Significant film practice would not begin elsewhere in Peru until the passing of the Film Law of 1972.
 50. Notably absent from this list of directors is club founder Manuel Chambi, who was actually attending the infamous Centro Sperimentale di Cinema in Rome in 1964.
 51. Chapter 1 contains a more detailed plot summary and analysis of *Kukuli*.
 52. It is unclear whether cinematic equipment was brought through La Paz, Bolivia, which is easier to reach from Cuzco than is the coastal city of Lima. Both *Kukuli* and *Jarawi* were edited and the soundtrack was added in laboratories in Argentina, which was standard practice at the time for Peruvian productions.
 53. Quoted in Bedoya, *100 años*, 160.
 54. Juan Bullitta, "Crítica a *Jarawi*," *Hablemos de cine* 26–27 (June–July 1966), 52.
 55. *Ibid.*, 54.
 56. *Serrano* refers to someone from the sierra, or mountains, in this case the Andes.
 57. This is developed in greater detail in chapter 6.
 58. Bullitta, "Crítica a *Jarawi*," 53.
 59. Fernando Vivas Sabroso, *En vivo y en directo: Una historia de la televisión peruana* (Lima: University of Lima, 2001), 21.
 60. In a scene in Marta Rodríguez and Jorge Silva's often referenced Colombian documentary *Chircales* (Brickmakers, 1972), *Simplemente María* is heard broadcast on the radio in the background. Fernando Vivas discusses both soap operas at length in *En vivo y en directo*, 128–138.
 61. Florence Thomas examines the intellectual's resistance to melodrama in her study *Los estragos del amor: el discurso amoroso en los medios de comunicación* (Bogotá: Editorial Universidad Nacional, 1994).

62. See chapter 4 for a more detailed account of the effects of the Viña del Mar film festival of 1967 on *Hablemos de cine*.
63. A similar reaction among the popular press occurred with the 1998 release of Francisco Lombardi's *No se lo digas a nadie* (Don't Tell Anyone). Based on the novel by Jaime Bayly, the film was an exposé of the very closed, white, aristocratic class of the late 1980s and early 1990s and the hypocritical subset of gay men within that society. Film critics, while expressing solidarity with a fairly well-made Peruvian film, found it to be a step backward from the masterpiece of Lombardi's *Bajo la piel* four years earlier; other cultural critiques in the popular press, however, denounced the film as obscene and entirely untrue, refusing to acknowledge the drug- and sex-obsessed young people in the film as accurate portrayals. The gossipy plotline, combined with the attractive presence of soap-opera stars Santiago Magill and Christian Meier and Lombardi's successful campaign to open the film on Independence Day weekend (traditionally locked up by multinational films, that year by the Hollywood production of *Godzilla*), enabled the film to break box-office records.
64. "El embajador y yo' y el cine nacional," *Hablemos de cine* 41 (May–June 1968), 4.
65. Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 186.
66. Fernando Vivas notes in *En vivo y en directo* that Loza's popularity remained relatively strong on television throughout the 1970s, but that after critiquing some later reforms administered under the Velasco administration on his show, he was routinely censored and met with considerable governmental disapproval, despite his character's obvious embracing of contemporary nationalistic ideals established by the regime (116).
67. *Nemesio's* superficial treatment of contemporary racial divisions emphasizing urban discrimination would be much more seriously considered in the films of Grupo Chaski (*Gregorio*, 1985; *Juliana*, 1989), which used more of a neorealist/Third Cinema aesthetic to tackle issues of urban sprawl through the stories of street children.
68. "Nemesio," *La Prensa* (November 2, 1969). In Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 193.
69. "La farsa de Nemesio," *Hablemos de cine* 49 (September–October 1969), 4.
70. This particular Hani film has been notoriously difficult to locate. Neither the Filmoteca de Lima in Peru nor any of the Japanese embassies or consulates in the United States or Peru were able to locate a copy of the film. While other films have been shown at Hani retrospectives — *She and He* (1963), for example, was screened at the 1998 Telluride Film Festival for his Silver Medallion award — *Andesu no hanayame* seems to have vanished.
71. Isaac León Frías et al., "Entrevista: Primer contacto con Susumu Hani: Arte y juventud," *Hablemos de cine* 10 (July 1, 1965), 18.

72. *Ibid.*, 21; emphasis in original.
73. “Susumu hani retornó a Japón,” *Hablemos de cine* 19 (November 15, 1965), 15.
74. See Y. Koichi, “Venise 66: Commentaires,” *Cahiers du cinéma*, no. 183 (October 1966), 29–30.
75. Isaac León Frías, Juan Bullitta, and Pablo Guevara, “¿Una película peruana hecha por un japonés?: Susumu Hani y ‘Amor en los Andes’: Coloquio,” *Hablemos de cine* 36 (July–August 1967), 20.
76. *Ibid.*
77. See chapter 5 for an examination of short films.

Chapter 4. Latin American Dis/Connections

1. There is some irony here that the *hablemistas* fully recognized and embraced genre films such as the melodrama in Hollywood filmmaking, yet routinely dismissed Mexican melodramas as substandard, perhaps once again demonstrating the influence of already published European criticism on genre.
2. Several broader Latin American film histories document the importance of the 1967 Viña del Mar film festival. See Alberto Elena and Marina Díaz López, eds., *The Cinema of Latin America: 24 Frames* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003), 6; Marina Díaz López and Alberto Elena, eds., *Tierra en trance: El cine latinoamericano en 100 películas* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999), 153; Zuzana Pick, *The New Latin American Cinema: A Continental Project* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 1; John King, *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1990), 70–71.
3. “Festival de Rio de Janeiro: Declara Andrés Ruszkowski a *Hablemos de cine*,” *Hablemos de cine* 17 (October 15, 1965), 5–8; Mariano Silva, “Crónica del Festival de Mar de la Plata,” *Hablemos de cine* 25 (May 1966), 12–16; Augusto M. Torres, “Cannes 66: El festival de escándalo,” *Hablemos de cine* 26–27 (June–July 1966), 5–15; Jesús Martínez León, “XI Semana Internacional de Cine Religioso y de Valores Humanos de Valladolid,” *Hablemos de cine* 26–27 (June–July 1966), 16–23; Martínez León, “Reseña: Festival de San Sebastián,” *Hablemos de cine* 28 (August 1966), 5–15; Torres, “Venecia 99: ¿Crisis?” *Hablemos de cine* 30–31 (October–November 1966), 5–12; Torres, “IX Gran Premio de Bergamo,” *Hablemos de cine* 33 (January–February 1967), 24–27; Vincente Molina Foix, “8th semana de cine en color (Barcelona),” *Hablemos de cine* 33 (January–February 1967), 28–31.
4. “Primer festival de cine peruano de 16mm,” *Hablemos de cine* 12 (July 31, 1965): 3–10.
5. The best source of information on the Viña del Mar festivals can be found from the accounts written by its primary organizer, Chilean director Aldo Francia.

- See his *Nuevo cine latinoamericano en Viña del Mar* (Santiago: CESOC Ediciones ChileAmérica, 1990).
6. For a study devoted to the domination of the North American majors on the Latin American markets, see Gaizka S. de Usabel's *The High Noon of American Films in Latin America* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), Jorge A. Schnitman's *Film Industries in Latin America: Dependency and Development* (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1984), and Octavio Getino's *Cine y televisión en América Latina: Producción y mercados* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1998).
 7. Isaac León Frías, "Festival de Viña del Mar: Introducción," *Hablemos de cine* 34 (March–April 1967), 5.
 8. The first part of Ricardo Bedoya's *El cine en el Perú* (Lima: University of Lima, 1996) features a detailed history on pre–World War II Peruvian filmmaking.
 9. The only recently made feature films would have been *La muerte llega al segundo show* (Death Comes to the Second Show, Roselló, 1958), *Kukuli* (Nishiyama/Figueroa/Chambi, 1961), *Ganarás el pan* (You Will Earn the Bread, Robles Godoy, 1965), and the Argentine co-production *Intimidad de los parques* (Intimacy of the Parks, Antín, 1965). Since *Hablemos de cine* started publication in February 1965, Antín's and Robles Godoy's films were both reviewed — and soundly panned — by the journal in issues 3 (March 4, 1965) and 11 (July 15, 1965) respectively. In both cases, these negative reviews were primarily concerned with how Peruvian national cinema might be interpreted if either film was used as an example.
 10. Pick, *The New Latin American Cinema*.
 11. Federico de Cárdenas, "Chile," *Hablemos de cine* 34 (March–April 1967), 10.
 12. Michael Chanan, *Chilean Cinema* (London: BFI, 1976).
 13. See chapter 5 on short film and more about the short-film contest.
 14. *Estampas del Carnaval de Kanas* (*Scenes from the Kanas Carnival*) was actually co-directed by Eulogio Nishiyama. Both Nishiyama and Chambi were principal members of the Cine-Club de Cuzco and also produced the feature-length films *Kukuli* (1961) and *Jarawi* (1966).
 15. "Primer festival de cine peruano de 16mm," 8–9.
 16. Juan Bullitta, "El autor y el film: Jorge Volkert, Segundo premio del I festival de cine peruano, habla de cine," *Hablemos de cine* 12 (July 31, 1965), 11.
 17. The other critics and publications represented were Alfredo Guevara, director of *Cine cubano*, Brazilian film historian and critic Alex Viany, Argentine *Confir-mado* critic José Agustín Mahieu, Uruguayan *Marcha* critic José Wainer, and Chileans Joaquín Olalla and Juan Ehrman from *PEC* and *Ercilla*, respectively. Except for Olalla, all of the above critics also acted as judges for the festival, along with Chileans Aldo Francia and Patricio Kaulen. For the complete list of

- ratings for all the films shown at the festival, see “Viña del Mar en números,” *Hablemos de cine* 34 (March–April 1967), 13–14.
18. Federico de Cárdenas, “Otros países,” *Hablemos de cine* 34 (March–April 1967), 11.
 19. The Chilean *Revista Ecran*, referring to *Forjadores de mañana* as well as *Paixao* (*Passion*, Brazil, Santeiro, 1966?), called the selection committee “overly kind, [who] included some films that could only be called ‘delirious cinema’” (quoted in Francia, *Nuevo cine latinoamericano*, 139–140).
 20. Though one film each was shown from Bolivia and Mexico, neither country was represented with an actual person attending the filmmakers meeting.
 21. Isaac León Frías, “El encuentro de cineastas latinoamericanos,” *Hablemos de cine* 34 (March–April 1967), 16.
 22. Ricardo Bedoya, *100 años de cine en el Perú* (Lima: University of Lima, 1996), 164.
 23. “En torno al cine latinoamericano,” *Hablemos de cine* 35 (May–June 1967), 4.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *Ibid.*
 26. Augusto M. Torres conducted rare interviews with Colombian author and screenwriter Gabriel García Márquez (vol. 47, May–June 1969, 56–58) and Mexican author Carlos Fuentes (vol. 49, September–October 1969, 23–31). Peruvians Isaac León Frías, Juan M. Bullitta, Marino Molina, and J. G. Guevara Torres interviewed compatriot novelist Mario Vargas Llosa for no. 52 (March–April 1970), 30–35. For a discussion of these articles, see Julianne Burton, “Learning to Write at the Movies: Film and the Fiction Writer in Latin America,” *Texas Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1975), 92–103.
 27. Antonio González Norris, “La violencia y la liberación: Entrevista con Fernando Solanas,” *Hablemos de cine* 46 (March–April 1969): 5.
 28. The encounter at Mérida took place in September 1968. According to Solanas and Getino’s collected works entitled *Cine, cultura y descolonización* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1973), only two major articles had been published up until this point: the first declaration of Cine Liberación in May 1968 and an interview done in Pesaro the following month. The publication of the widely reprinted treatise “Hacia un tercer cine” (“Toward a Third Cinema”) in *Tricontinental* would not be published until October 1969, at least six months following the publication of González Norris’s interview. Thus, it is logical to say that even informed film enthusiasts in Peru knew little about the film or its directors when the article was published.
 29. González, “La violencia y la liberación,” 5.
 30. The essay “Toward a Third Cinema” would be published by *Hablemos de cine* in issue 53 (May–June 1970), 25–29.
 31. González, “La violencia y la liberación,” 7.

32. Louis Marcorelles, “L’épreuve du direct,” *Cahiers du cinéma* 210 (March 1969), 39.
33. *Ibid.*, 40.
34. González, “La violencia y la liberación,” 10.
35. The full-length, three-part completed version of *La hora de los hornos*, running four and a half hours, would premiere at the Viña del Mar festival in 1969. See below.
36. González, “La violencia y la liberación,” 10.
37. Pick, *The New Latin American Cinema*, 22.
38. González, “La violencia y la liberación,” 11.
39. *Ibid.*, 12.
40. *Ibid.*, 11.
41. Isaac León Frías, “Colombia: Entrevista con Carlos Álvarez,” *Hablemos de cine* 53 (May–June 1970), 22. Appropriately, this same issue contained the text of Solanas’s manifesto “Toward a Third Cinema” (“Hacia un tercer cine”), originally published in *Tricontinental*.
42. *Hablemos de cine* was loath to call the emergence of these films a “movement” along the lines of Brazilian Cinema Novo, but reviewer Antonio González Norris noted that Chile produced by this point “a national cinema that has quickly reached a self-sufficient professional level” (vol. 50–51, November 1969–February 1970, 32).
43. Hans Ehrmann, *Ercilla* no. 1788 (1968), quoted in Francia, *Nuevo cine latinoamericano*, 168.
44. Because the large Argentine contingency was to a large extent responsible for the political leanings of the encounter, Uruguayan director José Wainer called the incident “the first Chilean-Argentine border dispute” of the festival (quoted in Francia, *Nuevo cine latinoamericano*, 168).
45. Francisco Lombardi, “Reseña: Viña 69: Argentina: Entre el grito y el silencio,” *Hablemos de cine* 50–51 (November 1969–February 1970), 27.
46. Antonio González Norris, “Reseña: Viña 69: Cuba: Una cultura en Revolución,” *Hablemos de cine* 50–51 (November 1969–February 1970), 30.
47. Francisco Lombardi, “Reseña: Viña 69: Bolivia: Los peligros de la demagogia,” *Hablemos de cine* 50–51 (November 1969–February 1970), 29.
48. Isaac León Frías, “Reseña: Viña 69: Memorias dragones y tigres en los hornos del subdesarrollo,” *Hablemos de cine* 50–51 (November 1969–February 1970), 26; emphasis in original.
49. Isaac León Frías, “El cine latinoamericano en la hora de la verdad,” *Hablemos de cine* 50–51 (November 1969–February 1970), 35.
50. Mexican cinema was the only other Latin American cinematic tradition that did not largely embrace the New Latin American Cinema as a movement, yet this is perhaps expected, given that Mexican cinema largely operated under its own

form as an actual industry bolstered by significant state support. Peru had none of this in place and therefore would have shared similar filming conditions to those in Chile and Bolivia.

51. Ibid.
52. Margarita de la Vega-Hurtado, interview by the author, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 9, 2001.
53. See chapter 3 for more information on the failure of *Jarawi*.
54. See chapter 7.
55. Francia, *Nuevo cine latinoamericano*, 172–173.
56. *Hablemos de cine* reviewed *Miss Universo en el Perú* favorably in its final issue, number 77 (March 1984), 34.
57. Isaac León Frías, “¡El cine paraguayo existe!” *Hablemos de cine* 63 (1972), 45–46.
58. Isaac León Frías and Federico de Cárdenas, “Entrevista con Alfredo Guevara,” *Hablemos de cine* 34 (March–April 1967), 20.
59. Unlike *Hablemos de cine* and most other Latin American film journals that began publication in the 1960s, *Cine cubano* is still published as of 2007.
60. Gabriel García Márquez, “Declaraciones de Gabriel García Márquez,” *Cine cubano* 103 (1982): 18; Daniel Díaz Torres, “La pantalla conflictiva,” *ibid.*, 46–60; Ambrosio Fornet, “¿Se repite el nuevo cine?” *ibid.*, 38–42.
61. Frías and de Cárdenas, “Entrevista con Alfredo Guevara,” 21.
62. “Cine cubano: 10 años de cine en 10 años de revolución,” *Hablemos de cine* 54 (July–August 1970), 14.
63. Isaac León Frías, “Lucía (H. Solás),” *Hablemos de cine* 54 (July–August 1970), 25.
64. Nelson García, “La odisea del General José (J. Fraga),” *Hablemos de cine* 54 (July–August 1970), 29.
65. Nelson García, “Por ira vez/Acerca de un personaje . . . /Al sur de Maniadero (O. Coratázar),” *Hablemos de cine* 54 (July–August 1970), 46.
66. Desiderio Blanco, “La primera carga al machete (M. O. Gómez) / David (E. P. Barnet),” *Hablemos de cine* 54 (July–August 1970), 38; emphasis in original.
67. The change was announced in an editorial entitled “Changes in *Cahiers*” in August 1968 (no. 203), translated and reprinted in Hillier’s *Cahiers du cinéma, 1960–1968: New Wave, New Cinema, Reevaluating Hollywood*, 311–312, and was a harbinger of that journal’s major format change.
68. For more on the international scuffle caused by the National Society of Film Critics’ award in 1974, see Michael Chanan’s introduction, “Lessons of Experience” (3–14), as well as the section titled “Aftermath: Politics and Cinema” (177–184) in the published English translation of Eduardo Desnoes’s film script, in *Memories of Underdevelopment and Inconsolable Memories* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

69. Juan Bullitta, “Memorias del subdesarrollo (T. G. Alea),” *Hablemos de cine* 54 (July–August 1970), 20.
70. Isaac León Frías, “Notas sobre la muestra de cine cubano,” *Hablemos de cine* 75 (May 1982), 35.
71. Ibid.
72. Federico de Cárdenas, “Entrevista con Manuel Octavio Gómez,” *Hablemos de cine* 54 (July–August 1970), 31.
73. The journal had a short interview with Manuel Pérez in vol. 70 (April 1979: 41–43).
74. Isaac León Frías and Federcio de Cárdenas, “Reencuentro con Manuel Octavio Gómez,” *Hablemos de cine* 75 (May 1982), 32.
75. See chapter 5 for a comparison of Colombian and Peruvian short-film production, as well as an expanded discussion of the Peruvian short-film industry generated by the Film Law of 1972.
76. Frías and de Cárdenas, “Reencuentro con Manuel Octavio Gómez,” 34.
77. Michael Chanan, *Cuban Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 383.

Chapter 5. For a Few Minutes

1. See Michael Quinn’s “Distribution, the Transient Audience, and the Transition to the Feature Film,” *Cinema Journal* 40, no. 2 (Winter 2001), 35–56.
2. For a good theoretical background to short fiction, see the periodical *Short Fiction; Re-reading the Short Story*, ed. Clare Hanson (London: Macmillan, 1989), whose introduction provides a nice overview of short-story studies, including a brief discussion of the relation between the development of the short story as a format and of cinema as a medium in the early twentieth century; and Mary Louise Pratt’s “The Short Story: The Long and the Short of It,” in Charles M. May’s collection *The New Short Story Theories* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1994), which starts with the note that when pairs of literature dissimilar by length “may be separate but equal, one may be derived from the other, one may be ‘marked’ with respect to the other (as long poem is to poem), they may be related as ‘major’ to ‘minor’ or as ‘greater’ to ‘lesser’” (91).
3. The significant exception to this rule is Eileen Elsey and Andrew Kelly’s *In Short: A Guide to Short Film-making in the Digital Age* (London: BFI, 2002), which features a very brief history of short filmmaking and conversations with eleven short-film directors (including a few who have become prominent feature directors, such as Anthony Minghella (*The English Patient*, 1996; *The Talented Mr. Ripley*, 1999) and Nick Park (*Chicken Run*, 2002; *Wallace and Gromit*, 2005)). The book focuses exclusively on the British fiction short and does not

- provide a guide to critical analysis of short films; nonetheless, it recognizes that the form is important because it provides an “opportunity [for] film-makers to practice their art outside the pressures of feature film and television production” (3). The Internet created a new space for the viewing of short films (AtomFilms, iFilms, etc.) and gained a large amount of popular attention in the late 1990s, but the collapse of the Internet market in early 2000 means that critical interest in shorts has faded considerably.
4. Douglas Gomery, “Hollywood as Industry,” in *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, ed. John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 245.
 5. For the purposes of this study, I am defining short film as anything under ten minutes, which is how the Peruvian government defined *cortometraje* for exhibition in theaters. Other definitions of “short films” exist: Ana López notes in a footnote in “The Long Life of Short Film: Brazil and Colombia Compared” that the “standard definition” is any length under one hour, while a feature-length film runs more than an hour; Elsey and Kelly in their analysis label shorts as being under a half-hour. The Peruvian government used “medium-length film,” or *mediometraje*, to refer to films falling between ten and sixty minutes.
 6. “1er festival de cine peruano en 16mm,” *Hablemos de cine* 12 (July 31, 1965), 7.
 7. *Ibid.*, 10.
 8. None of the articles pertaining to the festival are given a specific byline, and therefore the authors of the articles must be considered as the entire group of four.
 9. “*Hablemos de cine presente*,” *Hablemos de cine* 12 (July 31, 1965), 3.
 10. “1er festival de cine peruano en 16mm,” 5; emphasis in original.
 11. *Ibid.*, 5–6.
 12. Personal interviews with the surviving *hablemistas* in 1998 and 2003 indicate that this interview is now lost.
 13. Isaac León et al., “El autor y el film: (entrevista con) Jorge Volkert, 2do premio del I Festival de cine peruano,” *Hablemos de cine* 12 (July 31, 1965), 11.
 14. A fuller discussion of the reaction to *Forjadores de mañana* at the Viña del Mar Film Festival can be found in chapter 3.
 15. Bullitta recounts that *Semilla* is actually one of three films being made at the same time: the first two, both in black-and-white, are documentaries of shorter lengths, while *Semilla*, the most complex of the three, is filmed in color; see his “Crónica de rodaje — 1,000,000 de ojos (hombres del lago),” *Hablemos de cine* 38 (November–December 1967), 11–12. The titles of the other two films are not offered in the piece.
 16. Upper-middle-class and upper-class Peruvians from the capital would have tended more to travel to international locations rather than to other national destinations. This preference would have partially stemmed from the poor state

of infrastructure within Peru, but also to the snobbish attitude of the elite to all things Peruvian and their favoring of all things foreign.

17. Bullitta, “Crónica de rodaje,” 5.
18. *Ibid.*, 13.
19. Federico de Cárdenas, Isaac León Frías, and Nelson García, “Cine peruano y colombiano: Tientos y diferencias: Carlos Mayolo en Lima,” *Hablemos de cine* 72 (November 1980), 17.
20. Bullitta, “Crónica de rodaje,” 7.
21. César Linares, “En pocas palabras: *Semilla*,” *Hablemos de cine* 45 (January–February 1969), 82.
22. See chapter 3 for a discussion of all of these films as examples of “poor-quality cinema” in the eyes of *Hablemos de cine*.
23. Guevara’s ideas about national cinema changed significantly and often ran counter to those of *Hablemos de cine*. A later interview with Guevara indicates bitter resentment toward the journal, accusing them of “stunting Peruvian national cinema.” This resentment is discussed in chapter 6; see also “La encrucijada del Cine Peruano,” *Hablemos de cine* 67 (1975), 15–22; Carbone, “Pablo Guevara,” in *El cine en el Perú, 1950–1972: Testimonios* (Lima: University of Lima, 1991): 191–212.
24. Chapter 3 features a more detailed analysis of the reaction to Peruvian popular comedies.
25. See chapter 1 for a translation of the relevant portions of the Film Law of 1972, found in articles 13 and 14.
26. Ricardo Bedoya and Juan Bullitta, “Nelson García: ‘Al interesarme por el cine y abandonar todo por él, siento que inicio una especie de retorno a los orígenes,’” *Hablemos de cine* 67 (1975), 24.
27. José Carlos Huayhuaca et al., “Francisco Lombardi: ‘Hacer cine en el Perú es para mi poner los pies en tierra,’” *Hablemos de cine* 67 (1975), 30.
28. Nelson García et al., “Nora de Izcué: ‘Creo que el cine nacional se dará cuando esta mayoría peruana se exprese y se vea reflejada en las pantallas, no nuestros cuatro o cinco cineastas,’” *Hablemos de cine* 67 (1975), 41.
29. The *Hablemos de cine* encyclopedia is, as far as I can determine, the only written record of any short-film production from this period, though some material can be found about other Latin American short-film production. Most significant, filmmaker Carlos Álvarez’s *Una década de cortometraje colombiano, 1970–1980* (Bogotá: Borradores de cine, 1982) describes his frustration at working within “cine de sobreprecio.” See below for *Hablemos de cine*’s reaction to the situation in Colombia. The published curatorial notes, *Short Films from Latin America: A Film Exhibition Organized by the American Federation of Arts* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1992), edited by curator Julianne

- Burton-Carvajal, are also great resources detailing the histories of short films throughout the region.
30. “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano,” *Hablemos de cine* 70 (April 1979), 19.
 31. Isaac León Frías et al., “El cine peruano entre realidad y deseo (mesa redonda, 1ra parte),” *Hablemos de cine* 73–74 (June 1981), 18.
 32. What follows is the complete listing of directors in the “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano,” with the abbreviation of the respective reviewer in parentheses. The eight reviewers were Ricardo Bedoya (RB), Juan Bullitta (JB), Constantino Carvallo (CC), Federico de Cárdenas (FdC), Nelson García (NG), Guillermo Niño de Guzmán (GNG), Juan Carlos Huayhuaca (JCH), and Isaac León (IL): (1) vol. 70 (April 1979): Mario Acha (FdC), Juan Bullitta (FdC), Juan A. Caycho (JB), Alberto Durant (FdC), Luis Figueroa (RB), Fernando Gagliuffi (NG), Nelson García (JB), Pablo Guevara (IL), Rafael Hastings (FdC), José Carlos Huayhuaca (JB), Nora de Izcué (IL), Flavio López (FdC), Luis Llosa (JCH), Pedro Morote (CC), Emilio Moscoso (JB), Alberto Nuñez Herrera (FdC), Francisco Otiniano (IL), José Antontio Portugal (RB), Mario Pozzi-Escot (CC), José Luis Rouillón (NG), Arturo Sinclair (IL), Ernesto Sprinckmoller (RB), Jorge Vignati (JCH), Jorge Volkert (NG), Leonidas Zegarra (RB); (2) vol. 71 (April 1980): Rodolfo Bedoya (?), Grupo Bruma (NG), CETUC (Centro de Tele-educación de la Universidad Católica) (FdC), Federico de Cárdenas (GNG), Felipe Degregori (JB), Fausto Espinoza (NG), Ricardo Fleiss (NG), Federico García (FdC), Reynaldo Ledgard (NG), Grupo Liberación Sin Rodeos (JB), Francisco Lombardi (JCH), Grupo Marcha (FdC), Alejandro Miró Quesada (FdC), W.S. Palacios (IL), María Esther Pallant (JB), Miguel Ramón (RB), Jorge Reyes (NG/FdC), Armando Robles Godoy (only shorts directed after 1972, RB), Ricardo Roca Rey (FdC), Kurt and Christine Rosenthal (JB), Jorge Sánchez Pauli (FdC), Jorge Suárez (JCH), Augusto Tamayo San Ramón (IL), Mario Tejada (NG), Franklin Urteaga (FdC).
 33. Ricardo Bedoya, “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano (II): Armando Robles Godoy,” *Hablemos de cine* 71 (April 1980), 22.
 34. Juan Bullitta, “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano (I): Juan A. Caycho,” *Hablemos de cine* 70 (April 1979), 20.
 35. Isaac León Frías, “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano (II): W. S. Palacios,” *Hablemos de cine* 71 (April 1980), 21.
 36. Ricardo Bedoya, “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano (I): Ernesto Sprinckmoller,” *Hablemos de cine* 70 (April 1979), 27–28.
 37. Isaac León Frías, “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano (I): Nora de Izcué,” *Hablemos de cine* 70 (April 1979), 23.
 38. Nelson García, “Diccionario del cortometraje peruano (I): Fernando Gagliuffi,” *Hablemos de cine* 70 (April 1979), 21.

39. A more complete article on the history of Peruvian animation, “Del dibujo animado . . . en el Perú,” was written many years later by Benicio Vicente and Oscar Páz Soldán Pinto for *Butaca sanmarquina* 6 (April 2000), 14–16.
40. Federico de Cárdenas et al., “Cine peruano y colombiano,” 17.
41. Isaac León Frías, “El cine colombiano hoy: Marta Rodríguez y Jorge Silva,” *Hablemos de cine* 71 (April 1980), 29.
42. *Ibid.*, 30.
43. Francisco Lombardi, “El cine colombiano hoy: Diálogo complementario con Luis Ospina,” *Hablemos de cine* 71 (April 1980), 34.
44. In “Film History, Film Genre, and Their Discontents: The Case of the Omnibus Film,” Marc Betz provides a comprehensive history of the omnibus film and the difficulty of establishing consistency for terminology surrounding this type of film, which has been referred to as compilation, episode, composite, portmanteau, and so forth. The films discussed fit ideally into Betz’s taxonomy as omnibus films: “Omnibus and episode films are frequently conflated, but a crucial distinction between the two entails their wholly different textual reception and analysis in film studies. An episode film is directed by a single person and comprises two or more episodes or sketches (i.e., short films), the combination of which brings the package to feature length. An omnibus film is similarly episodic but is directed by more than one person, with each directing his or her own segment(s). In both episode and omnibus films, the separate sections may or may not carry over characters or cast members from segment to segment, and the dramatic presentations may or may not be connected by a framing or linking device, character, or narrative. In both cases as well the episodes are not linked in a linear narrative fashion, i.e., each segment does not build upon the previous one to establish a clear line of narrative cause and effect from episode to episode” (74–75).
45. Constantín Caravallo, “*Cuentos inmorales: Intriga familiar*,” *Hablemos de cine* 70 (April 1979), 30.
46. Ricardo Bedoya, “*Cuentos inmorales: Los amigos*,” *Hablemos de cine* 70 (April 1979), 33.
47. Huayhuaca never completed this film. His first feature was titled *Profesión: Detective* (Profession: Detective), made in 1986.
48. Caravallo, “*Cuentos inmorales*,” 31.
49. Juan Bullitta, “*Aventuras prohibidas* de Tamayo, Huayhuaca y Llosa,” *Hablemos de cine* 72 (November 1980), 20–21.
50. Juan Bullitta, “*Historia de Fiorela y el Hombre Araña* de J. C. Huayhuaca,” *Hablemos de cine* 72 (November 1980), 22.
51. Reynaldo Ledgard, “*Una raya más al tigre*,” *Hablemos de cine* 76 (February 1983), 23.

52. Giancarlo Carbone's latest volume of collected interviews focuses on short-film directors in *El cine en el Perú: El cortometraje, 1972–1992* (Lima: University of Lima, 2007).

Chapter 6. Creating the “Lombardi Generation”

1. “Hablemos de cine’ presente,” *Hablemos de cine* 12 (July 31, 1965), 3.
2. Ethnic studies in Peru are extremely complicated, in large part due to the Peruvian government’s de-emphasis of race as a marker in most twentieth-century census questionnaires. Historical and sociological data suggest that even at the start of the twenty-first century a correlation exists between ethnic markers and place of origin, particularly where the white population is concerned. A simplified matrix of Peruvian ethnicities indicates indigenous populations dominating rural areas and white populations predominating only in the residential districts of Lima; *mestizos*, the mix of the two identities, abound throughout the country. See Adolfo Figueroa and Manuel Barrón, “Inequality, Ethnicity and Social Disorder in Peru,” CRISE Working Paper No. 8 (Oxford: CRISE, 2005), 9.
3. See Sonia Ascué and Rosa Esquivel’s cross-generational ethnographic study of a family in Lima in “Aculturación o mestizaje: una perspectiva generacional” in the TEMPO collective publication *Los nuevos limeños: Sueños, fervores y caminos en el mundo popular* (Lima: SUR Casa de Estudios del Socialismo, 1993), 377–399.
4. In his cultural critique *The Country and the City*, Raymond Williams articulates the emotional divisions from each side that permeate civilized societies in general: “On the actual settlements, which in the real history have been astonishingly varied, powerful feelings have gathered and have been generalised. On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. A contrast between country and city, as fundamental ways of life, reaches back into classical times.” Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 1.
5. James D. Rudolph, *Peru: The Evolution of a Crisis* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1993), 54.
6. See chapter 5 for more on *Semilla*.
7. See Carlos Parodi Trece, *Perú, 1980–2000: Políticas Económicas y sociales en entornos cambiantes* (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 2002), 108.
8. Ricardo Bedoya, Federico de Cárdenas, Pablo Guevara, and Isaac León Frías, “La enrucijada del cine peruano,” *Hablemos de cine* 67 (1975), 17.

9. SINAMOS also sponsored Nora de Izcué's medium-length film *Runan Caycu* (1973).
10. Isaac León Frías, "La búsqueda de una voz propia en el largometraje peruano," *Hablemos de cine* 69 (1977–78), 18.
11. Ibid.
12. Octavio Getino, *Cine y televisión en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones, 1998), 139–140.
13. Ibid., 17.
14. Juan Bullitta, "En el sendero de un cine campesino," *Hablemos de cine* 69 (1977–78), 12.
15. Ricardo Bedoya et al., "Encuentro con Federico García," *Hablemos de cine* 75 (May 1982), 17.
16. Interestingly, neither film was censored by the Peruvian government. Of course, by 1980, Morales Bermúdez was under increased international pressure to restore democratic elections and the censorship of either film might have undermined such a process. In 1980, Fernando Belaúnde Terry was reelected president after having been deposed by Velasco's coup in 1968.
17. Isaac León Frías et al., "El cine peruano entre realidad y deseo (mesa redonda, 1ra parte)," *Hablemos de cine* 73–74 (June 1981), 17.
18. Ibid., 19.
19. In fact, though he remained on the masthead as a collaborator until volume 73–74 (June 1981), Guevara had not made a significant contribution to the journal since his input in the debate published in volume 67 (1975). His absence from these later debates confirms somewhat his disgust and resentment toward *Hablemos de cine* as a whole. See Carbone, "Pablo Guevara," *El cine en el Perú, 1950–1972: Testimonios* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1991), 191–212.
20. José Carlos Huayhuaca, "El dilemma del lenguaje o el compromise: el cine de Federico García," *Hablemos de cine* 75 (May 1982), 26.
21. Bedoya et al., "Encuentro con Federico García," 18.
22. As seen in the passage quoted previously, the interviewers had not made the original reference to Sanjinés; rather, García had done so himself.
23. Bedoya et al., "Encuentro con Federico García," 24.
24. Ibid., 25.
25. Julio García Espinosa, "For an Imperfect Cinema" (trans. Julianne Burton), in *New Latin American Cinema*, vol. 1: *Theory, Practices and Transcontinental Articulations*, ed. Michael Martin (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 82.
26. "Cine peruano: Introducción," *Hablemos de cine* 77 (March 1984), 16.
27. Patricia R. Zimmerman, personal interview, April 20, 2007.

28. Isaac León Frías, “¿Predicando en el desierto?” *Hablemos de cine* 77 (March 1984), 17.
29. *Ibid.*, 17–18.
30. Bedoya et al., “Encuentro con Federico García,” 24.
31. See chapter 7 for more on the reading of Spaniards in Lombardi’s films of the 1990s.
32. Fascinating to read in this respect is César Arróspide de la Flor’s *Reflexiones sobre el cambio cultural en el Perú* (Lima: C.E.P., 1985), which privileged Velasco’s ideals many years after the fall of his regime.
33. Ricardo Bedoya et al., “Encuentro con Federico García,” 16.
34. “El cine peruano entre realidad y deseo (II): Introducción,” *Hablemos de cine* 75 (May 1982), 15; my emphasis.
35. The political leanings of each of these governments were: Velasco, military leftist; Morales Bermúdez, military reactionary; Belaúnde, democratic rightist (PPC, Partido Popular Cristiano); García, democratic leftist (APRA); Fujimori, democratic centrist (Cambio 90).
36. In 2008, Italian authorities uncovered classified documents concerning Operation Condor that implicated Peru along with six other Latin American countries for quashing leftist political dissent through violence and death squads, naming former president Morales Bermúdez as a primary figure. See Alexei Barrionuevo, “Italy Follows Trail of Secret South American Abductions,” *New York Times*, February 22, 2008, A12.
37. Ricardo Bedoya, *100 años de cine en el Perú* (Lima: University of Lima, 1996), 257.
38. Javier Proetz, “Grandez y decadencia del espectáculo cinematográfico,” *Contratexto* 9 (December 1995), 121–122.
39. See chapter 7 for more on *Butaca sanmarquina* and other Peruvian film journals of the 2000s.
40. George D. E. Philip relates a detailed account of the nationalization of the press and its impact on the remainder of Velasco’s rule in *The Rise and Fall of the Peruvian Military Radicals, 1968–1976* (London: Athlone Press, 1978), 136–140.
41. Ricardo Bedoya, Federico de Cárdenas, Pablo Guevara, and Isaac León Frías, “La encrucijada del cine peruano,” *Hablemos de cine* 67 (1975), 16.
42. *Ibid.*, 17.
43. *Ibid.*, 16.
44. *Ibid.*, 18.
45. *Ibid.*, 19.
46. Mariátegui’s articles, originally published in *Amauta*, the journal he published in the 1930s, are minor pieces on Charlie Chaplin and short films of the period. They are reprinted in volume 61–62 (September–December 1971), 19–23.

47. “Cine de aquí y de allá,” *Hablemos de cine* 28 (August 1966), 27.
48. Working with screenwriter José Watanabe, Lombardi streamlined the novel’s plot to the basic conflict in a Peruvian military academy between three cadets: “Poet,” the hero, the upper-class kid with a conscience who writes dirty stories to garner favor with his classmates; “Slave,” the victim, who is eternally ostracized and ridiculed and betrays his comrades for his own benefit; and “Jaguar,” the antagonist, the lower-class street kid who is respected out of fear by his classmates and who may or may not have killed the Slave out of revenge.

Chapter 7. The Changing of the Guard

1. Though they were both short-lived exercises, at least two foreign journals — *Primer plano* in Chile and *Ojo al cine* in Colombia (the latter the work of *Hablemos* correspondent Andrés Caicedo)—used the style of *Hablemos de cine* as a model for their own local publications.
2. While the English translation of the film’s original Portuguese title is appropriate, the phrase “tierra en trance” has some additional interpretations. The Spanish word “trance” may be interpreted as both “a bad patch” or “a critical moment” as well as the English homonym.
3. “Tierra en trance,” *La gran ilusión* 1 (1993), 67.
4. Javier Proetzel, “El cortometraje: explorando su aceptación,” *La gran ilusión* 1 (1993), 75–83. Though Proetzel’s study also examines the data in terms of age, levels of education, and frequency of cinema attendance, his essay does not specify the location of his sample of some four hundred filmgoers — an important consideration given the wide variety of Peruvian theatrical standards. For example, what part of Lima were the filmgoers in? What film were they going to see when given the survey? Most important, was the film distributed at general public screenings or at cine-clubs?
5. José Perla Anaya, “El cine y su derecho: El rol de lo legal en el nacimiento de una cinematografía,” *La gran ilusión* 1 (1993), 84–93. The article is a condensed, updated version of a chapter in his 1991 published study *Censura y promoción en el cine* (Lima: University of Lima, 1991).
6. “Corto peruano: ¿el fin del juego? Conversación con tres realizadores de cortometrajes,” *La gran ilusión* 1 (1993): 95.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, 96.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Aldo Salvini nevertheless said during this discussion: “I am interested in features, but I have never seen the short as only a preparatory step for the feature. They

- are different genres” (97). Álvarez and Cabada agreed that they wished to use the short as a bridge to the feature.
11. One of the later editors at *Hablemos de cine*, Melvin Ledgard is one of the very few of the group of staff writers to continue in an academic trajectory; he earned a doctorate from the University of Texas in literature. (While Bedoya, León, and Tamayo all teach at the University of Lima, none has a doctorate; Bedoya, the country’s pre-eminent film historian, has a law degree.) Unique therefore among the *hablemistas*, Ledgard teaches at Universidad Católica. Although he has published a monograph on literature titled *Amores adversos y apasionados: La evolución del tema del amor en cinco novellas latinoamericanas* (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2002), he has since become an expert on Peruvian comic books, curating a 2004 exhibition at ICPNA, “De Supercholo a Teodosio.”
 12. Naturally, the exception was the cine-club at the Universidad de Lima itself. Called “La Ventana Indiscreta” (Rear window), the cine-club functions as the cultural arm of the school’s communications program and continues to program a mixture of classic and art-house films.
 13. [“¿Una revista de cine?”], *La gran ilusión* 1 (1993), 1.
 14. Programa Ibermedia was founded in 1997 to provide economic stimulation and coproduction arrangements between participating Iberoamerican nations, each of which contributes a sum that is then redistributed among projects from around the region selected by competition. (Member states as of 2007 included Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Spain, Uruguay, and Venezuela.) In “Programa Ibermedia: Co-production and the Cultural Politics of Constructing an Ibero-American Audiovisual Space” (*Spectator* 27, no. 2 [Fall 2007]), Tamara L. Falicov identifies how other directors’ uses of the Spaniard in Ibermedia-funded projects have altered the script. She also identifies “types” of Spaniards in these films: the sympathetic Spaniard, the Spanish anarchist, the evil or racist Spaniard, and the Spanish tourist (24–26). Her examples do not include Lombardi’s films and his use of Spanish funding and actresses (not male actors) predated the founding of Ibermedia.
 15. Velarde’s short films made for his U.S. program, “98 Thompson” (1994), “C. Lloyd, un cuento de crimen y castigo” (C. Lloyd, a story of crime and punishment, 1996), and “Roces” (1998) all won top prizes for short filmmaking in Peru at the national level sponsored by CONACINE.
 16. “La regla del juego,” *La gran ilusión* 13 (2003), 1.
 17. In an interesting coincidence, an online film journal was founded in Spain almost at the same time, with its first issue released in January 2004. The Spanish e-journal (<http://www.trendesombras.com>) and the Peruvian print journal seemingly have nothing in common other than the name.

18. “Editorial,” *Tren de sombras* 1 (March 2004), 2.
19. Isaac León Frías, “El crítico frente al cine peruano,” *Tren de sombras* 2 (August 2004), 19.
20. “Nace el cine nacional,” *Hablemos de cine* 3 (March 18, 1965), 5.
21. León, “El crítico frente al cine peruano,” 20.
22. Susan Sontag, “The Decay of Cinema,” *New York Times Magazine* (February 15, 1996), 61.
23. J. Hoberman, “The Film Critic of Tomorrow, Today,” in *The Crisis of Criticism*, ed. Maurice Berger (New York: New Press, 1998), 83, 85.
24. This point concerning the co-opting of objects by cinephilia is central to an argument presented in Patricia R. Zimmerman and Dale Hudon’s talk, “Trafficking in the Archives: Remixing across, between and through nations” (ACLA Conference, Puebla, Mexico, April 20, 2007).
25. Jonathan Rosenbaum’s *Movie Mutations: The Changing Face of World Cinephilia* (London: BFI, 2003) documents a novel use of the Internet to create dialogues among cinephiles from around the world. For example, one chapter collects a series of “letters” as they move from Argentine Quintín to Canadian Mark Peranson, followed successively by Nicole Brenez from France, Adrian Martin from Australia, and Rosenbaum from the United States. See also his chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion concerning Willemenian cinephilia.
26. “Peru Internet Usage and Telecom Marketing Reports,” Internet World Stats: Usage and Population Statistics, Miniwatts Marketing Group, <http://www.internetworldstats.com/sa/pe.htm> (accessed April 15, 2007). Source for 2000 data: International Telecommunication Union; for 2005 data: Computer Industry Almanac.
27. For an exhaustive examination of Internet usage focusing particularly on Lima that also serves as a historical resource for use in Lima in 1999, see Ana María Fernández-Maldonado, “The Diffusion and Use of Information and Communications Technologies in Lima, Peru,” *Journal of Urban Technology* 8, no. 3 (2001), 21–43.
28. Eduardo Villanueva Mansilla, “Internet availability and politics in Peru: A preliminary report on an apparent Paradox,” Presentation at PISTA (Politics and Information Systems: Technologies and Applications) Conference 2004, published online at author’s Web site, http://macareo.pucp.edu.pe/evillan/Eduardo%20Villanueva%20Mansilla/Escritos_files/PISTA-EVM-Po25SV.pdf (accessed April 15, 2007).
29. It is somewhat unclear why none of these publications (as of 2007) has made any attempts at publishing content online, except for the fact that by selling magazines the publishers are sure to get paid for their work, as opposed to the “free” nature of Internet postings. The same holds true for other local publi-

- cations, such as Argentina’s leading film magazine *El Amante*, whose online content is very limited compared to what is in the paper version. In lieu of online versions of the printed magazines, however, a plethora of blogs written by Peruvian critics provide immediate outlets for many of the same people who write for the print versions. Although only *Butaca* officially has an affiliated blog (started in mid-2007; <http://butacaenlinea.blogspot.com>) Ricardo Bedoya writes “Páginas del diario de Satán” (Pages from Satan’s diary) (<http://paginasdeldiariodesatan.blogspot.com/>); Mario Castro Cobos contributes to “La cinefilia no es patriota” (Cinephilia is not patriotic) (<http://lacinefiliaoespatriota.blogspot.com/>). As of this writing, the primary blog for information and opinions on Peruvian cinema and cinephilia — including previews of the release of all the current film journals — can be found at “Cinencuentro” (CinEncounter) (<http://www.cinencuentro.com/>).
30. “Godard 2, aquí vamos,” *godard!* 1, no. 2 (September 2001), 2.
 31. Francisco Ángeles, “El crítico de cine no puede ser un perdonavidas: Entrevista a Claudio Cordero, Director de *godard!*” *Bitácora de el Hablador* (March 11, 2007), <http://elhablador.com/blog/2007/03/11/entrevista-a-claudio-cordero-director-de-godard/>.
 32. Of the other awards distributed at the 2001 *elcine*, *Nueve reinas* won the audience award (Premio *elcine*) and *25 Watts* won two awards, for best screenplay and for best film as determined specifically by the magazine *La gran ilusión*. Lombardi’s *Tinta roja* won second place for the audience award.
 33. Claudio Cordero, “Latinoamérica va al cine,” *godard!* 1, no. 2 (September 2001), 20.
 34. Jaime Luna Victoria, quoted in José Tsang, “Escorpiones, arañas y chanchitos,” *godard!* 1, no. 2 (September 2001), 23.
 35. *Ibid.*
 36. Sebastián Pimentel, “El enigma de la crítica, o el problema de pensar y hacer cine en el Perú,” *godard!* 1, no. 2 (September 2001), 24.
 37. *Ibid.*, 26.
 38. Christian Wiener, “Crítica de la crítica,” *Butaca sanmarquina* 13 (October 2002), 19.
 39. Ángeles, “El crítico de cine no puede ser un perdonavidas.”
 40. “Editorial,” *Abre los ojos* 1 (June 2002), 3.
 41. Mario Castro Cobos, “Dossier 2001: *El bien esquivo*,” *Abre los ojos* 1 (June 2002), 16.
 42. Founded in 1551, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (referred to in the rest of this book through its more common abbreviated form, Universidad de San Marcos) is the oldest institute of higher learning in the Americas and the top public institution in Peru.

43. Fernando Samillán Cavero, “Primeras palabras . . . ,” *Butaca sanmarquina* 1 (July–September 1998), 3.
44. Marco Avilés, “El rincón de los Cinéfilos: *El Amauta*,” *Butaca sanmarquina* 4 (1999), 4.
45. *Ibid.*, 5.
46. *Ibid.*, 6.
47. Federico García, personal interview, Lima, Peru, July 12, 2003.
48. Fernando Samillán [and René Weber], “Al cierre,” *Butaca sanmarquina* 7 (September 2000): 3.
49. René Weber, “Editorial,” *Butaca sanmarquina* 11 (April 2002), 1.
50. Claudia Ugarte, “Butacas interactivas: Cine en discussion,” *Butaca* 20 (June 2004), 31.
51. Wiener, “Crítica de la crítica,” 18.
52. René Weber, “Editorial,” *Butaca* 20 (June 2004), 4.